

A Voice from Mt. Apo

Oral and Written Essays on the Culture and
World View of the Manobo



Written and
recounted by

Manuel Arayam
Mantaona Bangcas
Melchor Bayawan
Tano Bayawan
Enagaro Bugcal
Pablo Iyong
Olinan Landas
Badette Pescadera
Montira Sia
Alunsu Suhat
Nelson Tula
Julian Tungcalan
Retchor Umpan
Romeo Umpan

Translated and annotated by
Ena E. Vander Molen
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Text edited by
Melchor Bayawan

Foreword by
Gloria M. Mudanza

A Voice from Mt. Apo

A Voice from Mt. Apo

Oral and Written Essays on the Culture and
World View of the Manobo

Written and recounted by

*Manuel Arayam
Mantaona Bangcas
Melchor Bayawan
Tano Bayawan
Enagaro Bugcal
Pablo Iyong
Olinan Landas*

*Badette Pescadera
Montira Sia
Alunsu Suhat
Nelson Tula
Julian Tungcalan
Retchor Umpan
Romeo Umpan*

Translated and annotated by Ena E. Vander Molen
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Text edited by Melchor Bayawan

Foreword by Gloria M. Mudanza



Linguistic Society of the Philippines

Manila, 2005

Linguistic Society of the Philippines
Special Monograph Issue, Number 51

The Philippine Journal of Linguistics (PJL) is the official publication of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. It publishes studies in descriptive, comparative, historical, and areal linguistics. Although its primary interest is in linguistic theory, it also publishes papers on the application of theory to language teaching, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropological principles, etc. Such papers should, however, be chiefly concerned with the principles which underlie specific techniques rather than with the mechanical aspects of such techniques. Articles are published in English, although papers written in Filipino, an official language of the Philippines, will occasionally appear. Since the Linguistic Society of the Philippines is composed of members whose paramount interests are the Philippine languages, papers on these and related languages are given priority in publication. This does not mean, however, that the journal will limit its scope to the Austronesian language family. Studies on any aspect of language structure are welcome.

The Special Monograph Series publishes longer studies in the same areas of interest as the PJL, or collections of articles on a single theme.

Manuscripts for publication, exchange journals, and books for review or listing should be sent to the Editor, Danilo T. Dayag, De La Salle University, 2401 Taft Avenue, Manila, Philippines. Manuscripts from the United States and Europe should be sent to Dr. Lawrence A. Reid, Pacific and Asia Linguistics Institute, University of Hawaii, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.

Editorial Board

Editor:	Danilo T. Dayag, De La Salle University
Associate Editors:	J. Stephen Quakenbush, Summer Institute of Linguistics Bonifacio P. Sibayan, Philippine Normal University Lawrence A. Reid, University of Hawaii
Review Editor:	Emy M. Pascasio, Ateneo de Manila University
Managing Editor:	Danilo T. Dayag, De La Salle University
Business Manager:	May O. Viaje, De La Salle University
Volume Editor:	Virginia A. Larson, Summer Institute of Linguistics

Cover design by Dave C. Moldez
Cover artwork by Rechor Umpan
Illustrations by Melchor Bayawan

2005 by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines
All rights reserved
ISBN: 971-780-021-9
0105 - 2.6C

Contents

Dedication	ix
Foreword	x
Preface	xi
Introduction	xiii
Pronunciation Guide	xvii
About the Authors	xx
Map of Manobo Area	xxii

I Life Cycle

Gahad to Ko-ontayan

Childbirth Tano Bayawan	<i>Kod-aanak</i> 2
Marriage Tano Bayawan	<i>Kodpo-osoway</i> 8
Taking an Additional Wife Tano Bayawan	<i>Koddoruwoy</i> 18
Divorce Tano Bayawan	<i>Kodposuwayoy</i> 22
Beliefs Concerning Death Tano Bayawan	<i>Mgo Pomokayon Moka-atag to Kopotayan</i> 28
Widowhood Tano Bayawan	<i>Bau</i> 34
The Travels of the Soul after Death Tano Bayawan	<i>Iddos od Undiyonnan to Gimukud kopongnga kos Kopotayan</i> 38

II Social Values

Moppiyon Botasanon

Giving Advice to Newlyweds Tano Bayawan	<i>Kodpayas</i> 50
Advice for Young Men and Young Ladies Tano Bayawan	<i>Polinta atag to mgo Konakan woy Mongovay</i> 54

III The Home

Building a House
Romeo Umpan

Making Fire
Tano Bayawan

Customs about Sleeping
Tano Bayawan

IV Livelihood

Farming
Tano Bayawan

Sago
Tano Bayawan

Tubers
Tano Bayawan

Making a Broom of Tiger Grass
Melchor Bayawan

Ways of Finding Meat in the Past
Pablo Iyong

V Getting Along with Others

Weapons and Fighting Skills
Tano Bayawan

Taking Someone Else's Wife
Tano Bayawan

Tree Shelter
Pablo Iyong

VI Getting Along with Spirits

The Curative and Supernatural Power
of a Spirit Medium
Tano Bayawan

Medicinal Plants Gathered in the
Wild
Tano Bayawan

Those Whom We Cannot See
Tano Bayawan

Kod-oubpa

Kodpoohinat to Baoy 64

Kodbovaat Apuy 68

Botasan to Kodtinuhon 70

Ko-uyahan

Kodkamot 78

Natok 90

Kollut 94

Kodbovaa to Lemas no Tohitti. 96

Mgo Pomo-ukit to Kodnonangkap tod
Kouddungluddung Dangan 104

Kodpo-imotayoy woy Kosunayan

Mgo Goggot woy Kotuihan to
Kodpo-imotayoy 122

Iddos Kod-ahaw to Sawa 130

Popo 134

Kodpoko-id woy Kosunayan

Iddos Kodbovawi woy Kotuusan to od
Oonitu 140

Bawi nod Pongottayon. 144

Iddos Konna Ta od Kokita 150

Magic Stone Romeo Umpan	<i>Suku</i> 156
VII Getting Along with Nature	<i>Kod-oubpa Ka-ay't Ingod</i>
Eclipse Mantaona Bangcas	<i>Lokkop</i> 162
Eclipse Tano Bayawan	<i>Lokkop</i> 166
The Time Indayodan Andot Was Buried in a Landslide Tano Bayawan	<i>Notumpahan si Indayodan Andot</i> . . . 168
Wild Doves Nelson Tula	<i>Limukon</i> 172
VIII Leisure and Beauty	<i>Dos od Pokohaa to Songnga</i>
Dancing Tano Bayawan	<i>Kodsayow.</i> 178
Beautification Melchor Bayawan	<i>Pogoling</i> 180
Manobo Music Melchor Bayawan	<i>Mgo Porohingon to Monuvu</i> 186
IX Stories, Songs, and Poetry	<i>Mgo Pongumanon, Oggung woy Uhanon</i>
Maandus and Soliman's Song Manuel Arayam	<i>Maandus, Sosoliman.</i> 198
Accept My Love Retchor Umpan	<i>Tonggapow kos Ginawa Ku</i> 202
Molingling Tano Bayawan	<i>Molingling.</i> 204
Tilanduk and the Giant Enagaro Bugcal	<i>Tilanduk woy dos Gungutan</i> 210
The Ogre and the Child Olinan Landas	<i>Iddos Oggasi woy dos Anak</i> 216
The Hawk and the Hen Badette Pescadera	<i>Iddos Kappi woy dos Opok.</i> 220
Pituy Badette Pescadera	<i>Si Pituy</i> 222

The Whistler Bird and the Cat Badette Pescadera	<i>Iddos Boyaku woy dos Mengko.</i>	226
Sunni’s Travels Julian Tungcalan	<i>Iddos Kod-ipanow ni Sunni</i>	228
The Monkey and the Turtle Montira Sia	<i>Iddos Uvaa woy dos Ponnu</i>	230
Wou Alunsu Suhat Sr.	<i>Si Wou</i>	234
Appendix A: An Analyzed Manobo Text		243
Appendix B: Case Markers and Pronouns		265
Glossary		269
References		271
Linguistic and Ethnographic Bibliography		273

In Memory of Tano Bayawan



Si Tano Bayawan, sokkad to ko-opuwan to unnon mgo Monuvu riyot Kidapawan. Noko-osawa sikandin ki Fely Coronel no maung din timpu to kod-iskwila ran to college, woy duwon limmon anak dan.

Konna sikandin minuvu no duwon korotuwan iling to koovottan to mgo minuvu moka-atag to kahi no korotuwan, ko konna, noratu sikandin diyot botasanon. Anak o buyyag od addat kandin oyyos minuvu sikandin no duwon kotoongngan. Purisu mo-uraa kos od aput kandin nod buyut polinta woy od buyuwon sikandin nod bovallan no sokkad nod dotuwon, woy od ko-ilonganon sikandin diyot mgo kolivuungan. Konna awang kos mgo notomanan din su od ponlampoy sikandin to buvungan woyd batas to doorakkoon oweg amoyd puung tat pinuungan din timbang pastor diyot nokosoksok no mgo lugaa. Notoddu mandad sikandin no secretary to OMALRACDI, no sokkad no NGO atag to kodpo-udsuu to ko-ubpa woy kopomakoy to mgo Monuvu.

Id patoy sikandin to oppat no puu woy sokkad kos idad din pomon to bohok to pusung. Dii sikandin od kolingawan pomon to nopuungan din no kod-alin to kahit Monama, woy dos id sulat din no mgo itulon moka-atag to mgo botasanon to Monuvu apiii ron en dos nokota-aw ka-ay no libru. Inin mgo itulon, od kovasa to mgo anak din woy mgo ko-opuwan din.

Ahad so waa nokotuwos din no korotuwan to pomilya rin, piru dos mgo libru no id alin din diyot Minonuvu, timbang dakkoon korotuwan no id tuwos din atag to langun no Monuvu nod poko-antoy to kandan no gimukud.



Tano Bayawan, a great-grandson of one of the first Manobos in Kidapawan area, married his college sweetheart, Fely Coronel, and they had five children.

He was not a rich man as the world understands the meaning of “rich”, but he was rich in character. Young and old respected him because he was a man of integrity. And because of this, many people came to him for advice, or to ask him to run for a position of leadership in the community, or to ask him for help in meeting a particular need. His life was not easy—often hiking over hill and dale, through fast-flowing rivers to practice his chosen profession as a pastor in remote villages. He also became secretary of the Obo Manobo Active Language Resource and Community Development, Inc. (OMALRACDI), an NGO (non-government organization) established to improve the welfare of the Manobo people.

At the young age of forty-one, he died from congestive heart failure. He is remembered through the Scripture portions he translated and also the accounts and stories he wrote about our Manobo culture, including those contained in this book—accounts that can still be read by his children and his children’s children *apo*.

Although he was not able to leave his family a worldly inheritance, what he translated is like a rich inheritance to all the Manobo people—words that revive the soul.

Melchor Bayawan¹

¹ When Melchor was a baby, he was adopted and brought up by Tano’s parents and referred to Tano as his brother. By blood, he and Tano were cousins. Tano’s mother and Melchor’s father, Romeo Umpan, are brother and sister.

Foreword

From long ago and even until now the Manobos have been commonly called “natives”. Such a name attached to their identity as indigenous people has meant they have been misunderstood by many. To look at them and their way of life could raise skeptical if not unsure questions—What kind of people are they? Where are they from? This book gives straightforward answers to such questions: Manobos are God’s people. In fact, they are God’s children. God has created them just as He has their hills.

A journey through the foothills that outline the tapestry of Mt. Apo in the southern Philippines affords one the chance of seeing Manobos living simple lives. But what may appear “simple” to the modern world, is in fact an intricate life that destiny has dealt to them. Consequently, Manobos find the mountains to be their high dwelling places, a place of treasure providing for their needs, the silent witness to their folklore and traditions, and the haven that preserves their culture.

Some people are shut off from seeing the beauty of their lives. Helen Keller, blind, deaf, and dumb, once said, “I know many people who have perfect eyes, but are really blind. Their eyes are open, but their hearts are closed.” Two noble people, Ena and Vera, have opened their hearts to our brothers and sisters, the Manobos, who reside in the vicinity of the majestic Mt. Apo.

My first encounter with them was during one of my regular visits to the mountain schools of Mt. Apo as Department of Education Schools Division Superintendent. The sincerity and dedication they have shown through their work is beyond what is expected of people who are strangers to a place. With integrity and candor they have lived with the Manobo people for years, have been accepted as a part of this group, have spoken their language, and have worked with them for their development. Ena and Vera have been involved in worthy educational endeavors, helping to organize the Obo Manobo Active Language Resource and Community Development, Inc. (OMALRACDI), a group that manages the functional literacy program in the area, reaching out to out-of-school youth and adult illiterates.

The publication of this collection is a product of Ena and Vera’s love for the Manobo people. It documents Manobo culture in Central Mindanao, particularly in the province of Cotabato. The idea of compiling and translating into English over forty Manobo accounts and stories to form this book is a noble undertaking, a legacy of love for our Manobo brothers and sisters. Through this collection, readers will truly appreciate the beautiful simplicity of the Manobo traditions and lifestyle sketched against their mountain.

Dr. Gloria M. Mudanza
CESO V
Schools Division Superintendent
Cotabato Province

Preface

James Anthony Froude wrote, “History is a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong.”¹ This collection of accounts and stories is indeed a *voice* from the Manobo concerning their history. The Manobo people live on the northwest slope of Mt. Apo, the highest peak in the southern Philippines. *Apo* in the Manobo language means ‘grandparent’ and it can also mean ‘grandchild’. Thus the Manobo sit at the feet of the mountain to relate these stories as a grandchild sits at the feet of his grandparent—listening and learning the oral traditions of what has been deemed right and wrong as passed on from generation to generation. These unwritten laws of right and wrong are called *pooviyán*² *gontangan*.³ Although these two terms used individually refer to measures of weight, when used together they point to a system of sanctions and penalties used to keep peace and order among the Manobo people.

As younger generations have grown and taken the place of older generations, it is an unavoidable fact that the “voice...sounding across the centuries” has been muffled by the din of changes time has brought to the Manobo people—including changes in what has been considered right and wrong. Some practices, such as engaging in war with neighboring Manobo groups and kidnapping slaves, are now history and not a single tear has been shed at their passing. Other practices, such as the playing of traditional instruments and the telling of colorful stories by gifted storytellers (when heard on rare occasions) bring a wistful tear to the eyes of those in the older generation—the *apo* remembering the “good old days”.

With the inevitable tide of change, many practices of the Manobo people have been left in the corridors of time—some intentionally discarded, others gradually fading away. Tano Bayawan, to whom this book is dedicated, saw these changes taking place as he was growing up and felt a desire to document the Manobo culture he knew. Tano contributed more than half of the essays for this volume. His and the other stories and accounts were also written with a hope that younger generations might even retrieve some lost customs and be proud to claim them as part of their heritage.

The accounts in this book are neither an attempt to look at the Manobo culture with “rose-colored glasses”, nor to cast judgment. Rather, they are to give a window into how life was lived by the Manobo who have gone before. This book is an attempt to allow the reader to feel like an *apo* ‘grandchild’ sitting at the feet of their *apo* ‘grandparent’—listening and learning.

This *voice* would have remained silent had it not been for the inspiration given by Francisco Polenda and Richard Elkins’ book *A Voice from the Hills: Essays on the Culture and World View of the Western Bukidnon Manobo People* (Polenda 1989). To them we give deep thanks. And *sopuun solamat* ‘thank you very much’ goes to Melchor Bayawan for his painstaking research in verifying the accounts and for drawing all the illustrations. He, in turn, expresses his *sopuun solamat* to the following, who patiently answered many questions about life in the past: Domling Andot, Dulaca Andot, Joseph Andot, Dodong Aquil, Marcelo Aquil, Camilo Bayawan, Modesto Bayawan, Undingay Bayawan, Tialay Galang, Liawan Igianon, Salumay Iyong, Cansing Mantawil, Angya Masaglang, Eduardo Puntas, Raul Sabino, Semion Serrano, Lambuhok Serrano, and Shyrel Uman.

¹ Froude 1886, pp. 27–28.

² *pooviyán*: approximately 4–5 kilograms (9–11 pounds).

³ *gontangan*: approximately 3.5 kilograms (7¾ pounds).

They represent Manobos from Kidapawan, Magpet, Arakan, Antipas, and Davao areas, where the majority of the Manobo reside.

Thanks also go to each raconteur and author who contributed to this volume. They have added their voice to help preserve a portion of their history.

This *voice* would also have remained silent had it not been for the variety of help and encouragement given by SIL colleagues. Thanks to Vera Khor Lee Kee, Lillian Underwood, Sue McQuay, JoAnn Gault, Bill Hall, Sherri Brainard, Chris VanWeerdhuizen, and Cindy Groening. Special thanks go to Rex Johnson for typesetting and Ginny Larson for editing the manuscript. And also sincere thanks to Mt. Apo Foundation, Inc. (MAFI) for allowing their 2003 calendar, *Tribal Rhythms: Music of Traditions, Harmony of Expression*, to be used as a reference.

Ena E. Vander Molen

Introduction

Who are the Obo Manobo people? The question has been asked, “...do they in fact exist as a group?”¹ The Obo Manobo do exist and are an ethnic minority group located on the north and west slopes of Mt. Apo on the boundary between Davao del Sur and North Cotabato on the island of Mindanao, Philippines. Besides the name Obo Manobo, they have also been called: Kidapawan Manobo, Obo Bagobo, and Bagobo.² The Obo Manobo call themselves *Monuvu* or Manobo, hence throughout this book, the term Obo has been dropped and they are simply referred to as Manobo. However, it should be kept in mind that it is the Obo Manobo who are in focus. According to a language survey conducted by Richard Elkins, there are some twenty³ discrete Manobo ethnic groups, each with its own dialect.

The Manobo are not a large group of people⁴ nor are they influential on the global scene. They are not wealthy as wealth is usually assessed. Like the threads of Manila hemp used to make attractive Manobo traditional clothing, their strength and resilience lies in being interwoven, interdependent, and reliant on each other. The strong strands of character like generosity, hospitality, closeness of family, and respect of elders—strands woven throughout the essays in this book—have kept Manobo culture from becoming totally unraveled over the years. Instead of being defeated by pressures of outside forces, fears of temperamental evil spirits, sorrows of illness and death, and the challenges of daily living, these difficulties have instead ornamented their lives with the rich texture of endurance, like the colorful threads and beads of their traditional clothing.

The theme of the supernatural world

The reader will also note certain themes prominently woven throughout the essays and stories. Perhaps the most outstanding will be references to the supernatural world. From the cradle to the grave, the unseen world of spirits is a dominant hue in the fabric of Manobo daily life. Whether it is concern for the welfare of an unborn child,⁵ planting a field,⁶ building a house,⁷ dealing with illness,⁸ seeing to the burial of the deceased,⁹ or understanding nature,¹⁰ certain things are done (or not done) to appease the wrath of evil spirits. Although the specifics of what is done (or not done) have changed over the years, the keen awareness (and fear) of the supernatural world remains a driving force behind many practices.

¹ Pastor-Roces 1991, p. 80.

² Grimes 2000.

³ Elkins 1974.

⁴ Population surveys have varied from 80,000 to 100,000 speakers (1998).

⁵ See Section I Life Cycle: *Childbirth*.

⁶ See Section IV Livelihood: *Farming*.

⁷ See Section III The Home: *Building a House*.

⁸ See Section VI Getting Along with Spirits: *Medicinal Plants Gathered in the Wild*.

⁹ See Section I Life Cycle: *Beliefs Concerning Death*.

¹⁰ See Section VII Getting Along with Nature: *The Time Indayodan Andot Was Buried in a Landslide*.

The theme of getting along with one another

Another important theme is getting along with one another. Whether a conflict concerns a young man getting along with his in-laws,¹¹ a married couple having difficulty getting along with each other,¹² or the taking of another's wife,¹³ a *datu* 'chieftain' inevitably gets involved to arbitrate the case. Just as weaving takes on different hues over time, the *datu* system of keeping peace and order has also changed. In the past, a *datu* would often pay a fine (by giving an item of value such as a brass gong to the offended party) on behalf of the guilty party if they could not pay it. This gained the *datu* respect as being a generous man, prestige that he was able to resolve the conflict, and a devoted following of those indebted to him. Much of a *datu's* time (or that of his wives) was spent trading and acquiring these items of value. However, the bartering method of acquiring items of value is no longer practiced and the *datu* of today has his fields to tend to. Although the methodology of resolving conflicts has changed from the past, the *datu* system continues to this day.

The theme of finding sustenance

A third theme woven throughout many of the essays (indeed because it is a focal point of Manobo life) is sustenance—spending time finding food and preparing it.¹⁴ Manobos are small-scale farmers and have long practiced *swidden* or slash and burn agriculture, relying on what they produce for subsistence. Methodology has changed over the years but it is a theme that remains predominant in the day-to-day life of the Manobo.

So, to return to our original question, who are the Obo Manobo? Vera and I¹⁵ know them as Tano, Limbohok, Imbi, Oto, Ettoy, Ondingoy, Ettok, and countless others. We know them as a people with many gifts, talents, and strengths and a people who have learned to adapt to the changing world around them. It is my hope that through these essays the reader will also come to *know* them a bit better as individuals and thereby see their collective strength as a people. So to Tano, Limbohok, Imbi, Oto, Ettoy, Ondingoy, Ettok, and countless others, we salute you (or, for those who have already left behind the labors of this world, your memory) as survivors. This book is compiled to honor you.



Regarding the essays and stories

Methodology

As Tano's health declined a year or so before his death, it was becoming too much for him to hike from his house in the village to our office up the hill. To keep him employed without putting undue strain on him, I asked him to work at his house writing accounts of the Manobo culture and worldview—similar to what Francisco Col-om

¹¹ See Section I Life Cycle: *Marriage*.

¹² See Section I Life Cycle: *Divorce*.

¹³ See Section V Getting Along with Others: *Taking Someone Else's Wife*.

¹⁴ See Section IV Livelihood: *Farming, Sago, and Tubers*.

¹⁵ Vera Khor Lee Kee and Ena E. Vander Molen have lived in Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, since August 1989 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics involved in language research and translation.

Polenda had done in *A Voice From the Hills*.¹⁶ Tano enjoyed the challenge, filling up page after page of yellow-lined notepad paper and, according to his wife, would often write late into the evening as if driven, knowing that his time was short. When he passed away, he had not yet completed all that he hoped to write but a brief glance at the Contents will reveal that the majority of the essays compiled in this book are his. When Tano's *voice* ceased, others have added their *voice*. Melchor Bayawan has spent untold hours verifying the data and terminology¹⁷ used in the essays with those of the older generation who still recall the way things were done in the past.

The English translation

The English translation of the Manobo essays and stories are on the right-hand page, and the corresponding Manobo text on the left. It is as close to a word-for-word translation as differences in English and Manobo allow. There are words in Manobo for which there are no one-to-one correlation; several words in English are required to translate the Manobo word. Words and phrases that are not explicit in the Manobo but needed for clarity have been added to the English in parenthesis. There are also numerous footnotes throughout, adding pertinent cultural, historical, and linguistic information which could not be made explicit in the translation. English forms having no lexical representation in the Manobo, but having a grammatical correspondence, are not enclosed in parenthesis. These include words such as *of*, *is*, *was*, *will be*, *did*, *who/that/which* (as in a relative clause), *a*, and *the*. Where the meaning of the Manobo word includes components from more than one English word, alternate glosses are indicated with a slash (/).

Notes concerning the way certain Manobo grammatical constructions are rendered in the English free translation

Where the Manobo has preposed nouns, for example, "The child, she played in the yard..." the English translation has "The child played in the yard..."

The reader will note in many of the essays the footnote *oyya su*: literally, 'yes because'. When *oyya* 'yes' precedes the conjunction, it functions to tighten the reason/result clause relationship between the preceding clause and the clause that follows. The speaker does not want the relationship between the two clauses to be missed. For example, a more literal rendering of sentence 2¹⁸ reads: "They really enjoyed (these instruments), *yes because* these gave happiness to their breath/spirit when they were played."

The Manobo language uses discourse "glue", particles that function to hold the thoughts together and to move the story along. One of the more common pieces of grammatical "glue" is the particle *na*. Depending on the context, this has been translated 'now', 'so', or 'then'.

In Section IX Stories, Songs, and Poetry, the reader will note that dialogue is often broken up by the frequent use of quotation margins or quote tags; for example, "We will sweep," *she said*, "here around," *she said*, "these strangler fig trees because we will live," *she said*, "in this place." This is highly reflective of Manobo oral style. As Hazel

¹⁶ Polenda 1989.

¹⁷ Because of the changing nature of the Manobo way of life, many terms and phrases used in the essays are no longer used by the younger generation, hence the meaning has become obscure at best.

¹⁸ Section VIII Leisure and Beauty: *Manobo Music*.

Wrigglesworth has noted regarding Ilianen Manobo¹⁹ traditional narratives, the function of the frequent quotation margins or quote tags is two-fold: “It...provides the narrator with a brief pause for collecting his thoughts, (and) ...provide(s) a means of controlling the appropriate rate of introducing new material.”²⁰ It also serves to help the listener track the participants. In traditional narratives that are written (as opposed to oral), the frequency of quotation margins are drastically reduced.²¹

Interjections and exclamations have not been translated in the free translation because, as also noted by Dr. Wrigglesworth,²² a simple English translation of Manobo interjections or exclamations made by characters in traditional narratives does not do adequate justice to their meaning. Interjections and exclamations also serve as rhetorical devices by the speaker to the audience. An explanation of what the interjection or exclamation denotes has been explained in a footnote.

Contractions

The Manobo people are fond of using contractions in their speech. These contractions are used throughout the stories and essays compiled in this book, but they are particularly prevalent in the traditional stories. The contracted words are also influenced by their environment, i.e., affixes and words that surround it, hence causing many morphophonemic changes to take place. For example:

*onakok*²³ ‘what child is...’ is a contraction for *anaka kos*.

*dib puungan*²⁴ ‘what he did...’ is a contraction for *din id puungan*.

Ena E. Vander Molen

¹⁹ Ilianen Manobo is an Austronesian language spoken in north central Cotabato on the island of Mindanao, Philippines.

²⁰ Wrigglesworth 1980, p. 49.

²¹ See Section IX Stories, Songs, and Poetry: *Molingling*.

²² Wrigglesworth 1980, p. 55.

²³ See Section IX Stories, Songs, and Poetry: *The Ogre and the Child*, sentence 4.

²⁴ See Section IX Stories, Songs, and Poetry: *Pituy*, sentence 2.

Pronunciation Guide

Twenty-two symbols are used in spelling Manobo: seventeen consonants and five vowels. These are *a, b, d, e, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, ng, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y*, and *-*.

Vowels

- a* /a/ low central unrounded vowel, pronounced as in Tagalog and Cebuano, occurring in Manobo words such as *akas* ‘to untie’, *dahat* ‘ocean’, and *kosaa* ‘wedding’.
- e* /e/ mid front vowel [e] to central unrounded vowel [ə], occurring in Manobo words such as *et-et* ‘leprosy’, *keved* ‘crooked’, *penek* ‘to climb’, and *logee* ‘water’.
- i* /i/ high front unrounded vowel, pronounced as in Tagalog and Cebuano, occurring in Manobo words such as *ivid* ‘monitor lizard’, *kiskis* ‘to scrape’, and *bitii* ‘famine’.
- o* /o/ low central vowel [a] to back rounded [o] pepet vowel, occurring in Manobo words such as *ollon* ‘belt’, *opok* ‘hen’, *ommow* ‘mute’, and *obboo* ‘smoke’.
- u* /u/ high back rounded vowel, occurring in Manobo words such as *upu* ‘white squash’, *buyu* ‘to ask’, and *umuu* ‘life’.

There are no diphthongs in Manobo. All vowel clusters have equal syllable length and are pronounced as a sequence of two vowels such as *sou* ‘to carry across the breast’ and *paok* ‘sand’. In writing, semi-vowels are usually inserted between high vowel sequences, as in *piyod* ‘bring’, *tiyuk* ‘to prick’, *duwon* ‘to exist’. Long vowels are written and pronounced as a sequence of two vowels as in *aad* ‘fence’, *loggee* ‘building materials’, *popii* ‘paper’, *soo* ‘egg’, and *uu* ‘head’.

Consonants

- /ʔ/ glottal stop, pronounced as in Tagalog and Cebuano (symbolized in these languages by grave accent and hyphen), as the hyphen between the syllables in the English word ‘Uh-oh!’ It is not written when it occurs at the beginning or at the end of a word. It is written as a hyphen (-) when it occurs in the middle of a word between the vowels *a, e, i, o*, and *u*, as in the Manobo words *ba-ay* ‘woman’, *bo-og* ‘stream’, and *ka-an* ‘to eat’. It is also written when it occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster, as in *nokod-iling* ‘to be the same’ and *ow-an* ‘mud fish’.
- b* /b/ voiced bilabial stop, as in Tagalog, Cebuano, and English, except when preceded by a word ending in a vowel or between vowels within a word, where it becomes a voiced bilabial fricative [β], indicated by a *v*. The consonant *b* also has an unreleased variant which occurs word final and syllable final preceding another stop.

- d* /d/ voiced dental stop, as in Tagalog, Cebuano, and English except when preceded by a word ending in a vowel, between vowels, and at word boundaries without a pause, where it becomes a voiced alveolar trill [r], indicated by *r*. In fast speech, *d* becomes a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʃ] when preceded by the vowel sequences [io] and [iu]. The consonant *d* also has an unreleased variant which occurs word finally and syllable finally preceding another stop.
- g* /g/ voiced backed velar stop, except between vowels within a word and at word boundaries without a pause, where [g] becomes a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. The consonant *g* also has an unreleased variant which occurs word finally and syllable finally preceding another stop.
- k* /k/ voiceless backed velar stop, as in Tagalog, with an unreleased variant only occurring in the syllable-final position.
- l* /l/ voiced alveolar lateral, as in Tagalog and Cebuano.
- m* /m/ bilabial nasal, as in Tagalog, Cebuano, and English.
- n* /n/ alveolar nasal, as in Tagalog and Cebuano.
- ng* /ŋ/ velar nasal, as in Tagalog and Cebuano *ng*, and in English *singer*.
- p* /p/ voiceless bilabial stop, as in Tagalog and Cebuano, with an unreleased variant in the syllable-final position.
- s* /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative, as in Tagalog and Cebuano.
- t* /t/ voiceless fronted dental stop, as in Tagalog and Cebuano, with an unreleased variant in the syllable-final position.
- w* /w/ voiced labial-velar approximant, as in Tagalog, Cebuano, and English.
- y* /j/ voiced palatal approximant, as in Tagalog and Cebuano.

The three allophones below only occur between vowels within a word and at word boundaries in fast speech.

- h* [h] voiceless glottal fricative, an allophone of /g/
- r* [r] voiced alveolar trill, an allophone of /d/
- v* [β] voiced bilabial fricative, an allophone of /b/

In personal and place names, Manobo uses the full range of Roman characters. The following letters also appear in proper names:

c, f, j, q, x, z: Cebu, Fely, Judith, Quezon, Xavier, Zamboanga

These letters are pronounced as:

c Manobo *s or k*

f Manobo *p*

j Manobo *dy* [$\widehat{d_3}$]

q Manobo *k*

x and *z* Manobo *s*

Word stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

About the Authors

All contributors to this book were mother-tongue speakers. Their level of competence in other languages is given below, based on their own estimates or those of their relatives, with Level 5 the highest (mother-tongue competence) and Level 1 the lowest.

Manuel Arayam Sr. is a resident of Barangay Manobo, Magpet, Cotabato. He was born in 1958 in Dallag Basiao, Magpet, Cotabato. He is a farmer, Municipal Tribal spokesman for an LGU¹ and a college graduate with a Bachelor of Science degree in Elementary Education. He speaks Manobo 5, Tagabawa 4–5, Cebuano 4, Ilonggo 4, Tagalog 3, Matigsalug 2–3, and English 2–3. His parents spoke Manobo 5. He has won awards in Manila for his *oggung* ‘traditional songs’ sung while dancing the traditional steps and playing his *kuglung*² ‘lute’.

Mantaona “Montot”³ Bangcas, deceased February 2004, was a resident of Balabag, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1930 in Balabag, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was a farmer with two years of education. He spoke Manobo 5, Tagabawa 5, Cebuano 3, Tagalog 2, and English 1. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

Melchor “Ettoy” Bayawan is a resident of Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1978 in Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He is a language assistant in Bible translation with two years of college education. He speaks Manobo 5, Cebuano 4, Tagalog 3, English 3, Tagabawa 2, and Ilonggo 2. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

Tano “Onut” Bayawan, deceased January 2001, was a resident of Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1958 in Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was a pastor, tribal leader, and language assistant in Bible translation with a college education (Diploma in Theology). He spoke Manobo 5, Cebuano 4, English 4, Tagabawa 3, Tagalog 3, and Ilonggo 3. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

Enagaro Bugcal Sr. is a resident of Pandanon, Bongolanon, Magpet, Cotabato. He was born in 1937 in Baguio, Calinan, Davao City. He is a pastor with six years of education. He speaks Manobo 5, Tagabawa 4, English 4, Matigsalug 3, Cebuano 3, Ottow⁴ 2, Tagalog 2, Ilonggo 2, Ilocano 2, Blaan 1, and Ilianen 1. His parents spoke Manobo 5. He is an accomplished and entertaining raconteur and has been invited to tell his stories to a radio audience.

Pablo “Abloy” Iyong is a resident of Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1946 in Calinan, Davao City. He is a former Barangay Captain and tribal leader with eight years of education. He speaks Manobo 5, Tagabawa 4, Cebuano 4, Tagalog 3, Ilonggo 3, English 2, and Ilocano 2. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

Olinan Landas is a resident of Pandanon, Magpet, Cotabato. She was born in 1938 in Ginatilan, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. She is a homemaker. She speaks Manobo 5, Tagabawa 4, Cebuano 3, and Tagalog 1. Her parents spoke Manobo 5.

Badette “Eddit” Pescadera is a resident of Balabag, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. She was born in 1969 in Balabag, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. She is a language assistant in Bible translation with a college education. She speaks Manobo 5, Cebuano 5, Tagalog 4, English 3, Tagabawa 2, and Ilonggo 2. Her parents spoke Manobo 5.

¹ LGU: local government unit.

² *kuglung*: a two-stringed lute.

³ The name in quotations indicates that is their nickname. Nicknames are commonly used.

⁴ Also called Diangan or Klata.

Montira Sia, deceased April 2004, was a resident of Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1935 in Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was a tribal leader with two years of education. He spoke Manobo 5, Tagabawa 4, Cebuano 3, Tagalog 3, Ottow 2, and Matigsalug 2. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

Alunsu Suhat Sr. is a resident of Mutong, Lanao Kuran, Arakan, Cotabato. He was born in 1960 in Lanao Kuran, Arakan. He is a tribal chieftain with four years of education. He speaks Manobo 5, Cebuano 4, Matigsalug 4, Tagalog 3, and English 2. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

Nelson “Isun” Tula is a resident of Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1948 in Perez, Kidapawan City. He is a farmer and *Barangay Kagawad*⁵ ‘local leader’ with three years of education. He speaks Manobo 5, Cebuano 4, Tagabawa 4, Tagalog 3, Ottow 2–3, and English 1. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

Julian Tungcalan, deceased in 2003, was a resident of Ilian, Magpet, Cotabato. He was born around 1940 in Tungcalan, Toril, Davao City. He was a tribal leader with four years of education. He spoke Manobo 5, Tagabawa 5, Ottow 4, Cebuano 3–4, Tagalog 3, and English 3. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

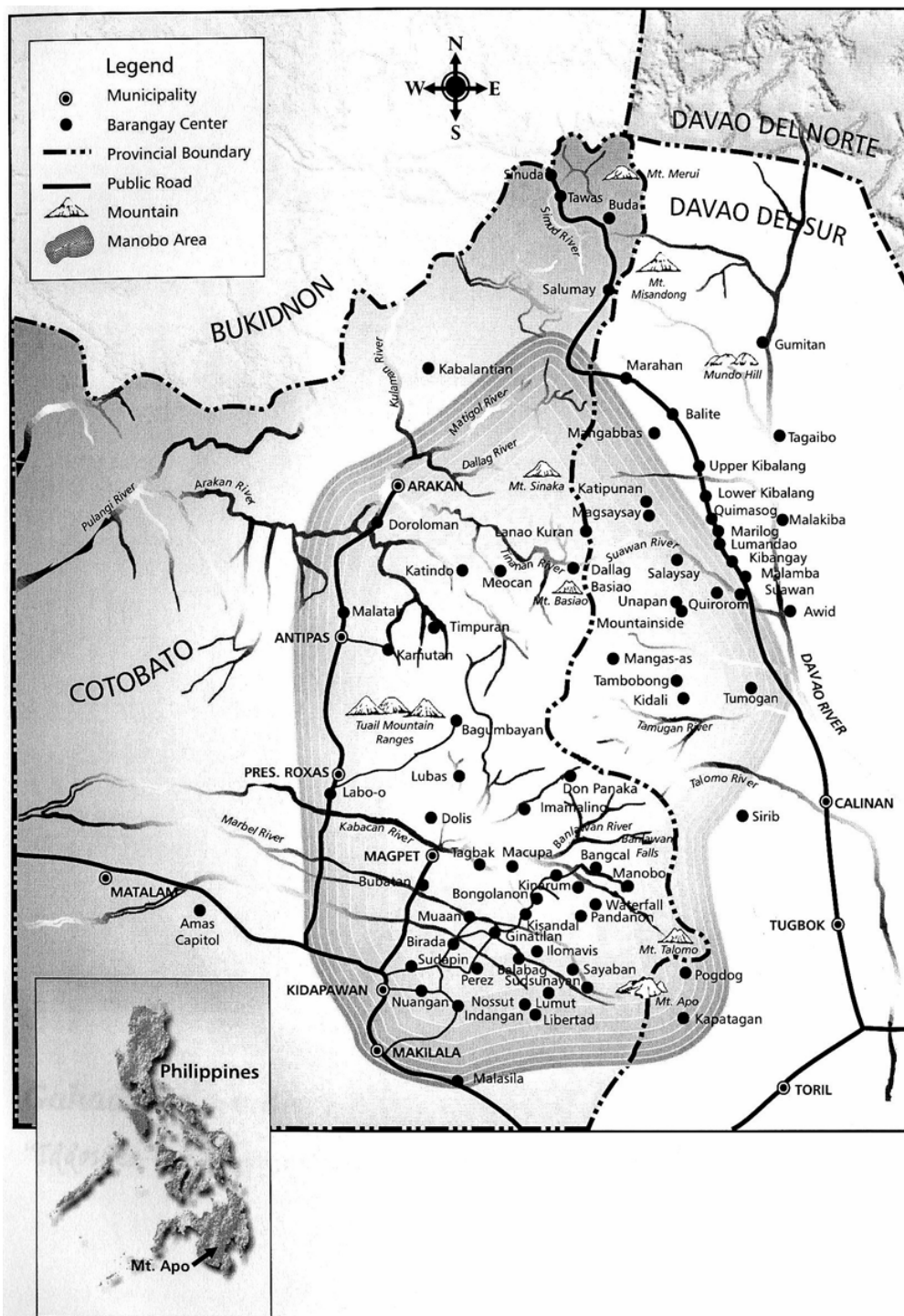
Rechor “Ettok” Umpan is a resident of Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1979 in Sayaban. He is a college student in Davao City. He speaks Manobo 5, Cebuano 4, Tagalog 4, Tagabawa 4, and English 2. His parents speak Manobo 5.

Romeo “Iyok”⁶ Umpan is a resident of Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, Cotabato. He was born in 1940 in Muaan, Kidapawan City. He is farmer with four years of education. He speaks Manobo 5, Cebuano 4, Tagabawa 4, Ilonggo 3, and Tagalog 2. His parents spoke Manobo 5.

⁵ *Barangay Kagawad*: a municipal councilor, which is an elected position.

⁶ Iyok comes from Lumiyok, Romeo Umpan’s birth name. Teachers gave him the name Romeo. This was a fairly common practice over forty years ago because of the difficulty teachers had in pronouncing Manobo names.

Map



I Life Cycle

*“A person's life is only so many blinks of the eye
and then it is over.”*

Gahad to Ko-ontayan

“Iddos ko-ontayan to minuvu, pilon pillokpillok da.”

Kod-aanak

Tano Bayawan

1 Diyot pomokayon to mgo Monuvu, moka-atag to kod-aanak, duwon iddos onitu no od baui woy od tivug tat anak no od ngoranan no Pontivug.¹ 2 Ungketen² kos ngaran su sikandin iddos od tivug woy od baui tat anak no riyot gottok³ to ba-ay. 3 Diyot mgo Monuvu, diid kovaui iddos anak ko waa iddos Pontivug su sikandin en iddos id potamong to uhis no Monama nod tanud taddot od pommovoddos.

4 Dyon to kodmovoddos, duwon mgo botasanon woy mgo li-iyen ka-ay nod ikulon to mgo Monuvu. 5 Iddot timpu pa to mgo kovuyahan to waa pa mgo doktor, iddos od pon-okudi tod ponmovoddos dangan, idde-en so mgo too-awat⁴ o tohovoliyan.⁵

6 Na, riyot unnon buwan to kodmovoddos taman to mgo limmon buwan, od koolingon don kos inoy su ini sokkad no patow no movoddos en sikandin. 7 Duwon duma nod geddam ka-ay nod kopiyan sikandin nod ka-an to maassom iling to bungot pomokaon,⁶ boungun,⁷ mangga woy duma pa no mgo bungot kayu. 8 Duwon duma no diid pokomonnosmonnos woy diid kopiyan nod somad to oweg⁸ sud kopoggulan. 9 Duwon mandad duma no oraroy'd pokotintinuhon woy oraroy no movuut. 10 Piru duwon en iddos mgo molitan no dii en od geddam ka-ay riyot kodmovoddos dan.

11 Dangan, ahad mgo oruwa o otollun buwan, od tignanoy ron iddos kod-ilus to too-awat diyon to movoddos. 12 Woy od boggoy sikandin to mgo bawi no id pongallang to mgo busow su iddos movoddos, oraroy nod poroniyen⁹ to busow. 13 Od iluson din iddos movoddos amoy'd moppiya kos kotomanan tat anak no riyot daom to gottok woy diid bovoliyung, od totokeled, o od lolaangkob iddos anak. 14 Od uliyon taddot tohod-ilus iddos notawwan tat anak, oyya su¹⁰ ko diid ko-upiyanan, idde-en kos unayan nod kotoggasan iddos inoy.

15 Duwon mgo li-iyen no konna dappan nod puungan tat movoddos. 16 Laggun tod kosokitan don iddos movoddos, diid po-ubpan iddos moholiyug diyot sobbangan to ubpan, ko-ilangan nod usok sikandin su¹¹ kouhoy nod leggua¹² dos anak woy od kotoggasan en sikandin. 17 Od ko-aangngan kun iddos anak su od poko-iling taddot minuvu no riyon de-en od oubpa to sobbangan. 18 Dos movoddos, dii mandad od ounsad diyot sobbangan, labbi ron ko od ka-an su ko od tobbow ron kos anak, od dakkoo¹³ kos bivig din.

¹ *Pontivug*: derived from *tivug* 'for a spirit or human to form something' with *pon-* implying a process requiring a sequence of actions over time.

² Implied: the spirit.

³ *gottok*: literally, 'stomach'. A baby is understood as being formed, not in the stomach, but in the general location of the stomach.

⁴ *too-awat*: literally, 'one who gets something out'. Most traditional midwives are elderly women who have not gone through any formal training but have extensive experience in delivering children.

⁵ *tohovoliyan*: derived from *bovoliyen* 'to transform'. This refers to those possessed by the *Tuglibun* spirit and had secret knowledge of medicinal plants that the spirit told them about via dreams. Telling another about the medicinal plants renders them ineffective. The term *tohovoliyan* is rarely used today; the common term is *too-awat*.

⁶ *pomokaon*: a large tree that bears a lot of round, green, edible, sour fruit.

⁷ *boungun*: a tropical southeast Asian tree (*Citrus maxima*). It is closely related to the grapefruit and has large fruit with thick rinds and coarse-grained pulp.

⁸ Implied: including washing dishes, doing laundry, or even bathing.

⁹ Evil spirits are believed to especially come near pregnant women because they want to eat the unborn child.

Childbirth

Tano Bayawan

Bringing a new life into the world has never been easy. For a pregnant Manobo woman, she must observe many traditional customs and prohibitions to keep evil spirits at bay, ensure a smooth delivery and a healthy baby. She must not step over a rope attached to domestic animals, must not sit at the threshold of her house or allow visitors to linger there for a long time. She must refrain from eating certain foods and she should not sleep alone. And the list goes on...

1 According to the belief of the Manobo people concerning giving birth, there is a spirit called *Pontivug*¹ ‘spirit of pregnancy’ that makes and forms a baby. 2 It² is called this because it is she who forms and makes/transforms a baby in the stomach³ of a woman. 3 According to Manobo people, the baby will not be made/transformed if there is no *Pontivug* because she is the one entrusted by the holy God to watch over pregnant women.

4 Regarding pregnancy, there are customs and prohibitions that Manobo people follow. 5 During the time of the ancestors before there were doctors, those who took care of pregnant women in the past were the traditional midwives⁴ or ones who transform.⁵

6 Now from the first month of pregnancy until about five months, the mother will have food cravings because this is one sign that she definitely is pregnant. 7 There are some who experience this; (for example) she will want to eat sour food like fruit of the *pomokaon*⁶ tree, pomelo,⁷ (unripe) mangos, and other (kinds of sour) fruit. 8 There are those who do not dress attractively and do not want to touch water⁸ because of laziness. 9 There are also those who are very sleepy all the time and are very aggressive. 10 But there surely are women who do not experience these (symptoms) during their pregnancy.

11 In the past, even in the second or third month, a traditional midwife would begin massaging the pregnant woman’s (stomach). 12 And she would give medicinal plants as protection from evil spirits because a pregnant woman is someone evil spirits really approach.⁹ 13 The pregnant woman is massaged so that the baby in her stomach will have a good (birth) experience and the baby will not be upside down, or crossways, or lying on its face. 14 The masseuse will correct the position of the baby, for¹⁰ if it is not corrected, that will be the very reason the mother will have a difficult labor.

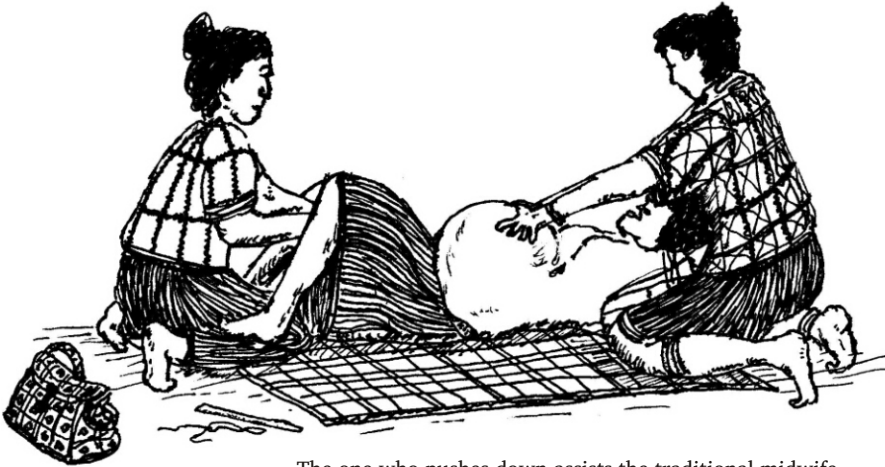
15 There are prohibitions that a pregnant woman should not do. 16 While the pregnant woman is in labor, a visitor should not be made to linger at the threshold of the house; it is necessary that he enter because¹¹ it will take a long time for the baby to come out¹² and she will have a difficult labor. 17 It will reportedly block the baby because it will be like that person just lingering at the threshold. 18 A pregnant woman also should not sit in the threshold, especially when eating because when the child is born, its mouth will be large.¹³

¹⁰ *oyya su*: literally, ‘Yes because’.

¹¹ Implied: if he doesn’t...

¹² A visitor at the threshold of a house who lingers there for any length of time is a bad omen indicating a baby in the birth canal, i.e., at the threshold of birth, will also linger in entering the world, foreboding either a long labor or death for the baby.

¹³ The combined actions of eating and sitting in an open doorway, i.e., a wide opening, will cause the baby in the womb to have an exceptionally large mouth.



The one who pushes down assists the traditional midwife.
Dos tohod-awat od toवान to tohodtokkon.

19 Dos movoddos, diid kopakoy nod tinuhon to soosokkad din da riyot baoy su od loyukan kun sikandin to busow woy od buwassan¹⁴ dos anak. 20 Dii sikandin od kopakoy nod lappang to ikot to kuda, kaavow woy mgo oyama su morat kun, diid tobbow dos anak, od kopakoy nod ukit sikandin taddot tali piru ko-ilangan od geddan din idda.¹⁵ 21 Dii sikandin od poko-ounsad diyot lossung su dos lossung waa bobbo riyot ubpu, iddo mandad so anak, diid pokoleggua su riyon de-en taman to isowwan.¹⁶ 22 Dii sikandin od pokoka-an to sahing no nokovitinbitin¹⁷ da su novunggu to kaamag, iyon din da od koka-an iddos notuttu.¹⁸ 23 Id po-ollon to too-awat kandin iddos mgo bawi nod buggow to mgo busow no od pongottayon¹⁹ diyot puaason.

24 Otin asow ron od tobbawan, od bowiyan sikandin to pohinlomok.

25 Na riyot timpu tod aanak don iddos movoddos, od umawon don dos too-awat no id okudi tat movoddos su sikandin kos od awat tadda woy od toवान to sokkad o oruwon tohodtokkon, od posuusualoy sikandan nod tokkon. 26 Idda mandad so tohodtokkon, ko-ilangan nod kotuig od tokkon amoy go-os od tobbow dos anak. 27 Otin od toggasan dos movoddos, od angoy to bawi²⁰ iddos too-awat, ponunggeleng iddos sinulid,²¹ dos tipak to kayu no pomon to sobbangan,²² woy dos id bobboan²³ to tovovuwog, od laawon idda riyot bekong,²⁴ id tubpa riyot isowwan²⁵ to ba-ay.

28 Ko-ilangan nod upiyannan tat too-awat iddos inoy su duwon iddos od tomman to Monuvu no lumawig. 29 Iddos lumawig, disok no uhat no immat silag to duu, woy ko od kovudtus idda, od ko-ominan to longossa dos inoy, purisu idde-en kos unayan nod patoy dos inoy. 30 Duwon dad mandad bawi ka-ay, piru duwon en timpu no dii ron od kogaha tod bawi, su od patoy en dos inoy.

¹⁴ An evil spirit will take the unborn child (to eat) and exchange it for an evil spirit.

¹⁵ A rope tied to a domestic animal symbolizes a barrier to delivery. If a pregnant woman steps on the rope, it symbolically destroys the barrier. Also, with the gestation period of a pregnant animal being different than a person, in order to keep the gestation period to exactly nine months, it is best to avoid ropes attached to animals.

19 It is not possible for a pregnant woman to sleep alone in the house because it is said an evil spirit will lay down next to her and exchange¹⁴ the child. 20 It is not possible for her to step over a rope tied to a horse, water buffalo, or (other) animals because it is reportedly bad, (because) the child will not be born; she can go past that rope, but she needs to step on it.¹⁵ 21 She can not sit on a mortar because a mortar does not have a hole at the end, (hence) the baby also will not be able to get out because it will just stay at the end of the birth canal.¹⁶ 22 She cannot eat bananas which are just loosely dangling¹⁷ exposed to the wind, because the only (kind) which she can eat are *notuttu*¹⁸ 'those cut down using a bolo'. 23 The midwife will put around her waist medicinal plants gathered¹⁹ in the wilderness to chase away evil spirits.

24 When the time of delivery is near, she is given a medicinal plant for an easy delivery. 25 Now at the time the pregnant woman is ready to deliver, the traditional midwife is called on to take care of that pregnant woman because she is the one to deliver (the baby), and one or two who push down (on the mother's stomach) will assist; they will take turns in pushing down. 26 The ones who push down need to know how to push down so that the baby is quickly born. 27 If the pregnant woman is having a difficult labor, the traditional midwife will get curative items,²⁰ for example thread,²¹ a chip of wood from the doorway,²² and the hole²³ (made by) a carpenter bee; (all) that is burned in a coconut shell²⁴ which is put on the woman's vagina.²⁵

28 It is necessary that the midwife takes good care of the mother because there is what Manobo people call a *lumawig* 'hairlike vein'. 29 This *lumawig* is a small vein like a thread of Manila hemp, and if it accidentally tears, the mother will lose all her blood, this therefore being the reason the mother dies. 30 There are also medicinal plants for this, but there definitely are times medicinal plants are no longer able (to help), because the mother surely dies.

¹⁶ *isowwan*: literally, 'in front'. Only the head of the baby can be seen and it will get stuck in the birth canal. In this context, it is a euphemism referring to the birth canal opening/vagina.

¹⁷ A baby's neck is compared to the stalk holding a hand of bananas. Just as the stalk holding the bananas is snapped by the wind, so a baby's neck may also snap (or its head injured in the delivery process) if a pregnant woman eats that kind of banana.

¹⁸ If a bolo is used to cut down a hand of bananas, it means the stalk holding the weight of the bananas was still strong. Hence a firm stalk is indicative of a firm neck for an unborn child.

¹⁹ This refers to grasses, leaves, roots, and bark from special trees that are gathered in the wilderness. A traditional midwife learns about these medicinal plants through dreams and keeps her knowledge a secret.

²⁰ *bawi*: literally, 'medicine, medicinal plants'. In this context, the basic essence of the items mentioned has symbolic value, hence are believed to have curative properties.

²¹ Just as thread easily goes through the eye of a needle, so it is hoped the baby will easily go through the birth canal.

²² This item represents the birth canal for the baby.

²³ This item represents the vaginal opening.

²⁴ These items are burned so the pregnant woman can smell the smoke. A coconut shell is used because three natural indentations on the husk become holes when the cavity is hollowed out. Since there are three holes, i.e., two more than are required for a baby to exit the birth canal, putting the items in a coconut shell will help facilitate the baby's quick exit from the mother's womb.

²⁵ *isowwan*: literally, 'in front of' is a euphemism. The mixture is put on the pregnant woman's vagina to enable her to have a smooth, easy delivery.

31 Na, ko od tobbow ron iddos anak, od tinundug kos inuunan.²⁶ 32 Piru duwon mandad inuunan no kouhoy od tobbow.²⁷ 33 Otin kouhoy od tobbow kos inuunan, duwon timpu no idde-en kos kopotayan tat inoy su otin od kokoomahan don dos inuunan, dii ron od leggua sud bokkaa ron man.²⁸ 34 Duwon timpu pomon to dii pa oraroy od kotuig dos too-awat, od patoy iddos anak, su od kovunggu pomon to lampas no kodtokkon o od kovudtus kos pusod, od pokora-ag to osag,²⁹ od kopohos.

35 Iddos id tampod to pusod, laya ra no id posobbuwan to oweg su waa pa man dangan mgo gamit dan, de-en duwon anak nod patoy su id titanus dos pusod.

36 Na kopongnga od aanak, idda ron en od polihuson iddos anak, od owan dos mgo longossa. 37 Na id lobbong bo iddos inuunan diyon lomig to tolihan to uran su amoy kun inayun duwon kopyannan³⁰ tat anak ko od dakkoo ron sikandin. 38 Otin lammi pa id aanak dos inoy, diid kopakoy nod boggoy ko duwon od bovuyu³¹ kandan³² to ahad ondan daom to otollun allow,³³ su³⁴ od domeson³⁵ dos anak woy kouhoy nod kopupu³⁶ dos pusod din.

39 Iddos inoy dii pa od kopakoy nod pomolihus,³⁷ daom³⁸ to otollun allow. 40 Otin od polihuson dos inoy, dos too-awat kos od polihus su duwon mgo bawi rin to diid kosennat. 41 Duwon mgo bawi to sennat. 42 Ini en iddos linas to bosikung,³⁹ linas to anetap,⁴⁰ woy iddos dalig to sahing no bunguwan.⁴¹ 43 Od loggan ini woy id po-inom tat inoy. 44 Iddos too-awat kos od pomippi taddot mgo napuu no nahamit taddot kod-aanak su apii man idda to kodbayad kandin.

45 Dos lammin id aanak, duwon iddos od kopakoy rin nod kannon woy duwon mandad iddos id diiyan kandin. 46 Dos id porudsun, idde-en iddos melow no sopayat nod gulayon, ubbus⁴² to kosila, woy dos ngaap to oweg no iling to poyyot, bakbak. 47 Od pokoporudsun mandad iddos manuk, bavuy't movonnos.

48 Dos dii rin od koka-an, idde-en so ngaap to dahat⁴³ sud kosennat sikandin. 49 Dii mandad sikandin od pokoka-an to karnit kaavow, kuda, kambing, saarong,⁴⁴ mgo ngaap nod doggos,⁴⁵ woy mgo gulay nod kipsos iling to togotong, labbi ron en iddos bongag su od lahakon⁴⁶ dos anak din.

²⁶ *inuunan*: literally, 'place where the unborn child puts its head' is derived from *uunan* 'pillow', which is derived from *uu* 'head'.

²⁷ The *inuunan* is seen as an intimate part of the unborn child, hence it is also "born".

²⁸ Implied: in the uterus.

²⁹ If a woman stands up during labor, e.g., to relieve pain, the baby may suddenly drop out onto the floor causing serious injury to its head.

³⁰ Just as no rain keeps crops from growing causing famine, for a placenta to be buried where rainwater falls from the roof is indicative of future prosperity.

³¹ Implied: ...and a neighbor comes to the door to borrow something such as salt or fire... It is not unusual for a neighbor to borrow a basic necessity.

³² This refers to the woman who recently gave birth and her husband.

³³ Implied: within three days after delivery.

³⁴ Implied: if they do give a neighbor something...

³⁵ Both smoke of a fire and salt, when it gets into the eyes, irritate; hence if these items are given to a neighbor within three days of birth, the baby will develop mucus in its eyes.

³⁶ The umbilical cord falls off within three days, but if household items are given to a borrower within that period of time, the umbilical cord will take much longer to drop off. That which was loaned or given away could have been used to treat the baby's umbilical cord.

³⁷ A mother cannot bathe immediately after giving birth because she will have symptoms similar to childbirth fever; her blood may rush to her head and she will feel as weak as she felt immediately after giving birth.

³⁸ *daom*: literally, 'inside of'.

31 Now, when the baby is born, the placenta²⁶ will follow. 32 But there are also times the placenta takes a long time to be born.²⁷ 33 If the birth of the placenta (takes) a long time, there are times that this is (the cause) of the mother's death because if the placenta (is exposed) to wind/air, it will no longer come out because it has already expanded.²⁸ 34 There are times, because the traditional midwife doesn't yet really know how to (deliver), the baby will die because its neck/head has been injured due to excessive pushing down, or the umbilical cord will break off, (or) from it hitting the floor,²⁹ (or) it being forced.

35 That which was used to cut the umbilical cord was just bamboo that had been put in boiled water because in the past, they didn't yet have any equipment; therefore there were babies who died because of tetanus of the umbilical cord.

36 Now after giving birth, the baby is immediately bathed to remove the blood. 37 Then the placenta is buried in a place where the rain drips from the roof so that the child will reportedly always have good (things happen)³⁰ when he/she is grown. 38 If the mother has recently given birth,³¹ it is not possible to give (the neighbor) anything that is asked of them³² within three days,³³ because³⁴ the baby will develop mucus in its eyes³⁵ and it will take a long time for its umbilical cord to fall off.³⁶

39 The mother cannot bathe³⁷ for³⁸ three days. 40 When the mother is to be bathed, the traditional midwife will give her a bath because she has medicinal plants for not having childbirth fever like symptoms. 41 There are medicinal plants (to prevent) childbirth fever like symptoms. 42 These are the bark of the *bosikung*³⁹ tree, the bark of the *anetap*⁴⁰ tree and the root of the *bunguwan*⁴¹ banana plant. 43 (One of) these is slowly boiled and (given) to the mother to drink. 44 The traditional midwife is the one to launder the cloths/rags used (during) delivery because that is surely included in her payment.

45 As for the one who has recently given birth, there are foods that are possible for her to eat and there are also those prohibited for her. 46 Those (foods) that produce breast milk are unripe papaya (prepared) as a vegetable, the new growth⁴² of sweet potato, and fish from the river like small fish, (or) frogs. 47 Chicken (and pork from) a wild pig can also (help) produce breast milk.

48 What she cannot eat are fish from the ocean⁴³ because (if she does), she will have childbirth fever like symptoms. 49 She also cannot eat meat from a water buffalo, horse, goat, deer,⁴⁴ (or) fish that are itchy⁴⁵ and vegetables that shrink (when cooked) like eggplant, especially long beans because her baby will become thin.⁴⁶

³⁹ *bosikung*: a kind of medium-sized tree having small, round, green, inedible fruit growing in bunches (*Ficus* sp.). The fruit, if eaten by a woman who has given birth, will cause symptoms similar to childbirth fever but the bark and root counteract this. A young girl is told not to touch this tree or climb it because if she does, she too will some day have one child after another just as this tree that bears an abundance of fruit.

⁴⁰ *anetap*: a kind of small tree that grows in the wild that has small, red, edible fruit.

⁴¹ *bunguwan*: a kind of short banana that is green even when ripe. If eaten when a person is sick, the illness will get worse.

⁴² *ubbus*: literally, 'tips'.

⁴³ Implied: If she does eat it, she may get an illness with symptoms similar to childbirth fever or become as weak as she was right after giving birth.

⁴⁴ Water buffalo, horse, goat, and deer meat all have a strong odor when cooked and are tough to chew, hence these too are to be avoided by a woman recovering from childbirth.

⁴⁵ This refers to fish from the ocean that has become limp, i.e., starting to rot. If eaten, there will be an allergic reaction and will cause symptoms similar to childbirth fever and general weakness.

⁴⁶ If a mother of a newborn eats vegetables that shrink when cooked, her child will also "shrink", i.e., lose weight.

50 Dos mgo kovuyyahan, duwon bawi ran to diid aanak woy duwon mandad iddos bawi no moriyu⁴⁷ kos ollot to kod-aanak. 51 Ini en iddos od ngoranan no toondiyu.⁴⁸ 52 Piru duwon mgo too-awat nod kotuig nod oilus amoy'd kovoliyung iddos boonakan to ba-ay amoy diid poko-anak. 53 Woy ko od kopiyan don mandon od aanak, od iluson don mandon to too-awat. 54 Dangan, waa riyot Monuvu iddos kodtohoo to mo-uraan anak su waa ran pa man nokopohinonaw, woy dii ran od kaanu ko ahad pila pa kos anak dan. 55 Dos ko-uralloy to mgo anak dan, mgo oppat woy lampas pa.

56 Dangan to timpu to kovuyyahan, dos id boggoy riyon to too-awat timbang posolamat, idde-en so mgo impon no iling to ahung, inavoo o od kopakoy no ahad ondan no konna mandad oray'n mahaa. 57 Piru ko-ungkay, soopi ron kos od buyuwon dan. 58 Dos loi⁴⁹ to too-awat, gowang sikandin iddos nokotigkanoy id okudi tat movoddos, sikandin don en kos od awat su otin duma ron kos od ongayon, duwon en ukahan.

59 Iddos anak no morat kos boyo iling to nokeved, o sokkad da kos mata, od sungiton dan to avu⁵⁰ su kokahi ran⁵¹ no busow kun. 60 Piru inin timpu, dii ron sikandan od imatoy to anak pomon to nokosaddoo ron sikandan no konna bonnaa iddon pomokayon woy nonongnongngan dan don mandad no dakkoon saa ini.

61 Oraroy od kotoosan kos mgo Monuvu ko iddos ponganoy no anak dan mama, su dakkoo kos id pokotavang⁵² din.

62 Na, inin dumon mgo botasanon to kod-aanak woy mgo li-iyen, oraroy poron nod ikulon to mgo Monuvu to inin timpu. 63 Ahad kopu riyon sikandan⁵³ od aanak to doktor, dii ran en od kolingawan iddos mgo li-iyen.

64 Ka-ay re-en sippang kos itulon ku.

Kodpo-osoway

Tano Bayawan

1 Diyon to pomokayon to mgo Monuvu, iddos kodpo-osoway, tongga-ad to Monama su id kopi-i rin man nod mo-uraa kos mgo minuvu. 2 Piru id pomakoy mandad sikandan no duwon tohodtamong no mgo ispiritu no id boggayan to Monama to baahad amoy'd iniyat to kodpo-osoway to mgo minuvu. 3 Unna, iddos od ngoranan no Doohangan¹ no Karang.² 4 Sikandin en iddos tohod-iniyat to kodpo-olihoy to mama woy ba-ay, konna ra iddos mongovay o konakan, ko konna ahad pe-en iddos duwon don sawa. 5 Iko-oruwa, iddos od ngoranan no Pontivug.³ 6 Sikandin en mandad iddos tohodtanud woy duwon baahad nod tivug o od bauy to anak diyot boonakan to ba-ay. 7 Sikandin dos duwon kotuasan o tongga-ad no od movoddos kos ba-ay.

⁴⁷ *moriyu*: literally, 'far'.

⁴⁸ *toondiyu*: derived from *diyu* 'to be far from'. A kind of vine found in the wild, the leaves of which are spaced far apart, probably *Fiscus sp.* It is taken in order to space the birth of children "far apart".

⁴⁹ This refers to customary law, an unwritten code of behavior and expectations that all those in the community understand.

⁵⁰ In the past, a newborn baby with a physical defect was force-fed ashes in order to kill it.

⁵¹ This refers to the Manobo ancestors.

⁵² If the first child is a boy, the family is seen as "lucky" because when the boy becomes a *konakan* 'young man', he is seen as being the *konokkaa* 'strength' of the family.

⁵³ Implied: pregnant Manobo women.

¹ *Doohangan*: the male Cupid spirit. The female Cupid spirit is called *Tohulliyag*.

² *Karang*: a spirit similar to Cupid whose main role is causing a boy and girl to fall in love.

³ *Pontivug*: For a further description, see Section I Life Cycle: *Childbirth*, footnote 1.

50 As for the ancestors, they had medicinal plants so they would not have children and there was also medicinal plants so that the gap of having children would be wide.⁴⁷ 51 This is what is called *toondiyu*.⁴⁸ 52 But there were traditional midwives who knew how to massage so that the uterus was turned upside down so as not to be able to have children. 53 And when she wanted to have children again, the traditional midwife would massage her again. 54 In the past, it wasn't in the (mindset) of Manobo people to control against having many children because they surely had not yet learned (about birth control), and they were not worried/sad no matter how many children they had. 55 (For) the majority (of couples), their children will be about four or even more.

56 In the time of the ancestors, what was given to the midwife as a way to show thanks was a valued item like a large gong; a woven cloth or anything that was not very expensive was also possible. 57 But today, money is what they ask for. 58 The law⁴⁹ of the traditional midwife is as long as she was the one who started taking care of a certain pregnant woman, she definitely will be the one to deliver (the baby) because if another was brought (to deliver the baby), there unquestionably would be conflict.

59 The child whose appearance/shape was ugly/bad like (part of its body) was bent or it just had one eye, they fed it ashes⁵⁰ because they⁵¹ said that it reportedly was an evil spirit. 60 But in this day and age they no longer kill a baby because they know that those beliefs are not true and they also recognize that this is a big sin.

61 Manobo people are really pleased if their oldest child is a boy because he will be able to help⁵² (the family) a great (deal).

62 Now these other customs and prohibitions are still commonly followed by Manobo people at this time. 63 Even, for example, if they⁵³ deliver (with the help of) a doctor, they will not forget the prohibitions.

64 Just up to here is my account.

Marriage

Tano Bayawan

Among the Manobo, marriage is not simply a matter between a young man and young woman, but between all the members of their two families and the community. In the past, it was the parents who choose a man for their daughter. It was also possible that while their daughter was still a baby, they would make a marriage arrangement with the parents of a baby boy and the boy and girl would live together as of ten years of age. All marriages will involve a discussion about a brideprice and groomprice. A person's status in the community and his financial situation determines the kind of wedding ceremony he will have.

1 According to the belief of Manobo people, marriage is the will of God because he wanted people to multiply. 2 But they also believe that there are overseer spirits whom God has given authority to encourage people to get married. 3 First is the one called the male spirit¹ of *Karang*.² 4 He is the one who encourages a man and woman to be attracted to each other, not only an unmarried girl or an unmarried boy but even those who already have a spouse. 5 Second is the one called *Pontivug*³ 'spirit of pregnancy'. 6 She also is the one who watches over (pregnant women) and has the authority to form a baby inside a woman's womb. 7 It is she who has the supernatural power or the right to decide that a woman will become pregnant.

8 Diyon to botasanon to Monuvu, duwon osso-osson pomo-ukit to kodpo-osoway. 9 Unna, iddos amoy woy inoy kos duwon baahad no od aam tat id kopi-i ran no id po-osawa taddot anak⁴ dan. 10 Ahad pe-en wora ginawa tat anak tat id kopi-i ran no id po-osawa, piru dii en sikandin od poko-elle su idda me-en kos botasanon to mgo Monuvu. 11 Idde-en kos od tommanon no iddos mgo buyyag⁵ kos nokodpiyanoy.⁶

12 Iko-oruwa, iddos od ngoranan no od podtuvuwon⁷ o od pobbuwassot saabboy. 13 Iddos anak pa no mama woy ba-ay, od pod-ogkotton don ahad waa pa oraroy poddu⁸ ran. 14 Inis od podtuvuwon, kopakoy no dii ron sikandan od kosalon. 15 Mgo sopuu iddos idad tat mgo anak nod podtuvuwon woy od pod-ogkotton don sikandan diyon to baoy tat lomig⁹ to ba-ay.

16 Iko-otollu, iddos od ngoranan no buyya,¹⁰ no pomon poron to kodtobbow, od pomuhawang don iddos tapad amoy woy inoy¹¹ to mgo anak nod pod-osowan sikandan. 17 Ahad mgo anak poron sikandan, od kopakoy ron buyu to batug iddos lomig to ba-ay.

18 Iko-oppat, iddos od ngoranan nod buyuwon.¹² 19 Duwon timpu no iddos mama, od buyuwon to amoy woy inoy to ba-ay no id po-osawa tat kandan no anak, oyya su moppiya kos poddu rin. 20 Dii ron ko-ilangan nod pongongubpa iddos mama no id buyu.¹³ 21 Woy iddos lomig to ba-ay kos od boggoy to sablag¹⁴ diyot amoy woy inoy rin.

22 Diyon to kodpo-osoway, duwon iddos od ngoranan no melow nod totongko riyot lomig to ba-ay. 23 Iddos od osawa, melow kos timbang totoy rin woy'd unsad¹⁵ amoy od tongko tat ba-ay. 24 To dii pa od penek¹⁶ iddos od osawa, duwon pa mgo impon o koka-an no id popiyod din diyot lomig to ba-ay. 25 Id popiyod din be-en idda ukit to melow woy kuda su idde-en dos timbang patow nod osawa sikandin. 26 Na iddos lomig to ba-ay no id popiyoddan to mgo koka-an o mgo impon, od pokaabbot don sikandan no od dantuu nod osawa iddos id popiyod tadda. 27 Na ko motoggas nod aman iddos ba-ay, od boggayan pe-en sikandin to impon timbang id bolilling kandin amoy od aman da.

28 Na ko nokod-omanoy ron sikandan, od palla ron bo sikandan to timpu atag to kodpopenek to tobbilon.¹⁷ 29 Iyon kun dangan od puungan, od piyod sikandan¹⁸ to mgo koka-an o impon woy id boggoy riyon to lomig to ba-ay amoy od posaddoo no od penek sikandan. 30 Na otin od pokod-omanoy ron sikandan,¹⁹ kopakoy ron sikandan nod povuyuwoy. 31 Diyon to kodpo-osoway, diid ka-awa iddos mgo buyu to lomig to ba-ay iling to kaavow, kuda, ahung, woy duma pa. 32 Iddos buyu no id boggoy to lomig to mama, od ngoranan no ponamung. 33 Woy idda mandad so id boggoy to lomig to ba-ay,

⁴ *anak*: literally, 'child'. The context makes it understood that a daughter is the intended meaning.

⁵ *buyyag*: literally, 'older ones'.

⁶ Implied: not the boy and girl.

⁷ *podtuvuwon*: derived from *tuvu* 'to grow'.

⁸ *waa pa oraroy poddu*: literally, 'not yet really aware'. At six to seven, a child is said to start developing *poddu* 'awareness, logical thinking'. A very young child is not yet capable of logical thinking, hence is not responsible for his/her actions.

⁹ *lomig to ba-ay*: literally, 'those on the girl's side'. This includes the girl's parents and any other relatives.

¹⁰ *buyya*: an agreement between the parents of a baby boy and parents of a baby girl to have their children marry each other when they are old enough to marry. "Old enough" can mean ten to twelve years of age.

¹¹ *amoy woy inoy*: literally, 'the father and mother' (of the children).

¹² The girl's parents or relatives ask a boy to marry their daughter.

¹³ Implied: When a boy becomes engaged, he is required to live with the girl's family until the wedding so that they can observe what kind of a person he is and to help his future in-laws. See sentence 46ff.

¹⁴ *sablag*: literally, 'brideprice'. In this context, the girl's family seeks out the boy. They give an item of value to the boy's family as a groomprice.

8 According to the customs of the Manobo people, there are different ways of marrying. 9 In the first (marriage custom), it is the father and mother who have the right to choose who they want their daughter⁴ to marry. 10 Even moreover if the daughter did not love the one whom they want her to marry, she could not refuse, for that of course was the custom of the Manobo people. 11 This was what was (meant when people) said that it was the parents⁵ who liked each other.⁶

12 The second (marriage custom) is called *od podtuvuwon*⁷ 'engaged while still growing up' or (also called) *od pobbuwassot saabbay* 'exchanging the baby sling (of two infants)'. 13 A young boy and girl were caused to live together even though their thinking was not yet very developed.⁸ 14 As for this (custom) of being engaged while still growing up, it is possible that they will not go through a wedding ceremony. 15 Children who are engaged while growing up are approximately age ten and (then) they are caused to live together at the house of the girl's family.⁹

16 The third (marriage custom) called *buyya*¹⁰ 'an agreement between the parents of infants', is that from birth both of the parents¹¹ of the babies make plans to have them marry each other. 17 Even while they are still babies, the girl's family can already demand a brideprice.

18 The fourth (marriage custom) is called *buyuwon*¹² 'asking'. 19 There are times when a boy is asked by the father and mother of a girl to marry their daughter because he has a good character. 20 The boy who was asked is no longer required to live at his future in-laws' house.¹³ 21 And the girl's family will give a valued item¹⁴ to his father and mother.

22 In marriage arrangements, there is someone called a *melow* 'marriage mediator' who will talk to the girl's family. 23 For the prospective husband, the marriage mediator is like his bridge and will sit down¹⁵ to talk concerning the girl. 24 Before the prospective husband goes to propose,¹⁶ he sends valuable items or food to the girl's family. 25 He will send those through the marriage mediator and with a horse because that definitely is like a sign that he plans to marry. 26 The girl's family to whom the food or valued items were sent will understand that the purpose of the one who sent those things is to marry. 27 Now if it is hard to (convince) the girl to agree (to marry), she will be given an additional valued item as a gift to convince her to just agree.

28 When they have come to an agreement, they set a date for *kodpopenek to tobblon*¹⁷ 'bringing a cloth to the girl's house'. 29 What was reportedly done in the past was they¹⁸ would bring food or valued items and give it to the girl's family to inform them that they will go to formally propose. 30 Then if they¹⁹ mutually agree (that their children marry), they can (begin) asking each other (for a brideprice and groomprice). 31 In marriage arrangements, the (custom) of requesting items by the girl's family such as a water buffalo, a horse, a gong, and other (such items) will not disappear. 32 The requested item that the boy's family gives (the girl's family) is called a *ponamung* 'brideprice'. 33 And that which is given by the girl's family is called *daagdag*

¹⁵ Implied: a serious discussion to see if the girl's family will accept the boy as a future son-in-law.

¹⁶ *penek*: literally, 'to go up, to climb up'. In this context, it refers to a boy going to the house of the girl to ask her parents for her hand in marriage, implying the boy's family will accompany him to discuss the matter.

¹⁷ *kodpopenek to tobblon*: literally, 'going up to the girl's house with a piece of cloth that needs to be sewn'. This refers to an unfinished woven cloth brought to a girl on the day of negotiating the brideprice to see if she can finish it. If she has the skill to complete the task, a greater brideprice will be asked.

¹⁸ This refers to the boy's family.

¹⁹ This refers to both sets of parents.



A young man will live at his
future in-laws' house to show
he is a hard worker.
*Od pongongubpa dos mama amoy'd
pokita no mooggod sikandin.*

od ngoranan no daagdag. 34 Inis daagdag, kotongnga ra tat kontidad to ponamung no id boggoy to lomig to mama. 35 Ponunggeleng, ko sokkad no kuda kos od buyuwon to lomig to ba-ay, ko-ilangan no duwon po-unsaran²⁰ dan, iling kopu to radyu no disok kos kontidad taddot ponamung. 36 Na iddos mgo apu tat lomig to ba-ay, od buyu tod ngoranan no tengkeg to buwoo,²¹ ahad ondan kos kontidad ka-ay, od kopakoy no soopi o ahung. 37 Idda mandad so inoy, od buyu sikandin taddot od ngoranan no luwas to saabboy²² woy punas to tiyok,²³ od kopakoy mandad ini no soopi, mgo impon, ahung o ahad ondan pa. 38 Na iddos amoy taddot ba-ay, sikandin en kos tullid²⁴ nod buyu, woy iyon od buyuwon din iddos kuda, ahung o kaavow vo. 39 Iddos mgo anggam, kopakoy rad nod buyu labbi ron ko nouggat mandad sikandan nid porakkoo tat onakon dan. 40 No dos od buyuwon dan, iling to kaavow, ahung o kuda no od kogaha ra tat lomig to mama.

41 Na kopongnga ve-en tadda, id tuwos to lomig to mama iddos od ngoranan no sali o putus. 42 Iddos sali o putus, impon idda no id boggoy riyot lomig to ba-ay timbang id patow tat ba-ay no duwon don id pongomunoy kandin woy amoy dii ron sikandin od poko-osawa to dumon mama. 43 Na iddos putus, nokod-iling de-en taddot sali, piru iddos ko-ossan to putus, id ponunggelengan diyon to potiyukan no duwon don id buyya. 44 Ponunggeleng, otin od towwan du to patow iddos potiyukan, ko-ilangan nod angoy ka to mgo do-un to sabbot, kopongnga od sompiluton uwoy id ta-aw riyon to lobbut to kayu no duwon potiyukan timbang patow no duwon don id pongomunoy tadda. 45 Od ngoranan ko-ungkay ini to *korotula*²⁵ riyot Binisoya.

46 Na, kopongnga od penek iddos mama, od pongongubpa²⁶ sikandin daom to sokkad no lahun o lampas pa. 47 Kokahi pe-en to osengan no od geddaman ta pa ko od uddok dad bo kos puruk. 48 Od puung sikandin to langun nod puungan diyot od ko-onuhang din iling to kodngongaap, kodpomaatik, kodponikop, kodpomansag to kayu woy ko-ilangan no od possi mandad sikandin tat od ko-onuhang din su id pokita rin no mooggod en woy od kosolihan sikandin. 49 Diyot kodpongongubpa, duwon mgo loi²⁷ nod ikulon. 50 Ko-ilangan no otin od poningkayu iddos mama, dii rin id buntug dos kayu,²⁸ od ouppiya sikandin woy od pokita to moppiyon botasan, oyya su ini en kos oray'n ko-ilangan to langun. 51 Kokahi ran²⁹ pe-en no ahad dii sikandan od po-inommon to kopi, id pokita ra iddos moppiyon botasan, iling to kod-olil-olil.

²⁰ *po-unsaran*: literally, 'foundation' is derived from *unsad* 'to sit'. To start the negotiations, a mediator for the boy will ask the girl's family what they have to offer as a groomprice. They

‘groomprice’. 34 The groomprice is just half the value of the brideprice that was given by the boy’s family. 35 For example, if one horse is the requested item by the girl’s family, it is important they have (an item) as a starting place²⁰ like a radio that has a much lower value than the brideprice. 36 The grandparents of the girl will ask for (an item) called *tengkeg to buwoo*²¹ ‘hitting the knee’ that can be of any value, possibly money or a brass gong. 37 The mother will ask for that which is called *luwas to saabbo*²² ‘indentation of the baby sling’ and *punas to tiyok*²³ ‘wiping excrement’; these (items), too, could possibly be money, valued items, a large gong, or anything (of value). 38 Now as for the girl’s father, his (request) is the real²⁴ requested item and what he will ask for is a horse, a large gong, or (possibly) a water buffalo. 39 It is also possible for the uncles to request an item, especially if they also put forth effort in raising their niece. 40 And the (item) they will ask for will be like a water buffalo, a large gong, or a horse (depending on what) the boy’s family can handle.

41 Now after (all) that, the boy’s family will leave (an item) called a *sali* or *putus* ‘token’. 42 These tokens are valued items given to the girl’s family as a symbol that somebody owns that girl and that she no longer can marry another man. 43 Now the *putus* is just the same as the *sali*, but the difference is that the *putus* is compared to a beehive of which somebody has already claimed ownership. 44 For example, when you put a sign (claiming) a beehive, you need to get some grass leaves, after that wrap them together and then place them at the bottom of the tree that has a beehive as a sign that somebody owns it. 45 This (sign) is today called *korotula*²⁵ from the Visayan language.

46 Now after the boy has gone to formally propose, he will live at his future in-laws’ house²⁶ for a year or more. 47 There is even a saying that we will first test a knife to see if it will penetrate. 48 He will do all the work for his future in-laws like fishing, hunting for wild pigs, catching crabs, (and) chopping wood; he also needs to look after his future in-laws, showing that he indeed is industrious and can be trusted. 49 In living at the future in-laws’ house, there are laws²⁷ to be followed. 50 It is necessary that when the boy is getting firewood, he does not slam the wood down,²⁸ he should do (things) with care and demonstrate a good character, yes because this indeed is the most important of all. 51 They²⁹ say that even if they are not served coffee, (what is important is) that character traits like friendliness can be seen (in their future son-in-law).

may give a radio or even an item of lesser value. This paves the way for the larger request on the part of the girl’s family for the brideprice.

²¹ While the girl was a child, her grandparents’ knees had to “keep moving” to take care of her. Just as *tengkeg* ‘hitting or striking the knee with the blunt edge of a knife’ immobilizes the *buwoo* ‘knee’, their granddaughter’s marriage means they no longer have to “keep their knees moving” looking after her.

²² This refers to an item of value the girl’s mother asks from the boy’s family to compensate in a small way for the years that she carried her daughter as a small baby in a sling.

²³ This refers to all the efforts of the mother in looking after her daughter while the daughter was a baby (including the disagreeable task of wiping away excrement); hence she also has the right to ask for an item of value.

²⁴ *tullid*: literally, ‘straight’. In this context, it refers to the most valuable or expensive requested item.

²⁵ *korotula*: derived from the Cebuano word *karatula* ‘signboard’.

²⁶ *pongongubpa*: derived from *ubpa* ‘to live somewhere’. This implies the future son-in-law will go to live in the house of his future in-laws after he is engaged to help with chores and be observed by them for several months to see if he is truly worthy of their daughter.

²⁷ Implied: customary laws.

²⁸ Implied: Slamming firewood down on the ground would give the impression that he is angry.

²⁹ This refers to the future in-laws.

Rattan is stretched across the entrance onto which clothes are hung.
Id bettoo kos baahon nod somapayan to mgo umpak.



52 Ko-ilangan mandad no dii pa sikandin od layuk tat od osowan din. 53 Na otin od unno-unna sikandin no od laayuk woy ahad od somad da sikandin tat od osowan din, ini en kos od osengon no id pantok to tewang. 54 Woy pomon ka-ay, od pokovatug sikandin taddot od ngoranan no koponottan o ko-umokkan, su id soopawan din iddos palla woy waa rin idda oddati uwoy id soyawan³⁰ din iddos bansa taddot lomig to ba-ay. 55 Na iddos od botuhon taddot mama, idde-en so kuda, ahung o kaavow woy duma pa no mgo impon. 56 Na ko novatug don iddos langun no buyu, od kopakoy ron sikandan nod kosalon.

57 Duwon otollun pomo-ukit to kosaa, unna iddos od ngoranan no lopawan.³¹ 58 Inis lopawan nod tomman, ini en kos mahaa to langun no kosaa, oyya su od kopakoy no iddos amoy woy inoy tat ba-ay, od buyuwon³² dan iddos mgo impon no waa nokovoggoy riyot kod-osawa to dumon mgo anak dan.³³ 59 Diyon to loi to mgo Monuvu, iddos od pokobovuyu to kosaa no lopawan, idda ra so mgo pomilya no id ukit mandad ka-ay no kodkosaa iling to mgo lubbad to datu. 60 Na riyon to kodkosaa to lopawan, unna, iddos mama od usok diyot daom to baoy to od osowan din. 61 Iddos od ukitan din tod usok, od betollan to baahon³⁴ woy od sompayan to mgo umpak, mgo sowwaa, mgo saakoy, kesay woy duma pa. 62 Na otin od inguma ron iddos dumaapow, iddos baahon, od gottason din to sokkad no kuda amoy od poko-ukit sikandin. 63 Na iddos langun no id sampoy tadda, od boyaran din idda pa od temosson taddot mama su novoyaran din don man. 64 Diyot sobbangan, duwon anak nod kopkop to geddan o riyot tuddok. 65 Na idda mandad, od pokkason to sokkad no ahung amoy od poko-ukit sikandan.³⁵ 66 Na otin od pokopenek don, duwon suu no id pooglog. 67 Na iddon suu, od ovukkan to saakoy. 68 Na iddos suu, kandan³⁶ don woy iddos saakoy, id boggoy riyot lomig to ba-ay.³⁷ 69 Na, riyot

³⁰ *soyawan*: derived from *sayow* 'to dance'.

³¹ *lopawan*: derived from *lapow* 'to go up and over a barrier'. The boy has to "go up and over" all of the potential barriers of providing requested items before he can marry the girl.

³² Implied: A valued item was asked for in the past by the girl's parents, i.e., brideprice, but not given.

³³ It would raise a man's esteem or honor if he was able to give to the girl's parents the unpaid brideprices of her sisters' marriages.

³⁴ Implied: The rattan will be tied across the entryway.



A child hugging the main
beam is dislodged
by giving a large gong.
*Dos anak nid kopkop to
tuddok, od pokkason to
sokkad no ahung*

52 It is also necessary that he not yet sleep with the one he will marry. 53 Now if he goes ahead anyway and sleeps with her and even if he just touches the one he will marry, this is what is said to be *pantok to tewang* 'taking a shortcut through the window'. 54 And because of this, he will pay a fine called *koponottan* or *ko-umokkan* 'a fine for overstepping the marriage process', because he overstepped the agreement and he did not honor it and he trampled on³⁰ the reputation of the girl's family. 55 The restitution item given by the boy will be a horse, large gong, or a water buffalo, or other valued items. 56 Now when the requested restitution items have all been given, they can (proceed) with being married.

57 There are three ways (of conducting) a wedding ceremony, the first of which is called *lopawan*.³¹ 58 This (wedding ceremony) called *lopawan* is the most expensive of all wedding ceremonies, because it is possible that the father and mother of the girl will request valued items that were not given³² at the marriages of their other daughters.³³ 59 According to the law of the Manobo people, only those who can request a *lopawan* are those families who have also gone through this (kind of) wedding ceremony like the descendants of a tribal leader. 60 Now in a *lopawan* wedding ceremony, first, the boy will enter into the house of the one he will marry. 61 His passageway to enter will have rattan³⁴ stretched across it and clothes, pants, headdresses, blankets, and other things will be hung on it. 62 Now when the future groom arrives, he cuts the rattan (by giving) a horse so that he can pass by. 63 Now all that is hung there he will pay for, then he will take (the clothes) because he assuredly paid for it. 64 At the entryway there will be a child hugging the stairs or a main beam. 65 And that (barrier) will also be dislodged by (giving) one large gong so they³⁵ can come through. 66 Now when they are able to go up into the house, there is a burning torch. 67 That torch is extinguished using a headdress. 68 Then that torch becomes theirs³⁶ and the headdress is given to the girl's family.³⁷ 69 In front of

³⁵ This refers to the boy's family.

³⁶ This also refers to the boy's family.

³⁷ Implied: the girl's family holding the torch, hands it to the boy's family in exchange for the boy's headdress.



The newlyweds have their heads bumped together.

Iddos od kosalon, od podtungkukon.

them are two *sovakan* 'chicken and rice dishes'; first is the large³⁸ *sovakan*, second is the small³⁹ *sovakan*. 70 The *sovakan* consists of cooked rice and a meat dish using a whole chicken. 71 Now (the girl's family) will exchange the large *sovakan* for a horse and then the formal part of the *lopawan* ceremony will begin. 72 The officiating tribal leader will take (a handful of) cooked rice and press it together and then has the boy and girl feed each other. 73 Now after the formal part of the *lopawan* ceremony, the elders will discuss with each other concerning giving advice⁴⁰ and the requested items and prohibitions (for the newlyweds).

74 The second way to (conduct) a wedding ceremony is called *sundungan*.⁴¹ 75 For the *sundungan* wedding ceremony, only one chicken and one measure⁴² of rice will be cooked. 76 If in today's (money), the value of the food that is to be bought by the boy's family is only about two hundred (pesos).⁴³

77 Now the third way of (conducting) a wedding ceremony is called *potompoddoy*⁴⁴ to *tinuwog* 'sharing broiled (food)'. 78 This (wedding ceremony) is called this because there are absolutely no expenses. 79 The couple, before their foreheads are bumped together,⁴⁵ will feed each other (broiled) banana or sweet potato. 80 Usually those who are married in this way are men who are far away from their father and mother and their relatives.⁴⁶ 81 Therefore, the girl's father and mother understand (his situation) and he will not be asked to give (a brideprice).

82 The fourth way of (conducting) a wedding ceremony is called *od goyoran to lombis* 'pulling out an old sleeping mat'. 83 It is called this because there is not any requested item, not even a small one, and no formal⁴⁷ wedding ceremony. 84 Usually, it is not announced to others and only both sets of families will attend. 85 What they⁴⁸ will do is just get an old sleeping mat and have them sleep together; at that time they will be considered already married. 86 Most who are married in this way are widows.

⁴⁴ *potompoddoy*: literally, 'cutting each other' is derived from *tampod* 'to cut'. In this context, the "cutting" refers to the "cutting" or doing away with the expenses of a wedding.

⁴⁵ This is a ceremony implying the couple is married.

⁴⁶ Implied: The boy, being far from family, does not have financial assistance to pay for a wedding like he could expect from them if they were nearby.

⁴⁷ *tullid*: literally, 'straight'.

⁴⁸ This refers to the parents of the two getting married.

87 Inis kodpo-osoway to ko-ungkay ron no timpu, konnad goli od ko-ikuu inin pomo-ukit, duwon dad od puung ka-ay piru riyon dobbo to tapad mgo Monuvu nod po-osoway. 88 Konnad oraroy ini od ko-ikuu labbi ron ko Bisaya⁴⁹ iddos od osowan o iddos od osawa. 89 Mohirap don mandad od nonangkap to mgo datu nod kotuig nod kosaa. 90 Duwon iddos duma no worad mgo buyu o dii ron od ukit to *pomalay*⁵⁰ su od pokosaa robbo riyon to simba-an su idde-en kun kos lampas no ko-ilangan. 91 Woy ossa pa tadda, dutun don sikandan od pokosaa to simba-an pomon to oraroy nod ko-ilonganon ko-ungkay to governo kos *popilis*⁵¹ to kodpo-osoway.

The first wife is the head of
the other wives.
*Dos unnon sawa no ba-ay kos
od uu tat dumon sawa.*



Koddoruwoy

Tano Bayawan

1 Iddos koddoruwoy dangan, bansa ini woy bantug otin diyot mgo Monuvu. 2 Diyon to koddoruwoy, ukit ini to motallong no kodpotongkooy tat tullid¹ no sawa,² oruwa ran od potongkooy. 3 Otin diid aman iddos bonnaan sawa³ tat mama, od bovaa to samuk iddos mama taman tod kopohos don baling nod aman iddos ba-ay. 4 Ko-urallan to mgo Monuvu dangan no od pondoruwoy, iddos od pondaturatu woy dos od pongkosolihan diyot kod-usoy woy mopandoy nod oukum uwoy od utoo⁴ to impon to dumon mgo minuvu. 5 Piru kopakoy rad mandad nod doruwoy iddos konna datu su iddos unayan, pomon to oraroy'n moppiya kos botasan taddot od duwoy. 6 De-en, od ko-iniyat iddos amoy woy inoy no id poruwoy iddos anak⁵ dan. 7 Piru inin po-ukit to koddoruwoy, ko-ilangan nod unsaran to mgo datu, dos amoy woy inoy woy idda mandad so unnon sawa tat od duwoy.

8 Kopakoy mandad no dos sawa no ba-ay kos od bovuyu⁶ to od duwoy kandin. 9 Kopakoy mandad no iddos od duwayon, iddos ba-ay no bau. 10 Iyon od duwoy kandin, iddos mgo gakod tat sawa rin.⁷ 11 Na otin nokodlovottoy⁸ ran don, od posaddoo pa iddos mama riyon to amoy woy inoy o riyon to mgo anggam tat ba-ay no bau. 12 Na kopongnga riyon, od panoy iddos mama to sablag woy od posaddoo mandon diyon to datu.

⁴⁹ Visayan: a lowlander originating from the Visayas; a speaker of the Cebuano language.

⁵⁰ *pomalay*: borrowed from the Cebuano word *pamalay* which is a time when family members of the engaged couple gather to discuss brideprice and groomprice (if there is one) and set a wedding date.

⁵¹ *popilis*: borrowed from the Cebuano word *papilis*, literally, 'papers, documents'. In the four kinds of Manobo wedding ceremonies described here, no marriage license was given. The entire ceremony was verbal.

¹ *tullid*: literally, 'right, straight'. In this context, it is used in a figurative sense referring to the original or first wife.

87 Wedding ceremonies these days seldom follow these ways; there are still some doing these things but only those where both who are getting married are Manobo. 88 These (ways) are not followed very much, especially when the groom or the bride is a Visayan.⁴⁹ 89 It is also difficult to find tribal leaders who know how to (conduct these) wedding ceremonies. 90 There are others who no longer request items or no longer go through an engagement family gathering⁵⁰ because they only want to be married at the church since that is reportedly the most important thing. 91 And another reason that they will have the wedding ceremony at the church is because these days the government requires a marriage license.⁵¹

Taking an Additional Wife

Tano Bayawan

In the past, taking an additional wife was considered an honor for a tribal leader since it indicated that he had the wealth to support two (or more) wives and many children. The first wife would sometimes be the one to encourage her husband to take a second wife because the second wife would help her in the various chores that had to be done. No matter how many wives a tribal leader married, the first wife was the one in charge of the household.

1 Taking an additional wife in the past was an honor and (reason for being) well known for the Manobo people. 2 Taking an additional wife was (done) by discussing it with the first¹ wife;² the two of them would discuss it with each other. 3 If the first³ wife of the man did not agree, the man would make trouble until the woman was instead forced to agree. 4 In the past, the majority of Manobo (men) who took an additional wife were those who were wealthy and those who were trustworthy in arbitration and skilled in negotiating and acquiring⁴ valued items from other people. 5 But it was also possible that someone who was not a tribal leader take an additional wife; the reason was on account of the very good character of the one who takes an additional wife. 6 Therefore, the father and mother would be encouraged to have their daughter⁵ become an additional wife. 7 But as for this manner of taking an additional wife, it was necessary for the tribal leaders, the father and mother, and the first wife of the one who takes an additional wife to sit and discuss it.

8 It was also possible that the wife would be the one to ask⁶ that someone becomes an additional wife for him. 9 It may also be (the case) that the one who became an additional wife was a widow. 10 The one who would have her as an additional wife would be a brother of her husband.⁷ 11 Now if they have come to an understanding,⁸ the man will first inform the father and mother or uncles of the female widow. 12 After that, the man will prepare a brideprice and will also inform the tribal leader.

² *sawa*: literally, 'spouse'. Throughout it has been rendered as either 'wife' or 'husband' since the context makes it clear which is being referred to.

³ *bonnaan sawa*: literally, 'true spouse/wife'. This refers to the original or first wife.

⁴ *utoo*: literally, 'to snare, to trap'. In the context of obtaining a valued item, it implies that the negotiation involved requires strategy and planning (just as when snaring an animal).

⁵ *anak*: literally, 'child'.

⁶ A wife may ask her husband to marry again so that she would have someone to help her with the work in the field and other household chores.

⁷ Implied: deceased husband.

⁸ The man (who already has a wife) and a widow will agree to the marriage arrangement, i.e., she becoming his second wife.

13 Dos loi⁹ taddot toosawa kopongnga od doruwoy:

14 Unna, dos unnon sawa no ba-ay kos od uu o mowwet sikandin diyon to kod-oubpa ran, otin ondan iddos id kopi-i rin, ko-ilangan en no od kopuungan. 15 Piru ko dii od dumoruma¹⁰ iddos morin sawa, ka-ay en pantok no od kosamuk sikandan. 16 Na dos iko-oruwon sawa, od po-iraom da tat unnon sawa, dii sikandin od kopakoy nod unno-unna¹¹ nod pomuhawang, woy langun nod puungan din ko-ilangan nod ukit tat unnon sawa.

17 Iddos mama, diid pokolayuk diyon to id duwoy, ko konnod obisu riyot unnon sawa. 18 Otin mandad duwon moholiyug diyon to baoy ran, iddos unnon sawa kos od olit-olit, piru iddos mori¹² kos od okudi o od oilutu sikandin woy od tavang da tat unnon sawa. 19 Dos ko-urallan to od duwayon, mgo otollu taman to oppat,¹³ piru idda rad en so unnon sawa kos od uu tat langun no sawa.

20 Iddos kod-oubpa kopongnga dos kodporuwayoy:

21 Iddos unnon sawa, kopakoy no od totamuk¹⁴ ko od kotuig sikandin. 22 Iddos od puungan mandad to mama, od pomaatik, od ngongaap woy od kokamot. 23 Dos morin sawa, od tavang diyot kamot nod kallu, od pomuwa woy od okudi riyot ubpan, tohodponovitan¹⁵ o od nonangkap tod koka-an woy tohodponoholi. 24 Otin duwon soopi ran, iddos mama woy iddos unnon sawa kos duwon baahad nod somad tadda woy od pomuhawang ko od monnuwon idda. 25 Iddos mori, od dumoruma ra woy id posaddoo rin da iddos mgo ko-ilonganon din, dos unnon sawa kos od tota-aw to soopi taddot ipat od ko-ilonganon diyot baoy. 26 Ko-urallan to od ponduwayon, iddos suwod o gakod tat unnon sawa.

27 Dos mama, ko-ilangan no waa od podmusingon din su duwon man loi¹⁶ nod ikulon dan. 28 Otin od kosamuk sikandan, datu kos od usoy kandan. 29 Diyon to kodpooyukoy, duwon mandad noto-oo no timpu no od loyukan iddos ipat sokkad kandan. 30 Piru iddos mama, ko-ilangan nod obisu pa riyon to unnon sawa nod layuk sikandin diyot morin sawa rin. 31 Su otin diid obisu iddos mama, od langot en dos unna. 32 De-en, od kosamuk sikandan su dos ko-uluhan tadda, waa kod-addat din taddot unnon sawa rin woy id disokkan din to ginawa.

33 Inin botasanon to Monuvu, dii ron od kokita ko-ungkay. 34 Ko duwon pa man od doruwoy, idda robbos tapoy ron no id poruwayoy. 35 Od kovaakkan don ko-ungkay kos od pondoruwoy su od ukit en ini to samuk ko diid ko-oyyaran. 36 Iddos od ilingan ko-ungkay to mgo Monuvu, iddos od ngoranan no *kabit*.¹⁷ 37 Noko-iling dad ini to koddoruwoy piru konna od poroomoy iddos mgo duwoy diyot sokkad no baoy, ko konna, id ollos dan da ini. 38 Od poko-ilow ini no pinuungan, de-en dii ran id posaddoo. 39 Sokkad mandad no unayan no worad inis koddoruwoy su wora id pokohastu ran labbi ron en ko mo-uraak anak dan. 40 Piru dos dakkoon unayan no worad inin botasan su nopokesan¹⁸ don kos poomdom to mgo Monuvu ukit to Kahit Monama.

