

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University • Loyola Heights, Quezon City • 1108 Philippines

Ivatan Oral Traditions: A Survey

Florentino H. Hornedo

Philippine Studies vol. 25, no. 4 (1977) 384–419

Copyright © Ateneo de Manila University

Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University. Contents may not be copied or sent via email or other means to multiple sites and posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's written permission. Users may download and print articles for individual, noncommercial use only. However, unless prior permission has been obtained, you may not download an entire issue of a journal, or download multiple copies of articles.

Please contact the publisher for any further use of this work at philstudies@admu.edu.ph.

<http://www.philippinestudies.net>
Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

Ivatān Oral Tradition: A Survey

FLORENTINO H. HORNEDO

BATANES: LAND AND PEOPLE

Batanes, the home of the Ivatān cultural community, shelters some 12,000 people scattered over six municipalities in four of the ten islands which make up the province.¹ Even the habitable islands are rather small, and of its estimated area of 20,928 hectares, most is mountainous.² It lies on the northern frontier of the Philippines, some 200 kilometers to the north of the town of Claveria on the northern coast of Cagayan province, and about 500 kilometers from Manila.

The largest of the inhabited islands is Itbayat. It is the northernmost town of the Philippines. The population, registered at 2,760 in 1970, is concentrated chiefly in the central community called Itbayat, and the outlying localities, the best known among which is barrio Rayli.³

Lying some 20 kilometers south by the southeast of Itbayat is Batan Island. It includes the capital town of Basco (pop. 3,721), Mahataw (pop. 1,474), Ivana (pop. 988), and Uyugan (pop. 1,058). Batan is smaller than Itbayat, but is often referred to as the "mainland" among Ivatans because it is the seat of the provincial government.

The municipality of Basco (known among the natives as *Vasay*) is made up of the central community called Basco, the district of Diptan, and barrios Chanarian and Valugan. As the capital, it is the seat of the provincial government as well as of all the major provincial and national buildings and services, such as the Provincial Capitol (inherited from Spanish times), the Batanes Provincial Hospital, the Philippine Constabulary headquarters, a diminutive

1. The 1970 Census report indicated a population of 11,360. See *Advance Report No. 8, Batanes, 1970 Census of Population and Housing*. (Manila: Bureau of Census and Statistics), pp. 8-11. Henceforth to be referred to as *Advance Report No. 8*.

2. Philippine Presidential Economic Staff, *Provincial Profiles* (Manila, 1969), p. 10.

3. *Advance Report No. 8*.

post office, the weather bureau, the Batanes National High School and its neighbors, the Basco Elementary School, and the Batanes School of Arts and Trades. A branch of the Philippine National Bank is housed in a small edifice connected to the capitol building. Northeast of the town proper is the Basco Airport — the chief physical link of Batanes with the rest of the country today. Here too at Basco is the religious center of the Prelature Nullius of Batanes and Babuyan, the official seat of which is the cathedral church of Santo Domingo de Basco.

Basco lies on the fertile plain at the foot of what is probably an extinct volcano, Mount Iraya, and overlooks the Basco Bay on the west, where there is a small wharf to which occasional interisland boats and ships come to unload their cargo of goods from Luzon, chiefly from Manila, and load cattle for Manila on their return trip.

Mahataw, also known as San Carlos, is six kilometers drive from Basco to the south.⁴ It lies along the mouth of a small stream. Part of this municipality is the new barrio, now called Magsaysay, on the eastern side of the island overlooking the Bay of Manañiuy.

Eight kilometers of road to the south of Mahataw is Ivana. It is made up of two communities: San Vicente and Ivana. Ivana is located on a narrow strip of littoral bounded on the west by sea, and on the east by hills. The small barrio of San Vicente, about a kilometer or so north of the town center overlooks a small fishing port.

The southernmost municipality on the Batan Island is Uyugan. It is made up of Uyugan proper, some four kilometers of road to the south of Ivana, and three barrios: Sungsung, Itbud, and Imnahbu. Once scenic, the municipality was ravaged badly by tidal waves in the 1950s. Barrio Sungsung, having been the most affected area, was abandoned by most of its inhabitants. Between Itbud and Imnahbu is what used to be a Long Range Navigation (LORAN) Station of the United States of America, which has since been turned over to Philippine command.

Some seven kilometers southwest of Batan is the rocky and mountainous island municipality of Sabtang, composed of the two central communities of Sinakan and Malakdang (jointly called Centro) on the eastern side, and four barrios: Savidug, Chavayan, Sumnanga, and Nakanmuan. Its rainfall is usually less than that of

4. The usual spelling is "Mahatao," but to indicate better the diphthong, I have preferred "Mahataw."

Batan, and it is frequently plagued with drought. Its soil is also less fertile. The chief means of communication among the communities is a "national road" which is maintained all year round by a team of camineros. No motor vehicle runs through this road, however, except the motorcycle of the local parish priest.

A small community of ranchers, four families in all, lives on the diminutive island of Vuhus, or Ivuhus, and belongs to the municipality of Sabtang. Vuhus is good pastureland, and has been from time immemorial held as a common ranch by the people of Sabtang. It is surrounded by beaches of white sand and coral sea which abounds with fish.

Itbayat is largely flatland, but Batan and Sabtang are mountainous. Except for Basco and Mahataw, which share fertile farmlands on northern Batan, the southern municipalities of Batan and that of Sabtang have little arable plain, located mostly along the narrow coastal regions. The main livelihood of the people has been farming and fishing; their towns and barrios have been appropriately located along the coasts — often within a few meters of the sea. The seas surrounding the islands are calm and navigable during April, May, and June. But at other times, though intermittently navigable, they are, as Otto Scheerer once observed, "los más bravíos y a la par los mas traidores de Filipinas."⁵

Of Malayan stock, the Ivatans probably number about 20,000, of which 12,000 live on the Batanes islands at present. The rest live in various parts of the Philippines, chiefly in Luzon and in Mindanao. The Ivatan community in Luzon is concentrated in the Greater Manila area and its environs. Those in Mindanao who migrated there in the 1950s are settlers in the government homesteads in Malinao, in Bukidnon, and thereabouts.

The census of 1970 shows that the "economically active" household population was 5,858, which is about 52 percent of the population. Of these, 4,345 or 74 percent are registered as "farmers, fishermen . . . and related workers." Among the economically active population, men (3,500) outnumber women (2,358). Even among those not technically registered as farmers, most are part-time farmers. Teachers and government employees, and even the

5. "The most savage and at the same time the most treacherous (sea) of the Philippines." (Otto Scheerer, "Prólogo," *Diccionario Español-Ibatan por varios Padres Dominicos* [Manila: Tipografía de Sto. Tomás, 1914], p. viii.)

small scale businessmen spend their spare time on their farms.

General literacy is comparatively high — 92 percent of the population. Men register higher literacy than women: 95 percent for men, 89 for women. The percentage of literacy in the census of 1960 was 81 percent, against the national literacy rate at the time of 72 percent. In 1960 the province had one secondary school, the Batanes High School, located in Basco, and a chain of public elementary schools on all the islands and towns. Today there are six high schools, four on Batan Island, and one each in Sabtang and in Itbayat. The Batanes High School has since become a national high school with its main campus at Basco, and three branches, one at Mahataw, one at Ivana, and another in Itbayat. In Sabtang is a National Fisheries High School. The Basco School of Arts and Trade is another recently established high school. The only collegiate school in the province is St. Dominic College, run by the Dominican Prelate at Basco.

Though high in literacy, the economic development of the province has been slow. No part of the province could be classified as “urban” by the census of 1970, and that is still true today. Life on the islands is close to the earth, and generally isolated from both vices and virtues of the rest of the country.⁶ This has resulted in sizable emigration to other parts of the country in search of employment, leaving the province rather thinly populated. When the average population density of the Philippines was 1.24 person per hectare, Batanes registered 0.66.⁷

Because of extreme weather conditions, the Ivatans have developed techniques of building houses which can withstand the worst typhoons. In 1970, 99.14 percent of Ivatan homes and buildings were made of “strong” and “mixed materials,” only .86 percent being of “light” materials. The public school prefab buildings made of hollow blocks and galvanized iron were an almost total waste in Batanes — almost nothing of the original structures remains today, and very few of them lasted long enough to serve their purpose, all because typhoons quickly blew them down. The one in Barrio Savidug, for example, stood long enough to be inaugurated, and then was swiftly blown down.

6. During my field research there in April and May 1975 I neither saw any newspaper for sale nor heard news over the radio. Only two government boats had brought merchandise and gasoline to Batanes since January. Philippine Air Lines flew in twice a week when the weather was fine.

7. *Provincial Profiles*, p. 11.

The Ivatans speak a distinct language which they call "Ivatan," a fact contrary to the allegation made by the Presidential Economic Staff in a report in 1969 that "Ilocano is the most commonly used [language]."⁸ Iloko is spoken by the few Ilocano immigrants, chiefly among themselves, Ivatan being the common medium which they have quickly adopted. Ilocanos are the single biggest non-Ivatan group in the province.⁹ Due largely to the influence of the school system and contact by Ivatan migrants with Tagalog in Luzon, an increasing number of Ivatans have a working knowledge of Pilipino.¹⁰

Ivatan as a language appears to have two main divisions, the one spoken in Itbayat and the one spoken on the Batan and Sabtang islands.¹¹

When the Americans arrived at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ivatans were entirely Roman Catholic. By 1960, about 2 percent were Protestants (chiefly Baptists), and 98 percent were Catholics. In recent years, a few other non-Catholic denominations have made their appearance: Seventh Day Adventists, Witnesses of Jehovah, and Iglesia ni Kristo.

