Place-names in Yattuka and Tuwali Ifugao

*hudhud ni nosi/hudhud di nate* funeral chant

Maria V. Stanyukovich
Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography,
Russian Academy of Science
St. Petersburg
mstan@kunstkamera.ru
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Epic singers, friends and helpers from the Ifugao province

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The *hudhud* epics and *hudhud*-shaped funeral and second burial chants discussed in this paper are performed in a few municipalities of the Ifugao province of Northern Luzon, Philippines.

The language of the song is either Yattuka or Tuwali Ifugao.
Hudhud is shared by the speakers of two different language groups: Southern and Central Cordilleran.

Yattuka is one of 3 Kalanguya dialects of Asipulo, a Southern Cordilleran language related to Pangasinan, Ilongot, Ibaloy and Karaw (cf. Reid 1974, Himes 1998).

Tuwali Ifugao is one of the Ifugao dialects, it belongs to the Central Cordilleran group alongside Bontok, Kankanae-y, Kalinga, Itneg and Balangaw (cf. Reid 1974, Himes 1998).
All the funeral *hudhud* chants demonstrate general unity in melody, poetic structure and shared poetic system, as well as in pragmatics. Their function is to bring the soul of the dead to the underworld.

There is however drastic difference in contents between the proper *hudhud* epics and *hudhud*-shaped funeral and second burial chants.

As a results, **different place-names are used**
Frequency of Place-name endings

- In the ‘ordinary’ hudhud the party of the chorus is rather equally distributed between the name, place and time formulas.
- In hudhud-shaped funeral hudhud almost all the chorus parties, with very few exceptions, are spatial formulas, ending with place-names.
In Tuwali Ifugao-speaking part of the hudhud-singing area, from where all the samples of published hudhud texts (Lambrecht 1957, 1960, 1961, 1967; Daguio 1983) come so far, as well as in those archived in Ateneo Epic Archive, ‘ordinary’ epics treating about heroic exploits of the hero are being sung at the funerals.

The difference that turns an ‘ordinary’ hudhud here into a funeral one is very hard to define. The singers distinguish between them without hesitation; if asked to sing hudhud for recording, they make sure to point out that they only can sing the ‘rice’ hudhud, as the funeral one is not to be sung outside the funeral wake. However, it is almost impossible to them to verbalize the difference.
The difference between funeral hudhud and hudhud of rice in TIf

- disguised in the contents of the story. The main key is a special ‘loop’ in the plot, when the hudhud character that represents the nate, the deceased, dies and is brought back to life in a hudhud story (info derived from Bocyawan, Nagacadan singers; to be checked for other Tif hudhud-singing areas).
- That ‘loop’ seems to correspond to the ‘loop’ in the travels of linnawa ni nosi, the soul of the dead, on her way to the Underworld.
Place-names in *hudhud di nate* TIf

- Tuwali Ifugao funeral chants do not differ in respect to toponymics the from their rice stories (*hudhud di page*), as well as from the Yattuka/Kelei-I harvest hudhud and haircut ritual hudhud chant (*hudhud ni kolot*)
- The *munhaw-e* – the soloist that leads the hudhud chant, supported by *mun-abbuy* or *mun-hudhud*, the chorus – has a wide choice of hudhud stories to be used at the funeral.
- Hence the variability of toponyms is very high.
- E.g., lists of place names in two funeral Tuwali Ifugao chants deposited in Ateneo Epic Archive, recorded within a short span of time in two adjacent localities, have only one toponym in common.
### Place-names in funeral hudhud Tlf

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aliguyon nak Binenwahen</th>
<th>Bugan nak Pangaiwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ananayu</td>
<td>Bay(y)ongbong/Bayombong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayuden</td>
<td>Gonhadan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulnu(w)an</td>
<td>Hulbaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallula</td>
<td>Hulnagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madadyong</td>
<td>Lumingaling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makawayan</td>
<td>Makawayan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabayung</td>
<td>Nalawdan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanganudan</td>
<td>Numbintuwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauyahan</td>
<td>U dungo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NB:** Nabayung is one of the few hudhud place-names used as a coded place-name for a real sitio of Boco in Yattuka hudhud-shaped dirge
Sources for the study of coded place-names in funeral chants of Asipulo (all sung in Yattuka, Southern Cordilleran dialect of Asipulo)

