

## A MORPHOLOGICAL STUDY OF ITBAYAT FOLKTALES

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### 1. PURPOSE

The central theme of my paper is to analyze some of the Itbayat folktales from the structural point of view. I shall attempt to demonstrate that the folktale is a structured means of communication as is language, and that there may be a certain pattern of folktales favored by a people, a pattern which may reflect their world view.

### 2. LANGUAGE AND FOLKTALES

Before we analyze the folktales, I would like to examine the structure of the following three different sentences:

(a) The monkey cheated the turtle.

It is clear from its syntactic relation that the meaning of the sentence is: the monkey is the subject who cheats and the turtle is the object who is cheated.

(b) The chicken cheated the turtle.

(c) The deer cheated the turtle.

In Sentences (b) and (c), 'chicken' and 'deer' are used in place of 'monkey' of Sentence (a), but the function of 'chicken' and 'deer' is the same as that of 'monkey', i.e. SUBJECT, which occurs in the initial position of the sentence.

Suppose we use 'carabao' or 'Pedro' in place of 'turtle' of Sentence (a). The syntactic function of these is again the same as

that of 'turtle', i.e. OBJECT, which occurs in the final position of the sentence.

Words like 'killed' and 'loved' may be placed instead of 'cheated' without changing the function of 'cheated', i.e. VERB, which occurs between the subject and the object.

All the three sentences above enjoy the same structural pattern: S-V-O. The items (S, V, O) are significant emic units, while the specific items, 'monkey' ( $s_1$ ), 'chicken' ( $s_2$ ), and 'deer' ( $s_3$ ) for the subject position; 'turtle' ( $o_1$ ), 'carabao' ( $o_2$ ), and 'Pedro' ( $o_3$ ) for the object position; 'cheated' ( $v_1$ ), 'killed' ( $v_2$ ), and 'loved' ( $v_3$ ) for the verb position are all individually different etic units.

Emic:	/S	+	V	+	O/	Pattern
Etic	$\begin{bmatrix} s_1 \\ s_2 \\ s_3 \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} v_1 \\ v_2 \\ v_3 \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} o_1 \\ o_2 \\ o_3 \end{bmatrix}$	Sentence (a) Sentence (b) Sentence (c)

Folktales are, unlike the individual sentences, composed of several or more sentences, and consequently, of a series of events which constitute a whole. If we regard the three sentences above as three different stories, then S will be an emic event unit, i.e. a motifeme. The motifeme (S) is a functional unit abstracted from various etic events ( $s_1, s_2, s_3$ ) which may well be designated as allomotifs. The functional units V and O are also motifemes which have their allomotifs:  $v_1, v_2, v_3$  and  $o_1, o_2, o_3$  respectively.



Emic:	/S	+	V	+	O/	Pattern
Etic:	$\begin{bmatrix} s_1 \\ s_2 \\ s_3 \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} v_1 \\ v_2 \\ v_3 \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} o_1 \\ o_2 \\ o_3 \end{bmatrix}$	Story (a) Story (b) Story (c)

The motifemes S, V, O, are in a syntactic relation, while allomotifs of S ( $s_1, s_2, s_3$ ), for instance, are in a paradigmatic relation. The substitution among allomotifs therefore will not affect the function of the motifeme S. A motifemic structure is the meaning of a folktale to the people of a culture.

### 3. DIFFERENT STORIES WITH AN IDENTICAL STRUCTURE

I will illustrate my point by presenting four folktales chosen at random from some one hundred stories so far collected. (Refer to the sample texts in the appendix.)

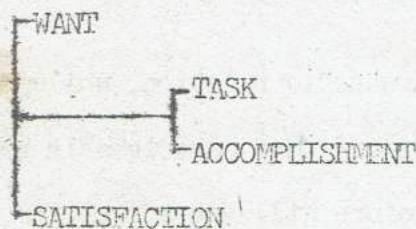
#### SAMPLE TEXT 1: Yaayen

When you read Sample Text 1, you will notice the following events: Yaayen wanted to marry, he found a beautiful girl and wooed her, she gave him an assignment, i.e. to sort out the corn grains "from the sand" in the required space of time, he turned to numerous birds for help, the beautiful girl found the job finished, and she married Yaayen.