The Ivatans first entered into recorded history probably in 1686 when the Dominican missionary Fray Mateo González, of the Mission of Santa Ursula in Calayan just off the northern tip of Luzon, first landed on the islands to survey the place with the hope of establishing missions there.¹²

In 1687, the English freebooter Capt. William Dampier landed there and traded some iron for goats, pigs, and roots. He noted that although the inhabitants were seafaring, they built their homes on the hills and mountains, usually above protective cliffs; also that they were primitive but not barbarians, and were generally civil in their dealings. Gold was their medium of exchange when

8. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

9. Recent studies on the language have been those of Araceli C. Hidalgo, "The Semantics of Ivatan Predicative Stems," (Master's thesis, Ateneo de Manila University, 1972); Cesar A. Hidalgo and Araceli C. Hidalgo, *A Tagmemic Grammar of Ivatan* (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1971); Lawrence A. Reid, *An Ivatan Syntax* (Honolulu: Pacific and Asian Linguistic Institute, University of Hawaii, 1966).

10. *Provincial Profiles*, p. 12. The estimate is probably too optimistic.

11. It has been suggested that Itbayat be considered a separate language. Itbayat natives distinguish between *manivatan* (to speak Ivatan) and *manitbayat* (to speak the Itbayat language).

12. This brief outline of Ivatan history is based on F. Hornedo, "Batanes Ethnographic History: A Survey" typescript (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila, 1976). A copy of this is at the Ateneo Rizal Library, microfiche 1363.

they were not bartering. They also produced sugarcane from which they obtained an alcoholic beverage which they drank lavishly. Apparently they had some form of law and method of administering justice.

About 1720 another Dominican, Fray Juan Bel, arrived hoping to evangelize the Ivatans, but faced with serious setbacks, he decided instead to transport a few Ivatans to the Calayan missions, where most of them soon died for lack of food.

Some time after 1741, with the persistence of the Dominicans and the patronage of the King of Spain, the Ivatans were resettled "in front of Camalaniugan on the left bank of the Ibanag river" in Cagayan. But it did not take long before the Ivatans were back in their windswept islands to resume their ancient way of life.

In 1779 Joaquín Melgarejo, a trader from Cagayan, brought with him rice, beads, carabao hide, and such like, which he traded for pigs, goats, cotton, spools of thread and such other goods as the natives brought down to him from their mountain homes and farms.

In 1783 during the time of Governor-General Don José Basco y Vargas, Batanes was made officially part of the Spanish dominions. Two Dominican missionaries and a few government men headed by a governor were stationed on the islands.

In 1789 Don Joaquín del Castillo, who was then governor of Batanes, ordered the abolition of the traditional customs: from social organization to the people's manner of dress and adornment. When some men of Sabtang killed some government men and some Cagayan traders, they were arrested and punished, and the mastermind was hanged in public. As a consequence, the people of Sabtang were ordered resettled on Batan island and incorporated into the town of Ivana. They were to remain there in a sort of exile for about 50 years.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ivatans learned to produce lime and to build houses and bridges with lime and stone. But the early decades brought the Ivatans a series of plagues, and the population (close to 15,000 in 1801) was greatly diminished, so that by around 1829, it was just a bit over 10,000.

The process of Christianization was rapid, and except for Itbayat which has always been isolated by its distance from the other islands and by inclement seas, by mid-nineteenth century Batanes was a Catholic province. About 1841 Sabtang was repopulated by

the return of its original inhabitants from their exile in Ivana. Transportation to and from Luzon had been greatly improved with the building of large sailboats called *pontines*, and the Ivatans exported to Luzon lard and other farm products. Along with their goods, many Ivatans migrated to Luzon, so that by 1895 just over 8,000 people were left on the islands.

The Katipuneros arrived in Batanes in 1898, putting an end to Spanish dominion of less than 120 years over Batanes. They were soon followed by the Americans.

The American regime quickly reoriented Ivatan society from a church-centered to a school-centered one. Sanitation and a literacy campaign went hand in hand. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Batanes became independent of Cagayan under the governorship of a gentleman and scholar, Otto Scheerer. It is from his records that one has a glimpse of Ivatan life in 1910 — life that must have seen little change since 1831 when Jose Peñaranda wrote his comprehensive report on Batanes. Even today, the customs mentioned by Peñaranda are still there. But it was Scheerer, with a more humanistic soul, who saw the people during their happier moments, when they came home from their farms in the evenings to warm their hearts with wine and song:

The people are good natured, law-abiding and submissive. Their predilection for *basi* has already been mentioned. Sugar cane is planted in order to obtain, besides some muscovado and vinegar, mainly the raw material for [the] beverage . . . the islanders [call] *palek*. The chief place of its production is Basco, a locality favored by nature with a moderate extension of fertile level land, and the preparation and the sale of *palek* from here a not unimportant branch of industry, while its consumption in general is very far from constituting a degrading tribal vice; it is simply the beer of the hard-working Ivatan people. After the day's work in the fields is done, they like to gather in friendly reunions in their houses where, seated on long benches around the room, they engage over a pot of this *palek* in animated conversations, exchanging stories and songs. Everyone present is expected to make his contribution to the entertainment; if unable or unwilling to tell a story (*mangununung*) or to sing (*mayladyi*) he may have to redeem himself by a contribution in kind to the common stock of *palek*. At such occasions there are heard improvisations as well as songs handed down from ancient times. The topic of these songs appears to be mostly the social life of the clan, treated with a markedly moralizing tendency. They are characterized by a veiled significance, for which they are called *pinasinmo* (also *pinanmo*) that is, significant songs. Where this

veiled speech coincides in ancient songs with "old words" of almost forgotten meaning, the sense is apt to become enigmatical to a degree that even white-haired natives, reputed authorities on their language, fail to agree on a correct interpretation, which makes translation of such songs into English a matter of considerable difficulty. Besides the song (*ladyi*) sung at social gatherings, and which we may compare, in a way, to those of the Tagalog *balagtasan* and the Bisayan *kantahay*, they have others, sung in chorus by field-workers or by boatmen and called *kahusan*.¹³

IVATAN ORAL TRADITION

At present, there is no printing press in Batanes, nor a provincial newspaper. Batanes has no written literature other than the catechetical and other religious materials produced by Spanish Dominican missionaries in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Any Ivatan tradition that has anything to do with the literary art is oral. How much longer this oral tradition will continue to survive is impossible to say. Perhaps some of it will vanish altogether; the sturdier strains will probably continue to be adapted to changing situations and cultural confrontations. But it does appear to the present day researcher on Ivatan folklore that the extant oral tradition of the Ivatans is possibly the remnant of a once sturdy tradition. Much of Ivatan oral tradition is now to be obtained only from the memories of an older generation that feels that the new generations are no longer interested in it. It is in view of this that present efforts to record the unwritten tradition are valuable.

Ivatan oral tradition is divided into two general types according to the manner of their delivery: (1) the non-sung, and (2) the sung tradition.¹⁴

To the non-sung tradition belong: (a) *kabbūni* (riddles), (b)

13. Otto Scheerer, "Batan Texts with Notes," *Philippine Journal of Science* 31 (November 1926): 437.

14. This survey suffers from unavoidable limitations at present: (1) the research on the subject is still in progress, and only the *lagi* has been studied comprehensively; thus (2) the presentation of the other types is necessarily based on a still limited collection of material; consequently (3) the generalizations derived are tentative. See Florentino H. Hornedo, "*Lagi*: an Ivatan Folk Lyric Tradition; with Annotated Texts and Translation" typescript. (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1977).

pananahān (proverb lore), (c) *kabbāta* (legends), (d) *istorya* (tales), and (e) *sisyavak* (humorous anecdotes, jokes and tall tales).¹⁵

To the sung tradition belong the (a) *kalusan* (working songs), (b) *lagi*, (lyric folk songs), and the (c) *kanta* (song) of recent beginnings regarded by Ivatāns as not indigenous.¹⁶

Very little has been written about Ivatān oral literature. Otto Scheerer's "Batan Texts with Notes" published in 1926 is probably the earliest report on Ivatān oral literature.¹⁷ Norberto Romualdez followed by publishing the English versions of a *kalusan* and a *lagi* in 1936.¹⁸ A collection of proverbs was mimeographed at Basco and distributed to the different elementary schools in the Division of Batanes in 1947.¹⁹ In 1953 teachers in the elementary schools in Sabtang collected some proverbs, riddles, *kabbāta*, *lagi*, and *kalusan* which they incorporated in a typescript "History and Cultural Life of the Town of Sabtang and its Barrios."²⁰ In 1968 the principal of the Batanes National High School at Basco included in her annual report a collection of *lagi* with musical notations.²¹

Orlando E. Hontomin tape-recorded *lagi* from the towns of Itbayat, Ivana, and Sabtang in 1971. The informants of these tape recordings, except the one from Itbayat, have been subsequently interviewed by this writer concerning the history, use, and language of the songs.²²

15. A short line (ˊ) above an Ivatān vowel indicates that the marked vowel is sounded longer than usual. An apostrophe (') indicates an elided vowel.

