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Benguet Folktales: Bases for Tracing Family Bloodline?

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ABSTRACT

Many authors have classified folktales as fiction because these are just products of literary creativity. Also, authors say that they are not considered dogma or historical facts and they are generally the type of tales that fall in the category of fables and fairy tales. However, interviews, stories and local manuscripts show that folktales in the province of Benguet, Philippines might have actually happened; the characters in the stories may have existed. This study, therefore, is aimed at proving whether or not the characters in some Benguet folktales are real. Moreover, a deductive reasoning approach was used in this study to see if there are accounts, such as record books of families, which might prove the existence of the folktales' characters. Through purposive sampling, three Benguet folktales were selected in the study. Regardless of what magical or unreal events happened in the selected folktale, it was proven that the characters were real since their descendants are still living in most parts of Benguet. Compelling evidence also revealed that the aforementioned characters of the two selected folktales were directly related. Hence, it was concluded that folktales are nonfiction, however, it would still depend on where the story came from.

Introduction

Folktales in general are part of folk literature, which is more widely referred to as folklore (Lwin, 2015). Simply put, a folktale is a traditional story that has been passed on by words of mouth through generations and before writing systems were developed (Eslit, 2012; Lwin, 2015; Sayeef, 2019).

Furthermore, Sayeef (2019) said that folktales are universal in terms of their message, themes, and structures and hence have acceptance by people across the world. Usually folk tales carry some moral message or deductive lesson. It is also commonly seen that folk tales have a simple structure and style and use common simple style, structure, words, phrases and expressions. They are intended for common people but welcomed by all classes of people.

Also, Sayeef (2019) highlighted that folktales are generally confined within a community, region or country where authors are unknown or anonymous; and at a later stage, it is written and compiled by some other people and in other cases a folktale remains in its oral form. This is true in the province of Benguet where literate elders compiled several unpublished folktales and later shared it to members of the locality who might need it for both academic and non-academic purposes. Also, elders who did not go to school, still share tales; however, in an oral form.

In support, Dumanghi (2007) said that folktales in the locality have simple plot and rhythmic pattern. It included the stories of animals, and also human beings; drills or humorous stories that are meant for fun and nonsense; myths that explain primitive man's idea on the origin of the universe, gods and goddesses, and other pagan divinities, their contact with each other and their relationship to man. Included too are the exploits of heroes as shown in the epics, and how certain places or things originated through legends, and fairytales that reflect the lifestyle of the people.

A lot of Benguet folktales can be considered to be believable, that maybe they might have happened during times of old, but they might also seem impossible to believe because of the supernatural nature of events in the story.

For instance, the tale of the *"Birth of Apo Anno"* depicts the story of a mighty hunter named Anno, who became popular because of his mummified body. But what makes him famous with the other mummies of Benguet is that he was believed to be a son of a mortal named Togtogaka and a mountain spirit named Cuyapon.

"...how could that deer be the property of this woman when the deer grows wild and no one claims as his own...Togtogaka then suspected that the woman he was talking with was not a mortal after all..."-except from *"The Birth of Apo Anno"* by Picpican (2003).

The *"Tale of the Whirlwind Romance"* tells the story of how a man named Lawana met a beautiful woman named Saddip. Later they married each other and lived happily with their children. It is a common story happening even today; however, the tale says that they met in an event which is considered as an unusual incident.

"...after a strong whirlwind took all the things of Lawana, he went home and passed by a house. He a woman named Saddip, told what happened, and shocked after Saddip told him that she found the things of Lawana on the side of her basket after the strong whirlwind passed by their house..."

Another example is the story of *"How a Native Blanket Saved the Village"*. The story began long time ago when raiders from the North came to ransack the small villages of Benguet.

"...Insabyan of Panat, Suyoc ...went to the entrance road to their village in Panat and spread the blanket Aladdang on the way. When the bosos came to the place where the blanket was spread, they suddenly stopped and cowered in fear as if they have seen a ghost..."

The fact is that folktales also have the characteristics of literary creativity (Lwin, 2015), this causes them to often be classified as fiction by several authors. For instance, they are not considered dogma or historical facts (Oli, 2016) and they are just generally the type of tales that fall in the category of fables and fairy tales (Sayeef, 2019). Simply put, folktales are timeless, placeless, and even unreliable.

However, these three aforementioned stories stated names that might be proven to have existed (Apo Anno, Insabyan, Lawana, and others). Also, the stories mentioned that the characters have descendants and occupied places in Benguet, like *"... and they became as one of the lead families of Mankayan..."* and *"Since then Apo Anno became one of their revered ancestors"*. Given the fact that these three folktales mention names and places in real life and their endings state that a lineage of their kin might exist, it appears that it's too early to say that all folktales are fiction.

With this case, the researcher ought to investigate the three aforementioned Benguet folktales and find evidence to prove the existence of the characters in particular to look for some local history books and genealogy records in order to trace if the characters of the story have descendants that are still living today, simply to trace the family bloodline of the characters. Hence, the following questions are addressed:

- a. Who are the characters of the stories: *"Tale of the Whirlwind Romance"*, *"How a Native Blanket Saved the Village"*, and *"The Story of Apo Anno"*?
- b. Are there any records and books showing the descendants of the characters of the stories?
- c. How can one prove that folktales are not all fiction stories?

Literature Review

Benguet is among the five provinces of the Cordillera Administrative Region, characterized by the sloping terrain, rugged mountains edges and deep valleys. It is located in the southern part of the Cordillera Administrative Region (Sabugan, 2009).

In addition, Benguet Province is inhabited by two major ethnolinguistic groups namely: Ibaloi (Sabugan, 2009; Balangcod, 2017) and Kankana-ey (Sabugan, 2009). There are smaller groups named after the language they speak like the Kalanguya, Madek-ey, and Karao, but most of the people in the Benguet belong to the abovementioned two ethno-linguistic groups (Sabugan, 2009).

According to Cheng and Bersamira (1997), the Ibaloi is a large ethnic group that is found principally in the municipalities of Bokod, Kabayan, Itogon, Tuba, Tublay, La Trinidad and Sablan. Also, Picpican (2003) highlighted that Kabayan, allegedly one of the oldest settlements in Benguet, is a hodgepodge of people of different cultural origins. It is also acclaimed as the seat of Ibaloi civilization (Cheng & Bersamira, 1997; Picpican, 2003; Balangcod, 2017).

On the other hand, the Kankana-ey specifically occupy the municipalities of Buguias, Mankayan, Kibungan, and Bakun; they are also found in some parts of Atok, Kapangan, and Kabayan. Due to continuous movement and intermarriages, Kankana-ey are found in Itogon, Tuba, and other parts of Benguet (Subagan, 2009). In addition, the Kankana-ey of Benguet and Mountain Province trace their roots to the group of Malay people who travelled from the lowland areas. These Malays, followed the Amburayan and Abra rivers going upstream and finally reached a cave in Namiligan, now a part of Bauko, Mountain Province.

Moreover, it is indeed true that the province of Benguet has a cultural heritage which its people can be proud of. It has its distinctive, richly picturesque myths, legends, and tales. It also drags of its share of proverbs, riddles, and rhymes. Some of these were documented by both local and foreign researchers (DepEd-CAR, 2003).

The Kankana-ey evolved an oral literature which includes legends of places, tales about spirits guarding the natural environment, and bedtime stories for children (Subagan, 2009). While the Ibaloi, specifically Kabayan narrates the first people of the place were among the descendants of a couple who survived the great deluge when their improvised coffin-like dugout landed on the summit of Mount Pulag (Baucas, n.d. cited by Picpican, 2003) where the couple eventually resided and procreated (Picpican, 2003).

Thus, we can say that Benguet folktales attached unexplained phenomena (*e.g. spirits, mystical creatures, etc.*); however, embody realistic events (*e.g. lived, resided and procreated*).

