

Filipino Myths of Death and Speciation: Content and Structure^{1,2}

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I. Introduction

The last chapter dealt with the technique and methodology of structural studies of myth. In this chapter we will present a partial analysis of several Filipino myths. This analysis is not meant to be either exhaustive or definitive. It is presented in the hope of illustrating what can be accomplished with the structural approach. With this limited objective in mind, we have elected to neglect the study of mythemes and messages in single myths to concentrate on finding relationships between syntagmatic sequences in a series of myths. By doing so we hope to demonstrate the processes of inversion and transformation and to show these at work in Filipino myth-making. Since our analysis is preliminary and encompasses only a few myths, we will not make any statements on the "grand themes" of Filipino mythological thought. But the themes we have utilized (death, greed, speciation) are problems confronted by many Filipino myths and a comparative study along structural lines would be well worth the effort.

The myths we will use in this chapter, with one exception, come from the 16th century writings of Pavon, Povedano, and Loarca. These collections are taken to represent tales which were not greatly influenced by Christianity.

II. The Death and Speciation Sets

As our key myth we will take a tale found in the Povedano manuscript of 1572:

M1. "The Origin of Death 1)."

They believe and regard it as very certain that there is a supreme

being whom they call *Maco Aco*. It is said that he lives in a very high mountain where he measures the life of man on a very high tree which is called *siasad*. He was the father of the first people whom he shut up in two joints of the bamboo tree. Then came the King of the Turtledoves. When he alighted on the bamboo tree, there came forth from the joints a man, who was very dark but very handsome, who was named *Silalac*; and the other, a woman, who was named *Sibabay-e*. As soon as they beheld each other, they fell in love; but she rejected him, saying that it could not be, since they had both issued from one and the same hollow stem. Then they agreed to speak to the King of the Earthquake, *Macalinog*. As soon as he saw them, he said that it was very good, and that they ought to marry, for there were not enough people. After they were married they had two children, one of whom was named *Sagmany* and the other *Lirbo*.

One day, they were ordered to clean rice. When they did so, they used some *lancadas* [long and heavy pestles] so long that they pushed against the sky so that the sky became so high (above the earth). They say that before this the sky was very low and that people touched it with their heads. Next the children of these first people had to make a fish corral. As soon as they saw it finished, they caught a large shark, which they took ashore alive. But then the fish died. When their parents in the sky, who were called *Cap-tan* and *Maguayen*, learned about this, they sent the fly to see whether it was true. The fly said it was. *Maguayen* was so greatly incensed that she hurled a thunderbolt and lightning which killed *Sanman* and *Licpo* [sic]. This then was the first death.

As he delayed in returning to earth, his wife *Libas* sent her son to see where his father was. When the latter saw him, he told him to call his mother, for he was among the dead. But the mother did not wish it is, for she said that the dead do not return to earth.

The myth seems divided into three topic areas, delineated by the paragraphs. The first deals with the origin of human beings, of marriage, and (in overcoming the incest problem) of culture. The second section deals with the origin of death and the separation of earth and sky. The third, which does not seem to "fit" well with the logic of the myth, deals with the question of why the dead do not return to earth.

In keeping with the structural technique outlined in the previous chapter, there are several "why" questions which we might seek to answer: (1) Why is a *siasad* tree used to measure man's life span; (2) Why are humans encased in bamboo; (3) Why is the turtle-dove the means of their escape; (4) Why is the dark color of the male commented on; (5)

Why is the earthquake god the one the couple seek in order to get married; (6) Why is the separation of earth and sky included in a myth about the origin of death; (7) Why does the death of a shark lead to human death; (8) Why is silence the cause of death's permanence? Unfortunately we cannot answer all these questions, but will focus on a couple of them and answer them by reference to other myths.

Before citing the other myths we should note some of the internal features of M1. There are a number of binary oppositions in the myth: (1) contained versus free (both humans and shark); (2) land versus water; (3) unified versus separated (both humans and earth-sky); (4) heaven versus earth; (5) man versus shark; (6) incest versus marriage; (7) born of one versus born of two; (8) nature versus culture (implicit).

There are relatively few transformations in the myth, but the following are obvious: (1) United Couple → Separated Couple → United Couple; (2) Brother + Sister → Husband + Wife; (3) Earth ∩ Sky → Earth ∩̄ Sky; (4) Life → Death.

There are also a number of equalities which may be formulated. Among them: (1) silence=permanence; (2) shark=death; (3) culture=separation; (4) shark=water, etc.

The internal structure of the myth exhibits three items of interest. There are three trips undertaken in the myth. They balance each other in terms of what they accomplish:

<u>TRIP TO</u>	<u>UNDERTAKEN BY</u>	<u>RESULT</u>
Macalinog	Brother + Sister	Unification (marriage)
Earth	Fly	Separation (from Gods) + Unification (return)
Father	Son	Separation (permanent death)

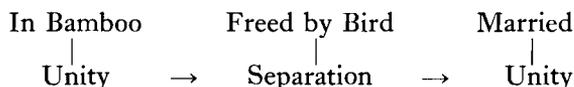
The first and third trips are opposites. In the first a male and a female, consanguineally related make a trip to a stranger to be married and produce children. Before the trip the female rejects the male. In the third trip a male and a female are affinally related but separated. It is their offspring who makes the trip while the parents remain static. The female rejects the male after the trip is completed. In a summary fashion we could say trip I leads to life (children), while trip III reaffirms death. In the fact that trip III refutes the first trip and trip II does the same for itself, we can say that M1 has a closed structure.

The second aspect of the internal structure concerns the link between the accomplishment of technological tasks and the results on the cosmological level. In doing their work the children are never separated—they undertake the same task at the same time. As a result of

this situation here is always separation on another level beyond the mundane world:

<u>SOCIOLOGICAL LEVEL</u>	→	<u>COSMOLOGICAL LEVEL</u>
United while pounding rice	→	Separation of earth and sky
United while fishing	→	Separation of living and dead

The explanation of this pattern could lie in the fact that the sequences on the technological level do not balance out the pattern of unity and separation which operates at the beginning of the myth. There we have the sequence:



The next term in the series should be separation, in other words, a division of labor. Note that this need for a division of labor fits with the theme of the first part of the myth, the setting up of society. Just as marriage is necessary for society (overcoming biological incest), so a proper division of labor is necessary (the biological incest can be seen as "technological incest"). In not providing this term on the sociological level, the bricoleur is forced by the logic of the myth to provide it on the cosmological level.

This logic may then explain the episode of section three (which seems alien to the first two-thirds of the myth). There we have another view of death, not on the cosmological level, but as a sociological problem of separation of the family. If the pattern holds, this sociological separation should be opposed by a cosmological unification. This unification is the uniting of heaven and earth via information (the trip of the fly) and by a physical link (the lightning bolt). This pattern reverses the events in the middle of the myth:

<u>MIDDLE</u>	—	<u>END</u>
Humans refuse to separate while working	—	Humans are separated by decision of wife
Earth and sky separated	—	Earth and sky united

There is a further problem which cannot be dealt with by consideration internal to M1. This is the question of why there is a refusal to allow a division of labor in the first place. Why should a myth which starts out by setting up society suddenly reverse its direction? We will return to this problem later.

A third feature of the internal structure of M1 also demonstrates its closed nature. There is a dialectic of contained versus free which takes a positive value in the first section of the myth and reverses its value in the second section:

SECTION I: Contained → Free	Result: Life for things previously enclosed (humans)
SECTION II: Free → Contained	Result: Death for thing previously free (shark)

When we examine other myths we will see that this dialectic between freedom and containment is an important motif in Filipino myths.

We have seen that M1 is internally coherent and that it is almost totally self-contained. But this does not mean that no questions arise from the myth. Perhaps the most important is why the bringing of the shark to shore resulted in human death. We have a partial answer in the internal structure of the myth. We showed that the shark episode is the reverse of the freeing of the humans from the bamboo and therefore must lead to death because the first sequence led to life. But this does not tell us why the shark was the animal chosen to bring death. There are other animals which can go from a free state to a contained state and thus could be used in this sequence. Even if we argue that the ancient Bisayans had a strong dislike against bringing sea creatures on land alive because it violated a land/water opposition, we still have not solved the problem. We would have to explain why a land/water opposition was considered relevant to death rather than an earth/sky or sky/water opposition. Further, we would have to explain why a shark was involved in the myth rather than a ray, an eel or some other aquatic creature. In order to investigate this question we turn to a myth found in the Povedano manuscript of 1578:

M2. "How Peoples and Animals were Created."

Many, many years ago, animals and men understood each other's languages. There was a man who was a famous king. He was said give life to a piece of wood by means of his arts. He likewise made other things with the power of his magic hands, and with words from his mouth he could raise any object he wanted to bring to life.

His wife called him Maguayan, while he called her Sibū. This woman with him was very clever; and thus she was called Quinat (lightning)—by others Quilas. With a look of her eyes she could leave anybody half-dead. Thus lives Maguayan and his companion Quinas, whom others called Quilat.

In the course of time, he (Maguayan) got a piece of wood and with one look of his eyes gave it life. This wood was seventy feet or *palmos* long. Maguayan gave it life and the form of a fish (tiburan). He kept this in an enclosure in the place where they

lived. The place was a very lovely garden. They gave this fish all kinds of fruits for its sustenance. And it moved about like a serpent. They took good care of it and named it Sibaquis (shark). However, it was not allowed to eat any of the animals and disobedience to this would mean eternal punishment. Not far from this place Siguilat (or Siguilas) and her companion Maguayan had a beautiful and sweet-scented place called Kalangitan. It abounded with many varied trees and birds and animals.

Time came when Siquilat had to go and visit some of her companions, Maguayan and Sikalake. So she reminded Sibaquis to remember her promise not to devour the animals or the birds which she had in the place.

And so many years elapsed. Sibaquis, after eating all the fruits, devoured also all the animals that were there. As the years passed by Sibaquis and his clan multiplied and ate almost all the animals that were there.

One day Maguayan arrived with Sikabay and Sikalak. With them was Siquilat. Their fury arose when they found out what had happened to the animals. Sikalak commanded fire like a thunderbolt to issue forth from his eyes, leaving all of them frustrated [sic], almost dead. Almost immediately, Maguayan from behind, hurled them to the waters of the sea. All of them have remained there up to the present time. They have become the fishes of the seas—all because of the magic arts and power of Sikalake.

Although the subject matter is different in M1 and M2, there are great similarities between the two myths. M2 is about the origin of fish species while M1 is about the origin of human death. As we will demonstrate, speciation is seen as a milder form of death and both are subsumed under the concept of separation. M2 is thus a weaker version of M1, but at the same time it reverses many of the details of the latter. We can compare the myths by means of a chart:

M1	M2
1. Contained → Free: good for humans (get children)	Contained → Free: good for shark (gets food)
2. Man kills first	Shark kills first
3. God creates man, encloses in wood	God creates shark, from wood
4. Shark in container dies	Shark in container lives
5. Maguayan (♀) kills	Sikalak (♂) stuns
6. Humans cannot increase from one (bamboo)	Shark increases from one
7. Bird frees humans	Shark kills birds

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>8. Vertical disjunction
(Earth & Sky)</p> <p>9. Cause of death; destruction
of shark (=water)</p> <p>10. Result: Separation of living
and dead</p> <p>11. Free → Contained: Shark
as passive agent of death</p> | <p>Horizontal disjunction
(Land & Sea)</p> <p>Cause of speciation: destruc-
tion of birds (=air) and
animals (=land)</p> <p>Result: Separation into
various fish species</p> <p>Contained → Free: Shark
as active death agent</p> |
|--|---|

In spite of the reversals of detail between the two myths, there is at least one way in which they complete each other. This is in the Earth/Air/Water traid: M1 starts the series by making death the punishment for the death of a water creature, and M2 completes the series by making speciation the result of the death of land and air creatures. The same traid is re-created in the two disjunctions. M1 provides the land and sky terms, while M2 supplies the missing water term (from the reverse viewpoint, also valid, M2 provides the water and land terms, while M1 supplies the missing air term).

We can better see the logic of the two myths when we place them side by side. This demonstrates the weaker nature of M2:

- | M1 | M2 |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Bamboo | 1. Wood |
| 2. Separation without death | 2. Contained in garden |
| 3. Culture (=marriage) | 3. Culture (=food taboos) |
| 4. Bisexual reproduction | 4. Monosexual reproduction |
| 5. No division of labor
(refutes -3) | 5. Eats flesh
(refutes -3) |
| 6. -5 incongruent with
human nature (=cultural
animal) | 6. -5 congruent with shark
nature |
| 7. Cosmological separation | 7. Cosmological separation |
| 8. Separation with death | →8. Separation without death |

This chart shows that there are three themes common to the myths. First, there is a paradox involving the nature of the main characters in the story. The paradox in M1 is sociological: There is no division of labor, but humans are cultural animals (made so by the marriage) and

the division of labor is an essential part of culture.

The paradox in M2 is cosmological in that it deals with the confusion of the natural order with the cultural order. The shark is given a taboo against eating flesh, yet it is the nature of the shark to eat meat.

The second theme is the death theme. This is overt in M1 and submerged in M2. As mentioned before, speciation is a weaker form of death, as the half-dead nature of the shark may emphasize.

The third theme is the question of species creation. Connected with this problem is the theme of incest. The theme is overt in M2 and submerged in M1. The marriage in M1 smooths over the incest problem but does not solve it. In fact, M1 and M2 both agree that incest is inevitable. We could summarize M1 by saying that the bamboo (which is wood, like the shark in M2) multiplied from itself (like the shark) and gave birth to a species unlike itself (like the shark). Thus the speciation theme is present in M1, but in this indirect form.

What we have shown is that M1 and M2 are connected as a set. They have the same three themes, although they give differential emphasis to each. In keeping with the difference in emphasis, the details of the myths are different. We have shown that M1 stresses death while M2 stresses speciation and when M2 inverted the emphasis of M1 it also inverted many of the details.

At this point we can explain why the bringing ashore of the shark was the cause of the first human death in M1. This particular syntagmatic sequence was dictated by the logic of M2, where the movement from a contained to a free state resulted in the shark being an active agent of death. When we reverse the sequence and deal with the movement from a free state to a contained state, we see that the shark becomes a passive agent (and victim) of death, dying himself (unlike M2) and also bringing death to humankind.

Perhaps we should pause at this point and note exactly what we have explained and what we cannot explain. Our original question was why a shark should be involved in the origin of human death in M1. Our answer is that the logic of the M1-M2 set forces this choice because the shark was involved in death in M2. Of course the argument can be reversed: we may explain the presence of the shark in M2 by reference to its activity in M1. But what we cannot do is to break out of the circle and decide why the shark was chosen as a symbol of death in the first place (although this might be possible if we knew something about ancient Bisayan zoological classification). Instead, we must now look for myths in which the shark is a life giver rather than a death symbol. Then we may conclude that there is no unbreakable link between the shark and death. Rather, the bricoleur in one myth used the shark as a

death symbol. Then in other myths he worked out the implications of this equation. If assume that he created M1 first, we can view M2 as the next logical step in the sequence. But in another series of myths the bricoleur used a different equation: Shark=Life. Then he worked out the implications of that equation in still other myths.