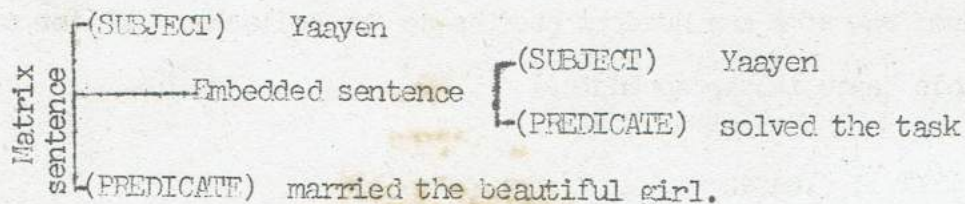
We can pick out some significant events out of the many that happened in this story: Yaayen wanted a wife (WANT), the girl gives an assignment (TASK), which was completed (ACCOMPLISHMENT), and Yaayen married her (SATISFACTION). The structure of the story can,



therefore, be illustrated as in the following.



This structure looks like that of a matrix sentence which includes an embedded sentence as a modifier. That is, the whole story that is composed of a series of events is now reduced to a single complex sentence.



#### SAMPLE TEXT 2: Anpanay

The events of Sample Text 2 are: the father ate his children whenever his wife gave birth (WANT), the mother had to protect the baby from the father (TASK), she put the baby in a cave in the mural cliffs by the shore, the father found the place and told the girl to hang down her golden hair to take her food, but she found the father holding on to the end of her golden hair and coming upward to her, she cut her hair, and the father fell down into the sea and died (ACCOMPLISHMENT), and the mother and the girl enjoyed their reunion (SATISFACTION).



We find again the same motifemic structure as Sample Text 1: a matrix (WANT)-(SATISFACTION) which contains an embedded (TASK)-(ACCOMPLISHMENT).

SAMPLE TEXT 3: Haxok who was taken by an anito

To outline Sample Text 3: the aunt sent Haxok down to the valley to get water but Haxok was taken by the anito (WANT), the aunt went to look for Haxok, another anito came and instructed her to slaughter a head of pig (TASK) which was not effective, so the anito gave her another instruction, that is, to get a white orchid which is called haxok and go to the cave and ask to open its mouth (TASK), the mouth opened (ACCOMPLISHMENT) and the first anito who took Haxok soon died and all the bones of the first anito changed into gold, so the aunt and Haxok lead a happy and wealthy life (SATISFACTION).

We see again a structure identical with those of Sample Texts 1 and 2.

SAMPLE TEXT 4: Podaalan

The following is the outline of the story. Mother always gave untasty food to Podaalan and Podaalan felt discriminated against (WANT). He wanted to escape the maltreatment (TASK), and decided to stay out in the field. Having offered a sacrifice (ACCOMPLISHMENT), Podaalan's want was most probably fulfilled (SATISFACTION).

The motifemic structure of the story is the same as those of Sample Texts 1, 2, and 3.



The characters, events, and their results in Sample Texts 1, 2, 3, and 4 are different, and therefore, these stories seem completely different in their appearance. Yet the motifemic structure of the stories is the same: a matrix structure (WANT)-(SATISFACTION) plus an embedded structure (TASK)-(ACCOMPLISHMENT). Besides the stories examined above, there are many more stories which have the same structure. It may therefore be said that this is the favorite pattern of folktales among the Itbayat.

The theme of child-discrimination as in Sample Text 4 above is most popular and on everybody's lips. Since it is a very popular theme, I assume that the stories of the theme may be the expression of thoughts of the Itbayat people. It is therefore worthwhile to examine more stories of this theme, i.e. discrimination, in a more detailed way.

#### 4. STORIES OF DISCRIMINATION

The stories of discrimination appear to be both similar to and yet different from one another. They are 'similar' in that almost all discrimination stories in my collection include the giving of cheap food to the discriminated, the chore of feeding the goats, the loss of the hurt-feeling of the discriminated main character, goat-dividing, and so on. They are 'different' in that all the stories show some differences in the naming of the main character, the way the discriminated gets lost, the branching or development of embedded smaller stories, and so on. I would like to add three more stories of discrimination.



## SAMPLE TEXT 5: Podaalan and Gomaram

The story goes: The mother hated Podaalan and always gave him poor lunch, he felt sorry for himself, not satisfied with the treatment he was getting (WANT), (he thought of getting rid of this discrimination (TASK)), but he struck himself at the stomach with his own ax while chopping down trees in the field. He died and was buried. Podaalan after death still saw Gomaram who was in the world of living persons, Gomaram broke a promise with Podaalan that Gomaram will not tell their mother about their seeing each other in the field, and because of this violation Podaalan divided their goats and went into the sea with his share of goats (ACCOMPLISHMENT), and finally Podaalan was relieved of the hurt-feeling he suffered from the discrimination (SATISFACTION).

