A Voice from the Forest

Essays on the culture and world view of the Manobo of the Agusan river valley and the Diwata mountain range

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Artwork by Mendez Havana Jr.







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Contents

Map Introduction Pronunciation and Spelling Guide		v vi vii
I. Biographical		1
To Kinabuhi ni Bungkasanon	The Life of Bungkasanon	2
To Kayainan to Iskuyla Notoduon dow Kuntoon	The Difference between Students Long Ago and Now	4
Pagbayot	Using a Tobacco Wad	6
To Pagiskuyla dow Kaminyoon Ku	My Schooling and Marriage	8
To Kadodoyog Ku to diya Panahon to Gera	My Experiences at the Time of the War	18
To Pagkabayu Ku	When I Became a Widow	21
II. Cultural: Family		25
To Pangasawa no Ogkahobyas	Aborted Marriage Arrangements	26
Igsambag to mgo Minyoonon	Advice for a Couple to be Married	30
To Mey Katongod to Pagtagon to Kuwarta duon to Pamilya	The One in the Family with Authority to Hold the Money	32
To Pagpangidam	Early Pregnancy	34
To Ogpalikajan to Magkabodos	What Pregnant Women Must Avoid	36
To Pag-anak	Childbirth	37
Tagaemu	Potion/Amulet to Ease Childbirth	39
Pag-atiman aw Pagmansu to mgo Bata no Manubu	The Nurture and Discipline of Manobo Children	40
Pagduwoy	Taking Another Wife	43
Mgo Sambag to Ginikanan	Parental Advice	45
To Pagbibiya to Magtiajun III. Hunting and Trapping	The Separation of a Married Couple	46 49
To Pagpanganup 1	Hunting with Dogs 1	50
To Pagpanganup 2	Hunting with Dogs 2	52
To Pagyagotom to Ogkakoon no Taga-Wohig: Isturya to Taga-Kasilajan	Trapping Edible Freshwater Creatures: The Story of Someone from the Kasilajan River	54
To Pagyagotom to Buaja	Catching Crocodiles	57
To Pagyagotom to Kasili	Catching Eels	59
IV. Nature and Environment		61
To Hayas no Ogpakayogot	Poisonous Snakes	62

To Bakosan	Python	66
V. Customs and Practices		68
Minangajow no Gera	Revenge War	69
To Kaugpa to mgo Manubu Notoduon dow Kuntoon	The Life of Manobos Before and Now	70
To Batasan to Manubu	The Customs of the Manobos	75
To Kinaraan dow to Binagu no Batasan to mgo Manubu	The Old and New Customs of the Manobo People	79
To Pagpanguma Nokani dow Kuntoon	Farming Long Ago and Now	80
To Pagmama	Chewing Betel	83
Amonuhon to Paghinang to Hikam VI. World view: The Spirit World	How to Make a Mat	85 87
To Tumanon to Diwatahan	The Things That a Shaman Has to Observe	88
To mgo Tawagonon dow to Trabahu Dan	Diwata Spirits and Their Work	91
To Pagbuya dow to Gahom to Diwatahan	The Healing Ceremony and Power of a Spirit Medium	95
To Duma no Pagbuya to mgo Masakiton	Other Ways of Healing the Sick	98
To Kinabuhi Tapus to Kamatajon	Life After Death	101
Anit: Ogkatatoyu no Bahin VII. World view: Beliefs	The Anit Taboo: Three Parts	103 105
Mgo Paagi to Paghimatoy to Otow no Kona Ogpalian	Ways of Killing a Person Without Wounding Him	106
Mgo Batasan to Paglipodong	Customs about Sleeping	109
Pagbahuy to Linti	Stopping Lightning	112
Mgo Taginop dow to Kahuyugan	Dreams and Their Meanings	113
Tigom	Riddles	116
VIII. Herbal Remedies		117
Kajam	Newborn Jaundice	118
Tambae to Oggutuson: Bata ko Manigaon	Medicine for Bloating: Child or Adult	120
Talimoghat	Medicine for Relapse of a Newly Delivered Mother	121
Ogpanghopong no Yawa	Edema [Swelling of the Body]	122
Gisuka'g Indos	Vomiting and Diarrhea	123
Ugihap	Shingles	124
Tambae to Madoson no Ubu	Medicine for a Hard Cough	125
Tungag	Dental Cavity	126
Pabahaon: Tambae to Bata no Ogsipounon	Causing to Sneeze: Medicine for a Child with a Cold	127
Tambae to Pali no Ogyangósa	Medicine for a Bleeding Wound	128

IX. Traditional Narratives		129
Si Juan dow si Maria	Juan and Maria	130
To Yana no Ogpakabanhaw	The Oil that Could Raise the Dead to Life	134
To Suhue to Pagkamatarong	The Wages of Righteousness	140
To Sinugdanan to Humoy	The Beginning of Rice	143
Tahaw	The <i>Tahaw</i> Bird	144
Handaen-og	The Handaen-og Insect	146
To Babuy dow to Liyun	The Pig and the Lion	148
Appendix: Interlinear Text		150
Si Subana aw to Buhi din no Buaja si Subanu	Subana and her Pet Crocodile Subanu	151



Introduction

Teofila Gomez Bada, a full-blooded Manobo, is the author of many essays on Manobo life and practice. She was born in 1927 at Sagunto, La Paz, Agusan del Sur, and is a lifelong resident of that place. Her mother was a practicing *baylan* 'shaman'. The essays included in this volume were written between 1979 and 1999. She desires for Manobo young people to proudly hold on to their heritage in the face of outside pressures.

Manobo language speakers live along the Agusan River valley, especially its tributaries, and in the Diwata mountain range in the northeastern part of Mindanao, Philippines.

Mrs. Bada's writings have been translated into English in a free style for easy reading. And the final story also has an interlinear translation for the benefit of those who would like a clearer idea of Manobo linguistic structure.

For additional linguistic information about this language and vernacular materials, see the following: http://www.sil.org/asia/Philippines/plb_download.html#msm



1994 Teofila G. Bada



Artist: Mendez Havana Jr. (1998, Langasian, La Paz, Agusan del Sur)

Pronunciation and Spelling Guide¹

Vowels

People who speak Cebuano or Filipino as their mother tongue may have trouble pronouncing and spelling Manobo. When we write Manobo we use seven basic vowels: *a, ae, e, i, o, u, ue*. But there are two additional vowels: *ey*, which is similar to e but longer, and *iy*, which is similar to *i* but longer.

Cebuano is written with five vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*. Only three sounds are actually ever pronounced, however, because *e* and *i* are pronounced as the same sound, and *o* and *u* are pronounced as the same sound.

Manobo has these three same vowel sounds as Cebuano. We write them with a, i and u. We cannot write the sound u with o, or the sound i with e, like Cebuano, because in Manobo the letters o and e are used to represent DIFFERENT sounds.

The following is a table to help you pronounce and spell Manobo words. Non-Manobo words such as English words are included to guide you, but you must be careful. There are many different ways to pronounce English! The best way to learn to pronounce Manobo words correctly is to ask a native speaker of Manobo to say the Manobo words for you. The pronunciation guide should only be used if you cannot find a native speaker of Manobo. The pronunciation guide should be used with a native speaker of English.

Vowels	Manobo	Gloss	Pronunciation Guide
а	a'baga	'shoulder'	father
ае	'aehu	'pestle'	cat
е	sed	'inside'	bed
ey	meydu'on	'there is'	grey
i	i'nay	'mother!'	kiwi
iy	'abiy	ʻlip'	key
0	o'nom	'six'	above
и	'ubu	'cough'	do
ие	'kambue	'basket type'	Not found in English: French tu or German über

TABLE 1. Vowel chart

If the letter *o* is not used to spell the *u* sound, what sound does it represent? It does not represent the sound written with the letter *o* in Filipino, such as in the Filipino word *ngayon* 'now'. Instead, in Manobo it represents what we call a *schwa* or *pepet* sound. The tongue and lips are in the same position as when making the *a* sound, but the mouth is not opened as wide, only half as wide.

If the letter *e* is not used to spell the *i* sound, what sound does it represent? It represents the same sound written with the letter *e* in Filipino as in the word *ate* 'older sister'.

The vowel sound ue is not found in Filipino, Cebuano or English. To pronounce this sound, first make the sound i. You will notice that your tongue is high up and in front of the mouth, and your lips are spread. Without moving the tongue, round your lips as when making the sound u. Or, first make the sound u. You will notice that your tongue is high up and at the back of the mouth, and your lips are rounded. Without moving the lips, move your tongue in front of the mouth as

Pronunciation and Spelling Guide: From *Manobo Dictionary: of Manobo as spoken in the Agusan river valley and the Diwata mountain range* [2000] compiled by Teofilo E. Gelacio, Jason K.L. Lee, and Ronald L. Schumacher. Available online at www.sil.org/asia/Philippines/online_resources.html. All definitions given in footnotes throughout this ebook are taken from the *Manobo Dictionary*.

when making the sound i. This vowel sounds like a cross between i and u because the lips are in the same position as when making the sound u but the tongue is in the same position as when making the sound i.

Glottal Stop

One 'sound' is not always written. That is the glottal stop. The glottal stop is the 'catch in the throat' between the *uh* and the *oh* of the English *uh-oh* or the way some English speakers pronounce the *tt* in words like *button*.

In Manobo we do not write the glottal stop when it is at the beginning of a word, as in *abaga* 'shoulder', or when it is between vowels, as in *baaw* [pronounced *ba-aw*] 'trail food'. We do write glottal stop with a dash [-] when it is after a consonant, as in *agid-id* 'body dirt', or when it is between two vowels and one of the vowel sounds is written with two letters [*ae* or *ue*], as in *a-ae* 'for a boar to pant'. In this dictionary, the glottal stop is also written with a grave accent [`] when it is at the end of a word, as in *bakà* 'jaw'. The word looks like it ends with a vowel but it really ends in a glottal stop. If you do not write the glottal stop, then it may be difficult to tell if the word is *baka* 'cow' or *bakà* 'jaw'.

Stress

Stress in Manobo words is usually a longer syllable with a slightly louder volume. Stress is very important in Manobo in telling words apart. Therefore, stress is written in this dictionary. We write it with an apostrophe ['] before the stressed syllable. For example, the only difference between 'hilu' 'thread' and hi'lu 'poison', is stress. In the first word, the first syllable is stressed. In the second word, the second syllable is stressed.

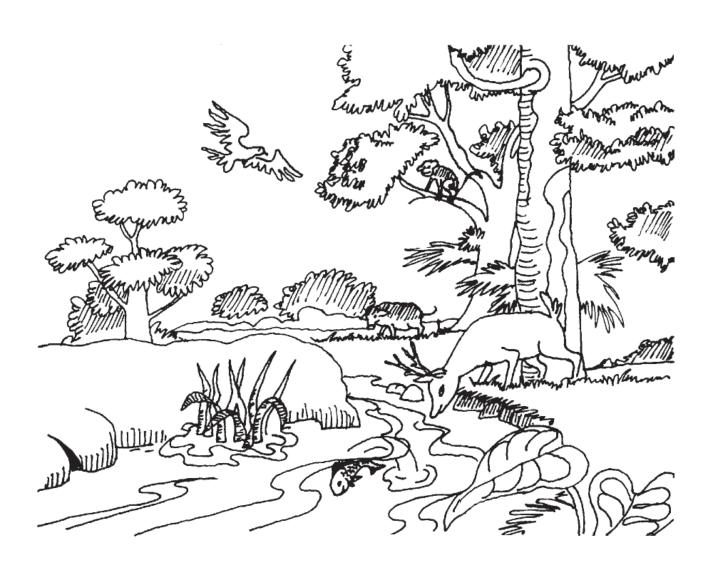
Consonants

The sixteen consonants of Manobo are spelled with the following letters:

TABLE 2. Consonant chart

Consonants	Manobo	Gloss
b	'baktas	'hike'
d	dadu'wa	'two'
g	gu'yangan	'forest'
h	hi'ngow	'be drunk'
j	ja'bu	'spill'
k	'kanta	'sing'
1	la'ba	'launder'
m	ma'mà	'betelnut chew'
n	ni'pis	'thin'
ng	'ngadan	'name'
p	'panow	'walk'
r	ri'pulyu	'cabbage'
S	so'dà	'viand'
t	ti'yahù	'cry'
w	wo'hig	'water'
y	'yukos	'male'

Most Manobo consonants are pronounced the same as in Filipino or Cebuano. One exception is the letter j. Manobo j is the same as the Filipino sound usually written with the letters dy, as in $al\acute{e}dyik$ 'allergic'. That is, it is the same as the English j.



I. Biographical

To Kinabuhi ni Bungkasanon

1 To diya nayugoy da yagboy no timpu meyduon mgo minailu no mig-ugpa duon to Yagkawan. 2 Ngadan sikan to sapa no migsabang duon to Suba [Osmeña Sr. on kuntoon] no maaslag no sapa. 3 Puwayas pad yagboy sikan no banwa to diya no mgo aedow. 4 Lima kandan no migsusuun, saboka to yukos dow upat to bohi. 5 Sikan yukos iyan ngadan si Yagtaw. 6 Ikaduwa kandin likat to panganoy dow sikan gihadihan iyan ngadan si Bungkasanon.

7 Si Yagtaw no ogkauulitau on iyan on nahinang no amoy to sikan mgo atoboy din. 8 Sikandin to ogpamuwayas to og-umahon dan. 9 Sikan daduwa no mgo atoboy din no ogkangkadawdaega on usab iyan ogbulig kandin to pagpananom to kamuti, humoy, dow duma pad no mgo tatanom.

10 Si Yagtaw nakasuat [goyad] to amoy dan no ogkaamu ogpanyagotom su ogduma-duma man kandin to diya buhi pad to amoy dan ko ogsodyop to guyangan. 11 Kaling kona kandan ogkabusan to pagsoda. 12 Ko wada amu no ogkaapuyuhan, meyduon manuk ubin mgo tabun no ogkalit-agan, meyduon babuy no kadlaganon no ogkabaetik. 13 Abunda yagboy kandan to panginabuhi yabi su minus pad to mgo uminugpa duon to sikan no banwa.

14 Na, pagyaboy to pila no tuig naminyo si Yagtaw dow to duma no mgo atoboy din dow pigdaya to mgo bana dan gawas ki Bungkasanon no bag-u pad ogkadawdaega to sikan no panahon. 15 Duon sikandan patilon ki Yagtaw. 16 Duon to sikan no panahon, migsugud to pagkaasuk ni Bungkasanon. 17 Sikandin to og-andiya to uma su ogpangamuti, og-abuab, ogbaju ko mey humoy. 18 Yaktod no pagkaikagi, kandin to tibo hinangonon su to asawa ni Yagtaw konad ogligwoy su manggianak on. 19 Di si Bungkasanon marojow yagboy to batasan. 20 Inggad man-u to pagkaunag din, kona ka ogkita to bayhu no ogpangibey-kibey.

21 Di ojow din pa kanay, "Kayugajan, naaguwanta ku to mgo hinangonon, di iyan wada ku aguwantaha to kaabyow to sikan asawa ni Yagtaw kaling migbaid a ki Yagtaw no og-andiya a ki Maenay diya to Halapitan." 22 Si Maenay ogkayagina ni Bungkasanon. 23 Meyduon anak ni Maenay no daega no kaopad ni Bungkasanon. 24 Di angod da no kabotang, asuk gihapun sikandin su sikan daega ni Maenay kona man ogpatrabahuon. 25 Ki Bungkasanon to tibo hinangonon.

26 Songo aedow pigsugu si Bungkasanon to pagpangamuti. 27 Wada pad pamahaw din, migpanow on kandin padeg diya to kamutihan. 28 Mig-udohik

The Life of Bungkasanon

1 A long time ago there were orphans who lived at Yagkawan. 2 That was the name of a stream that ran into the Suba [now called Osmeña Sr.], a larger stream. 3 That place was really virgin forest at that time. 4 They were five siblings, one male and four female. 5 The male's name was Yagtaw. 6 He was second oldest, and the name of the youngest was Bungkasanon.¹

7 Yagtaw, who was pre-adolescent, became the father of his sisters. 8 He was the one to clear virgin forest for them to farm. 9 His two sisters who were pre-adolescent also were the ones to help him to plant sweet potatoes, rice, and other plants.

10 Yagtaw imitated their father who knew how to use traps because he used to go along with their father when he went into the forest while he was still living. 11 So they didn't run out of viand. 12 If they couldn't trap a monkey [with an *apue* trap], there were (wild) chickens or *tabun* birds that they could trap [with a noose trap, *lit-ag*], there were wild pigs that they could get with a spear trap [*baetik*]. 13 They had a great abundance of sustenance, especially because there were still few inhabitants in that place.

14 Now, when several years had passed, Yagtaw married, and his other sisters, and they were taken away by their husbands, except for Bungkasanon who was barely pre-adolescent at that time. 15 She stayed with Yagtaw.² 16 At that time, Bungkasanon began to be overworked. 17 She was the one to go to the field to dig sweet potatoes, to weed, to pound rice if there was any. 18 In short, all the work was hers to do because Yagtaw's wife couldn't move freely because she had small children. 19 But Bungkasanon was very well-behaved. 20 No matter how hard she worked, you couldn't see her face looking like storm clouds.

21 But she told me, "After a while, I was able to endure the work, but what I couldn't endure was the quarrelsomeness of Yagtaw's wife, so I asked Yagtaw if I could go to Maenay at Halapitan." 22 Maenay was Bungkasanon's aunt by marriage. 23 Maenay had a daughter the same age as Bungkasanon. 24 But it was the same situation, she was overworked just the same because the teenage daughter of Maenay wasn't made to work. 25 All the work was Bungkasanon's.

26 One day Bungkasanon was sent to dig sweet potatoes. 27 She hadn't had any breakfast, she walked toward the sweet potato field. 28 She waded upstream in

¹ Bungkasanon was the author's mother.

² Sentences 15–43 were added by the author at a later time to fill in more details about her mother. The title of the original text was *To Pagkinabuhi duon to Suba Notoduon dow Kuntoon* 'Life at Suba Previously and Now'.

kandin to Adgawan su yakas hilabi to wohig, inggad tanakan nu to dagum.

29 Migdudumuk kandin no migpanow, nanagdu to mgo yuha su naudu-udu to sikan kabotang din. 30 Anoy man no nakatopad on kandin to linow, puli kandin pigkogaan to sikan mano-ue no migpajapa-japa duon to wohig. 31 Paglingi din migkawoy on sikan mano-ue duon to wohig dow pigkita din to baenak no manoksok on to kahaba no pigtagonan to sikan mano-ue. 32 Dajuni din kinuligsiki sikan manuk-manuk. 33 Monok on no nasabukan sikan baenak. 34 Nagama-gama on si Bungkasanon to mig-apot dow puduta din sikan baenak.

35 Pag-abut din duon to kamutihan, migyukat kandin to pila no buuk no kamuti dow hayuba din hasta songo hiwa to sikan baenak aw dajun kandin koon duon. 36 Tapus kandin makakoon, migpangamuti kotob to nahonat din dow daeha din usab sikan baenak diya to bayoy.

37 Daduwa no tuig to pag-antus din to madoot no kabotang duon to sikan yagina din, di mig-abut to aedow no meyduon yukos no taga-Sagunto no nangaliyag kandin. 38 Pig-asawa sikandin dow daeha diya to Sagunto. 39 Bootan sikandin no asawa dow marojow yagboy no inoy. 40 Diwatahan sikandin, di meyduon daduwa no mgo anak din no mgo Cristuhanon. 41 Migbubulig kandan to pagpasabut to sikan inoy dan to igkarojow to otow no ogpasakup to Ginuu. 42 Pagdawat din to Ginuu, songo tuig pad to migyaboy ayha kandin kamatoy. 43 Kabujagan on to namatajan din.

44 Kuntoon, to mgo kaliwat ni Yagtaw dow to diya mgo atoboy din migpamatilon da duon to Osmeña Sr. [Suba notoduon] di to pagpanginabuhi dan konad no angod to diya panahon pad ni Yagtaw no kona ogbalihon to mgo pagsoda. 45 Kuntoon mey on karsada no migtabas-tabas to diya kapuwayasan notoduon no iyan ogkapudutan to abunda dow wada bajad no ogkabuhian to otow. 46 To kadlaganon no mgo babuy dow duma pad no mgo kadlaganon ogkasaman on tongod to kahan-in on to mgo otow.

47 To ki Bungkasanon no mgo liwat duon pamatilon to Sagunto su Saguntuhanon man to nakaasawa kandin.

the Adgawan river because the water was really low and so clear you could see a needle dropped into it.

29 She walked with her head down, her tears fell because she felt sorry for herself in her situation. 30 When she came opposite to a pond, she was startled by a hawk³ that was flapping its wings in the water. 31 When she turned her head, that hawk flew up above the water, and she saw a mullet fish as long as one's arm that the hawk was holding. 32 She proceeded to scream at the bird. 33 While she was still screaming, [the bird] let go of the mullet fish. 34 Bungkasanon hurried [to the water] and joyfully waded in and got that fish.

35 When she reached the sweet potato field, she dug out several sweet potatoes and roasted them and one slice of that fish and then ate there. 36 After she had eaten, she dug sweet potatoes until she lifted them up and also carried the fish to the house.

37 For two years she suffered the bad situation with her aunt, but the day came when there was a man from Sagunto who liked her. 38 She was married and taken to Sagunto. 39 She was a good/kind wife and a very good mother. 40 She was a shaman, but she had two Christian children. 41 They helped each other to explain to their mother the benefits to a person who would become a subject of the Lord. 42 After she accepted the Lord, one more year passed before she died. 43 She died of old age.

44 Now, the descendants of Yagtaw and his sisters have settled at Osmeña Sr. [called Suba now], but their livelihood is not like during the time of Yagtaw when they didn't have to be overly concerned about getting viand [because of its abundance]. 45 Now there are roads cutting up what was virgin forest long ago where the people could get abundant sustenance without cost. 46 Wild pigs and other wild animals have been hunted out because of the great number of people.

47 Bungkasanon's descendants settled in Sagunto because the one who married her was from Sagunto.

³ It is not certain if the bird referred to here was a hawk or an eagle.

To Kayainan to Iskuyla Notoduon dow Kuntoon

1 Notoduon wada Manubu no mgo maistru hasta maistra. 2 Mgo binonyagan to mgo maistru dini to Sagunto. 3 Na ko og-abut on to iskuylahon, ko madani on to iskuylahon, to maistru ogliguy su ogpanlista to mgo bata no angajan on og-iskuyla. 4 Saboka a to diya namakalista. 5 Na ko og-iskuyla ad on, ogkakulian to inoy ku su ogpahatod a su kona a usab ogkaamu ogbinonyagan to diya no panahon. 6 Ogkahaedok a to maistru. 7 Kada pag-iskuyla ku ighatod a to inoy ku. 8 Na anoy man no daduwa on to gradu ku, ogboboot ad og-andiya to iskuylahan. 9 Di usahay, man no siak to panganoy no anak, ogpaabsinon a to inoy ku su ogpatamongon a to bata. 10 Na ko og-abutan on to tag-tatoyu no aedow to absin ku ogkahaedok ad on og-iskuyla su ogpanyatus to maistru.

11 Na songo aedow mighinaat to inoy ku to baaw noy su daduwa koy on dow to diya hadi ku. 12 Ogbabaaw koy on to ogpaniudtuhon noy dini to yunsud, madiyu to uma noy. 13 Diya koy da oglinikat ko og-iskuyla koy. 14 Di duon to dayan no ogpadeg koy on diya to iskuylahan, mighihimanu koy dow sikan hadi ku no kona koy og-iskuyla su ogkahaedok koy ko yatuson koy to maistru. 15 Puli koy on migpakahapun duon to yongod to kaju, mig-iingkud koy puli, tagad ko mahapun. 16 Anoy man no tumalinga on to soga, pigsabut noy no madani on og-uli to mgo iskuyla, mighinoy-hinoy koy migpanow su og-uli koy on. 17 Di puli koy natokow no migbansagon on to pulis dongan to pagkamoy kanami. 18 Pigkamoy koy to batuta to ogpapaulion koy su ogdaehon koy diya to iskuylahan. 19 Di nasi koy on miglinaguy. 20 'To! Mabagsak man to diya to dayan su mig-udan. 21 Ogpakauna a su mataksi a di to hadi ku mahinoy. 22 Ogpakapanabi kanay to, "Manay, tagadi a." 23 Na ogkalingi ku to hadi ku puli a'g pakailing to, "Pait man! 24 Dali ka." 25 Di to pulis sigi migyupug kanami. 26 Na, anoy man no duon on to bagsakan, sikan pulis su nanapatus sikandin, nadootan on buwa ko mabagsakan, migpauli sikan pulis. 27 Di sikami mighimayoy koy on duon to dayan su pigboyajan koy to paglinaguy. 28 Na mig-asuk da man su to diya no mahapun migbabaensi. 29 Nabasa koy hilabi, natupis koy. 30 Di wada noy on balibaliha to diya baensi tongod to haedok noy to diya pulis. 31 Na, anoy man to

The Difference between Students Long Ago and Now

1 Long ago there were no Manobo teachers. 2 The teachers here in Sagunto were lowlanders [lit. baptized ones]. 3 Now when time for school arrived [that is, the beginning of the school term], when it was almost time for school, the teacher would go around in order to list the children who ought to go to school. 4 I was one of those listed. 5 Now when I went to school, my mother had a hard time because I wanted her to take me because I didn't know how to speak the lowland language at that time. 6 I was afraid of the teacher. 7 Every time I went to school, my mother took me. 8 Then, when I was in second grade, I could just go to school on my own. 9 But sometimes, since I was the eldest child, my mother would make me be absent in order to have me take care of younger children. 10 Then when I had been absent for three days, I was afraid to go to school again because the teacher would spank me.

11 Now, one day my mother prepared our carry lunch because I and my younger brother now both [went to school]. 12 We would carry our lunch here to town, [because] our farm was far away. 13 We only left there when we went to school. 14 But on the way as we headed to school, my brother and I discussed/decided that we wouldn't go to school because we were afraid the teacher would spank us. 15 We just stayed through the afternoon under a tree, we just sat, waiting until late afternoon. 16 When the sun was at the "ear position", we understood that the students would soon go home, [and] we walked slowly going home. 17 But we were taken by surprise when a policeman shouted as he beckoned to us. 18 We were beckoned with his billy club that we should come back because he would take us to the school. 19 But instead we ran. 20 To! [exclamation of amazement] The path was muddy because it had rained. 21 I was ahead because I was fast, but my brother was slow. 22 He kept calling, "Manay [term of address for an older sister], wait for me." 23 Then I would look back at my younger sibling and just say, "Poor fellow! 24 Hurry up." 25 But the policeman kept chasing us. 26 Then, when we were in a muddy place, that policeman because he was wearing shoes, maybe he would be unhappy if they got muddy, that police went back. 27 But as for us, we rested on the way because we were tired from running. 28 Now our problem increased because there was a thunderstorm that afternoon. 29 We were very wet, soaking wet. 30 But we never minded that thunder and lightning because of our fear

The term *tumalinga* is derived from the word *talinga* 'ear'. It is the position of the sun at the angle where the ear would be—about 3:00 pm. Other time word indications are *kolis*, which is the sun's summit at 12 noon, and *bangkolid*, which is when the sun is beginning to decline from the summit at about 1:00 pm.

Other terms of address are *manoy* 'Older Brother', *anggam* 'Uncle' or 'Elder', *agina* 'Auntie', *utu* 'Younger Male', *igi* and *ajo* 'Younger Female', and *yagi* 'male friend'.

migtikdow on to udan, migpapahinoy koy no migpanow no mig-uli diya to uma.

32 Na pagkaabut noy diya to bayoy, kagi to inoy ku, "Pait man to seini mgo bata no nabasa. 33 Madali kow da uli?" kagi din.

34 Na migtabak a, siak to migtabak to, "Hoo, di nasakpanan koy on to udan dini to dayan." 35 Dajun koy hukasi to inoy ku aw pamahidi to yawa noy su nabasa koy, aw ilis koy.

36 Na meyduon intagama kanami to inoy noy no hinayub no kamuti. 37 Sikan to oghinangon din kada aedow, ogtagamahan koy su ogkahaedok no bontason koy dini to iskuylahan.

38 Ogkadomdoman ku to diya no panahon kuntoon no bujag ad. 39 Madoot naan to diya no pighinang ku. 40 Su sikan hadi ku no yukos no duma ku iyan to paglinaguy, wada gajod sikandin makapadajun to pag-iskuyla. 41 Tatoyuhon to gradu din. 42 Marojow a ubag su nakaabut a da to sigundu anyu to matikang-tikang no gradu. 43 Yahi on kuntoon to mgo kabataan, su to kabataan kuntoon mgo intrisadu on no'g paman-iskuyla. 44 Di sikami notoduon usahay ogpakaiskuyla koy da ko oggujudon koy o't pulis.

of that policeman. 31 Then, when the rain let up, we went slowly going home to the farm.

32 Then when we arrived at home, my mother said, "These poor kids who are wet. 33 Did you come home early?" she said.

34 Then I answered, I was the one who answered, "Yes, but the rain caught us on the way." 35 Then my mother undressed us and wiped our bodies because we were wet, and we changed clothes.

36 Now our mother had saved us some roasted sweet potato. 37 That was what she did every day, she saved food for us because she was afraid we would get hungry in school.

38 I can still remember that time now that I am already old. 39 What I did was bad [I realize]. 40 For that younger brother of mine who ran away with me, he didn't continue schooling. 41 He got through third grade. 42 It was a bit better for me because I reached the second year of higher grades [that is, high school]. 43 Children now are different, because children today are interested in going to school. 44 But as for us formerly, sometimes we only got to school when we were dragged by the police.

Pagbayot

1 Sugud no mabootan a, to amoy ku ogtabaku dow ogmama. 2 To inoy ku ogmama dow ogbayot. 3 Ogkasamuk kandan ko pihit on to tabaku. 4 Ko ogpamangoon koy, to amoy ku ogpag-una ogtakas to pagkoon su ogkahaedok ko maunahan to inoy ku to pagbatuk to tabaku no ighobong din. 5 Na ko wadad yagboy ogkatabaku to amoy ku, ogpamangha kandin to bayot to inoy ku no mgo tahay on no igpang-untud duon to kudirisu to bayoy dow tabakua.

6 To mgo ginikanan ku madoot to mgo ginhawa ko wada ogkatabaku dow ogkabayot. 7 Di ko meyduon tabaku og-awang to mgo yawyanguhom. 8 Kaling to tabaku og-ilingon to pandojow. 9 To mgo otow nokani no mahilapas to pagbayot dow pagtabaku, inggad man-u to kaboyu dan ko tadwajan to tabaku, ogdojow to ginhawa.