16. The *g* followed by *i* or *y* is sounded like the *g* in the English word *gem*. Otherwise, it is sounded like the *g* in Pilipino.

17. Scheerer, pp. 301–41. This contains an account of a near tragic sea voyage told by Marcelino Fabro, and four *lagi* and one *kalusan*. These were collected by Scheerer while he was in Batanes as governor in 1908 and 1909.

18. See Charles E. Griffith, ed., *Progressive Music Series* (Newark: Silver Burdett & Co., 1936), vol. 2, p. xxii, and vol. 3, p. xvii. These were probably based on his interviews with Ivatāns residing at San Fernando Street in Binondo, Manila, in 1923. See Norberto T. Romualdez, *Philippine Folk Music* (binder's title), unpagged, with MS notes and notations for songs number 69 to 79. See also Hornedo's "*Lagi*," Appendix B, pp. 478–80.

19. This was originally collected by Batanes public school teachers in 1941. A copy is in the collection of this writer. This collection was probably the source of the Ivatān proverbs included in Dr. Damiana Eugenio's *Philippine Proverb Lore* (Quezon City: Philippine Folklore Society, 1975), also published in the *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review* 31 (September – December 1966).

20. A typescript carbon copy of this is in the collection of this writer.

21. The notation and transcription was done by Guillermo Alipio, music teacher at the Batanes National High School. Xerox copy of this is in this writer's collection.

22. Orlando Hontomin, at present assistant principal at the Batanes National High School, has generously lent me his tape-recordings. Aside from providing valuable information concerning Itbayat town which has been inaccessible to me, Mr. Hontomin

The data used here have been largely obtained from this writer's field research in April and May 1975, March–April 1976, March–April 1977, and occasional interviews with Ivatan informants in Manila.²³

THE NON-SUNG TRADITION

The classification “non-sung tradition” is a twentieth century description. It is now impossible to know whether in the remote past any of the extant prose narratives was ever in the form of ballad or epic. The Spanish Dominican missionaries and William Dampier, who have left accounts of Ivatan ethnography from the late seventeenth century, have left no record that they heard any narrative songs.²⁴ Today's informants have no memory of narrative songs either, except of a *pasion* which was sung from memory or from text.²⁵

The following descriptions and samples of various genres of the non-sung tradition were based on this writer's observations and the texts he obtained from informants, and occasionally from the available collections.

Kabbūñi. The Ivatan word for riddle is *kabbūñi*. It is generally employed by adults to amuse children, or by children to entertain themselves, and less frequently among adults who also use it for entertainment. The topics are derived from objects and phenomena from the Ivatan's natural environment. The riddle is usually made up of (1) the introduction *Būñi mo būñi ko aya* (Guess my riddle); and (2) the description of the object or phenomenon which is being presented for guessing.²⁶

has been my lead to informants in Basco and Ivana. Concerning Itbayat oral literature, which is poorly represented in my studies, I have been informed by Prof. Yukihiro Yamada of Kochi University, Japan, that he has written some papers on Itbayat folk literature. Unfortunately I have had no access to them until this writing.

23. The initial field work in 1975 was made possible by a grant from the Council for Living Traditions, Inc.

24. See William Dampier's account in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands: 1493–1898*, vol. 39 (Cleveland, Ohio: The A. H. Clark Co., 1962 [reprint of 1903–1909 edition]), pp. 98–103. See also Hornedo, “*Lagi*,” pp. 188–211.

25. A partial tape recording of an Ivatan *pasion* obtained from Catalina Abarquez of Sinacan, Sabtang, in 1975 is in the collection of this writer. Abarquez died in March 1977. She was over 80 years old.

26. The samples used here were obtained from Joaquina Color (b. 1906) and Ursula Hidalgo (died at about the age of 75 in 1966), both of barrio Savidug, Sabtang. Ursula was a blind grandaunt of this writer from whom he, as a youngster, heard many stories

1. *Buñi ñiyo buñi ko aya: lakmen mo vuchivot ko ta manghap ako su kanen ta.*²⁷ (Guess my riddle: hold my tail and I will get our food.)

Answer: *Tatari* (a sharpened stick used by the Isabtangs [inhabitants of Sabtang] for taking out boiled tubers from their cooking pot in order to prepare them for eating. In Batan island, it refers to a kitchen knife.)

2. *Buñi ñiyo buñi ko aya: laylayan an dekey pa, as an malkem dana am vahasan.* (Guess my riddle: dressed when young, undressed when old.)

Answer: *Unas* (sugarcane). Because of the frequency of typhoons in the islands, sugarcane plants are propped up by bundling together the growing canes with their own leaves. When the canes are mature, the leaves wound around them are taken away in preparation for milling.

3. *Buñi ñiyo buñi ko aya: an tayuka da yaken a vahasan am ipakan da yaken su tumañis a pakanen.* (Guess my riddle: after they undress me, they feed me to one that cries when fed.)

Answer: *Unas* (sugarcane). This riddle is normally added as a sequel to riddle 2 above. When Joaquina Color gave riddle 2 and she felt that it could not be guessed right away, she gave a supplementing riddle which added one more clue, "one that cries when fed," referring to the sugarcane mill. The Ivatān is familiar with the primitive mill operated by means of an ox or carabao. The wooden mill produced a lot of screeching sounds, as does the iron one when unlubricated. It is this sound that is referred to by "cries."

4. *Buñi mo buñi ko aya: makanāt ako su rakuñ a puget as makanat ako ava su rayem.* (Guess my riddle: I can carry a big log, but I cannot carry a needle.)

Answer: *Taw* or *ranum* (sea or water — the log floats, the needle sinks).

5. *Buñi mo buñi ko aya: asa ako a ka uyud a mavid a mavakes; mayvakag ako su digiaw; as anu taywara u kaddaw mo niyaken am pandidiwen ko imo.* (Guess my riddle: I am a very beautiful woman. My treasure container is made of glass. And if you love me too much, I make you suffer.)

Answer: *Palek* (An alcoholic beverage made of fermented sugarcane juice which the Ilokanos call *basi*; it used to be the only alcoholic drink of Ivatans. Glass jars, and bottles are preferred containers for palek storage.)

Pananahān. This is the Ivatān for proverb. As in other cultures, the pananahān is used for moral instruction or philosophical explanation for people of all ages. It reflects the common incidents

and other Ivatān lore. Some of the samples here were taken from riddles collected by Jorge Castañó, an elementary school teacher in Nakanmuan, Sabtang in 1953 and reported in the document referred to in footnote 20.

27. "Ñiyo" is the plural "you." If the person to whom the riddle is addressed is alone, "mo" (you) is used instead.

of daily life, elevated to the level of metaphorical language which by its analogy suggests the proper course of action or attitude. The *pananahān* is essentially metaphorical prose, and derives its meaning from both its internal content and the life situation or context in which it is told.

1. *Mayraraya ava u chirin*.²⁸ (Words don't bleed. Or, words do not hurt to the point of causing blood to flow.)
2. *Makadadam kamu ta ara ava u gi a tawa nu vahayang*.²⁹ (Be generous, for there is nothing that a knife cannot divide.)
3. *Uyud sawen u vata dawri nu nanma tau: ara ava u riyes a abu su viñidi*.³⁰ (The saying of the ancients, after all, is true: there is no sea current that does not have a reverse.)
4. *Aranu manngu u kalaveng mo nu ahub am chitahen na u katwaw na*.³¹ (No matter how you bury smoke, it will seek to come out.)
5. *Maypipisa u kapayyidi na du nangsidi nu pinagsid a vatu*.³² (Sometimes a stone thrown returns to hit the thrower.)
6. *Ara ava u asa a ka kāhasan a kabwan nu vuday*.³³ (There is no forest without a serpent.)

Kabbāta. A prose narrative corresponding to the English legend, the *kabbāta* is believed to be of ancient origin. It is usually narrated as part of the entertainment and social process during drinking sessions, or when farmers get together at the end of the day to celebrate the completion of a day's work (*napakyaw*); or when older persons wish to entertain children.³⁴

The *kabbāta* is exemplified by "Minamina," from Sabtang,

28. This was told by a mother to her son who came complaining to her that his sister accused him of stealing her toy from her box. Bienvenida Hontomin (b. 1912) of Savidug, Sabtang, explains that "words alone, no matter how hurting, are not to be taken as sufficient cause for making a lot of fuss, nor are they to be avenged with bloodshed."

29. Told by a grandmother to her granddaughter to advise her to share her sugarcane with another child.

30. Said among adults who were talking about the father of a young woman who used to reject a marriage proposal for her but who suddenly changed his mind.

31. This was taken from the conversation of a group of farmers about a long unsolved case of cattle rustling, which has been suddenly solved by the discovery of the identity of the culprit. (The next proverb is a sequel to this proverb, and was obtained from the same occasion.)

32. An ox owned by the rustler had fallen into a precipice, and was discovered too late to save its meat. The farmers saw in this a kind of just punishment for the crime previously committed by the owner, as it were his own action returning to punish him.

33. When Leon Hornedo (1892-1968) was councilor in the town of Sabtang, one among his colleagues was particularly difficult to deal with, and it was in reference to this man that he said this. The informant for this is this writer's father.