⁹ This refers to customary law, an unwritten code of expected behavior according to custom.

¹⁰ Implied: If the last wife does not obey the wishes, orders of the first wife...

¹¹ *unno-unna*: literally, 'be first'. This implies doing something without consulting anyone.

¹² *mori*: literally, 'last'. This refers to the wife that was most recently married.

¹³ This refers to the average number of wives that one tribal leader would have had in the past.

¹⁴ The Manobos of the past were keen traders, trading sleeping mats, gongs, horses, and other things of value in exchange for salt, brass bells, brass betel chew boxes, cooking pots, seashell bracelets, etc.

13 Laws⁹ of the married couple after taking more than one wife:

14 First, the first wife is the head; she has the higher status in their day-to-day living; whatever she wants (done), it is really important that it is done. 15 But if the last wife does not obey,¹⁰ it definitely will be at this point that they will have trouble. 16 Now the second wife is just under the authority of the first wife; it is not possible that she goes ahead¹¹ in making plans and all that she does needs to go through the first wife.

17 The man cannot sleep with the additional wife if he doesn't first inform the first wife. 18 Also if there are visitors in their house, the first wife will be the one to welcome them, but the new wife¹² will be the one to look after them or she will cook and just help the first wife. 19 Usually those who become additional wives are about three up to four,¹³ but it is just the first wife who is the head of all the wives.

20 Day-to-day living after taking an additional wife:

21 It is possible that the first wife (is busy) bartering¹⁴ if she knows how. 22 What the man will do is trap wild animals, fish, and clear a field. 23 The new wife will help in weeding the field, will plant (crops), and take care of things in the house, is the one to ask for¹⁵ or will find food, and the one to find food in the wild. 24 If they have money, the man and the first wife are the ones who have the right to hold it and to plan how it (is spent). 25 The new (wife) has to just go along with (their plans) and she will just inform (the first wife) of her needs; the first wife is the one to put money away for each of the needs in the house. 26 Usually those taken as an additional wife are the sister or close relative of the first wife.

27 Regarding the man, it is important that he does not show favoritism because there assuredly are laws¹⁶ that they follow. 28 If they have conflict, the tribal leader is the one who will arbitrate them. 29 In sleeping with each other, there is also an arranged time for sleeping with each one of them. 30 But the man must first notify the first wife before he sleeps with his new wife. 31 Because if the man does not first inform her, the first (wife) will definitely be angry. 32 Therefore, they will have trouble because it means that he does not respect his first wife and his love for her is less.

33 This custom of the Manobo people can no longer be seen today. 34 If there still are those who take an additional wife, it is only those who beforehand had already taken an additional wife. 35 Those who have taken an additional wife are afraid today because this is one way of having conflict if it is not handled well. 36 Today when Manobos do something like this, it is called *kabit*.¹⁷ 37 This is similar to taking an additional wife but the other wives do not live together in one house, but instead, they just hide this (relationship). 38 These are shameful deeds; therefore they do not let others know. 39 Another reason for no longer taking an additional wife is because there is no (money) for them to spend (on expenses), especially if they have many children. 40 But the biggest reason that this custom is no longer (practiced) is because the thinking of the Manobo has been enlightened¹⁸ by the Word of God.

¹⁵ Implied: The second wife will go to a neighbor and ask for a portion of food. This was entirely acceptable in the past and it would have been shameful for a neighbor to refuse.

¹⁶ See footnote 9.

¹⁷ *kabit*: a Cebuano term meaning 'having an affair with someone else while being married, keeping a mistress'.

¹⁸ *nopokesan*: derived from *pokes* 'to open, to turn on'. In this context, it is used figuratively and refers to thinking being enlightened.

Kodposuwayoy

Tano Bayawan

1 Diyot mgo Monuvu, waa goli toosawa nod pokodsuwoy¹ su duwon man mgo datu woy mgo buyyag nod usoy. 2 Otin od kogaha pa to kod-usoy iddos ukahan to toosawa, dii en sikandan od pokodsuwoy. 3 Duwon timpu no ahad pa iddos mgo movogga² no ukahan taddot toosawa, ko kopakoy pa nod soblahan,³ od ko-usoy rad iddos toosawa.

4 Na ini, od unsaran to mgo datu woy duwon timpu no sikandan kos od sablag su amoy duwon de-en kosunayan to kod-oubpa pa tat toosawa woy dos mgo anak dan diid pokoddiyuriyu.⁴ 5 Sokkad mandad no unayan no od noonokkalan idda to datu to kod-usoy su bansa⁵ rin iddos kod-usoy to dakkoon samuk. 6 Piru ahad duwon datu woy mgo buyyag nod usoy, duwon dad en timpu nod pokodsuwoy iddos toosawa pomon to duwon moraom pe-en no unayan.

7 Duwon osso-ossan unayan to kodposuwayoy. 8 Unna, iddos kodpokita to morat no botasan⁶ to mama o ba-ay riyon to onuhang dan. 9 Iko-oruwa, waa nokovoggoy to buyu⁷ dos mama riyot mgo onuhang din. 10 Iko-otollu, diid pokod-umiroy iddos toosawa. 11 Iko-oppat, undahon to kodpolivuhoy woy ikolimma, id ahaw iddos ba-ay to dumon mama.

12 Unnon unayan to kodposuwayoy, pinuungan dad to mama pomon to botasan din. 13 Diyot to kodposuwayoy, ahad iddos od pongongubpa⁸ poron, od kopakoy nod podsuwayon sikandan.⁹ 14 Su laggun tod pongongubpa dos mama, iddos od ko-onuhang din,¹⁰ mosuppit mandad nod panuu kandin, od ontong sikandan to botasan tat mama. 15 Na otin nopenulan dan no morat kos botasan tat mama, ponunggeleng, od atu kandan, pogguwon, od nangkap sikandan to po-ukit no diid pokoponayun nod osawa iddos mama. 16 Iddos onuhang, od angoy sikandan to kuda woy od posokayan dan tat noko-ubpa kandan, od ikohiyan dan nod uli pa riyot amoy rin. 17 Na, iddos amoy woy inoy tat mama, od pokaabbot don to ko-uluhan to kodposakoy taddot anak dan to kuda.¹¹ 18 Na, to kod-inguma ron taddot anak diyot amoy rin, duwon don dinoggan pomon diyot melow¹² no iddos kuda id tuntun¹³ don en kandin. 19 Na, ini od unsaran to mgo datu. 20 Otin diid kogaha to mgo datu, od kotuntun en iddos od osawa.¹⁴

¹ *pokodsuwoy*: derived from *suwoy* 'to go a different direction'. When affixed, this takes on the meaning 'to be separated from each other'. This has been rendered as 'divorce' unless context dictates otherwise.

² *movogga*: literally, 'heavy'.

³ *soblahan*: literally, 'brideprice' is derived from *sablag*. In this context, it refers to a fine consisting of an item of value given by the guilty party to the offended party to remove bitter feelings.

⁴ *pokoddiyuriyu*: literally, 'to go very far away from' is derived from *diyu* 'far from'.

⁵ *bansa*: honor. A leader who knows how to reconcile a conflict becomes well known as a wise leader.

⁶ *morat no botasan*: literally, 'bad character'.

⁷ This refers to a brideprice that the parents of a girl asked for from the boy's family, e.g., a horse, etc.

⁸ *pongongubpa*: derived from *ubpa* 'to live somewhere'. A future son-in-law will go to live in the house of his future in-laws after he is engaged to help with chores and be observed by them for several months to see if he is worthy of their daughter. (See sentence 14.)

⁹ *sikandan*: literally, 'they'.

¹⁰ *iddos od ko-onuhang din*: literally, 'those who will be his future in-laws'.

¹¹ Implied: The horse represents payment to the man's family and they will immediately know that the engagement is off when they see their son approaching riding it.

¹² *melow*: 'marriage mediator' acts as spokesman for a prospective groom. He talks to the parents of a lady to tell them of a man's desire to marry their daughter, see how they feel about it and, if

Divorce

Tano Bayawan

Most marriage conflicts can be settled and harmony restored by the giving of an item of value such as a gong, a water buffalo, a horse, etc. Conflict arises when the husband is aggressive or disrespectful of his in-laws. He will be have to “point to the eye of the sun” and “split apart rattan”, promising not to do this again. It may be that he has not given the brideprice the in-laws demanded or the couple simply does not get along. It may be a case of adultery or a situation where the wife has herself snatched by another man. The tribal leaders will do all they can to restore the peace, including giving the fine on behalf of the guilty party.

1 Among Manobo people, there are not many married couples who divorce¹ because there are tribal chiefs and elder leaders to arbitrate (disputes). 2 If a dispute between a husband and wife can yet be arbitrated, they will not separate. 3 There are times that even a serious² dispute between a husband and wife, if it can still be (handled by) giving a payment for restitution,³ the couple's (dispute) can still be arbitrated.

4 The tribal leaders will sit down together to discuss the dispute and there are times they will be the ones to give a payment for restitution just so there will be peace in the day-to-day life of the couple and their children will not be separated.⁴ 5 Another reason the tribal chief will work hard to arbitrate (disputes) is because arbitrating a large conflict brings him honor.⁵ 6 But even though there is a tribal chief and there are elder leaders to arbitrate, there definitely are times that a couple will divorce because there are even deeper reasons.

7 There are different reasons for (couples) to divorce. 8 The first is that a man or woman shows disrespect⁶ to their in-laws. 9 The second is that a man has not yet given requested items⁷ to his in-laws. 10 The third is that a couple do not get along with each other. 11 The fourth (reason) is that it is the consequence of committing adultery; and the fifth is that another man absconds with a (married) woman.

12 The first reason for divorce is a man's actions, resulting from his character. 13 In divorcing, even (a man) who has been living with his future in-laws,⁸ it is possible that he and his fiancée⁹ separate. 14 For while the man is living with his future in-laws, they¹⁰ will closely observe him; they will observe the character of that man. 15 Now if they notice that the character of that man is bad, for example he fights against them (or) is lazy, they will find a way for that man not to be able to continue with the marriage. 16 The (future) in-laws will get a horse and will have the one living with them ride it; they will tell him to return to his father. 17 Now the man's father and mother will understand the meaning of their son riding on the horse.¹¹ 18 So, when the son arrives at his father's house, there is news from the marriage mediator¹² that the horse is the restitution payment to end his engagement.¹³ 19 Then, the tribal leaders will sit down to discuss this. 20 If the tribal leaders are not able (to resolve the conflict), the engagement of the groom-to-be is off.¹⁴

they agree, will negotiate a brideprice with them.

¹³ *tuntun*: literally, ‘to lower something using a rope’. Here it is used in the figurative sense. The horse represents payment to the man by the lady's parents dissolving their agreement with him to marry their daughter. His riding a horse home is as if he is being “lowered”, i.e., marriage plans will not continue.

¹⁴ Implied: The groom-to-be has been given a horse as restitution payment, in effect, ending the engagement.

21 Na riyon mandad to nokod-osoway ron, ponunggeleng nokod-aggot dan don woy duwon don anak dan, od kopakoy nod pokodsuwoy sikandan ko od kokita to mgo onuhang dan no iddos moka-amung, morat kos botasan din, oraroy'd pomilit to sawa woy anak, waa kotuihan diyot kod-oubpa. 22 Na ini vo, suwamig od soblahan¹⁵ tat amoy woy inoy tat ba-ay amoy diid komonnu iddos anak woy mgo apu ran. 23 Piru ko-ilangan nod panoy tapoy sikandan to sablag su pihu nod buyu en iddos mama amoy'd pokopolivod dos no-uug¹⁶ din iddot timpu to kodpo-osoway ran. 24 Id boggoy iddos sablag su amoy iddos sawa no mama, dii ron od pokolangot su duwon man mgo datu nod unsad, woy od usoy kandan. 25 Na ko duwon id pokosablag¹⁷ to mgo datu, id potangag dan iddos ba-ay to osson mama no id kopi-i taddot inoy woy amoy.

26 Od kopakoy mandad nod pokodsuwoy iddos toosawa ko iddos moka-amung od atu to onuhang din, boyaw o ipag. 27 Su iddos kod-atu, patow idda no waa kod-addat to moka-amung diyon to mgo onuhang. 28 Otin od atu iddos moka-amung, dakkoon saa idda woy de-en kos unayan nod ko-oppos don dos mgo onuhang din. 29 Na otin iling tadda kos botasan taddot moka-amung, od povotuhon sikandin to mgo impon, iling to ahung, kuda o kaavow woy dumon mgo impon. 30 Na ko dii rin pa od kovatug, od turokkan to monobba¹⁸ woy aamoy,¹⁹ iddos dii poron od kaanos²⁰ amoy mosiyapat no id pokovoggoy dos od buyuwon tat onuhang. 31 Na laggun to dii pa od pokovatug iddos moka-amung, od uli pa sikandin diyot amoy rin woy galid poko-uli riyot sawa rin ko od pokovatug don sikandin. 32 Na inin samuk o ukahan, od poko-uma²¹ riyot mgo datu, na de-en, od unsaran dan don woy dos mgo melow. 33 Ini en kos timpu nod sowayon dos noko-ubpa woy od poyasan sikandin woy od lu-uran, od po-uliyon diyot amoy rin amoy'd nonangkap²² to mgo impon no od buyuwon kandin. 34 Na ko od uli ron sikandin diyot sawa rin no novatug din don iddos mgo impon, od usayon woy od unsaran dad to mgo datu woy mgo melow. 35 Na, od potodduwon pa sikandin to matot allow²³ woy'd potompoddon to baahon,²⁴ dos ko-uluhan, od sosapa ron sikandin no dii rin don od utukon iddos id pinuungan din no morat no botasan nod atu kandan.²⁵

36 Od kopakoy nod pokodsuwoy dos toosawa ko iddos mama o ba-ay od pokopuung to movoggat no saa. 37 Ponunggeleng, iddos mama od ponadtad to mgo impon iling to umpak, woy kesay, woy dos koddora-at to mgo kosongkapan dan diyot ubpan. 38 Na ini, movoggat no saa su iddos kodponadtad to impon, morat²⁶ su noko-iling to iddos komunoy tat umpak kos id tadtad woy dos gimukud, id paahuy²⁷ timbang id patoy ron sikandin. 39 De-en, dos onuhang, od langot woy od povotuhon sikandin to mgo impon. 40 Od pomaason³⁰ din²⁸ dos sawa woy dos mgo anak²⁹ amoy od

¹⁵ Implied: If the man's in-laws want their daughter to divorce him, they have to find the financial means to give their son-in-law an item of value, especially if he gave them a brideprice; that will need to be reimbursed (sentence 23).

¹⁶ *no-uug*: literally, 'dropped'. In this context, it refers to an item of value that the man gave to the lady's family as a brideprice which was arranged before he went to live with his future in-laws.

¹⁷ Implied: An item of value as a restitution payment is prepared in advance to give to the man.

¹⁸ *monobba*: many species of ornamental ferns.

¹⁹ *aamoy*: a small tree (*Pipturus arborescens*).

²⁰ The post functions as a timer with the payment needing to be made before the post wilts. The post is either a branch of a *monobba* or of an *aamoy* tree.

²¹ *poko-uma*: literally, 'able to arrive at'.

²² *nonangkap*: literally, 'to find'.

²³ *od potodduwan pa sikandin to matot allow*: literally, 'made to point to the eye of the sun'. This is a figurative expression meaning a valued item is given to the in-laws symbolizing the "eye" of the sun making it a very binding promise; it is like calling on the sun to be a witness. If one does not

21 Now as for those already married, that is, they are already living together and already have a child, it's possible for them to divorce when their in-laws see that their son-in-law has a bad character, often beats up his wife and child, (or) does not know how to (handle the concerns) of day-to-day living. 22 So in this (kind of situation), the father and mother will sacrificially put priority on giving a restitution payment¹⁵ so that nothing bad will happen to their daughter and grandchildren. 23 But it is necessary that they prepare in advance a restitution payment because the man will definitely ask that that which he gave¹⁶ at the time they made marriage arrangements be returned. 24 And a restitution payment is given so that the husband no longer can be angry because there were tribal leaders who sat down and arbitrated (to reconcile) them. 25 Now when there is something the tribal leaders are able to give as a restitution payment,¹⁷ they (then) have the woman stolen by another man whom the father and mother like.

26 It is also possible for a couple to divorce when the son-in-law fights against his in-laws, sister-in-law, or brother-in-law. 27 (They will divorce) because fighting against in-laws is a sign that the son-in-law has no respect for his in-laws. 28 If the son-in-law fights against them, that is a big sin and is the reason that his in-laws will be angry. 29 If the character of the son-in-law is like that, he will have to give a restitution payment of a valued item like a gong, horse, or water buffalo, or other valued items. 30 Now if he has not yet given a restitution payment, a post of the *monobba*¹⁸ or *aamoy*¹⁹ tree will be set up, one that is not yet wilted,²⁰ so that the asked for items by in-laws are quickly given. 31 Then while the son-in-law has not yet given the restitution payment, he will return to his father and can only return to his wife when he is able to give the restitution payment. 32 Now this problem or conflict will reach²¹ the tribal leaders; therefore they and the marriage mediators will sit down to discuss it. 33 At this time the son-in-law will be criticized, and he will be given advice, and judged, (then) returned to his father to produce²² the valued items he was asked to give. 34 Now when he returns to his wife after he has given the restitution payment of valued items, the tribal leaders and marriage mediators will arbitrate and sit down to discuss it. 35 Then he will be made to point to the eye of the sun²³ and made to split apart rattan,²⁴ meaning he swears he will not repeat what he did by being disrespectful in fighting against them.²⁵

36 It is also possible for a couple to divorce if the man or the woman commits a serious sin. 37 For example, the man chops up objects like clothing and blankets and destroys their utensils in the home. 38 Now this is a serious sin because the chopping up of items is (very) bad,²⁶ for it is as if the owner of the clothing is chopped up and her soul has run away²⁷ as if she has already died. 39 Therefore the (father)-in-law will be angry and he will make him give a restitution payment of valued items. 40 He²⁸ will have the wife and children²⁹ undergo a blood sacrifice ritual³⁰ so that their souls which have run

follow through on the promise made, it can be sure that something bad will happen.

²⁴ *potompoddon to baahon*: literally, 'made to split apart rattan'. This, too, is not actually done but is a symbol of "cutting" or stopping the need to discipline, e.g., being hit by a rattan stick. The giving of a valued item to the offended party stops the need to discipline.

²⁵ This refers to the man's in-laws.

²⁶ Implied: A spirit will inflict death to the person (the wife) whose clothing was cut up.

²⁷ To cut up a wife's clothing or destroy her things is seen as a direct attack on her and as a result, her spirit is said to run away out of fear; hence the offence is as serious as if she had been killed.

²⁸ This refers to the husband of the wife whose clothes he chopped up.

²⁹ This refers to his daughter and grandchildren.

³⁰ To bring the wandering soul back, a pure white chicken is offered, a symbol of purity. The chicken is held by its feet with its head hanging down and swung horizontally back and forth once. The wings are then folded up neatly to symbolize that the soul has returned to its body.

The man will chop up
objects like clothing.
*Dos mama od ponadtad to
mgo impon iling to umpak.*



uli dos gimukud dan no id paahuy. 41 Od kupkupon³¹ dan amoy diid pokodsuwayoy. 42 Piru ini, kopakoy rad nod pod-uliyon to mgo datu su od sablag man dos mama.

43 Iddos iko-oruwon unayan to kodposuwayoy, dos toosawa diid pokodloyamoy pomon pe-en to kodpo-osoway ran taman to ahad pila³² ron kos mgo anak dan, inaayun dan od po-opuloy. 44 Oyya su³³ waa sikandan nokodpiyannoy de-en inaayun sikandan od po-imotayoy. 45 Inin ukahan, od pomon to disok taman tod dakkoo.³⁴ 46 Iddos mama, od ipanow no oraroy nod langot no usahay od ponungunsungon, od imatoy to minuvu. 47 Na otin od poko-imatoy ron to minuvu, od tompoddon din iddos tindirisok no kommo tat no-imotayan din, id boggoy rin idda riyot kandin no sawa³⁵ amoy id tomok, woy amoy od poobbava kandin. 48 No idda mandad so ba-ay, inaayun od ponowsow,³⁶ od uli riyot amoy rin ipat od ko-ukag dan to sawa rin. 49 Inin ko-ubpa, dii golid pokodsuwayoy dos toosawa su duwon man mgo datu woy mgo buyyag nod usoy woy sikandan iddos od pod-uli. 50 Piru ko dii sikandan od pokod-umid, od undag en to kodposuwayoy ran.

51 Iko-otollun unayan nod pokodsuwayoy iddos toosawa, otin waa pa nokovoggoy to buyu iddos mama riyot onuhang din. 52 Su ahad pila ron kos anak dan, dii en od kolingawan iddos buyu su timbang utang pa idda tat mama. 53 Na otin dii pa mokovoggoy iddos buyu, od owiyon pa tahad tat amoy woy inoy iddos anak dan, woy gali ran od pokod-uli ko id pokovoggoy pa iddos buyu. 54 Na, pomon to idda me-en kos loi ran dangan, dii en ini od ko-elleyan.

55 Iko-oppat no unayan nod pokodsuwayoy dos toosawa, dos undahon to kodpolivuhoy. 56 Ponunggeleng, iddos mama nokolivug to sawa rin woy riyot dumon toosawa. 57 Iddos sawa rin, mgo onuhang woy dos nolivuhan din, od ponlangot kandin. 58 Od waongwaong iddos nolivuhan din, od bunuwon din iddos id loivug kandin. 59 Idda mandad so id loivug, od aput³⁷ diyot datu sud potavang od po-usoy. 60 Od batug sikandin to mgo impon iling to kuda, ahung, kaavow no id lu-ud³⁸ kandin. 61 Na otin waa id pokosablag din, iddos mgo datu kos od batug amoy od tampod³⁹ to saa rin. 62 Dos nolivuhan, ko-inuwan to od usayon man sikandin to mgo datu, dii ron sikandin od pokobovunu su duwon don man od usoy. 63 Piru duwon en mgo impon no id

away will return. 41 They (the in-laws) will give protection³¹ so that (the wife and children) will not separate from each other. 42 But in this (conflict), it is possible for the tribal leaders to restore the relationship since the man will have to pay a fine.

43 The second reason for divorce is that the couple is not suited to each other from the time they were married until the time they already have several³² children; they are always arguing with each other. 44 The reason³³ is they did not like each other, so they were always arguing with each other. 45 This (kind of) conflict begins small until it becomes serious.³⁴ 46 The man will leave very angry, sometimes taking (his anger) out on others, killing a person. 47 Now if he has killed a person, he will cut off the little finger of the person he killed, (and) he will give it to his wife³⁵ to make her submissive out of fear and to humble her. 48 Now the woman will always be doing things to make (her husband) angry³⁶ (and) will return to her father every time they have a conflict. 49 This (kind of) situation will usually not cause a couple to divorce because there are tribal leaders and elder leaders who can arbitrate and they will restore the relationship. 50 But if they cannot get along, it surely will result in their divorce.

51 The third reason that a couple will divorce is that the man has not yet given his father-in-law the requested brideprice items. 52 For no matter how many children they have, the requested brideprice items are not forgotten because it is like the man still has a debt. 53 Now if the requested brideprice items are not yet given, the father and mother will briefly take their daughter back and will only return her when the requested brideprice items have been given. 54 So in the past, because that naturally was their law, it definitely could not be ignored.

55 The fourth reason that a couple will divorce is that it is a consequence of committing adultery. 56 For example, the man commits adultery against his wife and against another couple. 57 His wife, his in-laws, and the one he committed adultery against will be angry with him. 58 The one he committed adultery against (the offended husband) will take action (and) he will (seek to) kill the one who committed adultery against him. 59 The adulterer will seek help³⁷ from the tribal leader to ask for help in arbitrating (the case). 60 He will give a payment in restitution of items like a horse, a gong, (or) water buffalo (depending) on his fine.³⁸ 61 Now if there is nothing he is able to pay in restitution, the tribal leaders will give the restitution payment in order to stop³⁹ his sin. 62 As for the offended husband, when he realizes that tribal leaders will arbitrate the (case), he no longer can have him (the adulterer) killed because there are those who are arbitrating (the case). 63 But there definitely are valued items that are paid in restitution⁴⁰ to him (meaning) the of-

³¹ *kupkupon*: derived from *kupkup* 'a hen shielding her baby chicks under her wings'. The husband's in-laws and tribal leaders do this symbolically for an abused wife and her children.

³² *ahad pila*: literally, 'no matter how many'.

³³ *Oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

³⁴ *dakkoo*: literally, 'large'.

³⁵ Implied: This is the husband's way of demanding his authority over her.

³⁶ *ponowsow*: derived from *busow* 'evil spirit' implies the wife will try to force her husband not to continue his aggressive behavior by refusing to eat or abandoning her family, etc. Because she does not think about the consequences of her actions or who is affected, her behavior is seen as someone possessed by an evil spirit.

³⁷ *aput*: literally, 'to take refuge'. In this context, it is used in a figurative sense, 'to seek help from someone'.

³⁸ *lu-ud*: literally, 'judged'.

³⁹ *tampod*: literally, 'cut'.

⁴⁰ Items of value are paid by the man who committed adultery or by the tribal leaders on his behalf (in order to restore peace) to the man whose wife was involved in adultery.

sablag⁴⁰ kandin o tat nolivuhan. 64 Od soblahan iddos nolivuhan woy iddos sawa rin,⁴¹ woy od pomaas pa mandad sikandin, od kupkupon dos mgo anak amoy diid kosonggiyan.⁴² 65 Na otin waa mgo sablag, duwon en od patoy.

66 Woy ikolimmon unayan to kodposuwayoy, dos kodtanan to sawa no ba-ay su od potangag to dumon mama. 67 Na ini, otin diid kogaha tod usoy to mgo datu, od pokodsuwoy en sikandan.

68 To inin timpu, kosogaran don inis kodposuwayoy pomon to worad goli mgo datu woy mgo buyyag nod usoy woy od sablag to mgo impon tat nokopuung to saa. 69 Ko duwon man mgo Monuvu ko-ungkay nod usoy to iling ka-ay no samuk, konnad oraroy od ko-ikuu su nongolingawan dan don iddos mgo tulliyan dan. 70 De-en, od kosombutan don to mgo pomo-ukit to lammin mgo loi to goberno.

Mgo Pomokayon Moka-atag to Kopotayan

Tano Bayawan

1 Ko-ungkay od oituu a moka-atag to botasanon to Monuvu ko duwon od patoy. 2 Timpu to duwon od patoy, mo-uraan li-ian.¹ 3 Iddos botasanon ko duwon od patoy dangan duwon ko-ossan taddot ko-ungkay.

4 Dangan ko duwon od patoy, duwon iddos od ngoranan no od damag. 5 Iddos od tomman nod damag, od toptapon kos koguu² o oruwon ahung nod podgondingon.³ 6 Piru iddos damag o od taptap, kosogaran bulli ra, duwon ta ra riyot allow su od posaddoo ini no duwon sumbaoy, oukuy, o datu no id patoy. 7 To idda pe-en novudtusi to songnga⁴ iddos id patoy, od toptapon kos ahung, su od posaddoo idda no duwon lammid patoy. 8 Ko-ungkay'n timpu, amoy od pokosaddoo iddos mgo korumannan o mgo leleng tat id patoy, od sugkawan⁵ sikandan.

9 Na otin od pokosaddoo ran⁶ don, od undiyon dan sud saleb,⁷ piru diid kopakoy nod undiyon iddos od kovohokan su od pomoli-i.⁸ 10 Iddos mgo minuvu nod saleb, od tamong sikandan tat id patoy. 11 Ko-ilangan no mo-uraa kos od tamong su amoy diid kora-ag woy od kotoppoy to busow. 12 Su iddos id patoy, oraroy nod poroniyon to busow woy duwon iddos od linosungan.⁹ 13 Od losuran to busow iddos



A bamboo noisemaker
Koguu

⁴¹ This refers to the wife of the man who committed adultery.

⁴² Implied: The children might get thin and sick because of what the father or mother did.

¹ *li-ian*: derived from *li-i* implying prohibitions that, if ignored, will result in something bad occurring.

² *koguu*: a section of thick bamboo with a small slit opening which when tapped, created a piercing sound that carried for long distances attracting villagers to go to the source of the sound.

³ To let people know that someone died, a special beat and rhythm were used (other than, for example, informing people about a meeting). Two people would beat the gongs; one would keep the steady slower beat while the other accompanied with a faster tempo.

⁴ *novudtusi to songnga*: literally, 'breath has been cut' referring to the moment of death.

⁵ *sugkawan*: derived from *sugkow* 'to send someone as a messenger' in order to tell relatives living far away that a relative has either died or is seriously ill.

⁶ This refers to the people in the area who heard the tapping of the gong.

fended husband. 64 (The adulterer) will give a restitution payment to the offended husband and to his own wife⁴¹ and he will undergo a blood sacrifice ritual; the children will be given protection so that nothing bad will happen⁴² to them. 65 If there is no restitution payment, someone definitely will die.

66 And the fifth reason for divorce is a wife will abandon (her husband) because she has herself snatched by another man. 67 In this (situation), if the tribal leaders are not able to arbitrate (the conflict), they definitely will divorce.

68 These days, divorce usually (happens) because there are few tribal leaders and elder leaders to arbitrate and to give valued items in restitution for the one who committed a sin. 69 If there in fact are Manobo people today who arbitrate these (kinds) of conflict, the customary laws based on their experience are not followed very much because they have forgotten them. 70 Therefore (customary laws) have become mixed with the new laws of the government.

Beliefs Concerning Death

Tano Bayawan

The mystery of death, shrouded with many fears, has led to many beliefs regarding death entailing many practices and prohibitions. These include watching over the deceased twenty-four hours a day until burial, not carrying leftover food to a neighbor's house from the house of the deceased, and not using leftover wood or nails used to make the coffin. Houses where a death occurred were abandoned and, for good measure, stones would be thrown at the house to cause evil spirits to flee. Some of the practices and prohibitions mentioned here continue to the present day.

1 Now I will tell about the customs of the Manobo people when someone has died. 2 At the time when someone dies, there are many prohibitions.¹ 3 The practices when someone died in the past are different from today.

4 In the past when someone died, there was (a practice) called *damag* 'tapping for a wake'. 5 Regarding this (practice) called *damag*, a *koguu*² 'bamboo noisemaker' or two large gongs were simultaneously tapped.³ 6 But regarding when tapping for a wake or tapping was done, it was usually done just in the evening, rarely in the day, because it announced that there was a neighbor, friend, or *datu* 'tribal leader' who had died. 7 At the moment the breathing of the deceased had stopped,⁴ the large gong was tapped because it announced that someone had just died. 8 At the present time, in order to inform the relatives or friends of someone who has died, they will send a messenger.⁵

9 Now once they⁶ are informed, they will go to *saleb*⁷ 'watch over the deceased', but it is not possible for a sick person to go because it is prohibited.⁸ 10 The people who *saleb* are guarding over the deceased. 11 It is important that many are guarding so as not to be afflicted or weakened by evil spirits. 12 Because the deceased are really approached by evil spirits and there are those who are *linosungan*⁹ 'become possessed and

⁷ Implied: so that evil spirits do not possess or attack the deceased.

⁸ *pomoli-i*: derived from *li-i* (see footnote 1). If a sick person attends a wake anyway, they could succumb to an attack of vengeful spirits who are hovering around the deceased and also die.

⁹ If the deceased suddenly sat up, it meant an evil spirit had taken possession of the body. To keep it from getting up (besides the use of a pestle described in sentence 14), a whetting stone was put in water, which was then poured on the body. Just as the basic essence of a whetting stone is its complete immobility, it was hoped that the evil spirit possessing the body would also remain

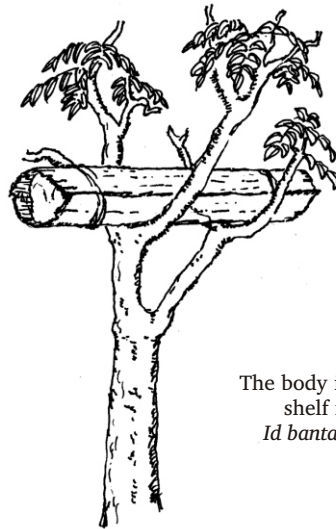
id patoy, de-en¹⁰ od onnow. 14 Na otin od onnow, od gipison to allu¹¹ su idde-en kos saat amoy diid ponayun od onnow. 15 Dii od kopakoy no waa od tamong tat minatoy woy ko-ilangan no iddos od tamong od posuvaloy woy diid pontinuhon su¹² saddook od linosungan iddos minatoy. 16 Sokkad mandad no li-iyen to id pooyyas pa iddos minatoy, od tomongngan no diid koopangngan iddos minatoy to mgo oyama iling to mengko o tuyyang su od onnow dos minatoy.¹³

17 Mo-uraa no mgo li-iyon nod ikulon ko duwon od patoy. 18 Iddos minuvu no nosakup to novudtusan to songnga iddos minatoy, dii sikandin od poko-uli riyot kandin no ubpan taman to kodlobbong su morat.¹⁴ 19 Woy diid kopakoy no dii sikandin od sakup to kodlobbong su pomoli-i.¹⁵ 20 Iddos mgo impon, mgo bonnit ommoy woy ahad ondan no bonni ko nosakup to novudtusan to songnga, dii ron od kopakoy nid pomuwa woy od kohamit su id potapik don to kodlobbong.¹⁶ 21 De-en, dangan ko duwon minuvu nod oihottas, od lukutlukut od awa kos sokkad nod uli riyot kandan. 22 Woy dos mgo bonni o mgo impon, id poleggua ran¹⁷ diyot baoy amoy diid kosakup¹⁸ tod kovudtusat songnga.

23 Dos timpu pa to kovuyyahan, otin od potayan don iddos ubpan dan, dii ran don od ubpan su morat¹⁹ woy od alin dan od bovaoy. 24 Woy iddos id potayan no ubpan od ponlumbahon dan to batu to komo-uraa su amoy od paahuy iddos busow no id poko-id tat id patoy.

25 Dangan, ko iddos onituwon kos od patoy, to dii pa sikandin od patoy, od ponaan sikandin no dii id lobbong su od ikahi sikandin no od onnow. 26 Od ikahi sikandin no id tavaa²⁰ ra kos lawa rin o id popooyyas da riyot sabbung o ubpan, na od tonanan don. 27 Iddos duma, id bantaa ra. 28 De-en, od baayan sikandin²¹ diyot movonnos, woy dutun en id bantaa kos lawa rin, od bitinon diyot sabbung sud ongatan ko od kovonnaa vo iddos id ikahi rin. 29 Na iddos duma, id lobbong diyot dosiyung to ubpan woy od tonanan don. 30 Dos baoy no id potayan, od okason don, otin konna, od guvaton dos baoy woy od tonanan don.

31 Otin id pomon ka riyot id potayan, dii ka kopakoy nod piyod diyot ubpan du to ahad ondan sud pomoli-i.²² 32 Dii ka kopakoy nod piyod to mgo sama,²³ iling to boggas, sukaa, assin, ahad ondan no sama



The body is placed on a shelf in a tree.
Id bantaa kos lawa.

immobile. If the deceased continued to get up, the center floor brace where the body was laid in state would be removed, causing the floor to be weakened. Just as a floor is weakened by the removal of the center brace, it was hoped that the strength of the evil spirit possessing the body would also be weakened. Because this word is no longer in use today, its etymology is uncertain.

¹⁰ *de-en*: literally, 'therefore'.

¹¹ The pestle is put across the head or forehead of the deceased to keep it held down.

¹² Implied: if those who watch the deceased do fall asleep...

¹³ Evil spirits will possess certain dogs and cats. If a possessed dog or cat were to jump over the deceased, the deceased would get up because of the evil spirit's supernatural power.

¹⁴ To return home before burial shows lack of respect for the deceased and may anger the spirit of the deceased, resulting in death of either that person who returned home or someone in his family.

get up'. 13 An evil spirit will possess the deceased, (and) because of that¹⁰ it will get up. 14 So if it gets up, it is pinned down using a pestle¹¹ because that indeed is the remedy to get rid of evil spirits so that it won't continue getting up. 15 It is impossible that no one guards the deceased and it is important that those who guard it take turns and not fall sleep because perhaps¹² the deceased will become possessed and get up. 16 Another prohibition while it is still the wake of a deceased is to watch out that the deceased is not jumped over by animals like a cat or dog because the deceased will get up.¹³

17 There are many prohibitions to be followed if someone has died. 18 As for a person who happened to be present when the breathing of the deceased stopped, he cannot return to his house until (after) the burial because it is considered bad.¹⁴ 19 And it is impossible that he is not present at the burial because it is prohibited.¹⁵ 20 As for valued items, rice seed, and any kind of seeds, if these were there when the breathing stopped, it is no longer possible to plant or use them because these things will be put in with (the coffin) at the burial.¹⁶ 21 Therefore in the past if there was a person who was breathing their final breaths, one would quickly leave to return to their own place. 22 And they¹⁷ would put seeds and valued items outside of that house so that these things would not be there¹⁸ when the breathing (of the deceased) stopped.

23 During the time of the ancestors, when a death occurred in their house, they no longer lived there because it was bad¹⁹ and they would move, building a house elsewhere. 24 And as for the house where a death occurred, they threw many stones at it so that the evil spirits who inflicted the one who died would flee.

25 In the past, when a spirit medium was the one who died, before he died he would request to not be buried because he said that he would get up. 26 He told (his family) to just place his body on a shelf²⁰ or just lay it out in a temporary shelter or house, then it was abandoned. 27 Others were just placed on a shelf in a tree. 28 So a burial shelter was built for him²¹ in the wilderness, and there his body was put on a shelf that was hung by rope in that shelter (and others) would wait (to see) if what he said would come true. 29 Now others were buried under the house and it was abandoned. 30 A house where a death occurred was taken apart, or else stones would be thrown at the house and it was abandoned.

31 If you are coming from (a house) where a death occurred, it is not possible to bring anything to your house because it is prohibited.²² 32 It is not possible that you bring leftovers²³ like rice, sugar, salt, (or) any kind of leftover because a death will

¹⁵ To not attend the burial would anger the spirit of the deceased, resulting in retaliation and death.

¹⁶ Anything in the house at the time of a death, especially seeds, becomes "infected" because of the prevalence of evil or unfriendly spirits. To plant the seeds and eat the harvest is like inviting illness and possible death.

¹⁷ This refers to the family of the deceased.

¹⁸ In the past anything that happened to be in the house when someone died could no longer be used. It became "infected" by evil spirits present at death, hence was done away with.

¹⁹ A house where someone died was seen as taken over by evil spirits. To continue living there would invite certain death to another member of the family.

²⁰ *tavaa*: The body was put in a coffin that was made either from the bark of a tree or wood. Then it was left on a shelf in a tree or in a small house and abandoned.

²¹ This refers to the spirit medium that died.

²² Anything that was carried from a house where someone died would have evil spirits that would "attach" to it; hence to eat food that came from there would be like inviting death.

²³ This refers to any of the leftover food prepared to feed those who are keeping vigil over the deceased all through the day and night until burial.

su od potayan ka²⁴ mandad ko od puungan du idda. 33 Ahad iddos mgo nosama no kayu no id bovallan to lungun woy mgo pansaa, woy iddos id toppong,²⁵ diid kopakoy nod gomiton.²⁶ 34 Od laawon idda, otin konna, id apii mandad id lobbong. 35 Iddos duma, od awid to mgo umpak tat minatoy woy od tampod to disok no bowvuut uu su bawi kun idda tod gimukuron woy od lingosan²⁷ no anak tat id patoy o mgo korumannan din.

36 Oraroy nod lanu iddos minuvu nod potayan su oraroy no mosakit diyot kandan, labbi ron iddos mgo gakod, iling to amoy, inoy, anak, anggam, inayon, datu woy anak to datu. 37 Duwon iddos duma no pomot diid koti-isan kos kodlanu, od pongggot don. 38 Dos duma, od ponungunsungon od pongimatoy, ko od korinog dan no id potayan sikandan. 39 Ini en kos dakkoon samuk sud pongimatoy man dos korumannan tat id patoy.

40 Diyot kodlobbong, od inguma²⁸ pa to otollu taman to limmon allow idda pa id lobbong. 41 Otin datu kos id patoy, od inguma pa to mgo sokkad o lampas to sokkad no simana idda pa id lobbong. 42 Kouhoy ran id lobbong su mo-uraa kos unayan. 43 Unna, od ongatan pa iddos mgo korumannan diyot moriyun lugaa woy od lungku pa sikandan. 44 Iko-oruwa, duwon mo-uraa no od topiron labbi ron iddos novau ron woy od po-ovullon pa iddos minatoy amoy otin od ngarog don, od ka-awa ron dos kodlungku.²⁹ 45 Mo-uraa kos od topiron labbi ron ko datu kos id patoy. 46 Od topiron iddos od suvaa kandin woy duwon pa mgo polinta to mgo osso-ossan datu woy polinta to mgo anak din. 47 Woy ko datu kos od patoy, duwon dos od tomman nod laawan. 48 Dos minatoy, id ta-aw riyon to dakkoon baoy. 49 Iddon baoy, duwon od tamong no mongayow. 50 Na otin duwon od pokosubbuk dutun, od imotayan dan.³⁰ 51 Dangan, duwon uripon nod imotayan id potapik tat datu ahad waa saa rin su uripon me-en sikandin. 52 Od ngoranan inin id polimuwas.³¹

53 Od tavang iddos mgo sumbaoy nod bovaa to lungun. 54 Iyon kayu no oraroy nod kahamit dangan iddos od ngoranan no daddap³² su moomok da nod govason. 55 Od ponayon mandad tapoy³³ iddos od lovongngan. 56 Od kokali to livuta woy od poroomman. 57 Iddos mgo sumbaoy kos od tavang nod kokali tod lovongngan tat minatoy su morat³⁴ kun ko iddos mgo gakod tat minatoy kos od kokali. 58 Kopongnga od kokali woy'd pon-uli ron sikandan, idda pa pondaawet iddos bau woy mgo anak woy od soyungon³⁵ don iddos minatoy riyot lovongngan. 59 Od bogkossan to tali o baahon iddos lungun sud tawwan tat kayu no id sayung. 60 Otin dakkoo iddos id patoy, od soyungon to oppat no minuvu, piru otin disok da, kopakoy no oruwa ra kos od sayung.

62 Na riyot kodlobbong, ko riyon don to bobbo iddos minatoy, od tombunan dan to livuta, woy iddos langun no id duma od lumbag mandad to livuta³⁶ riyot lobbong, kopakoy mandad no bulak. 63 Kopongngod lobbong, iddos langun no id duma, od uli

²⁴ Implied: or to someone in your family.

²⁵ Implied: the wood or branch used to measure the deceased for the length of the coffin.

²⁶ If someone were to use leftover wood or nails or even that which was used to measure the deceased for the coffin, the spirit of the deceased would accompany those items and it would be like making a death wish which would come true.

²⁷ *lingosan*: derived from *lingasa* 'angry'. A young child cries uncontrollably out of fear, anger, and frustration due to being teased by the spirit of the deceased (or another evil spirit) visible only to him/her.

²⁸ *inguma*: literally, 'to arrive at'.

²⁹ This refers to the time of the wake and the grief felt by relatives. It does not imply, however, a widow will no longer feel grief once the deceased is buried.

³⁰ The person carelessly entering the house where the body of a tribal leader was laid out and subsequently killed would be put in the same coffin as that of the tribal leader so that the tribal leader's spirit had a companion.

³¹ *polimuwas*: possibly derived from *polin*- 'to intentionally cause something to be done' and *bullas* 'to exchange'. This is a very deep word and the exact etymology is uncertain. The life of a slave

occur to you²⁴ if you do that. 33 Even leftover wood that was used to make the coffin and the nails and that used for measuring,²⁵ it is not possible to use these things.²⁶ 34 These are burned or else are also included (in the coffin) at burial. 35 Others will keep clothes of the deceased and will cut a bit of the hair (of the deceased) because these are reportedly medicine for someone possessed by the spirit of the deceased or inconsolable crying²⁷ of a child of the deceased or his relatives.

36 People to whom a death occurs are really sad because it is very painful to them, especially (the death) of relatives, like a father, mother, child, uncle, aunt, tribal leader, or a child of the tribal leader. 37 There are others who, from not being able to bear the sorrow, commit suicide. 38 Others will go and kill someone else when they hear that death has occurred to someone in their (family). 39 This definitely is a tremendous problem because the relative of the one who died will kill someone.

40 Regarding the burial, it can take²⁸ up to three to five days before the burial. 41 If a tribal leader has died, it can take up to one or more than one week before burial. 42 Their burial takes a long time for many reasons. 43 First, the (arrival) of relatives from far away are awaited and they still (need time) to grieve. 44 Second, there are many arrangements to be made, especially for those who are widowed and to allow time for the deceased to start decomposing so that when it smells, grief will disappear.²⁹ 45 There are many arrangements to be made, especially if a tribal leader is the one who has died. 46 Arrangements are made as to who will take his place and there will be advice given by different tribal leaders and advice given to his children. 47 And if a tribal leader has died, there was (a practice) called *laawan* 'taking another's life'. 48 The deceased was put in a large (abandoned) house. 49 Those with no qualms about killing guarded that house. 50 Now if someone carelessly entered there, they would kill him.³⁰ 51 In the past, there were slaves who were killed (and their body) put together in (the coffin) of the tribal leader even if he did nothing wrong (but) simply because he was a slave. 52 This was called *polimuwas*.³¹

53 The neighbors will help in making a coffin. 54 The (kind of) tree that was often used in the past (for this) was called *daddap*³² because it was easy to saw. 55 Throughout the wake,³³ the burial site is also prepared. 56 The soil is dug up and (the hole) made deep. 57 The neighbors are the ones who help in digging up the soil for the burial place of the deceased because it is said to be bad³⁴ if relatives of the deceased dig up the soil. 58 After the digging and they return to the house, then the widow and children wail and the deceased is carried³⁵ to the burial site. 59 A rope or rattan is tied around the coffin in order to fasten a pole used to carry (the coffin). 60 If the one who died was large, four people will carry it, but if he/she was small, it can be carried by only two.

62 At the burial, when the deceased is in the hole, they cover it with soil, and all those who go along also throw soil³⁶ on the coffin; flowers can also (be thrown). 63 After burial, all who went along return to the house where the death occurred to still be

was taken in order that his spirit would accompany the spirit of the deceased *datu* in its afterlife journey.

³² *daddap*: a medium-sized softwood tree with a thorny stem and yellow spotted green leaves that bear red flowers (*Erythrina variegata*).

³³ *tapoy*: literally, 'of old' refers to the period of time from death up to and including the wake.

³⁴ If relatives were involved in preparing the burial site it would appear they were happy their relative died. The relatives are only expected to grieve.

³⁵ *soyungon*: derived from *sayung* 'to carry using poles' implying two to four people carry someone who is lying down, e.g., a sick person being transported to the hospital or carrying a coffin.

³⁶ Dirt or flowers are thrown into the gravesite to ward off an attack by evil spirits. It is necessary for those who accompany the coffin to the gravesite to take part in all activities. Not to do so will incur the wrath or anger of the evil spirits.

pa riyot ubpan tat id potayan sud po-obboo pa. 64 Duwon od laawon no mgo do-un o iddos mgo sama to id ponggamit no kayu³⁷ amoy od awa iddos mgo morat o mgo poko-id.³⁸

65 To kod-uli ron diyot ubpan, iddos id pooyyasan, od busbusan to oweg ko dii man od tonanan iddos baoy, piru kosogaran od tonanan en iddos baoy no id potayan. 66 Otin diid tonanan dos baoy nid potayan, od imotayan dan³⁹ dos busow. 67 Dos od puungan dan, diyon to bulli to kopongngod lobbong, od ovukkan dan kos suu woy'd tawwan dan to gangis dos id pooyyasan. 68 Na langun dan od somad to pipit woy'd pominoggon dan ko duwon od gohoyongos, no idda pa od pomipitan dan iddos id ta-aw ran no gangis. 69 Na ko od ontongngan dan idda, iyon od kokita ran dutun, iddos mgo lumat.⁴⁰

70 Duwon iddos od ngoranan no tapid.⁴¹ 71 Iddos od tomman no tapid, od potongkooy pa iddos mgo buyyag o datu, moka-atag to kodkulung⁴² o kodtoddung⁴³ taddot novau. 72 Diyot iko-otollun allow o bulli,⁴⁴ od kolivuung dos langun no korumannan.⁴⁵

73 Mo-uraa ka-ay no botasanon woy pomokayon no id ponayun pa takkot ko-ungkay.

74 Ka-ay re-en taman.

Bau

Tano Bayawan

1 Dangan diyot mgo Monuvu, otin od patoy iddos sawa no mama¹ o iddos ba-ay, duwon li-yan² nod ikulon dan. 2 Od ongayon iddos novau, woy od bilingon³ sikandin. 3 Dos od puungan dan, od angoy sikandan to dihu woy rutun en id po-unsad iddos bau woy od bilingon sikandin to mgo kopittu.⁴ 4 Dos unayan nod puungan dan ini su amoy kun diid bauvauwon⁵ iddos bau. 5 Kopongnga tadda, od boggoy



The widow is seated on a winnowing basket and turned around.
Id po-unsad dos bau riyot dihu woy'd bilingon.

³⁷ Implied: wood that was used to build the coffin.

³⁸ Evil spirits afflict people with illness that leads to death unless they can be treated by a spirit medium or healer knowledgeable in treating these kinds of illnesses.

³⁹ This refers to the surviving family members of the deceased.

⁴⁰ The "rats" that the family has struck at are understood to be evil spirits that have taken the form of rats. It is then possible to live in that house even though a death occurred there because the evil spirits have been killed.

⁴¹ Sentence 44 refers to *topiron* derived from *tapid* 'making arrangements' as a practice done before burial of the deceased. Here it is done three days after burial. Depending on the situation, this can be done either before or after burial.

⁴² *kodkulung*: derived from the Cebuano word *kulong* 'to keep in some sort of confinement, to keep in a cage'. Here it is used in the figurative sense. A female widow is carefully watched over by her in-laws until she can marry a younger sibling of her deceased husband, a close relative, e.g., a cousin, or someone her in-laws approve of. See Section I Life Cycle: *Widowhood*, sentence 6.

made to go through smoke. 64 Someone will burn leaves and the remainders of the used wood³⁷ in order to get rid of evil spirits or afflictions they cause.³⁸

65 In returning to the house, water is poured on the place where the deceased was laid out if the house is not abandoned, but usually the house where a death occurred is definitely abandoned. 66 If the house where a death occurred is not abandoned, they³⁹ will kill the evil spirits. 67 What they will do is, later that evening after the burial, they blow out the kerosene lights and put dried banana leaves on the place where the deceased was laid out. 68 Then all of them will have a stick in hand and they will listen when there is a crinkling noise, then they will strike at the dried banana leaves that they put there. 69 Then when they look at it, what they will see there are rats.⁴⁰

70 There is what is called *tapid* 'making arrangements'.⁴¹ 71 This (practice) called making arrangements, the elder leaders or tribal leaders talk together concerning the watching over⁴² or protecting⁴³ the one who has become a widow. 72 On the third day or night⁴⁴ all the relatives gather together.⁴⁵

73 Many of these customs and beliefs still continue up to and including the present.

74 Just indeed up to here (is my explanation).

Widowhood

Tano Bayawan

A widow is kept under the supervision and care of her in-laws until they determine to whom and when she will remarry. In the past, a levirate marriage in which the widow married the younger brother (or close relative) of her deceased husband, was not uncommon. This ensured that the children of the deceased remained in the family and any future children carried on his last name. Today, in-laws continue to look out for their widowed daughter-in-law but she has greater freedom to remarry whomever she wishes.

1 In the past according to the Manobo people, if a husband¹ or the wife died, there were prohibitions² that they followed. 2 The (in-laws) would get the widow and she was *bilingon*³ 'turned around'. 3 What they did was, they would get a winnowing basket and that is where the widow was made to sit and she was turned around about seven times.⁴ 4 The reason they did this was so that the widow would reportedly not be inflicted by illnesses common to widows.⁵ 5 After that, the elders gave her advice concerning the

⁴³ *kodtoddung*: derived from *toddung* 'something used to protect one's head from the rain'. Here it refers to the protection the in-laws show to a widow, their daughter-in-law, "protecting" her for levirate marriage and other suitors. For a more detailed explanation, see Section I Life Cycle, *Widowhood*, sentences 7–8.

⁴⁴ Implied: after the burial.

⁴⁵ The purpose for the gathering of family and friends is to discuss the affairs of the deceased.

¹ *sawa no mama*: literally, 'male spouse'. The context usually makes it clear whether the generic term *sawa* 'spouse' refers to a husband or wife and has been translated accordingly.

² *li-iyen*: derived from *li-i* implying prohibitions that, if ignored, will result in something bad occurring.

³ *bilingon*: derived from *biling* 'to turn around'. The in-laws would get the widow to perform the "turned around" ritual; see sentences 3–4.

⁴ The number of times a widow is turned is not significant, as long as she is turned in order to avoid illnesses that inflict a widow.

⁵ *bauvauwon*: derived from *bau* 'widow'. Illnesses considered common to widows include

iddos mgo buyyag to polinta kandin moka-atag to mgo loi⁶ to sokkad no bau. 6 Na, diyot loi to Monuvu, iddos mgo korumannan tat lipuntu, duwon baahad dan nod kulungan⁷ iddos bau. 7 Od torungngan⁸ sikandin to moputin ogget.⁹ 8 Iddos ko-uluhan taddot od torungngan woy od kulungan, dii sikandin od po-osawan to duma woy duwon impon¹⁰ no id boggoy kandin. 9 Su iddos id popomau kandin, idda re-en so suwod¹¹ tat lipuntu,¹² od kopakoy no iddos ig-agaw o gakod tat lipuntu. 10 Iddos unayan no od torungngan woy od kulungan iddos bau, su od kovaakkan iddos mgo onuhang ko od ooyuwon taddot dumon mama iddos mgo anak tat lipuntu. 11 Woy od torungngan woy od kulungan iddos bau amoy mandad iddos mgo anak dan¹³ dii od kopiyod¹⁴ diyot dumon¹⁵ minuvu. 12 Od puruton¹⁶ dan iddos bau, labbi ron en ko moppiya kos botasan din. 13 Na iddos novau, dii sikandin od poko-elle ahad dii rin id kopi-i iddos od pomau, oyya su duwon me-en loi¹⁷ nod ikulon. 14 Na, otin diid obisu iddos bau woy od osawa sikandin to duma no worad sikandin id aangat nod pomauwon, od dusan sikandin. 15 Dos ko-uluhan tadda, od bunuwon sikandin. 16 Na iddos mgo korumannan tat bau, diid pokolangot su waa me-en sikandin mid ikuu to loi. 17 Su otin go-os od osawa iddos bau, od pokopopoomdom iddos mgo korumannan tat lipuntu no sikandin kos unayan to kopotayan tat sawa rin. 18 Od popoomdom sikandan no kopakoy no id iluwan o id lombusan¹⁸ din dos sawa rin.

19 Na, otin od poko-osawa sikandin to dumon¹⁹ mama, od poko-uug²⁰ sikandin to mgo impon, piru ko waa id poko-uug din, od dusan en sikandin. 20 Piru ko waa²¹ id pokopomau ran, od kopakoy nod po-osawan sikandin to duma. 21 Od boggoy pa iddos onuhang to od ngoranan no paangulangu,²² su amoy'd langulangu²³ ron sikandin to duma.

22 Konna langun to bau od torungngan woy od kulungan. 23 Ko nosorollan tat mgo korumannan tat lipuntu no morat dos botasan tat novau, ahad pe-en duwon mgo anak dan tat lipuntu, dii ron en sikandin od pomauwon.²⁴



The widow is protected and watched over.
Od torungngan woy'd kulungan iddos bau.

uncontrollable nodding of the head up and down or back and forth. This also might include a change of personality, i.e., becoming excessively talkative or aimlessly wandering around.

⁶ This refers to customary law, an unwritten code of cultural standards or expectations of a person in a particular role.

⁷ *kulungan*: derived from the borrowed Cebuano word *kulong* 'to keep in some sort of confinement, to keep in a cage'. In this context, it is used figuratively referring to the in-laws who "watch over" the widow so she will not "roam" looking for another spouse.

⁸ *torungngan*: derived from *toddung* 'something used to protect the head from rain'. In this context, the widow's in-laws "protect" her for a levirate marriage and from other suitors.

⁹ The white cloth is a symbol of the widow's honest or pure character. This serves to "protect" her because the in-laws will continue to show love and respect toward her and will look after her. They will have her remarry a brother or cousin of the deceased husband or another man that meets their approval.

¹⁰ The widow is given an item of value as a token of payment so that she will feel obligated to be submissive to the in-laws.

laws⁶ of a widow. 6 Now according to the law of the Manobo people, the relatives of the deceased had the right to *kulungon*⁷ ‘watch over’ the widow. 7 She is *torungnan*⁸ ‘protected’ by a white cloth.⁹ 8 The meaning of being protected and watched over is that she cannot marry another and (to insure this), she is given a valued item.¹⁰ 9 The one who will be made to levirate marry her is indeed the brother¹¹ of the deceased,¹² (or) a cousin or relative of the deceased. 10 The reason the widow is protected and watched over is because the in-laws are afraid that the children of the deceased will be mistreated by other men. 11 And a widow is (also) protected and watched over so that their¹³ children will not be brought¹⁴ to the place of other¹⁵ people. 12 They will claim¹⁶ the widow, especially if her character is good. 13 The widow can not refuse even if she does not like the one she will be levirate married to, yes because there assuredly are laws¹⁷ that are followed. 14 Now if the widow does not inform (her in-laws) and she marries someone else, not waiting to be levirate married, she will be killed. 15 The meaning of this is she will be sought out and murdered. 16 The relatives of the widow cannot be angry because, of course, she did not follow the law. 17 For if a widow quickly remarries, the relatives of the deceased will think that she was the cause of her husband’s death. 18 They will think that it is possible that she poisoned or put a hex on him by poison.¹⁸

19 Now if she does marry another¹⁹ man, she should be able to give²⁰ valued items, but if there is nothing she can give, she will definitely be killed. 20 But if there is no one²¹ they can have her levirate marry, she can be married to another. 21 The in-laws will give what’s called *paangulangu*²² ‘an item given representing freedom’ so that she can look around.²³

22 Not all widows are protected and watched over by in-laws. 23 If the relatives of the deceased know that the character of the woman is bad, even moreover if the deceased had children, she will indeed not be made to levirate marry.²⁴

¹¹ A widow is encouraged to marry a brother (or relative) of the deceased in order to carry on his last name when there are children by the second marriage and to keep the children of the deceased near the in-laws.

¹² *lipuntu*: literally, ‘a respecter term prefacing the name of a deceased’ used when speaking about that individual.

¹³ This refers to the children of the deceased husband and the widow.

¹⁴ If a widow marries someone other than whom her in-laws approve of and that person lives far away, she will leave the area, taking her children from the first marriage.

¹⁵ This refers to another people group, people who speak a different language, those living far away from grandparents or in-laws.

¹⁶ *puruton*: derived from *purut* ‘to pick something small up’. In this context, the in-laws make it their responsibility to “pick up” (i.e., look out for the needs of) their widowed daughter-in-law including having the right to tell her whom to marry when she is ready to do so.

¹⁷ See footnote 6.

¹⁸ *lombusan*: derived from *lambus* ‘a poison made from pulverized poisonous snake bones’. This is put into a bottle and secretly added to the victim’s coffee because of jealousy or anger.

¹⁹ This refers to a man of the widow’s choosing but not of her former in-laws’ choosing. That is why she needs to give something of value to appease their anger toward her.

²⁰ *poko-uug*: derived from *uug* ‘to drop something’. In the context of arbitration, it refers to a valued item that is given to appease the offended party.

²¹ Implied: there is no younger brother or close male relative of the deceased.

²² *paangulangu*: derived from *langulangu* ‘to look around’. Here it refers to an item given to the widow symbolizing that she is free to find her own husband.

²³ Implied: A widow can “look around” to find someone else to marry.

²⁴ Implied: The in-laws do not want to keep her in the family.

24 Na iddos novau ron, diyon don sikandin od agkot to onuhang din su od tonanan don man iddos baoy no id potayan.²⁵ 25 Od lungku sikandin daom²⁶ to sokkad no lahun woy pomon tadda,²⁷ dii pa sikandin od kopakoy nod puruton²⁸ o od pomauwon. 26 Gali sikandin od pomauwon ko od lihad don kos sokkad no lahun.

27 Na riyon to kod-agkot din to kandin no mgo onuhang, ko-ilangan nod dumoruma sikandin to mgo loi ran su sikandan kos duwon baahad kandin. 28 Ponunggeleng, molitan iddos bau, dii sikandin od pokolivonglivong diyot moriyu woy od pokomonnosmonnos uwoy dii mandad od poko-olit-olit²⁹ to mgo mama su od pongolikud iddos onuhang din.³⁰ 29 Ko-ilangan no od obisu sikandin diyon to onuhang din to langun nod waongngon din.

30 Ko-ungkay no timpu, duwon poron goli iddos botasan to Monuvu no od torungngan woy od kulungon, piru worad iddos od bunuwon.³¹ 31 Ko-ungkay'n timpu, otin od kopiyan nod osawa to ossa³² iddos bau, od poko-aam sikandin, piru ko-ilangan nod obisu woy iddos id kopi-i rin kos od dumannan.

32 Dos mama nod kovau, iling de-en mandad tat ba-ay no bau kos od ikulon no mgo loi. 33 Dangan to waa pa governo, od ikulon langun iddos mgo loi to bau, piru ko-ungkay, worad oraroy norumanni inin mgo loi.

Iddos od Undiyonnan to Gimukud kopongnga kos Kopotayan

Tano Bayawan

1 Ipat sokkad no minuvu, nokosaddoo no od inguma en kos od ngoranan no kopotayan woy dii en ini od ko-elleyan to ahad ondo.

2 Iddos minuvu, duwon oruwa nod oubpan. 3 To no-uyag pa sikandin, dos sokkad nod oubpan din, ini en so ingod, piru ko od patoy ron sikandin, od tonanan din inis ingod woy iddos mgo korumannan din woy langun no mgo impon din, mgo livuta uwoy mgo koruwonnan ko duwon man. 4 Na, od ipanow iddos gimukud din sud undiyon don to sokkad nod oubpan no waa pa nokita to mgo minuvu.¹ 5 Otin diyot pomokayon to mgo Monuvu, inin ingod od ngoranan dan to ingod ni Moivuyan.² 6 Duwon ko-ossan ka-ay no mgo ingod.³ 7 Iddos ingod no id oubpan to minuvu to no-uyag pa sikandin, sikandin pa kos duwon tongga-ad to kandin no munayan, piru iddos diyot ingod ni Moivuyan, si Moivuyan kos ponguu woy dos mgo gimukud od aangat da to id kopi-i to ponguu ran. 8 Waa minuvu nod kopiyan no od tanan to ingod no nominuvuwan din, su ka-ay to ingod kos kahaan din woy riyot kandin no mgo impon, mgo korumannan, pomilya uwoy dos mgo kahaan no id pokovoggoy to ingod.

²⁵ When someone dies in a house, the house is abandoned to get away from evil spirits believed to be prevalent at the time of death.

²⁶ *daom*: literally, 'inside of one year'.

²⁷ *pomon tadda*: literally, 'because of that'.

²⁸ Implied: by another man in order to remarry.

²⁹ *poko-olit-olit*: literally, 'to welcome, to show hospitality to someone'.

³⁰ Implied: The in-laws are jealously guarding the widow, their daughter in-law, from suitors until they decide to whom and when she will remarry.

³¹ Implied: for marrying whom she chooses.

³² Implied: other than a brother or relative of her deceased husband.

¹ Implied: those still living.

24 Now the one who became a widow will go to live with her in-laws because the house where a death occurred will assuredly be abandoned.²⁵ 25 She will grieve for²⁶ one year and during that time,²⁷ she cannot be claimed²⁸ or levirate married. 26 She will only be levirate married after one year has past.

27 Now regarding her living with her in-laws, it is necessary that she obeys their laws because they are the ones who have authority over her. 28 For example, (if) the widow is a woman, she cannot travel about going far away and cannot dress attractively and also cannot be friendly²⁹ to men because her in-laws will be jealous.³⁰ 29 It is important that she inform her in-laws of all her whereabouts.

30 Today, there still is the Manobo custom of being protected and being watched over by in-laws, but there no longer is the (practice) of murdering (a widow).³¹ 31 At the present time, if a widow wants to marry someone else,³² she can choose, but it is important to inform (the in-laws) and that which she wants is agreed upon.

32 As for the man who becomes a widow, the laws followed are just indeed the same as for the woman who is widowed. 33 In the past, before there were government (laws), all the (customary) laws concerning widows were followed, but today, these laws are no longer really observed.

The Travels of the Soul after Death

Tano Bayawan

After the soul leaves the body, it makes a journey to the Chief of Souls. Along the way, it passes by a wide cogon grass field that is so wide, the soul has to turn its head back and forth just to see it all. Then it comes to a strangler fig tree where it makes a chip in the bark as a sign that it has been there. It continues its journey until it comes to a lake called Water of Forgetting where it is bathed by the spirit who resides there. It then continues its journey until it arrives at the Chief of Souls where it is interviewed. The soul will then reside in the region of the Chief of Souls. Another place where souls reside is Mt. Apo which has long been seen as a sacred mountain.

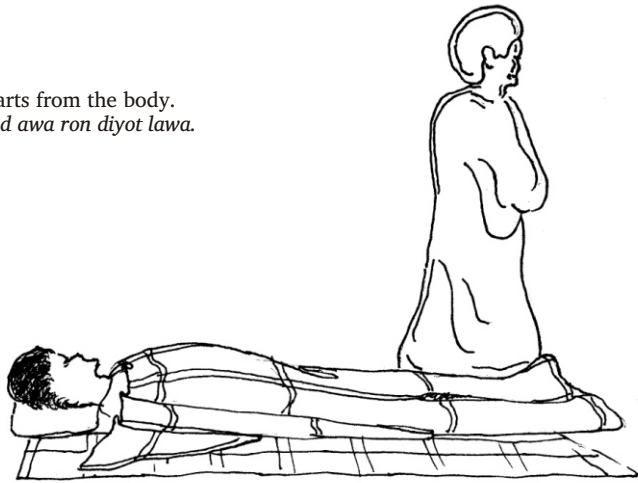
1 Every person knows that which is called death will indeed arrive and this cannot be avoided by anyone.

2 A person has two residences. 3 While he is still alive, one of his residences is here on the earth, but when he dies, he will abandon this earth and his relatives and all his things, land, and things of value if there are any. 4 Then his soul leaves because it is going to live in a place that people¹ have not yet seen. 5 According to the belief of the Manobo people, they call this region *ingod ni Moivuyan*² 'region of the Chief of Souls'. 6 There are differences between these (two) places.³ 7 On the earth where a person lives while he is still alive, he still has the right to make decisions for himself, but in the region of the Chief of Souls, *Moivuyan* is the chief and the souls just wait on the will of their chief. 8 No person wants to leave the place where he was born, because here on the earth is his happiness and (joy in) his possessions, relatives, family, and the joys that the earth is able to give.

² *Moivuyan*: the name for the leader or head of all spirits or souls, particularly the spirit of the deceased. He is also thought of as Satan.

³ *ingod*: literally, 'earth, world, region' refers to any wide mass of land.

The soul departs from the body.
Iddos gimukud od awa ron diyot lawa.



9 Na, pomon to iddos mgo kovuyyahan diid kopiyan nod popoomdom moka-atag to kopotayan, de-en mo-uraan li-iyen nod ikulon dan amoy dii kun od inguma⁴ kos kopotayan diyot kandan. 10 Piru pomon to iddos kopotayan, dii me-en od kotoholan woy diid ko-elleyan, to id kopi-i ru pe-en o dii, od inguma en ini to waa ru nosorolli.

11 Na ko od patoy ron kos minuvu, dos lawa rin, id pooyyas diyot osag piru iddos gimukud, od awa ron diyot lawa rin woy od todtohitu ron nod undiyon to ingod ni Moivuyan. 12 Na riyot kod-ipanow to gimukud nod undiyon to ingod ni Moivuyan, duwon otollun lugaa nod liharon din idda pa od pokoronggu riyon.

13 Unna, od lihad sikandin tat od ngoranan no Aggi⁵ to Loingayon. 14 Mowwag oraroy inin oggiyon woy iddos gimukud, od pokololoingoy pomon to koowaggoy woy oray'n moppiya nod tongtongngan. 15 Na, od liharan din idda woy od ponayun sikandin nod ipanow. 16 Diyot ko-unnan tadda, od lihad mandon sikandin taddot kayu no boliti⁶ nod ngoranan no monsohawa no maag kos mgo do-un. 17 Iddon kayu, od ngoranan to mgo kovuyyahan to kayu no ponipakan. 18 Na, ko od pokopantok don iddos gimukud taddon kayu, od tuuy sikandin woy od tipak tadda su dos ko-uluhan, patow to riyon don sikandin. 19 Na, kopongnga sikandin od pokotipak taddot kayu, od layang don iddos mgo do-un woy od kovaay no manuk nod ngoranan to kulihi.⁷ 20 Od layang iddos kulihi, od pomehes o od ooseng diyot ko-unturan⁸ su patow idda no duwon don mandon gimukud no id lihad diyot kayu woy od undiyon don to ingod ni Moivuyan. 21 De-en, ko od pokorinog ki nod ooseng kos kulihi, dos ko-uluhan tadda no duwon don mandon gimukud no nokolihad diyot kayun ponipakan su duwon don mandon mid patoy. 22 Na ini en iddos iko-oruwa nod liharon to gimukud.

23 Na ponunggeleng, ko novohokan iddos minuvu no id patoy woy ko id povawi man sikandin to od oonitu o toovowiyen, piru waa rad sikandin no-uli-i kullahow to id patoy baling sikandin, de-en od so-uton tat od oonitu iddos gimukud din diyot kayu no ponipakan. 24 Od ontongngan din⁹ iddos kayu ko id tipakan don bo o wora pa. 25 Na otin od koso-utan din iddos gimukud, de-en od buyuwon din diyot ki Moivuyan nod

⁴ *inguma*: literally, 'arrive at'.

⁵ Cogon: a tall, tough, perennial grass (*Imperata cylindrica*).

⁶ *boliti*: a tree that grows on another tree for mechanical support until it strangles its host, assuming the form of a tree (*Ficus benjamina*). The *boliti* are believed to be the residence of various supernatural beings. The *monsohawa* is one of many kinds of *boliti* trees.



9 Now because the ancestors did not like to think about death, there were many prohibitions they followed so that death reportedly would not come to⁴ them. 10 But since death cannot be held back and cannot be avoided, whether you like it or not, it definitely will arrive (at a time) when you do not know.

11 Now when a person dies, his body is laid out on the floor but the soul departs from the body and gradually leaves, going to the region of the Chief of Souls. 12 Now in the soul's journey to the region of the Chief of Souls, it will pass three places before arriving there.

13 First, it passes a place called *Aggi to Loingayon* 'Cogon⁵ Grass Field that Makes One Look Back'. 14 This cogon grass field is very wide so the soul has to turn its head back and forth on account of its width and (because) it is very pleasing to look at. 15 Then, it passes that by and continues walking. 16 Further on ahead of that, it passes a strangler fig tree called *boliti*,⁶ the leaves of which are yellow. 17 The ancestors called that tree *kayu no ponipakan* 'tree that is chipped'. 18 Now when the soul is directly across from that tree, it goes up to it and makes a chip mark because that is the sign that it had been there. 19 Then after it is able to make a chip mark on the tree, the leaves fly away and turn into a bird called a *kulihi* 'mouse eagle'.⁷ 20 The mouse eagle flies, screeching or calling out at the peak of the sky⁸ because that is a sign that there is yet another soul that has passed by the tree and is going to the region of the Chief of Souls. 21 So when we hear the call of the mouse eagle, it means that another soul has passed by the tree that is chipped because someone else has died. 22 So that is the second place the soul passes by.

23 Now for example, if the person who died was sick and if he had been treated by a spirit medium or healer but he did not get better, rather he died instead, then the spirit medium will try to catch up with his soul at the tree that is chipped. 24 He⁹ would look at the tree to see whether or not it was already chip marked. 25 Now if he was able to

⁷ *kulihi*: Probably the mouse eagle, a brown and white bird whose name is onomatopoeic of the bird's call. As an omen bird, its call informs relatives that the soul of their deceased loved one has arrived at the *monsohawa* tree and left his mark.

⁸ *ko-unturan*: derived from *untud* 'on top of' refers to the highest place up in the sky.

⁹ This refers to the spirit medium.

The soul makes a mark at
the tree that is chipped.
*Od tipak dos gimukud diyot
kayu no ponipakan.*



polivoddon pa ka-ay to ingod iddos gimukud amoy od ko-uliyan iddos minuvu no novohokan.

26 Na otin diid koso-utan iddos gimukud, od ponayun sikandin to iponawon din taman tod poko-inguma mandon diyot lugaa nod ngoranan no Oweg no Kolingawan. 27 Ini en kos iko-otollun od liharon to gimukud. 28 Mowwag inin linow woy duwon¹⁰ id oubpa. 29 Ko duwon gimukud nod inguma taddon oweg, od budsukon sikandin taddot id oubpa taddon oweg. 30 Na kopongnga sikandin od kovudsuk, od kolingawan din don iddos langun ka-ay to ampow't ingod. 31 Od kolingawan din don mandad iddos langun no notomanan din timpu to ka-ay pa sikandin to ingod.

32 Na, od ponayun don mandon sikandin od ipanow taman to od poko-inguma riyot ingod ni Moivuyan. 33 To kod-inguma rin diyon, od iinuwon don sikandin ni Moivuyan ko ondak id puungan din laggun to ka-ay pa sikandin to ingod.

34 Tomman to mgo kovuyyahan, idda kun so ingod ni Moivuyan, diyot daom to livuta. 35 Woy iddos mgo gimukud no riyon don to ingod ni Moivuyan, dii ron od pokolivod ka-ay to ingod. 36 Piru od pokita robbo, woy od pokototongko to mgo korumannan din ukit to mgo tohenoppon woy od posohinda robbo no duwon dad sikandin, piru dii ron od pahawahawa.

37 Iddos mgo gimukud, diyon dobbe-en od oubpa to ingod ni Moivuyan taman to waad tomanon, piru dii sikandan od lu-uran ahad ondan pa kos saa no nopusungan dan. 38 Diyot mgo kovuyyahan, waa man iddos od ngoranan no apuy no id lu-ud to mosaasaa.

39 Ka-ay lomig to Kidapawan¹¹ no mgo Monuvu, duwon mandad kandan no osengon o itulon moka-atag taddot od undiyonnan to gimukud kopongngod patoy kos minuvu. 40 Tomman dan no kopongngod patoy kos minuvu, iddos gimukud din od undiyon to Sondawa¹² su ike-en kos od oubpan to langun no mgo gimukud to minuvu.

41 Kopongnga od patoy kos minuvu, iddos gimukud din od ipanow nod posuva. 42 Od poko-inguma sikandin diyot sokkad no lanow nod ngoranan no Mo-ivuwaw,¹³ su inin lanow od momaag. 43 Inin lanow, id ngoranan don ko-ungkay to Macadac.¹⁴ 44 Na

¹⁰ Implied: a spirit.

¹¹ Kidapawan: a city in Cotabato Province, Mindanao, southern Philippines.



At the Water of Forgetting,
water is poured over the soul
by the one living there.
*Diyot Oweg to Kolingawan, dos
gimukud od budsukon tat id
oubpa rutun.*

catch up with that soul, he would then ask the Chief of Souls to return the soul to this earth so that the person who was sick would be healed.

26 Now if the soul was not caught up with, it continues on its journey until it arrives at a place called *Oweg no Kolingawan* 'Water of Forgetting'. 27 This is the third place the soul passes by. 28 This is a wide lake and there is someone¹⁰ who lives there. 29 When a soul arrives at that water, the one who lives there will pour that water over it. 30 After water is poured over it, it forgets everything here on the earth. 31 It also forgets everything that happened to it while it was still here on the earth.

32 Now it again continues its journey until it arrives at the region of the Chief of Souls. 33 At its arrival there, the Chief of Souls interviews it as to what it did while it was still there on the earth.

34 According to the ancestors, the region of the Chief of Souls is reportedly inside the earth. 35 And the souls that are there in the region of the Chief of Souls can no longer return here to the earth. 36 But it can only appear and can speak to its relatives through dreams and can only make others aware it is there, but can no longer appear in the flesh.

37 The souls just live there in the region of the Chief of Souls forever, but they are not judged for any kind of sin they have done. 38 According to the ancestors, there is nothing called a fire that punishes sinners.

39 The Manobo people here in the Kidapawan¹¹ area also have a story or narrative about the journey of the soul after a person dies. 40 They say that after a person dies, the soul goes to Mt. Apo¹² because that is definitely the place where all the souls of people reside.

41 After the person dies the soul departs going up hill following a trail. 42 It arrives at a certain lake called Mo-ivuawaw,¹³ because this lake is yellowish. 43 Today this lake

¹² Mt. Apo is the highest peak in the southern Philippines and is referred to by the Manobos as *Sondawa* 'Sulfur'. Mt. Apo has natural hot springs that contain sulfur.

¹³ Mo-ivuawaw: 'Yellowish'. In the past, the lake was surrounded by trees from which a yellowish fluff or down would fall. That and algae gave the lake a yellowish appearance.

If the soul sees its child being
mistreated, it will be angry.
Otin od kokita to gimukud no id ayu-ayu
dos anak din, od langot sikandin.



ko od poko-inguma ron iddos gimukud diyot lanow, od pomolihus don sikandin, idda pa od ponayun od ipanow taman tod inguma sikandin diyot Sondawa. 45 Otin od ontongngan du ka-ay to leggua iddos Sondawa, iyon du od kokita, iddos Sondawa nod obboo, mgo lovuntut, mgo batu, mgo kayu woy duma pa. 46 Piru riyon to daom tadda, duwon dakkoon bonuwa no idde-en dos od oubpan to mgo gimukud.

47 Ika mandad so mgo buvungan no polingut to Sondawa, duwon en od livonglivong kos mgo gimukud. 48 De-en, id nonaw to mgo kovuyyahan no ko-ilangan no iddos mgo buvungan, od oddatan woy diid aawang od loumbag¹⁵ woy od oilob, diid sosumpalit,¹⁶ diid ooseng to kodtompaa, diid gaaw o od kosu-at, diid oilossung. 49 Su otin duwon minuvu no diid addat to mgo buvungan, od kovohokan sikandin woy od poko-iran tod oubpa to mgo buvungan. 50 De-en, iddos duma no waa nokosaddoo ka-ay,¹⁷ od silingon,¹⁸ od ko-uug to daama, od kovohokan, od losuran woy od poomatoy.¹⁹

51 Patow no od langot iddos id pon-oubpa to mgo buvungan su od uran woy od ayow.²⁰ 52 De-en, otin od pongannup dangan iddos mgo kovuyyahan woy otin od kamot to tolihobba, od bovaa poron sikandan to tombaa²¹ woy od sapat²² to moman, monika woy soo timbang kod-addat woy kod-obisu taddot od pon-oubpa to buvungan.

53 Piru laggun to riyon iddos gimukud to ingod ni Moivuyan, duwon pa lugaa rin nod livodlivod ka-ay to ingod woy od kokita rin pa iddos od kotomanan, od pompuungan to mgo korumannan din iling to kandin no pomilya, sawa, anak, amoy, inoy woy mgo suwod din. 54 Duwon timpu nod pokita iddos gimukud o od posohinda sikandin diyot tohenoppon o riyon bo to od oonitu. 55 Duwon mandad timpu no, otin od kopiyan nod pokita iddos gimukud, od lasud sikandin diyot osson minuvu woy iddos minuvu nod losuran din, od kopalín kos baos din, od gohuwat woy od kookollon.

56 Na, duwon timpu no otin od kokita taddot gimukud no id ayu-ayu iddos pomilya rin o anak din, od langot sikandin woy od gimukuron²³ din iddos anak din, na od kovohokan don iddos anak. 57 Otin diid kovowiyan, od patoy en iddos anak. 58 Patow nod gimukuron iddos sokkad no minuvu, su od enot-enot sikandin nod moomet, od momaag taman tod patoy. 59 Na iddos nokosaddoo to mgo patow tod gimukuron iling to toovowiyan,²⁴ sikandin en kos od bawi su duwon dad mandad bawi²⁵ tod gimukuron.

¹⁴ Macadac: an acronym for Mt. Apo Climbers Association of Davao and Cotabato.

¹⁵ Implied: to throw anything that has the potential to hurt, e.g., a rock or a stick. If it happens to strike a spirit, it will be angry and seek revenge by causing illness or death.

is called Macadac.¹⁴ 44 Now when the soul arrives at the lake it takes a bath, then it continues on its journey until it arrives at Mt. Apo. 45 If you look at the surface of Mt. Apo, you see that Mt. Apo has streams, hills, rocks, trees, and other (natural things). 46 But in the interior of that, there is a large city which is the place where souls reside.

47 As for the hills surrounding Mt. Apo, that is where souls wander around. 48 That is why the ancestors taught that it was important to show respect for the hills by not carelessly throwing things¹⁵ or spitting, not cursing, not saying insulting words,¹⁶ not playing around or laughing, not excessively investigating. 49 Because if there are people who do not show respect for the hills, they will get sick and will be inflicted with illness by those living in the hills. 50 Therefore, those who are not aware of this¹⁷ are caused by a spirit to lose their way,¹⁸ fall off a cliff, get sick, (or) become possessed and die.¹⁹

51 A sign that those who live in the hills are angry is it will rain and simultaneously the sun will shine.²⁰ 52 That is why in the past, when the ancestors would hunt with dogs or clear a small field, they would first make an altar²¹ and would offer²² betel chew, betel leaf, and an egg to represent their paying honor and respect to those living in the hills.

53 But while the soul is in the region of the Chief of Souls, there are still opportunities for it to return here on the earth and it can still see the events, activities of its relatives like its family, wife, children, father, mother, and brothers. 54 There are times the soul will show itself or it will make others aware of itself in a dream or by a spirit medium. 55 There are also times that, if the soul wants to show itself, it will possess a different person and this person whom it possesses, his/her voice will change, (and the body) will jerk and shake.

56 Now there are times that, if the soul sees its family or child being mistreated, it will be angry and it will make its child sick,²³ and so the child will begin to become sick. 57 If the child is not treated, it will surely die. 58 A sign that (the soul of a deceased) makes a person sick is they will gradually become weak (and) yellowish until they die. 59 Now the one who knows the signs/symptoms of someone made sick by a soul is a healer;²⁴ she will be the one to treat it because there are things to use to treat²⁵ illness caused by a soul. 60 A cloth or hair of the deceased that was left behind, which was not

¹⁶ Implied: directing the insulting words to the spirits who are residing there.

¹⁷ Implied: the importance of showing respect.

¹⁸ *silingon*: derived from *siling* 'a spirit that causes people to become lost'.

¹⁹ Implied: A person got lost or fell down because they were led astray or caused to fall by an evil spirit or the souls living there.

²⁰ Implied: At this time many evil spirits come out of their usual hiding places looking for victims.

²¹ *tombaa*: an altar consisting of an upright bamboo pole one end of which is split, creating a basket-like receptacle. A metal dish is placed there holding the ingredients of betel chew consisting of tobacco, betel nut, and lime wrapped in a betel leaf. Also offered on the altar are coins and a raw egg (still in the shell).

²² *sapat*: literally, 'to place something on a shelf'. In this context, it refers to putting the items mentioned in sentence 52 in a special dish which is offered to the spirits.

²³ *gimukuron*: derived from *gimukud* 'soul' refers to the soul of a deceased, e.g., a parent, causing a loved one, e.g., its child, to become ill because it sees them being mistreated. Because of this, it will want the child's soul to join it. So when the child gets ill and dies, its soul can leave the body and join the soul of the deceased parent.

²⁴ *toovowiyan*: derived from *bawi* 'medicinal plants' refers to those who are knowledgeable about medicinal plants.

²⁵ *bawi*: literally, 'medicine, medicinal plants'. Here it refers to sentence 60, which elaborates items used to treat *gimukuron* caused by the soul of a deceased person.

60 Iddos napuu o bowvuu tat id patoy no nokotuwos no waa id poruma²⁶ to kodlobbong, idde-en kos od ongayon no id tapa tat od kovohokan.

61 Iddos gimukud, duwon mandad timpu nod lasud diyot toovowiyan o od oonitu. 62 Otin od losuran iddos toovowiyan, od kopalin kos boyo rin woy dos baos din, woy pomon tadda od ponudtuu ron sikandin taddot ponudtulon din. 63 Od pomandu sikandin to mgo bawi, od ponudtuu ko ingkon pomon no novohokan iddos minuvu woy ondan kos id poko-id to novohokan iddos minuvu. 64 Idda mandad so gimukud, duwon timpu nod pokita riyot tohenoppon diyot korumannan din o riyon bo to osson minuvu. 65 Diyot tohenoppon, od ponaan sikandin taddot mgo nolingawan din to waa pa sikandin mid patoy, woy ko konna, od ponudtuu sikandin diyon to dumon minuvu taddot kandin no kodlanu, iling ponunggeleng, to worad tuhonula iddos lobbong din. 66 Na iyon mandad od puungan tat pomilya rin, od dumannan dan iddos id pomandu tat id patoy. 67 Na od linisan dan iddos lobbong woy od sopatan to koka-an woy oweg woy luddung.²⁷ 68 Otin od ooyuwon kos sokkad to pomilya rin, od ponaan sikandin ukit diyot tohenoppon nod po-oyyaran iddos anak²⁸ din.

69 Ko-ungkay, ini no mgo pomokayon, duwon timpu no dii ron od puungan piru duwon dad en dos od puungan. 70 Woy pomon to od pompomakoy ron iddos mgo minuvu to Monama, duwon don kopolinan to pomokayon to mgo Monuvu, su id pomakoy ran no kopongnga od patoy kos minuvu, iddos gimukud din, duwon od undiyonnan. 71 Diyot Biblia, oruwa iddos od undiyonnan to gimukud to minuvu, diyon to langit no od oubpan tat mgo motallong o riyon to apuy no id tahana to Monama atag taddot mgo mosaasaa.

72 Ka-ay re-en taman.

put in with²⁶ (the coffin) at the burial, is gotten, burned and the smoke waved toward the sick person.

61 There also are times that the soul will possess a healer or spirit medium. 62 If it possesses the healer, his appearance and his voice changes and after that he will tell his message. 63 He instructs about medicinal plants, telling where a person's illness came from and what was the reason that the illness was inflicted on the person. 64 As for the soul, there are times it will show itself to its relatives or other people in a dream. 65 In the dream, it will give an important message that it forgot to give before it died; or else it will tell other people about its sadness, because, for example, its burial site is not being maintained. 66 Now what its family will do is they will carry out the instruction of the one who died. 67 They will clean up the burial site and set out food and water and a meat dish.²⁷ 68 If someone (say a child) in its family is being mistreated, it will request through a dream that its child²⁸ be taken care of.

69 Today, there are times these beliefs are no longer done but there still indeed are (times) when they are done. 70 Because people now believe in God, there are changes in the beliefs of the Manobo people because they believe after a person dies, his soul has a destination. 71 In the Bible, there are two destinations for a person's soul to go: to heaven where the righteous live or to the fire that God has prepared for sinful people.

72 This is the end (of my story).

²⁶ In the past, most of the personal effects of the deceased would be put in the coffin along with the deceased. A few strands of hair and some of his clothes would be kept.

²⁷ This is set on the gravesite for the spirit of the deceased to eat.

²⁸ This refers to a child of the deceased person. If the soul of the deceased sees that any of its family members are not being treated well, it will intercede on their behalf by appearing to someone in a dream.

II Social Values

“Dear children, collect your ears. A good character cannot be bought for anything.”

Moppiyon Botasanon

“Mgo anak, saud du kos tolinga ru. Konnod kovoyaran to ahad ondan iddos moppiyon botasan.”

Giving advice is done
right after a wedding.
*Inis payas, od puungan
kopongnga to kosaa.*



Kodpayas

Tano Bayawan

1 Inis od ngoranan no payas,¹ botasan ini to mgo Monuvu nod puungan diyon to kopongnga to kosaa to lammin toosawa. 2 Dakkoo kos koru-anon to kodpayas to lammin toosawa su od pokotavang ini nod ponongnong to kandan no mgo liru. 3 Lampas to langun,² iddos kodpotullid to kandan no botasanon no id pokita ran diyot mgo onuhang, boyaw, ipag, anggam, inayon, apu woy duma pa no mgo korumannan dan. 4 Iddos od puung to kodpayas, idde-en so mgo datu woy mgo od pombuyyahon.

5 Na riyon to kodpayas, od po-unsaron iddos lammin toosawa riyot isowwan to mgo onuhang woy mgo korumannan dan. 6 Na iyon od unnan tod payas, iddos mama. 7 No iling en ka-ay kos od osengon tat od payas, “Sikkow, Oto,³ pominoggow vo inis od ikohiyon ku kikow. 8 Pomon bo ko-ungkay su duwon don man sawa ru, poomdommow no konna kad konakan no dos ko-uluhan no duwon don dakkoon liru ru nod tiyangan diyon to koniyun ko-ubpa. 9 Konna kad od pokopomuhawang to kikowkikow ra, kullahow to ipan tod puungan du ko-ilangan nod kosorollan⁴ to kikow’n sawa.

10 “Na iyon bo id ponaan ku no oddatiyu kos sawa ru. 11 Boggoy ru kandin iddos langun no mgo ko-ilanganon din iling to koka-an, umpak, moppiyon ko-ubpa woy yo ru sikandin poumbaya.⁵ 12 Pomon ko-ungkay od pitas don sikandin to amoy woy inoy rin woy sikkow ron ko-ungkay kos amoy rin, de-en yo konnow sikandin posokiti,⁶ kullahow to otin duwon kosupittan din, tovangiyu sikandin. 13 Yo kad od ko-olihi to dumon mgo ba-ay su gowang man sikandin de-en kos id osawa ru, no yo kad od nonangkap to duma. 14 Yo ru sikandin boggayi to lanu kullahow to boggayu sikandin to kahaan.

15 “Nokkaanokkaa ka basuk woy yo kod poopogguu su diid kouhoy mo-uraa ron kos od pokannon du. 16 Ko ondan man kos mgo puhawang du moka-atag to ko-ubpa row, yo ru oo-ottu-i, ko konna, posorollow mandad kos sawa ru.

17 “Na moka-atag mandad tat kikow’n mgo onuhang, boyaw, ipag woy iddos mgo korumannan tat sawa ru, oddatiyu sikandan. 18 Olit-olito inayun sikandan ahad duwon o wora id sandad⁷ du no koka-an, oyya su⁸ konnod kovoyaran to ahad ondan iddos moppiyon botasan. 19 Yo kod koohoddi o od kotogaw, kullahow to otin duwon⁹ kikow, taariyu mandad sikandan. 20 Otin duwon od ukumon dan kikow, ahad oraroy ru pe-en no id konuhuni, yo ru id loggod su morat ko od kosundug sikandan. 21 Ahad

Giving Advice to Newlyweds

Tano Bayawan

Giving advice to a newly-married couple functions to help cement in a young couple's minds their new roles as husband and wife as well as remind them of their new responsibilities and encourages them to take these responsibilities seriously. Hence giving advice is an instrument that helps maintain peace in the community. Although the method of giving advice to newlyweds has changed over the years, it is a practice that continues to the present.

1 This which is called *payas*¹ 'giving advice' is a custom of the Manobo people that is done right after the wedding of the newlyweds. 2 Giving advice has great value for newlyweds because it can help them recognize their responsibilities. 3 The most important² (reason) of all is the straightening of their character that they show towards their in-laws, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, uncles, aunts, grandparents, and other relatives. 4 The tribal leaders and elders are the ones who give the advice.

5 In giving advice, the newlyweds are seated in front of their in-laws and relatives. 6 The one who is given advice first is the man. 7 The advice giver will say something like this: "*Oto*,³ please listen to what I am going to say to you. 8 From now on, because you now have a wife, remember that you are no longer a single man, meaning you already have a big responsibility to shoulder in your day-to-day living. 9 You can no longer make plans for yourself alone, but instead everything you do must be told⁴ to your wife.

10 "Now my instruction is, respect your wife. 11 Give her all she needs such as food, clothing, good day-to-day living and don't neglect⁵ her. 12 From now on she will be separated from her father and mother; you will now be (like) her father, so don't hurt⁶ her but instead, when she is experiencing hardship, help her. 13 Don't be attracted to other women because you have definitely decided that she is the only one you marry, so don't go looking for another. 14 Do not give her sorrow but instead give her happiness.

15 "Work hard at farming and don't be lazy for soon there will be many that you will have to feed. 16 Whatever your plans concerning your day-to-day living, don't make them alone, but rather let your wife also know about them.

17 "Now concerning your in-laws, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and relatives of your wife, respect them. 18 Always welcome them whether or not there is food to serve⁷ them, for⁸ a good character cannot be paid for with anything. 19 Don't be selfish or miserly but instead when you have something,⁹ share it with them as well. 20 If there is something they request of you, no matter how bad you will feel to loose it, don't be selfish because it is bad if they are offended. 21 No matter what they order, be obedient

¹ Implied: giving advice to newlyweds.

² *Lampas to langun*: literally, 'more than all, most of all'.

³ *Oto*: a term of address of an older person to a young man.

⁴ *kosorollan*: literally, 'to know'.

⁵ Implied: caring for her.

⁶ *posokiti*: derived from *sakit* 'to feel pain'.

⁷ Implied: As important as it is to serve coffee and feed guests, it is more important to have a good character.

⁸ *oyya su*, literally, 'yes because'.

⁹ Implied: things such as food, for example a sack of rice, or otherwise money or clothing, etc.

ondan no id suhu ran, dumoruma ka ahad ondan pa kos lewang du. 22 Yo kod atu to kikow'n mgo onuhang, boyaw o ipag woy mgo korumannan to sawa ru su od bontohon¹⁰ ka woy od owiyan ka to sawa ru. 23 Otin duwon id pokosawoy ru to kikow'n sawa, ponudtuu ru ka-ay't mgo onuhang du su sikandan kos od nonaw woy yo ru sikandin tokkawa tod posakit.

24 "Otin od pokopuung to saa¹¹ o od pokolapow¹² kos sawa ru kikow, undiyon ka to mgo datu o riyon to od pombuyyahon amoy sikandan kos od usoy. 25 Otin duwon od sowpot moka-atag to sawa ru, yo ru sikandin tigkawa tod suddi su od pokovantoy sikandin. 26 Iyon moppiya nod puungan du, ponitipiyu sikandin woy pihuwow ko duwon en morat no pinuungan¹³ din idda pa od langot ka." 27 Na, tadda en taman iddos od ikohiyon tat od payas diyon to mama woy od ponayun sikandin od payas tat ba-ay.

28 Na od ikahi sikandin to, "Sikkow, Uri,¹⁴ pominoggow vo mandad inis mgo polinta ku, oyya su od pokomoppiya¹⁵ ini to koniyun kodpo-osoway. 29 Inaayun du ta-aw ruwot kikow'n poomdom no konna kad ko-ungkay mongovay. 30 Ko-ilangan no konnad munayan du robbe-en kos od tuhonulon du su duwon don mandad liru ru to kikow'n sawa.¹⁶ 31 Pomon ko-ungkay, timbang oruwa ron kos lawa ru, no de-en, ko ondan kos morat nod puungan du, konna ra sikkow kos od ko-ilawan, od ka-apii mandad iddos sawa ru. 32 Ko-ilangan no iyon du od puungan iddos od pokohaa to kikow'n sawa.

33 "Po-oyyariyu kos kodwaongwaong¹⁷ du no konna od kosawoy to mgo minuvu. 34 Ko duwon od ko-olihan kikow, yo rud solitsolita su od pokovoggoy idda to tovangkak woy'd pokohobba to koniyun ko-ubpa. 35 Yo ka od ipanow no diid pokosaddoo kos sawa ru woy yo ka oraroy od monnosmonnos su saddook od popoomdom to morat¹⁸ kos mgo minuvu moka-atag kikow. 36 Yo ka od waliwali woy'd sosowpot su saddook od osengon ka to duma no bogkaron ka. 37 Otin waa riyot ubpan dow iddos sawa ru, yo ka od po-ilogga to dumon mama woy yo ka od olit-olit to mama ko waa saddoo tat sawa ru su¹⁹ od kosowpot kow.

38 "Yo ru boggayi to lanu o kohirapoy kos sawa ru amoy od pokopomuhawang²⁰ sikandin to moppiya. 39 Oddatiyu sikandin woy okudiyow iddos langun no mgo ko-ilonganon din. 40 Puungiyu iddos id kopi-i to sawa ru woy yo ka od pomantok²¹ od pomoggoy to impon dow ko dii sikandin od pokosaddoo. 41 Woy ko od bovoggoy ka, yo ka od pommivig, ko konna, pokita ru kos kahaan diyot kodboggoy ru. 42 Otin od kotorinan²² ka no laggun to waa riyon to ubpan iddos sawa ru, yo kod undiyot dumon ubpan su od poko-ilow²³ to sawa ru, ko konna, aput ka riyot onuhang du.

43 "Otin waa duma ru riyot ubpan dow, poruma ka to suwod du woy yo ka od ilogga riyot songovaoy amoy diid poomdommon to dumon minuvu no duwon osson mama no no-olihi ru. 44 Ko duwon man od totongko kikow no mama, ponudtuu ru to kikow'n sawa o riyot mgo onuhang du, su ko id ollos du, dos ko-uluhan no nopiyan²⁴ ka mandad."

¹⁰ *bontohon*: derived from *bontog* 'a punishment inflicted, usually by an evil spirit, for not showing respect to a relative, in particular an in-law or an elderly person'.

¹¹ *od pokopuung to saa*: literally, 'did a sin against'.

¹² Implied: The unwritten laws or expectations of a wife's duties were not fulfilled.

¹³ Implied: having an illicit relationship.

¹⁴ *Uri*: a term of address of an older person to a young lady.

¹⁵ Implied: peaceful.

¹⁶ *sawa*: literally, 'spouse'.

even if you are busy doing other things. 22 Don't fight with your in-laws, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, or with the relatives of your wife for you will be cursed¹⁰ and will have your wife taken away from you. 23 If you have a criticism (concerning) your wife, tell it to your in-laws because they will be the ones who will teach her; don't immediately harm her.

24 "If your wife has wronged¹¹ or overstepped¹² you, go to the tribal leaders or to the elders so that they will be the ones who will settle (the dispute). 25 If there is gossip concerning your wife, don't immediately verify it while angry because she will be on her guard. 26 What would be better for you to do is observe her closely and make sure she really is doing bad deeds¹³ before you get angry." 27 So that will be all that the advice giver will say to the man, then he will continue to give advice to the woman.

28 Then he will say (to the bride), "*Uri*,¹⁴ please listen to my advice also, yes because this can make your marriage good.¹⁵ 29 Always remind yourself that you are no longer a single lady. 30 It is necessary that you not only take care of yourself because you also are now responsible for your husband¹⁶ as well. 31 From now on it is as if you have two bodies; therefore, whatever bad you do, it is not only you who will be embarrassed, your husband will also be included. 32 It is important that you do that which pleases your husband.

33 "Be careful in your actions¹⁷ so as not to be criticized by people. 34 If there is someone who is attracted to you, don't pay attention to him because that will give (a reason) for temptation and will destroy your day-to-day living. 35 Don't go somewhere without the knowledge of your husband and don't get very attractively dressed up because people may think badly¹⁸ of you. 36 Don't be rowdy and gossip because perhaps others may say that you are a flirt. 37 If your husband is not at your house, don't have other men stay overnight; don't be friendly to a man when your husband doesn't know it because¹⁹ you will be gossiped about.

38 "Don't give your husband worries or problems so that he can make plans²⁰ well. 39 Respect him and take care of all his necessities. 40 Do what your husband wants and don't sidestep²¹ him by giving your valuable things away if he isn't aware of it. 41 And if you are giving something away, do not complain, but rather, show that you are happy in your giving. 42 If you have lost²² something while your husband is not at home, don't go to the neighbors because it will embarrass²³ your husband, but rather go for help at your in-laws.

43 "If you have no companion at your house, have your sister join you; do not sleep at another house so that people won't think that you are attracted to another man. 44 If there is a man who talks to you, tell your husband or your in-laws, because if you keep it hidden, it means that you also like²⁴ it."

¹⁷ *kodwaongwaong*: derived from *waong* 'to move', implies the way people conduct themselves, their movements.