The motifemic structure of the story is the same as in the stories introduced above.

## SAMPLE TEXT 6: Valmang and Orayen

The main character is Orayen who was treated differently by his mother and felt discriminated against (WANT). He decided that he would leave home to avert the maltreatment (TASK), he was swallowed by a big fish. Valmang saw again Orayen in the state of anito when she fed their goats. Orayen gave instructions to Valmang so that the father could catch the big fish, cut it open and pour the medicine on his bones. He became a live person again, the mother was punished and the discrimination was terminated (ACCOMPLISHMENT). They lived a



happy life (SATISFACTION).

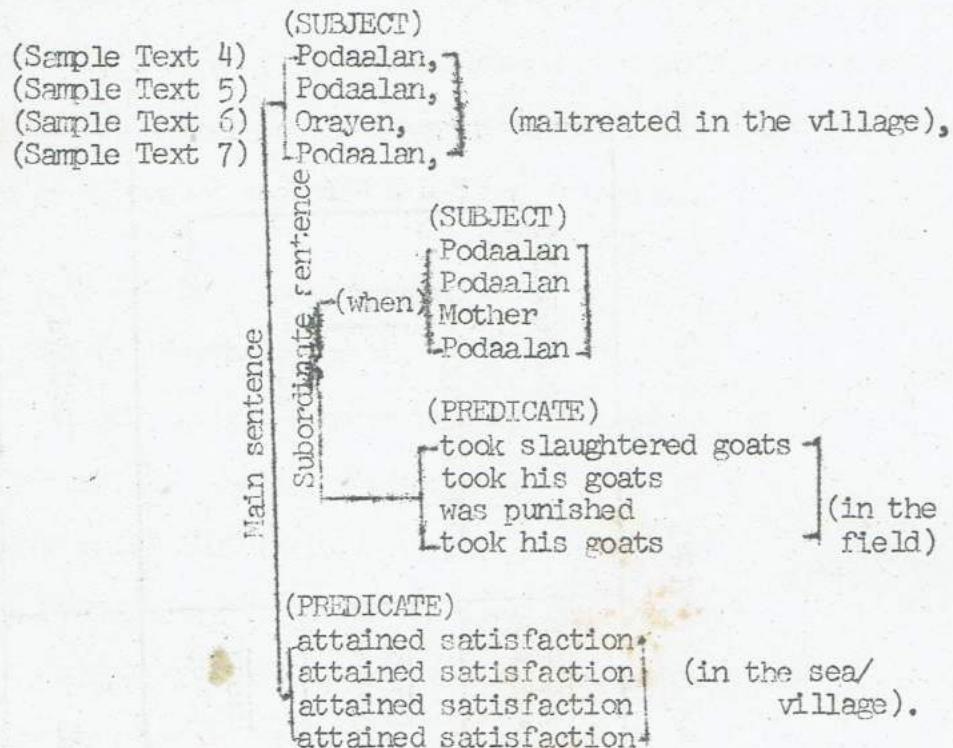
SAMPLE TEXT 7: Podaalan and Orayen

The story is as follows. The discriminated is Podaalan who was given only left-over food for his lunch (WANT). He left Orayen and headed towards the sea to avoid his mother's maltreatment (TASK). Orayen saw him again early in the morning when he who was now anito, came to feed goats in the field. They divided their goats and Orayen guided Podaalan and his wife to her place and they had a farewell meal (ACCOMPLISHMENT). Then Podaalan, the anito, invited Orayen to their residence where they were leading a married life (SATISFACTION).

As we have seen, the structure of the stories of discrimination is identical: the subordinate structure (TASK)--(ACCOMPLISHMENT) is embedded in the main structure (WANT)--(SATISFACTION). The actual items in the complex structure may vary from story to story, but their functions in the structure remain the same.

If you reduce the whole content of each story of discrimination to a single complex sentence, you will get the following and you can see more clearly the syntactic and paradigmatic relations of the items in the structure.





It is interesting to note that the anito, the transform of the main character, can go to the eternal immortal world, that is, the depths of the sea, only when it is offered an animal sacrifice, and that the anito may return to person only when it is offered a human sacrifice. Consequently the animal sacrifice and the human sacrifice are in complementary distribution, and the phenomena of transforming to fish and the returning to person are also in complementary distribution.