34. Mrs. Cristina Bacunal Hortiz (b. 1899) of Uyugan said that a *kabbāta* is supposed to be told only at night because it was believed that one who does it in the daytime would be changed into stone. Asked whether she believed that, she said "that is what people used to say."

"Pudalan" from Itbayat, "Baut" from Uyugan, and "Juan Miseria" from Sabtang.

The legend "Minamina" takes its title from the name of the central character, a folk leader and villain, the legendary ruler of the Isumnanga (inhabitants of Sumnanga) in western Sabtang. This was probably a long episodic story, but today only a few episodes survive. The original order of the episodes (if there ever was one) is unknown today. The chief informants from whom came the present narrative were Valerio Gabilo and Anastacio Barrios, both from barrio Sumnanga.³⁵

MINAMINA

Minamina was feared because he was brutal and strong. Numerous men were at his beck and call. No one had counted them, but if a bundle of reeds was thrown across their path when they passed, it was already ground to dust by the time the last man passed over it. They were also extremely efficient and fast workers. One day when Minamina looked out to the sea, he saw that a big school of *idek* was swimming on the coastal waters.³⁶ He ordered his men immediately to cut *hasu*.³⁷ In no time, the nets were ready — and the fish caught.

Minamina also organized a band of his strongest men, whom he chose by elaborate tests of strength. These men were called *umigyang*, and in time of aggression or siege by other tribes, these were the defenders of Minamina's people.³⁸ During one of these attacks, Minamina prohibited his people from leaving the confines of the guarded area. No one was allowed to go out except his daughter Idem. Her password going out and coming in was "*Si Idem ako da Minamina*." ("I am Idem, daughter of Minamina.")

Once, another young woman, a friend of Idem, had gone outside the guarded area. To enter, she used Idem's password. The guard let her in. However, it also happened that Idem herself was out at that time. And when she came up to the guard she gave the password "*Si Idem ako da Minamina*." The guard told her Idem had already entered and accused

35. Valerio Gabilo is now a school teacher in Sinakan in eastern Sabtang. Anastacio Barrios, when interviewed in Sumnanga in March 1975, was at that time the barrio captain of the place.

36. *Idek* is a silvery grey fish valued for its excellent taste.

37. *Hasu* is a plant that yields strong fiber for weaving fish nets and fishing lines. It is still used today.

38. The *umigyang* was defender of the *Igyang* or *Idiang*, a natural rock fortress used by primitive Ivatāns as refuge in times of siege. To this day, every town or barrio has an *igyang* of its own with its accompanying legends.

her of being an impostor. She was therefore taken prisoner, and in fulfillment of Minamina's decree, she was beheaded.³⁹

Until his last days, Minamina continued to commit the atrocities his people feared and hated him for. One day, a man had been caught throwing farm dirt down the lower end of the farm. Minamina told him he would spare his life if he was willing to do him a favor. The man agreed. So Minamina tied a rope around the man's waist, gave him a jar of gold, and ordered him to descend from the top of a very steep cliff facing the sea, and hide the gold in a natural niche at the middle of the cliff. When the job was done, the man signalled to be pulled back up to safety. Minamina did so. When the man was just about to reach safety, Minamina chopped the rope, and as the man went hurtling to his death at the rocky base of the cliff. Minamina laid a curse upon his newly-hidden treasure: "As this man has fallen to his death, so may it be with anyone who dares to steal my gold."⁴⁰

His final day came by his own making. One day, he went out fishing without bringing enough bait. He outraged his young companion by slicing a chunk of flesh from his calf to be used as bait. The boy had no choice, but his heart burned with fury against Minamina. He told his brother what had happened.

When Minamina again invited companions to go fishing, the young men went. Once out in the deep sea, the old man asked one of them to come near him. As he started to bend forward to cut the calf of the boy for bait, the other lad struck the old man's back with a knife; and as he turned to see what had been done to him, the other boy struck a second and mortal blow upon him. Thus was his end. And it is said that the young men were honored for ending the reign of Minamina, a terror to his people.

Another kabbāta with primitive features is the legend of Pudalan. Unlike the "Minamina" which is primitively realistic, "Pudalan" (titled after its main character) is didactic and romantic. The version used here was obtained from Itbayat by Orlando Hon-tomin in 1969.

PUDALAN

Pudalan and his brother Vaknang were half orphans, and they grew up under the care of their mother. Pudalan, although older, was weaker and of gentler disposition, while Vaknang was the stronger and more promising of the two. The mother made no secret of her preference for the younger

39. Today, people of Sumnanga point to a place called *Pinangtevan* which means "the place where the head was cut off."

40. People of Sumnanga still point to the niche, which can be seen from the sea, but not one is known to have dared to climb and see what is in there.

son. When she prepared their food, Pudalan was fed with wild gabi and dried fungi, while Vaknang was fed well.

Vaknang was a good brother, and he managed to share his good food with his brother. But when their mother found this out, she was furious. To top it, when she divided the goats between the boys, the healthy ones were given to Vaknang, and the sickly to Pudalan. And when Pudalan's goats continued to grow more sick and died, she blamed Pudalan for everything.

Being unable to bear further his mother's persecution, Pudalan left secretly and disappeared for a long while. And it was thought that he was dead; and his mother was content.

But then, it began to seem to Vaknang that there was someone who came nightly to feed his goats secretly. He suspected Pudalan. So one night, he hid himself behind a mound of hay and waited. Soon, Pudalan appeared to feed the goats. Vaknang came out of hiding, and hugged his beloved brother in a warm reunion. And for a while, they continued to meet secretly.

But their mother was a crafty woman, and she soon knew that Pudalan was still alive and was in touch with Vaknang. She said she did not want to see Pudalan ever again. After Vaknang told Pudalan the truth, Pudalan decided to go where his mother could never more see him.

Pudalan took his goats, bid his brother good-bye, and walked away over the placid sea.⁴¹ Vaknang tried to follow his brother but he could not, and he was left behind in his misery by the edge of the sea. Before Pudalan was too far out, Vaknang asked whether they would ever see each other again. Pudalan said, "Yes, I will be back; but it will be a long time before we meet again." And then he was out of sight.

Vaknang was beside himself with grief, and he became more sick everyday. And in his final moments, in delirium, he could say no other word but the name of his brother Pudalan.

Alone and old, the mother lived in a house on a hill west of the present town of Mayan (Itbayat). She did not live long after Vaknang's death. After her death, people say, the hill became haunted and enchanted. Nights there have been when there were processions of light on top of the hill, and there, they would say, was Vaknang going around searching for his brother Pudalan.

Unlike the two previous kabbāta which bear features of pre-hispanicity, the epical narrative "Baut" bears definite Spanish additions. The name "Jose" has been added to the name Baut; and there are, in fact, Spanish characters featured in the story.

41. It is not known how he obtained another set of goats, nor by what power he walked over the sea.

Informants for this story were Valeriano Valiente of Uyugan and Elias Loreto from Sabtang.⁴²

BAUT

Jose Baut was a native of Uyugan in the Batan island. Even as an infant, he showed extraordinary strength by pulling out the nails on the floor of his parents' house using only his tiny fingers. And he had a great appetite to eat. His father was both frightened with the child's strength and annoyed with his voraciousness.

One day, when Baut was still a young boy, his father asked him to go with him to the forest to cut lumber. While there, he told the boy to stand under a huge tree which the father was felling. It was his job, so the father told him, to catch the tree when it fell. When the tree fell, the father thought Baut killed, and he quickly left for home. The man and wife sat down to eat without their son. But while they were still eating, they heard noise outside. When the father went out to investigate he saw his young son carrying on his shoulder the huge tree he thought had killed him — trunk, branches, and all. So the father grew more frightened.

But Jose was of gentle disposition in spite of his frightful strength. And he was sensitive, too, to his father's dislike for him. So he thought of leaving home to find his own fortune elsewhere.

Baut made a boat, and when it was ready, he sailed away rowing with incredible strength that sent the boat at great speed. He landed in Cagayan on the northern coast of Luzon. When he came ashore, he met a man whom he begged for food and shelter. He was accepted and given the task of clearing a jungle to be made into a farm. The following day, to the great amazement of the employer, the job had been neatly finished; the trees and bamboos had not been cut but uprooted. Asked how he had done it, he would not reveal his secret; and so his employer spied on him and the secret was soon out — Baut's extraordinary strength. The master thought of bringing the young man to Manila to enter him in the contests.

In Manila, Baut played opposite a Spaniard reputed to be the strongest man in Manila at the time. The point of the contest was driving a large flat-ended bronze cylinder into hard dry ground. The Spaniard drove his halfway and Baut drove his so deeply that the upper end was not visible above ground. His prize was a choice between travelling over the country, or to Spain — all expenses paid for. He chose the latter.

In Spain, he entered the contests; and his most amazing feat was a fight with a lion. He easily vanquished it by holding its jaw and tearing it off from the beast.