Herewith, three Benguet folktales selected by the researcher that exemplifies the abovementioned characteristics: "*The Story of Apo Anno*", "*The Tale of the Whirlwind Romance*", and "*How a Native Blanket Saved the Village*".

The Story of Apo Anno

There are a lot of versions of the story of Apo Anno; however, the version of Picpican (2003, pp. 92-96) entitled "*The Birth of Apo Anno*" is considered to be the most detailed among the rest.

STORY: Somewhere in the headwaters of the Agno River, in the tri-boundary of Benguet, Mountain Province and Ifugao, there lived a family who thrived mostly on hunting wild game. It was in hunting that Amtac excelled but his son, Togtogaka, proved to be much better than his father. He could easily capture his prey with the help of his hunting dog. He had hunted far and wide into the vast expanse of the Palatang mossy forest, Mount Data where the Agno, the Chico and Abulog rivers originate, the Great Pulag mountain, Mount Paoay, Mount Singankalao, and Mount Manhuyuhuy, among others. Despite his being an accomplished hunter, Togtogaka's woe in life was his inability to beget children. He and his wife were married for some years but they were childless.

Togtogaka was a religious man. He closely observed his environment for omen signs. Even his dreams he interpreted, whether these are good or bad omens. Those he did religiously if only to ensure a fruitful hunt and a productive economic endeavor. In one of his dreams, he was ordered to go to hunt. So the next day he performed a *buton* ritual and found out that the chicken bile was *sip-il* (*bile sac was divided in two*). While this augured a good omen, his wife's feminine instinct doubted it. So she forbade him from joining the hunt because he might be devoured by wild animals. But Togtogaka's brave disposition prevailed. He soothingly assured her that nothing would happen to him and that he would come back.

With this hunting dog, he went towards the direction of the wide valley of Loo where he spotted the magnificent deer with wide and enormous antlers. This caught his interest and fancy. It even challenged his hunting skills. He and his hunting dog followed the deer but could not corner it; the deer was too elusive for him and his hunting dog. Dead tired after the long chase, Togtogaka lost track of the deer and his hunting dog. When he reached Pusel, he inquired from a young woman if she had seen his dog and a deer and the woman told him that she heard the baying of a dog somewhere at Nabalicong.

It was late in the afternoon when Togtogaka came by a lovely waterfall in Nabalicong. To his surprise, there was his dog barking at a beautiful woman with golden hair sitting on a rock just below the falls. Togtogaka tried to calm his dog but the dog jumped down the water towards the woman. Togtogaka also jumped down the river to restrain his dog from hurting her. Togtogaka then approached her, and they got acquainted. Togtogaka introduced himself as a hunter from Palatang, from the headwaters of many big rivers, and the woman reciprocally told him that she was Kuyapon. Immediately, Togtogaka felt so

enamored and captivated by this beautiful woman. He narrated his long but fruitless marriage and his desire for a child of his own.

The hours passed so rapidly and when it was nightfall, Togtogaka asked about Kuyapon's house, and if he could be accommodated for the night. Togtogaka was dazed when Kuyapon showed him the cave as her home and offered him accommodation. He could not believe it but the cave dwelling was habitable and relatively furnished to be called home. When Kuyapon offered her bed and blanket, it was impossible for Togtogaka to refuse. It was such an intimate moment when the woman appealed to Togtogaka to stop his hunt for the deer because the deer was just barrowed by them from neighboring Loo and was entrusted to *Lakay Inga-an* of Madaymen for mating purposes. The bull was used to mate with their deer in Nabalicong. Togtogaka could not believe it. How could that deer be the property of this woman when the deer grows wild and no one claims it as his own? Togtogaka then suspected that the woman he was talking with was not a mortal after all. But he had to consent anyway to the pleading of the beautiful and voluptuous woman beside him. For how could he refuse such a simple request from a generous and gracious lady?

The next day, Togtogaka prepared for his travel back home to Palatang. Before Togtogaka left, the woman thanked him for his decision to abandon his hunt and instructed him to come back after nine months. Togtogaka went home with a heavy heart still bothered by the rapid turn of events. Informing his wife of what transpired, his wife calmly told him to follow the trend of his fate. For nine months he rested. Then he went out and found the beautiful woman from Nabalicong waiting for him with an infant in her arms. She welcomed Togtogaka and told him about their love child. She wanted Togtogaka to bring home the child because according to her, her father did not like the child because it smelled *maka-ip-ipugaw* (i.e. smelled human-like or mortal scent/door). It was only when Togtogaka confirmed his suspicion that the woman he had made love with was not human but a *Tomongao* (nature form). The love child whom they named Anno was her gift to Togtogaka for his bravery and might as a hunter and for his sincere wife who had not borne him a child.

Togtogaka and his wife reared Anno according to the ways of the tribe. Eventually, Anno grew up to be a strong man with some supernatural powers. He became a mighty hunter. He was told to possess a speed that enabled him to outrun a deer, and an extraordinary strength to overpower a strong bull with his bare hands. He could also make himself invisible, which was an asset in his hunting exploits. His hunting feats were heard of far and wide and due respect was accorded him in every gathering among elders. For all his exploits, his whole body was intricately tattooed- a vivid symbol and emblem of his magnificence.

The mighty Anno hunted far beyond his father's hunting ground. In their hunting forays, Togtogaka and Anno would stop to visit Nabalicong, the place of Anno's birth. One day, in the prime of his life, Apo Anno went to Nabalicong to fulfill a dream that lingered for nights. Amidst the restless leaves and the persistent murmuring of the waterfalls, he heard the sweet voice of a woman saying, "*Anno, I am your mother, Kuyapon. If you wish to see me without leaving the earth, have your companions preserve your body and then have it brought to this cave.*" Anno listened intently to the instructions given by the voice, particularly the use of herbs like *sabut-bit sea* (*sci. leguminsa*) plant and the preparation of the decoction for drinking. Such instructions spelled out the process of mummification in Benguet. Anno grew very old, and before he died he instructed his kin to treat his body according to the instructions through the voice in Nabalicong.

So when Apo Anno died, he was carefully seated on a *Sangadil* (funeral chair), befitting his stature as a brave and strong hunter-warrior, dignified and respected, and an old and judicious man. After many days, his whole body turned dry. His remains were meticulously secured and then transported to Nabalicong according to the instructions. His preserved body was placed inside an ornately designed *kalong* (coffin carved and shaped with the carabao and snake motif) and brought to that cave in Nabalicong-his birthplace. From Palatang, his coffin was floated down the Kalagan River, tributary of the Agno River. According to his instructions, if the coffin gets heavier, they had to divert to other directions. So when the coffin became too heavy, they changed their direction towards Nabalicong and the coffin became light. When they reached a small waterfall below the Nabalicong cave, the coffin again became very heavy and rain fell heavily. The extra weight and the heavy rain were signs according to the instructions. So when they looked around, they saw the cave above the river. They decided to bring the coffin towards that cave. When they lifted the coffin, it was very light so they brought and deposited the coffin inside that cave and suddenly the rain stopped. Since then, the cave became Apo Anno's burial cave, his place of birth.

Since then the Nabalicong cave became allegedly an enchanted cave. When people pass by Anno's cave, they have to pay Apo Anno courtesy lest the rain falls on them and they would be drenched wet. Offering items including food bits, tobacco, coins, and wine among others which were left behind at Anno's cave for good fortune and good weather.

The people who brought Anno to Nabalicong returned to Palatang mossy forest. Many years later some of their descendants traced Nabalicong and built their residence near the Cave of Apo Anno. Among those early settlers who came to live permanently in Nabalicong were Pilayan, Alam-am, and Daguines. It was they who took the moral responsibility to continually safeguard and protect the remains of Apo Anno-the great ancestors. Since then Apo Anno became one of their revered ancestors.