¹⁸ Implied: people will think that the wife is having an affair.

¹⁹ Implied: if you do...

²⁰ Implied: regarding the couple's source of day-to-day necessities.

²¹ *pomantok*: literally, 'cause to shortcut' is derived from *pantok* 'shortcut'.

²² *kotorinan*: derived from *tarin* 'for something to be lost', implies the lost item was most likely stolen but to say this outright is blunt and accusatory.

²³ Going to a neighbor to inquire about a lost item insinuates that the neighbor might have stolen it (see previous footnote), hence causing embarrassment to the husband.

²⁴ Implied: If a woman doesn't complain about the attention of another man, it means she likes him.

45 Na kopongnga sikandin od ooseng ka-ay, od suvaa mandon iddos duma pa no datu o buyyag. 46 Kopongnga iddos mgo buyyag, od po-osengon mandad iddos mgo onuhang. 47 Kosogaran nod ikohiyon dan, od buyuwon dan iddos moppiyon botasan to moka-amung dan woy od pohinowannoy iddos toosawa. 48 Na mori nod po-osengon, iddos toosawa. 49 Ka-ay ran en od osengon ko ondan kos id kopi-i ran nod kokita no botasanon diyon to kandan no mgo onuhang woy riyon to kandan no sawa.

50 Dangan takkot ko-ungkay no timpu, waa na-awa inis kodpayas o kodpolinta riyot mgo toosawa. 51 Piru monimbokkad dobbo ini od kopuungan su worad mandad goli od pokosaa to Minonuvu no pomo-ukit.²⁵ 52 Ahad od kosalon kos mgo Monuvu riyot simba-an, ossa pa tat polinta to pastuu, od poyasan en mandad sikandan, piru diyon don to baoy ran, konnad diyt simba-an. 53 Woy iddon kodpayas, ahad konnad od pon-unsaran to mgo datu, ko konna, idda ron so mgo amoy woy inoy o apu kos od unoy-unoy nod puung ka-ay.

Polinta atag to mgo Konakan woy Mongovay

Tano Bayawan

1 To ahad ondan no tribu, diid ka-awa iddos botasan to kodpolinta.¹ 2 Su iddos mgo anak, ko-ilangan sikandan to kodnonaw amoy od poko-anong-anong to moppiya nod puungan woy od botasanon laggun tod dakkoo sikandan. 3 Na riyon to koddakkoo ran, od kotuig sikandan nod ko-uyag ahad diyon to kohirapoy woy'd oubpa sikandan no waa samuk. 4 Su ahad ondan no samuk nod kosaharan dan, od pokovoggoy mandad to samuk diyt amoy woy inoy ran. 5 Woy od pokodora-at mandad ini to bansa² woy'd poko-ilow to mgo amoy woy inoy ran ko od pokopuung dan to morat diyt duma.

6 Id ikahi iddos mgo kovuyyahan no ko-ilangan nod nonawwon don tapoy³ to moppiyon botasan kos anak laggun to anak poron su moomok pa no id potullid kos kandin no botasanon. 7 Oyya su⁴ otin gali sikandin od nonawwon diyon to dakkoo ron, motoggas don nod kononawwan.

8 Diyt botasan to mgo Monuvu, ahad waa sikandan noko-iskwila, piru duwon od ikulon dan no mgo pooviyan woy gontangan⁵ diyon to kodnonaw. 9 Konna ra kosokkad od nonawwon kos mgo anak⁶ woy kosogaran od puungan dan ini timpu to bulli. 10 Od kopakoy mandad no ukit to mgo itulon o pongumanon, woy ukit to kodpotongkooy rad en. 11 Od nonawwon dan mandad iddos mgo anak diyt ipat timpu nod pokopuung sikandan to saa.⁷ 12 Duwon dad en timpu no od lompossan dos anak otin od kokita to amoy woy inoy no diid en od pomakoy iddos anak dan. 13 Konna ra iddos mgo amoy woy inoy kos duwon baahad o liru nod polinta to mgo anak, ko konna, od polinta mandad labbi ron en iddos mgo apu, mgo anggam woy mgo inayon o gakod no korumannan.

²⁵ Implied: in the Manobo way of conducting a wedding. For more detail see Section I Life Cycle: *Marriage* which describes various kinds of Manobo wedding ceremonies.

¹ *kodpolinta*: 'for someone to give advice to someone else'. This is a different Manobo term than *payas* the term used in Section II Social Values: *Giving Advice to Newlyweds*, sentence 1 which is very specific to giving advice to newlyweds.

² This refers to the children.

³ *tapoy*: literally, 'old, of old'.

⁴ *Oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

45 Now after he has said this, other tribal leaders and elders will again takeover (in giving advice). 46 After the elders, the in-laws also are allowed to speak. 47 Usually what they say is they will ask their son/daughter-in-law to have a good character and will (ask) the couple to love each other. 48 The final ones to be allowed to speak are the couple. 49 At this time they say what character traits they want to see in their in-laws and in their spouse.

50 From long time ago up to today, advice giving or giving instruction to newly-weds has not been done away with. 51 But this is rarely practiced (today) because hardly anyone gets married in the Manobo way.²⁵ 52 Even if Manobo people are married in the church, in addition to the advice of a pastor, they will also be given advice by tribal leaders, but at the house, not at the church. 53 And as for that (method of) giving of advice, even if tribal leaders do not sit down to do it, then fathers and mothers or the grandparents will go ahead and do this.

Advice for Young Men and Young Ladies

Tano Bayawan

Giving advice to youth functioned as a rite of passage indicating that a boy or girl approaching puberty was at an age when more responsibilities were expected of them and they could no longer behave as a carefree child. Although there are more distractions today, making it more of a challenge to continue this practice of giving advice to youth, the practice does continue.

1 For every people group, the custom of giving advice¹ will not disappear. 2 Because children need to be taught to be able to recognize good work and character traits while they are growing up. 3 Then when they are grown, they will know how to live even in (the midst of) hardships and they will live without turmoil. 4 For no matter what turmoil ensnares them, it will also give turmoil to their father and mother. 5 And it will destroy the father and mother's reputation and embarrass/shame them when they² do bad things to others.

6 The older generation says children need to be taught good character from the start³ while the child is still young because it is still easy to straighten his character. 7 The reason⁴ is if he is only taught when he has already grown up, he has already become hardened to be taught.

8 According to the custom of Manobo people, even though they had not gone to school, there were guidelines⁵ they follow in teaching (children). 9 (Elders) repeatedly teach the children⁶ and usually they do this in the evening. 10 It was also possible this may be done through stories or traditional narratives and through ordinary conversations. 11 They also instruct children every time they do something wrong.⁷ 12 There definitely are times a child is whipped if the father and mother see that their child will not obey. 13 It is not just the fathers and mothers who have the authority or responsibility to give advice to children, but also the grandparents, uncles and aunts, or close relatives.

⁵ *pooviyan woy gontangan*: literally, 'measures of volume from 3.5–5 kilo (9–11 pounds)'. In this context, it refers to a system of sanctions, values, and penalties for doing things that go against customary laws.

⁶ *Konna ra kosokkad od nonawwon kos mgo anak*: literally, 'Children are not just taught once...'

⁷ *saa*: literally, 'sin'.

A mother giving advice to
her young daughter
*Kodpolinta to inoy riyot anak
din nod mongmongovay*



14 Na riyon to kodnonaw to od mongmongovay⁸ ron no anak, od ikahi iddos amoy o inoy to, “Sikkow Uri,⁹ su od mongmongovay kad man, ko-ilangan nod pa-ayyad-ayyad ka nod dumoruma to mgo polinta to amoy woy inoy ru. 15 Su sikami kos unnot langun nod kaaggow ko ondak od kotomanan du. 16 Dappan nod kotuig ka nod addat su waa ka nokokita to ingod¹⁰ ko waa koy. 17 Oddatiyu mandad iddos mgo apu ru woy dumoruma ka to mgo suhu ran. 18 Su ko dii ka od pomakoy woy’d dumoruma to mgo buyyag, mo-uraa kos od kosahapan du sud komookaan¹¹ ka man to uhis no Monama.

19 “Waa amoy woy inoy nod nonaw to od pokodora-at koniyu. 20 Od popoomdom ka no morat inis od nonawwon ka, piru riyot mori,¹² od koovottan du rad no od pokomoppiya vos ini kikow.

21 “Uri, po-oyyariyu tod pominog inis polinta roy kikow. 22 Sikami no amoy woy inoy ru, id posolamat koy to duwon anak doy no iling kikow.

23 Id okudi ka nikami pomon to kodtobbow ru taman to id dakkoo ka woy ko-ungkay mongovay kad. 24 De-en, pomokayow no sikami kos nokosaddoo to od pokomoppiya woy’d pokodora-at kikow.

25 “Uri, dumanniyu iddos od popuungan doy kikow su ko duwon kod-addat du, kokahi pe-en to mgo kovuyyahan no od lowwet kos umuu ru. 26 Ahad od po-ingkon od undiyon kos inoy woy amoy ru, duma ka mandad su amoy od kopohinonawwan¹³ ka.

27 “Yo ka inaayun od pongumballoy riyot mgo sumbaoy ru su moko-ilow ini woy od livakon¹⁴ ka to dumon mgo ba-ay. 28 Su otin od so-obso-ob ka to songovaoy, od popoomdom kos duma nod nonangkap ka to mama. 29 Woy yo kod oipanow ahad ingkon ko waa duma ru no ba-ay su morat¹⁵ ko soosokkad du re-en nod ipopanow. 30 Yo kod ipanow nod pokoddongngan kow to konakan, labbi ron iddos duwon don sawa¹⁶ su od kosowpot ka no unayan tod korattan kos bansa ru.

31 “Yo kod waliwali, od sollog woy od gaaw to mgo mama su morat nod tongtongngan. 32 Ko-ilangan no oraroy ka no moonna¹⁷ ko iddos baoy noponnut minuvu su iddos mongovay ko-ilangan no dii boletbetan.”

33 Na, diyon mandad to od kongkonakan¹⁸ don, ungketen mandad kos od osengon, “Sikkow Oto,¹⁹ id posolamat koy no amoy woy inoy ru su noka-anak koy to mama. 34 Oyya su ini kun so od poko-anak ki to mama, dakkoo kos id pokotavang dan su sikiyu me-en iddos od ngoranan no konokkaan²⁰ o monokkaa. 35 Na su mama ka me-en, dappan nod tanud ka to langun nod puungan woy’d panuu to mgo botasanon to mgo Monuvu. 36 Nokkaanokkaa ka su od inguma kos timpu no duwon²¹ don mandad od pokannon du. 37 Ko-ilangan od kotuig ka nod nonangkap tod ko-uyahan iling to kod-ootti,²² kodpongannup, kodpomuwag woy’d kodponuu. 38 Pohinonaw ka to

⁸ Implied: a young girl of approximately twelve years of age.

14 In teaching a young lady,⁸ the father or mother will say, “*Uri*,⁹ because you obviously are already a young lady, it is necessary that you are careful to follow the advice of your father and mother. 15 The reason for that is we will be the first to worry if something happens to you. 16 It is proper that you know how to be respectful because you would not be around¹⁰ if it wasn’t for us. 17 Also respect your grandparents and obey their commands. 18 Because, if you do not believe and obey your elders, much will be divinely reckoned of you because the Holy God will surely inflict punishment¹¹ on you.

19 “No father and mother would teach that which will cause you harm. 20 You will think that which you are being taught is bad, but someday¹² you will understand that this (advice) was for your good.

21 “*Uri*, listen carefully to our advice to you. 22 We, your father and mother, are thankful that we have a child like you. 23 We took care of you from the time you were born until you grew up, and now you are a young lady. 24 Therefore, trust that we know (what) can be good and can be bad for you.

25 “*Uri*, do what we have you do because when you show respect, just moreover as the ancestors say, your life will be lengthened. 26 Wherever your father and mother go, go along with them so that you will be taught.¹³

27 “Don’t always be visiting your neighbors because this is embarrassing and other women will speak ill¹⁴ about you. 28 For if you always go around to other houses, others will think you are looking for a man. 29 And don’t walk around anywhere if you do not have a female companion because it is bad¹⁵ if you are alone when walking around. 30 Don’t go somewhere at the same time as a young man does, especially one who has a wife¹⁶ because you will be gossiped about and as a result your reputation will be destroyed.

31 “Don’t be rowdy, joke and tease with men because it looks bad. 32 It is important that you are very gentle¹⁷ when the house is full of people because it is important that a young lady is not a chatterbox.”

33 Now as for a young man,¹⁸ something like this will be said, “*Oto*,¹⁹ we are thankful as your father and mother because we had a male (child). 34 Yes because it is said our having a male child will be a big help because of course you are called strength²⁰ or strong. 35 Now since you of course are a male, it is proper that you notice all the activities and observe all the character traits of the Manobo people. 36 Work hard because a time will come when there will also be someone²¹ that you will feed. 37 You need to know how to find sustenance/food like catching fish,²² hunting with dogs, smoking bees from their hive, and hunting for frogs. 38 Learn to build a house and observe where

⁹ *Uri*: a term of address used by an older person when talking to a young lady. The term implies endearment “Dear girl...”

¹⁰ *waa ka nokokita to ingod*: literally, ‘you would not have seen the world’ (if it wasn’t for us).

¹¹ Implied: There will be consequences for a transgression, usually moral. For example, a young woman repeatedly advised to stay away from young men becomes pregnant out of wedlock.

¹² *riyot mori*: literally, ‘in the end’.

¹³ Implied: by their example.

¹⁴ *livakon*: derived from *livak* ‘to backbite, be catty, gossip’.

¹⁵ Implied: If a young lady walks around alone, people will think she is looking for a man.

¹⁶ *sawa*: literally, ‘spouse’ which can refer to either a husband or wife.

¹⁷ Implied: in speech and action.

¹⁸ *kongkonakan*: derived from *konakan* ‘young unmarried man’. This implies a young boy of approximately twelve years of age.

¹⁹ *Oto*: a term of address of an older person a young man.

²⁰ *konakan*: ‘young unmarried man’ is derived from *konokkaan* ‘strength’ and *monokkaa* ‘strong’.

²¹ This refers to an eventual wife and children.

²² *kod-ootti*: ‘catching fish by damming a river’.

kodbovaa to ubpan woy panuu ka ko ingkon dappan od poohinat to baoy. 39 Oyya su nokosaddoo kad me-en no siketa inaayun od alin-alin nod pongamot. 40 Pohinonaw ka ouyag to mgo oyama woy basuk ka to livuta amoy dii ki od kohirapan to id sablag simag²³ tod osowan du. 41 Ko-ilangan nod kotuig ka to kodkamot woy iddos langun no mgo pomo-ukit, iling to ollog to timpu to kodkamot, kodpomuwa, kodkallu woy kodsanggi. 42 Panuu ka konami nod kokouglung woy'd totogunggu. 43 Geddama ka mandad kokombeng woy'd lolantuy su amoy od kahaa ka woy od omanan²⁴ ka to molitan nod osowan du.

44 "Yo kod amung-amung dutut mgo mama nod lolosing woy'd bovuun su waa moppiyon koromma ru ruwon. 45 Yo ka mandad od pongilovut to konna kikow su saddook od dorattan²⁵ ka.

46 "Yo kod lo-uklo-uk diyot noka-away-away no lugaa ko waa duma ru sud lipongngon ka to morat no mgo minuvu. 47 Woy yo ka mandad od pongimbulli ko waa lantok tod iponawan du. 48 Yo kod lo-uklo-uk diyot tongannan to lumut ko soosokkad du ra su od silingon ka woy yo ka od aawang nod loumbag woy'd oilob diyot mgo batu o daama sud imotayan²⁶ ka to busow.

49 "Oddati koy no amoy woy inoy ru labbi ron iddos mgo apu woy mgo korumannan du su bansa ru iddos moppiyon botasan. 50 Yo kod atu to mgo apu ru su'd bontohon²⁷ ka. 51 Yo kod layowlayow²⁸ ko duwon moholiyug labbi ron en ko duwon od potongkooy. 52 Ko duwon od potongkooy, yo ka oraroy od sulitsulit, ko konna, pominog ka ra. 53 Ko od ipanow ka, obisu ka upus konami amoy konna koy od pokononangkap kikow. 54 Otin od suhuwon ka, yo ka vo od lewanglewang woy yo kod kosuhoy ko od langot koy kikow, su atag man ini to kopiyannan du.

55 "Ayyad-ayyad ka to kod-o-ooseng woy kodwaongwaong du no diid pokoposakit²⁹ to duma. 56 Aamow kos mgo minuvu nod sooggon du su³⁰ saddoo ko od ko-osonan ka woy'd tibbon³¹ ka.

57 "Yo kod ponomad to molitan o od aawang nod usok diyot sinavong din su saddook od osonan³² ka. 58 Ahad nokilaa ru iddos molitan, yo kow'd porumannoy nod ipanow riyot mgo minuvuwon sud kosowpot kow ahad waa pe-en morat no pinuungan dow.

59 "Tohoo ka to kodkosu-at du ko duwon od kokita ru no kosu-atan diyot ahad ondan³³ no mgo oyama sud³⁴ onitan³⁵ ka."

60 Na ungketen be-en kos id polinta to mgo konakan woy mongovay.

61 Dos mgo anak dangan, konna mohirap nod polintan, oyya su duwon pa mandad mgo buyyag nod ko-ilangan dan diyon to kodnonangkap tod ko-uyahan woy kodpokita to moppiyon botasanon. 62 Mohirap don goli kos kodpolinta to mgo anak ko-ungkay'n timpu su ahad ingkon ki od loingoy, mo-uraan pinuungan woy botasanon no waa dangan nokononaw to buyyag. 63 No ini en ko-ungkay kos od poko-okoy kandan to kodpuung to morat woy od posuwoy pomon diyot onngad nanoy no botasanon. 64 Nopalin don kos mgo botasan to ko-urallan to mgo Monuvu, diyot kodbasuk, kod-olit-olit, kod-addat, kodtavangtavang, kodboggoyvoggoy. 65 Od ko-iyap dobbo ko-ungkay kos mgo Monuvu no duwon pa iling ka-ay no mgo botasan. 66 Worad mandad od kotuig nod ontong to onngad no timpu to kodpomuwa woy kodbunsud to baoy.

²³ *simag*: literally, 'tomorrow'. In this context it refers to sometime in the not-too-distant future.

²⁴ Implied: A young man will be more appealing to a young lady if he has musical skill.

²⁵ *dorattan*: derived from *da-at* 'to destroy, to ruin'.

²⁶ An evil spirit will be angry because the young man is disturbing and desecrating where the spirits live; in revenge, the evil spirit will cause an illness which may result in death.

²⁷ *bontohon*: derived from *bontog* 'punishment for being disrespectful to a relative or an elderly person', implying the punishment is inflicted by an evil spirit.

²⁸ Implied: in front of visitors because it shows disrespect.

²⁹ Implied: emotional pain.

it is appropriate to put up a house. 39 For you of course know that we are always moving from place to place clearing fields. 40 Learn to raise animals and work the land so that we will not have difficulty giving a brideprice when you get married in the future.²³ 41 It is necessary that you know how to farm and all the processes like the right time for clearing a field, planting, weeding, and harvesting. 42 Observe us playing the lute and playing the larger gongs. 43 Try as well to play the jew's harp and play the flute so that you will be happy and a lady will agree²⁴ to marry you.

44 "Don't associate with men who drink and fight because you will not have a good future doing that. 45 Also don't have anything to do with that which is not yours because perhaps you will be cursed.²⁵

46 "Don't roam around in a remote place if you have no companion because you will be ambushed and killed by evil people. 47 Also, don't walk around at night if there is no specific purpose for your walk. 48 Don't walk around in the middle of the wilderness when you are alone, because an evil spirit will cause you to get lost and don't throw (rocks) or spit on the rocks or cliff because an evil spirit will try to kill²⁶ you.

49 "Respect us, your father and mother, especially to your grandparents and relatives, because a good character is an honor for you. 50 Don't fight with your grandparents because you will be cursed.²⁷ 51 Don't walk back and forth²⁸ when there are visitors, especially when there are those who are talking to each other. 52 If there are those talking to each other, don't repeatedly ask (for something), instead, just listen. 53 When you go anywhere, first inform us that you are leaving so that we will not be anxiously looking for you. 54 If you are ordered (to do something), don't dawdle and don't be irritated if we are angry with you because this is assuredly for your good.

55 "Pay attention to your speech and to your movements so that you will not cause others pain.²⁹ 56 Choose the people whom you joke around with because³⁰ perhaps you will offend someone and you will be stabbed.³¹

57 "Don't touch a woman or carelessly enter her room because perhaps you will offend someone.³² 58 Even if you know the woman, don't go (places) together where people are because you'll be gossiped about even though you have not done anything wrong.

59 "Control your laughter if you see something that is funny about anything³³ concerning animals, because³⁴ you will be punished by a spirit."³⁵

60 So that is what the giving of advice for young men and young ladies is like.

61 In the past, children were not difficult to advise, because there still were elders for them to imitate in looking for livelihood and demonstrating a good character. 62 These days, it is rather difficult to give advice to children because no matter where we turn, there are many activities and attitudes that the elders did not teach about in the past. 63 And these (activities) are what can influence them to do bad things and to be sidetracked away from a good character. 64 The character traits of most Manobo people, (like) farming, showing hospitality, being very respectful, being helpful, being generous, have changed. 65 Today, the Manobo people who still have character traits such as these can just be counted (on one hand). 66 Also, no one any longer knows how to observe for the right time to plant, (or) build a house.

³⁰ Implied: 'if you don't...' or 'if you aren't careful in choosing whom you joke around with...'.

³¹ *tibbason*: derived from *tibbas* 'to slash or cut using a bolo'.

³² The parents of the lady will force the young man who carelessly entered the room of their daughter to either marry their daughter or pay a penalty.

³³ *ahad ondan*: literally, 'no matter what'.

³⁴ Implied: if you laugh...

³⁵ *onitan*: derived from *anit* 'taboos regulating incest and talking to, laughing at, or mocking animals'. The spirit deity *Inanit* will punish those who break an *anit* taboo.

67 Piru ahad ungketen, konna ko-uluhan no dii ron en od kopakoy nod nonawwon kos mgo anak, ko konna, diyot keta no mgo amoy woy inoy kos duwon dakkoon liru amoy pokopomuwa kos moppiyon botasanon diyot keton mgo anak.

67 But even with it being like this, it does not mean that it is no longer possible to teach children; instead, we who are the fathers and mothers are the ones who have the important responsibility of planting good character traits in our children.

III The Home

“It is necessary to have a house to live in because, that indeed is the place to put things, to live, to eat, to sleep, and to rest.”

Kod-oubpa

“Ko-ilangan en no duwon baoy nod ko-ubpan su idda en kos od towwan to mgo kosongkapan to minuvu, od oubpan, od kannan, od tinuhonnan woy od imooyyan.”

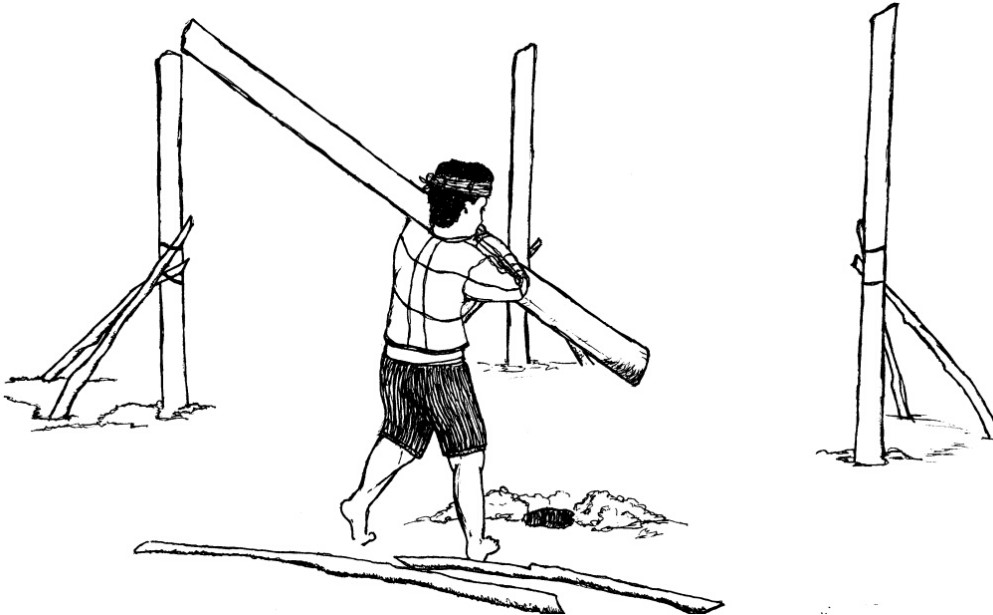
Kodpoohinat to Baoy

Romeo Umpan

1 Siyak si Romeo Umpan, id ubpa ka-ay to Sayaban. 2 Od oituu a moka-atag to kodpoohinat to baoy riyot mgo Monuvu. 3 Iddos nosorollan ku to Monuvu riyot kodpoohinat to baoy, od aam sikandan taddot sokkad no lugaa no pattad. 4 Woy konna riyon to uut oweg su morat¹ kun. 5 Woy konna riyot londig woy diid poko-ollot taddot oruwon oweg.² 6 Na ahad diyon to pattad, duwon po-ukit dan no od tawwan³ to pomaa. 7 Iddos pomaa nod ngoranan, od angoy sikandan to ngipon⁴ to botad, ponunggeleng, mgo sopuu o lampas pa. 8 Na ko-ungkay, id ta-aw riyon to bekong, od sokovan, id lobbong diyot livuta. 9 Na, od oseng iddos minuvu no od bovaoy, "Na kopiyan a nod poohinat to baoy ka-ay, no sikiyu⁵ vo so od ubpa ka-ay no lugaa, no ko od aman kow no siyak, od poohinat a to baoy ka-ay, inis botad, diid koliyaman."⁶ 10 Idde-en iddos sokkad no pomaa to Monuvu to kodpoohinat to baoy.

11 Na sokkad mandad no pomaa, od bunsud sikandan to tinobbi no laya nod betollan to mgo baahon. 12 Otin od kopiloy iddos mgo laya riyon tod kosollom don, diid ponayun iddos od poohinat to ubpan taddon lugaa, su duwon morat⁷ no id oubpa no diid aman. 13 Na, otin diid kopiloy iddos mgo laya nid bunsud, od kosorollan no od aman iddos id ubpa⁸ taddon lugaa. 14 Na od kosorallan no moppiya nod bunsuran to ubpan iddon lugaa.

15 No riyot kodpoohinat to ubpan, iddos mgo loggee nod gomiton, od ongayon iddos moppiya⁹ woy mgo molivuson no kayu. 16 Na, iddos kayu nod tomboddan to baahon, diid gomiton to Monuvu su morat kun. 17 Idde-en kos od ngoranan to baa¹⁰ to lungun su iddos od ubpa taddon ubpan iling to inaayun od kopokkoo.



In building a house, first erected are the main posts.
Unna id bunsud, iddos mgo tuddok.

Building a House

Romeo Umpan

When building a house, certain locations, such as the head of a river or between two rivers, were avoided. Once a location was decided upon, it was important to determine if the spirits would allow a house to be built there. This was done by putting kernels of corn in a coconut shell and buried. The next time it was checked, if any kernels had been removed, another location would be found. After the house was built, the house was dedicated by sacrificing a pure white chicken and smearing its blood on the posts and on the foreheads on all those who would live there. Then a prayer was said to the deities and spirits for a healthy life while they resided there.

1 I am Romeo Umpan living here in Sayaban. 2 I will tell about the building of a house according to the Manobo (way). 3 My understanding of the Manobo (way of) building a house is that they will choose a certain place that is flat. 4 And (a place) at the head of a river will not (be chosen) because it is reportedly bad.¹ 5 And it cannot be where it is steep and it cannot be in between two rivers.² 6 Now even on a flat area there is a method of theirs of casting³ *pomaa* 'lots'. 7 In (casting) lots as it is called, they will get kernels⁴ of corn, for instance, about ten or more. 8 Then these are put in a coconut shell, a lid is put on it, (then) it is buried in the ground. 9 Then the person building the house says, "Now I'd like to build a house; you⁵ who are living here in this place, if you allow me to build a house here, these (kernels) of corn won't be reduced."⁶ 10 That is one (method of casting) lots the Manobo people use when building a house.

11 (As) another (means of casting) lots, they will erect (sticks) of split bamboo which rattan is stretched across. 12 If the bamboo (sticks) fall over by morning, the one building a house in that place will not continue because there are evil spirits⁷ living there who will not allow it. 13 Now if the bamboo that is erected does not fall over, it is understood that those⁸ living in that area will allow (a house to be built). 14 Then (the builder) will know that it is good to build a house in that place.

15 Now in building the house, the wooden building materials used will be gotten from trees that are solid⁹ and round. 16 Manobo people will not use a tree that has rattan wrapped around it because it is said to be bad. 17 That is what is called *baa*¹⁰ to *lungun*

¹ Houses should not be built at the head of a river because that is where evil spirits reside. There is a greater tendency for a family to get ill, have accidents, and generally have a difficult life.

² Houses cannot be built between two rivers because the location of the house is compared to a coffin. The occupants will be sure to die.

³ *tawwan*: literally 'to put or place something somewhere' is derived from *ta-aw* 'to put'.

⁴ *ngipon*: literally 'teeth'.

⁵ The house builder is addressing unseen spirits living in that area.

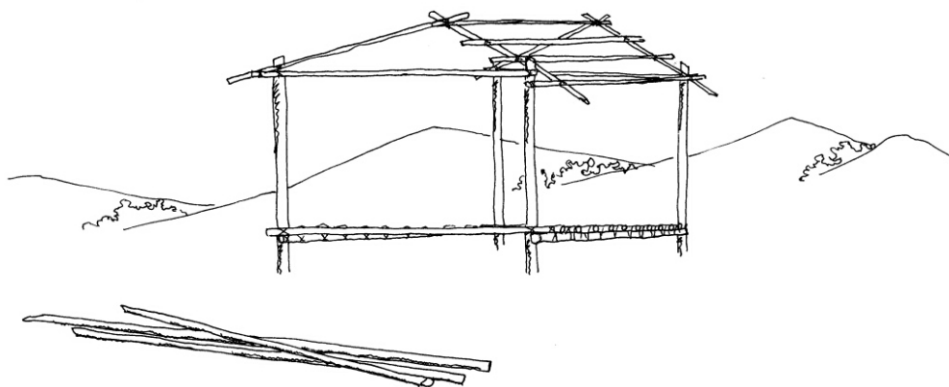
⁶ The kernels of corn in the coconut shell are counted the next day to check if the number has been reduced.

⁷ *morat*: literally, 'bad, evil'.

⁸ Implied: spirits.

⁹ *moppiya*: literally, 'good'.

¹⁰ *baa*: can refer to (a) a thorny vine that wraps around that which it is growing on, hence the feeling of being choked, or (b) a sign of impending death. If this sign or forewarning was not followed, death caused by a spirit was sure to come to those who built using wood from a tree that had rattan wrapped around it.



The longitudinal beams are put in place on the roof.
Id takos kos pokamang diyon lomig to atop.

18 Na iddos kodpoohinat to ubpan, unna id bunsud iddos mgo tuddok taddot lawa to baoy. 19 Na id takos iddos od ngoranan no bangoo, woy iyon od gomiton no id gakut tadda, iddos baahon. 20 Na kopongnga iddos bangoo, idda mandon so mgo dullug din, od gokutan dad mandad to baahon.¹¹ 21 Na kopongnga, od tawwan don to osag. 22 No kopongnga iddos osag, id takos mandon iddos pokamang¹² no lomig diyon to atop. 23 Na kopongnga iddo so pokamang, id takos mandon diyon iddos bulillan.¹³ 24 Na kopongnga iddos bulillan, id takos mandon iddos gassow. 25 Na od kopongnga iddos gassow, id takos mandon iddos mgo atop. 26 Na kopongnga iddo so atop woy iddos buvung din, no idda ron mandon so kaandang taddot lawa to baoy. 27 Na kopongnga idda, id takos¹⁴ don iddos mgo aavat. 28 Na langun tadda, baahon kos od gomiton no id gakut taddot mgo gamit to baoy.

29 Na idda mandon so boyo taddot kodbovaa riyon to daom to baoy, wora mgo ngoranan no sinavong. 30 Na notigkan iddos sinavong daom to sokkad no baoy. 31 Na ko moollimot kos tuddok to baoy, od tawwan¹⁵ to suhaa amoy diid kopiloy to kaamag.

32 Na ko nopongnga ron iddo so baoy, pomon to botasan to Monuvu, od latun sikandan taddot baoy. 33 Na riyon to kodlatun dan tat baoy, od piyod sikandan to manuk no uhis¹⁶ o ahad konna. 34 Na koddunggu riyon to baoy no lammin nopongnga, od penek iddos komunoy tat baoy, iddos sawa rin woy langun no mgo anak dan. 35 Na iddos uhis no manuk no id piyod dan, id pomaas¹⁷ woy id pokiyab¹⁸ su amoy kun iddos morat no id ubpa taddon lugaa no id bunsaran to ubpan, od awa woy iddos manuk, od sumboliyon diyon. 36 Iddos longossa, id potaddu riyon to langun no mgo tuddok woy od tubtuvaran iddos manuk. 37 Na id polet mandad iddos longossa riyon to kiloy tat

¹¹ Implied: The entire house is constructed without using nails.

¹² These beams go under the roof, running along the posts on which the rafters rest.

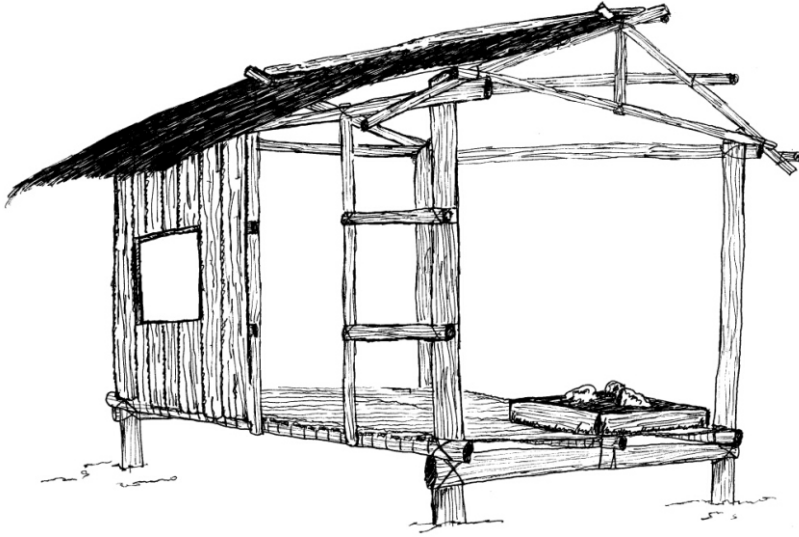
¹³ There are typically two triangular sections as part of the framework of the roof at either end of the house.

¹⁴ Implied: These are fastened to the wall studs.

¹⁵ Implied: against the outside of the house.

¹⁶ A pure white chicken was significant in making a blood sacrifice to spirits because it symbolized no sin. It was also sacrificed to show respect to the spirits.

¹⁷ *pomaas*: The ritual consists of calling out to the spirits, causing the chicken's wings to flap, and finally sacrificing the chicken.



The roofing material is put in place.
Id takos iddos mgo atop.

'sign of a coffin' because for those living in that house, it will be like they are always being choked.

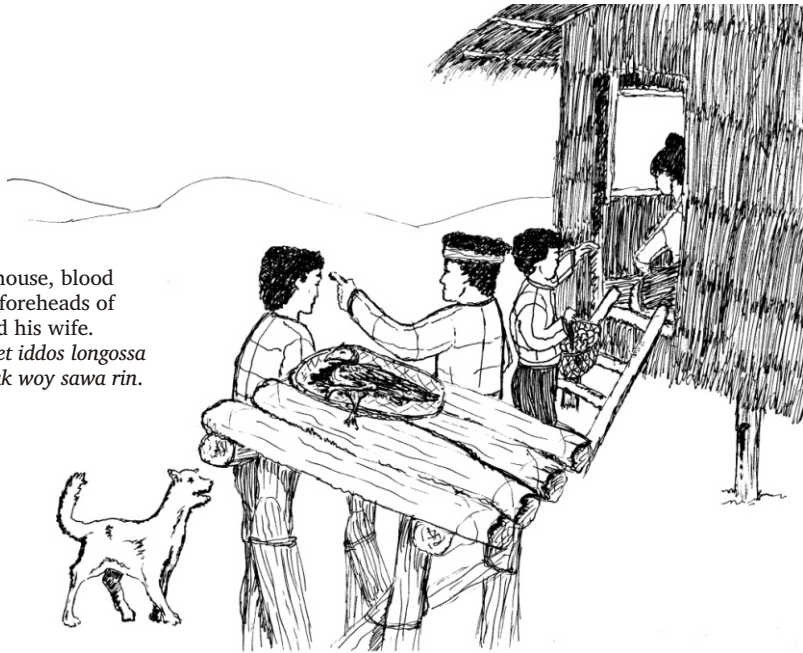
18 Now in building a house, what are first erected are the *tuddok* 'main posts' of the frame of the house. 19 Then that which is called *bangoo* 'the floor beams' are put into place and what is used to securely tie those is rattan. 20 Now after the floor beams, then the *dullug* 'floor joists' are also tied with rattan.¹¹ 21 After that, the *osag* 'flooring' is fastened down. 22 After the flooring, the *pokamang*¹² 'longitudinal beams' are put into place at the location of the roof. 23 Now after the longitudinal beams, next the *bulillan*¹³ 'frame for the triangular sections' are put into place. 24 Then after the frame for the triangular sections, then the *gassow* 'vertical slats for roofing' are put into place. 25 Then after those vertical slats for roofing, then the *atop* 'roofing material' is put into place. 26 Now after the roof and the covering for the ridge of the roof, then the *kaandang* 'wall studs' are (fastened) to the frame of the house. 27 After that, the *aavat* 'walling material' is put into place.¹⁴ 28 Now all those (materials), what is used to securely tie that which is used to build the house is rattan.

29 As for the appearance of that which was built inside the house, there wasn't anything that could be called rooms. 30 The inside of a house was all one room. 31 Now if a house has small posts, support beams will be placed¹⁵ so that it will not collapse from the wind.

32 Then if the house is finished, according to a Manobo practice, they will dedicate the house. 33 Now at their house dedication, they bring a pure white chicken,¹⁶ or even one that isn't (pure white). 34 Now when arriving at the newly finished house, the owner of the house, his wife, and all their children will enter. 35 Then the pure white chicken that they brought will be sacrificed¹⁷ and the wings made to flap¹⁸ it is said so that the evil spirits living in that place where the house is built will leave; then the chicken will be butchered there. 36 Its blood is dripped on all the main posts and (the spirits) called out to in offering the chicken. 37 Then the blood is also smeared on the

¹⁸ *pokiyab*: 'to cause to flap' is part of the *pomaas* ritual. The chicken (still alive) is held by the legs and swung back and forth. The flapping of the chicken's wings symbolizes the pushing away of evil spirits living there.

In dedicating the house, blood
is smeared on the foreheads of
the children and his wife.
*Diyot kodlatun, id polet iddos longossa
riyot kiloy to mgo anak woy sawa rin.*



langun do mgo anak din woy dos sawa rin woy sikandin. 38 Na pomon tadda, od ubpa ron sikandan dutun. 39 Na od tuvadtuvad sikandan, od umow to Monama no id bovaa to langit woy livuta. 40 Od dasaa riyot Monama woy diwata no od tamong kandan woy od boggoy to moppiyon lawa¹⁹ amoy sikandan od ubpa no molinggow no waa od pokodora-at.²⁰

41 Na ini en kos mgo pomo-ukit to Monuvu to kodbovaa to baoy dangan. 42 Piru inin timpu, worad goli mgo baoy nod kokita no iling ka-ay no kodbovaa, woy diyon dobbo ini od kokita to mgo buvunganon o soksok no lugaa.

Kodbovaat Apuy

Tano Bayawan

1 Dangan diyon to kodbovaa to apuy, dos mgo Monuvu, od gamit sikandan to od ngoranan no titikon.¹ 2 Dos bo-ok,² immat kutsun no od kiskison pomon to leppak to bohibbi.³ 3 Kopongnga, od ilaron dos bo-ok woy ko od kotokkang, od gomiton dos ngipon to baansi⁴ no movalis o iddos moti-aw no batu. 4 Od angoy to disok no putow, na id pagged taddot ngipon to baansi. 5 Na, od luhatu ipat kodpogged, od gohottik woy od bovaha iddos bo-ok. 6 Na, iddos baha nid dokkot, ko-ilangan nod irupan su amoy od lowwag. 7 Kopongnga, od duhangan to bo-ok iddos nootomman amoy od dakkoo. 8 Na, od panoy mandad to mgo moomok nod ko-opuyan, iling to bonuwot⁵ woy kayu no indang.⁶ 9 Iddos bonuwot, od potokkangon idda woy'd bogkosson, kopongnga od tongosson to mgo do-un to bohibbi, na idde-en kos od po-olinan to apuy.

10 Inis od ngoranan no po-ewas, sokkad mandad no po-ukit nod pokobovaat apuy su dangan, waa pa man suu woy puspuru. 11 Dos od gomiton to kodpo-ewas, sokkad no



Fire stone
Titikon

foreheads of all his children and his wife and himself. 38 Then from then on they will live there. 39 Now they will call out to the spirits (and) call to God who made heaven and earth. 40 They pray to God and angel-like spirits to watch over them and to give them good health¹⁹ so that they will live in peace that no (spirits) will cause them misery.²⁰

41 So these are the ways of the Manobo people in building a house in the past. 42 But at this time, there hardly are houses that are seen built like this and the only place this can still be seen is in the hills or remote areas.

Making Fire

Tano Bayawan

Fires are important for warmth, cooking, and a source of light at night. What would you do if you were in the wilderness without matches? The resourceful ancestors of the Manobos knew exactly what to do.

1 In the past to make fire, the Manobo people used what was called a *titikon*¹ ‘fire stone’. 2 A foam like pulp² was scraped off from the stem of a *bohibbi*³ palm. 3 After that the pulp is laid out in the sun to dry and when it is dry a *ngipon to baansi*⁴ ‘teeth of thunder stone’ or very hard rock is used. 4 A small (piece of) metal is gotten which is then struck against that teeth of thunder stone. 5 Now sparks fly each (time) it is struck, making a crackling noise and the pulp begins to smolder. 6 Now the glowing ember that attaches (to the pulp) needs to have air blown on it so that it will spread. 7 After that more pulp is added to the embers so that (the flame) will spread. 8 Then also prepared are things which easily catch on fire such as hairlike fiber⁵ and wood from the *indang* tree.⁶ 9 The hairlike fiber is dried in the sun and tied up; after that it is wrapped in the leaves of the *bohibbi* palm, and that is what the fire will transfer to.

10 The (method) called *po-ewas* ‘rubbing together dried bamboo’ is also one way of making fire because in the past there assuredly wasn’t any kerosene or matches yet. 11 What was used for rubbing together dried bamboo is one (section of) bamboo that



Two sections of dried bamboo are rubbed together.
Po-ewas.

¹⁹ *moppiyon lawa*: literally, ‘good body’.

²⁰ *pokodora-at*: literally, ‘to destroy, ruin’, is derived from *morat* ‘evil, bad’.

¹ *titikon*: a hard, black stone which, when struck against another *titikon*, produces sparks to make a fire.

² *bo-ok*: a brown spongy-like substance that is very flammable after it is dried.

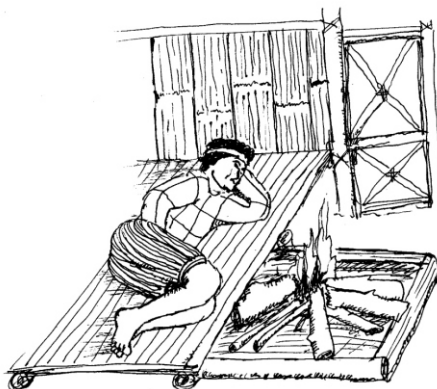
³ *bohibbi*: a kind of palm tree (*Malay sagu*).

⁴ *ngipon to baansi*: a small, hard, black stone used to start a fire. Literally, ‘teeth of thunder’. The stone is called this because it is believed to originate from the “mouth” of thunder. When it thunders, a “tooth” from the “mouth” breaks off.

⁵ This grows slowly on various kinds of palm trees (including the *bohibbi* palm tree) where the trunk of the tree and the stalk meet. It is especially visible when the tree is mature and is easily harvested using a bolo.

⁶ *indang*: a kind of tree with large leaves, the wood of which burns easily. It also has a lot of fuzz or downy growth that when brushed against or touched is very itchy.

An older person keeps the fire
burning so as not to get cold.
*Dos buyyag od dorompuwan
amoy diid kohonnow.*



tobbag no laya no mgo oruwon dangow⁷ kos koowettoy woy sokkad mandad no laya no dos koowaggan mgo tongngot koowettan to timbovaka woy od potaommon kos divauy iling to koosidu no sokkad kos taom. 12 Iddos laya no sokkad no tobbag, od bobboan kos tongannan. 13 Na od gomiton dos tongngot koowaggoy to timbovaka no tobbag to laya, idde-en kos immat id gavas diyot id bobboan no laya. 14 Immat od govason idda taman tod monit. 15 Pomot oraroy'n monit, od pokobovaat⁸ apuy. 16 Na iddos disok no apuy, od olinon diyot id bovallan no bonuwot amoy go-os od ko-uyag⁹ kos apuy.

17 Dangan to kovuyyahan, pomon to waa pa suu nod kovolli ran woy waa pa mandad puspuru, laayun dan od popu-un.¹⁰ 18 Od angoy ran to oraroy no od loglog woy motoggas¹¹ nod ko-oppus no kayu. 19 Od limuron dan idda woy od puntukon.¹² 20 Kopongnga, od poogloggon, na idda diid ko-ovukkan taman tod kosollom don.

21 Sokkad mandad no po-ukit no duwon dad apuy to sollom o so-op no allow, od angoy ran to oraroy'd bovaha no kayu iling to linas to kayu. 22 Iddos baha, od tombunan to avu, woy od porokollon¹³ dos avu nid tambun. 23 Idda, diid ko-ovukan taman to sollom.

24 De-en, moka-atag taddot mgo kovuyyahan dangan to kodbovaa to apuy no ahad waa od pokovolli ran no suu o puspuru, od kotuihan dan en iddos mgo pomo-ukit amoy duwon apuy.

25 Ka-ag re-en sippang.

Botasan to Kodtinuhon

Tano Bayawan

1 Na ahad oraroy nod ko-ooyuwan kos minuvu, ko-ilangan en no duwon baoy nod ko-ubpan dan su iddos baoy, idde-en kos od towwan to mgo kosongkapan to minuvu, od oubpan, od kannan, od tinuhonnan woy od imooyyan. 2 Na, iddos mgo kosongkapan to mgo Monuvu diyot kodtinuhon, iddos od ngoranan no onun, ikam, kesay, kuambu woy duma pa. 3 Dangan to mgo kovuyyahan pomon to waa pa man oraroy kod-udsuu to ko-ubpa to mgo Monuvu, waa pa mandad goli mgo moppiyon kosongkapan dan, su kopakoy no iddos kesay ran mgo saku o bolutan no id tobbii ra to bollad.

4 Iddot mgo kovuyyahan poron en oraroy, iddos kesay nod gomiton dan binovallan pomon to id avoo no duu nod ngoranan no kesay no id avoo. 5 Na, to

was split lengthwise about two hand spans⁷ in length and also another bamboo with a width of about one half of the length of the thumb and one side sharpened like a bolo that has one blade. 12 The bamboo that was split lengthwise is hollowed out in the middle. 13 Then what is used is the split lengthwise bamboo, which is half the width of a thumb, (and) that is as if it is sawed back and forth on the hollowed-out bamboo. 14 It is as if it is sawed until it is hot. 15 Because it is very hot, it can start⁸ a flame. 16 Then that small flame is transferred to that which was made from the hairlike fibers so that the fire will quickly spread.⁹

17 The ancestors of the past, because they could not yet buy kerosene or matches either, they would always keep a fire burning.¹⁰ 18 They would get wood that easily ignited and that took a long time¹¹ (before) it burned out. 19 They gathered these together and put them into a pile.¹² 20 After that it was ignited (and) it would not go out until morning.

21 Another sure way to have fire in the (following) morning or the next day is they would get wood that would really (retain) glowing embers like the bark of a tree. 22 The glowing embers were covered with ashes and the ashes covering (the embers) would be a large amount.¹³ 23 (And) that would not die out until (the following) morning.

24 Therefore, concerning the ancestors of the past making a fire, even though they were not able to buy kerosene or matches, they definitely were knowledgeable about the methods of (always) having fire.

25 Just up to here (is my account).

Customs about Sleeping

Tano Bayawan

Sleeping together as a family not only served to keep everyone warm at night but also to strengthen family ties and carry on traditions because advice was given and stories with morals were told as everyone settled down for the night.

1 Now even though people were very poor, it was indeed necessary for them to have a house to live in because a house is the place people put things, live, eat, sleep, and rest. 2 Now the belongings used by Manobo people for sleeping are things called a pillow, a sleeping mat, a blanket, a mosquito net, and other things. 3 In the past, the ancestors, since the economy of the Manobo people did not really improve, they also did not yet really have nice belongings, because it was possible that their blanket was rice sacks or flour sacks that were sewn by hand.

4 The ancestors of very long ago, what they used for a blanket was made from woven Manila hemp called blanket that was woven. 5 Now at the arrival of (the time) that

⁷ *dangow*: a measurement from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger with the hand outstretched or approximately 18 centimeters (7 inches) in length.

⁸ *pokobovaa*: derived from *bovaa* 'to make'.

⁹ *ko-uyag*: literally 'to cause something to live'.

¹⁰ Implied: This may consist of glowing embers or a fire that is kept burning in the house on compacted soil where the cooking is done.

¹¹ *motoggas*: literally, 'hard'.

¹² *puntukon*: derived from *puntuk* 'to group, to gather into a pile'. The wood is gathered and put in between three stones that have been set to form a triangle. A pot can then be placed on the stones for cooking.

¹³ Implied: If the ashes covering the embers were a small amount, the embers might die.

kod-inguma ron to kodpovollioy to osso-ossan mgo ogget, id inguma mandad kos mgo saku, bolutan woy dos mgo linippan nod bovallan to kesay woy dos nopongnga ron tapoy¹ no kesay. 6 Iddot timput kovuyyahan, dii ran golid pokobovollit mgo ko-ilonganon dan pomot waa pa man dangan oraroy od bovoligya woy moriyu kos id oubpan dan pomot bonuwa. 7 Waa mandad moppiya no koosada, woy mahaa kos soopi woy mohirap nod nongkapon.² 8 Simbokkad da od poko-undiyot mgo podi-an woy mgo kolivuungan su moriyu ran man to koowaggan³ woy kosogaran nod oubpan dan diyot suksuk to lumut.

9 De-en ossa pa tat kesay nod gomiton to kodtinuhon, idde-en mandad so ounan. 10 Iddos ounan dan pomon to kapuk.⁴ 11 Od ongayon dan iddos kapuk, od owan to ukap woy iddos bukoo rin id lasud diyot napuu o saku,⁵ na idde-en kos od bovallan no ounan. 12 Idda mandad so od ikamon dan, sikandan dad kos od bovaa sud kotuig dan dad mandad ka-ay woy duwon mandad pinomuwa ran no bukollud⁶ nod bovallan no ikam ahad dii ran don od bovolli. 13 Dos binovallan dan no ikam, od botokkan to osso-ossan batok amoy moppiya nod tongtongngan. 14 Na inis ikam, od lonuhon mandad ini ko duwon od po-ukumoy su mahaa kos kontidad ka-ay. 15 Mgo ba-ay kos kosogaran nod bovaa to ikam woy dos oraroy nod kotuig nod bovaa ka-ay, mosiyapat nod kopongnga. 16 Dangan, pomon to waa pa man oraroy sinorollan to moppiya no kod-oubpa, dii ran don moho od kokuambu⁷ loppas de-ek waa kesay.

17 Dangan woy ko-ungkay, duwon don ko-ossan to kod-oubpa to mgo minuvu woy duwon don kopolinan moka-atag to mgo od botasanon diyot ubpan labbi ron iddos mgo kosongkapan dan woy mgo pinuungan. 18 Otin mgo Monuvu dangan, waa goli kodtuhanuu to mgo kosongkapan diyot ubpan ahad iddos kod-oubpa no diid kohirapan woy waa kod-ontong to koromma. 19 Dos botasan dan ko-ungkay na-angoy ran don ini pomot mgo Bisoya woy dumon tribu su dos dumon Monuvu nongoko-osawa ron to mgo Bisoya, woy nokosumbaoy ron to mgo Bisoya, de-en nononawwan dan to kandan no ko-ubpa.

20 Diyot daom to ubpan, waa iddos od posimbokaddoy to sinavong to sokkad no pomilya, ko konna timpu tod tinuhon, od poruuhoy re-en langun iddos mgo anak woy iddos toosawa. 21 Ini od kopakoy riyon to moollimot pa iddos mgo anak dan, piru ko od mongovay woy od konakan don dos mgo anak, idda pa od ossa ran don od ilogga woy dii ron od layuk to mgo tobboy ran woy amoy woy inoy su⁸ od anit⁹ don. 22 Iddos mgo kora-an poron en no mgo buyyag to mgo Monuvu, kosogaran od ilogga nod duug to moranit apuy, o od dorompuwan¹⁰ dan amoy diid kohonnow su buyyag don man. 23 Woy iddos kora-an poron en, iddos duma od bovaoy ra to moomollimot woy dos od ngoranan no popo¹¹ sud ngilam to mgo mongayow. 24 De-en dos diyot daom, diid kovovallan no sinavong, od polommungoy ran da od tinuhon woy iddos od ilutuwan diyon de-et daom ahad iddos od kannan woy'd towwan to mgo kosongkapan dan, sokkad de-en kos od towwan.

25 Diyot dumon kodbovaoy, duwon iddos od ngoranan no ponta-as, woy ini id ta-aw riyot datas to ubpan su ini id panoy ko duwon mgo mongayow.

¹ *nopongnga ron tapoy*: literally, 'finished of old'.

² *mohirap nod nongkapon*: literally, 'hard to find'.

³ *koowaggan*: literally, 'wide place'.

⁴ *kapuk*: a kind of tree, the pods of which produce a cottonlike fiber (*Ceiba pentandra*).

⁵ Implied: A rice sack was shortened so as to be just the right size for a pillow.

⁶ *bukollud*: a kind of palm tree, the leaves of which are used to make a sleeping mat (*Pandanus*). The leaves of this kind of palm are smooth, hence it is good for making a sleeping mat.

⁷ The "mosquito net" in the past was not made from netting material but was made from rice sacks which were sewn together. Hence they blocked out the cold and could substitute for a blanket.

(people) sold each other different (kinds of) material, also arriving (on the scene) were rice sacks, flour sacks, and material that was made into a blanket, and ready made¹ blankets. 6 At the time of the ancestors, they were not really able to buy their necessities because in the past there assuredly was not yet much to sell and they lived far from the city. 7 There also wasn't yet a good road, and money was of high value and hard to come by.² 8 Just occasionally they would go to the market and to meetings because they were assuredly far from the urban places³ and usually they lived in the remote area in the wild.

9 Besides the blanket that was used for sleeping, also used was a pillow. 10 Their pillow was (made) from *kapuk*⁴ 'cotton tree'. 11 They would harvest the cotton pod, remove the outer peel, and the cotton was put inside a cloth or a sack,⁵ (and) that was made into a pillow. 12 As for their sleeping mat, they made it because they knew how to make this; they also had crops (called) *bukollud*⁶ that were made into a sleeping mat even if they did not buy (one). 13 They made sleeping mats designed with different designs so that it was attractive to look at. 14 Now this (particular) sleeping mat was also included when there were those bargaining with each other and the value of this was high. 15 Women usually were the ones who made sleeping mats and those who really knew how to make these could make them quickly. 16 In the past, because it was not yet really known what was (considered) good day-to-day living, the only (time) they would use a mosquito net⁷ is if they did not have a blanket.

17 (Comparing) the past and today, there is a difference in the day-to-day living of people and there are changes concerning the customs in the house, especially regarding their belongings and activities. 18 The Manobo people in the past were not really concerned about belongings in the house or daily living so that (life) would not be difficult and there was no (such thing as) looking to the future. 19 Their customs today they have gotten from the Visayans and other people groups because some Manobos have married Visayans and their neighbors are Visayan; therefore they learned their (the Visayan) way of life.

20 Inside of a house, there wasn't the (practice) of a family having individual rooms but instead when it was time to sleep, all of the children and the married couple would just sleep next to each other. 21 This is possible when their children are still small, after that they sleep separately and no longer sleep next to their sisters and father and mother because⁸ it is (considered) *anit*.⁹ 22 The older Manobo people still following older practices usually would sleep nearby the fire, or they would keep the fire burning¹⁰ so as not to get cold because they were already old. 23 And those still following older practices, some would just build a small house or that which is called a *popo*¹¹ to be alert for killers. 24 Therefore the inside was not made into rooms; they just stayed together to sleep and where they cooked was inside, even where they ate and where their things were stored, (there was) just one place (for everything).

25 In some houses, there was that which is called a high bed shelf, and this was placed in a high area in the house because it was prepared if there were murderers.

⁸ Implied: because if they do....

⁹ *anit*: taboos that result in punishment by the *Inanit* spirit for incest and inappropriate behavior towards animals, insects, and reptiles.

¹⁰ *dorompunan*: derived from *dampun* 'cooking pot', implying a person would put slow burning wood on top of a cooking pot and sleep next to it to keep warm.

¹¹ *popo*: a house built on a tall tree stump in order to seek shelter from enemies. For more detailed information see Section V Getting Along With Others: *Tree Shelter*.

26 Na, otin duwon od lowwi kandan woy riyon od ilogga,¹² od bollatan dan to ikam diyot koowaggan to ubpan dan. 27 Woy suwamig morat¹³ iddos od ko-iloggan to mgo anak dan, osaa no moppiya ra iddos od ko-iloggan tat mgo moholiyug, sud upiyannan dan me-en to kod-olit-olit.

28 Moka-atag to uras to kodtinuhon, waa motallong no uras no id tandang to kodtinuhon, diyon to kandan ko kannu od pokotinuhon. 29 Piru otin bulli to dii ran pa od tinuhon, kosogaran iddos mgo buyyag od ponguman pa o od uwahing sikandan su od lukan to mgo anak. 30 De-en ka-ay en pantok od poka-angoy¹⁴ to mgo itulon woy mgo pongumanon iddos mgo anak. 31 Kopongnga ran od laavung, dii ran don od lo-uklo-uk konna iling ko-ungkay no kouhoy od pontinuhon kos mgo minuvu su mo-uraa pa nod pokolewang woy od puungan. 32 Piru ko duwon mgo ukum o dakkoo¹⁵ no kodpotongkooy iling to kodpo-osoway, de-en dos mgo buyyag diid tinuhon taman tod kopongnga iddos tongko-anan. 33 Timput moko-untud, dii ran mandad od tinuhon labbi ron ko duwon od go-ossan nod puungan.

34 Diyot kodtinuhon, od ovukkan dan kos mgo suu, piru ko duwon od kovohokan, dii ran od obbuk to suu woy dii ran mandad od tinuhon sud tomongngan iddos od kovohokan ko od uwaton to busow. 35 Woy dii ran mandad od tinuhon timpu to duwon od ngilaman su od panoypanoy ran. 36 Piru duwon mandad timput bulli no dii ran od tinuhon su od ponuu ran to bakbak woy bokossan woy od ponuut saarong diyot lumut.

37 Diyot bulli, ini en kos timpu to kodponohenop woy iddos mgo onitu od pomandu to mgo bawi ukit to tohenoppon su waa man od ponohenop to allow. 38 Diyot bulli, timpu mandad ini taddot mgo minuvu no tokawon woy od puung to kororattan taddot mgo mongimatoy.

39 Na, ka-ay re-en sippang kos itulon ku moka-atag to botasan to mgo Monuvu riyon to kodtinuhon.

26 Now if there were those who visited them and when it was (time) to sleep,¹² they would unfold a sleeping mat for them in the wide area of their house. 27 And even if the place where their children slept was not good,¹³ as long as the place where visitors slept was good, because naturally they took pains to show good hospitality.

28 Concerning the hour of sleeping, there was no right time that was agreed upon to sleep; it depended on them when they were sleepy. 29 But when it was evening before going to sleep, usually the older people would tell a story or they would sing a story because it would placate the children, causing them to fall asleep. 30 This indeed then was the way children learned¹⁴ stories and traditional narratives. 31 After they ate dinner, they did not wander around like today when it is a long time (before) people sleep because they still have many things to distract and to do. 32 But if there was bartering or important¹⁵ discussions like (concerning) marriage, then the older ones didn't sleep until (after) the discussion was finished. 33 After the noon meal, they also did not sleep, especially if there was work that had to be quickly done.

34 In going to sleep, they blew out kerosene lights, but if someone was sick, they would not blow out the kerosene lights and they also did not sleep because they would look after the sick person in case an evil spirit would make (the illness) even worse. 35 And they also would not sleep at times when there were those to be vigilant of so they could be prepared. 36 But there were also times at night that they did not sleep because they will hunt for frogs and pythons and deer using a bow and arrow in the wild.

37 At night, this is indeed the time of dreaming and when spirits give advice about medicinal plants through dreams because no one assuredly dreams during the day. 38 At night it is also a time for those people who steal and killers doing destructive things.

39 So just indeed up to here is my story concerning the customs of the Manobo people in regards to sleeping.

¹² *ilogga*: literally, 'lay down'.

¹³ Implied: The children give up their not very nice place to sleep so the visitors can sleep there instead.

¹⁴ *poka-angoy*: literally, 'able to get'.

IV Livelihood

“Most Manobos have knowledge of working in the field, and they also have their own ways of doing things.”

Ko-uyahan

“Ko-urallan to mgo Monuvu duwon kotuihan dan to kodpuung to livuta, woy duwon dad mandad od ikulan dan.”

Kodkamot

Tano Bayawan

1 Dangan to timpu poron to mgo kovuyyahan, iddos od ko-ongayan dan to ko-uyahan, idda re-en so kodpomuwa to ahad ondan¹ diyot livuta iling to ommoy, botad, kosila, angkog, binggala, ousiya, osso-osson sahing, mgo gulay, tobbu woy duma pa no mgo od koka-an. 2 Piru iddos ko-urallan dangan to mgo pinomuwa, mgo ommoy re-en su dos ommoy od ko-uyag diyot pattad.² 3 Dii sikandan od kaaggow tod koka-an dan su od ko-uyag man kos ommoy woy iddos dumon pinomuwa uwoy mowwag pa mandad iddos livuta no od kopomuwannan. 4 Dii ran don mandad od kaaggow to od kouddungluddung dan su duwon man mowwag nod kongongaapan diyot lumut.

5 Ko-urallan to mgo Monuvu dangan, waa nongoko-iskuwila, piru duwon kotuihan dan to kodpuung to livuta, woy duwon dad mandad od ikulan dan. 6 Duwon pomo-ukit dan to kodpuung woy kodpomuwa riyot livuta no konnod ikuu tat lammin pomo-ukit ko-ungkay. 7 De-en, livuta re-en kos od puungan dan amoy od ko-ongayan to koka-an dan. 8 Duwon duma no kodtotamuk kos kandan nod kopuungan woy dii oraroy sikandan od puung diyot livuta. 9 Duwon mandad iddos mgo datu nod ousoy to samuk woy'd totamuk uwoy od oukum, de-en kos unayan nod osawa sikandan to mo-uraa³ amoy iddos mgo molitan kos od popuungan to livuta. 10 Woy duwon mandad mgo Monuvu no kodsosayab de-en kos od puungan dan. 11 Sikandan don en mandad kos od unoy-unoy nod sosayab su od kotuig man sikandan. 12 Na iddos mgo kosongkapan to kodpuung to livuta, ini en so koosidu, kollu, porokuu woy sanggot.

13 Na, iddos kodpuung to livuta dangan woy ko-ungkay, nokod-ossa. 14 Iddos dangan, mowwag pa kos livuta woy riyon pa to pattad od oubpa dos mgo minuvu. 15 Woy pomon to mowwag pa kos livuta, od tohontohon dobbo kos mgo minuvu nod kamot, kopakoy sikandan nod alin-alin. 16 Dos mgo Monuvu, konna oraroy od pomuwa to mgo od kouhoy no pinomuwa iling to mgo loppu su od tonanan dan man iddos livuta. 17 Iyon da id pomuwa ran iddos ommoy, botad woy morat no mgo koka-an.⁴ 18 Iddos patow ran dangan no dii ron od tuvuwan to ommoy kos livuta su od tuvuwan don to mgo aggi,⁵ na od tonanan dan don iddos kamot woy'd alin mandon sikandan od pongamot. 19 Na, ko od lihad don kos oruwa o otollun lahun, od livoddan dan tod pomuwa iddon livuta su od popuwaas don man mandon. 20 Od tuvuwan idda to osso-osson kayu, sabbot woy moollimot no kayu, iling to solingovud,⁶ bigloy,⁷ bosikung,⁸ sogga,⁹ woy duma pa no mgo kayu. 21 Ini en dos od ngoranan no tobbon puwaas. 22 Na otin od ingumannan don to limmon lahun nod tuvuwan don to doorakkon kayu, od ngoranan don idda to motossan no puwaas. 23 Na laggun tod

¹ *ahad ondan*: literally, 'no-matter what kind'.

² In the past, the Manobo people lived on flat land (lowlands) and in a climate conducive to growing rice. As the population in Mindanao increased with more people from Luzon and the Visayas moving south, the Manobos sold their land, often for a very low price, such as a sack of rice.

³ Implied: more than one wife. See Section I Life Cycle: *Taking an Additional Wife*.

⁴ *morat no mgo koka-an*: literally, 'bad food'. In other Manobo areas, this is called *konna bonnaa no mgo koka-an*: literally, 'not real food'. This includes crops like taro, sweet potato, and cassava that are considered common everyday food and does not include rice or a meat dish.

⁵ *cogon*: a tall, tough, perennial grass (*Imperata cylindrica*).

⁶ *solingovud*: a kind of small tree used for medicinal purposes. The leaves of the young tree are oval shaped and reddish; when it is mature, the leaves turn green.

Farming

Tano Bayawan

The constellations and position of the moon served as a kind of calendar for the Manobo farmer letting him know when to plant, what to plant, and whether or not to plant. The call of a wild dove is a bad omen. However, seeing a *dumooddak* snake is a good omen. Although methodologies have changed over the years, swidden agriculture is still practiced as is the practice of helping each other work in the field.

1 In the past at the time of the ancestors, they got their sustenance from planting any¹ kind of crop in the soil like rice, corn, sweet potatoes, gabi, cassava, root crops, different kinds of bananas, vegetables, sugarcane, and other things that can be eaten. 2 But the major crop in the past was just rice because rice survived in the lowlands.² 3 They were not worried about their food because rice and other crops would assuredly survive, and the land for planting crops was still abundant. 4 They also were not worried about their meat because there surely were wide areas to hunt in the wild.

5 The majority of the Manobo people in the past did not go to school, but they knew how to work the land and there were also procedures they followed. 6 They had ways of working and planting crops in the soil that the new ways of today do not follow. 7 Therefore the soil was their only means to obtain their food. 8 There were others for whom bargaining was their work and they did not really work the soil. 9 There were also tribal leaders to arbitrate conflicts and to trade and bargain; that was the reason that they would marry many³ so the women would be made to work the soil. 10 And there were also Manobo people for whom forging metal was their work. 11 They also on their own were forging metal because they assuredly knew how. 12 Now the tools to work the soil includes a machete, a knife for weeding, an axe, and a scythe.

13 Now (the ways of) working the soil in the past and today are different. 14 In the past, land was still wide and the people were still living in the flatland. 15 And because land was still abundant, people could just have a field anywhere; it was possible for them to move from place to place. 16 The Manobo people did not really plant crops that had a long growing season like coconuts because they would assuredly abandon the land. 17 All that they planted was rice, corn, and common food.⁴ 18 A sign to them in the past that land would no longer grow rice was that cogon⁵ grass would start growing there, so they would abandon the field and they moved again to plant (elsewhere). 19 Now after two or three years had passed, they would return to plant that land because it had surely become wilderness again. 20 Different kinds of trees, grasses, and small trees would grow there, like *solingovud*,⁶ *bigloy*,⁷ *bosikung*,⁸ *sogga*,⁹ and other trees. 21 This indeed is what is called *tobbon puwaas* 'a young wilderness'. 22 Now when five years have gone by (and) very large trees have already grown, it is called *motosaan no puwaas* 'a mature wilderness'. 23 Now while that field was being abandoned, a different

⁷ *bigloy*: a kind of small tree with small inedible fruit and leaves that cause itchiness if touched (*Melanolepis multiglandulosa*).

⁸ *bosikung*: a kind of small tree with small, round, green, inedible fruit growing in bunches directly from the trunk and branches (*Ficus sp.*).

⁹ *sogga*: a kind of small tree. Parts of the bark and leaves of this tree have fine particles of down that cause pain to the skin if touched.

tonanan iddon kamot, od pongamot pa to ossa woy idde-en kos od podsuusuvalon tod pomuwa. 24 Idda re-ek gahad nod puungan dan.

25 Iddos mgo Monuvu, duwon mandad kandan no mgo po-ukit to kodkilaa to ollog no timpu to moppiyon kodkamot woy kodpomuwa. 26 Iling ka-ay kos mgo gahad.

Kodponlowwi¹⁰

27 Ini en dos unna nod puungan to dii pa od tigkanoy od kamot. 28 Inin timpu, tongngatongnga to Porumon¹¹ taman to tongngatongnga to Ponikapan.¹² 29 Ini en kos timpu to kodgeddam to livuta ko moppiya vo nod komotton o dii. 30 Na iddos od puungan tadda, od geddaman ko iddos Mohumanoy¹³ woy iddos Kaayag¹⁴ od aman bo nod komottan iddon lugaa. 31 Na iling bo ka-ay iddos pomo-ukit to kod-obisu riyon to Mohumanoy woy Kaayag. 32 Unna, od kamot iddos minuvu to disok da nod ngoranan no tolihobba¹⁵ woy kopongnga, iddos koosidu woy porokuu no id gamit din, id tibbas woy id potangon din diyon to lobbut to kayu no id komottan din. 33 Na od tonanan din pobbo idda woy gali rin od ontongngan idda ko so-op don no allow. 34 Na, otin waa no-uug iddos koosidu woy dos porokuu no id potangon din diyot kayu, dos ko-uluhan tadda, od aman iddos Mohumanoy woy iddos Kaayag.¹⁶ 35 Piru ko od ko-uug iddos koosidu woy dos porokuu, dos ko-uluhan tadda no duwon morat¹⁷ nod kotomanan ko od ponayun sikandin. 36 Kopakoy no od kopoliyan sikandin, od kahaton bo to uwod o kopakoy no disok kos od kokottu rin dutun no kamot. 37 De-en, otin iling tadda dos undahon, od alin mandon sikandin nod nonangkap taddot lugaa nod aman iddos Mohumanoy woy Kaayag.

38 Sokkad mandad nod tonuran to kodpongamot iddos od kutollan to limukon¹⁸ su morat kos na-at, iling to od poko-iran ka. 39 Na iddos moppiyon patow laggun tod tolihobba ka, od pokokita ka to uwod no dumooddak.¹⁹ 40 Dos ko-uluhan ka-ay no pomon to korokolloy to nokottu ru, od pongooddak²⁰ don kos duma.

Kodkamot

41 Na otin od aman iddos Mohumanoy woy Kaayag, od kamot don to bonnaa,²¹ woy ini en no timpu od loppow iddos bitu-on²² nod ngoranan to Baatik.²³ 42 Dangan, botasan to Monuvu kos kodpopousungoy. 43 Iddos od apii ka-ay, dii ko-ilangan nod

Clearing a field
Kodkamot



field was cleared and those would be alternatively cleared and planted. 24 That (explains) the cycle (as to how) they worked.

25 The Manobo people also had their ways of recognizing the right season good for clearing a field and planting. 26 This is what the cycle was like.

Testing a field¹⁰

27 This is the first (thing) that is done before beginning to clear a field. 28 This season was halfway into (the month of) *Porumon*¹¹ until halfway into *Ponikapan*.¹² 29 This is the season of testing the land (to see) if it is a good place to plant a field or not. 30 Now what is done is to try to see if *Mohumanoy*¹³ and *Kaayag*¹⁴ will allow a field to be cleared in that place. 31 So the way of informing *Mohumanoy* and *Kaayag* is done like this. 32 First, a person will just clear a small area called *tolihobba*¹⁵ and after that, with the machete and axe that he uses, he strikes and embeds them into the base of a tree where he is clearing a field. 33 Then he leaves it for a bit and the next time he looks at it will be the next day. 34 Now if the machete and axe that he embedded into the tree have not fallen down that means *Mohumanoy* and *Kaayag* will allow.¹⁶ 35 But if the machete and axe have fallen down, that means something bad¹⁷ will happen if he continues (to clear a field). 36 It may happen that he will be wounded, (or) bitten by a snake, or it may happen that he will have a small harvest in that field. 37 Therefore if the result is like that, he will again move to find a place where *Mohumanoy* and *Kaayag* allow (a field to be cleared).

38 Yet another thing observed in clearing a field is the call of a wild dove¹⁸ because it is a bad omen, like you will be inflicted by an evil spirit. 39 Now a good sign while you are clearing a small field is when you can see a *dumooddak*¹⁹ snake. 40 This means that because of the large quantity of your harvest, some of it will *pongooddak*²⁰ ‘rot away’.

Clearing the field

41 Now if *Mohumanoy* and *Kaayag* allow it, an actual²¹ field is cleared, and this is the season that the constellation²² called *Baatik*²³ appears. 42 In the past, it was a custom of the Manobo people to help each other in the field. 43 Those who took part in this

¹⁰ *Kodponlowwi*: literally, ‘visiting’.

¹¹ *Porumon*: occurs roughly the second half of November and the first half of December.

¹² *Ponikapan*: roughly the second half of December and the first half of January.

¹³ *Mohumanoy*: a spirit that owns the trees.

¹⁴ *Kaayag*: a female deity responsible for causing rice to grow and who grants a good harvest.

¹⁵ *tolihobba*: a small field of crops of approximately .25 hectare (3/5 acre).

¹⁶ Implied: *Mohumanoy* and *Kaayag* will allow the farmer to clear a field there.

¹⁷ Implied: *Mohumanoy* and *Kaayag* will cause something bad to happen.

¹⁸ *limukon*: a kind of wild dove with white ears and light brown feathers speckled with black (*Phapitreron leucotis*).

¹⁹ *dumooddak*: a poisonous black snake with yellow underbelly and red tail. To see it in a field is a good omen because its name sounds like *pongooddak* (see footnote 20), hence predicting a bountiful harvest.

²⁰ *pongooddak*: literally, ‘to rot’, implying for some of the crops to rot because the harvest is so bountiful, i.e., the farmer cannot handle it all.

²¹ *bonnaa*: literally, ‘true, real’. This is in contrast to a *tolihobba* ‘small field’.

²² *bitu-on*: literally, ‘star’.

²³ *Baatik*: a constellation of five stars visible the later half of January to the first half of February; Orion.

boyaran. 44 Piru od pokannon da sikandan diyon to sollom woy moko-untud. 45 Iyon mandad od kannon dan, iddos kosila, binggala, angkog o ousiya. 46 Woy iddos timbang po-init²⁴ dan, od uwos da sikandan to tobbru su waa pa man kopi dangan. 47 Iddos sokkad no *toriyas* nod komotton, od sinsinahawan da idda su od potovangoy me-en. 48 Na riyon tod uli ron sikandan diyot mapun, od oilutu to boggas woy luddung no saarong o salmun iddos komunoy, woy id poka-an ini tat mgo minuvu taman tod kovuungbuung sikandan. 49 Botasan to Monuvu no riyon tod uli kos tohodpuung, od popiyoddon sikandan tat mgo koka-an atag to pomilya ran. 50 Ko-urallan tod popousung, iddos mgo datu woy iddos od pon-uuwon su duwon mgo minuvu ran. 51 Iddos duma, od posuvaloy tod puung diyot ipat kamot taman tod poko-oddok dan don langun.

Kodponidduk

52 Kopongnga tod kamot woy kodpomiloy to mgo kayu, od pohonguwon pa iddos langun no sabbot²⁵ woy kopongnga, od pomu-ilan don. 53 Na ko duwon pa nongosama no sabbot, gahasan pa mandon iddos kamot, od limuron dos mgo sabbot woy mgo panga to kayu woy'd tirukkan mandon.

Kod-oddok woy kodpomuwa

54 Diyon to kodpomuwa,²⁶ ko-ilangan no od aangat pa mandon iddos komunoy to ollog no timpu to kod-oddok to ommoy woy od anggad tat bitu-on nod ngoranan to Maara.²⁷ 55 Na idda pa od kopakoy ron od tigkanoy nod oddok to ommoy woy od pomuwa to morat no mgo koka-an,²⁸ iling to mgo tobbru, angkog, binggala, ousiya, kosila, osso-osson sahing woy duma pa. 56 Piru duwon mandad ollog no timpu no od dongnganon to kodpomuwa tadda, su riyon to mgo Monuvu, konna moppiya nod pomuwa ko od buwanon, od kopakoy rad man ko iddos buwan od topaya²⁹ ron. 57 Piru iyon oraroy'n ollog no timpu to kodpomuwa, iddos timpu to iko-otollun dollom.³⁰ 58 Su ahad pe-en dollom iddos kodpomuwa ru woy ko idda pe-en kos kodsap to buwan dos norongnganan du, morat dad en dos od kokottu su dos pinomuwa ru od ohawon to lumat woy koset. 59 Idde-en iddos od ngoranan no kawot.³¹ 60 Iddos botad woy ommoy nokod-iling kos onggaran³² no timpu. 61 Iddos angkog, ollog no id pomuwa ko od daturatu³³ kos buwan. 62 Woy moppiya mandad nid pomuwa iddos kosila ko timpu no dos buwan od ngoranan to tokinluunon.³⁴ 63 Id ngoranan ini to ungketen su timpu ron tod luunon kos ikam, dos ko-uluhan, od onnow ron woy temosson kos ikam.



did not need to be paid. 44 But they were just fed in the morning and at noon. 45 What they ate were (root crops like) sweet potato, cassava, gabi, or taro. 46 And a substitute for their coffee,²⁴ they just sucked the sap of sugarcane because there surely wasn't any coffee in the past. 47 Clearing one hectare was (done) in just a short time since naturally they helped each other. 48 When they went home in the afternoon, the field owner cooked rice and deer meat or large sardines and fed this to the people until they were very full. 49 It was a custom of the Manobo people that when the workers were (about to) return home, they were given food to carry for their families. 50 The majority of those who had (workers) help in the field were tribal leaders and (other) leaders because they had workers. 51 Others took turns working in each other's field until all were able to be planted.

Swidden

52 After clearing a field and chopping down trees, all the grass²⁵ is left to wilt and after that it is burned. 53 Now if there is still some grass left, the field is cleared again by putting the grass in a pile along with tree branches and it is again burned.

Planting rice and planting crops

54 In planting crops,²⁶ it is necessary for the owner to again wait for the right time to plant rice and await the constellation called *Maara*.²⁷ 55 Then it is possible to begin planting rice and planting common food²⁸ like sugarcane, gabi, cassava, taro, sweet potatoes, different kinds of bananas, and other (crops). 56 But there also is a right season to be planting those at the same time, because according to the Manobo people, it is not good to plant if the moon is clearly visible;²⁹ it is just possible if the moon is in its first or last quarter. 57 But the very best season to be planting is (the day after) the time of the third (evening) of a crescent moon.³⁰ 58 Because even if it is still a crescent when you plant (the following day), or if you (plant) at the same time when the moon is in its last quarter, what you harvest will definitely be bad because your crops will be snatched by rats and bats. 59 That is what is called *kawot*³¹ 'snatching'. 60 Corn and rice seed have the same planting³² season. 61 It is the right (time) to plant taro if the moon is full.³³ 62 And it is also good to plant sweet potatoes at the season when the moon is called *tokinluunon*.³⁴ 63 It is called this because it is the time of *luunon* 'rolling up' a sleeping mat, meaning (it's time to) wake up and put away the sleeping mat.

²⁴ *po-init*: literally, 'that which is warm to drink' is derived from *init* 'warm'.

²⁵ Implied: tall grass that has been cut.

²⁶ Implied: other crops than rice.

²⁷ *Maara*: a constellation of a group of stars appearing in early April.

²⁸ See footnote 4.

²⁹ Implied: When the moon is visible, rats and insects come out.

³⁰ *dollom*: literally, 'a period of darkness'.

³¹ *kawot*: refers to sentence 58 when rats and bats are taking advantage of this time of darkness to snatch the crops.

³² *onggaran*: literally, 'to wait on something' is derived from *anggad*.

³³ *daturatu*: derived from *datu* 'chieftain, tribal leader'. A tribal leader is an important person in the community because everyone goes to him when they have a problem. Hence the full moon is likened to someone important whom people go to.

³⁴ *tokinluunon*: the time when the moon is only seen in the morning. This is the same time when people are *luunon* 'rolling up' their sleeping mats. This is also a good time to plant sweet potato because even if the stem is *luun* 'rolled up', i.e., it appears it will not yield a crop, sweet potato can still produce a good crop because it is planted during *tokinluunon*.

They plant corn because it can
be harvested sooner than rice.

*Od pomuwa ran to botad su
go-os nod kosanggi.*



64 Diyot kodpomuwa dangan to mgo Monuvu, od popousungoy mandad sikandan.
65 Iddos mgo mama, dos tohodgalling.³⁵ 66 Na idda mandad so mgo ba-ay, od
pontinundug nod buvu³⁶ to bonni to ommoy. 67 Duwon duma nod pomuwa nod
sayow sikandan laggun tod galling woy'd pomuwa. 68 Iddos id oppad dan, iddos
poggapak³⁷ no id takos diyot tudak to mgo mama. 69 Na riyot ipat sopuun linya, od
pomuwannan dan to botad diyot ollot su iddos botad go-os man od kosanggi taddot
ommoy. 70 De-en kos od puungan dan amoy duwon unnon od pokotavang³⁸ tod
koka-an dan su dos ommoy, sokkad no lahun kos od ongatan dan idda pa od kokottu.
71 Diyon mandad to ibpit tat kamot, diyon dan be-en id pomuwa iddos kosila, angkog,
ousiya, binggala, mgo tobbu, woy mgo gulay uwoy mgo sahing su amoy duwon od
ko-ongayan dan to koka-an diyon to timpu to kodkallu taddot ommoy. 72 Od pomuwa
ran mandad to gulay riyot lama woy mgo loggu.³⁹ 73 Na otin nopongnga ron iddos
kodpomuwa to ommoy, woy duwon pa nongosama no bonni, id savud dan idda riyot
ibpit tat kamot amoy id addii to mgo lumat⁴⁰ amoy dii ron od kannon iddos mgo
pinomuwa ran. 74 Na, riyon to kodta-aw ran tat nongosama no bonni riyot kamot, od
ponuvadtuvad pa sikandan woy'd ngoranan dan iddos Kaayag woy Pomuwa⁴¹ amoy
dakkoo kos od kokottu ran woy diid pongannon to mgo lumat woy mgo uwod.

Kodkallu

75 Iddos ollog no timpu nod kolluwan dos ommayon woy dumon pinomuwa,
diyon don tod lihad don kos oruwan buwan pomot kodpomuwa woy od lowwet don ini.
76 Na, dos od puungan dan, od popousungoy rad en mandon sikandan nod kallu tat
ommayon.

Logkang

77 Iddos ko-uluhan ka-ay, moobbavon timpu to monit. 78 Iddon monit, oraroy'n
mosakit no dos mgo linas to kayu, od kookkab woy od ponlogkang. 79 Na timpu ka-ay,
oraroy nod koosayan kos mgo minuvu su iddos mgo pinomuwa ran, lammi pa kollu-i
woy iyon od ko-ongayan dan to ko-uyahan, iddos kodngongaap.

64 In the past when the Manobo people planted, they also helped each other in the field. 65 The men were the *tohodgalling*³⁵ ‘ones making holes in the soil’. 66 The women would follow planting³⁶ rice seed. 67 Some would dance while making a hole in the soil and planting. 68 They kept the beat with a *poggapak*³⁷ ‘bamboo clapper’ which was tied to the *tudak* ‘rice planter’ of the men. 69 Now at every tenth row, they would plant corn in between because corn can be harvested sooner than rice. 70 They did this so there was something that could be harvested³⁸ first for their food because as for rice, they had to wait one year before it could be harvested. 71 Also at

Bamboo clapper
Poggapak



the edge of the field they planted sweet potatoes, gabi, taro, cassava, sugarcane, and vegetables and also bananas so that there would be a source of food that they could obtain at the time of weeding the rice field. 72 They also planted vegetables and seasoning herbs³⁹ in the yard. 73 Now when the rice planting was finished and there was still some seed left, they scattered it on the edge of the field to prepare⁴⁰ for rats so they would not eat their crops. 74 Now as they were putting the leftover seed in the field, they called out to and named *Kaayag* and *Pomuwa*⁴¹ so that they would have a large harvest and it would not be eaten by rats and insects.

Weeding

75 The right season for weeding a rice field and other crops was two months after planting and (the rice) was getting tall. 76 Then what they would do was they would again work together to weed that rice field.

Very hot weather

77 The meaning of this *logkang* is a short season of very hot weather. 78 The heat is so painfully (hot) that the bark of the trees peels off and cracks from the heat. 79 This season is very hard on people because their crops have just recently been weeded and what they survive on for their sustenance is fishing.

³⁵ *tohodgalling*: derived from *galling* ‘to push a rice planter stick into the ground to dig a shallow hole’.

³⁶ Implied: Women would follow the men dropping rice seeds into the holes and push the soil over the seeds with their feet.

³⁷ *poggapak*: a clapper made of bamboo. A clapping sound is produced as the two bamboo sides bang together whenever the *tudak* ‘stick used to make holes for seeds’ is pushed into the ground.

³⁸ *pokotavang*: literally, ‘able to help’.

³⁹ Implied: plants such as onions, garlic, and lemon grass.

⁴⁰ Some crops were intentionally planted for rats at the edge of the field to keep them from eating the main crops.

⁴¹ *Pomuwa*: a planting spirit or deity whose name means ‘to plant’.

Badti

80 Ini en kos timpu to kodbadti no dos ko-uluhan, od kottu to disok nod pongaamon da su konna pa man langun od koutuwan inin timpu. 81 Dos patow nod badti ron su dos ommoy, duwon poron sambut no mounnow o od onnuu poron. 82 Na od ongayon bo iddos id badti woy id posolamat taddot Kaayag woy Pomuwa. 83 To dii pa ini od ilutuwon, od ponuvadtuvanan pa, od pon-umawon iddos Pomuwa woy Kaayag, amoy diid pokodora-at to gottok iddos ommoy.

Kodkottu

84 Kopongnga od badti, od tullid⁴² don nod pongottu otin langun don od koutuwan. 85 Na idda ve-en so od pongkopiyan nod kottu, od pon-umawon en sikandan, labbi ron en iddos nokotavang id puung. 86 Na iddos od kottuwon, od taadtaaron idda nod todduwon da tat komunoy iddos id pokottu woy od pomotawan ko ingkon taman dos od kokottu⁴⁴ rin.⁴³ 87 Na kopongnga tod kottu, id ossa ran kos bonni woy od loyyak⁴⁵ mandad to id ta-aw riyon to luu no id addii atag to koka-an. 88 Diyon to luu no binovallan pomon to linas to kayu, dutun dan en id ta-aw iddos batta woy mgo liwit no id impon dan to ommoy. 89 Od sosabbung mandad iddos komunoy taddot od ngoranan no ponovon. 90 Diyon ini to ibpit to kamot no movonosson no diid kokita to mgo minuvu, su amoy diid ka-amin od buyuwon to mgo minuvu dos id kottu ran timpu to gutas.

Kodbandoy

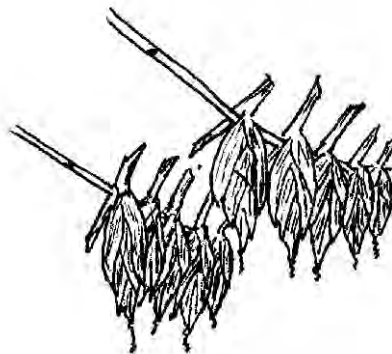
91 Timpu ron ini to kodkallu to lahami to ommoy⁴⁶ su od pomuwa ron mandon to ommoy. 92 Idde-en iddos od ngoranan nod pongulilang.

Sallot⁴⁷

93 Inis ko-uluhan ka-ay, mgo bitu-on ini nod potawan to kodkamot, kodponidduk woy kod-oddok. 94 Ko duwon don inin patow, ko-ilangan nod pokopomuwa ron inin timpu.

Kodsosayat

95 Timpu ron ini to kodtemmos to ommoy woy botad uwoy dumon mgo pinomuwa pomon diyot kamot. 96 Iddos botad, id sayat.⁴⁸



The corn was hung.
Iddos botad, id sayat.

Initial harvest thank offering

80 This indeed is the season of *kodbadi* ‘initial harvest thank offering’, meaning just a small (amount) is chosen to be harvested because assuredly not all will be harvested yet at this time. 81 The sign that it is (time for) the initial harvest thank offering is that the rice stalks still have a mix of (different) greens or are still unripe. 82 Now all that is gotten is (enough) for the initial harvest thank offering and thanks is given to *Kaayag* and *Pomuwa*. 83 Before this is cooked, spirits are beseeched; *Pomuwa* and *Kaayag* are called out to (asking) that the rice will not damage the stomach.

Harvesting rice

84 After the initial harvest thank offering, a real⁴² harvest (is done) when it is all ripened. 85 Now those who want to harvest, they are notified, especially those who have previously helped in the work. 86 Then the rice field to be harvested is divided up by the owner just by pointing at (a section) to the harvester and (the owner) marks off the boundary of where he⁴³ will be harvesting.⁴⁴ 87 Now after harvesting, they separate the seed and winnow⁴⁵ it again; then it is put in a *luu* ‘rice storehouse’ to preserve it to be eaten (at a future time). 88 In the rice storehouse that is made from the bark of a tree, there is where they put *batta* and *liwit* ‘large baskets’ that they had filled with rice. 89 The owner also built a small shelter called a *ponovon* ‘storeroom’. 90 This was put at the edge of the field in a place overgrown by weeds that could not be seen by people, so that that which they harvested would not be depleted by people requesting during a famine season.

Weeding a rice field after harvest

91 This is the season of clearing the rice stalks⁴⁶ because rice would again be planted. 92 That is called *pongulilang* ‘bearing a crop out of season’.

Return of the *Baatik* constellation⁴⁷

93 This refers to a constellation that indicated when to prepare a field, slash and burn, and plant rice. 94 If this has already appeared, it was necessary to plant at this time.

Time of putting away

95 This was the time of putting away rice and corn and other crops from the field. 96 The corn was hung.⁴⁸

⁴² *tullid*: literally, ‘straight’ implies the rice is completely harvested.

⁴³ This refers to the harvester.

⁴⁴ There are several harvesters. Each are responsible to harvest one section of the field and after the rice goes through the entire process, then each harvester will receive a portion, e.g., 30 percent goes to the harvesters and 70 percent to the owner.

⁴⁵ *loyyak*: literally, ‘to separate the rice kernel from the stalk using the feet’.

⁴⁶ Implied: clearing what remains of the rice stalk after the first harvest.

⁴⁷ *Sallot*: a constellation that can be seen very early in the morning when the *Baatik* constellation appears to return.

⁴⁸ *sayat*: After corn is harvested, it is hung from rattan lines upside down outside so that it will not rot. It can stay like this for a long time.



Fiesta of feeding the farm tools
Poka-at kollu

Poka-at kollu⁴⁹

97 Ini en no timpu kos kodposolamat, od pista to kodpoka-an to mgo kollu, mgo goggot nod gomiton to kodkamot su od panoy ron mandon to so-op no kodkamot. 98 Od kolivuung iddos mgo tohodpuung to livuta woy od livuungon iddos mgo kollu ran sud ponuvadtuvanan amoy diyot kodkamot dan, waa poka-id woy iddos mgo pinomuwa, od bunga to moppiya woy diid dorattan to mgo lumat woy uwod. 99 Od oilutu sikandan inin timpu to koka-an atag to mgo minuvu.

100 Iddos timpu nod potawan⁵⁰ to tohodkamot daom to sokkad no lahun:

Iddos od pompuungan:	Pomon to:	Taman to:
Kodponlowwi	Tongngatongnga to Porumon	Tongngatongnga to Ponikapan ⁵¹
Kodpongamot	Tongngatongnga to Ponikapan	Tongngatongnga to Baatik ⁵²
Kodtidduk	Tongngatongnga to Baatik	Tongngatongnga to Ivang ⁵³
Kodkallu	Tongngatongnga to Ivang	Tongngatongnga to Maara ⁵⁴
Kodkallu	Tongngatongnga to Maara	Tongngatongnga to Loppu ⁵⁵
Logkang	Tongngatongnga to Loppu	Tongngatongnga to Baha ⁵⁶
Tihawod	Tongngatongnga to Baha	Tongngatongnga to Buaya ⁵⁷
Kodkottu	Tongngatongnga to Buaya	Tongngatongnga to Maliha
Kodbandoy	Tongngatongnga to Maliha	Tongngatongnga to Bu-u

Feeding the farm tools⁴⁹

97 This indeed was the season of giving thanks, for having a fiesta to *poka-at kollu* ‘feed the farm tools’ (and other) tools used in clearing a field to prepare these again for the next field to be cleared. 98 The workers in the field came together and gathered their farm tools for the purpose of asking the spirits that no evil spirits would afflict them while preparing their field, and that the crops would have a good yield and not be ruined by rats and insects. 99 Then they would cook food at this time for the people.

100 The yearly seasonal signs⁵⁰ seen by the field worker:

The task:	From:	To:
Inspecting the field	Halfway into <i>Porumon</i> (December)	Halfway into <i>Ponikapan</i> ⁵¹ (January)
Preparing the field	Halfway into <i>Ponikapan</i> (January)	Halfway into <i>Baatik</i> ⁵² (February)
Swidden	Halfway into <i>Baatik</i> (February)	Halfway into <i>Ivang</i> ⁵³ (March)
Weeding	Halfway into <i>Ivang</i> (March)	Halfway into <i>Maara</i> ⁵⁴ (April)
Weeding	Halfway into <i>Maara</i> (April)	Halfway into <i>Loppu</i> ⁵⁵ (May)
Very hot weather	Halfway into <i>Loppu</i> (May)	Halfway into <i>Baha</i> ⁵⁶ (June)
Giving thanks for harvest	Halfway into <i>Baha</i> (June)	Halfway into <i>Buaya</i> ⁵⁷ (July)
Harvest	Halfway into <i>Buaya</i> (July)	Halfway into <i>Maliha</i> (August)
Weeding after first harvest	Halfway into <i>Maliha</i> (August)	Halfway into <i>Bu-u</i> (September)

⁴⁹ *Poka-at kollu*: a ritual of thanksgiving in which farm tools were stuck into cooked rice. The tools used to produce a good harvest were symbolically “fed” and “thanked”. The ritual also included calling on the spirits, beseeching protection from evil spirits and that the next planting would have a good harvest.

⁵⁰ *potawan*: literally, ‘signs’, particularly constellations, the position and shape of the moon, and other signs in nature. Because it is an oral tradition, there is not total agreement on when the different constellations appear.

⁵¹ *Ponikapan*: according to some, a constellation of a cluster of stars. According to others, this refers to the soul of a deceased person making a *tipak* ‘mark’ on a strangler fig because many died this time of the year. (See Section I Life Cycle: *The Travels of the Soul after Death*, sentences 17–18.)

⁵² *Baatik*: literally, ‘pig trap’. This constellation has the appearance of a pig trap.

⁵³ *Ivang*: literally, ‘left’. This refers to one large, bright star that appears to the left of the *Baatik* constellation.

⁵⁴ *Maara*: refers to one star that appears to the right of the *Baatik* constellation.

⁵⁵ *Loppu*: literally, ‘coconut’. Fruit is planted when this star appears.

⁵⁶ *Baha*: refers to one star that appears at daybreak.

⁵⁷ *Buaya*: literally, ‘crocodile’. This refers to a constellation that has the shape of a crocodile that appears to be going after the moon to eat it. Because of that, it is like the *Buaya* constellation has moved. This constellation is also called *Mongguawa*, the etymology of which is uncertain.

Sallot	Tongngatongnga to Bu-u	Tongngatongnga to Mokodbangos ⁵⁸
Kodsosayat	Tongngatongnga to Mokovangos	Tongngatongnga to Pondorawa
Poka-at kollu	Tongngatongnga to Pondorawa	Tongngatongnga to Porumon

101 De-en, iddos mgo kovuyyahan dangan, ahad waa mgo kalendariu woy mgo lirus, nokosaddoo ko kannu sikandan od pomuwa, od oddok woy od kottu, oyya su od kotuig sikandan nod ontong to mgo patow iling to bitu-on, buwan woy duma pa. 102 Ko-ungkay'n timpu, ahad duwon nokod-osso-ossan pomo-ukit to kodkamot, piru duwon poron en botasan dan nod ikuu taddot pomo-ukit dan dangan iling to kodpopousungoy.

Natok

Tano Bayawan

1 Inis od itulon ku ko-ungkay moka-atag to natok no oraroy nod pokotavang no koka-an dangan timput gutas o bitii. 2 Inis natok, duwon oppat no od ko-ongayan ka-ay, unna, basag, iko-oruwa, livi, iko-otollu, balla woy iko-oppat, ugyuk.¹ 3 Piru iddos oraroy nod ko-ongayan dangan to natok, ikos basag.

4 Inis basag, iling to niyug dos lawa rin. 5 Otin anak pa kos basag, do ngaran din bohibbi. 6 Na otin buyyag don no duwon don bunga,² basag don kos id ngaran ka-ay woy duwon don ta-aw no natok.³ 7 Iyon od osengon to mgo Monuvu dangan ko od angoy ran to natok, od ungketen sikandan to, “Od sakuu ki.”

8 Iddos mgo pomo-ukit to kod-angoy o kodbovaa⁴ ka-ay, unna od pomilayon du ini. 9 Kopongnga tod piloy, od ponompoddon to sokkad o oruwon leppa⁵ woy kopakoy mandad taman to mgo tintollun leppa.⁶ 10 Na od podtongngan don bo ini tod tobbag. 11 Kopongnga idda, od bovaa to puhad⁷ no iddos od awaton, iddos linas to indouhung⁸ no kayu, od sovotton dos linas. 12 Na od angoy ka vo mandad to kayu no bengkog, de-en kos id sakuu o id kodkod taddot natok din. 13 Iddos boyo tat natok nod ka-angoy ru, iling en to luva no moputi woy duwon sambut no sissii iling to mgo duhi. 14 To dii pa id ta-aw iddos natok diyot linas, od tawwan⁹ unna to oweg. 15 Na od sokuwon don bo woy od sauron iddos tommok din diyot linas, id sapat diyot lantang woy id sokaya no od poogloggan don bo to apuy riyot silob. 16 Od tombunan ini to ogget¹⁰ woy mgo sokkad no uras no id aggom¹¹ kos natok. 17 Od kolebbolon idda sippang da tod monit

⁵⁸ According to legend, *Mokodbangos* ‘Morning Star’ cut up his children and scattered them into the sky and those are the small stars that can be seen today. He is also called *Nokodsondit*, derived from *sondit* ‘to repent’ because he repented that he cut up his children.

¹ The *basag*, *livi*, *balla*, and *ugyuk* are four kinds of palm trees from which sago, a white flourlike substance, are obtained (*Malay sagu*). These palms only produce sago when the tree is mature.

² The *bunga* ‘fruit’ of the *basag* palm grows from the stems near the leaves and are green, inedible, round, small (the size of a grape), and typically are many.

³ The *bohibbi* younger palm does not yet contain sago.

⁴ *kodbovaa*: literally, ‘making’ is derived from *bovaa* ‘to make something’.

⁵ *leppa*: a measurement based on the span of fingertip to fingertip with arms outstretched which is equivalent to about 2 meters (6½ feet) in length.

⁶ The average height of one palm tree is about 9 meters (30 feet), which is five arm spans. The number of sections obtained from one tree depends on the length that each section was cut.