10 To inoy ku mahilapas to pagbayot. 11 Kasaboka tapus to paniudtu miglipodong kandin no nakapaduwag to bayot. 12 Bag-u pad yagboy to diya no inohug. 13 *Eh*, puli pigkogaan to amoy ku no dani din no mighibat su migdigwaka on to inoy. 14 "Honda naamonu ka man," kagi to amoy ku. 15 "Hmmm, nayam-od ku to bayot ku," mananoy no tabak to inoy ku su pig-alipengan to diya bayot no nayam-od din. 16 Hoo su inggad lipodong, ogbabayot. 17 "Kona ka pad mayogda," migngisi to amoy ku.

18 To yukos ogbayot, di oggomodon. 19 Usahay igsoksok duon to didayom to abi dan.

20 Hangtod no migtulin a dow to mgo hadi ku wada koy kaanad to sikan no hinang dan. 21 Ogkabohuan a yagboy to obey to tabaku dow to ngadog to bayot.

22 Na, anoy man no ogkadawdaega ad, mgo sampuyu on mey daduwa no tuig to idad ku migduma a to bujag no mig-andiya to kauyu to Adgawan su og-ani to humoy din. 23 Pag-abut noy duon to sikan banwa no ogdegan noy mabibu on su mahan-in on to mgo angod noy no taga-dibaba no nakauna kanami. 24 Madogi to mgo baligja dan no ogpabayluhan to humoy. 25 Meyduon daya ku no mgo salmun dow mgo kabo no impadae kanay to inoy ku no igpabogoy din to katagsa din no iyan ngadan si Bugtian. 26 Pag-abut noy duon to bayoy ni Tata Bugtian wada kandin duon su migpaani to humoy din. 27 Pag-uli din no mahapun impakiyaya a to sikan bujag no pigdumahan ku. 28 Migduguk to mgo anak ni Tata Bugti no mgo daega no pudu migpaduwag to mgo bayot. 29 Hangtod kuntoon kona

Using a Tobacco Wad

1 Ever since I was able to understand, my father smoked tobacco and he also chewed betel nut. 2 My mother chewed betel nut and used a tobacco wad. 3 They would be anxious if tobacco was scarce. 4 When they would eat, my father would be the first to stop eating because he was afraid that my mother would get to the tobacco first and retrieve it from where he had hidden it. 5 Now if my father was not able to get tobacco to smoke, he would find a dried-out tobacco wad of my mother that had been placed on the ledge of the wall of the house and use it for smoking.

6 My parents would not be in a good mood if they were not able to smoke and use tobacco wads. 7 But if there was tobacco, they would be happy [lit. their faces would brighten up]. 8 Therefore tobacco was called that which soothes [lit. makes well]. 9 As for the people in the old times who would use tobacco wads and smoke extensively, no matter how angry they would become, it would soothe their spirits [lit. make their breaths well].

10 My mother would use tobacco wads extensively. 11 One time, after lunch, she went to sleep with a tobacco wad in her mouth. 12 She had just made a fresh tobacco wad. 13 *Eh* [expression of surprise], suddenly my father, who was lying nearby, became startled because mother was gagging. 14 "Hey, what are you doing," said my father. 15 "Hmmm, I swallowed my tobacco wad," my mother answered softly because she was dizzy from the wad she had swallowed. 16 Yes, because even when sleeping [she would] use a tobacco wad. 17 "You still haven't learned [your lesson]," laughed my father.

18 Men use tobacco wads, but hold it in their mouths. 19 They sometimes insert it under their lips.

20 Until I and my younger siblings were grown we did not learn to do what they did. 21 I am really repulsed by the odor of tobacco smoke and the smell of tobacco wads.

22 Now, when I was a pre-teen, about twelve years old, I accompanied an old woman going to the headwaters of the Adgawan to harvest her rice. 23 When we reached that place where we were going it was really convivial because there were many [people] like us from downriver who had arrived ahead of us. 24 They had many wares to exchange for rice. 25 I had brought canned mackerel with me and clothing which my mother had sent with me to give her cousin whose name was Bugtian. 26 When we reached the house of Tata¹ Bugtian he wasn't there because he was having his rice harvested. 27 When he came home in the afternoon I was introduced by the woman I had accompanied. 28 The teenage daughters of Tata Bugti gathered around us, each with a tobacco wad protruding from her mouth. 29 Until

The term *Tata* [second syllable stress] is a title for 'uncle', and is similar to the Manobo term *anggam*. The female counterpart is *Mana*.

Pagbayot Using a Tobacco Wad

ku ogkalingawan to diya daega no iyan ngadan si Odi. 30 Angod-angod ku kandin to idad. 31 Indoy dow buhi pad kandin kuntoon.

32 Nadali a kiyayaha ni Tata Bugti no mahinampotan to sikan bujag to ngadan to inoy ku. 33 Na sugud to diya wada a dan on yuwata inggad andei kandan ogdeg dow inggad to paglipodong.

34 Songo aedow mig-ohug si Odi to tabaku. 35 Iyan ing-ohug din to gita to kinagis no meymow. 36 Dajun kandin higbit to sikan inohug dow itadwoy kanay. 37 "O, bayot ka," kagi din. 38 Pagtadwoy din kanay nakapapigid-pigid a su migtagbu kanay to ngadog to sikan tabaku. 39 Pagkita din no nakapapigid-pigid a, mig-usip kandin, "Nokoy man?"

40 Kagi ku, "Kona a man ogbayot. 41 Ngadog da ngani to tabaku og-alipengan ad."

42 "Eh, anad ka to pagbayot su mayaw-oy og-ahaon to bohi no kona ogbayot su angod to kanunoy ogbubuyut. 43 Iyan unaha bayota to tipoy agun maanad ka." 44 Dajun sugua to hadi din no bohi to pagkotu to dohun to tipoy dow dokdoka. 45 Pagkadokdok to sikan dohun to tipoy, piglimun-limun din angod to kaaslag to sikan bayot din dow iuntud kani to abi ku. 46 Migngingisi kandan no mig-aha kanay no nakabayot on. 47 Kagi dan, "Aha ka, og-angajan ka." 48 Kagi manda ni Odi, "Kinahangyan no ogbabayot ki agun kona ki makapanungit-sungit ko meyduon ogson-adon ta no soda su mey man nakayopon to ba-ba ta. 49 Mayaw-oy og-ahaon to bohi no ogpanungit-sungit ko ogson-ad."

50 "Kaboyoy, migsakit to baka ku to pagpigon no kona mauyug seini bayot," kagi ku ki Odi.

51 "Na, hipida puli sikan dow bayota da ko makahimayoy kad. 52 Kona kad man ogboyajan ko mayugoy on su ogkaanad kad man."

53 Mighamusak on to anihonon dow masem pad yagboy diya koy on to uma su og-ani. 54 Pagkahapun ogbaju koy to humoy no ogpanihapunon dow tapus to panihapun dajun ad ogkalipodong. 55 Nalingawan on to diya pag-anad to pagbayot. 56 Hangtod kuntoon no bujag ad wada a gajod kaanad to pagbayot.

57 Tapus.

now I cannot forget the girl named Odi. 30 She was about my age. 31 I don't know if she's still living today.

32 I was easily recognized by Tata Bugti when the woman mentioned the name of my mother. 33 From that time on, they always took me with them wherever they went and even when they slept.

34 One day Odi fixed a tobacco wad. 35 She mixed it with the juice of a scraped vine stem called *meymow*. 36 Then she tore off part of it and handed it to me. 37 "Here, have a tobacco wad," she said. 38 When she handed it to me I shuddered because the odor of the tobacco hit me. 39 When she saw that I shuddered, she asked, "Why?"

40 I said, "I don't use a tobacco wad. 41 Just the smell of tobacco makes me dizzy."

42 "Eh [expression of disapproval], you must learn to use a tobacco wad because it's annoying to see a woman not using a tobacco wad because it looks like she's always sulking. 43 You can use a tipoy leaf wad first so that you will get used to it." 44 Then she told her younger sister to get a tipoy leaf and pound it. 45 When that tipoy leaf had been pounded, she formed it into a ball the size of her tobacco wad and placed it between my lips. 46 They laughed as they looked at me with the wad. 47 They said, "Look, it's becoming to you." 48 Odi said again, "It's necessary for us to use a wad so we don't snitch when we're cooking viand because there's something obstructing our mouth. 49 It's annoying to see a woman snitching as she cooks."

50 "How tiresome, my jaw hurts from keeping this wad from falling out," I said to Odi.

51 "Okay, just put it away and use it when you have rested. 52 You won't get tired anymore after awhile because you'll be used to it."

53 The harvest time was at its height and very early in the morning we were in the field to harvest. 54 In the afternoon we would pound rice for supper and after supper I immediately went to sleep. 55 The training for using the tobacco wad was forgotten. 56 Until now that I am an old woman I have never learned to use a tobacco wad.

57 That's all.

To Pag-iskuyla dow Kaminyoon Ku

1 Tuig 1940 buyan to Disimbri. 2 Sikami no mgo istudyanti aw to mgo maistru noy angod to pigkusu no madinog duon to radyu to mgo sundayu no migkampu duon to yunsud to Bunawan no ogpasirahan to tibo mgo iskuylahan, pribadu ko publiku su pig-abut on to Pilipinas to gera. 3 [To Bunawan Agricultural High School duon makabotang to dihipag to sikan yunsud to Bunawan.]

4 Migsugu dajun to principal to iskuylahan, si Mr. Obias, no umuli to mgo istudyanti diya to banwa dan. 5 Migsambag sikandin no wada inggad nokoy no ogdaehon agun hanuhas to panow. 6 To mgo maistru mangkadiyu to og-ulian su mgo Bisaya aw magubing su meyduon mgo pamilya dan. 7 Wadad mgo lansa no ogbiyahi no iyan da podom paagi no ogpakaabut sikandan diya to Butuan aw wadad isab mgo barku no ogbiyahi no iyan podom ogpakadae kandan diya to banwa dan diya to kabisay-an. 8 Wada pad mgo karsada to diya no panahon. 9 Kona no angod kuntoon no natabas-tabas on to karsada inggad to kaguyanganan. 10 Hangtod kuntoon no bujag ad, wada nadinog ku bahin to diya mgo maistru. 11 Iyan da nadinog ku no meyduon to diya taga-Lianga no daega dow ulitau no naduduma to pagpotos likat to Bunawan su og-uli iyan diya to Lianga. 12 Nadinog ku no songo buyan to panow dan ayha sikandan abut diya to banwa dan. 13 Aw pag-abut dan, dajun sikandan migpakasal su magkabodos on sikan bohi. 14 Ko buhi pad sikandan kuntoon, mgo manigaon on hilabi sikandan su ngani a man no hadi dan to idad di maputi on to bubue ku to uban. 15 Og-awoson ku no meyduon makabasa to seini sinuyat ku inggad mgo liwat dan on. 16 Nalingawan ku to mgo ngadan dan su tiaw nu man to kayugoy on to diya no panahon.

17 Tatoyu koy no ka bohi no taga-Sagunto no puli ogpakahihipanow to pagpamangha to ogkasakajan noy podom, si Justina Martinez, si Dominga Gomez, aw siak. 18 Madojow su nakakita koy to onom no buyus no buyu no piggakit noy. 19 Taga-hawakan noy to wohig no musakoy koy aw patianud to ayug to Simuyow.

20 Pag-abut noy duon to pagsabangan to Simuyow dow Agusan no ayug, iyan isab pagkayogwa to maaslag no beytu no pigsakajan to pamilya to sundayu no taga-Loreto, si Paulino Casal. 21 Hilaria to ngadan to sikan asawa din, taga-Sagunto. 22 Migtitibo koy nangamoy. 23 Nalipay koy su pagduung dan duon kanami, pigkiyaya koy din aw nalipay sikandin no migpasakoy kanami. 24 Madukilom on no muabut koy diya to Loreto aw duon koy on payaboy to kadukiloman. 25 Pagkabukas migpasalamat koy ki Ilay [dagnoy ni Hilaria] aw nakabiya koy kandin aw dajun koy panow. 26 Migpotos koy likat to Loreto pailing to Sagunto. 27 Migtukhow yagboy to mgo ginikanan noy no kitaon koy dan.

My Schooling and Marriage

1 It was the year 1940, in the month of December. 2 We students and our teachers were shaken when we heard on the radio belonging to the soldiers camping in the town of Bunawan that all the schools, private and public, were to be closed because war had come to the Philippines. 3 [Bunawan Agricultural High School was situated on the other side of river from the town of Bunawan.]

4 The principal of the school, Mr. Obias, immediately instructed the students to go home to their places. 5 He advised us not to take anything at all so our travel would be unencumbered. 6 The teachers had a long way to travel home because they were Visayan and would be encumbered because they had families. 7 There were no longer any river boats traveling, which is how they would have traveled to Butuan, neither were there any more ships traveling that would have taken them to the Visayas. 8 There were not yet any roads at that time. 9 It wasn't like now when roads crisscross even the forests. 10 Even until now that I am an old woman, I have heard nothing about those teachers. 11 All I heard was that there were a young lady and a young man from Lianga who hiked home together from Bunawan to Lianga. 12 I heard that it took them a month to travel before they reached their place. 13 And when they arrived, immediately they got married because the girl was already pregnant. 14 If they are still living now, they are very old because even I, who was younger than they, already have white hair. 15 I would really like for someone to read this which I am writing, even their descendants. 16 I have forgotten their names because just imagine how long ago that was!

17 There were three of us girls from Sagunto who just walked around looking for something we could ride, Justina Martinez, Dominga Gomez, and I. 18 Fortunately, we found six pieces of bamboo that we made into a raft. 19 The river was waist-deep when we got onto it and let ourselves be carried down the Simuyow river.

20 When we reached the junction of the Simuyow and Agusan rivers, just at that time there also appeared a big boat [dugout canoe] in which was riding the family of a soldier from Loreto, Paulino Casal. 21 His wife, who was from Sagunto, was named Hilaria. 22 We all beckoned. 23 We were happy because when she came to shore near us, she recognized us and was happy to give us a ride. 24 It was nighttime when we arrived at Loreto, and we stayed there overnight. 25 On the next day we thanked Ilay [Hilaria's nickname] and said goodbye to them and then we left. 26 We hiked from Loreto to Sagunto. 27 Our parents were very happy to see us.

28 Anak a to magtiajun no Manubu, si Casiano aw si Bungkasanon. 29 Siam koy no migsusuun, aw pigbuhi koy dan pinaagi to panguma. 30 Nakaiskuyla si itay dow si inay to primarya, di to Minanubu no batasan wada dan kaojowi.

31 Pag-idad ku to pitu no tuig, meyduon maistra no mig-andiya kanami diya to uma aw ilista to ngadan ku su ogpaiskuylahon a. 32 Wada Manubu no maistra notoduon, pudu Bisaya. 33 Tagaw a pad yagboy to diya no panahon. 34 Kona a pad ogpakasabut to Binisaya. 35 Imbot ku ngani dowsikan og-ilingon to maistra to "iglista," igyapdos-yapdos, kaling wada a andiya to iskuylahan inggad nakalista on to ngadan ku su nahaedok a. 36 Mig-iskuyla a da no inghatod a to inoy ku diya to iskuylahan aw pighiluwasan a to maistra to diya wada ku kasabuti. 37 Ogkadomdoman ku no si Miss Dumagu to una no maistra ku.

38 Sugud to pag-iskuyla ku, inghinatod a ni inay diya to iskuylahan, aw pagkahapun, ogtatagbuhon a ni itay duon to dayan su ogbaja a man to puwayas no guyangan. 39 Mahan-in pad to mgo amu aw babuy no kadlaganon duon to guyangan. 40 Meyduon man iyan duma no naman-iskuyla di yain man to kandan bajaanan pailing diya to og-ulian dan.

41 Natapus ku to una no gradu dow to ikaduwa to songo tuig da. 42 Migpadajun a to pag-iskuyla aw natapus ku to ikaupat no gradu to primarya, aw siak to balidikturyan. 43 Manno wada pad ilimintarya dini to Sagunto, diya a padajun to pag-iskuyla to Loreto. 44 Wada bajad ku to iskuylahan su to diya no timpu, meyduon balaod to gubernu no to balidikturyan ogdawaton inggad andei no iskuylahan dini to Pilipinas no libri to ubligasyun to iskuylahan. 45 Balidikturyan a gihapun no makatapus a to ikaonom no gradu.

46 Tongod to sikan pribilihiyu no imbogoy to gubernu, naujunan ni itay dow ni inay no ogpadajun a to pag-iskuyla to matikang no gradu diya to Bunawan Agricultural High School. 47 Seini no iskuylahan duon makabotang to dihipag to yunsud to Bunawan.

48 Mabibu koy hilabi no mgo bohi no mahimun koy duon to durmituryu. 49 Yain to durmituryu to mgo yukos. 50 Wada pad sugud to klasi, pighimun to tibo istudyanti, mgo yukos dow bohi, agun oghikiyaya koy. 51 Tapus to sikan, pigbogajan koy no mgo istudyanti to primera anyu to sikan og-ilingon to entrans exam, aw maaslag to puntus no napudut ku. 52 Pagpanyaboy to panahon, to kalipay ku to pag-iskuyla migdugang pad. 53 Kuntoon no bujag ad, ko pagtandion to kalipay no nangkabajaan ku, to diya pag-iskuyla ku iyan pinakamalipajon no panahon to kinabuhi ku. 54 Pigganahan a yagboy aw halus kona ad ogpakahona-hona to pag-uli panahon to bakasyun. 55 Maaslag to hingawos ku no og-iskuyla a to pagkamagsusuyat ko makatapus a to hay-iskul. 56 Aw nadasig a to sikan no hingawos ku su meyduon bohi no pigpaiskuyla to gubernu diya to Manila su utokan sikandin. 57 Pig-ikagihan a din no ogpayupugon a kandin diya to Manila su ogtabangan a din to sikan pig-awos ku no kursu. 58 Di dimalas su puli a da nakaabut to sigundu anyu miggera on man.

28 I am the daughter of a Manobo couple, Casiano and Bungkasanon. 29 We are nine siblings, and they supported us by farming. 30 Father and Mother went to primary school, but they did not forsake the Manobo ways.

31 When I was seven years old, a teacher went to us on the farm and listed my name because I would be sent to school. 32 There were no Manobo teachers long ago, only Visayans. 33 I was really very naive at that time. 34 I could not yet understand the Visayan language. 35 I even thought that "being listed," which the teacher talked about, meant being whipped, so I didn't go to school even though my name had been listed, because I was afraid. 36 I only went to school when my mother took me to the school and explained to the teacher what I had not understood. 37 I can remember that Miss Dumago was my first teacher.

38 Since I started school, Mother would regularly take me to school, and in the afternoon, Father would meet me on the path because I would have to pass through virgin forest. 39 There were still many monkeys and wild pigs in the forest. 40 There were indeed others going to school, but they took a different path going home.

41 I finished first and second grade in just one year. 42 I continued going to school and finished the four primary grades, and I was the valedictorian. 43 Since there was still no elementary [that is, grades 5–6] here in Sagunto, I continued schooling in Loreto. 44 I didn't have to pay for schooling because at that time the government had a law that a valedictorian would be accepted at any school without financial obligation for his/her schooling. 45 I was also valedictorian when I finished sixth grade.

46 Because of that privilege which the government gave, Father and Mother agreed for me to continue schooling in the high grades at Bunawan Agricultural High School. 47 This school was across the river from the town of Bunawan.

48 We girls were in high spirits as we gathered in the dormitory. 49 The boys had a separate dormitory. 50 Before classes started, all the students were gathered, male and female, so we could get acquainted. 51 After that, we first year students were given what was called an entrance exam, and I got a high score. 52 As time passed, my enjoyment of schooling kept increasing. 53 Now that I am old, if I compare the joy of all my experiences, that schooling experience was the happiest time of my life. 54 I really enjoyed it and could hardly think of going home when vacation time came. 55 I had a great desire to get education as a writer when I finished high school. 56 And I was encouraged in that desire because there was a woman whom the government educated in Manila because she was smart. 57 She told me that I would be allowed to follow her to Manila because she would help with the course I wanted. 58 But unfortunately, when I had just reached second year, war came.

59 Pagyaboy to songo tuig likat to pagkapuun ku diya to Bunawan, mapasu-pasu on to gera, di diya pad to duma no mgo banwa dini to Pilipinas. 60 Tuig on to diya to 1942. 61 Ogkadawdaega ad on. 62 Mey on mgo ulitau no ogpamisita kanay, di kona ogtugut to amoy ku no og-atubang a to inggad hintawa no og-anduon to bayoy noy. 63 Batasan to Manubu no iyan una no ogkamaan to ginikanan ko meyduon ogpangaliyag to daega dan pagpasabut no ogtahudon sikandan. 64 Na, su kona man sikandan ogpakapaggilaung kanay, sikan mgo ulitau igpahungow to pagbati dan no igpabaja to harana ko madukilom, yabi ko kaadlawon. 65 Di songo kadukiloman naboyu to amoy ku aw pigbinansagonan din sikan namangharana. 66 "Ko kona kow ogkaliyag no buntugan ku sikiyu to seini tabae ku, sigkon kow to ogpawangae-wangae su ogkaongae a no oglipodong!" 67 Puli a ogpakapakilos to sikow ku to sikan mgo ulitau di kona a ogpakasapad ki itay su unu ko siak on nasi to binansagonan din.

68 Na, meyduon ulitau no iyan ngadan si Vencio [sikandin to nabana ku] no ogharana di ogpapaawoy aw mananoy ko ogkanta sikandin. 69 Songo kaadlawon nabuyatan ku to tingog ni Vencio no migharana. 70 Panagad a dow ogkaboyu to amoy ku, di wada. 71 Duon to sikan nasabut ku no ogkaliyagan din sikan no yukos. 72 Di siak, wada inggad mae-kaitoman to suyu no liyag ku kandin. 73 Kona a ngani ogyongyong kandin inggad to pagsil-ap.

74 Kasaboka migdae sikandin to kamama aw tabaku dow ibogoy ki inay. 75 Migtukhow hilabi to inoy ku no migdawat su ampay din yagboy sikan. 76 Sikan to una no panakin din. 77 Sugud to sikan, nadasig si Vencio su pigdawat man to una no panakin din. 78 Migpasabut sikan no ogkahinajun to tuud din. 79 To diyad to sinugdanan no kanunoy on sikandin mighatod duon kanami to inggad nokoy no ogkahona-honaan din no ogpakalipay to mgo ginikanan ku aw ogdawaton ni inay.

80 Pagsugud ni Vencio to pagpanakin, migsugud isab to pagkawadad gana to kinabuhi ku. 81 Wada ad lipara to naanadan no hinangonon ku duon to bayoy. 82 To naanadan ku no pag-atiman to yawa ku napabay-anan kud. 83 To bubue ku no masem pad matapad on, kuntoon kanunoy on gumun. 84 Wadad ogpakalipay kanay su to pagbisita kanay to mgo ajo ku no iyan podom kalipay ku natampod on su ogkaboyu to amoy ku ko ogpaggilaung a kandan su basi honghongan a dan. 85 Ing-ojow kanay to amoy ku to pagpaggilaung to inggad hintawa no mgo daega aw ulitau aw inggad to mgo katagsa ku. 86 Pigbantajan to tibo lihok ku. 87 Kadoot yagboy to ginhawa ku, naguul a, pigmingaw a to mgo ajo ku; mgo amigu ku no mgo yukos miglikoy on kanay aw wadad napahungawan ku to mgo prublima ku.

59 As the second year passed since I had come from Bunawan, the war became more intense, but it was still in other parts of the Philippines. 60 Now it was the year 1942. 61 I was already a pre-adolescent. 62 There were already young men who would visit me, but my father would not permit me to entertain anyone who went to our house. 63 It is the Manobo custom that the parents be the first to know if someone likes their young daughter, to show respect to them. 64 Now, since they could not converse with me, those young men vented their feelings through serenading at night, especially in the early hours of the morning. 65 But one night my father got angry and shouted at those serenading. 66 "If you don't want me to throw this spear of mine at you, stop your singing1 because you're keeping me awake!" 67 I just shrank in shame for those young men but I could not rebuke Father lest he shout at me instead.

68 Now, there was a young man named Vencio [he's the one I married] who would serenade, but he would come alone and sing softly. 69 One early morning I woke to the sound of Vencio serenading. 70 I waited to see if my father would get angry, but he didn't. 71 Then I realized that he liked that man. 72 But as for me, I didn't have one bit of affection for him [lit. not even as big as the black part of a fingernail]. 73 I would not even look straight at him or even peek.

74 Once he brought betel chew and tobacco and gave it to Mother. 75 My mother accepted it eagerly because it was really her favorite. 76 That was his first proposal gift.² 77 From that time, Vencio was encouraged because his first proposal gift was accepted. 78 It meant that his purpose would be successful. 79 That was the beginning of his constantly bringing to us whatever he could think of that would please my parents and which Mother would accept.

80 When Vencio began to bring proposal gifts, I began to lose my enjoyment of life. 81 I no longer paid attention to my customary work in the house. 82 I ignored caring for my body. 83 My hair, which was usually fixed in the morning, was now always tangled. 84 No one could cheer me, because my friends' visits, which would have given me joy, were stopped since my father was angry if I talked to them because he thought they would discourage me [from marrying Vencio]. 85 My father forbade me to talk to any young ladies or men, even to my cousins. 86 Everything I did was watched. 87 I really was upset, I was sad, I missed my friends; my male friends avoided me and I had no one to share my problems with.

¹ The term used here, *pawangae-wangae*, gives the connotation of the anger or disgust that a person feels when hearing excessive singing. Other similar terms of the feeling of anger or disgust at excessive behavior are *habhab*, associated with excessive eating and *ogak*, associated with excessive drinking.

A *panakin* is a gift that a suitor gives to the parents of his prospective bride. Acceptance of the gift indicates positive feelings and encouragement to continue the courting process. The *panakin* can be almost anything that the parents of his prospective bride might like, such as betel nut preparations, tobacco, wild pigs, or field work for their benefit.

88 Migpadajun to pagkawadad gana to kinabuhi ku hangtod no piggasaan a. 89 Na, agun mubalik to madojow no pangyawa ku, pigtugutan a to amoy ku to pagduma-duma to mgo ajo ku. 90 Naningkamot to diya mgo ajo ku to paglipay kanay to mahan-in no mgo paagi, di mahaba on ko tinagsabokahon ku to paghisgut. 91 Di mey songo panahon no nasakahan to presidenti noy to mgo sundayu. 92 [To barangay kapitan kuntoon iyan igtawag to presidenti notoduon.] 93 To diya no panahon, nabatasan no ko meyduon bisita no ogkapuun diya to dibaba, ogpabaylihan to presidenti su ig-abi-abi to sikan bisita. 94 Migsugu to presidenti to pulis to pagimbita to mgo daega aw saboka a to diya mgo bohi no pig-imbita, di migbalibad a. 95 Pagkamaan to sikan presidenti no migbalibad a, mig-anduon sikandin kanami aw iyan pighangyu din to amoy ku no patambungon a to bayluhan. 96 Tongod to paghangyu to amoy ku no mutambung a, napogosan a to pagsugut.

97 Mabibu hilabi to mgo ajo ku no mig-anduon to bayoy to pagdokat kanay. 98 Meyduon mgo ulitau no migduma kandan di diya da kandan to gawas. 99 To mgo daega migponhik. 100 Di pag-aha dan kanay, wada a pad panggiyu-giyu inggad naandam kud to ogkakabo ku para to baylihan. 101 Dajun bubulig to diya mgo ajo ku, meyduon migkabo kanay, meyduon migsudlay to bubue ku, aw pulbusi aw agwahi a dan. 102 Tapus to sikan, pighiling-hiling a dan aw masig-ikagi to "Kaguwapa nu." 103 Di sikan pighinang dan pagpabibu puli aw pagdasig kanay.

104 Pag-abut noy diya to baylihan, migsunata on to urkistra. 105 Ogkadomdoman ku to diya mgo yukos [mgo patoy on] no mapandoy no ogtagon to mgo patanugonon, si Luciano Bentoso, si Guillermo Martinez aw meyduon pad duma di nangkalinagawan kud. 106 Pigdawat dajun ni Ginsud [presidenti] to boyad ku aw daeha a diya ki Tinienti de la Cuesta. 107 Mig-ila-ila koy aw tapus to sikan, migsugud koy to pagbayli. 108 Pagsigkon to sunata, wada a daeha to sikan sundayu diya to ingkudanan to mgo bohi su pigsoing a din. 109 Kada pagsunata siak to pigbayli din kotob no natapus to baylihan no alas 2:00 to kaadlawon. 110 Pag-abut ku diya to bayoy [inghatod a to mgo ajo ku] meyduon tahan buwahan no dagmoy no pigbitoy to amoy ku no ogpalipodongan kanay. 111 "Kani ka lipodong to seini buwahan," kagi to amoy ku, "agun wada ogpakasamuk ikow inggad mayugoy ka mubuyat." 112 Puli a migpajango ki itay aw migpatisub-ung a duon to buwahan. 113 Angay podom no malipay a to sikan no pighinang to amoy ku, di nasi no naguul a su namaan a no meyduon migpadibayuy to sikan pagdedeyjawa din kanay, no musugut a to pagbabana ki Vencio no iyan napili din no igpabana kanay. 114 Kada pagkapuun ku to

88 My loss of joy in life continued until I lost weight. 89 Then, so that my health would return, my father permitted me to keep company with my friends. 90 My friends tried their best to cheer me up in many ways, but it would take too long if I discussed each of them. 91 But there was one time when the president had soldiers as guests. 92 [What is now called the barangay captain was called president formerly.] 93 At that time, it was customary that if a visit came from downriver,³ the president would hold a dance to entertain the visitor. 94 The president sent the police to invite the young ladies, and I was one of the ladies invited, but I refused. 95 When the president found out that I had refused, he went to our house and requested my father to let/make me attend the dance. 96 Because my father requested that I attend, I was forced to obey.

97 My friends were in very high spirits when they went to the house to fetch me. 98 Some young men were with them but they stayed outside. 99 The young ladies came up [into the house].⁴ 100 But when they saw me, I had not yet started to get ready, even though I had prepared my clothes for the dance. 101 Then my friends worked together, someone dressed me, someone combed my hair, and they powdered and perfumed me. 102 After that, they inspected me and each one said, "How pretty you are!" 103 But what they did was just to lift my spirits and encourage me.