The Tale of the Whirlwind Romance

This folktale was told through generations of how a young man named Lawana met a young woman named Saddip, who later became his wife. It was passed by the old folks of Suyoc namely: Taligan during the 1850's, Gueyna Moldino (1856- 1940), Sugot Laoyan (1865- 1945), Liwangen Dagas (1840- 1925), Domaling, and Dinayngan. Later, an elder also from Suyoc, Mankayan named Pacita Betuagan Awisan compiled this story.

STORY: Long time ago in the 16th century, a young *manbalin* (traveler), and at the same time hunter, was resting at a plateau overlooking the Loo Valley after hunting a deer. Now the plateau is called Bekes along the Halsema Highway.

As the man took out his *lodonan* (tobacco pouch) and pipe and *pangki* (flint) from his *takba* (pack) to smoke, then suddenly a strong *alimposapos* (whirlwind) came and swept his *ladonan*. Disgusted, he was about to leave and go home when he saw in the distance a rising smoke. He was very glad and carried his hunt and went where the smoke was. He saw a young woman clearing her *akgo* (*sweet potato basket*). When this young woman saw him, she was scared and ready to run, but Lawana said, "Don't be afraid because I will not harm you, I just want to look for my smoke pipe because that whirlwind carried away my *pangki* and *lodonan*".

The young woman said, "I saw a *lodonan* beside my *akgo*... there..." pointing to where it was. When Lawana went to see it, it was his *lodonan*. He was very surprised and couldn't believe that he found it from a far distance. So he got his pipe and lit it with the burning grasses, sat down smoking while looking at the young woman who just kept on working, her head down, apparently shy. Lawana did not want to leave but he has to bring home his hunt. Before leaving, he thanked the young woman and asked her name. The woman told him her name as Saddip and that she lived down the valley now called Lo-o.

When Lawana went home, he couldn't sleep thinking of the young woman so the following day, he went to the hillside and helped Saddip with her work while talking and trying to court her. Lawana said, "Since yesterday, I could not sleep nor eat thinking of you, I think I will be unhappy without you. Please come with me and be my wife, to cook for me and be the mother of my children". Saddip who was also attracted to the strong, handsome, and muscled man Lawana, she said, "yes but we have to go and ask the consent of my parents".

So both went to the parents of the young girl to ask for their permission. Eventually, the parents of Saddip approved. The wedding was set with a big pig followed with a *tallak* and *gangsa* dance.

Afterwards, Lawana brought Saddip home to Bag-ongan, Suyoc where they settled and became one of the lead clan ancestors of Suyoc- Mankayan, parts of Buguias, Bakun, Kibungan, and other parts of Benguet.

How a Native Blanket Saved the Village?

Another story compiled by Pacita B. Awisan. Same case with the "Tale of the Whirlwind Romance", this tale was passed throughout generations.

STORY: Long time ago during the early 17th century, the villages of Suyoc and Mankayan were often raided and plundered by tribal enemies called the *Bosos* (raiders from the North), who carried away valuable jars, gongs, animals and even children and head hunts. Every village has their own system of warning such as blowing a *tanggoyop* (horn) and relayed shouting to warn men to prepare for battle or women to hide.

One time, a band of *raiders* approached and the *horn* warned the villages. Insabyan of Panat, Suyoc remembered his grandfather's story about the bad omen and belief of the northern warriors on the blanket *Aladdang* so before she went to hide with her family, she went to the entrance road to their village in Panat and spread the blanket *Aladdang* on the way. When the *raiders* came to the place where the blanket was spread, they suddenly stopped and cowered in fear as if they have seen a ghost. Slowly they retreated at a distance, smoked their pipes and scampered away. From that time the raiding stopped for a while until raiders lead by Samiklay and others resumed later. *Aladdang* was a bad sign which means death and bad luck. The *Aladdang* is a blanket for the rich dead.

Local Manuscripts, Genealogy Books, Historical Records and Research Articles

The recording of folklores and people of Mankayan was made formal when both local and foreigner researchers and scholars came to the municipality and started gathering information about the histories which includes related events and background of people. Fortunately, one book still survives and serves as a living testament of the recorded lives, history, culture and tradition of the people and that is the 1989 *“Palasa-an Barangay Profile” Book*. The book contains the historical events and important dates, folklores, domestic and social life, language and terminologies, traditional laws and administration of justice, information of the Palidan Suyoc mines, and even pictures of the old Mankayan.

Pages 10-14 of the said book show the prominent lead families where majority of the people of Mankayan, specifically in the barangay of Suyoc, are descended. Surprisingly, the name Insabyan who’s mentioned in the folktale *“How a Native Blanket Saved the Village”* is written in the book.

For context, Nash (2017) defined genealogy as both a description of a set of relationships, as in someone “having a genealogy”, and a practice of researching and recording those relationships. The relationships that constitute genealogy are relationships between people defined through the reckoning of connections based on birth and parentage.

With this, a 1999 clan book was given to the researcher. With great astonishment, the title of the book itself gave compelling evidence that the characters mentioned in the folktale *“Tale of the Whirlwind Romance”* like the name of Lawana and Saddip were real, as they were vividly written in the said book. The title of the book is *“Lawana-Saddip-Copit Clan”* and it shows their descendants up to the 9th generation.

Moreover, several published accounts and related articles tell the life and death of Apo Anno: some discussed events about what happened to Anno’s body after he was returned again to the locality (Picpican, 2003; Balangcod, 2017), some research articles scrutinized the mummification not just of Anno’s body but all the fire mummies of Benguet (Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017; Balangcod, 2017) and even the tattoo traditions of the said province (Salvador-Amores, 2002a; Picpican, 2003; Salvador-Amores, 2012b; Abbacan-Taguic & Marnag, 2016; Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017; Balangcod, 2017; Demeterio III, 2017).

According to Balangcod (2017), it is believed that there are more burial caves in other parts of Kabayan and other municipalities. However, the local officials are hesitant in revealing the location of the fire mummies due to the possibility of stealing and selling of the mummies like the case of Apo Anno, which was previously stolen. Moreover, the mummy was sold from one person to another. Apo Anno was returned to his hometown through the efforts of the local government units and local historians who clamored to bring him back to where he belonged. Additionally, it is believed that the return of Apo Anno’s mummy was hastened by misfortunes experienced by the people who bought Apo Anno. In detail, Picpican (2003, p. 97) noted some people who witnessed what really happened to the mummy of Apo Anno up to his return.

As noted: *In the early 1900s, the Americans came to Baguio, they also gathered people to work for their establishments. These foreigners recruited men even in the part of Buguias. One of them is Apo Pilayan/Licadan. He went to Baguio and when he returned to Nabalicong in 1918, he was informed that the mummy was gone. Apo Pilayan searched for it and found out that an Ilocano couple approach an old man named Madinno and a boy named Colabis of Bayoyo to show where the mummy was. An elder named Atting Agagen from Nabalicong reminisced his younger years when he witnessed the Ilokano cargadores carrying the preserved body wrapped in white cloth accompanied by Lakay Madinno and boy Colabis. The loss of the mummy confirms the date indicated by Lawrence Lee Wilson who mentioned that the mummy was lost in 1918. Moreover, Lawrence Wilson identified with certainty that a pastor named Jorge Estoista of Tubao, La Union was responsible of the loss of Apo Anno. It was he who made possible of the exhibition of the mummy in the 1922 Manila Carnival. Apo Pilayan learned from Lakay Madinno that the Ilokano cargo carriers who went to get the mummy of Apo Anno were allegedly commissioned by a Spanish Meztizo business from the Ilocos.*

Moreover, the province of Benguet holds a large number of ancient mummified remains, mostly located within the municipality of Kabayan. Such bodies are mainly associated with the Ibaloy – one of the indigenous groups collectively known as Igorot – and are stored in natural rock shelters or caves carved into the stone, inside wooden coffins often obtained from hollowed pine tree segments (Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017).