This argument means that there are three sets of myths we must study in order to understand the role of the shark in Bisayan myths: (1) the sub-set based on the Shark=Death equation; (2) the sub-set based on the Shark=Life equation; and (3) the meta-set which includes both these sub-sets. In the meta-set we may expect to find links between individual myths which belong to different sub-sets. It is this complex process of study which leads Lévi-Strauss to compare the study of a body of myths to the process of studying a bit of tissue under microscope. It is impossible to focus on one structure with forcing other areas out of focus. Yet when we re-focus we find hitherto unseen links between the structure we used to have in focus and the areas that were previously out of focus.

With this reasoning it is easy to see that it is impossible to break out of explanations which seem circular. When we ask why a certain element is in a certain myth we can answer only by referring to a second myth and by showing that the episode or element in the first myth is a transformation of an element or episode in the second myth. Now, when we ask why the element is found in the second myth to begin with, we can only refer back to the first myth and show the transformation working from the other direction. Or we can refer to a third myth, which just delays the closing of the circle.

The argument may seem useless at first sight. However, if it is granted that the content of structures is not important, but only the form, then circularity of explanation is not a problem. The bricoleur can make up any equation he desires and, if we have enough myths, we can discover that he systematically exploits the possibilities of that equation by transforming it in different syntagmatic sequences. It is the demonstration of the systematic nature of the process and the chance to uncover the laws governing the process that is important. For this type of work there is no need to break out of the circle.

This type of logic may seem a trick at best. Yet it has always been recognized that there is no inherent link between a symbol and its meaning in mythological systems. The study of folklore and mythology abounds with examples in which an object has one meaning in one myth and the opposite in another myth. And sometimes both these meanings are combined in the same myth or circles of myths, as in the trickster figure. Thus structural analysis gets us closer to the reality of mytho-

logical thought than does the search for univocal symbols ("water symbols," "rebirth symbols," etc.). We should also note that structuralism is not the only orientation to arrive at this conclusion. To mention only one other, Victor Turner's theory of ritual symbols also stresses the multivocal nature of symbols and shows how their meaning depends upon context.

A similar argument to the one we used to explain why the shark is a passive death bringing in M1 would also explain why the theme of the disjunction of earth and sky is included in M1: because it is a reversal of the separation of land and water in M2. Again, the reason man was put into bamboo after being created may be found in the wood origin of the shark in M2 and the need for an incest theme in M1. Most of the other differences between M1 and M2 can be explained in these terms. But once we have realized this we must move beyond this limited set and seek relationships to other myths.

Since we are investigating the role of the shark in reference to life and death, we will introduce a Tagalog myth which was recently collected and which reverses the role of the shark:

M3. "The Origin of the Man-eating Shark"

Hundreds of years ago, when the greater part of the now rich and thickly populated island of Luzon was a wilderness, the blood-thirsty Moros from Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago used to come to this island in their swift war-boats and carry back to their homes booty and prisoners they captured. Most of their attacks were directed against the people of Batangas province. Often the Moros went up the Pansipit River to Lake Taal and there they robbed and killed the inhabitants of the coast.

While these piratical attacks were going on, there lived on the shores of the lake a Filipino couple who had a beautiful son. When the boy was about ten years old the mother gave birth again. To the great astonishment of the father and mother a young shark instead of a young child, was born. The father, being submissive servant of God, who bore with meekness all the dispensations of Providence, took great care of the shark just as if it were a young child. A big tank of stone was built, where the father placed various kinds of live fishes as food for his shark. The tank being deep and filled with water to the edge, enabled the shark to swim to and fro.

In the course of time the shark grew bigger and bigger. This time he ate more fishes than before so that he became a burden to his family. One night the father and mother talked together and they resolved to take the shark to the lake. So the next morning

the father went to the tank and addressed the shark thus: "Son," he said, "we can no longer maintain you on account of the quantity of food you eat. So your mother and I decided last night to take you to the lake where you can find more food to eat."

"I do not refuse to obey your orders," said the shark, "you can take me any place you want, provided that I can live there."

The father then placed the shark on his shoulders and went to the lake. With tears in his eyes, the father said, "Farewell, my son, farewell," and let him go.

"Good-bye, my father," said the shark sadly. "We will meet here every afternoon." The father went home and the shark dived into the water.

Years rolled on and the intercourse between the father and the shark continued. In the meantime, the brother of the shark was growing into manhood. Just about this time the Moros attacked the towns bordering the lake and made many prisoners. Among the young prisoners was the brother of the shark. The father did not know what to do. He went to the shore lamenting over the fate of his beloved son. The shark heard his lamentations and asked him the cause of his grief. "Oh!" answered the father, "the Moros captured your brother this morning. Go and save him from his ill-starred fate!"

The shark dived into the water and swam with all his might. He went down the Pansipit River into the sea where he overtook the Moros. He sank the boat where his brother was, and thus saved him. The shark turned around to take his brother to the shore. Just then a brave Moro wounded the animal in the back. The shark was so angry at this act that he turned around and seized the first Moro that faced him. Discovering the fact that the flesh of the Moro was palatable, the shark ate him. Several other Moros were also devoured by this shark. Then he carried his brother to the shores of Lake Taal. There they saw their father who was very happy when he saw his son safe and uninjured.

Afterwards, this shark associated with other sharks who also acquired the habit of devouring men.

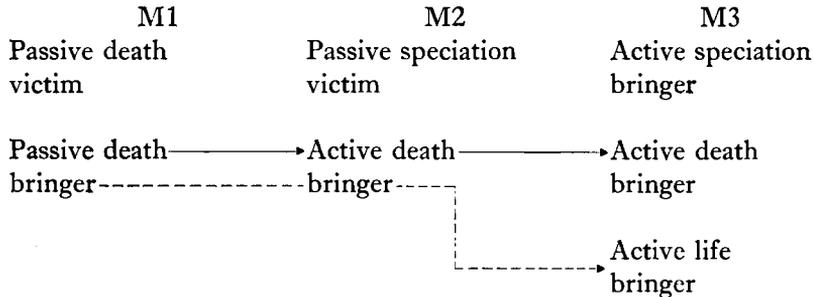
This myth reverses the previous equation Shark=Death and has the shark as both life-bringer and death-bringer. But in the context of the myth, the life-bringing role is dominant. As mentioned previously, there should be many links between equations which just reverse the role of any element. In this case it is the relationships between M3 and M2 which are the most obvious!

M2: A God	} creates	{ from wood	} a shark, which is placed	}
M3: A couple				
//				
M2: neglected by creators	fruit eater	eats birds and animals		
M3: cared for by creators	fish eater	leaves enclosure freely		
//				
M2: forced out of enclosure	speciation as punishment			
M3: eats human flesh	speciation because flesh tastes good			

The most obvious differences between M2 and M3 is that M3 lacks the first paradox present in M1 and M2. Because of this M3 has no separation theme on the cosmological level. It is true that the shark in M3 is kept in a container, but the parents do not try to place a food taboo on the shark which would be contradictory to its nature.

The links between M1 and M3 are not so well defined. The theme of the myths are reversed. In M1 men bring a shark ashore and cause its death. The shark gets revenge in M3, where it brings men into the water and kills them. The fact that the shark saves the brother is the reversal of another sequence of M1. His life-bringing results in the unification of a family which was separated. In M1 we have the shark's death causing the separation of a unified family.

The three myths can now be joined together by tracing two patterns which evolve through the three of them. The first pattern concerns the role of the shark:



From this chart it is clear that M1 and M3 cast the shark in different roles and these roles are opposites. In M1 the shark is passive, he dies himself and, although he is the cause of man's death, he does not kill man himself. In M3 the shark is active in death (killing Moros), in life (saving the brother), and in speciation (by becoming a different sort of shark: a man-eater).

The chart shows M1 and M3 at opposite ends of a continuum, with M2 in the middle. If this pattern is valid, other patterns should

conform to it. A second pattern concerns the movement from a free state to a contained state and vice versa:

M1	M2	M3
Free → Contained	Contained → Free	Contained → Free
Man —	Man ?	Man +
Shark —	Shark —	Shark +

To explain the chart we start with M1. There the shark moved from a free state to a contained state. The consequences were negative for both the shark and the man (death). In M3, in contrast, the shark moved from a contained state to a free state. The consequences were positive for man (the saving of the brother) and for the shark (a new diet). M2 uses the same movement as M3, but it has a negative consequence for the shark (like M1). The consequence for man is questionable, but if we consider that fish are a part of man's diet, then speciation had a positive consequence for man (like M3). Thus this pattern follows the first, with M2 being a combination of sequences from M1 and M3.

We should note that M3 actually validates M1 on the question of the value of freedom and confinement. M1 states that confinement is bad, whereas M3 completes the logic by stating that freedom is good.

Let us return to the Spanish collections. We have seen that M1 deals overtly with death, while M2 is overtly concerned with speciation. At a number of points in *The Raw and the Cooked* Lévi-Strauss shows how a third myth may be a combination of syntagmatic sequences from two other myths. This process produces a myth which is hard to understand in terms of itself. The following myth combines both the death and the speciation theme:

M4, "The Formation of the tribes of Mankind"

Away in the dim past, there lived two people. One of them was named Sikabay and the other Sikalake. One came from the nodules of the spiny bamboo. In another place of the world, at the same time, there lived a great man of magic. He could in one way or another, change stones or some other objects into animate beings.

This wizard had the form of a crocodile (cayman). One time Sikalak and Sikabay had to cross a wide river. This river was very wide. This wizard was called Sibú Ineptan. Having seen them, and knowing he needed them, he approached them and struck them hard with a wag of his tail. And when they were already in the water, he dragged them and immediately placed them in the hollow of his back, called *latok latokan* (table), and took them to the depths of the river. He placed them there in a great cave, and by means of his magic, brought them back to life.

With the charms and other magic arts which he received from the devil, Sibú Inoptan gave them back their lives. He changed stones into plants. He certainly had the magic power to make plants and stones and great trees.

Many years passed, the centuries passed. Sikalake and Sikabayó married and several offsprings came from the union. And they were so numerous that their parents could not give them enough food for subsistence. They were very lazy. They never worked nor did anything to help. One time Sikalake ordered his children to work and help in the cultivation of a field, for he was to prepare another one. When the old couple returned from their work, they wanted to eat and, finding that all the food was eaten by their lazy children, their fury mounted. Their anger rose and they grabbed the ladle and started to give blows to everyone. This they did with all their might. Some of the children hid under the so called *lankapes* (bamboo benches), others went to the kitchen where they hid; others who fled to the roofs hid themselves in the trees; others hid in the mountains; and still others ran to the seashore.

Those who hid under the *lankanos* became the *olipons* (slaves, lowest class of people); those who hid behind the stove in the kitchens were called *atas* [Negritos]; those who concealed themselves in the trees were called the *timauas* (freemen), for they were poor and destitute of fortunes; and those who fled to the mountains became known as the *Igneines*, or those that were destined to work on the land; and those who went to the shore were called the Jiguesinas, or fishermen.

And thus the world was peopled with various races and colors and those inhabited the various places of the world (Povedano Manuscript, 1578).

Although this myth does not deal with true species formation, but rather with social and racial divisions, we will still refer to the process of making sub-groups from a previously undifferentiated field (sociological or zoological) as speciation. This special use of the term should be kept in mind.

This myth has one outstanding feature in its internal structure which we will comment on before linking the myth up with M1 and M2. The sequence of transformation of the children shows a logical progression from culture to nature and this is paralleled by a progression in status from high to low. In the culture-to-nature sequence the tree occupies an ambiguous position. It is a natural element, like the mountain or seashore, yet it is also a part of culture in that it is used to build tables and to fuel the stove:

		HIDING PLACE	RESULT		
Diachronic Dimension	Table	}		Slaves	} Low
	Stove			Negritos	
	Tree	}	Culture + Nature	Freeman	} Middle
	Mountains	}	Nature	Farmers	} High
	Seashore			Fishers	

The discovery of this sequence illustrates the fact that when the bricoleur formulated the myth the selection of the various hiding places was not random. Rather, there was a need for cultural elements, natural elements, and one ambiguous element. This need was created by the way the Bisayans visualized their social structure. In fact, the extra comment on the freemen in the text seems to point out their ambiguous position in this structure. This does not explain why these five specific items were the ones chosen for the myth. The link between the mountains and land work and the seashore and fishing is fairly determinant. And the Negritos may be associated with the stove because of their dark skin color. But why freemen should be associated with trees (rather than some other ambiguous element) or slaves with tables, is a problem requiring more information.

Now let us turn to linking M4 with the other myths. It is obvious that M2 and M4 have the same subject matter: speciation. M2 deals with this on the zoological level and M4 on the sociological level. In spite of the fact that they have the same theme, there are several inversions;

M2	M4
Wood → Shark	Stones → Plants
Two gods	Two humans
One shark	One crocodile
Shark in contained water	Crocodile in open water
Shark in contained state dies and causes death	Humans in contained state receive life and create life
Shark as killer	Crocodile as killer and healer
Monosexual reproduction	Bisexual reproduction
Punishment by eyes	Punishment by hands
Life by voice	Death by tail

One species →	a) One race → many races
many species	b) One occupation → many occupations
Offspring of shark are industrious in obtaining food	Offspring of humans are lazy in obtaining food
Shark victim of magic	Crocodile user of magic
Gods users of magic	Humans victim of magic

It will be seen that the equation Shark=Humans is the link between the myths. The humans in M4 are in the same position as the shark in M2. They have been given life by one who keeps them in a contained state. They are victims of magic-using beings. They have children and these children ultimately become different than their parents and, in both cases, the transformation results from the matter of obtaining food.

Perhaps it is well to ask why the contrast: "Life through voice/ Death through tail" is seen as an inversion. Life and death are opposites (but perhaps not for all cultures), but in what ways are tail and voice opposite? A possible answer comes from *The Raw and the Cooked*, where Lévi-Strauss discusses the logic of the body and discovers that the body may be conceptualized in terms of a high/low dimension and a front/back dimension. A classification of the orifices of women in terms of this logic is as follows:

	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>LOW</u>
FRONT	Mouth	Vagina
BACK	Ear	Anus

The same logic applies in the present situation. The voice which gives life to the shark in M2 is upper and front, while the tail which kills the humans in M4 is lower and back. They are complete opposites.