104 When we arrived at the dance, the orchestra was playing. 105 I can remember the men [dead by now] who skillfully held the instruments, Luciano Bentoso, Guillermo Martinez, and there were others but I have forgotten who. 106 Ginsud [the president] immediately took my hand and took me to Lieutenant de la Cuesta. 107 We introduced ourselves, and after that, we began to dance. 108 When the music ended, the soldier didn't take me to the ladies' seats but sat me down beside him. 109 Every time the music played, I was the one he danced with until the dance was finished at 2:00 am. 110 When I arrived home [my friends took me] there was already an abaca hammock which my father had hung for me to sleep in. 111 "Sleep here in this hammock," said my father, "so no one will disturb you even if you wake up late." 112 I just nodded at Father and got into the hammock. 113 I should have been happy at that which my father did, but instead I was sad because I knew that there was something behind his treating me so nicely, that is, so I would agree to marry Vencio whom he had chosen to be my husband. 114 Every time I came from

The Manobo sense of direction is oriented to "upriver" and "downriver" rather than to the points of the compass. "Upriver" usually denotes the more mountainous areas that are less developed, while "downriver" refers to lower-lying areas that are more influenced by non-Manobo culture.

⁴ Manobo houses are normally built up on posts, off the ground. Therefore, one "comes/climbs up" into a house rather than simply "entering."

usahay mgo prugrama diya to iskuylahan ubin baylihan, sikan to oghinangon to amoy ku. 115 Wada trabahu ku duon to bayoy su tibo pig-akupa to inoy ku. 116 Madojow hilabi sikandan kanay.

117 Daduwa no simana to wada pagiow si Vencio diya to bayoy. 118 To mgo ajo ku kanunoy migbisita kanay aw to inoy ku alistu no ogbotad to inggad linaga da no kamuti ubin ko meyduon tobu no ogkadaya din likat to uma. 119 Mig-arang-arang to pangyawa ku, pigganahan ad to pagkoon. 120 Anoy man no naaha buwa ni Vencio no migdojow on to ginhawa ku, mig-anduon sikandin to bayoy noy aw migdae to manuk su duon sikandin ogpanihapun. 121 Wada sikandin balibada to mgo ginikanan ku. 122 Wada sikandin salig ki inay to paghikoy to panihapun. 123 Sikandin on mismu to nangusina. 124 Pagkita ku to sikan pighinang din, angod to pigpamakuy to yawa ku, migyotoy a. 125 Migbaid a ki itay no ogpanumbayoy a diya to ajo ku di wada sikandin tugut. 126 Nasi no pig-ikagihan a din, "Gaja, tapus to panihapun, atubanga si Vencio aw deyjawa to pagbalibad ko wada man ginhawa nu kandin. 127 Inggad kay kona nahinajun to tuud din ikow basta madojow to pagbalibad nu." 128 Ginhawa ku, "Madojow iyan agun matagahan din no wada gajod liyag ku kandin."

129 Tapus makapahungow to pigbati din kanay, pigtabak ku dajun, "Inggad pad muyodop to hagdan noy to pagpinonhik nu dini to bayoy, wada yagboy ogkaiman nu su wada gajod inggad mae-kaitoman to suyu no liyag ku ikow. 130 Ko maasawa a nu man tongod to pinogos no paagi to amoy ku, domdoma no ogkaangkon nu to yawa ku, di to gugma ku kona nu ogkaangkon."

131 Tabak sikandin mig-iling, "Inggad pad mayugoy ogtagadon ku to panahon no ogkaisab to hona-hona nu." 132 Paglituk din to sikan no kagi, hinggawan a migtindog aw sed on duon to sinabong dow paniradu. 133 Iyan on mig-atubang kandin to mgo ginikanan ku. 134 Wada kud dinoga to piggigilaungan dan.

135 Masem: migtogbang a diya to wohig su ogpadigus a. 136 Meyduon mgo ajo ku no namanlaba aw mabibu sikandan. 137 Pag-abut ku duon kandan, piglilibongan a dan aw usipa a, "Honda, ogkaamonu on man sikan ogpangasawa ikow?" 138 Iyan intabak ku to yuha. 139 Migtagdu isab to yuha dan aw naman-ikagi, "Kahan-in to yukos no nangaliyag ikow, sikan pad gajod to napili to amoy nu." 140 Migdugang to kaguul ku, halus oggotasan a. 141 Baeka on man ko meyduon inggad saboka da to ajo ku no ogpabur kandin su basi mabiyu da to hona-hona ku, na seini tibo man sikandan wada liyag no mabana ku sikan no yukos. 142 Mighona-hona a no ogyaguy a, di wada a disti makaandiya to madiyu no banwa aw nahaedok a no madoot-doot ad nasi.

a program at the school or a dance, that is what my father did. 115 I had no housework because my mother managed to do it all. 116 They were very good to me.

117 For two weeks Vencio didn't visit the house. 118 My friends always visited me, and my mother was alert to serve even just boiled sweet potatoes or if there was sugarcane that had been brought from the field. 119 My health got better, I regained my appetite. 120 When Vencio must have seen that I was in better spirits, he went to our house bringing a chicken with the intention to eat supper there. 121 My parents made no objection to him. 122 He didn't depend on Mother to prepare supper. 123 He himself did the cooking. 124 When I saw what he was doing, it was like someone hit me over the head, I felt faint. 125 I asked Father permission to go visiting at my friend's house but he didn't let me. 126 Instead he said, "Later, after supper, entertain Vencio and refuse nicely if you have no feeling [lit. breath]⁵ for him. 127 No matter if he is not successful in his purpose, as long as you refuse him nicely." 128 I thought, "Yes, it would be good, so he would know that I really don't like him."

129 After he had shared his feelings for me, I answered right away, "Even if our stairway sinks into the ground from your always coming to the house, you can expect nothing at all because I don't have any liking for you [lit. not even as big as the black part of a fingernail]. 130 If you marry because of my father's forceful ways, remember that you can have my body, but you cannot have my love."

131 He answered, "Even if it takes a long time, I will wait for the time when you will change your mind." 132 When he said those words, I suddenly stood up, went into the bedroom and locked it. 133 My parents were the ones to entertain him. 134 I didn't hear their conversation.

135 In the morning I went down to the river to bathe. 136 Some of my friends were washing clothes and were in high spirits. 137 When I reached them, they gathered around me and asked, "How about it, what about the one who wants to marry you?" 138 My only answer was tears. 139 They also shed tears and said, "Of all the men who want to marry you, your father chose that one." 140 I became sadder, I almost couldn't breathe. 141 It would have been better if even one of my friends favored him because maybe I would change my mind, but none of them wanted me to marry that man. 142 I thought of running away, but I had never ever gone to a faraway place and I was afraid that something bad would happen to me instead.

The Manobo seat of emotions is the breath [ginhawa]. Many Manobo idioms dealing with one's feelings are literally descriptons of one's breath. Examples are maagkap the ginhawa 'to be happy' [lit. light breath]; masakit to ginhawa 'to feel hurt or sad' [lit. painful breath]; madigon to ginhawa 'to be calm and confident' [lit. firm breath]; madoot to ginhawa 'to be upset' [lit. bad breath]; and maaslag to ginhawa 'to have affection for someone' [lit. big breath].

143 Tapus koy makapanihapun no songo kadukiloman, mig-iingkud a duon to dani to bintana aw migtandow a aw mighona-hona to paagi no makalikoy a podom ki Vencio, di iyan da pigkita ku to kadigyom no wada pig-ilagan. 144 Nakalingi a su nanagaham to amoy ku no migduguk aw soing kanay to pag-ingkud dongan to pighapuhap din to bubue ku. 145 "Tata," [dagnoy ku] migsugud sikandin to pag-ikagi, "sikuna to sobang no anak ku aw ogkaliyag a no mupaboot ka kanay. 146 Madojow sikan no yukos, ogpakabuhi to pamilya su ulitau pad ngani mey on tuun no bayoy aw mahan-in to pamuhian." 147 Mahan-in pad to pagsaja ni itay ki Vencio, di wada inggad sobuuk no nakakumbinyu kanay. 148 Pagsugud din pad to pag-ikagi, migtagdu on to yuha ku aw halus kona ad ogkaamu ogsigkon to pagtiyahu. 149 Di migpadajun si itay to pag-ikagi, "Ko mupaboot ka kanay to pagbabana ki Vencio, kona ku sikuna ogpabay-anan ko meyduon lisodan nu."

150 Di pig-ikagihan ku sikandin, "Wada man inggad maintok no liyag ku kandin itay."

151 "Ogkaanadan nu da sikan ko maminyo kow on," kagi din. 152 Anoy man no migpahonok ad, pig-usip a din, "Honda, ogkaamonu man to ginhawa nu ko pagilaungon kud si Vencio?" 153 Iyan intabak ku to maagbot no pag-awas to yuha ku.

154 Nanggilaung si Vencio tinabangan to mgo anggam din aw duma no mgo manigaon no pigbaligaan din. 155 Iyan pighinang to amoy ku no kibali ba-ba din to kakoy din no bohi no mabayow. 156 Nasabutan to sikan no panahon no og-isabon ogpagilaungon su oghimunon pad to mgo kadumahan. 157 Pagyaboy to songo simana, migpanggilaung manda aw wada yugaja to amoy ku to paghugun. 158 Migsugud dajun to binujuay aw sinubakay, aw tapus to sikan pigsabutan to aedow to kumbiti.

159 Tapus to kumbiti pigdae a diya to bayoy ni Vencio to mgo bujag-bujag on no mgo bohi. 160 Daduwa to mgo ajo ku to migbue-us kanay. 161 Duon a pad to bugdangan to hagdan pigdawat a to daduwa no bujag-bujag on isab no mgo bohi a sabyaji to magdibayuy no abaga ku to panapton aw pigpapadajun a to pagponhik. 162 Pag-abut noy duon to pasapatan, pigsangkadan a to sudlay agun no ojow pa to mgo manigaon, mahusoy to kaugpa noy no magtiajun, ogkaangod to bubue no ogkatapid ko ogsudlajon. 163 Likat duon, pigpaingkud a to bangku no pighanigan to ampit [panapton no hinaboyan no binuyak-buyakan]. 164 To diya mgo ajo ku naman-ingkud duon to magdibayuy ku.

165 Anoy man no tigpanihapun, pigpagsayu koy dow to diya bana ku. 166 Pigpagbaylu koy to kinampey no yutu no humoy aw daduwa no buuk no atoyug. 167 Sikan kaning bana ku no kinampey dow atoyug imbogoy dini kanay, aw to kanay no bahin imbogoy diya to bana ku. 168 Iyan migpagsayu kanami si Juanita no tinahud no

143 After we had eaten supper one night, I was sitting near the window looking out and thinking of a way by which I might escape Vencio, but all I could see was darkness with no light at all. 144 I turned my head because my father cleared his throat as he approached and sat beside me as he stroked my hair. 145 "Tata," [my nickname] he began to say, "you are my eldest child and I want you to submit to my will. 146 That man is good, he can support a family because even though he's still single he already has his own house and many animals." 147 Father had many more praises for Vencio, but not even one of them convinced me. 148 When he began again to speak, I began to cry and hardly knew how to stop crying. 149 But Father continued to speak, "If you submit to my will to marry Vencio, I won't leave you alone when you have problems."

150 But I said to him, "Father, I don't like him even a little bit."

151 "You will learn that after you're married," he said. 152 When I had quieted down, he asked me, "How about it, how would you feel about it if I let Vencio propose marriage?" 153 My answer was a great rush of tears.

154 Vencio proposed with the help of his uncles and other old men whose help he had enlisted. 155 The one my father made his spokesman was his older sister who was very articulate. 156 It was agreed at that time that he would propose again because the relatives would still have to be gathered. 157 When a week had passed, they proposed again, and my father didn't take long in giving consent. 158 Then followed immediately the bride price and the reciprocal gifts, and after that they agreed on a day for the wedding feast.

159 After the wedding feast, middle-aged women took me to Vencio's house. 160 Two of my friends went along with me. 161 When I was still at the foot of the stairs, two more middle-aged women received me and draped both my shoulders with cloth and made me proceed to climb up. 162 When we reached the top of the stairs, they put a comb in my hair so that, according to the elders, our life as a couple would be peaceful, like hair that is put in order when combed. 163 From there, they made me sit on a bench covered with *ampit* [woven decorated cloth]. 164 My friends sat on either side of me.

165 When it was suppertime, my husband and I were made to eat together. 166 We were caused to exchange fistfuls of molded cooked rice and two eggs. 167 My husband's molded rice and egg was given to me, and my portion was given to my husband. 168 The one who presided over our meal together us was Juanita, a

The *binujuay* is the bride price, which are gifts given to the family of the bride. In return, the bride's family will give *sinubakay*, reciprocal gifts, to the family of the groom. Other extended family members will ask the recipients of these gifts to reciprocate for their own largesse in similar past circumstances, and this return help given them is called the *yupuganon*.

bujag duon to yunsud noy no Sagunto. 169 Sikan to kibali kalig-onan to kaminyoon noy [kasal ko kuntoon pa]. 170 Pagsugud noy on to pagkoon, migkoon isab to tibo nahimun to pagkoon to tahan on nahonat. 171 Malipajon sikan mgo tagayuyukos su ojow da pa, "Nakatanga koy on to atoyug to limukon." 172 Ko ita pa, "Nakadae koy on to bohi," 173 Impag-angod a dan to atoyug to limukon.

174 To diya kadukiloman to Agustu 30, 1942, duon to sikan nahimun no mgo otow siak da to wada bati to kalipay inggad pad to pagpabibu to sikan mgo tagayuyukos hasta to diya mgo ajo ku. 175 Naminyo a kona no tongod to gugma. 176 Pigpatoy ku to kanay no kalipay tongod lamang to pagtahud aw paghigugma ku to mgo ginikanan ku. 177 Pinadajag a dan, kaling pigpogos ku to kaugalingon ku to pagbana ki Vencio agun malipay sikandan.

178 Migtagauk on to manuk no malius to diya mgo otow no migtambung duon, mgo ala una on to kaadlawon. 179 Pig-igda a to saboka no ajo ku no oglipodong koy on. 180 Sikandin to mig-eyt kanay dow to diya bana ku. 181 Sikan no uras sakot haedok aw kayama to pigbati ku. 182 Angod to ogbabaju to dagaeha ku to pagkobai ku, kaling mababow to lipodong ku. 183 Anoy man no wada kud katagoni to lipdongonon ku, nahikyup a. 184 Pag-aha buwa to sikan ajo ku no lipodong ad, migbangun sikandin aw agpot to sikan saboka no ajo ku duon to songo hibatan. 185 Di napukawan a no makangadog a to ngadog to yukos. 186 Paghona-hona ku no konad man no ajo ku to hulid ku su to diyad man bana ku, angod to migkita a to kahaedokanan. 187 Hinggawan a migbangun, migkunanap a aw pandamdam su madigyom hilabi, pigposok to lamparahan. 188 Pagkadamdami ku to sikan mgo ajo ku, migpalisu a duon kandan di nabukasan ad to wada kalipodong. 189 To mgo daega no ogbue-us to bohi no ogganason ogpakamonang duon sed to tatoyu no aedow agun og-ayam sikan asawa to bana din. 190 Di yahi to diya kanay no kabotang. 191 Madojow pad to pigbati ku no duon pad sikan mgo ajo ku no migbue-us kanay su mey man igkapaggilaung ku. 192 Di ajaw ka no malius on sikandan! 193 Ko hinangon pa no kagi to pigbati ku to diya no panahon, inggad pad pamanghaon sikan duon to tibo inikagihan, wada gajod ogkakitaan. 194 Madoot hilabi, halus igkamatoy ku. 195 Og-uli a podom diya to mgo ginikanan ku di nahaedok a ko masikawan aw maprublima sikandan. 196 Kaling puli kud pigbujukutan to ginhawa. 197 Ogkahona-hona ku isab no kinahangyan no ogtuman a to pagboot dan su batasan noy man no mgo Manubu no ginikanan to ogpili to igpabana ubin igpaasawa to anak dan. 198 Di og-amonu a man no ko ipananglit ku to respected old woman in our town of Sagunto. 169 That was like the seal on our marriage [which would be a church wedding nowadays]. 170 When we began to eat, all those gathered also ate what had already been laid out on the table. 171 The man's relatives were happy because according to them, "We have been able to carry away in our mouths the dove's egg." 172 Which means, "We have been able to carry away a woman." 173 They compared me to a dove's egg.⁷

174 On that night of August 30, 1942, of the people gathered there, only I felt no joy, even though the man's relatives and my friends were in high spirits. 175 I was married not for love. 176 I killed my own joy only because of my respect and love for my parents. 177 I was their darling, therefore I forced myself to marry Vencio so they would be happy.

178 A rooster crowed when the people attending [the wedding] left, about one o'clock in the morning. 179 One of my friends urged me to sleep. 180 She was the one to lie between me and my husband.8 181 At that time I felt a mixture of fear and wariness. 182 It's as if my chest was pounding with heart-throbbing fear, so I slept only lightly. 183 When I could no longer restrain my sleepiness, I dozed off. 184 When my friend must have seen that I was sleeping, she got up and joined my other friend on another mat [lit. sleeping place]. 185 But I was awakened when I smelled the scent of a man. 186 When I realized that it was no longer my friend lying beside me but that it was now my husband, it's like I saw something scary. 187 Suddenly I got up, crawled and groped around because it was very dark, the lamp had been turned off. 188 When I felt my friends, I inserted myself between them, but I lay awake until morning. 189 The young ladies who go with a friend who is taken to her new husband's house stay there for three days so the wife can get used to her husband. 190 But my situation was different. 191 I felt better when my friends were still there who had gone with me, because I had someone to talk to. 192 But oh my, when they left! 193 If only what I felt could be expressed—even if you searched in every language, you could not find words for it. 194 It was very bad, I about died. 195 I wanted to go home to my parents, but I was afraid that they would be ashamed and it would make a problem for them. 196 So I just kept my feelings to myself. 197 I also considered that I needed to obey their will because it's our custom as Manobos that the parents choose the one to marry their child. 198 But what could I do since I couldn't stand

The imagery here is that of an animal carrying away in its mouth a prized dove's egg. The dove is the *limukon* bird, which is highly valued as a caged omen bird. The *limukon* is said to lay only one or two eggs, so they are considered rare. The eggs are considered light and thus easy to carry off.

In arranged marriages, when the newly married couple had had no chance to become personally acquainted with each other, it usually took some time for the wife to become reconciled to her marriage and to become accustomed to her husband. The custom of having a friend sleep between the husband and wife allowed time for this adjustment.

pagkoon kona man ogkayam-od sikan bana ku?

199 Sugud to paghituun noy, madani ogdaduwa no buyan no ogpasayad a to hikam ko oglipodong koy hasta wada gana ku to pagkoon. 200 Kaling migdoot to yawa ku. 201 Tongod to sikan, migbugti sikandin [Vencio] to paglipodong. 202 Sikandin to mighikoy to pagkoon aw puli a din oghonatan. 203 Nakaginhawa a to sikan pighinang din [pagbugti din to hibatan] aw ogkoon a to ighonat din kanay su angod man to mag-amigu koy puli. 204 Di meyduon panahon no puli a ogpalingog-lingog ko og-igdahon a din to pagkoon. 205 Di sikan no pigbatasan ku wada makapayobad to ginhawa din kanay. 206 Nasi sikandin ogpaiyom ko ogpahadat a kandin aw og-iling, "Angajan ka pad man iyan ogbuwahon." 207 Iyan igpasabut din no batan-on a pad on, kaling sikan to ogkahinang ku. 208 Usahay ighipanow a din aw ogpanuruon koy. 209 Ighinang a din to ingkudanan aw og-ingkud a duon tagaod to og-andamon din to suruon. 210 Inggad pad to diya kadojow no impakita din kanay, wada ku ngani sikandin pasalamati no tadwajan a din to pig-andam no suruon no imbotang din duon to binuungan no niyug. 211 Puli ku pigdawat aw dudumuk a no migkoon. 212 Puli koy on mig-uli diya to bayoy wada sikandin hisgut to inggad nokoy no mey kayabotan to sikan kabotang noy.

213 No oghinapus on to ikaduwa no buyan to diya no kadodoyog noy, songo aedow pigsugu sikandin duma to lima no ka otow to paghatod to yana diya to Kumakatae [bubungan duon to unahan to sikan og-ilingon kuntoon to Kasapa I] su ogsogaan to mgo sundayu no migkampu duon pinanguyuhan ni Colonel Fertig. 214 Wadad ogkaboli no gas aw duma no mgo bolihonon su wadad nakabiyahi no mgo sakajan diya to wohig su migsugud on to gera dini to Mindanao. 215 Kaadlawon pad miglikat on sikandin aw to diya mgo duma din tapus a din tesona no kona a oghisu duon to bayoy noy su "Inggad pad maamonu," kagi din, "ogpaningkamot a no makauli a." 216 Disti a mabata ko ogkaawoy a to diya pad no panahon. 217 Mahapun on to diya no aedow di wada pad sikandin makauli. 218 Diya da to mata ku to igkayogwa, di puli on nadukilom wada pad gihapun sikandin. 219 Mig-asuk da man su maagbot to udan dow kaemag to diya no mahapun. 220 Mig-awos a podom no makauli on to diya bana ku di puli on natayod to kadukiloman wada sikandin makayogwa. 221 Ajaw ka to pagdaiti ku tongod to kadoot yagboy to diya no panahon. 222 Anoy man no wada kud kaaguwanta to haedok ku, migpudut a to agipu aw pameybos a pailing diya to togbangan [mahigad to bayoy noy to wohig] aw panawag a ki Manuy Kujay su ogpahapit a. 223 Si Manuy Kujay bayaw ni Vencio su nakaasawa si Manuy to katagsa din aw duon sikandan ugpa to dihipag noy.

my husband [lit. if taking food, for example, I could not swallow my husband]?

199 From the time of our marriage, I slept under the mat for almost two months, and I had no appetite. 200 Therefore my health suffered. 201 Because of that, he [Vencio] slept separately. 202 He was the one to prepare food and he would just serve me. 203 I felt more relaxed when he did that [slept separately] because it was as if we were just friends. 204 But there were times when I just ignored him when he urged me to eat. 205 But that behavior of mine didn't cause his feeling for me to fade. 206 Instead he would smile when I ill-treated him and he would say, "You should really still be laid in a hammock." 207 What he meant was that I behaved like that because I was still young.9 208 Sometimes he would take me for a walk and we would eat young coconuts. 209 He would make a seat for me and I would sit there while he prepared young coconut. 210 Even though he was that good to me, I didn't even thank him when he handed me a young coconut he had prepared and placed in a coconut shell. 211 I just took it and ate, looking downward. 212 We just went home without his mentioning anything about our situation.

213 When we had been like that for almost two months, one day he was sent along with five other people to deliver coconut oil to Kumakatae [a mountain beyond what is now called Kasapa I [pronounced "Kasapa Uno"/ one]] because the soldiers camping there under Colonel Fertig would use it for light. 214 There was no more kerosene nor other goods available for sale because there were no more boats traveling along the rivers because the war had already begun here on Mindanao. 215 It was still dark when he and his companions left after he strictly instructed me not to move from our house because "No matter what," he said, "I will try my best to come home." 216 Since I was a child, I had never yet stayed alone. 217 By late afternoon on that day, he still had not returned. 218 My eyes were fixed on the place where he would appear, but it just got dark and he still hadn't returned. 219 What was worse, the rain and wind were strong that evening. 220 I wished that my husband would come home, but the night got late and he still didn't appear. 221 Oh how terrified I was because of that very bad weather! 222 When I could no longer endure my fear, I got a glowing ember and waved it for light as I went toward the river bank [our house was on the river bank] and I called *Manuy* Kujay to come and get me. 223 Manuy Kujay was Vencio's brother-in-law because manuy had married his cousin, and they lived across the river from us.

The author was, perhaps, 16 years old at this time. Babies typically sleep in hammocks in the daytime. At night, they sleep with their parents.

224 Nayuyugajan pad ayha a kahapit ni Manuy Kujay su tongod to kaemag no dugaja pad maagbot, nayugoy dinoga to tawag ku. 225 Natupis a no makaabut a diya to bayoy aw dajun a pig-itsahan ni Manay Toyang [asawa ni Manuy Kujay] to patadyung din aw pigbalikoskos ku. 226 Wada pad pasu to pig-ingkudan ku migdinog ku to nanawag, "Bayaw," pigsabi din si Manuy Kujay, "wada to asawa ku diyan?"

227 "Dini," iyan migtabak si Manay Toyang. 228 "Kasem on paulion su maaslag to wohig, nangibit to pangpang." 229 Imbot ku dow igu on kandin no mamaan no wada madoot no nadeygan ku su wadad man sikandin panawag manda. 230 "Lipodong kad," pig-igda a ni Manay Toyang, "igpahatod ka da ki manuy nu kasem diya iyu." 231 Di puli pad natapus to kagi ni manay mig-abut to diya bana ku no migyagom on to abiy tongod to hilabi no kahagsiy. 232 Migyanguy naan sikandin.

233 Pighawidan koy to sikan magtiajun no duon koy on kandan ogpayaboy to kadukiloman, di wada pahawid to diya bana ku. 234 Nasi no pigyongyongan a din aw ikagihi a no og-uli koy da.

235 Inghapit koy ni Manuy Kujay. 236 Migsigkon on to udan dow kaemag. 237 Tonga on to kadukiloman no muduung koy duon to togbangan noy. 238 Tongod to kadigyom aw kayandog to dayan, mighangyu sikandin no ogpikiton a dongan to intadwoy kanay to boyad din. 239 Wada a balibad. 240 Sikan to una no pagkatagon din to boyad ku. 241 Wada kakagihon no pigpikit a din kotob no mig-abut koy duon to bayoy noy. 242 Duon to bayoy naangod koy to mgo tuod. 243 Masig-ingkud koy puli. 244 Mahanong to nakalibong, madigyom. 245 Wada yain no ogdinogon gawas to tinagdu to wohig puun to mgo dohun to kaju no nabilin to diya una no bag-u pad tikdow aw ogtinagaktak duon to atop to bayoy. 246 Migpasabut sikan no dapit on to kaadlawon to diya no uras su ogpanaektak on man to kakajuhan.

247 Nakalingi a su mig-ikagi sikandin, "Madiyu man naan to Kumakatae. 248 Kasem pad og-uli to diya mgo duma ku su hilabi pigpamoyajan to panow. 249 Di migpaahot a to pag-uli su malimuut a ikow hasta basi makatinagadon ka su migsaad a ikow no inggad maamonu, og-uli a da." 250 Puli a mahonok aw tapus to pag-isturya din, migyubyub a duon to hibatan ku aw sikandin duon to kandin hibatan. 251 Mighibat a di migyaus a to kadukiloman. 252 Nahona-hona ku to mahaba on no panahon to pagpailub din to mahan-in no pagpakulii ku kandin, aw sikan kuntoon pagpaningkamot din to pag-uli puun to madiyu aw makuli yagboy no panow, yabi to pagyanguy din to sikan makaslog dow maaslag no wohig. 253 Aw inggad pad to sikan tibo, wada kaisab to ginhawa din kanay.

224 It was some time before *Manuy* Kujay could come and get me, for because of the wind that was still strong, it took a long time for him to hear my call. 225 I was totally soaked when I reached their house, and right away *Manay*¹⁰ Toyang [*Manuy* Kujay's wife] tossed me her tube skirt and I wrapped it around myself. 226 Before the place where I saw even got warm, I heard someone calling, "Brother-in-law," he was calling *Manuy* Kujay, "is my wife there?"

227 "She's here," *Manay* Toyang answered. 228 "Let her go home tomorrow because the river is high, about to overflow the bank." 229 I thought it was enough for him to know that nothing bad had happened to me because he didn't call again. 230 "Sleep now," urged *Manay* Toyang, "I'll have your *manuy* take you to your place tomorrow." 231 But *manay* had just finished speaking when my husband arrived, his lips purple from the extreme cold. 232 So he had swum!

233 That couple invited us to stay the night at their place, but my husband didn't accept their invitation. 234 Instead he looked steadily at me and told me that we would just go home.

235 Manuy Kujay took us back. 236 The rain and wind stopped. 237 It was midnight when we docked at our side of the river. 238 Because of the darkness and the slippery path, he asked me to let him lead me by the hand as he extended his hand to me. 239 I didn't refuse. 240 That was the first time he held my hand. 241 No one spoke as he led me by the hand until we reached our house. 242 In our house, we were like stumps. 243 We each just sat down. 244 Everything around was quiet and dark. 245 Nothing could be heard except the water dripping from tree leaves, which was left when the rain stopped, and it dripped on the roof of the house. 246 It meant that the time was moving toward early morning because the trees were shedding their excess moisture.

247 I turned my head because he was speaking, "So Kumakatae was far away. 248 My companions will go home tomorrow because they were very tired from the trip. 249 But I endured the difficulty of returning because I was worried about you, and maybe you would be waiting because I promised you that whatever happens, I would come home." 250 I just kept quiet, and after he spoke, I went to my bed and he on his bed. 251 I lay down but I didn't sleep all night. 252 I thought for a long time about his patient endurance of many difficulties I'd caused him, and now his trying so hard to come home from a far and difficult trip, especially his swimming that swift, swollen river. 253 And in spite of all that, his feeling for me hadn't changed.

¹⁰ Manuy is the term of address to an older man, and Manay is its counterpart for addressing an older woman.

The term *bayaw* can refer to a man's brother-in-law; that is, either the brother of one's wife or the husband of one's sister. But the husband of one's cousin can also be called *bayaw*. Perhaps this relationship could be described as a male in-law of the same generation.

254 Tinood iyan to kagi to amoy ku kanay no pig-iling din, "Ogkaanadan nu da to paghigugma kandin ko maminyo kad" su meyduon ikagihonon to mgo manigaon no pig-iling, "To batu no bantilis ko kanunoy ogtagduan to udan ogkahilis." 255 Tongod to hilabi no pagpailub din to mgo pagpakulii ku kandin, to madojow no pag-atiman kanay, tibo sikan no nahinang din kibali tinagdu to udan no nakapahilis to madoson no ginhawa ku aw migbayuy no kayuuy. 256 To diya no kadukiloman, ogpukawon ku podom sikandin agun matagahan din no mey on kaisaban to hona-hona ku, di to garbu ku to pagka-Manubu migpogong kanay, su to bohi no Manubu ogkayaw-ajan ogpakita to paghigugma, aw yabi to paglituk to kagi no gugma. 257 Ko meyduon yukos no ogpangaliyag to songo bohi, puli og-iling, "Meyduon ginhawa ku to sikan no bohi." 258 Aw to bohi no Manubu ogkatagahan da no nahigugma to bana din ko ogpanganak on.

259 Nayugoy makabuyat to diya bana ku su naunag hilabi to diya panow din. 260 Naandam on to pamahaw su saju a mighikoy di pigtagad ku no makabuyat sikandin ayha koy ogpamahaw. 261 Migsilat on to soga no makabuyat sikandin di wada dajun bangun. 262 Pagkita ku no buyat on sikandin, nangohit a aw igdaha no ogpamahaw koy. 263 Tapus makaandam to kaugalingon din, namahaw koy. 264 To diya to una no pagdudunga noy to pagkoon.