Balangcod (2017) added that while mummification has long been traditionally practiced in Kabayan and may be true in other local communities in the Cordillera, there are few published accounts to date. Fortunately, the mummification process in the Cordillera region can be described based on the verbal accounts of elders, who have heard stories from their ancestors.

Through the verbal accounts, the mummification process reveals the use of smoke as a drying method and the use of herbs in the preservation of the dead. The drying process of the dead is currently practiced by some ethnic groups in the Cordillera region, particularly by the groups distantly located from the cities, although the drying process does not lead to mummification.

With regard to the tattoo tradition of Cordillera, the province of Kalinga is considered as the most prominent one, because they still practice tattooing up until now. Aside from Kalinga, Salvador-Amores (2002a) mentioned that the largest number of surviving practitioners of the tradition are also from Bontoc, Ifugao, Tingguian and Ibaloy in the Mountain Provinces.

Salvador-Amores (2002a) described the tattoos of Apo Anno. *"It also brought me to Kabayan, Benguet where the lost mummy, Appo Anno, stolen by foreign antique collectors, but later retrieved by the National Museum, was finally returned to his home in 1999 after 87 years. The mummy is clad in elaborate body tattoos (fingertips, wrists, toes, legs, buttocks, back and chest) ..."*.

There were various purposes for the use of tattoos as enumerated by numerous authors. They were considered a rite of passage into adulthood (Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017; Demeterio III, 2017) and were also seen as bodily adornment (Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017) especially for women (Abbacan-Taguic & Marnag, 2016). Often the tattoos presented a record of an individual's personal history, a biography of sorts (Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017). Other tattoos were intended to be talismans to ward off malevolent forces (Abbacan-Taguic & Marnag, 2016; Demeterio III, 2017; Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017) while others served as marks of bravery (Salvador-Amores, 2002a; Abbacan-Taguic & Marnag, 2016; Demeterio III, 2017; Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017). The tattoos were also seen as symbols of status and affluence (Abbacan-Taguic & Marnag, 2016; Salvador-Amores, 2012b; Beckett, Conlogue, et al. 2017).

Furthermore, some authors classified folktales as fiction. As Sayeef (2019) said that folktales are just generally the type of tales that fall in the category of fables and fairy tales and Oli (2016) emphasized that they are not considered as dogma or history, they may or may not have happened, and they are not to be taken seriously. Hence, folktales may be set in any time and any place and in this sense they are almost timeless and placeless.

However, cases in Benguet that localities fight for the origin and nature of event of folktales instead of considering them as just merely fiction. In support, Eslit (2012) said that sometimes closely related versions of a single story exist in the lore of two or more ethnic groups, and a sort of discord is brought about when some groups attempt to "reclaim the rights" to the plot.

With this problem faced by the ethnic groups, Eslit (2012) also accentuated that folktales must not intend to evoke rivalry among ethnic affiliations. Also, it is hoped that the topographical areas attributed to particular tales would only serve to be references for study and not for argument.

Another case faced by Benguet is that today's generation forgets their history, culture and tradition showed by their decreased appreciation of folklores which includes folktales. Subagan (2009) gave emphasis by saying that these oral forms are not appreciated by today's generation who do not have the chance to understand such, especially with the limited research about them, and the fact that they are not well preserved. In support Dumanghi (2007) said that the folktales in the past are not so well appreciated. What is local is not given much attention compared to foreign write-ups that is more readily accepted and recognized by Filipino readers.

Eslit (2012) stressed also that the interest in folklore seems to have diminished. With the swift pace of modern living, looking back at our roots through spyglasses such as the study of folklore seems more and more difficult, if not pointless. The Filipino youth, especially, are more concerned with looking forward as the rest of the world hastens toward a technological future. In addition, Botangen, Vodanovich and Yu (2017) said that though there are historical articles pertaining to Igorot people and the Cordillera Region posted in social media; however, several photos, showing historic events, places, and people are not labelled which probably makes it difficult for members to appreciate.

Methodology

The researcher chose three Benguet folktales to investigate purposively since they share same characteristics of story endings. These folktales are: "The Story of Apo Anno", "Tale of the Whirlwind Romance" and "How a Native Blanket Saved the Village".

A deductive reasoning approach was used in this study to see if there are accounts, specifically record books of families proving the existence of the characters of the folktales. According to Yakel (2014), this approach involves using a foundation of known information, and analyzing it in such a way as to make valid, objective, educated arguments for a family ancestral connection. In addition, making such case requires multiple pieces of information, oftentimes with supplementary resources, that logically tie personal circumstances together...the more pieces of complimentary facts and information that can be considered, obviously, the stronger the case becomes.

Therefore, the researcher went to some libraries in Baguio City to look for books either published or unpublished to support the study. In consideration of the places where the folktales happened, the researcher went to Mankayan and Buguias, two of the municipalities of Benguet, in order to gather references from some elders and collect family records, barangay profiles, and local historical books that might be linked to the characters of the folktales. In addition, short interviews with the elders were conducted by the researcher. Also, the researcher gathered all possible articles in journal websites that were closely related in order to give more details to the study.

Lastly, the researcher read and analyzed the documents found and supported it with the elders' interviews and many other accounts. Afterwards, a conclusion was made.

Results and Discussion

This section provides answers to the research questions: (1) Who are the characters of the stories: *“Tale of the Whirlwind Romance”*, *“How a Native Blanket Saved the Village”*, and *“The Story of Apo Anno”*? (2) Are there any records and books showing the descendants of the characters of the stories? and (3) How can one prove that folktales are not all fiction stories?

Who are the characters of the stories: *“Tale of the Whirlwind Romance”*, *“How a Native Blanket Saved the Village”*, and *“The Story of Apo Anno”*?

Table 1. Characters of *“The Tale of Apo Anno”*

Character	Description
Amtac	He was the father of Togtogaka. His family was known for their forte in hunting.
Togtogaka	He was the son of Amtac. Aside from being a hunter, he was also known as a religious man who observed his environment for omen signs. When he had a dream of being ordered to hunt, he performed rituals for he interpreted it as a good omen. The adventure of Togtagaca to the forest of Nabalicong bothered him because of the rapid turn of events. He encountered a beautiful woman named Kuyapon who later had an affair with him. It was said that their affair on that night made Kuyapon gave birth to Anno, which made Togtogaka blissful.
Wife of Togtocaca	She was married to Togtogaka for some years but she failed to give a child to her husband. When Togtogaka had a dream and he interpreted it as a good omen, his wife’s feminine instinct doubted it. After Togtogaka spoke to her about the event in the forest, she calmly told him to follow the trend of his life. Hence, she is considered as a woman of equanimity.
Kuyapon	She was a <i>tomongao</i> or a supernatural being. She is described as a beautiful woman with a golden hair. She lived in a cave near the waterfall of Nabalicong. When nightfall came, she offered accommodation to Togtogaka where he found it impossible to refuse. She instructed Togtogaka to come back after nine months. That they came when the hunter came back and saw a child held by Kuyapon. The child that is named Anno was a gift from her to Togtogaka for his bravery and might as a hunter and his sincere wife who had not borne him a child.
Anno	Anno was the son of Togtogaka to Kuyapon. He was a mighty hunter and a strong man with some supernatural powers: he possessed a speed that enabled him to outrun a deer, extraordinary strength to overpower a strong bull, and make himself invisible in his hunting exploits. When he was about to die, his mother instructed him to preserve his body. Thus, he was instructed to drink a decoction of herbs. When he died, his remains returned to the cave of his mother.
Father of Kuyapon	He was the reason why Kuyapon gave the child to Togtogaka because of the child’s mortal or human smell.
Lakay Inga-an	An elder of Madaymen. It was said that Kuyapon entrusted to him the deer they just borrowed from Loo.