42. Valeriano Valiente is at present a school supervisor in the Division of Batanes.

"Juan Miseria" is evidently a medieval morality tale which came into Batanes through Spanish missionary activity. In its present form, it is known both as a play and as a *kabbāta*. As a play, it has no script. The story is told to a group of performers and roles are assigned or chosen. When they go on stage, they improvise their lines. As *kabbāta*, it is merely told as an ordinary story intended to stress the value of eternal things over material rewards. The informant was Leopoldo Felicísimo of Malakdang, Sabtang.⁴³

JUAN MISERIA

Juan Miseria was a blacksmith and cobbler. Asked to repair the sandals of Christ by St. Peter, he accepted the job in exchange for the Lord's heavenly rewards. When confronted by Christ, he asked for three magical powers: (1) that anyone who stole the fruits in his orchard would get stuck on the trees, and would not be able to get down unless he granted the permission; (2) a magical power for his bench which would make it impossible for anyone who sat on it to get away from it without his permission; and (3) a strong magical box capable of containing anything he wished to put in no matter how great the quantity, and that nothing put there could get away without his permission. Christ granted all.

Juan Miseria had been pestered regularly by devils, including Satan, to accept magical powers in exchange for his soul. It was during the visit of the archdevil that his retinue of devils fed on the fruits of the orchard of Juan. And it was also on one such visit that the powers Christ gave him began to prove their worth. A riot exploded at the orchard as the devils burst into demonic curses and whining upon discovering that they had been trapped. Satan, too, was beside himself with misery bargaining for his liberty because he had sat and gotten stuck on the magical bench. Juan took tremendous pleasure in the torment of the infernal intruders until he exacted from them a vow never to pester him again.

But Satan still had his pride to save, for the conflict between him and Juan had become a contest. Juan thought it unwise to give himself up to anyone less powerful than he. He found reason to put the devil to the test and so he agreed to accept the wager on his soul if Satan could put all the devils in hell in the small box Juan showed him. Satan promptly ordered all the devils in hell to enter into the box. Finally, Juan had to argue Satan into the box, reasoning that he was also a devil in hell, and that

Elias Loreto (b. 1900) is a farmer from Sabtang who now lives with his children in Pasig, Rizal.

43. Leopoldo Felicísimo played the role of Juan Miseria when this was presented as a play during the Sabtang town fiesta in 1953. When interviewed in 1975, he said he got the story from Tranquilino Calma (deceased) also of Malakdang.

his promise would not be fulfilled if he did not enter into the box himself.

Safe inside the box, the devils soon discovered the trick. Even the archdevil could not get out of it. And Juan Miseria gloated over his box and the confusion of the devils whom he tormented with beating and insults. Finally, the devils, having been thoroughly humiliated and terrified, and not knowing what other powers and tricks Juan might have, agreed to cease bothering him thereafter. Juan opened the box and the devils departed in great haste and terror.

But Juan's days were not eternal, and the day came for him to die. When he found himself at St. Peter's gate, the heavenly gatekeeper recognized him, and regretfully informed him that he had no more reward in heaven because he had already gotten it on earth. And the gate was closed against him.

Finding his way to the other direction, Juan came to a huge threatening gate. He knocked and discovered that certain precautions had lately been introduced by the infernal porters — souls seeking admission to the infernal chambers had to be properly identified. Juan promptly identified himself as Juan Miseria and the name was passed on with terrifying recognition until it reached the depth where Satan was. Satan roared the eternal command to keep the gates shut against the man.

Juan crawled to his eternal destination in abject misery — to a place "that is neither hot nor cold," having been neither committed to God nor to the Devil.

The *kabbāta* being unwritten is impossible to date accurately. So far, the only evidence of date of the tradition is to be gleaned from the substance of the narratives. "Minamina" for example, even in its fragmentary form reveals a primitive order. "Pudalan" is of a primitive mold too. "Baut" shows evidence of Hispanization in the name, events, and places used. Whether the Hispanic presence is a Spanish addition or graft into an older story is not known. "Juan Miseria" is evidently Spanish.

The settings of "Minamina," "Pudalan," and partially "Baut," are real localities in Batanes; even the names sound indigenous. "Juan Miseria" and partially "Baut" have foreign settings and characters.

Istorya. This genre includes a number of short narratives of more or less known origin with more or less true historical foundations, often exhibiting elements of the ludicrous, the fantastic, and the frightful. It is usually intended for entertainment, or entertaining instruction. Other stories belonging to the *istorya* type are about people's reported encounters with ghosts which sometimes account

for certain superstitions. Others are of adventure, of which one was obtained from Marcelino Fabro sometime about 1909 and published by Otto Scheerer.⁴⁴ English versions of a few *istorya* from Sabtang and Batan islands follow.

THE FIRE-EATING GHOST⁴⁵

A man from Malakdang (in Sabtang) used to stay on the farm with his family during the week but on Saturday afternoons, they would go to town so that they could hear mass the following day.

One Saturday afternoon, when his family was all set to leave for town, the man declared that he was not going.

"But you will be alone here," said his wife. "Will you not be afraid to be alone here at night?"

"No," the man retorted. "The only thing that can frighten me is one that eats fire."

Seeing that he was determined to stay behind, his family left for town.

When evening came, he ate a simple meal and prepared to retire. The only light inside his hut was the stove fire on which he cooked his meal.

As he sat idly lighting his cigar with a firebrand, he became aware of company. A dark figure was picking up the embers in the stove. He tried to keep himself calm, reassuring himself that indeed there were no fire-eating creatures. He watched with increasing curiosity at first, and then with terror, as the last embers disappeared in what seemed to be the gullet of a fire-eating shadow. His hut was now very dark except for the light of the firebrand he was holding. He threw the firebrand at the shadow, saying, "There is one more." And the shadow brought the burning end to what seemed to be its mouth. And then the ember was gone.

The man was seized with panic. He rushed out of the hut and headed for the dark trails through several hills to the town till he fell half-dead with exhaustion at the doorsteps of his house. His family rushed to meet him. They asked him what had happened, but he could not speak. It was not until morning that he was able to tell what had terrified him almost to death.

After a narration of this story, the storyteller and some listeners usually propose explanations for the appearance of the fire-eating ghost. Some say it was God's way of punishing the man's pride. Others say it was his guardian angel's way of getting him to town that night so he could attend the Sunday mass.

44. Scheerer, *Batan Texts*, pp. 306-32.

45. The writer first heard this from Leon Hornedo (1892-1968) and later from Orlando Hontomin. The version used here is the one from Hornedo. Both informants are from Sabtang.

Another istorya is traced by storytellers to the town of Ivana for its origin. Although it is a cynical commentary on superstition, it is generally told for amusement. The following version was taken from Mrs. Vicente H. Loreto from Savidug, Sabtang.

THE MAN WHO WOULD NOT ALLOW HIS PIG TO BE BUTCHERED

Pedro owned a pig that had grown quite big. His compadre, Domingo, suggested that it was time to have it butchered, but Pedro refused. Domingo, however, was not to be put off so easily, and so he repeated the proposal several times. But all was in vain.

One night, Domingo invited Pedro to go fishing with him as the tide was favorable. Soon they were out in the deep sea, fishing in the manner Ivatans call *mayavavang* (fishing with hook and line in a boat on the deep sea at night).

The sea was calm, and as they waited for fish to pull their lines, the *tataya* (small boat) rocking gently, lulled Pedro to sleep. This was a chance Domingo had been waiting for. He then set to work out a plan he had made.

Suddenly a loud clap of the *panupitan* (bamboo clip for holding the fishing line temporarily) signalled that a line had been given a strong pull. Pedro was jolted awake. Domingo seconded the bamboo signal, saying that Pedro should pull up his line and haul in his catch.

Pedro held his line, felt its tension to estimate the size of the catch, then became hesitant. "The fish is either dead, or it is very small," he said. "It is not tugging at the line."

"Pull it up anyway and find out what it is," Domingo suggested.

Soon, Pedro saw that he was pulling up a small dripping black object. In the dim light of the stars, he figured out the form of a soaking feathered black creature. He was silent.

"What is it?" Domingo asked.

"A dead black bird," Pedro said.

And a long silence followed. Pedro sat motionless. He would not bait his hook again, nor would he cast his line again into the water. And when he spoke, he said he was through with fishing. They should go home.

"Why the devil do you catch a black bird out here in the sea at night? It's a bad omen, they say," he said. "Whose death could it presage? Yours or mine?"

Pedro was silent as they rowed back to shore. When they parted ways homeward, Pedro said sadly, "Perhaps it's I the black bird has come to forewarn. Before I die, I'd like to taste my hog's meat. We'll have it butchered as soon as possible."

And so they did, with Domingo keeping to himself the mystery of the black bird.

Sisyavak. This means "joke," either practical or verbal, or both. It is intended to amuse people by causing laughter. The usual method used to achieve this is by creating the ludicrous by presenting the incongruous, the patently false statement, or the exaggeration of a fact to the proportions of an impossibility or an improbability. It is usually in the form of an anecdote. *Sisyavak* is generally circulated among adults in social gatherings, and during working time when a large group of people are together. Telling such jokes during work is supposed to lighten the tedium of labor. Here are three examples.

THE TURTLE ON WHOSE BACK A CORAL REEF HAD GROWN⁴⁶

A gang of boatmen were rowing against adverse current off the northern point of Sabtang Island on their way to the island of Vuhus when suddenly, the sailors — most of whom were veterans of the sea and were familiar with all the features of the sea's face in those parts — were startled. Threatening bursts of breakers signalled the presence of a dangerous reef. "Did a reef sprout here overnight?" they asked themselves. For lo and behold, a coral-crowned, barnacled and seaweed-covered reef now appeared right where the puny boat was about to pass.