A major difference between the myths stems from the fact that M2 deals with two gods as the creators of species while M4 deals with two humans in the same role, as creators of races and occupational groups. In reality the situation is more complex and involves the ambiguous role of the crocodile in M4. If we compare the users of magic in both myths the transformation is: M2 [Two gods] → M4 [One Wizard]. But the situation is reversed for the victims of the magical power: M2 [One prisoner] → M4 [Two prisoners]. Thus:

M2	M4
Two gods	One wizard
One prisoner	Two prisoners

In this situation the crocodile must fulfill the death-bringing and the life-bringing functions which were divided between the two gods in M2.

This explains why he first kills the humans before taking them into the cave, an episode which is not really required by the subject matter of the myth. Although we have now explained why the crocodile is the animal to kill the humans, at this point we cannot say why this episode is included. For this we must refer back to M1, which we will do below.

The major difference between M2 and M4 can be formulated in terms of the relative strength of the speciation theme. M2 is stronger than M4 because it deals with true species creation, while M4 deals with the creation of differences below the species level. This difference in strength is associated with the fact that M4, unlike M2, deals openly with the incest problem. Let's compare certain aspects of the myths to see this difference more clearly:

M2: A wizard god M4: A crocodile	creates a shark. kills humans.	Puts shark into container Puts humans into cave
//		
M2: Feeds shark. M4: Revives humans (but does not provide food).	Shark multiplies monosexually. Humans multiply bisexually.	Offspring industrious in food getting. Offspring lazy in food getting.
//		
M2: Punishment from eyes. M4: Punishment from hands.	Released to open water Released to 'wide' world.	Origin of species. Origin of social groups.

The chart shows how the two myths oppose each other on the theme of speciation. Now let us turn to the death theme. In order to explain the death episode in M4 we must refer to M1:

M1	M4
Humans in bamboo	Shark in container
Earthquake as unifier (marriage)	Crocodile as unifier (marriage)
Children industrious	Children lazy
Children killed by gods (creator)	Children transformed by parents (creators)
Separated couple	Separated generations
Humans bring shark out of water=death	Crocodile brings humans into water=life
People go from contained state to free state (release from bamboo) with positive result	People go from contained state to free state (spread over world) with negative result

Now we can see why the killing of the humans was inserted in M4—it is the reverse of the death of the shark in M1. In M1 the shark was put into a container and died, which led to human death. M4 reverses the pattern in that the movement from freedom to confinement brings life. But in order for this movement to bring life the humans must be dead in the first place. Therefore the crocodile must go through the process of killing them just to be able to resurrect them and complete the inversion of M1.

In the chart on page 27 we opposed the earthquake god to the crocodile wizard. This identification rests on the fact that both beings are the means of uniting a human couple, thereby permitting the production of children. But in keeping with the inversion of the myths, the children are of different types. The children in M1 are industrious and work together at pounding rice and fishing. But the children in M4 are lazy in reference to farming and greedy because they ate up all the food (which they didn't help produce). This difference between the children continues the basic paradox which we found in M1. Like M1, M4 deals with the setting up of society. In M1 the paradox was that there was no sexual division of labor, although culture had been created with the first marriage. In M4 the paradox stems from the fact that the children are greedy and yet will not work for their keep. They thus violate two rules of culture: one must work to eat and the rule of food

M1	M4	M2
1. Bamboo	1. Stones (?)	1. Wood
2. Separation without death	2. Death without separation	2. Contained in garden
3. Culture (=marriage)	3. Contained in cave	3. Culture (=food taboo)
4. Bisexual reproduction	4. Culture (=marriage)	4. Monosexual reproduction
5. No division of labor (refutes #3)	5. Bisexual reproduction	5. Greedily eats flesh (refutes #3)
6. #5 incongruent with human nature	6. a) Greediness b) no work (refutes #4)	6. #5 congruent with shark nature
7. Cosmological separation	7. #6 incongruent with human nature	7. Cosmological separation
8. Separation with death	8. Sociological separation	8. Separation without death
	9. Separation without death	

sharing, especially with parents.

Because M4 combines themes found in both M1 and M2, we can expect to find that it borrows episodes from both myths. If we add M4 to our chart on page 16 we find that this is indeed the case (see chart on p. 28).

If we change the order of the myths in the above chart a different pattern appears. If we arrange the myths in the series M2—M4—M1 we find an inverse relationship between the seriousness of death and the strength of the separation theme. When the death theme is weak, separation is great, and vice versa:

	M2	M4	M1	
Weak—				→ Strong
	Half dead	Death + Resurrection	Permanent Death	
Strong ←				—Weak

A final link between these three myths involves the importance of wood in each. In M1 human beings were enclosed in wood and when this was broken they emerged. In M2 the shark was originally created from wood. In M4 we observe a combination of both themes. Like the shark, wood is used to create previously non-existent life forms (the various tribes). At the same time, the ladle forces the children to separate from their home in the same way that the breaking of the bamboo forced the separation of male and female in M1.

At this point we have explained a number of items in M1 by reference to M2, M3, and M4. Along the way we have explained some features of the other three myths. This is especially the case with M4, the episodes of which stem almost totally from combining episodes of M1 and M2. We now turn back to our key myth (M1) to see if we can widen the scope of our analysis by bringing other myths into the picture.

One question which might have occurred to the reader is whether or not there are other Bisayan myths that treat the origin of death. Luckily, we have two other myths on this topic. The first comes from the writings of Miguel de Loarca:

M5. "The Origin of Death (2)."

The brother and sister (Sanman and Licpo or Sagmany and Lirbo) also had a daughter, called Lupluban, who married Pandaguan, a son of the first pair, and had a son called Anoranor. Pandaguan was the first to invent a net for fishing at sea; and, the first time he used it, he caught a shark and brought it to shore, thinking it would not die. But the shark died when brought ashore. When he saw this Pandaguan began to mourn and weep over it, complaining against the gods for having allowed the shark to die, when no one

had died before that time. It is said that the God Captan, on hearing this, sent flies to ascertain who the dead was. But as the flies did not dare to go, Captan sent the weevil, who brought back the news of the shark's death. The god Captan was displeased at these obsequies to a fish. He and Maguayen made a thunderbolt, with which they killed Pandaguan; he remained thirty days in the infernal regions, at the end of which the gods took pity upon him, brought him back to life, and returned him to the world.

When we compare this myth with the key myth we note a subtle difference in the cause of human death. In M1 the man was killed because he brought about the death of the shark. But in M5 man's death stems not from killing the shark, but from mourning over the body, thereby offending Captan. With this difference goes a series of oppositions:

M1: An asexual couple	both of whom	invent the fish corral
M5: A sexual couple	the male of which	invents the fish net
//		
M1: which leads to the shark's death that is greeted with silence.		Gods informed by fly.
M5: which leads to the shark's death that is greeted by noise.		God informed by weevil.
//		
M1: Maguayan (♀) kills	the couple	who stay dead.
M5: Maguayen (♀) and Captan (♂) kill	the male	who is resurrected

There are two basic differences between the couples involved in the myths. The couple in M5 is both sexual and observes a division of labor. The couple in M1 is asexual and does not observe a division of labor. With the different outcomes, it would seem that M5 is giving approval to a division of labor and to sexuality.

The division of labor theme also determines why a sequence in M1 is lacking in M5. When we discussed M1 we said that the lack of a division of labor led to a cosmological separation of earth and sky. In M5 this cosmological separation does not need to occur, since a sociological division of labor is postulated. This also answers the question we posed on page 14—as to why M1 should lack a division of labor in the first place because there is such a division in M5.

To further explore the question of the division of labor we will depart from our main line of argumentation to complete a set of three myths on this subject. In M1 we had the situation where there was no sexual division of labor. This resulted in cosmological separation and in death for the couple. In M5 we had a proper division of labor and there was no cosmological separation and the dead man was resurrected.

The next logical step would be an improper division of labor, one in which sex roles were reversed. In the Pavon manuscript there is such a myth:

M6. "Mount Canlaon."

They say that the sky hung low at the beginning of the world. Men touched the vault of the sky with their heads, and because of that there were no tall people then. Many of the people were short, and so he who was somewhat taller in stature had to go bent over—a custom that people are said to have yet when they grow old. It is said that people were very haughty at that time and worked very little or none at all. During that time there lived a man and a woman. The man's name was Canla, and the woman's Ona. He was a very old tamaran, and she was very stingy. They had no children, and on that account they were not happy. On the other hand, they had no heaps of useless things about, except for once in a while.

Once upon a time, Ona ordered that man to make a light, for it is said that there were no stars in the sky at that epoch, and night was very dark. So, being in a bad humor, Canla took the stone and steel, and with the latter struck such powerful and loud blows on the stone that great flaming sparks jumped out. These went up to the sky and became the stars of the firmament. At another time, Canla was ordered to pound some *palay* [rice]. Because until that time, no other method had been used in cleaning the husk of this grain than the soles of the feet, this Canla said that all people should have big soles on their feet. Up to this very time, they say that they have feet like that. Canla prepared a big log of wood, and began to dig a hole with a sharp stone in the trunk of a large tree. Then he emptied the *palay* into the hole and began to pound it heavily with the log. But, oh, marvel of men! It was, indeed, true that the *palay* was cleaned, but it could also be seen that the sky had been lifted up high by the blows. From that time the sky has been high, and people have no longer been able to touch it with their heads. Men also became tall. Until that time, people were without malice, but after that it came about that people sheltered malice. Accordingly, they became very envious of Canla, and it is said that they asked the old god, whose name was Laloan, to punish him saying that because of him they believed that the sky had become very high. Now, when that old god, Laloan, heard that, he became very angry at the evil thoughts of the people, the companions of Canla and Ona. Accordingly, one day when the twain were out walking, the god Laloan threw down on them from on high

a huge clod of earth, and Canla and Ona were hidden beneath it.

But they assert that the old god Laloan, said that as soon as all people should become good and envy should exist no longer in the world, Canla and Ona would go forth into the world. After that, whenever these old-time people passed by that place and beheld the big mountain, they would say: "There lie Canla and Ona, who because they wrought good deeds for people, were punished by the heavens until all people should become good." And whenever the volcano bursts forth, they say that Canla and Ona have sent word to their emissary, Hari-sa-Boqued, to see whether the people of the world have yet become good, and whether they have forgotten their envy. And inasmuch as this has not yet come to pass, Canla and Ona will have to wait for some time yet, for malice still exists in the world. Since then, the people have called that place Canlaon.

The links between this myth and M1 are clear. These two myths are at opposite ends of a continuum, with M5 in the middle. First let us note the relationship of the two poles:

M1: A god inside a mountain.	} Lancadas	{ used by both used by male }
M6: (End) People inside a mountain		
//		
M1: causes separation of earth and sky	{ Invention of fish corral (gathering) Creation of stars (scattering)	leads to death.
M6:		leads to light.
//		
M1: Two gods	kill couple	eternal unity, with death.
M6: One god	traps couple	eternal unity, with life.

The lesson we learned in M1 was that no division of labor is a situation counter to man's cultural status and has negative results. M6 says that an incorrect division of labor is also counter to man's cultural status and leads to negative results. Note that M6 carefully details the cultural status of mankind by contrasting the old method of pounding palay with the method invented by Canla, which involved the use of tools.

When we chart all the myths concerned with the division of labor we can see the patterns which unfold in the set:

	M1	M5	M6
DIVISION OF LABOR:	None	Correct	Incorrect
LIFE/DEATH;	Eternal unity	Separation	Eternal unity

SEPARATION/ UNITY:	with death	+unity; Death+ Resurrection	with life
SEXUALITY:	Asexual (no children)	Sexual	Asexual (no children)
COSMOLOGICAL	Earth & Sky Living & Dead	None	Earth & Sky Dark sky into light and dark (stars)
SOCIOLOGICAL:	Mother & Father (section III)	Temporary	Tall & Short Malice & Good

The message of this set seems to be clear—the best of all possible worlds is one in which a sexual division of labor is observed and the male and female have roles similar to Bisayan culture. The other two worlds are sterile. The heroes of M1 and M6 never produce children. And the only hope of resurrection is in M5.

Another way to approach M6 would be to note the speciation themes contained in the sociological separations and to relate these themes back to M2 and M4. This would take us too far from our main line of argument, but we can note one interesting feature. In both M2 and M4 we have speciation resulting in a movement from a contained state to a free state. In M6 the pattern is reversed, after divisions among men are created we move from a free state to a contained state.

We now turn back to M5. This myth bears very few resemblances to either M2 or M4. The theme of speciation which dominates the latter is completely absent from M5. Actually, the incest theme is present in M5, but only in that the myth takes the first section to show there is no possibility of incest in the marriage of Lupluban and Pandaguan. This emphasis should alert us to the possibility that the myth deals with the problem in a covert manner. When we link M5 with M1 we can see that the end of M5 repeats the first section of M1, which deals

M1:	A couple	{	united in bamboo	}	is separated by	{	a bird	}
M5:		{	united in marriage	}		{	a thunderbolt	}

//

M1:	Thus separated	{	they both	}	take(s) a trip	{	which results in unity.	}
M5:		{	the male	}		{	after which unity is re-established.	}

//

M1:	Children born after the episode.
M5:	Children born before the episode.

with incest. This may be a way of solving the incest problem by relating it to death.

While we can explain a great deal of the text of M5 by M1 and vice versa, there are some unique features of M5 which open the way to new myths. For example, the refusal of the flies cannot be explained by just noting the rather obvious fact that it is the reverse of the fly's acceptance of his assigned task in M1. We still have to explain where the weevil fits into the picture. Also, the fact that M1 deals with a fish corral and M5 with a fishing net requires explanation. As it turns out, both these features are elements in a pattern which does not become clear until another myth is added to the set.

M7. "The Origin of Death (3)."

There on the distant place of Calongan, where Capantaan and the woman Lunpluban went to live for the first time, was a beach so pleasant and so beautiful that it attracted the attention of all who saw it. For that reason they decided to stay there.

Once when Capantaan was walking along the seashore deep in thought, he noticed that several fish were left high and dry in a stony and rocky cover when the water fell. Thereupon he conceived in his imagination that if he were to make a small cove by means of bamboos, he would catch many fish. Moved by this thought, he began to collect many bamboos, and made a cove of stakes.

He set the sparrowhawk to watch it at first, but he found every day that there were no fish, for the sparrowhawk stole them and he found only scales. So he became very angry, and struck its feet. Since then all sparrowhawks cannot walk on land, but have to hop.