<i>kin of Anno</i>	They were responsible for the treating of Anno's body when he died. They followed the instructions according to the voice in Nabalicong. Afterwards, they sent the coffin of Anno to the cave. Later they went home to Palatang however, some of the descendants of the people who sent Anno to Nabalicong built their residence near the cave. They were identified as the families of <i>Pilayan, Alam-am, and Daguines</i> . Because of this, they regarded Apo Anno as their revered ancestor.
deer	Described as a magnificent deer because of its enormous antlers. The deer was under the care of Kuyapon. It caught the attention of Togtogaka leading him to find the lovely waterfall where Kuyapon was sitting on a rock nearby.
hunting dog	The companion of Togtogaka in his hunting adventures. It was the dog who chased Kuyapon in the water.

According to the story, the family of Togtogaka lived "*Somewhere in the headwaters of the Agno River, in the tri-boundary of Benguet, Mountain Province and Ifugao...*", where they always had their hunting games. De Jesus (2015) elucidates that Agno River cuts across four regions namely the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), Region I (Ilocos Region), Region II (Cagayan Valley), and Region III (Central Luzon). It passes through the provinces of Mountain Province, Ifugao, Nueva Vizcaya, Benguet, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Zambales, Nueva Ecija, and Pampanga. The headwaters of Agno River are at Mt. Data in the Cordillera Mountains, it descends to the south in a meandering river then forming a vast alluvial fan and delta before draining into the Lingayen Gulf. Though major tributaries originate from Mt. Pulag in Benguet. In addition, Dacamus (2012) said that the Spanish explorers who documented the catchment area of the river in the 16th century say the mouth of the Agno was an extensive marshland with rich alluvial soil. It was thickly covered with mangrove and nipa palm trees which served as habitat to many marshland wildlife species. With this description of the said river, no doubt that people may live in this abundant area. Also, this may tell why the main work of Togtogaka and his family was hunting because the marshland was inhabited by wildlife species.

Furthermore, Togtogaka was a religious man. "*He closely observed his environment for omen signs. Even his dreams he interpreted, whether these are good or bad omens.*" In Benguet, there are terms used for these religious people. An elder of Suyoc named *Pacita Awisan* enumerated and described each role of these people: (1) *Manbunong* or *Man-ated* refers to an old man who performs the ritual prayers, (2) *Mansip-ok* are those who possess extra sensory talent or power to predict or know the unexplainable cause of illness, (3) *Manboyon* are those who uses some accessories to predict and find the answers or solution to someone's quests or cause of illness or problems, and (4) *Mankotom* are usually a respected wise old man of great wisdom, experiences in relation to the cultural traditions. Also, he based his decision from past cultural practices with good and positive results and outcomes. Hence, Togtogaka can be identified as *Mankotom* of their village because another distinguished work a *mankotom* performs is the interpretation dream, omens, and usual happenings, problems, and solutions for individuals, families, or the community.

Kuyapon, the mother of Anno was said to be a *tomongao* or *tinmengaw* (nature spirit). The story narrates that due to the possible barrenness of Togtogaka's wife, and his desire for a child, Kuyapon gave him a child.

"The love child whom they named Anno was her gift to Togtogaka for his bravery and might as a hunter and for his sincere wife who had not borne him a child."

This rare case of *anisawan di tomongao* (married by a nature spirit) is not new in Benguet. There is a case told by *Alpha Panganiban* of Mayangyang, Suyoc that happened about an incident of a disappearance of a man somewhere in a place in Lam-ayan. It was dusk when a couple finished their work in the garden. The woman told her husband that she would just get legumes for their dinner. Similarly, the man told his wife that he was just going to get firewood in the nearby forest. Later on, the woman waited for her husband but he didn't come back. Days passed and yet the man still did not return. The woman went to an elder to seek help for the disappearance of her husband. They told her that a *tomongao* got him. Hence, they performed all the necessary rituals and *canaos* yet he still did not appear. Years later, the man appeared. He looked old already with his long beard and white hair. They allowed him to narrate what happened. He narrated that when he was at the forest he saw a mestiza-like woman, who invited him to go with here somewhere. When the people were performing *canao*, he said that he was there eating and having drinks with them, however, he noticed that no one ever saw him. He knew he was different from the one who invited him. In addition, the reason why they (*tomongaos*) permitted him to go back with his family was that he was getting old and the rest were not.

The name Apo Anno existed not just because of his being famous as a son of a mortal and an immortal as depicted in many accounts but the mere fact that his mummy is still present today. But way back then, he was known as a mighty and respected hunter.

"...Anno grew up to be a strong man with supernatural powers. He became a mighty hunter. He was told to possess a speed that enabled him to outrun a deer and extraordinary strength to overpower a strong bull with his bare hands. He could also make himself invisible, which was an asset in his hunting exploits. His hunting feats were heard of far and wide and due respect was accorded him in every gathering among elders. For all his exploits, his whole body was intricately tattooed- a vivid symbol and emblem of his magnificence..."

The story states that the whole body of Apo Anno was intricately tattooed- a vivid symbol emblem of his magnificence. In support, Salvador-Amores (2002a) described the tattoos of Apo Anno saying, *"...The mummy is clad in elaborate body tattoos (fingertips, wrists, toes, legs, buttocks, back and chest) ..."*.

Hence, Apo Anno was given special tattoo markings accorded to his being relevant and having a high status. Authors like Salvador-Amores (2002a; 2012b), Abbacan-Taguic and Marnag, (2016), Demeterio III (2017), and Beckett, Conlogue, et al. (2017) mentioned that a person indeed given tattoos for his accomplishment as a sign of valor and symbols of status and affluence.

Furthermore, the mummification of Anno was given as an instruction by his mother, Kuyapon. As she said when he visited Nabalicong, *"...Anno, I am your mother, Kuyapon. If you wish to see me without leaving the earth, have your companions preserve your body and then brought to this cave..."*. With this, he was believed to use herbs like *sabut-bit sea (sci. leguminsa)* plant and prepared as a decoction for drinking. Thus, his revered kin followed the instructions until Anno was sent to his final place.

The Benguet people and the National Museum prohibited anyone from touching or examining the mummy of Anno because the seated mummy is held sacred by the people (Salvador-Amores, 2002a). Nevertheless, some researchers were given the chance to examine the mummies of Kabayan like the expedition of Beckett and Conlogue (2017), together with a team of experts. They mentioned in their research that recent inspections of some of these corpses, carried out in 2002 and 2012, indicated the nature of their mummification process as well as some details regarding their bioanthropological features. Although very little information was initially available on these bodies. Hence, the group of Beckett and Conlogue made an expedition last 2017 and gathered significant oral information on funerary rituals and attitudes towards the ancestors via interviews with the local elders, as well as data on the vegetal materials employed and the practice of tattooing.

Like the case of Apo Anno, the burial locations of the mummies of Kabayan were typically natural rock shelters or caves that were increased in size to accommodate additional coffins (Beckett, Conlogue, et al., 2017). In addition, to the Ibaloy, the mountain is the abode of the ancestral spirits (*kaapuan*) and placing the mummified bodies within the mountain rock shelters or facing the mountain symbolized returning the deceased to *Kabunyan*, the mountain God.

Still, Beckett, Conlogue, et al. (2017) concluded that mummification in the Ibaloy tradition was likely achieved primarily from enhanced dehydration accomplished by the heat from the fire, the position in the death chair, the potential microenvironment, and wicking body fluids into the death blanket. The forces of decomposition may have further been delayed by the smoke chemistry, increased barrier to insects provided by the smoke, and the plant chemistry. If a salt solution purge was successful, this too may have contributed to enhanced dehydration. Using these scientific findings, it may be inferred that this is also what happened to Anno.