The interpretation that the main character transform to fish at the final stage as shown in Table 1 must be taken with some reservation since there are no straight forward descriptions concerning the habitant in the world under the sea. It is true, however, that



<div> <div> <div>WANT</div> <div> <div>MATRIX</div> <div> <div> <div>TASK</div> <div> <div>EMBEDDING</div> <div>ACCOMPLISHMENT</div> </div> </div> </div> </div> </div> <div>SATISFACTION</div> </div>	PATTERN	EVENT	MAIN CHARACTER (MC)	TRANSFORM OF MC	HABITAT OF MC
		discrimination ( <u>kanen</u> food)	person ( <u>tawo</u> )	alive ( <u>mavlhay</u> )	village ( <u>hili</u> )
		sacrifice ( <u>kadin</u> goat)	departed soul ( <u>anito</u> )	dead ( <u>haliman</u> )	wilderness ( <u>takey</u> )
		non-discrimination ( <u>soyot</u> felicity)	fish ? ( <u>among</u> )	blessed ( <u>maradinep</u> )	sea ( <u>hawa</u> )

Table 1. Model of the story of discrimination



the main character goes toward the sea when he is finally satisfied.

Table 1 is a structural representation of a complex but single life course of a person in the story of discrimination and it may be expressed by a complex sentence as in the following.

PERSON (tawo) who is  
 ALIVE ( mavihay) and the habitant of  
 VILLAGE (hili), when he feels invidious  
 DISCRIMINATION (kanen), transform to  
 DEPARTED SOUL (anito) who is  
 DEAD (naliman) and the habitant of  
 WILDERNESS (takey), and when he (now anito) takes  
 SACRIFICE (kadiñ); transforms to  
 FISH (among) who is  
 BLESSED (maradinep) and the habitant of  
 SEA (hawa), which leads to the  
 NON-DISCRIMINATION (soyot).

##### 5. COSMOLOGY OF THE ITBAYAT

The structure of the stories of discrimination as summarized in Table 1 seems to be the fundamental life principles or cosmology of the Itbayat people who have cherished and handed down those folktales from generation to generation.

A person is thought to be destined to die and becomes an anito which wanders about in the wilderness or field. The departed soul



anito wanders in the field because the person dies with some worldly desires left unsolved or unsatisfied and therefore he can not yet rest in peace. Until the time these worldly desires are satisfied, the anito remains in the wilderness which surrounds the village of the living people, and affects or controls them in such a way that it actually prescribes the way of daily life for the people. The anito gives instructions to the people through such means as dreams, diseases, accidents, calamities, mysteries, or practical jokes. The healer (mamihay) or the massager (mangaptos) is supposed to interpret these happenings and give people appropriate instructions, so that the anito may be propitiated.

It is true that people are scared of the anito, but they sometimes take advantage of it particularly when they go hunting, fishing, or clearing the forests for farming. It is, however, the people's fundamental attitude that they try to avoid the anito and hope it will not return to them again.

I would like to call your attention now to the position of the anito in the world view of the Itbayat people. The anito is the being which is still lingering over the human world because of the unsolved worldly desires and yet is doomed to final death, namely, the world of perpetuity or eternity.

The anito therefore is ambivalent facing both the mortal world and the immortal one. The world of the anito may then be regarded as the overlapping area that is common to both worlds. It is in this area of ambivalence that the Itbayat people practice taboos.



Table 2 illustrates the various aspects of the life of the people under the three categories: the mortal world, the ambivalent world, and the immortal world.

The analysis above of the understanding of the world of the Itbayat presupposes that the three divisions of their cosmological world are static, static in the sense that the three worlds simply exist there as they are.

Itbayat Island surrounded by precipitous cliffs is referred to as a boat (avang). Then the whole cosmological picture turns to be dynamic. It seems that the people regard the northern tip of the island as morong (bow) and the southern end as odi (stern). The residents in the village inland are rowing the boat with oars. One of the oars extends to the east coast and the other to the west coast where there are ports, the outlets of the island towards the outside world of new information. The anitos, habitants in the field, are the pilots and crew who roam in the field and guide the course of life of the people in the village. The rowers (human beings) obey the demands of the pilots (anitos) to give satisfaction to the anitos, that is by offering a sacrifice. Being satisfied, the anitos release themselves from the worldly desires and depart for the final destination, the world of eternity, Jalemag, in the depths of the sea.

This is the cosmology of the Itbayat people.







## 6. CONCLUSION

We have examined the structure of some Itbayat folktales and the world view of the people. I believe that our examination has brought to light two points: (1) the favorite motifemic structure of the Itbayat folktales is that of WANT-SATISFACTION; although their actual features are seemingly quite different from one story to another, and (2) the structure of motifemes of the folktales is the reflection of the cosmology of the Itbayat people.