⁷ *puhad*: A section of bark from a nearby tree is obtained, which is curved into a half circle. Bark is also fastened to each end, making a container to hold water and sago.

Returning of the <i>Baatik</i> constellation	Halfway into <i>Bu-u</i> (September)	Halfway into <i>Mokodbangos</i> ⁵⁸ (October)
Time of putting away	Halfway into <i>Mokodbangos</i> (October)	Halfway into <i>Pondorawa</i> (November)
Feeding the farm tools	Halfway into <i>Pondorawa</i> (November)	Halfway into <i>Porumon</i> (December)

101 Therefore, even though there were no calendars and clocks, the ancestors in the past knew when to plant crops, plant rice, and to harvest, yes (they knew this) because they knew how to look at signs like the stars, the moon, and other (signs). 102 Today even though there are different ways of farming, there still are customs of theirs that are followed according to the ways of the past, like that of helping each other in the field.

Sago

Tano Bayawan

During times of famine, if all else failed, the Manobo people relied on there being sago. Once a certain kind of sago-bearing palm tree is located, it is chopped down. The trunk is divided into sections which are then split in half. Then the white sediment at the core of the sections is scraped out into a container. Water is added and the water sediment is put over a low fire. The heating process causes the sago to rise. After that, small splinters in the sediment are removed. Then it can be eaten.

1 That which I will now relate about is concerning sago which really has been a helpful food in the past in times of hunger or famine. 2 Regarding sago, there are four (kinds of palm) this can be obtained from: first, *basag*, second, *livi*, third, *balla*, and fourth, *ugyuk*.¹ 3 But the most (common) from which sago was obtained is the *basag* palm.

4 The trunk of the *basag* palm is like that of the coconut tree. 5 When the *basag* palm is still young, it is called *bohibbi*. 6 Now when it is mature and bears fruit,² it is then called *basag* and it contains sago.³ 7 What Manobo people would say in the past when they went to get sago, they would (go) like this, “Let’s go scrape sago.”

8 As for the steps in getting or preparing⁴ this, first you chop it down. 9 After chopping it down, it is cut up in sections of about one or two arm spans⁵ (per section) and it can also (be cut) up to three arm spans (in length).⁶ 10 Then these are split lengthwise. 11 After that, a *puhad*⁷ ‘bark container’ is made by removing the bark of an *indouhung*⁸ tree; the bark is curved to form a container. 12 Then you also get a bent branch which is used to scrape or knock the sago out. 13 The appearance of the sago that you would obtain is like white sediment and mixed in it are tiny splinters that are like thorns. 14 Before putting the sago in the bark, first water is poured⁹ on it. 15 Then it is scraped out and its thick sticky pulp collected in the bark container which is set on a wooden rack and put above a fire burning underneath. 16 It is then covered with a cloth¹⁰ and the sago is soaked¹¹ for about one hour. 17 That is then

⁸ *indouhung*: a kind of small tree of thickets (*Trema orientalis*). The trunk has a fluid secreting from it which can be used as a poultice for swelling.

⁹ *tawwan*: literally, ‘placed’ is derived from *ta-aw* ‘to put something somewhere’.

¹⁰ Implied: The cloth covers the bark container while it is still being smoked on the wooden rack.

¹¹ Implied: in lukewarm water.

The basag palm is cut in sections
and the sections split in half.
*Iddos basag, od ponompoddon
woy'd tobbahon.*



don boyow. 18 Na ko od ontongngan don mandon idda, od koponnu iddos puhad su od tuvu¹² man. 19 Kopongnga idda, od ongayon don iddos sissii rin, otin od ka-awa ron iddos sissii, od otason kos oweg ukit tat ogget. 20 Od otason amoy od ka-awa kos luva, na natok don.

21 Dakkoo en no natok kos od ka-angoy nod inguma to mgo sokkad no lata.¹³ 22 Iddos natok, od poko-iling to pulbus to kopi no oraroy'n pinu, piru moputi ra ini no iling to orina. 23 Na, od kopakoy ron nod saaggon diyot kaa su dii me-en ini od ilutuwon,¹⁴ sinsinahaw re-en od koutu ron. 24 Moppiya kos nanam din labbi rok od sombutan to sukaa woy moumikot sikandin.

25 Na idde-en kos mgo pomo-ukit to mgo kora-an nod angoy to natok. 26 Ahad ko-ungkay, ko od angoy ka tadda riyon to lumut, kopakoy poron. 27 Woy go-os da ini od kosompottan kod monnuwon to kodpuung.

28 Duwon ta ra mandad dos od poko-angoy taddot duwon ta-aw no basag. 29 Iddos od pokokilaa no duwon ta-aw, iddos od pon-oonitu.¹⁵ 30 Otin od angoy ron sikandan to natok, unna nod ontoggon dan dos basag woy od pominoggon dan ukit to kodporokkot¹⁶ to tolinga ran diyot lawa.¹⁷ 31 Na otin bo od ikahi ron sikandan to, "Pilaya rowd," dos ko-uluhan no duwon en natok.

32 Iddos mgo buyyag id oituu no ini kun so basag, duwon komunoy¹⁸ ka-ay no onitu no si Kumumbow. 33 Ahad ayas ka pe-en kun od pomiloy ko dii ka od boggayan,¹⁹ waa en od ka-angoy ru ahad disok no natok. 34 Purisu, to dii pa sikandan od ipanow amoy od nonangkap to basag, od unna pe-en od pongumow to onitu no komunoy kun to basag.

35 Dangan to timpu to bitii o gutas, langun en to mgo mama od undiyon to lumut amoy'd dantuu nod sakuu. 36 Piru ko-ilangan en nod piyod sikandan to od oonitu²⁰ amoy od tuntuu kandan woy amoy pihu en no duwon od ka-angoy ran no natok.

37 Ko-ungkay, imman to duwon pa uvag simbokkad nod kokitannan ta to basag diyon to lumut piru worad en goli od puung ka-ay pomon to worad goli od oonitu.

38 Ini re-ek od ko-ituu ku moka-atag taddot natok nod koka-an timput gutas o bitii.

stirred until it is quite warm. 18 The next time it is looked at, the bark container is already full because it assuredly rises.¹² 19 After that its tiny splinters are removed, (and once) the splinters are gone, water is strained through the cloth. 20 It is strained to remove the sediment; then it is (considered) sago.

21 The (amount) of sago that can be obtained (from one palm) is large, coming to about one can's worth.¹³ 22 Sago is like the powder of coffee that is very fine, but it is white like flour. 23 It can be roasted in a wok/skillet because naturally, it is not cooked;¹⁴ in just a very short time it is ready. 24 It has a nice taste, especially when sugar is added and is sticky (in consistency).

25 So those are the procedures how the ancestors obtained sago. 26 Even today, if you (want to) obtain it in the wild, it is still possible. 27 And it is just easy to remember how it is done.

28 Rare are those who are able to obtain (sago) from *basag* palms that contain it. 29 Those who know whether (a particular *basag* palm) has (sago) in it are those who have a familiar spirit.¹⁵ 30 When they obtain sago, first they will shake the *basag* palm and they will listen by putting¹⁶ their ear¹⁷ up to the trunk. 31 Then when they say, "Cut it down," it means it definitely has sago.

32 As for the older ones, they tell that this *basag* palm reportedly has an owner¹⁸ who is the spirit *Kumumbow*. 33 It is said even if you keep on chopping down (*basag* palms), if you have not been given them,¹⁹ you will not be able to gather even a small (amount) of sago. 34 Therefore, before they leave to find a *basag* palm, first before anything else the spirit that is said to own the *basag* palm is beseeched.

35 In the past in times of famine or hunger, all the men would go to the wild for the purpose of scraping for sago. 36 But it is really important that they bring along someone who has a familiar spirit²⁰ to guide them and to be really sure that there is sago that they can obtain.

37 Today, there still are occasionally *basag* palms that can be seen in the wild but there are rarely those who do this any more because hardly anyone has a familiar spirit.

38 This is all I have to say concerning sago that was food in times of hunger or famine.

¹² Implied: The starchy sago swells up during the soaking process.

¹³ *sokkad no lata*: a biscuit tin can measuring approximately 23 x 23 x 33 centimeters (9 x 9 x 13 inches) that when empty is used as a container. Depending on its contents, e.g., rice, sugar, etc., it can hold about 15–20 kilograms (33–44 pounds).

¹⁴ Implied: Neither water nor cooking oil is added.

¹⁵ Implied: *Kumumbow*, the spirit of animal and plant life including palm trees, possesses them.

¹⁶ *kodporokkot*: literally, 'sticking, fastening' is derived from *dokkot* 'to fasten something on something else'.

¹⁷ What they are listening for is not known; it is forbidden to ask the one doing this what it is he is listening for.

¹⁸ According to Manobo worldview, *Monama*, the chief spirit, gave *onitu* 'deities, spirits' responsibility over parts of the physical world, meaning they own the part assigned to them and watch over it.

¹⁹ Implied: if *Kumumbow* did not give you the *basag* palm...

²⁰ Implied: A person allows the *Kumumbow* spirit to possess him who then becomes his familiar spirit.

Kollut

Tano Bayawan

1 Inis od itulon ku ko-ungkay moka-atag to kollut.¹ 2 Inis kollut, od kannon to Monuvu timput bitii. 3 Otin od kovitii ron kos mgo Monuvu dangan, waa osson od ko-oputan² dan otin worad od koka-an, ini re-en so kollut. 4 Piru inis kollut, od poko-ilu no pinomuwa labbi ron ko diid kotuihan to kod-ilutu woy kodbovaa. 5 Inis kollut, diyon od tuvut puwaason, namma uwoy movonosson. 6 Iddos boyo rin, molivuson woy od porokdokottoy woy duwon dalig nod ponlitiglitig.³ 7 Iddos lawa⁴ rin, mounnow woy duhiyon. 8 Otin od ukapan don kos bunga⁵ rin, maag.



Tubers
Kollut

9 Inis kollut otin id pomuwa, disok da kos od pomonnan ahad iling da to komomu-u, piru otin dakkoo ron dos bunga rin, od sobpeng don mandon, od porokdokottoy, od poliilinguutoy woy od po-uu-unturoy, dii ron od diyot daom to livuta ko konna od po-ampow ron to livuta. 10 Iddos unnon similya, disok da woy od ko-obbuu ini piru od bovullas, od bullas kos bunga woy od so-ob sippang tod dakkoo ron, od iing don to kondiru.

11 Diyot kod-angoy ka-ay, ko-ilangan nod lokkaton woy od ukapan langun, woy ko-ilangan diid soman to ukap woy dalig ahad disok su iddos dalig woy ukap od ilu. 12 Amoy diid ilu kos bunga, od ilason, od ponipison woy'd moumpepeyon tod ilas.

13 Sokkad no po-ukit to kodbovaa, od ovuwan.⁶ 14 Od ukapan, woy kopongngod ukap, od ilason to monipis. 15 Kopongnga, od bukbukan to avu, iddos lumbus⁷ no avu. 16 Koomaggan, id lasud diyot saku woy id tota-aw. 17 Kopongnga tadda, id aggom don diyot oweg nod koomaggan mandad. 18 Na, od ounon don ini woy od ilaron don to allow. 19 Otin notokkang don, kopakoy ron od lutluton.⁸ 20 Kopakoy rad mandad nod binoyuwon⁹ pa, od bokbokkon. 21 Kopongnga tod bokbok, kopakoy ron nod lutluton.

22 Sokkad mandad no po-ukit to kodbovaa, od bongkulon. 23 Unna, od ukapan woy od ilason, od ponipison tod ilas. 24 Kopongnga tod ilas, od osinnan woy id ta-aw riyot bangkii¹⁰ o lobban¹¹ to koomaggan. 25 Kopongnga, id aggom diyot oweg to koomaggan don mandon. 26 Kopongnga od ounon don, no od ilaron pa sippang tod kotokkang. 27 Otin od kotokkang don, od binoyuwon don, od bokbokkon no od lutluton don, kopakoy ron nod kannon.

¹ *kollut*: a large, starchy, native tuber that grows in the wild (*Dioscorea hispida*). It contains a poisonous alkaloid, dioscorine, in the peel and roots which has to be removed by soaking and peeling before it can be cooked and eaten.

² *ko-oputan*: derived from *aput* 'to take refuge'. In this context, it is used in the sense of that which is "relied upon" for food.

³ Implied: Fine roots protrude from the tuber.

⁴ *lawa*: literally, 'body'. This refers to the stems of the plant.

⁵ *bunga*: literally, 'fruit'.

Tubers

Tano Bayawan

Preparing tubers as a famine food was not easy if not properly prepared. Instead of dying of famine, a person could die from eating this potentially poisonous survival food. Preparing tubers was not a fast process but required patience as it soaked overnight, even up to two days in water. However, those who have eaten it say it is worth the time and effort.

1 This story of mine now concerns the *kollut*¹ ‘tuber’. 2 This tuber was food for the Manobo people in times of famine. 3 If Manobo people in the past had a (season of) famine, there was nothing else they could rely on² when there was no food, just this tuber. 4 But the plants of the tuber can be poisonous, especially if (the procedure) of cooking and preparing is not followed. 5 This tuber grows in the wilderness, in uncultivated fields, and also in overgrown areas. 6 Its shape is round and it clumps together and has roots that protrude.³ 7 The stems⁴ are green and thorny. 8 When the tuber⁵ is peeled, it is yellow.

9 When this tuber is planted, its starting point is only small like a fist; but when the tuber is large/mature, it again grows offshoots, clumps together, growing around each other and on top of each other, no longer growing under the ground but instead growing above the soil. 10 The first seeds are just small and will rot but will be replaced; the tuber is replaced and spreads until it becomes large, like a cooking pot.

11 When it is gotten, it is necessary to uproot it and peel it entirely, and it is important that not even a small (amount) of the peel or roots remain because the roots and peel are poisonous. 12 So that the tuber does not poison, it is sliced thin and flat.

13 One way of preparing it is to put ashes on it.⁶ 14 (The tuber) is peeled, and after peeling, it is thinly sliced. 15 After that, ashes are spread over it, pure⁷ ashes. 16 It is (then) placed inside a rice sack overnight and set aside. 17 After that, it is soaked in water overnight again. 18 Then it is gotten out of the water and laid to dry in the sun. 19 When completely dry, it can be cooked in a bamboo tube.⁸ 20 It can also be pounded,⁹ pulverizing it. 21 After it is pulverized, it can then be cooked in a bamboo tube.

22 Another way of preparing it is to put salt on it. 23 First, it is peeled and sliced, slicing it thinly. 24 After slicing, it is salted and put in a *bangkii*¹⁰ basket or *lobban*¹¹ basket overnight. 25 After that, it is soaked in water overnight again. 26 After it is removed from the water, it is then laid in the sun until completely dry. 27 Once it is completely dry, pounded, pulverized, (and) cooked in a bamboo tube, it can be eaten.

⁶ Implied: The ashes and other procedures mentioned in the essay, i.e., boiling water, salting, and burying the tubers, are for the purpose of removing the poison.

⁷ *lumbus*: ‘pure’ refers to ash not mixed with soil. A typical cooking hearth may have a mix of ash and soil.

⁸ *lutlutan*: A section of a thin bamboo is used approximately 61 centimeters (2 feet) in length. The food is put inside and covered with leaves. Then the whole section of bamboo is put in an open fire. After the food is cooked, it is split open.

⁹ Implied: using mortar and pestle.

¹⁰ *bangkii*: a medium-sized basket made of bamboo and specifically made and used to hold tubers.

¹¹ *lobban*: a kind of basket usually used to hold harvested vegetables, fruits, and coffee. It is made from *badtok* ‘a kind of bamboo’ (*Schizostachyum diffusum*) that is commonly used for weaving and basketry.

28 Duwon pa mandon sokkad no pomo-ukit to kodbovaa. 29 Od koot to livuta woy dutun en id ta-aw iddos id ilas don no kollut. 30 Na od oinit to oweg diyot laya woy id budsuk en taddot kollut. 31 Od tombunan bo idda to do-un to bohikit,¹² no oruwon allow idda id tuwos dutun woy'd ounon to iko-oruwa ron no allow woy id aggom to oweg. 32 Na ko od koomaggan don idda riyot oweg, od ukawon don mandon idda. 33 Na ko od koomaggan don, od lowwiyon ko id moomet don woy'd ounon woy id ta-aw riyot do-ut tow-ange¹³ amoy'd gipison to kayu no iling tod totovid su amoy od kotostossan. 34 Na koomaggan, od ilaron, od ilutuwon woy od kopakoy ron nod kannon. 35 Na dos ko-urallan nod puung ka-ay, kos mgo datu su mo-uraa man kos kandan no sakup woy otin iling ka-ay'n po-ukit, dakkoo kos od bovoallan du.

36 Duwon mandad iddos od ngoranan no binasing no kodbovaa. 37 Dos od puungan ka-ay, kopongnga od ilason iddos kollut, od ilutuwon don taman to oraroy nod koutu. 38 Na kopongnga, id aggom don diyot oweg to mgo oruwon allow, od ounon mandon amoy od kotostossan woy id ilad. 39 Na, od kopakoy ron nod binoyuwon woy od ilutuwon, de-en kopakoy ron od kannon.

40 Ahad so konna moomok dos kodbovaa ka-ay, piru motoos dos nanam ka-ay nod poko-iling to tinahaa no binggala woy mammut ini. 41 Inis kollut, od kopokoy no id ilu to mgo ngaap.¹⁴ 42 Iyon od aamon iddos lammi poron id lottob kos lawa su oraroy nod ilu.

43 Duwon poron inis kollut, piru simbokkad dobbo od kokita ko-ungkay su worad goli od kotuig nod bovaa.

Kodbovaa to Lemas no Tohitti

Melchor Bayawan

1 Inis tohitti,¹ sabbot ini no inaayun od kokita riyon to daama. 2 Noko-iling to tobpu kos lawa, do-un woy bulak ka-ay, piru imman da to timbovaka kos lawa. 3 Iddot lahun to 1985 pa nosorolli to mgo Monuvu nod kopakoy vos nod kovovallan ini to lemas, oyya su² mosalig kos lawa³ woy bulak⁴ ka-ay. 4 Iddos od lemason to mgo kovuyyahan dangan, idde-en so do-un⁵ to loppu woy dos sabbot no douppong⁶ nod ngoranan. 5 Piru ko-ungkay'n timpu, oraroy ron no mo-uraa kos pinomuwa no tohitti pomon to od kosoopiyan ini to mgo minuvu.

Tiger grass growing
on the side of a cliff
*Inis tohitti, od tuvu
riyon to daama*



¹² *bohikit*: a kind of grass with elongated and wide leaves that grows near rivers.

¹³ *tow-ange*: a kind of grass that grows along the edge of water or along cliffs with elongated leaves similar in appearance to that of a young coconut tree. It has small yellow flowers and edible whitish fruit that grow in clusters like grapes. It is also called *towngingi*, derived from *ngingi* 'to salivate', because the fruit causes a person to salivate.

¹⁴ Poisoning fish is done intentionally to catch them. New shoots of the wild tuber plant are submerged under water to stun the fish so they can be easily caught. This will not harm the person who eats the fish.

28 There is yet another way to prepare it. 29 A hole is dug in the soil and that is where the sliced tuber is put. 30 Then water is boiled in bamboo and poured over the tuber. 31 It is covered by the leaves of *bohikit*¹² grass, left there for two days, and taken out on the second day and soaked in water. 32 Now after soaking in the water for two days, it is again spread around in the water. 33 Now the next day, it is checked (to see) if it is soft; then it is removed from the water and put in the leaves of a *tow-ange*¹³ grass to squeeze it using wood, as in extracting juice, so the water can drip off. 34 Now the next day it is dried in the sun, cooked, and then it can be eaten. 35 The majority who did it this way were the tribal leaders because they had many people under them and if this method (is followed), you can prepare a large (amount).

36 Another (method of) preparing it is called *binasing* ‘preparing tubers by boiling water’. 37 How this is done, after the tuber is sliced, it is cooked until thoroughly done. 38 Now after that, it is soaked in water for about two days, taken out of the water again so the water can drip off, and dried in the sun. 39 Then it can be pounded and cooked; then it can be eaten.

40 Even though it is not easy to make, it has a very good taste, much like prepared cassava and it is fragrant. 41 This tuber plant can poison fish.¹⁴ 42 What are chosen are the fresh shoots of the plant because these are very poisonous.

43 This tuber still is around, but it is only rarely seen today because hardly anyone really knows how to prepare it.

Making a Broom of Tiger Grass

Melchor Bayawan

Other than farming, a common source of livelihood is making brooms. It is a relatively new skill acquired in 1985. It is not unusual to see stalks of harvested tiger grass drying in the sun, or to see its fine flowers drifting through the air as the stalks are struck on a rock to remove its flowers, or to see a father and his young son sitting on the porch stitching the grass broom bristles to keep the stems firm and spread out.

1 Tiger grass¹ is a grass commonly seen (growing) on the side of a cliff. 2 Its stalk, blades, and flower are similar to sugarcane, but its stalk is only as (thick as) a thumb. 3 It wasn’t until 1985 that the Manobo people knew that it could be made into a broom, since² the stalk and stem³ of the flower clusters⁴ are sturdy. 4 The ancestors in the past used for a broom leaves⁵ of a coconut tree and a grass called *douppong*.⁶ 5 But at the present time, there is much tiger grass planted because the people can make money from it.

¹ *tohitti*: a kind of coarse grass that grows wild even along cliffs, possibly *Phragmites vulgaris*.

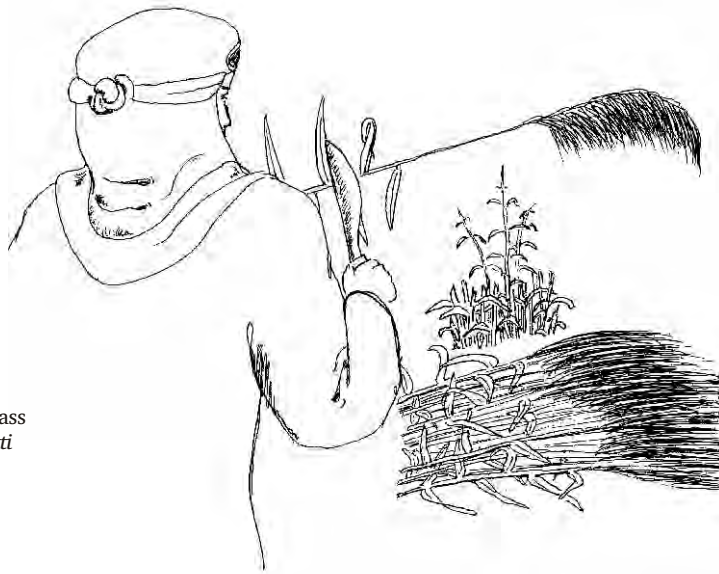
² *oyya su*: literally, ‘Yes because’.

³ *lawa*: literally, ‘body’, which includes the stalks and stems into which the flower clusters are attached. The stalk and stem is what is used to make brooms.

⁴ The flowers of *tohitti* grass are clustered and are very fine. The mature flower is yellowish white in color, consisting mostly of seeds. The flowers are removed (see sentence 12).

⁵ Implied: The stiffer midrib portion of the coconut leaf was used.

⁶ *douppong*: the name given to various woody erect herbs (*Sida acuta*).



Harvesting tiger grass
Kodgoppas to tohitti

6 Na riyon to kodpomuwa ka-ay, od koliyon iddos mgo soppa woy id pomuwa riyot ahad ingkon no id kopi-i ru su od tuvu man ini ahad ingkon. 7 Od kopakoy mandad no id pomuwa iddos tullid⁷ no similya, piru od kouhoy pa nod kogoppas,⁸ konna iling tat soppa ron en. 8 Na kopongnga id pomuwa, od sobbung don ini woy'd mo-uraa woy⁹ ko-ilangan nod aangat pa to sokkad no lahun nod pokobovulak. 9 Na ko od bovulak don, od kopakoy ron nod goppason woy iyon da od pon-aamon, iddos motossan don no bulak. 10 Diyon to kodgoppas, ko-ilangan no mgo limmon dangow¹⁰ kos koowettan tat bahaa pomon diyot bulak,¹¹ idda pa od tompoddon. 11 Kopongnga vo idda tod goppas, ko-ilangan nod ilaron don to allow o od topan, su od toumtumon ini otin diid ko-ilad. 12 Na, ko od kotokkang don, od kopakoy ron nod owan iddos mgo bulak ukit to kodlampos ka-ay riyot batu o id po-iling to kodloyyak¹² to ommoy. 13 Na ko worad iddos mgo bulak, od kopakoy ron nod soppakon.¹³ 14 Piru to dii pa od soppakon, ko-ilangan nod kosorollan du ko ondan no lemas kos od bovallan du su duwon osso-ossan pomo-ukit to kodbovaa ka-ay.

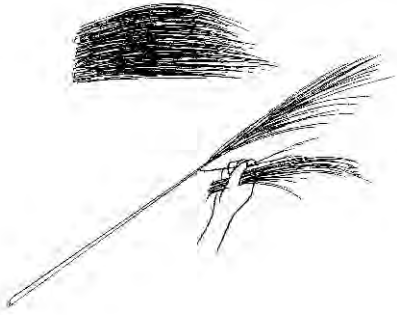
15 Duwon iddos lemas nod ngoranan no istril.¹⁴ 16 Id ngoranan ini to iling ka-ay su motullid kos suvong ka-ay no paanan bahaa to tohitti. 17 De-en, diyon to kodsoppak tat tohitti, otin ka-ay't istril no lemas, od soman da to mgo oruwon dangow pomon diyot ubpu tat kangoy ka-ay. 18 Na, iddos mgo sinoppak, od pombogkosson idda no tinsimbokkad no komkom woy'd ossan tod ta-aw. 19 Na idda mandad so mgo bahaa no id soppakan, od ossan mandad. 20 Na od panoy ka mandad to mgo tinampod no bahaa pomon diyot mgo tohitti no dii ron od kahamit¹⁵ no sokkad no dangow kos koowettoy, woy od bogkosson mandad ini no iling to suvong to koosidu kos korokolloy.¹⁶ 21 Ko-ilangan mandad nod panoy to id pombagkos no alambri no id bodbod tapoy riyot tuddok woy'd panoy mandad to plais¹⁷ amoy id oggot.

⁷ *tullid*: literally, 'straight, right'. In this context, it takes on the meaning of 'genuine, real'.

⁸ *kogoppas*: 'harvesting by means of pulling off by hand or cutting off using a machete'. This term can also apply to harvesting cornstalks (for pig feed) or rattan.

⁹ *woy*: literally, 'and'.

¹⁰ Implied: from the tip of the flower cluster.

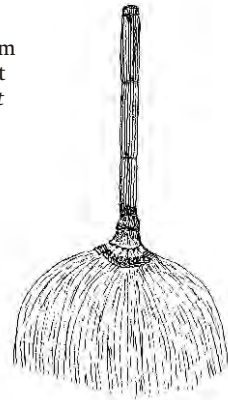


Pulling off the flower cluster
stems
Kodponoppak

dried. 12 Then when dry, the flowers can be removed by striking these on a rock or (a process) like that of threshing¹² grains of rice. 13 Then once the flowers are no longer there, it is possible to pull off the stems.¹³ 14 But before the stems are pulled off, you need to know what (kind of) broom you are going to make because there are different ways of making them.

15 There is a broom that is called *istrit*¹⁴ 'straight'. 16 It is called this because its handle is straight, consisting entirely of the stalks of tiger grass. 17 So in pulling off the stems of the tiger grass, if it is for this straight broom, the remainder will only be about two hand spans from the tip of the seed-bearing panicles. 18 Then those pulled off stems are tied together, each bundle (a circumference of) one palmful, and set aside. 19 As for the stalks from which the stems were pulled off, these are also set aside. 20 Then you also prepare cut stalks from tiger grass that will no longer be used¹⁵ into lengths of one hand span and these are also tied together like the circumference¹⁶ of a machete handle. 21 It is also important to prepare metal wire for tying that is wrapped around a post and to prepare pliers¹⁷ to tighten it.

A kind of broom
called straight
Lemas no istrit



¹¹ *dangow*: a measurement of about 18 centimeters (7 inches) in length based on the average adult outstretched hand, measuring from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger.

¹² Implied: to thresh using the feet.

¹³ *soppakon*: derived from *soppak* 'to split, pull off', referring to a branch or stem, lengthwise along the grain from the base of a tree or plant. Here it refers to pulling off the stems onto which the flower clusters grow. These are put aside and used in the process of broom making.

¹⁴ *istrit*: borrowed from English but changed slightly to follow typical Manobo pronunciation.

¹⁵ Implied: for the handle.

¹⁶ *korokolloy*: literally, 'width, size' derived from *dakkoo* 'large'.

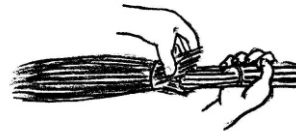
¹⁷ *plais*: borrowed from English.



Stalks are prepared and tied together.
Od panoy to mgo bahaa woy'd bogkossan.

pa-ampow tadda.¹⁹ 25 Na kopongnga tadda, od ongayon iddos nosama to mgo bahaa amoy id polingkus tat id bagkos no sinoppak taman tod kotombunan don idda. 26 Na kopongnga tadda, od bagkossan don to alambri. 27 Od unnan tod bagkos iddos diyon pantok to id suksukan tat sokkad no dangow no bahaa su amoy diid korutdut iddos mgo sinoppak. 28 Iko-oruwa nod bogkossan iddos doppig de-en boyow tat unna nid bogkossan. 29 Otin od kovogkossan don ini, timbang ini en kos awak tat lemas. 30 Na iddos iko-otollu nod bogkossan, iddos lomig don diyot suvong no asow sokkad no dangow kos ollot pomon diyot awak tat lemas. 31 Diyon to kodbagkos ka-ay, ko-ilangan nod oohannon no ollog-ollog de-en nod kosomaddan kos suvong no konna mandad oray'n dakkoo. 32 Otin dollan du nod kottuu kos dumon bahaa, ko-ilangan nod tompoddon iddos nokotongannan no mgo bahaa. 33 Ini en kos od puungan taman diyon to ikolimma nod bogkossan. 34 Na kopongnga tod bagkos, od tompoddon don iddos id ponsawaa no konna mandad oraroy nod pokpokkon. 35 Otin od kotompoddan don, od pogpoggon iddos lomig to timbang soppiyon tat lemas amoy od moumpepe. 36 Na ko moumpepe ron, od kopakoy ron nod tobbilon. 37 To dii pa od ponobbii, od panoy tapoy to *aguha*²⁰ woy gipis. 38 Inis gipis, tinobbag ini no oruwon laya ini no lampas to oruwon dangow kos koowettoy, id gokutan dos tapad ubpu ka-ay woy ini en kos od povokkaa tat kangoy²¹ to lemas. 39 Duwon oruwa nod tobbilon diyon to lemas, unna, iddos lomig dosiyung tat timbang soppiyon, woy'd tobbilon ini to saku o kopakoy no *naylon*.²² 40 Iko-oruwa, iddos dosiyung tat id tobbilan to saku. 41 Od tobbilan ini to *plastik*²³ amoy od bokkaa pe-en woy moppiya nod tongtongngan.

42 Na iko-oruwon pomo-ukit to kodbovaa to lemas iddos od ngoranan no *pinayung* otin diyot Binisoya.²⁴ 43 Id ngoranan ini to pinayung su iddos suvong ka-ay noko-iling



One end of a bundle of stalks is
 inserted into the flower cluster stems.
*Id soksok dos ubpu to binagkos no
 bahaa riyot sinoppak.*

¹⁸ Implied: like slabs of wood flooring that are laid tightly side-by-side.

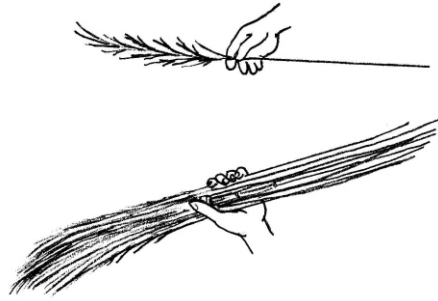
¹⁹ Implied: of the stalks arranged in the palm referred to in sentence 23.

²⁰ *aguha*: borrowed from Cebuano 'a big sewing needle for sewing up sacks'.

²¹ *kangoy*: literally, 'seed-bearing panicles'.

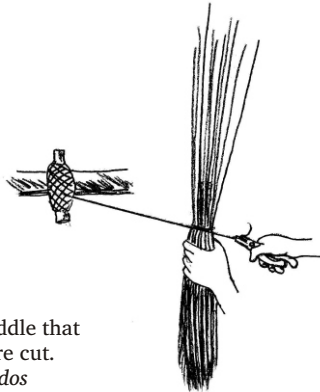
²² *naylon*: borrowed from English. This refers to a kind of sturdy nylon thread that can be purchased in the market place.

22 Now in making it, the first thing done is to get a bundle of tied together stalks and insert the end into the pulled off stems, and it is important that it is tied just right. 23 After that, the second thing done is to get about fifty stalks from which the stems have been pulled off and put as many as will fit in your palm, then bunch these tightly together like flooring.¹⁸ 24 Get a bundle of stems and place it on top.¹⁹ 25 Now after that, the remaining stalks are gotten to put them around the bundle of stems until it is completely covered. 26 And after that, it is tied with metal wire. 27 The first area to be tied is right where the one hand span of stalks was inserted so that the stems will not fall out. 28 The second area tied is just rather near to the first area tied. 29 Once this has been tied, it is like the waist of the broom. 30 Now the third area tied is located near the handle, which is almost one hand span distance from the waist of the broom. 31 In tying this, it is necessary to estimate (a circumference) that is just right to grip the handle and that is also not too big. 32 If you notice that some of the stalks are



The remaining stalks are gotten to put around and cover the flower cluster stems.

Od ongayon dos sama no mgo bahaa amoy id polingkus nid tambun tat sinoppak.



Any stalks in the middle that are sticking out are cut.

Od tompoddon dos nokotongannan no mgo bahaa.

protruding, it is important to cut the stalks in the middle. 33 This is what is done until the fifth area tied. 34 Now after finishing the tying, the excess is trimmed but not too close to the base. 35 Once it has been trimmed, the part that is like the hip of the broom is pounded to flatten it. 36 After it has been flattened, it is ready to be stitched. 37 Before stitching, a big sewing needle²⁰ and a clamp has already been prepared. 38 This clamp, which is two (pieces) of split bamboo over two hand spans in length, is fastened at both ends and this is what causes the broom bristles²¹ to

spread out. 39 There are two places to be stitched on the broom; the first is located under the hip, and this is stitched using rice sack or *nylon* thread.²² 40 Second is the area below the area stitched using thread from a rice sack. 41 This is stitched using *plastic*²³ thread so that it spreads out even more and is attractive to look at.

42 Now the second method of making a broom is that which is called *pinayung* 'like an umbrella' in Visayan.²⁴ 43 It is called *pinayung* because its handle is like the shape of

²³ *plastik*: borrowed from English. This refers to a kind of plastic thread about 3 millimeters (1/8 inch) wide, which can be purchased in different colors, giving the broom an attractive appearance.

²⁴ *Visayan*: a dialect of Cebuano, which is the trade language in many places in Mindanao.

to boyo to payung. 44 Na riyon to kodsoppak tat tohitti, od ominon idda tod soppak woy iddos od kosama, idda robbe-en so bahaa piru konna ron ini od kohamit diyot pinayung. 45 Na, iddos mgo sinoppak, od bogkosson tapoy no boyow dakkoo tat istrut no lemas. 46 Iddos od bovallan no suvong ka-ay, idde-en so baahon oyya su²⁵ mosalig ini. 47 Dyon to kodbovaa to suvong, od angoy to baahon no oppat no dangow. 48 Kopongnga, od pokkuwon dos ubpu ukit to kodtuwog diyot apuy. 49 Na laggun tod pokkuwon ini, od ikottan to baahon dad woy od pohonnawon taman tod kaggong. 50 Na riyon mandad to divauy no ubpu, od bobboan idda woy od soksokkan to tongngot dangow no id sopsapan no laya no disok da uvag to tindirisok. 51 Id takos iddon laya amoy od poko-awid taddot sinoppak no diid ko-uug. 52 Na kopongnga tadda, iddos mgo gamit to kodbovaa tat istrut no lemas, od ponayon en mandad.

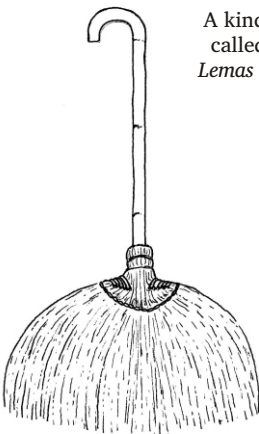
53 Na riyon to kodbovaa, unna nod somaddan iddos binagkos no sinoppak. 54 Od ongayon bo mandon iddos suvong no id panoy woy id soksok riyot ubpu to sinoppak iddos lomig diyot id takossan tat laya. 55 Kopongnga tadda, od bogkossan don to alambri iddos dyon pantok to datas boyow to id soksok no laya. 56 Kopongnga, iddos lomig dosiyung mandon tat id takos no laya kos od bogkossan. 57 Na ko no-oggot don, od kopakoy ron nod sopsapon iddos id ponsawaa no upbu tat sinoppak. 58 Kopongngod sapsap, od kopakoy ron nod tobbilon, no iyon mandad id tobbii, idde-en so baahon no id ubpitan. 59 Dos mori, od gonsilyuwan²⁶ iddos lomig dosiyung tat baahon. 60 Od kopakoy nod gamit to ahad ondan no gansilyu amoy moppiya nod tongtongngan.

61 Duwon mandad iddos kodbovaa to lemas nod ngoranan to binagyu²⁷ piru waa nooyami nod bovallan to mgo Monuvu. 62 Id ngoranan ini no binagyu su dos boyo ka-ay nowahoy kos divauy no noko-iling to id liharan to bagyu. 63 Woy riyot kodbovaa ka-ay nokod-iling-iling de-en kos pomo-ukit.

64 Na ko-ungkay'n timpu, ini en kos od kosoopiyan to mgo minuvu labbi ron ka-ay't lingkus to Sondawa. 65 Mo-uraa ron kos od kotuig nod bovaa to lemas, iddos amoy, inoy, woy iddos mgo anak dan. 66 Inis lemas, nokoso-ob don dinit intirut ingod to Pilipinas, oyya su nokilaa ron ini to mgo minuvu no mosalig en no lemas.



Stitching the broom
Kodtobii to lemas



A kind of broom
called umbrella
Lemas no pinayung

²⁵ *oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

²⁶ *gonsilyuwan*: derived from Cebuano *gansilyu*, implies using a hook and a kind of heavy-duty thread.



A hole is made at the end of the handle.
Od bobboan dos ubpu tat suvong.

an umbrella. 44 Now in pulling off the stems of the tiger grass, they are completely pulled off and all that is left are the stalks but these are not used for the *pinayung* broom. 45 Then the stems are tied in bundles in preparation, a bit larger than are those of the straight broom. 46 The handle for this is made from rattan because²⁵ it is sturdy. 47 In making the handle, rattan that is four hand spans (in length) is obtained. 48 After that, the end is bent by putting it in a fire. 49 Now as it is being bent, it is tied with rattan and then allowed to cool until hardened. 50 At the other end, a hole is made and inserted into it is one half of a hand span length of cut bamboo (a circumference) a bit smaller than a little finger. 51 The bamboo is fas-

tened to keep the stems from falling out. 52 Then after that, the things used for making a straight broom are also gotten ready.

53 In making it, first the bundles of stems are picked up. 54 The prepared handle is again gotten and inserted at one end of the stems, the place where that bamboo is attached. 55 After that, metal wire is tied just a bit above the inserted bamboo. 56 After that, the area below the attached bamboo is tied. 57 Now once it has been tightened, it is then possible to trim the excess from the stems. 58 After trimming, it can be stitched and that which is stitched is the rattan that was made smooth. 59 Last, the area below the rattan is stitched.²⁶ 60 Any heavy duty thread can be used to make it attractive to look at.

61 There is also a style of making a broom called *binagyu*²⁷ 'typhoon' but the Manobo people are not used to making it. 62 It is called *binagyu* because its shape is slightly bent like a typhoon passed through it. 63 And in making this, the procedure is just the same (as the others).

64 At the present time, people make money with this, especially here in the vicinity of Mt. Apo. 65 There are now many who know how to make brooms—fathers, mothers, and their children. 66 These brooms have already spread throughout the Philippines because people know that it is a sturdy broom.



The handle is inserted at the flower cluster stems.
Id soksok dos suvong diyet sinoppak.

²⁷ *binagyu*: from Cebuano *bagyu* 'typhoon'.

Mgo Pomo-ukit to Kodnonangkap tod Kouddungluddung Dangan

Pablo Iyong

1 Duwon itulon ku moka-atag to pomo-ukit to kodnonangkap tod kouddungluddung to mgo Monuvu dangan.

Kodpongannup

2 Na, dos unna no id paabbotlabbot ku, inis od ngoranan no kodpongannup. 3 Iddos oraroy'n ko-ilonganon ka-ay, idde-en so tuyyang,¹ su ini me-en dos timbang od tavang kikow. 4 Oyya su² inis tuyyang kos od loupug to mgo bavuy to movonnos o saarong. 5 Na iyon du robbo od puungan, od ikuu-ikuu taddot tuyyang nod loloupug taddot bavuy³ o saarong. 6 Otin od pongannup don dangan iddos mgo kovuyyahan, od undiyon sikandan to lumut to Sondawa duma tat kandan no tuyyang amoy diyon dan od sovukan. 7 Na, otin od sovukan dan don iddos tuyyang, od nonangkap iddos tuyyang to mgo saarong, woy od kokilaa rud bo ko duwon saarong su od gobbu ron man iddos tuyyang. 8 Na diyon dangan to linow to Vinado⁴ to waa pa iddos mgo turista nod pompenek diyot Sondawa, oray'n maapung dos mgo monnanap to lumut iling to saarong woy bavuy diyon to ibpit tat linow. 9 Na, otin be-en od pongannup ka dangan, go-os od pokokita iddos tuyyang to mgo saarong pomon to mo-uraa sikandan. 10 Na otin od pokoronggu ron iddos mgo saarong diyon to ibpit to linow nod loloupuhon taddot tuyyang, diyon en sikandan od aput to linow. 11 Na riyon don en mandad kos mgo minuvu⁵ nod aayan taddot saarong no od pokoporani kandan no podtuuy su od pilakkon dan don to pongassu iddos saarong. 12 Iddos saarong, dii ron od pokoleggua su od lingutan dan man. 13 Diyon to kodpongannup, otin od gobbu ron kos tuyyang, kopakoy no bavuy woy ondan pa ruwon kos od kokita rin. 14 Na, iyon din oraroy od gobbuwon, iddos saarong, piru otin kos bavuy, dii oraroy od gobbuwon to tuyyang su duwon mandad bavuy no oray'n movuut woy od imatoy, de-en iddos tuyyang od kovakkan kandin. 15 Labbi ron iddos od ngoranan no manlambing no oraroy'n dakkoo, od imatoy en ini to tuyyang. 16 Duwon mandad saarong no od imatoy to tuyyang, iddos saarong no mo-uraak suwag. 17 Piru od ko-otuwon mandad idda taddot tuyyang nod ngoranan to mohoruwag⁶ ahad od imatoy kandin. 18 Su ahad ondan pe-en kos korokolloy to saarong, od otuwon din en. 19 Idde-en dos tuyyang no dappan en no id pongannup, su movuut sikandin. 20 Na, duwon dangan sokkad no



Hunting with a dog
Kodpongannup

Ways of Finding Meat in the Past

Pablo Iyong

Based on his personal experience and those told to him by his grandfather Moligon, Pablo Iyong relates about the various methods of snaring wild game, fish, and other aquatic life. The resourcefulness of the Manobo people is evident by the number and variety of traps used. Among them were *baatik* ‘a spear trap’, *tupii* ‘a monkey trap’, *giman* ‘a bow trap’, *lettag* ‘a wild fowl trap’, *batuu* ‘a rope to snare wild chickens’, *suhiyang* ‘a trap using stakes’, *batlong* ‘a net trap’, and *kodponguyad* ‘attracting wild birds with a live decoy’. Other traps were used to snare fish and other aquatic life. These included *buvu* ‘a bamboo fish trap’, *takop* ‘an eel trap’, *todsang* another ‘fish trap’, *kawad* ‘a hook used to snare eels’, *ootti* ‘damming a stream’, *kod-oilu to ngaap* ‘poisoning fish’, and *kodponuu* ‘hunting for frogs’.

1 My account is concerning the ways in which the Manobo people went about finding meat in the past.

Hunting with dogs

2 Now the first (method) I will explain is called *kodpongannup* ‘hunting with dogs’. 3 What are really needed here are dogs,¹ because naturally these are who will help you. 4 The reason is² dogs are the ones to chase after the wild pigs or deer. 5 Then all you have to do is just continue to follow the dogs that are chasing after a boar³ or deer. 6 When the ancestors hunted with dogs in the past, they went to the wild on Mt. Apo along with their dogs to release them there. 7 Now when they released the dogs, the dogs would look for deer and you will know if there is a deer because the dogs will bark. 8 Now in the past at Lake Vinado⁴ before tourists climbed Mt. Apo, there were a great many wild animals like deer and boars at the edge of that lake. 9 So when you hunted with dogs in the past, the dogs could quickly see the deer because there were many of them. 10 Now if the deer that were chased by the dogs were able to arrive at the edge of the lake, there in the lake was where they took refuge. 11 Also there were the hunters⁵ lying in wait to attack the deer that would suddenly come near them because they would stab the deer with a spear. 12 The deer could no longer escape because they surely were surrounded. 13 In hunting with dogs, when a dog barks, it may be a boar or anything that he sees. 14 What he really barks at is a deer, but if it is a boar, a dog won’t bark extensively because there are also boars that are very fierce and will kill, so the dog will be afraid of him. 15 Especially the one called *manlambing* ‘wild boar’ that is very large, it will unquestionably kill a dog. 16 There are also deer that will kill a dog, a deer that has many antlers. 17 But the (kind of) dog called *mohoruwag*⁶ will also attack even if he gets killed. 18 For no matter what the size of the deer, he will definitely fight. 19 That is the dog really suited for hunting with dogs, because he is aggressive.

¹ *tuyyang*: ‘dog’ in the singular has been rendered as plural because hunters typically brought more than one dog along. These dogs had a natural instinct for hunting.

² *Oyya su*: literally, ‘Yes because’.

³ *bavuy*: literally, ‘pig’; the context is clear that what is meant is wild pig or boar, not a domestic pig.

⁴ Lake Vinado is located near the peak of Mt. Apo in Cotabato Province, Mindanao, in the southern Philippines.

⁵ *minuvu*: literally, ‘people’.

⁶ *mohoruwag*: ‘having an aggressive nature’, e.g., a dog aggressively pursuing a hunted animal.

id pongannup no id ngoranan ki Okyo no id undiyon mandad to Sondawa no sokkad da no tuyyang kos id piyod din. 21 Daom⁷ to mgo oppat no allow rin diyon, noko-utoo sikandin to morani to sokkad no gatus no kilos no saarong. 22 De-en, otin od uli ron dangan iddos od pompongannup, od kovoovoggatan⁸ sikandan to mgo piniyoddan dan no bavuy to movonnos o saarong. 23 Na ini en dos od pongannup nod tomman.

Kodpomaatik

24 Na, diyon kid mandon tod ngoranan no kodpomaatik⁹ no riyon to mgo kovuyyahan, ini en dos od ongayan dan to mgo luddung. 25 Dos baatik, id ta-aw ini riyot onnug to bavuy woy saarong.

26 Duwon bouhanan ka-ay nod usung tat boliyos din nod pokosuhat tat bavuy o saarong. 27 Iddos od ponsahad ka-ay no baatik, iling to mgo bavuy, saarong, lokivot¹⁰ woy duma pa. 28 Otin od pomaatik dangan iddos mgo kovuyyahan, od undiyon sikandan to duwon mgo onnug diyot puwaas iling to onnug to bavuy, onnug to saarong. 29 Na, diyon dan be-en id ta-aw iddos baatik. 30 Na, kopongnga tadda, od oongatan dan pa to pilon allow ko kannu od saharan dos baatik dan. 31 Idde-en kos baatik nod tomman.

Kodponupii

32 Od itulon kud mandon inis od ngoranan no tupii. 33 Inis tupii, dos od kopuungan ka-ay, od lipiton din iddos uvaa nod usok diyot gipis. 34 Gali od kohipis dos uvaa ko od kosinggoo rin don iddos sahing no id oppan su idda me-en kos id ikottan to saa-id. 35 Inis tupii, ko-urallan to od sahad ka-ay dos mgo uvaa no kusapong woy oliwas, woy od sahad mandad ka-ay kos poaas.¹¹ 36 Iddos kusapong nod tomman, idde-en dos ba-ay. 37 Na, otin iddos od ngoranan mandad no oliwas, idde-en dos mama. 38 Na, otin bo od koworan don iddos mgo buyyag dangan, od undiyon dan don to lumut amoy od nonangkap to mgo monnanap to lumut woy id boligya amoy od pokosoopi sikandan. 39 Otin od pokokita ran don be-en to mo-uraan mgo uvaa, diyon dan don en id oppan iddos tupii. 40 Iddos po-ukit amoy od ponsahad iddos mgo uvaa, ko-ilangan nod oppanan dan to sahing, kopakoy noutuwan woy kopakoy mandad no melow, su otin waa id oppan no sahing, waa en od ponsahad to tupii su waa man koka-an nod kokita ran. 41 Woy moppiya mandad no id oppan kos botad. 42 Na kopongnga tadda, od tilawon du mandon idda to pilon allow, o moppiya mandad no od tilawon du idda ipan to mapun.



An aggressive dog
Mohoruwag no tuyyang

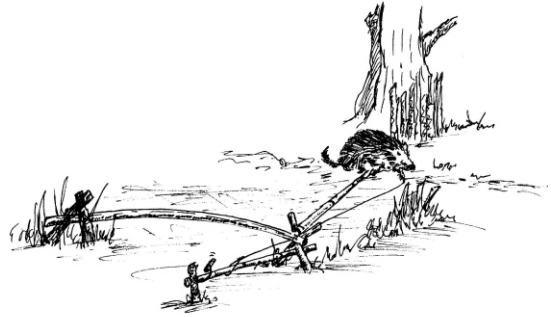
⁷ *daom*: literally, 'inside of'.

⁸ The hunters had the help of the *mohoruwag* dogs, enabling them to come back with a large amount of game.

20 Now in the past there was someone who hunted with dogs called *Okyo* who also went to Mt. Apo bringing only one dog along. 21 After being there about⁷ four days, he caught close to one hundred kilograms of deer (meat). 22 So in the past, whenever hunters with dogs returned home, they were weighed down⁸ by the wild pigs or deer that they brought back. 23 Now that is (the method) called hunting with dogs.

Spear trapping

24 Now let us (turn our attention) to (a kind of trap) called a *baatik*⁹ ‘spear trap’ that according to the ancestors, this was how they acquired meat. 25 A spear trap is put in the trail of boars and deer. 26 It has a pliant bow for a spring that propels its spear, enabling it to strike the boar or deer. 27 Caught in this spear trap are boars, deer, civets,¹⁰ and other (animals). 28 When the ancestors spear trapped in the past, they would go where there were trails in the wilderness, like trails of the boar (or) deer trails. 29 Then that was where they would place the spear trap. 30 After that, they would wait for several days until something got caught on their spear trap. 31 So that is (the method) called spear trap.



Spear trapping
Kodpomaatik

Trapping monkey

32 I will now relate (about a trap) called a *tupii* ‘monkey trap’. 33 In a monkey trap, how this works, it pins the monkey that enters into that which wedges it in. 34 The monkey is pinned in only when he reaches out to grab a banana that is bait because that of course is tied to the trigger. 35 Usually what is caught in this *tupii* are the *kusapong* and *oliwas* monkeys, and also caught in this are monitor lizards.¹¹ 36 The one called *kusapong* is the female. 37 And as for the one called *oliwas*, that is the male. 38 Now if the ancestors were out of money in the past, they went to the wild to look for a wild animal and sold (the meat) so that they could make money. 39 If they happened to see where there were many monkeys, that is where they would place the monkey trap. 40 To catch monkeys, it is necessary to bait them using bananas, possibly ripe and also possibly not so ripe, because if the bait is not bananas, nothing will be caught in the monkey trap because they don’t see any food (in there). 41 And it is also good to use corn for bait. 42 After that, you check it again every few days, or it is also good that you check it every afternoon.

⁹ The *baatik* spear trap consists of a sharpened stake or spear that is attached to a young sapling that is bent back and acts as a spring.

¹⁰ civet: a kind of wild cat (genus *Civettictis*).

¹¹ *poaas*: ‘monitor lizard’. This is called *halu* in Cebuano.

Giman

43 Na, diyon kid mandon to od ngoranan no giman.¹² 44 Inis giman, dos od ka-angoy ra ka-ay no mgo monnanap to lumut iling to mgo kodsik,¹³ lumat, tingkolet,¹⁴ bokossan, idda ra kos od ka-ammot ka-ay. 45 Iddos mgo uwod, kopakoy mandad nod ponsahad ka-ay. 46 Inis giman, duwon mandad bouhanan ka-ay no id tampod no baahon woy duwon saa-id. 47 Od bovallan ini no od podboliyungon dos baahon woy kopongnga tadda, od tawwan mandad ini to baahon diyon to tongannan tadda amoy od gipis. 48 Na iddos id gipis tadda, iddos laya. 49 Na, ini moko-iling dad mandad to tupii no od oppanan to ahad ondan, su iddos od pongka-angoy ka-ay iling mandad to mgo manuk to lumut, mgo lumat, tingkolet o kodsik. 50 Duwon boyow ko-ossaan ka-ay taddot tupii su tigkow ron ini od kopaus.¹⁵ 51 Otin duwon don od poko-sahad, od usok sikandin diyon to tali o riyon to daom to id ponlingutan to mgo sabbot, de-en kopakoy no dii ron sikandin od pokoleggua ka-ay su od kolewang don man sikandin tat id ta-aw riyon nod koka-an. 52 Iling en ka-ay dos od ngoranan no giman.

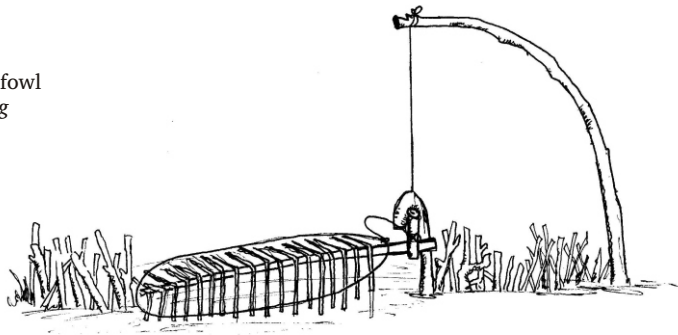
Kodlolettag

53 Na, otin mandad inis od ngoranan to lettag, diyon ini id ta-aw to livuta nod boyan to mgo manuk¹⁶ no iling to mintownan.¹⁷ 54 Duwon mandad bouhanan ka-ay woy tali nod poko-ikot to pa-a o lawa to manuk. 55 Dos od pokosahad ka-ay kosogaran diid patoy.¹⁸ 56 Na inin manuk diyon en mandad od oubpa to lumut, na duwon dad mandad ikon manuk ka-ay to pattad. 57 Piru ossa pa tadda, maapung pa no mgo nokod-osso-ossan manuk no iling en tat manuk nod ipanow riyot livuta nod sahad to lettag. 58 Na, de-en dos od ngoranan no lettag.

Kodpomatuu

59 Na, ko-ungkay, diyon kid mandon to od ngoranan no batuu. 60 Inis batuu, tali ini no id pomolivuson no ongngad-ongngad da nod poko-usok kos lawa tod utollon du. 61 Id ikot da ini no waa pousanan, woy kosogaran nod ko-utoo ka-ay diid patoy. 62 Inis od ngoranan no batuu, mo-uraa mandad no nokod-osso-ossan od ko-utoo ka-ay, iling to mgo manuk piru iddos saarong woy bavuy, od pokosahad mandad sikandan. 63 Su¹⁹ iddos saarong woy mgo bavuy, dii ron en od pokoporiyu su od sahad don man to batuu. 64 Inis batuu, od pokotavang to mgo tohodpongannup su dii ron sikandan ko-ilangan nod loloupug diyot moriyu. 65 Na, idde-en dos od ngoranan no batuu.

Snaring wild fowl
Kodlolettag



A bow trap

43 Now we will (discuss a trap) called *giman*¹² ‘bow trap’. 44 This *giman* trap is only used to catch animals in the wild like tree squirrels,¹³ rats, pygmy squirrels,¹⁴ pythons; that is all that is caught with this. 45 Snakes can also be caught in this. 46 The *giman* also has a pliant bow for a spring that is cut from rattan and has a trigger. 47 To make this, rattan is turned inside out, and after that, rattan is also added to the middle to pin (an animal) in. 48 What pins (an animal) in is bamboo. 49 This is also like the monkey trap in which any kind of bait (can be used), because what will be gotten (using this) will be those like wild chickens, rats, civets, or tree squirrels. 50 There is a slight difference in this (compared to) the monkey trap because this will suddenly snap shut.¹⁵ 51 If something is caught, he enters by the rope or inside an area surrounded by grass, so it may be that he can no longer escape because he surely will be distracted by the food that was put there. 52 Like this then is (the trap) called the *giman*.

Snaring wild fowl

53 Now as for this (trap) called *lettag* ‘wild fowl snare’, it is put on the ground on the trails of fowl¹⁶ like the *mintownan* ‘wild chicken’.¹⁷ 54 This (trap) also has a pliant branch for a spring and a rope that tightens around the feet or body of the fowl. 55 That which is snared in this (trap) usually do not die.¹⁸ 56 These fowl live in the wild, and that (kind of) fowl is also here in the flatland. 57 But in addition to those (fowl), there are many different kinds of fowl that walk around on the ground that are snared in a *lettag* trap. 58 So that then is called the *lettag* trap.

Trapping with a rope

59 Now let us turn our attention to that called *batuu* ‘trapping with a rope’. 60 This *batuu* trap is a rope that is arranged in a circle just right (in circumference) for the body of what you are trapping to be able to enter. 61 This is only tied without a trigger, and usually that which is snared in here does not die. 62 This (trap) called *batuu* also can snare many different kinds of (game) like fowl, but deer and boar can also be snared in it. 63 The reason¹⁹ is deer or boars can no longer go far away because of being snared in the *batuu* trap. 64 This *batuu* trap can help those who hunt with dogs because they no longer need to go far to chase after (game). 65 Now that indeed is (the trap) called *batuu*.

¹² *giman*: a rattan bow trap for birds, wild chickens, rats, snakes, and other small wild animals.

¹³ *kodsik*: Philippine tree squirrel (*Callosciurus philippinensis*).

¹⁴ *tingkolet*: Western Mindanao pygmy squirrel (*Nannosciurus surrutilus*).

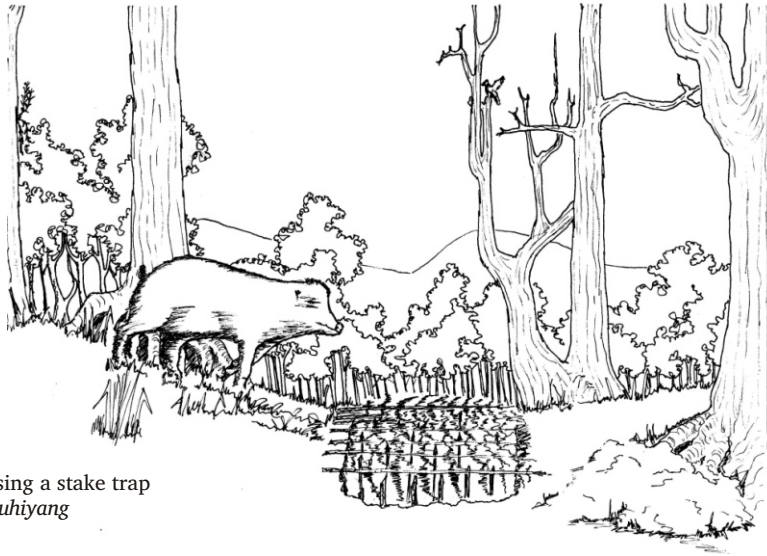
¹⁵ Implied: The sudden snap will cause a noose to tighten around the leg of the wild animal.

¹⁶ *manuk*: a generic term for any kind of fowl, wild or domesticated.

¹⁷ *mintownan*: red jungle fowl and also called wild chicken (*Gallus* sp.).

¹⁸ Implied: The snared fowl will not die while being snared as opposed to other traps that are fatal to the snared animal.

¹⁹ *Su*: literally, ‘because’.



Snaring game using a stake trap
Kodponuhiyang

Kodponuhiyang

66 Na, iddos od ngoranan no suhiyang, od poko-iling mandad ini to baatik nod poka-angoy to mgo bavuy woy saarong. 67 Id po-irungan ini no mgo laya no id oppan diyon to pattad no lugaa, piru kopakoy rad mandad no id oppan ini riyon to londig no lugaa. 68 Na, dos po-ukit ka-ay ossa en tat baatik su otin inis suhiyang, diyon ini to londig no duwon boyow pattad id ta-aw ru ini. 69 Ko od pokovallu iddos saarong pomon diyon to datas, diyon en ini to boyow pattad no id oppan du to suhiyang. 70 Na, langun tat od ponsahad diyon, dii ron en od pokoleggia su od kosuhiyang don man sikandan. 71 Su iddos od kotomanan otin od kosuhiyang don sikandan, langun tat mgo laya no id pon-irungan od poko-unsob en to kandin no lawa. 72 Duwon mandad iddos suhiyang no od kootan to bobbo su amoy od ko-uug iddos od sahad woy ini en kos od ngoranan no kasob²⁰ diyot Minonuvu. 73 Dos mgo lugaa no duwon ka-ay, ko-ilangan nod bantoy kos mgo minuvu nod baya su²¹ saddoo ko sikandan baling kos od pokosahad.²² 74 Na ini ve-en mandad iddos od ngoranan no suhiyang.

Battong

75 Ini kid mandon ko-ungkay tod ngoranan no battong. 76 Inis battong, od poko-iling ini to kuwambu piru binovallan ini pomon to duu. 77 Inis kodbovaa ka-ay, kopakoy no disok o kopakoy rad mandad no dakkoo. 78 Id takos ini riyot tongannan to oruwon kayu nod boovoyan to manuk nod layang. 79 Ko-urallan tod ko-ammot ka-ay, idde-en so od ngoranan to soovuyan²³ woy mintownan. 80 Ini en dos od ngoranan no battong.

Kodponguyad

81 Duwon pa mandad iddos od ngoranan no kodponguyad. 82 Inis kodponguyad, iddos unna nod puungan, od inangkap to uyad no iling to limukon o kousisi. 83 Na, otin limukon kos id uyad, limukon dad en mandad kos od dupak tadda, woy otin kousisi kos id uyad, kousisi rad en mandad kos od dupak. 84 Diyon to kod-uyad, duwon mandad²⁴ iddos od ngoranan no mohoruwag no uyad otin oraroy nod poko-utoo. 85 Na, ko-ilangan mandad no iddos uyad oraroy nod kovuung amoy oraroy sikandin nod ooseng²⁵ woy dii

Snaring wild game using a stake trap

66 Now the (one) called *suhiyang* ‘stake trap’ is also like the *baatik* trap in that it can get boar and deer. 67 These are sharpened bamboo stakes that are placed as a snare in a flat area, but these can also be placed as a snare in a steep area. 68 The method of this (trap) is different from the *baatik* trap because you place the stake trap in a steep area having a slight flat area. 69 If a deer jumps from a higher level, it is in the slightly flat area that you place the stake trap. 70 Now all that is snared there can no longer escape because they have landed on the stakes. 71 Because what happens if they land on the stakes is all the sharpened bamboo stakes pierce their body. 72 There is also a stake trap in which a hole is dug so that the snared (animal) falls into it and that is what in the Manobo language is called a *kasob*²⁰ trap. 73 In places that have these, it is important that people going through (the area) are alert because²¹ perhaps they instead will be (the one) snared.²² 74 So this then is (the method of the trap) called *suhiyang*.

Net trap

75 We will now (turn our attention to) that which is called a *battong* ‘net trap’. 76 This net trap is like a mosquito net but made from Manila hemp. 77 In making this, it can be small or it can also be large. 78 It is attached between two trees in the route of flying birds. 79 Usually snared in this are what are called *soovuyan*²³ and wild chickens. 80 This then is (the method) called *battong*.

Attracting wild birds using a live decoy

81 Yet another (bird trap) is called *kodponguyad* ‘attracting wild birds using a live decoy’. 82 In using a live decoy, the first thing that is done is to find a decoy like a wild dove or parrot. 83 Now if a wild dove is the decoy, it will also just be wild doves that will approach, and if a parrot is the decoy, it will also just be parrots that will approach. 84 In using a live decoy, there is also²⁴ (what) is called a *mohoruwag* decoy if it really is able to snare (others). 85 Now it’s also important that your decoy is very full so that it really sings²⁵ and it does not



Attracting wild birds
using a live decoy
Kodponguyad

²⁰ *kasob*: This trap also uses sharp upright bamboo sticks hidden on the ground of the deep hole that is dug for a wild pig or deer to fall into causing their death.

²¹ Implied: if they are not alert...

²² Implied: A person who does not see the covered hole with stakes at the bottom may accidentally fall in and die.

²³ *soovuyan*: a kind of reddish brown grass bird that is slightly larger than a dove. It is similar to the Philippine coucal (*Centropus viridis*). The *soovuyan* is known for its swift flight, hence is easily caught in the *battong* ‘net-trap’.

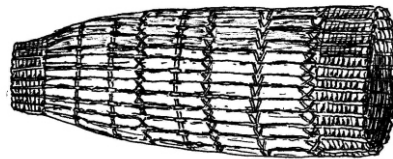
²⁴ This refers back to sentence 17 and implies besides a *mohoruwag* ‘aggressive’ dog, there are also *mohoruwag* live decoy birds that are aggressive or particularly successful in calling other birds to come near it. See footnote 6.

²⁵ *ooseng*: literally, ‘speaks’.

sikandin od oorumuy.²⁶ 86 Su otin od gutasan sikandin, dii ron od ooseng su od gutasan don man, de-en od ivuungon du kos uyad amoy mo-uraa kos od ka-angoy no od ingutollon du. 87 Na, iddos po-ukit otin od oppan, ko-ilangan no od oppanan to tamba²⁷ amoy iddos od dubpu taddot uyad du, dii ron od pokolayang su od dokkot don man tadda. 88 Na amoy dii idda od pokopugkat, ko-ilangan nod go-osson tod angoy. 89 Na, sokkad pa mandad no od kopakoy riyon to kodponguyad, inis od ngoranan no mintownan. 90 Na, iddos po-ukit ka-ay, iling dad en mandad kos gahad taddot kod-uyad tat limukon woy iddos kousisi no duwon tamba.²⁸ 91 Su mo-uraa kos mintownan dangan no timpu, de-en otin duwon od uyad ka-ay, pihu en no duwon od dupak. 92 Kopakoy mandad nod tawwan to lettag o batuu morani taddot uyad. 93 Na ini en dos od ngoranan no kodponguyad.

Buvu

94 Na, ko-ungkay od undiyon kid mandon to kodngongaap²⁹ diyon to oweg. 95 Sokkad to mgo impon to mgo kovuyyahan dangan otin od ngongaap, idde-en mandad sod ngoranan to buvu. 96 Inis buvu, binovallan ini pomon to laya nod posolikiton woy'd tobbilon to baahon. 97 Osso-ossa kos od pokosahad ka-ay, od kopakoy no poyyot, bungkug, bakbak, koyupat, piru kosogaran kosili su diyon ini id oppan to od ousan tod lolinow no oweg. 98 Na otin od poko-usok don iddos id ponsahad, dii ron od pokolivod³⁰ su od kotiyuk taddot mgo mo-irung no laya riyot daom. 99 Dos ko-ossan³¹ ka-ay't buvu, dii ron ini od oppanan. 100 Ini en dos od ngoranan no buvu.



Bamboo fish trap
Buvu

Takop

101 Duwon mandad iddos od ngoranan no takop. 102 Na inis takop, od poko-iling mandad ini to buvu, piru duwon da boyow ko-ossan ka-ay. 103 Iddos takop, oraroy no mosolikit kos kodtobbii amoy diid pokoleggia dos mgo ngaap no moollimot. 104 Woy duwon mandad bouhanan ka-ay no ko od kosenggoo to kosili iddos saa-id no id ikottan tat sobo, woy antig³² no id oppan, od kopaus ini woy kookobban don iddos takop. 105 Na, iddos kowettan ka-ay, mgo sokkad no leppa.³³ 106 Woy kosogaran nod sahad ka-ay iddos kosili. 107 De-en iddos od ngoranan no takop.

²⁶ Implied: If a bird that is used as a live decoy hunches over, it is a sign that it is getting weak because it is hungry.

²⁷ *tamba*: sticky-resin obtained from the sap of jackfruit and breadfruit trees. It is smeared on the perch near the live decoy.

²⁸ The sticky resin is put near the perch of the live decoy.

²⁹ *kodngongaap*: derived from *ngaap* 'fish' has, in the past, meant either meat or fish depending on the context. Today, it is generally understood to mean fish and can include anything that lives in and around the river, e.g., eels, frogs, etc. The term commonly used today for 'meat' is *karne* which is borrowed from Cebuano.

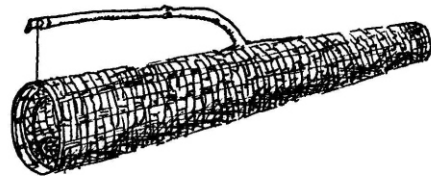
hunch over.²⁶ 86 Because if it is hungry, it will no longer sing because it is hungry; therefore you have to feed the decoy well so that many will be gotten by your snare. 87 Now the method of snaring, it is necessary to use sticky resin²⁷ as bait so that (the bird) that comes near your decoy will no longer be able to fly because it will surely stick to it. 88 Then, so it does not get itself unstuck, it needs to be quickly retrieved. 89 Now another (bird) to use as a live decoy is called a *mintownan* ‘wild chicken’. 90 Now the way this is done is just the same system as using a wild dove or parrot as a live decoy that has sticky resin.²⁸ 91 Since there were so many wild chickens in the past, when anyone used this as a live decoy, it was assured there were (chickens) who would come near. 92 A *lettat* or *batuu* trap can also be placed near the decoy. 93 So this is (the method) called using a live decoy.

Bamboo fish trap

94 So now we turn our attention to catching fish²⁹ in the river. 95 In the past one of the items of the ancestors when fishing was called a *buvu* ‘bamboo fish trap’. 96 The *buvu* trap is made from closely bound together bamboo and stitched with rattan. 97 Different kinds of (aquatic life) can be snared in this: possibly small fish, anchovies, frogs, (or) crabs, but usually eels because this is laid where water flows from small pools in a river. 98 Now when that which has been snared has entered in (to the trap), it is no longer possible to exit³⁰ because it will be pierced by sharp bamboo sticks that are inside. 99 What makes this *buvu* trap different³¹ is that no bait is used. 100 This is what is called a *buvu* trap.

Eel trap

101 There is also (a fish trap) called *takop* ‘eel trap’. 102 This *takop* is like the *buvu* trap but it has some slight differences. 103 The weaving of this *takop* trap has very narrow gaps so small fish cannot get out. 104 There is also a pliant bow for a spring on this that, when an eel brushes against the trigger that is tied to the bait of tadpoles and *antig* frogs,³² it will release the trigger and the *takop* trap will snap shut. 105 Now the length of it is about one arm span.³³ 106 And usually ensnared in this are eels. 107 That then is the (one) called *takop*.



Eel trap
Takop

³⁰ *pokolivod*: literally, ‘to return’. The fish cannot return the way they entered because the barbed bamboo sticks would impale them.

³¹ Implied: from other traps...

³² *antig*: a small frog, light in color with long, thin legs.

³³ *leppa*: the length of both hands outstretched measuring from fingertips to fingertips or about 2 meters (6½ feet).

Todsang

108 Na inis od ngoranan no todsang, binovallan ini pomon to la-ak.³⁴ 109 Od owaton iddos tivuk no la-ak no mgo sokkad no leppa. 110 Na idda, od tootobbiyon piru dii id pa-allus, taman da riyot duwon buku.³⁵ 111 Na od tobbilon bo idda to baahon amoy od mosalig. 112 Diyot kodtakos ka-ay, id poohinat da riyot od buntuwasan to oweg. 113 Na iddos od ponsahad ka-ay, nokod-osso-ossa mandad iling tat od sahad to buvu, piru inis todsang ahad iddos mgo putput od pomoko-usok. 114 Dos ko-ossaan ka-ay tat buvu, waa iddos mo-irung nod pokotiyuk tat id ponsahad woy moomok da ini nod bovallan. 115 Ini en dos od ngoranan no todsang.

Kodpongawad

116 Na, diyon kid mandon tod ngoranan no kawad. 117 Na inis kawad, od poko-iling ini to boyo to bunuwit piru dakkoo ra ini. 118 Od oppanan ini to antig, sobo, koyupat woy ahad ondan. 119 Woy id tuwos da inis kawad no id ikot diyot ibpit tod lolinow no oweg. 120 Dos od ko-utoo ka-ay, iddos mgo kosili. 121 Otin od kahaton don to kosili iddos id oppan, od posanggat don iddos taom diyot bivig to kosili. 122 Ini en dos od ngoranan no kawad.

Kod-ootti

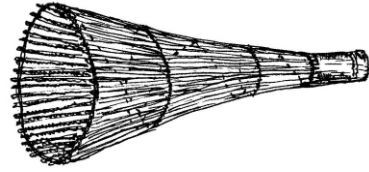
123 Na, od itulon ta iddos kodngongaap ukit to kod-ootti. 124 Otin od ngongaap koyd³⁶ dangan no timpu, dos od puungan doy, od uwangan doy iddos od kolivuung no oweg no duwon mgo ngaap. 125 Na ahad ko-ungkay no timpu, mo-uraa poron dos od puung to iling ka-ay. 126 No sokkad don en ka-ay to ilomavis no oraroy nod ootii, siyak en, si Pablo. 127 Otin duwon od kokitannan doy to mgo ngaap, iddo ron en dos od ottiyon doy. 128 Piru od aamon doy ra iddos moppiya nod ottiyon no dii koy od kohirapan. 129 Su duwon man timpu no mo-uraan mgo ngaap piru mohirap nod ottiyon. 130 Woy otin sokkad du ra, ko-ilangan nod aam da mandad taddot moomok nod ottiyon amoy dii ka od kohirapan. 131 Su inaayun diyon to kod-ootti no mo-uraan mgo batu nod koliyon,³⁷ su otin dii ru od owan iddos mgo noko-allang,³⁸ dii od aus dos oweg. 132 Na, ko-ilangan no od oppanan mandad go-os to buvu iddos diyon to od



Catching fish by damming a stream
Kod-ootti

Fish trap

108 Now this (trap) called *todsang*, it is made from *la-ak*³⁴ ‘a kind of bamboo’. 109 A whole (section of) *la-ak* bamboo is gotten of about one arm span in length. 110 Then that is split in narrow strips but not completely; only up to where it has a node.³⁵ 111 This is then stitched with rattan so it is sturdy. 112 In positioning this, it is just set upright in the river where there is whitewater. 113 What is snared in this are also different kinds of (fish) like those snared in a *buvu* trap, but in this *todsang* trap even garbage enters into it. 114 The difference between this (and) the *buvu* trap is that this does not have sharp (bamboo sticks) that can pierce what is snared and it is just easy to make. 115 That is (the description) of the (trap) called *todsang*.



Fish trap
Todsang

Catching eels with a hook

116 Now we turn our attention to that which is called *kawad* ‘hook’. 117 Now this *kawad* is like the shape of a small fishhook, but this is bigger. 118 The bait used on this are small fish, tadpoles, crabs, or anything. 119 And this hook is just left tied along the edge of small pools in a river. 120 What is caught using this are eels. 121 If an eel bites into the bait, the (hook’s) sharp edge will get stuck in the mouth of the eel. 122 This is (the method of fishing) which is called *kawad*.

Damming a stream to catch fish

123 Now we will talk about catching fish by *kod-ootti* ‘damming a stream’. 124 When we³⁶ went fishing in the past, what we did was to drain a pool of water where there were fish. 125 Even now at this present time, many still are doing this. 126 Someone here in Ilomavis who dams a great deal is I, Pablo. 127 If we saw there were fish, at that very moment we would dam the stream. 128 But we just choose the good places to dam where we would not have difficulty. 129 Because there surely are times that there are many fish but it is hard to dam. 130 And if you have no companion, you need to choose an area that is easy to dam so that you will not have difficulty. 131 Because in damming, many rocks are always dug up,³⁷ because if you do not remove what is a barrier,³⁸ the water will not flow. 132 Now you need to quickly place a *buvu* trap where the

³⁴ *la-ak*: a kind of bamboo that grows very straight. In comparing *la-ak* to other varieties of bamboo, *la-ak* is considered small to medium in circumference.

³⁵ *buku*: a knob-like marking on a plant, e.g., bamboo, where a leaf, bud, or stem is attached.

³⁶ *koyd*: ‘we exclusive’ plus -*d* ‘definite aspect’. In sentence 123, the speaker uses *ta* ‘we inclusive’ to include the listener. In sentence 124, he switches to ‘we exclusive’ because he is relating a personal experience of the past.

³⁷ Damming is done where tributaries of a river branch off and then come back together again further downstream. At the head where the two tributaries diverge, the flow of the river is diverted by digging up sand and rocks at the bed of one of the streams. Then the sand and rocks that were dug up are quickly transferred to the head of the other stream, creating a dam. The water in the second stream dries up and the stranded fish can be easily caught.

³⁸ Implied: sand and rocks.

ausan³⁹ to oweg amoy dii od pokoleggua iddos mgo ngaap. 133 Od pokolaras man iddos mgo ngaap piru diyon me-en od poko-usok to buvu. 134 De-en, osso-osson mgo ngaap kos od kokita ru diyot daom tat buvu, iling to mgo kosili, poyyot, koyupat, bakbak, woy ahad ondan pa nod pomoko-usok dutun.

Kod-oilu⁴⁰ to ngaap

135 Na, duwon mgo oweg no od ngoranan to linow no ahad monnuwon du to kod-uwang, piru diid ko-ottian. 136 De-en iddos od puungan dan,⁴¹ od tawwan dan to ilu. 137 Od angoy sikandan tat ilu nod ngoranan no *tuva*.⁴² 138 Od pogpoggon ini no iddos oweg din idde-en kos id busbus diyot linow no diid ko-uwang. 139 Na, iddos mgo poyyot, od pongko-ilu sikandan woy od poomatoy. 140 Nanoy mellat sikandan, piru pomon tat ilu, nolibpong sikandan, de-en dii ron od pokoporiyu. 141 Na duwon mandad iddos kayu nod ngoranan no assoo,⁴³ woy iddos od ongayon ka-ay, iddos bunga. 142 Od pomogpoggon ini amoy'd leggua kos oweg din su idda me-en kos od poko-ilu. 143 Ini en kos id ilu atag tat mgo kosili su iddos kosili motoggas nod poomatoy. 144 Na iddos kosili, od kopohos nod go-un pomon diyon to id oossan dan woy od po-ibpit diyon to oweg pomon to komaasoy taddot oweg. 145 Ahad waa oweg, od kopohos en sikandan nod polintotuwos diyot ibpit, oyya su⁴⁴ dos mata ran od ko-obbuu su maas oraroy, de-en od kovaakkan dan don nod livod diyot oweg. 146 De-en tamantaman tadda, od poomatoy ron sikandan diyon to oweg woy dii ron en od pokolivod diyot od oossan dan. 147 Duwon mandad iddos kayu nod ngoranan no dulis⁴⁵ no id ilu rad en to ngaap diyot oweg, piru iddos od ongayon ka-ay, iddos linas woy od dokdokkon. 148 Duwon pa ayu duma no mgo ilu to ngaap no nosorollan to mgo kovuyyahan dangan piru ini en kos nosompottan ku atag to pomo-ukit to kodngongaap.

Kodponuu

149 Duwon mandad dumon po-ukit to kodngongaap⁴⁶ nod ngoranan to od ponuu. 150 Na, inis kodponuu, od kopuungan da ini to bulli. 151 Od poko-intud ka ayu ko ambo't bulli od ponuu? 152 Oyya su inis bakbak, dii ini od loppow to allow, ko konna od loppow ra ini to bulli. 153 Na, iddos po-ukit ko od ponuu ki to bulli, ko-ilangan nod piyod to suu su amoy od kokita iddos mgo bakbak diyon to oweg o riyon to mgo ibpit. 154 Piru kopakoy mandad no ispat kos od piyoddon ta riyon to kodponuu. 155 Inis ispat, moppiya ini riyon to kodponuu su oraroy inin mosellow labbi ron ko bulli. 156 Otin mandad od kotorawwan dos mgo bakbak taddot ispat, dii ran od pokopaahuy pomon to od koommiyan sikandan taddot oraroy nod mosellow. 157 Na, duwon pa mandad osson suu no kopakoy nod piyoddon to kodponuu, idde-en iddos od ngoranan no soumayag.⁴⁷ 158 Inis

Hunting for frogs
Kodponuu



water is exiting³⁹ so that the fish cannot get out. 133 The fish surely will be able to go downstream but will of course enter into the *buvu* trap. 134 Therefore, you'll see different kinds of aquatic life inside the *buvu* trap, like eels, small fish, crabs, frogs, or anything that happens to enter there.

Poisoning⁴⁰ fish

135 Now there are (bodies) of water called ponds that no matter how hard you try to drain it, it cannot be dammed up. 136 Therefore what they⁴¹ did was to put poison in it. 137. They got a poison called *tuva*.⁴² 138 This was pulverized and its sap poured into a pond that could not be drained. 139 Then the small fish would become poisoned and die. 140 They should be afraid of people, but because of that poison, they became dizzy; therefore could no longer go far away. 141 There is also a (poison from) a tree called *assoo*,⁴³ and what is obtained is the fruit. 142 It is pulverized so that the sap comes out because that naturally is what can poison. 143 This is what is used to poison eels because eels are hard to kill. 144 Then the eels are forced to come up out of their hiding place and go to the riverbank because of the acidity of the water. 145 Even if there isn't any water, they are forced to stay at the riverbank; the reason⁴⁴ is their eyes rot because (the poison) really stings, so then they are afraid to return to the river. 146 Therefore not long after that, they die in the water and no longer are able to return to their hiding place. 147 There is also a tree called *dulis*⁴⁵ that poisons fish in the water, but what is obtained is the bark and it is pulverized. 148 There perhaps are other poisons for fish that the ancestors of the past knew about but this is what I remember about the ways of fishing.

Frog hunting

149 There is also another way of catching aquatic life⁴⁶ called *kodponuu* 'frog hunting'. 150 Frog hunting is only done in the evening. 151 You might ask why go frog hunting at night? 152 The reason is these frogs will not appear in the daytime, but rather will only appear at night. 153 Now as for the method when we go frog hunting at night, it is necessary to carry a torch in order to see the frogs in the river or along the bank. 154 But it is also possible for us to carry a flashlight in frog hunting. 155 A flashlight is good for frog hunting because it really has a very bright light, especially at night. 156 If the beam of the flashlight shines on the frogs, they cannot run away because they are dazzled by that really bright light. 157 There is yet another different light that can be carried along in frog hunting; that is called a *soumayag*⁴⁷ torch. 158 (From) this

³⁹ *ausan*: literally, 'where water flows out', referring to the point where the two tributaries (one where the flow was diverted and the other that was dammed) come back together again further downstream.

⁴⁰ The kind of poison used to kill fish will not harm the person who eats the fish.

⁴¹ This refers to the ancestors.

⁴² *tuva*: a kind of shrub growing along streams, the leaves and branches of which are used as fish poison (*Derris elliptica*).

⁴³ *assoo*: a kind of shrub with reddish leaves (*Jatropha gossypifolia*).

⁴⁴ *oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

⁴⁵ *dulis*: a kind of large tree with white bark and many black speckles. The bark is easily removed. The leaves are elongated and of medium size. These trees can be found in the lowlands.

⁴⁶ *kodngongaap*: derived from *ngaap* 'fish' is being used in the generic sense of catching anything that lives in or around water. Also see footnote 29.

⁴⁷ *soumayag*: an almáciga tree; a large forest tree containing a highly inflammable resin (*Agathis philippinensis*).

soumayag, dita kos od ongayon ka-ay nod kovovallan no suu. 159 Na, dos od puungan otin od bovaa to suu no soumayag, ko-ilangan no od tongosson pa ini to mgo do-un no iling to do-un to tobbu. 160 Kopakoy mandad iddos leppak to sahing no nohangu ron no riyon en id tongngos iddos soumayag. 161 Na kopongnga tadda, od ikottan don, na kopakoy ron bo nod piyoddon diyon to kodponuu. 162 Na, konna ra idda, od ko-ilangan mandad to titikon⁴⁸ o bunuwot⁴⁹ su otin od ko-ovukkan kos suu, duwon tapoy nokopanoy amoy id lottom. 163 Su iddos unnon timpu⁵⁰ to mgo kovuyyahan, ini en dos od gomiton dan diyon to kodtotavun. 164 Na, idda ve-en mandad dos po-ukit to kodponuu.

165 Na, iddos langun no id ituu ku, id pomon ini riyon to apu ku no si Moligon woy iddos duma, nopuungan kud mandad.

166 Na ka-ay re-en sippang kos itulon ku.

soumayag tree, it is the resin that is obtained which is made into a torch. 159 Now to make a *soumayag* torch, it needs to be wrapped in leaves like the leaves of sugarcane. 160 It is also possible to use the stalk from a wilted banana tree into which the *soumayag* resin is wrapped. 161 Now after that, it is tied, and then it can be carried along in frog hunting. 162 Now that is not (all that is needed); it is also necessary to have a *titikon*⁴⁸ stone or hairlike fibers⁴⁹ because if the light goes out, something has been prepared to rekindle it. 163 For during the former time⁵⁰ of the ancestors, this is what they used to build a fire. 164 That then is the method of frog hunting.

165 So all that I have told you is from my grandfather Moligon and some of them I have also experienced.

166 This is the end of my story.

⁴⁸ *titikon*: a hard, black stone usually gotten from the river which, when struck against another stone, produces sparks to make a fire.

⁴⁹ *bunuwot*: These dry fibers burn easily and are gotten from the stalk of a *bohibbi* palm tree (*Malay sagu*).

⁵⁰ *unnon timpu*: literally, 'first time'.

V Getting Along with Others

“In the past time, the leader of the tribe was called a datu and he was the one who cut the repercussions of a wrong, cut the repercussions of a murder...”

Kodpo-imotayoy woy Kosunayan

“Dangan no timpu, iddos ponguu to tribu, od ngoranan no datu woy sikandin kos od tampod to saa, od tampod to bunu...”

Mgo Goggot woy Kotuihan to Kodpo-imotayoy

Tano Bayawan

1 Dangan to ko-ubpa to mgo kovuyyahan to Monuvu, duwon timpu no oraroy ran nod pongngilam woy od ponpanoypanoy su duwon mgo mongayow¹ woy mgo morat no minuvu nod imatoy woy od lusud to kandan no lugaa to ahad ondan no allow woy uras no diid kosorollan.

2 De-en, ipan to sokkad no baoy, duwon id panoypanoy ran no mgo goggot. 3 No-ekkop sikandan ka-ay su amoy duwon id poka-atu ran no id pongallang to kandan no munayan, pomilya, sawa, mgo anak, amoy, inoy, mgo korumannan woy dos kandan no lugaa ko duwon od imatoy woy od lusud kandan.

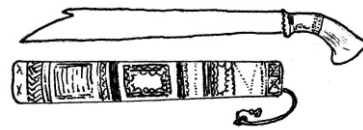
4 Inin mgo goggot, sikandan dad kos id unoy-unoy nid sayab o id posayab su duwon man mgo soyavan dan woy duwon Monuvu nod kotuig nod sosayab. 5 Iddos dumon mgo goggot dan, no-utoo² ran to kodtotamuk woy kod-oukum diyon to dumon mgo datu woy tribu.

6 Duwon mgo ngaran³ ka-ay no mgo goggot woy osso-ossa mandad kos loddoy woy'd kohomitan.

7 Iddos unna, ini en iddos od ngoranan no kompilan. 8 Dakkoo woy mowwag inin goggot, mgo otollu id tongnga taman to limma no dangow⁴ kos koowetttoy ka-ay. 9 Id sayab ini pomon to mosalig no putow woy sokkad da kos taom, mo-irung kos ubpu woy oraroy no motaom. 10 Iddos suvong ka-ay, binovallan pomon to kayu no bonati⁵ su mosalig ini woy diid kopaka woy od kopossuk ko od gomiton don to kodpotibbasoy.

11 Iddos suvong, od tawwan to gollodgollod amoy konna maandog nod somaddan. 12 Iddos lipi, binovallan mandad pomon to kayu no dipalla⁶ o bonoyakow,⁷ od momoollutu inin mgo kayu woy od ponbotokkan amoy moppiya nod ontongngan. 13 Inis goggot no kompilan, diid gomiton to ahad ondan, iling to kodkamot, kodponampod to kayu o id gottas to ikot, ko konna, id tota-aw re-en ini woy id addii re-en to mgo usig. 14 Na gali ini od piipiyoddon ko timpu ron to kod-ipanow su id panoy ko duwon usig no tokkow ron nod aayan woy od lousud. 15 Od gomiton ini no id tibbas to usig.

16 Iko-oruwa, iddos od ngoranan no sinongkabow. 17 Inis sinongkabow, immat koosidu kos loddoy. 18 Sokkad da kos taom no mo-irung kos simud woy iddos koowetttoy mgo otollu o oppat no dangow. 19 Iddos suvong woy lipi, iling dad to kompilan kos kodbovaa woy dos kodbatokbatok. 20 Dii mandad ini od gomiton to ahad ondan su id tota-aw re-en no id panoy to mgo usig nod imatoy woy od lusud.



*Kompilan sword and sheath
Kompilan woy lipi*

¹ *mongayow*: In this context, it refers to those who went around killing, looting, and capturing women and children to be sold or made into wives and slaves of the captors. It also can refer to a “warrior” in a positive context as someone who helped to defend others as in sentence 90.

² *no-utoo*: literally, ‘trapped, ensnared’ is derived from *utoo* ‘to trap, ensnare’. Just as trapping required planning and staying a step ahead of the animal snared, so did wise bartering and trading.

³ *ngaran*: literally, ‘names’.

⁴ *dangow*: a measurement of the outstretched hand from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger or approximately 18 centimeters (7 inches).

Weapons and Fighting Skills

Tano Bayawan

If the Manobo people in the past were not vigilant against possible attacks by neighboring people groups, they could end up either as a slave or dead. Weapons included the *kompilan*, *sinongkabow*, and *sundang* swords and the *budyak* spear. To protect themselves, they would use a *taming* or *kaasag* shield. Others used magic charms to protect themselves. Few and far between was the Manobo warrior who had a *limbutung* breastplate. Yet others built a *popo* tree shelter to get away from an enemy's jabbing spear. Men learned to fight using a technique called *so-ut* in which they kept jumping from place to place, making them a difficult target. A gifted warrior or *bahani* was greatly admired because he was seen as a protector. Only he could wear the red headdress indicating the owner had killed at least ten people.

1 In the past, in the daily life of the Manobo ancestors, there were times they were very vigilant and prepared because there were murderers¹ and evil people who (went around) killing or attacking their area at any day or hour that could not be known.

2 Therefore every house had weapons that they had ready. 3 They had no shortage of these so that they had that with which to fight to protect themselves, their family, spouse, children, father, mother, relatives, and their place if there was someone (going around) killing or attacking them.

4 They forged these weapons themselves or had them forged because they had forges and there were Manobo people who knew how to forge. 5 Other weapons of theirs they acquired² by bartering and trading with other tribal leaders and people groups.

6 These weapons have (particular) terms³ and they also have different shapes and uses.

7 The first one of these is called *kompilan* sword. 8 This weapon is large and wide, from three and a half to five hand spans⁴ in length. 9 It is forged using a durable steel and has a single blade with a pointed tip, and it is very sharp. 10 The handle of this (sword) is made from a *bonati*⁵ tree because it is sturdy and does not crack or fall apart when it is used in stabbing one another. 11 Grooves are carved into the handle so it is not slippery to hold onto. 12 The sheath is made from *dipalla*⁶ or *bonoyakow*⁷ trees (and the wood from) these trees is reddish, and it is etched so that it is attractive to look at. 13 This *kompilan* sword was not used for just anything like clearing a field, cutting down trees, or cutting rope, but rather it was put away and just prepared for enemies. 14 The only time it was carried was when traveling by foot to be prepared in case there suddenly was an enemy lying to ambush and attack. 15 This was used to stab at an enemy.

16 The second is (a sword) called *sinongkabow*. 17 The shape of this *sinongkabow* sword is like that of a bolo. 18 It has a single blade which is pointed at the tip and is approximately three or four hand spans in length. 19 The process of making and etching the handle and sheath are similar to the *kompilan* sword. 20 This is also not used for just anything but put away in preparation for enemies who kill or attack.

⁵ *bonati*: a kind of hardwood tree with thick foliage and small fruit.

⁶ *dipalla*: a kind of tree with light but hard wood that grows straight and high.

⁷ *bonoyakow*: a kind of tall tree with hard wood and reddish sap that has fragrant flowers and grows in the wild.

21 Iko-otollu, iddos od ngoranan no budyak. 22 Inis budyak, iling to pongassu kos loddoy piru od tawwan da to sobbongsobbong o baglis diyot lomig to kuruu su amoy ko id pillak ini, go-os od pokotihis kos longossa woy dos pali od ko-usokkan to kaamag unayan no go-os mandad od patoy iddos minuvu nod kopillak. 23 Moumpepe ini no duwon kuruu riyot tongannan woy paanan motaom dos oruwon taom woy mo-irung mandad kos simud. 24 Dos tirallan o suvong ka-ay, mgo limma no dangow kos koowettyoy. 25 Binovallan ini pomon to kayu no bohikki⁸ nod kovovallan no basag⁹ woy kopakoy mandad no iddos kayun mosalig nod ngoranan to bonati. 26 Duwon mandad lipi ka-ay nod ngoranan no kaub no binovallan pomon to kayu no dipalla. 27 Inis budyak, diid gomiton to kodpongannup woy ahad ondan su id tota-aw re-en mandad ini no id panoy to usig woy dos od lusud. 28 No iyon da od gomiton to kodpongannup, iddos pongassu su ini en kos id pillak to saarong, bavuy woy uvaa.



Sinongkabow sword
Sinongkabow

29 Iko-oppat, iddos od ngoranan no sundang. 30 Inis sundang, oruwa kos taom. 31 Motaom kos tapad divauy woy mo-irung mandad kos ubpu. 32 Iddos koowettyoy ka-ay, mgo oppat no dangow woy dos loddoy iling to binoggoo no od baudbaud o od lekkolekko kos taom. 33 Iddos kodbovaa to suvong woy lipi, iling dad to kompilan woy sinongkabow piru duwon da putow no mowwag no id kamoo amoy od kopongollangan kos kommoo ko od potibbasoy ron. 34 Od gomiton ini to kodpotibbasoy woy od posundangoy, woy od ngoranan ini riyon to Binasaya to ispada. 35 Iling to dumon goggot, dii mandad ini od gomiton to ahad ondan su¹⁰ id panoy re-en ini to mgo usig nod imatoy woy od piipiyoddon da mandad ini riyon to kod-ipanow.

36 Konna ra iddos mgo goggot kos id pokopongallang to kandan no lawa, su duwon mandad id pongallang dan to kodpotibbasoy, kodposundangoy woy kodpopilakkoy.¹¹

37 Unna, iddos od ngoranan no taming. 38 Inis taming, molivuson woy binovallan pomon to oraroy no mosalig no mgo kayu nod ngoranan no pomokaon,¹² dipalla o bonoyakow. 39 Iyon od owaton, iddos mgo dalig ka-ay no mgo kayu su konna go-os nod kotobbag woy konna movila woy mohonnnoo ko od pilakkon o od tibbason. 40 Diyot kodbovaa ka-ay, upus pa ini¹³ od ilaron amoy od kotostossan to oweg. 41 Kopongnga, od sopsapan don no od polivusonnon no konna mandad oraroy od pokoppalon no ollog-ollog de-en nod ko-onnat-onnat. 42 Na kopongnga, od topongngon don woy dos koowaggoy ka-ay, mgo otollu o oppat no dangow no ollog-ollog nod kosinoungan kos tongngot lawa. 43 Na kopongnga tod sapsap woy ko novovallan don, od tawwan don tod somaddan diyot tongannan woy od tawwan to batokbatok. 44 Moppiya iddos mosalig no dalig kos od bovallan no taming su mohonnnoo woy ko od pilakkon to budyak, od pokotangon iddos taom ka-ay.



Sundang sword
Sundang

⁸ *bohikki*: a kind of palm tree (*Malay sagu*).

⁹ *basag*: a mature *bohikki* palm which is a hard wood and from which sago is obtained.

¹⁰ *su*: literally, 'because'.

21 Third is a (spear) called *budyak*. 22 This spear looks like an ordinary spear but has grooves or ridges placed on the spine of the blade so that when it was speared into someone, the blood will flow fast and air would enter the wound, causing the person who was speared to die quickly. 23 (The blade) is flat, having a raised spine in the middle; (both sides of) the double-sided blade are equally sharp and the tip is pointed. 24 The handle is about five hand spans in length.



Budyak spear
Budyak

25 It is made from a kind of *bohibbi*⁸ palm tree wood which becomes a *basag*⁹ palm, or it is also possible to use a sturdy wood called *bonati*. 26 It also has a sheath called a *kaub* made from a *dipalla* tree. 27 This *budyak* spear is not used when hunting with dogs or anything else because it also is put away to prepare for enemies or those who attack. 28 When hunting with dogs, it is only an ordinary spear that is used because this is really for spearing deer, boar, and monkeys.

29 Fourth is (a sword) called *sundang*. 30 The *sundang* sword is double bladed. 31 Both sides are sharp and it also has a pointed tip. 32 This (sword) is about four hand spans in length and looks like the *binoggo* sword, having a wavy or curvy blade. 33 The handle and sheath are made just like those of the *kompilan* and *sinongkabow* sword except this has a (strip) of wide metal wrapped around it to protect the hand when stabbing one another. 34 This (sword) is used in stabbing and sword fighting; in Visayan it is called *ispada*. 35 Like the other weapons, this also was not used for just anything, rather¹⁰ it was prepared for enemies who kill and it also was only carried when traveling by foot.

36 It was not only weapons that could protect their bodies; there were also things to protect themselves when stabbing, sword and spearing fighting against an opponent.¹¹

37 The first (of these) is called a *taming* shield. 38 This shield is round and made from a very hard wood (from trees) called *pomokaon*,¹² *dipalla*, or *bonoyakow*. 39 The roots of these trees are used because (these kinds of wood) do not easily split and are not softwood and are solid if it was speared or stabbed. 40 In making this, it¹³ was first dried in the sun to drain it of water. 41 After that, it is whittled to a round shape that is not too thick (but) just right to be continuously held up. 42 Now after that, it is measured; the width of it is about three or four hand spans which is just right to cover half the body. 43 After it is smoothed and it has been made, a handle is placed in the middle and designs are etched on the *taming* shield. 44 The solid root from which the *taming* shield is made is a good (wood) to use because it is solid and when struck by a *budyak* spear, the blade gets stuck in it.

¹¹ *kodpotibbasoy, kodposundangoy woy kodpopilakkoy*: literally, 'stabbing each other, sword-fighting each other, and spearing each other'. The grammar of each verb indicates reciprocity or an opponent.

¹² *pomokaon*: a kind of large tree that bears much round, green, edible, sour fruit. It grows in the wild.

¹³ Implied: a large root.

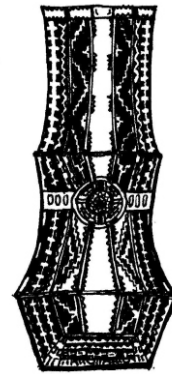
45 Iko-oruwa, iddos od ngoranan no kaasag. 46 Inis kaasag, ossa rad tat taming, su moohuyud kos loddoy ka-ay woy mgo oppat o limma no dangow kos koowettoy. 47 Iddos kayu no od gomiton ahad iddos kodbovaa ka-ay, iling dad en mandad tat taming.