In addition, the researcher agreed to what Balangcod (2017) highlighted that mummification of the dead among the Ibaloi is a practice that is reserved for the elite, called the *Kadangyan*. With the long period of mummification process, it is impossible for the common people to mummify their dead relatives, instead being directly put in their grave. Apo Anno indeed belonged to the elite because of his background and accomplishments.

Remarkably, the century old mummies, buried in caves and rocks in Kabayan still exist at present (Balangcod, 2017). No doubt that the mummy caves were officially proclaimed as one of the Philippine National Cultural Treasures under Presidential Decree No. 374.

Table 2. Characters of “The Tale of the Whirlwind Romance”

Character	Description
Lawana	He was a traveler and a hunter. While he was resting at a plateau overlooking the Loo Valley, a strong whirlwind took his tobacco pouch. But he got his pouch after a young woman named Saddip found his pouch. It’s considered destiny for both when later, they married each other. Lawana brought Saddip to Bag-ongan, and then settled and lived there.
Saddip	A woman from Loo who married Lawana. Her first encounter with the traveler was when Lawana told her that his tobacco pouch was taken by a strong whirlwind. Fortunately, Saddip found it beside her basket. She agreed to marry Lawana with the consent of her parents.

The foreword of the book *1999 Lawana-Saddip-Copit Clan* authored by Pacita Awisan (1999) describes the identities of Lawana and Saddip.

The parents of Lawana were among the first settlers of Suyoc and were believed to have come from Banao (p. iv). Banao is one of the 22 barangays located in the municipality of Bauko, Mountain Province. Legend has it that the municipality was first settled by a couple named Padoka and Adian in Pabis. To survive, the couple planted root crops to augment their provisions of food, Padoka also became a skillful hunter. There are only few explanations as to how the town evolved into a municipality. As per record, Bauko was created as a regular municipality in 1911 (DILG-CAR, 2015).

Moreover, Pacita Awisan said, “The dates were estimated based on known dates of births of the dead or oldest living clan member with an approximated generation gap from 18 to 30 years since puberty were said to be late in those times, so Lawana was placed at circa 1720.” (p.vi). Hence, they existed around 200 years ago.

The story of the “*Whirlwind Romance*” tells that Lawana had a wife name Saddip. However, the aforementioned genealogy book shows that he had another wife named Copit. Both Saddip and Copit were from Loo, Buguias.

Furthermore, Lawana together with his wives settled at *Bag-ongan*, which, according to Spanish records, is known also as *Dugungan*. This earliest gold mine is located along the Suyoc River between *Abbaos (Agbaos)* and *Timangan or Tangadan* ridges. The gold mine had allegedly caught the interest of the Spaniards as early as the 16th century because of the gold trading by the Igorots with the Chinese merchants when Juan de Salcedo attempted to reach the area via Vigan, but fell on the way and died (p. iv).

Lawana originated from Banao yet settled with his family at Bag-ongan, Suyoc. This was explained historically by Subagan (2009) that the Kankana-ey before were nomadic, always search of land with water suitable for farming. Though some Kankana-ey went into farming, others who settled along rivers of Mankayan and Bakun engaged in *sayo* or gold panning- a practice of looking stones with gold ore in the rivers and processing them in such a way that they are purified with the use of a metal plate and running water.

Table 3. Characters of Characters of “How a Native Blanket Saved the Village?”

Character	Description
Insabyan	A woman who was believed to have saved their village in Panat, Suyoc. She remembered her grandfather’s story about the bad omen and belief of the northern warriors about the blanket Aladdang. So when a band of <i>bosos</i> approached and the <i>tanggoyob</i> warned the villages, she went to the entrance of their village in Panat and spread the blanket <i>Aladdang</i> on the way before she went to hide with her family.
<i>Bosos</i>	A term for raiders. They came from the North. As they approached the village of Suyoc, they saw the dead blanket spread on the road. Hence, they suddenly stopped and cowered in fear as if they have seen a ghost. Slowly they retreated at a distance, smoked their pipes and scampered away.
Samiklay	The leader of another group of raiders who ransacked the village after a long stop of raiding.

The folktale depicts Insabyan as the hero of their village in Panat, Suyoc after her act of putting a native blanket called *Aladdang* on the road, making the raiders to retreat. It was mentioned that the raiders know the meaning of the blanket for they believed it was a bad omen. In addition, the blankets of the Benguet people indicate one’s status in the community. In the book of Lewis (1992), he identified five different native blankets and purposes which would ultimately serve as burial

shrouds. They reflected their owner’s status. The topmost blanket, *aladdang*, along with its five complementary garments, could only grace the community’s highest echelon. The second highest, *pinagpagan*, was also restricted for the elite. The lower *kwabao* could adorn the older and more respected commoners, but most common people were entitled only to the cheaper *dil-i*. The poorest individuals donned only *bandala*, a cheap, essentially secular covering.

With regard to the family members of Insabyan, the 1989 “*Palasa-an Barangay Profile*” book authored Pacita Awisan mentions the name of Insabyan. Pages 10-14 of the said book shows the prominent lead families where majority of the people of Mankayan, specifically in the barangay of Suyoc are descended.

It is written in the book that the parents of Insabyan were Bobboo Bodcao, who came also from the North, and Baliddeng who was from Suyoc. They had six children *namely Insabyan, Batcagan, Magalliao, Tampo, Yayo and Baguista*. This shows that Insabyan was the first child. Moreover, Insabyan was married to a warrior from the North named Gislang. The book mentioned their nine (9) children’s names also: *Wasawas, Batcagan, Bayyen, Lapisak, Dongya, Madegya, Mangosan, Bangkilas, and the mother of Bitoclo*. In addition, the children of Insabyan and Gislang settled in most parts of Suyoc and other parts of Mankayan.

The 1999 “*Lawana-Saddip-Copit Clan*” book stated also the abovementioned names; however, some names were omitted after a long deliberation of the research committees of the said clan book.

Are there any records and books showing the descendants of the characters of the stories?

The book of Picpican (2003) entitled “*The Igorot Mummies*” noted the genealogy of Apo Anno which is written on pages 104-105. The account said that though Anno did not have direct descendants, many families today considered him as their revered ancestor as shown in Figure 1 below.

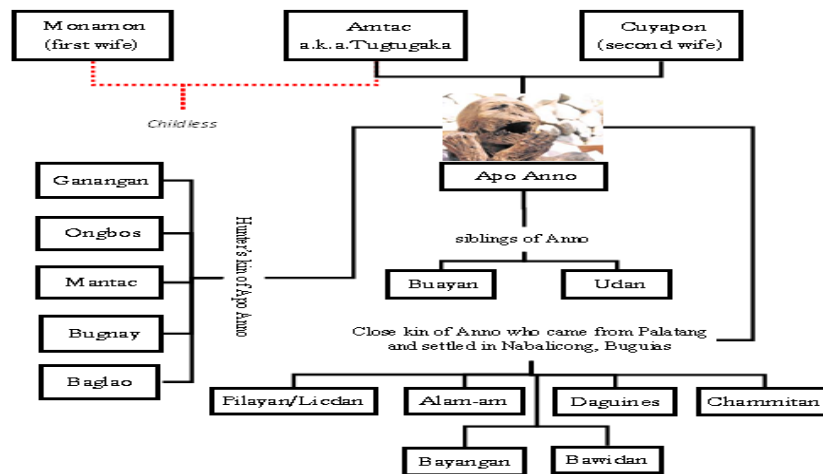


Figure 1. Family Tree of Apo Anno Based on Picpican (2003) Book

The book of Picpican (2003) entitled “*The Igorot Mummies*” noted the genealogy of Apo Anno which is written on pages 104-105. The account said that though Anno did not have direct descendants, many families today considered him as their revered ancestor as shown in Figure 1 above.