With a quick stroke of the rudder, the pilot made the boat veer to one side to escape the reef. As they passed along, the men saw what even seemed to be a moving coral reef — it was an ancient turtle on whose back a coral reef indeed had grown!

THE MANAU WHO CAUGHT FISH WITH HIS FEET⁴⁷

A *manau* was standing motionless, poised and ready to run and cast his net at any school of fish that came within his reach. Suddenly, he saw at a distance a big school of idek that had come up to swim playfully on the shallow waters. The fisherman lunged forward in a mighty thrust; he was a very strong runner. In no time, he cast his net, drove the fish toward it by stamping his feet mightily on the water. Then he drew his net up. To his surprise, he found nothing in it.

Disimayed, he turned to go. But lo and behold, before him lay the broad silvery sheen of numerous dead fish on the water! His feet had been so strong he had stamped them to death as he was driving them toward his net.

46. Informant was Mariano Gabito from Savidug, Sabtang.

47. A fisherman who used the *nanauy* ("flying net") attached on both ends to the tips of a pair of bamboo poles. This was also obtained from informant Mariano Gabito.

THE FISHERMEN WHO CAPSIZED⁴⁸

Nemesio and Macario were fishing on a tataya out on the sea of over a hundred fathoms deep one day, when suddenly big waves upturned their boat, and the two men were thrown into the sea.

Before long, Nemesio saw a shark coming towards them. "Harden your flesh," he shouted to Macario, "for a shark has just passed me by; and it is indeed a mighty shark, I think, for as it passed by me my *kanai* (a peasant coat woven from stripped-and-dried banana leaves) rustled (as if it were crisply dry, although it was already soaked in brine).

"Don't worry," reassured the tall Macario. "I have my feet planted on solid ground!"

THE SUNG TRADITION

Because there is no indigenous collective name for the Ivatān folk song traditions, the term "sung tradition" was coined as a general name for the *kalusan*, *lagi*, and *kanta*, to distinguish them from the "non-sung tradition." Except the *kanta*, the *kalusan* and the *lagi* are probably of pre-Hispanic origin. Although the first definite record of the existence of Ivatān folk songs was made by Otto Scheerer in 1908–1909 when he recorded the texts of four *lagi* and one *kalusan*, there are internal and external evidences that these were in flower during the Spanish era, and may have had their origins in pre-Hispanic times.⁴⁹

While the *kanta* can be sung by a lone singer for his personal entertainment, with or without the accompaniment of a guitar or banduria, the *kalusan* and the *lagi* are always sung in a social context: the *kalusan*, because it is always by a group of workers; and the *lagi*, because it is always sung by a singer addressing himself/herself to others really present before him/her.⁵⁰

48. Told by Nemesio Hubenes, a fisherman and farmer from Chavayan, Sabtang.

49. See F. Hornedo, "*Lagi: An Ivatan Folk Lyric Tradition; with Annotated Texts and Translation*," typescript (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1977), pp. 188–211.

50. The texts used as examples especially under *lagi*, were obtained by this writer generally from his field research in March, April, and May 1975, except the ones from informants Marta A. Vaso and Inocencio Ponce which were from the tape recorded collection of Orlando Hontomin.

The social nature of the *lagi* appears to be similar to what Fr. Antoon Postma has noted with regards to the *Ambahan* of the Mangyans of Mindoro. Gregorio Delatado recalls that in his youth, in addition to the social occasions when *lagi* was sung, certain persons on their way to the farms addressed songs to persons who chanced to be within hearing distance. Any person who heard such singing was expected to answer appropriately in song. (Mr. Delatado was born in 1901, grew up in Ivana, married in Itbayat

Kalusan. The working song is called *kalusan*. It is normally "sung in chorus by field workers and by boatmen" as Scheerer noted. Teams of men sawing lumber have also been observed to sing it. It is at present a vanishing tradition. Only a few have been recorded; and it is unlikely that many more remain unrecorded because most of the well-known *kalusan* singers have died, and the younger generations have only a memory of having heard the melodies but, do not remember the lyrics.⁵¹ It has been fortunate, however, that Norberto Romualdez recorded in 1923 the notation of a rowing song sung to him by Atanasio Dapilan, a farmer and fisherman from Sumnanga, Sabtang.⁵² But Romualdez left for posterity only the notation and his English adaptation of the lyrics.⁵³ Teachers in Sabtang recorded from Dapilan himself the lyrics of a *kalusan* in 1953.⁵⁴ When the text of this was combined with the notations of Romualdez, both notation and lyrics fitted together, and so by conjecture, the text recorded in 1953 might indeed be the original text heard by Romualdez which he failed to preserve. The combination of the Romualdez notation and the 1953 text is the one used here for illustration (see p. 409).⁵⁵

During better times of the *kalusan*, it was made up structurally of a prefatory invocation called *vachi*, which was sung by a soloist called *mayvachi*, and the body of the song called *kalusan*.⁵⁶

The *kalusan* is sung alternately by a song leader called *manlachi*, and a chorus of workers (rowers, farmers, etc.) In the traditional procedure of singing, the *manlachi* (who is also usually the *mayvachi*) sings each line alone. After each line the chorus repeats after him, and so on until the entire song is completed. Following is a farmer's *kalusan* recorded at Ivana in May, 1975.⁵⁷

where he lived for over forty years. He now resides at Basco where I interviewed him in April 1975. His grandfather, Jose Cabcaban, mother, Potenciana Cabcaban Delatado, and his sisters, Natividad and Adela, have been *lagi* and *kalusan* singers. The last two were my informants in Ivana in May 1975.)

51. See Hornedo, "*Lagi*," Appendix A.

52. Dapilan died in 1963 according to his wife, who still lives in Sumnanga and was interviewed by this writer in March 1975.

53. For the Romualdez notation, see Griffith, *Music Series*, p. xxii. See also Romualdez, *Folk Music*, notation No. 72. Cf. footnote 18.

54. See footnote 20.

55. Combining of notation and text has been done by this writer.

56. Information is from Natividad D. Estrella (b. 1897) of Ivana. She is herself a *kalusan* singer.

57. Sung by Natividad D. Estrella, Adela D. Adalla (b. 1910) and Carmen V. Delatado (b. 1929), all of Ivana.

VACHI

*Tut kod' ganit ko suhu pinanawdi chu,
 Rawraw da u yaken, kayukay chu pay ñiya naraw du lugan:
 Dehdang nu hañit nu tuhu pa aya di manghayu.
 Jesus mo Apu am ichasi m' pa yamen
 A tu mo aya mavuya a mapya aya su kavatuy.*

I owe to my weakness my being last,
 Hindmost am I, I have just awakened, but already the East is alight:
 Light of heaven for one who has not yet begun clearing the farm.
 Jesus Lord, have mercy on us
 Whom you see here well lined up.

KALUSAN

<i>Un am Jesuyus mo Apu</i>	Yes, Jesus Lord
<i>Un am ichasi m' pa yamen</i>	Yes, have mercy on us
<i>Un a 'tu mo aya mavuya</i>	Yes, whom you see
<i>Un a mapya aya s' kavatuy</i>	Yes, well lined up
<i>Un as maypiyisa ta pa</i>	Yes, let us for once
<i>Un a maypinakduhan:</i>	Yes, exert extra effort
<i>Un as panbiyidan ta pay</i>	Yes, let us work past
<i>Un si 'tu ta aya nadnaren</i>	Yes, the one alongside us
<i>Un a nauvey a daku</i>	Yes, the large nauvey tree
<i>Un a dumpuyun madagpiñit</i>	Yes, surrounded by tough
<i>Un a kuday nu vuchid</i>	Yes, roots of cogon
<i>Un a duhuyusuhuten</i>	Yes, interwoven with
<i>Un ni duhuyus nu apat.</i>	Yes, the shoots of wild ferns.
<i>Un as maychalusan kamu</i>	Yes, sing a <i>kalusan</i>
<i>Un ta daytu s' mavuya ko</i>	Yes, for I see some
<i>Un a mayrayarayawadin</i>	Yes, who are slackening
<i>Un a kaidit da du ifisan</i>	Yes, watching the farm fringes
<i>Un as ala ya kunta pay</i>	Yes, let us hurry a bit
<i>Un ta ichalu siya</i>	Yes, to speed it up
<i>Un am maypiyisa ta pa</i>	Yes, let us for once
<i>Un ta dilbi ñiyo si araw</i>	Yes, work fast for
<i>Un ñia dumuib dana</i>	Yes, behold the sun
<i>Un gi papa aya nu idaud.</i>	Yes, it is now setting on the horizon
<i>Un si araw u inulay,</i>	Yes, the sun's will be done,
<i>Un as bahayan dana paru y'</i>	Yes, and is this the farm's upper edge
<i>Un si mariyarilalaw?</i>	Yes, which is now seen?
<i>Un am bahayan kunu aya y'</i>	Yes, but no, it is not;
<i>Un ta si deyemdem a umañip</i>	Yes, it is the cloud creeping over
<i>Un di maunung a tukon</i>	Yes, the mountain range,
<i>Un a tukuyon di Mavatuy.</i>	Yes, the range of Mavatuy.