Then he resolved to set his wife to watch. Becoming hungry, she began to cook some *bibanca* above the fish corral. Then a strong wind blew, and carried off into the water the round coverings made from banana leaves. In anger she tried to catch them with a pole, but they had already been turned into the fish *sapesape*. Since then wide fish have existed. Then she threw away her pole as it was no longer of any use to her, and it became an eel. Now when she had begun to cook, a large piece of wood, used as a support for her feet fell. This became a large *pargo*, which went away swimming on its side. Then in high dudgeon, she threw at it the wooden paddle which she used in stirring the rice mixture, and it became a fish *lenguao*. That made her more furious, and unfastening a basin which was hanging up, in order to chase the paddle, the rope broke, and the basin fell into the water, where it became the ray fish, and the rope formed its tail. Since she could not now cook her food, she was in despair, and began to cry and

moan. When her jar fell, it became a tortoise, and then the *bibinca* jar became a shellfish, while the rice became certain small fish. A big monkey with honey in its mouth, ran up at her cries. When it asked this Lunpluban what the trouble was and why she was angry, she answered the monkey with a *manulic*, and a blow on the nose, which knocked it into the water, where it became a siren. When it jumped into the water, it could talk, but since that time it has forgotten how to talk.

By and by Capantaan came. He asked her why she was in so bad a humor. She told him what had happened. Then he became angry and told her to go make a light. She stayed ashore, while he went to see what was in the corral. He found that he had caught a large shark. He took it ashore to his wife. She was angry and told him to put it back into the water. He answered that he would keep it on land for it would live there. He did so, and placed a canopy over it and tried to care for it. But it was not to be kept so, and shortly afterwards, the fish died. Then he began to moan bitterly, crying out and sobbing; and invoking the gods because of such a mostrosity, for until then he had never seen any death, nor had there been any death. Thereupon he was heard, it is said, by Captan and Maguayan. They sent the crow to see what was happening. But as the crew saw many flies, it did not dare to go to the place, but complained to Captan and Maguayan of the boldness and impudence of the flies. The latter afterwards sent the worm, but it failed to return, saying that it was good entertainment to eat the flesh of the fish. Then they sent the weevil, and it returned to Maguayan and Captan, reporting that the deceased was a fish

They say that sin was not punished in the olden days, but that Capantaan, when preparing the Obsequies (of the shark), invited several friends and his wife to partake of a great banquet at the burial of the fish. At that time, they prepared good food and rich, but an insolent black cat began to devour the food. Thereupon Capantaan scared it off, by hitting it with a stick. The cat escaped howling loudly, and went to complain to Maguayan and Captan. Then the latter in anger, in order to punish the sin of respecting the fish and hurting the cat, launched a thunderbolt from his place. It struck Capantaan so that he died. They believe that cats have been friends of thunderbolts since that time. Seeing the confusion, Lunpluban and her son Angion, together with their other companions, escaped in flight (Pavon MSS).

(M7 is the first in a series of episodes about Capantaan and what happened after his death. At the present we are treating M7 as a self-

contained myth and will ignore the later episodes. This is done for sake of convenience. On one point this procedure might seem to violate the analysis we are making. For the present we are treating M7 as an example of permanent death. This is not strictly true, for Capantaan is resurrected in M9, but because of his wife (as in M1) he returns to the land of the dead in M10. Thus, the outcome of the complete series is indeed permanent death and does follow the analysis.)

An interesting point about M7 is relevant to the question of the persistence of mythological themes over the past four hundred years. The belief that cats are closely associated with thunderbolts is still a widely held belief in the Philippines. Although they cite it as a superstition, most people know the folk belief that bathing a cat will lead to a thunderstorm. There are also a number of folktales current in which someone mistreats a cat and is punished by being struck by lightning. Of course, the survival of an isolated bit of pre-Christian mythology says nothing about the possibility of the survival of complex mythological structures.

M7 is a complex myth in which the first section seems to bear little relationship to the subject of death. But M7 is very close to M4 in that both myths combine the death and speciation themes. At the same time, M7 bears a relationship to M1 and M5 because of the death theme. And in its treatment of the speciation theme it must somehow be linked with M2.

Before we begin to link M7 with these four myths, we should first look at its internal structure. In the listing of the mythemes of the myth there were two sequences which duplicated each other. We list them as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. The couple settle
at beach | 15. The weevil succeeds . . Positive
action |
| 2. Invention of fish
corral | 16. Invention of burial . . Cultural
rites invention |
| 3. Sparrowhawk greedy | 17. Cat greedy . . Greed |
| 4. Capantaan strikes
bird | 18. Capantaan strikes . . Punishment
cat |
| 5. Crippled bird | 19. Cat → Thunderbolt . . Negative
Transformation |

These two syntagmatic sequences are the core of the myth and draw our attention to the various transformations found in the myth. A list of the transformation demonstrates the importance of this theme:

- | | | |
|------------------|---|----------|
| Banana leaves | → | Sapesape |
| Wooden foot rest | → | Pargo |
| Wooden paddle | → | Languao |

Basin + rope	→	Ray fish
Bibinca jar	→	Shellfish
Rocky cove	→	Fish corral
Pole	→	Eel
Jar	→	Tortoise
Rice	→	Small fish
Cat	→	Thunderbolt
Death	→	Funeral rites
Wife	→	Animal (can't cook or talk)
Animal	→	Wife (can talk and make fire)
Monkey	→	Siren

In this list there are two transformations that stand out because they concern the invention of cultural items. They are the only "positive transformations" (going from nature to culture, with culture assumed to be "higher"). The negative transformations involve either a physical degeneration (sparrowhawk, cat, shark, monkey) or a degeneration of cultural items or beings into natural items or beings (the fish, the monkey, the wife). Each of these negative transformations involves the rejection of a cultural status by either active or passive excesses. Most of the changes result from greed, but this greed is at the same time a rejection of a cultural rule. Let us examine each animal in turn and see what this means.

The sparrowhawk was set over the newly invented fish corral, the cultural status of which is emphasized by comparing it to the natural rocky cove. But the sparrowhawk steals the fish and thus fails in his cultural task (guarding and, ultimately, sharing). As a result, he ends up limping.

The second "animal" is the wife, who also was set to watch the corral. Like the sparrowhawk, her greed overcomes her and she is reduced from a cultured human (who can cook) to a natural being (one who cannot cook). At the same time her cultural cooking tools are transformed to natural fish. (On the cultural status of cooking, see Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*).

The third animal is the monkey with honey in its mouth and the ability to talk. Apparently, talking with honey in the mouth is a greedy action or at least a non-cultural act, for the monkey is punished by both physical degeneration (monkey → siren) and by being moved down from a cultural being to natural being (has language → has no language).

The shark reverses the pattern of the first three in that it is passive instead of active in its greed. The shark, like the other three, rejects the rule of culture over its life (Capantaa's definition of it as a land animal and the cultural item of the canopy). Speaking in a summary

fashion, we can say the shark is greedy for water and when he does not get it he dies.

The worm also undergoes a negative transformation. There is a series of Bisayan myths that demonstrate that the eating of carrion is seen as the lowest form of diet. The worm is given a cultural task as a messenger, but because of his greed, he rejects the role and becomes a carrion eater.

The transformation of the cat from an animal that attends a cultural feast into a howling (inarticulate) creature also results from his greed, which leads to the rejection of the cultural rules of etiquette. It might appear that the real transformation here is the symbolic one: cat → thunderbolt (the "soul" of a thunderbolt is seen as a black cat). At this time we cannot say whether this latter position has any validity. Certainly Lévi-Strauss has demonstrated that different episodes in a single myth may jump from a literal level to a figurative level. So it is possible that we should treat the figurative transformation instead of the more obvious literal transformation (which is, after all, not permanent like the other physical transformations).

Even if we accept the figurative transformation we still do not have a discrepancy in the pattern. At first glance the equation "black cat → thunderbolt" would appear to be a move upward, but there is a myth in the Pavon manuscript which depicts lightning as lacking in intelligence: M8. "Adlay and Arabuab."

In the most remote mountains of this province and town, grows a small climbing shrub which does by the name of *alangisnge*. It is very similar to the grapevine. It bears a fruit which when ripe resembles the grape. This is the only plant which the lightning is afraid. . . .

It is said that once upon a time lived a man and a woman who were very old but very rich. The man's name was Arabuab and the woman's Adlay. They were descended from men of another time, who were very valiant and strong.

Once, since they possessed much gold, and the dampness was increasing, Arabuab said to Adlay: "Look thou, watch the roof of our house, and the gold there, so that when it rains, the water may carry away the dirt from the gold." Adlay did so, for then the sky was very much clouded. But alas! when it was least expected, a bolt of lightning darted forth from the clouds to steal away the gold. But it had the ill fortune to slip and fall upon a vine of *alangisnge* which Arabuab had there. There the lightning became entangled amid the branches. The more it tried to break loose, the worse it became entangled. At last, the lightning, fearing that its bones

were being cracked among the branches of that vine, grew afraid and cried out, "Pardon!" Thereupon, Arabuab, in pity, set it free, for he saw that the lightning had been deceived.

The lightning saw at last that the creaking was not made by its bones, but by the branches of that vine, and so he withdrew in great fury, with fearful belowings. Since then the lightning has feared the names Adlay and Arabuab, and has a horror of the *alangisnge*, for it fears lest it be deceived again.

At first this myth seems to bear little relation to M7, but a closer look shows that there are similarities between them. Both myths have an episode where a woman is set to guard something which has a connection with water (gold on roof, fish corral). But there is a series of transformations and inversions between M7 and M8. In M7 the woman's task is to notice when the fish moves from open water into a captured state. In M8 her task is to prevent something in an open area from being captured. Along with this inversion, we can assume that the non-edible gold and the edible snark are opposed, perhaps subsumed under the contrast: "Animate/Inanimate" or "Nature/Culture."

There is still a more complex relationship involving the cat, the thunderbolt and the shark. We have already postulated the equation "cat → thunderbolt" for M7. Both act greedily in M7 and M8, one in reference to food, the other in reference to gold. And their punishment is the same. The cat is beaten by a man with a stick, which comes from the plant kingdom. In M8 the lightning is punished indirectly by man, but again through a member of the plant kingdom. But the man's punishing intent is granted in M8 when the text notes that the vine was planted by Arabuab in the first place. The equation "cat=thunderbolt" is further supported by their reactions to the punishment. In both cases they howl. But in M7 the howls are addressed to the gods in anger towards mankind. In M8 the howls are pleas to man for release.

But while lightning does equal the cat in M7, it also equals the shark in the same myth (and in M1). Both move from the state of free movement (water, air) to a state of confinement (fish corral, *alangisnge*) with negative results. In both cases the traps are cultural objects created by the use of plants (bamboo, the planted *alangisnge*). In both instances they can be freed from this confinement only by the intervention of man. The natural question at this point is why the death theme in M1 and M7 is absent in M8?

In keeping with the logical pattern of inversion between M7 and M8, the death theme is there, but it is inverted and covert. Adlay and Arabuab are the masters of death in Bisayan mythology. Unlike M7, where man is the victim of death, in M8 he is the master of death. Un-

like M7, where man causes the shark's death, in M8 man releases the thunderbolt, giving it life again. And, unlike M7 where death separates husband and wife, in M8 the husband and wife are united in their mastery of death.

In keeping with this movement of opposites, when we go back and look at the equation "cat=lightning," we should find their roles in relation to death reversed. In M7 the cat is the cause of death, but in M8 the lightning is the victim of the masters of death. Actually, the situation is a little more complex. In M7 the cat may be said to stimulate the masters of death (Maguayan and Captan) to kill, whereas in M8 the lightning stimulates the masters of death to withhold death. This last detail is reinforced by the identity of the god or man involved in accepting the stimulation. In M1, M5, M7 and M8 we have a male-female pair of gods or humans. When we look at which of the pair does the killing or stops the killing, we can see the identity of M7 with M8:

M1	M5	M7	M8
Maguayan (♀)	Matuayan (♀)	Captan (♂)	Arabuab (♂)
	+		
	Captan (♂)		

There is one more identification it is possible to make between M7 and M8: "lightning=lightning." It is clear the roles are reversed in the two myths. In M7 lightning is the instrument of the gods and brings death to man, but in M8 it is a passive victim in regard to death.

This discussion of the possible equations between the lightning in M8 and various characters in M7 presents us with one of the major problems in structural analysis. Which of the equations is the correct one? Or, are they all correct on different levels of analysis (keep in mind the microscope analogy of Lévi-Strauss)? And, if only one is correct, how can we decide which one? The only answer we have so far is the test of coherence. The problem with such a test is that coherence may always be destroyed by a new, yet unanalyzed myth. Until we have all the myths generated by a culture, how are we to decide which equation to use? Or must we keep them all in mind and work with each in turn? We mention these problems, we cannot answer them.

The correspondences we just mentioned between M7 and M8 do not prove that the symbolic transformation "cat → thunderbolt" is a step downward on the scale of events and objects, but they do give the idea plausibility. Added to the fact that the transformation is found in a myth where all the other transformations were steps downward, the equation does not seem to be all that unlikely. Unfortunately, there are not a great many myths with either the cat or lightning as characters and because of this lack of material we have to be content with our speculation

until new materials are forthcoming (if they are).

After our rather long detour through M8, let us return to our present topic, which is the internal structure of M7. In the myth there are two cultural elements of technology of interest to us. The first is the fish corral and the second is the canopy that is used to shield the shark from the sun. Both these elements can be seen as disjunctive in nature. The canopy separates the earth from the sky, while the fish corral separates the captured water from the open sea. While M7 deals with the invention of these items, it has a closed structure in that it deals with their negation also. The disjunction created by culture between earth and sky is overcome by the mediation of the thunderbolt which kills Capantaaan. And the cultural separation of the shark from the open sea is negated when the cooking items are transformed into fish which go swimming away to open water. This negation process, when combined with the dual syntagmatic sequence we found at the core of the myth (page 36), demonstrates that M7 is a fairly self-contained myth.

The last element of internal structure we will note is the treatment of the division of labor. Except at the very beginning of the myth, a separation between male and female is strictly maintained. The unity of the couple in moving to the beach is negated at the end of the myth by the husband being killed and the wife escaping in the confusion (in fact, they never re-unite in the other episodes of the Capantaaan series). Between these two episodes there is a division of labor. When the man invents the fish corral he is alone. Then he sets his wife to watch it and leaves her. When he checks the corral he has already sent his wife ashore to make a fire (note the difference with M6). Even the banquet does not seem to be a joint project, for the myth says that Capantaaan invited several friends, plus his wife to the feast.

This opposition of labor seems to be deeper than just a distinction between male and female work roles. It seems that the cultural behavior of the man is emphasized in M7. Capantaaan is the creator of the fish corral, the canopy, and funeral rites. In contrast, the ambiguous relationship of the woman to culture is emphasized. At first the natural side of woman is emphasized and in this the woman reverses the actions of her husband. The husband, in making the use of the idea from the rocky cover, goes from a natural state to a cultural state. However, the woman goes from a cultural state (can cook) to a natural state (cannot cook for lack of utensils). The woman's uncultured state is again emphasized by what she does after she loses her utensils. She begins to cry and moan. It is probable that the crying and moaning reduces her to the level of animal by being equated with animal cries. (Again, see *The Raw and the Cooked*).