The name Amtac who was referred to as Apo Anno’s grandfather, was actually his father. Amtac came from Palatang and married a woman from Lubon named Monamon. They had no children which is why Amtac changed his name to Tugtugaka. To detail the reason, the changing of names was common a long time ago. Such changing of names is attributed to (1) break a curse, (2) to avoid the re-occurrence of a serious illness, and (3) to save a marriage and beget a child. In the case of Amtac, the change was through spirit instruction after his dream which was mentioned in the story. Because of the change, Tugtugaka was able to beget Apo Anno (p.104) through Cuyapon, a mountain spirit (tomongao) in Nabalicong, Buguias.

Moreover, Picpican (2003) mentioned that the fact that Anno did not marry, he had hunter kin and contemporaries which include the following: Ganangan and Ongbos who were the progenitors of Loo, Buguias; Mantac who was the ancestor of Ilubon; Bugnay who went to Ifugao land; and Baglao who went to Kabayan, Benguet. It is said also that the name Buayan,

Udan, etc. may be included as Anno's siblings. In addition, Apo Anno's kin who came from Palatang and settled in Nabalcong included the names of Pilayan, Alam-am, Daguines, Chammitan, Bayangan, Bawidan, and among others (p.105).

One of his close kin was Baglao, his half-brother, who went to Kabuguiasan (Pakso, Kabayan), married there and settled in Imbosi. It was Baglao who popularized and permeated the tattooing and mummification tradition. With this, it is with high probability that the mummies of Kabayan were descendants of Baglao. Also, the tattooing and mummification were strictly adhered to and followed by the kin of Baglao. Furthermore, the close of kins of Apo Anno which were *Pilayan/Licdan* and *Alam-am* are direct descendants of *Lakay Alinso of Buguias* (Pipican, 2003).

On the other hand, Buangan (2008) explicitly said that the documents of Pacita Awisan with regard to genealogy are fairly accurate. As he said, "...My maternal aunt, *Pacita Betuagan Awisan*, *Pepe Betuagan's daughter*, who has resided in *Suyoc* all her life, was instrumental in organizing such reunions in her family circles. She probably has the widest compilation of family genealogies from *Suyoc*, some of which she has been able to trace back to the mid-1800s. Her data consist of hundreds of pages of typewritten and handwritten documents based on oral history, compilations by others in the community, and interviews with the elders over the years. Official birth and death records are often incomplete for the population living in *Suyoc* before the 1950s. I consider *Awisan's* records of kin relations as fairly accurate since the *Suyoc* people have long regarded the knowledge of kinship and its accurate recollection of extreme importance." Hence, the researcher used the 1999 "*Lawana-Saddip-Copit Clan*" book and 1989 "*Palasa-an Barangay Profile*" in tracing the bloodline of Lawana with his two wives.

Historically, Awisan (p. v) noted the timeline of the making of the 1999 genealogy book which was based on the following sources: (1) Verbal historical accounts of old folks interviewed to conform to historical records of members of the clan. (2) The John Dagas list of 1934. During the death of Liwangan Dagas, John Dagas together with Juan Tongacan and Joseph Palengaoan Sr. interviewed old folks gathered at the wake in the persons of Copit Baniagao, Bang-ak Dagas, Taligan, Palada, Gueyna, Aligmay, Smick, Pepe, Norte, Odaydayan, Bayyen, Tiway, Doro, and others, (3) Pacita Awisan copied the list of John Dagas during the wake of Bayyen in 1953 which later in the year 1967, Joseph Palengaoan Sr. confirmed and validated the list copied by Awisan. The list only contains up to the third generation. (4) In 1955, Awisan got the list of Gondino Betuagan based from the different interviewees namely: Tomaysan, Sabacsi, Pongcoy, Juan Tongacan and others. (5) In 1964-1965, Awisan copied the list of Juan Tongacan with different family lineage. In the same year, she obtained more information from Diyat Panganiban, Maysan Moldino, Agonat Pulacan, and Masinnag. (6) In 1966-1967 during the wake of Maysan and the canao of Miguel Motes, informants like Anno Lucas, Daplong Domyong, Nali Hunter, Pinda Mocyat, Dinayngan, and Eddidi Pulkera affirmed the previous list and supplemented the genealogy. (7) Between 1986-1984, Ambrocio Guanso was added as a member of the research committee. Moreover, he conducted interviews and researches in relation to this. (8) Moreover, further inquiries were made by Awisan from folks like Babet Kila-an, Dompi Batcagan, Lino Domiles, Damiana, Licona Abalos, Dalmacio Lawana, Petti Pulkera and John Caytap. Same year with the process-making of the 1989 *Palasa-an Barangay Profile* in 1984-1987.

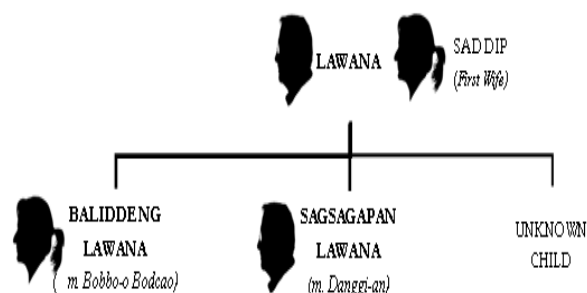


Figure 2. Children of Lawana and Saddip (1st wife)

Figure 2 shows that there are three children of Lawana with his first wife Saddip. They are *Baliddeng Lawana*, *Sagsagapan Lawana* and an *unidentified child*. Baliddeng Lawana married a traveler from Banao named Bobbo-o Bodcao. The second child is Sagsagapan Lawana who married Danggi-an.

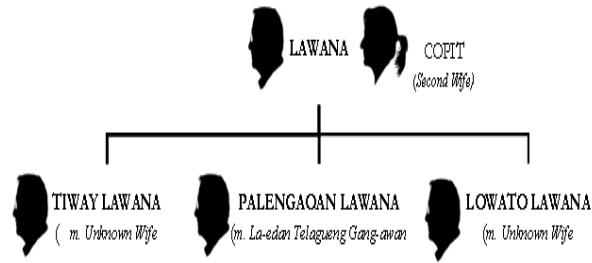


Figure 3. Children of Lawana and Copit (2nd wife)

Figure 3 shows the three sons of Lawana with his second wife Copit. They are Tiway Lawana, Palengaoan Lawana and Lowato Lawana. Tiway and Lowato had unidentified wives while Palengaoan’s wife name was Laedan Telangueng Gang-awan.

Moreover, the 1989 Palasa-an Barangay Profile book mentioned that the parents of Insabyan were Bobbo-o Bodcao and Baliddeng which are mentioned in Figure 2. To detail the lineage, Figure 4 below shows the children of Baliddeng and Bobbo-o Bodcao.

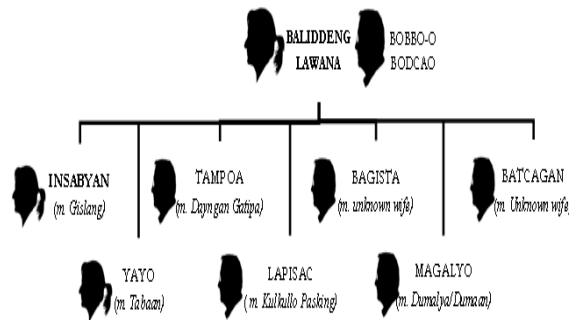


Figure 4. Children of Baliddeng Lawana and Bobbo-o Bodcao

Figure 4 shows that Insabyan who married Gislang had six siblings namely: Yayo who was married to Tabaan, Tampoa married to Dayngan Gatipa, Lapisac married to Kulkulo Pasking, Bagita married to “unknown wife”, Magalyo married to Dumalya or Dumaan, and Batcagan who was married to “unknown wife”.

Hence, a compelling connection of the characters of the folktales “Tale of a Whirlwind Romance” and “How a Native Blanket Saved the Village” revealed. Figure 2 and Figure 4 illustrate the bloodline of Lawana to Insabyan. Therefore, a relationship of grandfather and granddaughter is shown since Insabyan’s mother was the first daughter of Lawana to his first wife Saddip.