• **The main source** is a transcribed and translated text of *hudhud ni nosi*, a funeral chant for Lucbut (Lucia Tumitit Dawi), recorded in Boco (Nungawa), Asipilo in 2012

• **Recordings:**
  • *hudhud ni bogwa* (second burial chant) recorded in Pal-iyon, Duit, Kiangan in 2012;
  • *hudhud ni nosi*, funeral chant for Panching Polpog, recorded in Pico, Kiangan, 2013
  • Discussions between singers before the performance and in intervals between *hudhud* parts (what do we sing next? We designate such-and-such place by a certain coded place-name) 1995, 2012, 2013
  • Relating the *hudhud ni nosi* sung in Bahag in 2015
  • **Interviews** taken from *hudhud* chanters and other ritual specialists (shamans, healers) of Asipulo and Kiangan in 1995-2015
  • *Liwliwwa*, jocular song, recorded in Kakahha, Asipulo, 2015
Main source: funeral chant for Lucbut

- Recorded in February 2012 in sitio (hamlet) of Boco, Nungawa village of Asipulo municipality, Ifugao province.
- The performance was short, it fitted into 5 hours, including proper hudhud singing and little jocular songs performed at the holdak – intervals between the three hudhud parts. The singers had to fulfill the most serious purpose (bringing the soul of the deceased to the abode of the dead) within a limited time that was given to them in the midst of Christian services prioritized by the family of the deceased.
The singers
The Yattuka and Keley-I epic singers and shamans were interviewed in regard to the ‘missing links’ in the journey and asked to draw schemes and maps.
The contents of the funeral *hudhud*-shaped chant for Lucbut

- The main actor is the deceased old woman, who is interchangeably called in the song either by her proper name, Lucbut, or by the name of the main *hudhud* epic heroine, Bugan nak Pangoiwan (Bigan, the daughter of Pangoiwan).

- Other characters are: her passed-away parents (depicted as living), her living son Cornelyu, and mythological figures of Dumya and her husband (Am)Baggayon, the conductors of souls of the deceased to the underworld.

- The songs starts with Lucbut’s parents travel from their village to the one where the funeral is held, continues with Lucbut’s travel from place to place downstream, until she meets the conductors of souls, and her living son Cornelyu’s travel from place to place in search of his mother.

- The mother and the son meet, she endows him with the souls of livestock which he brings back home, while the mother proceeds further to the abode of the dead.
The list of place-names from Lucbut’s funeral hudhud

1. Nobayung
2. Polwittan
3. Amduntug
4. Monitsigging (var.: Monigsigging, Monitchigging)
5. Hinlalangit
6. Uldidittan
7. Binilihaan
8. Hinyuma’dan
9. Hinnalyapen <Haliap
10. Kitumman
11. In’agoban
12. Inhippahip
13. Inhalyapeen
One place-name is given as it is (#3.)
# #7, 11, 9 and 13 are affixed real toponyms
## 9&13 are two ways of affication of one and the same place-name

1. Nobayung
2. Polwittan
3. Amduntog < Amduntog
4. Monitsigging (var.: Monigsigging, Monitchigging)
5. Hinlalangit
6. Uldidittan
7. Binilihan < Bili
8. Hinyuma’dan
9. Hinnalyapen < Haliap
10. Kitumman
11. In’agoban < Agoban
12. Inhippahip
13. Inhalyapeen < Haliap
Such a combination of real toponyms, their affixed poetic variations and special coded place-names is typical of the Yattuka *hudhud ni nosi*