265 To diya madani ogdaduwa no buyan to kaminyoon noy no tagauk da to manuk dow ulingit to babuy ko ogpamuju to bohug to ogdinogon, nadugangan on to kukusa to kabataan noy no nangkaotow pagyaboy to katuigan. 266 Diya noy sikandan patulina to uma aw madojow to mgo pangyawa dan. 267 Di mig-abut to panahon no nasakit to diya bana ku. 268 Wayu no tuig to pag-atiman ku kandin, aw inggad pad to pagpanambaya kandin [herbal to intambae su wada pad duktur dini to diya no panahon], wada migpuyus no tambae, namatoy sikandin to diya Agustu 1970.

269 Siam no tuig likat to pagkabayu ku, nakabulig a to magtiajun no Amerikanu, si Ron dow si Donna Schumacher, to paghubad to Bibliya duon to kanay inikagihan no Minanubu. 270 Migsugud a to diya Marsu 1979. 271 No suyaton ku seini no kaagi, ikakaewaan on no tuig to pagbulig ku kandan to sikan trabahu no pighinampotan kud. 272 Kapituan on mey lima to panuigon ku. 273 Kan-oman mey tatoyu to mgo apu ku. 274 Na-Cristuhanon a to diya tuig 1974 hasta to mgo anak ku aw hangtod to mgo apu ku. 275 Kuntoon malipajon a no ogtagad ko kagan-u a puduton to Diyus, aw ogpadajun a to pagtuman kandin kotob no muabut sikan no panahon.

276 Sikan da.

254 My father's words to me were indeed true when he said, "You will just learn to love him when you are already married," because the old people have a saying that goes, "A hard stone can be worn away if rain always drips on it." 255 Because of his extreme patience with my causing him difficulty, his good care of me and all that he did were like drops of rain that had worn away my hard feelings and turned it into compassion. 256 That night, I wanted to awaken him so he could know that I had changed my thinking, but my Manobo pride prevented me, especially speaking the word "love." 257 If a man likes a woman, he just says, "I have breath for that woman." 258 And it is known that a Manobo woman loves her husband when she bears a child.¹²

259 My husband awoke late because he was so tired from his trip. 260 Breakfast was ready because I had prepared it early, but I waited until he awoke before we ate breakfast. 261 The sun was shining already when he awoke, but he didn't get up immediately. 262 When I saw that he was awake, I dished up the food and invited him to join me in eating. 263 After he had gotten himself ready, we ate breakfast. 264 That was the first time we ate together.

265 In the first two months of our marriage, only the crowing of roosters and the squealing of pigs asking for food were heard; now were added the noises of children who were born as the years passed. 266 We raised them on the farm, and they were healthy. 267 But the time came when my husband got sick. 268 I cared for him for eight years, and even though he was treated [with herbal medicines because there was not yet a doctor at that time], no medicine worked, and he died in August, 1970.

269 Nine years after I was widowed, I began helping an American couple, Ron and Donna Schumacher, to translate the Bible into my Manobo language. 270 I began in March, 1979. 271 As I write these experiences, it's the 20th year I've been helping them in the aforementioned work. 272 I am now 75 years old. 273 I have 63 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. 274 I became a Christian in 1974, and my children and also my grandchildren. 275 Now I am happily waiting for when God will take me, and I continue to serve him until that time comes.

276 That's all.

That is, there is no outward display of love such as is common in Western countries. Before a man is married, he may confide in someone that he has affection [lit. breath] for a certain woman, but this feeling was not expressed to the woman either before or after marriage. Love was shown by commitment to the marriage and family responsibilities when children were born.

To Kadodoyog Ku to diya Panahon to Gera

1 Migsugud to gera to Pilipinu aw to Hapun dini to prubinsya to Agusan to diya Disimbri 1940. 2 Una no pigbumbahan to iskuylahan diya to Bunawan Agricultural High School di iyan naigu to upisina to panguyu no mag-aanad. 3 Tongod to kahaedok, to anak to mag-aanad to Ininglis miglinaguy no migpaaput podom diya to bayoy dan [su mig-usiba seini duon to plaza to pagbumba to eruplanu] di nasakpanan to natipak no bumba aw kaigu to hawakan aw kamatoy.

4 Seini no hitabu nakapaguliyang to mgo istudyanti [saboka a to diya mgo istudyanti]; tibo migpamangha to paagi no makauli diya to kandin no lugar. 5 To diya no timpu wadad on mgo sakajan no ogsuba dini to didaja, kaling nakulian koy to pag-uli diya to kanami no lugar. 6 Siakon aw daduwa no mgo duma ku [mgo taga-Sagunto koy] napoyok dow nokoy to oghinangon noy. 7 Mig-andiya koy to kahigadan to Simuyow no ayug, basi meyduon ogpaewod su ogpanginsakoy koy podom, di wada natae-an noy. 8 Ikatoyu no aedow likat to pagbinumbahay, ogkaihap nanda to tudyu to mgo istudyanti no nabilin. 9 To kadogihan namakapanow on. 10 Duon napoyok koy on hilabi. 11 Migpanimboot koy on to pagpamangha to ogkasakajan noy to pagpaewod. 12 Mighinang koy to gakit to onom no buyus no buyu. 13 Wada koy on makadaya to mgo tagudaya noy su taga-hawakan man to wohig to pagsakoy noy on. 14 Migpaewod koy to diya no timpu, no migtawag to tabang to Diyus no makaabut koy diya to kanami no lugar no buhi.

15 Hilabi to kalipay noy no makaabut koy diya to ayug to Agusan no makakita koy to migsuba no maaslag no beytu no pigsakajan to pamilya to sundayu no piggaudan to tatoyu no ka otow. 16 Migtitibo koy to pagpangamoy. 17 Pagkakita dan kanami, imbot dan dow namayanguy koy puli wada man pigkita dan no pigsakajan noy su to gakit no pigsakajan noy diya man to didayom to wohig, pighapitan koy dajun. 18 Kiyaya noy to asawa to sundayu si Mrs. Hilaria Casal, asawa ni Sergeant Paulino Casal. 19 Taga-Loreto, Agusan, si Sergeant Casal di si Mrs. Casal taga-Sagunto.

20 Migbulig koy to paggou. 21 Mig-abut koy diya to Loreto to sikan no aedow. 22 Pagkabukas migpotos koy padoyog diya to Sagunto. 23 Tigbae to kalipay to mgo ginikanan noy to pagkakita dan kanami. 24 To amoy ku mighimatoy to maaslag no babuy aw imbitahan ku to mgo duma ku no istudyanti hasta to mgo amoy dow inoy dan hasta usab to mgo ajo dow mgo yukos no amigu ku. 25 Migpasalamat kandin su nakauli a dini to lugar ku.

26 Migyaboy to mgo aedow hangtod mig-abut to aedow to Pasku aedow to pagka-otow to Manyuyuwas. 27 Migtambung a to kumbiti no impahinongod to pagka-otow to amigu ku. 28 Sikandin nakadongan to pagka-otow ni Jesus.

My Experiences at the Time of the War

1 Filipinos and Japanese began to have war here in the province of Agusan that December 1940. 2 The first thing to be bombed was the school at Bunawan Agricultural High School, but what was hit was the office of the head teacher. 3 Because of fear, the child of the English teacher ran and tried to take refuge in their house [because they were playing in the plaza when the airplane dropped bombs], but he was caught by a bomb that bounced and was hit in the waist and died.

4 This event caused the students to panic [I was one of those students]; everyone looked for a way to go home to their places. 5 At that time there were no more boats going upriver, so we had a hard time going home to our place. 6 I and two of my companions [we were from Sagunto] worried about what to do. 7 We went to the bank of the Simuyow river, [thinking that] maybe someone would be going downstream because we wanted to catch a ride, but we found none. 8 On the third day of bombing, you could count on your fingers the remaining students. 9 Most had already left. 10 Then we were really worried. 11 We tried hard to look for something to ride downstream on. 12 We made a raft out of six pieces of bamboo. 13 We didn't take anything with us because the water was waist-deep when we started riding [that is, as they rode on the raft, their bodies were submerged to waist level]. 14 We floated downriver at that time, calling on the help of God that we might arrive alive at our place.

15 Our joy was great when we arrived at the Agusan river and when we found a big boat going upriver rowed by three people in which was riding the family of a soldier. 16 We all beckoned. 17 When they saw us, they thought we were just swimming; they didn't see what we were riding because the raft we were riding was underwater; they immediately picked us up. 18 We knew the soldier's wife, Mrs. Hilaria Casal, wife of Sergeant Paulino Casal. 19 He was from Loreto, Agusan, but Mrs. Casal was from Sagunto.

20 We helped to row. 21 We reached Loreto that day. 22 The next day we hiked toward Sagunto. 23 Our parents were extremely happy to see us. 24 My father killed a big pig and invited my companion students and their fathers and mothers and also my female and male friends. 25 He gave thanks because I had been able to go home to my place.

26 Days passed until Christmas day arrived the day of the Savior's birth. 27 I attended a feast celebrating the birthday of my friend. 28 She was born on the same

29 Mahan-in to mgo ajo dow mgo amigu ku no nahimun hasta to mgo ginikanan noy. 30 Anoy man no puli koy nanda ogdunga duon to saging no pigbotad duon to saog, migdinog koy to yagubyub to madogi no eruplanu. 31 Nasuwoy-suwoy koy. 32 Kada sobuuk kanami miglinaguy patidoyog diya to kilid to baryu. 33 Nakapasalamat koy su to mgo eruplanu wada dajun pang-uyug to bumba. 34 Migpalibut-libut pad no angod to meyduon pigpamangha. 35 Makalilisang to pigbati noy no pagsunu-sunuon to pag-uyug to bumba to eruplanu to Amerikanu no nakapatingaya kanami su to Pilipinas sakup man to Amerikanu, dimudu kona dan oghinangon to angod. 36 Marojow da su inggad sikan to pigtuuhan noy, migpanimboot koy to paghobong su inggad to yagubyub da to eruplanu pigpangdaitan koy on.

37 Migyaguy to mgo eruplanu no migbilin to maaslag no kadoot to baryu to Sagunto. 38 Wada gajod ogkakitaan no bayoy no nabilin. 39 Pagkalius da to mgo eruplanu, namanyogwa koy to pag-aha to mgo kadoot no nahinang to diya mgo eruplanu. 40 Pagkahimun noy da, naboyong koy to pagkakita noy to mgo otow no nahimun duon to plaza to iskuylahan no naman-unipurm. 41 Pagkakita dan kanami, migduguk sikandan. 42 Namanyaguy koy on podom piru pigtawag koy dan aw ikagi, "Kona kow ogyaguy su kona koy now no kuntra." 43 Naulian to diya koyat noy pagkamaan noy no mgo sundayu naan no sampuyu tag-isa no Pilipinu no pigpang-uyuhan ni Tinente Bermoy. 44 Sikandan usab natingaya to nahitabu. 45 Napuun sikandan diya to gerahan to diya no aedow. 46 Pag-abut dan duon to garden to Sagunto, namonhik to niyug no ogkoonon su pigbontas sikandan. 47 Samtang namangoon sikandan, mig-abut to mgo eruplanu. 48 To diya no timpu paabuton noy to hinabang to Amerikanu aw tongod to kalipay migpangamoy sikandan; piru bayos to kalipay dan, bumba no pigpagsunu-sunu to pag-uyug. 49 Pigsinyasan dan to eruplanu. 50 Pigbukyad dan to maputi no panapton pagpaila no kadumahan sikandan piru migpadajun to pagbumba. 51 Pigbukyad dan to sabanas no maputi ayha pad makakiyaya no sundayu naan no Pilipinu. 52 Migsigkon sikandan to pagpamumba tapus dan mauyug to songo gatus mey kaewaan no ka bumba. 53 Tapus to seini makahawhaedok no hitabu namaanan to mgo sundayu no to diya pagbinumbahay nahitabu tongod to sajop no minsahi ginamit to walkie-talkie no likat to Benigtawan no pig-iling to magidihipag to ayug to Adgawan ukupadu on to Hapun. 54 Kaling naan migpalibut-libut pad su iyan man naan ogpamanghaon to Hapun. 55 Pagkakita dan to mgo sundayu, wada sikandan balibad to pagdodoot to sikan no lugar. 56 Wada kayugoy, to mgo taga-Sagunto nakahinang to mgo pinajag diya to obos to baryu. 57 Nahaedok on kandan to pagpauli diya to baryu su basi dodootan pad sikandan pag-usab.

58 To diya no mgo timpu, nadinog on no madani on og-abut to hinabang to Amerikanu. 59 Mig-abut da gajod to pigpaabut noy. 60 To mgo otow nalipay hilabi no muabut to sampuyu-tag-wayu no ka sakajan no tibo naponu to

day as Jesus. 29 Many of my female and [male] friends gathered, and our parents. 30 When we were about to come to eat at the banana leaves that were spread on the floor, we heard the noise of many airplanes. 31 We scattered. 32 Every one of us ran toward the edge of the village. 33 We were thankful that the airplanes didn't immediately drop bombs. 34 They circled first as if they were looking for something. 35 We felt terrified when the American airplanes dropped one bomb after another, which surprised us because the Philippines was under American control, so they shouldn't do anything [something] like that. 36 It was good that, even though we believed that, we still did our best to hide because even the sound of the airplanes terrified us.

37 The airplanes went away leaving big damage to the village of Sagunto. 38 No houses at all could be found remaining. 39 When the airplanes were out of sight, we emerged to look at the damage that had been done by those airplanes. 40 When we gathered, we were amazed to see people gathered in the school plaza in uniforms. 41 When they saw us, they approached. 42 We would have run away but they called us and said, "Don't run because we aren't your enemy." 43 We were restored from our fright when we found out that they were eleven Filipino soldiers headed by Lieutenant Bermoy. 44 They were also amazed by what had happened. 45 They had come from war on that day. 46 When they reached the garden of Sagunto, they had climbed to get coconuts to eat because they were hungry. 47 While they were eating, the airplanes arrived. 48 At that time we had been expecting help from the Americans, and because of joy they had beckoned; but in return for their joy were bombs that were dropped one after another. 49 They made signs to the airplane. 50 They spread a white cloth to show that they were their companions, but the bombing continued. 51 They spread out a white blanket until finally it was recognized that they were Filipino soldiers. 52 They stopped bombing after they had dropped one hundred twenty bombs. 53 After this fearful happening, the soldiers found out that the bombing had happened because of a mistaken message using walkie-talkies from Benigtawan that said that both sides of the Adgawan river were occupied by Japanese. 54 So that's why they circled first because what they were looking for was Japanese. 55 When they saw soldiers, they didn't refuse to cause damage to that place. 56 Before long, the people of Sagunto had made huts below the village. 57 They were afraid to return to the village because maybe damage would be inflicted on them again.

58 At that time, it was heard that help from the Americans would soon arrive. 59 What we expected really did arrive. 60 The people were happy when eighteen vehicles arrived all full of American soldiers and war

mgo Amerikanu no sundayu aw mgo iggerahay aw sikan oghingadanan to key-ration wada yabot to mag-una no barge [iyan ngadan to sei sakajan] no pigdumaya ni Tinyenti Salas no pigyuwanan to mgo kanyun, machine gun, aw duma pad no mgo iggerahay usab. 61 Pag-abut to seini diya to pag-eytan to Sagunto aw Halapitan, pigpabotu dan to mgo kanyun agun maabug to mgo kuntra. 62 Tapus to seini, migpauli duon to pigpunduhan to barge aw hinang kandan to hoyungan no iyan in-atop to trapal [panapton no mayow-ag dow madamey]. 63 Wada kayugoy, natapus to mgo hoyungan aw kalibut to dugihon no alambri. 64 Mighinang usab kandan to tugpahanan to eruplanu.

65 Tapus to seini tibo migsugud to Amerikanu to pagbulig to mgo Pilipinu. 66 Kada aedow yain no mgo grupu to mgo sundayu to ogsulung to kuntra, mag-una to sundayu no Pilipinu aw to mgo Amerikanu dini to hudihan dan, aw kada aedow meyduon mgo hitabu no ogpakapakorog to kasing-kasing; angod to mgo sundayu no ogkapusilan to kuntra. 67 Piru iyan kona ku ogkalingawan to nahitabu diya to Benigtawan [this is the firing line]. 68 Saju to kamasemon diya buyan to Abril to sundayu no pighimatajan to Hapun. 69 Tibo to mgo otow no migduguk duon to patoy nakatiyahu. 70 Tibo nayuuy no migdinog to ignawnangon to hadi to sikan patoy. 71 "Tongod to kakapuy din dow kakuyang to lipodong wada din on katagoni to lipodongonon din. 72 Maadom to buyan to diya no kadukiloman. 73 Migsoyod koy duon to yugi aw sumaya to naikagi kud nalipodong si Manuy. 74 Pigpugnan ku podom to lipodongonon ku di angod ki Manuy nalipodong a usab. 75 Mgo alas dos buwa to kaadlawan napukawan a to inagoyo to kakoy ku. 76 Pagyuwas ku to pagmanu-manu dow nokoy to nahitabu, iyan nakitaan ku to Hapun no migdusak-dusak to kakoy ku no wada gajod makapanalipod to kaugalingon din. 77 Wada yangan intaud ku to bayoneta ku duon to pusil aw atubanga ku to Hapun. 78 Namatoy ku to Hapun piru sikan iyan to og-ilingon, 'Kadaogan babow to Kapildihan' su nalipay a su namatoy ku to Hapun piru naguul a su namatoy man to kakoy ku."

79 Natapus to gira tuig 1945 no migbilin to mgo handomanan to diya mgo hitabu no kona ku ogkalingawan. 80 Seini no timpu daduwa on no tuig to ikaduwa no bata ku. 81 Katapusan.

equipment and what is called K-rations besides a barge that came first under the leadership of Lieutenant Salas, from which were unloaded cannons, machine guns, and other war equipment. 61 When these arrived between Sagunto and Halapitan, they shot the cannon in order to drive out the enemies. 62 After this, [the Americans] returned to the place where the barge was anchored, and they made a shelter with a roof of *trapal* [a wide and thick cloth]. 63 Before long, the shelters were finished and surrounded by barbed wire. 64 They also made a landing for airplanes.

65 After all this, the Americans began to help the Filipinos. 66 Every day other groups of soldiers would attack the enemy, the Filipino soldiers going first and the Americans behind them, and every day there were events that could make one's heart tremble, like soldiers being shot by enemies. 67 But what I cannot forget is what happened at Benigtawan [this is the firing line]. 68 Early in the morning in April a soldier was killed by Japanese. 69 All the people who approached the dead body cried. 70 Everyone who heard what the dead one's younger sibling said felt pity. 71 "Because he was tired and lacking sleep he couldn't restrain his sleepiness. 72 The moon wasn't bright that night. 73 We went into a hole and like I said, Older Brother slept. 74 I tried to resist sleep, but like Older Brother I also slept. 75 About two o'clock in the morning I was awakened by my older brother's groaning. 76 When I came out to investigate what had happened, what I saw was a Japanese who repeatedly stabbed my brother who could not defend himself. 77 Without delay I fastened the bayonet of my gun and I faced the Japanese. 78 I killed the Japanese but the saying is true that says 'Victory is over Loss' because I am happy that I killed the Japanese but I am sad that my brother died."

79 The war ended in 1945 leaving remembrances of those events that I cannot forget. 80 At this time my second child was two years old.

81 The end.

To Pagkabayu Ku

1 Nabayu a to diya tuig 1970. 2 Sugud to diya no tuig hangod kuntoon 1994, kaewaan on mey upat no tuig to migyaboy dow sed to sikan no mgo tuig, mahan-in to nangkabajaan ku. 3 Indoy dow pigbati to angod ku no mgo bayu to diya pigbati ku sugud no kotangon on to diya bana ku hangtod kuntoon.

4 No kotangon on to diya bana ku kadaduwa a podom ogkasangab to alkuhul no ing-itis ku to lamparahan dow sogai ku. 5 Migbotu sikan lamparahan dae to kaeju di marojow su wada makatapyok sikan yogdog dini kanay. 6 Namaan a no alkuhul sikan no sosogaay to petrumaka no wada pad kamatoy to diya bana ku. 7 Di pagkamatoy din on, angod to nagawangan a to boot. 8 Wada kalibutan ku to oghinangon ku. 9 Sikan alkuhul no ing-itis ku to lamparahan to diya una no kadukiloman to pagkotanga to diya bana ku, ing-usab ku ing-itis no sunu no kadukiloman dow sogai. 10 Migbotu gihapun sikan lamparahan di marojow su wada a kaamonu. 11 Maaslag to pagyagabyab to kaeju, di marojow su alistu to mgo anak ku to pagposok to diya kaeju. 12 Wada kakagihon dan kanay. 13 Nakasabut buwa kandan to pigbati ku. 14 To diya no panahon, to mgo prutistanti no mgo Free Methodist mig-amutan to kuwarta dow itabang dan kanay. 15 Si Vicente Plana to mighatod kanay to diya no kuwarta. 16 Ulitau pad sikandin to diya no panahon.

17 Tapus to pagyobong, meyduon pangadyi no siam no aedow [katuliku a pad to diya] dow sed to sikan no mgo aedow wada a pad awanga su mahan-in pad to mgo otow no og-anduon to bayoy. 18 Di no matapus on to pangadyi, halus ogkahunus to ginhawa ku to kamingaw yagboy, yabi ko mahanong on duon to bayoy su to anak ku no panganoy no ogkauulitau on og-andiya to uma dow to duma og-iskuyla. 19 Og-arang-arang to ginhawa ku ko ogkatibo koy on ko mahapun su og-ulion sikan ogkapuun to uma dow to namang-iskuyla. 20 Mahagpoy kanunoy to ginhawa ku. 21 Ko ogpanow a duon to karsada angod to ogyajap a su angod to maagkap a. 22 Ko'g koon a, puli a ogpakatubug. 23 To inoy ku ogsambag kanay no kona ad maguul su basi masakit a, na og-amonu man to mgo bata ku no mangkaintok pad.

24 Anoy man no pigtuigan on to pagkabayu ku, mighona-hona a no ko mupakamonang a duon to bayoy kanunoy ku ogkadomdoman to diya bana ku. 25 Su ko tigkokoon ogkaaha ku sikan ingkudanan din dow mahan-in to lihok din no ogkadomdoman ku.

26 Mighona-hona a to ogpangaelin a diya to uma agun usab matuyonan to trabahu dow agun matimbangan ku to mgo bata to pag-uma.

When I Became a Widow

1 I became a widow in the year 1970. 2 Beginning that year until now, 1994, twenty-four years have already passed and in those years I have had many experiences. 3 I wonder if other widows felt as I felt from the time my husband was laid out until now.

4 When my husband was laid out, I was almost burned twice with the alcohol that I poured into a lamp [that is, a can with a wick] and lit. 5 Flame shot out from the lamp, but it was good that the flame did not impact me. 6 I knew alcohol was what was used to light a Petromax pressure lantern when my husband was still alive [and not to be used in the can with the wick that I was using]. 7 But when he died, it was as if I lost my normal sense, 8 I had no idea [lit. world] what I was doing. 9 Because the next evening as my husband was laid out I again took the alcohol and poured it into the lamp and lit it. 10 [Flames again] shot out from the lamp but it was good that nothing bad happened to me. 11 There was a big flash of fire, but it was good that my children were alert to extinguish the fire. 12 They didn't say anything to me about it. 13 Maybe they understood how I felt. 14 At that time, the Free Methodist Protestants contributed money to help me. 15 Vicente Plana was the one who delivered the money to me. 16 He was still single

17 After the burial, there was a nine-day prayer rite I was still Catholic at that time and during those days I did not yet feel the loss of his presence because there were still many people coming to my house. 18 But when the prayer rite period was over, I was left physically weak [lit. my breath was almost pulled away] because of the loneliness, especially when everything was quiet in the house because my eldest son, who was already a young man, would go to the field and the others would go to school. 19 I felt somewhat better when we were together in the late afternoon because the one who went to the field would return home and so with those who were at school. 20 I would always feel listless. 21 When I walked in the street it was as if the wind could just have blown me away because I felt so light. 22 When I would eat, I would just nibble [lit. peck]. 23 My mother would advise me not to be sad any more because it might lead to sickness, and then what would my children do since they are still small.

24 After I had experienced a year of widowhood, I realized that I would always remember the husband I used to have if I just stayed put in the house. 25 Because at meal time I could see the place where he used to sit and I can remember his many activities.

26 I also decided to move to the farm in order to be close to work so that I could do my part in helping with the farm work.

To Pagkabayu Ku When I Became a Widow

27 Diya to uma, sikan panganoy ku no anak dow sikan ikaduwa iyan oghitimbang to trabahu. 28 Siak, iyan pighona-hona ku to pag-asin noy, pagsabun, pagsoga dow duma pad no kinahangyanon. 29 Gawas to pagsoda dow to pagkoon noy su ogkaamu man ogpanginsoda sikan mgo anak ku dow to pagkoon duon ogpuduton to uma. 30 Migsugud a to pagpamaligja to inggad nokoy no ogkahalin diya to Silco. 31 Sikan to kanay no pagtimbang kandan no ogtrabahu to uma. 32 Na Cristuhanon ad to sikan no panahon dow to mgo anak ku.

33 Sikan panganoy dow ikaduwa no anak ku nakaiskuyla di kotob da to ilimintarya su migmonmon kandan to pag-uma. 34 Sikandan to migbuhi to mgo hadi dan dow katimbang a dan. 35 Wayu sikandan tibo no mgo anak ku, lima to yukos dow tatoyu to bohi. 36 Sikan mgo bohi wada usab nakatapus to pag-iskuyla. 37 Iyan da nakatapus to kursu to kimud ku dow sikan pigsunuan din. 38 Likat to ilimintary hangtod to paghayiskul to sikan daduwa iyan inggastu ku kandan to pagmamaligja ku dow to abut usab to sikan daduwa no mgo kakoy dan no mig-uma.

39 Mahaewoy on iyan ko puli nanda og-isturyahon to mgo kaagi to nanyaboy no mgo panahon, di malisod ko duon pad to aktu. 40 No duon pad to ilimintarya sikan anak ku no pigsunuan to kimud, natigdaan sikandin su kona ogpakaihi. 41 Iyan ingkarojow su si Pastor Jose Havana dow to asawa din, si Flor, migtabang kanay. 42 Pigpaigu dan no ikapahuspital si Ansing [ngadan to sikan nasakit] diya to Bunawan Emergency Hospital. 43 Di no wada koy pad makapanow migsimba koy. 44 Pigliwas ku to Duminggu. 45 Pigpakanta si Ansing, iyan pigkanta din to "Ginuu Digona A" [Precious Lord]. 46 To diya no panahon puli pad kandin nakatopong to katikang to sikan pulpitu. 47 E-ay, to yuha ku to diya no panahon kona ku ogkatagonan.

48 Pagkabukas migpaewod koy diya to Sabangan dow suba pailing diya to Bunawan su duon man makabotang sikan huspital. 49 Mig-abut koy da to sikan no aedow. 50 Pag-abut noy diya to huspital migpaggilaung dajun si Flor ki Dr. Busa aw dajun naatiman si Ansing. 51 Di inggad marojow to pagkaatiman ki Ansing wada kandin kaulii dajun su kona man no pahid to tambae. 52 Napilaan pad to diya wada marojow no linipodongan ku, su kanunoy matikang to hingyow din. 53 Og-iingkud a duon to takidingan to sikan bata, ogyoyongyong a to sikan morge [botanganan ko mey ogkamatoy] ogkailing to ginhawa ku to, "Adoy, ko mamatoy seini anak ku duon man gajod igbotang, hintawa man buwa to duma ku [su si Flor mig-uli man dini to Sagunto]."

54 Pagkabukas, mig-anduon kanami si Dr. Busa, nangumusta ki Ansing. 55 Kagi din kanay, "Ogpakasabut a to ginhawa to inoy su inoy a usab, di kona ka ogkaguul

27 At the farm, my eldest and second eldest sons would share the work load. 28 My part was to think about how I can buy salt, laundry soap, fuel for our evening lights, and other necessities. 29 The exception was our viand and rice because my children knew how to fish, and crops for food are produced at the farm. 30 I began to sell anything that was salable at Silco. 31 That is was my part in helping out with the farm work. 32 I and my children were already Christians by that time.

33 My eldest and second child were able to attend school but only until intermediate grades because they concentrated their time to farming. 34 They were the ones who raised their younger siblings, and I shared that work with them. 35 They were eight children in all, five boys and three girls. 36 The girls were also not able to finish school. 37 The only ones who were able to finish a course were my youngest and the one next to him in age. 38 From elementary grades until the two reached high school, the money I spent for them was what I earned through selling something and the produce from the farm through their two elder brothers who do farming.

39 It's easy indeed to relate the experiences of the past, but it's hard when it is still happening. 40 When my next to youngest child was still in the elementary school, he became seriously ill because he could not urinate. 41 It was good that Pastor Jose Havana and his wife, Flor, helped me. 42 They made a way so that Ansing [the name of the sick one] could be brought to the Bunawan Emergency Hospital to be treated. 43 But before we left we attended church. 44 I waited till Sunday was over. 45 Ansing was asked to sing, and what he sang was "Ginuu Digona A" [Precious Lord]. 46 At that time his height was the same level as that of the pulpit. 47 *E-ay* [exclamation of dismay], at that time I could not hold back my tears.

48 The next day we went downstream to Sabangan and then went upstream to Bunawan because that's where the hospital was situated. 49 We reached our destination that same day. 50 When we reached the hospital Flor talked immediately with Dr. Busa and Ansing was immediately cared for. 51 But even though Ansing was well cared for, he did not recover immediately because the medicine could not immediately wipe out the sickness [that is, as a rag wipes away dirt]. 52 For several days I could not sleep well because his fever was always high. 53 I sat by the side of the child, staring at the morgue, [and] I would say to myself, "Adoy [exclamation of fear], if this child of mine dies he will be placed there and who will be my companion [because Flor had returned to Sagunto]."

54 The next day Dr. Busa came to our room greeting Ansing. 55 She said to me, "I understand how a mother feels because I am also a mother, but don't worry because I

Lit., the title of this song in Manobo means "Lord, strengthen me."