48 Iko-otollu, iddos od ngoranan no limbutung. 49 Inis limbutung, waa oraroy riyot mgo Monuvu woy duwon ta ra kos od poko-utoo¹⁴ ka-ay no impon. 50 Iyon da od poko-utoo ka-ay iddos duwon koruwonnan su oraroy ini no mahaa woy riyon ini od ka-angoy to dumon tribu. 51 Binovallan ini pomot mgo burunsi, no dos loddoy immat umpak no waa bollad taman da to ilok. 52 Od sukuvon ini riyot timpu to kodpo-imotayoy, na pomon to burunsi me-en, diid urokkan ko od pilakkon woy'd tibbonon kos lawa.

53 Dangan to timpu pa to mgo kovuyyahan to mgo Monuvu, pomon to duwon inaayun kodngilam woy kodpanoypanoy ran to kodpongayow woy kodlusud to mgo morat no minuvu, duwon mandad od ooputan dan amoy dii sikandan od kolo-ot taddot od imatoy kandan. 54 Na unna, iddos od ooputan dan, idde-en iddos od tommanon to mgo kovuyyahan no popo.¹⁵ 55 Inis loddoy to popo, sabbung¹⁶ da uvag ini no mowwet woy soosokkad da kos tuddok. 56 Id aput dan ka-ay su mowwet ini woy diid poko-uma iddos od pillak woy soliyuk.

57 Iko-oruwa, od tawwan to lossod o aad iddos polingut to baoy. 58 Iddos mgo minuvu no oraroy nod ngilam, diid pokoto-ii woy dii golid pokotinuho to bulli, labbi ron en iddos mgo minuvu no mo-uraa kos usig. 59 De-en, amoy dii ran od kolo-ot to mgo usig, od tawwan dan to lossod iddos polingut to baoy ran. 60 No iyon id aad dan ka-ay, mgo mosalig no kayu woy laya nod irungan kos ubpu. 61 Id bunsud iddos mosalig no kayu no simbokkad no leppa¹⁷ kos ollot woy oruwon leppa kos koowettoy. 62 Kopongnga, id ta-aw ron iddos laya no id ponobbag to tintongnga no dangow woy od posolikiton ini tid ta-aw amoy diid ko-usokkan to mgo minuvu. 63 Konna langun no minuvu od ta-aw to aad to kandan no baoy, idda ra so mgo minuvu no noponnut kolukuwan, mo-uraa kos usig woy nokopuung to saa¹⁸ riyot duma rin. 64 Piru duwon dad mandad mgo minuvu nod ta-aw to aad to kandan no baoy su amoy'd panoypanoy ran don tapoy labbi ron ko od pokosohinda sikandan no duwon nongosihi kandan, su duwon man mandad mgo minuvu nod imatoy taddot mgo motallong.

65 Iddos kodpo-imotayoy iddot timpu to mgo kovuyyahan, konna iling ko-ungkay no sinapang don kos od gomiton. 66 Su iyon dangan od gomiton dan no mgo goggot, iddos kompilan, sinongkabow, sundang, budyak, woy dos pongallang to kandan no lawa iddos mgo taming woy kaasag. 67 Idda mandad so kodpo-imotayoy, ukit de-en to kodpotibbasoy, kodpopilakkoy, woy kodposundangoy.



Shield
Kaasag

¹⁴ *poko-utoo*: literally, 'able to trap, snare'. This term is used in this context because bartering for items of value required planning and skill to get a desired item just as trapping wild game did.

¹⁵ *popo*: For a more detailed description of this, see Section V Getting Along with Others: *Tree Shelter*.

¹⁶ *sabbung*: a small, temporary structure typically used in the field as a place to rest, eat, or take shelter if it rains.

¹⁷ *leppa*: a measurement based on both arms outstretched, measuring from fingertip to fingertip or approximately 2 meters (6½ feet) in length.

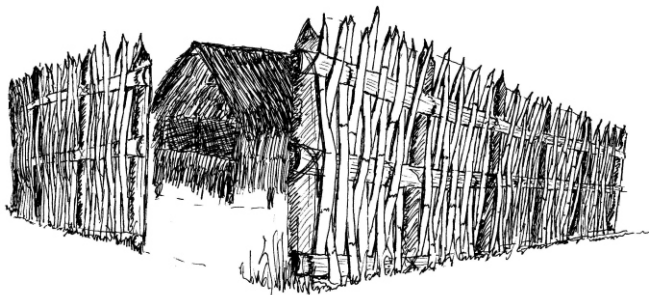
45 The second (kind of protection) is called a *kaasag* shield. 46 This shield is different from the *taming* shield because the shape is oblong and it is about four or five hand spans long. 47 The wood used even how this is made is the same as that of the *taming* shield.

48 The third (kind of protection) is called *limbutung* ‘breastplate’. 49 This breastplate was not used extensively by Manobo people and rare were those who were able to obtain¹⁴ this item. 50 The only ones who could obtain this had wealth because it was very expensive and was only gotten from other people groups. 51 It was made from bronze shaped like a shirt without sleeves, just up to the armpit. 52 It was worn in times of fighting, and naturally because it was (made of) bronze, it could not be penetrated when the body was speared and stabbed.

53 Long ago during the time of the ancestors of the Manobo people, because they were always vigilant and preparing against evil people murdering and attacking, they also had places of refuge so that they would not be trapped by those who would (try to) kill them. 54 Now the first place they took refuge is what was referred to by the older generation as a *popo*¹⁵ ‘tree shelter’. 55 The appearance of the tree shelter was just a simple shelter¹⁶ that was high and only had one main post. 56 This was where they took shelter because it was high and those spearing and stabbing upwards could not reach it.

57 Second, a fence or corral was put around the house. 58 People who were very vigilant didn’t sit still and hardly slept at night, especially people who had many enemies. 59 Therefore, so enemies could not trap them, they put a fence around their house. 60 Now what they used for fencing was sturdy wood and rattan sharpened at the ends. 61 (Posts) of the sturdy wood were driven into the ground, each one arm span¹⁷ apart and two arm spans in height. 62 After that, bamboo that was split into slats half a hand span in width were put around (the house) and the placing (of the slats) was very close together so that people could not enter. 63 Not everyone put a fence around their house, just people who were full of unruliness, had many enemies, and those who had done something wrong¹⁸ against their companion. 64 But there were also those who would put a fence around their house to be prepared, especially if they noticed someone was jealous of them, because there surely were also people who killed those who were upright/honest.

65 Fighting in the time of the older generation was not like today when guns are used. 66 Because in the past the weapons they used were the *kompilan*, *sinongkabow*, (and) *sundang* swords, the *budyak* spear, and protection for their bodies which were the *taming* and *kaasag* shields. 67 As for fighting against opponents, it was just (done) through stabbing, spearing, and sword fighting one another.



A fence for protection
Lossod

¹⁸ *saa*: literally, ‘sin’. An alternative reading could be: ‘...who had committed a sin against...’

68 Timpu to kovuyyahan, iddos od ponguu to kandan no lugaa, iddos datu. 69 Sikandin kos od polinta woy od pomandu, woy od poponog¹⁹ to mgo loi riyon to kandin no mgo minuvu woy mgo sakup. 70 Sokkad no loi no id poponog to datu no ko-ilangan no iddos mgo minuvu rin od pohinonaw to kodpo-imotayoy woy kodsomad to osso-ossong goggot, labbi ron taddot mgo mama riyot ipat baoy woy iddos od bovallan no mgo sundau to datu. 71 No idda mandad so langun no mgo minuvu, diid ko-owan to mgo goggot no id pongallang to kandan no munayan.

72 Id poponog inin loi su moppiya ko duwon don tapoy kodpanoypanoy woy mo-uraa kos od ngilaman, unna iddos mgo usig, iko-oruwa, iddos mgo minuvu no od imatoy ahad waa saa no nopusungan pomon de-en to sihi woy kod-aahaw to sawa to duma. 73 Iyon od pohinonaw,²⁰ iddos mgo mama no duwon ingowollon nod kopongollangan iddos kandan no pomilya woy iddos mgo mama nod bovallan no mgo sundau to datu nod tamong to kandan no lugaa. 74 Na, idda mandad so od nonaw, iddos mgo minuvu no bantug to kodpo-imotayoy woy iddos bahani²¹ no duwon don dakkoon no-ukitan to kodpo-imotayoy.

75 Duwon mgo sikaa taddot kandan no kodpohinonaw, unna, iddos kodsomad to mgo goggot. 76 Od nonawwan sikandan to kodgamit to osso-ossong mgo goggot, iling to kompilan, sinongkabow, sundang, woy dos kodpillak to budyak. 77 Od nonawwan mandad sikandan ko od monnuwon to kodgamit dos pongallang to kandan no lawa no taming woy dos kaasag.

78 Iko-oruwa, od nonawwon sikandan taddot od ngoranan no od so-ut. 79 Iddos od ngoranan nod so-ut, ini en iddos kodpo-imotayoy nod possikpossik, od sayowsayow woy od alin-alin woy ini en kos kodpo-imotayoy ko od tovgangan ka to mo-uraan usig. 80 Su otin dii ka od possikpossik woy od alin-alin, od koso-utan ka to kodpillak woy kodtibbas taddot kikow'n mgo usig. 81 Iyon ko-ilangan ka-ay, od so-uton iddos ollog no timpu no od kopokesan iddos taming woy kaasag to mgo usig, na idda pa mandad od suvaa²² nod tibbas woy od pillak. 82 Iddos od gomiton dan to kodpohinonaw, od bovaa ran to kayu no timbang mgo goggot woy dos od gomiton tod pillak mgo lawa to tabbak²³ woy burakan.²⁴

83 Iko-otollu, dos ipat sokkad od pohinonaw taddot od ngoranan no kod-aayan woy kodloupug to mgo usig. 84 Duwon uvag minuvu nod ipanow woy'd oyanan sikandin to mgo oppat o limmon mgo minuvu. 85 Iddos od pon-aayan, od oollos diyot movonosson no od panoy ron tapoy to kandan no mgo goggot. 86 Ko od pokopantok don iddos minuvu nod ipanow riyot od pon-aayan, idda pa od lupuhon dan don. 87 Na pomon tadda, od tigkanoy ran don od po-imotayoy. 88 Iddos id oyanan, od pohinonaw sikandin no diid kosuhat woy'd kotuig nod ponolliyaa taddot mgo kodtibbas woy kodpillak, de-en od alin-alin woy od possikpossik sikandin nod aangat to ollog no timpu, idda pa od suvaa mandad sikandin od tibbas. 89 Ini no kodpo-imotayoy, ko-ilangan to konokkaan, kotuihan, kodbansoy to kodsomad woy kodgamit to mgo goggot. 90 De-en, iddos mgo mama nod bovallan to mgo mongayow, moomosandog kos lawa, moomonokkaa woy waa mgo bohok. 91 Dii sikandan od soroan to kodnonaw taman tod kovansoy ran don to kodpo-imotayoy.

¹⁹ *poponog*: literally, 'cause to step down' is derived from *ponog* 'to step down'. Used in a figurative sense, a tribal leader told people under him what they were expected to do. His decisions became part of customary law.

²⁰ Implied: to fight.

²¹ *bahani*: A person would not be called this unless he killed at least ten people. He was watched over by a spirit called *Mondaangan*. His status as a warrior entitled him to wear blood-red clothing (jacket and headdress).

²² *suva*: literally, 'to take over, to take someone's place'.

²³ *tabbak*: similar to banana plant about 2–4 meters (6½–13 feet) in height.

²⁴ *burakan*: a larger kind of vine.

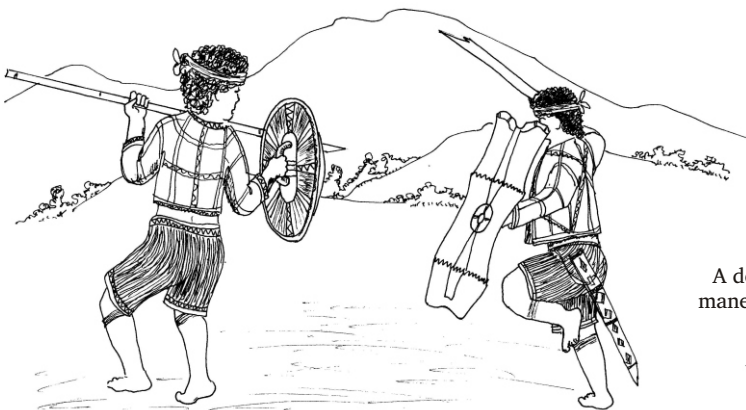
68 At the time of the ancestors, the leader of their area was the *datu* 'tribal chieftain'. 69 It was he who gave advice and counsel and set down¹⁹ the laws for his people and constituents. 70 One law a tribal chieftain set down was that his people, especially the men in each house and those who became soldiers of the tribal chieftain, had to learn to fight and to handle different weapons. 71 So all the people would not be without weapons to protect themselves.

72 This law was set down because it was (deemed) good if there was advance preparation and many were vigilant; first, for enemies, (and) second, for people who even killed those who had done no wrong (but) just out of jealousy or taking someone else's wife. 73 Those who learned²⁰ were men who desired to protect their family and men who became soldiers of the tribal chieftain to watch over their area. 74 Those who taught were people known for fighting and fierce warriors²¹ who had extensive experience in fighting.

75 There are phases/steps to their learning; first, holding the weapons. 76 They were taught how to use the different kinds of weapons like the *kompilan*, *sinongkabow*, (and) *sundang* swords, and spearing with a *budyak* spear. 77 They were also taught how to use the *taming* and *kaasag* shields to protect their bodies.

78 Second, they were taught that which is called *so-ut* 'a defensive dance maneuver'. 79 The (technique) called *so-ut* was fighting by quickly jumping around, dancing about, and moving about from place to place; and this was the fighting when many enemies were helping each other (to kill) you. 80 Because if you did not quickly jump around and move about from place to place, you would be overtaken by the spearing and stabbing of your enemies. 81 Important here was that the right time was taken advantage of when the shields of enemies were open, and that was when to take the offensive²² in stabbing and spearing. 82 That which they used in learning, they made real-looking weapons out of wood and to spear the body, (a kind of) reed²³ and vine²⁴ were used.

83 Third, each one will learn that which is called ambushing and chasing after enemies. 84 There was one who pretended to be a person who was walking and four or five people would ambush him. 85 Those who were ambushing hid in the thick undergrowth, already having prepared their weapons. 86 When the person who was walking was directly across from those lying in ambush, then they would give chase. 87 Now at that point, they started to fight each other. 88 The one ambushed learns how not to be struck and to move out of the way of the stabbing and spearing; therefore he moves about and jumps around waiting for the right time, then he takes the offensive in stabbing. 89 This (kind of) fighting requires strength, skill, (and) expertise in holding and using weapons. 90 Therefore the men who became warriors had bodies that were in good shape, strong, and without illness. 91 They did not stop learning until they became experts in fighting.



A defensive dance
maneuver in fighting
Od so-ut

92 Konna ra iddos mgo goggot woy kotuihan to kodpo-imotayoy kos od solihan dan to kodpongallang to kodpo-imotayoy, ko konna, duwon pa mandad ossa nod solihan dan, iddos od ngoranan to toukamba o batang to lambus. 93 Inis toukamba, sokkad no lambus nod pongallang no diid kolo-otan to mgo usig. 94 Iddos minuvu no noko-amaa ka-ay, od boggayan to patow²⁵ no duwon usig su od waong man ini. 95 Idde-en kos unayan no od pokopanoypanoy ron iddos duwon toukamba.

96 Konna ra idda, ko konna, idda mandad so mgo onituwon od ponudtuu ukit tat mgo onitu ran ko duwon mongayow nod lusud woy duwon od inguma no samuk diyot kandan no lugaa. 97 Na ini, dii en od lempas,²⁶ de-en iddos mgo minuvu od ngilam don woy'd panoypanoy.

98 Piru to inin timpu, worad goli mgo goggot no iling ka-ay riyon to kodpo-imotayoy, oyya su²⁷ od pompomakoy ron iddos mgo minuvu. 99 Iddos mgo minuvu no duwon goggot no iling ka-ay, worad diyon to poomdom dan no id tota-aw ini atag to kodpo-imotayoy. 100 De-en, id gamit dan don ini to ahad ondan nod kohomitan iling to kodpongevoo riyon to kamot.

101 Na ka-ay re-en taman.

Iddos Kod-ahaw to Sawa

Tano Bayawan

1 Inis kod-ahaw¹ to sawa² to dumon mama, botasan en to mgo Monuvu pomon poron to mgo kovuyyahan. 2 Inin botasan, oraroy'n morat su od pokobovaa to samuk diyot ko-ubpa to sokkad no pomilya woy riyot ingod no id oubpan dan. 3 Od salig iddos od puung ka-ay su duwon impon dan no id poko-sablag³ dan woy od ko-usoy man to mgo datu. 4 Piru duwon dad en iddos diid ko-usoy, no idde-en kos unayan no duwon kodpovunuwoy⁴ su duwon don man kodposuliyoy.

5 Mo-uraan unayan taddot kod-aahaw to sawa to duma. 6 Iddos sokkad no unayan, id pa-ahaw to mgo datu. 7 Oyya su⁵ iddos mama,⁶ morat kos botasan, diid okudi to sawa woy mgo anak din. 8 Od pomiliton din kos kandin no sawa woy oraroy sikandin no movuut, do ve-en to kod-ontong tat mgo datu no moko-eru-eru iddos pomilya rin. 9 De-en sikandan⁷ don kos od pomuhawang no id potangag⁸ baling iddos ba-ay. 10 Piru idda mandad so mama nod potangahon dan taddot ba-ay, iddos no nokita ran no moppiyok botasan, od kosolihan woy od poko-uyag⁹ to pomilya rin. 11 Otin mgo datu ron dangan kos od pomuhawang no id pa-ahaw kos ba-ay, duwon don bo id panoy ran no mgo impon no id sablag tat sawa. 12 Iddos sablag, kopakoy no kuda, ahung, kaavow o duma pa no mgo impon amoy dii sikandin od poko-elle su datu¹⁰ ron man kos id usoy.

²⁵ Implied: the sign or signal is given by the charm.

²⁶ Implied: Any event predicted by a spirit medium will definitely happen.

²⁷ *oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

¹ *kod-ahaw*: derived from *ahaw* 'to seize, to illegally take possession of'. It implies taking someone else's spouse.

² *sawa*: literally, 'spouse'. For this account, wife stealing is being referred to. Wherever the term *sawa* was used, it has been rendered as either 'husband' or 'wife' depending on the context.

³ *poko-sablag*: derived from *sablag* 'brideprice' but in this context it refers to a restitution payment given to appease the anger of the husband whose wife was taken and to, in a small way, compensate or make restitution for his loss.

⁴ *kodpovunuwoy*: literally, 'killing each other' is derived from *bunu* 'to fight and kill'.

⁵ *Oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

⁶ *mama*: literally, 'man'. This refers to the husband of the wife that was taken.

92 It was not only weapons and fighting skills that they trusted in to protect themselves while fighting, but there was also something else they trusted in called *toukamba* 'magic charm', or *batang to lambus* 'an effective hex-using poison'. 93 This charm is (a kind of) poison by sorcery that protects so as not to be cornered by enemies. 94 The person who owns this is given a signal²⁵ (by the charm) that there is an enemy because it will assuredly move. 95 For this reason, the one who has a *toukamba* charm can (always) be prepared.

96 Not only that but spirit mediums would tell through their familiar spirits when there were murderers who would attack and that trouble would come to their area. 97 This would not fail²⁶ (to happen); therefore the people would be vigilant and prepared.

98 But at this time, weapons like these are rarely used for fighting one another; the reason²⁷ is people already believe in God. 99 People who have weapons like these do not have it in their mind to put these away for fighting. 100 They just use them for any kind of use like clearing a field.

101 Just up to here (is my explanation).

Taking Someone Else's Wife

Tano Bayawan

Restoring peace in the community is the ultimate goal of a *datu*, the tribal leader. Among the various cases he has to settle are those involving someone else's wife being taken. If a husband mistreats his wife and children, the *datu* may arrange to have another man steal the man's wife. In the past, a *datu* would fine the adulterer six large gongs and a slave to carry the gongs. Horses eventually replaced the slaves. These items were intended to appease the anger of the husband whose wife committed adultery against him and to compensate for the difficulty he had been through. There were situations that could not be arbitrated and ended in a revenge murder.

1 Taking¹ the wife² of another man is truly a practice of the Manobo people going back since the (time) of the ancestors. 2 This practice is very bad because it creates troubles in the day-to-day living of a particular family and the region where they live. 3 Those who did this had confidence that they had valued items they could give as restitution³ and it could surely be arbitrated by tribal leaders. 4 But there definitely were (situations) that could not be arbitrated, and that was the reason there were murders⁴ because there assuredly were those who took revenge against one another.

5 There were many reasons for taking someone else's wife. 6 One reason was that tribal leaders would have a wife taken. 7 The reason⁵ for this is because the husband⁶ has a bad/evil character, (or) does not take care of his wife and children. 8 He beats his wife and he is very aggressive, so in the sight of the tribal leaders, his family is to be pitied. 9 Therefore it will be them⁷ who instead plan to have the woman snatched.⁸ 10 But the man whom they have snatch that woman would be someone they see as having a good character, is trustworthy, and who can support⁹ his family. 11 In the past if the tribal leaders were the ones who planned to have a woman taken from her husband, there were valued items that they would prepare to give as restitution to the husband. 12 The restitution payment could be a horse, a large gong, a water buffalo, or other

⁷ Implied: Tribal leaders take the wife (and her children) out of a bad situation.

⁸ *potangag*: derived from *tangag* 'to snatch', as a dog snatching a piece of meat from the table and running away with it.

⁹ *poko-uyag*: literally, 'able to keep alive' is derived from *uyag* 'to live'.

13 Otin mandad waa sablag, duwon en kos kodpovunuwoy su od bunuwon man tat sawa iddos mama no id ahaw tat sawa rin.

14 Dangan no timpu, iddos ponguu to tribu, od ngoranan no datu woy sikandin kos od tampod to saa,¹¹ od tampod to bunu, od pominoggon to langun kos polinta rin woy od oddatan mandad sikandin to dumon mgo datu. 15 Otin duwon id aahaw, od aput¹² sikandin diyot datu amoy'd kotovangan tod sablag woy'd po-usoy. 16 Piru ko dii sikandin od poko-aput diyot datu, pihu en nod patoy sikandin.¹³

17 Na iddos iko-oruwon unayan to kod-aahaw to sawa, iddos mama no konakan o iddos duwon don sawa, tapoy ron en moho no no-olihan tat molitan. 18 Ahad sawa pe-en to suwod o sumbaoy rin woy mgo leleng din, od sahasaha sikandin su duwon man impon no id pokosablag din. 19 Iddos od puungan din, od nonangkap to po-ukit nod kotangag¹⁴ din iddos id kopi-i rin no ba-ay. 20 Od oyanan din bo ko ingkon od isau iddos ba-ay woy'd tongkoon din, piru ko dii od aman iddos ba-ay, od bokuson din woy'd imaakkon. 21 Na pomon tadda, od kopuungan don kos morat nod puungan, woy od ko-uug¹⁵ don to kod-aahaw. 22 Na gulari tod pokorinog don iddos no-ahawan no mama, od imatoy sikandin su noko-iling me-en to noponggesan sikandin to saakoy,¹⁶ de-en od noonongkaupon din iddos id tangag tat sawa rin. 23 Na idda mandad so id totangag, od aput don diyot datu su otin dii sikandin od potavang, duwon en kos kodpovunuwoy su datu ra man kos od poko-usoy to iling ka-ay no samuk. 24 Na iddos id aahaw, od soblahan din iddos sawa tat ba-ay to kuda o ahung o kaavow, na iddos sawa tat ba-ay, dii ron od pokolangot su nosoblahan don man sikandin.

25 Iddos iko-otollun unayan to kod-aahaw, iddos ba-ay, od ko-olihan to dumon mama. 26 Od puungan ini tat ba-ay su waa rin nopi-i iddos botasan tat sawa rin, labbi ron ko iddos sawa rin, pogguwon, diid puung, oraroy'd pomilit,¹⁷ lohoddon. 27 De-en iddos ba-ay, od pokopomuhawang to morat. 28 Na pomon ka-ay, od potangag sikandin to dumon mama no nopi-i rin. 29 Na inin ba-ay, dii ron od uli riyot sawa rin, de-en kos mama no id tangag kandin, od sablag dobbo taddot sawa tat ba-ay.

30 Iko-appat no unayan to kod-ahaw, iddos od tomman no kodloivug. 31 Od kopakoy no iddos mama o iddos sawa no ba-ay kos od loivug. 32 Iddos od ngoranan no kodloivug, duwon don nopuungan no morat¹⁸ diyot sawa to duma. 33 Iddos sawa no ba-ay¹⁹ no no-olihan tat mama, id lopangngan²⁰ din dos sawa rin. 34 Inin pinuungan, id ollos dan pa woy od potommuwoy ran diyot lugaa no waa nokokita woy nokosaddoo. 35 Tamantaman tod pokosohinda ron iddos tapad sawa ran woy dos mgo sumbaoy, na de-en od kosowpot don sikandan. 36 De-en, od inguma²¹ ron ini riyot datu woy'd usayon din iddos sowpot. 37 Na ponunggeleng man ko bonnaa idda, iddos id lu-ud kandin to datu, sokkad od loroo ko-onomman, sokkad kos od bava. 38 Dos ko-uluhan

¹⁰ *datu*: 'tribal leader, chieftain'. One of his main roles is handling conflicts; he has the final say.

¹¹ *tampod to saa*: literally, 'to cut a sin'. The tribal leader would figuratively "cut" the continuing bad effects of a wrong that was committed through requiring a restitution payment be given to the offended party.

¹² *aput*: literally, 'to take refuge'.

¹³ Implied: because the jealous, vengeful husband of the wife he stole will kill him.

¹⁴ *kotangag*: derived from *tangag* 'to snatch, to take something seen and desired', as a dog snatching a piece of meat from the table.

¹⁵ *ko-uug*: derived from *uug* 'to fall, to drop'. In this context, it is used in a figurative sense implying a situation, e.g., illness, gets worse.

¹⁶ *noponggesan...to saakoy*: literally, 'headdress was ripped off' is an idiomatic expression meaning the man has been shamed.

¹⁷ *oraroy'd pomilit*: literally, 'really beats someone up'.

valued items so that he cannot refuse because a tribal leader¹⁰ surely was the one who arbitrated (the matter). 13 Also if nothing is given as restitution, there definitely will be a murder because the husband will kill the man who took his wife.

14 In the past time, the leader of the tribe was called a *datu* and he was the one who cut¹¹ (the repercussions of) a wrong, cut (the repercussions of) a murder; all his advice would be listened to and he was also respected by other tribal leaders. 15 If someone had taken someone else's wife, he relied on¹² the tribal leader to get help in giving a restitution payment and to arbitrate for him. 16 But if he did not rely on the tribal leader, it was absolutely certain that he would die.¹³

17 Now the second reason for taking another man's wife was when a single or married man had long been attracted to that woman. 18 Even moreover the wife of his brother or his neighbor or his friends, he would be *sahasaha* 'not concerned about the consequences' because there were valued items that he could give in restitution. 19 What he would do is find a way to snatch¹⁴ the woman that he liked. 20 He would hide and watch where the woman was and talk to her, but if the woman did not agree (to go with him), he would tie her up and frighten her. 21 Now because of that, what was done was an evil deed and degenerated¹⁵ to taking someone else's spouse. 22 Now when the man whose wife was taken hears of it, he will kill; because it is, of course, like his headdress has been ripped off,¹⁶ therefore he will find the one who snatched his wife. 23 Now the one who did the snatching will rely on the tribal leader because if he does not seek help, there definitely will be a murder committed because it assuredly is only the tribal leader who can arbitrate this kind of trouble. 24 Now the one who took someone else's wife will give as restitution to the husband of that woman a horse or a large gong or a water buffalo, and as a result the husband of that woman can no longer be angry because he assuredly has been given restitution.

25 The third reason for taking someone else's wife is when the woman is attracted to another man. 26 The woman will do that because she does not like the character of her husband, especially if her husband is lazy, does not work, is physically abusive,¹⁷ (or) is selfish. 27 Therefore the woman will plan to do something bad/evil. 28 Because of this, she will have another man whom she likes snatch her. 29 Then this woman will no longer return to her husband, so the man who snatched her will just give a restitution payment to the husband of the woman.

30 The fourth reason for taking someone else's wife is what is said to be committing adultery. 31 It is possible that the man or the wife is the one who commits adultery. 32 That which is called committing adultery (means) that something bad has been done¹⁸ with another's spouse. 33 The wife¹⁹ who is attracted to (another) man *lopangngan*²⁰ 'oversteps' her husband. 34 They will first hide these deeds, and they will meet each other in a place where no one sees or knows about it. 35 Eventually their respective spouses and the neighbors will notice and they will be gossiped about. 36 Therefore, the tribal leader will hear²¹ of (the gossip) and he will arbitrate the (suspicions behind) the gossip. 37 Now, for example, if it is true, the tribal leader judges him (with a fine of) *sokkad od loroo ko onomman* 'one restitution payment of six (large gongs)', (and) *sokkad kos od bava* 'a (slave) who will carry them on his back'. 38 The meaning of this is six large gongs and

¹⁸ *nopuungan no morat*: literally, 'to have done something bad/evil' is a euphemism for an illicit relationship.

¹⁹ *sawa no ba-ay*: literally, 'female spouse'.

²⁰ *lopangngan*: literally, 'to step over something'. In this context it is a figurative expression meaning the wife has insulted her husband by committing adultery with someone.

²¹ *inguma*: literally, 'arrived at'.

ka-ay, annom no molison no ahung woy sokkad no uripon kos id ponavuk.²² 39 Na otin waa uripon, od buwassan to sokkad no kuda, no idde-en kos timbang od bava. 40 Woy ossa pa tadda, iddos mgo anak, od kupkupon sikandan,²³ woy od pomaason²⁴ dos sawa²⁵ su amoy od ka-awa iddos mongelas. 41 Dos ba-ay no id lappang to sawa rin, od boggoy mandad to od ngoranan no baka.²⁶ 42 Ini en kos lu-ud no id boggoy to ba-ay. 43 Ini kotongnga to kontidad tat id sablag²⁷ to mama. 44 No idda mandad so od usoy ka-ay no datu, od pomaason amoy diid ko-apii²⁸ to mongelas.

45 Inis botasan to Monuvu nod aahaw to sawa to duma, duwon poron ini ko-ungkay. 46 Piru mosuppit ini nod puungan, oyya su unnon usig du iddos sawa woy korumannan tat id ohawan du. 47 Iko-oruwa, iddos kikow'n sawa, mgo anak woy mgo korumannan to sawa ru. 48 Iko-otollu, iddos goberno nod ammot kikow su od diiyan iddos kod-osawa to lampas to sokkad. 49 Woy lampas to langun, nokosaddoo ki no duwon iddos Monama no id diiyan din ini no pinuungan.

Popo

Pablo Iyong

1 Inis itulon ku, iddos moka-atag taddot od ngoranan no popo. 2 Dos unnon mgo minuvu dangan, dos mgo kovuyyahan, inaayun sikandan od ngilam taddot od ngoranan nod povunuwoy.¹ 3 Na, otin be-en duwon don od povunuwoy, od bovaa sikandan tat toman dan no ubpan no mowwet nod ngoranan no popo. 4 Od ooputan dan ini timpu to bulli woy ka-ay en sikandan od oubpa su amoy od pokoporiyu sikandan ko duwon od bovunu. 5 Su² otin moobbava³ kos ubpan du, moomok ka nod kovunu. 6 Piru ko mowwet dos ubpan du riyon ka to popo, dii ka od ka-apput to kodsoliyuk, su oray'n mowwet.

7 Na, dos od ngaran no popo, sabbung idda nod bovallan diyot datas to kayu. 8 Konna ini inaayun od oubpan, ko konna, od ooputan da ko duwon mongayow. 9 Na, dos sabbung idda, sokkad kos tuddok, idda re-en so lawa to kayu. 10 Na iddos koowettan tadda, mgo annom taman to pittun leppa⁴ pomon diyot livuta, no ollog-ollog no diid ka-apput to kodsoliyuk. 11 Dos atop tadda, dos do-un to koovi.⁵ 12 Ko waa iddos koovi, dos baahon nod ngoranan no tuvu⁶ kos id atop dan. 13 Od kopakoy rad mandad no oovaton iddo so tuvu. 14 Na, diyot datas, iddos mgo loggee kopu nod gomiton to mgo dullug woy iddos mgo tuddok, mgo mosalig no kayu. 15 Na kopongnga tadda, od bovollan dan to disok no sobbangan no ongngad-ongngad de-en

²² *ponavuk*: compensation given to appease an offended party in order to, in effect, "cut" or stop the grievance from getting out of hand, i.e., to stop someone from killing someone else.

²³ This refers to the tribal leaders.

²⁴ *pomaason*: derived from *pomaas* 'appeasement offering'. An appeasement ritual includes sacrificing a white chicken. While it is still alive, its feet are held and it is swung back and forth once. The flapping of the wings of the chicken represents pushing away misfortune (or bad spirits).

²⁵ This refers to the husband of the wife who committed adultery.

²⁶ *baka*: a fine of an appeasement or compensation payment for the adultery offence committed by the woman. She has to pay this to the wife of the man she committed adultery with.

²⁷ The restitution paid by the man refers to a payment of six large gongs and one slave (sentence 37).

²⁸ *ko-apii*: literally, 'included'.

¹ *povunuwoy*: literally, 'to kill each other' is derived from *bunu* 'to kill'.

² *Su*: literally, 'because'.

³ *moobbava*: literally, 'low'.

one slave are *ponavuk*²² ‘compensation to appease anger’. 39 If there is no slave, one horse can take his place, and that is what will serve to carry the items on its back. 40 And in addition to that, they²³ will gather together the children and an appeasement offering ritual will be performed²⁴ on the husband²⁵ so that the bad luck will go away. 41 The woman who overstepped her husband will also have to give (a payment) called *baka*²⁶ ‘compensation to appease anger’. 42 This then is the judgment that is given to the woman. 43 This will be half the value that is paid as restitution²⁷ by the man. 44 Now an appeasement offering ritual will also be performed on the tribal leader who will arbitrate this so as not to be caught up²⁸ in the bad luck.

45 As for this practice of the Manobo people of taking someone else’s spouse, it still exists today. 46 But it is a bitter thing to do, yes because your first enemies will be the spouse and the relatives of the wife that you took. 47 Second will be your wife and children and relatives of your wife. 48 Third, the government will arrest you because it is forbidden to marry more than one. 49 And most important of all, we know that there is a God who prohibits these (kinds of) deeds.

Tree Shelter

Pablo Iyong

In times of war, survival for some meant building a shelter up in the branches of a tall tree to get away from the prodding spear of an enemy. To enter and leave the tree shelter, a long post or long, narrow tree trunk that was notched to provide footholds was leaned up against the entrance of the tree shelter. The owner and his family would climb up and down. In the evening it was pulled up, keeping the family safe from the jabbing spears of enemies.

1 This story of mine concerns that which is called *popo* ‘a tree shelter’. 2 The first people in the past, the ancestors, were always alert for what is called war.¹ 3 So for example, if there was a battle, they would make what they said was a tall/high house named a tree shelter. 4 They took refuge there at night and that is where they would live so they could be far away if there were those who went around killing. 5 The reason² was if your house was on or near the ground³ you would be easy to kill. 6 But if your house was tall/high, i.e., you are in a tree shelter, you could not be reached by someone stabbing upwards, because (the house) was very high.

7 Now that which was called a *popo* was just a shelter made up on top of a tree. 8 This was not always a place of residence, but only a place of refuge if there were murderers. 9 The shelter had one main post that actually was a tree trunk. 10 Its height was about six to seven arm spans⁴ from the ground, just right so as not to be reached by anyone stabbing upwards. 11 The roof was the leaves of a *koovi*⁵ plant. 12 If there was no *koovi*, a rattan called *tuvu*⁶ was their roofing material. 13 It was also possible to use *tuvu* rattan for the walls. 14 On top, the building material used for support beams and main posts was hard wood. 15 Then after that, they made a small entrance that was just big

⁴ *leppa*: a measurement based on both arms outstretched, measuring from fingertip to fingertip or approximately 2 meters (6½ feet) in length.

⁵ *koovi*: a variety of rattan (*Calamus* sp.). It is thin and thorny, producing clusters of edible, sour berries.

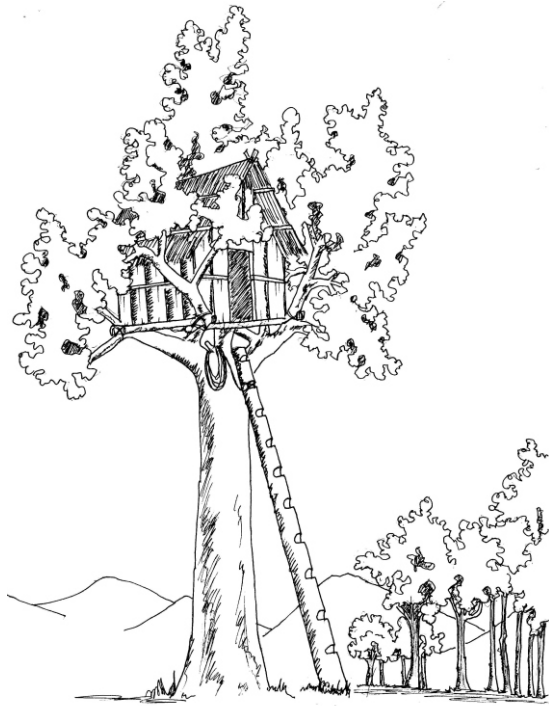
⁶ *tuvu*: a kind of thorny rattan vine (*Calamus usitatus*). It has wide leaves, red sweet fruit, the thorns of which are exceptionally long, 7.5–10 centimeters (3–4 inches) in length.

nod tokeled diyot kod-usok. 16 Dos eheddan tadda, sokkad da no molivuson no kayu. 17 Od pokkangan idda sippang diyot ubpu.

18 Na, otin bulli ron, od batunon idda su amoy ko duwon mongayow, diid pokopenek diyot datas su worad man eheddan. 19 Na, dos od kopuungan to mgo kovuyyuhan, otin od osengon dan nod ponggilam, od aput sikandan tat mowwet no ubpan⁷ amoy dii sikandan od kovunu. 20 Na de-en od pokolegguang uvag sikandan to kopotayan.

21 Ko-urallan to mgo minuvu nod bovaa to popo, iddos mo-uraa kos usig woy iddos dakkoo kos kolukuwan.⁸ 22 Su dangan iddos minuvu, diid kolingow taddot nokopuung kandin to morat,⁹ de-en od nonangkap sikandin to pomo-ukit nod pokosuli. 23 Piru ahad pa mandad iddos mgo motallong¹⁰ dad no minuvu, od bovaa rad en to popo nod ooputan dan. 24 Oyya su¹¹ duwon man mandad od ngilaman no mgo morat no minuvu nod imatoy taddot duma ran ahad waa nokopuung to saa. 25 Woy idda mandad sod kosihi¹² ra woy od puung de-en to kororattan.

26 Dangan inis popo, dakkoo kos koru-anon su noko-iling to sokkad ini nod powwet to umuu ran. 27 Piru ko-ungkay, worad inin mgo botasan to Monuvu, oyya su dos unayan, od ka-apput don to sinapang iddos popo. 28 Dii ran don od bovaa su moomok don ko-ungkay nod pilayon dos ahad momonnu korokolloy no kayu ukit to sinsu.¹³ 29 Sokkad mandad no unayan, su od ohotton don to governo kos loi moka-atag to koddora-at to kayu. 30 Piru ko duwon man mgo popo ko-ungkay, konnad ini atag to kodpongallang to mongayow, ko konna, imoyyan dobbo su motoos oraroy nod oubpan kos popo.



A tree shelter
Popo

enough to enter by bending over. 16 Its steps were only one round (post) of wood. 17 It was notched until up to the end.

18 When it was evening, it was pulled up so that if there were murderers, they couldn't climb up because there surely weren't any stairs. 19 So what the majority of the ancestors did, when they talked about being vigilant was to take refuge in a high shelter⁷ so that they would not be killed. 20 Thus they could, as it were, escape from death.

21 The majority of the people who made tree shelters were those who had many enemies and who did a lot of unruliness.⁸ 22 The reason was in the past a person did not forget someone who wronged⁹ him, therefore he would find a way to get even. 23 But even people who were law-abiding¹⁰ definitely built a tree shelter to have a place they took refuge. 24 This was because¹¹ there certainly were also those who were vigilant for evil people who killed their companions, even those who had not committed any sin. 25 And there also were those who were jealous¹² and those who went around doing nothing but destruction.

26 In the past this tree shelter was of great value because it was like something that could lengthen their life. 27 But now this custom is no longer a part of the Manobo people because the reason is (the bullets of) a gun will reach a tree shelter. 28 They no longer build these because today it is easy to cut down any size of tree by using a chain-saw.¹³ 29 Also another reason is because the government has tightened the law concerning destroying trees. 30 But if there were tree shelters today, it would not be for protection from murderers, but instead just a resting place because it is very pleasant to live in a tree shelter.

⁷ *ubpan*: literally, 'house'.

⁸ *kolukuwan*: literally 'foolish doings' is derived from Cebuano *luku* 'fool'.

⁹ *morat*: literally, 'do evil/bad'.

¹⁰ *motallong*: literally, 'straight, upright'.

¹¹ *Oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

¹² *kosihi*: derived from *sihi* 'to be spitefully jealous', implying doing something to cause trouble for the one who has aroused jealousy.

¹³ *sinsu*: a borrowed word from English 'chainsaw' following Manobo pronunciation and spelling.

VI Getting Along with Spirits

*“...there definitely are evil spirits that cause illness and death
in the past and even today.”*

Kodpoko-id woy Kosunayan

*“...duwon en bos busow nod boggoy to mgo poko-id dangan ahad
ko-ungkay'n timpu.”*

Iddos Kodbovawi woy Kotuusan to od Oonitu

Tano Bayawan

1 Mo-uraan mgo Monuvu no tohovowiy¹ pomon to mo-uraa mandad no mgo bohok to Monuvu. 2 Iddot timpu to mgo kovuyyahan, waa mgo Monuvu nod povawi riyot *doktor* pomon to moriyu sikandan to bonuwa woy waa sinorollan dan no duwon *doktor* nod poko-uli to bohok dan. 3 Ko nokosaddoo man sikandan, waa en mandad goli salig dan su iyon dan od kosolihi iddos mgo tohovowiy¹an.

4 Ipat timpu nod kovohokan dan, iyon od porogkilan dan iddos mgo busow, mgo busow no id pon-oubpa kun diyot daama, koyuwon, batu, bitu, takob, lovuntud, oweg, lumut, boliti, bolun woy duma pa. 5 Kopakoy kun nod kovohokan kos minuvu, ko od pokodora-at sikandin tat id ubpan to mgo busow.

6 Otin konna busow kos od porogkilan, mgo minuvu rad kos od todduwon² no unayan. 7 Iling to lambus,³ lommoy⁴ o too-idu,⁵ paayug,⁶ bungat⁷ woy duma pa no mgo koddora-at.⁸ 8 Na inin mgo bohok, diid kovowiy¹an to bawi no id boggoy to *doktor*. 9 Su iyon dangan od pomokayon to mgo Monuvu, iddos od oonitu.⁹ 10 Od kotuig sikandin nod bawi, od pokosaddoo ko ondak od kotomanan simag, od polinta to mgo minuvu woy od pohohana mandad. 11 Od sundow kos mgo Monuvu riyot kandin su od nonaw mandad sikandin no od kovatun sikandin diyot ko-unturan.¹⁰

12 Iddos od oonitu, od pomonduhan sikandin to onitu no od tunggu kandin, woy iddos mgo bawi rin, pomon diyot onitu rin sud pomonduhan man sikandin¹¹ ko ondak od puungan din. 13 To dii pa sikandin od bovawi, od aawas pa sikandin. 14 Od imotayan din to manuk no moputi iddos od kovohokan su id uyamu tat busow no id poko-id¹² tat novohokan. 15 Otin konna,¹³ od imatoy to moputin bavuy.¹⁴ 16 Od sapat¹⁵ mandad sikandin to moman, monika, apug woy tovaku sud umow-umow tat¹⁶ od pon-oubpa riyot buvungun, batu, oweg woy daama. 17 Otin ingkon iddos lugaa no id pomonnan no

¹ *tohovowiy¹an*: derived from *tohod-* ‘one who does something’ and *bawi* ‘medicine’. This refers to a person knowledgeable of herbal medicine. Their knowledge often stems from someone appearing to them in a dream telling them what kind of roots, leaves, bark, etc., has medicinal value. Some *tohovowiy¹an* had a familiar spirit, hence were also called *od oonitu*, but as stated in sentence 30, not all healers were spirit mediums or shamans.

² *todduwon*: derived from *toddu* ‘to point at something or someone’. It is generally considered rude to point at someone, hence this takes on the figurative sense of ‘accusing someone of something’.

³ *lambus*: a poison made from pulverized poisonous snake bones, put into a bottle and slyly added to the victim’s coffee. This is often done because of jealousy or anger.

⁴ *lommoy*: a hex using herbs that a person has been told about in dreams or the roots of an unusually formed tree. These are mixed together with oil and put in a small vial. Some of the mixture is put on the person in an inconspicuous way, e.g., slapping someone on the shoulder as a greeting; hidden in the hand is the *lommoy* mixture. This hex is put on someone to get them to have a change of heart about something.

⁵ *too-idu*: A lock of hair of a young lady is put in a bottle along with other secret herbs. It is slyly put on her person. She then becomes fixated on the man who put the *too-idu* hex on her. The young lady will think only of him and only of being happy when she is with him.

⁶ *paayug*: a kind of hex which slowly ruins the health of the victim with symptoms similar to tuberculosis. The reason for doing this may be jealousy or revenge.

⁷ *bungat*: If anyone steals crops from a field that has this hex placed on it, their eyes will gradually deteriorate until they fall out.

⁸ *koddora-at*: literally, ‘destroy’.

⁹ Implied: or shaman.

The Curative and Supernatural Power of a Spirit Medium

Tano Bayawan

Illnesses are blamed on evil spirits or on people who place hexes on others. In the past a spirit medium was the first person that was sought out for treatment. His power in the Manobo community was great because he functioned like a prophet, priest, healer, advice giver, and spiritual guide. There are also healers who are knowledgeable in treating spirit- or hex-caused illnesses not treatable by doctors. It is important to give the healer whatever they ask for in payment because if it is not given, the illness will instead be returned.

1 There are many Manobo healers¹ since there are also many illnesses Manobo people (experience). 2 In the times of the ancestors, Manobo people did not seek treatment at a doctor because they were far from the city and they were not aware that there were doctors who could treat their illness. 3 If they had known, they also would not really have trusted them because those whom they trusted were the healers.

4 Every time they were sick, those whom they would blame were evil spirits, evil spirits who are said to live in the cliffs, forests, rocks, caves, deep holes, mountains, rivers, strangler fig trees, water wells, and yet other (places). 5 It is said that a person can become ill if he destroys the dwelling place of evil spirits.

6 If evil spirits are not the ones blamed, it is people who are accused² as the source. 7 (People use hexes) like *lambus*³ 'a hex using poison', *lommoy*⁴ 'a hex to influence an enemy', or *too idu*⁵ 'a hex to attract the opposite sex', *paayug*⁶ 'a hex to slowly kill', *bungat*⁷ 'a hex to punish theft of crops', and other (hexes) for killing⁸ a person. 8 Now these illnesses cannot be treated by (the kind of) medicine that a doctor gives. 9 Because in the past the one whom Manobo people believed in was the spirit medium.⁹ 10 He knew how to heal, knew what would happen tomorrow, gave advice to people, and would also be a spirit medium. 11 Manobo people went to him because he also taught that he would ascend to the peak of the sky.¹⁰

12 The spirit medium would be given advice by a familiar spirit who resided in him and his medicinal plants were from his¹¹ familiar spirit because he would be told as to what he should do. 13 Before he would cure an illness, he would first offer a sacrifice. 14 He would kill a white chicken for the one who was sick to appease the evil spirit that inflicted a curse¹² on that sick person. 15 If not,¹³ (then) a white pig was killed.¹⁴ 16 He would also offer¹⁵ betel chew, betel leaf, lime, and tobacco because (then) he would call out to those¹⁶ living in the hills, rocks, river, and cliffs. 17 Wherever the place that the sickness of a person originated, that is also where the sacrifice will be placed and of-

¹⁰ *ko-unturan*: derived from *untud* 'on top', implies the highest layer in a seven-layer heaven where souls go.

¹¹ This refers to a familiar spirit who regularly takes residence in him.

¹² Evil spirits inflict a curse *poko-id* on anyone who crosses their path. The result of the curse is illness and/or death.

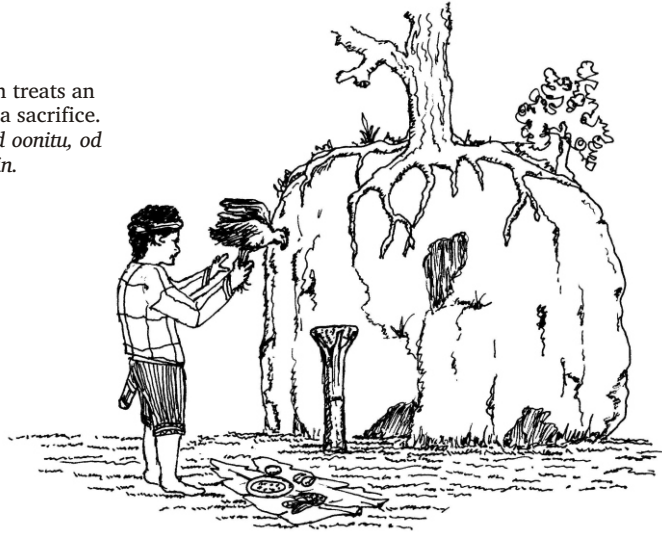
¹³ Implied: if a pure white chicken was not available or not sacrificed...

¹⁴ Implied: to offer as a sacrifice to the spirits.

¹⁵ *sapat*: literally, 'to put something on a shelf'. In this context, it implies putting or offering betel chew, lime, and tobacco wrapped in a betel leaf on an altar for the spirits.

¹⁶ Implied: spirits.

Before the spirit medium treats an illness, he will first offer a sacrifice.
To dii pa od bovawi dos od oonitu, od aawas pa sikandin.



novohokan dos minuvu, diyon en mandad id ta-aw iddos id awas woy iddos id sapat su riyon en kun no-ulling iddos busow. 18 Na rutun, od umow-umow iddos od oonitu tat busow no id poko-id tat novohokan.

19 Inis od oonitu, oraroy nod kominuvuwan su mo-uraa man kos od pongkovohokan. 20 Ahad iddos diid kovohokan od undiyon su kopiyan man nod pominog to mgo polinta rin. 21 Mo-uraa mandad kos od pomakoy kandin su iddos od pombowiyen din od ko-uliyen dad man.

22 Iddos od oonitu, dii mandad od kopiyan to mgo minuvu no morat kos botasan woy od polinta mandad sikandin to moppiyon od botasanon woy od puungan. 23 Od kosorollan din ko ondak botasan to minuvu woy ondak diyot poomdom to minuvu.

24 Diyot kodbovawi rin, od losuran sikandin woy od ka-alin kos lahong su dos od ooseng, idda ron man so onitu rin. 25 Na od tigkanoy ron sikandin od ponudtuu ko ondak id poko-id tat minuvu no novohokan. 26 Otin mandad od otuk sikandin woy od polinta, od losuran mandad sikandin woy od tigkanoy ron sikandin od ooseng woy od polinta to mgo minuvu. 27 De-en ahad iddos botasan to minuvu, od kosorollan din woy id ponudtuu rin.

28 Duwon mandad nokod-osso-ossan tohovowiyen, duwon iddos od bovawi to lambus, po-evong,¹⁷ bungat, paayug, too-idu woy lommoy. 29 Od bawi mandad sikandin to id poko-iran to busow, id oubpot kayu, daama, batu woy oweg.

30 Piru konna langun to tohovowiyen od oonitu. 31 Su iddos kandan no bawi, konna man pomon to pomandu to onitu, iddos duma pomon dad man to kovuyyahan dan woy dos duma notohenop¹⁸ dan.

32 Dos unnon od puungan to tohovowiyen diyot kodbovawi rin to lambus, od ponuvadtuvad pa sikandin idda pa od poonobban¹⁹ din to bawi iddos lawa tat novohokan. 33 Kopongnga, od punasan din to ogget, na od ponleggua riyot lawa iddos mgo lambus. 34 Na od po-inommon don bo sikandin to id pongottoy²⁰ no bawi, kopakoy mandad nod kannon o od soppan iddos bawi.

35 Duwon mandad od bawi to mgo koggang, iling to evong, notuwod to tullan to uwod woy id kahat to uwod.²¹ 36 Iddos bawi ran, iddos do-un, ukap, woy dalig to kayu.

37 Mo-uraan mgo bawi nod pongottayon no nosorollan to mgo Monuvu ahad konna sikandan tohovowiyen. 38 Inin mgo bawi atag to mgo bohok no iling to od loviron, nosammoo, id kahat to sapa,²² mosakit kos gottok, id lurog to busow woy duma pa. 39 Inin mgo bohok, kopakoy ron nod bowiyen ahad dii ron od

ferred up because that was reportedly where the evil spirit touched (the sick person). 18 Now in that place, the spirit medium would call out to the evil spirit who inflicted a curse on the sick person.

19 The spirit medium was really sought after by people because there surely were many sick people. 20 Even those who were not ill would go to him because they wanted to listen to his advice. 21 There were also many who believed in him because those whom he treated would just assuredly get better.

22 The spirit medium also did not like people whose character was evil/bad and he also advised (people) to have good character traits and (good) deeds. 23 He knew what the character of a person was and what a person was thinking.

24 As he was treating, he became possessed and his voice changed because the one speaking was his familiar spirit. 25 Then he would start telling what inflicted a curse on the person who was sick. 26 Also when he told the future or gave advice, he also became possessed and he would begin speaking and giving advice to the people. 27 As a result, even the character of a person, he would know about and would tell/reveal it.

28 There are also different kinds of healers; there were those who treat those hexed using poison, hexed by a jealous lover,¹⁷ hexed for stealing crops, hexed to slowly kill, hexed to attract the opposite sex, and hexed to influence an enemy. 29 He also treated those who were inflicted with illness by an evil spirit, inflicted by those living in the trees, cliffs, rocks, and rivers.

30 But not all healers are spirit mediums. 31 Because their medicinal plants were not from the instruction of spirits, (but) some (got it) from their ancestors and others their dreams.¹⁸

32 The first thing a healer will do in his treating someone hexed using poison is he will say incantations before he wipes¹⁹ medicinal plants on the body of that sick person. 33 After that he wipes (the sick person) with a cloth; then the poison from the hex will come out of the body. 34 Then he will be given medicinal plants to drink that were gathered in the wild;²⁰ the medicinal plants can also be eaten or chewed.

35 There are also those who treat skin diseases like leprosy or being pierced by the bone of a snake and snakebites.²¹ 36 Their medicinal plants are leaves, bark, and roots of trees.

37 Manobo people are knowledgeable about many medicinal plants gathered in the wild even though they are not healers. 38 These medicinal plants are for illnesses like worms, abdominal pain caused by an evil spirit, being bitten by a curse,²² a stomachache, being wrestled by an evil spirit, and others. 39 These illnesses can be treated

¹⁷ *po-evong*: a kind of hex done by a spitefully jealous person and is particularly focused on ruining a woman's nose to the point of it falling off.

¹⁸ Someone appears to the healer in their dream and advises them what kind of tree has medicinal properties.

¹⁹ *poonobban*: derived from *poonob* 'to wipe'. A patient is wiped with a cloth or leaf starting at the head going down the body using an oil-base mixture. The wiping action reportedly causes the poison to come out of the body because of the herbal medicines used.

²⁰ *pongottot*: any kind of herbal medicine that is gathered in the forest.

²¹ There are people who specialize in one kind of illness such as treating snakebite.

²² *kahat to sapa*: literally, 'bitten by a vow or curse'. A person makes a vow to do (or not to do) something, usually said out of anger, e.g., "I'll never come to your house again!" Then if a person goes against their vow, even if the vow is said lightly, there will be bad consequences, e.g., illness. Evil spirits that heard the vow would inflict punishment, hence a person was "bitten" by their own words.

umow-umow²³ to mgo busow woy kopakoy ron nod bowiyan to ahad ondo, su nokosaddoo man sikandan to mgo bawi nod pongottayon.

40 Oso-ossa kos po-ukit to kodbovawi, duwon id po-ukit to kod-oonitu, kodpoonob, kod-ugka,²⁴ kodmomusong, kodpoma woy kod-oilus. 41 Langun ka-ay od pokotavang to mgo Monuvu su waa soopi ran no od podoktor.

42 Otin od kovohokan don kos mgo Monuvu dangan, mo-uraa ron kos od poomatoy. 43 Od alin sikandan diyot sokkad no lugaa amoy od poriyu to bohok.

44 Iddos od oonitu, duwon dad en kotuusan din su od kosorollan din iddos morat nod kotomanan to sokkad no lugaa, labbi ron dos od pon-ingumon bohok su id ponudtuu ron tapoy kandin ini tat onitu. 45 Od kosorollan din mandad ko ondak id poko-id to minuvu nod kovohokan, woy od pokototongko sikandin kandan.²⁵

46 Duwon mandad mgo minuvu rin nod tavang kandin, labbi ron en iddos kandin no pomilya. 47 Otin morat kos od puungan din woy iddos mgo minuvu rin, od awa en iddos onitu.

48 Otin od bovawi iddos tohovowiyen, duwon iddos od buyuwon din nod ngoranan no suwa o bayad tat bawi. 49 Kosogaran nod buyuwon, manuk, simat, koosidu, umpak, pinggan nod tawwan to bawi, kondiru woy duma pa. 50 Ko-ilangan no id pokovoggoy iddos od buyuwon to tohovowiyen su otin dii, od uliyan sikandin tat bohok.²⁶ 51 Duwon iddos od tomman nod gottas²⁷ to bawi. 52 Otin kopiyan ka nod angoy to bawi, od gottason du idda to impon.²⁸

53 Diyot kodpongottoy to mgo bawi, duwon mgo li-iyon woy od ikulon to kodbovawi. 54 Otin dii ka od ikuu tat li-iyon, diid ottok dos bawi.²⁹

55 Inin botasanon³⁰ to Monuvu, oraroy poron nod ikulon takkot ko-ungkay. 56 Duwon poron en iddos od porani riyot mgo tohovowiyen, oyya su nokosaddoo sikandan nod ko-uliyan en woy konna mandad oray'n mahaa dos od buyuwon tat tohovowiyen. 57 Duwon mandad iddos duma no dii ron od dumoruma labbi ron en tat kodbovawi no ukit to kod-oonitu, oyya su nokosaddoo ron sikandan to kovonnaan ukit to Kahit Monama.

Bawi nod Pongottayon

Tano Bayawan

1 To dii ku pa od itulon kos moka-atag to mgo oso-ossan bawi,¹ unna ku pa od itulon koniyu iddos notomanan tat anak no novohokan pomon to id poko-iran to busow. 2 Ukit ka-ay, od ka-angoy ta kos kovonnaan no duwon en bos busow nod boggoy² to mgo poko-id dangan ahad ko-ungkay'n timpu. 3 Iddot id lihad no Bernis, id

²³ *umow-umow*: derived from *umow* 'to call out'. Here it refers to calling out to spirits to offer a sacrifice to seek to appease them so that the illness (inflicted by an evil spirit) will abate.

²⁴ *kod-ugka*: A healer will get certain leaves and scrub the body of the patient. If whitish worms come out similar to the worms that bore into sugarcane, it is confirmation that the patient was hexed.

²⁵ Implied: the spirits.

²⁶ The healer also has the power to give an illness back if some kind of payment is not given to him.

²⁷ *gottas*: literally, 'to cut a rope'. Here it is used in a figurative sense to "free up" or "loosen" medicine from the hand of the healer by giving an item of value.

²⁸ Implied: by giving a valued item in exchange.

²⁹ For further explanation about prohibitions in gathering medicinal-plants, see Section VI Getting Along with Spirits: *Medicinal Plants Gathered in the Wild*, sentences 35–38.

³⁰ Implied: of treating illnesses using medicinal plants...

¹ *bawi*: a generic term for medicine, however in this account, it refers to herbal or medicinal plants found in the wild.

even if evil spirits are not appealed to²³ and anyone can do the treating, because they are knowledgeable about the medicinal plants that are gathered in the wild.

40 There are different ways of treating; there is the method of a spirit medium, of being wiped with herbal medicine, of drawing out of insects,²⁴ of treating using ashes, of treating by divination, and of treating by massage. 41 All of these can help the Manobo people because they have no money to go to the doctor.

42 If the Manobo people were sick in the past, many would die. 43 They would move to another place in order to get far away from the illness.

44 The spirit medium unquestionably has supernatural power because he will know the bad that will happen in a certain place, especially the illnesses that will arrive because he has been told by that familiar spirit. 45 He also knows what inflicted an illness on a sick person and he can mediate with them.²⁵

46 There were also his people who would help him, especially his family. 47 If he or his people did anything evil/bad, the familiar spirit would definitely leave.

48 When the healer treats someone, he will ask for that which is called a *suwa* or payment for the medicinal plants. 49 Usually what is asked for are things (like) a chicken, a needle, a machete, clothing, plate on which to put medicinal plants, a cooking pot, or other things. 50 It is important to give what the healer asks for because if it is not (given), he will return the illness.²⁶ 51 There is what is said to be freeing up²⁷ the medicinal plant. 52 If you want to get a medicinal plant, you free it up by a valued item.²⁸

53 In gathering medicinal plants in the wild, there are prohibitions and procedures in treating (a sick person). 54 If you do not follow those prohibitions, the medicine will not be effective.²⁹

55 As for these Manobo customs,³⁰ they are very much still followed today. 56 There still are those who seek out the healer because they know that they will definitely get better and what a healer asks in payment will also not be very expensive. 57 There are also others who no longer follow, particularly in the treating (of illness) through a spirit medium, because they know the truth by means of the Word of God.

Medicinal Plants Gathered in the Wild

Tano Bayawan

Medicinal plants gathered in the wild have long been used by the Manobo people to treat illnesses caused by evil spirits, such as when spirits point, wrestle, inflict abdominal pain, or spear someone. One of the more effective medicinal plants to counteract these illnesses is *bahot*. Seven young leaves must be carefully picked using the mouth. The one doing the picking should hold their breath while chewing the leaves into small pieces. The masticated leaves are then spit out on the part of the body that an evil spirit has inflicted. If after chewing, itching is produced in the mouth of the one gathering the leaves and in the location where it was spit out on the one who is sick, it is a sure sign the illness was inflicted by an evil spirit.

1 Before I relate about different kinds of medicinal plants,¹ I will first tell you what happened to the child who became ill after being inflicted by an evil spirit. 2 By (relating) this, we will get at the truth that there really were evil spirits that inflict² spirit-caused illnesses in the past (and) even today. 3 This past Friday, the teachers went

² *boggoy*: literally, 'give'.



Solingovud herbal plant
Solingovud

dunggu ka-ay to ubpan ni *Maam*⁸ Vera woy *Maam* Ena, ayas id pongilob. 10 Id okudi ran iddos anak, id poka-an dan to binogbog no duwon luyya. 11 Id po-ilogga iddos anak no laayun od pokolikidlikid su oraroy'n mosakit kos gottok din. 12 Na poomdom to mgo minuvu,⁹ no-usokkan to morat no kaamag¹⁰ iddos anak o ponomsom pomon to waa ta-aw't gottok¹¹ din. 13 Piru ahad id doddasan don kos gottok din to bawi, waa na-angoy, na od moumpa-as don oraroy iddos anak su ayas pe-en id pongilob. 14 Na to alas kwatro ron to mapun, id pongottoy¹³ si Juliet¹² to bawi no bahot.¹⁴ 15 Id soppa rin, woy kopongnga, id tubpa rin diyon to gottok tat anak. 16 Ayas id pongutkut dos anak su kopi-i rin od ongayon dos bawi su oraroy'n doggos. 17 Na waa nouhoy, id angoy rin iddos bawi su waa rin noti-isi dos koddoggos. 18 No-uliyen iddos anak to simag. 19 Na, inin itulon, sokkad no kovonnaan to od poko-iran to busow.

20 Inis od itulon ku ko-ungkay riyot koniyu moka-atag ini to mgo bawi to od poko-iran to busow o¹⁵ bawit Monuvu no od kahamit takkot ko-ungkay'n timpu.

21 Unna, diyor mgo Monuvu, duwon patow otin od dorattan¹⁶ o od todduwon¹⁷ to morat kos sokkad no anak, buyyag o ahad ondoy no minuvu. 22 Waad aamon¹⁸ to morat gowang od ko-ukitan dan. 23 Inis morat, busow ini no duwon dad mandad kotuusan su sikandan en dos od ngoranan no

pomolihus iddos mgo tohodnonaw riyon to Agkuu,³ duma dos kandan no tohodpohinonaw. 4 Duwon sokkad no anak no ba-ay no id duma kandan to id pomolihus nod ngoranan ki Merlina Aguan. 5 Sollom poron sikandin id ballu pomon to baoy ran no waa id lammag din, su od so-ut to mgo duma rin no od ipanow ron diyor Agkuu. 6 To id dunggu sikandin diyon, id tollus sikandin id loumbuk to oweg to nouhoy, woy id ka-an to sahing no bunguwan.⁴ 7 Diyon poron to Agkuu, id tigkanoy ron sikandin od kosokitan to tavok din woy id pongilob. 8 To id dunggu riyot baoy ni Kagawad⁵ Tula, dii ron od pokogaha nod ipanow dos anak, id bava ni *Sir*⁶ Solidad sippang to Sayaban.⁷ 9 Iddos anak to id



Aamoy herbal plant
Aamoy

³ Agkuu: a popular tourist park also called Agco located in Sayaban, Ilomavis, Kidapawan City, having a hot sulfur spring. Many spirits are said to reside in Agkuu because of the hot spring and unique flora.

⁴ *bunguwan*: a kind of banana that is green even when ripe. If eaten by someone who is sick it reportedly makes the illness worse.

⁵ *Kagawad*: title for an elected local leader who serves as a council member.

⁶ *Sir*: a common title of respect for a male teacher equivalent to 'Mr.'

⁷ Sayaban: a village located on the northwest slope of Mt. Apo and part of the *barangay* 'town' of Ilomavis which is under the jurisdiction of Kidapawan City in Cotabato Province on Mindanao in the southern Philippines.

swimming at Agkuu,³ along with their students. 4 There was one child who went swimming with them named Merlina Aguan. 5 Very early in the morning she set off from their house without her breakfast to catch up with her companions who had already left for Agkuu. 6 When she arrived there, she immediately plunged into the water (staying in) for a long time and ate *bunguwan*⁴ bananas.⁷ Still at Agkuu, she started to feel pain in her abdomen and vomited. 8 When they arrived at the house of *Kagawad*⁵ Tula, the girl was no longer able to walk, (so) *Sir*⁶ Solidaridad carried her on his back to Sayaban.⁷ 9 The girl arrived here at the house of *Maam*⁸ Vera and *Maam* Ena, continuously vomiting. 10 They looked after the child; they fed her rice porridge that had ginger. 11 The girl was laid down (but) she kept tossing and turning because her stomach was very painful. 12 Now the people⁹ thought the child had gastritis¹⁰ or a stomachache because she had not eaten.¹¹ 13 But although medicine was rubbed on her stomach, it did not alleviate (the pain), and the child had become very pale because of continuously vomiting. 14 Then when it was four o'clock in the afternoon, Juliet¹² gathered¹³ medicinal *bahot*¹⁴ leaves. 15 She chewed (the leaves), and after that she spat it out on the stomach of the child. 16 The child kept scratching because she wanted to remove the medicinal leaves because it was very itchy. 17 So not long after that, she removed the medicinal leaves because she could not stand the itchiness. 18 By morning the child was well. 19 Now this story is one proof that evil spirits are able to inflict illness.

20 That which I will now relate to you is concerning medicinal plants for illnesses inflicted by evil spirits or¹⁵ Manobo medicinal plants that are still used today.

21 First, according to Manobo people, there are signs if a child, older person, or anyone has been hexed by a person¹⁶ or pointed at¹⁷ by an evil spirit. 22 Evil spirits are not selective,¹⁸ just as long as they are going past. 23 These evil spirits are spirits that also have supernatural power because they indeed are those who are called the members of



Bahot herbal plant
Bahot

⁸ *Maam*: a term of respect for a female teacher or equivalent social status.

⁹ Implied: who were there in the house.

¹⁰ *no-usokkan to morat no kaamag*: literally, 'bad wind entered' (the child).

¹¹ *waa ta-aw't gottok*: literally, 'there was nothing in the stomach', i.e., she had not eaten. In a different context, this same phrase can also mean 'not pregnant'.

¹² Juliet is a cousin of the speaker.

¹³ *pongottoy*: literally, 'to gather medicinal plants in the wild'.

¹⁴ *bahot*: a kind of thorny vine found in the wild, the leaves of which are used to cure illnesses caused by evil spirits (*Smilax bracteata*).

¹⁵ Implied: what is also called...

¹⁶ *dorattan*: derived from *da-at* 'to ruin, to destroy'. In this context, it refers to people who put a hex or curse on someone in order to cause that person illness which may lead to their death.

¹⁷ *todduwon*: derived from *toddu* 'to point at'. If a person inadvertently walks in the path of an evil spirit causing it to get angry, it will point at the person, thereby causing illness.

¹⁸ Implied: as to whether it is a young or old person whom they will strike.

mgo padna ni Moivuyan¹⁹ no id ta-aw rin ka-ay't ingod amoy od boggoy to poko-id to ahad ondoy, su kopi-i rin nod boggoy²⁰ to kororattan to mgo minuvu.

24 Unnon nosorollan ku no bawi inis bawit sammoo. 25 Inis sammoo, duwon patow²¹ nod geddamon to lawa to minuvu riyot kandin no tavok, od mosakit kos tavok din, od pongilob woy od moumpa-as. 26 Otin anak ko od geddam okay'n bohok, od pokolikidlikid sikandin to kosokitoy. 27 Na, otin iling ka-ay kos od geddamon din, nosammoo vo ayu sikandin.

28 Na iddos mgo bawi, idde-en so do-un to solingovud,²² aamoy,²³ woy bukoo²⁴ diyot lomig to ubbus kos od pongottayon. 29 Kopongnga od pongottayon, id ta-aw riyot pokawan, od tawwan to disok no oweg, mgo tongnga tid tongnga, od komosson diyot pokawan. 30 Otin bo od momoollutu kos oweg taddot mgo bawi, pihu ve-en no nosammoo sikandin, na lukas du robbe-en tod po-inom.

31 Iko-oruwon nosorollan ku no bawi, iddos bawi no od ngoranan no bahot. 32 Inis bahot, oraroy'n badnoon bawi, labbi ron taddot id toddu to morat, id lurog²⁵ woy nosammoo, ahad mandad iddos id pillak.²⁶ 33 Noko-iling inin bawi to *antibiotic* otin diyon pa to *Inglis* no kinohiyan. 34 Su ini kos od ngoranan no bahot, oraroy no solinakup no kopakoy od kovowiyan kos nosammoo, od luroggon, od pilakkon to busow, woy ahad ondan gowang busow ra kos id poko-id. 35 Piru oraroy no mohirap kos od pongottoy ka-ay'n bawi. 36 Otin kopu od pongottayon ini, ko-ilangan no diid somaddan iddos mgo do-un, od onguson da. 37 Bivig kos od awat to pittun mgo tobbon do-un, woy diid songnga ko od awaton don amoy oraroy no badnoo. 38 Otin bod ka-angoy ron, ko-ilangan no od soppan iddos mgo do-un sippang to od kotollimot. 39 Na, id tubpa dos bawi ko ingkon iddos mosakit nod geddamon taddot novohokan. 40 Osaa su oraroy'n od doggos, diid koti-is su immat od uddok diyot daom to sapu. 41 Otin bo od doggos mandad kos bivig tat id awat to bawi, patow vo idda no id ulling iddos novohokan to morat o busow. 42 Iddos od ulingngon to morat, od pokotinuho. 43 Na to kodgimata rin, od ko-uliyon don sikandin.

44 Na, iko-otollu no bawin nosorollan ku, iddos moka-atag tod pilakkon. 45 Bawi poron dangan ini to mgo Monuvu woy od gomiton poron mandad takkot ko-ungkay, ini en iddos od ngoranan no bitokbitok²⁷ woy tadatada.²⁸ 46 Iddos od pongottayon ka-ay'n bawi, iddos dita rin kos od owaton no pomon diyot panga duma kos mgo do-un. 47 Iddos dita rin kos od pokovawi, moomok da kos od pongottoy ka-ay'n bawi labbi ron ko id pomuwa ini. 48 Otin inis bitokbitok, duwon pa osson od kovowiyan iling to bohok no lusung. 49 Iddos ukap to bitokbitok, od loggan idda to mgo sopuu-limma sippang to oruwompuun minutus.²⁹ 50 Kopongnga, id po-inom taddot od lusungan. 51 Osaa, oraroy'n mopet nod inommon su iddos ukap to bitokbitok mopet pa to tobbuwa.³⁰ 52 Od inommon ini to ipat allow, sollom, mapun, bulli to simbokkad no pokawan sippang to od ko-uliyon.

¹⁹ *Moivuyan*: the head of all evil spirits and ruler of the spirits of the deceased. He is also called Satan.

²⁰ *boggoy*: literally, 'give'.

²¹ *patow*: literally, 'signs'.

²² *solingovud*: a kind of small medicinal tree with shiny long leaves and small white flower. The tip or new growth of leaves is picked to cure sudden stomach pain inflicted by evil spirits.

²³ *aamoy*: a small- to medium-sized tree with small leaves with fine, hairlike fibers that cause itchiness (*Pipturus arborescens*). It is commonly grown in southern Mindanao. The leaves are used as medicine.

²⁴ *bukoo*: a medium-sized tree that produces cotton with light yellow flowers (*Gossypium hirsutum*).

²⁵ A sign that an evil spirit has wrestled someone is he/she will experience sudden, unexplainable pain, e.g., in the shoulder.

²⁶ *pillak*: 'to spear' refers to being speared by an evil spirit who is angry at the individual it spears. The person speared does not see anything but feels a sudden searing pain.

*Moivuyan*¹⁹ that he put here on earth to inflict anyone, because he wants to cause²⁰ peoples' ruin.

24 The first medicinal plant I know about is this medicinal plant for *sammoo* 'abdominal pain caused by an evil spirit'. 25 As for this abdominal pain caused by an evil spirit, there are symptoms²¹ a person will feel in his abdomen; his abdomen will become painful, and he will vomit and become pale. 26 When a child experiences this illness, he tosses and turns from the pain. 27 Now if he is feeling (symptoms) like these, he probably has abdominal pain caused by an evil spirit.

28 Now these medicinal plants, it is just the leaves at the tips of the *solingovud*,²² *aamoy*,²³ and *bukoo*²⁴ trees that are gathered in the wild. 29 After gathering the medicinal plant, it is put in a cup along with a small amount of water, about one fourth (of a cup), (and) it is strained in the cup. 30 If the water of that medicinal plant becomes reddish, it is certain that he was inflicted with abdominal pain by an evil spirit; then have him drink it without delay.

31 The second medicinal plant that I know about is the medicinal plant called *bahot*. 32 This *bahot* is a very effective medicinal plant, especially for those whom (evil spirits) have pointed at, wrestled,²⁵ and inflicted with abdominal pain, (and) also those whom they have speared.²⁶ 33 This medicinal plant is like an *antibiotic* if it would be in the *English* language. 34 Because this which is called *bahot* is very generic; it can cure abdominal pain inflicted by spirits, being wrestled, being speared by evil spirits, and anything, as long as it was an evil spirit who inflicted the illness. 35 But it is very difficult to gather this medicinal plant. 36 When, for example, this is gathered in the wild, it is important not to touch the leaves, only pick them by mouth. 37 The mouth gets seven young leaves and (it is important) not to breath while getting them so that it will be very effective. 38 When it has been gotten, it is important to chew the leaves until they are chewed in small pieces. 39 Then the medicinal plant is spit out aiming wherever the sick person feels pain. 40 However, because it is very itchy, he will not be able to stand it because it is like it penetrates the skin. 41 If the mouth of the one who picked the medicinal plant is also itchy, it is a sure sign that an evil spirit touched the sick person. 42 The one touched by an evil spirit will be able to sleep. 43 Then when he awakens, he will be healed.

44 Now the third medicinal plant that I know about is for being speared by an evil spirit. 45 These were the medicinal plants in the past of the Manobo people and are still used today; these are called the *bitokbitok*²⁷ and *tadatada*²⁸ trees. 46 What is gathered in the wild of these medicinal plants is the sap which comes from the branches along with the leaves. 47 Its sap is what can cure, (and) it is easy to gather these medicinal plants, especially if these are planted. 48 As for this *bitokbitok*, there are other (illnesses) that it can cure like the illness malaria. 49 The bark of the *bitokbitok* is boiled for about fifteen to twenty minutes.²⁹ 50 After that, the one sick with malaria is given (the boiled water) to drink. 51 However, it is very bitter to drink because the bark of the *bitokbitok* tree is even more bitter than *lanzones*.³⁰ 52 This is drunk every day, one cup morning, afternoon, and evening until cured.

²⁷ *bitokbitok*: a kind of medicinal tree, the sap of which is used to cure stomach pain (*Alstonia scholaris*).

²⁸ *tadatada*: big purge nut, a kind of large tree with heart-shaped leaves with small greenish flowers (*Jatropha curcas*).

²⁹ Implied: The sap comes out of the bark when it is boiled.

³⁰ *tobbuwa*: a tall, slender tree bearing whitish-yellow fruit growing in bunches from stalks coming out of the larger branches and trunk (*Lansium domesticum*). The bark is also used as an herbal medicine to treat malaria and is very bitter.

53 Otin ini so tatadada, ini en kos od ngoranan to Ilonggo no *kasla*. 54 Od pokovawi ini to *ponuhut*³¹ o ponomsom. 55 Od kiskisan kos ukap to tatadada od tongngan. 56 Iddos kotongnga, od bunguhan³² woy od po-ompawat disok no assin, kopongnga, id ta-aw riyot apuy to soppun minutus. 57 Kopongnga tod bungug, id ta-aw mandad iddos kotongnga. 58 Na idda, id porappe ka-ay't gottok su iddos tatadada od supsupon din dos mgo morat no kaamag³³ diyot daom to gottok no ponomsom. 59 Ini oraroy no badnoo labbi ron otin duwon bohok to *kobuhi*.³⁴

60 Ini re-en kos koddid mandad no nosorollan no mgo bawi nod tommanon no *herbal medicine* o bawi nod pongottayon.

Iddos Konna Ta od Kokita

Tano Bayawan

1 Dangan iddos mgo kovuyyahan to mgo Monuvu, waa id pomakoy to Monama. 2 Iyon da od pomokayon, iddos mgo onitu, diwata, no idde-en kos monama ran.

3 Inis mgo onitu, waa id oubpa riyon to datas to langit woy daom to livuta, piru okay re-en to ingod od oubpa. 4 Sikandan kos od tamong, od tunggu to langun¹ no ka-ay't ingod no id tuwos kun kandan woy'd pongomunoy ka-ay't langun. 5 Otin duwon od buyuwon du woy od potovangan woy od ko-ilonganon du, od undiyon ka to mgo onituwon. 6 Na ukit to kod-aawas, kodponuvadtuvad woy kodpomaas, imman tod oddatan du sikandan. 7 Inis mgo onitu, od leleng to mgo minuvu no id kopi-i ran su moppiya riyot kandan. 8 Otin iddos minuvu no duwon don onitu, od ngoranan don no onituwon.² 9 Iddos onitu, od posaddoo ko ondak ko-ilangan din ukit taddot minuvun id usokkan din. 10 Iddos minuvu, imman don to propeta. 11 Duwon mo-uraan mgo onitu no id tamong ka-ay't ingod.

12 Otin duwon od kovohokan, iyon dan³ od boggayat saa,⁴ iddos mgo busow, su uvag kun id poko-iran to morat. 13 Purisu od pongottoy ran⁵ to bawi to id ulling to morat. 14 Inin pomokayon moka-atag to busow, duwon poron ko-ungkay. 15 Woy waa poron na-awa su dos mgo Monuvu, od pomakoy no duma⁷ mandad sikandan⁶ to kodbovaa to ingod.

³¹ *ponuhut*: a commonly used borrowed Cebuano term similar in meaning to *ponomsom*. Both refer to abdominal or stomach pain.

³² Implied: in leaves.

³³ See footnote 10.

³⁴ *kobuhi*: 'hyperactivity', borrowed from Cebuano.

¹ Implied: all of nature.

² *onituwon*: derived from *onitu* 'deity, spirit'.

53 As for the *tadatada*, this is what the Ilonggo call *kasla*. 54 This is able to cure gas pain³¹ or (also called) a stomachache. 55 The bark is scraped off the *tadatada* tree (and) divided in half. 56 Half is wrapped³² and heated under embers and a small amount of salt is added to the top; then it is put in the fire for ten minutes. 57 After it is heated under embers, the other half is also put (in the embers). 58 Then this is spread on the stomach, because the *tadatada* soaks up the gas³³ in the stomach that is causing a stomachache. 59 This is very effective, especially if someone has hyperacidity.³⁴

60 That is all that I know about medicinal plants called *herbal medicine* or medicinal plants that are gathered in the wild.

Those Whom We Cannot See

Tano Bayawan

For the Manobo people, the unseen world of spirits is as real, if not more so, than the seen or physical world. There are many spirits with *Monama* the Creator and *onitu* 'spirits', each of whom has been given authority to watch over an area of creation. Spirit mediums *onituwon* allow a spirit to possess them which then becomes their familiar spirit. Then there are a host of spirits, good and bad, residing in the rocks, hills, trees, caves, rivers, and all of nature.

1 In the past the ancestors of the Manobo people did not believe in God. 2 What were believed in were the spirits, humanlike spirits, and those were like their gods.

3 These spirits do not reside up in heaven or inside the earth, but just reside here in the world. 4 It is they who guard over, reside in everything¹ here in the world that was reportedly left to them, and are the owners of everything here. 5 If there is a request you have or need help or something you need, you go to the spirit mediums. 6 Then by offering a sacrifice, calling out to the spirits, and performing an appeasement ritual, it is like you are paying respect to them. 7 These spirits would make friends with people whom they liked because they were good to them. 8 A person who has a familiar spirit is called an *onituwon*² 'spirit medium'. 9 The spirit tells what he needs through the person he enters. 10 That person then becomes like a prophet. 11 There are many spirits who watch over this world.

12 If someone is sick, those they³ accuse⁴ are the evil spirits, because it is said they were inflicted by an evil spirit. 13 Therefore they⁵ gather medicinal plants in the wild for the one touched by an evil spirit. 14 These beliefs concerning evil spirits are still (prevalent) today. 15 And (the beliefs) are not gone because the Manobo people believe that they⁶ were also included⁷ at the creation of the world.

³ This refers to people who got sick.

⁴ *boggayat saa*: literally, 'to give sin'.

⁵ This refers to the relatives of the sick person.

⁶ This refers to the *onitu* 'spirits'.

⁷ *duma*: literally, 'along with'.

Moka-atag to mgo onitu

Olimugkat	Onitu no mama (sawa ni Gamowhamow) nod tamong to minuvu no oraroy'd poko-utoo to ngaap, komunoy't oweg.
Gamowhamow	Onitu no ba-ay nod tamong to minuvu no oraroy'd poko-utoo to ngaap, komunoy to oweg, woy od boggoy't ngaap.
Inanit	Onitu no komunoy to anit.
Indorudsu	Onitu no komunoy woy tohodtamong to kollut. ⁸
Iyakan	Komunoy't bavuy't movonnos. Duwon bavuy nod ngoranan no Iyakan no diid ko-utoo. ⁹
Kaayag	Tohodtamong woy od uyag to minuvu woy tohodtamong to ommoy.
Karang	Onitu nod tunggu to kodpo-olihoy.
Kumbow	Onitu no komunoy't basag, natok, woy bohibbi. ¹⁰
Mohumanoy	Onitu no komunoy to mgo pomuvungan, kaamag woy kayu.
Mondaangan	Onitu to kodpovunuwoy. Sikandin kos od tamong to tohovunu-i woy mgo mongayow woy'd boggoy kandan to kovuut.
Monunggud	Onitu no tohodtamong to mgo monnanap diyot movonnos woy od boggoy't oyama riyon to tohodpongannup.
Pomuwa	Onitu no tohodtamong to langun no pinomuwa woy od uyag to pinomuwa.
Ponoyangan	Onitu no id tamong to tomeng, potiyukan, mgo kayu woy od boggoy't bunga riyon to mgo kayu.
Pontivug	Onitu nod tanud to kodpo-osoway woy od tivug to anak.
Timbaung	Onitu no tohodtamong to saarong woy od boggoy't saarong diyon to tohodpongannup.
Tingottow	Binovallan to minuvu pomon to do-un to gintaos ¹¹ nod poko-iling ¹² to boyot monika. Onitu kos od tunggu ka-ay ¹³ nod tavang od ootuk tod kotomanan, woy'd ponudtuu to notarin.
Tohomaling	Onitu no duwon baahad to morat woy moppiya nod kotomanan.
Tohovikaa	Onitu nod potuntuu to kodporahing to mgo porohingon to Monuvu woy od pomoppiya to baos tod uwahing.

⁸ *kollut*: a famine food of the past.

⁹ When hunters see a wild pig that seems to suddenly disappear, it is probably the *Iyakan* spirit that they see that has taken the form of a wild pig. That is why the *Iyakan* wild pig cannot be caught.

Concerning the spirits

<i>Olimugkat</i>	Male spirit (husband of <i>Gamowhamow</i>) who watches over the person who catches many fish; the owner of rivers.
<i>Gamowhamow</i>	Female spirit who watches over the person who catches many fish; the owner of rivers and gives (fisherman) fish.
<i>Inanit</i>	Spirit who punishes for any behavior considered out of the norm.
<i>Indorudsu</i>	Owner and one who watches over tubers. ⁸
<i>Iyakan</i>	Owner of wild pigs. There are wild pigs called <i>Iyakan</i> that cannot be caught. ⁹
<i>Kaayag</i>	One who watches over and gives life to people and one who watches over rice.
<i>Karang</i>	Spirit who resides in those attracted to each other.
<i>Kumumbow</i>	Spirit who owns hardwood and sago and the <i>bohibbi</i> ¹⁰ tree.
<i>Mohumanoy</i>	Spirit who owns the hills, wind, and trees.
<i>Mondaangan</i>	Spirit of war. He watches over those who kill and warriors and gives them courage.
<i>Monunggud</i>	Spirit who watches over animals in the wild and who gives wild animals to the one who hunts with dogs.
<i>Pomuwa</i>	Spirit who watches over all crops and who causes crops to grow.
<i>Ponoyangan</i>	Spirit who watches over the small wild honeybees (and) larger honeybees, the trees, and gives fruit to the trees.
<i>Pontivug</i>	Spirit who watches over those who will marry and puts a child in the womb.
<i>Timbaung</i>	Spirit who watches over deer and who gives deer to the one who hunts with dogs.
<i>Tingottow</i>	A person makes this from the leaves of <i>gintaos</i> ¹¹ that takes ¹² the shape of a doll. A spirit takes residence here ¹³ that helps in foretelling what will happen and telling where a lost item is.
<i>Tohomaling</i>	Spirit who has the authority over bad/evil and good happenings.
<i>Tohovikaa</i>	Spirit who directs those who play Manobo instruments and improves the voice of those who sing traditional narrative songs.

¹⁰ *bohibbi* tree: a kind of palm tree (*Malay sagu*). The wood is used to make handles for knives. The core of the tree, a white flourlike substance called sago, can be eaten during famine after undergoing a preparation process necessary to make it edible. See Section IV Livelihood: *Sago*.

¹¹ *gintaos*: a non-edible plant, the leaves of which look like the taro plant.

¹² *poko-iling*: literally, 'is like'.

¹³ Implied: A spirit takes residence in the *Tingottow* doll...

Toosayab	Onitu nod tamong to minuvu nod sosayab.
Tootuwang	Onitu nod tamong to minuvu nod bovaat tukaling woy babat.
Tuglibun	Onitu no tohodtamong to tohovoliyan.

Moka-atag to mgo busow

Bokbakoy	Mgo busow ini no pomon to minuvu, od kovaay to manuk nod ngoranan no wakwak.
Bovuwanoy	Imman ¹⁴ to disok no minuvu nod leggua ko bulli ron woy od pomomuwang.
Diwata	Od tommanon no ponolihan ini no pomon to langit. Duwon moppiya, duwon morat. Sikandan kos od boggoy't uran.
Gungutan	Usahay moppiya. Od oukuy to minuvu woy od tavang mandad. Laayun ini od korowetan diyon to pongumanon.
Imomou	Od oubpa riyot dorakkook tuwod no kayu riyot puwaas. Od dorokkuu sikandin ko od pongimallak.
Kaamkaam	Dakoon busow no id kovaakki to mgo minuvu.
Kakak	Od oubpa mandad diyot batu.
Moivuyan	Ponguu to langun no busow woy mgo gimukud.
Mondolingan	Inin busow od oubpa ahad ingkon, diyon to mgo kayu woy riyon to mgo batu. Mowwet sikandin, od layang immat duwon apuy diyot ikug din. Duwon mata no mollutu. Ko ingkon ini od lonna, duwon en morat nod kotomanan dutun.
Montiyanak	Mgo gimukud ini to mgo moollimot no anak no id patoy. Od oubpa riyot oweg woy riyot mgo bosakon no lugaa woy bo-og. Iddos bawos din od iling to mengko.
Montuyyangan	Tuyyang to busow nod oubpa riyot daama, bobbo, bitu woy riyot tingkob. Ini, oraroy od kahat to anak, woy pomon tadda, iddos anak od patoy. Od layyang to bulli. Iddos bawos, od iling dad to itu.
Oggasi	Mgo busow no waa noto-oo no od ubpan. Mgo moomowwet no busow.
Pongpong	Ko bulli ron, od leggua ini woy od pomomuwang. Diyon ini od oubpa to puwaas.
Siling	Busow no tohodtarin labbi ron kos anak woy od ballig. ¹⁵ Wora noto-oo nod oubpan ahad ingkon don.
Sopinoy	Busow to lobbong woy od oubpa riyot lobbong. Mowwet kos bowvuu to uu woy norihus ini to livuta.
Tohod-uwat	Od uwat to bohok. Otin metom kos lawa to minuvu nod patoy, patow ini no pinuungan to tohod-uwat.

¹⁴ Implied: It has the appearance of a small person...

<i>Toosayab</i>	Spirit who watches over the person who forges metal.
<i>Tootuwang</i>	Spirit who watches over the person who makes bells and brass anklets.
<i>Tuglibun</i>	Spirit who watches over a traditional midwife.

Concerning evil spirits

<i>Bokbakoy</i>	Evil spirits that come from people who change into a bird called a <i>wakwak</i> .
<i>Bovuwanoy</i>	It is as if ¹⁴ it is a small person that comes out at night and whistles.
<i>Diwata</i>	Somewhat like angels from heaven. There are good (<i>diwata</i> and) there are bad. They give rain.
<i>Gungutan</i>	Sometimes good. They will be friends with people and also help. This is often heard (as a character of) traditional narratives.
<i>Imomou</i>	Lives in large tree trunks in the forest. When he frightens people, he screams.
<i>Kaamkaam</i>	A large evil spirit who frightens people.
<i>Kakak</i>	Also lives on rocks.
<i>Moivuyan</i>	Leader of all evil spirits and souls.
<i>Mondolingan</i>	This evil spirit will live anywhere, in trees and in/on rocks. It is tall and flies. It is as if there is fire on its tail. It has red eyes. No matter where it lands, something bad will definitely happen there.
<i>Montiyanak</i>	The souls of little children that died. They live near the water/river and in wet places and ditches. Their voice is like that of a cat.
<i>Montuyyangan</i>	Dogs of evil spirits living (along) a cliff, in holes, caves, and deep narrow (natural) corridors. These (evil spirit dogs) really bite children, and because of that, the child will die. They fly (around) at night. The voice is like that of a puppy.
<i>Oggasi</i>	Evil spirits that do not have a fixed place to live. They are very tall evil spirits.
<i>Pongpong</i>	When it is evening, these will come out and whistle. They live in stumps of trees and in groves of bamboo.
<i>Siling</i>	Evil spirit who causes others to become lost, especially children, and will transform itself. ¹⁵ These will live (anywhere) in the forest.
<i>Sopinoy</i>	Evil spirit of the grave and that lives in the grave. Its hair is long and it bathes in dirt.
<i>Tohod-uwat</i>	(A spirit) that makes illness worse. If the body of a person who died is black, it is a sign that the one who did this was a <i>tohod-uwat</i> .

¹⁵ Implied: It will transform itself in order to cause people to become lost, e.g., it will transform into a deer so a hunter will chase after it until the hunter becomes lost and dies as a result.

Toppelo	Dakkoo mandad no busow nod poko-arat-arat kos boyo.
---------	---

16 Taman to inin timpu, duwon poron en mgo Monuvu nod pomakoy ka-ay no mgo onitu woy mgo busow, labbi ron en iddos diyon to mgo suksuk no lugaa. 17 Od ngoranan dan inin mgo onitu ko duwon od buyuwon dan. 18 Woy id kovaakki ran dos mgo busow su sikandan kun kos unayan to mgo bohok. 19 Na iddos mgo minuvu no worad mid pomakoy ka-ay, unayan ini to kopomakoy ran ki Disas Krays ukit to kodnonaw to mgo *pastor* diyot simba-an.

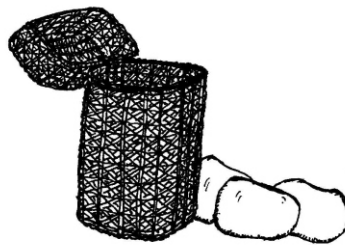
Suku

Romeo Umpan

1 Siyak si Romeo Umpan id ubpa a ka-ay to Sayaban.¹ 2 No ko-ungkay od itulon ku iddo so od ngoranan no suku to baansi. 3 Iddos suku, batu ika, no konna batu riyon to oweg, ko konna, pomon diyon to datas nod tomman pe-en to kovuyyahan. 4 Iddo so komunoy² to baansi no id pomonnan to suku, idde-en so Inanit.³ 5 Na iddo so od kovowian to suku, atag de-en mandad taddot od onitan.⁴ 6 No iddo so suku no batu, dos boyo rin mounnow, no otin duwon od onitan, kopakoy nod gomiton dos suku id bawi.

7 No iddos oweg id ta-aw riyon to pokawan, id lonnod iddo so suku no iddos oweg kopakoy no id po-inom taddot minuvu no id onitan woy'd kopakoy nid polihus⁵ to lawa. 8 No otin duwon od onitan no waa pa⁶ nosuh⁷ taddot anit, kopakoy no iddos suku od potodduwan diyon to bolisbisan to atop amoy od kosopo-od iddos ayow⁸ to anit.

9 Na iddos suwod ku no id onitan, idde-en dos id gamit dan⁹ nid bawi. 10 Iddos suku, tokkow¹⁰ ron nokoonna riyon to baoy ran no timpu no duwon id onitan, nosomaddan dan dos suku. 11 Na id geddaman dan tid bawit anit, nokovawi man. 12 No diyon to tigkonayan sokkad da piru nouhoyluhoy noruhangan iddos suku, moollimot nod ngoranan dan no anak¹¹ taddot suku, od aanak kun. 13 No ko-ungkay iddos suku diyon dad to kandan.



Suku Magic stones
Suku

¹ Sayaban: a village located on the northwest slope of Mt. Apo and part of the *barangay* 'town' of Ilomavis, which is under the jurisdiction of Kidapawan City in Cotabato Province on Mindanao in the southern Philippines.

² An "owner" of part of nature is a spirit or deity.

³ *Inanit*: a spirit or deity of *anit* which is a system of taboos prohibiting incest and talking to, laughing at, or mocking animals. This is the spirit who punishes someone for breaking the *anit* taboo.

⁴ Punishment by the *Inanit* spirit for breaking certain kinds of behavior considered taboo, such as speaking to, playing with, laughing at animals or insects, human behavior toward something inanimate (e.g., carving a face on a potato), or committing incest. See Glossary.

⁵ *polihus*: literally, 'take a bath'.

Toppelo	Another large evil spirit whose appearance is frightening.
---------	--

16 Until the (present) time, there definitely still are Manobo people who believe in these spirits and evil spirits, especially those in remote areas. 17 They will call on these spirits when there is something they ask for. 18 And they fear the evil spirits because it is reportedly they who are the cause of illnesses. 19 As for those people who no longer believe in these (spirits and evil spirits), the reason is because of their faith in Jesus Christ through the teaching of pastors in the church.

Magic Stone

Romeo Umpan

There are ordinary stones and there are those with supernatural power—magic stones. These special stones called *suku* come from thunder and are used to cure the curse of *anit*, punishment inflicted by a spirit called *Inanit* for breaking certain taboos which include attributing human behavior to an animal and incest. A person who has broken one of these taboos is given water to drink that has a *suku* stone in the cup. The stone has the ability to multiply and, if not used, will disappear. To stop the curse of *anit*, a person can also smear the ashes of a pill bug or millipede on themselves.

1 I am Romeo Umpan living here in Sayaban.¹ 2 I will now relate concerning that which is called a *suku* ‘magic stone’ from thunder. 3 This *suku* is a stone, not as the stones in the river, but rather is from up high according moreover to the ancestors. 4 The owner² of thunder who is the source of the magic stone, that is *Inanit*.³ 5 As for that which can be treated using a magic stone, it is only for those who have broken an *anit*⁴ taboo. 6 The magic stone is green in appearance; if someone has broken an *anit* taboo, a magic stone can be used to treat it.

7 The person who has broken an *anit* taboo can be made to drink water in a cup into which a magic stone is immersed or it can be dabbed⁵ on the body. 8 Now if someone has broken an *anit* taboo but has not yet⁶ been punished⁷ by the curse of *anit*, the magic stone is put where rain will flow in its path on the eaves of the roof to avert⁸ the progress of the curse of *anit*.

9 As for my brother who broke an *anit* taboo, that was what they⁹ used to treat him. 10 The magic stone suddenly¹⁰ landed on their house the time he broke an *anit* taboo, (so) they got the magic stone. 11 Then they tested it (to see if it could) cure the *anit* curse, (and) it surely was able to cure it. 12 At the beginning, it was only one but after awhile that magic stone was being added to by small (stones) that they called the magic stone’s children;¹¹ it reportedly gives birth. 13 Today the magic stone is at their place.

⁶ The punishment of the *Inanit* spirit does not come immediately but it can be days, weeks, months, even years later.

⁷ *nosuhāt*: literally, ‘struck’.

⁸ *ayow*: literally, ‘spring showers’. When the sun shines and it rains simultaneously, it means someone has broken an *anit* taboo. After a period of *ayow* will follow thundering and then lightning. It is after lightning that *Inanit* ‘the *anit* spirit’ inflicts punishment. If a person can find a *suku* stone during *ayow*, punishment, e.g., being inflicted with a hunchback or a twisted mouth, can still be averted.

⁹ Implied: the family.

¹⁰ Implied: The *suku* stone was probably sent by another spirit.

¹¹ The *suku* stone is kept in a special box. The next time the box is opened, it is said to “have children” because there are additional rocks in the box or container.

14 Iddo mandad so pomon diyot bountu, waa ku noheddami idda. 15 Piru noko-iling dad kun mandad ini to suku to baansi, mohirap nod ka-angoy inin suku pomon to diyon da ini od kokita timpu ko duwon bountu. 16 Piru ini mgo od ngoranan no suku, nokod-iling de-en no mgo batu.¹²

17 Mo-uraan bawit anit piru konna batu. 18 Kopakoy iddos mgo uwod no kommod,¹³ na od laawon idda woy id daddas diyot lawot minuvun od onitan, dos mgo livoggu¹⁴ od kopakoy mandad no id bawi to anit.

19 Simbokkad da kos mgo minuvu no duwon suku su konna ini awang no batu. 20 Ahad ko-ungkay, enot-enot don ini od kowora.¹⁵ 21 Takkot ko-ungkay, mo-uraa poron kos mgo Monuvu nod pomakoy to anit.