- I.e., funeral songs for Apo Panching Polpog (January 2013), for Apo Palompon Bahag (January 2015)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coded place-name</th>
<th>Stands for</th>
<th>Meaning of a coded p-n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punlukkutan/Punlu</td>
<td>Bahag, Asipulo</td>
<td>Resting place, where they smoke and breathe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| kkutan              | *(in other chants may be designated as Ollulog, part of Amduntog, Asipulo, near the landslide side)* | lukut ‘smoking’
dibdiban | *dibdib ‘wind, air’*                                                              |
| Pundibdiban/Pandib   | **Binoayan** Baay, Asipulo                                               | Affixed real toponym                                                                 |
| bdiban              |                                                                           |                                                                                        |
| Uldidittan           | Palaw, Asipulo                                                            | ‘having a rest at the base of a mountain                                              |
| Uldidinahyayan       |                                                                           | *ditan ‘their’, deictic pronoun idahyay –’to sit with your feet stretched/base of a mountain’ |
| Panlikkidan          | Antipolo, Asipulo                                                         | The place where the creek makes a loop                                               |
| Panlikyayuhan        |                                                                           | *Likid – go around*                                                                   |
| Ambaduy              | Dugyo, Asipulo                                                            | *Likyuyu – go around*                                                                 |
|                     |                                                                           | *Place near the body of water,*                                                       |
Once we remove the place-names derived from real toponyms, we are left with 7 coded place-names of real places and one designating mythological domain

1. Nobayung
2. Polwittan
3. Monitsigging (var.: Monigsigging, Monitchigging)
4. Hinlalangit
5. Uldidittan
6. Hinyuma’dan
7. Inhippahip
8. Kitumman

The singer claims that each CP-N stands for certain real toponym visited by the soul of the deceased and the soul of her living son.

Kitumman is a village of the conductors of souls that belongs to mythological geography
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coded place-name (Monitsigging, Monitchigging)</th>
<th>Stands for</th>
<th>Meaning of a coded p-n</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nobayung Boco, a sitio of Nungawa, Asipulo</td>
<td>‘like a stomach of a pregnant woman, bulging and going down’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polwittan Boggu, a sitio of Nungawa, Asipulo</td>
<td>‘resting place, a place where you stop for rest in a posture with your buttocks protruding’ (<em>polwit</em> ‘protruding ass’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monigsigging (Monitsigging, Monitchigging)</td>
<td>Amduntug proper, Asipulo</td>
<td>‘like a mountain leaning to another mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinlalangit Gissigit, a sitio of Amduntug, Asipulo</td>
<td>‘refreshing’, because it is very windy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uldidittan Agaban, a sitio of Amduntug, Asipulo</td>
<td>‘having a rest’ /’base of a mountain’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinyuma’dan/Inhuma’dan Allulog, a sitio of Amduntug</td>
<td>‘taking a long breath when you stop to rest after long and tiresome walk’ “always connected with walking” (<em>huma’dan</em> - ‘long breath’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhippahip Place on the other side</td>
<td>‘opposite side’ <em>hippa</em> ‘to move your body in order to see smth behind smth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitumman where Domya (Am)Baggayyon meet the soul of the dead</td>
<td>‘meeting place’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alternative interpretations

- Given interpretations are definitely not “invented” (confirmed by multiple interviews through the years), but they are not the only option.
- The same singer switches some of the geographic fixation of coded place-names, and alternates the interpretation of their meaning, while singing other funeral chant or speaking about the root followed while singing.
- Also, other chanters/shamans/old knowledgeable people would at times give alternative interpretations.
- NB: that does not mean that they seriously question the authority of the principle source, who is considered to be the most knowledgeable among the living (although the Ifugaos always argue and question everything 😊).
*Singer’s interpretations questioned by other respondents are marked with *. **Alternative interpretations by other respondents are in bold black.** Alternative interpretations given by the same singer while speaking of Lucbut hudhud and other funeral chants are given in red.

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<tr>
<td>1. Nobayung</td>
<td>Boco, a sitio of Nungawa, Asipulo</td>
<td><em>‘like a stomach of a pregnant woman, bulging and going down’</em>&lt;br&gt;1. <em>Nabyung Tif ‘bending under the weight (like branches of a fruit tree)’</em>&lt;br&gt;2. Old name for the sitio of Boco&lt;br&gt;3. “Ordinary’ hudhud place-name (confirmed; e.g. in AnB Ateneo text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Polwittan</td>
<td><em>Boggu, a sitio of Nungawa, Asipulo</em></td>
<td><em>‘resting place ‘</em>(polwit ‘protruding ass’)*&lt;br&gt;An old forgotten name for a place not far from Boggu, near Madannum, in Asipulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Monigsigging (Monitsigging, Monitchigging)</td>
<td>Amduntug proper, Asipulo ?</td>
<td><em>‘like a mountain leaning to another mountain’</em>&lt;br&gt;A place on a slope of a mountain <em>(tsigging – slope)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Hinlalangit</td>
<td>Gissigit, a sitio of Amduntug, Asipulo ?</td>
<td><em>‘refreshing’, because it is very windy</em>&lt;br&gt;Heavens?&lt;br&gt;<em>(langit (Tagalog)- ‘sky, heaven’)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Singer’s interpretations questioned by other respondents are marked with *. **Alternative interpretations by other respondents are in bold black.** Alternative interpretations given by the same singer while speaking of Lucbut hudhud and other funeral chants are given in red