To Pagkabayu Ku When I Became a Widow

su ogpanimbooton ku no marojow seini anak nu." 56 Puli da natogontogon to pagkalius ni Dr. Busa nakayogwa to nars dow meyduon intaud duon to kayaw-ajan to yukos agun makaihi si Ansing. 57 Og-ihi si Ansing di maintok. 58 Na anoy man no ikatoyu on no aedow sikan intaud ki Ansing, mig-anduon to nars su oggawangon on su marojow on to pag-ihi din, di madoson on no oggawangon. 59 Ogpakatiyahu si Ansing to kasakit. 60 Wada kahimui. 61 Migpanow sikan nars su indoy dow nokoy to ogpuduton din. 62 Oompok pad to sikan nars nakaabut to pastura, si Pastura Nalam dow daduwa to duma din. 63 Mansu maugtu on dajun kandin mig-ikagi no og-ampu kandan. 64 Tapus to pagampu, "Na," kagi din, "kona koy ogyugoy su maugtu on, og-usab koy da ogbisita ki Ansing." 65 Eh, puli pad nakatalikud sikan pastura dow mgo duma din natangtang on sikan intaud ki Ansing. 66 Pagpauli to sikan nars no ogtangtang podom to sikan wada din kahimui, mighihipanow on si Ansing.

67 Pagkabukas pigpauli koy ni Dr. Busa. 68 Migtukhow a yagboy dow migpasalamat a to Diyus to pagkaulii ni Ansing.

69 Di wada koy da buyani dini likat to pag-uli noy nakabahar koy manda su natigadaan manda si Ansing. 70 Masakit to gotok din dow talikudan. 71 Diya koy on deg to Butuan. 72 Kasakit yagboy to ginhawa ku no og-aha to seini anak ku no ogpakakukunanap duon to ingkudanan duon to bus no sapue migbotu to ligid. 73 Migtagad koy to songo uras buwa to diya ayha koy makapadajun to pagbiyahi. 74 Pagabut noy diya to Butuan migpayahus koy diya to huspital. 75 Pag-iksamin to duktur, bumotuhay on to apindisaytis. 76 Sikan yagboy no kadukiloman wadad pakoona si Ansing. 77 Pagkabukas, pig-uperahan, di migbotu on to apindisaytis. 78 Pighakwad to tibo tinoi ni Ansing dow hugasi to tinoi dow to didayom no nabotangan to tinoi. 79 Songo buyan noy to pagugpa diya to huspital ayha rojow si Ansing. 80 Ajaw ka to pagkaatsa-atsa to sikan mgo kakoy diya to uma to pagpamangha to saepi no igkapadae kanami diya to huspital. 81 Di ojow dan pa, inggad on naatasa-atsa koy basta buhi si Ansing.

82 Pagkauli noy migpadajun si Ansing to pag-iskuyla to hayiskul duon to MCA su to diya una no pagkasakit din, bag-u man kandin matatapus to ilimintarya. 83 Migpadajun a to pagtuu dow pagsalig to Diyus hasta mgo anak ku dow migpadajun usab to panaepi ku, to pagpamaligja to mgo abut diya to uma dow to ogpanghinangon ku no mgo pangan-onon angod to putu, bodbod dow duma pad no ogkakoon.

84 Tuig 1979, meyduon magtiajun no Americano no namangha to Manubu no ogpakatabang kandan su ogminanubuon dan to Bibliya agun meyduon tuun no Bibliya to mgo Manubu dini to Agusan dow diya to duma no mgo banwa no meyduon mgo Manubu. 85 Nabaekan

will try my best that your child will become well." 56 Just a little later after Dr. Busa was gone, a nurse appeared and had something inserted in an unmentionable part of the male body so that he would be able to urinate. 57 Ansing did urinate but just a small [amount]. 58 Then three days after the inserting [of the catheter] into Ansing, the nurse came because she was going to remove it because he could now urinate well, but it was hard to remove. 59 Ansing cried because of the pain. 60 She wasn't able to do it. 61 The nurse left, apparently to get something [lit. because she will get who knows what]. 62 No sooner had the nurse left [lit. the nape of the neck was yet] than a pastora arrived, Pastora Nalam and two companions of hers. 63 Since it was already noontime, she immediately said that they will pray. 64 After praying, "Okay," she said, "we won't be long because it's already noon, but we'll come again to visit Ansing." 65 Eh [expression of surprise], the pastora and her companions had no sooner turned their backs, than that which had been inserted into [the body of] Ansing fell out. 66 When the nurse returned to hopefully remove that she was not able to do before, Ansing was already walking around.

67 The following day Dr. Busa sent us home. 68 I was really happy and I thanked God for the healing of Ansing.

69 But we hadn't been home even a month when we had to go downriver again because Ansing had again become seriously ill. 70 His stomach and back hurt. 71 This time it was to Butuan City that we went. 72 How my heart [lit. breath] hurt looking at my child crawling on the seat of the bus, and to make matters worse, a tire blew out. 73 We had to wait perhaps an hour before we were able to continue our journey. 74 When we reached Butuan City we went directly to the hospital. 75 When he was examined by the doctor, it was found that his appendix was about to rupture. 76 That very night Ansing was not given any food. 77 The following day he was operated on, but his appendix had already ruptured. 78 Ansing's intestines were all disgorged [by a doctor] and cleansed along with the abdominal cavity [lit. where the intestines were placed inside]. 79 We stayed one month in the hospital before Ansing was well. 80 Back at the farm his older siblings were in quite a dither to seek enough money to send us at the hospital. 81 But according to them, it didn't really matter that they were in such a dither so long as Ansing was alive.

82 When we returned home Ansing continued his schooling in high school at MCA [Mindanao Christian Academy] because when he was sick the first time he had just finished elementary school. 83 My faith and trust in God continued with my children, and I continued with my livelihood, selling produce from the farm and preparing snacks such as rice bread, suman, and others.

84 In the year 1979 there was an American couple who were looking for a Manobo who could help them translate the Bible into Manobo language so that the Manobos here in Agusan and in the other places where there are Manobos could have their own Bible. 85 I met them by means of Pastor

To Pagkabayu Ku When I Became a Widow

a dan pinaagi ki Pastur Havana dow si [Flor] Pastura Havana. 86 Nalipay a to pagtrabahu to sikan su, ginhawa ku, ogkaanad a gajod to Bibliya. 87 Migsugud a to pagtabang to sikan mgo maghuhubad to inikagihan to diya buyan to Marsu 1979.

88 Pagkatapus ni Ansing to hayiskul pigpaiskuyla kandin to kan magtiajun diya to kulihiyu hangtod no nakatapus to kursu din. 89 Sikan kimud ku nakatapus usab to kulihiyu, pigtabangan a gihapun to sikan magtiajun. 90 Hangtod kuntoon ogtabang a pad gihapun kandan to trabahu dan no paghubad to Bibliya duon to Minanubu.

91 To diya babag-uhay a kabayu, mahan-in to ogpangasawa podom kanay, di nawadaan ad to ginhawa to pagbabana su kona a ogkaliyag ko masamuk-samuk to malinow no kaugpa ku duma to mgo anak ku. 92 Ogbabana a da buwa ko iyan mubangun to diya bana ku. 93 Bag-u a abut to ika-68 no tuig. 94 Kap-atan mey upat to mgo apu ku, wada yabot to tatoyu no anak to apu ku.

95 Sikan da.

Havana and Pastora [Flor] Havana. 86 I am happy to work with them because, I feel, I really learned the Bible. 87 I began to help those translators in the month of March 1979.

88 When Ansing finished high school, that couple sent him to school in college until he finished his course. 89 My youngest child was also able to finish college; that couple helped me again. 90 Until now I still help them in their work of translating the Bible into Manobo.

91 At the time when I newly became a widow, many men wanted to marry me, but I had no more desire to have a husband because I did not like the peaceful situation I had with my children to be troubled. 92 Perhaps I would only like to have a husband if my deceased husband will rise from the grave. 93 I have just arrived at my 68th year. 94 I have forty-four grandchildren not including the three children of my grandchild.

95 That's all.



II. Cultural: Family

To Pangasawa no Ogkahobyas

1 To diya una pad yagboy no panahon, to pagpangasawa kona no mahaewoy su to mangasawa ogsukudon to ginikanan to bohi dow kona no hubae-hubae to ginhawa din no ogpangasawa to anak dan.

2 Bag-u pad oghoma to yukos to ogpangasawa, to mgo ginikanan, mgo suun, dow mgo anggam ogtagahon din. 3 Na to mgo ginikanan ubin ko hintawa to ogkaliyag ogtabang ogpasabut duon to ginikanan to bohi pinaagi to pagpamogoy-bogoy, kona no pinaagi to kagi. 4 Ogkasabutan no meyduon liyag to tagabobohi su ogdawaton dan man to igpamogoy-bogoy to tagayuyukos. 5 Na sikan on to sinugdanan no ogpanakin on to tagayuyukos.

6 Ko maandam on to ginikanan to yukos, ogpanggilaung kandan. 7 Ogbaliga to mgo tinahud no mgo manigaon dow iyan ogpaatubangon to tagabobohi. 8 Meyduon mgo manggad no ogbajawon to sikan no panahon, og-ilingon sikan to gilaung. 9 Oghikoy to pagkoonan no ogpanihapunon to tibo no ogkahimun duon su madukilom to igpanggilaung su sikan to panahon no ogkahimun to mgo otow.

10 Duon to sikan no pagpanggilaung, kona pad ogkapihu to sabut su oghimunon pad to mgo suun dow mgo kaejunan to tagabobohi. 11 Pagkahimun to sikan no mgo otow, ogpanggilaung manda to tagayuyukos. 12 Yain manda no gastu. 13 Hasta tagkatatoyu ogpapauli to tagayuyukos to pagpanggilaung ayha ogkatagahan dow oghugunan dow kona.

14 Na ko oghugunan sikan ogpangasawa, ogsugud duon to binujuay. 15 Ko mabajow to mgo binuju, ogsunud to sinubakay. 16 Tapus to sikan, ogkumbiti dow tapus to sikan, ogganason to bohi.

17 Di meyduon ginikanan to bohi no maliyu. 18 Ogdawat dow ogparojow-rojow ogkoon to mgo panakin, di pagkahantoy to sikan, oghobyason din to pangasawa. 19 Meyduon innawnangon to inoy ku kanay: Meyduon bohi no iyan ngadan si Dalin no pigpangasawa no pigpanakinan to tagayuyukos to tatoyu no tuig ayha kumbitiha. 20 Anoy man no ogganason on sikan pig-asawa, migbaebag sikan amoy, meyduon pigbuju din no manggad no igbaylu to yawa to sikan bohi no ogganason. 21 Iling on hangyuon to mgo manigaon no itugut sikan bohi, ogmanagotey og-ojow sikan amoy to sikan bohi. 22 Na puli ku oghaptoson, mig-uli sikan namangasawa no wada daya.

23 Di tongod to kayugoy to pagpanakin to sikan yukos, mig-ayam on kandin si Dalin. 24 Mey on ginhawa din to sikan ogpangasawa kandin. 25 Pigmingaw kandin

Aborted Marriage Arrangements

1 In long-ago times, it was not easy to propose marriage because the man proposing marriage would be measured by the parents of the woman to see whether his love [lit. breath] for their daughter is sincere.

2 When a man would plan to get married, he informed his parents, siblings, and uncles. 3 Then the parents or whoever would like to help would inform the parents of the woman [about their purpose] by giving something, not by words. 4 It would be understood that the woman's side was interested because they would accept the things given by the man's side. 5 Then that was the beginning of the man's side giving all kinds of things to the woman's side.

6 When the parents of the man were prepared, they proposed marriage. 7 They would hire respected old folks to speak personally with the woman's side. 8 There would be things/gifts presented at that time which is called *gilaung*. 9 They would prepare a supper feast for all who gathered there because the marriage proposal would take place at night because that is the time when people gather.

10 At that time of the proposal, there is not yet a fixed agreement because the relatives of the woman's side still have to be gathered. 11 When those people are gathered, the man's side will again make a proposal. 12 There will be another expenditure. 13 The man's side will propose three times before it will be known whether the proposal will be accepted or not.

14 Now when the proposal is accepted, the asking for the bride price begins. 15 When the bride price is produced, the next thing is the *sinubakay*. 1 16 After that, the wedding feast and after that, the woman is taken to the man's house.

17 But some parents of women cheat. 18 They accept and eat very well what is given by the man's side, but after they are satisfied they abort the proposal. 19 My mother told me something: There was a lady named Dalin for whom a marriage proposal was made and for three years the man's side gave various gifts before they had a wedding feast. 20 When it was time for the bride to be taken to the house of the groom, the father of the bride opposed; he asked for something to reciprocate for the body of the woman who would be taken to the groom's house. 21 No matter how much the old folks asked that the lady be allowed to go, the father really refused to let her go. 22 And to make it short, those who came to get the man married had to go home empty-handed.

23 But because of the length of time the man gave gifts, Dalin had become close to him. 24 She had feelings for the man who wanted to marry her. 25 She missed her

¹ The woman's side will give something to the man's side equal to the bride price.

to sikan banahon din. 26 Paglikat to sikan namangasawa duma to diya banahon din, migtandow si Dalin duon to bintana dow paagadi din kandan to pag-aha kotob no malius. 27 Pagkalius dan, pagdomey din iyan pigkita din to imbegbog no mgo dohun to agutoy no kinoonan to mahan-in no mgo otow no migtambung to kumbiti din.

28 Kinaiya to bohi nokani no inggad man-u to ginhawa din to yukos igkasikow din ko masabutan sikan no ginhawa din kaling puli on pigbujukutan ni Dalin to ginhawa din.

29 Na ogyupugon ta to diya namangasawa. 30 Sugud no muabut sikan yukos diya to banwa dan, wada kadasig to mgo lihok din. 31 Wada gana din to pagkoon. 32 Kanunoy oglipodong. 33 Anoy man no nasabut to mgo ginikanan to ginhawa to sikan anak dan, mighona-hona kandan no ogyunuson dan ogpuduton sikan pinangasawa dan. 34 Dajun kandan baliga to songo otow dow ipayunus dan ipamaan sikan bohi to planu dan. 35 Nadali kahisapoy to sabut to sikan otow no pigsugu dow sikan bohi.

36 Pagkabukas, masem pad yagboy migdawdaya si Dalin to kaeju dow otak dow pon-ug. 37 "Kasoyom nud man Dalin?" kagi to amoy no naniid naan ki Dalin. 38 "Ogsoyom a og-abuab to sikan tanom ku no baebawan su mapasu to soga gaja." 39 Pag-abut ni Dalin duon to baebawanan din no duon to higad to wohig, migtatagad on sikan banahon din dow saboka no duma din no migdae to beytu. 40 Wada da kapiniloki nakasakoy si Dalin duon to beytu. 41 Mansu daduwa to migdae to sikan beytu, nadali kandan abut.

42 Ajaw ka no boyongon si Dalin to amoy din, nabayu to mgo sumbayoy to binansagon to sikan amoy. 43 Dajun baliga kandin to ogkaduma din su ogdukyus kandan. 44 Di to mgo ginikanan to sikan yukos no naminyo nangandam su namaan kandan no ko mudukyus to amoy ni Dalin daduwa to ogkadeygan, kahusajan ubin kasamuk. 45 Si Dalin dow to bana din pigpahobong dan.

46 Eh, duon pad to pawa migpadadama on to amoy ni Dalin. 47 To mgo duma din puli migbantoy. 48 Wada popotikan to sikan mgo otow diya to diatas to bayoy. 49 Anoy man to mighungow on to kaboyu to sikan amoy ni Dalin, migpon-ug to ugangan ni Dalin no yukos dow gogoya to amoy ni Dalin dow paponhika diya to bayoy dow sikan mgo duma din.

50 Tapus to pag-inuliay to marojow no mgo boot, pigpayogwa si Dalin dow to bana din dow botad kandan to pagkoon no pighinaat. 51 Tapus to pagkoon, pighimos to amoy to sikan bana ni Dalin to saboka no yugju, dagmoy dow kaeha dow idata diya to amoy ni Dalin. 52 Kagi din, "Bae-i, o dawata seini ighilut ku to ayob nu." 53 "Hoo," kagi to amoy ni Dalin, "di ogkaliyag a no ogdumahon ku seini mgo anak ta." 54 Si Dalin dow to bana to ognangonon din. 55 "Kona naa buwa kuntoon

husband-to-be. 26 When those who came with the man to get married left along with her husband-to-be, Dalin stood at the window looking at them until they were out of sight. 27 When they were out of sight, she looked down and what she saw was discarded *abutoy* leaves that were used as plates by the many people who attended her wedding feast.

28 It was the nature of a woman long ago that however much she loved a man, she would be ashamed if her feeling was understood by others, so Dalin just kept it to herself [lit. in her breath].

29 Now we will follow those who made the marriage proposal. 30 Since the man arrived at their place, he was listless. 31 He had no appetite. 32 He always slept. 33 When his parents understood how their son was feeling, they planned to secretly take the woman whom they had arranged to marry. 34 So they got a man to secretly inform the lady of their plan. 35 The man whom they sent and the lady easily agreed with each other.

36 Very early the next morning Dalin took fire and bolo and went down from the house. 37 "Why are you going out so early Dalin?" said the father who was watching what she was doing. 38 "I will weed my melon garden early because the sun will be too hot later." 39 When Dalin reached her melon garden on the river bank, her husband-to-be was waiting and a companion of his who had a boat. 40 In less time than it takes to blink, Dalin had gotten into the boat. 41 Since two were managing the boat, they arrived easily/early.

42 How enraged Dalin's father was when he realized Dalin was gone; the neighbors came to see what was the matter when they heard the father's shouting. 43 Then he got people to go with him to go after them. 44 But the parents of the man who was married were prepared because they knew that if Dalin's father came after her, there would be one of two outcomes—reconciliation or trouble. 45 They hid Dalin and her husband.

46 *Eh* [exclamation of negative feeling], Dalin's father was not yet in the yard when he went wild. 47 His companions just watched. 48 The people up in the house didn't make a sound. 49 When Dalin's father had vented his anger, Dalin's father-in-law went down from the house and hugged Dalin's father and invited him and his companions up into the house.

50 After good relationships were restored, Dalin and her husband were brought out and they served food that had been prepared. 51 After eating, the father of Dalin's husband packed up one bolo, an abaca blanket, and frying pan and handed them to Dalin's father. 52 He said, "Bae-i [co-parent-in-law], here, take this to massage your knee." 53 "Yes," said Dalin's father, "but I want to take our children with me." 54 He meant Dalin and her husband. 55 "Maybe not yet, bae-i, I'll let them follow you

² Idiom meant as comfort for the long trip he'd made.

bae-i, ogpayupugon ku da kandan ko mapilaan kuntoon," kagi to ugangan ni Dalin. 56 Na, dajun panabiya to amoy ni Dalin dow to mgo duma din.

57 Meyduon pangasawa no oghobyason no ogsangko to pagpang-uli. 58 Meyduon isturya, tinood no hitabu, no innawnangon to amoy ku bahin to pagpangasawa din.

59 Si Casiano nangasawa podom to bohi no taga-San Luis di wada katood. 60 Taga-Sagunto si Casiano. 61 Sikan bohi iyan ngadan si Gaudi. 62 Nahibayak si Casiano dow si Gaudi no panahon to tig-ani to humoy dini to Sagunto su sikan kakoy ni Casiano, si Benita mayow-ag to humajan. 63 Nanganihan si Gaudi dow to inoy din duon ki Benita. 64 Naliyagan ni Benita to panlihok ni Gaudi su inggad dow kona kandin no taga-duon, angod to namaanan din to mgo lihokonon duon to bayoy ni Benita. 65 Kaling songod aedow, pig-ikagihan ni Benita si Casiano, "Ko siak nu pa, og-asawahon ku si Gaudi su mabakas."

66 "Eh," kagi ni Casiano, "marojow man ko maliyag ita."

67 "Puli on ogkaliyag ko kona og-asawahon," kagi ni Benita. 68 "Hala tumana sikan ogkaliyagan ku."

69 "Hala," kagi ni Casiano, "basta sugu nu, na rispundi ka ko nokoy to deg gaja."

70 To inani ni Gaudi dow to inoy din wada bahina ni Benita. 71 Pagkatapus to anihonon, mighinang si Casiano to balsa no pigyuwanan to humoy ni Gaudi dow ihatod din kandan diya to San Luis.

72 Pigbuyanan si Casiano diya to San Luis. 73 Duon to bayoy onni Gaudi ogboya si Casiano to kaju, ogsayuk to wohig, ogbaju to humoy su wada pad galingan to diya no panahon. 74 Usahay ogduma kandin diya to uma ogbulig-bulig to trabahu. 75 Nalipay to mgo ginikanan ni Gaudi to panlihok ni Casiano kaling pig-ikagihan dan si Gaudi, "Marojow si Casiano, mabakas. 76 Ko kami to pagbooton nu, gustu noy no ogkabana nu si Casiano."

77 "Puli kid ogbabana ko kona ki'g asawahon?" kagi ni Gaudi.

78 Mig-uli si Casiano dini to Sagunto di wada da kayugoy migpauli kandin diya to San Luis su pig-apura ni Benita. 79 Migyuwan kandin to mahan-in no marojow igpaabut diya ki Gaudi. 80 Wada kakagihon ni Casiano, di nakasabut to mgo ginikanan ni Gaudi no ogpangaliyag si Casiano to sikan anak dan.

81 Halus ogkagakgakan si Casiano to pagsuba to Agusan pailing dini to Sagunto su migdokat ki Benita dow to bana din su ogpanggilaung kandan. 82 To diya no panahon wada pad mgo karsada. 83 Wada lisod si Casiano to pag-andam to kinahangyanon to pagpaewod su pigbuligan to mgo yagi din. 84 Meyduon migyapu to buyu no pighinang no paepag, meyduon nangaju, mey mgo ulitau dow mgo daega no migbinaju dow nakabogas kandan to tatoyu no saku.

85 Pagkaandam on to tibo, yabi to babuy no tatoyu no buuk, migpaewod kandan duma to mgo daega dow

a few days from now," said Dalin's father-in-law. 56 Then Dalin's father and his companions said goodbye.

57 There are marriage proposals that are aborted that will end up in returning the expenditure of the ones proposing marriage. 58 There is a story, a true happening, that was told by my father about his marriage proposal.

59 Casiano wanted to marry a lady from San Luis but it didn't materialize. 60 Casiano was from Sagunto. 61 The lady's name was Gaudi. 62 Casiano and Gaudi met during rice harvest in Sagunto because Casiano's elder sister Benita had a large rice field. 63 Gaudi and her mother harvested rice in Benita's field. 64 Benita liked the manners of Gaudi because even though she was not from that place, it was as if she knew what was to be done in Benita's house. 65 So one day Benita talked to Casiano, "If I were you, I would marry Gaudi because she's hard-working."

66 "Eh [exclamation of negative feeling]," said Casiano, "it would be good if she liked us."

67 "Will she just like us if we don't ask her to marry?" said Benita. 68 "Go ahead, do what I want."

69 "Okay," said Casiano, "provided it is your order, then you are the one responsible for whatever happens later on."

70 What Gaudi and her mother harvested, Benita did not take her share of it. 71 When the harvest was over, Casiano made a big raft in which Gaudi's rice was loaded, and he delivered them to San Luis.

72 Casiano stayed one month in San Luis. 73 In Gaudi's house Casiano would split firewood, fetch water, and pound rice because there was not a rice mill at that time. 74 Sometimes he would go along to the field and help with the work. 75 Gaudi's parents were happy with Casiano's manners so they told Gaudi, "Casiano is good, hard-working. 76 If you let us decide, we would like Casiano to be your husband."

77 "Will we just have a husband if we're not asked to be a wife?" said Gaudi.

78 Casiano returned to Sagunto but before long he returned to San Luis because Benita urged him to go quickly. 79 He loaded many good things [on the raft] to bring to Gaudi. 80 Casiano did not say anything, but Gaudi's parents understood that Casiano loved their daughter.

81 Casiano's arms were almost detached in going up the Agusan river to fetch Benita and her husband to propose marriage. 82 At that time there were still no roads. 83 It was not difficult for Casiano to prepare what was needed in going downriver because his friends helped him. 84 There were those who cut bamboo to be made into a big raft with a shelter on it, there were those who gathered firewood, there were young men and young women who pounded rice and they were able to have three sacks of clean [pounded] rice.

85 When everything was ready, especially three pigs, they went downstream along with the young

mgo ulitau no ogpakatabang to mgo lihokonon to pagpanggilaung.

86 Yaktod no pagkaisturya, pighugunan kandan dow nasabutan no kona ogpayapason to songo buyan to pagkumbiti su ojow pa to sikan tagabobohi, "to bohi igkapananglit to hinug no saging no mahan-in to ogpisa."

87 Eh, natinood iyan su pagpauli onni Benita su ogkumbiti on, pighobyas to pangasawa dan su migyapas to songo buyan to pag-abut dan, di songo aedow da to ligas. 88 Puli kandan pigpatipdu su ojow pa to songo otow no taga-San Luis no mig-isturya ki Casiano, "Puli kow da nalius to diya paggilaung now, mey on ulitau no mig-anduon dow to mgo daya din pigdawat man to sikan mgo ginikanan ni Gaudi."

89 Anoy kay no muyawa on, hangyuon no konad man gajod kandan ogpakumbitihon, aw pon-ug si Benita duon to pawa dow damila to maagbot, "Sikuna no maliyu," [sikan amoy ni Gaudi to og-ilingon din] "su pighobyas nu man to pangasawa noy inggad maintok da to pigtipduhan, hala, yupada to babuy, manuk, humoy, dulian, bugka, dow tibo to gastu ku, hala gisukaha, gisukaha." 90 Nayuyugajan to pag-inodey-odey ni Benita. 91 "Kona a og-uli to Sagunto ko kona nu ikauli to gastu ku," kagi din. 92 Anoy man no pig-alingog-ngogan on buwa si Tata Sibay no bana din, pigduguk din si Benita dow sapadi, "Sigkon on su basi madoot to madeygan ko makahilabot ad." 93 Namaan si Benita to batasan to sikan bana din, mahonok iyan di tambayonon to iti ko ogkaboyu, kaling migpasapad sikandin. 94 "Igdangop ta seini duon to yabow kani to seini yunsud," kagi ni Tata Sibay.

95 Mig-abut sikandan diya to husajan. 96 Wada takasi ni Benita kotob no tibo naulian to gastu din. 97 Pag-uli dan dini to Sagunto, nangasawa si Casiano to bohi no iyan ngadan si Bungkas. 98 Pagkaminyo ni Casiano, nakadinog kandin no si Gaudi nabodosan di wada asawaha to sikan nakabodos kandin. 99 "Eh, madojow da no wada ku kaasawa si Gaudi su kona naan igkabilin to pinajag." 100 Wadad.

women and men who would help with the activities of proposing marriage.

86 In short, their proposal was accepted and it was agreed that the wedding feast would take place within a month because according to the lady's side, "a woman can be likened to a ripe banana with many to squeeze it to see if it's ripe." [Meaning: Many men want to marry her.]

87 *Eh*, it really came true because when Benita and her company went back to do the wedding feast, more than one month had lapsed before their arrival, but only by one day. 88 This was just their excuse because according to a man from San Luis who spoke to Casiano, "You had just left after proposing marriage when there was a man who went there, and the things he brought were accepted by Gaudi's parents."

89 And then when he refused to listen to their pleading they were not allowed to have the wedding feast, then Benita went down to the yard and complained loudly, "You cheaters," [she was speaking of Gaudi's father], "since you aborted our marriage for just a little excuse, okay, spit out the pork, chicken, rice, durian, lanzones, and all I spent money on, go on, vomit it up! Vomit it up!" 90 Benita went wild for a long time. 91 "I won't return to Sagunto unless you return what I spent." 92 When Tata Sibay, her husband, had probably gotten irritated, he approached Benita and rebuked her, "Stop now because this might end up badly if I have to intervene." 93 Benita knew the nature of her husband; it's true he was quiet, but he could not be stopped when he got angry [lit. it would be medicined with chicken dung], so she obeyed. 94 "We'll bring this case to the high authorities in this town," said Tata Sibay.

95 They [the two parties] reached the court. 96 Benita did not stop until all her expenses were returned. 97 When they came back home to Sagunto, Casiano proposed marriage to a woman named Bongkas. 98 After Casiano was married he heard that Gaudi had gotten pregnant, but the man who impregnated her did not marry her. 99 "Eh, it is good that I was not able to marry Gaudi because she cannot be trusted [lit. cannot be left in the house]. 100 No more.

Igsambag to mgo Minyoonon

1 Nokani, to yukos no ogpangaliyag on to bohi kona puli ogboboot to pagpamili. 2 Ogmaanon din to mgo ginikanan dow inggad ngani to mgo suun din agun matabangan kandin to sikan pagpangaliyag din.

3 Na, ko mey on bohi no maangajan to ginikanan to sikan yukos, ogpagsabut kandan to ginikanan to bohi dow, ko mahiujun kandan, og-asawahon sikan bohi dow ogdaehon diya to bayoy to ginikanan to yukos.

4 Di kona pad on ogpag-asawahon to mgo anak dan, to ginikanan to bohi dow yukos masigsambag to mgo anak dan. 5 To ginikanan to bohi og-iling, "Su ogkaminyo kad on man, wada igkapabaaw ku ikow no buyawan, di tagibayuy buyawan seini igsambag ku ikow. 6 Ko diya kad on to bana nu, katongdanan nu to pag-atindi kandin. 7 Ajaw igsunud ko hawas ka pad no wada oghona-honaon nu su ogsalig ka to inoy nu. 8 Di kuntoon, puli ku og-ilingon, minyo kad on man, kinahangyan no humona-hona kad to ikow tuun no kaugpa. 9 Agun no malinow to pagkamagtiajun now, ajaw ogpayabawi to bana nu. 10 Ko maboyu sikandin, pakobos ka. 11 Su to asawa igkapananglit to wohig dow to bana igkapananglit to kaeju. 12 Ko ogyogdog to kaeju, ogkaposok sikan ko sabuhan to wohig. 13 Ko maboyu to bana nu, kibali kaeju sikan no ogyogdog. 14 Na sikuna, sikan pagpakobos nu, kibali wohig no igsabu to sikan yogdog. 15 Di ko pudu kow on yogdog, na, wada kahusajan to kaugpa now.

16 "Hasta ajaw og-atuhi to ugangan nu. 17 Inggad umatu ka to ginikanan nu, ajaw og-atuhi to ugangan nu su ogpakagaba. 18 Ko og-anad-anadon ka dan, panminoga dow tumana to igsambag dan ikow. 19 Tahuda yagboy sikandan agun hilabihon ka dan. 20 Pakatarong ka dow monmoni to ikow to pagkaasawa. 21 Ajaw og-asuka to bana nu to mgo hinangonon, nasi bubulig kow agun mahimangon to kaugpa now, su man-u man to kama ko saboka da to oglihok. 22 Ajaw oghinanga to madoot agun kona koy yagbasan no mgo ginikanan nu. 23 Iyan da madojow no masaja ka to bana dow mgo ugangan nu su ogkasaja koy isab."