I acknowledge lastly two works which are convenient for ready reference for the present essay: Ikegami, Yoshihiko (1982): Kotoba no Sigaku (Poetics of Language) (Tokyo), and Dundes, Allan (1964): The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales (Helsinki).



## APPENDIX

SAMPLE TEXT 1: Yaayen

Teofila Cabal  
May, 1977

Once there were children in Karovooban, and they went to different places to look for their spouses. Later they were able to find their spouses in this certain town. Karovooban is as far as Riposed. One of them found a beautiful girl whom he liked.

Yaayen, the man, said that he would like to marry her. "I don't like to be your wife, because it is not yet in my mind", said the girl. The man thought of a way to make her marry him. The girl tried to make it difficult for him. She said; "You may marry me, but I have something for you to do first", "So, you come here again tomorrow", said the girl. What the girl did was to get much sand and mix it with plenty of corn grains, and when she finished that, the man arrived the following day, and asked, "What do you want?" "Separate the corn from the sand." Half of their house was filled with the mixture. "Separate that quickly because if it takes too long, I will not marry you," said she. "Yes, I will try," said the man.

There were many birds which were all his friends. When he looked at the corn and sand, it was clear that he could not separate them on time. So he said, "My birds, you get together here and separate this in a short time."

They arrived enmasse with their flapping sound clouding up the sky. "Oh, Jesus, you separate and you place there what you have separated", he said. In a short time, they finished separating them by pecking, because there were many birds. When the girl saw that, she was reluctant to marry, but could not do anything because of the condition she set herself. "All right, I have finished separating it, so what would you say?", he asked.



"Well, wait a minute for I am still going to think," said she. But it was useless for her to think of something else because there was the condition which was still effective. She finally consented to the agreement and he went to the parents to consult on what was the best thing to do. Later, it was decided and they married and stayed together in the house.

SAMPLE TEXT 2: Anpanay

Dominga C. Irifol  
May, 1977

Once Anpanay had twelve children, but every time they were born he ate them. Because the mother felt sorry that the children were eaten as they were born, she went to look for a cave that was facing the sea, and she finally found one that faced toward the sea where there was clean and shallow water. Then she went to the cave and delivered her child there, and she went back to the village because she feared that Anpanay might get to know the place where she usually went. The newly born child was alone near the seashore and everyday the mother came to feed the baby.

When the child was grown up to be a lady, she was named Olaawan because she had beautiful braided golden hair.

When Mother cooked food, she used to separate the better portion from their food and placed it under a banara leaf. When she went to the cave in the field, she took the best food to Olaawan. She went to the cave and said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food." And then she, Olaawan, brought down her hair and it produced the clink sound of gold.

Mother did this for a month. Anpanay was always watching her because she was choosing the best cooked food and took it with her to the field. "Where is she delivering our best food?" he wondered. Anpanay followed



her. The mother arrived and said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food", and Olaawan brought down her hair and the gold sounded 'clink'. Mother tied up the food with her hair and then Olaawan pulled it up.

The following day, Anpanay got some cooked food and went to the field (cave) in the morning and said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food". The father said it three time, but she did not let go her hair down. At the fourth time, she let go down her braided hair, but Olaawan was surprised to find that it was heavy for the father was holding on to it climbing up toward her. She cut at the middle of her hair and the father fell into the sea.

When the mother arrived, she said, "Hair of Olaawan, come down for your food". "It can not reach you, because I cut it for my father was coming upwards to me. I cut it and he fell directly into the sea", said Olaawan. "We have never expected this. So I'll go up and get you." Then the mother climbed up the rocky place to get her, and they went together to the field and went together back to the village. Their reunion was very good in their house without fearing anybody.

SAMPLE TEXT 3: Haxok who was taken by an anito

Raymunda Camacho  
June, 1977

The girl was named haxok (orchid) because haxok was used in persuading her who was taken by the anito. The aunt kept her only for a short period. When she grew bigger and she was about the size of the child, she could carry a coconut-shell container for half a gallon of water. She went to the place called Varit to fetch water, because her house was at the top of Karovooban.



"You go and fetch water," said the aunt, and she went to fetch water at Varit in the valley. Then, she went upward returning to her village, and the string of the container was cut. It rolled downward, and the child followed it. She cried because she could not catch it.