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<th>Stands for</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 5. Uldidittan | *Agaban, a sitio of Amduntug, Asipulo*  
Palao (Palaw Y, Palo Tif), Antipolo, Asipulo | *‘having a rest’*  
‘root of the mountains where they sit down and drink wine’  
‘somewhere there’  
(*ditan ‘there’, deictic pronoun*) |
| 6. Hinyuma’dan/ Inhuma’dan | *Allulog, a sitio of Amduntug*  
Agoban, a sitio of Amduntug | *‘taking a long breath after long and tiresome walk’*  
(*huma’dan - ‘long breath’)  
‘where they will go and have enjoyment ‘  
(*huma-dan/yuma-dan ‘a group of people from other place’*) |
| 7. Inhippahip | Place on the other side  
Bakging, sitio of Amduntog;  
Place on the road from Hinlalangiit (Gissigit) to In’agoban (Agoban); from Urdidittaan to Hinlalangiit; village on the Ayangan side of Halyap | *‘opposite side’*  
‘go to see’  
(*hippa– ‘move your body to a certain direction and peep behind smth’*) |
| 8. Kitumman | *A village< in a mythological area –MVS>, where the conductors of spirits of the dead. Domva and her | *‘meeting place’, ‘where they will sit the dead on a stone, rock’  
‘rock kissing another rock’. ‘a dividing line’.* |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hudhud Coded place-name</th>
<th>Pairing</th>
<th>Joint Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pumbayyuhan <em>bayu</em> ‘to pound’</td>
<td>Nobtok Ibintok <em>botok</em> – ‘bundle of rice’</td>
<td>Place where they pound bountiful harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munaptapyok <em>tapyok</em> ‘extra, sobra, excessive amount’</td>
<td>Nobtok Ibintok <em>botok</em> – ‘bundle of rice’</td>
<td>Place where the harvest is bountiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monigsigging (Monitsigging, Monitchigging) <em>tsigging</em> ‘slope’</td>
<td>Monitchibankig</td>
<td>Like a mountain leaning to another mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panlukkutan <em>lukut</em> ‘smoking’</td>
<td>Pandibdiban <em>dibdib</em> ‘wind, air’</td>
<td>Resting place where you smoke and breathe/windy place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Uldidittan place somewhere there _ditan_ ‘there’ | Uldidinahyayan _idahyay_ – ‘to sit with your feet stretched’ _Dinahyayan ni duntug_ – ‘base of a mountain’ | ‘having a rest’, ‘base of a mountain’ <double interpretation: characteristics of landscape (the...
Itum – ‘two rocks kissing each other” (PP), “two mountains with a river in the center”
Non-mythological Itum near Ibulao bridge, connecting Kiangan and Lagawe municipalities
Place called ‘Itum’ in Halyap – deep narrow canyon with roaring water disappearing in a black hole (view from the bridge). That place has distinct connotations with mythological Kitumman.
Itum bridge on top of the map is in Barangay Haliap, Asipulo
Before Itum in Halyap there is Lobong di Nambawang (‘lake of Nambawang’) - ‘wider water, where two rivers meet’. Mind transparent waters of a smaller river to the right, behind the areca palm tree, merging with yellow waters of a bigger river on the left.
Nambawang – the place where Dumyan Ambagayon (conductors of soul) stay. There they meet the spirit of the dead
My Ifugao mother Esther (left) drawing a picture of the journey of soul of the dead as depicted in funeral hudhud. At the house of the leading hudhud chanter Appin Gumangan (right). Kakahha, Asipulo, July 2015
Left up - the soul of the dead at her house;
Left down – her living child ready to follow his dead mother;
Central part – the path of the soul downstream;
Right down – the soul of the dead comes to the meeting point; Right up – conductors of souls, Domya and Ambaggayaw.
Predominance of the River
When the soloist is performing the hudhud, her eyes are closed, as if she is sleeping. The mental picture that she has in front of her eyes is that of the river. She moves downstream, jumping from one rock to another.
Hiking with epic singers to the **mythological Nambawang**. The final point of our journey to the confluence of rivers in Lamut. From there the souls of the dead float downstream the Lamut river to **mythological Kadungayan** – the Abode of the Dead.
The singer’s sketch of *Nambawang*. The figurine in the center is the soul of the dead. When it falls down from the precipice at the confluence of rivers, Domia, the conductor of souls, places it on a round stone *ad lobong ni Nambawang* ‘the lake’ in the middle of the river, to decide whether the soul returns or leaves forever.
Conclusions: *dalan* (path) of a funeral hudhud