24 Tomgo ginikanan toyukos og-iling, "Su ogkaminyo kad man, ogkaangod kad to unsuy no ogsingwajon. 25 To unsuy, ko duon pad on kandin to inoy din, kona kandin ogkapoyok to pagkoon dow mgo kapiligruhan su ogsalig man to inoy din. 26 Di ko ogsingwajon on sikan unsuy, kandin on kaugalingon no pagpangahig to ogkakoon din, kandin on kaugalingon no hapunan dow to pagpanalipod to kandin kaugalingon. 27 Sikuna, angod to ogsingwajon kad su kinahangyan man no ogpatubuk kad to kaugalingon nu no kaugpa. 28 Na, agun no maandam ka, madojow buwa ko maminog ka naa to seini igsambag noy kibali pabaaw noy ikow. 29 To bohi

Advice for a Couple to be Married

1 Long ago, a man who fell in love with a woman wouldn't just choose on his own. 2 He would inform his parents and even his siblings so they would help with that courtship of his.

3 Then if there was a woman whom the man's parents thought appropriate, they would make an agreement with the parents of the woman and, if they agreed, the woman would become his wife and would be taken to the house of the man's parents.

4 But before they would marry their children off, the parents of the woman and man would each advise their child. 5 The parents of the woman would say, "Since you will now get married, I have no gold to send along with you, but this advice of mine is as if gold. 6 When you are with your husband, it is your responsibility to care for him. 7 Don't do like when you were still single when you had nothing to think about because you were depending on your mother. 8 But now, in short, you will be married, you must think about your own living. 9 So that your living as a couple will be peaceful, don't make yourself higher than your husband. 10 If he gets angry, be calm. 11 For a wife can be compared to water and the husband can be compared to fire. 12 If fire flames up, it can be extinguished if it's quench by water. 13 If your husband gets angry, it's like flaming fire. 14 Now as for you, your calmness is like water than quenches that flame. 15 But if you are both flames, then there will be no peace in your living.

16 "And don't argue with your parents-in-law. 17 Even if you argue with your parents, don't argue with your parents-in-law because it will bring bad luck. 18 If they instruct you, listen and obey what they advise you. 19 Really respect them so they will hold you dear. 20 Be well-behaved and fulfill your wifely responsibilities. 21 Don't leave all the work to your husband, instead help each other so your living will be settled, because if only one works, he cannot accomplish much. 22 Don't do bad so that we your parents won't be hurt. 23 What is good is if your husband and parents-in-law praise you because we will be also be praised in that."

24 The parents of the man will say, "Since you will now get married, you will be like a chick whose mother leaves to fend for itself. 25 A chick, when it is still with its mother, doesn't worry about food and dangers because it trusts its mother. 26 But when the chick is left on its own, it has to scratch food for itself, it is responsible for its own roosting place, and for protecting itself. 27 You are like a chick left on its own because you must now establish your own living. 28 Now, so you will be ready, it might be good if you listened to this advice, which is like carry-food we send with you. 29 A woman marries

ogbabana agun no meyduon igkatiajun din to pag-ugpa, ogpakaatindi kandin agun wada ogpakayupig kandin. 30 Madoot to bana no og-asuk to asawa to trabahu. 31 To yukos madoson, di to bohi mayotoy, kaling kona kandin ogkapabog-atan to trabahu. 32 Ogkailing ta to timbang nu puli kandin to mgo trabahu. 33 Tahuda to mgo ugangan nu dow mgo kadumahan to asawa nu su sikan to madojow no oghinangon to makaamung."

34 To bag-u no magtiajun no ogtuman to sambag to mgo ginikanan dan, kona ki og-iling to ogkadatu to saepi, di iyan tagibayuy kadatu dan to kalinow to kaugpa dan. 35 Aw tongod to pagsunud dan to sambag to mgo ginikanan, kona sikandan ogtalikudan to mgo ginikanan ko meyduon mgo prublima dan.

36 Sikan da.

so she will have a life partner who will care for her so no one will treat her cruelly. 30 A husband who leaves all the work to his wife is bad. 31 A man is strong, but a woman is weak, therefore she cannot be burdened down with excessive work. 32 We can say that she is just your helper in working. 33 Respect your parents-in-law and the relatives of your wife because that is the good thing for a son-in-law to do who serves his parents-in-law."

34 A newlywed couple who obey the advice of their parents, we can't say they will be wealthy with money, but the peace of their living is as if their wealth. 35 And because of their following the parents' advice, their parents will not turn their backs on them when they have problems.

36 That's all.

To Mey Katongod to Pagtagon to Kuwarta duon to Pamilya

1 Oghisgut a bahin to kuwarta duon to pamilya dow hintawa to angajan ogtagon to sikan, di majopot da, su to mgo Manubu nokani wada man maaslag no saepi no ogkapangitaan. 2 Ko igsayoy meyduon batad ubin humoy no igbaligja, tag daduwa da no ka pisus to songo saku. 3 Na to halin to sikan, igpamoli on dajun to mgo kapihitan, na nokoy pad man to ogkatagonan? 4 To suhue to otow no ogtrabahu unu bayinti da to aedow [1.20]. 5 Na, pag-uli to otow puun to trabahu, asin on man, puspuru to ogkadae no ogkaboli to suhue din. 6 Duon to sikan no kahimtang to panaepi kona ogkatagahan dow hintawa to mey katongod to pagtagon dow to pagpaigu dow og-amonuhon to paggastu to sikan ogkapangitaan no kuwarta.

7 Pag-abut to mgo kumpaniya, mahan-in to mgo otow no nakatrabahu duon. 8 Migsugud to suhue to tag-upat no ka pisus to aedow hangtod no mig-uswag, dipindi to ranggu to otow. 9 Panahon to tigsuweldu, wada aangod to mgo otow kani, su pagkadawat to suweldu mey otow no kona og-uli diya to asawa, migpadajun diya to sugalan ubin inoman. 10 Pag-uli diya to asawa, wadad saepi. 11 Nokoy to nadeygan, buyow. 12 Meyduon usahay migdeg diya to pagbibiya to magtiajun. 13 Di kona no tibo otow kani no angod to sikan. 14 Meyduon og-uli diya to asawa, idata to suweldu din aw to asawa iyan ogboot to pagkoon no ogbolihon. 15 Mey otow no ogkalipay no ogpahikoy to madojow dow ogpakahantoy no pagkoon ko panahon to suweldu agun malipay to pamilya din. 16 Dow igkalipay din isab to pagdata to pinangitaan din diya to asawa.

17 Kuntoon no mgo aedow mey pad mgo otow [minus nanda] no wada pad kataga no katongod to asawa dan to pagtagon to pinangitaan din su to asawa iyan tisureru to pamilya. 18 To yukos no sikan to ogbatasanon, pagkadawat to suweldu din, sikandin da to ogpamoli to tibo kinahangyanon to pamilya din. 19 Na to asawa no tongop to panghona-hona, puli on og-iling to, "Ah basta kona a lang bontason, ogkaboli to kinahangyanon ku, wada prublima inggad kona a datahan to bana ku to kuwarta."

20 Meyduon isab asawa no inggad ogdatahan to bana to kuwarta, kona ogpakahimun su kona ogkaamu og-imu-imu to kuwarta su inggad nokoy to ogkitaon ubin ogkaliyagan, ogbolihon. 21 Og-ilingon sikan no asawa to gastadur. 22 Kaling to bana din ogkadisgana ogdata kandin to kuwarta.

23 Dow meyduon asawa no madojow no ogkumit to pinangitaan to bana. 24 To ogkagastu no kuwarta to pagkoon ogbobootan to sikan asawa, di ko maaslag on no botang to ogbolihon, sikan asawa kona puli ogboot-boot. 25 Ogsasabutan dan no daduwa sikan no oggastuhan to kuwarta. 26 Na to bana ogkalipay

The One in the Family with Authority to Hold the Money

I will discuss about money in the family and who ought to keep it, but just briefly because Manobos long ago were not yet able to earn lots of money. 2 If perchance there would be corn or rice to be sold, it would be only two pesos for a sack. 3 Now the proceeds for that would be used immediately to buy the basic necessities, then what else was there to keep? 4 The salary of a working person was only one twenty [pesos; P1.20] a day. 5 Now, when a person came home from work, he would have salt and matches to bring home, which he could buy with his salary. 6 In that situation of earning money, one couldn't tell who had the authority of keeping the money and the budgeting of how to spend the money that was earned.

7 When the [logging] companies came, many people were able to work in them. 8 Salary started at four pesos a day until it increased, depending on a person's status. 9 On payday, people here were not the same, for when they received their salary some people would not go home to their wives but proceeded to the gambling and drinking places. 10 When they went home to their wives, they had no more money. 11 The result was a fight. 12 Sometimes these ended up in a couple divorcing. 13 But not all people here were like that. 14 There were those who went home to their wives, turned over their salary and the wife would be the one in charge of buying the food. 15 There are people who are happy to let [their wives] prepare good and filling foods at pay time so their families will be happy. 16 And they are also happy to turn over their earnings to their wives.

17 Nowadays there are still people [only a few anymore] who still don't know that it's the wife's responsibility to keep their earnings because the wife is the family's treasurer. 18 A man who follows that custom, when he receives his salary, he is just the one to buy all that his family needs. 19 Now the wife whose thinking is limited just says, "Okay, as long as I'm not hungry, my needs are bought, there's no problem even if my husband doesn't hand the money over to me."

20 There are also wives who, even if their husband turns the money over to them, they cannot save because they don't know how to make their money last because whatever they see or they like, they buy. 21 That wife is called a spendthrift. 22 Therefore her husband is discouraged about turning over money to her.

23 And there are wives who use their husbands' earnings well. 24 Money to be spent for food is managed by the wife, but if big things are bought, the wife doesn't just decide on her own. 25 The two of them come to an agreement about that money they will spend. 26 Now a

yagboy to sikan no batasan to asawa din, dow ogdugang to pagsalig din to asawa.

27 Meyduon magtiajun no yain to paagi to paggastu to kandan pinangitaan. 28 Pagdata to bana to pinangitaan din diya to asawa din, ogbahinon dan to kuwarta. 29 Og-iling to asawa diya to bana din, "O, ikow seini no bahin. 30 Bobooti sikan ikow su ogbobootan ku seini kanay no bahin." 31 Kani to seini no paagi to paggastu to kuwarta, ko maimu-imu to asawa, ogpakahimun yagboy to kuwarta. 32 Di ko gastadur, na, wada yagboy ogkahipidan inggad tibag da to sintabu.

husband is really happy with that behavior of his wife, and his trust in his wife increases.

27 There are couples with another way of spending their earnings. 28 When the husband turns over to his wife his earnings, they divide the money. 29 The wife says to her husband, "Here, this is your share. 30 You manage yours because I will manage my share." 31 In this way of spending money, if the wife can make her money go a long way, she can really save money. 32 But if she's a spendthrift, well, nothing can be saved, not even half of a centavo.

To Pagpangidam

- 1 "Saling, Ling," migsabi si Tinay. 2 "Ogkuwa kid on."
- 3 "Andei kow man ogdeg?" mig-usip to bana ni Saling ki Tinay.
 - 4 "Ogpanggulay koy," migtabak si Tinay.
- 5 "Kona buwa ogpakaduma si Saling su madoot to yawa din, ogpanggisuka," kagi to sikan bana ni Saling.
 - 6 "Aduy! Ogpangidam on buwa," kagi ni Tinay.
- 7 "Hapit ka naa," kagi ni Biloy, bana ni Saling. 8 "Ogpangidam iyan buwa su kona kandin ogkaliyag ogkoon to humoy, mgo prutas da. 9 Ko ogpayogoson ku ogpakoonon to humoy, iggisuka din da. 10 Inggad no minus da man to prutas kuntoon su kona man no tigbobogas."
- 11 To mgo bana ogpanimboot gajod to pagtuman to ogkaibogan to asawa no ogpangidam su ko kona matuman, na ogkabongkagan.
- 12 "Pila on man no buyan sikan igpangidam nu?" mig-usip si Tinay.
- 13 "Ikaduwa on seini no buyan," migtabak si Saling no mighibat.
- 14 "Yain to diya kanay pagpangidam. 15 Wada pig-ojowan ku no koonon dow wada a panggisuka," kagi ni Tinay. 16 Migtaba a man ngani su ognanaman a man to pagkoon. 17 Di iyan ingkadoot su kona ogpakapanow-panow si Isko [bana ni Tinay] su madoot to ginhawa ku ko ogbengon ku kandin. 18 Gustu ku no ogkitaon ku kanunoy su ogsudu-suduon ku. 19 Indoy, kona man no guwapu si Isko di ogkaliyagan ku man kandin og-ahaahaon. 20 Migsigkon da to diya no pigbati ku no tatoyu on no buyan to gotok ku, ogpitik on kan bata. 21 Na ayha pad hutoy si Isko to pagpanow."

22 Mahan-in to klasi to ogpangidam. 23 Meyduon ogtuguhon no ogpangidam, meyduon kona. 24 Kani to seini naisturya on, si Saling iyan pigtugu no nangidam. 25 To bohi no angod ki Saling ko ogpangidam usahay oggasaan su kona ognanaman to pagkoon. 26 Ko buhi on to bata duon to didayom to gotok ogkagawang on sikan no ogpamation. 27 Mey bata no tatoyu pad no buyan ogkabuhi on, meyduon upat. 28 To kinayugajan no ogkabuhi, lima no buyan.

29 Kagi ni Toyong no nangidam, "Wada a makasabut to diya pigbati ku no ipangidam ku sikan panganoy no bata noy. 30 Ko ogpadani kanay to bana ku og-abugon ku su ogkabohuan a kandin. 31 Ko oglipodong koy ogtalikudan ku kandin su ogkabohuan a iyan. 32 Di su namaan man kandin no ingkaanat to bohi no ogpangidam, kona kandin ogkahiobos. 33 Di songo kadukiloman pigboyong ku to bana ku. 34 Saju a miglipodong. 35 Sikan bana ku naanad on no

Early Pregnancy

- 1 "Saling, Ling," called Tinay. 2 "Let's go."
- 3 "Where are you going?" Saling's husband asked Tinay.
- 4 "We are going to gather vegetables," answered Tinay.
- 5 "Maybe Saling cannot go with you because she is not feeling well, she is vomiting," said Saling's husband.
- 6 "Aduy! [exclamation of amazement] Maybe she is pregnant," said Tinay.
- 7 "Stop by for a minute," said Biloy, the husband of Saling. 8 Maybe she is indeed pregnant because she doesn't want to eat rice, only fruit. 9 If I force her to eat rice she just throws it up. 10 Worse yet, fruit is rare now because it's not fruit season."
- 11 Husbands really try their best to give what the pregnant wife likes because if they can't get it, she will miscarry.
- 12 "How many months is your pregnancy?" asked Tinay.
- 13 "This is the second month," answered Saling, who was lying down.

14 [Tinay speaks] "My pregnancy was different. 15 I didn't reject any food and I did not throw up," said Tinay. 16 Instead I got fat because I had the appetite to eat. 17 But what was bad was that Isko [Tinay's husband] could not go walking because I felt bad if he was out of my sight. 18 I wanted to see him always because I want to look at him. 19 I don't know, Isko is not handsome but I always wanted to look at him. 20 What I felt stopped when my pregnancy was three months, when [I could feel] the child moving. 21 Then Isko was able to go walking."

22 There are many kinds of pregnancy. 23 Some become thin in early stages of pregnancy, and some do not. 24 In this story, Saling became thin in early pregnancy. 25 A pregnant woman like Saling sometimes grows thin because of lack of appetite. 26 When the child/fetus in the abdomen comes to life, what she felt will go away. 27 Some fetuses come to life at three months, some at four. 28 The latest for them to come to life is five months.

29 Toyong, a woman in the early stages of pregnancy said, "I didn't understand what I felt when I was pregnant with our first child. 30 When my husband would come near me I would send him away because he smelled bad to me. 31 When we would sleep I would turn my back to him because I really didn't like his odor. 32 But because he knew that that was the nature of pregnant women, his feelings weren't hurt. 33 But one night my husband was missing. 34 I had gone to sleep early. 35 My husband was used to going to sleep after

To Pagpangidam Early Pregnancy

oghibat da ko ogkatudtud ad. 36 Di no tonga on buwa to kadukiloman wada man nadamdaman ku no mighulid kanay. 37 Migdoot to ginhawa ku aw nakatiyahu a. 38 Migbangun a dow pamanghaa ku kandin.

39 'Seini ka da man naan, nokoy no pig-ojowan a nu man duon to sinabong, nokoy wada kad kahigugma kanay? 40 Ikagi ka su og-uli a diya to ginikanan ku,' migtiyahu a no mig-ikagi.

41 Sikan bana ku no migbubujukut duon to bangku pigpangoyaw-koyawan. 42 Nakabangun kandin dow makapamusa-pusa. 43 'Kona a ogpakasabut ikow. 44 Ko ogpadiyu a ogpamanghaon a nu, ko ogpadani a og-abugon a nu. 45 Siling ka?' di migngisi kandin no mig-ikagi."

46 To bana og-antus iyan ko ogpangidam to asawa di sikan no pag-antus ogbayosan to kalipay ko makita din on to liwat din.

47 Ko ogpangidam to bohi, ig-ojow kandin to mgo manigaon to pagngisi ubin to pagsura to madoot to bayhu no otow su basi musupu to bata. 48 To bana to ogpangidam no bohi kona ogpasangkaon to yugju ko ogpuyuhan su basi tagalihon. 49 Ogkalisodan to asawa din to pag-anak. 50 Ko ogpangidam to bohi, ko ogponhik dow ogpon-ug to hagdan kona ogpasasanggatay. 51 Mupayahus kandin agun no ko muanak, ogdiritsu ogyogwa. 52 Kona kandin ogpatambungon ko meyduon patoy su ko muanak kandin, to bata mayugoy ogpakayogwa su ogkaangod to patoy no kona oghisu, ogpapatoy-patoy.

53 Si Marlyn no nangidam, nalimuutan to mgo sumbayoy su to amu no buhi to sikan sumbayoy din oghilabihon ni Marlyn. 54 Usahay ogdaehan din sikan amu to supas. 55 "Adoy, wadad gaja sikan anak nu no ogsupu to sikan amu," kagi to sikan sumbayoy din. 56 Si Marlyn puli ogngisi.

57 Pag-anak din, bohi to anak din. 58 Matamotamo no bata, madabu to bubue, maitom. 59 Meyduon mgo bubue to mgo bokton dow bitiis din, di duon to kigung-kigung meyduon bubue no natipunuk. 60 Upat on no buyan sikan bata, di to bubue duon to mgo bokton dow bitiis din wada kagawang. 61 Kona hinuun no madabu. 62 Indoy dow ogpakatuu to ogpakabasa to seini no sikan bata pigtagali ubin migsupu to diya amu no oghilabihon to sikan bohi no ipangidam din sikan bata. 63 Jay Ann to ngadan to sikan bata.

64 To bata diya to gotok to inoy ogkatagahan to mananabang ko bohi ubin ko yukos. 65 Ogkamaanan da ko oghajodan on to magkabodos. 66 Ko matagsa dow mayumamoy to hajod, na, bohi kay to bata. 67 Di ko masabid dow maagbot to hajod, na, yukos kay. 68 Sikan to og-indanan to bohi no ogpanagumamhon.

69 Tapus.

I was already sound asleep. 36 But when it was maybe midnight, I groped and no one lay beside me. 37 I felt bad and cried. 38 I got up and looked for him.

39 'So here you are, why did you leave me in the bedroom, what, don't you love me anymore? 40 Say something because I'm going home to my parents,' I said crying.

41 My husband, who was sleeping curled up on the bench, was startled. 42 He got up and rubbed his face. 43 'I can't understand you. 44 If I stay far away you look for me, if I come close you send me away. 45 Is it impossible to please you?' but he laughed as he spoke."

46 A husband suffers when his wife is pregnant but that suffering is exchanged for joy when he sees his offspring.

47 When a woman is in the early stages of pregnancy, the old people forbid her to laugh or to make a comment concerning a person with an ugly face because the child might take after that one. 48 The husband of a pregnant woman is not to thrust a bolo into a piece of wood to make a bolo handle because maybe the baby will have a hard time coming out. 49 His wife will have difficulty delivering. 50 When a woman is pregnant, when she goes up and down stairs she must not delay on the way. 51 She must go directly so that when she labors, the baby will be come out directly. 52 She is not allowed to attend if there is a funeral because when she delivers, the child will take a long time in coming out because it will be like a dead person who does not move, it will act like a dead person.

53 When Marlyn was pregnant, the neighbors were worried because she was fond of the pet monkey of those neighbors. 54 Sometimes she took cookies to that monkey. 55 "*Aduy* [exclamation of fear], your child will surely take after that monkey," said her neighbor. 56 Marlyn just laughed.

57 When the woman gave birth, her child was a girl. 58 She was a pretty baby with thick black hair. 59 There was hair on her arms and legs but at the top of the buttocks there was hair that grew in tufts. 60 The child is four months old now but the hair on her arms and legs is still there. 61 But it's not thick anymore. 62 I don't know if you who read this will believe that the child was fated to became like or resemble the monkey that the woman liked when she was pregnant with the child. 63 Jay Ann is the child's name.

64 A midwife can tell whether the child in the abdomen of the mother is a girl or boy. 65 She can tell when the pregnant woman goes into labor. 66 If the contractions are far apart and mild, the baby is a girl. 67 But if the contractions are frequent and strong, then it is a boy. 68 That is the sign that the midwife looks for.

69 Finished.

The term *tagali* refers to the difficulty a pregnant woman has in delivering a baby because of something she or someone closely associated with her did during pregnancy that imitated a movement of something that is retracted or caused to sink or recede. In this case, the fear is that if her husband thrust a bolo into a piece of wood to make a bolo handle, maybe the baby should have a hard time emerging.

To Ogpalikajan to Magkabodos

1 To bohi no magkabodos angod da to bohi no ogpangidam no meyduon ogpalikajan. 2 Di tapus kud on suyata to bahin to ogpangidam kaling kona kud oghisgutan kani.

3 To magkabodos kona og-ingkud duon to hagdan su ko matimpuhan to pagpanganak din mayugoy ogpakaanak su ogkaangod man to sikan pag-ingkud din duon to hagdan. 4 Ko ogpon-ug ubin ogponhik to hagdan mupadajun agun ogkaangod sikan bata, dajun ogyogwa.

5 Kona ogpanow to magkabodos ko madukilom su kagi to mgo manigaon, "Mahomut to bata duon to gotok to inoy dow to inoy usab." 6 Mailag kun to gotok to bohi no magkabodos. 7 Kaling mapajag no ogkitaon to madoot no ispiritu sikan bata.

8 Ko kinahangyanon man gajod no ogpanow to magkabodos ko madukilom, paeson to buling to gotok din dow pabagkoson usab to buling. 9 Na inggad ipaghitagbu to madoot no ispiritu kona ogkitaon sikan bata.

10 Ko oghibat to magkabodos kona ogyay-ang su mapajag to bata duon to gotok. 11 Kona kandin og-agpot duon to minatoy su ogpapatoy-patoy sikan bata ko oghajod kandin. 12 Agun kona kandin tagalihon to sikan patoy, mupudut kandin to binasbas to yungun dow pangatuyub.

13 Wadad.

What Pregnant Women Must Avoid

1 A woman [in later] pregnancy is like a woman in the early stages of pregnancy who is to avoid certain things. 2 But I have already written about early pregnancy so I will not discuss it here.

3 A pregnant woman must not sit on a stairway because when the time comes for her to give birth she will be long in delivering because it will be like her sitting on the stairway. 4 If she goes up or down stairs she must proceed directly so the child will be like that, coming out at once.

5 A pregnant woman must not go out at night because the old folks say, "A child in its mother's womb smells good and also the mother." 6 It is said that the abdomen of a pregnant woman is transparent. 7 Therefore evil spirits can clearly see the baby.

8 If it is really necessary for a pregnant woman to go out at night, her abdomen must be smeared with soot and also she must tie a piece of partially burnt wood around her waist. 9 Then even if she meets an evil spirit the baby will not be seen.

10 When a pregnant woman lies down she must not lie on her back because the child in the abdomen will be clearly seen. 11 She must not attend where there is a dead person because the baby will act like dead when she is in labor. 12 In order that she will not take on the characteristics of the dead person, she must get wood shavings from the coffin and burn them and let the smoke from the fire waft over her.

13 No more.

To Pag-anak

1 To Manubu no bohi, ko oghajodan, kona kandin ogyaba su pigtuuhan nov no mgo Manubu no ko ogkatagahan to bohi ko bag-u pad oghajodan, ogkaduya. 2 Ko ogsokot on to hajod, to bana ogdokat to ogpanagumamhon. 3 Pag-abut to sikan ogpanagumamhon, oghiluton din sikan bohi no oghajodan agun maaha dow maajun sikan bata. 4 Tapus to sikan, ogpainomon din to tagaemu, dow og-atuyuban din to ogbasbason no kaju duon to habangan su basi ko toongan. 5 Kaling to ogpangidam dow to magkabodos no mgo bohi kona og-ingkud duon to habangan su ogkaangod to sikan to bata no ig-anak, kona dajun ogpakagawas. 6 Og-ilingon sikan to ogtagalihon. 7 Ko mupon-ug dow muponhik to hagdan kona ogpasanggat duon to tonga-tonga, mupadiritsu gajod agun ogkaangod to bata ko ianak, ogpakagawas dajun.

8 Ko konad ogpagsimbuton to hajod, ogkasabut to sikan ogpanagumamhon no madani on ig-anak to bata. 9 Ogpag-untudon din to uy-an duon to binukyad no hikam dow igpahikot din to pisi duon to yongod to oghibatan to sikan bohi. 10 Sikan pisi ogpangumbitajan to sikan bohi ko ogdukyuy sikan bata. 11 Ko ogdukyuy to bata ogpakainogod sikan inoy.

12 Ogpahibaton sikan bohi dow sikan manugamhonay duon og-ingkud to sikadan to sikan og-anak dow meyduon og-ingkud duon to takidingan su ogdoon. 13 Ko ahaon to sikan nanikadan no ogyogwa on to uyu to bata, ogsugu kandin no igpadoon. 14 Na dajun ogyogwa to bata.

15 Pagkaotow to bata iyan una no og-atindihan to inoy agun ogyogwa to inuenan. 16 Tapus to sikan, mey ogpakoon to sikan bag-u anak. 17 Sikan ogpanagumamhon iyan og-aligrahon din sikan bata. 18 Ogtampodon din to pusod to sikan bata to bal-is no oghinaaton to sikan bana. 19 To wohig no igdigus to sikan bata ogyunudan to saepi no diplata no igpanyajag. 20 Tapus to pagdigus, sikan bata ogtongason to yampin dow patahaja. 21 Pagtahay to sikan, ogdiguson to yana agun kona og-ugudon. 22 Pagbotang to kan bata duon to takidingan to inoy,

Childbirth

1 A Manobo woman, when she goes into labor, won't make a sound because we Manobos believe that if it becomes known that a woman is going into labor, the motion of the child inside will be hindered. 2 When the contractions become successive, the husband fetches a traditional midwife¹ to help. 3 When the midwife arrives, she examines the laboring woman to see if the baby is in the right position. 4 After that, she makes the woman drink tagaemu medicine,² and she burns a smoothed piece of wood in the doorway [and lets the smoke waft over the pregnant woman] so that the baby's head will not get stuck in the birth passage.³ 5 That's why early or late stage pregnant women⁴ must not sit in the doorway because the child to be born will be like that, [and] it will not come out quickly. 6 That's called ogtagalihon [that is, to be affected by what the mother had done while pregnant]. 7 When she goes up or down stairs she must not stop halfway, she must go directly so her child won't be like that when it's born, [and] it will come out quickly.

8 When the contractions start coming in short intervals, the midwife understands that the child will soon be born. 9 She piles the pillows on a spread mat and has someone tie a rope above the place where the woman is lying. 10 The woman holds the rope when she feels the child pushing itself to be delivered. 11 When the child pushes itself, the mother pushes.

12 The woman is caused to lie down and the midwife sits near her feet and someone sits at the side of the woman to help press down and push on the woman's abdomen. 13 When the one sitting by her feet sees that the head of the child is emerging, she will command the other person to press down and push. 14 Then the child comes out.

15 When the child is born, the first one to be attended to is the mother so the placenta will come out. 16 After that, someone will feed the one who just delivered. 17 The midwife is the one who cares for the child. 18 She cuts the umbilical cord of the child with a sharpened bamboo prepared by the husband. 19 Into the water for bathing the child, a silver coin is dropped to counteract the dimness of sight condition.⁵ 20 After bathing, the child is wrapped in a diaper and is dried off. 21 After he/she is dry, he/she is bathed with coconut oil so he/she will not be afflicted by

These women who have filled the traditional role of assisting in childbirth are often called midwives but they do not have the formal training of midwives who are barangay health workers.

The tagaemu medicine is given to make the birth easier. See the full essay on this topic entitled, Tagaemu [II. Cultural: Family, p.39].

They believe that the baby might not be born because the mother might have sat in a passageway [perhaps a doorway or stairway] in early pregnancy. This is an imitative ritual practice.

⁴ According to the author, it is in the early stage of pregnancy that this is more of a problem.

⁵ It is traditionally believed that having seen the placenta will cause dimness of sight to the midwife. So to annul the effect, a shiny silver coin is used.

To Pag-anak Childbirth

oghulidan to tangtang agun kona no matiyahu su ugsa man kan tangtang kona man ogtiyahu.

23 To bata kona ogpaduduon to inoy ko kona pad mapainom to gita to dohun to amargusu agun ogkaindos tibo to kinoon din no diya pad to gotok to inoy. 24 Su ko kona matibo maindos sikan kinoon, bensakiton sikan no bata, kanunoy ogsakitan to gotok.

25 To inoy kona ogpakoonon to hilabi maasin su ogyobag to anakan. 26 Kona ogpakainom to mahagsi no wohig. 27 Talimoghat to igpainom sed to songo buyan.

28 Ko ogdoson on to inoy, ogdiguson kandin to sikan nanugamhon kandin. 29 To pagyamon to sikan nanugamhon igdongan to pagpadigus to sikan mig-anak. 30 To bana to sikan mig-anak oghimatoy to babuy dow ogpakoonon sikan nanugumamhon dow bogaji to kuwarta. 31 Yamon to igngadan to sikan.

32 Wadad.

an itchy skin disease. 22 When the child is placed beside the mother, a bamboo lime container will be placed beside the baby so that he/she will not always cry because a bamboo lime container does not cry.⁶

23 The child is not nursed by the mother until that child has been caused to drink juice made from ampalaya [leaves] so that everything he/she ate while in the mother's womb will be passed. 24 Because if that which he/she ate is not passed, the child will be sickly and will always suffer from stomach problems.