22 Iko re-en kos nosorollan ku.

14 Regarding the one from the rainbow, I have no experience with that. 15 But it is said to also be like the magic stone from thunder; it is difficult to obtain this (kind of) magic stone because the only time it can be seen is when there is a rainbow. 16 But as for these which are called magic stones, these are just the same as stones.¹²

17 There are many remedies for the curse of *anit* but not with a stone. 18 A *kommod*¹³ ‘pill bug’ insect can also be used, which is burned and smeared on the body of the person who has broken an *anit* taboo; millipedes¹⁴ can also cure the curse of *anit*.

19 There are only a few people who have a magic stone because this is not (just) an ordinary stone. 20 Even today, it is slowly disappearing.¹⁵ 21 Up to and including today, there still are many Manobo people who believe in the curse of *anit*.

22 That is all I know about it.

¹² Implied: All magic stones are truly stones and not something else.

¹³ *kommod*: a gray, rounded, oval-bodied crustacean with shrimp-like plates. It has seven pairs of legs about 2.5–4 centimeters (1–1½ inches) in length that rolls into a ball when they are disturbed (*Armadillium vulgare*).

¹⁴ The millipedes are burned and the ashes are smeared on the body to counteract the curse of *anit*.

¹⁵ The *suku* stone is either sold or simply disappears. It is not an item that can be loaned to someone else. The owner is the only one who can administer its healing properties.

VII Getting Along with Nature

“Because of the eclipse, people were afraid concerning that occurrence....”

Kod-oubpa Ka-ay't Ingod

“Na pomon duwon, dos minuvu duwon allak moka-ataq to kotomanan....”

Lokkop

Mantaona Bangcas

1 Iddos ngaran ku si Mantaona Bangcas, id tobbow a ka-ay to Balabag.¹ 2 Iddos itulon ku moka-atag to lokkop² nod ngoranan. 3 Otin duwon lokkop, iddos od pokoponudtuu³ tadda, do mgo od pon-oonitu.⁴ 4 Iddos od ngoranan no duwon onitu, iddos od pokokita kun taddot mgo od pon-oubpa riyon to buvungan⁵ o mgo busow. 5 Na inis od itulon ku no lokkop, bonnaa no nokita ku su nopotpotangan ku en ini to disok a pa, piru duwon don poomdom⁶ ku woy dii ad od kolingow su mokonongnong ad.

6 Na iddos od oonitu, kos id ponudtuu konami no kahi, "Panoy⁷ kow su duwon od inguma no lokkop." 7 Na inin lokkop, nokotimpu⁸ to mapun don. 8 Dos od tigkanoy ron nod kovulli, id loppow kos dakkoon buwan no oraroy en nod mosellow. 9 Timpu tadda, dinit daya kos buwan. 10 Na ko-ungkay, nosobbuwan a su tigkow ron no id mosukirom oraroy. 11 Nanoy ma-awang man oraroy kos buwan woy motoos oraroy dos se-aa rin. 12 De-en kopakoy ka od gaaw riyon to lama to baoy. 13 Piru idda no timpu, worad en ma-awang ahad disok. 14 Woy nosobbuwan a en su, "Mambo to tigkow ron no novulli?"



The people shout and hit
anything just to make noise.
*Od pomehes kos mgo minuvu
woy'd ponaptap to ahad ondan.*

15 Kod-ontong ku taddot buwan, duwon nokita ku no pakpak to dakkoon manuk no nokotambun tadda, no idde-en bos⁹ kos unayan no novulli ron. 16 Ayas en id pomehes kos mgo minuvu woy id taptap to koguu¹⁰ woy mgo lata.¹¹ 17 Okkod-okkod id aangat koy ko kannu od ka-awa iddos pakpak taddot dakkoon manuk. 18 Idda mgo buyyag, id ikahi sikandan to, "Yo kow od legguang, su otin iing duwon, iddos mgo busow, od ponloppow sikandan woy kopakoy nod pon-imatoy sikandan to minuvu." 19 Purisu, kahi tat mgo apu roy no, "Sikiyu mgo anak, yo kow'd legguang su od lomoddon to manuk no Monukawa kos buwan." 20 Monukawa kun kos ngaran tat manuk. 21 Nod ponayun en od pomehes sikandan sud ponovangan¹² dan kun kos buwan nod lomoddon tat Monukawa.

¹ Balabag: a small village under the jurisdiction of the city of Kidapawan, located in Cotabato Province in the southern Philippines.

² This account is concerning a lunar eclipse.

³ Implied: give warning that there would be an eclipse.

⁴ A particular spirit would take residence in a person and give them supernatural power and knowledge.

⁵ This refers to evil spirits.

Eclipse

Mantaona Bangcas

Mantaona Bangcas relates an eyewitness account of a giant bird called *Monukawa* attempting to swallow the moon. To keep the giant bird from swallowing it, people shout and tap on sections of bamboo and tin cans—anything to make noise to frighten the bird away. If they do not do this and the bird succeeds in swallowing the moon, it will always be evening and people cannot leave their house because evil spirits will be prevalent.

1 My name is Mantaona Bangcas, (and) I was born in Balabag.¹ 2 My story is concerning that which is called an eclipse.² 3 When there was an eclipse, those who could report³ it were those who had a familiar spirit.⁴ 4 Those said to have a familiar spirit were those who reportedly could see those living in the hills⁵ or (those called) evil spirits. 5 Now as for this story of mine about the eclipse, what I saw is true because I witnessed it when I was still young, but I was already cognizant⁶ and I have not forgotten it because I was able to think.

6 Now those who had a familiar spirit told us, “Get ready⁷ because an eclipse is coming.” 7 This eclipse happened when⁸ it was already late afternoon. 8 As evening began, the moon, which was large, came out really shining brightly. 9 At that time, the moon was here in the east. 10 Then I was amazed because it was suddenly very dark. 11 The moon should have been very bright and its glow was really attractive. 12 Therefore, you could play in the yard by the house. 13 But at that time, there was no longer any light, even a small amount. 14 And I was really amazed because (I thought), “Why is it suddenly so dark?”

15 Looking at the moon, I saw there were wings of a large bird that covered it, so that was the reason it was already dark!⁹ 16 People kept shouting and hitting a *koguu*¹⁰ ‘section of thick bamboo’, and (striking) tin cans.¹¹ 17 After awhile we waited (wondering) when the wings of that large bird would leave. 18 As for the older ones, they said, “Don’t go outside, because when it’s like that, evil spirits will appear and they may kill people.” 19 So our grandparents said, “You children, don’t go outside because the *Monukawa* bird is swallowing up the moon.” 20 *Monukawa* is reportedly the name of that bird. 21 They just continued shouting because they were reportedly helping¹² the moon that was being swallowed up by *Monukawa*.

⁶ *poomdom*: literally, ‘could think’. The author was about six years old at the time he witnessed the eclipse. Children from birth to about five years of age are not cognizant of their surroundings nor are they responsible for their actions because they are not yet able to think.

⁷ Preparation would involve closing the window shutters, plugging up gaps in the walls to keep evil spirits out, making sure there was food and kerosene in the house so that there would be no need to go out.

⁸ *nokotimpu*: literally, ‘to happen at the time of’.

⁹ *bos*: verbal exclamation particle.

¹⁰ *koguu*: a section of thick bamboo in which a narrow split is made lengthwise to make the tube resound. Beating the *koguu* with a wooden stick creates a piercing sound. In the past it was used to call the villagers together for meetings and emergencies. For an illustration, see Section I Life Cycle: *Beliefs Concerning Death*, sentence 5. Dimensions of the *koguu*: length 35.5 centimeters (14 inches); diameter 10 centimeters (4 inches).

¹¹ Implied: different sizes from small to large.

¹² The noise made by the shouting and tapping on the *koguu* and tin cans was to help the moon by scaring the *Monukawa* bird away and so it would spit the moon out of his mouth as stated in sentence 37.

22 Na pomon tadda,¹³ imman to mgo oruwa en no uras id enot-enot id loppow iddos buwan. 23 Gularid loppow, imman to duwon mgo mollutu no iing to longossa no nokovukus tat buwan. 24 Ko-ungkay, id intud-intud a riyot mgo buyyag no apu ku, “Mambo man to no-ungketen ika?” 25 Id ikahi sikandan no, “Ike-en kos od ngoranan dangan poron no oraroy od imatoy to buwan ikos manuk no Monukawa. 26 No ika vos mollutu no nokovukus duwon to buwan, longossa ika taddot manuk.” 27 Na idde-en kopu, pomon tat norinog ku, nokopomakoy a. 28 Na id ituu ran don be-en no moka-allak-allak kun kod lomoddon to manuk no Monukawa kos buwan sud ponloppow iddos mgo busow nod pon-ubpa riyot pomuvungan, de-en diid kopakoy nod ipopanow.

29 Iddos kilaannan ku taddot manuk no Monukawa woy mambo to noko-ikahi a no bonnaa en no manuk idda, su nokita ku en no novollat iddos pakpak din woy boyo ron en to manuk. 30 Idda no timpu, od pokokita koy pa su duwon pa uvag disok dobbe-en no se-aa to buwan, su enot-enot din man od longkobban idda buwan woy od lomoddon. 31 Tamantaman to iddos tivuk no buwan noongkobban don en taddot manuk, no idda ron en kos no-umannan no novulli ron.

32 Iddos korokolloy tat manuk, dakkoo en dos nokita ku su otin od poomdommon ta no dakkoorakkoo kos buwan, mambo to tigkow waa se-aa nod leggua pomon to id longkobban din?¹⁴ 33 Su iddon timpu, iddos buwan dakkoo oraroy, od ngoranan tat mgo kovuyyahan nod daturatu.¹⁵ 34 Na id ikahi ron en sikandan no, “O,¹⁶ id lommod don, id tombunan don taddot pakpak tat manuk kos buwan.” 35 De-en iddos mgo koguu woy lata od toptapon dan, od toptapon taddot mgo sumbaoy roy. 36 Piru riyon to id ubpan ku, waa id totaptap. 37 Piru od pomehes en kos langun no od tovgangan kun do buwan amoy id luwa taddot manuk. 38 Su dos itulon to kovuyyahan no otin dii kun od pomehes woy od totaptap, dii kun od pokoleggia dos buwan no id lommod to dakkoon manuk no Monukawa. 39 No dii ron en od soro¹⁷ nod kovulli woy inaayun dobbe-en od kovulli taman to tomanan to bonuwa.¹⁸ 40 Idde-en kos dontulon to minuvu nod pomehes.

41 Otin siyak, dos poomdom ku moka-atag to lokkop, bonnaa man ini o konna bonnaa, diyon to koddi id ituu ku iddos nokita ku woy iddos itulon to kovuyyahan. 42 Woy siyak, ini ron en kos kovuyyahoy ku, mo-uraa ron no timpu no noko-apii¹⁹ a to lokkop. 43 Duwon dos moobbavon lokkop da, mgo tongnga en to uras. 44 Duwon iddos mowwet piru dii ku oraroy od kopihu ko pilon uras. 45 Duwon dos lokkop no timpu to allow, piru diid inguma²⁰ to mgo tongnga to uras, imman to mgo oruwon puun minutus da.²¹

46 Piru iddos duwon dakkoon koru-anon²² diyot koddi, iddos lokkop no nokita ku en iddos manuk no Monukawa no id langkob²³ taddot buwan. 47 Su no-ooyyan ku en no manuk idda pomon to novollat idda pakpak din no id langkob tat buwan. 48 Dii ku od kolangawan ini no timpu su riyon ini to Ginatilan.²⁴ 49 Od gaaw koy tadda riyon lomig to koosada ni Apan²⁵ su moppiya oraroy kos timpu. 50 Ahad od po-ohawoy ron kos mosukirom woy ma-awang,²⁶ iddos buwan od tigkanoy ron man od pokita. 51 Iddos duma no mgo lokkop sinahaw ra, woy waa kud nokita iddos manuk.

¹³ Implied: because of the noise that was being made.

¹⁴ There was no light seen shining from the moon because the *Monukawa* bird was so large.

¹⁵ *daturatu*: derived from *datu* ‘tribal leader’, a person that people look up to for advice and as someone who has the skill to arbitrate conflict. Hence he is admired. Hence the moon, when it is full, is also admired like an important tribal leader.

¹⁶ O: exclamation indicating the emotion of fear or concern.

¹⁷ *soro*: literally, ‘stop’.

¹⁸ *bonuwa*: literally, ‘city’. In this context, it is used in a broader sense.

22 Then because of that,¹³ it seemed it was at least two hours (later) the moon slowly appeared. 23 When it had appeared, it seemed like there was a red (ring) like blood wound around the moon. 24 So then I asked my grandparents, “Why is it like that?” 25 They said, “That is what has been called of old that the *Monukawa* bird really fights against the moon. 26 Now as for that red (color) wrapped around the moon, that is the blood of the bird.” 27 So that was it; from the time I heard that, I believed it. 28 Then they told how frightening it would reportedly be if the *Monukawa* bird had swallowed the moon because evil spirits residing in the hills would appear; therefore it would not be possible to walk around.

29 As for my recognizing the *Monukawa* bird and why I say that it is definitely true, it is because I surely saw his wings spread out and it really was in the shape of a bird. 30 At that time, we still could see it because there was still a little bit of light shining from the moon, because he was slowly covering the moon with his body and swallowing it. 31 After a while the whole moon was completely covered by the body of that bird, and it was at that very moment that darkness arrived.

32 As for the size of that bird, that which I saw was really big because if we think about the fact that the moon is huge, why is it that suddenly there was no light shining from its being covered?¹⁴ 33 Because the moon was really big at that time; the ancestors called it *daturatu*¹⁵ ‘full moon’. 34 Then they would say, “O,¹⁶ it is swallowed up, the wings of that bird have covered the moon up.” 35 So then they would tap on a section of thick bamboo and on tin cans; these would be tapped on by our neighbors. 36 But where I lived, no one tapped on anything. 37 But everyone did shout to supposedly help the moon so the bird would spit it out of his mouth. 38 For the ancestors say that if no one reportedly shouts loudly or taps on something, the moon would not be able to escape being swallowed by the large *Monukawa* bird. 39 Then darkness would not end¹⁷ and it would just always be dark until the end of the world.¹⁸ 40 That then was the purpose for people shouting loudly.

41 As for me, my opinion concerning the eclipse whether or not it is true, for me, I have told what I saw and the account of the ancestors. 42 And as for me, at my age, I have already witnessed¹⁹ an eclipse many times. 43 There have been short eclipses just (lasting) about half an hour. 44 There have been long ones but I am not very sure how many hours (they lasted). 45 There were eclipses of the sun, but those didn’t even last²⁰ half an hour; it seems it was only about twenty minutes.²¹

46 But the (experience) that had the greatest significance²² for me was the eclipse in which I saw the *Monukawa* bird covering²³ the moon. 47 For I carefully took note that it was a bird because his wings were stretched out as he covered the moon. 48 I have not forgotten that time because I was there in Ginatilan.²⁴ 49 We were playing at that time in the street of Apan²⁵ because the weather was really good. 50 Even though the sun was beginning to set,²⁶ the moon was beginning to be seen. 51 The other eclipses were just short, and I did not see the bird.

¹⁹ *noko-apii*: literally, ‘been included in’.

²⁰ *inguma*: literally, ‘arrive at’.

²¹ Implied: in duration.

²² *koru-anon*: literally, ‘value’.

²³ *langkob*: literally, ‘laying face down’.

²⁴ Ginatilan: a small town under the jurisdiction of the city of Kidapawan in Cotabato Province.

²⁵ Apan: a relative of the speaker.

²⁶ *po-ohawoy ron kos mosukirom woy ma-awang*: literally, ‘darkness and light are snatching (light and dark) from each other’. This can either refer to the time just before sunrise or just before sunset. This context refers to just before sunset or about 6:00 P.M.

52 Ahad ko-ungkay no timpu, ponayun pe-en nod pomokayon ini so moka-atag to lokkop, piru worad oraroy iddos od pontotaptap to ahad ondan pomon to iddos od pomokayon nod lomoddon to Monukawa kos buwan worad goli ko-ungkay. 53 Otin duwon pa man od puung ka-ay, iddos diyon dobbo ayu to mgo suksuk no lugaa. 54 Piru ponayun en iddos pomokayon no duwon mgo busow nod ponleggua otin timpu to lokkop. 55 De-en od panoypanoy kos langun atag diyon to ubpan, iling to mgo koka-an, suu woy duma pa su dii kopakoy nod livonglivong.

56 Worad od ko-oseng ku moka-atag to lokkop, idda re-en.

Lokkop

Tano Bayawan

1 Ko-ungkay od itulon ku iddos nosorollan ku moka-atag ka-ay to od ngoranan no lokkop.¹ 2 Doso od itulon ku ra dos id ituu mandad koddi taddot mgo kovuyyahan iling to inoy woy mgo apu ku dangan.

3 No moka-atag ka-ay to tomman no lokkop, ini en ko so od pongintu-uwon to mgo Monuvu dangan, ahad ayu ko-ungkay duwon dad od pomakoy. 4 No tomman to mgo minuvu dangan, do kun so allow od lomoddon taddot manuk no Monukawa,² na de-en iddo so allow dii ron od se-aa, dii ron kokita. 5 Na pomon duwon, dos minuvu duwon allak moka-atag to kotomanan, su otin od inguma ini, od mohonnnow woy od mosukirom don kos ingod tomman dan dangan. 6 Na ini en kun kos timpu no od ponleggua iddos mgo morat no mgo busow woy dos diyon kun to kora-an, to dii pod inguma, od panoypanoy ran to kandan nod oubpan iling to suu³ woy mgo koka-an dan. 7 Su tomman to dangan no pongintu-uwon, ko timpu⁴ no od kouhoy ini so lokkop, od panoypanoy sikandan. 8 Su ini so tomman no Monukawa, dakkoo kun en no manuk ini no od lommod en ka-ay tod ngoranan no allow.

9 Na iddot 1999 nid lihad, mo-uraa dos id bolita no od inguma kun dos dakkoon lokkop, mgo sokkad no buwan o lampas pa. 10 No mo-uraa kos id oseng no id panoypanoy ran to mgo kayu, suu woy iddos duma, id loobbong don kun to assin⁵ su od inguma dos lokkop su⁶ ko-uluhan tadda, dii od tollak iddos allow to pilon⁷ buwan. 11 Dii ka en od pokoleggua to kikow'n ubpan, woy idde-en dos od tomman dan nod kotomanan. 12 No dos duma, od sosongsong to kandan no ubpan amoy dii od poko-usok kos mgo busow.

13 No ka-ay re-en taman iddos koddin nod ko-oseng pomon to od tommanon no lokkop.

¹ This account is concerning a solar eclipse.

² *Monukawa*: derived from *manuk* 'fowl'. According to legend, this bird is described as being very large and having dark colored feathers.

³ It is believed that kerosene light will not light up when a match is put to it and evil spirits will come out in force.

⁴ *timpu*: literally, 'time, season'.

⁵ Salt is considered a basic need which can accompany rice when there is nothing else and is also used to ward off evil spirits.

52 Even at the present time, (people) still continue to believe these things concerning the eclipse, but as for the tapping on anything, it no longer is really done because the belief that *Monukawa* swallows the moon is no longer really around today. 53 If there still are those doing this, it would probably only be those (living) in remote places. 54 But the belief that there are evil spirits that come out during the time of an eclipse, that definitely continues. 55 Therefore everything will be prepared for the house like food, kerosene, and other things because it is not possible to walk around.

56 I have no more to say concerning the eclipse; that is just it.

Eclipse

Tano Bayawan

The disappearance of the sun or solar eclipse was blamed on a giant *Monukawa* bird. It was a time when it was feared that darkness would remain for a long time and evil spirits prevalent, hence firewood, kerosene, and salt would be stored away. Others plugged up the holes in their houses to keep evil spirits from entering.

1 Now I will relate what I know about this which is called *lokkop* 'eclipse'.¹ 2 I will only relate what was told me in the past by the older generation like my mother and grandparents.

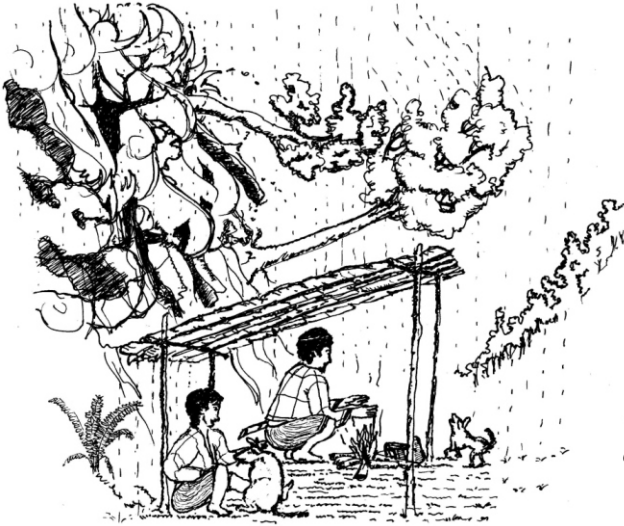
3 Now concerning this (event) called eclipse, this is a belief of Manobo people in the past, (and) even perhaps today there are those who still believe (these beliefs). 4 In the past people said a *Monukawa*² bird would swallow the sun, and consequently the sun would no longer shine; it would no longer be seen. 5 Because of that people had fear concerning the event, because when it arrived, according to what they said in the past, the world would become cold and dark. 6 This was reportedly the time evil spirits came out; and according to the older ones, before it arrived, they would make preparations for their day-to-day living like kerosene³ and their food. 7 Because according to the belief in the past, if the duration⁴ of the eclipse would last long they would prepare. 8 Because as for this said to be *Monukawa*, this is reportedly a really large bird which definitely would swallow that which is called the sun.

9 Back in 1999, many were spreading the news that a large eclipse was supposedly coming (lasting) for one month or even more. 10 Many said that they were preparing firewood, kerosene and others were reportedly burying salt,⁵ because the eclipse would be arriving and⁶ that meant the sun would not shine for several⁷ months. 11 You would not be able to leave your house and that is what they said would happen. 12 Others would plug up the holes in their houses so that evil spirits could not enter.

13 Now just up to here is what I have to say concerning what is called an eclipse.

⁶ *su*: literally, 'because'.

⁷ *pilon*: derived from *pila*: 'how many' with the contraction of the linker *no*.



Indayodan Andot and his
companion at Povunsaran
of Mt. Apo
*Si Indayodan Andot woy
dos duma rin no anak diyot
Povunsaran*

Notumpahan si Indayodan Andot

Tano Bayawan

1 Inis itulon ku ko-ungkay moka-atag to notomanan taddo to anggarn ku no od ngoranan ki Indayodan Andot no amoy onni Tabita, Joseph, woy si Domling Andot.

2 Si Indayodan Andot, oraroy sikandin nod poko-utoo to saarong su¹ otin od pongannup sikandin, konna ra oruwa otollu dos od ko-utoo rin, ko konna, mo-uraa. 3 Na, ipan tod undiyon sikandin to lumut, dii en od lempas duwon en od ko-utoo. 4 Na, nouhoy'n timpu idda sod pongannup sikandin, inaayun duwon od ko-utoo rin.

5 Na sokkad no allow, id potohenop³ sikandin to minuvu² no toho buvungan, na idda ayu so minuvu, idde-en kos od ngoranan no Monunggud⁴ o dos od tamong kandin⁵ to oraroy sikandin nod poko-utoo. 6 Kahi tat minuvu, "Sikkow," kahi rin, "Indayodan Andot, undini ka," kokahi rin, "to Sondawa," to lahun to 1972, "su duwon dakkoon pista atag kikow. 7 No, yo ka," kahi rin, "od lempas su idda," kahi rin, "dakkoon pista atag kikow." 8 Na pomon tadda, waa rin nolingawi iddon allow. 9 Na idda mandad no allow, id palla sikandan, id potonduwoy ran ki Tiyu Posana. 10 Na si Tiyu Posana mandad, sikandin sokkad mandad no oraroy'd poko-utoo to saarong iddon timpu. 11 Popollaoy ran nod undiyon sikandan to lumut to idde-en no timpu.⁶ 12 Kokahi rin, "Na, sikkow," kahi rin, "Posana, duma ka kodd. 13 Undiyon ki to lumut, dumannow," kahi rin, "kos mgo anak du woy duma ka pot dumon mgo duma ru su amoy'd potovangoy ki od pongannup diyon to Sondawa." 14 No, iddos na-angoy rin no duma, siyak don en, no si Bernard Mandacawan, anak ni Tiya Inggow, si Jura⁷ woy si Nunoy woy si Souru. 15 Annom koy langun iddos od undiyon nanoy to Sondawa sud pongannup. 16 Iddot buwan to Hunyu, idde-en iddos palla ran no kod-undiyon. 17 Na, riyot Lunis nanoy no allow, od ipanow ked, sud porumanoy ked od undiyon to Sondawa. 18 Na, allow't Lunis, waa koy man noko-allus su oray'n dakkoon⁸ uran iddon timpu. 19 Dos uran pomon to Lunis sippang to Martis ponayun de-en od uran, dakkoon uran. 20 Unayan no waa koy en noko-ipanow, piru iddos si Tiyu Indayodan, id ipanow sikandin duma tat sokkad no duma rin woy dos oppat no tuyyang din. 21 Id owiran sikandin taddot kandin no mgo anak. 22 Kahi, "Apa, yo kod undiyon su dakkoon uran

The Time Indayodan Andot Was Buried in a Landslide

Tano Bayawan

Tano narrates about a personal experience he had when he was about ten years old. It is said the spirit *Monunggud* purposely triggered a landslide to take the lives of Indayodan and his son in exchange for countless deer and wild pig the spirit had allowed him to snare over the years. When the community learned of what happened to Indayodan, it instilled great fear in all and was not quickly forgotten. Nunoy, who is mentioned in sentence 14, wrote a song commemorating the event.

1 This story of mine is about that which happened to my uncle named Indayodan Andot, the father of Tabita, Joseph, and Domling Andot.

2 Indayodan Andot, he could really snare deer because¹ whenever he hunted with dogs, he would not just snare two (or) three, but many. 3 So every time he went to the highland, without fail he definitely would snare something. 4 So it was for a long time that whenever he hunted with dogs, he always snared something.

5 Then one day, a person² from the hills caused him to dream,³ (and) most likely that person was the one called *Monunggud*⁴ or the one who watched over him⁵ (giving) him (skill) to really be able to trap. 6 That person said, "You," he said, "Indayodan Andot, come here," he said, "to Mt. Apo," in the year 1972, "because there will be a large fiesta for you. 7 So don't," he said, "fail (to come) because," he said, "it will be a big fiesta for you." 8 So because of that, he did not forget that day. 9 So that same day, they agreed (to go); they, (Indayodan and) Uncle Posana, made a promise to each other (to go). 10 Now as for Uncle Posana, he was another who was really able to snare deer at that time. 11 They agreed that they would go to the highland at that (very) time.⁶ 12 He said, "Now you," he said, "Posana, you accompany me. 13 Let's go to the highland; bring along your children and any other companions of yours so that we can help each other hunt with dogs on Mt. Apo." 14 So those whom he got as companions were of course me, Bernard Mandacawan, a son of Aunt Inggow, Joram,⁷ and Nunoy and Souru. 15 Altogether we were six who wanted to go to Mt. Apo to hunt with dogs. 16 That month of June was their agreement to be going. 17 So Monday was the day we should have left because we were going together to Mt. Apo. 18 Now on the day of Monday, we were not able to continue on because the rain was very heavy⁸ at that time. 19 The rain, from Monday to Tuesday, it just kept raining; it was a heavy rain. 20 That was the reason we were not able to leave, but Uncle Indayodan, he left with his one companion and his four dogs. 21 His children (tried to) hold him back. 22 They said, "Dad, don't go

¹ Implied: the proof was...

² *minuvu*: literally, 'person'; however in this context what is meant is a spirit.

³ Dreams are very important to the Manobo. For Indayodan to have a dream of a Manobo deity appearing to him, especially this particular deity or spirit, would have been considered a special omen. This particular spirit *Monunggud* would have been a familiar one to Indayodan since he often called on this spirit, offering up tobacco and betel chew in exchange for a fruitful hunting expedition.

⁴ *Monunggud*: an *onitu* 'spirit' who watches over animals in the wild and allows hunters to snare game.

⁵ This refers to Indayodan Andot.

⁶ Implied: the time that the person in the dream said to go.

⁷ Joram was the son of Uncle Posana.

⁸ *dakoon*: literally, 'large' with the contraction of the linker *no*.

ini woy morat," kahi ran, "kos timpu." 23 Piru waa sikandin id pa-awid. 24 Kahi rin, "Ko man moho," kokahi rin, "assin ki⁹ su od kounow ki. 25 Waa ki man," kahi rin, "id piyod to assin."¹⁰ 26 Idde-en kos osengan din. 27 Id ipanow sikandin, oruwa ran duma dos mgo tuyyang din.

28 Na ingkon ini sikami, waa koy noko-ipanow taddon timpu piru id ponaan¹¹ iddos si Indayodan. 29 Kahi rin, "Otin bo," kahi rin, "od lupug dan diyon to Sondawa, od towwan ku," kokahi rin, "to patow diyon to suwayan, diyon to od ngoranan no Tovaku. 30 Patow," kokahi rin, "no diyon ked, tawwan kut krus. 31 Otin bo," kokahi rin, "kokita ran idda, ko-uluhan tadda," kokahi rin, "id ponayun ked diyot Povunsaran."¹² 32 Idde-ek ponaannon din konami.

33 Na riyot allow to Merkulis, iddo koy pa noko-ipanow su id polempas doy pa dos dakkoon uran. 34 Na, id lupug koy. 35 Na, laggun man to diyon ket daan, iddo so tuyyang ni Tiyu Posana, id sovukan din sud pongannup me-en. 36 Na, id dunggu ked kopu riyon to sabbung, kahi tat si Tiyu, "Laggun," kahi, "tod aangat ki taddot tuyyang, od oilutu ki pa ka-ay." 37 Na, id oilutu ran don, na nouhoyluhoy, waa man id inguma do tuyyang. 38 Waad loppow.¹³ 39 Ondak id ooseng din, dos si Tiyu Posana, kahi rin, "Sikiyu," kahi rin, "mgo anak," (siyak don me-en, si Bernard woy do anak din¹⁴ no si Nunoy), kahi rin, "ponaappo row pa do tuyyang. 40 Saddook id dunggu riyon to kandan¹⁵ su siketa," kahi rin, "dii kid allus diyon su saddook inis mgo tuyyang od povutongngoy su mo-uraa." 41 Oppat dos kandan no id piyod, oppat mandad kos konami, wau langun no molison iddos tuyyang.

42 Na, id ipanow koy, otollu koy. 43 Na gurali, id dunggu koy riyon to tousuvan to Sondawa, nokita ku idda no idda ku pe-en nokita su idda a pa id suvot lumut. 44 Id dunggu a riyon, nokita ku dos tousuvan, oray a no novaakkan. 45 Na, nokopoomdom a, no dii ad od duma kandan su oray a no novaakkan. 46 Kahi ku tat oruwon mgo duma ku to, "Dii ked od allus diyon sud kovaakkan a," kahi ku. 47 Na, sikandan dii rad aman. 48 Avoy ran pod ooseng¹⁶ id ipanow¹⁷ ad moho. 49 Na, nokoruma ran en koddi. 50 Nopohos dan id duma koddi.

51 Na, id dunggu koy riyon to ubpan, diyot sabbung. 52 To id dunggu koy riyon, idda re-en mandad no uras, no tokkow immat duwon linug no dakkoo. 53 Nokita roy riyon to ko-unnan doy iddos mgo batu, iddos mgo kayun doorakkoo, mgo ohu-u, od pongkopiloy, od kotunaa woy dos mgo iing to boubbuk, nokita roy riyon to datas. 54 Na, waa man nanoy boubbuk taddon timpu su timpu man tod uran. 55 Na, od kookollon dos livuta, immat id linug dos livuta. 56 Na, oray koy'n novaakkan. 57 Iddo so inowtu roy no waa pa noka-an, id oun doyd diyot avu su id bitbit doyd en dut id paahuy. 58 Id pomenek koy ka-ay't sokkad no buvungan, id lampoy koy tadda. 59 Id dunggu koy riyot datas, no id ponayun dad iddos immat linug. 60 Na, nokita roy dos mgo doorakkoon batu no noko-oddis de-en konami tat id paahuy koy woy notombunan iddo so sabbung doy taddot doorakkoon mgo batu. 61 "Na," kahi tat si Tiyu Posana, kahi rin, "worad,"¹⁸ kokahi rin, "idda si Indayodan nongotumpahan¹⁹ don sikandan." 62 Na, idda re-en kopuk no-oseng din, kahi rin, "Od kuo kid ini'd uli kid," kahi rin. 63 Piru waa koy pa mandon lubus id uli tadda su id potigkus doy pok oweg.

⁹ *ki*: literally, 'we inclusive' but used in the rhetorical sense; he is actually referring to himself, hence in sentence 24 and 25 it has been translated as 'I'.

¹⁰ *Waa ki man id piyod to assin.*: an idiomatic expression, "We won't melt (like salt will when it gets wet)." The incident occurred during rainy season.

¹¹ Implied: with his wife.

¹² Povunsaran: derived from *bunsud* 'the foot, base'. In this context, it refers to a specific place on the slope or foot of Mt. Apo called Povunsaran.

¹³ Implied: This was highly unusual.

because this is a really heavy rainfall and it is bad,” they said, “weather.” 23 But he could not be held back (from going). 24 He said, “Surely if,” he said, “I⁹ was salt, then I would melt. 25 I am surely not,” he said, “bringing salt.”¹⁰ 26 Just those were his words. 27 He left, the two of them with his dogs.

28 Now as for (the rest of) us, we were not able to leave at that time, but Indayodan left instructions.¹¹ 29 He said, “If,” he said, “they come after (us) on Mt. Apo, I’ll put,” he said, “a sign at the crossing, at the place called Tobacco. 30 As a sign,” he said, “that we had been there, I will put a cross. 31 If,” he said, “they see that, the meaning of that,” he said, “is that we continued on to Povunsaran.”¹² 32 That then was his instruction for us.

33 Now on the day of Wednesday, that was when we finally were able to leave because we first allowed the heavy rain to pass by. 34 Then we left to catch up with them. 35 Now while we were on the trail, Uncle Posana let his dogs go on ahead because naturally (our purpose) was to hunt with dogs. 36 When we arrived at the shelter, Uncle said, “While,” he said, “we wait for the dogs, we’ll first cook here.” 37 So they cooked, then after awhile the dogs still had not arrived. 38 They did not appear.¹³ 39 What did he, Uncle Posana say, he said, “You,” he said, “children,” (including me naturally, Bernard, and his¹⁴ son, Nunoy) he said, “go and please look for the dogs. 40 Perhaps (the dogs) arrived there where they¹⁵ are, because as for us,” he said, “we won’t continue on there because those dogs are probably fighting each other because they are many.” 41 Four that they brought, (and) also there were four of ours, eight dogs altogether.

42 So we left (to look for the dogs), the three of us. 43 Now when we arrived at the waterfall of Mt. Apo, I saw it for the very first time, because that was the first time I had gone up the trail to the highland. 44 I arrived there (and when) I saw the waterfall, I was very afraid. 45 Then I thought (to myself) that I would not go with them because I was very afraid. 46 I said to my two companions, “Let’s not continue on there because I’m afraid,” I said. 47 Now they just did not agree (with me). 48 (While) they kept arguing¹⁶ (to continue), I (started) walking/leaving¹⁷ anyway. 49 So then they accompanied me. 50 They were forced to accompany me.

51 Then we arrived at the house, at the shelter. 52 When we arrived there, at that very hour, suddenly it was like there was a big earthquake. 53 We saw ahead of us rocks, huge trees such as pines falling, completely uprooted, and we saw (what appeared) like dust up (in the air). 54 There really should not have been any dust at that time because it was rainy season. 55 Now the ground was shaking like an earthquake. 56 So we were very afraid. 57 As for our cooked food that had not yet been eaten, we took it from the fire because we carried it as (we) ran. 58 We climbed one hill, going over to the other side. 59 We arrived there at the top and the (shaking) like an earthquake still continued. 60 Then we saw large rocks that nearly hit us as we ran because those large rocks had covered/buried our shelter. 61 “So,” Uncle Posana said, he said, “Indayodan,” he was saying, “is dead;¹⁸ they were buried in a landslide.”¹⁹ 62 So that was just what he said; he said, “Let us leave here, let’s return home,” he said. 63 But we did not return immediately then because we first let the river recede.

¹⁴ This refers to Uncle Posana’s son.

¹⁵ This refers to Indayodan and his son.

¹⁶ *ooseng*: literally, ‘to speak’.

¹⁷ Implied: returning where they came from.

¹⁸ *worad*: literally, ‘is no more’.

¹⁹ Indayodan and his son Utung were never found; just their boots. All eight dogs died in the landslide as well.

64 To so-op no allow, id uli koy rini to Ilomavis. 65 Na, id posaddoo roy sikandan²⁰ to notomanan doy. 66 No oray'n mopet iddos notomanan doy taddon timpu su id sunung doy kos dakkoon uran woy pomon to allak doy, waa roy'd nonongnongngi ko ingkon koy'd isau. 67 Ponudtulan doy onsi Tabita, onsi Joseph, woy dos inayon ku no idde-en kos notomanan no iddos sawa rin notumpahan diyon to Sondawa. 68 No idda vos en iddo so tohenoppon din no kahi tat minuvu, "Od tommu ka koddii ka-ay to Povunsarat Sondawa su duwon dakkoon pista." 69 Idda vos en kos pista rin no od bovallan, dos od tumpahon din kos Sondawa su saddoo ayu ko iddos minuvu idda, idde-en ko so minuvu²¹ no Monunggud no id bullas²² taddot umuu ni Tiyu Indayodan su dakkoo ron oraroy kos no-utoo rin no saarong dinit Sondawa. 70 No inin itulon, bonnaa ini no notomanan.

71 Na, ka-ayyon ku re-en od sippangon do so koddin itulon.

Limukon

Nelson Tula

1 Ini so koddin itulon, moka-atag ini to limukon.¹ 2 Na inis limukon, duwon otollun osengan, unna dos od ngoranan no od umow-umow o od ngutngut.² 3 Iko-oruwa, dos od ngoranan no od aalig o od gonduu. 4 Woy dos iko-otollu, od ngoranan no od nona-at o od bonannan o od ngoranan mandad no od kutoo.

5 Dos limukon ko od umow to duma rin, od ngoranan idda no od ngutngut. 6 Na dos kodngutngut od ungketen to, "Ngut ngut ngut ngut..." 7 Na otin duwon don od dupak, ko dii pa od porani, od pongoykii sikandin³ amoy od pokoporani iddo so ba-ay o korotu-an man.

8 Dos od gonduu nod tomman to mgo kovuyyahan, idde-en kos kodpo-olihoy to mgo limukon. 9 Dos dohingon od ungketen to, "Krr, krr, krr, krrrrrrrrrr". 10 Na otin morani ron,⁴ od duug don dos ba-ay, na od gonduu sikandin. 11 Otin od dunggu ron dos mgo limukon, od pongoykii sikandin⁵ immat od sayow su od kahaa. 12 Duwon timpu no otollu sikandan⁶ nod pokoddongngan.

13 Na dos ikotollun osengan din, dos od ngoranan no bonannan, immat od ponudtuu iddos limukon no duwon morat nod kotomanan o kopiyanan nod inguma. 14 Dove-en iddos od ngoranan nod kutoo, ike-ek oraroy nod bontayan to mgo kovuyyahan su bonnaa en ika. 15 Na do so od bonannan, otin od kutoo iddos limukon diyot od gellee ron sikandan⁷ od ponog to sobbangan, dii en sikandan od ipanow su duwon kororattan⁸ diyot iponawon dan. 16 Dos od kutoo, od ungketen to, "Kuu, kuru, kuru, kuru, kuru." 17 Na otin diyot od pomaatik dan woy'd pongannup, ko od kutoo riyot lomig to kowanan, duwon en od ko-utoo ran. 18 Na id kayow vo to mgo buyyag kos bollad dan ka-ay't lomig to kowanan nod ikahi sikandan to, "Na, duwon bo

²⁰ Implied: the family.

²¹ This refers to the spirit called *Monunggud*.

²² The exchange was Indayodan's life for all the deer and wild pig that the spirit *Monunggud* had allowed him to snare over the years. Others said the landslide was punishment for the curse of *anit* (see Glossary). One of the children that accompanied the group was said to have played with and laughed at the antics of one of the dogs, hence incurring punishment for *anit*.

¹ *limukon*: a kind of wild dove with white ears and light brown feathers speckled with black (*Phapitreron leucotis*). As an omen bird, it was kept in a cage to listen to its call.

² *od ngutngut*: the onomatopoeic verbalized form of the bird's call when calling out for a companion.

³ This refers to the dove that called out for a companion.

⁴ Implied: the visiting female dove.

64 The following day we returned here to Ilomavis. 65 Then we informed them²⁰ what happened to us. 66 What happened to us was a very bitter (experience) at that time because we walked regardless of the heavy rain, and because of our fear, we were not cognizant where we were heading. 67 We told Tabita, Joseph, and my aunt what happened, that her husband had been buried in a landslide on Mt. Apo. 68 So that unquestionably was (the meaning of) his dream in which the person said, “Meet me here at Povunsaran of Mt. Apo because there will be a big fiesta.” 69 That was the fiesta he prepared, his causing the landslide on Mt. Apo; because that person was probably the person²¹ *Monunggud* who exchanged²² the life of Uncle Indayodan because he already had snared many deer here on Mt. Apo. 70 Now this story really happened.

71 So this is where I will end my story.

Wild Doves

Nelson Tula

A wild dove has three distinct calls: one for calling to companions, the second for courting, and the third is an omen call. If the call is heard to the right, it means the hunter will have success. A call from the left means a hunter will not catch anything. An omen call from behind means something bad will happen. Omen calls are closely listened for and heeded because, for the Manobo ancestors, the calls were accurate in predicting what would happen.

1 This story of mine is concerning wild doves.¹ 2 These wild doves have three calls: first is called *umow-umow* ‘calling out to other wild doves’ or *od ngutngut*.² 3 Second is the one called courting or *gonduu* ‘strutting around’. 4 And the third is called *nona-at* ‘fore-warning/foretelling’ or *bonannan* ‘omen call’ or also called *kutoo* ‘call of the wild dove’.

5 A wild dove calling out to its companion (doves) is (doing) what is called *od ngutngut*. 6 Now the calling out call goes like this, “*Ngut ngut ngut ngut...*” 7 Then if another has approached, before it comes near, it³ will strut about so the female or male dove will come near.

8 The ancestors say the *gonduu* call is (the equivalent of) wild doves courting. 9 The call goes like this, “*Krr, krr, krr, krrrrrrrrrrr.*” 10 Now when it⁴ is nearby, the female comes up next to (the male), (and) then it does a courting dance around (the female). 11 When wild doves arrive, it⁵ struts about like it is dancing because it is happy. 12 There are times there are three of them⁶ all together at the same time.

13 Now as for its third call called *bonannan* ‘omen call’, it is like the wild dove is giving a message that something bad will happen or something good will arrive. 14 Just as the (call) called *kutoo* ‘call of the wild dove’, the ancestors definitely would listen for it because the (messages) were indeed true. 15 Now regarding the omen call, if a wild dove called just as they⁷ were about to step out of the doorway, they definitely wouldn’t leave because something bad⁸ would (happen) on their journey. 16 The call of the wild dove goes like this, “*Kuu, kuru, kuru, kuru, kuru, kuru.*” 17 When (it was heard) while they were spear trapping or hunting with dogs, if the call was to the right, there definitely would be something they would snare. 18 The older generation would wave their hand back and forth here to the right; they would say, “So there’ll be something

⁵ This refers to the first dove that called out.

⁶ This refers to three female doves that have responded to the *gonduu* call of the male dove.

⁷ This refers to the ancestors.

⁸ *kororattan*: literally, ‘destructive’.

od ko-utoo ta.” 19 Na idde-en, bonnaa en idda su to kod-uli ran, duwon en od ko-utoo ran. 20 Na otin lomig to ivang, od ikahi sikandan no, “Wora,” od livod sikandan su dii ron od allus od pongannup. 21 Na, waa en od ko-utoo ran, no od uli ran don et ungketen.

22 Sokkad mandad nod ponulan to mgo kovuyyahan, idda ve-en so duma to limukon nod ngoranan to buruwing.⁹ 23 Inis buruwing, iling to ulluu¹⁰ kos korokolloy no immat duwon suwag¹¹ nod poko-iling to boyaku¹² kos batok. 24 Dos dohingin din od oungketen to, “Buruwing, buruwing, buruwing.” 25 Na otin mosiyapat don ika nod ooseng woy'd porani ron, od kosoobbuwan dos kos mgo buyyag no kahi ran no, “Ondan ayu kos ponudtulon ka-ay't buruwing ini?” 26 Na od bantoy ron iddos mgo buyyag nod ipanow no kahi, “Duwon ayu mongayow nod aayan.” 27 Otin od ooseng kos buruwing dinit lomig to oyyug dan, duwon bo morat nod kotomanan diyot inoyyuhan dan diyot mgo ubpan, idde-en kos od potawan to mgo kovuyyahan. 28 Na od puungan dan en idda,¹³ su oraroy nod panuu kos mgo buyyag tod kutoo. 29 Diyot kodpongannup, ahad mandad dos buruwing nod ooseng to ivang, waa en od ko-utoo ran. 30 Piru ko od ooseng kos buruwing to lomig to kowanan, duwon en mandad od ko-utoo to mgo kovuyyahan. 31 Na taman ko-ungkay duwon poron en mgo buyyag nod puung¹⁴ ka-ay.

32 Na idde-en kos nosorollan ku riyot kovuyyahan.

that we'll snare." 19 And it was so; it really was true because at their return, they really had snared something. 20 Now if it was to the left, they would say, "Nothing," (and) they would return because they wouldn't (bother) continuing to hunt with dogs. 21 And they definitely would not snare anything, so they would return empty handed.

22 Another (omen bird) the ancestors heeded was a companion to the wild dove called the *buruwing*⁹ 'omen bird'. 23 This *buruwing* is similar in size to the *ulluu*¹⁰ bird, appears to have horns¹¹ (and) is like the whistler bird¹² in coloring/marking. 24 The sound it makes is like this, "*Buruwing, buruwing, buruwing.*" 25 Now if the call is rapid and nearby, the older generation would be amazed saying, "What might the message of this *buruwing* be?" 26 Then the older ones would be vigilant going anywhere saying, "There probably are killers lying in ambush." 27 Now if the *buruwing*'s call (came from) behind them, something bad/evil would happen behind them in the houses; that was a sign to the ancestors. 28 Then they really would do it,¹³ because the older ones really heeded the calls. 29 When hunting with dogs, even if it was a *buruwing* that called to the left, there definitely would not be anything that they would snare. 30 But if a *buruwing* called to the right, the ancestors definitely would snare something. 31 So until today there still are older ones who will heed¹⁴ these.

32 So that is what I know (about birdcalls) from the ancestors.

⁹ *buruwing*: a small omen bird with a crest and gray feathers. Its name is onomatopoeic of the bird's call.

¹⁰ *ulluu*: a kind of bird called *tagul-ul* in Cebuano. The speaker mentions this bird only as a comparison of its size to that of the *buruwing*.

¹¹ ear tufts.

¹² *boyaku*: a small brown insect-eating bird (*Pachycephala* sp.).

¹³ This refers to doing whatever was the message of the omen bird.

¹⁴ *puung*: literally, 'do'. Implied: If the omen call comes from the left, which means a hunter will not catch anything, they will not bother to go hunting.

VIII Leisure and Beauty

“For the Manobo people dancing has been an integral part of their life and one of the identifiers that they are Manobo...”

Dos od Pokahaa to Songnga

“Diyot mgo Monuvu idqos kodsayow, ubpu ron to kandan no umuu woy...kilaannan no sikandan Monuvu...”

Kodsayow

Tano Bayawan

1 Sokkad mandad no botasan to mgo Monuvu iddos kodsayow.¹ 2 Diyot mgo Monuvu, iddos kodsayow ubpu² ron to kandan no umuu woy sokkad ini no kilaannan no sikandan Monuvu, su ahad ondan no kolivuungan labbi ron kos mgo pista, dii en od ka-awa³ kos kodsayow. 3 Dangan, konna ra timpu to duwon doorakkoon kolivuungan od sayow kos mgo Monuvu, piru od sayow ran ahad ondan no timpu labbi ron ko duwon od posolomatan, timput kodkottu, od latun to soyavan, poka-at kollu⁴ woy duma pa no kolivuungan. 4 Piru konna ra no id pokitakita ini, ko konna, bonnaa en no pomot kandan no pusung woy duwon lavut to kandan no botasanon.

5 Iddos od gomiton no id oppad to kodsayow, idde-en dos ahung, kulintang, souroy, kuglung woy kombeng.

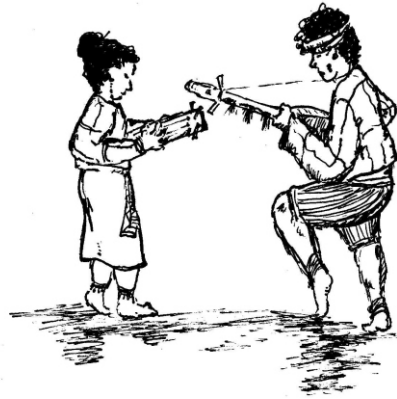
6 Diyot kodsayow, duwon osso-ossan ko-uluhan, konna ra nod aawang ka ra nod egkee-egkee. 7 Ahad iddos mgo sikaa, duwon kod-oppad to ahung woy ahad iddos lawa od duma mandad. 8 Duwon sayow no od ngoranan to kodpovunuwoy no iddos od sayow oruwon mama woy sokkad no ba-ay. 9 No iddos ba-ay, idde-en kos od oohawon dan⁵ woy ondoy kos od ponalu, idde-en kos od poko-osawa tat ba-ay.

10 Duwon mandad kodsayow no iyon id pokita tat mgo tohodsayow iddos pomo-ukit to mgo Monuvu to kodpomuwa, kodkamot, kodkallu, woy kodkottu, mo-uraa kos od sayow ka-ay.

11 Na, idda mandad so botasan to Monuvu no od poka-at kollu, id pokita mandad ukit to kodsayow. 12 Inin sayow, mo-uraan mgo kosongkapan nod ponggomiton iling to koosidu, puruk, sangngi, sanggot, porokuu, woy duma pa nod gomiton diyot kodkamot. 13 Od gamit dan mandad to dihu nod tawwan to kannon to od suksukan to mgo kollu.

14 Iddos lammin notoddu no datu, od soyawan mandad timbang kod-addat woy kodpokilaa no notoddu ron sikandin no datu. 15 Od soyawan sikandin to mgo ba-ay nod lingut kandin woy od uuhan⁶ to mgo bulak.

16 Duwon sayow to Monuvu nod ngoranan no kod-aawas. 17 Inin sayow, od umow to mgo onitu, woy duwon mgo moman, monika, soo, tovaku no id awas su duwon od buyuwon diyot onitu.



Traditional dancing
Kodsayow

¹ *kodsayow*: derived from *sayow* 'dancing' refers to traditional dancing.

² *ubpu*: literally, 'a connection to something'. In this context, it is used in the figurative sense implying activities that have great value in a person's life or 'an integral part'.

³ *ka-awa*: literally, 'be done away with'.

Dancing

Tano Bayawan

In the past, in the strenuous day to day activities of making ends meet, traditional dancing was like a ray of light during which time the burdens and concerns of life were lifted. Today—although the art has not totally died out, it is no longer the daily, spontaneous activity it was in the past.

1 Another cultural practice of the Manobo people is dancing.¹ 2 For Manobo people, dancing has been an integral part² of their life and one of the identifiers that they are Manobo; because at no matter what gathering, especially fiestas, dancing will not disappear.³ 3 In the past, it was not only at times of a huge gathering that Manobos danced, but they would dance at any time, especially if there was a reason for giving thanks, such as the time of rice harvest, dedication of a metal forge, the (ceremony) of feeding farm tools,⁴ and other gatherings. 4 But it was not just for show, rather it was genuine, coming from their heart and was part of their customs.

5 For keeping the beat in dancing, the large gong, smaller gongs, zither, lute, and jew's harp were used.

6 In dancing, the (movements) have different meanings; you don't just haphazardly jerk the body around. 7 Even in the steps, a beat is (kept by) the large gong and even the body will also go along with it. 8 There is a dance called *kodpovunuwoy* 'fighting each other' in which the dancers are two men and one woman. 9 Now it is the woman whom they⁵ are (trying) to take from each other and whoever wins, that is the one who can marry the woman.

10 There is also dancing in which the dancers demonstrate the Manobo way of planting, clearing a field, weeding, and harvesting; many (participate in) dancing these.

11 Now the custom of the Manobo people of feeding farm tools is also demonstrated through dancing. 12 In this dance, many tools are used such as a machete, a long blade for cutting grass, a knife, a scythe, an axe, and other (tools) used in farming. 13 They also use a winnowing basket where rice is put, into which (farm) tools are stuck.

14 A newly appointed tribal chieftain is also danced for as a way of showing respect and making it known that he has been appointed as tribal chieftain. 15 Women dance for him, surrounding him and showering⁶ him with flowers.

16 There is a dance of the Manobo people called *kod-aawas* 'offering sacrifice to the spirits'. 17 In this dance, the spirits are called and there is betel chew, betel pepper leaf, an egg, (and) tobacco offered as a sacrifice in order to beseech a spirit.

⁴ A ceremony of 'feeding the farm tools' took place after the first harvest when a field was cleared and before preparing it for the next harvest. Rice was cooked and then farm tools were stuck into the cooked rice. The tools used to produce the harvest were symbolically "fed and thanked". Also see Section IV Livelihood: *Farming*, sentences 97–99.

⁵ Implied: the two men dancers.

⁶ *uuhan*: literally, 'to throw something' is derived from *uug* 'to drop, fall'.

18 Moppiya nod ontongngan iddos od ponsayow no no-ekkop to mgo impon⁷ no Minonuvu, iling to umpak, detdet, tukaling, boliyog, pangkis, ollon, soning, tikos, babat woy duma pa. 19 Iddos tukaling, moppiya nod pominoggon labbi ron ko od pokod-oppad to ahung. 20 Iddo mandad so od ponggomiton to sayow no kodpovunuwoy, ini en kos pongassu, kaasag woy polihuma. 21 Iddo mandad so mama, moppiya nod ontongngan ko no-ekkop sikandin to mgo impon no Minonuvu iling to umpak, sowwaa, boliyog, tongkuu, tikos, tukaling, ponggaang, soning woy duma pa.

22 Moka-atag to timpu to kodsayow dangan to mgo kovuyyahan, ahad ondan no timpu od sayow ran su laayun man duwon diyot kandan iddos mgo ahung woy kulintang, id takos don tapoy riyot sokkad nod tawwan.⁸ 23 De-en, ko duwon kolivuungan o wora, od sayow en mohok mgo Monuvu. 24 Piru ko-ungkay no timpu, osso ron, su iddos kodsayow, timpu robbo to mgo kolivuungan iling to mgo pista woy dakkoon mgo kolivuungan diyot iskwilahan, woy kolivuungan to governo, woy immat id pokitakita robbo ini. 25 Dii ron mandad oraroy od kotuig kos mgo lammin tuvu⁹ su dii ron sikandan od pokokita tod sayow.

26 Ka-ay re-en taman kos itulon ku.

Pogoling

Melchor Bayawan

1 Langun no mgo tribu¹ ka-ay't intirut ingod, diid ka-awa² inis botasanon no kodpoganda. 2 Dos mgo Monuvu, duwon mandad kandan no botasanon to kodpoganda iling to dumon tribu. 3 Od kotuig sikandan konna ra riyot kodpoganda to mgo baoy, kodbatokbatok diyot mgo lipi to polihuma o riyot duma pa no mgo kosongkapan, ko konna, labbi ron en diyon to kandan no lawa. 4 Mo-uraa mandad kos mgo kosongkapan amoy id poganda to mgo Monuvu. 5 Oso-ossa mandad iddos dontulon dan to kodpoganda, piru iddos ko-urallan, atag to kandan no bansa. 6 Oyya su³ ko-urallan to mgo minuvu no oraroy nod poumbansa, iddos mgo datu o mgo bo-i. 7 Pomon to datu me-en sikandan, od sosukub sikandan to mgo kosongkapan to kodpoganda labbi ron en diyon to mgo doorakkoon kolivuungan. 8 Duwon duma no id kopi-i ran nod utollon⁴ dos langun no mgo kosongkapan to kodpoganda. 9 Od po-ontiyannoy sikandan to kogondan su idda me-en kos od pokopo-udsuu mandad to kandan no bansa.

10 Oraroy mandad nod ponmonnosmonnos kos mgo mongovay dangan, od pogandan sikandan tat amoy woy inoy ran su amoy od kovuyuwan sikandan to mahaa ko duwon od osawa.

⁷ *impon*: literally, 'valued items'.

⁸ *tawwan*: literally, 'where something is placed' is derived from *ta-aw* 'to put'. Gongs are suspended in a frame that stands up and are attached to each other and the frame by rattan. For more detailed description and illustration, see Section VIII Leisure and Beauty: *Manobo Music*, sentences 28ff.

⁹ *lammin tuvu*: literally, 'new growth, new offshoots'. This is a common expression referring to youth/the younger generation.

¹ *tribu*: literally, 'tribes'.

² *diid ka-awa*: literally, 'will not disappear'.

³ *Oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

18 It is wonderful to watch those who dance whose traditional Manobo attire⁷ is complete, like a decorated blouse, a woven skirt, bells, a necklace, bracelet, belt, a decorated bag (for men), leg bracelets, anklets, and other (traditional attire). 19 The bells are pleasing to listen to, especially when kept in tempo/beat with the large gong. 20 As for that which is used in dancing (depicting) battle, these would certainly (include) a spear, shield, and a sword. 21 The male (dancer), too, is wonderful to watch when he is complete in Manobo traditional attire such as a decorated jacket, short pants, necklace, headdress, leg bracelets, bells, shell bracelet, decorated bag, and other (attire).

22 Concerning occasions of dancing in the days of the ancestors, they would dance at anytime because they always had with them large gongs and smaller gongs which were already in place.⁸ 23 Therefore, whether or not there was a gathering, Manobo people would dance regardless. 24 But these days, it is different, because dancing is only (done) at the time of gatherings like fiestas or large gatherings at a school or political gatherings, and as if it is just for show. 25 The new generation⁹ also doesn't really know how (to dance) because they are not able to see those who dance.

26 Up to here is my account.

Beautification

Melchor Bayawan

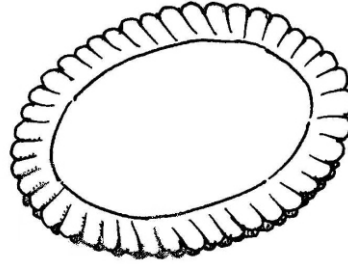
Colorful and attractive is the traditional clothing of the Manobo, including bracelets made from seashells, necklaces with bells, leg bands, clothing embroidered with beads, sequins, and stitch work. Wearing it, tribal leaders were even more highly esteemed and the brideprice of single women increased. Cleanliness is important but bathing is avoided on days when spirits are bathing. In the past, teeth were cleaned using the mane of wild boars. They were given a shiny black sheen using the roots of a kind of rattan. Slaves and widows were not allowed to look attractive. Although traditional clothing was important in the lives of the ancestors, of greater value was a good personality.

1 All people groups¹ in the entire world have² the custom of beautification. 2 The Manobo people, like other people groups, also have their own customs of beautification. 3 They are knowledgeable not only in beautifying houses, putting designs on sheaths of swords or other items, but also especially on their body. 4 There are many things Manobo people use to beautify themselves. 5 They also have different purposes for beautification, but for most, it was for their esteem. 6 In fact³ most of the people who really (wanted to) be esteemed were the tribal chieftains and female leaders. 7 Naturally, because they were tribal chieftains, they would wear things for beautification, especially at huge gatherings. 8 There were others who wanted to acquire⁴ all the things for beautification. 9 They would compete with each other in being attractive, because that naturally would also cause their esteem to be increased.

10 Young ladies in the past would also be really attractively dressed; the father and mother would have them beautified so that they could ask a high brideprice if a man wanted to marry their daughter.

⁴ *utollon*: literally, 'trapped, ensnared' is derived from *utoo* 'to trap, ensnare'. Just as trapping required planning and staying a step ahead of the animal snared, so did wise bartering and trading.

11 Inin mgo poganda, oraroy no mgo mahaa iling taddot od ngoranan no ponggaang no id sukub to bollad, su pomon ini riyon to dahat, de-en mgo sokkad no kuda kos kontidad. 12 Na duwon mandad dos pangkis no babat⁵ no duwon tukaling diyon to tongannan. 13 Duwon mandad iddos id pontakos to mgo ba-ay riyot kandan no tolinga nod ngoranan to sunnoy.⁶ 14 Sokkad da inin oritis piru mowwet no id takos dos tapad ubpu riyot tolinga. 15 Otin diyor mgo mama, od ngoranan ini to garing, piru molivuson ini woy konna movotokkan, woy mahaa oraroy. 16 Duwon mandad iddos tikos⁷ no id takos diyor pa-a no kopakoy no mama o ba-ay kos od sukub ka-ay. 17 Iddos od bovallan no tikosson, idde-en so lawa to sabbot⁸ nod ngoranan to bislig⁹ nod gomiton mandad diyor kuglung.¹⁰ 18 Duwon iddos dumon tikos nod od tawwan dan mandad to tukaling amoy ipat sikaa, od dahing¹¹ ini, de-en od pokototanud kos mgo minuvu. 19 Woy dos diyor liyog, iddos boliyog nod pontawwan en mandad to tukaling. 20 Dos mgo Monuvu, ba-ay o mama, oraroy nod kopiyan od sosukub to mo-uraan boliyog.¹²



Ankle bracelet
Babat

21 Duwon dad mandad iddos od ngoranan no pongottob no id pokolet dan diyor ahad ingkon no sakup to lawa. 22 Kopakoy no riyon ini to bollad, kommo, pa-a, liyog, o riyot oyyug. 23 Piru diyon to mgo molitan, od pota-aw sikandan to pongottob diyon to gottok amoy id tambun kopu tat kandan no gottok su moobbava man kos umpak dan. 24 Duwon ta ra kos mgo Monuvu no duwon pongottob su diyon ini oraroy od kokita to mgo Motidsaug.¹³ 25 Duwon mgo Monuvu nod poko-osawa riyot kandan, od kopiyo dan don mandad inin po-ukit to kodpoganda.

26 Inis mgo Monuvu, dii mandad od kopakoy no dii sikandan od loinis¹⁴ to kandan no lawa, ponunggeleng diyon to kodpomolihus woy kod-ounab. 27 Piru dangan, od anggad pa sikandan to timpu no onngad nod pomolihus.¹⁵ 28 Su tomman to pomokayon to mgo Monuvu no gali ra sikandan od pokopomolihus otin wora mgo ingkantu nod pomolihus. 29 Kokahi to dumon Monuvu no dii sikandan od undiyon to oweg nod pomolihus diyor unna woy iko-oruwa ahad diyon to kotompusan no allow to buwan,¹⁶ su timpu ini tod pomolihus kos mgo ingkantu. 30 Oyya su¹⁷ ko od pokotimpu sikandan nod pomolihus iddos mgo ingkantu, od kovohokan en sikandan. 31 Wora sobun dan dangan to kodpomolihus, toonaw ra gudgud.¹⁸ 32 Iyon sobun dan, iddos

⁵ *babat*: can either be worn as a bracelet or an anklet depending on its size. They are made like a tube in which metal balls are encased. The metal balls clink together sounding like small bells.

⁶ *sunnoy*: long earring fastened from ear to ear going under the chin.

⁷ *tikos*: are typically worn like a bracelet just below the knee or above the calf muscle.

⁸ *sabbot*: literally, 'grass'.

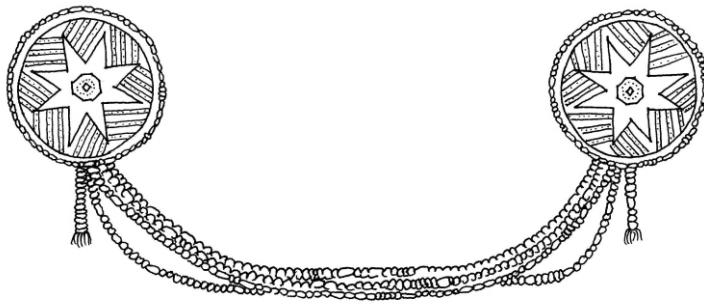
⁹ *bislig*: a wirelike string that is part of a vine, growing along its branches. This is what is harvested and used on the inside of leg bands or string for guitar, etc.

¹⁰ *kuglung*: a kind of two-stringed, long-necked lute typically played by men. The strings were also made from the *bislig* vine.

¹¹ *dahing*: literally, 'to make a sound or noise'.

¹² Necklaces are typically beaded and many are worn at the same time.

¹³ The Matigsalug people are located in Davao del Norte, North Cotabato, Davao City, and southeast Bukidnon, Mindanao. They speak a related Manobo language also called Matigsalug.



Long earring
Sunnyoy

11 These items for beautification are very expensive, like the one called *ponggaang* 'a seashell bracelet' worn on the arm; because it is from the ocean, its value is that of about one horse. 12 Then there is also the *babat* 'bracelet for the ankle'⁵ that has small bells in the middle. 13 There is also that which women hung from their ears called *sunnyoy*⁶ 'long earring'. 14 This is only one earring but it is long, fastened at the end of both earlobes. 15 For men, (ear decoration) is called a *garing* 'ear disk', but is round in shape, is not etched with any design, and is very expensive. 16 There are also *tikos*⁷ 'leg bands' which are put on the leg (and) worn by either a man or woman. 17 Leg bands are made from the vine⁸ called *bislig*,⁹ which is also used for the *kuglung*¹⁰ 'lute'. 18 There are other leg bands onto which they also attach small bells so that it tinkles¹¹ with every step; therefore people can't help but notice. 19 And on the neck, small bells are also attached to necklaces. 20 The Manobo people, women and men, really enjoy wearing many necklaces.¹²

21 Another (kind of beautification) is called *pongottob* 'tattoo' in which they mark/draw on any part of the body. 22 These can be put on the hands, fingers, legs, neck, or back. 23 But on women, they had a tattoo put on their abdomens in order to, in effect, cover their abdomen because their traditional blouse was in fact quite short. 24 Not all Manobo people had a tattoo because it is (a practice) more often found among the Matigsalug people.¹³ 25 There were some Manobo people who married into their people group, (so) they also practiced this way of beautification.

26 As for the Manobo people, it is also important that they are clean,¹⁴ for example in bathing and washing. 27 But in the past, they would wait for the right time to take a bath.¹⁵ 28 For according to a Manobo belief, they can only take a bath if there are no spirits bathing. 29 Some Manobo people say that they will not go to the river to bathe on the first and second (or) even the last day of a month,¹⁶ because these are the times the spirits are bathing. 30 In fact,¹⁷ if they happened to time (their bathing) when the spirits are bathing, they would definitely get sick. 31 They had no soap in the past for bathing, only a scrubbing stone.¹⁸ 32 What they used for soap was the leaves and roots of a

¹⁴ *dii mandad od kopakoy no dii sikandan od loinis*: literally, 'it is not possible that they do not clean themselves'.

¹⁵ Implied: to bathe in the river.

¹⁶ Implied: Those who have a familiar spirit advice people when *ingkantu* 'spirits' are bathing.

¹⁷ *Oyya su*: literally, 'Yes because'.

¹⁸ *gudgud*: any kind of rough stone used for scrubbing the body to remove the dirt.

do-un woy dalig to sopayat o iddos ukap to kayu no buaaw¹⁹ no oraroy nod bovuwak, woy atag ini to kodpomippi to umpak.

33 Na kopongnga sikandan od pokopomolihus, od doddasan dan kos kandan no lawa taddot pomammut no mgo do-un to bohonnos,²⁰ tohiya²¹ o iddos togomo-ing.²²

34 Iddon mgo do-un, od pohonguwon woy kopongnga, id ta-aw riyot ollon, piru od kopakoy mandad no ahad iddos lammi poron²³ id baddi. 35 Na duwon mandad pomowhu ran nod ongayon pomon diyot bunga to kayu nod ngoranan to biyo-u²⁴ woy loppu. 36 Dos bunga²⁵ to biyo-u, od topossan,²⁶ woy kopongnga id ilob dan diyot paad iddos oweg,²⁷ idda pa id daddas dan to kandan no uu.

37 Duwon mandad iddos id pongulisap dan nod ngoranan to sihi. 38 Inis sihi, od ongayon dan ini pomon diyon to bowkag to bavuy't movonnos no manlambing, woy iddos lablab kos od ongayon su motoggas kos bowvuu. 39 Molivutut da ini no mgo sokkad no timbovakaa no onngad de-en nod poko-usok²⁸ diyot bivig. 40 Od kopakoy mandad iddos motoggas no bowkag to kuda.

41 Dangan duwon mandad mgo Monuvu nod pometom to kandan no ngipon. 42 Od ongayon dan dos dalig to komuu²⁹ no baahon. 43 Od soppan be-en idda o id bagged to ngipon woy moppiya³⁰ ini nod tongtongngan su od mosellow no metom.

44 Iddos mgo ba-ay, od poowwet to bowvuu su moppiya ini nod tongtongngan. 45 Duwon id ta-aw ran diyot kandan no bowvuu amoy od mowwet. 46 Od angoy ran to dalig to kayu no luhimit,³¹ od pogpoggon ini woy iddos oweg kos id daddas to bowvuu.

47 Na otin dangan od kotempoo kad to mgo kosongkapan to kodpogoling, oraroy kad nod kovantug. 48 Ko-ilangan no pomon diyon to pa-a taman to uu,³² od ko-oppus dobbe-en to pogoling. 49 Dii mandad sikandan od ko-owan to soning³³ nod tawwan to mgo momannon. 50 Iddos mgo mama, duwon mgo polihuma, sangngi o borung su apii man ini to kodpogoling.

51 Na otin mogoling ka nod tongtongngan, ini ron be-en kos tigkonayan nod kopiyan kos minuvu kikow. 52 Duwon duma no od buyuwon ka no id po-osawa³⁴ to kandan no anak. 53 Kosogaran to minuvu no no-ekkop to mgo impon to kogolingangan dangan, od oivuut don mandad su od poumbansa man sikandin. 54 Duwon mandad duma no konna ra kogolingangan woy kovuutan, od kotuig en mandad sikandan nod totogunggu.

55 Diyon to mgo Monuvu, duwon iddos dii od kopakoy nod poganda, unna, iddos mgo uripon woy iko-oruwa, iddos mgo molitan no nongovau. 56 Otin iddos bau dangan, konnod kopakoy nod monnosmonnos sikandin su otin od puungan din ini, dos ko-uluhan no sikandin kos unayan to kopotayan tat sawa rin sud nonangkap sikandin to dumon mama. 57 Dii mandad sikandin od pokomonnosmonnos su amoy waa dumon mama nod kopiyan kandin. 58 Od puungan³⁵ ini to onuhang din su id po-osawa man



Toothbrush made from the
mane of a wild boar
Sihi

¹⁹ *buaaw*: a kind of large, tall, hardwood tree with small oblong leaves, the fruit and bark of which are used for poisoning fish (*Ternstroemia toquian*).

²⁰ *bohonnos*: a kind of short grass with very fragrant, elongated leaves with jagged edges. It is no longer seen today.

²¹ *tohiya*: a kind of aromatic grass widely used as a spice.

²² *togomo-ing*: a kind of woody herb, the leaves of which have medicinal uses (*Blumea balsamifera*).

papaya tree or the bark of a *buaaw*¹⁹ tree that really foams, and it was (also) used for washing clothes.

33 Now after they finished bathing, they rubbed their body with fragrant leaves of the *bohonnos*,²⁰ *tohiya*²¹ grass, or the *togomo-ing*²² tree. 34 The leaves were dried and then put/kept in a belt, but freshly²³ picked (leaves) could also be used. 35 They also had hair conditioners that were obtained from the fruit of a tree called *biyo-u*²⁴ and coconut tree. 36 The fruit²⁵ of the *biyo-u* tree was chewed²⁶ and after that they spat the juice²⁷ into their palm, then rubbed it in their hair.

37 There is also that which they used to remove tartar buildup called a *sihi* ‘tooth-brush’. 38 They obtained this toothbrush from the mane of a wild boar that had tusks, and it was the male that was gotten because its hair was bristly. 39 This is just short, about the length of the thumb, which is just right to put²⁸ into the mouth. 40 The coarse mane of a horse can also be used.

41 In the past there were also Manobo people who blackened their teeth. 42 They would get the roots of the *komuu*²⁹ rattan. 43 This was chewed or rubbed into the teeth, and (the result) was attractive³⁰ to look at because it was a shiny black.

44 The women let their hair grow long because it is attractive to look at. 45 There was (an herb) that they put in their hair so that it would grow long. 46 They got the root of a *luhimit*³¹ tree, pulverized it, and smeared its sap into the hair.

47 Now in the past, if you were complete in having the things used for beautification, you would be very well known. 48 It was important that from head to foot³² to be complete in things used for beautification. 49 They also could not do without a *soning*³³ ‘shoulder bag’ into which (ingredients) for chewing betel nut were put. 50 The men had swords, small machetes, or knives because these assuredly were part of looking attractive.

51 Now if you were attractive to look at, this was the start of people liking you. 52 Others would ask you to marry³⁴ their daughter. 53 Usually in the past the person who was complete in the things for beautification also showed himself to be brave because he would be esteemed. 54 Yet others were not only attractive and brave, (but) they were also talented in playing larger gongs.

55 Among Manobo people, there were those who were not allowed to beautify themselves; first, slaves and second, women who had been widowed. 56 In the past, a widow was not allowed to dress attractively because if she did, it meant she caused her husband’s death because she was looking for another man. 57 Also she could not dress attractively so that no other men would be attracted to her. 58 Her in-laws advised her

²³ *lammi poron*: literally, ‘still new’.

²⁴ *biyo-u*: a large forest tree of which the seed of the fruit yields a kind of oil similar to linseed oil (*Aleurites moluccana*).

²⁵ Implied: ripe fruit.

²⁶ Implied: to extract the juice.

²⁷ *oweg*: literally, ‘water’.

²⁸ *poko-usok*: literally, ‘to be able to enter’.

²⁹ *komuu*: a kind of rattan vine of the genera *Calamus*, *Daemonorops*, or *Plectomia*. The roots have a sap that blacken the teeth.

³⁰ *moppiya*: literally, ‘good’.

³¹ *luhimit*: a small tree with rough leaves covered with hair. The sap is put on hair to enhance growth, probably *Ficus minahassae*.

³² *pa-a taman to uu*: literally, ‘foot to head’.

³³ *soning*: a bag made of Manila hemp decorated with beadwork and horsehair. It was typically carried by men and used for carrying ingredients for betel chew.

³⁴ If the parents of a girl approached a man and asked him to marry their daughter, he could forego paying a brideprice.

sikandin tat ari taddot sawa rin no mid patoy. 59 Idde-en iddos od tomman no od torungngan³⁷ iddos molitan,³⁶ labbi ron en ko moppiya kos botasan.³⁸

60 Dyon to mgo Monuvu, inis kodpoganda id dokollan dan to koru-anon, piru kahi ran no wora koru-anon to kogolangan otin morat kos botasan to sokkad no minuvu. 61 Su riyon to mgo Monuvu, oraroy sikandan nod ontong to botasanon to sokkad no minuvu. 62 Ahad moganda kos sokkad no minuvu woy noponnu³⁹ to langun no kosongkapan to kodpoganda, ko dii sikandin od kotuig nod olit-olit, waa koru-anon ka-ay.

63 To inin timpu, konna tad oraroy od kokita inin mgo poganda, oyya su dos unayan,⁴⁰ unna, worad goli mgo minuvu nod gamit ka-ay. 64 Duwon dad lamimbokkad nod sosukub piru ko-urallan idda robbos mgo buyyag. 65 Iddos mgo lammin tuvu,⁴¹ od ko-ilow ron nod gamit to mgo poganda to Monuvu sud kovaakkan ko od kosu-atan⁴² sikandan. 66 Na iyon don od gomiton dan to mgo kodpoganda ko-ungkay'n timpu, iddos od pombolliyon diyon to Kidapawan,⁴³ iling to umpak, pomammut, boliyog woy duma pa. 67 Iko-oruwon unayan, worad mandad mgo Monuvu nod pombovaa ka-ay no mgo kosongkapan. 68 Iko-otollun unayan, worad mgo poganda ran su noruwad don pomon to kohirapoy woy ko od bovolli man sikandan, oraroy mandad ini no mahaa. 69 Piru ahad iling tadda, ipat timpu no duwon kolivuungan, dos mgo Monuvu, od nonangkap⁴⁴ en to mgo kosongkapan to kodpoganda woy moppiya ini nod tongtongngan.

Mgo Porohingon to Monuvu

Melchor Bayawan

1 Inis mgo impon¹ to Monuvu no iling to kuglung, souroy, gibbaa, ahung, kulintang woy duma pa, id pomon poron ini to kovuyyahan. 2 Oray'n moppiya riyot kandan ini² oyya su ini en kos od pokopahaa to songnga³ ran ko od porohingon inin mgo impon. 3 Inin mgo kotuihan, konna dangan ini id nonaw, ko konna, od tanud da kos minuvu taman tod kotuig sikandin. 4 Ko-urallan tod kotuig ka-ay, iddos duwon mgo ko-opuwan nod pongotuig mandad.

5 Inis kuglung, id bovallan ini pomon to kayu no bitokbitok⁴ o dipalla.⁵ 6 Mgo pittu taman to waun dangow⁶ kos koowettan ka-ay woy sokkad no dangow kos kowwahoy.

³⁵ *puungan*: 'to do something'.

³⁶ *molitan*: literally, 'woman'. The context makes it clear that this is referring to a widow.

³⁷ *torungngan*: derived from *toddung* 'something used to protect the head from rain'. In this context, the widow's in-laws "protect" her for a levirate marriage and from other suitors.

³⁸ For more detail about customs relating to widows, see Section I Life Cycle: *Widowhood*.

³⁹ *noponnu*: derived from *ponnu* 'to be full of something'.

⁴⁰ *oyya su dos unayan*: literally, 'yes because the reason is...'

⁴¹ *lammin tuvu*: literally, 'new growth, new offshoots'. This is a common expression referring to youth/the younger generation.

⁴² This includes both Manobos and non-Manobos. Many Manobos want to keep their uniqueness hidden and desire to blend in with lowlanders (Visayan). Others have experienced discrimination, having their pronunciation of the Cebuano language laughed at or having been the subject of mean-spirited jokes.

⁴³ Kidapawan is a city in the province of Cotabato on Mindanao in the southern Philippines.

⁴⁴ *nonangkap*: literally, 'to look for'. In this context, it does not mean an item is lost but implies they will go around trying to borrow from someone who is not using that item.

¹ *impon*: literally, 'things of value'.

² *moppiya riyot kandan ini*: literally, 'these are really good to them'.

to do³⁵ this because she would be levirate married to the younger brother of her husband who died. 59 That is (what is meant) by the saying that the widow³⁶ is protected,³⁷ especially if her character was good.³⁸

60 For Manobo people, they put great value on beautification, but they say there is no value in being beautiful if a person's character is bad. 61 Because the Manobo people, they really observe a person's character. 62 Even if a certain person is beautiful and complete³⁹ in all the things for beautification, if she does not know how to show hospitality, these things have no value.

63 At the present time, we rarely see these things used for beautification, the reason⁴⁰ is first, there are hardly people who use them. 64 There are those who occasionally wear these things but these are usually only the elderly. 65 The youth⁴¹ are embarrassed to use the Manobo things for beautification for fear they will be laughed at.⁴² 66 These days what they use for beautification are what can be bought in Kidapawan,⁴³ like clothing, perfume, necklaces, and other things. 67 The second reason is that there are no more Manobo people who make these valued items. 68 The third reason is that they don't have any more things for beautification because they were bartered due to hardship and if in fact they were to buy them, they would be very expensive. 69 However, even though it is like this, every time there is a gathering, the Manobo people will definitely try to borrow⁴⁴ things for being beautiful and it is nice to look at.

Manobo Music

Melchor Bayawan

Hearing instruments like the lute, the zither, the small and large gongs, the *lantuy* and *poondag* flutes, the jew's harp, the drum, *babat* ankle bracelet, and bells bring joy to the spirit of the Manobo people. Men primarily play the lute and women primarily the zither. Flutes were used to call the spirits. The gongs served an important role in the past as an item that was bartered for a horse or water buffalo, or given by a tribal leader to appease an offended party in arbitration. Today, a large gong can sell for as much as U.S.\$1000, and hearing its steady rhythm awakens nostalgia in the older generation, remembering the days they would dance nearly every day.

1 The instruments¹ of the Manobo people like the lute, the bamboo zither, the drum, the large gong, the smaller gongs, and yet others originated from the time of the ancestors. 2 They really enjoy² these (instruments) because these are what give their spirit³ joy when played. 3 The skill (to play them) was not taught in the past, but rather, a person would simply observe until he knew how. 4 Usually those who know how (to play) are those who have grandparents who also knew how.

5 The *kuglung* 'lute' is made from *bitokbitok*⁴ or *dipalla*⁵ wood. 6 It is about seven to eight hand spans⁶ in length and one hand span in width. 7 From both ends, two strings

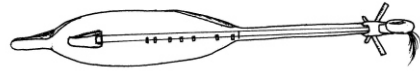
³ *songnga*: literally, 'breath' but in this context it refers to a person's spirit.

⁴ *bitokbitok*: a kind of big tree with a light weight wood, the sap of which is used to cure stomach pain (*Alstonia scholaris*).

⁵ *dipalla*: a kind of reddish hardwood that is also light weight.

⁶ *dangow*: a measurement of the extended hand measuring a distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger or approximately 18 centimeters (7 inches). The dimensions of the *kuglung* are: length 150 centimeters (59 inches); width 14 centimeters (5½ inches); depth 7.5 centimeters (3 inches).

7 Pomon diyot tapad ubpu, id betollan to oruwon tabpos nod ngoranan no bislig.⁷ 8 Od ohotton ini ukit to kodbilang tat od oyulan, taman tod pokod-ayuu ron woy motoos nod pominoggon. 9 Iddos tabpos no lomig datas, idde-en kos od oppad woy dos diyot dosiyung, idde-en kos osso-ossok dohingin⁸ no iling tod uwahing.⁹ 10 Morahing¹⁰ inis kuglung. 11 Iddos waun poonduwan nod kovoyan¹¹ to kommoo ko od porohingon don, duwon mandad waun nokod-osso-ossan dohingin. 12 Na inis poonduwan, diyon ini id porokkot to lawa to kuglung, konna riyot liyog no iling to sista. 13 Iddos poonduwan, id tawwan tat od ngoranan no tobbuway¹² amoy od dokkot. 14 Na amoy motoos nod ontongngan, od pontawwan ini to mgo bowkag to kuda woy mgo batok. 15 Inis kuglung, ko-urallan mama kos od porahing¹³ ka-ay woy id oppad ini riyot souroy.



A kind of lute
Kuglung

16 Inis souroy,¹⁴ butung ini no id tampod no sokkad no bannoy.¹⁵ 17 Mgo otollun dangow kos koowettan ka-ay woy onngad da nod kogaha nod kosomaddan to oruwon bollad. 18 Na amoy od pokorahing ini, od sissiyon iddos ukap to inin butung piru disok da iling tat korisokkoy to bislig.¹⁶ 19 Na od po-oyyan bo ini tod kiskis amoy diid pokosussuu. 20 Na kopongnga, od sokoggan bo to disok no kayu dos tapad ibpit tat id sissii amoy od leggua.¹⁷ 21 Iddos id sokkog no kayu, idde-en kos od oo-osuddon amoy'd pokod-ayuu kos dohingin.¹⁸ 22 Na amoy od morahing boyow kos dohingin ka-ay, od sissiyon to disok dos butung taman tod abbas kos bobbo riyot daom tat butung. 23 Annom no molison kos tabpos ka-ay no osso-ossa mandad kos dahing. 24 Iddos od kobbit, tintollun kommoo to ipat bollad,¹⁹ woy iddos tindirisok no kommoo, idde-en kos od awid no diid ko-uug kos souroy. 25 Na od porohingon ini no id porokossoo kos lobbut to souroy riyot gottok. 26 Laggun tod porohingon ini, od ooggun²⁰ mandad kos od piyod ka-ay, od soyawan woy od opparan to kuglung. 27 Molitan kos od porahing to souroy woy konna ini oraroy'n morahing.

28 Inis kulintang,²¹ binovallan ini pomon to burunsi. 29 Wau taman to sopuu ini no molison.²² 30 Od gomiton ini timpu to osso-ossan kolivuungan. 31 Otollun minuvu kos od totogunggu ka-ay, piru iddos oruwa, sikandan iddos od bandii. 32 Ipat kodporahing ka-ay, duwon mgo ko-uluhan o od doweton. 33 Diyon to kod-ayuu ka-ay, od tengkehon da dos oyyug²³ to kulintang taman tod moppiya ron kos dohingin.

⁷ *bislig*: a wirelike string that is part of a vine, growing along its branches. This is what is harvested and used on the inside of leg bands or string for guitar, etc.

⁸ *dohingin*: derived from *dahing* 'a sound'. In this context, it refers to a melodious sound or tone.

⁹ *uwahing*: a traditional narrative that is sung with a high pitch and a distinct staccato.

¹⁰ *morahing*: literally, 'makes noise' is derived from *dahing* 'to make noise'.

¹¹ *kovoyan*: from the root word *baya* 'to go past, to go through'.

¹² *tobbuway*: wax from the beehive of a *tomusan* 'small, black bee that does not sting'. Its beehive is gotten and made into a kind of glue.

¹³ *porahing*: literally, 'make sound'.

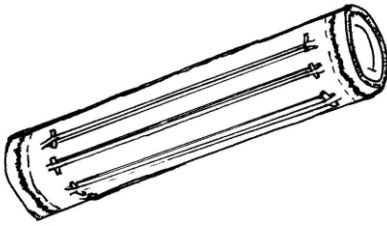
¹⁴ *souroy*: a polychordal zither (as opposed to a half-tube or paired-string zither). See Maceda 1998, p. 206.

¹⁵ *bannoy*: a bamboo measurement; the distance from node to node is about 46–76 centimeters (1½–2½ feet) in length.

¹⁶ See footnote 7.

¹⁷ Implied: The thin strips of bamboo that are forced out serve as strings.

¹⁸ See footnote 8.



A kind of zither
Souroy

called *bislig*⁷ are strung across its length. 8 These are tightened by turning tuning keys until it is in tune and delightful to listen to. 9 The top string keeps a steady beat, and the bottom is for different tones⁸ like that of a traditional narrative song.⁹ 10 The resonance of this lute really carries.¹⁰ 11 The eight frets the fingers press¹¹ when played also have eight different tones. 12 These frets are glued on the body of the *kuglung* 'lute', not on the neck as on a guitar. 13 On the frets are put what is called *tobbuway*¹² 'wax from a beehive to make them stick'. 14 Then, so that it is attractive to look at, hair from the mane of a horse and designs are added. 15 Usually those who

play¹³ this lute are men and it is harmonized with a zither.

16 The *souroy*¹⁴ 'zither' is from a (kind of) large bamboo cut the length of one *bannoy*¹⁵ 'from node to node'. 17 The length of this is about three hand spans and (its diameter) is just right for it to be held using two hands. 18. Now so that it can resonate, a thin layer of the outer bark of this large bamboo is split open but just a little, like the thinness of a *bislig*¹⁶ 'wire'. 19 Next, (splinters) are thoroughly scraped away to not be jabbed under a fingernail. 20 After that, small (pieces) of wood are wedged at both ends where it was split open in order to have it come out.¹⁷ 21 Those wooden wedges are moved back and forth so the tone of the strings¹⁸ can be tuned. 22 Now so that it will resonate a bit louder, the large bamboo is split open a little until a hole penetrates to the inside of that large bamboo. 23 Six strings are plucked with this (instrument), (each) having a different tone. 24 The one who plucks it uses three fingers of each hand,¹⁹ and the little fingers hold the zither in place so it does not fall. 25 Now to play this, the end of the zither is firmly held in place on the stomach. 26 While it is played, the one carrying this will also sing,²⁰ dance, and keep in harmony with the lute. 27 Women are the ones who play the zither; this (instrument) does not really resonate very loud.

28 The *kulintang*²¹ 'smaller gongs' are made from bronze. 29 They (consist of) eight to ten (gongs) in number.²² 30 They are used in times of different kinds of festive gatherings. 31 Three people simultaneously play these gongs, but two of them are keeping the beat. 32 Each (style) of playing them has a meaning or expresses feelings. 33 In tuning this, the back²³ of the smaller gong is struck until it sounds good.

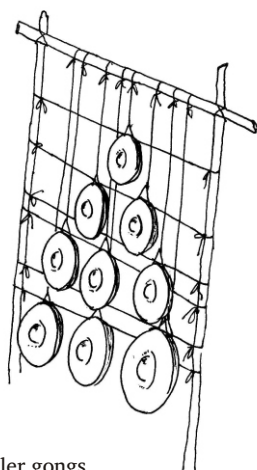
¹⁹ Bamboo strings are plucked using both hands simultaneously.

²⁰ *ooggung*: a particular style of singing a traditional song that is a cross between singing and humming. In this style of singing, the words are often not intelligible. This is not a problem because the listeners will already know the well known traditional story.

²¹ The *kulintang* gongs are suspended, attached to a wooden frame by string with the larger gongs toward the bottom. The larger gongs are repeatedly struck to maintain a steady beat or tempo and the smaller gongs on top are alternatively struck creating a distinctive melody.

²² Implied: Eight to ten gongs equal one complete set.

²³ The bronze gongs are tuned by being repeatedly struck on the back side to know whether or not the strings used to tie them together to a frame need to be tightened or loosened.

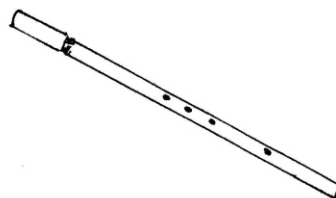


Smaller gongs
Kulintang

taptapon to mgo anak inis ahung su³¹ od langot iddos od tanud to ahung nod ngoranan to Kaayag.³² 43 De-en otin od langot kun iddos Kaayag, od momaag woy'd dakkoo kos boto tat id aawang id ponaptap.

44 Inis lantuy,³³ bookayu ini no id bobboan to limmon molison. 45 Mgo oruwon dangow kos koowettoy ka-ay woy od inguma mandad to waun dohingan. 46 Konna awang dos kodbobbo ka-ay su duwon mandad kandin no topongngan. 47 Inis lantuy, od kahamit ini riyot kod-umow to mgo onitu. 48 Mama kos od porahing ka-ay, piru duwon dad mandad mgo molitan no od kotuig nod porahing to lantuy.

49 Inis poondag,³⁴ iling dad en ini tat lantuy, woy binovallan dad mandad pomon to bookayu piru mowwet ini. 50 Od otolluwon iddos koowettan³⁵ ka-ay tat lantuy woy duwon limma no bobbo. 51 Inis poondag, dakkoon kaamag kos id irup, de-en ko-ilangan no mowwet kos songnga tat od porahing ka-ay. 52 Iddos minuvu nod porahing ka-ay, od kopakoy nod oilogga woy id porokossoo rin iddos ubpu to poondag diyot timbovaka to pa-a rin. 53 Monokkaa woy maavog kos dohingan ka-ay. 54 Od gomiton dad en ini to kod-umow to onitu.



Flute
Lantuy

²⁴ The *ahung* gongs are also suspended on a wooden frame like the smaller *kulintang* gongs.

²⁵ *sohoka-an*: literally, 'large gathering at which food is served' is derived from *ka-an* 'to eat'.

²⁶ A gong may be slightly bent out of shape so it is struck with a pestle to straighten it out, in effect, tuning it.

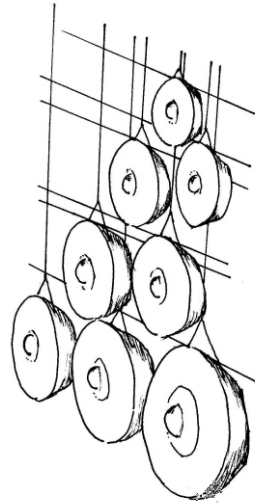
²⁷ *buwassan*: literally, 'exchanged'. The value of one large gong is equivalent to the value of a horse or water buffalo.

²⁸ *tampod to...saa*: literally, 'to cut...sin'. A *datu* 'tribal leader' would arbitrate disputes appeasing an offended individual by giving a large gong as a restitution payment. This was done to stop or "cut" further negative repercussions of the wrongdoing or sin.

²⁹ *inguma*: literally: 'to arrive at'.

³⁰ In 2004, fifty thousand pesos is equivalent to about U.S.\$910.

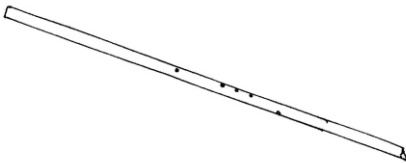
34 The *ahung*²⁴ ‘large gongs’ are just like the smaller gongs (and) also made of bronze but these are very large. 35 They (consist of) eight to ten (gongs) in number. 36 These are used at times of large festive gatherings like weddings or feasts.²⁵ 37 Only three are also simultaneously playing this, but two of them are those who keep a steady beat. 38 To tune this (instrument), a pestle is struck at the back²⁶ of the large gong until the sound is good to listen to.



Large gongs
Ahung

39 One of these can be bartered²⁷ for one horse or water buffalo. 40 And in the past this was also what tribal leaders used to arbitrate²⁸ a wrongdoing so that there would be no killing. 41 If the largest of these gongs was bought today, (the cost) could be as much as²⁹ fifty thousand³⁰ pesos just for one. 42 In the past, children did not carelessly tap on this large gong because³¹ the one who watched over the large gong called *Kaayag*³² would be angry. 43 Therefore if *Kaayag* reportedly is angry, the one who carelessly tapped it would become yellowish and his testicle would swell up.

44 This *lantuy*³³ ‘flute’ is (made of) *bookayu* ‘a kind of bamboo’ into which five holes are made. 45 The length of this (flute) is about two hand spans and also produces eight tones. 46 Making holes in this is not (done) carelessly because it has (exact) measurements. 47 This flute is used to call out to spirits. 48 Men are the ones who play this, but there are also women who know how to play the flute.



Long flute
Poondag

49 This *poondag*³⁴ ‘long flute’ is just like the *lantuy* flute, and it is also made from *bookayu* bamboo but this is longer. 50 It is three times the length³⁵ of the *lantuy* flute and has five holes. 51 A large amount of air (is needed) to blow this long flute; therefore the one who plays this needs to breath deeply. 52 It is possible for the person playing this to be lying down and firmly grasping the end of the long flute with his big toe. 53 The resonance (that comes out) of this is a loud and low/bass sound. 54 This (instrument) is (also) just used to call the spirits.

³¹ Implied: if they did...

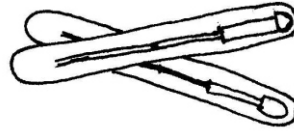
³² *Kaayag*: one of several deities/spirit beings who watches over the large gongs and gives the farmer a good harvest.

³³ Dimensions of the *lantuy*: length 35.5 centimeters (14 inches); diameter 1.3 centimeters (½ inch).

³⁴ *poondag*: “...a long bamboo pipe (flute) with five holes on the ventral side, three of which are fingered, and one dorsal hole which is also fingered.” See Manuel 1975, p. 52. This instrument is rarely seen today.

³⁵ Dimensions of the *poondag*: length 71 centimeters (28 inches); diameter 10 centimeters (4 inches).

55 Inis kombeng, tinobbag ini no laya no id po-oyaran tid ubpit. 56 Oruwa inin molison, iddos sokkad, idde-en kos od bandii woy dos sokkad mandad, idde-en kos osso-ossa kos dohington no timbang od uwahing. 57 Od porohingon ini ukit to kodbokka to bivig.³⁶ 58 Konna oray'n morahing ini su od anggad da ini to kaamag nod leggua pomon diyot bokoongngan. 59 Asow sokkad no dangow kos koowettan ka-ay. 60 Laggun tod pongombeng kos minuvu, od kopakoy rin nod soyawan ini.



Jew's harp
Kombeng

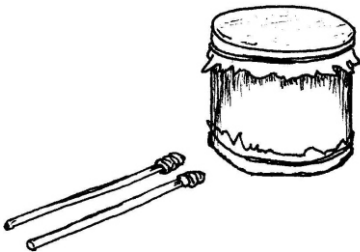
61 Inis gibbaa, kayu ini no molivuson no immat lossung kos boyo. 62 Mgo oruwon dangow kos koowettoy ka-ay. 63 Id bobboan kos diyot tongannan woy id pa-abbas diyot divauy. 64 Dos id sabpong ka-ay, iddos kindaa to saarong su konna moomok nod korattan. 65 Id oppad ini to kulintang woy ahung, piru od kopakoy ini nod taptapon³⁷ ahad waa od opparan. 66 Konna ini movoggat piru ongngad-ongngad da nod sooyyon. 67 Od tawwan ini to salloy amoy od kopiyod laggun tod sayow.

68 Inis babat,³⁸ ini en kos burunsi no molivuson woy duwon tobbag diyot tongannan. 69 Diyot daom tadda, duwon ta-aw no moollimot no molivuson no burunsi, woy ini en kos od porahing. 70 Inis babat, id sukub diyot pa-a³⁹ woy od dahing da ini ko od ipanow kos minuvu no mid sukub ka-ay, iling to kodsayow. 71 Dos mgo koubbaran to datu kos od sosukub ka-ay woy mahaa ini. 72 Od pokototanud kos mgo minuvu su oraroy inin morahing.

73 Inis tukaling, binovallan ini mandad pomon to burunsi. 74 Molivuson ini woy duwon disok no molivuson no id ta-aw riyot daom de-en od dahing. 75 Inis tukaling, id beten ini riyot tikos piru⁴⁰ mo-uraa amoy'd morahing. 76 Iling tat babat, oray mandad nod pokototanud kos mgo minuvu pomon to morahing ini.

77 Dos mgo mama o molitan no duwon ka-ay'n mgo kotuihan, oraroy sikandan no id kopi-i to mgo minuvu labbi ron diyon to mgo kolivuungan. 78 Na, otin iddos molitan nod kotuig ka-ay, mahaa sikandin⁴¹ otin od osowan.

79 Iddos mgo minuvu no od pomonduwan to Tohovikaa, od kotuihan dan en dos kodporahing ka-ay, ahad so waa ran pe-en pohinonawwi. 80 Na idda mandad so od pon-uwahing, ahad so morat kos baos dan, od moppiya en su od potuntuu man iddos Tohovikaa kandan.

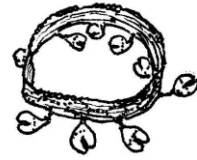


Drum
Gibbaa

81 Dangan inin mgo impon,⁴² allow-allow od korinog. 82 Piru ko-ungkay, worad goli riyot mgo Monuvu ini. 83 Gali robbo ini od korinog ko duwon mgo doorakkoon kolivuungan. 84 Duwon poron mgo minuvu nod kotuig nod porahing ka-ay, piru konnad iling tat dangan no ahad iddos mgo sudduwan pa, od kotuig en nod porahing ka-ay no mgo impon. 85 Dos unayan no dii ron goli ini od kokita riyot tribu,⁴³ oyya su noruwad don ini. 86 Dos duma iling to ahung o

³⁶ "The different tongue positions vary the pitch and qualities of sound produced in the mouth cavity which acts as a resonating chamber." See Maceda 1998, p. 210.

55 This *kombeng* ‘jew’s harp’ is a splinter of bamboo that has been carefully stripped clean. 56 It (consists) of two pieces, the first which keeps the beat and the other (piece) produces different tones like a traditional narrative song. 57 This (instrument) is played by (slightly) opening the mouth.³⁶ 58 It does not resonate very loudly because it is dependent on the (amount of) air coming out from the throat. 59 It is almost one hand span in length. 60 While a person is playing the jew’s harp, he can also be dancing in time with it.



Bell
Tukaling

61 The *gibbaa* ‘drum’ is round wood that is like a mortar in shape. 62 It is about two hand spans in height. 63 It is hollowed out in the middle, coming through on the other side. 64 Covering this is deerskin because it is not easy to destroy. 65 It is kept in beat with the smaller gongs and large gongs, but it can be beaten³⁷ even though no one is playing (another instrument). 66 This (instrument) is not heavy, but is just right to carry it in a cloth hung from the shoulder. 67 It is put in a cloth hung from the shoulder so that it can be taken anywhere while dancing.