- In a hudhud-shaped dirge, the general direction of movement is from the birthplace of the deceased through the neighboring places **downstream**, towards a confluence of rivers that would bring the soul of the dead to the abode of the dead (*Kadungayan/Kodungayan*).
- That *dalan* is not direct. It is comprised of **several back-and -forth movements along the stream** performed by *linnawa ni nosi* (soul of the dead) and by *linnawa ni imbabalena* (the soul of one of the living descendants of the deceased, who is present at the wake).
- The crucial point of the journey is the soul’s meeting with Domya and her spouse Ambaggayon, the conductors of souls. The place where they meet is the **confluence of rivers**.
- **That meting point** bears the name of *Kitumman* in the hudhud funeral chant, but is referred to as *Nambawang* in the comments of the hudhud singers and male shamans, *mumbaki*.
- From Nambawang the soul floats downstream to *Kadungayan*, the abode of the dead.
Conclusions: coded place-names

• There is a certain number of coded place-names (CP-N), most of them coming in pairs, that are kept in the memory of the singers
• Usually at least one of 2 words in a pair has meaning, the other often being assonance and alliteration, added for the beauty of ‘verse’
• The paired coded place-names are used in liwliwwa jocular songs
• We do not have so far the samples of paired CP-N in genuine hudhud text sung during a ritual. The singers claim that they have used, or are going to use paired CP-N, but actually they use only the first word of the pair while singing
• The key meanings of the coded place-names refer to space (shape of terrain: slope, foothill etc.) or to the way of having a rest (resting posture, smoking, bathing, taking deep breath)
• There is also a possibility that old forgotten place-names, including the names of villages that do not exist any more, are used as CP-N
• There are few cases when ‘ordinary’ hudhud place-names (Nabayung, Gonhadan) are used as CP-N
• Alongside with CP-Ns, uncoded real place-names are also used, as well as their derivates formed by affixation (e.g. Binilian for Bili)
Choice of a CP-N

- In each particular case the CP-N are regarded by the singers to be fixed designations of certain real places. However, the comparison of recorded funeral hudhud texts, as well as interviews, taken repeatedly within several years (or even days), reveal that it is not so, or at least not always so.
- One and the same singer will insist that, e.g., *Uldidittan* CP-N stands for Agaban, a sitio of Amduntug, Asipulo in one case, and to Palao, Antipolo, Asipulo in the other. On the other hand, CP-N for Boco will remain stable over years of inquiries and in funeral songs for different persons.
- There are several possible explanations:
  - there is ‘a handful’ of CP-N that can be distributed between real places at random (low probability)
  - the choice of CP-N can be influenced by poetic needs (rhythm, assonance, alliteration, rhythm)
  - the choice of CP-N is defined by the direction of movement, which is always different, as it depends on the starting point, birthplace of the deceased. Coming from different directions would imply the use of different CP-N
  - there might be a certain order of naming. Just like the singer keeps a mental map of movement for the soul of the deceased downstream, in the direction of the mythological river that will bring the soul to the abode of the dead, she might follow a certain pattern, implying a succession of CP-N.
- Such things are not easily verbalised by the singers. New recordings of funeral hudhuds during the rituals are required.
With Ruben Gumangan, a prominent hudhud singer, and Josie Pataueg, language helper, at Nambawang in Lamut, Ifugao, August 2012

Thank you!
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