25 The mother is not allowed to eat very salty foods because it would cause the uterus to swell. 26 She is not allowed to drink cold water. 27 For one month she is caused to drink *talimoghat.*⁷

28 When the mother is strong, the midwife will bathe her. 29 The midwife is paid at the same time when the new mother takes her bath. 30 The husband of the one who just gave birth will kill a pig and make a special meal for the midwife and will give her money. 31 That meal is called *yamon*.

32 That's all.

This, like the procedure described in sentence 4, is an imitative ritual practice.

This is a drink that prevents new mothers from getting sick. See the essay entitled *Talimoghat* that describes this beverage (VIII. Herbal Remedies, p. 123).

Tagaemu

Tagaemu to Amu

1 Talip seini to kaju. 2 Sumaya to mgo managumamhonay no nakatagon to seini no tagaemu, mayomu to pag-anak to bohi no ogpanaekod aw ogpanginom to tagaemu to amu su ogkaangod to amu no inggad wada ogpanagumamhon puli ogyogwa to anak din ko ogkatimpuhan on to pagpanganak din. 3 To amu angod da kun to bohi ko og-anak no ogpangeyhoy di madali da yagboy ogpakaanak tongod to tagaemu din.

4 Meyduon kun otow no nanganup no nakasilib to amu no magkabodos no pighajodan. 5 Pigsaepan din seini aw naaha din no migpa-pa to talip to kaju no pigguas din. 6 Naaha din to pag-anak to amu kaling nasabut din no tagaemu sikan. 7 Paglikat din to pagpanganup, migsayu sikandin to sikan kaju. 8 Sikan on to tagaemu. 9 Ojow pa usab to mgo managumamhonay, to bohi no ogkatogob on to tagaemu, inggad konad managaemu ko manganak manda sikandin, ogkayomuhan gihapun sikandin to pag-anak.

Tagaemu to Kasili

10 Batu seini no ogkakitaan duon to unud to kasili. 11 To bohi no og-anak, ko matagaemuhan to tagaemu to kasili ogkayomuhan to pag-anak. 12 Ighasa sikan batu duon to limpyu no wohig aw ipainom to bohi no oghajodan. 13 Ojow pa to mgo managumamhonay, ogkayomuhan to bohi to pag-anak su to bata ogkaangod to kayandog to kasili aw ogpakayawang duon to inggad malig-ot no yugi.

14 Seini no batu og-antihan to mgo managumamhonay dow igkatagaemu. 15 Ogpoga sikandan to suwa aw duon to gita to seini igbotang sikan batu. 16 Na ko yumanguy seini [batu] duon to gita to suwa, igkatagaemu seini. 17 Di ko kona seini muhisu, puli iyan batu na kona seini ogpuyus.

18 Ko siam on no buyan to igkabodos to bohi, ogpataekodon on to seini tagaemu su ko madiyu pad to aanakay din no makapanagaemu on, ogpakayajas sikandin ogpakaanak.

Potion/Amulet to Ease Childbirth

'Monkey' *Tagaemu*¹ [Childbirtheasing Potion or Amulet]

1 This is the bark of a tree. 2 According to traditional midwives² who have this *tagaemu*, women who tie a *tagaemu* around their waists and also drink a concoction with this in it have an easier time in giving birth because it's like a monkey whose baby just comes out even though there is no one assisting when it's her time to give birth. 3 They say a monkey is just like a woman, moaning when it gives birth, but it is able to give birth very fast because of its *tagaemu*.

4 They say there was a person out hunting who peeked at a pregnant monkey in labor. 5 He observed her and saw that she chewed the bark of a tree that she bit off. 6 He saw the delivery of the monkey, so he understood that it was for *tagaemu*. 7 When he left to go hunting, he stripped the bark from that tree. 8 That is now *tagaemu*. 9 Also according to midwives, a woman who is full of *tagaemu* will give birth easily when she gives birth again, even if she doesn't take the potion again.

'Eel' *Tagaemu* [Childbirtheasing Potion or Amulet]

10 This is a stone that is found in the flesh of an eel. 11 A woman giving birth, if she is treated with the *tagaemu* [childbirth-easing potion or amulet] that comes from an eel, will have an easier time in giving birth. 12 That stone is filed into clean water and given to drink to a woman in labor. 13 According to traditional midwives, a woman [who drinks this] will have an easier time in giving birth because the child will be as slippery as an eel and can pass through even a small hole.

14 This stone is tested by a midwife to see whether it can serve as a *tagaemu*. 15 They squeeze a sour citrus fruit and in its juice they place that stone. 16 Then if the stone swims in that fruit juice, it can be used as a *tagaemu*. 17 But if it doesn't move, it's just a stone and is useless.

18 When it's the ninth month of a woman's pregnancy, this *tagaemu* should be tied around her waist, because if she takes it long before she is due, she will give birth prematurely.

¹ Since the term *tagaemu* is a difficult term to translate due to its different signification in different contexts, each occurrence in the Manobo text will be translated with the Manobo term *tagaemu* followed, if necessary, by a bracketed description of its contextual connotation.

These women who have filled the traditional role of assisting in childbirth are often called midwives but they do not have the formal training of midwives who are barangay health workers.

Pag-atiman aw Pagmansu to mgo Bata no Manubu

1 Meyduon mgo batasan to mgo Manubu no nanawnangon on. 2 Saboka to seini, to batasan to pagminyo. 3 Kinaiya no ko ogkaminyo to bohi dow yukos, meyduon ogkahimu no bogas to gugma dan, to mgo kabataan. 4 Kuntoon, ignawnangon ku iyu to batasan to pag-atiman aw pagmansu to bata.

5 Ko ogpanganak to bohi notoduon, mayugoy on to tatoyu no aedow ko kona pad oglihok seini. 6 Iyan on oglaba to yampin, ogson-ad to koonon, aw ko ogkabusan on to pagkoon og-andiya to kamutihan aw pangamuti. 7 Kona seini ogkaboghat su ogpanginom to talimoghat no tagaguyangan likat to pagpanganak hantod to songo buyan. 8 Mgo pubri iyan to mgo otow notoduon piru to paghigugma dan angod da to gugma no ogbation to mgo otow no mgo sapian. 9 To mgo bana og-atiman usab to asawa yabi pad iyan ko ogpanganak. 10 Mgo pagsoda, angod to babuy no kadlaganon, ubud, mgo taga-wohig no soda ogdiwiton to bana. 11 Seini to ogpakatabang to pagpadoson to manggianak. 12 Kona no angod kuntoon no madogi on to bitamina no ogtumaron to mgo otow no ogpakabogoy to doson to otow.

13 To mgo bohi notoduon ko ogpanganak wada yampin no binoli diya to tindahan, wada ogkitaan nu no mgo ginamiton angod to bigkis [tinabas no panapton no igbogkot to pusod to bata], pulbus, tikitiki, aw duma pad no mgo binag-u no ginamiton to manggianak. 14 Pagkayogwa to bata ogtampodan to pusod, pagkatapus puli igpabudad. 15 Konad on ogbogkoton to pusod, puli on seini ogtongoson to gunit aw padudua.

16 Songo simana likat to pag-anak to bata ighayad dan kandin diya to mgo diwata dan. 17 Oghinang to amoy to saekat aw pudut to menhow, sabilow [bagnot no kona oghanos inggad ogbitadon]. 18 Oghinang usab kandan to batabata no iyan oggamiton to padow [bagnot no angod to hupi] aw daduwa no buuk to tugsuk no tag-upat no yumpu aw sobuuk to manuk. 19 Ko bohi to bata, umagak no manuk to oggamiton, piru ko yukos to bata yumansad no manuk to oggamiton. 20 Ko tibo on seini mahimun, ogpahibaton to bata duon to dani to saekat no pigbotangan to nasosoy on no oggamiton to paghayad to bata. 21 To manuk ighikot duon to dibayoy to saekat agun makitaan to mgo diwata.

22 Duon, to diwatahan ogsugud to panawag-tawag ginamit to bagtingan. 23 Pagyonaid on to diwatahan, to bata ighayad to ginikanan. 24 Oghimatadan to manuk, aw kinurusi to yangosa to manuk to goda to bata.

The Nurture and Discipline of Manobo Children

1 There are customs of the Manobos that have already been told. 2 One of these is the custom of marriage. 3 Naturally when a man and a woman marry there will be the fruit of their love, children. 4 Now I will tell you about the customs of child care and discipline.

5 When a woman bore a child in the past, three days would be a long time for her not to be up and around. 6 She was the one who washed the diapers, cooked food, and when she came short of food, she went to the sweet potato field and dug sweet potatoes. 7 She would not have a relapse because she took some medicine from the forest from the time she gave birth until one month. 8 People before were poor, but their love was just like love that is felt by rich people. 9 The husbands cared for their wives, especially when they gave birth. 10 Viands like wild pigs, bud of a palm or banana, and viands taken from the river would be brought up by the husband. 11 These would help strengthen the mother who had newly delivered the baby. 12 It was not like nowadays when there are many vitamins that people take that can give strength to humans.

13 In the past when a woman gave birth she had no diapers bought in the store, you could not find anything to be used such as *bigkis* [a piece of cloth used to bind the navel of the child], powder, vitamin syrup, and other modern things used by the mother of the baby. 14 When the child was born, the navel was cut and left bare. 15 They did not bind the navel, but just wrapped him in rags and fed him on the mother's breast.

16 One week after the baby is born they will dedicate him to their guardian spirit. 17 The father will make a *saekat* [that is, two loosely woven platforms made of bamboo, one suspended above the other] and get a young yellow coconut twig, *sabilow* [a grass that does not wilt even when hung]. 18 They also make a doll, using *padow*¹ [a taro-like herb], two sharpened bamboo sticks, each four inches long, and one chicken. 19 If the child is a girl, a hen is to be used, and if the child is a boy, a rooster is to be used. 20 When all of these are gathered, the baby is laid near the *saekat* where the said things to be used for the dedication are placed. 21 The chicken is tied beside the *saekat* to be seen by the guardian spirit.

22 There with the use of a bell the spirit medium begins calling for the spirit. 23 When the medium is possessed by the spirit, the parents will dedicate the child. 24 The chicken will be killed and with the use of

padow: an alternative spelling and pronunciation for pajow. In the La Paz and San Luis dialects of Agusan Manobo, j becomes d. The author originally used the d in her writings but then adapted to the j, which is used in the wider area.

25 Tapus to seini, ogyutuon to manuk aw ogson-ad usab to humoy. 26 Ko tibo on seini mayutu, ogbotang to songo platu no koonon aw songo platu no yutu no karni to manuk aw iuntud duon to saekat. 27 Dadun ogbagtingon to bagtingan agun ogduguk to Tagun-unon [ngadan to diwata no pighayadan to bata] duon to intaephag no koonon dow soda. 28 Samtang oggigilaung sikandan ogpuduton to diwatahan to pighinang no batabata aw payay-anga aw sungita to koonon dow yutu no manuk aw pudut usab to daduwa no tugsuk duon to gotok to batabata.

29 To koonon no insungit to batabata agun inggad nokoy to ogkoonon to bata, kona ogsakitan to gotok. 30 To tugsuk agun to sakitan to bata to gotok, duon ogpagkadeg to batabata. 31 To sabilow, to bata kona no madali ogyotoy. 32 To menhow adurnu to saekat. 33 Tapus to seini tibo sikan nahingadanan no botang no piggamit to paghayad to bata igbotang duon to saekat aw bitada diya to gawas to bayoy.

34 To pagsugud to bata to pagkoon, ogtagadon ko og-agow on seini to koonon na sikan on to timpu no ogpakoonon on to bata. 35 Ko nokoy to ogkoonon to inoy iyan usab igsungit to anak. 36 Ko ogdiguson to bata kona no sabun to oggamiton, ogpudut to inoy to dohun to sambong. 37 Kusuha seini aw edi duon to wohig aw idigus to bata. 38 To bata kona no kanunoy diya to sed to bayoy aw kona no kanunoy ogtongoson su odow dan pa: 39 ko kanunoy oglimpoton to bata, pagpakagawas to seini madali ogkasakit su kanunoy man mayombu to kindae dan. 40 Piru ko kanunoy ogpakagawas, to kindae din ogguyang aw ogpakasugakod on kandan to mgo sakit. 41 Kaling man notoduon matagsa ka da ogpakakita to mgo bata no ogpangabo su naanad on man seini, ogtiyahu on ko ogkaboan.

42 Ko ogkunanap on to bata, to inoy ogkapakut on. 43 Konad ogpakahinang to mgo hinangonon. 44 Kona din ogkaodowan to bata diya to bayoy su basi ko mauyug. 45 Agun makatrabahu sikandin, oghikotan to bata duon to kobong aw ihikot duon to kabaknaan to bayoy, dadun odowi.

46 To Manubu no ginikanan ogsugud to pagmansu to bata ko sikandin ogpakasabut on. 47 Ko ogpakasadop to bata, kona din dadun ogkastiguhon to bata. 48 Ogpasabuton pad to bata no madoot to nahinang din. 49 Piru ko ogpakiyaya to bata to pag-atu, ogpadadun to paghinang to madoot, siguradu no ogkastiguhon sikandin to amoy.

50 Piru matagsa da seini ogkahitabu. 51 To mgo bata notoduon matinahudon yabi to mgo bata to diwatahan. 52 Ogkahaedok oghinang to saya su ko hinangon dan sei meyduon sakup to pamiliya no ogkasakit. 53 To diwata ogbulig usab to pagmansu to kabataan. 54 Seini no diwata iyan ngadan to manguldinay.

55 To kapubri nakabulig usab to pagmansu to kabataan. 56 Ko og-idad on to bata to sampuyu no tuig

the blood a cross will be made on the forehead of the child. 25 After this the chicken and rice will be cooked. 26 When everything is cooked a plate of food and cooked chicken meat are placed on top of the *saekat*. 27 Then they ring the bell so that the *tagun-unon* [the name of the spirit to whom the child is dedicated] will come to the offered food and viand. 28 While they are conversing, the spirit medium takes the doll and lays it on its back and places a bite of rice and viand in the mouth, takes the two sharpened bamboo sticks and pierces them into the stomach of the doll.

29 The bite of food given to the doll is used so that whatever the child eats will not cause stomach pain. 30 The bamboo sticks are used so that if a stomach ache attacks it will not go to the child but to the doll. 31 The *sabilow* is used so that the child will not be easily weakened. 32 The coconut twig [is used as] a decoration of the *saekat*. 33 After this, all the things mentioned that are used in the dedication of the child are placed in the *saekat* and it is hung outside the house.

34 The baby's beginning to eat would wait until he snatches some food, then that would be the time for him to eat. 35 Whatever the mother ate was to be eaten by the child. 36 When the baby was bathed, soap was not used, the mother would take *sambong* leaves [an herb]. 37 She would soak this in the water and bathe the baby. 38 The child was not to be confined in the house and not always to be wrapped, because they say: 39 if the child was always confined in a place where there was no abundance of air and sunshine, once he was exposed he would easily get sick. 40 But a child who was always exposed, his skin would be matured and he could resist disease. 41 That is why you could seldom find children wearing clothes because they were already used to this, they cried if clothed.

42 When the child was at the stage of crawling, the mother was restricted. 43 She could no longer do her work. 44 She couldn't leave the child in the house for fear that the baby might fall. 45 So that she could do her work, she tied the baby's feet and tied him in the middle of the house, then left him.

46 The Manobo parents begin to discipline their child when the child is able to understand. 47 If the child commits a mistake, he will not directly punish him. 48 He has to understand that what he had done is wrong. 49 But if the child shows that he is against the discipline of his father and continues his wrongdoing, the father will surely punish him.

50 But this seldom happens. 51 The children of long ago were respectful, especially the children of the spirit mediums. 52 They were afraid to sin because if they did, a member of the family would get sick. 53 The spirit would discipline the children. 54 This spirit is named *manguldinay*.

55 Poverty also helped in the discipline of the children. 56 When a child attained the age of ten years

Pag-atiman aw Pagmansu to mgo Bata no Manubu

The Nurture and Discipline of Manobo Children

meyduon kandin kaugalingon no yugdu. 57 Ogbulig on to pagpanguma aw to pagpanginsoda. 58 Kona sikandan ogkaliyag og-iskuwela.

59 Kuntoon, meyduon on mgo Manubu no idukadu. 60 Meyduon on mgo pastur, mgo maistru, mahan-in on to migtrabahu duon to mgo upisina to kumpaniya aw duon to upisina to gubirnu. 61 Piru hantod kuntoon meyduon pad migpabilin no batasan no Minanubu.

he would have his own bolo. 57 He helped in farming and seeking for viand. 58 The children did not like to go to school.

59 Now, there are educated Manobos. 60 There are pastors, teachers, many are working in company offices and government offices. 61 But even now there are still Manobos who remain exercising the Manobo customs.

Pagduwoy

1 To pagduwajan nokani dow kuntoon maaslag hilabi to kayainan. 2 Nokani, iyan minus no ogduduwoy to tatoyu no ka bohi iyan kadogihan to lima, di wada ogdinogon no ogbubuyow-buyow to sikan ogduduwoy. 3 Indoy, ingkaanat buwa to yukos [kona no tibo] no ogkaliyag pad to duma no bohi inggad mey on asawa din. 4 Su kuntoon, ko kona makaduwoy to yukos, ogpanghonay. 5 Pagkamaan to asawa no mey honay to bana din, ogkagubut sikan no pamilya dow usahay ogsangko to pagbibiya to magtiajun. 6 Ko kona mubibiya meyduon madoot no ogkahitabu. 7 Angod to diya naisturya.

8 Meyduon bohi no manohiay no nanghonay to bana din. 9 Sigi on kandin naisturyahan to mgo ajo din to hinang to sikan bana din. 10 Wada sikandin tuu hangtod no namatahan din yagboy to hinang to sikan bana din, di wada kandin pasabut no namaanan din on to hinang din.

11 Songo kadukiloman nakauli da sikan bana no maguyang on no kaadlawon. 12 Pag-usip to sikan asawa dow nokoy no sikan on no uras to pag-uli din, iyan balibad din no mig-ubertaym kandin to pagtrabahu su trabananti kandin duon to lagpan to kumpaniya to panurusu. 13 "Basi mig-ubertaym ka to paglipay-lipay dow to honay nu." 14 Sikan no kaadlawon nasamuk sikandan su pigpanumbag on man sikan asawa.

15 Sikan asawa, man no mey man trabahu din no ogkabuhian din aedow-aedow, migpadajun kandin to pagpanohi. 16 Sikan bana din kona din on ogsagimanuhon muuli ko kona. 17 Di ko igsayoy og-uli sikan bana ogdejawon din og-aligrahon. 18 Di ko topongan pa, migpang-awas-awas on to pagdomot din. 19 Sikan bana migtukhow su ogpakapatujang kandin to hinang din. 20 Migpadajun to kalihokan to sikan bana dow migpadajun usab to kalihokan to sikan asawa. 21 Anoy kay no wadad kaaguwanta to sikan asawa to kadoot to ginhawa din, pag-uli to sikan bana su og-ilis to kabo, pagbajow to bokton din su ogsul-ub to kabo no isuksuk to sikan asawa to tatabasay din no gunting duon to ilok to sikan bana din. 22 Paghukbut din to sikan gunting migdagawas to yangosa to sikan yukos dow duon da kandin kayumbuk to dani to makina to sikan bohi. 23 Wada man makayama sikan yukos su migtohi man sikan bohi no isul-ub din podom to kabo din.

24 Ogpaulion ku to pagduwajan nokani. 25 To bana, ko ogpangaliyag kandin to duma no bohi, ogdedejawon din ogbaidon to asawa din. 26 Na ko ogkasasabut on kandan, sikan asawa mismu to ogpanggilaung to

Taking Another Wife

1 Taking another wife long ago and nowadays is very different. 2 Long ago, the least number of co-wives was three and the maximum was five, but you did not hear quarreling among those wives. 3 I don't know, maybe it's the nature of a man [not all] to still want other women even though he already has a wife. 4 Because today, if a man cannot have more than one wife, he takes a mistress. 5 When the wife finds out that her husband has a mistress, the family is in trouble and sometimes the couple will end up separating. 2 6 If they don't separate something bad will happen. 7 Like the story that was told.

8 There was a seamstress whose husband took a mistress. 9 Her friends kept telling her what her husband was doing. 10 She didn't believe it until she saw with her own eyes what her husband was doing, but she didn't let on that she knew what he was doing.

11 One night the husband came home in the wee hours of the morning [1:00 am or 2:00 am]. 12 When the wife asked why he came home at that hour, his excuse was that he had to work overtime because he was a worker at the logpond of the logging company. 13 "Maybe you worked overtime having a good time with your mistress." 14 At that wee hour of the morning they had trouble because the husband hit his wife with his fist.

15 The wife, since she had work to furnish her livelihood every day, she continued to sew. 16 She didn't pay attention to whether her husband came home or not. 17 But if her husband came home she attended to him nicely. 18 But if we compare it to a measuring thing, her hatred was overflowing. 19 The husband rejoiced because he was free to do what he wanted to do. 20 The husband continued his activities and the wife also continued her activities. 21 And when the wife could not stand her bad feelings anymore, when the husband came home to change his clothes, when he raised his arms to put on his shirt, the wife thrust her sewing scissors into her husband's armpit. 22 When she withdrew the scissors, the blood of the man flowed out forcefully and he just collapsed near the wife's sewing machine. 23 The man hadn't been wary because the woman was sewing when he went to put on his shirt.

24 I will return to the taking of another wife long ago. 25 The husband, if he liked another woman, he would properly ask permission of his wife. 26 And if they came to an agreement, the wife herself would be

Some had only one wife. The author estimates that 40% or so had multiple wives. In 1920 or so the practice was still common, by 1950, seldom.

² This separation is not in the legal sense. They would remarry.

Pagduwoy Taking Another Wife

sikan og-asawahon to bana din. 27 Na sikan bohi no og-asawahon madali oghugun su ogkailing to ginhawa din no naujunan to sikan asawa to kagustuhon to sikan bana din.

28 Inggad pila sikandan no ogduduwoy, sikan una no asawa iyan gajod ogpahuyopit to sikan bana dan. 29 Sikandin to ogdumaya to sikan mgo duwoy din. 30 Sikandin to og-apug to mgo saka to bana dan dow duon sikandin to takidingan to sikan bana no ogpaggilaung to saka. 31 To mgo duwoy din iyan oglihok to pighikay to igbana to mgo saka dow to duma pad no mgo lihokonon duon to bayoy. 32 Diya to uma, sikan mgo duwoy iyan ogkaasuk to trabahu. 33 To pagdiwit to mgo pagkoon diya to bayoy, sikan mgo duwoy to ogtrabahu to sikan. 34 Ko ogkamanggianak to saboka no duwoy, to una no asawa iyan ogtamong to mgo bata agun oghutoy to inoy dan to pagtrabahu. 35 Wada gajod trabahu to sikan una no asawa, puli oghonatan to pagkoon. 36 Sikan to og-ilingon to hinonatan dow sinibogan. 37 Ko meyduon mgo karojawan no ogkapangitaan to bana, sikan una no asawa iyan ogbahin to sikan diya to mgo duwoy din. 38 Usahay meyduon asawa no ogkaduwajan no hangae. 39 Og-apihan din to mgo duwoy din ko mey mgo karojawan no igdata kandin to bana.

40 Meyduon migduduwoy no namaanan ku no yagboy migmamarojow. 41 Daduwa da kandan no migduduwoy. 42 Sikan una no asawa wada panganak, sikan da ikaduwa. 43 Marojow to batasan to sikan una no asawa. 44 Ogdejawon din to pag-atindi to mgo anak to sikan duwoy din. 45 Na sikan duwoy ogkalipay tongod to marojow no pagdaya kandin to sikan una no asawa. 46 Ogtahudon din dow kona din ogpatrabahuon, sikandin da to oglihok to tibo mgo hinangonon duon to bayoy dow diya to uma. 47 Ko meyduon ogkapangitaan to sikan bana, wada og-apihan to sikan migduduwoy, nasi no ko ogdatahan sikan una no asawa to mangkarojow, ogpayabihon din sikan nahudi. 48 Marojow to bohi no ogpakaduwoy to marojow to batasan su kona kandin og-asukon to trabahu. 49 Di makayuyuuy to diya ogpakaduwoy to madoot to batasan su og-asukon gajod kandin.

50 Tapus.

the one to arrange the marriage proposal to that one the husband wanted to marry. 27 The prospective bride would easily consent because she senses that the wife agreed to the desire of her husband.

28 No matter how many were the multiple wives, the first wife was really the one close to their husband. 29 She was the one to manage her co-wives. 30 She was the one to serve betel chew to the visitors of their husband and she was the one beside the husband in conversing with visitors. 31 Her co-wives were the ones to work in preparing special food for the visitors and the other work to be done in the house. 32 In the fields, the co-wives [not the first wife] were the ones to be burdened with the work. 33 In bringing the food to the house, the co-wives were the ones to do it. 34 If one of the co-wives had a baby, the first wife was the one to care for the child so its mother would be free to work. 35 The first wife didn't have any work at all, she would just be served food. 36 That was called "be served and then withdraw."3 37 If the husband could earn good things, the first wife was the one to divide it among her co-wives. 38 Sometimes there was a wife that was selfish toward her co-wife. 39 She would keep the best for herself, giving little to her co-wives when the husband would hand over something to her.

40 I knew of a set of co-wives that were very good to each other. 41 They were just two co-wives. 42 The first wife didn't have children, only the second. 43 The first wife was well behaved. 44 She took good care of the children of her co-wife. 45 And the second wife was happy because of the first wife's treatment of her. 46 She respected her and would not let her work, she was the only one to work at the jobs around the house and in the field. 47 When the husband earned something, neither of the co-wives received less, instead if he handed the first wife something good, she would give more to the second. 48 Good for the woman who happens to be taken as a second wife to a first wife who is well-behaved because she will not be burdened with work. 49 But pity for those who are taken as a second wife to a bad-behaved first wife because she will surely be burdened with work.

50 Finished.

This is similar to the expression, "Eat and run." That is, she didn't have to help with preparation or cleaning up.

Mgo Sambag to Ginikanan

1 To mgo ginikanan notoduon og-anad-anad to mgo anak to panahon no ogpanrojow-rojow to ginhawa. 2 Kanunoy dan ig-anad to pagtahud to mgo manigaon, to kona pagpangawat aw to pagpakabakas. 3 Su ojow dan pa, ko igkayoy ta to bokton ta, ogkabontasan ki yabi ko mahan-in on to buhionon ta.

4 To mgo bata kanunoy inanad to pagsunud to mgo hinang to amoy, angod to pagpanguma, pagpanginsoda, aw to duma pad no mgo hinang no ogkabuhian to otow.

5 Panahon to madukilom, ogsugilon to amoy to mgo sugilonon no kinaraan aw ogkalipay to mgo bata, yabi to mgo sugilon no madoot to sinugdanan di ko ogpanongatonga on to sugilon marojow on no oggpaminogon. 6 Inggad ogkalilipodong on to mgo bata, ogkalingawan dan to lipodongonon dan.

7 Og-anadon usab to mgo bata no kona sikandan og-atu to inoy su sikandin to pigyudusan to mgo anak. 8 Ko kona pa no tongod to inoy kona ogpakaaha to mgo bata to kaawang.

9 To mgo bata notoduon, ko meyduon saka to amoy dan, diya da to sinabong og-ugpa su inanad to amoy no ko meyduon saka kona sikandan ogsamuk-samuk. 10 To diya maintok a pad no bata, ko meyduon mgo otow diya to bayoy noy, puli a da ogyongyongan to amoy ku ogpakasabut ad no igpahipos to mgo hadi ku. 11 Kona koy ogpapaminogon to oggigilaungan to mgo manigaon.

Parental Advice

1 In the past, parents would teach their children whenever they felt the time was best. 2 They would teach their children to respect their elders, not to steal, and to be industrious. 3 Because, according to them, if we are lazy [lit. if we just hang our arms] we will be hungry, especially if we have many who are dependent on us.

4 Children are always taught to imitate the activities of their fathers as they do things like farming, fishing, and other aspects of their livelihood.

5 At night, fathers will make their children happy by telling them stories, especially stories that are not too interesting at the beginning but become more and more interesting as the story unfolds. 6 Even if the children were sleepy before they would become wide awake.

7 Children were also taught not to talk back to their mothers because they were the ones who gave them life [lit. because she was the one from whence they came]. 8 Were it not for their mothers, their children would have never have been born [lit. would never have seen light].

9 Children in former times would stay in their rooms when their fathers entertained visitors because their fathers had taught them that whenever they were had company the children must not make noise. 10 When I was a small child, my father had only to look at me for me to understand that I was to take care of my younger siblings. 11 We were not allowed to listen to the conversations of our elders.

To Pagbibiya to Magtiajun

1 To diya una pad yagboy no panahon, to Manubu no ogminyo puli ogsasabutan to mgo ginikanan to bohi dow yukos. 2 Wada mgo kalig-onan to kaminyoon dow wada sikan og-ilingon kuntoon to kasal. 3 Iyan tagibayuy kalig-onan sikan og-ilingon to "ogpagsayuhon." 4 Angod to nasuyat kud seini diya to duma no mgo sinuyat ku, di og-isabon ku oghisgutan kani.

5 Tapus to kumbiti, to pigpangasawa ogganasan dow ogpagsayuhon dow sikan nangasawa. 6 Og-ilingon ta puli to bag-u no minyo. 7 Ko ogganason on to bohi, meyduon manda pagkoonan no oghikajon duon to bayoy to yukos. 8 Ogyainon to manuk no oghimatajan no ogpagsayuhan to sikan bag-u no minyo. 9 Meyduon ogbaligaan no tinahud no bujag dow sikandin to ogpagsayu to sikan bag-u no magtiajun. 10 Ogpayogoban din sikan bana dow asawa to kinampey no yotu no humoy. 11 Tapus to sikan, ogpagbayluhon din to kinampey sikan daduwa. 12 To kinampey no kaning yukos igsungit din to asawa din dow sikan kaning asawa, igsungit din to bana din. 13 Sikan da to ogdigon to pagkamagtiajun dan, kona no pagpirma to nokoy no mgo kalig-onan.