With this last hypothesis we can explain the role of the monkey who talks in M7. It is to point out the total naturalness of the woman by counterpointing his speech to her animal cries. Both these situations are incorrect. Women are supposed to be more cultural than natural and monkeys are supposed to be more natural than cultural. How does the myth resolve this contradiction? It simply reverses the situation and negates the incorrect state of affairs it has postulated. The monkey approaches the woman, talks to her (a cultural action); but the woman responds with a natural action. Instead of answering with speech (which, as a natural creature, she does not possess), she hits the monkey. This blow puts the monkey into the water (like the cooking utensils) and at the same time moves him from his cultural state to a natural state (like the cooking utensils). Since the monkey and the woman are opposites, once the monkey becomes natural the logic of the myth forces the woman to regain her cultural status. This change in her status is emphasized by the fact that her husband questions her, as the monkey did, but she answers with speech instead of a blow. The change is also emphasized by the fact that the husband sends her ashore to make a fire. As demonstrated in the South American material, the ability to make fire is a major criterion of culture.

The important thing to note here is that the myth establishes the basic "naturalness" of women. Although the woman in the myth regains her cultural status, she still remains ambiguous in her relationship to culture. This ambiguousness must have some effect on the monkey element of the myth. This is seen in the fact that the monkey became a siren, an animal to be sure, but one that sings, which is close to speech.

The naturalness of the woman contrasts sharply with the male element, who is throughout the myth defined as a cultural being. It might seem that the man's crying and sobbing at the death of the shark contradicts this analysis. But notice that the mourning is only the first step in what is ultimately a cultural invention, the funeral feast. This makes mourning (which animals do not do), a cultural reaction. It also puts the death of the shark on the same level as the sight of the rocky cove at the start of the myth—both are stimuli to a cultural invention. (Actually, the link between the two episodes is even closer. If we recall the equation "Freedom \rightarrow Containment=Death," then Capantaan was symbolically viewing death when he saw the fish in the cove. Funeral rites were a result of viewing the death of the shark).

This basic difference in the definition of male and female leads to a final observation which will allow us to link M7 with the other myths. It appears that the eventual fate of the male and female characters of the myth depends on their relation to nature and culture. Our hypothesis

is that the myth equates culture with death and nature (or a combination of nature and culture) with life. This is not a simple dichotomy and the real equation seems to be: "A cultural status, to the exclusion of any naturalness=Death."

This equation of culture with death should not surprise readers of *The Raw and the Cooked*, for it is found in many South American myths. Especially interesting is a series of myths which equate the origin of agriculture (and hence, of culture) with death and old age.

We can now turn to linking M7 with some of the other myths. In doing so we must see if we can extend the equations we just derived. Let us refer back to M1. The most important link between it and M7 is that they have the same subject matter, the origin of human death. But like the link between M1 and M5, there is a subtle difference in the reason for human death. In M1 death is the punishment for killing the shark. But in M7 the cause of death is the fact that Capantaaan struck the cat, not that he caused the shark to die, which only provided the occasion for the invention of funeral rites. With this basic difference goes a series of oppositions:

M1	M7
Humans in bamboo	Shark in bamboo
Fly brings information	Flies block information
Maguayan (♀) kills both male and female	Captan (♂) kills male only
No division of labor	Strict division of labor
Silence=Death (wife refuses to call husband)	Noise=Death (cat howling to gods)
Separation of earth and sky sky (cosmological event)	Creation of fish species (zoological event)
Journey of son toward dead	Journey of mother and son away from dead

Before we discuss these relationships, we will link M7 with the other myth on the origin of death, M5. The basic difference is again in the reason for the first human death. In M5 the cause was man's mourning over the dead shark and cursing the gods. In M7 Capantaaan was allowed to mourn over the shark and the cause of death was hitting the cat. Other differences:

M5	M7
Fishing net	Fish corral
Fly refuses to go	Flies block information
Captan (♂) and Maguayan (♀) kill male	Captan (♂) kills male
Resurrection	Eternal death

There is a series of elements which show that the three myths form a set and that we should consider them as a progression. It appears that M1 and M7 and the polar myths, while M5 is in the middle position. We can chart the important differences as follows:

M1	M5	M7
Shark death →	Mourning shark →	Hitting cat →
Human death	Human death	Human death
Fish corral	Fish net	Fish corral
Flies go (bold flies)	Flies afraid to go (cowardly flies)	Flies block crow (bold flies)
Maguayan (♀) kills	Maguayan (♀) and Captan (♂) kill	Captan (♂) kills
Permanent death	Resurrection	Permanent death
Separation theme (cosmological)	No separation theme	Separation theme (zoological)

The chart is clear—M1 and M7 duplicate or oppose each other. The one common element is the cause of death motif is both M1 and M7 is that in both cases harming an animal results in human death.

The question now is obviously what these differences mean and in what way M1 and M7 carry the same message, while M5 carries a different message. The best way to undertake our investigation of these questions is to ask what M1 and M7 have in common. Since the myths deal with the origin of death, it is likely that the causes of death will supply the answer. As we noted, in both myths the cause of death is the harming of an animal. This is in opposition to M5, where the cause was man's mourning over the shark's death.

Now, what does the hurting of the two animals have in common? It is our analysis that in both cases the animal in question had been brought under the influence of culture and was punished as a result of its failure to adapt to cultural rules. We can see this clearly in M7. The transformations throughout the myth all have one message—greed is the opposite of culture. The fate of the wife's cooking utensils expresses this strongly. The situation in the final scene is that the cat has been invited to a cultural event, yet it expresses itself anti-culturally by greedily devouring the food.

But now we are left with a more difficult question: if the cat behaves anti-culturally, why does it live and not die? For an answer let us note that this question confronts us three times in the myth. The sparrowhawk acts anti-culturally, yet he is alive (although hopping) at the end of the myth. And the woman, because of greed, rejects her cultural status. Yet, like the cat and the sparrowhawk, she still lives at the end of the myth, while her cultured husband is dead. The answer to this

question was suggested above. The equation "culture=death" seems to be confirmed by the fate of these characters in M7. The cat, the sparrowhawk, and the woman all reject culture and live. The man totally accepts culture and dies.

While all this sounds plausible in M7, we are on shakier grounds when we deal with M1. There is no doubt that man brings the shark under the influence of culture and that, by dying, the shark rejects culture, and as a result, man dies. But why does the shark, who opts for nature, die? Why does he not live like the animals and woman in M7? Here we must admit we are in difficult territory, for we will propose three solutions and we have no way of deciding between them.

One answer arises from the internal structure of M1 itself. In our discussion of the internal structure of M1 we noted that the first section of the myth puts one value on the contained/free opposition and that the last section of the myth takes the opposite view. This occurs because M1 has a closed structure. A review of the chart on page fifteen will show this structure. If this interpretation is valid, the internal logic of M1 demanded that the shark die, even though it chose nature over culture.

Perhaps we should visualize the bricoleur building M1 in order to understand this type of problem. Let us assume he has already constructed M5 and M7 and is now working on M1 in order to complete the set about the origin of death (remember the numbers we assign the myths are arbitrary and reflect no temporal dimension). We assume that he has already decided on the message of the set and is selecting pieces for M1 to complete the transmission of that message. There are two considerations which affect his construction of M1. The first is external—he must build M1 so that it will complete the set. The second consideration is internal—he has to create a myth that will, to a greater or lesser degree, stand by itself. He may make the internal structure of M1 more or less closed, depending on the external considerations. M1 will end up as a compromise between these two, sometimes conflicting, considerations. We assume that the external considerations take priority until the bare outline of the message of the meta-set is expressed. But after that point the internal considerations may take precedence over the external.

To bring our discussion back to M1, we note the external considerations would require that the shark not die, but rather live like the animals and the woman in M7. But the internal structure, as seen in the chart, demands the shark die. In this case we would have to assume that the internal structure overpowered the external considerations, perhaps because M7 expresses the idea involved in the set so clearly and so many times.

Before we move from this point we should note that this view of the creation of myths explains why some myths are tightly integrated and logical, while others seem to be constructed almost haphazardly, with episodes bearing little or no relationship to each other. This perception does not stem only from a structuralist view of myth. Most workers in folklore, regardless of theoretical orientation, have run up against myths that just do not seem to be properly integrated. In these cases it would appear that external considerations have overpowered internal considerations, with the result that the episodes and elements are only tenuously related to one another. This is most likely to occur when a myth is part of several different sets, each carrying a different message. On the other hand, other myths will have no trouble keeping a tight structure because they are connected with few other myths or because external considerations cause no problems in building the myth. We can hypothesize that if a myth were the first myth in a set to be constructed it would have a tight structure since there would not be many external considerations to be dealt with. But once we have admitted this point into theory we must reject its use in practice. Even if we could somehow show that a myth was created earlier than others in the set it would usually be involved in other sets in which it wasn't the first myth built and therefore was subject to external considerations from its membership in these other sets. To bring up the point is to demonstrate the impossibility of ever breaking out of the circle of argument which runs: "Myth A's elements are 'caused' by the elements of myth B, whose elements, in turn, are 'caused' by the elements of myth A." (One possible solution to this problem is to take a diachronic perspective in which we can tell the precise order in which different variants of a myth were created. A start along these lines has been made by Hammel in his analysis of the "Goldilocks and the Three Bears" cycle. Unfortunately, this type of analysis is impossible for myths of non-literate groups.)

A second point needs to be drawn from this discussion. To many writers the structural analysis of a series of myths seems to be little more than an entertaining shell game. The logic of our explanation shows how this impression arises. If we have a particular myth which lacks an element predicted by earlier analysis we can always blame it on external considerations (or, if the element was predicted from a series of myths, we can attribute the lack to internal considerations). This means that if a myth contradicts our analysis it still may not invalidate it. What is incongruent on one level may be made congruent by bringing in more myths. Carried to a logical extreme this argument says that any element that doesn't fit our analysis only appears to be contradictory and that as yet unread myths will show how it fits. It is true that Lévi-

Strauss has never resorted to this type of argument, but when you are using a coherence test of truth, the unread or undiscovered myth may save or destroy your argument.

The only way out of this shell game is to discover the combinatorics of external and internal considerations and show how they operate and the precise conditions under which one takes precedence over the other.

Remembering this shell game problem let us return and look at a second explanation of why the shark in M1 dies. This explanation arises from external considerations. In our chart comparing M1 and M2 (page 16) there are two items relevant to the problem. We will assume that M2 was built first and M1 was constructed with the elements of M2 in mind. In M2 the shark that is put into a container thrives. Therefore, M1 needs an episode where a shark put into a container did not thrive. Alone this cannot explain the death of the shark, for the myth could have demonstrated the inability of the shark to thrive in a container in another way, perhaps by some physical degeneration.

But another difference between the myths may have forced the choice of death. In M2 the shark is an active agent of death, killing birds and animals (air and land). In contrast, M1 depicts the shark as the passive victim of death, having death inflicted on him rather than going out to inflict death on others. Also note that the death of the shark was the death of a water animal. Thus M1 and M2 complete the earth/water/air triad we previously noted.

But also notice how complex the oppositions may be. The shark in M1 may be regarded as the passive bringer of death as well as a victim of death. This would contrast with his role as active bringer of death in M2.

Our last explanation of the shark's death in M1 also involves external considerations. In M4 the humans brought into the cave were already dead and confinement resulted in life. If M1 were built taking M4 into account, it is logical that the shark dies:

M4: Open → Contained Result: Death → Life

M1: Open → Contained Result: Life → Death

As mentioned before, the problem with these three explanations is that there is no way to decide which is correct. At the present we will have to be content in showing that M1 and M7 are seen as a set with a common theme.

This common theme is the reason for death. It is our thesis that the reason man is killed is because he tried to impose the cultural order of things upon the natural order. Because he tries to mix these domains, he must die. The mixing of the domains itself is not dangerous, for the woman is seen as a mixture of nature and culture. Man's ultimate sin is

his total dedication to culture and his desire to extend culture to the natural domain. His rejection of nature causes his death.

If our thesis is correct we should be able to support it by reference to M5, which is opposed to the M1–M7 set. Let us ask what the cause of death is in M5. The surface answer is that man died because he was weeping over the death of the shark and Captan was “displeased at these obsequies to a fish.” Why should Captan be so displeased? This question takes on special meaning when we remember that the hero in M7 also cried at the death of the shark, yet was not killed. Is there a difference between the two situations? Our suggestion is that the clue again lies in the relation between nature and culture. The man in M7 did indeed cry at the death of the shark, but he turned his crying into a funeral feast and therefore the crying was the sound of mourning rather than inarticulate noise. In M5 the man confronts death with cries and moans, but there is no cultural institution which develops and therefore this is a natural response. This puts him on the same level as the woman in M7, where animal cries=cries and moans. But unlike the woman, the man in M5 does not regain his cultural status again. As paradoxical as it may sound, we are suggesting that in M1 and M7 the man died because he was too cultural and tried to extend cultural rules where they did not apply, whereas in M5 he died because he was too natural and did not apply a cultural logic where it should have been applied, for the shark’s death should have been met by either a meal on shark meat or a funeral rite for the shark. Why should man’s natural reaction lead to his death? We suggest it is because it violates the equation: “Man=Culture.”

But this conclusion creates another problem. In M7 the equation “Culture=Death” would seem to imply that the man was killed precisely because he created culture. Does this not invalidate the analysis? The reply is to direct our attention back to the cause of death in M7. The fact that the man invents the funeral rites in M7 is *not* the cause of death. It is simply another indication of man’s cultural status. The sins of the hero stem from his relationships to the shark, the cat, the sparrowhawk, and his wife. He tries to force them into the cultural order. Yet their behavior demonstrates that they are natural beings. In contrast, the death of the shark is a proper stimulus for the creation of funeral rites and the man’s response is correct.

It is clear that what we have is a philosophy of culture. Males are seen as cultural creatures and when they abandon their cultural status to react naturally, they die. At the same time, when man is too cultural and tries to totally dominate nature, he also dies. On the other hand, women are seen as ambiguous creatures. They have the veneer of cul-

ture but essentially they are natural beings. As natural creatures the woman partakes of the equation: "Nature=Life." Therefore the woman lives while the man dies. Note that the woman who dies in M1 is not really a woman—she is asexual and does the same tasks as her brother.

This philosophy of culture seems to be widespread. Many cultures have myths which associate culture with males and assign females a natural or ambiguous status. A comparative study of this problem would be very worthwhile and could start with the traditional association of artistic creation with males in Western European cultures.

Is it possible to connect these differences in the causes of death with the final outcomes of M1, M5, and M7? In M1 and M7, where the sin of the hero is being too cultural, the state of death is permanent. But M5 ends with the resurrection of the hero and his return to earth. It seems as if the equation "Nature=Life" asserts itself in the end. Although man had to die in M5 because he was uncultural (violating the "Man=Culture" equation), the association of the natural order with life is strong enough to "force" the bricoleur to include a resurrection element.