68 This *babat*³⁸ ‘ankle bracelet’ is bronze that is round and split in the middle. 69 Inside of that has been put small round bronze (balls), and this is what tinkles. 70 This bracelet is worn on the ankles³⁹ and only tinkles when the person wearing it walks, as in dancing. 71 The descendants of the tribal leader are the ones who wear this and it is expensive. 72 People can’t help but notice because it really resonates loudly.

73 This *tukaling* ‘bell’ is also made from bronze. 74 It is round and has a small, round (ball) inside which is what resonates. 75 These bells are hung from leg bands but⁴⁰ many so that it really resonates. 76 Like the *babat* ‘ankle bracelet’, people also can’t help but notice due to the way it resonates.

77 People really like the men or women who know how (to play these instruments), especially at gatherings. 78 If a woman knew how to play these (instruments), a high brideprice could be requested⁴¹ when she married.

79 People who are dictated by a *Tohovikaa* ‘Spirit of Music’, they will really know how to play these (instruments) even though they have not learned how. 80 And as for those who sing traditional narrative songs, even if their voice isn’t very good, it becomes good because *Tohovikaa* directs them.

81 In the past, these instruments⁴² could be heard every day. 82 But today, these are not really (heard very much) among the Manobo people. 83 The only time these are heard is when there are large gatherings. 84 There are still people who know how to play them but not like in the past when even young people knew how to play these instruments. 85 The reason that these are not seen (much) among the people group⁴³ is because these (instruments) were traded/bartered. 86 Others like the large gongs or

³⁷ The *gibbaa* drum is tapped using two sticks. It is rapidly becoming an instrument of the past as it is rarely seen today.

³⁸ For illustration, see Section VIII Leisure and Beauty: *Beautification*, sentence 12.

³⁹ *pa-a*: literally, ‘feet, leg’.

⁴⁰ Implied: not one or two...

⁴¹ *mahaa sikandin*: literally, ‘she would be expensive’. The brideprice that was asked for a young lady who knew how to play an instrument would be higher than that of one who did not play an instrument.

⁴² See footnote 1.

⁴³ *tribu*: literally, ‘tribe’.

kulintang, id sablag diyot osson tribu. 87 Ko-ungkay, ahad ubpu robbo to togungguwon kos od korinog to mgo buyyag, od lukutlukut od waongwaong⁴⁴ kos sokkad sud sayow. 88 Iddos duma od taddu rok dayas oyya su novuhan don sikandan to inin botasan to mgo Monuvu dangan.

smaller gongs were given as a brideprice to other people groups. 87 Today, even if older people only hear the tail end of the gongs being played, one of them will quickly move⁴⁴ in order to dance. 88 For others, tears fall because they really miss this custom of the Manobo people from the past.

⁴⁴ Implied: to go where the gongs are being played.

IX Stories, Songs, and Poetry

“Bedtime indeed then was the way children learned traditional narratives.”

Mgo Pongumanon, Oggung woy Uhanon

“Ka-ay en pantok to timpot kodtinuhon od poka-angoy to mgo pongumanon iddos mgo anak.”

Maandus^{*}

Manuel Arayam

- 1 Oy,¹ otid dava rok matat allow,²
 2 Kovudtus dok songnga ku.³
 3 Konna kud od koti-is, dayas ku nod ponihis.
 4 Oy, id sondit kut lawon Inday, konnod pomakoy't buyyag.⁴
 5 Dumoruma rut sutsut,⁵ sutsut to inayon din.
 6 Oy, lohinat kad, Maandus, konuhun to gastu⁶ ta.
 7 Worad koponoyunat mongovay't Nolivoddan.⁷
 8 Oy, wora pe-en pihu mongovay't⁸ Monubisa.⁹
 9 O¹⁰ Ina, od monnuwon kud lawa en nanoy'n Inday.¹¹

Sosoliman

Manuel Arayam

- 1 Oy,¹ Osiyoy,² kahi rin, pollusow'k tongkuu³ ku, id tambod du rut uu ku.
 2 Patow rut Mondaangan⁴ patow ru to Tohovusow.⁵
 3 Oy, id sondit kut lawon Ungkoy, timbak⁶ nod kookollon, od pongondollon nod tiru.
 4 Ini es konno rud en,⁷ kooggon⁸ konno ru man.
 5 Oy, antap ayut songnga ku,⁹ od liling ad ka-ay't ingod, ossurad¹⁰ to bonuwa,¹¹
 6 Bonuwon Moivuyan,¹² ingod to Tohovusow.
 7 Sud lonuhat Mondaangan, kooggon konna rud en.



^{*} The song is known by the title “Maandus”, the male companion of the singer addressed in sentence 6.

¹ Oy: an interjection that is commonly used to start the beat/tempo. It typically appears at the beginning of a new stanza. It also functions to get the attention of the audience.

² *matat allow*: ‘eye of the sun’ is a poetic way of referring to the sun.

³ Painful feelings for a loved one are so great that it is as if the singer’s breath is cut. The singer is distraught because his engagement to Inday, a young lady, is broken off.

⁴ This refers to the older people who advised Inday to marry the singer.

⁵ This refers to the provocation of the aunt who spoke ill of the author of the song to whom the young lady was engaged, consequently causing the break up of their engagement.

⁶ The singer is saying that the expenses involved in courting were wasted because the relationship is broken.

⁷ Nolivoddan: a village in Magpet, Cotabato.

⁸ The young lady from Monubisa is the same lady that is referred to as being from Nolivoddan, an example of poetic parallelism.

⁹ Monubisa: a town where Nolivoddan is located. The singer refers to the same place as in the previous sentence, another example of poetic parallelism.

¹⁰ O: an interjection denoting frustration.

¹¹ Sentence 9 is constructed as a question but the meaning here is more an expression of frustration.

¹ Oy: an interjection that is commonly used to start the beat/tempo. It typically appears at the beginning of a new stanza. It also functions to get the attention of the audience.

² Osiyoy: the wife of Soliman.

8 Dos kodpomantok ka-ay't ohungngon, moka-atag ini to ko-ontayan ni Soliman. 9 Ini si Soliman, morat no minuvu su oray'n novantug no tohodbinti. 10 Sokkad no timpu, id ipanow sikandin, id oyanan sikandin ni Ungkoy. 11 Gulari to riyon dot ko-unnaan, id timbak ni Ungkoy si Soliman, piru waa notamantaman id patoy su riyot pomonayon nosuhah. 12 Na laggun tod oumasoy si Soliman, mid ouwahing poron sikandin no mid ungketen to, "Sondit kut lawon Ungkoy nod timbak nod kookollon."¹³ 13 Waa nokosuhah¹⁴ si Ungkoy sud kookollon kos bollad din, od pongondollon. 14 Na dove-en mid uli si Soliman waa osson nosasow kandin dos amoy ku no si Datu¹⁵ Inog Arayam. 15 De-en id bava rin, no id bolintuwod, dos pa-a riyot pomonayon din amoy od poko-inguma ra riyot baoy nod oimoyyan din. 16 Waa nouhoy id patoy en sikandin.

17 Dos mgo busow, nongoranan ka-ay'n ohungngon su nosorollan ni Soliman no dii rin don od kogaha woy'd patoy en sikandin woy'd poko-undiyon to ingod to mgo gimukud. 18 Dos mgo buyyag nod pokorinog tod ouwahing¹⁶ tod sosoliman, od pokosinoggow en sikandan.¹⁷

8 This is a summary of this song concerning the life of Soliman. 9 This Soliman was an evil person because he was a well known rapist. 10 One time, as he was going somewhere, Ungkoy ambushed him. 11 When (Soliman) got in front (of Ungkoy), Ungkoy shot Soliman, but he did not immediately die because he was hit in the shoulder. 12 While Soliman was suffering (from his wound), he sang a story that went like this, “I regret that Ungkoy is shooting with a shaky hand.”¹³ 13 Ungkoy was not able to hit¹⁴ (Soliman dead center) because his hand was shaking, really shaking. 14 So then as Soliman was returning home, no one else was concerned about him, (only) my father, *Datu*¹⁵ Inog Arayam. 15 Therefore he carried him on his back, upside down, his feet at his shoulders, just to be able to arrive at the house for him to lay down. 16 It wasn’t long after that that he died.

17 Evil spirits are mentioned in this song, because Soliman knew (before dying) that he would not be able (to survive) and that he definitely would die and would go to the place of souls. 18 When older ones hear the story¹⁶ song of Soliman, they shed tears.¹⁷

¹³ Soliman is expressing regret that he was not immediately killed.

¹⁴ Implied: Ungkoy shot Soliman but off center.

¹⁵ *datu*: ‘a chieftain, local leader’.

¹⁶ *ouwahing*: a distinctive style of singing in which a story is told.

¹⁷ Even though Soliman was not considered a good person, what happened to him, the way he died—slowly bleeding to death from a bullet wound and without much concern from others—provokes sympathy.

Tonggapow kos Ginawa Ku

*Retchor Umpan*¹

- 1 Duwon mammis no kovukaran²
 nod dopotton to ahad ingkon no mgo manuk.³
- 2 Otin bo ondoy iddos bonnaa nod kopiyan ka-ay no kovukaran ku,
 no dii ku od elleyan.
- 3 Otin ondoy iddos od kopiyan nod penek,⁴
 od sondihan ku to dipalla,⁵
 od lukatan ku to sobbangan.
- 4 Ko-ungkay su id lukatan dud man,⁶
 od pominog a to dinoggan
 diyon to kikow'n kovonnaan,
 no sikkow en iddos kovukaran
 no siyak en iddos od ollob⁷
 nod poko-iling to tomeng
 nod ossop taddot mammis no kovukaran.
- 5 Ponunggeleng ko duwon potiyukan,⁸
 id soliyen⁹ kud ika,
 id potawan kud ika.
- 6 Wora ahad ondoy nod puwag¹⁰ duwon;
 loppas koddioy.
- 7 Su sikkow en iddos timbang mangga;¹¹
 ahad od soongkaton¹² du ika,¹³
 ahad od losoddon¹⁴ du ika,
 od ongayon ku su id ko-ivoggi ku.
- 8 Su sikkow en iddos timbang buwan
 woy mgo bitu-on nod pokotaddow¹⁵ ka-ay't lawa ku,¹⁶
 nod se-aa ka-ay't pusung ku.
- 9 Pomon to nose-alan kos koddin pusung,

¹ Retchor Umpan also drew the illustration which accompanies his poem.

² The cluster of flowers represents a young lady.

³ The bird represents a young man.

⁴ Implied: a man courting a young lady with plans of engagement to marry.

⁵ This refers to a post or trunk of a tree that was notched so a person could climb up to a house. The post could be put in place so someone could come up or it could be removed to keep people from entering. Here it is put in place to enable a visitor to come up to the house.

⁶ Implied: Opening the door is symbolic of the young lady opening her heart to the suitor.

⁷ Implied: The young man woos the love of the young lady.

⁸ *potiyukan*: literally, 'honeybee'.

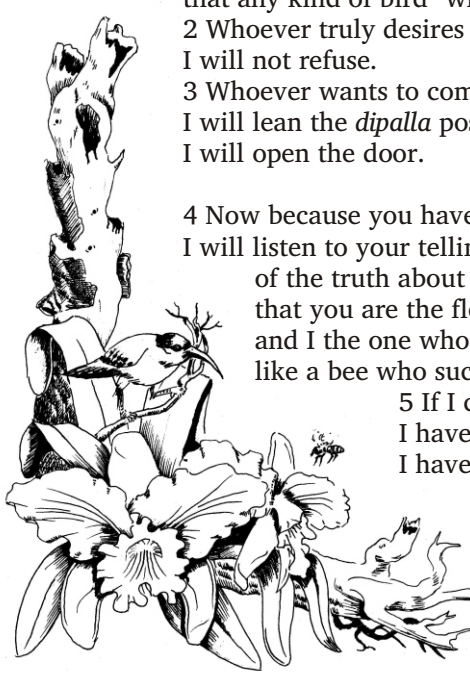
⁹ *soliyan*: derived from *sali* 'mark, sign'. A *sali* is a token of engagement through an item given by the young man to the young lady's family as a sign that somebody "owns" that young lady and that she no longer can marry another man. This was also the practice if someone saw a beehive in the wild and wanted to claim it. A *sali* is left at the bottom of the tree to indicate ownership of that beehive.

¹⁰ This refers to smoking out the bees from a beehive in order that they will leave so it is easy to get the honey. Figuratively, in this context, it refers to the young man claiming the affection of the young lady that no one else has a right to claim—only him.

Accept My Love

A poem written by Retchor Umpun¹

This is a courtship poem with a young lady's voice in sentences 1–3, followed by the voice of the suitor in sentences 4 and following. Although the author is young, the poem is typical of traditional courtship, replete with colorful metaphors and archaic words. The underlying meaning is not obvious to those who are not familiar with the metaphoric language.

- 
- 1 There is a sweet flower cluster²
that any kind of bird³ will go near.
2 Whoever truly desires this flower cluster of mine,
I will not refuse.
3 Whoever wants to come up to the house,⁴
I will lean the *dipalla* post,⁵
I will open the door.

4 Now because you have opened it,⁶
I will listen to your telling
of the truth about you,
that you are the flower cluster
and I the one who extracts its sweetness⁷
like a bee who sucks the sweetness of the flower cluster.
5 If I compare (your love) to a beehive,⁸
I have placed a mark⁹ on it,
I have placed a symbol on it.
6 No one can smoke it out;¹⁰
I am the only one.
7 Because you indeed are like a mango;¹¹
even if you surround it¹² with thorns,¹³
even if you put a fence¹⁴ around it,
I will get at it because I desire it.
8 Because you are like the moon
and stars whose rays of light shine¹⁵ on me,¹⁶
glowing here in my heart.

¹¹ The reference to the sweet fruit figuratively refers to the attractiveness and desirability of the young lady.

¹² *ika*: literally, 'that'. This refers to the young lady's affection.

¹³ *soongkaton*: refers to the practice of putting thorny branches around a tree that has sweet fruit in order to discourage others from stealing it. Figuratively, nothing will be a barrier to the young man to pursue his heart's desire, i.e., the young lady's affection.

¹⁴ *losoddon*: derived from *lossod* 'fence'. A fence is put around a fruit tree to discourage anyone from stealing the fruit.

¹⁵ Implied: The young man now has courage to face the rigors and challenges of life because of the love he has received that is compared to light from the moon and stars.

¹⁶ *ka-ay't lawa ku*: literally, 'here on my body'.

konna ad od ipanow diyon to mosukirom.
 10 Notorawwan don kos pusung ku
 woy iddos daan ku woy iddos ginawa ku.

Molingling

Tano Bayawan

1 Ingkon ini¹ si Molingling² woy si Kobodboranon, tootobboy. 2 Si Molingling mama no kakoy en ni Kobodboranon, woy id oubpa sikandan diyot Kuaman.³ 3 Si Kobodboranon oraroy no molihonnoy⁴ woy mooggod no molitan no waa en od ko-iingan to kolihonnoyoy rin ka-ay't intirut ingod. 4 Na, ini mandad si Molingling, mosandog sikandin no mama. 5 Id inguma kos timpu nod kopiyan don sikandin nod osawa, no iyon id kopi-i rin no ba-ay iddos iling taddot tobboy rin no molihonnoy woy mooggod. 6 Duwon don⁵ ini si Molingling id pomuhawang nod ipanow sud nonangkap tod osowan din.

7 Na kahi rin ki Kobodboranon to, "Ka-ay ka pobbe-en Kobodboranon sud ipanow a pa, od nonangkap a pa tod osowan ku. 8 No otin dii a od pokokita to ba-ay no iling to kolihonnoyoy ru, dii a vo od uli," kahi rin.

9 Na, id ipanow si Molingling sud nonangkap tod osowan din taman en to asow rin don od kolingut kos intirut ingod, no waa poron en sikandin nokokita tod osowan din. 10 Ungkay man sud uli ron nanoy sikandin, ondan mat nokokita sikandin to ba-ay no oraroy en no molihonnoy. 11 De-en id poroniyen din woy id ikohiyen din to, "Na, sikkow ron kos ba-ay no id nonangkap ku, su nolingut kud inis ingod piru waa a poron en nokokita to id kopi-i ku nod osowan, solamat su nokita ku sikkow, na od po-osoway kid moho."

12 Na kahi tat ba-ay to, "Oran be-en kos od diiyan sud kopiyan a me-en mandad kikow."

13 Te,⁶ ondan be-en to id tandang don kos allow to kandan no kosaa. 14 Ungkay man su asow rok allow to kosaa ran no notobbangan⁷ si Molingling tat od osowan din su nolibmit⁸ sikandin tat ba-ay. 15 De-en, nokopomuhawang si Molingling no dii rin dod ponoyunon od osowan iddos ba-ay, id uli moho sikandin diyot kandan.

16 To kod-inguma rin diyot baoy ran, id ituu rin tat tobboy rin iddos langun no notomanan no waa nokita rin no mongovay no iling to kolihonnoyoy tat tobboy rin. 17 Duwon man kun nanoy piru notobbangan sikandin su nolibmit tat ba-ay. 18 Na mid ikahi si Molingling to, "Kobodboranon, moppiya pa od porumannoy ki od undiyot oweg to Tinananon⁹ su od pomolihus ki woy'd pomippi woy piyoddow ikos mgo kesay."

¹ *Ingkon ini*: literally, 'Where this'. Here it functions as a typical formulaic opening of a traditional Manobo narrative, setting the stage by introducing the main characters.

² *Molingling*: 'a person who brings others to ruin'.

³ *Kuaman*: located in Arakan near a river by the same name in Cotabato Province in the southern Philippines.

⁴ According to tradition, she was considered very beautiful because her hair reached the ground.

⁵ *Duwon don*: 'existential' plus 'completive', as if to say "That's that." This is a common rhetorical device in traditional narratives bringing a scene to a close and setting the stage for the next scene.

⁶ *Te*: an exclamation used as a rhetorical device by the speaker to highlight to the audience what happens next.

⁷ *notobbanan*: derived from *tabbang* 'tasteless'.

⁸ *nolibmit*: literally, 'made dirty'. According to tradition, one day Molingling was watching the young lady pound rice while she had her younger sibling on her back. While pounding rice to

9 Since my heart has been shined upon,
 I will not walk in darkness.
 10 Rays of light have shone on my heart
 and on my journey and my love.

Molingling

Traditional history as recounted by Tano Bayawan

This story is well known among the Manobo explaining the origin of *anit*—taboos that include incest and human behavior toward animals or inanimate objects, e.g., laughing at a dog chasing its tail or giving eyes, nose, and mouth to a potato. Manobos must adhere to these taboos or suffer the consequence of being afflicted by *Inanit*, the spirit of *anit*. Like the account in *Genesis* in which Adam, the father of mankind, committed sin that affected the entire human race, Molingling’s sin of incest has affected the entire Manobo people who are susceptible to the curse of *anit*.

1 Here (we have)¹ Molingling² and Kobodboranon, they were brother and sister. 2 Molingling was a man, Kobodboranon’s older (brother), and they lived in Kuaman.³ 3 Kobodboranon was a very beautiful⁴ and industrious young lady; there wasn’t anyone who could compare to her beauty in the whole world. 4 Now as for Molingling, he was definitely a handsome man. 5 The time came when Molingling wanted to marry, (and) he wanted a young lady just like his sister in beauty and industriousness. 6 Here⁵ is Molingling planning to leave on a journey in order to find someone for him to marry.

7 So he said to Kobodboranon, “Just stay here, Kobodboranon, because I am leaving for awhile to find someone I can marry. 8 Now if I don’t see a young lady as beautiful as you, I will not yet return,” he said.

9 So then, Molingling left to find the one he could marry (traveling) until he almost went around the entire world, (but) he still had not seen anyone he wanted to marry. 10 Now just when he should have returned home, what happened next was he saw a young lady who was really very beautiful. 11 Therefore he approached her and said, “Now you are the young lady I have been seeking, for I have gone around the world but I still had not seen whom I wanted to marry; thankfully I have seen you; so then let’s get married.”

12 Then the young lady said, “Well, how can I refuse because naturally I also like you.”

13 *Te*,⁶ what (happened next) is the day of their wedding was agreed upon. 14 Now when it was almost the day of their wedding, Molingling lost interest⁷ in the one he was to marry because the young lady did that which repulsed⁸ him. 15 Therefore Molingling decided he would not go ahead in marrying that young lady (and) he instead returned to their place.

16 When he arrived at their house, he told his sister all that happened, that he didn’t see any young lady like the beauty of his sister. 17 There in fact was someone, he told her, but he lost interest because the young lady did that which was repulsive. 18 Then Molingling said, “Kobodboranon, it would be better if we go together to Tinananon⁹ river because we’ll bathe and do laundry; bring those blankets along.”

feed the family, she fed some of it into the mouth of the child. To eat ahead of others is considered a very bad character trait in Manobo culture.

⁹ A river located in Arakan, Cotabato Province, called Tinanan by the Visayan people.

19 Idda ve-en ko-ungkay iddos mgo batu nod pongkokita riyot Tinananon no duwon mgo tinobbilan¹⁰ no patow¹¹ idda ongki Molingling. 20 To riyon don sikandan to oweg, od ko-olihan don moho si Molingling tat tobboy rin. 21 De-en kokahi rin tat tobboy rin no si Kobodboranon to, “Siketa ron moho baling kos od po-osoway.”

22 Te,¹² idda re-en id pooyukoy ron sikandan. 23 Podtuuy mandad so idda re-en no timpu, tigkow ron id mosukirom kos ingod, id kokilat woy id pomaansi.¹³ 24 Na, id dopot iddos kaamag woy id dunnas kos doorakkon uran no iling to timbovakaa nod pokotaddu riyot bolivuran¹⁴ ni Molingling. 25 Na kosi Molingling ki Kobodboranon to, “Ngilam ka su od lonawon ki, panoypanoy ka sud paahuy ki.” 26 No-oseng de-en ni Molingling idda no id dadsang kos dakkoon¹⁵ baansi. 27 No-oddisan dan tat baansi¹⁶ su idda re-en nokosuhat to dakkoon tungonnu. 28 To id paahuy ron sikandan, od loloupuhon dan don en to baansi. 29 No riyot inoyyuhan dan nounow ron iddos id oubpan dan.

30 Ungkay man su id inguma ran don diyot oruwon daama no nokodtimbang, na kosi Molingling to, “Na duwon ki en od ukit to tongannan duwot oruwon daama, Kobodboranon.” 31 To riyon dan don to tongannan, od lipiton dan don nanoy tat oruwon daama,¹⁷ kosi Molingling to, “Kobodboranon, ngilam ka sud lipiton ki to daama,” piru kosi Kobodboranon to, “Tukoggow¹⁸ to poondag du.” 32 Na gulari to id tukog ni Molingling dos poondag, no nosesse re-en moho ini. 33 De-en kosi Molingling to, “Tukog du kos kikow’n souroy.” 34 Id tukog ni Kobodboranon kos souroy rin, de-en waa ran noponayun tid lipit tat daama, woy id ponayun dan don id ipanow. 35 Na, idda ve-en ko-ungkay kos od ngoranat Monsouroy¹⁹ diyot oweg to Tinananon. 36 Na, ponayun inis dakkoon uran woy bansi piru dii ran me-en od kosuhat su duwon man suku²⁰ ni Molingling.

37 Na kosi Molingling no, “Kobodboranon, od uli kid diyot baoy.” 38 Na laggun tod ipanow sikandan nod avoy re-en do uran woy kaamag. 39 Na id oseng iddos Inanit²¹ to, “Pomon to nosaa ka man, Molingling, no od tombunan ku sikkow to mgo batu.” 40 Dam be-en no-uug iddos mgo batu no iling to korokolloy to baoy sud tombunan en

Kobodboranon wedged her
souroy zither between the cliffs.
Id tukog ni Kobodboranon kos souroy rin.



19 Still seen today in Tinananon, the rocks have a checkered design,¹⁰ which is the sign¹¹ of Molingling (and Kobodboranon). 20 When they were at the river, Molingling felt attracted to his sister. 21 So he said to his sister Kobodboranon, “Let’s marry each other instead.”

22 *Te*,¹² just then and there they slept together. 23 Also without warning, at that very moment, the world suddenly became dark (and it began) to lightning and thunder.¹³ 24 Then the wind blew hard and heavy raindrops as big as a thumb fell on Molingling’s head.¹⁴ 25 Molingling said to Kobodboranon, “Be vigilant because we’re going to be flooded; get ready because we’ll flee.” 26 As soon as Molingling said that, without warning there was deafening¹⁵ thunder. 27 The thunder¹⁶ nearly hit them but a tall dead tree was struck instead. 28 While they were running, the thunder was unquestionably chasing after them. 29 Behind them the place where they lived had already caved in.

30 Now when they arrived at two cliffs that face each other, then Molingling said, “So that’s where we’ll go through, between those two cliffs, Kobodboranon.” 31 When they were in the middle, they would have been crushed by the two cliffs,¹⁷ (and) Molingling said, “Kobodboranon, beware because we’ll be crushed by the cliffs,” but Kobodboranon said, “Use your long flute as a wedge.”¹⁸ 32 Now when Molingling wedged his long flute in, it just instead crumpled up. 33 So then Molingling said, “Wedge your *souroy* ‘zither’ in.” 34 When Kobodboranon wedged her zither in, the cliffs did not continue to crush them, and they continued walking. 35 So that place today is called Monsouroy¹⁹ at the Tinananon River. 36 Now the heavy rain and thunder continued, but naturally they could not be hit because Molingling surely had a *suku*²⁰ ‘magic stone’.

37 Then Molingling said, “Kobodboranon, let’s go back to the house.” 38 Now as they were walking the rain and wind just kept up. 39 Then *Inanit*²¹ said, “Because you have sinned, Molingling, I will bury you with rocks.” 40 What happened next, rocks the

¹⁰ Implied: the checkered design of a blanket. Most blankets in the Philippines have a checkered design.

¹¹ Implied: sign that they were there.

¹² *Te*: The speaker uses this exclamation particle as a rhetorical device both to denote disgust at the incest and to point the listener to what will happen to the protagonist next as a result of this action.

¹³ When it lightning and thunders, it means someone has broken an *anit* taboo.

¹⁴ *bulivuran*: literally, ‘the center or crown of the head’. As used here, it is a picturesque way of saying ‘the head’.

¹⁵ *dakkoo*: literally: ‘large’.

¹⁶ According to the Manobo worldview, it is thunder that strikes a person; not lightning.

¹⁷ As Molingling and Kobodboranon were going between the cliffs, the cliffs were moving together to crush them.

¹⁸ *Tukoggow*: derived from *tukog* ‘a brace’. Kobodboranon tells Molingling to brace or wedge his long flute between the two cliffs to keep the cliffs from crushing them.

¹⁹ A village near the Tinananon River in Arakan, Cotabato Province, with two cliffs facing each other. A strip of land believed to have been the *souroy* instrument of Kobodboranon connects these two cliffs. When someone walks on that land, an echo can be heard like the resonance from a *souroy*.

²⁰ *suku*: a supernatural hard stone believed to come from thunder which protects the owner against punishment by the *Inanit* spirit. See footnote 21 and Section VI Getting Along with Spirits: *Magic Stone*.

²¹ A spirit of thunder and lightning who punishes those who break the *anit* taboos. Even though this is the first time *Inanit* is named, he does not need to be introduced as a new character because his presence is understood, because the story of Molingling and Kobodboranon is about the consequences of incest (one of the *anit* taboos).

sikandan. 41 *Dam*²² en mandad ponongkisa²³ ni Molingling iddos mgo batu. 42 Idda ve-en so taman ko-ungkay duwon sopuun toriyas no paanan dobbe-en batu no id ngoranan don ko-ungkay to Kaakaa.²⁴ 43 Na ungkay man su riyon dan don to ko-unnan,²⁵ id iomolloy ran diyot tebbeet oweg. 44 Kosi Molingling to, “Kobodboranon, od oimolloy ki pa su novolloybolloy ad.”

45 Ingkon inis Gamowhamow²⁶ pomon to dii me-en od koso-utan²⁸ to Inanit onsi²⁷ Molingling su duwon me-en pongallang dan no idda es suku, id ballig moho iddos Gamowhamow to kosili. 46 Id loppow sikandin diyot linow woy id totongko ki Molingling, kahi rin to, “Molingling, ko-ungkay no allow od kovatun kowd, siyak en kos id popiyod to ko-unturan nod popoudtulon kikow.”

47 “Tee,”²⁹ kosi Molingling, “od gaaw ka ron moho, ingkon don mak sinolimbaa?”³⁰

48 Kahi tat kosili to, “Asow ron en od lonna, na kuo kowd me-en panoypanoy su ko od lonna ron kos sinolimbaa, lukas dow robbo tod untud. 49 Piru,” kahi tat kosili to, “Lumbag du pa ikos suku ru su dii ka od kovatun ko duwon ika, su diid kotanggap diyot ko-unturan kos minuvu no duwon suku.”

50 Na kosi Molingling, “Ko ungketen baling, id lumbag kud inis suku ku, osaa bonnaa. 51 Waa ka id aakaa?”

52 “Tee,” kahi tat kosili, “lukut kowd me-en su asow rod poko-untud kos allow, saddook od kotonanan kow.” 53 Too,³¹ dan don be-et id lumbag don ni Molingling dos suku rin.

54 Na kahi tat kosili to, “No-okalan ka, Molingling, ko-ungkay od kovaay kad no kosili.”

55 Dan don be-en tid dakkoo³² iddos oweg id gommow riyot id imooyyan onni Molingling. 56 Tee,³³ worad sikandan nokopaahuy su worad man iddos suku ran, no nounow en iddos id oubpan dan pomon tat dakkoon oweg. 57 No si Molingling novaay ron no dakkoon kosili no idda ron en ko-ungkay so od tommanon dan no toorawi. 58 Iddon linow, idda ron be-en ko-ungkay so dakkoon linow riyot Gonatan³⁴ nod ngoranan to linow’n Molingling.

59 Tadda re-en taman kos koddin pongumanon.³⁵

²² *Dam*: an example of morphophonemic changes and contraction in speech in which *ondan don be-en* becomes *dam* ‘what happened then...’.

²³ Molingling was able to easily deflect the huge rocks falling on them by pushing them away because of the magic stone he was carrying.

²⁴ A place in Arakan, Cotabato Province, near Kuaman, the residence of Molingling. The stones that make up this area are small and flat, similar to the shape of a wok *kaa*, hence the name *Kaakaa* ‘shaped like a wok’.

²⁵ Implied: of the rain and thunder.

²⁶ *Gamowhamow*: a female spirit believed to be the one that owns and watches over rivers and streams along with her husband *Olimugkat*.

²⁷ Although Kobodboranon is not mentioned by name here in the Manobo story, the speaker uses *onsi*: ‘plural absolutive case marker’ referring to the person mentioned and that person’s companion(s). See Appendix B: Case Markers and Pronouns.

²⁸ *koso-utan*: derived from *so-ut* ‘to catch up with someone or something’. In this context, Molingling is, in effect, staying a step ahead of punishment; it could not “catch up with” him because of the magic stone he was carrying.

²⁹ *Tee*: an exclamation that denotes intense surprise and disbelief as if to say “You must be joking!” or “You can’t be serious!”

³⁰ A kind of magic golden boat that is pulled up into the sky using golden rope by *diwata* who are spirits that help people. This magical airboat is referred to in many Manobo traditional narratives.

size of a house fell so they indeed would be buried. 41 However,²² Molingling deflected the rocks with his hands.²³ 42 Even today that place has ten hectares of nothing but rocks which today is called Kaakaa.²⁴ 43 So then since they had gotten ahead,²⁵ they rested along the edge of the river. 44 Molingling said, “Kobodboranon, let’s rest a bit because I am really tired.”

45 As for this *Gamowhamow*,²⁶ since Molingling (and Kobodboranon)²⁷ couldn’t be caught up by²⁸ *Inanit* because they naturally were protected by that magic stone, *Gamowhamow* instead transformed into an eel. 46 She appeared in the lake and spoke to Molingling saying, “Molingling, this very day you two will be taken up to heaven; it is I who have been sent from the peak of heaven to be the one to tell you.”

47 “*Tee!*”²⁹ Molingling said, “You’ve got to be joking; where is the airboat?”³⁰

48 That eel said, “It’ll soon land, so go get ready because when the airboat lands, you (two) can just quickly get in. 49 But,” that eel said, “first pitch your magic stone because you cannot go up to heaven with that, because a person who has a magic stone won’t be received in the peak of heaven.”

50 Molingling said, “If that’s the case, I will pitch this magic stone of mine, as long as it’s true. 51 You’re not deceiving (us), are you?”

52 “*Tee*,” the eel said, “you’d (better) hurry because it’s almost high noon; perhaps you’ll be left behind.” 53 *Too*,³¹ what happened next, Molingling pitched his magic stone.

54 Then the eel said, “You’ve been deceived, Molingling, (and) now you will be turned into an eel.”

55 What assuredly happened next was that the water on the plain where Molingling and Kobodboranon were resting rose up.³² 56 *Tee*,³³ they could no longer flee because the magic stone was surely gone; (and) the place where they lived was indeed caved in because of the great (amount) of water. 57 Now Molingling was turned into a large eel, which today is what they call *toorawi* ‘a man-eating eel’. 58 That lake today is the large lake in Gonatan³⁴ called Molingling’s lake.

59 That’s the end of my story.³⁵

³¹ *Too*: an interjection made by the speaker denoting ‘Take note of what happens next.’

³² *id dakkoo*: literally, ‘got big, grew’.

³³ *Tee*: The exclamation is used by the speaker as a rhetorical device highlighting to the listeners the dismal end of the main character, Molingling.

³⁴ A small town located in northeast Arakan, Cotabato Province, at the edge of Tinananon River. This is said to be where Molingling ended up because in the middle of the lake, the remainder of the posts believed to have been his house can still be seen today. In that lake small fish have been caught there with their eyes where their tails should be, a sign of the curse of *anit* afflicted on Molingling. These small fish are said to have formerly been cockroaches in Molingling’s house that were subsequently transformed into small fish. If accidentally caught by someone fishing in this lake, these fish are thrown back. If they are eaten, the person will get the curse of *anit*.

³⁵ A common formula ending for Manobo traditional narratives. In other versions, the story of Molingling continues after he is transformed into an eel, traveling around from place to place turning people and places into lakes. He is finally deceived by a spirit, transformed into a shrimp, killed, and subsequently eaten by the Tagabawa and Diangan (also called Ottow or Klata) which, in effect, inoculated them against the curse of *anit*. The Tagabawa and Diangan are two people groups often classified along with the Obo Manobo under the umbrella classification of Bagobo.

Tilanduk woy dos Gungutan

Enagaro Bugcal

1 Hee,¹ duwon ko rad² si Tilanduk.³ 2 Kosi Tilanduk no, “Mooggon bo nod kotomanan ku ini su worad⁴ amoy woy inoy ku.” 3 No id pomuhawang si Tilanduk duwon,⁵ no idde-en do puhawang din no kahi, “Od ipopanow ad baling to waad tomanon.”⁶ 4 No ayun dos Tilanduk id angoy rin kos sangngi⁷ rin, no kavii, no id inguma riyot puwaason. 5 Id gottas si Tilanduk to baahon, no id gohoyampow⁸ man no baahon, no duwon dos Tilanduk nod ponoppik nod oubpit⁹ don taddot baahon. 6 Nouhoyluhoy ron, no id inguma ini so gungutan.¹⁰ 7 No kahi, “Tilanduk, ondak od puungan du ruwon? 8 Monnuwon¹¹ du iko so baahon nod ubpitan du?”

9 “Eh,”¹² kosi Tilanduk, “ini,” kahi rin, “sod puungan ku, od oubpit ka-ay’t baahon su duwon,” kahi, “ponudtulon no ini kun so livuta od kohobba. 10 No ini ve-en,” kahi rin, “od oubpit¹³ a to baahon su od totuhuu a to lawa ku duwon to lobbut to kayu. 11 No ahad bo od kohobbok livuta, no dii a od kowaong¹⁴ su nokotakos a man duwon to dakkoon kayu.”

12 “E,”¹⁵ kahi taddot gungutan, “bonnaa ika?”

13 “Te,”¹⁶ kosi Tilanduk, “od puungan ku vo ko konna pa bonnaa ika no ponudtulon? 14 Ini ve-en,”¹⁷ kahi, “od kopongnga ku ini, od totuhuu ad to lawa ku duwot lobbut to kayu su osaa ron bo od kohobba ini so livuta, no dii a od kowaong su nokotakos a ika to kayu.”

15 “Te,”¹⁸ kahi taddot gungutan, “addok uhus du ika.”

16 “Te, bonnaa en ika,” kosi Tilanduk.

17 Kahi taddot gungutan, “Yo ka,” kahi, “od oungketen, Tilanduk, su sikkow od kotuig ka nod totuhuu, no siyak dii, monnu kopu kod buyuwon ku kikow no unna-i a pa.”

18 “Te, od sambang ko ron moho tod gohottud¹⁹ don asow ini livuta.”

19 “Te konna, unna-i a pe-en,” kahi to gungutan.

20 Kosi Tilanduk, “Oyya baling, od kuan ka en baling od unnan od tuhulon.”

¹ *Hee* and its variant *He*: are exclamatory particles used by the speaker at the beginning of a traditional narrative as a rhetorical device to get the audience excited about the story they are about to hear.

² A formula beginning traditional narratives which sets the stage for the listeners.

³ There are many Manobo traditional narratives with Tilanduk as protagonist. Although his character is devious (e.g., lying, plotting how to cause misery, etc.), he is nonetheless admired as someone who uses his head to overcome difficulties. Listeners also have no sympathy for the one he is lying to or giving misery (a giant or an ogre).

⁴ *worad*: literally, ‘are no more.’

⁵ *duwon*: ‘existential’ serving as a common rhetorical device in traditional narratives to help set the stage.

⁶ *waad tomanon*: literally, ‘for no end.’

⁷ *sangngi*: a kind of knife with a short, curved blade used by both men and women.

⁸ Rattan plants climb over other trees by means of little hooks on the leaves, hence becoming entangled in tree branches. It is commonly made into rope because it is strong, bends easily, and lasts long.

⁹ Rattan is split lengthwise from which many ropes can be made; then the tough exterior is scraped to make it smooth.

Tilanduk and the Giant

A traditional narrative as recounted by Enagaro Bugcal.

1 *Hee*,¹ you just have² Tilanduk.³ 2 Tilanduk said, “What has happened to me is very difficult because my father and mother have died.”⁴ 3 So there⁵ was Tilanduk making a plan, and this was his plan saying, “I will just instead wander around aimlessly forever.”⁶ 4 So without further ado Tilanduk got his knife⁷ and rattan backpack, and (walked until he) arrived in the forest. 5 Tilanduk cut down rattan that was growing on top of each other,⁸ and there was Tilanduk splitting the rattan and making it smooth.⁹ 6 After awhile, the giant¹⁰ arrived. 7 Then he said, “Tilanduk, what are you doing there? 8 What¹¹ will you do with (all) that rattan that you’re scraping smooth?”

9 “*Eh*”¹² Tilanduk said, “as for this,” he said, “which I’m doing, (I’m) scraping this rattan smooth because there is,” he said, “a report that this ground will reportedly cave in. 10 So as for this,” he said, “I’m scraping the rattan smooth¹³ because I’ll tie my body to the foot of that tree. 11 So even though the ground will cave in, nothing will happen to me¹⁴ because I’ll of course be tied to that large tree.”

12 “*E*,”¹⁵ the giant said, “is that true?”

13 “*Te*,”¹⁶ Tilanduk said, “would I be doing (all) this if that wasn’t a true report? 14 Just this;”¹⁷ he said, “I’ll finish this, (then) I’ll tie my body to the foot of that tree because even if the ground caves in, I won’t move because I’ll be tied to that tree.”

15 “*Te*,”¹⁸ the giant said, “you’re probably lying about that.”

16 “*Te*, it really is true,” Tilanduk said.

17 The giant said, “Don’t”, he said, “be like that, Tilanduk, because as for you, you know how to tie, but not me, (so) how would it be, say, if I asked you to (do) me first?”

18 “*Te*, you’re distracting me just when the ground is about to crack open.”¹⁹

19 “*Te*, no, please (do) me first,” the giant said.

20 Tilanduk said, “Well alright then, you instead will be first to be tied.”

¹⁰ Even though this is the first time the giant is mentioned, he is not introduced as a new participant because he is a common villain in Manobo traditional narratives. He is a temperamental giant with low intelligence.

¹¹ *Monnuwon*: literally, ‘how’.

¹² *Eh*: an interjection denoting an appeal for sympathy on the part of Tilanduk as his way of snaring the giant into falling for Tilanduk’s plan to deceive him.

¹³ Implied: to make rope.

¹⁴ *dii a od kowaong*: literally, ‘I won’t be moved.’

¹⁵ *E*: In this context, the exclamation denotes some skepticism on the part of the giant but his interest is peaked.

¹⁶ *Te*: an exclamation that has a wide range of meaning depending on context. It is typically used as a brief commentary on the previous statement denoting total agreement or disagreement. In this context, *Te* denotes agreement, ‘Of course it is true’.

¹⁷ Implied: ...is all I have left to do.

¹⁸ *Te*: In this context, the exclamation *Te* denotes disagreement; in effect he is saying “I seriously doubt it!”

¹⁹ *gohottud*: literally, ‘the sound of something cracking’, e.g., a tree falling, a door opening, a finger popping, etc.

21 Te,²⁰ duwon don nod potuhuloy ka-ay't gungutan. 22 Tuhuli nit awak, no tuhulik pomonayon, no liyog, no tuhulik pa-a, ondan pobbo nokotakos don ni gungutan ka-ay't kayu.

23 "Te,"²¹ kosi Tilanduk, "waa ka nokosaddoo tod ngoranak Tilanduk su notilondukan²² ka, no posinsya ko vo su timpu rot kopotayan du," kosi Tilanduk.

24 "Te,"²³ kahi tat gungutan, "ungketen pobbos, Tilanduk."

25 "Te,"²⁴ kosi Tilanduk, "ambo Tilanduk me-en, no ini vo nokosahad ka to paad ni Tilanduk." 26 No okkod-okkod no id kuo si Tilanduk to titikon²⁵ ini, selotti rin ini so lobbut to kayu, no id loglog en ni so bulitik²⁶ o angu no te,²⁷ lasoy²⁸ nod kotomanan no id dohusuwan din pe-et kayu. 27 No te,²⁹ id ayas en id loglog no mooggon nod kotomanan ka-ay't gungutan.

28 No id paahuy ron si Tilanduk, no riyon don mandon od ko-ingumannan din ni dakkoon potiyukan³⁰ no asow rod pokoonna to livuta kos koowettan dut potiyukan. 29 Te,³¹ okkod-okkod kahi ni Tilanduk, "Ka-ay a moho³² od posilob to potiyukan." 30 Nid popaanat no id tinuhon si Tilanduk.

31 Oh,³³ od livoddan ta³⁴ iddo so gungutan. 32 Lasoy en nod kotomanan ka-ay't gungutan, su monit man. 33 Id geddam en id gohuwat³⁵ ini so kua gungutan, no noloow ron en kopu iddo so tuhuu riyot awak din. 34 No te, ondan pobbot nokosavuk ini gungutan no kahi, "Angat ka, angkat ka, Tilanduk, sud koso-utan ku en sikkow. 35 Aah,³⁶ pihuwon ku en nod patoy ke-en!"

36 Diyon don ini so gungutan nod pongikuu ki Tilanduk. 37 E,³⁷ id inguma man ini so gungutan, id kita rin don en si Tilanduk no id oilogga ikot dosiyung to potiyukan. 38 Kahit gungutan, "O"³⁸ Tilanduk, ini ko rad en. 39 Oraroy ka no bouhuson, moppiya re-es nokovudtus a, ini ron en od patoy kad en!"

40 Kosi Tilanduk, "Ondoy Tilanduka iko so od tommanon dun 'Tilanduk'?"



Tilanduk tied the giant up.
Si Tilanduk id potuhuloy ka-ay't gungutan.

²⁰ Te: In this context, the speaker uses this exclamation particle as a rhetorical device which functions to point to the gullibility of the giant. Those listening to this story would all understand and chuckle.

²¹ Te: In this context, the exclamation indicates pleasure on the part of Tilanduk and his mocking the giant is in effect saying "Wow, I can't believe you are so ignorant!"

²² notilondukan: a verbalized form of Tilanduk's name meaning 'deceived'. The character Tilanduk is well known in Manobo traditional stories as one who is very crafty in getting out of situations by deceiving or outwitting.

²³ Te: The exclamation in this context denotes surprise on the part of the giant.

21 *Te*,²⁰ there was this giant being tied. 22 The waist was tied, then the shoulders were tied, then the neck, then the feet were tied; what then, the giant was secured, fastened to that tree.

23 “*Te*,²¹ Tilanduk said, “you don’t know the name Tilanduk, because you have been deceived;²² now you be sorry because it’s time for your death,” Tilanduk said.

24 “*Te*,²³ the giant said, “so that’s how it is, Tilanduk!”

25 “*Te*,²⁴ Tilanduk said, “that’s of course why (I’m called) Tilanduk; you’ve been snared in Tilanduk’s palm.” 26 Then after that Tilanduk (got) a fire stone,²⁵ he transferred the flame to the foot of the tree, then the hardened sap²⁶ and dried leaves really burned; *te*,²⁷ it was an awful²⁸ circumstance made worse by his (being tied to) a tree. 27 So *te*,²⁹ it just kept on burning which was a truly difficult situation for this giant.

28 Then Tilanduk fled, and next he arrived at a beehive³⁰ so large that the length of that beehive nearly reached the ground. 29 *Te*,³¹ after awhile Tilanduk said, “I’ll (stay) here instead,³² right under the beehive.” 30 Then Tilanduk quietly slept.

31 *Oh*,³³ let’s³⁴ return to the giant. 32 What happened to this giant was definitely awful, because it was really hot. 33 The giant tried twisting and turning,³⁵ for the rope at his waist was already burned. 34 Then *te*, what then, the giant was able to get free saying, “You wait; you wait, Tilanduk, because I will definitely catch up with you. 35 *Aah*,³⁶ I’m absolutely sure that you will certainly die!”

36 The giant was already following after Tilanduk. 37 *E*,³⁷ the giant surely arrived, (and) he indeed saw Tilanduk resting there under the beehive. 38 The giant said, “*O*”³⁸ Tilanduk, so here you are. 39 You really are a liar; it’s good I was able to break free; right now you definitely will die!”

40 Tilanduk said, “Which Tilanduk is it that you’re calling ‘Tilanduk’?”

²⁴ *Te*: The exclamation in this context denotes total agreement on the part of Tilanduk to what the giant said.

²⁵ *titikon*: a hard, black stone which, when struck against another *titikon*, produces sparks to make a fire. See Section III The Home: *Making Fire*, sentence 1.

²⁶ A kind of hard sap from an almasiga tree (*Agathis philippinensis*). The kind of sap that is obtained is that which has already dried, because it is highly inflammable.

²⁷ *te*: The speaker uses the exclamation as a rhetorical device eliciting the audience’s reaction to the plight of the giant.

²⁸ *lasoy*: literally, ‘difficult, bitter, a situation that causes suffering’.

²⁹ *te*: a rhetorical device verbally pointing out to the listeners a climax or peak of the story as to what happens next.

³⁰ *potiyukan*: literally, ‘honeybee’.

³¹ *Te*: The speaker again uses this exclamation as a rhetorical device highlighting to the audience what happens next, hinting to the listeners that the beehive will have a significant role in Tilanduk’s next devious plan.

³² *moho*: a particle indicating assertiveness, which in this context serves as a clue to the audience that Tilanduk has something up his sleeve.

³³ *Oh*: an interjection employed by the speaker as a rhetorical device, changing the scene from Tilanduk to the giant.

³⁴ *ta*: As a rhetorical device to draw in his audience, the speaker shifts pronouns to the inclusive *ta* ‘all of us’.

³⁵ Implied: to get free.

³⁶ *Aah*: an exclamation denoting strong desire for revenge as if to say “I’m going to get you!”

³⁷ *E*: an interjection used by the speaker as a rhetorical device which in effect means “Oh oh! Tilanduk is in trouble now!”

³⁸ *O*: an interjection meaning “Hey you!”

41 “Ow,³⁹ oram bo,” kahi, “si Tilanduk nid oubpit to baahon.”

42 “Te,”⁴⁰ id oseng si Tilanduk ini to kahi, “konna, osso ron no Tilanduk idda, su otin bo,” kahi rin, “no siyak no Tilanduk,” kahi rin, “Tilanduk a riyot id saop. 43 No otin⁴¹ bo iddos id totilanduk⁴² kikow, Tilanduk,” kahi rin, “idda tid tollak. 44 No konna vo moho siyak idda,” kosi Tilanduk.

45 “Te, yo ko mad oungeken, sikkow en idda,” kahit gungutan.

46 “Te,” kosi Tilanduk, “od aawang ko ron. 47 Tilanduk a moho⁴³ tid saop, idda moho tid toddu ku kikow, Tilanduk tid tollak idda.”

48 No, kahit gungutan, “Ondan kod puungan du ruwon?”

49 Kahi, “Te,⁴⁴ od tamong a,” kahi rit, “kooglohan⁴⁵ ni Ina woy kooglohan ni Ama su langun,” kahi rin, “to impon ni Ama woy ni Ina, no duwon don en, mgo pangkis, babat, salloy, no garing, no akus,⁴⁶ no umpak to ba-ay, no umpak to mama, ini ve-en od tomongngan ku vo ika. 50 No duwon pa duma, detdet, sonnod, otin mama sowwaa⁴⁷ no od ngoranat kinolet.”⁴⁸

51 Kahi tat gungutan, “Po-ontongnga a kun su od kopiyan od ontong to ogget to mgo buyyag iing to mgo babat, mgo sising, no salloy, no sowwaa, no umpak, no sonnod.”

52 “Te,” kosi Tilanduk, “dii a,” kahi rid, “boggoy⁴⁹ su otin,” kahi rid, “pokesan dud, dii od pokoti-is su od pokosinoggow a, su mokosampot a,” kahi rit, “amoy woy inoy ku. 53 Ko bonnaa nod ontong ka, no od awa a su otin mohod pokotaud a, pokosinoggow a en.”

54 “Te,” kahi tat gungutan, “oyya en baling su od kotoosan a en nod ontong.” 55 No od ipanow ros Tilanduk, kahi rin to, “Otin bo worad od kokita ru to oyyug ku, do pobbo ukalow,” kahi rin. 56 Te, ondan po mot noko-ipanow ros Tilanduk no taman to dii rod kokitot gungutan do oyyug ni Tilanduk. 57 Te, do pa id langngag ni gungutan, kahid, “Ukalon kud.” 58 Somaddi en to gungutan ni potiyukan, dam en no-ukag ni potiyukan no lasoy man nod kotomanat gungutan. 59 Kahit gungutan, “No mosuppit bos ini, angat ka ron Tilanduk, ko-oruwa kad bod totilanduk⁵⁰ koddid, angat ka ron me-en!” 60 No mgo mata en tat gungutan no id ponsoggod, no id ponlobbag don ek bonnong din woy langut lawa rin, su gungutan diid oumpak sud ponombelat da. 61 No langun et lawa rin posilombuhuk su worad en bobbottan su noso-ob to soggod. 62 Te, dam en id paahuy ini gungutan no idda pobbo nokoleggia sikandit koosayan. 63 Te, okkod-okkod duwon no kahit gungutan, “Ini no, angat ka,” kahi rin, “Tilanduk, su od lupuhon ku en sikkow!”

64 Te, ondan mohot iyon moho no-oputan ni Tilanduk, inis ubpan dad en ka-ay’t gungutan, diyon es Tilanduk. 65 Inguma ini gungutan no duwon mad obboo rutun, kahi taddot gungutan, “Ondoy kos duwon nod totavut apuy?”

66 Kosi Tilanduk, “Siyak id oilutu a sud gutasan a.”

67 “Dii vo,” kahit gungutan, “sikkow me-es Tilanduk?”

68 “Aawang ko ron,” kahin Tilanduk. 69 “Ondoy man,” kahi rin, “dod tomman dun Tilanduk?”

³⁹ *Ow*: an interjection denoting surprise.

⁴⁰ *Te*: an exclamation denoting disagreement or rejection of the previous statement.

⁴¹ *otin*: literally, ‘if’ as in ‘if you’re talking about...’.

⁴² *totilanduk*: a verbalized form of Tikanduk’s name meaning ‘deceived’. See footnote 22.

⁴³ *moho*: an assertive particle which can indicate irritation, anger, or surprise, depending on intonation.

⁴⁴ *Te*: In this context, the interjection denotes irritation with a question when the answer should be obvious. But it is a mock irritation because Tilanduk wants the giant to be deceived again.

⁴⁵ This refers to any valued item including charms to put a hex on others or traditional clothing. These items can only have one owner and are guarded by a spirit. If someone other than the owner takes or uses those items, it will result in a curse.

41 “Ow,”³⁹ well naturally,” (the giant) said, “the Tilanduk who was scraping the rattan smooth.”

42 “Te,”⁴⁰ Tilanduk answered saying, “no, that’s a different Tilanduk, because as for,” he said, “me who is Tilanduk,” he said, “I am Tilanduk of the sunset. 43 Now as for⁴¹ the one who deceived⁴² you, that Tilanduk,” he said, “is of the sunrise. 44 So that couldn’t have been me,” Tilanduk said.

45 “Te, don’t be like that; that really was you,” the giant said.

46 “Te,” Tilanduk said, “you’re talking foolishly. 47 I truly⁴³ am Tilanduk of the sunset; that whom I’m pointing out to you instead, that is Tilanduk of the sunrise.”

48 Then the giant said, “What are you doing over there?”

49 (Tilanduk) said, “Te,”⁴⁴ I am guarding,” he said, “the valuable things⁴⁵ of Mom and Dad, because of all,” he said, “the valued items of Dad and Mom there are bracelets, ankle bracelets, long earrings, ear disks for men, as well as long belts,⁴⁶ and traditional blouses for women and jackets for men; that’s what I’m guarding. 50 And there are yet more; skirts, woven skirts, (and) for men short pants⁴⁷ called a zigzagged design.”⁴⁸

51 The giant said, “Show me please because I’d like to see the clothing of the older (generation) like the bracelets for the ankles, rings, long earrings, short pants, shirts, and woven skirts.”

52 “Te,” Tilanduk said, “I can’t,” he said, “allow⁴⁹ that because if,” he said, “you open it, I won’t be able to bare it because I’ll cry, for I’ll be remembering,” he said, “my father and mother. 53 If you truly (want to) look at it, then I’ll leave because if I watch, I really will cry.”

54 “Te,” the giant said, “alright then because I really am excited to take a look.” 55 So at Tilanduk’s leaving, he said, “If you no longer can see my back, only then open it,” he said. 56 Te, what happened next, Tilanduk left (going) until the giant could no longer see Tilanduk’s back. 57 Te, it was only then that the giant looked up saying, “I’ll open it.” 58 The giant took a firm hold on the beehive; what then, when the beehive was disturbed, the situation the giant was in was really awful. 59 The giant said, “This is really a predicament; you just wait, Tilanduk; this is the second time you’ve deceived⁵⁰ me; you just wait!” 60 The giant’s eyes were stung many times, and his face was swollen as well as his entire body, because the giant didn’t wear clothing; just a loincloth. 61 So all of his body was swollen because there indeed wasn’t any remaining place (not bitten) because bee stings were all over. 62 Te, what happened next, the giant fled; only then was he able to escape affliction. 63 Te, after that the giant said, “Now you just wait,” he said, “Tilanduk, because I’ll certainly be chasing after you!”

64 Te, what then, where did Tilanduk take refuge; at the very house of this giant, that’s where Tilanduk was. 65 The giant arrived (and saw) that there surprisingly was smoke there, (so) the giant said, “Who is there stoking a fire?”

66 Tilanduk said, “Me, I’m cooking because I’m hungry.”

67 “Isn’t it so,” the giant said, “that you undoubtedly are Tilanduk?”

68 “You’re talking foolishly,” Tilanduk said. 69 “Who,” he said, “is this Tilanduk you are talking about?”

⁴⁶ *akus*: an exceptionally long belt worn by men that could be wrapped around the waist several times and used as a sheath for a sword.

⁴⁷ *sowwaa*: ‘short pants for men’. In this context, it refers to traditional clothing, particularly those woven of Manila hemp. These are often decorated.

⁴⁸ *kinole*: Much work has gone into the pants to make them attractive, hence very valuable. However, the value of the traditional clothing is not the giant’s strong motivation to see them but that they are very appealing to the eye and Tilanduk knows this.

⁴⁹ *boggoy*: literally, ‘give’ as in ‘give in to your request’.

⁵⁰ See footnote 22.

70 “Ambo,” kahit gungutan, “id uhusan a ni Tilanduk nod totamong kut impot amoy rin no ponggaang, oritis, sonnod, dutun en langun. 71 Te, iyon bolevad din no od awa pa kun sikandin su otin od pokokita sikandit impot amoy rin, od pokosinoggow sikandin. 72 Do re-en, id ipanow sikandin. 73 Te, id kuo kud en id ontongngan dos botaan din no kooglohan, mat potiyukan man bos! 74 Na ni en id ponlobbag dok lawa ku, mata ku,” kahi rin. 75 “Id dassan at potiyukan.”

76 “Te,” kosi Tilanduk, “otin,” kahi rin, “siyak kos od kuan du, konna siyak idda. 77 Mo-uraak Tilanduk,” kahi rin. 78 “Idda no Tilanduk nid totilanduk⁵¹ kikow, Tilanduk tid tollak idda. 79 No idda vo,” kahi rin, “so id tamong to kooglahat inoy rin, kua idda, Tilanduk to ko-unturan. 80 No otin bo mo siyak,” kahi rin, “ossa a ron no Tilanduk, siyak,” kahi rin, “ko Tilanduk to ingod, init pattad no siyak ko Tilanduk ka-ay.”

81 “Osaa bonnaa,” kahit gungutan.

82 “Te, bonnaa en, siyak en,” kahi, “ko so Tilanduk to pattad.” 83 No kosi Tilanduk, “Ondoy baoy ka-ay?”

84 “Te,” kahi tat gungutan, “baoy ku ini.”

85 Kosi Tilanduk, “Otin od kopiyan ka, od poroomoy kid moho, su worad duma kus worad me-en amoy woy inoy ku. 86 Kopu kod doom ad ka-ay’t kikow?”

87 “Te,”⁵² kahi tat gungutan, “komonnu ve-en su duwon uvag od kosuhu ku.” 88 Na duwon don.⁵³

89 Kahit gungutan no, “Tilanduk, ponikoddu ka pa sud oilutu ki.” 90 Te, diyon dos Tilanduk id piyod to sikoddu,⁵⁴ inguma rutut sikodduwan no tigkow en kahata ka-ay’t buwaya ini lison ni Tilanduk. 91 “O,”⁵⁵ kosi Tilanduk, “ayu-ayun buwaya. 92 Iyon mohod kahaton,” kahis, “sikoddu.” 93 Pokkasa ka-ay’t buwaya su id uhusan man ni Tilanduk no sikoddu kun. 94 Olina rin en sobmaka ini sikoddu no id loopedsak en, ayun dos Tilanduk id lubpat to kahi, “Notilondukan⁵⁶ kun buwaya.” 95 Ayas sikandin id kosu-at, no ponayun dos kandin id paahuy no worad man mo id tungop diyot baoy tat gungutan. 96 Dore-ek od kopuungan ni Tilanduk.

97 Ka-ay re-en taman.

Iddos Oggasi* woy dos Anak

Olinan Landas

1 Duwon kad man¹ kos anak no ba-ay,² worad³ amoy rin no worad inoy rin. 2 Ahad apuy rin worad, no lasoy rin en tod gutasan. 3 No puung en od pokoposuva⁴ od pokaaras no od sinoggow ron ini no waa mag ko-ongayan dit apuy.

4 “Ee,”⁵ kahi to boyaku,⁶ “ondan mo onakok duwon no moko-ulingoo puung dobbod sinoggow?” 5 Kahi tat boyaku, “Ongati orom⁷ me-en duwon,” kahi rin. 6 Layang ni boyaku, diyon et anak. 7 Kahi rin to, “Ondam bo moho kod sinoggawan du? 8 Od poko-ulingoo ka moho.”

⁵¹ See footnote 22.

⁵² *Te*: an interjection denoting agreement of the previous statement.

⁵³ *duwon don*: ‘existential’ plus ‘completive’, as if to say “That’s that.” This is a common rhetorical device in traditional narratives bringing a scene to a close and setting the stage for the next scene.

⁵⁴ Implied: made of bamboo.

⁵⁵ *O*: an interjection meaning, “Hey you!”

⁵⁶ *notilondukan*: a verbalized form of Tilanduk’s name meaning ‘to deceive’. See footnote 22.

* *Oggasi*: common villain in Manobo traditional narrative stories. He is a very tall evil spirit who eats people and has supernatural powers.

¹ *Duwon kad man*: a common formulaic opening to set the stage by introducing the main character(s) and immediately clues the audience in that this is a traditional narrative.

70 “Why,” the giant said, “the Tilanduk who lied to me saying that he was guarding his father’s valuable things, shell bracelets, earrings, woven skirts, it was all there. 71 *Te*, what his excuse was, was that he supposedly had to leave because if he saw his father’s valuable things, he’d cry. 72 Then he left. 73 *Te*, I definitely looked at what he said were valuable items, (but) it was a beehive! 74 Then my body swelled up, my eyes,” he said. 75 “I was attacked by bees.”

76 “*Te*,” Tilanduk said, “if,” he said, “I’m the one you are after, that wasn’t me.” 77 There are many Tilanduks,” he said. 78 “That Tilanduk who deceived⁵¹ you, that was Tilanduk of the sunrise. 79 Now as for,” he said, “the one guarding his mother’s valuable things, that was what’s his name, that was Tilanduk of the peak of heaven. 80 Now as for me,” he said, “I’m a different Tilanduk; I,” he said, “am Tilanduk of the world, here on the flatland I am the Tilanduk here.”

81 “As long as it’s true,” the giant said.

82 “*Te*, it really is true; I definitely,” he said, “am Tilanduk of the flatland.” 83 Then Tilanduk said, “Whose house is this?”

84 “*Te*,” the giant said, “this is my house!”

85 Tilanduk said, “If you want, we can live together, because I no longer have a companion because of course my father and mother are no more. 86 How would it be if I live here with you?”

87 “*Te*,”⁵² the giant said, “why (not) because I’ll have someone to send on errands.” 88 So that was that.⁵³

89 The giant said, “Tilanduk, fetch water because we’ll cook.” 90 *Te*, Tilanduk went carrying a water container,⁵⁴ arriving at the place to get water when suddenly a crocodile bit into Tilanduk’s calf. 91 “*O*,”⁵⁵ Tilanduk said, “foolish crocodile. 92 What you’ve bitten into,” he said, “is a water container.” 93 The crocodile released him because Tilanduk had surely lied to it saying it was a water container. 94 He transferred sinking his teeth (instead) into the water container which then shattered, (and) Tilanduk ran without further ado saying, “I deceived⁵⁶ the crocodile.” 95 He kept on laughing, continuing his running, no longer ending up at the house of the giant. 96 That indeed is what Tilanduk did.

97 Only up to here (is my story).

The Ogre* and the Child

A traditional narrative as told by Olinan Landas

1 You assuredly have¹ a child;² her father died³ and her mother had died. 2 Even her cooking fire had died and she was really suffering from hunger. 3 So doing nothing but walking uphill on the path,⁴ walking downhill, she is crying (saying) that she surely has no place from which to get fire.

4 “*Ee*,”⁵ a whistler bird⁶ said, “what’s the matter with that child there who is being really irritating doing nothing but crying?” 5 The whistler bird said, “Just hold on (a second)⁷ for me there!” he said. 6 The whistler bird flew over to the child. 7 He said, “What is your reason for crying? 8 You can be really irritating!”

² *anak no ba-ay*: literally, ‘female child’.

³ *worad*: literally, ‘was no more’.

⁴ Implied: a path that follows a river.

⁵ *Ee*: an interjection denoting irritation.

⁶ A small brown insect-eating bird (*Pachycephala* sp.).

⁷ The whistler bird is showing his irritation with her.

9 Kahit anak, “Iyon ku,” kahi rid, “sinoggawan su waad amoy ku, inoy ku, waad duma ku nod gutasan o ron su wora ahad apuy ku.”

10 Kahi tat boyaku, “Kuo kid, duwon apuy riyot daya no nokita ku.” 11 Kahi rin to, “Apuy’t oggasi, tokawon tok sokkad no oppus⁸ su nokita ku duwon otollun oppus.”

12 Na id posakoy en tat boyaku do anak, id po-untud din diyon to oyyug din. 13 Kahi rin to, “Moppiya man do od sakoy ka koddi su movuwoy ka nod ipanow.” 14 Id layang don en inis boyaku no id posuva no riyon don en id lonna to lama to oggasi. 15 No duwon en apuy, kahi tat anak no, “Na boyaku, purutow’k sokkad no oppus, tongahod sud paaras kid.”

16 Na kahit boyaku no, “Purutowd me-en.” 17 Puruta tat anak kos sokkad no oppus. 18 Id layang don kos boyaku id paaras no riyon dan en noko-inguma to bobbo to koyupat.

19 Kahit koyupat no, “Apu,⁹ yo kad od ponayun diyot dava su asow ron iddos oggasi nod loupug tat apuy rin, su od nonangkap tat oppus din.”

20 Kahi tat anak no “Oh,¹⁰ od usok ad baling ka-ay to bobbo.”

21 Kahit koyupat no, “Oyya ka-ay kad en baling.”

22 Kahi to boyaku no, “Ka-ay kad en su ini en kod pokotavang kikow woy lumbag dud kos apuy ru.” 23 Id lumbag don tat anak kos oppus diyot oweg. 24 Ayun don tat boyaku id layang.

25 Waad ingumannit tongngot uras no ika ron ek oggasi. 26 Id ponungabsungab diyot daya, waa man diyot daya, id paaras dik irung din dinit dava. 27 “Oh,” kahi rin to, “dinit dava kos ngarog tat anak. 28 Dini vos to dava kos ngarog tat gesot.”¹¹ 29 Kahit oggasi, “Id paaras bos kos id takow tat apuy ku.” 30 Id paaras iddos oggasi, inguma to daama worad od kovoyan din. 31 Id ponungabsungab diyot daya waad ko-orokkan din. 32 Id ponungabsungab mandon sikandin diyot daama, diyot duwon bobbo. 33 Kahi tat oggasi, “Ka-ay vos dog ngarog no gesot, kua,” kahi ris, “sud usokkan ku pa. 34 Oh, dii pobbos su od sikoppon ku pa.” 35 Sikoppo rin to bollad din do bobbo. 36 Oh,¹² mid sipit don et koyupat ko bollad din. 37 Kahi rin to, “Notampod kos bollad ku! 38 Oray vos no movuut iddon anak! 39 Kua ka me-en sud utukon ku sikkow od sikoppon.” 40 Sikop din en ko divauy no bollad din. 41 Id sipit don mandon to koyupat no notampod don en mandon. 42 Kahit oggasi to, “Kuu,¹³ kua ka man sud usokkan ka baling.” 43 Id po-usok don en to oggasi kos uu rin taman to liyog no po-ooyari en tid sipit to koyupat. 44 Notampod kos liyog¹⁴ din. 45 Oran pobbo to no-uug don kos uu tat oggasi.



The whistler bird flew
away along with the child.
*Id layang iddos boyaku
duma tat anak.*

⁸ firebrand: a stick of wood or branch with live embers or a fire at one end.

⁹ *Apu*: literally, ‘Grandparent, Grandchild’. In this context, it is used as a term of address of endearment to a child. In traditional narratives, when an animal anthropomorphically speaks to a human, this is also a common term of address.

¹⁰ *Oh*: an interjection denoting agreement with what was previously said.

¹¹ It is not uncommon for an ogre or giant to refer to a child whom they are chasing after as a piglet—something to devour when caught up with.

¹² *Oh*: In this context, this exclamation particle is used as a rhetorical device on the part of the storyteller to peak the interest of the listeners as to what will happen next.

9 The child said, "What I am," she said, "crying about is I have no father, no mother, no companion, (and) I am hungry because I have nothing, (not) even cooking fire."

10 The whistler bird said, "Let's go; there is fire that I saw uphill." 11 He said, "It's the ogre's fire; let's steal one firebrand⁸ because I saw that there are three firebrands."

12 So whistler bird had the child ride; he had her get on his back. 13 He said, "It's a good thing you are riding on me because you walk slow." 14 So the whistler bird flew uphill following the river, landing there in the yard of the ogre. 15 There really was fire, (so) the child said, "Whistler bird, grab one firebrand, snatch it with your beak because we'll go downhill."

16 Then whistler bird said, "You take it!" 17 The child took one firebrand. 18 The whistler bird flew away heading downhill until they arrived at the hole of the crab.

19 The crab said, "*Apu*,⁹ don't continue going downhill because soon the ogre will chase after that fire of his, for he'll be looking for his firebrand."

20 The child said, "*Oh!*"¹⁰ I'll enter this hole instead."

21 The crab said, "Yes, stay here instead."

22 The whistler bird said, "Unquestionably stay here because this (crab) can help you, and throw that fire of yours away."

23 The child threw the firebrand into the river. 24 Without further ado the whistler bird flew away.

25 It wasn't half an hour (later) when there indeed was the ogre. 26 He kept sniffing uphill, (but) (the scent) assuredly was not uphill, (so) he pointed his nose downhill. 27 "*Oh*," he said, "here downhill is the smell of that child. 28 Here downhill is the smell of that piglet."¹¹ 29 The ogre said, "The one who stole my fire went downhill!"

30 The ogre went downhill, arriving at a cliff, having no way to proceed. 31 He kept sniffing uphill (but) he didn't smell anything. 32 He again kept sniffing toward the cliff where there was a hole. 33 The ogre said, "Here is the smell of the piglet," he said, "so I'll just enter in. 34 *Oh*, (on second thought) not yet because first I'll reach inside." 35 He reached his hand in the hole. 36 *Oh*,¹² the crab snipped his hand off. 37 He said, "My hand is cut off! 38 That is really an aggressive child! 39 You just wait because I'll just reach inside for you again."

40 So he reached his other hand inside. 41 The crab again snipped it off, again cutting it off. 42 The ogre said, "*Kuu*,¹³ well (if that's the way you're going to be), I'll instead come in to get you." 43 The ogre then shoved his head in up to the neck and the crab snipped vigorously. 44 His head¹⁴ was cut off. 45 What then, the head of that ogre fell (and he died).



The ogre chased after them.
Od loupug iddos oggasi.

¹³ *Kuu*: an exclamation that can have various meanings such as 'extreme surprise' or 'amazement' or 'extreme anger'. In this context, it denotes extreme anger on the part of the ogre.

¹⁴ *liyog*: literally, 'neck'.

46 Na pomon tadda, diyon don en id oubpa iddos anak, diyon don en sikandin id dakkoo taman to id mongovay ron. 47 No idda mondad so boyaku, novauly no minuvu no mosandog bos¹⁵ no konakan. 48 Id livod sikandin diyon to bobbo to koyupat no kahi tat anak no id mongovay ron, “Po-ingkon ko man?”¹⁶

49 Kahi tat konakan no, “Od lihad a re-en dini.”

50 Kahi tat mongovay no, “Imman to sikkow do boyaku no nokotavang koddi no taman ko-ungaky no-uyag a pa.”

51 Kahi tat konakan to, “Siyak en idda. 52 Novauly a ra no minuvu.” 53 Ko-ungkay od konuhunan don do boyaku no id ballig to minuvu tat mongovay su molihonnoy vos oraroy, de-en id ikohiyan din to, “Po-osoway kid moho.”

54 Kahi tat anak no mongovay ron mandad, “Okay kad me-en, po-osoway kid en baling.”¹⁷

55 Tadda re-en taman.

Iddos Kappi woy dos Opok

Badette Pescadera

1 Hee,¹ duwon ka rad man inis kappi woy opok. 2 Iddot unnon timpu² inis kappi woy opok oraroy nod po-oukuyoy. 3 Duwon sokkad no timpu no inis opok duwon od undiyonnan din no kolivuungan. 4 Ini, kolivuungan to langun no mgo oyama woy mgo monnanap. 5 Dos opok oraroy nod pobporoong, de-en iddos kopi-i rin no sikandin de-en kos oraroy no motoos to langun nod ontongngan. 6 Id popoomdom sikandin kod monnuwon din nod poganda woy ingkon sikandin od pokosambo to kodpoganda rin. 7 Nosompottan din no dos kappi duwon sising no buawan, de-en id lukutlukut sikandin id undiyon to kappi. 8 Kahi rin to, “Oukuy kun Kappi, kolimulimu ve-en kikow no posombaya a to sising du su duwon kolivuungan doy amoy siyak de-en kos motoos nod ontongngan pomon to duwon sising ku.” 9 Pomon to oraroy me-en no oukuy sikandan, kahi to kappi to, “Oyya baling, kopakoy nod posombayan ku kikow. 10 Piru ko-ilangan id po-uli ru en otin kopongnga ron kos kolivuungan dow su id ginowannan ku ika no impon pomon to oraroy’n mahaa.”

11 Kahi to opok to, “Te,³ yo kod kaanu su od po-oyyanan ku kos sising du.” 12 Id boggoy tat kappi kos sising din woy id ipanow ron dos opok.

13 Kod-inguma tat opok diyon to kolivuungan, langun en id tongtong kandin su oraroy no molihonnoy sikandin. 14 Labbi ron to motoos dos sising no id sukub din su buawan me-en. 15 De-en id dakkoo kos atoy⁴ ni opok woy od ipanow sikandin no imman to diid gedda to livuta.⁵ 16 Taman to nopongnga kos kolivuungan, oray’n nahaa dos opok. 17 Timpu ron to kod-uli, waa nokodtanud dos opok no worad bos dos sising diyon to bollad din su notarin. 18 De-en⁶ oraroy no novaakkan woy naanu sikandin. 19 Ahad monnuwon din tod sampot ko ingkon lomig idda notarin, waa en od kosompottan din. 20 Kahi rin to, “Ee,⁷ monnuwon kud ayu ini, pihu en nod langot dos

¹⁵ *bos*: a particle indicating surprise. The young man who was transformed from a whistler bird, a very plain looking bird, would not have been expected to be handsome.

¹⁶ “Where are you going?” is a common greeting.

¹⁷ Implied: instead of marrying someone else.

¹ *Hee* and its variant *He*: are exclamatory particles used by the speaker at the beginning of a traditional narrative as a rhetorical device to get the audience excited about the story they are about to hear.

² *Iddot unnon timpu*: literally, ‘At the beginning of time’.

46 From that time, that is where the child lived, (and) that is where she grew up until she became a young lady. 47 Now as for whistler bird, he was turned into a person, a surprisingly¹⁵ handsome young man. 48 He returned to the hole of the crab (and) the child who was now a young lady said, “Where are you going?”¹⁶

49 The young man said, “I am just passing by here.”

50 The young lady said, “It seems you are the whistler bird who helped me and until now I’m still alive.”

51 The young man said, “That definitely was me. 52 I was transformed into a person.” 53 Now the whistler bird who was transformed into a person (felt) he would regret it (if he left her) because she was very beautiful; therefore he said, “Let’s get married.”

54 The child who already was a young lady said, “Naturally (since) you are here, let’s marry each other instead.”¹⁷

55 Just indeed up to here (is my story).

The Hawk and the Hen

A short traditional narrative written by Badette Pescadera

1 *Hee*,¹ you have here this hawk and hen. 2 A long time ago² the hawk and the hen were the best of friends. 3 There was one time that this hen had to attend a gathering. 4 This was a gathering of all the domestic animals and wild animals. 5 The hen was very vain, so she wanted that only she would be the most beautiful of all to look at. 6 She kept thinking how she could be beautiful and where she could borrow that which would make her beautiful. 7 (Then) she remembered that the hawk had a golden ring, so she hurried over to the hawk. 8 She said, “My friend Hawk, I beg you, please let me borrow your ring because we have a gathering; (I need it) so that I’ll be beautiful to look at because I have a ring.” 9 Naturally since they were friends, the hawk said, “Okay then, I’ll lend it to you. 10 But it’s important that you are sure to return it when your gathering is over because I really love that valued item, because it’s very expensive.”

11 The hen said, “*Te*,³ don’t you worry because I’ll take good care of your ring.” 12 (So) the hawk gave her his ring and the hen left.

13 At the hen’s arrival at the gathering, definitely all heads turned to look at her because she was very beautiful. 14 Particularly beautiful was the ring that she wore because naturally it was gold. 15 Therefore the hen was really proud⁴ and she strutted about as if (her feet) didn’t touch the ground.⁵ 16 Until the gathering was over, the hen had been really happy. 17 When it was time to go home, the hen hadn’t realized that the ring was no longer on her hand because it was lost. 18 Therefore,⁶ she was really afraid and sad. 19 No matter how (hard) she tried to remember where it got lost, she definitely could not remember. 20 She said, “*Ee*,⁷ how might I (deal with) this, (because) there’s

³ *Te*: an exclamation that has a wide range of meaning depending on context. It typically is used as a brief commentary on the previous statement denoting total agreement or disagreement. In this context, it denotes disagreement with the previous statement, as if to say “I would never lose your ring!”

⁴ *dakkoo kos atoy*: literally, ‘to have a large liver’. It is an idiomatic expression meaning that a person is vain or proud.

⁵ Implied: hen is really happy.

⁶ Implied: When she finally realized it...

⁷ *Ee*: an exclamation denoting worry or concern.

kappi koddi su notarin kos sising din.” 21 Id nonangkap don en dos opok no ingkon du⁸ po man mod konangkap do sising?

22 Waa en allow no od ko-uwakkan to kodnonaangkap de-en to opok tat sising. 23 Ipan to allow od pongaskas dobbe-en sikandin.

24 Dos kappi mandad, nosoobbuwan don no mambo to kouhoy id po-uli tat opok do sising din. 25 “Kuo ka man,” kahi rin, “sud undiyonnan ka, su id lihad don kos id tandu run timpu no id po-uli do sising ku.”

26 Na, id undiyon don dos kappi to opok no ayas en id langot. 27 Kahi to, “Ondan man moho kos unayan, mambo to waa ru id po-uli kos sising ku?”

28 Kahi tat opok to, “Oukuy kun Kappi, posinsiya-i a su waa ku en tunoyyi no notarin dos sising.”

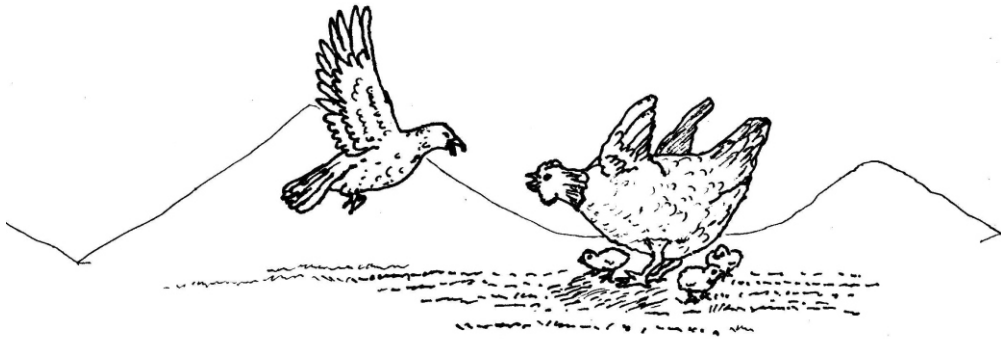
29 Ponayun en id langot dos kappi. 30 Kahi to, “Te, dii nanoy kopakoy nod kotarin idda su oray ku no id ginowannan. 31 De-en otin dii ru idda od kokita, Opok ka,⁹ dii kid od po-oukuyoy woy duwon en id povullas ku kikow.”

32 Notigkawan dos opok tat id ikahi to kappi. 33 Kahi rin to, “Ondan man bos kos id povullas du?”

34 Kahi tat kappi to, “Taman to dii ru id po-uli dos sising kun buawan, ipan to allow od dawi a to piyak du.” 35 Waad noko-oseng dos opok su monnuwon din pa me-en no nokosaa¹⁰ me-en sikandin tat kappi. 36 Id ponayun dos kappi no mid ikahi to, “Dii a en od soro nod ponakow to mgo piyak du.”

37 Pomon tadda, too-usig don iddos kappi woy dos opok. 38 Ponayun pa mandad nod ponakow dos kappi to piyak tat opok su taman ko-ungkay, ponayun pa nod pongaskas kos opok nod nonangkap taddot sising. 39 Ahad pe-en diyon to tiyokkon, od pongaskas en kos opok. 40 Woy dos kappi mandad, ponayun pe-en od dawi to mgo piyak taddot opok.¹¹

41 Na ka-ay re-en taman.



The hawk and the hen became enemies.
Too-usig don iddos kappi woy dos opok.

Si Pituy

Badette Pescadera

1 He,¹ duwon ka rad² si Pituy. 2 Ini si Pituy, iyon dib puungan od momama su pogguwon ini sikandin. 3 De-en id undiyon sikandin to ibpit to oweg sud nonangkap to lobbut to moman³ sud penekkon din. 4 Nokokita sikandin to sokkad no lobbut to moman. 5 Diyon dos Pituy sod pomenek. 6 To nokopenek don sikandin to sokkad no

no doubt the hawk will be angry with me because his ring is lost.” 21 The hen kept on looking (but) where would you⁸ look for the ring?

22 The hen wasted no daylight (hours) just looking for that ring. 23 Each day she just kept on scratching the soil.

24 As for the hawk, he was surprised (wondering) why it was (taking such) a long time for that hen to return his ring. 25 “Just wait,” he said, “I’m going to you because your promise as to when my ring would be returned has already past.”

26 So the hawk went to the hen really angry. 27 He said, “So what’s the reason as to why you haven’t returned my ring?”

28 That hen said, “My friend Hawk, forgive me because I definitely did not intentionally lose the ring.”

29 The hawk continued being angry. 30 He said, “*Te*, it shouldn’t have been possible for it to have gotten lost because I really loved it. 31 Therefore if you don’t see it, Hen you,⁹ we are no longer friends and there will be that which I’ll (demand) you give in exchange.”

32 The hen was shocked by what the hawk said. 33 She said, “What is it that you (demand) in exchange?”

34 Hawk said, “For as long as you don’t return my golden ring, every day I’ll snatch a chick of yours.” 35 The hen was not able to speak because naturally how could she; she of course had wronged¹⁰ the hawk. 36 The hawk continued saying, “I definitely won’t stop stealing your chicks.”

37 From then on, the hawk and the hen became enemies. 38 The hawk still continues to steal chicks from the hen because even now, the hen still continues scratching in the soil looking for the ring. 39 Even, moreover, in the dung heap the hen keeps on scratching. 40 And the hawk, moreover, continues seizing the hen’s chicks.¹¹

41 So just up to here (is my story).

Pituy

A short traditional narrative written by Badette Pescadera

1 *He*,¹ you just have² Pituy. 2 As for this Pituy, all he did all day was chew betel chew because he was lazy. 3 So he went to the edge of the river to find the trunk of a betel palm³ because he was going to climb it. 4 (Then) he saw a betel palm. 5 There was Pituy because he went to climb it. 6 When he had climbed up to the first notch,

⁸ This is an aside to the audience, asking them a rhetorical question to get their attention.

⁹ This is a rhetorical device in which Hawk is demeaning Hen by using the second person singular pronoun *ka* ‘you’ after her name, clearly showing his anger.

¹⁰ *nokosaa*: literally, ‘sinned against’.

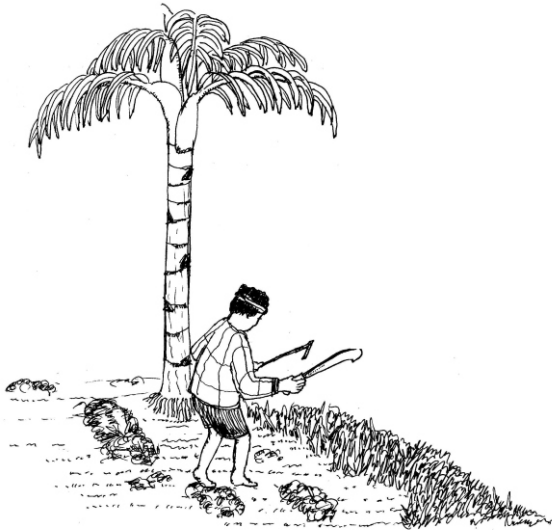
¹¹ Moral lessons are not made explicit in stories, but one could glean the following: (a) It is not good to borrow someone else’s things just for the sake of vanity. (b) It is important to quickly return that which was borrowed. (c) An unwise decision can lead to consequences that can have a negative effect on a person’s entire life.

¹ *He* and its variant *Hee*: are exclamatory particles used by the speaker at the beginning of a traditional narrative as a rhetorical device to get the audience excited about the story they are about to hear.

² *duwon ko rad*: a common formulaic opening to set the stage by introducing the main character(s) and immediately clues the audience in that this is a traditional narrative. See Section IX Stories, Songs, and Poetry: *The Ogre and the Child*, sentence 1, which has a slight variation *Duwon kad man*.

pakkang, kokahi taddot Otatat⁴ diyot dosiyung to, “Het⁵ lobbut⁶ ni Pituy, immat binoyuwat longngo.”

7 “Ooh,”⁷ kosi Pituy to, “angat kon, Otatat ka sud imotayan ku sikkow.” 8 Ponog es Pituy, id sosabboo en ka-ay’t dosiyung to lobbut dut moman, waa man nokita rin no Otatat. 9 Id livod sikandin id penek diyot moman. 10 To riyon don sikandin to ikotollun pakkang, id ooseng don mandon kos Otatat diyot dosiyung to, “Het lobbut ni Pituy, immat binoyuwat longngo.”



Pituy cleared the grass to look for Otatat.
Id sosabboo si Pituy sud nonangkap tat Otatat.

11 “Ooh,” kosi Pituy to, “iko kad mandon no Otatat ka, angkat ke-en sud nongkapon ku sikkow.” 12 Id ponog don mandon si Pituy, id sosabboo ron mandon diyon to dosiyung. 13 Waa man Otatat no nokita rin. 14 De-en id livod sikandin id pomenek to moman. 15 To riyon don mandon sikandin to ikolimmon pakkang, id ooseng don mandon kos Otatat diyot dosiyung to, “Het lobbut ni Pituy, immat binoyuwat longngo.”

16 Nolingasa ron oraroy si Pituy, kahi rin to, “Ooh, dii ke-en od soron Otatat ka.”⁸ 17 Ponog don mandos Pituy ini sud sosabboo en diyon to dosiyung, oran mohot mowwag don kos ukit⁹ ni Pituy waa man Otatat no nokita rin. 18 Id livod mandon sikandin id penek tat moman. 19 Asow ron nanoy sikandin od poko-uma tat bungot moman, id ooseng man mandon kos Otatat diyot

dosiyung, “Het lobbut ni Pituy, immat binoyuwat longngo.”

20 Nolinglingasa ron es Pituy, ponog en mandon sikandin no mattag en lingasa rin, sosabboo robbe-en sikandin no id amin din en sovalli dos tivuk no pattad sud nonangkap ka-ay’t Otatat, waa rin da me-en nokita kos Otatat. 21 De-en novolloyvolloy es kandin, tamantaman to id oimolloy. 22 Id ontong sikandin ka-ay’t ukit din tid sosabboo, ma-awang-awang, de-en nokopopoomdom sikandin to, “Iyon moho ayu moppiya nod pomuwannan ku baling inis ukit ku to kodsosabboo.” 23 Dam en id pomuwa si Pituy. 24 Oran pobbo to dakkoon pinomuwa ni Pituy no posid pongkoutuwan don, iling bo to ommoy. 25 Duwon pa dumon pinomuwa rin iling to botad, tobbu, mgo gulay woy duma pa.

26 Pomon bo mo tadda, oraroy ron no mopuungpuung si Pituy su notoosan tat mgo pinomuwa rin.¹⁰

Otatat⁴ ‘Frog’ at the bottom spoke, “Het,⁵ Pituy’s posterior⁶ is like what’s used to pound sesame seeds.”

7 “Ooh,”⁷ Pituy said, “you just wait, Otatat, because I’ll kill you.” 8 Pituy climbed down, clearing the grass at the bottom of the trunk of the betel palm (to look for the frog), (but) he surely didn’t see Otatat. 9 He returned to climbing the betel palm. 10 When he was already at the third notch, Otatat again spoke from below, “Het, Pituy’s posterior is like what’s used to pound sesame seeds.”

11 “Ooh,” Pituy said, “there you are again, Otatat, you just surely wait because I will look for you.” 12 Pituy again climbed down, again clearing the grass at the bottom (looking for the frog). 13 He surely didn’t see Otatat. 14 So he returned to climbing the betel palm. 15 When he was already at the fifth notch, Otatat spoke again from the bottom (saying), “Het, Pituy’s posterior is like what’s used to pound sesame seeds.”

16 Pituy was really angry, he said, “Ooh, you definitely won’t stop (will you), Otatat you.”⁸ 17 Pituy climbed down again to clear the grass (looking for the frog) at the bottom, what (then), the area Pituy already cleared⁹ was wide, (but) he surely didn’t see Otatat. 18 He again returned to climbing the betel palm. 19 When he almost arrived at the fruit of the betel palm, Otatat again spoke from below, “Het, Pituy’s posterior is like what’s used to pound sesame seeds.”

20 (By now) Pituy was really angry; he again climbed down fueled by his anger; he cleared the entire flatland completely because he was looking for this Otatat (but) of course he again didn’t see Otatat. 21 So he was really tired, (and) after awhile (he decided) to rest. 22 He looked at the area he covered clearing the grass; it was really cleared out, so he thought, “What probably would be good is if I instead plant something on where I’ve gone through in clearing the grass.” 23 What then, Pituy planted crops. 24 What happened next, Pituy’s harvest was large, all ripening at the same time like the rice plants. 25 There were also other crops he had like corn, sugarcane, vegetables, and other (crops).

26 From then on, Pituy really worked hard because he was delighted with his crops.¹⁰

³ *moman*: a betel nut palm tree (*Areca catechu*).

Iddos Boyaku woy dos Mengko

Badette Pescadera

1 He,¹ duwon ka rad² inis boyaku³ woy mengko. 2 Sokkad no allow iddos mengko, kopi-i rin od imotayan dos boyaku amoy od kannon din, piru dii rin man od ko-uma su od pokolayang me-en inis boyaku.

3 Sokkad no timpu,⁴ id apun dos boyaku tat kayu no duwon mo-uraa no bulak sud ossop tat ammis to mgo kovukaran. 4 Nokita sikandin to mengko, kahi to mengko to, “Boyaku, kopakoy man ayu⁵ nod ponog ka su kopiyan a nod delot to motoos no bowvuu ru.”

5 Inis boyaku, nokaabbot to id kopi-i to mengko, de-en notuig mondad sikandin to bolevad din. 6 “Te,⁶ diid kopakoy, Mengko, su iddos inoy woy amoy ku id oseng no dii a kun od kopakoy nod gedda to livuta su otin od puungan ku idda, od longottan a en.” 7 Waa nopohos to mengko dos boyaku nod pomonog.

8 Id pomuhawang dos mengko ko od monnuwon din nod ka-ammot dos boyaku. 9 Dii en od pokodto-ii dos mengko ko od monnuwon din nod ko-okalan dos boyaku, tamantaman duwon no-uma⁷ to puhawang tat mengko. 10 Kahi rin to, “Ini po man, nokosaddoo ad kod monnuwon ku nod ka-ammot si Boyaku su od ko-ivoggan ad en oraroy kandin.”

11 Id livod dos mengko riyon to od o-oubpan tat boyaku, nosoobbuwan man moho dos boyaku to nokita rin dos mengko no id suru to dihu no duwon mgo noutuwan don oraroy no boyabas. 12 Kahi tat boyaku no, “Ku!”⁸ 13 Od monnuwon du man ikos id piyod du no boyabas, Mengko? 14 Motoostoos nod kannon ika.”

15 Id tavak dos mengko to, “Te,⁹ boligya ku moho ini, Boyaku, piru konna soopi kos id kopi-i ku. 16 Bowvuu to mgo manuk nod layanglayang su oraroy a nod kotoosan nod somad to mgo bowvuu to manuk. 17 Ondan man,¹⁰ kopiyan ka? 18 Sokkad no boyabas, sokkad mandad no bowvuu. 19 Naa,¹¹ avoy kad moho su¹² od kolewang a nod bovoligya.”

20 Pomon to oraroy no id ko-ivoggi tat boyaku dos boyabas, id aman sikandin piru duwon pe-en id koosayi rin. 21 Kahi rin mandon to, “Od kohirapan a man su dii a me-en kopakoy nod gedda to livuta.”

22 Kahi to mengko, “Tohondin, Boyaku, ka-ay ka ra me-en untud to dihu no id suru ku. 23 Tohondin ko od koosayan a, ipan me-en tod ka-an ka to boyabas, duwon¹³ ka ra me-en mandad dorutdut to bowvuu ru.”

24 Duwon don inis boyaku id apun tat dihu no id piyod to mengko. 25 Id ka-an don sikandin to boyabas. 26 Otin od poko-amin sikandin to sokkad no boyabas, od iniyaton don mandon sikandin tat mengko nod ponayun pe-en od ka-an. 27 Tamantaman to waa rin notodtouri no sokkad dobbo kos nosama to bowvuu rin. 28 No ayas don en id kosu-at inis mengko su nokosahad don me-en dos boyaku. 29 Ahad monnuwon pe-en tat boyaku tod umpow, dii ron en sikandin od pokogaha nod layang.

⁴ *Otatat*: a kind of small frog found in the wilderness with orange and white marking.

⁵ *Het*: contraction of *He* ‘interjection’ and to ‘oblique marker’. In this context, this interjection denotes making fun of something about someone else.

⁶ To insult some part of a person’s body is considered very offensive and highly personal because it is like a person’s very being is being attacked; hence Pituy’s reaction in sentence 7.

⁷ *Ooh*: an interjection denoting extreme anger.

⁸ *Otatat ka*: a rhetorical device in which Pituy is demeaning *Otatat* by using the singular pronoun *ka* ‘you’ after his name, clearly showing his anger.

⁹ *ukit*: literally, ‘to go, to pass through’.

The Whistler Bird and the Cat

A short traditional narrative as narrated by Badette Pescadera

1 *He*,¹ you just have² this whistler bird³ and a cat. 2 One day the cat wanted to kill the whistler bird in order to eat him, but he surely couldn't reach him because naturally this whistler bird could fly.

3 One day,⁴ the whistler bird landed on a tree that had many flowers to suck out the sweet sap of the blossoms. 4 The cat saw him; the cat said, "Whistler Bird, perhaps it would surely⁵ be possible for you to come down because I'd like to lick your beautiful feathers."

5 This whistler bird understood what the cat wanted; therefore he also knew how to turn him down. 6 "*Te*,⁶ it's not possible, Cat, because my mother and father said that it reportedly was not possible that I touch the ground because if I do that, they'll really be angry with me." 7 The cat could not force the whistler bird to come down.

8 The cat planned how he could catch the whistler bird. 9 The cat definitely could not sit still, (scheming) how he could deceive the whistler bird, until (one day) an idea dawned⁷ on the cat. 10 He said, "That's it; now I know how I can catch Whistler Bird because I really desire (to eat) him."

11 The cat returned to where the whistler bird was living, (and) the whistler bird was really surprised when he saw the cat carrying a winnowing basket on his head that had very ripe guava fruit. 12 The whistler bird said, "*Ku*!"⁸ 13 Where are you carrying that guava fruit, Cat? 14 Those are really delicious to eat."

15 The cat replied, "*Te*,⁹ I'm selling these, Whistler Bird, but it isn't money that I want. 16 (I want) feathers of birds that fly about because it really delights me to touch bird feathers. 17 How¹⁰ about it, you want some? 18 One guava for one feather. 19. *Naa*,¹¹ hurry (in deciding) because¹² I'm going to be distracted selling."

20 Because the whistler bird really desired the guava, he agreed but he still had that which was holding him back. 21 He again said, "I'm really having a hard time (deciding) because of course it's not possible for me to touch the ground."

22 The cat said, "Never mind, Whistler Bird; just come here (and stand) on the winnowing basket that I'm carrying on my head. 23 Never mind if it (gives) me a hard time; every time you eat a guava, you can just stay put there¹³ pulling out a feather of yours."

24 There was the whistler bird holding on with its claws to the winnowing basket that the cat was carrying. 25 He ate a guava. 26 Whenever he finished one guava, the cat encouraged him again to just keep on eating. 27 He kept doing this, not realizing that there was only one of his feathers left. 28 The cat kept on laughing because of course the whistler bird was caught. 29 No matter how hard the whistler bird jumped, he definitely was no longer able to fly.

¹⁰ Moral lessons are not made explicit in stories, but one could glean the following: (a) It is not good to be lazy. (b) Criticism, although painful and frustrating at the time, can work in the end to better us. (c) A lazy person can realize the value of industriousness when he sees the good harvest. (d) When a field (or any large task) is done a section at a time, it is soon completed.

30 Te,¹⁴ oran pobbo to id ka-an don to mengko dos boyaku.¹⁵

Iddos Kod-ipanow ni Sunni

Julian Tungcalan

1 Dangan poron duwon toosawa no iddos mama, od ngoranan ki Ombong woy dos ba-ay si Tumomowan. 2 Id oubpa sikandan diyon to Dollag to Tomoggow.¹ 3 Id anak sikandan to sokkad no mama no id ngoranan ki Sunni. 4 Ungkay su od pokonongnong² don si Sunni, id pomuhawang sikandin. 5 Na, mid ikahi sikandin to, “Ina, Ama, siyak bo,” kokahi rin, “od ipopanow a pa ka-ay’t ampow’t ingod.”³ 6 Na, idde-en kos no-ikahi ni Sunni, na id sikollow ron sikandin to kavii rin, woy id sikollow rin mandad iddos pongassu rin. 7 Na, mid ipanow ron sikandin. 8 Bayang duwon tanud din tadda, no riyon don sikandin to tongannan to lumut. 9 Na laggun to id lo-uklo-uk sikandin diyot lumut, mid ponulan din dos ipan to od kovoyan din. 10 Na duwon mgo kayu no duwon bunga, duwon dos kopakoy nod kannon, duwon mandad dos diid koka-an. 11 Ipan to id geddaman din nod koka-an no bungot kayu, od temosson din iddos mgo lisoo riyon to kavii rin. 12 Na, otin od pokovaya sikandin to waa iling to boyo taddon kayu, dutun din en id pomuwa iddon mgo lisoo taman to nokoso-ob kos langun no osso-ossan bungot kayu riyot kotownan. 13 Od kovoyan din mandad iddos mgo uvud.⁴ 14 Duwon dos uvud nod koka-an, duwon mandad dos diid koka-an. 15 To kodlingukus din to ingod, iyon din ko-ontayan dutun iddos bungot kayu woy iddos mgo uvud.

16 Sokkodsokkod, id ipanow sikandin dutun woy nokita rin ko momonnu kos boyo ka-ay’t ingod. 17 Nosorollan⁵ din inis boyo ka-ay’t ingod no duwon mgo puu,⁶ otollu no nolingkus to oweg. 18 Na to novulli ron, id oilogga sikandin diyot lobbut to kayu.

19 Na to nolingkus din don kos ingod, mid uli ron sikandin diyon to ubpan to inoy woy amoy rin diyon to Dollag. 20 Od uvanon don woy od kovokkut don sikandin pomon to kouhayyoy to kodlingkus din ka-ay’t ingod. 21 Na mid ponudtuu rin don woy mid nonaw rin diyot kandin no mgo lubbad⁷ iddos langun no no-ukitan din, iddos boyo to ingod, dos od koka-an no bungot kayu woy dos diid koka-an no bungot kayu, dos mgo uvud no diid koka-an woy kopakoy nod koka-an.

22 Na ko-ungkay, dos mgo linubbaran ni Sunni, konnod gutasan otin od undiyon to lumut su mo-uraa man no koka-an no id toddu woy id nonaw ni Sunni kandan. 23 Kahi ni Sunni no, “Ini, od koka-an no bungot kayu, ini mandad od koka-an no uvud.” 24 Dutun pantok nosorollan iddos uvud nod koka-an, konna od



Sunni sampled the fruit from the trees.
Od geddaman ni Sunni kos mgo bungot kayu.