UN AS KAYALUHEN
(Kalusán)

Informant: Atanasio Dapilan

from: Sumnanga, Sabtang

Notation: Norberto Romualdez

Single Voice

Un as ka - ya - lu hen, ka - ka - lu - hen,

Chorus

Un si pa - ya - wa - ri, pa - a - ri - hin,

Solo

Un nu - u ak - ma di - wi - ya - a - ten.

Chorus

Un as pa - a - ya - wa, pay - pi - sa - hen;

Solo

Un as pa - a - ya - wa, pa - a - la - ngen,

Chorus

Un si wa - ya - a - vat mo - o - o nay.

Translation: Yes, let us hurry, let us hurry then. / Yes, we pull the oars with rhythm, so let it be. / Yes, let it be by rowers like us. / Yes, we pull the oars with rhythm, for once let it be. / Yes, we pull the oars with rhythm, let us pull. / Yes, the oars, your very oars now. (F.H.H.)

Lagi. This is what Ivatāns consider as the best of their folk songs and folk poetry traditions. It is a lyric folk song. It is always sung by a single singer who is never accompanied on a musical instrument. The celebration of any happy or important event is occasion for the singing of *lagi*. The principal social events when the *lagi* is used are (1) marriage-related events, and (2) death-related events. The other social events involving *lagi* singing may be put under the general heading of get-together or reunion parties, homecoming or welcome parties, birthday celebrations, and the like.

For the purpose of this survey, the *lagi* may be classified according to topics: (1) love, and marriage-related songs; (2) songs of social complaint, self-pity, self-effacement, and pleas for help; (3) songs of praise for persons; (4) social advice or "wisdom" songs; (5) social songs of general import, sentimental, thank you, and good-bye pieces; (6) death and mourning songs; (7) songs which, for lack of better knowledge regarding their ancient use, may be called "ritual songs"; (8) nonsense songs; (9) drinking songs; and (10) religious songs.

From the point of view of theme, the *lagi* shows that because the Ivatan is poor, he seeks his own security in the protective bosom of society and counts social solidarity as a major value. Marriage is not an affair between two people alone, but a creation of family ties in a wider circle of people. For survival and the good life, wealth, talent, wisdom are indispensable, and so are courage, strength, and virtue in community. This is why the *lagi* tradition is essentially humanistic and social. But it is a poetry tradition born out of every individual's realization of social dependence. It is a tradition born of individuals' utterances of their personal perception of their need for society and their vision of the society they desire. Therefore, their poetry has been essentially lyrical, for the Ivatān bard has been less interested in events, and more in the significance of the events for him and his society. A limited sampling of *lagi* maybe seen on pp. 411-17.

Kanta. The generic name applied to all types of popular songs other than the *lagi* and the *kalusan* is *kanta*. According to time of inception, they may be divided into (1) those whose date of inception is not definitely known, or is not recent enough to be within the recollection of the present living generations, and (2) those of recent inception which people have learned in school, radio, and other such sources. Because these recently circulated

ANU KAPIPADAUNG KO

Singer-Informant: Maria Hortiz
 Notation: Prof. Macario Fronda

Town: Uyugan



1. A - nu ka - a - pipa - da — u — ung ko - o na - ya du pi - tu - ku - na - an
2. ña taw - ri a may - su - nga — su - ngay — ku - u - nu - u si anak ni mu - na - mo - on
3. du da - a - tay na d'Uyu — ga — an a - as i - yu - di chu na a - ya - a,
4. a - ngay ko tumi- deb di — ya — as ka - sa - vat ko na a - ya - a
5. a - a ma - ha - ap si — ya — u ma - sen a sa - ha - ke - eb,
6. sa - ha - keb ni a - ma — ko — as ka - sidu ko na si - ya - a;
7. ka - pu - sek ko na si — ya — ay — du ma - hung - tub a du - u - yuy,
8. kangay ko a ku - munu - kun si — ya — du pa - aña - vi - i - chi - va - an
9. nu va — hay ñi a - ma — ko — o — ta di - i - pavel - sa - yi - i - i
10. su ma - da - ah - met a chi — ri — in — du ka - hawa - a ko niya - a - a
11. a - a - nu - u may - cha - ay - cha — ay — si ma - nganak ñi mu - na - mo - on.

Translation: Each time I look down from the top of the hill, / the offspring of the *munamon*, it is said, is swimming / on the plain of Uyugan; so I go home from the field, / I go and see her, and then I go home / to get the finest net, / the net of my father, and I go to catch her, / I put her in a deep coconut shell, / I go and keep her on a cornice / of the house of my father, for one may not say / a harsh word because I fear / to hurt the feelings of the child of the *munamon*.

MAPAW AKO NA KANU NAPNU DU VAKAG

Singer-Informant: Juana Cataluña

Town: Ivana

Notation: Prof. Macario Fronda



1. Ma a - paw a — ko nay ka-nu nap - nu du — va - kag — a ñi -
2. dut-dut mo a di - na - a - hu — ri - is a maya-chi - pa - ay - wa - yam — du nad -
3. kel a ka da ay sa mo — a mi - na - ay pa - na - a - na - nud — nu mu -
4. yu - u - dag a — i - na wa — i na wa a nu va a tu tuk —, pi - cha -
5. lu - u - gi - su - u - gi - ta - an nu pi - yi - i - na - ta - a - pa - tan — a vu -
6. hu - ung nu ta — di - ña —, a vu - hu-ung nu - ta a - di - ña —; ñi - ya -
7. pa - a - chi - du — va - ngi — ko a mi - na - na - ryo nu - u la - sa — a i -
8. na - wa ko nu — a - asi —, nu a - si - i nu tu - gi - tu gi —, ñi - la -
9. da ang ko nu — mu - tin —, ña ñi - ku - u - ru - sa an ko nu — pin - su -
10. wa - an a ta — va - yay — du ka - di - i chu a du - u - li - van — a - ya -
11. a - a ma- pay — da - nung — su hu - vi - id du pu - u - ti - han —, ngu - ri -
12. i i ku - nu — su mad — may du - yu - u ka - he - e - na - kan.

Translation: I have become lighter than a basket / of beaten cotton in the presence / of so many relatives all heavily adorned / with double-strand necklaces of gold and precious beads; / heavy earrings of gold hung / like leaves upon their ears; / but here I sit in their midst with a necklace of *lasá* seeds / interspersed with the (humble) seeds of the *tugitugi* / and cheap green beads of glass, adorned with a cross / made of squash shell because I know not / how to tie properly a string around my neck, / which is the proper and decorous thing for a young woman.

DUMHEB AKO A DUMAÑIS

Singer-Informant: Juana Cataluña

Town: Ivana

Notation: Prof. Macario Fronda



1. Dum-heb a - ko a du - ma - ñis ta pi - dil - ban ko si - ra
2. u ka - de - de e - van ko pa si - ra yan ka - de - de - key
3. a min - ted da - a - na si - ra mi - nay pa - ka - chi - chi - vaw
4. du ka - ya - chi - pu - hu - wan a ka - ya - a - nu - nu - kan;
5. ñi - ya u ya - ken a - ya di mi - na - ya - ka - chi - vaw
6. du - yu - u pa - he - wa - lan a ka - ya - di - but - bu - tan;
7. vu - ken a ko na sa - wen du pi - yi - na - a - sa - pat
8. a ya - vat du ka - din - di - ñan a - bu dana s' ma - ka - da - li
9. di ya ken a din di ñin du nadkel a ka day sa ko.

Translation: I hide my face and weep, for when I see / all my childhood friends, / they all have grown taller than / the tops of the trees in the groves of *chipuhu* and *nunuk* trees; / but I, poor me, have not grown taller than / the blades of grass on the pasture. / Now, I am like the cast-away / driftwood which none of my many cousins / will ever find and bring home.

LIPUS KO AM PANAHAHANEN KO AVA DU PIHUDHURAN

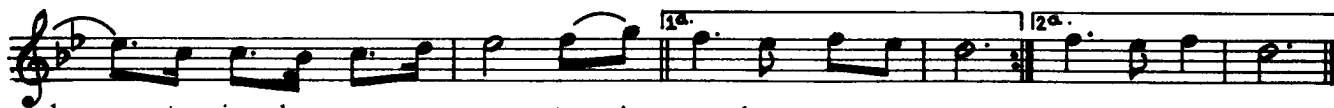
Singer-Informant: Marta A. Vaso

Notation: Prof. Macario Fronda

Town: Ivana



1. Lipus ko am pa - na - ha - nen ko a - va d' pi - hud - hu - ran —
2. Lipus ko am pa - na - ha - nen ko a - va d' pi - hu - su - ngan
3. Lipus ko am pa - na - ha - nen ko d' kama - di - ryan a ta - key —
4. a kabu - u - wa - an nu - u suma - li - sa - lid si - ya —



1. — ta riya - len nu a - raw, ta ri - ya - len nu a - raw;
2. tanchian pa - na - la - sa - lan nu — vu - hung nu ka - yu.
3. — ta s'turi ko ha - ha - wen a yanan nu ina - vu - ngan na,
4. — a di a vu - u - ke - e — en a ya - ken.