We can carry this analysis one step further and explain why M1 and M7 contain separation themes, while M5 lacks such a theme. Lévi-Strauss demonstrates that the South American Indians equate culture with discontinuity, death and separation. Since M1 and M7 are myths of the overly cultured hero, it is logical that there is a separation theme. Apparently the Bisayans thought of culture in much the same way as the South Americans, at least on this point. In keeping with this logic nature is seen as continuous and unified. Therefore M5, which deals with the natural hero, has no need of a separation motif. In fact, not even death permanently separates the husband and wife, for the man is resurrected at the end of the myth.

This ends our discussion of the M1-M5-M7 set. We have tried to show that although the myths are based on the same subject, there are subtle differences between them. These differences are manifestations of the underlying structure of the series. At the same time, these core differences (the causes of death) are correlated with other differences, some of which are important to the message of the myth set, and others which seem (presently) to be only incidental, serving merely to mark the myths as connected and opposed to each other. We have also shown that the philosophy underlying the set (Culture=Man=Death=Separation and the reverse for nature) is consistently maintained and that contradictions are more apparent than real. Finally, we have shown how complex the analysis of just a small series of myths can be and some of the problems involved with this type of analysis.

When we turn back to M7 we notice that we have not yet linked it with M2 or M4. There is no doubt that there must be links, for the three form a set. In contrast to the M1-M5-M7 set, which we label the death set, this M2-M4-M7 set may be termed the speciation set. Once we adopt these labels a thought in the last section becomes relevant. If Culture=Death=Discontinuity=Separation, then these two sets actually form a larger set concerned with the question of separation, regardless of if it takes the form of death or speciation. In this case M7 will probably be the myth that links the two sub-sets together. But before we turn to an analysis of the larger set, we must return to an analysis of the speciation set.

M7 and M2 have the same subject matter—the creation of fish species. However, they start from different points and are positioned at different poles of the “nature/culture” dichotomy. Perhaps the basic difference is that in M2 a male god creates a single fish from a natural object and on purpose. In M7 we have a female human who passively “allows” the creation of many types of fish from cultural objects and does so by accident. Some other differences:

M2	M7
Contained shark brings death	Contained shark dies
Shark killer of animals (nature)	Shark killer (indirectly) of man (culture)
Creation put into container	Creations escape from confinement (fish corral)
Shark created from wood	Shark trapped in wood (bamboo corral)
Shark greedy	Woman greedy
Monosexual reproduction	Bisexual reproduction
Major theme: speciation	Major theme: death

M7 and M4 are both about separation of a unity into subgroups. But while M7 deals with fish species, M4 deals with human beings. This difference in subject matter may account for the fact that M7 is closer to M2 than to M4. Some relevant contrasts:

M4	M7
Crocodile captures humans	Humans capture shark
Humans victims of death	Humans agents of death (for shark)
Containment=Life	Containment=Death
Humans in water	Shark on land
Inanimate → animate (+)	Inanimate → animate (—)
No food	Extra food (feast)

Children greedy
Ladle

Cat greedy
Stick

A couple of the contrasts need a word of explanation. The transformation from inanimate things to animate beings is present in both myths. In M4 the wizard can only transform stones and other natural items. Perhaps this is why the myth stresses his ability to change stones into plants. Plants are not as high a creation as animals. In M7 we begin higher, with cultural objects and end up with animals instead of plants. There is another way of coding this difference. We can say that M4 deals with the progression of stones into plants, while M7 deals with the degeneration of cooking utensils into animals.

The other contrast which needs comment involves the children in M4 and the cat in M7. It is clear that they are equated because of their greed. But note that the cat breaks only one cultural rule (etiquette), while the children break two rules (working for food and sharing). Perhaps this is why the children do not get revenge on their parents while the cat does get revenge on Capantaan.

It is possible to arrange these myths in sequence, with M4 mediating between the extremes of M7 and M2:

M7	M4	M2
Fish species	Human groups	Fish species
Zoological	Sociological	Zoological
Fish corral (water surrounded by bampoo)	Cave (land surrounded by water)	Pool (water surrounded by land)
Culture (Fish corral)	Nature (cave)	Culture (pool)
Cause of transformation: woman too active in food getting	Cause of transformation: children too lazy in food getting	Cause of transformation: Children too active in food getting
Culture → animals	Stones → plants	Plant → animal
Agent of division: natural woman	Agent of division: cultured parents	Agent of division: natural god
Contained shark	Free Crocodile	Contained shark
Free humans	Contained Humans	Free gods

As with the death set, we now have the task of explaining these differences. Let us start the same way we did in the death set and ask what the cause of speciation is in each case. In each myth speciation is seen as a punishment for some misbehavior. Also, in every case the misdeed has something to do with food. In M7 the woman loses her cooking items when she fails in a cultural task, that of guarding the fish corral. As mentioned in our previous discussion of this myth, she loses culture because she is too greedy and cannot wait to finish her task to eat. In this she shows her natural aspect.

In M2 we have another example of punishment because of greed. The shark is given a cultural rule (a food taboo) but is greedy and violates this rule, bringing about speciation.

With M4 the situation is more complex. The children are given a cultural task, but because they are lazy they do not do it. To make their sin even worse, they then eat the food they were too lazy to help produce. This emphasis on the laziness of the children reverses the pattern of M2 and M7, where the victim was punished for being too active rather than too lazy.

These differences in the reason for speciation are reflected in the differences between M4 and the other two myths. In order to find the core concept which will explain the reason for the differences we must return to the death set for a moment. When we put the three death myths next to one another (page 44), there were two rows which seemed to be important. One was the sequence: "Permanent death/Resurrection/Permanent death." The other was the series: "Separation theme/No separation theme/Separation theme." Later we gave evidence bringing these two sequences into a common set by noting that death and separation are equated. The other two elements in the chart do not seem to bear as much weight as the two sequences we just outlined. To be sure, they are important, but mainly because they flow from the logic expressed by these two more general sequences.

When we turn to our chart of M2-M4-M7 on page 66 we note that the most general concept seems to be the series: "Zoological/Sociological/Zoological." Underlying this is the still more abstract sequence: "Nature/Culture/Nature." Since we have already shown the death set to be based on the series: "Too cultural/Too natural/Too cultural," we should look for our core meaning in this series. The reason for this conclusion stems from the fact, mentioned above, that the death and speciation sets are really sub-sets of a larger system.

To discover what the speciation set is communicating, we must look at the relationship between the act which caused the transformations and the transformations themselves. We discover that some transformations confirm the act, while others disconfirm it. In M7 the cause of speciation was the fact that the woman was given a cultural task and failed to perform it properly. She failed because the cultural task was against her basic nature as postulated in the equation "Woman=Nature." So her greed was actually a validation of her true nature. Now, the transformation which results from her natural act is congruent in that the results occur in the natural realm. In other words, the speciation affects the zoological realm as if to validate the natural status of the woman.

In M2 the same process occurs. The shark is put under a cultural

rule which is contrary to its nature as a meat eater. When it breaks this rule it causes a change in the zoological realm. Again, the speciation is congruent with the shark expressing its true nature.

But M4 does not follow the pattern; instead, it reverses it. Again we have a cultural rule given (to work for food) and the natural side of man (greed and laziness) breaks this rule. But the transformation occurs on the sociological level and thus disconfirms the natural actions of children and insists on the cultural status of mankind. In fact, the new human groups are defined by the cultural objects they hide behind, their social status, or the type of technological activity they engage in.

With these differences between act and confirmation of the act, we can integrate another series of oppositions found in the three myths. The objects in which the subjects of the myths are enclosed are different in each myth. In M7 the shark is enclosed in a fish corral; in M4 humans in a cave; and in M2 the shark in a garden pool. Now, the first and last of these containers are cultural, while the cave in M4 is natural. If we look over the myths we discover that each myth is a tale of breaking out of a container. In M2 and M7 the container is a cultural object. In M7 the shark is indeed caught in the corral, but all the cultural objects negate the shark's death by escaping to the open sea. In M2 the pattern is less complex, with the shark being thrown out of the contained area into the open sea. In M4 we have the opposite occurrence—the children break out of the natural cave into the "open" world.

It is clear that the escape in each case is a confirmation of the nature of the escapees. Their nature is confirmed by overcoming barrier belonging to the opposite realm.

We can summarize these sequences by the following chart:

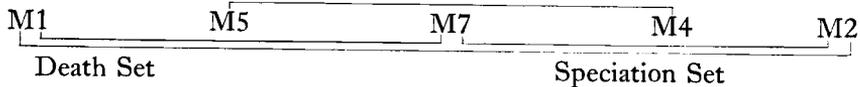
	M7	M4	M2
True nature:	Woman= natural	Children= cultural	Shark= natural
Act is:	Natural	Natural	Natural
Speciation:	Confirms act	Disconfirms act	Confirms act
Container:	Cultural	Natural	Cultural
Escape:	Confirms nature	Confirms nature	Confirms nature

This chart shows that the speciation set is concerned with the true nature of the heroes of the myths. The set conveys the message that it is impossible to deny the true nature of one's status as a cultural or natural entity.

This demonstration of the underlying theme of the speciation set recalls that the same theme underlies the logic of the death set. It

appears that these five myths form a larger set which is based on the dialectic between nature and culture. The larger set is concerned with showing the basic difference between the two realms and in demonstrating the impossibility of passing from one to the other. It does this by working out the logical implications of starting from the cultural side and going toward nature (M4, M5) and showing the failure. It then starts from the natural side and works toward culture (M2, M7). It shows that culture cannot dominate nature (M1) and that nature cannot dominate culture (M7). This, then, follows the pattern Lévi-Strauss noted for mythological thought: it cannot resolve contradictions, but it approaches them from different angles until the logical possibilities are exhausted.

This content analysis can now be supported by the structural features of the larger set. M7 belongs to both the death and speciation sets and, since it is opposite both M1 and M2, it seems that M4 and M5 must fall between the extremes formed by M1 and M2:



As the lines in the diagram illustrate, there should be close links between M1 and M2 and between M4 and M5. These links could be of two possible patterns. First, M1 and M2 could be duplicates of each other, with the same syntagmatic sequences and with the same elements having the same values in both myths. The second possibility is that M1 and M2 are inversions of each other, with the elements of M1 begin given opposite values in M2. The same possibilities apply in the case of M4 and M5.

Our comparison of M1 and M2 was made on page ten. There we found that the two myths were indeed opposites of each other. Yet they were closely linked by both syntagmatic sequences and by the fact that together they completed the "earth/air/water" triad that was incomplete in each taken by itself. Underlying the opposition between the myths is the dialectic of culture and nature. In M1 the myth takes the position that culture is "better" or "dominant" over nature. The marriage rule is better than being trapped in bamboo or asexuality, pounding rice causes the separation of earth and sky, the children both work before they eat, etc. The container which is overcome and which thus confirms the nature of the first people is a natural container—the bamboo. In keeping with the equation "Culture=Death" the male and female who are cultured (see page 62) both die at the end of the myth.

In M2 the pattern is reversed. The theme of this myth is that nature is greater than culture. The flesh-eating nature of the shark is

stronger than the cultural rule not to eat flesh, there is no need of a marriage institution because the shark reproduces monosexually, the children of the shark do not follow the cultural rule when they eat, etc. The container which is overcome, confirming the shark's nature, is a garden pool created by a goddess. And, in keeping with the equation "Nature=Life," the shark lives at the end of the myth, although there is speciation.

Now, if M1 and M2 are opposites and both are united in a set with M7 and the middle position in these sets is taken by M4 and M5, it stands to reason that M4 and M5 are opposites and that they take the opposite values of the other myth in their respective sets. In other words, since M1 states that culture is greater than nature, M5 must state that nature is greater than culture. And since M2 throws its support to the natural side, M4 must favor the cultural state. Let us see how this works out in practice.

In M5 we discovered that the cause of death was the fact that man was too natural and thereby rejected his nature as formulated in the equation "Man=Culture." The regression of man to a state of nature belies his cultural achievement in creating the fishing net and his marriage to Lunpluban. In this area M5 is the opposite of M1, as predicted. Yet there is a problem which must be dealt with before we can claim a complete analysis of the relationship between M1 and M5. This is the question of what container the hero of M5 broke out of to confirm his cultural identity. This container must be a natural container. There are only two possible elements in the myth that could serve as containers. The first is the fishing net. We must reject it because it is a cultural artifact. The second element is a container on the symbolic level and it is the notion of death itself as a contained state. If this is the case, then resurrection is seen as overcoming the natural container of death and thus validating man's cultural identity. With this theory we run into a host of problems which are too complex to deal with in this chapter, but we will take a moment to examine the idea.

But first let us explain exactly what we are trying to show in regard to M5 and M1. The breaking away from death in M5 serves two purposes. First, it validates man's identity as a cultural being by having him overcome a natural container. Second, it confirms M5's emphasis on nature by validating the equation "Nature=Life." Note that M1 also validates two equations, but with separate acts. First, it validates the equation "Man=Culture" by having man break out of the natural bamboo. Second, it validates the equation "Culture=Death" by having the man die at the end of the myth. Thus in one way M1 and M5 are the same—they both confirm the equation "Man=Culture." But they take different positions on the "Life=Nature" and "Death=Cul-

ture" equations.

With this in mind, we will add another myth to our series. This myth supports the idea of death as a container or as an existence in a contained state. This myth is the second episode in the adventures of Capantaan.

M9. "Of What Happened to Capantaan after Death."

After the death of Capantaan, they say that a boat which they call Balangay came from very distant places. This is a small schooner, but it has two sails. In it was an old man called Mama Guayan. On seeing that dead one, he was very frightened and taking him, carried him away in his boat. He went very far away near the end of the world, where it was very warm. Once there, the deceased was raised to life because of the heat of that place. Beholding himself in a very distant place, he asked the old man why he was there. But the latter would not answer him, and the dead one, infuriated, struck him a blow on the nose with the oar. Thereupon the old man already greatly irritated forced him downward. But down there no water was to be found. All that was to be seen was a big old man, who was roasting the root of the *banhayan*. On seeing him, the old man told Capantaan to build up the fire of the giant fireplace. But Capantaan refused again. Angered, the old man seized him and pushed him down into another hole, which was deep and where there was a great fire. The old man, who was called Casumpoy, returned (above) to put a bit of iron on top, so that Capantaan could not get out again.

There was another very tall man there, called Casiburauen, who gave them food, but who was very ugly. But he gave them good things and was good. Once when he was eating *pinquin*, he asked Capantaan for some, and the latter gave it to him. Consequently the former, out of his great compassion, returned Capantaan to his home, a thing he is said to have merited because of his good manners and good heart. Capantaan, thereupon set out for his home. It was so far that he had to journey for thirty days. On his arrival, he did not find his wife. He asked his son about her, and the latter told him that she had gone away with another man (Pavon Manuscript, 5-D).