30 *Te*,¹⁴ what happened next, the cat ate the whistler bird.¹⁵

Sunni's Travels

Traditional history as recounted by Julian Tungcalan

1 A very long time ago there was a married couple; the man's name was Ombong and the woman was Tumomowan. 2 They lived in Dollag in Tomoggow.¹ 3 They had a son named Sunni. 4 Now when Sunni was already able to think,² he formulated a plan. 5 Then he said, "Mom, Dad, if it's okay with you, as for me," he said, "I'm going to travel around the country³ awhile." 6 So that is what Sunni said; then he went and got his bamboo backpack and he also went and got his spear. 7 Then he left. 8 Before he realized it, he was already in the middle of the wild. 9 Now while he was walking around in the wild, he noticed each place he went through. 10 (He noticed) there were trees that had fruit; there were those that could be eaten, (and) also those that could not be eaten. 11 Each time he tested eating the fruit of a tree, he carefully put the seeds in his wicker backpack. 12 Now whenever he went through somewhere that didn't have a tree like that, he would plant those seeds there until all different kinds of fruit trees were spread in the wild. 13 He also came across (various plants containing) pith.⁴ 14. There were (plants containing) pith that are edible, (and) also those that are not edible. 15 While he went around the country, what he survived on was fruit trees and (different kinds of) pith.

16 Gradually he went around and he saw how this country was shaped. 17 He knew⁵ that the shape of this country (consisted) of islands,⁶ three (islands) surrounded by water. 18 Whenever it was evening, he slept at the foot of a tree.

19 So when he had gone around the country, he returned to the house of his mother and father in Dollag. 20 He was getting gray and getting hunchback due to the length of time of his going around the country. 21 Then he informed and taught his descendants⁷ all he experienced, the shape of the country, the edible fruit trees and the inedible fruit trees, the (plants containing) inedible pith and those which could be eaten.

22 So today Sunni's descendants are not hungry when going to the wild, because there surely are many edible plants that Sunni pointed out and taught them about. 23 Sunni said, "This (plant) has edible fruit; as for this, it has edible pith." 24 It was at that point in time that it was known which (plants containing) pith were edible that

¹ *He* and its variant *Hee*: are exclamatory particles used by the speaker at the beginning of a traditional narrative as a rhetorical device to get the audience excited about the story they are about to hear.

² A common way of starting a traditional narrative, setting the stage by introducing the main character(s).

³ A small brown insect-eating bird (*Pachycephala* sp.).

⁴ *timpu*: literally, 'time'.

⁵ *man ayu*: 'surely perhaps'. With a request, it is not uncommon to have an assertive particle followed by an uncertainty particle to soften the request and at the same time giving subtle emphasis to the request.

poko-ilu pomon ki Sunni. 25 Purisu sikami no mgo linubbaran no mgo too-ingod,⁸ konna koy od patoy't gutas ko od undiyon koy to lumut. 26 Oyya su⁹ si Sunni, id nonaw taddot kopakoy nod koka-an no bungot kayu, woy mgo uvud.

27 Ka-ay re-en taman kos itulon ku.

Iddos Uvaa woy dos Ponnu

Montira Sia

1 Ingkon inis¹ uvaa woy ponnu, od po-oukuyoy.² 2 Sokkad no allow id soumbeteng inis ponnu riyot duhi.³ 3 Kahi tat ponnu,⁴ “Kangkan od ko-okalan ku ika,⁵ na od kanta⁶ a.” 4 Kahi⁷ tat ponnu to, “Ngiya,⁸ ngiya sallag⁹ ku pa, nga,¹⁰ nga sallag ku pa ngiya, ngiya.” 5 Iddo re-ek od kopuungan tat ponnu.¹¹

6 Na to id dinog dos uvaa no oukuy rin, id ikahi sikandin no, “Ondoy ayu kos diyot datas? 7 Idda man bos ayu,” kahi, “ponnu idda.” 8 Na id penek iddos uvaa, od ahawan din don en iddos ponnu no kahi rin, “Momonnu ika?”¹²

9 “Ah,”¹³ kahi tat ponnu, “dii ka od kotuig duwon otin dii ka od poko-iling, od ko-uug ka.”

10 “Geddaman ta¹⁴ ve-en,” kahi tat uvaa.

11 “Ika,” kahit ponnu, “so duhi, id tiyuk dut lobbut du.¹⁵ 12 Na soombiyug kad bo.”

13 “Oyya,” kahi tat uvaa. 14 Dam don en id soombiyug dos uvaa.

15 “Na iling kad me-en kanta,” kahi tat ponnu, “Ngiya, ngiya sallag ku pa, nga, nga sallag ku pa, mogkissok.”¹⁶ 16 Noo¹⁷ tat sikandin en kangkan kos od kissok. 17 Dam don be-en od betengbeteng dos uvaa, id dasok man moho id ayas tat ponnu iddos duhi diyot lobbut. 18 Dam en nokatkat iddos bituka, id patoy woy diyon dot livuta.



The monkey climbed up.
Id penek iddos uvaa.

⁶ *Te*: an exclamation particle that has many meanings depending on context. In this context, *Te* denotes total disagreement with the previous statement.

⁷ *no-uma*: literally, ‘arrived at’.

⁸ *Ku*: an exclamation particle denoting a desire to have what is seen.

⁹ *Te*: in this context, *Te* denotes total agreement with the previous statement. (See footnote 6 and 14.)

¹⁰ *Ondan man*: literally, ‘Assuredly what’.

¹¹ *Naa*: an interjection as if to say, “Hurry up!”

¹² Implied: if you don’t take some now...

¹³ Implied: on the winnowing basket.

were not poisonous; (this knowledge) came from Sunni. 25 Therefore, we descendants living in the lowland,⁸ we will not die from hunger when we go to the wild. 26 The reason for that⁹ is Sunni taught what fruit trees and (plants containing) pith were edible. 27 This is the end of my account.

The Monkey and the Turtle

A traditional narrative as recounted by Montira Sia

1 As for¹ the monkey and the turtle, they were friends.² 2 One day the turtle was swinging back and forth on a thorny plant.³ 3 The turtle said,⁴ “Later I’ll deceive that one⁵ over there; now I will sing.”⁶ 4 The turtle sang,⁷ “*Ngiya*,⁸ *ngiya* I will first do some roasting,⁹ *nga*,¹⁰ *nga* I will do some roasting *ngiya*, *ngiya*.” 5 That was what the turtle kept doing.¹¹

6 Now when his friend the monkey heard him, he said, “Who might that be up there? 7 That must be,” he said, “the turtle.” 8 So the monkey climbed up, he grabbed the turtle’s place and he said, “How (did you do) that?”¹²

9 “Ah,”¹³ the turtle said, “you won’t know how to do that, if you are not able to do it the same, you’ll fall.”

10 “Let me¹⁴ try,” the monkey said.

11 “That,” the turtle said, “thorny plant, you push into your posterior.”¹⁵ 12 Then you swing back and forth.”

13 “Okay,” the monkey said. 14 What then, the monkey was swinging back and forth.

15 “Now you (should) of course sing like this,” the turtle said, “*Ngiya*, *ngiya* I will do some roasting, *nga*, *nga* I will do some roasting, *mogkissok*.”¹⁶ 16 What will really happen¹⁷ is that he will later yell with pain. 17 What happened next, as the monkey was hanging (from the thorny plant), the turtle just kept on shoving the thorn up into his posterior. 18 What then, the intestines came out, (and the monkey) died and (fell) to the ground.

¹⁴ In this context, *Te* functions as a rhetorical device, the speaker’s way of highlighting the peak or climax of the story.

¹⁵ Moral lessons are not made explicit in stories, but one could glean the following: (a) We should not be quickly carried away by things that attract us because we will be deceived, particularly in regards to desirous things, because they can entrap us. (b) It is important that all we do is carefully thought through. (c) We should be careful as to whom we trust.

¹ Dollag in Tomoggow: a village near Tinananon River in Arakan Valley, Cotabato Province.

² A young child isn’t considered old enough to think or be able to formulate thoughts until he/she is about six years old.

³ *ingod*: ‘country, region, world’ depending on context. Here the speaker is probably referring to traveling around the region or country of the Philippines.

⁴ *uvud*: the soft, spongy, central tissue in the stems or trunk of dicotyledonous plants such as palms, banana plants, bamboos, rattans. The pith is eaten as a vegetable and usually is bitter in taste.

⁵ Implied: from his travels.

⁶ The speaker is possibly referring to the three main islands groups of the Philippines: Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao.

⁷ Although it is not mentioned, it is assumed that Sunni married and had children.

19 To kod-inguma tat ponnu riyot livuta, “Kopobbo,¹⁸” kahit ponnu, “no-ekkop ad.” 20 Id angoy tat ponnu iddos tolinga, idde-en kos monika¹⁹ amoy’d bovallan no inopuhan. 21 Id angoy mandad taddot ponnu iddos pusung, idde-ek moman.²⁰ 22 Id angoy mandon taddot ponnu iddos utok, idde-ek apug.²¹ 23 Na dos longossa, idde-en kos od bovallan no tinoppa²² tat momannon din. 24 Na id angoy rin iddos ikug, id bovallan no komuu.²³ 25 Na to nopongnga ron, kahit ponnu, “Id lasud kud to soning²⁴ ini sud ipanow ad.”

26 Dam don ed ipanow, nokorinog sikandin to mgo uvaa nod kosamuk, od pon-oddok. 27 “O,”²⁵ kahit ponnu, “ini kos no-om-ommayan.”

28 “Te,”²⁶ kahit uvaa, “ahad dii rud od osengon ika su ini ron me-ek ukit du.”²⁷

29 “Na, od lihad ad,”²⁸ kahit ponnu.

30 “Od ingkon ka vo?” kahit uvaa.

31 “Od uli ad me-en,” kahi rin.

32 “Yo ka pa,” kahit uvaa. 33 “Duwon ka pa su od buyu koy pa od mama.”

34 Kahit ponnu, “Duwon ini, undini kowd.”

35 Id ponlingya ek mgo uvaa. 36 Id ponsavuk dak mgo oddok dan. 37 Ondam be-et iddos tolinga, monika. 38 Dos pusung, id moman woy dos utok, idde-en kos apug. 39 Dos longossa, idde-en kos id tubpa. 40 Idda mandad so ikug, komuu. 41 Dam pobbe-et id pontoked dan en langun.

42 To nopongnga ran don id momama, id ikahi iddos ponnu no, “Od lihad ad.”

43 Kahit uvaa, “Oyya.”

44 Id ipanow sikandin taman diyot ibpit nod korinog tat mgo uvaa. 45 Duwon dok ponnu. 46 “Ooy,”²⁹ kahit ponnu, “Nokomamamamot duma ran!”

47 “Hi,”³⁰ kahi tat bongoo no uvaa, “nokomamamama ki kut duma ta.” 48 Kahi tat motallong no uvaa to, “Bongo ru ron ika.”

49 “Dii!” kahi rin. 50 “Pominogga row man.”³¹

51 Od uman don mandon, “Ooy, nokomamamamot duma ran!” 52 “Aah,”³² kahit tat uvaa, “idda vos kos id puungan tat ponnu. 53 Angat ka sud lupuhon ka.”

54 Dam don en od loupug inis mgo uvaa. 55 Id paahuy en inis ponnu, woy to kod-inguma riyot bosiyow³³ to bohikki, id usok moho iddos ponnu riyot daom sud oollos. 56 O³⁴ od lopangngan de-en to mgo uvaa no kahi ran, “Waa ka-ay.”

57 No avoy’d ooseng iddos ponnu no kahi, “Ooy, nokomamamamot duma ran!” 58 Dam be-en to sigid lappang kos mgo uvaa.

⁸ *too-ingod*: derived from *ingod* ‘region, country, world’. The speaker is contrasting the highland, i.e., the wilderness and forest, to the lowland, i.e., open areas where there are few trees.

⁹ *Oyya su*: literally, ‘Yes because’.

¹ *Ingkon inis*: literally, ‘Where this’. It is a common rhetorical device in Manobo traditional narratives to introduce the main protagonists, thereby setting the stage.

² In another traditional narrative featuring the turtle and monkey, the monkey deceives the turtle by taking bananas that rightfully belonged to the turtle. They were friends but the nature of the monkey was such that he always took advantage of his friend, the turtle. Monkeys are known to be thieves, snatching what they want even if it isn’t theirs. This narrative shows the turtle who is slower, getting back at the monkey, in fact, killing him and outsmarting all the monkey’s companions. The listeners would not feel sympathy for the monkey because of his reputation as a thief, but admire the turtle for his wit.

³ This refers specifically to what is called *wangoy* ‘the thorny end of a rattan vine’ which is about 1 meter (39 inches) in length.

⁴ Implied: to himself.

19 At the turtle's arrival to the ground, "*Kopobbo*,"¹⁸ the turtle said, "I (now) have everything." 20 Turtle got the ears, those were the betel leaves¹⁹ in order to use for the makings of betel chew. 21 The turtle also got the heart which was the betel chew.²⁰ 22 The turtle also got the brain which was the lime.²¹ 23 Now as for the blood, that became (like) that which is spit out²² (after chewing) his betel chew. 24 Then he got the tail to make into a *komuu*²³ 'teeth blackener'. 25 Now when it was (all) finished, the turtle said, "I'll put it into this shoulder bag²⁴ because I am leaving."

26 What then, as (he) was walking, he heard monkeys boisterously harvesting rice. 27 "O,"²⁵ the turtle said, "this is a really large rice field."

28 "*Te*,"²⁶ a monkey said, "you don't need to say that because naturally you (can see it for yourself)."²⁷

29 "So then, I'll just be passing by,"²⁸ the turtle said.

30 "Where are you going?" the monkey said.

31 "Naturally I'm returning home," he said.

32 "Don't go yet," the monkey said. 33 "Stay awhile because we'd (like) to ask for (some of your betel chew) to chew for a short time."

34 The turtle said, "I have some here; come here." 35 The monkeys lined up. 36 They dropped their (work of) harvesting. 37 What (they saw next), an ear was the betel leaf. 38 A heart was the betel chew and a brain, that was the lime. 39 The blood was what was spit out. 40 And as for the tail, it was a teeth blackener. 41 What happened next, it was all equally distributed.

42 When they finished chewing betel chew, the turtle said, "I'll be passing by."

43 The monkeys said, "Okay."

44 He walked until (he got to) the edge (of the rice field) where the monkeys were within earshot. 45 There was the turtle. 46 "*Ooy*,"²⁹ the turtle said, "they betel chewed their companion!"

47 "*Hi*,"³⁰ a deaf monkey said, "we reportedly betel chewed our companion." 48 A monkey who could hear well said, "That's (due to) your earwax."³¹

49 "No!" he said. 50 "You assuredly listen."

51 (The turtle) again repeated, "*Ooy*, they betel chewed their companion!" 52 "*Aah*,"³² that monkey said, "so that's what that turtle is doing. 53 You wait because you will be chased after."

54 What then, the monkeys took chase. 55 The turtle ran away, and upon arriving at an outer shell³³ of a *bohibbi* palm, the turtle went inside to hide. 56 *O*³⁴ the monkeys just stepped over him and they said, "He's not here."

57 Now the turtle kept on speaking saying, "*Ooy*, they betel chewed their companion!" 58 What then, the monkeys kept stepping over him.

⁵ This refers to the monkey.

59 Na kahi ka-ay't ponnu to, "Lappang siyow soppet." 60 Sud ponlappang me-en iddos mgo uvaa tat bosiyow, od ponsoppet kos boto.³⁵

61 "I,"³⁶ kahi tat uvaa, "pominog kow man, ka-ay en." 62 O³⁷ ondan be-et lokkata en ka-ay't uvaa iddos bosiyow, na nokita ran en iddos ponnu. 63 Kahi tat mgo uvaa, "Ini rad be-en. 64 Id lumbag ta moho ini riyot oweg." 65 Kahit sokkad no uvaa to, "Dii, od tuwoggon ta riyot apuy."

66 Na kahi tat ponnu, "Iya, yo a nikiyu id lumbag diyot oweg su od patoy a." 67 Na kahit uvaa to, "Od monnuwon³⁸ ta moho ini?" 68 Na kahi tat sokkad to, "Od ponibbason ta."

69 "He,"³⁹ norattan mohok goggot⁴⁰ dow su batu moho ika, ontongngi row man." 70 Na kahi to mgo uvaa to, "Od diyonnon ta en baling to apuy."

71 "Te, od kouggat kow re-en moho," kahit ponnu, "su od koloow a vo su batu a man? 72 Ika ruwot oweg, yo a nikiyu id lumbag dutun su diyon ek kopotayan ku."

73 Na onnata ran. 74 Kahit mgo uvaa, "Od diyonnon ta en to oweg."

75 Dam en id lumbag iddos ponnu riyot oweg, te⁴¹ ondam bot, upus⁴² poron id laangngag iddos ponnu woy kahi rin to, "Bonuwa⁴³ ku moho ini."

76 "Kuu,"⁴⁴ kahit mgo uvaa, "nokolegguang sikandin. 77 Na ko ungketen, langun ta od inommon ta inis oweg."

78 "Moppiya pa," kahit ponnu.

79 Ondan bo to langun to uvaa id pousung sud inommon en dos oweg. 80 Ondan⁴⁵ mohok od inom taddot sigid aus no oweg.⁴⁶ 81 Id poomatoy iddos mgo uvaa to mattag kovuungoy ran. 82 Na idde-ek kolegguangan taddot ponnu.⁴⁷

83 Tadda re-en taman.

Si Wou

*Alunsu Suhat Sr.*¹

1 Duwon ka rad² si Wou.³ 2 Kosi Wou no, "Kobinsayan,⁴ od ngilam kis dakkoon sundau iko-i." 3 Olipollos⁵ mandad nid doddohusun botaron ni Wout sundau.⁶

4 Id uli en onsi⁷ Wou kahi, "Kobibi, Lumodtunglosung⁸ no laangkob kow's sundau."

⁶ The turtle's singing is part of his plan to deceive the monkey.

⁷ *kahi*: literally, 'said'.

⁸ *Ngiya*: sound that the turtle makes.

⁹ The turtle is planning to roast the monkey's brain to be like lime, the main ingredient in making betel chew. See sentence 22, footnote 21.

¹⁰ *nga*: an abbreviated variant of *ngiya*.

¹¹ The turtle was swinging on the thorny plant while simultaneously singing to get the monkey's attention. In another version of this traditional narrative, the monkey climbs up to where the turtle is, enticed by the turtle's claim to see a "golden moon".

¹² Implied: swinging on the thorny plant while simultaneously singing.

¹³ *Ah*: an interjection denoting rejection of the request.

¹⁴ *ta*: literally, 'we inclusive pronoun'. Although the monkey is just referring to himself, it is common to use 'we' in this kind of sentence. It typically implies a polite request.

¹⁵ This would be considered very humorous for the listeners.

¹⁶ *mogkissok*: is onomatopoeic of the sound a monkey makes when in pain. This is the turtle's sly way of subtly forewarning the monkey what the turtle will do to him. The turtle has the monkey sing a song with *kissok*, thereby making fun of him.

¹⁷ *Noo*: an aside by the storyteller, giving the listeners a short preview of what will happen.

59 Then the turtle said, “The nine stepping over are flat.” 60 (He said this) because naturally as the monkeys were stepping over the outer shell (of the palm), (he could see their) testicles were flattened.³⁵

61 “I,”³⁶ a monkey said, “listen; he’s definitely here.” 62 O³⁷ what then, when those monkeys overturned the outer shell, then they saw the turtle. 63 The monkeys said, “Finally, here it is. 64 Let’s throw it into the river.” 65 One of the monkeys said, “No, let’s roast it over the fire.”

66 Then the turtle said, “Don’t, don’t throw me in the water because I’ll die.” 67 Now (one of) the monkeys said, “So what³⁸ will we do with this?” 68 Then one (of them) said, “Let’s chop it up.”

69 “He,”³⁹ your machetes⁴⁰ will be ruined because that thing is a rock; you’ll see.” 70 Then the monkeys said, “Let’s instead throw it in the fire.”

71 “Te, you’ll just be wasting (all your) effort,” the turtle said, “because (after all), will I burn since I surely am a rock? 72 (Now) over there in the river; don’t you throw me in there because that definitely would be my death.”

73 Then they picked him up. 74 The monkeys said, “Let’s definitely throw him in the river.”

75 What then, the turtle was thrown into the river; *te*⁴¹ (but) what then, the turtle first⁴² looked up and he said, “Don’t you know, this is my place.”⁴³

76 “Kuu,”⁴⁴ the monkeys said, “he escaped. 77 So if that’s the situation, let’s all of us drink up this river.”

78 “An even better (idea),” the turtle said.

79 What then, all the monkeys helped out because they really were (intent on) drinking up the river. 80 How⁴⁵ could anyone drink up a river that just kept on flowing?⁴⁶ 81 The monkeys (all) died from each of them being overly full. 82 So that is how that turtle got its freedom.⁴⁷

83 Just indeed up to here (is my story).

Wou

*A traditional narrative as recounted by Alunsu Suhat Sr.*¹

1 You just have² Wou.³ 2 Wou said, “Kobinsayan,⁴ let’s be vigilant because there are many soldiers over there!” 3 Those were (really) many mushrooms⁵ that Wou said were soldiers.⁶

4 Wou and his wife⁷ returned home saying, “Kobibi, Lumodtunglosung,⁸ lie face down because (there are) soldiers.”

¹⁸ *Kopobbo*: an interjection with many meanings depending on the context, e.g., “I told you so!”, “Finally!”, or “You deserve it!” In this context, it means: “Finally! I have what I’ve long wanted.”

¹⁹ *monika*: betel pepper vine (*Piper betle*). The leaf is chewed with the areca nut in the betel chew.

²⁰ *momun*: betel palm (*Areca catechu*).

²¹ *apug*: a kind of lime made from burnt snail shells. This is one of the main ingredients for making betel chew.

²² When betel chew is spit out it appears like blood.

²³ *komuu*: a kind of rattan, the roots of which were chewed and rubbed onto the teeth in order to blacken them (*Calamus*, *Daemonorops*, or *Plectocomia*). This was a form of adornment for the Manobo in the past.

5 Eh,⁹ oran be-en mo ongki Wou tid lilidlilid ikot sopeleng sod pongngilam. 6 Oran bo tod lorayat allow mod pompatoy rot gutas.

7 Inguma mas kakoy rin no si Boto-oy.¹⁰ 8 “Nomonnu ka man mo,” kahi, “Wou, nis immat od busawon, pompatoy kowd to gutas. 9 Ingkon mak id kovaakki row?”

10 Kosi Wou, “Sundau.”

11 “Sundau mo,”¹¹ kahis, “olipollos! 12 Nataa¹² idda, nataa nod koka-an. 13 Iyon moppiya od awat kow’t sannoy,¹³ osa-a row vo sud gutasan kow.”

14 “Oyyo vos en!” kosi Wou.

15 Uli en mandos Wou nid pon-awat to sannoy, no okkoy¹⁴ dakkoo en mandon no sannoy nid awat dan. 16 Kahi, “Unna ka vo ginganga, Kobinsayan, sud osan tak bivig¹⁵ du.” 17 Osa-a eso sannoy ini diyot bivig no ko-ivollong don en ni Kobinsayan na-atuu es anak no tee¹⁶ nongovuungbuung.

18 Duwon dad sikandan sod oubpa. 19 Oo,¹⁷ oran bot noko-ottut¹⁸ don be-es Kobinsayan, id gutasat sannoy waa man noutu. 20 “Sugkip,”¹⁹ kosi Wou, “Kobinsayan, patoy kad²⁰ bos od ngarog kad. 21 Dullung ka pa,” kahi, “riyot binaayan.”²¹

22 Povovay es Wou, inguma riyon ini,²² uli ron mandos Wou. 23 Oran be-en mohot, ingumon noko-ottut don mandos kakoy’n anak din.

24 “Tuuwoy,”²³ pongo-amin ki ron bos en,”²⁴ kosi Wou, 25 “od patoy sud pongngarog kowd.”

26 Dullung din mandon diyot binaayan. 27 Ponnokponnok en no si Wou robbos nosama. 28 “Too,”²⁵ kosi Wou, “Siyak dobbo bos sod ko-uyag ka-ay’t ampow’t ingod.” 29 Todtahad en no noko-ottut en mandos Wou su id gutasan mat sannoy. 30 “Oo,”²⁶ kosi Wou, “ondoy pobbo mos duma²⁷ ku ka-ay’t patoy ad bos od ngarog ad.”

31 Diyon don mandos Wout sabbung to binaayan sid aput don mandon sid unung ka-ay’t sawa rin woy mgo anak nid lilidlilid²⁸ diyot sa-ag. 32 Waad en mgo woongngan ka-ay’t minatoy’n mgo mata ron man ikon od ponlorowlorow.

33 Ingumo ron mandon si Boto-oy ponsipa-a onsi²⁹ Wou. 34 “Pombusawon kow ayu. 35 Waa mo,” kahis, “waa row ilutuwa³⁰ mohos, olli kad be-en mo ruwon. 36 Kua kow ponlo-uklo-uk pomuwag duwot potiyukan diyon, pomongiyara kow.”

²⁴ *soning*: a decorated bag with a long handle used in the past by men to hold ingredients of betel chew so that they could chew it wherever they went.

²⁵ *O*: an interjection denoting surprise, similar to “Wow!”

²⁶ *Te*: an interjection with many meanings depending on the context. Here it denotes agreement with what the turtle has stated.

5 *Eh*,⁹ what (then), Wou and the others were rolling around there under the eave of the house being vigilant. 6 What then, after a whole day (of doing that), they were dying of hunger.

7 His older brother, Boto-oy,¹⁰ arrived. 8 “What are you doing,” he said; “Wou, it’s as if (you’re all) crazy; you’ll die of hunger. 9 What is it you’re afraid of?”

10 Wou said, “Soldiers.”

11 “Soldiers, *mo*,¹¹ (Boto-oy) said, “(those are) mushrooms! 12 Those are a (kind of) vegetable,¹² an edible vegetable. 13 What would be good is that you harvest corn,¹³ then shell it because you’re hungry.”

14 “Hey, yes indeed!” Wou said.

15 Wou returned home again getting the corn; *okkoy*¹⁴ the corn they got was really huge. 16 (Wou) said, “You first open your mouth, Kobinsayan, because we’ll shell the corn on your teeth.”¹⁵ 17 So with Kobinsayan’s teeth, the corn was shelled, which was swallowed (and Wou did) the same to each of the children who *tee*¹⁶ (afterwards) were really full.

18 So there they were resting. 19 *Oo*,¹⁷ what happened then, Kobinsayan had flatul¹⁸ from being hungry for the corn that hadn’t been thoroughly cooked. 20 “*Sugkip*,¹⁹ Wou said, “Kobinsayan, you’ve died;²⁰ you smell bad. 21 I’ll carry you,” he said, “to the old large abandoned house.”²¹

22 Wou put her on his back; he arrived there,²² (then) Wou returned home again. 23 What then, when he arrived, his oldest child also had flatul.

24 “*Tuuwoy*,²³ we will all be finished off,”²⁴ Wou said, 25 “dying because (the proof is) you smell bad.”

26 He also carried him to the old large abandoned house. 27 This is what he kept doing until only Wou was left. 28 “*Too*,²⁵ Wou said, “I’m the only one who is left alive on earth.” 29 After awhile Wou had flatul, too, because of hunger for the corn. 30 “*Oo*,²⁶ Wou said, “who’ll be my companion²⁷ when I die (because) I smell bad.”

31 There was Wou again at the shelter of the old abandoned house to go there to die along with his wife and children who had been twisting and turning²⁸ on the floor. 32 There wasn’t any movement from these dead people whose eyes were open and moving.

33 Boto-oy arrived again kicking Wou and the others.²⁹ 34 “You all must be crazy. 35 You didn’t,” he said, “thoroughly cook it;³⁰ just look at (yourselves) there. 36 Walk around (and) go smoke out honeybees there; go look for honey.”

²⁷ *ukit du*: literally, ‘you are passing through.’

²⁸ *od lihad ad*: is a common thing to say to those in the yard while walking past someone’s place and there is no intention of stopping to visit.

²⁹ *Ooy*: an interjection denoting calling out to anyone within earshot.

³⁰ *Hi* and its variant *I*: are interjections denoting telling others to listen, as if to say “Did you hear what I just heard?”

³¹ Implied: “You heard wrong.”

³² *Aah*: an interjection denoting anger.

³³ *bosiyow*: a hollowed out section of the *bohibbi* palm tree discarded on the ground in the wilderness that had been previously cut in order to extract sago. See Section IV Livelihood: *Sago*.

³⁴ *O*: a rhetorical device on the part of the speaker implying criticism of what the monkeys were doing. And the particle prepares the listeners for what will happen next.

37 Diyon lad³¹ en onsi³² Wou mandon, kahi, “Oyyo vos en moho, ka-an ki pa uvag mo,” kahit, “potiyukan.”³³ 38 Posuva ikot we-eg mohon iyon dud³⁴ so saarong mo nid loloohinat nod ponponabtab. 39 Kua-a so namu id sanggat tat pangot³⁵ saarong sakoy es Wou, pehesan en ni Wous Kobinsayan, “Undini kowd³⁶ sud soggod.”³⁷ 40 Lungkossu man mo ni saarong. 41 Botaron din nod sohoddon ponsanggat to wangoy. 42 No oran bo mohot simsimbokkad si Wous nongovaak³⁸ to duhi, patoy lad mohos Wou.

43 Ingumanni man ni Boto-oy, kahi, “Le-aw ke-en moho. 44 Waa mo so potiyukan no riyot lovuta mo nod ponponabtab to saarong man moho idda. 45 Nangkap kow,” kahit, “mooggot no potiyukan.”

46 Ipanow ron mandos Wou, tuuya mandos Kobinsayan, si Lumodtunglosung, woy nokodlihad ki Lumobaglobut³⁹ no waa pa nokodkilaa.⁴⁰ 47 Posuvot we-eg, inguma kot linow ini, no iyon dud⁴¹ so potiyukan no iddot daom⁴² to linow.

48 “Oo, okkoyoy,”⁴³ kosi Wou “no Kobinsayan idda vos mok dakkoon potiyukat daom to we-eg, iyon dos od sonobbon.” 49 Kodkod et namu,⁴⁴ sooyyon⁴⁵ Wou. 50 Sonnob es Wou no oran bot od gampung⁴⁶ si Wou su moraom so linow. 51 Kahi, “Konna.”⁴⁷ 52 Od go-un a pa,” kosi Wou, “sud kua a pot kayu od awat.” 53 Tibbas et kayu, sobpanga-a es Wou, kahi, “Kobinsayan, sobpangow vok awak⁴⁸ ku sud gampung a.” 54 Sonnob es Woun sobpanga en ni Kobinsayan to kayus Wou, loggon en mon Wou tid dasok de-en ni Kobinsayan diyot daom to linow. 55 Od patoy ron mohos Woun no-oppuk.

56 Dam en noko-indos⁴⁹ si Wou, tee⁵⁰ ponggampung lad mok kuon Wou ruwon. 57 Kosi Kobinsayan, “Lumodtunglosung, Kobibi, Lumobaglobut, kua kowd dalit⁵¹ nod ko-uug.”⁵² 58 Tovangi ran diyot we-eg, duwon do sod pomonga-an. 59 Oran bo mos sovukis Wou ini, od patoy ron mohos no-oppuk diyot we-eg.

“Wow, that is really a huge beehive there in the water.”
 “Okkoyoy, dakkoon potiyukan diyot daom to we-eg.”



³⁵ For the listeners, this serves as humor and within the narrative, the turtle says this to irritate the monkeys.

³⁶ *I*: See footnote 30.

³⁷ *O*: a rhetorical device used by the speaker to alert the listeners to listen to what happens next.

³⁸ *monnuwon*: literally, ‘how’.

³⁹ *He*: an interjection denoting criticism or mocking.

37 There³¹ were Wou and his companions³² again, saying, “Hey, yes, let’s eat some,” they said, “honey.”³³ 38 Following a trail along the river there you³⁴ (can see) a deer standing grazing in a field. 39 Taking a torch, sticking it in the deer’s antlers,³⁵ Wou rode on it; Wou shouted to Kobinsayan, “Come here³⁶ because (I’m being) stung.”³⁷ 40 The deer unsurprisingly took off running. 41 He claimed he’d been stung (but) a thorny vine had really scratched him. 42 Then what happened next, the thorns one by one stuck into³⁸ Wou; (poor) Wou (nearly) died.

43 Boto-oy then arrived, saying, “You’re really clowning around. 44 There’s no honey in the ground; that was a deer grazing. 45 Go find,” he said, ‘real honey’.

46 Wou left again, stopping by to get Kobinsayan, Lumodtunglosung, and they passed by Lumobaglobut³⁹ whom they hadn’t yet met.⁴⁰ 47 Following a trail along the river, they arrived at the lake, (and) there you⁴¹ (could see) a beehive there in⁴² the lake.

48 “*Oo okkoyoy*,”⁴³ Wou said, “Kobinsayan, that is a huge beehive in the water; that’ll be what I’ll dive for.” 49 Tying a torch,⁴⁴ Wou put it on his shoulder.⁴⁵ 50 Wou dove in but what then, Wou was floating⁴⁶ because the lake was deep. 51 He said, “This isn’t working.”⁴⁷ 52 First I’ll get out,” Wou said, “to get some wood.” 53 Chopping down a tree, Wou made a forked branch, saying, “Kobinsayan, push the forked branch against my waist⁴⁸ because I’m floating.” 54 Wou dove (again) as Kobinsayan pushed the forked branch against Wou; Wou really had a hard time from Kobinsayan pushing him down into the lake. 55 Wou nearly died from being out of breath.

56 What happened next, Wou defecated,⁴⁹ (and) *tee*⁵⁰ Wou’s feces were floating along. 57 Kobinsayan said, “Lumodtunglosung, Kobibi, Lumobaglobut, get those honey crystals⁵¹ that are dropping.”⁵² 58 They got it from the water, (and) ate it. 59 What then (when) Wou was released, he nearly died from being out of breath in the water.

⁴⁰ *goggot*: literally, ‘weapons’. This refers to the machetes the monkeys would have used to harvest their rice.

⁴¹ *te*: a rhetorical device used by the speaker to indicate an unexpected turn of events.

⁴² Implied: Before diving below to the bottom, the turtle first stuck his head out.

⁴³ *Bonuwa*: literally, ‘city, town’.

⁴⁴ *Kuu*: an interjection denoting extreme frustration.

⁴⁵ *Ondan*: literally, ‘What’.

⁴⁶ This is an aside by the speaker.

⁴⁷ Moral lessons are not made explicit in stories, but one could glean the following: (a) Beware of superficial friendships. (b) Someone small, slow, and outnumbered, i.e., the turtle, can outwit someone crafty and quick, i.e., the monkey.

¹ *Alunsu Suhat Sr.*: As a resident of Mutong, Ki-otow, Lanao Kuran, Arakan, this traditional narrative reflects many dialectical differences from the speakers in the Kidapawan area, e.g., sentence 59 *we-eg* ‘water’ is *oweg* in Kidapawan.

60 Ingumanni mandon ni Boto-oy, “Busawon ka mohoh,” kahi. 61 “Wou inis, waa mohos potiayakan no riyot daom to we-eg, idda rad,” kahit, “davow.” 62 Id laangngag mas Woun, do rad bos. 63 Kahid, “Penekkon, Kobinsayan, iyon dos sikkow kod pomenek su e⁵³ id luwoggan ad ini.” 64 Pomenek si Kobinsayan ini sid salloy’t⁵⁴ namu sud pomuwag. 65 “Lukut,” kosi Wou, “Kobinsayan, su od awa kid ka-ay.”

66 Tee,⁵⁵ uli lad onsi Wou, uli ron diyot baoy, no oran bot Wou ka-ay to od oilloggos Wou sud sumansumas Wouk orak moppiya no puhawang. 67 Kahi, “Kobinsayan, kua kad sud kaalin ki. 68 Undiyon ki pa mot ingod to Maanow.”⁵⁶

69 Dam dan en mandon id lawang si Wou en no buoovuoo no ingkon pe-es lokkob duwon no id po-ilogga riyot polikpikat atop, no ruwon kad⁵⁷ sod tarok si Wou. 70 “Tee,”⁵⁸ kosi Wou, “moriyu ron nid baya ta ini, Kobinsayan!” 71 Noko-iyug to baoy rin. 72 Ovay mad doraggoy noko-isau ran mandot ubpan. 73 “Tee, maa mat ubpan ta man mo,” kosi Lumodtunglosung, “ini!”

74 “Awa ka ruwon ika.”⁵⁹ 75 Iinuwon kat busow. 76 Aawang ka ron,” kahi rid, “lolaag to od so-inuwon ki,” kahit, “mohingod to Maanow ini. 77 Ubpas Maanow ini. 78 Konno kod lolaag.”

79 Ingumanni mandon ni Boto-oy, kahi, “Ko-ungoo ka vos mohoh,” kahi. 80 “Wou, soro kad duwon, pon-oilogga kowd duwon od pokotinuho kid.”⁶⁰

81 Duwon lo re-en taman idda.

60 Boto-oy again arrived, “You are really crazy,” he said. 61 “Wou, there isn’t any honey under the water; it’s there,” he said, “above (the water).” 62 Wou looked up, (and) wow, there it was! 63 He said, “Climb up, Kobinsayan, there; you be the one to climb up because e⁵³ I’m exhausted.” 64 Kobinsayan climbed up carrying⁵⁴ a torch to smoke out the bees. 65 “Hurry up,” Wou said, “Kobinsayan, because we’re going to leave here.”

66 *Tee*⁵⁵ Wou (and his companions) returned to the house, what then, Wou laid down because Wou was thinking what might be a good plan. 67 He said, “Kobinsayan, let’s go because we’re going to move. 68 Let’s go for awhile to the region of Maanow.”⁵⁶

69 What then, Wou (and companions) were (supposedly) going down a river on a raft, but instead (were using) a door that was laid on the roof where the rainwater washes down, (and) there you⁵⁷ have Wou rowing. 70 “*Tee*,”⁵⁸ Wou said, “we’ve really gone far, Kobinsayan!” 71 (But they) were behind his house. 72 Laughing out loud in delight (at their progress) they again were in front of the house. 73 “*Tee*, that sure looks like our house,” Lumodtunglosung said.

74 “Don’t say that.”⁵⁹ 75 The evil spirit will notice you. 76 You’re foolish,” he said; “talking will get us cursed by the evil spirit,” he said; “this is the place Maanow live. 77 This is the house of a Maanow. 78 Don’t say anything.”

79 Boto-oy again arrived saying, “You are really silly,” he said. 80 “Wou, stop doing that, (and) lay down there (so) we can sleep.”⁶⁰

81 This is the end.

² *Duwon ka rad*: ‘You just have...’ is a common formulaic beginning to a traditional narrative which functions to introduce the main character(s).

³ *Wou* is the protagonist in other traditional narratives. He is always doing something which provokes much laughter.

⁴ Kobinsayan is Wou’s wife.

⁵ The shape of the mushrooms is similar to the appearance of the helmets of soldiers.

⁶ This is an aside by the speaker for the sake of humor.

⁷ *onsi*: ‘plural absolutive case-marking particle’ referring to the companion(s) of the person mentioned. Although Wou’s wife is not explicitly named, *onsi* indicates Wou has a companion. See Appendix B: Case Markers and Pronouns.

⁸ Kobibi and Lumodtunglosung are Wou’s children.

Appendix A: An Analyzed Manobo Text

The Interlinear Display

For those unfamiliar with interlinear texts, the following discussion explains the purpose of each line, linguistic conventions and language-specific practices that have been followed, and principles of glossing that have been employed.

Explanation of the display

The first line of the interlinear display represents the actual text of Manobo in its standard orthography; that is, how it is spelled. The second line identifies the morphemes of each word. The third line gives a gloss for each morpheme. Content words are glossed by the closest English equivalent. Grammatical words and affixes are glossed by their grammatical function in upper case. (See the list of abbreviations for the explanation of the grammatical function.).

Marking of the glottal stop

In Manobo orthography (i.e., in the first line), a hyphen (-) is used to symbolize an intervocalic glottal stop, as in the word *ko-ungkay* 'now'. (See sentence 1 of the interlinear text that follows.) A glottal stop also precedes all word-initial vowels, but since the glottal stop is predictable in this position, it is not written in the orthography. In the second line of the display, a glottal stop is indicated by an apostrophe in all occurrences, as in *ko'ungkay* and *'amoy*.

Apostrophe

In natural speech, words are frequently contracted. When a consonant-initial word is joined to a word that ends in the semi-vowels *y* or *w*, an apostrophe is inserted between the semi-vowel and the following consonant for ease in reading, as in *no- + luhoy + no nouhoy'n*. (See sentence 4 of the following text.)

Principles underlying the analysis of morphemes

Following Brainard (2003), morphemes have been analyzed on the basis of function. Morphemes having more than one function are labeled according to their function in a particular sentence. For example, the morpheme *to* is labeled 'ergative' when it marks an ergative NP, 'oblique-locative' when it marks a locative NP, 'temporal' when it introduces a temporal word or phrase, 'nominalizer' when it functions as a nominalizer, and 'quote' when it introduces a quote. The plural *mongo* is abbreviated in the text line as *mgo*.

Abbreviations

ADJ	adjective	IN	inclusive
AGR	agreement	INV	involuntary mode
ABS	absolutive case	IRR	irrealis
APT	aptative	IT	iterative
ASRT	assertive	LK	linker
CAUS	causative	LIM	limitation
CRT	certainty	LOC	locative
CL	clause	NEG	negative
CMPV	completive	NP	non-past, noun phrase
CNT	continuous	NR	nominalizer
D1	deictic - near speaker	OBJ	object
D2	deictic - near hearer	OBL	oblique case
D3	deictic - far from speaker and hearer	OPT	optative
DER	derivation	P	past
DIM	diminutive	PHB	prohibitive
DIR	directional	PL	plural
DIR/PR	directional with prominence	PM	personal marker
DIST	distributive	POL	polite
ERG	ergative case	PRB	probable
EX	exclusive	PR	prominence
EXPL	explanatory	REAL	realis
EXT	existential	RCP	reciprocal
GN	general	REL	relative pronoun
GEN	genitive case	SG	singular
GER	gerund	SM	specificity marker
HAB	habitual	SP	specific
HYP	hypothetical	SURP	surprise
IMP	imperative	TEM	temporal
		UNC	uncertainty

Other notations used	Meaning of notation	Example of notation		
		Line no.	Manobo	Gloss
- -	Discontinuous morpheme	11	po--oy palla'	RECIP agree
-	Morpheme break	8	no- lingow -i	INV.P-forget-DIR/PR
/	Alternate gloss	18	dakkoo	big/heavy
.	Compound gloss	1	onni	GEN.PM.PL ¹

¹ GEN.PM.PL = genitive, personal marker, plural.

Notumpahan si Indayodan Andot

Tano Bayawan

0	<i>Notumpahan</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>Indayodan</i>	<i>Andot</i>
	no- tumpag	-an	si	Indayodan	Andot
	INV.P- landslide	-DIR	ABS.PM	Indayodan	Andot

The Time Indayondan Andot Was Buried in a Landslide

1	<i>Inis</i>		<i>itulon</i>		<i>ku</i>	<i>ko-ungkay</i>	<i>moka-atag</i>	<i>to</i>
	'ini	so	'ituu	-on	ku	ko'ungkay	moka'atag	to
	ABS.D1	SM	narrate	-NR	1SG	now	about	NR

<i>notomanan</i>			<i>taddo</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>anggam</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>od</i>
no- taman	-an	tadda	to	'anggam	ku		no	'od
INV.P- happen	-DIR	OBL.PM	OBL	uncle	GEN.1SG	REL	IRR	

<i>ngaranan</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>Indayodan</i>	<i>Andot</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>amoy</i>	<i>onni</i>	<i>Tabita,</i>
ngaran -an	ki	Indayodan	Andot	no	'amoy	'onni	Tabita
name -DIR	OBL.PM	Indayodan	Andot	REL	father	GEN.PM.PL	Tabita

<i>Joseph,</i>	<i>woy</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Domling</i>	<i>Andot.</i>
Joseph	woy	si	Domling	Andot
Joseph	and	ABS.PM	Domling	Andot

This story of mine now is about that which happened to my uncle named Indayodan Andot, the father of Tabita, Joseph, and Domling Andot.

2	<i>Si</i>	<i>Indayodan</i>	<i>Andot,</i>	<i>oraroy</i>	<i>sikandin</i>	<i>nod</i>	<i>poko-utoo</i>	
	<i>si</i>	<i>Indayodan</i>	<i>Andot</i>	<i>'oraroy</i>	<i>sikandin</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>'od</i>	<i>poko- 'utoo</i>
	ABS.PM	<i>Indayodan</i>	<i>Andot</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>3SG</i>	<i>REL</i>	<i>IRR</i>	<i>APT.IT- snare</i>

to	saarong	su	otin	od	pongannup	sikandin,	konna	ra
to	saarong	su	'otin	'od	pongannup	sikandin	konna'	da
OBL	deer	because	HYP	IRR	hunt.w.dog	3SG	NEG	just

<i>oruwa</i>	<i>otollu</i>	<i>dos</i>		<i>od</i>	<i>ko-utoo</i>		<i>rin,</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>konna,</i>
'oruwa'	'otollu'	do	so	'od	ko-	'utoo	din	ko	konna'
two	three	ABS.SP	SM	IRR	INV.NP-	trap	3SG	if	NEG

mo-uraa.
mo'uraa
many

Indoyudan Andot, he could really snare deer because (the proof was) whenever he hunted with dogs, he would not just snare two (or) three, but many.

3 *Na, ipan tod undiyon sikandin to lumut,*
 na 'ipan to 'od 'undion sikandin to lumut
 CL.LK every OBL IRR go 3SG OBL.LOC highland

dii en od lempas, duwon en od ko-utoo.
dii 'en 'od lempas duon 'en 'od ko- 'utoo
 NEG.NP CRT IRR fail EXT CRT IRR INV.NP- trap

So, every time he went to the highland, without fail he definitely would snare something.

4 *Na, nouhoy'n timpu idda sod*
 na no- luhoy no timpu' 'idda so 'od
 CL.LK INV.P- long.time LK time ABS.SP SM IRR

pongannup sikandin, inaayun duwon od ko-utoo rin.
pongannup sikandin 'inaayun duon 'od ko- 'utoo din
 hunt.w.dog 3SG always EXT IRR INV.NP- trap 3SG

So it was for a long time that whenever he hunted with dogs, he always snared something.

5 *Na sokkad no allow, id potohenop sikandin to*
 na sokkad no 'allow 'id po- tohenop sikandin to
 CL.LK one LK day REAL CAUS- dream 3SG ERG

minuvu no toho buvungan, na idda ayu so minuvu,
minuvu' no toho buvungan na 'idda 'ayu so minuvu'
 person REL resident.of hill CL.LK ABS.SP PRB SM person

idde-en kos od ngoranan no Monunggud o
'idda 'en ko so 'od ngaran -an no Monunggud 'o
 ABS.D3 CRT ABS.GN SM IRR name -DIR LK hunter.deity or

dos od tamong kandin to oraroy sikandin
do so 'od tamong kandin to 'oraroy sikandin
 ABS.SP SM IRR watch.over OBL.3SG OBL very 3SG

nod poko-utoo.
no 'od poko- 'utoo
 REL IRR APT.IT- trap

Then one day, a person (spirit) from the hills caused him to dream, (and) most likely that person was the one called Monunggud or the one who watched over him (giving) him (skill) to really be able to trap.

6 *Kahi tat minuvu, "Sikkow," kahi rin,*
 kahi' tadda to minuvu' sikkow kahi' din
 say ERG.PM ERG person 2SG say 3SG

“Indayodan Andot, undini ka,” kokahi rin, “to
 Indayodan Andot 'undini' ka CV- kahi' din to
 Indayodan Andot come.here 2SG CNT- say 3SG OBL.LOC

Sondawa,” to lahun to 1972, “su duwon dakkoon
 Sondawa' to lahun to 1972 su duon dakkoo no
 Mt.Apo OBL.TEM year GEN 1972 because EXT big/heavy LK

pista atag kikow.
 pista' 'atag kikow
 fiesta for OBL.2SG

That person said, “You,” he said, “Indayodan Andot, come here,” he said, “to Mt. Apo” (in the year 1972) “because there will be a large fiesta for you.”

7 No, yo ka,” kahi rin, “od lempas su idda,” kahi
 no yo ka kahi' din 'od lempas su 'idda kahi'
 CL.LK PHB 2SG say 3SG IRR fail because ABS.D3 say

rin, “dakkoon pista atag kikow.”
 din dakkoo no pista' 'atag kikow
 3SG big/heavy LK fiesta for OBL.2SG

So, don't,” he said, “fail (to come) because,” he said, “it will be a big fiesta for you.”

8 Na pomon tadda, waa rin nolingawi
 na pomon tadda waa din no- lingow -i
 CL.LK from GEN.L3 NEG.P 3SG INV.P- forget -DIR/PR

iddon allow.
 'idda no 'allow
 ABS.D3 LK day

So because of that, he did not forget that day.

9 Na idda mandad no allow, id palla sikandan, id
 na 'idda mandad no 'allow 'id palla' sikandan 'id
 CL.LK ABS.D3 same LK day REAL agree 3PL REAL

potonduwoy ran ki Tiyu Posana.
 po--oy tandu' dan ki tiyu Posana
 RECIP promise 3PL OBL.PM uncle Posana

So that same day they agreed (to go); they (Indayodan and) Uncle Posana made a promise to each other (to go).

10 Na, si Tiyu Posana mandad, sikandin sokkad mandad
 na si tiyu Posana mandad sikandin sokkad mandad
 CL.LK ABS.PM uncle Posana as.for 3SG other.one also

<i>no</i>	<i>oraray'd</i>	<i>poko-utoo</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>saarong</i>	<i>iddon</i>	<i>timpu.</i>
no	'oraray 'od	poko- 'utoo	to	saarong	'idda	no timpu'
REL	very IRR	APT.IT- trap	OBL	deer	ABS.D3	LK time

Now as for Uncle Posana, he was another who was really able to snare deer at that time.¹

11	<i>Popollaoy</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>nod</i>	<i>undiyon</i>	<i>sikandan</i>	<i>to</i>
	po--oy palla'	dan	no 'od	'undion	sikandan	to
	RECIP agree	3PL	LK IRR	go	3PL	OBL.LOC

<i>lumut</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>idde-en</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>timpu.</i>
lumut	to	'idda 'en	no	timpu'
highland	OBL.TEM	ABS.D3	CRT	LK time

They agreed that they would go to the highland at that (very) time (that the person in the dream said to go).

12	<i>Kokahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“Na,</i>	<i>sikkow,”</i>	<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“Posana,</i>	<i>duma</i>
	CV- kahi'	din	na	sikkow	kahi'	din	Posana	duma'
	CNT- say	3SG	CL.LK	2SG	say	3SG	Posana	accompany

<i>ka</i>	<i>koddi.</i>
ka	koddi'
2SG	OBL.1SG

He said, “Now you,” he said, “Posana, you accompany me.

13	<i>Undiyon</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>lumut,</i>	<i>dumannow,”</i>
	'undion	ki	to	lumut	duma' -an -ow
	go	1PL.IN	OBL.LOC	highland	bring.with -OBJ -IMP

<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“kos</i>	<i>mgo</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>woy</i>
kahi'	din	ko	so	mongo	'anak	du woy
say	3SG	ABS.GN	SM	PL	offspring	GEN.2SG and

<i>duma</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>pot</i>	<i>dumon</i>	<i>mgo</i>	<i>duma</i>	<i>ru</i>
duma'	ka	pa	to duma'	no	mongo	du
bring.with	2SG	yet	OBL other	LK	PL	companion GEN.2SG

<i>su</i>	<i>amoy'd</i>	<i>potovangoy</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>pongannup</i>	<i>diyon</i>
su	'amoy 'od	po--oy tavang	ki	'od	pongannup	dion
because	so.that	IRR	RECIP	help	1PL.IN	IRR hunt.w.dog OBL.L3

¹ Regarding *mandad*, the first occurrence has a discourse function focusing attention on another main character.

to *Sondawa.*"
 to *Sondawa'*
 OBL.LOC Mt.Apo

Let's go to the highland; bring along your children and any other companions of yours so that we can help each other hunt with dogs on Mt. Apo."

14 *No, iddos na-angoy rin no duma,*
 na 'idda so no- 'angoy din no duma'
 CL.L ABS.SP SM INV.P- get 3SG REL companion

siyak don en, no si Bernard Mandacawan, anak
siak don 'en no si Bernard Mandacawan 'anak
 1SG CMP V CRT and ABS.PM Bernard Mandacawan offspring

ni Tiya Inggow, si Juram, woy si Nunoy woy si
ni tiya Inggow si Juram woy si Nunoy woy si
 GEN.PM aunt Inggow ABS.PM Juram and ABS.PM Nunoy and ABS.PM

Souru.
Souru
Souru

So those whom he got as companions were of course me, Bernard Mandacawan, son of Aunt Inggow, Juram, and Nunoy and Souru.

15 *Annom koy langun iddos od undiyon nanoy*
 'annom koy langun 'idda so 'od 'undion nanoy
 six 1PL.EX all ABS.SP SM IRR go OPT

to Sondawa sud pongannup.
to Sondawa' su 'od pongannup
 OBL.LOC Mt.Apo because IRR hunt.w.dog

Altogether we were six who wanted to go to Mt. Apo to hunt with dogs.

16 *Iddot buwan to Hunyu, idde-en iddos*
 'idda to buwan to Hunyu 'idda 'en 'idda so
 ABS.D3 LK.P month GEN June ABS.D3 CRT ABS.SP SM

palla ran no kod-undiyon.
palla' dan no kod- 'undion
 agree GEN.3PL REL GER- go

That month of June was their agreement to be going.

17 *Na, riyot Lunis nanoy no allow od ipanow*
 na dion to Lunis nanoy no 'allow 'od 'ipanow
 CL.LK OBL.L3 OBL.TEM Monday OPT LK day IRR leave

ked *sud* *porumannoy* *ked*
 koy don su 'od po--oy duma' -an koy don
 1PL.EX CMPV because IRR RECIP accompany -OBJ 1PL.EX CMPV

od *undiyon* *to* *Sondawa.*
 'od 'undion to Sondawa'
 IRR go OBL.LOC Mt.Apo

So Monday was the day we should have left because we were going together to Mt. Apo.

18 *Na* *allow't* *Lunis,* *waa* *koy* *man*
 na 'allow to Lunis waa koy man
 CL.LK day GEN Monday NEG.P 1PL.EX EMPH

noko-allus *su* *oray'n* *dakkoon* *uran*
 noko- 'allus su 'oraroy no dakkoo no 'uran
 APT.IRR- continue.on because very LK big/heavy LK rain

iddon *timpu.*
 'idda no timpu'
 ABS.D3 LK time

Now on the day of Monday, we were not able to continue on because the rain was very heavy at that time.

19 *Dos* *uran* *pomon* *to* *Lunis* *sippang* *to*
 do so 'uran pomon to Lunis sippang to
 ABS.SP SM rain from OBL.TEM Monday until OBL.TEM

Martes *ponayun* *de-en* *od* *uran,* *dakkoon* *uran.*
 Martes ponayun dad 'en 'od 'uran dakkoo no 'uran
 Tuesday continue still CRT IRR rain big/heavy LK rain

The rain, from Monday to Tuesday, it just kept raining; it was a heavy rain.

20 *Unayan* *no* *waa* *koy* *en* *noko-ipanow,* *piru*
 'unayan no waa koy 'en noko- 'ipanow piru
 reason REL NEG.P 1PL.EX CRT APT.IRR- leave but

iddos *si* *Tiyu* *Indayodan,* *id* *ipanow* *sikandin* *duma*
 'idda so si tiyu Indayodan 'id 'ipanow sikandin duma'
 ABS.SP SM ABS.PM uncle Indayodan REAL leave 3SG with

tat *sokkad* *no* *duma* *rin* *woy* *dos*
 tadda to sokkad no duma' din woy do so
 OBL.PM OBL one LK companion GEN.3SG and ABS.SP SM

oppat no tuyyang din.
 'oppat no tuyyang din
 four LK dog GEN.3SG

That was the reason we were not able to leave, but Uncle Indayodan, he left with his one companion and his four dogs.

21 *Id owiran sikandin taddot kandin no*
 'id 'awid -an sikandin tadda to kandin no
 REAL hold.back -OBJ 3SG ERG.SP ERG GEN.3SG LK

mgo anak.
 mongo 'anak
 PL offspring

His children (tried to) hold him back.

22 *Kahi, "Apa, yo kod undiyon su dakkoon*
 kahi' 'apa' yo ka 'od 'undion su dakkoo no
 say Dad PHB 2SG IRR go because big/heavy LK

uran ini woy morat," kahi ran, "kos timpu."
 'uran 'ini woy morat kahi' dan ko so timpu'
 rain ABS.D1 and bad say 3PL ABS.GN SM time/season

They said, "Dad, don't go because this is a really heavy rainfall and it is bad," they said, "weather."

23 *Piru waa sikandin id pa-awid.*
 piru waa sikandin 'id po- 'awid
 but NEG.P 3SG REAL CAUS- hold.back

But he could not be held back (from going).

24 *Kahi rin, "Ko man moho," kokahi rin, "assin*
 kahi' din ko man moho' CV- kahi' din 'assin
 say 3SG if EMPH ASRT CNT- say 3SG salt

ki su od kounow ki.
 ki su 'od ko- lunow ki
 1PL.IN then IRR INV.NP- melt 1PL.IN

He said, "Surely if," he said, "I was salt, then I would melt."²

² *ki*: literally, 'we inclusive' but used in the rhetorical sense; he is actually referring to himself, hence in sentence 24 and 25 it has been translated as 'I'.

- 25 *Waa ki man,” kahi rin, “id piyod to assin.”*
 waa ki man kahi' din 'id piyod to 'assin
 NEG.P 1PL.IN EMPH say 3SG REAL bring OBL salt

I am surely not,” he said, “bringing salt.” (“I won’t melt.”)

- 26 *Idde-en kos osengan din.*
 'idda 'en ko so 'oseng -an din
 ABS.D3 CRT ABS.GN SM words -NR GEN.3SG

Just those were his words.

- 27 *Id ipanow sikandin, oruwa ran duma dos*
 'id 'ipanow sikandin 'oruwa' dan duma' do so
 REAL leave 3SG two GEN.3PL with ABS.SP SM

mgo tuyyang din.
 mongo tuyyang din
 PL dog GEN.3SG

He left, the two of them with his dogs.

- 28 *Na ingkon ini sikami, waa koy*
 na 'ingkon 'ini sikami waa koy
 CL.LK as.for ABS.D1 1PL.EX NEG.P 1PL.EX

noko-ipanow taddon timpu piru id ponaan iddos
 noko- 'ipanow tadda no timpu' piru 'id ponaan 'idda so
 APT.IRR- leave OBL LK time but REAL instruct ABS.SP SM

si Indayodan.
 si Indayodan
 ABS.PM Indayodan

Now as for (the rest of) us, we were not able to leave at that time, but Indayondan left instructions (with his wife).

- 29 *Kahi rin, “Otin bo,” kahi rin, “od lupug dan diyon*
 kahi' din 'otin bo kahi' din 'od lupug dan dion
 say 3SG HYP EXPL say 3SG IRR catch.up 3PL OBL.L3

to Sondawa, od towwan ku,” kokahi rin, “to
 to Sondawa' 'od ta'aw -an ku CV- kahi' din to
 OBL.LOC Mt.Apo IRR put -DIR 1SG CNT- say 3SG OBL

patow diyon to suwayan diyon to od
 patow dion to suwoy -an dion to 'od
 sign OBL.L3 OBL.LOC intersect -NR OBL.L3 OBL.LOC IRR

ngoranan *no* *Tovaku.*
ngaran -an *no* *Tovaku*
name -DIR LK *Tovaku*

He said, “If,” he said, “they come after (us) on Mt. Apo, I’ll put,” he said, “a sign at the crossing, at the place called Tovaku.

30 *Patow,”* *kokahi* *rin,* “*no* *diyon* *ked,* *tawwan*
 patow CV- *kahi'* *din* *no* *dion* *koy* *don* *ta'aw* -an
 sign CNT- *say* 3SG REL OBL.L3 1PL.EX CMPV *put* -DIR

kut *krus.*
ku to *krus*
 1SG OBL cross

As a sign,” he said, “that we had been there, I will put a cross.

31 *Otin* *bo,”* *kokahi* *rin,* “*kokita* *ran* *idda,*
 '*otin* *bo* CV- *kahi'* *din* *ko-* *kita'* *dan* '*idda*
 HYP POL CNT- *say* 3SG INV.NP- see 3PL ABS.SP

ko-uluhan *tadda,”* *kokahi* *rin,* “*id* *ponayun* *ked*
ko'uluhan *tadda* CV- *kahi'* *din* '*id* *ponayun* *koy* *don*
meaning GEN CNT- *say* 3SG REAL continue 1PL.EX CMPV

diyot *Povunsaran.”*
dion to *Povunsaran*
 OBL.L3 OBL.LOC *Povunsaran*

If,” he said, “they see that, the meaning of that,” he said, “is that we continued on to Povunsaran (the foot of Mt. Apo).”

32 *Idde-ek* *ponaannon* *din* *konami.*
 '*idda* '*en* *ko* *so* *ponaan* -on *din* *konami'*
 ABS.D3 CRT ABS.GN SM instruct -NR GEN.3SG OBL.1PL.EX

That then was his instruction for us.

33 *Na* *riyot* *allow* *to* *Merkulis,* *iddo*
 na *dion* to '*allow* to *Merkulis* '*idda*
 CL.LK OBL.L3 OBL.TEM day GEN Wednesday ABS.D3

koy *pa* *noko-ipanow* *su* *id* *polempas*
koy *pa* *noko-* '*ipanow* *su* '*id* *po-* *lempas*
 1PL.EX yet APT.IRR- leave because REAL CAUS- pass.by

doy pa dos dakkoon uran.
 doy pa do so dakkoo no 'uran
 1PL.EX first ABS.SP SM big/heavy LK rain

Now on the day of Wednesday, that was when we finally were able to leave because we first allowed the heavy rain to pass by.

34 *Na id lupug koy.*
 na 'id lupug koy
 CL.LK REAL catch.up 1PL.EX

Then we left to catch up with them.

35 *Na, laggun man to diyon ket daan,*
 na laggun man to dion koy to daan
 CL.LK while EMPH OBL.LOC OBL.L3 1PL.EX OBL.LOC path

iddo so tuyyang ni Tiyu Posana, id sovukan
 'idda so tuyyang ni tiyu Posana 'id savuk -an
 ABS.SP SM dog GEN.PM uncle Posana REAL go.free -OBJ

din sud pongannup me-en.
 din su 'od pongannup moho' 'en
 3SG because IRR hunt.w.dog ASRT CRT

Now while we were on the trail, Uncle Posana let his dogs go on ahead because naturally (our purpose) was to hunt with dogs.

36 *Na, id dunggu ked kopu riyon to*
 na 'id dunggu' koy don kopu' dion to
 CL.LK REAL reach 1PL.EX CMPV for.example OBL.L3 OBL.LOC

sabbung, kahi tat si Tiyu, "Laggun," kahi,
 sabbung kahi' tadda to si tiyu laggun kahi'
 shelter say ERG.SP ERG ABS.PM uncle while say

"tod aangat ki taddot tuyyang, od
 to 'od 'aangat ki tadda to tuyyang 'od
 OBL.TEM IRR wait 1PL.IN OBL.SP OBL dog IRR

oilutu ki pa ka-ay."
 -o- 'ilutu' ki pa ka'ay
 -HAB- cook 1PL.IN yet OBL.L1

When we arrived at the shelter, Uncle said, "While," he said, "we wait for the dogs, we'll first cook here."

37 *Na, id oilutu ran don, na*
 na 'id -o- 'ilutu' dan don na
 CL.LK REAL HAB- cook 3PL CMPV CL.LK

<i>nouhoyluhoy,</i>		<i>waa</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>inguma</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>tuyyang.</i>
no- redup- luhoy		waa	man	'id	'inguma'	do	tuyyang
INV.P- DIM- long.time		NEG.P	EMPH	REAL	arrive	ABS.SP	dog

So they cooked, then after awhile the dogs still had not arrived.

38	<i>Waad</i>		<i>loppow.</i>
	waa	'id	loppow
	NEG.P	REAL	appear.

They did not appear (which was highly unusual).

39	<i>Ondak</i>			<i>id</i>	<i>ooseng</i>		<i>din,</i>	<i>dos</i>	
	'ondan	ko	so	'id	-o-	'oseng	din	do	so
	what	ABS.GN	SM	REAL	HAB-	say	3SG	ABS.SP	SM

<i>si</i>	<i>Tiyu</i>	<i>Posana,</i>	<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“Sikiyu,”</i>	<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“mgo</i>
si	tiyu	Posana	kahi'	din	sikiu'	kahi'	din	mongo
ABS.PM	uncle	Posana	say	3SG	2PL	say	3SG	PL

<i>anak”,</i>	<i>(siyak</i>	<i>don</i>	<i>me-en,</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>Bernard,</i>	<i>woy</i>	<i>do</i>
'anak	siak	don	moho'	'en	si	Bernard	woy	do
yg.child	1SG	CMPV	ASRT	CRT	ABS.PM	Bernard	and	ABS.SP

<i>anak</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Nunoy),</i>	<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“Ponaappo</i>
'anak	din	no	si	Nunoy	kahi'	din	ponaap -a
offspring	GEN.3SG	REL	ABS.PM	Nunoy	say	3SG	search -IMP

<i>row</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>tuyyang.</i>
dow	pa	do	tuyyang
2PL	POL	ABS.SP	dog

What did he, Uncle Posana say, he said, “You” he said, “children,” (including me naturally, Bernard, and his (Uncle Posana’s) son, Nunoy), he said, “go and please look for the dogs.

40	<i>Saddook</i>		<i>id</i>	<i>dunggu</i>	<i>riyon</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>kandan</i>	<i>su</i>
	saddoo	ko	'id	dunggu'	dion	to	kandan	su
	perhaps	UNC	REAL	reach	OBL.L3	OBL.LOC	OBL.3PL	because

<i>siketa,”</i>	<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“dii</i>	<i>kid</i>		<i>allus</i>	<i>dion</i>
siketa'	kahi'	din	dii	ki	don	'allus	dion
1PL.IN	say	3SG	NEG.NP	1PL.IN	CMPV	continue.on	OBL.L3

<i>su</i>	<i>saddook</i>		<i>inis</i>		<i>mgo</i>	<i>tuyyang</i>	<i>od</i>
su	saddoo	ko	'ini	so	mongo	tuyyang	'od
because	perhaps	UNC	ABS.D1	SM	PL	dog	IRR

povutongngoy su mo-uraa.
 po--oy butong su mo'uraa
 RECIP fight because many

Perhaps (the dogs) arrived there where they (Indayodan and his son) are because as for us," he said, "we won't continue on there because those dogs are probably fighting each other because they are many."

41 *Oppat dos kandan no id piyod, oppat mandad*
 'oppat do so kandan no 'id piyod 'oppat mandad
 four ABS.SP SM OBL.3PL REL REAL bring four also

kos konami; wau langun no molison iddos
 ko so konami' wau' langun no molison 'idda so
 ABS.GN SM OBL.1PL.EX eight all LK unit ABS.SP SM

tuyyang.
 tuyyang
 dog

Four that they brought, (and) also there were four of ours, eight dogs altogether.

42 *Na, id ipanow koy, otollu koy.*
 na 'id 'ipanow koy 'otollu' koy
 CL.LK REAL leave 1PL.EX three 1PL.EX

So we left (to look for the dogs), the three of us.

43 *Na gulari, id dunggu koy riyon to tousuvan*
 na gulari 'id dunggu' koy dion to tousuvan
 CL.LK when REAL reach 1PL.EX OBL.L3 OBL.LOC waterfall

to Sondawa, nokita ku idda no idda ku
 to Sondawa' no- kita' ku 'idda na 'idda ku
 GEN Mt.Apo INV.P- see 1SG ABS.D3 CL.LK ABS.D3 1SG

pe-en nokita su idda a pa id
 pa 'en no- kita' su 'idda 'a pa 'id
 first CRT INV.P- see because ABS.D3 1SG first REAL

suvot lumut.
 suva' to lumut
 follow.up.trail OBL.LOC highland

Now when we arrived at the waterfall of Mt. Apo, I saw it for the very first time, because that was the first time I had gone up the trail to the highland.

44 *Id dunggu a riyon, nokita ku dos*
 'id dunggu' 'a dion no- kita' ku so do
 REAL reach 1SG OBL.L3 INV.P- see 1SG ABS.SP SM

tousuvan, oray a no novaakkan.
 tousuvan 'oraroy 'a no no- 'allak -an
 waterfall very 1SG LK INV.P- fear -DIR

I arrived there (and when) I saw the waterfall, I was very afraid.

45 *Na, nokopoomdom a no dii ad*
 na noko- poomdom 'a no dii 'a don
 CL.LK APT.IRR- think 1SG LK NEG.NP 1SG CMPV

od duma kandan su oray a no
 'od duma' kandan su 'oraroy 'a no
 IRR accompany OBL.3PL because very 1SG LK

novaakkan.
 no- 'allak -an
 INV.P- fear -DIR

Then I thought (to myself) that I would not go with them because I was very afraid.

46 *Kahi ku tat oruwon mgo duma*
 kahi' ku tadda to 'orua' no mongo duma'
 say 1SG OBL OBL two LK PL companion

ku to, "Dii kid od allus diyon
 ku to dii ki don 'od 'allus dion
 GEN.1SG quote NEG.NP 1PL.IN CMPV IRR continue.on OBL.L3

sud kovaakkan a," kahi ku.
 su 'od ko- 'allak -an 'a kahi' ku
 because IRR INV.NP- fear -DIR 1SG say 1SG

I said to my two companions, "Let's not continue on there because I'm afraid," I said.

47 *Na, sikandan dii rad aman.*
 na sikandan dii dan 'od 'aman
 CL.LK 3PL NEG.NP 3PL IRR consent

Now they just did not agree (with me).

48 *Avoy ran pod ooseng, id ipanow ad*
 'avoy dan pa 'od -o- 'oseng 'id 'ipanow 'a don
 continue 3PL yet IRR HAB- say REAL walk 1SG CMPV

moho.
moho'
 ASRT

(While) they kept arguing (to continue), I (started) walking/leaving anyway (going back).

- 49 *Na, nokoruma ran en koddi.*
 na noko- duma' dan 'en koddi'
 CL.LK APT.IRR- accompany 3PL CRT OBL.1SG

So then they accompanied me.

- 50 *Nopohos dan id duma koddi.*
 no- pohos dan 'id duma' koddi'
 INV.P- to.force 3PL REAL accompany OBL.1SG

They were forced to accompany me.

- 51 *Na, id dunggu koy riyon to ubpan,*
 na 'id dunggu' koy dion to 'ubpan
 CL.LK REAL reach 1PL.EX OBL.L3 OBL.LOC house

divot sabbung.
dion to sabbung
 OBL.L3 OBL.LOC shelter

Then we arrived at the house, at the shelter.

- 52 *To id dunggu koy riyon, idda re-en*
 to 'id dunggu' koy dion 'idda dad 'en
 when REAL reach 1PL.EX OBL.L3 ABS.D3 still CRT

mandad no uras, no tokkow immat duwon linug
mandad no 'uras na tokkow 'imman to duon linug
 also LK hour CL.LK suddenly as.if OBL EXT earthquake

no dakkoo.
no dakkoo
 LK big/heavy

When we arrived there, at that very hour, suddenly it was like there was a big earthquake.

- 53 *Nokita roy riyon to ko-unnan*
 no- kita' doy dion to ko- 'unna' -an
 INV.P- see 1PL.EX OBL.L3 OBL.LOC INV.NP- ahead -DIR

doy iddos mgo batu, iddos mgo
doy 'idda so mongo batu' 'idda so mongo
 GEN.1PL.EX ABS.SP SM PL stone ABS.SP SM PL

<i>kayun</i>		<i>doorakkoo,</i>		<i>mgo</i>	<i>ohu-u,</i>	<i>od</i>
kayu'	no	CV- -o-	dakkoo	mongo	'ohu'u'	od
tree	LK	PL- -EMPH-	big/heavy	PL	pine	IRR

<i>pongkopiloy,</i>			<i>od</i>	<i>kotunaa</i>	<i>woy</i>	<i>dos</i>		<i>mgo</i>	<i>iing</i>
poN-	ko-	piloy	od	kotunaa	woy	do	so	mongo	'iling
DIST-	INV.NP-	fall	IRR	uprooted	and	ABS.SP	SM	PL	look.like

<i>to</i>	<i>boubbuk,</i>	<i>nokita</i>		<i>roy</i>	<i>riyon</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>datas.</i>
to	boubbuk	no-	kita'	doy	dion	to	datas
OBL	dust	INV.P-	see	1PL.EX	OBL.L3	OBL.LOC	up

We saw ahead of us rocks, huge trees such as pines falling, completely uprooted, and we saw (what appeared) like dust (in the air).

54	<i>Na,</i>	<i>waa</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>nanoy</i>	<i>boubbuk</i>	<i>taddon</i>		<i>timpu</i>	<i>su</i>
	na	waa	man	nanoy	boubbuk	tadda	no	timpu'	su
	CL.LK	NEG.P	EMPH	OPT	dust	OBL	LK	time	because

<i>timpu</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>tod</i>		<i>uran.</i>
timpu'	man	to	'od	'uran
time/season	EMPH	GEN	IRR	rain

There really should not have been any dust at that time because it was rainy season.

55	<i>Na,</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>kookollon</i>		<i>dos</i>		<i>livuta,</i>	<i>immat</i>	
	na	'od	CV- kookoo	-on	do	so	livuta'	'imman	to
	NT.mk	IRR	CNT- tremble	-DIR	ABS.SP	SM	ground	as.if	OBL

<i>id</i>	<i>linug</i>	<i>dos</i>		<i>livuta.</i>
'id	linug	do	so	livuta'
REAL	earthquake	ABS.SP	SM	ground

Now the ground was shaking like an earthquake.

56	<i>Na,</i>	<i>oray</i>	<i>koy'n</i>		<i>novaakkan.</i>	
	na	'oraroy	koy	no	no-	'allak -an
	CL.LK	very	1PL.EX	LK	INV.P-	fear -DIR

So we were very afraid.

57	<i>Iddo</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>inowtu</i>	<i>roy</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>waa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>noka-an,</i>
	'idda	so	'inowtu'	doy	no	waa	pa	no- ka'an
	ABS.SP	SM	cooked.food	GEN.1PL.EX	LK	NEG.P	yet	INV.P- eat

<i>id</i>	<i>oun</i>	<i>doyd</i>		<i>diyot</i>		<i>avu</i>
'id	'oun	doy	don	dion	to	'avu'
REAL	take.from.fire	1PL.EX	CMPV	OBL.L3	OBL.LOC	fireplace

<i>su</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>bitbit</i>	<i>doyd</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>dut</i>		
su	'id	bitbit	doy	don	'en	dutun	to
because	REAL	carry.in.hand	1PL.EX	CMPV	CRT	OBL.L3	OBL.LOC

<i>id</i>	<i>paahuy.</i>
'id	paahuy
REAL	run.in.fear

As for our cooked food that had not yet been eaten, we took it from the fire because we carried it as (we) ran.

58	<i>Id</i>	<i>pomenek</i>	<i>koy</i>	<i>ka-ay't</i>		<i>sokkad</i>	<i>no</i>
	'id	poN-	penek	koy	ka'ay	to	sokkad
	REAL	DIST-	climb	1PL.EX	OBL.L1	OBL.LOC	a.certain LK

<i>buvungan,</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>lampoy</i>	<i>koy</i>	<i>tadda.</i>
buvungan	'id	lampoy	koy	tadda
hill	REAL	cross.over	1PL.EX	OBL.L3

We climbed one hill, going over to the other side.

59	<i>Id</i>	<i>dunggu</i>	<i>koy</i>	<i>riyot</i>		<i>datas,</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>id</i>
	'id	dunggu'	koy	dion	to	datas	na	'id
	REAL	reach	1PL.EX	OBL.L3	OBL.LOC	up	CL.LK	REAL

<i>ponayun</i>	<i>dad</i>	<i>iddos</i>		<i>immat</i>		<i>linug.</i>
ponayun	dad	'idda	so	'imman	to	linug
continue	still	ABS.SP	SM	as.if	OBL	earthquake

We arrived there at the top, and the (shaking) like an earthquake still continued.

60	<i>Na,</i>	<i>nokita</i>		<i>roy</i>	<i>dos</i>		<i>mgo</i>
	na	no-	kita'	doy	do	so	mongo
	CL.LK	INV.P-	see	1PL.EX	ABS.SP	SM	PL

<i>doorakkoon</i>				<i>batu</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>noko-oddis</i>
CV-	-o-	dakkoo	no	batu'	no	noko-
PL-	-EMPH-	big/heavy	LK	stone	LK	APT.IRR-
						nearly.hit

<i>de-en</i>	<i>konami</i>	<i>tat</i>		<i>id</i>	<i>paahuy</i>	<i>koy</i>
dad	'en	konami'	tadda	to	'id	paahuy
still	CRT	OBL.1PL.EX	OBL	OBL.TEM	REAL	run.in.fear
						1PL.EX

<i>su</i>	<i>notombunan</i>		<i>iddo</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>sabbung</i>	<i>doy</i>
su	no-	tambun	-an	'idda	so	sabbung
because	INV.P-	cover	-DIR	ABS.SP	SM	shelter
						GEN.1PL.EX

<i>taddot</i>		<i>doorakkoon</i>				<i>mgo</i>	<i>batu.</i>
tadda	to	CV-	-o-	dakkoo	no	mongo	batu'
ERG.SP	ERG	PL-	-EMPH-	big/heavy	LK	PL	stone

Then we saw large rocks that nearly hit us as we ran because those large rocks had covered/buried our shelter.

61	<i>“Na,”</i>	<i>kahi</i>	<i>tat</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>Tiyu</i>	<i>Posana,</i>	<i>kahi</i>
	na	kahi'	tadda	to	si	tiyu	Posana	kahi'
	CL.LK	say	ERG.SP	ERG	ABS.PM	uncle	Posana	say

<i>rin,</i>	<i>“worad,”</i>		<i>kokahi</i>		<i>rin,</i>	<i>“idda</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Indayodan;</i>
din	wora'	don	CV-	kahi'	din	'idda	si	Indayodan
3SG	NEG.EXT	CMPV	CNT-	say	3SG	ABS.D3	ABS.PM	Indayodan

<i>nongo</i>	<i>tumpahan</i>		<i>don</i>	<i>sikandan.”</i>
nongo	tumpag	-an	don	sikandan
PL.P	landslide	-DIR	CMPV	3PL

“So,” Uncle Posana said, he said, “Indayodan,” he was saying, “is no more (is dead); they were buried in a landslide.”

62	<i>Na,</i>	<i>idda</i>	<i>re-en</i>	<i>kopuk</i>			<i>no-oseng</i>
	na	'idda	da' 'en	kopu'	ko	so	no- 'oseng
	CL.LK	ABS.SP	LIM CRT	for.example	ABS.GN	SM	INV.P- say

<i>din,</i>	<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin,</i>	<i>“Od</i>	<i>kuo</i>	<i>kid</i>		<i>inid</i>	<i>uli</i>
din	kahi'	din	'od	kuo'	ki	don	'ini	'od 'uli'
3SG	say	3SG	IRR	go	1PL.IN	CMPV	ABS.D1	IRR return

<i>kid,”</i>		<i>kahi</i>	<i>rin.</i>
ki	don	kahi'	din
1PL.IN	CMPV	say	3SG

So that was just what he said; he said, “Let's leave here, let's return home,” he said.

63	<i>Piru</i>	<i>waa</i>	<i>koy</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>mandon</i>	<i>luvus</i>	<i>id</i>
	piru	waa	koy	pa	mandon	luvus	'id
	but	NEG.P	1PL.EX	yet	ASRT	immediate.action	REAL

<i>uli</i>	<i>tadda</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>potigkus</i>		<i>doy</i>
'uli'	tadda	su	'id	po- tigkus		doy
return	OBL.L3	because	REAL	CAUS- recede		1PL.EX

<i>pok</i>		<i>oweg.</i>
pa	ko	so 'oweg
yet	ABS.GN	SM river

But we did not return immediately then because we first let the river recede.

64 *To* *so-op* *no* *allow,* *id* *uli* *koy* *rini* *to*
 to so'op no 'allow 'id 'uli' koy dini' to
 when next LK day REAL return 1PL.EX OBL.L1 OBL.LOC

Ilomavis.

Ilomavis

Ilomavis

The following day, we returned here to Ilomavis.

65 *Na,* *id* *posaddoo* *roy* *sikandan* *to*
 na 'id po- saddoo doy sikandan to
 CL.LK REAL CAUS inform 1PL.EX 3PL NR

notomanan *doy.*

no- taman -an doy

INV.P- happen -DIR GEN.1PL.EX

Then we informed them (the family) what happened to us.

66 *No* *oray'n* *mopet* *iddos* *notomanan*
 na 'oraroy no mopet 'idda so no- taman -an
 CL.LK very LK bitter ABS.SP SM INV.P- happen -DIR

doy *taddon* *timpu* *su* *id* *sunung*
 doy tadda no timpu' su 'id sunung
 GEN-1.1PL.EX OBL LK time because REAL irregardless.of.weather

doy *kos* *dakkoon* *uran* *woy* *pomon* *to*
 doy ko so dakkoo no 'uran woy pomon to
 1PL.EX ABS.GN SM big/heavy LK rain and because.of OBL

allak *doy,* *waa* *roy'd* *nonongnongngi*
 'allak doy waa doy don no- nongnong -i
 fear GEN-1.1PL.EX NEG.P 1PL.EX CMPV INV.P- mind -DIR/PR

ko *ingkon* *koy'd* *isau.*
 ko 'ingkon koy 'od 'isau'
 UNC where 1PL.EX IRR to.go

What happened to us was a very bitter (experience) at that time because we walked regardless of the heavy rain, and because of our fear, we were not cognizant where we were heading.

67 *Ponudtulan* *doy* *onsi* *Tabita,* *onsi* *Joseph,*
 ponudtuu -an doy 'onsi Tabita 'onsi Joseph
 report -DIR 1PL.EX ABS.PM.PL Tabita ABS.PM.PL Joseph

woy *dos* *inayon* *ku* *no* *idde-en* *kos*
 woy do so 'inayon ku no 'idda 'en ko so
 and ABS.SP SM aunt GEN.1SG REL ABS.D3 CRT ABS.GN SM

notomanan *no* *iddos* *sawa* *rin*
 no- *taman* -an no 'idda so sawa' din
 INV.P- happen -DIR REL ABS.SP SM spouse GEN.3SG

notumpahan *diyon* *to* *Sondawa.*
 no- *tumpag* -an *dion* *to* *Sondawa'*
 INV.P- landslide -DIR OBL.L3 OBL.LOC Mt.Apo

We told Tabita, Joseph, and my aunt what happened, that her husband had been buried in a landslide on Mt. Apo.

68 *No* *idda* *vos* *en* *iddo* *so* *tohenoppon* *din*
 no 'idda bos 'en 'idda so tohenop -on din
 CL.LK ABS.D3 SURP CRT ABS.SP SM dream -NR GEN.3SG

no *kahi* *tat* *minuvu,* “*Od* *tommu* *ka* *koddi* *ka-ay*
 no *kahi'* *tadda* to *minuvu'* 'od *tommu'* *ka* *koddi'* *ka'ay*
 LK say ERG.SP ERG person IRR meet 2SG OBL.1SG OBL.L1

to *Povunsarat* *Sondawa* *su* *duwon* *dakkoon*
 to *Povunsaran* to *Sondawa'* *su* *duon* *dakkoo* no
 OBL.LOC *Povunsaran* GEN Mt.Apo because EXT big/heavy LK

pista.”
pista'
fiesta

So, that unquestionably was (the meaning of) his dream in which the person said, “Meet me here at Povunsaran of Mt. Apo because there will be a big fiesta.”

69 *Idda* *vos* *en* *kos* *pista* *rin* *no* *od*
 'idda bos 'en ko so *pista'* *din* no 'od
 ABS.D3 SURP CRT ABS.GN SM fiesta GEN.3SG REL IRR

bovalla *dos* *od* *tumpahon* *din* *kos*
 bovaa -an do so 'od *tumpag* -on *din* *ko* so
 make -OBJ ABS.SP SM IRR landslide -NR 3SG ABS.GN SM

Sondawa *su* *saddoo* *ayu* *ko* *iddos* *minuvu* *idda,*
Sondawa' *su* *saddoo* 'ayu *ko* 'idda so *minuvu'* 'idda
 Mt.Apo because perhaps PROB UNC ABS.SP SM person ABS.D3

idde-en *ko* *so* *minuvu* *no* *Monunggud* *no* *id* *bullas*
 'idda 'en ko so minuvu' no Monunggud no 'id bullas
 ABS.D3 CRT ABS.GN SM person LK hunter.deity REL REAL change

taddot *umuu* *ni* *Tiyu* *Indayodan* *su* *dakkoo* *ron*
tadda to 'umuu *ni* *tiyu* *Indayodan* *su* *dakkoo* *don*
 OBL.SP OBL life GEN uncle *Indayodan* because many CMPV

<i>oraroy</i>	<i>kos</i>		<i>no-utoo</i>		<i>rin</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>saarong</i>
'oraroy	ko	so	no-	'utoo	din	no	saarong
very	ABS.GN	SM	INV.P-	trap	3SG	LK	deer

<i>dinit</i>		<i>Sondawa.</i>
dini'	to	Sondawa'
OBL.L1	OBL.LOC	Mt.Apo

That was the fiesta he prepared, his causing the landside on Mt. Apo; because that person was probably the person (spirit) Monunggud who exchanged the life of Uncle Indayodan (for giving him success as a hunter) because he already had snared many deer here on Mt. Apo.

70	<i>No</i>	<i>inin</i>		<i>itulon,</i>		<i>bonnaa</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>no</i>
	na	'ini	no	'ituu	-on	bonnaa	'ini	no
	CL.LK	ABS.D1	LK	narrate	-NR	true	ABS.D1	LK

notomanan.

no-	taman	-an
INV.P-	happen	-DIR

Now this story really happened.

71	<i>Na,</i>	<i>ka-ayyon</i>		<i>ku</i>	<i>re-en</i>		<i>od</i>	<i>sippangon</i>		<i>do</i>
	na	ka'ay	-on	ku	da'	'en	'od	sippang	-on	do
	CL.LK	OBL.L1	-NR	1SG	LIM	CRT	IRR	end	-NR	ABS.SP

<i>so</i>	<i>koddin</i>		<i>itulon.</i>
so	koddi'	no	'ituu
SM	GEN.1SG	LK	narrate
			-NR

So, this is where I will end my story.

Appendix B: Case Markers and Pronouns

Table 1. Case Markers

	Absolutive (S/P)	Ergative (A)/Genitive	Oblique
Personal Markers			
SG	si	ni	ki
PL	onsi	onni	ongki
Non-personal Markers			
Specific	idda/do (so)	(tadda) to	(tadda) to
General	ko (so)	tat	tat/taddot

The labels ‘absolutive’, ‘ergative’, and ‘oblique’ follow an analysis done in Brainard and Vander Molen (1997). Note that the case markers composed of two morphemes often contract in natural speech, i.e., *do so* often contracts to *dos*, and *ko so* to *kos*. The general non-personal marker *ko* often contracts to *-k* fusing to the previous word and the vowel *o* and *s/so* are dropped. Likewise *tadda to* frequently becomes contracted to *taddot* or *tat*. Case marker *so* marks specificity but also functions as “linguistic glue” aiding the speech flow and is optional. As indicated by the parenthesis, it is often dropped in natural speech.

Table 2. Personal Pronouns

	VS ¹	VAP		VPA		
	S	A ²	P	P	A	
1SG	a	ku	siyak	a	—	koddi
1PL IN	ki	ta	siketa	ki	—	keta
1PL EX	koy	doy/roy	sikami	koy	nikami	konami
2SG	ka	du/ru	sikkow	ka	nikkow	kikow
2PL	kow	dow/row	sikiyu	kow	nikiyu	koniyu
3SG	sikandin/din	din/rin	sikandin	sikandin/din	nikandin	kandin
3PL	sikandan/dan	dan/ran	sikandan	sikandan/dan	nikandan	kandan

Note that pronouns beginning with /d/ have two allomorphs: a [d]-initial allomorph that follows a consonant and a [r]-initial allomorph that follows a vowel.

The oblique pronoun set may also function as preposed possessors.

Deictic Pronouns

In Manobo, there are three sets of deictic pronouns which indicate proximity (either physical or psychological) of places, people, or things to the participants. The absolutive deictic pronouns (*ini*, *ika*, *idda*) correspond to the absolutive pronouns (*siyak* and *a* sets). Ergative deictic pronouns refer to an agent in a verb phrase and can substitute for ergative pronouns (*ku* and *nikkow* sets).

The deictic pronoun is often followed by a linker or case marker. For example, the demonstrative deictic pronouns are followed by the linker *no* or case marker *to*⁴ and the locative deictic pronouns are followed by *to*.

¹ S is the syntactically required argument of a single-argument clause; A the more agentive, syntactically required argument of the transitive clause; and P is the less agentive syntactically required argument of a transitive clause.

² These pronouns may also function as postposed genitive pronouns.

³ These pronouns may also function as preposed genitive pronouns.

⁴ When the case marker *to* follows an absolutive demonstrative, it points to something that occurred in the past.

Table 3. Demonstratives

	VS	VAP		VPA	
	Absolutive S	Ergative A	Absolutive P	Absolutive P	Ergative A
Near speaker, close (D1)	ini	ka-ay	ini	ini	<i>ka-ay</i>
Near hearer (D2)	ika	tadda	ika	ika	<i>tadda</i>
Far from speaker/ hearer (D3)	idda		idda	idda	

Table 4. Locatives and Genitives

	Oblique		
	Locative - General	Locative - Specific	Genitive
Near speaker, close (L1)	dini/rini	ka-ay	ka-ay
Near hearer (L2)	duwon/ruwon	tadda	tadda
Far from speaker/ hearer (L3)	diyon/riyon or dutun/rutun		

The locative deictic pronouns refer to a specific location or target which has already been established or understood by the hearer or is specified by a noun phrase which follows the demonstrative pronoun. These deictic pronouns correspond to the oblique or *koddi* pronoun set, hence also function as genitives.

It should be noted that the ergative, genitive, and oblique forms are homophonous.

Glossary

anit *n* punishment by the *Inanit* spirit for certain kinds of behavior considered taboo, such as:

- (a) human behavior toward insects, animals, reptiles. This includes speaking to, playing with, or laughing at their antics, e.g., laughing at a dog chasing its own tail.
- (b) making nonsense statements, e.g., “dancing cow”.
- (c) human behavior toward something inanimate; e.g., carving a face on a potato.
- (d) incest.

Anit involves human behavior toward living things, animate or inanimate, which departs from the accepted norm of “natural” or “logical” behavior as members of this ethnic group understand such behavior to be.¹

A person who breaks an *anit* taboo is not immediately punished by the *Inanit* spirit but, like thunder after lightning, an indefinite period of time will pass before a person is afflicted. Certain people groups are believed to be immune to the punishment of the *anit* taboos (i.e., the Tagabawa and Diangan, also called Ottow) because oral history states these people groups ate Molingling,² who had been killed after being transformed into an eel.

Inanit *n* a female spirit of thunder and lightning who punishes those who break the *anit* taboos.

loi *n* Manobo law. This typically refers to customary laws, binding customs or practices of a community, rules of conduct or action prescribed or formally recognized as binding and enforced by a controlling authority, such as a *datu* ‘tribal leader’. When a *datu* enforces these customary laws, his decisions are based on *pooviyan gontangan*: literally, measures of volume about 4–5 kilograme (9–11 pounds) and 3.5 kilograms (7¾pounds) respectively; figuratively, a system of sanctions, values, and penalties for offenses.

onitu *n* body of spirits or deities that control certain areas.

poko-id *v* for an evil spirit to inflict illness on someone out of revenge because that person crossed or disturbed their path.

pomoli-i *v* for an action to be prohibited. If the action is done anyway, it will incite the anger and retribution of vengeful spirits. For example, it is considered *pomoli-i* for a daughter-in-law to touch or take care of her in-laws who are staying in the same house, even if they are sick. The husband is required to take care of his own father or mother. If she takes care of her in-laws, she will be struck with an illness that may result in death.³

sablag *n* a kind of payment relating to marriage; i.e., a brideprice paid by the groom;⁴ a payment to stop a couple from separating,⁵ to take a second wife⁶ or to stop

¹ Elkins, Richard E. 1964.

² Molingling committed incest with his sister and ran away to avoid punishment of the *Inanit* spirit.

³ See Section I Life Cycle: *Beliefs Concerning Death*, sentence 9.

⁴ See Section I Life Cycle: *Marriage*, sentence 21.

⁵ See Section I Life Cycle: *Divorce*, sentences 3, 4.

⁶ See Section I Life Cycle: *Taking an Additional Wife*, sentence 12.

an engagement from proceeding.⁷ A *sablag* also needs to be paid by a man who steals another man's wife.⁸ This payment can consist of woven Manila hemp material, money, a house, a water buffalo, a sewing machine, a horse, or anything of value. The parents of a young lady may also ask for the young man to treat their daughter well instead of asking for an item of value. Whether the *sablag* consists of a material gift, i.e., money or an item of value or the gift of kind treatment, i.e., a character trait, it is still an important part of a marriage arrangement to this day.

suku *n* a stone with magical power used to ward off the curse of *anit*. This stone only appears during lightning and thunder and is said to come from thunder. Because it has supernatural power, it suddenly appears, disappears, and multiplies on its own accord.

⁷ See Section I Life Cycle: *Divorce*, sentences 22, 23.

⁸ See Section V Getting Along with Others: *Taking Someone Else's Wife*, sentence 3.

References

- Brainard, Sherri. 2003. Karao texts. *Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures* 13. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Brainard, Sherri, and Ena Vander Molen. 1997. *Word order inverse in Obo Manobo*. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics, MS.
- Elkins, Richard E. 1964. The *anit* taboo: A Manobo cultural unit. *Practical Anthropology* 2:4, 185–188.
- Elkins, Richard E., comp. 1974. A Proto-Manobo word list. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13:601–641.
- Froude, James Anthony. 1886. The science of history. n.p., 27–28. In Sherwood Elliot Wirt and Kersten Beckstrom. 1982. *Topical encyclopedia of living quotations*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Bethany House.
- Grimes, Barbara F., ed. 2000. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, 14th ed. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International.
- Maceda, José. 1998. *Gongs and bamboo: A panorama of Philippine music instruments*. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Manuel, E. Arsenio. 1975. *Tuwaang attends a wedding: The second song of the Manuvu*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Pastor-Roces, Marian. 1991. *Sinaunang habi: Philippine ancestral weave*. Nikki Coseteng Filipiana Series. Manila: Communications Technologies.
- Polenda, Francisco Col-om. 1989. *A voice from the hills: Essays on the culture and world view of the Western Bukidnon Manobo people*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines Special Monograph Issue 29. Translated and edited by Richard E. Elkins. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Wrigglesworth, Hazel J. 1980. Rhetorical devices distinguishing the genre of folktale (fiction) from that of oral history (fact) in Ilianen Manobo narrative discourse. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 11:1.

Linguistic and Ethnographic Bibliography

- Alejo, Albert E. 2000. *Generating energies in Mount Apo: Cultural politics in a contested environment*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Ansal, Trinidad. 1996. *Pohinonaw ki od basa (Let's learn to read)*. 2 vols. Avelina Sicao, ed., Vera Khor Lee Kee and Ena E. Vander Molen, comps. [Manila]: Summer Institute of Linguistics and DECS.
- Aragon, Averall U. 1998. Julio D. Aragon: Apostle to the Bagobos. In *A century of Bible Christians in the Philippines*. Anne C. Kwantes, ed. Manila: OMF.
- Bergonia, Ferdinand L. 2004. *Lungsod na pinagpala-Kidapawan: Kasaysayan, pamahalaan, paniniwala at tradisyon*. Amas, Kidapawan City, Cotabato, Philippines: n.p.
- Burton, Scott Lynn. 1996. *A case study of lexical borrowing between language families: The East Mindanao and Manobo languages*. Master's thesis. Arlington, Tex.: University of Texas.
- Cole, Fay Cooper. 1913. *The wild tribes of Davao district, Mindanao*. Field Museum of Natural History Publication 170, Anthropological Series 12:2. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Coronel, Sheila S. 2002. *Memory of dances*. Quezon City: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Elkins, Daniel R., Rosito Lumansay, and Richard E. Elkins. 1997. *Inis ingod ta (Our world)*. Tanu U. Bayawan, Ena E. Vander Molen, and Vera Khor Lee Kee, trs. and adaptors. [Manila]: Summer Institute of Linguistics and DECS, 1997.
- Elkins, Richard E. 1985. The Proto Manobo kinship system. In *Gava': Studies in Austronesian Languages and Cultures*. R. Carle, M. Heinschke, P. Pink, C. Rost, and K. Stadlander, eds. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 497–521.
- Garvan, John M. 1931. *The Manobos of Mindanao*. Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences Volume XXIII First Memoir. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- Gloria, Heidi K. 1987. *The Bagobos: Their ethnohistory and acculturation*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- Gray, Jason and Catherine Gray. 2001. *Mgo itulon moka-atag to moppiyon kodlolaawa (Stories about good health)*. 5 vols. Obo Manobo Health Series. Melchor Bayawan [and Ena E. Vander Molen, trs. and eds.]. Kidapawan City, Cotabato, Philippines: Obo Manobo Active Language Resource and Community Development and DECS.

- Harmon, Carol W. 1974. Reconstructions of Proto Manobo pronouns and case marking particles. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics* 6:6.
- Kaliwat Theatre Collective. 1996. *Arakan: Where rivers speak of the Manobo's living dreams*. Arakan, Cotabato, Philippines: Kaliwat Theatre Collective, Tribal Filipino Program for Comm. Dev., Inc. (TFPCDI), and Manobo Lumadnong Panaghiusa, Inc. (MALUPA).
- Manuel, E. Arsenio. 1958a. *The maiden of the buhong sky: A complete song from the Bagobo folk epic Tuwaang*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Manuel, E. Arsenio. 1958b. *Tuwaang attends a wedding*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Manuel, E. Arsenio. 1962a. Book of riddles. *Folklore Studies* 21, 123–185.
- Manuel, E. Arsenio. 1962b. *Upland Bagobo narratives*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Manuel, E. Arsenio. 1969. *Agyu: The Ilianon epic of Mindanao*. *Unitas* 42:2, 30–103.
- Manuel, E. Arsenio. 1973. *Manuvù social organization*. Diliman, Quezon City: Community Development Research Council, University of the Philippines.
- McFarland, Curtis D., comp. 1980. *A linguistic atlas of the Philippines*. Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa Monograph Series 15. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Media Mindanao News Service Investigative Team. 1993. *Ethnocide: Is it real?* Davao City, Philippines: Media Mindanao News Service.
- Mgo itulon moka-atag to pomo-ukit amoy'd po-udsuu to ko-uyahan (*Stories about ways to improve livelihood*). 2003. Kidapawan City, Cotabato, Philippines: Obo Manobo Active Language Resource and Community Development, Inc.
- Od pohinonaw ki nod bolansi (*We will learn to calculate*). 1998. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics and DECS.
- Peralta, Jesus T. 2003. *Glimpses: Peoples of the Philippines*. Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil.
- Pye-Smith, Charlie. 1997. *The Philippines: In search of justice*. Oxfam Country Profiles. Oxford: Oxfam UK and Ireland.
- Raats, Pieter Jan. 1969. *A structural study of Bagobo myths and rites*. San Carlos Publications, Series A Humanities 8. Cebu City, Philippines: University of San Carlos.

- Vander Molen, Ena E. and Vera Khor Lee Kee, comps. 1994. Dos mgo Minuvu od potongkooy tat kinohiyan no Minonuvu (*A phrasebook for Obo Manobo*). Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2nd ed. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics and DECS.
- Walton, Charles. 1979. A Philippine language tree. *Anthropological Linguistics* 21:2, 70-98.



A Voice from the Hills: Essays on the Culture and World View of the Western Bukidnon Manobo People by Francisco Col-om Polenda. Translated and edited by Richard E. Elkins, Summer Institute of Linguistics. LSP Special Monograph Issue 29. 1989.

A Voice from Many Rivers: Central Subanen Oral and Written Literature by Edgar Aleo and others. Translated and annotated by Felicia Brichoux, Summer Institute of Linguistics. LSP Special Monograph Issue 42 2002.

ISBN 971-780-021-9

Ethnologue language name and code: Manobo, Obo (OBO)
www.ethnologue.com/web.asp