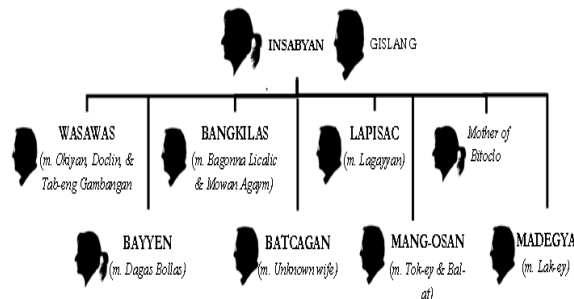


Figure 5. Children of Insabyan and Gislang

Furthermore, Figure 5 shows the family members of Insabyan and Gislang. As mentioned, the 1989 Palasa-an Barangay Profile identified nine (9) children of Insabyan and Gislang. However, the 1999 Lawana-Saddip-Copit Clan book mentioned only eight (8). Comparing the two accounts, the name “Dongya” was removed.

Primarily, Wasawas was the first child and first son of the couple. He married three times namely: Okiyan, Doclin and Gambangan. It was said that Wasawas was a *kadangyan* (elite) who owned several cattle. His son Witawit was a chief and one of the leaders of the Igorots who rebelled and fought the Spaniards when they tried to take possession of the Igorotte mines. For the record, he allegedly butchered 200 animals during this “canao” and death of his father. As noted by Pacita Awisan on her record, he was baptized by Fray Angel Perex and given the name Oitavi before he died in 1891. Moreover, families of *Norte, Ambas, Domilies*, and *Awisan* came from this family.

Next to Wasawas was his sister Bayyen who married Dagas Bollas. Republic Act 10868 also known as *Centenarian Act of 2016* is an act of honoring and granting additional benefits and privileges to Filipino Centenarians, and for other purposes which Section 2b states that any centenarian will receive a gift in the amount of one hundred thousand pesos (P100,000.00). One of the known great-grandchildren of the said couple was *Mina Pulacan-Palpeg* who reached her hundred years of age last 2015. Also, she was said to be the oldest person in the municipality of Mankayan. Furthermore, families of *Guinadan-Panganiban, Camolo, Bandiza, Codim-et – Ngaspal, Ngoslab, Tagtague- Guina-ao, Dalasdas, Agongan-Olongan, Tianga, Angba-Ganase, Labisen, Angba-Pulacan, Pulkida, Laklakingan-Tada, Mocyat, Bugtong-Betuagan, Bugtong-Wayan, Bugtong-Jimenez, Taligod, Liwangen-Sapino, Walsi-en, Liwangen-Awilan, Cubangay-Gayaso, and Kila-an* belong to this big family.

The third child was Bangkilas who married Bagonna Lalic and Mowan Agayam. Families of *Moldero, Palengaoan*, some lineage of *Betuagan*, and *Conay-Lapis* came from this clan. Batcagan was next to Bangkilas. He was married however, no one knows the name of his wife. Descendants of this family are progenies of *Ketem, Batcagan, and Paddanggo*. Lapisac who married Lagayyan was the fifth of the eight children. Kins of *Kindasan-Ngiao/Dompiles, and Batcagan* also belong in this group. Next is Mang-osan who married Tok-ey and Bal-at. Children of the families of *Tingbaoen, Sawachi, Betuagan, and Calinsuay* belong to this clan. Seventh is the mother of Bitoclo. No one knows what the name of his mother was or the lineage of this family. Lastly, Madegya who married Lak-ey. Some families of *Datu, Sixto Panganiban, Felipe-Pasadillo, and Datu-Malines* are under in this group.

No doubt that the clan of Lawana together with his wives is one of the lead families of the old Suyoc. It also happens that their family has the longest lineage in the municipality of Mankayan (p. iv).

How can one prove that folktales are not all fiction stories?

As mentioned, some authors classified folktales as fiction. Sayeef (2019) said that folktales are just generally the type of tales that fall in the category of fables and fairy tales and Oli (2016) emphasized that they are not considered as dogma or history, they may or may not have happened, and they are not to be taken seriously. However, the following justifications may prove that not all folktales are fiction.

The tale “The Story of Apo Anno”, tells the intimacy of Tugtugaka, a mortal and Cuyapon, a nature spirit and the unbelievable powers possessed by their son Anno. Hence, these events, Sayeef (2019) says, cause this folktale to fall in the category of fairytale. However, considerations must be made since many supernatural phenomena really happened to many places and those include the province of Benguet. The said province has countless beliefs that no one can explain. Benguet people believe in *Kabunyan* which, in the concept of the natives, is equivalent to the Christian “God” who is the creator of the universe. Also, the people believe in spirits who possess supernatural abilities. These spirits can be classified as spirits of nature or spirits of dead ancestors and they have a great connection to the living. No one could explain such supernatural phenomena so the elders believed they were made by spirits because of ungrateful actions or misconduct of the people. Because of this, people needed to give in order to calm them. However, *Pacita Awisan* made a clarification that the offerings and prayers made to the spirits and dead ancestors are not a form of worship but these are means to appease them and ask for help and intercession through material and prayer offerings as compliance. This means that just because a supernatural event happens, we should not consider it as unreal. It may be considered unreal by most but this culture has been the truth for others for a long time.

Moreover, the tale of “*How the Native Blanket Saved the Village*” tells the story of how raiders from the North ransacked the villages they saw and stole all they wanted without mercy. What made this folktale unbelievable is that when Insabyan placed the blanket on the road, it made the raiders run away. First, history supports that these really happened during the colonization of the Spaniards and even before their coming. It is considered a barbaric practice of the olden times. These events are considered fact but what happened to the raiders upon seeing the blanket is already considered as something unbelievable which makes the whole story fiction. These folktales may explain what Oli (2006) said: that they are not considered as dogma or history, they may or may not have happened, and they are not to be taken seriously. However, the

point is that it happened in that place is already part of their history. What happened regarding the blanket and the raiders is already considered a belief that must be respected.

Lastly, the *“Tale of Lawana and Saddip”* narrates the story of how Lawana courted and married Saddip. The story existed because their story was passed throughout generations. The story claims to be true because the place where they lived still exists up to this day. Also, the unpublished genealogy book of Pacita Awisan is already compelling evidence that these two existed.

Conclusion

The three folktales entitled *“Tale of the Whirlwind Romance”*, *“How a Native Blanket Saved the Village”*, and *“The Story of Apo Anno”* tell different stories but with one commonality – they are not fiction stories. Regardless of the unbelievable events of the stories, these are all considered beliefs of the people and has a place as part of their rich culture and tradition which must be respected.

Moreover, the existence of the characters of the three folktales were proven through many accounts, especially considering the genealogy books stating the names of the characters in each story. In addition, two folktales entitled *“Tale of the Whirlwind Romance”* and *“How a Native Blanket Saved the Village”* are closely related not only in the events that happened but also the bloodline of the characters.

With this, it can be concluded that not all folktales are fiction; it depends on the place. Many folktales in the province of Benguet and even the Cordillera are regarded as true because the stories reflect the stories of their ancestors. Also, characters in most folktales in Benguet are not just merely invented but these names always have bases like names of someone in the community or simply stories of real people.

Correspondingly, this is to give respect to the statements of the authors who regarded folktales as fiction like Lwin (2015) saying folktales have the characteristics of literary creativity which often classifies them as fiction, Oli (2016) who mentioned that these are not considered as dogma or history, and Sayeef (2019) who said that these are just generally the type of tales that fall in the category of fables and fairy tales. To sum up, they have their point, but there are exemptions; saying that all folktales are fiction is false. Hence, this paper negates the statement of the aforementioned authors.

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