While she was crying, what I call kangdetan (anito) immediately saw her and said, "Why are you crying, I'm here". "Because the string of my water-container was cut." "You come to my place. Let's go", he said. The child agreed and they went to a cave in Pangengnevan. "You may know it, but I don't know where it is." And they went there and stayed there. The aunt who was taking care of her never knew this,

Another kangdetan, which is like the companion of hers and most probably an anito, went to her aunt and said, "Can you not find the child?" "No." "Then, kill your pig and prepare a share for the anito." This share, as you may know, is made of blood and fat that are plainly boiled. You don't chop but simply slice it.

"You take it," said the Kangdetan. "Take it because you will use it for persuading the Kangdetan of the cave, so that he will open the cave." The aunt took it to the cave but there was nothing, and she could not open it.

After a while, the Kangdetan came and said, "You get the flower of a haxok, the white orchid. Take it there and say 'Here is something for you, so open the cave'", said he.

It was a marvel. It was opened and the child who had been taken by the anito was already big, for he had fed her. Later on, the one who took her (and not the one who talked with the aunt) said, "I will stay here. You come often to see me. And when you see me facing the north, I am still alive", said he. "And when I face the west, you come to see me and get my bones, because they will be clinking gold".



It was true. The child obeyed what she was told and she was able to get the bones. That (gold) became their (her aunt and herself) means of livelihood. And this is all of the story related to me by your late aunt, Aplakaati.

SAMPLE TEXT 4: Podaalan

Juana T. Gordo  
February, 1971

Once there were a mother and a father who had two children, a boy and a girl. Everyday they went to give their goats leaves of trees as their food. The parents discriminated between their children's lunch: rice was for the girl and untasty yam for the boy. Because the brother resented this kind of treatment, he felt hurt. Since he felt hurt, he did not like to accompany his sister back to their father and mother. He remained in the field.

For three days the girl went to the place where their goats were but every time she arrived there, her brother had finished giving food to the goats and swept the floor of the goat-pen very clean. She returned to the village and told this to her mother. "You see where he is and ask what he did not like", said the mother. "I did not see him in person but I saw only what he had done," answered the sister.

On the third day, she saw her brother, and he said to her, "You go back to our mother and I'll not go with you because they discriminate between us. As the girl was looking at the boy who was turning his back and going away, the girl cried, "Shall we still see each other again?" He replied "We may see each other yet, but later." Seeing him leaving, the girl went back to the village and reported what had happened to her mother.



The next day, the father said, "Let's go and kill one of his goats for his share." So they killed one. After killing, they just left it in the field without eating it. The following day, they went to see the goat they had killed and found there was nothing there. They did not know if it was eaten by dogs or by the owner of the goat.

SAMPLE TEXT 5: Podaalan and Gomaram

Dominga C. Irifol  
May, 1977

Once there were children Podaalan and Gomaram. Their mother treated them differently. She gave Podaalan sweet potato for his lunch and she gave Gomaram yam for her lunch. They went to cut trees, and Gomaram said that she was given fried pork for her lunch, and Podaalan was given roasted mushrooms for viand. "You come here, brother, and let us eat together", said she. "No, I won't go with you, and you eat there because that was given to you as lunch by our mother and I will eat what our mother has given me for my lunch", said he. They ate, and after eating, they smoked. After smoking, they went to cut trees again.

For the first time Podaalan stroke his ax, it slipped off the handle and struck his leftside and on his stomach. When the sister saw it, she took off her clothes and tried it around his stomach so that blood would not come out. They went to the village and when they arrived at the village, he died. They buried him and Gomaram was sorry for her brother.

They had many goats near the seashore. "You cook lunch for me, Mother, because I'll go and see if our goats and those of Podaalan are still alive," said she. The mother asked her, "why do you go there, he might scare you?" "I am not afraid of Podaalan," said she and then went out. When she arrived there, the goats had just been fed with plenty of hay. "Who on earth is



kind to me to come and feed our goats?" she said to herself. For three days, they had been fed with plenty of hay when Gomaram arrived. She said, "I'll stay here." And she said to her mother, "Please cook something for my lunch, Mother, and don't expect me for supper. I'll stay in the field tonight, because I can not see one of the two goats of ours and Podaalan's which have big horns. I have to look for it." "Don't stay in the field for he will scare you", said Mother. "I'm not afraid of Podaalan", said she.