This myth calls to mind the action in M7, but for the present we will have to ignore these links and note that M9 clearly equates death with being enclosed in a container. In this instance we will have to assume that this concept also holds that death is a natural container. If we accept these equations, then it is a fulfillment of the pattern we are searching for in M5. The resurrection of Capantaan is a breaking out

of a natural container and thereby validates the equation "Man=Culture."

This series of steps and assumptions leads us back to a discussion of the meaning of resurrection in M5. In an earlier discussion of this issue we stated that the resurrection was linked to a series: "M1: Permanent Death → M5: Resurrection → M7: Permanent Death." Its position in this series was to validate the equation "Nature=Life." But now we find the situation is more complex. We are arguing that, internally, the logic for the resurrection in M5 flows from the necessity of the man to validate his cultural status by overcoming a natural container. In turn, this internal logic is moded by the external considerations of the larger set containing the five myths. At this point, seeking to explain any one episode by reference to just one single episode in another myth seems to be underestimating the amount of work necessary for structural analysis. It appears that some episodes may be "overdetermined." There may be several reasons for their presence in a particular myth. Since there is no way to argue out of the closed circle of structural thought, there is no possibility of assigning one explanation priority over another. It seems we must grant each of them equal explanatory status.

This last comment should alert us to another possibility. Given any episode in a myth and given the fact of overdetermination, it seems likely that we will miss several possible "causes" of that episode. In fact, this is what Lévi-Strauss has pointed out:

But I do not hope to reach a stage at which the subject matter of mythology, after being broken down by analysis, will crystallize again into a whole with the general appearance of a stable and well-defined structure. . . . The ambition to achieve such knowledge is meaningless, since we are dealing with a shifting reality, perpetually exposed to the attacks of a past that destroys it and of a future that changes it. For every instance recorded in written form, there are obviously many others unknown to us; and we are only too pleased with the samples and scraps at our disposal. It has already been pointed out that the starting point of the analysis must inevitably be chosen at random, since the organizational principles governing the subject matter of mythology are contained within and only emerge as the analysis progresses. It is also inevitable that the point of arrival will appear of its own accord, and unexpectedly; this will occur when, a certain stage of the undertaking having been reached, it becomes clear that its ideal object has acquired sufficient consistency and shape for some of its latent properties, and especially its existence as an object, to be definitely placed beyond all doubt. As happens in the case of an optical

microscope, which is incapable of revealing the ultimate structure of matter to the observer, we can only choose between various degrees of enlargement: each one reveals a level of organization which has no more than a relative truth and, while it lasts, excludes the perception of other levels (*The Raw and the Cooked*, page 3).

If a second analyst using the structural method goes over a set of myths previously analyzed by the method, he may find different oppositions, different links between myths, different sets of myths based on different themes, and different reasons why episodes are included in the myths. Yet the assumption guiding Lévi-Strauss' work is that at some point the work of the second analyst will converge with that of the first and the two will be integrated with each other, at least to the point of agreement on the existence of the mythological "object" and its "latent properties." To discover if this optimistic picture is true, we must wait upon a demonstration undertaken by someone with the willingness and skill to re-analyze the myths of South America without being overly influenced by what Lévi-Strauss has already done. At the present time such a demonstration seems a remote possibility.

We have now finished integrating M5 with M1 and M2. It is now possible to create a chart which will predict the features which must be found in M4 if that myth conforms to the pattern we have been outlining. We can do this with three elements. First, we will note whether nature is dominant over culture or vice versa. Second, we will note whether the life or death confirms the first item by using the equations: "Nature=Life" and "Culture=Death." Third, we will note whether the "Contained/Free" dialectic confirms the identity of the main subject of the myth. We will leave the portions of M4 blank to show how the chart would look before the analysis of the myth:

M1	M5	M4	M2
Culture over nature	Nature over culture	?	Nature over culture
Death <i>confirms</i> element 1: Culture=Death	Death <i>disconfirms</i> element 1: Nature≠Death	?	Life <i>confirms</i> element 1: Nature=Life
Breaking out of bamboo (=nature) confirms cultural nature of man	Breaking out of death (=nature) confirms cultural nature of man	?	Breaking out of pool (=culture) confirms natural nature of shark

We have already seen that M4 was in the middle of M2 and M7 in the speciation set and therefore must oppose M2. Then we noted that M5 held the same structural position between M1 and M7. From this we assume M4 and M5 must somehow be similar. When we showed

that M1 and M2 were opposites we established that the extremes of the death and speciation sets were linked by opposition. This means M4 should be the reverse of M5.

With these relationships in mind, the elements needed in M4 are easy to predict. Since both M5 and M2 establish that nature is sominant over culture, M4 must state that culture dominates nature. In the myth the fact that the parents beat their lazy and greedy (=natural) children, which redefines them as cultural beings, fulfills this equation.

Since M2 and M1 (the extremes) confirm the first element and M5 disconfirms that element, M4 must disconfirm the dominance of culture over nature. Because the myth allows the children to survive, after having defined them as cultural beings, it rejects the equation "Death=Culture" and thereby invalidates itself. This fulfills the predicted pattern and opposes M5's disconfirmation of the "Nature=Life" equation.

Finally, M4 should confirm the nature of its heroes. This is expected because the other three myths confirm the natures of their heroes. M4 conforms to the pattern by having the humans break out of the natural cave into the world. Thus, M4 completes the chart in all details.

We now come to the final problem in the establishment of the complete system of myths. Is it possible to fit M7 on the chart we just completed? Since M7 is about both death and speciation it must link up as the second extreme pole of both sub-sets in order to tie the whole series together. In order to make the chart easier to read, we will divide M7 into two myths: M7a, which belongs to the death set, and M7b, which belongs to the speciation set. With our previous discussion of M7, the details in the chart should not need further elaboration:

M1	M5	M7a	M7b	M4	M2
Culture over nature	Nature over culture	Culture over nature (Death of shark. Woman who regains cultural status. Man who punishes animals).	Nature over culture (Creation of fish from cultural objects. Greed of wife and animals).	Culture over nature	Nature over culture
Death <i>confirms</i> element 1: Culture Death	Death <i>disconfirms</i> element 1: Nature Death	Death <i>confirms</i> element 1: Culture Death	Life <i>confirms</i> element 1: Nature Life	Life <i>disconfirms</i> element 1: Culture Life	Life <i>confirms</i> element 1: Nature Life

Breaking out of natural container <i>confirms</i> cultural nature of mankind	Breaking out of natural container <i>confirms</i> cultural nature of mankind	Breaking out of natural container (= Death see M9) <i>confirms</i> cultural	Breaking out of cultural container (= Escape from woman at fish corral) <i>Confirms</i> natural nature of woman and fish	Breaking out of natural container <i>confirms</i> cultural nature of mankind	Breaking out of cultural container <i>confirms</i> natural nature of shark
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The biggest problem with the chart is that we must refer to M9 in order to complete M7 and to confirm the cultural nature of mankind. We have already discussed why overcoming death is seen as breaking out of a natural container. As mentioned previously, M7 leads us back over the old myths and allows us to complete the series. But at the moment it looks as if M7 allows us to stop work, this last problem opens our inquiry into new areas. We cannot explore these areas in this chapter, but we will briefly mention some of the directions pointed out by M9.

When we first presented M9 we noted its resemblance to M7. If we look carefully at them it appears that M9 reverses everything that is accomplished in M7. The syntagmatic sequences are parallel on almost all points:

M7: A living woman	} confronts	{ a talkative monkey (animal) an uncommunicative boatman (human)	} which is hit on the nose with
M9: A dead man			
//			
M7: manulic	} resulting in	{ victim falling into water. agressor thrown under the ground.	
M9: oar			
//			
M7: Woman told to make fire.	She accepts.	Shark = Lack of water.	
M9: Man told to make fire.	He refuses.	Man = Lack of water.	
//			
M7: Greedy Cat (nature).	Capantaan doesn't allow cat to have food.		
M9: Polite Man (culture).	Capantaan shares food with Casiburauen.		
//			
M7: Death results	Husband leaves wife involuntarily.		
M9: Resurrection results	Wife leaves husband voluntarily.		

Although M9 negates M7 and would seem to close the series, there is yet another myth which needs to be added to our system. In our

discussion of M7, we said the myth was about permanent death. Yet M9 seems to negate this conclusion. But M10 makes death permanent and, at the same time, negates M1 and brings the series to a resting point: M10. "Why the Dead do not Return."

They say that, when the wife of Capantaan found herself alone on the earth, the first thing that that she did was to withdraw to her house. After a bit she began to lament very bitterly. They say that when she was in this condition, another man called Lumpluban (i.e., Marancoyang) came along. He invited her to take a little tobacco in a piece of *Bunya* leaf. She took it with very good grace. Then he asked her whether she would follow him to his house, which was about two cannon-shots' away. She refused, but as the man persisted, she allowed herself to be taken thither. So they lived happily and gave origin to the first concubinage.

A few days later the dead Capantaan came to his house, and sought his wife and son, but did not find them. Then he questioned the people about them, but the latter could not tell him. Then he asked the birds; but the birds did not know where they were. Then the flies told him that his son was dead, and that his wife had gone off with another man. Then he spoke to the animals and asked which one would guide him to that place. Thereupon the animals told him that the dog was the one who knew that place. But at this arose a heated dispute, for the ant said that it could enter into a very small place. Then the man resolved to follow the dog. Since then dogs have been the friends of mankind, and ants their enemies. They set off

It is said that, as soon as Lunpluban and Marancoyang arrived at the place where they were going to stay, they were met by many of the latter's friends, for as yet no woman had gone to that place. Then they desired to celebrate the event with a big feast. When they were asked what they would give, the monkey replied that he would bring bananas. The dog said that he would bring meat; the cat, birds; the ant, rice; the sparrowhawk, fish; the tortoise, salt; the bees, honey; and so on with the other animals. Only the pig and the weevil were lacking, but in a short time the weevil came bringing the *balantong* seed. But the pig did not appear. Then the other animals agreed to eat it for its impudence. The dog begged its ears; the cat, its snout; the sparrowhawk, its belly; the monkey, its buttocks; the ant, its fat; and the weevil, its guts. Then they agreed to drag it out, but no one was bold enough to do it. But Marancoyang, went far away to a place called Caiucan to steal it. In that place was a very old man called Ygjocan. Marancoyang, on

seeing him, asked him for the above mentioned pig, but the old man said that he would not give it to him, for it was the only one he had. Then Marancoyang resolved to take it by means of theft, and accordingly did so. That was the first theft in the world.

Marancoyang took the stolen pig and they ate it as above said amid great rejoicing. At that moment a youth passed by and asked them to give him something to eat. They refused him saying that he had not given any aid.

Thereupon, that youth, who was Arion, went away very angry, and immediately after this, advised his father Capantaan that a pig had been stolen and that his mother was eating it in company with another man.

His father thereupon sent him to call his mother Lumpluban, and to tell her that it was a great shame for her to have left him in order to eat a stolen pig. . . .

Arion went immediately to her who was called his mother, whom he found eating pig. She showed great pleasure at seeing him, but he showed himself very impudent and told her that he was come by order to his father to get her away from there. Then she was frightened. But she was ready to go, and asked Marancoyang to grant her permission to see her first husband for a few days. But the latter grew very angry, and would not consent, telling her that dead men do not return to earth unless within (the first) seven days (after death). Thereupon, she replied to her son in the same way. At that her son showed great rage, but he returned and told his father that the latter was in the region of the dead. There upon the latter was very angry, and tried to return to the earth. But they say this was not permitted by the old Casiburauen, who they say cares for all the dead.

From that time, the angry and furious man did not wish to return to earth. Neither would he remember his wife, but stayed dead forever. But had Casiburauen permitted him to return to the earth, then the dead would return to earth.

Casiburauen pitied Capantaan greatly. Thereupon, after a long time, this Casiburauen turned him into a fish, and threw him into the sea. Since then Capantaan has been there (Pavon Manuscript, 5-D).

The links between this myth and M7, which begins the Capantaan series, are mainly ones of opposition and completion. M10 thus closes the structure of the series M7-M9-M10 and also closes the structure of the larger series M1-M2-M4-M5-M7-M9-M10. In order to demonstrate this we must show that M10 opposes M7

(thereby finishing the subset of Capantaan's adventures), M1 (thereby finishing the death series), and M2 (thereby finishing the speciation series).

The relationships between M7 and M10 are:

M7	M10
Death+Speciation	Death+ Food division
cultural invention : fish corral	cultural invention : concubinage
Cultural invention: funeral feast	Cultural invention: welcoming feast
Nature: Woman loses food through greed	Nature: Man gains food through theft
Flies block information	Flies give information
Sparrowhawk=thief of fish	Sparrowhawk= Donor of fish
Cat=thief of food	Cat=donor of food
Prompt weevil	Tardy weevil
Wife cannot eat	Wife eats
Capantaan brings shark ashore	Capantaan thrown into water
Death of Capantaan	Redeath of Capantaan (see M9)
Monkey → Siren (culture → nature)	Capantaan → Shark (culture → nature)
Origin of fish species	Division of meat at feast

It is clear that M7 and M10 also have their syntagmatic sequences in common. Note that the rather strange looking equation of the fish corral with concubinage does indeed make sense:

M7: Invention of fish corral	}	causes a	{ funeral feast	}	in spite of
M10: Invention of concubinage	}		{ welcome feast	}	
//					
M7: a greedy woman.	}	At the feast	{ a greedy cat	}	causes {
M10: a greedy pig (doesn't give food for feast).	}		{ a greedy man (won't give up woman).	}	}
//					
M7: death of Capantaan	}	which later results in	{ Resurrection back as cultural being (M9)—Resolving nothing, leading to M10.	}	
M10: redeath of Capantaan	}		{ Resurrection back as a fish—thereby closing sequences starting with death of a fish.	}	

With this closure of the set we have not only completed the logical

implications of the shark's death, we have also completed the implications of the equation "Culture=Death." M7a was based on this equation and M10 reverses it with a twist. Man is resurrected again, but only after the equation has been re-affirmed by Marancoyang declaring that men do not come back to life (at least as men). Thus, we could say that culture has rejected Capantaan, much like the woman in M7 rejected culture by her greed. In M7 when the woman rejected culture she was turned into an animal (cries and moans= animal cries) and only after she had "transformed" the cultural monkey into a natural being did she regain her status as a cultural being. In M10 the man is also reduced to a natural being after culture has rejected him, and, since "Nature=Life," he is resurrected as a fish, the animal which first rejected culture in M1, M5, and M7 by dying when put into a container. The attributes of the fish are also relevant to the cultural items turned into fish in M7b.

Thus we have seen Capantaan move from the creator of culture, who tries to enforce his cultural order on the natural world and died because of this, to a natural creature rejected by culture, and thereby gaining life, although not as a human male (since "Man=Culture"), but as a fish.