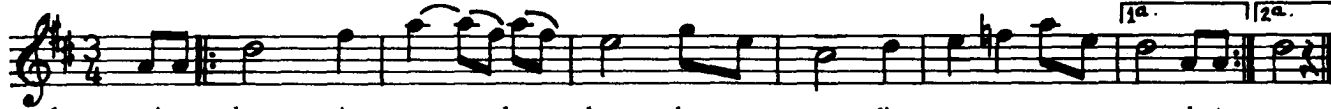
Translation: I don't make my relative pass on the ridge of the hill / because there the sun is too hot. / I don't make my relative pass through the ravine / lest a leaf should fall upon her. / I make her walk on the hillside away from the sun / where I think there is ample shade, / where no one can touch her other than me.

ANU KAPIPAHABAS DA NU ADIPASAYAW

Singer-Informant: Maria F. Galarion

Notation: Prof. Macario Fronda

Town: Mahataw



1. Anu ka - pi - pa — ha — bas da nu a - di - pa — sa - ya - aw du te -
2. yed - ted nu — va — hay mana daw - yen mo — si - ra - a ta ma -
3. nu - ma - nu — uk si — ra ni A - pu ta si — Di - yo - os. Vuha -
4. wan du va — lu — gan, vuha - wan du ka - ad - pi - da - an, miru -
5. wa ka ma — ay-vi — di du a - dan mo a kata — chi - ra - an, ta da -
6. ya - a - sa — ya-ang - en ko imo - o nu da — a - ya - a, nu da -
7. ya nu mo — hu-ung - en, nu da - ya nu mo — hu-nge - en.

Translation: When the *adipasayaw* pass / under the eaves of your house, serve them wine / for they are birds of our Lord God. / Gold of the east, gold of the west, / return to your former dwelling place / for I will place upon you an offering of blood, / the blood of a piglet, the blood of a piglet.

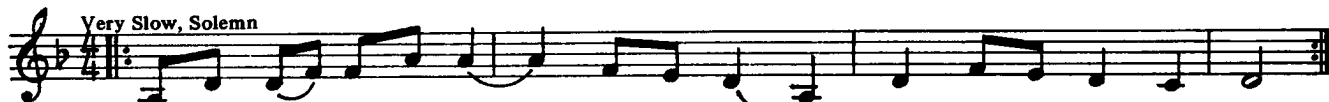
PAKASIYASI CHU DAW A PINUDANUM DA

Singer-Informant: Inocencio Ponce

Notation: Prof. Macario Fronda

Town: Itbayat

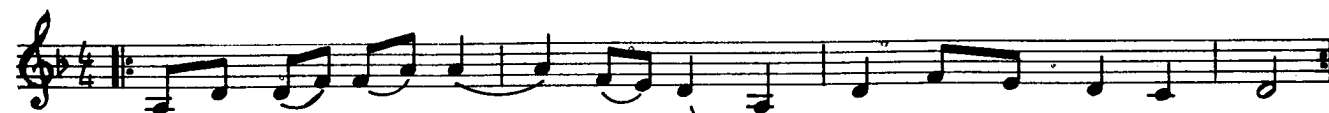
416



1. Pa - ka - si — asi — chu — daw — a pi - nay - pu — da - num da
2. du vi - tu — di loy - ña — to — a di chu - u — a makap - nuyi
3. su ku - mu - yen — ni kapa - a - it pa - ka - si - i a - si chu daw
4. a pi - na — ha — ka — aw - da di lu - ko - on di loy - na - to
5. a di may - vuvuh — nu — si — ni tu - hu - san — ñi wa - kay,
6. a di may - vuvuh — nu — si — ni tu - hu - san — kali - rang.



7. Ma - yang - hen — a — va — ali — du pir - mi - yan a pung - pung an nir - vahak ni ida - ud.



8. Pa - ka - a — si — asi — chu daw — a sum dang dinyo a li - pus!
9. Ma - yang - hen — a — va — ali — ta aray ka - hakma nay tu - ru

10. a - ya a — ma — na — la — sa - al di - i sa ru - wa - ap
 11. nu tu - yun — ni — a — ma — as vi - di - i - in ni i - na;
 12. ama - yang - hen — a — va — ali du kabun pinay - vadingiaw - ran ni tinayi.

Translation: Pitiful am I whom they have made to fetch water / from the well uphill where I cannot fill / the shell of the *kapaít*. Pitiful am I / whom they made to farm the hilltop / where the camote tops cannot grow, / where the winged-pea tops cannot grow. / All is in vain because the northwind always blows everything away. / Singularly pitiful am I among you, my relatives! / Nothing avails, for like a leak / in the *sarwap* roof, it is said, drips / the lessons from my father, the words of my mother, / but all in vain for my intestines have no convolutions.

ANGU ICHAKAYU MO

Singer-Informant: Maria F. Galarion

Notation: Prof. Macario Fronda

Town: Mahataw

1. Angu i - cha - ka — yu — mo a mayasi - pu - pu ngot a - ya — du hu -
 2. yud - hud nu — tu — kon? Kayu a - ko a — nu - nu - uk a ga -
 3. ya - ga - ya — pu — nan nu na - ya - mud a — vu - yi - it a dia
 va - da .. va — da — wit su pa - ñid an milu — lu - va - at.

Translation: What kind of tree are you with leaves so lush / on top of a hill? I am a *nunuk* tree / on which perches the pigeon with well-oiled plumes, / whose wings cannot be ruffled by storms.

songs are of non-Ivatan origin, they have not been included in this survey. It is the first type that is regarded as part of Ivatan oral tradition.

The fact that they are called *kanta* suggests that the tradition may have had its beginnings during the Spanish period, or soon thereafter. José María Peñaranda noted in 1830 that the Ivatans did not know "even the rustic musical instruments of the Igorots."⁵⁸ He was referring to the older generation of Ivatans. And he added that "the younger generation have begun to adopt those of the Ilocos and Cagayan, and are familiar with our (musical) instruments."⁵⁹ There is no specific mention of the *kanta*, but it is just possible that learning to play Peñaranda's "musical instruments" happened along with learning the songs they accompanied. The *kanta*, unlike the traditional *lagi* and *kalusan*, is accompanied on musical instruments.

The known *kanta* are few, and they are passing into disuse. Portable phonographs, and occasional radio music are now filling the place the *kanta* used to have in the lives of the people. But in their fashionable time, people used to sing them for entertainment during leisure time, to serenade (*harana*), and to accompany dancing during wedding celebrations. The usual accompaniment is on the guitar or banduria, but during wedding celebrations the violin is preferred.

The typical *kanta* is a romantic, sentimental love song. Following are the lyrics of what is probably the most widely known *kanta*.⁶⁰

58. Jose Maria Peñaranda, "Islas Batanes," in *Documentos de Batanes*, vol. 3, p. 428. (This document is a typescript copy of a collection of manuscript letters, notices, and reports. A copy is at the Dominican House at Basco, Batanes.)

59. Ibid. Musical instruments now in use in Batanes, some of which were introduced there sometime around Peñaranda's time, are the *tadavang* (drum); *ravil* (violin); *guitara* (guitar); *kuritang* or *yukilili* (ukelele); banjo; banduria; *pandarita* (tambourine); *kastinihas* (castanets); and *tintin* (bell). Of course, harmonicas, church organs, pianos, and other such musical instruments available in the market today are also now being used there, except those which are either too expensive or need high electrical power. There are also in use today bamboo and wood and shell instruments that may be of native origin or imitation/adoption from elsewhere: *padakapak* (bamboo clapper); *kareten* or *riril* (a bamboo instrument provided with a tongue which produces a rapid series of clapping sounds as it grates against a revolving toothed wooden wheel); *chinaravil* (bamboo cither); *pito* (bamboo-and-wood whistle); and *agulung* or *vadyadung* (a wind instrument made of a large marine shell). Some of the above, e.g., the last two, are chiefly sound-producing instruments, rather than instruments for producing a "rhythmic sequence of pleasing sounds."

60. For the notation of this song, see Bureau of Public Schools, Music Section, Instruction Division, *The Filipino Soul in Song* (Manila: Bureau of Public Service, Communications Media Division, 1962), n.p. I have heard this song being sung in all the municipalities on the islands of Batan and Sabtang.

ASA KA AHEP A MAHANEBNEB

<i>Asa ka'hep a mahanebneb</i>	One cool night
<i>Du kariyal nu vuhan,</i>	When the moon was shining,
<i>Kanalsal nu apun</i>	When the dew was falling
<i>Du huvuk nu kamuhamuhan.</i>	In the midst of the garden,
<i>Nu taul ko a naykandado</i>	My padlocked heart
<i>Pinuspusan mo a iwangan</i>	You forced to open
<i>Makayamot du avid mo</i>	By means of your beauty
<i>Abus' kapalit.</i>	That is without equal.
<i>An' makavuya ka pa' nti</i>	If you will ever find
<i>Su maypavid pa kanyakan</i>	Someone fairer than me
<i>Am karuwam mo ava yaken</i>	Please do not abandon me
<i>Du huvuk nu pandidiwan.</i>	In the midst of pain.

Ivatan oral traditions seem to be in their twilight years now, and it is just possible that a greater part of this body of oral literature is already beyond the possibility of retrieval. The call of the moment seems to be to save from irretrievable loss what is still there — as the Tagalogs put it, *Huli man at magaling ay maihabul din*. And the work has just begun.