Then she went to stay in the field and at twilight she lifted the hay and inserted herself in it and went to sleep. When it was twilight (in the morning) she heard elaborate whistling. She was prepared for this occasion. Then Podaalan arrived and put down his hay, when Gomaram stood up and said, "I have guessed that I have a companion in feeding our goats. Please let us be together and talk in a comfortable way", she said. "Yes, even until you die we will remain and see each other here in the place where we have goats, but there is one condition, that you should not tell about me to our mother. If you should tell about me, that will be the end of our seeing each other," said Podaalan. So they were seeing each other when they come to feed their goats there.

The mother was wondering why her daughter always got plenty of food. "Who are you giving food and why do you stay where the goats are?" asked the mother. "Because I often see Podaalan." "So, you can still see him?" asked the mother. She answered, "Yes, I still see him at the place where our goats are." Podaalan already knew this. "Now, Gomaram, you have told about me to our mother, and therefore let us divide our goats, and that will be the end of your seeing me and this is the last time for me to see you too. We shall now divide our goats," said Podaalan.



Then Podaalan placed down a pole across their goats, and the goats for Gomaram were facing the east and the goats for Podaalan were facing the seashore. "Now, we leave you, and this will be the last time we see each other." "You go now," said he to his goats. And they went to the sea and their feet did not sink in the sea, and she also went but they had already left. She said, "Podaalan, shall we see each other again?" "We will see each other, but much later (far in the future)", he said and the Gomaram got her goats. This is the end.

SAMPLE TEXT 6: Vaknang and Orayen

Sandalo Salengua  
March, 1967

Once upon a time there lived a man and wife who had children. The children were called Orayen and Vaknang. Everyday their parents went to work. Every time the husband arrived, he asked his wife where Orayen was, and the wife simply said, "Maybe he is just around playing with his friends." Every time their father left their house for work, the wife treated their son and daughter so differently in everything especially in food, clothes, toys, and everything else. When she left them alone in their house or to their neighbors, she gave Vaknang rice for food (lunch) and she gave Orayen some sort of pig-food. But when they were alone (brother and sister) and when the mother did not see, Vaknang usually shared her rice food with her brother Orayen for she pitied him very much, but her brother refused everything that was offered to him because he feared that their mother would get angry. Orayen told Vaknang, "You eat whatever is given to you as mother told and I'll eat what is given to me by our mother no matter how poor it may be."



But Vaknang used to persuade him to partake in her lunch because she pitied him very much. Gradually Orayen came to know that their mother was treating them differently: she loved Vaknang much more than she did Orayen. One day Orayen told Vaknang that he would leave them. This is what Orayen said, "It may be better if I leave you for our mother does not love me as much as she loves you. She treats us so differently, for when she gives us food she gives you the sweetest food. Whenever she buys for us dresses and toys she gives you the nicest. So it would be better for me to leave you now and go where you can not see nor hear me any more. I will go and jump into the sea to be swallowed up by a big fish."

When Vaknang heard all this she began comforting him, who was determined to leave. She let Orayen have now some of her toys in order that Orayen would not leave them and this was what Vaknang said to Orayen, "Don't leave us, Orayen, for when you leave us I don't have a brother anymore and there will be no one who will feed our goats." Later, Orayen bade good-bye to Vaknang. He said, "Don't be lonely anyway, for you still have playmates other than me, and we still have our parents who will feed our goats. When our parents come back, you tell them that I left and went somewhere you cannot see me anymore for our mother doesn't love me as much as she loves you, and so good-bye." Orayen took his headgear and got started. Vaknang cried so hard holding onto Orayen's arm and clothes not letting him leave, but Orayen insisted on leaving.

When Orayen was already far on the way he still heard his sister crying after him. He waited for her. And then Orayen said to Vaknang that she should go back home for he was afraid their parents should scold her. But Vaknang followed him up to the seashore. Orayen said to Vaknang, "Go back now, our parents might miss you and it is getting dark."



You see already that big fish which, as soon as I jump in, will swallow me immediately." Then, Vaknang replied saying, "No, I will go with you." "Don't come with me but go home now," said Orayen. After a while, Orayen removed his hat, clothes, and pants, and dropped them one after another and the big fish swallowed them all. Then Orayen said, "Goodby, go home now and obey our parent's will." Vaknang replied, "Let's go home for I'll say to mother that from this time on she will treat you in the same way as me." Orayen didn't listen to this and he jumped into the sea, and the big fish swallowed him immediately and vanished.