Since M10 completes M7, it must also be linked with M1 on the theme of death. When we return to read M1, it is clear that M1 and M10 duplicate each other on the theme of the woman who will not call or visit her husband and thereby causes death to be permanent. Also, notice the reverse behavior of the flies in the myths. In M1 the fly gives true information, whereas the flies in M10 give out false information (since the son is not dead). Again, the marriage which is so important in M1 is reversed to concubinage in M10. Finally, as most important, Capantaan's resurrection as a fish reverses the death of the shark in M1.

If M10 completes M1 on the death theme, we should expect it to complete M2 on the speciation theme. This is indeed the case. The speciation theme in M10 is the dividing up of the pig in the welcoming feast for the woman. Again, remember our definition of speciation as the dividing up of a previously unified field. M2 attacks the speciation problem from a natural viewpoint, while M10 takes a cultural point of view. A major link here is the premise of M2 that the reason for speciation was the shark inflicting death on and eating animals. In M10 this is completed, with the animals now reversing roles and eating the pig. Obviously to validate this cycle we need to find a myth which equates the pig with the shark and which will support the following inversions:

M2	M10
Species division	Meat division
Natural animals and birds	Cultural animals and birds

Greedy animal eats other animals	Other animals eat greedy animal (pig)
Greedy animal lives	Greedy animal dies
Divided: water animal	Divided: land animal
Natural viewpoint	Cultural viewpoint

There is such a myth and with it we will close this chapter:

M11. "Sicalac and Sicauy Consult the Earthquake."

In the course of time, both the young people grew up. Both he and she became man and woman grown. Then. . . they fell in love with each other. But she always refused and said that it could not be, for they had been born from one single bit of bamboo. So they resolved to consult the earthquake, namely, Macalinog. But how were they to do this? There was not a soul who could tell them. With this and other thoughts in his mind, Sicalac said farewell to Sicauy, in order to go seek Macalinog. But she would not consent, for she said that she could not stay alone, for she feared to be rapt away by some evil genius. Then after much begging he took her with him.

After crossing many mountains and rivers, and after much hardship, they approached a very lofty mountain. Then fatigued they slept for a long time. On awakening, they beheld that their old and well-known liberator, Manuel, was perched on the tree under which they had taken the moment of their repose.

When they spied him they rejoiced, for they expected to receive good counsel from their old time protector. But what was their great surprise, when without giving them time, the bird spoke to them in this wise:

"Once I was a powerful monarch. I had great finesse among the others as one who could know and tell beforehand the thoughts and beliefs of the others.

"If you promise to do one thing for me, which I am going to ask of you, I shall tell you instantly where you can find my grandfather, Macalinog, who is the lord of the earthquake, and who can tell you whether or no you ought to marry each other."

Upon hearing these true revelations, Sicalac and Sicauy wondered greatly. Thereupon they made all kinds of promises to do what Manuel desired, provided that he would show them what they ought to do in order that they might see Macalinog. Then the bird said to them: "In my time I was a bad monarch, for I committed many cruelties. As a punishment, my grandfather Macalinog changed me into a bird. I need only to perform and accomplish one single good deed, in order that my guilt may be redeemed.

Since I see that I can perform one at this time, I am going to do as much good as possible. But it must be on one condition, namely, that when you have finished what you need, you will return hither and pluck one feather from my tail. When that is done, I shall have fulfilled the chastisement that my grandfather inflicted on me, and then you will see me in my primitive form." One can image the joy of Sicalac and Sicauiy on hearing this, for aside from the fact that they loved their benefactor greatly, they were anxious to see Macalinog, in order to consult him about their marriage. So they again made many promises to the bird to fulfill faithfully what they had promised.

"Then," said he to them, "take this small leaden phial which contains a red liquid. By anointing your eyes with a drop of it you can see the place where lives Macalinog my grandfather. But unhappy those who do not fulfill their promise, for they will never be able to keep their word while living. Before you reach the place, you will have to pass seven mountains and seven creeks. These are the seven mountains of sin. After you pass one and before you reach the seventh, if you turn your face, the mountains will sink into the water, and only one little point will be left outside, as a sign that you have not fulfilled what I have told you."

Upon finishing the above words, the bird flew away on the horizon, and in short time disappeared amid the beautiful clouds.

Upon this they journeyed towards a small mound. Once there, Sicalac remembered the small leaden phial, which held the red liquid. Thereupon drawing it forth, he applied one drop to his eye, and another drop to the eye of Sicauiy. Then away in the distance, they saw seven very lofty mountains and on the peak of each a large rock. Then on the last they saw a big old man in a cave, who held a huge rock in one of his hands. It was, they say, these lands, and the old man, Macalinog. He was surrounded by a vast number of fish of different kinds and colors. Before reaching each mountain there was a creek in its fold.

They set out toward the spot. Everything went well until they reached the seventh and last mountain. There Sicalac remembered what Manuel had told them, and however many different things he saw, he did not turn his face. But. . . . Sicauiy stayed behind to play with some fish. Sicalac in confusion called her several times, and as she did not reply, forgot what the bird had told him and turned his head at the very moment that Sicauiy came up.

Then a great transformation took place. The mountains sank down, and in place of the creeks, there was only an immense sea.

Since that day have existed the rocks of the Seven Sins which are found between this island and the town of Arevalo.

When they reached the place where Macalinog was found, they told him what they desired. He told them he would consult the fishes and the birds. But they answered yes, because there were no other people in the world. Thereupon, Macalinog married them.

The pig and the shark danced at the wedding. Then since this produced a great earthquake, the fishes asked Macalinog to stop them; for this could not be since the fish was of the sea and the pig of the earth. Macalinog consented to this. But the cunning pig escaped beforehand, and from that time it could not dance.

As for Sicalac and Sicauy, as soon as they found themselves united, so great was their joy that they forgot to keep their promise to Manuel, namely, to pluck his tail from him, or a feather from his tail. Consequently, Manuel did not recover his primitive form, and to this day we see him as a fulsome bird of prey (Pavon Manuscript, 5-D).

This myth is another key myth which links up with several major themes in Bisayan folklore, but for the present we are only concerned with the fact that the equation is made between the pig and the shark and this confirms our analysis of the link between M2 and M10.

M11 also links to the other series of myths in four ways which we will briefly list: 1) M11 has a land/sea opposition which completes the land/air opposition in M1; 2) the land/sea break in M11 is caused when Sicauy does not use culture (speech), whereas the earth/air break in M1 is caused when the children use culture (*lancadas*); 3) the fact that the pig in M11 cannot dance links up with the punishment of the sparrowhawk in M7; 4) the fact that the people in M11 do not free the bird is the reverse of the situation in M1, where the bird frees the humans from the bamboo.

III. Summary

The analysis was started with our key myth, M1. From this myth we branched out in several directions. Our aim was the same regardless of what appeared to be a number of diversions: to find myths that would oppose M1 on one or more central points. We can summarize what we did by listing each myth and explaining exactly why it was included in the analysis:

M2—Included because it shows the shark as active agent of death instead of a passive victim or a passive agent. It is the opposite of

- M1 on these points, but because it deals with speciation instead of death, it does not totally complete M1. The speciation question in M2 is dealt with in M7 and M4, and the myth is balanced by M10.
- M3—Included because it reverses the movement of the shark from freedom to confinement in M1. In so doing, it complements M1 because it agrees that confinement is bad and freedom is good.
- M4—Included because it reverses M2 on the question of species formation. Whereas in M2 speciation is the result of too much activity, in M4 it is the result of too little.
- M5—Included because it was a second view of the origin of death. Analysis showed that it reverses the themes of both M1 and M7 in that it sees death as a result of man violating the equation “Man=Culture” while the other two see death as validating the equation “Culture=Death.”
- M6—Included to complete the series on the division of labor. M1 shows what happens where there is no division of labor, M5 shows what happens where there is a proper division of labor, and M6 completes the set by dealing with an incorrect division of labor.
- M7—Included because it was a third view of the origin of death. Analysis showed it was a key myth in that it links up the death set (M1-M5-M7a), the speciation set (M2-M4-M7b) and the Capantaan set (M7-M9-M10). It opposes M4 and M5, while agreeing with M1 and M2 on the underlying themes. By connecting M10 with the earlier series produced by M7, we get a complete closure.
- M8—Included to demonstrate that the symbolic transformation “Cat → Thunderbolt” is a downward step. There are important links between M8 and M7 but we could not deal with them.
- M9—Included to demonstrate that death is a contained, natural state. Later we showed how it reversed M7, but did not settle anything.
- M10—Included to complete the Capantaan series. We showed how it closed the structure of M1 (Man takes shark out of water and dies → Man is put into water and lives); M2 (Greedy animal eats other animals → Other animals eat greedy animal); and M7 (Death → Redeath).
- M11—Included to show the identity of the shark and the pig. Also related back to M1. At the same time, it opens to a whole new series of myths, including a set on why the crow is black.

In this analysis we hope we have pointed out some of the uses of structural analysis. Upon reading these eleven myths the reader should get the feeling that they are somehow related. Structural analysis shows that this subjective impression is based on the recognition of the progres-

sion of the underlying themes of the sets of myths. This is seen in the three myths concerning the origin of death. The very subtle difference in the causes of death were shown to be related to the unfolding of a logical attack on the question of men, women, culture, nature, death, and their relationships.

At the same time, we hope to have demonstrated some of the tremendously complex problems confronting structural analysis. Any analysis of this type leaves numerous loose ends. There will always be contradictions that can be found and the truth of these contradictions can only be discovered by a huge amount of work and, if necessary myths are lost, sometimes can never be discovered. The problems of overdetermination of episodes and elements, of weighting external and internal considerations, of the reality of dialectical oppositions, of our inability to grasp total structures at a single glance, of the relationship of a literary text to the actual verbal performance of a myth, of temporal dimensions, etc. have been mentioned, but their solutions seem as far away as ever.

The major problem in structural analysis will always be that of confirmation. Many critics have pointed out that if you look hard enough for binary oppositions, you will find them. The criticism seems directed at the fact that the structural analysis of myth (unlike the analysis of kinship structures) seems particularly vulnerable to paranoid system building. Myths are important to the structuralists because myths are free from the material constraints of reality. Yet this is also the greatest danger for the method—it is very easy to build up delusional systems that cannot be disproven because they have no contact with reality. And psychologists have pointed out how hard it is to convince an intelligent paranoid that his delusional system is not reality, but exists only in his "head."

A great deal of the debate over structuralism seems to take on the character of a three-way conversation between two paranoids and a psychologist. Lévi-Strauss seems to be inviting us to enter a *folie a deux* based on structural assumptions. The empirically oriented "psychologist" argues that the madness is consistent and looks nice, but he rejects the assumptions and therefore dismisses the system. The third participant accepts the assumptions, but then attacks the reality of Lévi-Strauss' system, while constructing their own system and attacking the empiricists for rejecting structural assumptions.

This characterization would seem to be a rejection of structuralism, but it is not. For, to continue the analogy, it is possible that our empirical "psychologist" might be just as much the victim of his own paranoid system. At the least we can say that while the structuralists cannot

prove their assumptions neither can their opponents disprove them. Thus we have reached an impasse. The structuralists continue to turn out new systems while their opponents continue to decry what they see as a waste of time and energy. At present, whether a theorist accepts or rejects structuralism seems to depend less on scientific grounds than on cultural and personality factors.

Notes:

1. A brief explanation of this title is in order. The difference between structure and content is one of the most important concepts in structural theory, yet in practice the distinction is often ignored when an analysis is presented. Currently there is still a great deal of confusion about the goal of a structural analysis. There are two views:

- a) *Pure Structuralism*—Lévi Strauss wrote the structural program in his 1956 article:

Although it is not possible at the present stage to come closer than an approximate formulation which will certainly need to be made more accurate in the future, it seems that every myth (considered as the collection of all its variants) corresponds to a formula of the following type:

$$f_x(a) : f_y(b) \cong f_x(b) : f_{a^{-1}}(y)$$

where, two terms being given as well as two of these functions, it is stated that a relation of equivalence still exists between the two situations when terms and relations are inverted, under two conditions: 1. that one term can be replaced by its contrary; 2. that an inversion be made between the *function* and the *term* value of two elements.

In *From Honey to Ashes* he reaffirms this equation and states that all his work in mythology has been directed towards demonstrating the universality of this equation.

Given this stance, what is the job of the anthropologist who does a structural study of a body of myths? In its simplest description, the anthropologist becomes a clever decoding machine which accepts the input and shows how it can be broken down to this basic equation. Once he arrives at the equation his job is completed and his only conclusion is that the input was structured according to the goal equation. He cannot make any statements about the psychological, cultural, or sociological meaning of the myths.

The problem arises when we ask the purpose of this exercise. Of what possible value is showing that South American myths, the Book of Genesis, modern novels, etc., all have the same structure? It is true that each demonstration does provide some additional support for the structuralist position, but demonstration after demonstration can never provide the conclusive evidence for the structuralist theory.

In essence, pure structuralism is incapable of doing anything more than continually reaffirming the existence of the structuring processes of the human mind. But where do we go after that?

- b) *The Content and Structure Approach*—Mary Douglas, in her article in the ASA volume, notes that Lévi-Strauss rarely does pure structuralism:

Lévi-Strauss claims to be revealing the formal structures of myths. But he can never put aside his interest in what the myth discourse is about. He

seems to think that if he had the formal structure it would look not so much like a grammar book as like a summary of the themes which analyzing the particular structure of a myth cycle has produced. Hence the reductionist tendency is built into his type of myth analysis. He falls into the trap of claiming to discover the real underlying meanings of myths because he never separates the particular artistic structure of a particular set of myths from their general or purely formal structure. Just as knowing that the rhyme structure is a, b, b, a, does not tell us anything about the content of a sonnet, so the formal structure of a myth would not help very much in interpreting it. Lévi-Strauss comes very near this when he says that the structural analysis of a Pawnee myth consists of a dialectical balancing of the themes of life and death. It might have been better to have said that it was a balanced structure of pluses and minuses, or of positives and negatives (page 64). Douglas has made a point here which applies to all structural analyses thus far published. The tendency to abandon the search for purely structural relations, and to use structure to illuminate content and vice versa, has been followed by all analysts.

Actually, this approach is of far more interest to the general anthropological community than pure structuralism. The most exciting parts of Lévi-Strauss' discussions of myth are when he is dealing with content and the mythological themes of a culture. It should be noted that this second approach allows for a true comparative study of myths. In essence, the approach details the philosophical system of a culture as it is manifested in myths. These systems can then be compared across cultures. In pure structuralism there is nothing to compare across cultures, since the basic mythological equation is universal. We are reduced to showing how appearances in each individual culture can be reduced to the reality described in the equation.

In this paper the second approach is utilized. We have used the structural theory and method to understand the content of Bisayan culture by reference to its myths. At the same time, we have said something about myth-making in general, something which may be applied universally.

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