Vaknang returned home crying hard. In the evening their parents arrived from work. Father asked Vaknang where Orayen was and Vaknang related to him what happened concerning Orayen's hurt-feeling due to their mother's treatment. Since Orayen was gone, naturally Vaknang had to go to feed their goats in the field and every time Vaknang went to feed their goats in the morning there was already hay newly hang. A few days after this, Vaknang thought of finding out who was doing the work for her without her knowledge, so one night she went to the goats' shed, and stayed there the whole night.. She hid herself in the hay and kept on watching. At dawn, the one who was giving the hay to the goats arrived. Vaknang immediately embraced him and asked who he was. The man answered, "I'm Orayen, your brother. And if you want me to come back and to be seen by all of you, you tell our father to prepare a big hook with a strong line and tell him where I jumped into the sea last time when I left you, and the big fish will swallow the hook as soon as he drops it. Once the fish is caught, he shall cut open the body and pour this medicine on my bones, and I'll return to be a person," replied Orayen.



So Vaknang obeyed all the instructions which Orayen had given her and so did her father. Thus Orayen was turned again into a form of person. After Orayen had returned, their father set a day for them to have a feast, and their father told Orayen to invite all their neighbors and their relatives as well. Their father told Orayen, "After the feast, you go to the field and get two fastest and biggest horses of ours." Being an obedient boy, Orayen went out for this: What their father did was to have one arm and a foot of his wife tied to the one horse and the other arm and foot to the other horse, and instructed the two horses to run on the opposite directions as fast as possible and to never come back so long as there was still parts of the one tied to their legs, or until when the wife's body was torn to pieces. From that time on, the family, Vaknang, Orayen, and their father, lived happily.

SAMPLE TEXT 7: Podaalan and Orayen

Andrea Ibanez

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Once there was a mother who had two children, named Podaalan and Orayen. They were keeping goats and everyday they had to go and gather hay to be hung for the goats. The mother discriminated between Orayen and Podaalan in the kind of lunch prepared for them: she gave Orayen the better food, while Podaalan was given the left-over food for his lunch as they went to feed their goats. Orayen said, "Take some of my lunch." "I'll not take any because I have my own," said Podaalan.

Later on Podaalan said, "You go to the village now and I'll go my way because our mother treats us differently, as she loves you more than me."



And so good-bye, and I'll go to another town." "Good-bye," also said Orayen, "and I'll go now, but Podaalan, Podaalan, shall we meet each other again?" "We shall meet again, but after a long time," Podaalan replied. Then Orayen went back to the village weeping as Podaalan went away.

Later on, when Orayen went to hang food for the goats, she said, "maybe Podaalan is still alive because our goats' food is still new. How will I be able to see Podaalan? Never mind. I'll go and gather hay today in order that I'll be able to see him and I will wait for him." And so she gathered hay there the whole day and in the evening she said to herself, I'll stay in the field so that I'll be able to see Podaalan."

Later on, at twilight, Podaalan came carrying on his head a bundle of hay, and went to hang it for the goats. And so Orayen woke up and went to embrace Podaalan. "Is this your body (person) or your anito?" said she. "It is not my person but my anito," Podaalan answered. So they conversed because they have longed for each other. And later on Podaalan said, "Don't tell our mother about me so that we'll see each other." "Oh yes," said Orayen. So she went to town.

And later on as they were seeing each other where they were feeding their goats, Podaalan said, "Let's divide our goats for I'll bring my share to my village." "Yes, but have a bigger share because I can not take care of all of them." "Yes, on that day, you and your sister-in-law come and fetch me to our house," said he. Later on Orayen went to pack up her things and mother said, "Why do you suddenly put things in order in the house and who will be your visitors and who are they who shall come?" Orayen did not tell. And later on the couple arrived and greeted their mother and then entered.



Then, Orayen went to cook their meal. They all sat for their meal. Podaalan said, "We shall all eat together." For we do not know if we all will see one another again." So they ate and when they had finished eating, Podaalan said, "Pack your things, Orayen, and we'll go." And she packed and her mother said, "Take me with you and I'll go with you." "Don't come with us and just stay here and we will come and see you here," Podaalan said.

They went towards the sea. So the neighbors said to the mother when they left, "It serves you right! Because you treated them differently." They bade her farewell and then left for their village in Jalemag.

The night came while they were already in Jalemag. Podaalan said, "Go ahead and sleep, Orayen, for you might be afraid of us." "Why should I be scared of you, for I can see your person, and you are my brother," said Orayen. "No, you must go ahead and sleep," Podaalan insisted. So she went ahead to bed but was only pretending to sleep for she was watching them secretly and she saw that the wife turned into a duck and Podaalan into a snake which curled around his duck wife. The end.