14 Di inggad nokoy on no kalig-onan no ogbogkot to pagkamagtiajun, meyduon da panahon no ogbibiya kandan inggad mey on mgo anak. 15 Di usahay da sikan no ogkahitabu. 16 Kadogihan to mgo Manubu ogmonmon gajod to kaminyoon dan. 17 Inggad nokoy to ogkabubuyawan to magtiajun, kona dan oghinangon sikan no patipduhan to pagbibiya dan, su ojow pa to asawa, "Inggad nokoy to mgo kalisod ubin pagkasawa ku to bana ku, kona a ogpagbiya kandin su sikandin to nakagoba to pagkadaega ku. 18 Ingkaanat man to mag-asawa oghibaylu man to kagi." 19 Angod isab to sikan to og-ikagihon to bana. 20 To asawa din iyan ingkagoba to pagkaulitau din. 21 Kaling ko puli nanda mangkaintok no mgo yalison dan, kona sikan ogpaaslagon. 22 Hasta, para to mgo Manubu nokani, to kaminyoon kona no angod to yugju no bineysan no tapus to paggamit, ig-uli diya to tag-iya. 23 Dow para to mgo Manubu to diya no panahon, to pagbibiya masakit hilabi to ogbation to bana yabi ko ogkitaon ubin ogkamaanan din no migbiya to asawa din su migpaalin to yain no yukos. 24 Tigbae ogkasakitan to bana su ogpakadoot sikan to pagkayukos din. 25 Ko wada makahusoy to sikan bibiya, na meyduon kasamuk no ogkahitabu. 26 Ko ogbibiya to bag-u pad kaminyo, ko bohi to ogbiya, kinahangyan no pang-ulian to gastu to pag-asawaha kandin. 27 Di ko ogbiya kandin no mey on anak, konad ogkahinampotan to inuliay.

28 Kuntoon no panahon yahi on. 29 Meyduon bohi no ogboboot puli to yawa din. 30 Ogkamaan da to mgo ginikanan ko og-uli to anak no bohi no ogkapuun diya

The Separation of a Married Couple

1 In very early times, Manobos who got married just made an agreement between the parents of the woman and the man. 2 There are no proofs of the marriage nor what is today called a church wedding. 3 What served as official proof was that which is called "eating together." 4 It seems like I have written this in other of my writings, but I will discuss it again here.

5 After the wedding feast, the bride is taken to the house of the groom, and she and he are made to eat together. 6 We'll just call them the newlyweds. 7 When a woman is taken to the house of her new husband, another meal is prepared in the man's house. 8 A chicken is killed and eaten together as a separate meal just for the newlyweds. 9 A respected old woman is enlisted, and she is the one who makes the newlyweds eat together. 10 She gives the husband and wife each a molded piece of cooked rice. 11 After that, she makes the two of them trade them. 12 The man feeds his molded rice to his wife, and the wife feeds hers to her husband. 13 That is the only thing that validates their marriage, not signing any papers.

14 But whatever validation binds a marriage, there are times when they separate, even if they have children. 15 But that happens only sometimes. 16 Most Manobos really stay married. 17 Whatever a couple quarrels about, they don't let it cause separation, because according to a wife, "Whatever difficulties or disappointments I might have with my husband, I won't separate from him because he was the first one to sleep with me [lit. the one who brought down my virginity]. 18 It's natural for a couple to exchange words." 19 And a husband says the same. 20 His wife was the one first one to sleep with him [lit. the one who brought down his bachelorhood]. 21 So if they just argue about a little thing, they don't let it get big. 22 And, for Manobos long ago, marriage is not like a borrowed bolo that, after using, is returned to the owner. 23 And for Manobos of that time, a husband really felt hurt if separated from his wife, especially if he saw or knew that his wife left him for another man. 24 A husband was extremely hurt because that would destroy his manhood. 25 If that separation could not be reconciled, there would be trouble. 26 If newlyweds would separate, if the wife would be the one to leave, the cost of marrying her must be returned. 27 But if they separate when they already have children, no one would mention returning those things.

28 Now it's different. 29 There are women who just take control over their own bodies. 30 Her parents only know about it when she returns from faraway bringing a

to madiyu no mey on dae no anak. 31 Usahay meyduon duma no yukos no bana kun. 32 Di puli on man ogkayugoy wada man bana no ogyogwa. 33 Nabodosan naan puli.

34 Meyduon sikan og-ilingon to og-itsaputus su wada ogkagastu ko mangasawa to yukos to hanuyut no pagpangasawa. 35 Pagyaboy to mahan-in no mgo buyan ubin tuig, igu no ogkabahaw to hadat to mgo ginikanan, og-uli sikan mig-itsaputus diya to ginikanan. 36 Na to ginikanan wadad mgo kakagihon yabi ko ogkita on kandan to mgo apu dan no iyan una no igtadwoy kandan to sikan anak no mig-itsaputus. 37 Meyduon isturya.

38 Meyduon bohi no pigpangasawa di migmaojow to paghugun to mgo ginikanan dow mgo suun. 39 Di sikan bohi ogkaliyag on ogminyo di gustu din no igkatinahud to ginikanan din, kaling pigpapanggilaung din to ginikanan to sikan yukos. 40 Katatoyu papauli to ginikanan to sikan yukos to pagpanggilaung, di wada gajod hugun to mgo ginikanan to sikan bohi. 41 To ikatoyu no pagpanggilaung, sikan bohi pigpabantajan duon to sinabong no pigsirahan to pertahan. 42 Di iyan ingkadoot su sikan kakoy no yukos no migbantoy duon da titindog to gawas to pertahan to sikan sinabong. 43 To bintana to kan sinabong wada katrangkahi. 44 Anoy man no hangtod no natonga to kadukiloman no wada man hugun to amoy to sikan bohi, dajun pagsugpat-sugpata to sikan bohi to tatoyu no sabanas din dow patihawiy kandin duon to bintana. 45 Dajun kandin dawata to sikan yukos no migtatagad duon to yongod to bintana. 46 To diya no kadukiloman halus migyoop kani to Sagunto to mgo yukos no migtagaguhu no namangha to diya bohi no mig-itsaputus. 47 Sugud to diya no panahon, wadad kitaa sikan bohi dini to Sagunto. 48 Pigdae kandin to sikan yukos diya to banwa din. 49 Pagkamaan to mgo ginikanan no migduma to anak dan to sikan no yukos, puli on kandan migpahonok. 50 Tapus to kaewaan no tuig, mig-andini sikan bohi to Sagunto. 51 Mey on mgo daega dow mgo ulitau no anak din. 52 Wadad naikagi to amoy dow inoy din no pangogoyon din kandan.

53 Meyduon yukos dow bohi no og-aasawa tongod da to hingawos to yawa. 54 Pagtakahi dan to sikan no kahimtang, ogsusuwoy. 55 Pinakasibaja dan. 56 Wada pag-oyog to kaminyoon dan, kaling inggad maintok da ubag to ogtipduhan, ogbibiya. 57 Ojow pa to bohi, baeka su mayow-ag man seini kalibutan, kona man no sikuna da to nanaw-ae. 58 Og-iling to yukos, baeka man isab su kona man no sikuna da to nanaja. 59 Na, ogsusuwoy sikandan, angod to wada nahitabu to kinabuhi to kada saboka. 60 Sikan to og-ilingon ku to yagmak no kaminyoon, wada planuha. 61 Mahan-in kuntoon to ogkahitabu no angod to sikan.

62 Di meyduon isab ogkaminyo to hanuyut no kaminyoon. 63 Og-ingkudon to masigkaginikanan dow oguujunan to pagminyo to sikan mgo anak dan.

64 Nokani, to bohi ubin yukos no ogkaliyag

child. 31 Sometimes she has a man with her whom she says is her husband. 32 But after a long time no husband shows up. 33 So she just got pregnant.

34 There is that which is called elopement² because the man does not have sufficient money to pay the expense for a proper wedding arrangement. 35 After many months or years pass, long enough for the parents' anger to cool down, the eloped couple return to their parents. 36 Then the parents can't say anything, especially when they see their grandchildren, which are the first thing their eloped children hand to them. 37 There is a story.

38 There was a woman who was courted but her parents and siblings didn't accept the marriage proposal. 39 But the woman wanted to marry, but she wanted to be respectful to her parents, so she let the parents of the man make a proposal. 40 Three times the man's parents returned to propose, but the woman's parents would not accept. 41 At the third proposal, the woman was guarded in the bedroom and the door was locked. 42 But the bad thing was that her older brother who was guarding her just stood outside the door of the room. 43 The window of the room had not been locked. 44 When by midnight the woman's father still had not consented, the girl fastened three blankets end-to-end and let herself out the window, hanging onto them. 45 Then the man who was waiting under the window took her away. 46 That night there were men all over Sagunto carrying torches, looking for that woman who eloped. 47 From that time, that woman was not seen here at Sagunto. 48 That man took her to his place. 49 When the parents realized that their daughter had gone with that man, they just kept quiet. 50 After twenty years, the woman came to Sagunto. 51 She already had children who were young women and young men. 52 Her father and mother had nothing to say as she hugged them.

53 There are men and women who marry only because of their physical desire. 54 When they get tired of their circumstances, they break up. 55 They don't care at all. 56 They have no desire to preserve their marriage, so even for just a little excuse, they separate. 57 According to the woman, it doesn't matter because the world is big; you're not the only one wearing pants. 58 The man says, it doesn't matter to me either because you aren't the only one wearing a skirt. 59 So they break up as if nothing had happened in the life of each of them. 60 That's what I call a hasty marriage, one that was not planned. 61 That happens many times nowadays.

62 But there are also people who marry by means of a proper marriage. 63 The parents on either side sit down and agree to marry their children to each other.

¹ In other words, he goes off somewhere and never comes back.

² The Manobo word translated elopement literally means tossing a bundle out the window before escaping out the window herself.

on ogpahilona to kaminyoon og-agad to pagboot to ginikanan. 65 Di kuntoon no panahon to ginikanan iyan on og-agadon dan to ogkaliyagan to anak dan no bohi ko yukos. 66 Puli nanda kandan ogtabang to pagpahilona to anak dan to kaminyoon, angod to pagpirma to kalig-onan agun pagmatuud no naujun kandan to pagminyo to sikan anak dan.

67 To kalig-onan to kaminyoon no ogpirmahan to yukos dow bohi duma to mgo ginikanan dan dow mgo kistigus kona ogpuyus ko ogbibiya gajod to magtiajun su kona oghibajun.

68 Meyduon bohi no apuradu no ogpakasal su ogkahaedok ko ojowan to sikan yukos no puli ku og-ilingon to bana-bana din su wada pad man kandan kakasal. 69 Di iyan intabak to sikan yukos, "Inggad kapila ki kasalon ko maliyag ki mubibiya, wada ogkahimu to mgo kalig-onan. 70 Iyan madigon yagboy no ogbogkot ita to paghinigugmaay ta." 71 Meyduon mahan-in no ogkasalon no ogkabibiya da. 72 Di ko saboka kandan masakit to ginhawa su kona ogkaliyag ogpagbiya, ogdangop kandin diya to migtagon to balaod to gubernu angod iyan to balaod to kaminyoon. 73 Na, madoot yagboy to ogkadeygan.

74 Meyduon Manubu no pig-asawa to Bisaya. 75 Pig-ojowan kandin no mey on mgo anak dan dow pangasawa to yain. 76 Migdiklamu sikan bohi. 77 [Si Bani to ngadan.] 78 Naprisu sikan bana din dow to asawa. 79 No diyad on to prisuhan sikan bana, pighangyu din si Bani no hawion to diklamu din. 80 Pighawi podom ni Bani to diklamu din su migkae-at da kandin to sikan bana, di wada sugut to gubernu. 81 Sikan bana ni Bani dow to asawa din puli on namatoy diya to prisuhan, wada gajod makagawas.

82 Sikan da.

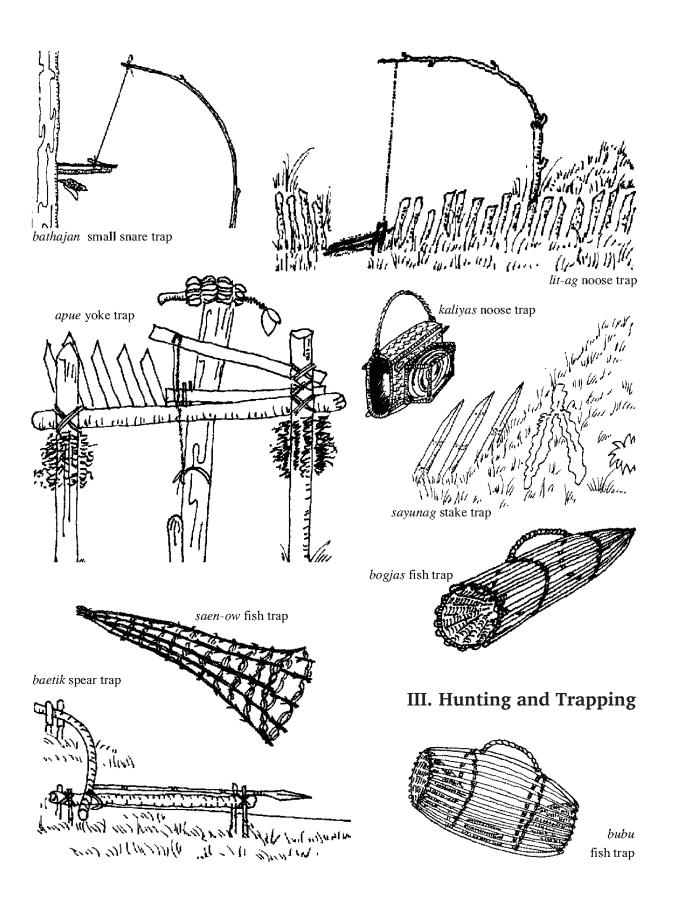
64 Formerly, a woman or man who wanted to settle down in marriage would go along with the will of their parents. 65 But nowadays the parents are the ones to go along with what their son or daughter wants. 66 They only help their children to get settled into marriage, like signing the papers to verify that they approved the marriage of their child.

67 The official marriage papers that a man and woman sign with their parents and witnesses are useless if a couple really separates because they don't get along.

68 There was a woman who wanted to get married in a hurry because she was afraid that the man I will call her fake husband would leave her, because they hadn't been legally married. 69 But the man responded, "No matter how many times we get married, if we want to separate, legal papers can't make any difference. 70 What really binds us tightly is our love each other." 71 Many get legally married and then just separate. 72 But if one of them feels bad because he/she doesn't want to separate, he/she goes for help to someone who has legal authority in the government such as the law of marriage. 73 Then the results can be very bad.

74 There was a Manobo who married a Bisayan. 75 He left her after they had children and married someone else. 76 The woman filed a complaint. 77 [Her name was Bani.] 78 Her husband was imprisoned along with his new wife. 79 When the husband was in prison, he asked Bani to withdraw her complaint. 80 Bani wanted to withdraw her complaint because she felt sorry for her husband, but the government didn't let her. 81 Bani's husband and his new wife just died in prison, they never got out.

82 That's all.



To Pagpanganup 1

1 Si Sibwae kona ogkagawangan to buhi no idu. 2 Mapandoy sikandin no ogkiyaya to idu no tumawan inggad kadung pad. 3 Iyan og-ahaon din to dudu to idu aw duon din ogkatagahan dow ogpamood dow kona. 4 To kadogihan to papanganupay din no idu mgo butakae aw kanunoy hinikotan. 5 Pinayabi usab to pagkoon su ko maintok da to soda, si Sibwae konad ogkoon su igpayabi to sikan idu.

6 Ko mae kasem to ogyugsad si Sibwae su ogpanganup, kuntoon ogpanawag kandin to mgo umaegad, mgo ispiritu sikan no ogpamolig to babuy. 7 Oghimatoy to manuk dow ihakyad to sikan mgo umaegad.

8 Di to pagpanganup kona ogkaimanan no kanunoy masabu. 9 Meyduon pagpanganup no masabu meyduon usab mailas.

10 Ko ogpaliling on to manganganup dow to mgo idu din, wada inggad anak ubin asawa din no ogsagman kandin su ogkailasan. 11 Sikan to balaod to mgo manganganup dow inggad hintawa no ogpadodoyog to pagpanginsoda dini to pasak ko diya to wohig.

12 Songo panahon, tapus makapanawag si Sibwae to mgo umaegad din pigpanata din to mgo tumawan no mgo idu din dow sodyop kandan diya to guyangan. 13 Madani pad to impanow ni Sibwae mig-ingkud sikandin dow ukad to puju dow mama, di to mgo idu pigboyong din on.

14 "Eh, wada pad kasupae to minama ku," mignawnangon si Sibwae, "migdinog ad to akwag to mgo idu. 15 Pigbukad dan to yabyab no magyambid on to tangu no migpasowsobuuk duon to kaagsaman. 16 Imbaekwit ku to puju ku dow panyagkat-yagkat a no migtiang to komag ku. 17 Madiyu a pad pigdinog ku no nakaatangae to saboka no idu ku dow ogdinogon ku usab to paaed-aed to babuy. 18 Migpadagas a. 19 Kunu konad ogkopot to kobong ku duon to pasak to pagpanimboot ku no maabutan ku to idu ku no mapoit-poit on to atangae. 20 Og-oyogon ku to mgo idu ku kaling, ginhawa ku, 'Inggad kona a makababuy basta wada maamonu to idu ku'. 21 Sigi to linaguy ku ogkabitik usab to panagahis ku.

22 "Igu a ogmaan-maan no nakaabut a duon to sikan pigbubutongan to mgo idu ku dow sikan babuy. 23 Sikan idu ku no pigdinog ku no nakaatangae napuyog to yangosa din su natangu to sikan yabyab. 24 Pagdinog to sikan duma no idu to panagahis ku, pigbuyutan sikandan dow sikan babuy migpatay-ow on su migyotoy on dow napalian on to kinagatan to mgo idu.

Hunting with Dogs 1

1 Sibwae¹ and his pet dog were inseparable. 2 He has a skill for recognizing a dog that is good for hunting, even when it is still a puppy. 3 What he looks at is the nipples of the dog, and from that he can tell whether it will [be good for] hunting or not. 4 Most of his hunting dogs are male and are always [confined by being] tied up. 5 He also gives them priority in eating because if there is little viand [left], Sibwae won't eat it because he gives it to that dog.

6 If Sibwae will go hunting the following day, he will call the *umaegad* today, those being the spirits that cause pigs to be caught. 7 He will kill a chicken and offer it to the spirits.

8 But a hunter cannot expect that he will always be lucky. 9 There is hunting that is lucky and there is also that which is unlucky.

10 If the hunter and his dogs are leaving, no one should make a fuss about him, not even his children or wife, because that may jinx him. 11 That is the rule of hunters and whoever goes to search for viand on the land or in the water.

12 One time, after Sibwae had called his *umaegad* spirits, he called his hunting dogs and they went into the forest. 13 When Sibwae had gone only a short distance, he sat down and opened his backpack and had a betel chew, but the dogs had disappeared from his sight.

14 "Eh [exclamation of negative feeling], my betel chew was not yet chewed very well," Sibwae says, "when I heard the dogs barking. 15 They had attacked a wild boar whose tusks were entwined as it stayed alone where thick vines called agsam grow. 16 I quickly put on my backpack and went with long steps carrying my spear on my shoulder. 17 I was still far off when I heard one of my dogs crying and I could also hear the aggressive noise of the pig. 18 I hurried. 19 It's as if my feet weren't even touching the ground as I did my best to reach my dog that was crying bitterly. 20 I don't want to lose my dogs so I said to myself, 'It doesn't matter if I don't catch a pig as long as nothing happens to my dog'. 21 I kept running and I also kept encouraging the dogs to keep up the attack.

22 "Before I knew it I had reached the place where my dogs and the pig were fighting. 23 My dog that I had heard crying was smeared with his blood because he had been gored by the boar. 24 When the other dogs heard me encouraging them to keep up the attack they became emboldened and the pig didn't move anymore because it was weak already and was wounded by the dog bites.

¹ Sibwae was the husband of the author's aunt, who was the older sister of her mother.

To Pagpanganup Hunting with Dogs

25 "Puli ku pigyabajan sikan napalian no idu dow iyan pigpadagas-dagasan ku sikan babuy dow panungdoki ku to komag ku. 26 Di nakapasibog a su migdugma sikan babuy di iyan ingkarojow su madoson sikan mgo idu no nakapigon to sikan babuy to pagdugma kanay su wada dan yungati to pagkagat. 27 Pagpatibalikid to sikan babuy su og-atubangon din sikan mgo idu, nakalugar a aw wada a panogontogon pigpilak ku dajun sikan babuy. 28 Ato! no makahibat on sikan babuy maaslag yagboy to pigtagudtudan.

29 "Intuus ku sikan babuy dow uli a dow apipiha ku sikan idu ku no natangu. 30 Pigpudut sikan babuy to upat no sumbayoy ku no mgo yukos dow ahot kadaog no yayahungan dan.

31 "Tapus kasinadabi sikan babuy impasapu ku dow pabayus a to titiyuk dow payogobi to mgo sumbayoy to tag songo tiyuk no karni. 32 Sikan idu no natangu nabuhi da di wada ku ikapanganup dajun su nayugoy kauli to pali din."

33 Wadad.

25 "I just passed by the wounded dog and the one I hurried to was the pig to spear it. 26 But I stepped back because the pig attacked, but the good thing was that the dogs were strong and were able to hold back the pig from attacking me because they kept their biting hold. 27 When the pig turned to face the dogs, I got my chance and I didn't delay, I speared the pig immediately. 28 Wow! when the [dead] pig was lying down [on its side] it was really a big heap.

29 "I left the pig behind and went home carrying my gored dog in my arms. 30 Four of my male neighbors got the pig and they could hardly carry it.

31 "After I had singed the hair off the pig I had someone cut it up and prepare rattan for skewers and gave each of my neighbors one skewer of meat. 32 The dog that had been gored survived but I didn't take it hunting right away because its wound took a long time to heal."

33 No more.

Types of Hunting or Trapping			
Type of Hunting		Device or Process Used	Animals Caught
yagotom [generic for kind of trap]	baetik	spring trap with spear	wild pigs, deer
	giman		lizards, small animals
	lit-ag	noose trap	birds
	apuyu		monkeys, civets
sikop		groping with hands in streams	small fish, eels, shrimp
bidju		spear gun, goggles	eels, fish
taekop		long, slender fish trap	eels, fish
saen-ow		fish trap made of thorns	fish
panganup		accompanied by a hunting dog	wild pigs, ibid lizards
	•		
bayod		prison cell trap	rats, lizards, wild chickens, reptiles
bathajan			birds, civets
panagat			fish
bogjas		fish trap	

Note: See *To Pagyagotom to Ogkakoon no Taga-Wohig* 'Trapping Edible Freshwater Creatures' (p. 54) for types of fishing equipment.

To Pagpanganup 2

1 To mgo otow kuntoon, ko ogpanganup sikandan mahaewoy su pusil to ighimatoy dan to kadlaganon no babuy aw kona ogkahaedok no ogkadugma to babuy su madiyu da man sikandan. 2 Di nokani kaningkabuyut to pagpanganup su panganup [tabae] to ighimatoy to babuy aw ko ma-aeng-aengan ogkatangu to otow su ogbuyutan hilabi to kadlaganon no babuy ko ogkapalian.

3 To mgo manganup meyduon idu no mgo tumawan. 4 Duon to panow diya to guyangan, to mgo idu iyan og-una dow to mgo otow no ogpanganup ogkahudi su mataksi man to mgo idu no ogpanow diya to guyangan yabi ko mey ogngadogon no babuy dow duma pad no mgo taga-guyangan no ogkasoda.

5 To mgo babuy duon ogbanwa to mapognot no lugar angod pananglit duon to kaagsaman agun kona matae-an to mgo manganup. 6 Di kona sikandan ogpakalikov su ogbukadon man to sikan mgo idu dow ogkapudut su ogkatatabangan to idu dow sikan mgo manganup. 7 Masalig to ginhawa to mgo manganup ko mabuyut to mgo idu su kona sikandan ogkaatubangan to babuy su ogbutongan man to sikan mgo idu. 8 Usahay mey idu no ogkatangu ko mey maaslag no pakot no ogpatay-ow ko patay-patay to manganup ubin ko tabiyow su usahay ogkadaog to idu to babuy. 9 Masamuk hilabi diya to guyangan ko meyduon ogbukadon to idu no mgo babuy su ogdinog ka to tay-ow to idu dow to panagahis to mgo manganup hasta to pa-aed-aed to babuy no ogyupugon to idu dow to suwayak to babuy no ogtatabangan to mgo idu. 10 Madoot to kinogdan to mgo manganup su inggad mgo dugihon ogdaghaan dan ko ogkaduwakot on to mgo idu dow mgo babuy. 11 Mey babuy no oghimatajan to mgo idu, di sikan da ogkagomos-gomosan dan. 12 Kadogihan ogkapudut ko ogtatabangan to mgo idu dow mgo manganup.

13 Pag-uli dan diya to bayoy, to mgo idu una gajod no ogpakoonon to mgo bahin to karni no bobohug to idu mahudi ogpakakoon to otow. 14 Su ojow dan pa, sikan mgo babuy kona ogkapudut ko wada sikan mgo idu.

15 Ko meyduon babuy no ogtugpuan to idu ko pananglit ogkabaetik no kona ogkayutang, ogpasungsungon to idu duon to tagkip no nayangosahan dow sabuki. 16 Pagkangadog to idu to sikan yangosa dajun ogpanow sakot linaguy aw og-unugon to igbaja to sikan babuy no natagapali. 17 Ogkatagahan to ogkakitaan on to mgo idu sikan babuy inggad patoy on ubin ko buhi pad su ogtay-ow sikan idu. 18 Ko maanduonan sikan to mgo manganup no patoy on, na haewoy dan to pagtagkas to budakan dow babahi, di ko buhi pad, na, ogbantoy to mgo manganup

Hunting with Dogs 2

1 People nowadays, when they hunt with dogs, it's easy because they use a gun to kill wild pigs, and they are not afraid that a pig will attack them because they are far from it. 2 But in former times, hunting required courage because they used a hunting spear to kill the pig, and if it were not quite killed, a person could get gored because a pig that is only wounded is very aggressive.

3 Hunters had dogs that were good hunters. 4 In moving through the forest, the dogs would go first and the people hunting would go last because dogs are fast in moving through the forest, especially when they smell a pig or other forest animals that can be eaten.

5 Pigs make their home in weedy places like, for example, where the agsam weed grows, so they cannot be found by hunters. 6 But they cannot avoid them because they are attacked by the dogs and can be gotten because the dogs and hunters gang up on them. 7 The hunters are confident [lit. confident breath] if the dogs are aggressive because they don't have to face the pig, because the dogs would fight with it. 8 Sometimes there are dogs that get gored if there is a big boar that takes its aggressive stand if the hunter is not alert or [is] cowardly because sometimes the dogs will be defeated by wild pigs. 9 It's very noisy in the forest when dogs attack pigs because you can hear the baying of the dogs and the yells of the hunters encouraging them on and the grunting of the pig being chased by the dogs and the long squealing of the pig when the dogs gang up on it. 10 The situation of hunters is bad because they run across even thorny plants when dogs and pigs battle. 11 There are pigs killed by dogs, but only those they can manage. 12 Usually they are gotten when dogs and hunters together gang up on them.

13 When they return to the house, the dogs are surely the first to be fed the parts of the meat that are dog food, and afterward the people can eat. 14 For according to them, the pigs could not be gotten if it weren't for the dogs.

15 If there is a wounded pig that is found and chased down by a dog if, for example, it's caught in a trap but not killed on the spot, a dog will be made to sniff the bloodied bamboo spear [that was part of the trap] and released. 16 When the dog smells that blood it immediately goes, partly running, and follows the path of the pig that was wounded. 17 One can tell when the dogs find the pig, whether it's dead or still alive, because the dogs bay. 18 If the hunters go there when it's already dead, it's easy for them to cut down a *budakan* vine and carry it on their

To Pagpanganup 2 Hunting with Dogs 2

su basi panginoogotan sikandan to sikan babuy. 19 Di sikan idu maaslag yagboy no ogpakatabang su tongod to pagkawintong to sikan babuy to sikan idu, kona da no malisod no ogpilakon di og-ahaon dan no kona mapilak sikan idu.

20 Wadad.

backs, but if it's still alive, then the hunters watch out because maybe the pig will launch a suicide attack against them. 19 But the dogs are a big help for, because of their hindering the pigs, it's not difficult [for the pigs] to be speared, but they [the hunters] have to be careful that the dogs are not speared.

20 No more.

To Pagyagotom to Ogkakoon no Taga-Wohig: Isturya to Taga-Kasilajan

1 Meyduon yukos [Rudy to ngadan din] no migtrabahu duon to kumpaniya to panurusu no naminyo to bohi no anak to migtrabahu usab duon to sikan no kumpaniya. 2 Songo kadukiloman, no malius sikan yukos no mangulitau pad sikandin, mighihimanu sikan ginikanan to bohi, kagi to sikan asawa, "Kona ku gajod ighugun sikan anak ta ko mangasawa sikan no yukos su ahaa da to pamisti dow linihokan din angod man to otow no kona ogkaamu ogsodyop to guyangan. 3 Na ko magawang seini kumpaniya ogkagawangan man usab sikandin to trabahu, na andei man sikandin ogpudut to igbuhi din to pamilya din?" 4 Di wada nakabaebag to kaminyoon to sikan anak dan dow sikan yukos su migsingkaliyag sikandan.

5 Sikan no yukos kaliwat to pubri di nabatasan din no kona ogpinatsang to pagbisti din dow og-aligra gajod to yawa din yabi no mey ogpanawon. 6 Ojow din pa, "Kinahangyan no sudlajon to bubue ta inggad duon to kapubri to kahimtang su anoy pubri ki dugangan pad ko kona ki ogpanudlay, na, konad no pubri su tigbae on iyan aju-aju."

7 Si Rudy meyduon namaanan no mgo pangagat diya to wohig di wada din kagamit sikan no naamuhan din su migtrabahu man to kumpaniya to panurusu, upiritur sikandin to traktur. 8 Sikan no naamuhan din wada kadinog to sikan mgo ugangan din su wada din man hisguti sikan.

9 Mig-abut to panahon no migsigkon to kumpaniya su wadad kaju no ogkatrusu. 10 Tibo to mgo trabahanti to kumpaniya nakawangan to trabahu. 11 Si Rudy dow to ugangan din no yukos migbubulig to paghinang to bayoy aw migsosoyod sikandan to pag-ugpa duon tagaod to ogpakahinang si Rudy to kandin kaugalingon no bayoy. 12 To diya no panahon daduwa on to mgo bata ni Nely, asawa ni Rudy. 13 Wada yangan si Rudy to pagtrabahu to uma dow panghinang to mgo ginamiton din to pagpanagat.

14 Songo aedow, mgo alas tres on to kahapunon, migdawdaya si Rudy to bagyoy dow busug no bag-u din katapus to paghinang dow togbang diya to ayug to Kasilajan su og-anti sikandin ogpaniangat. 15 Pagkita to ugangan din no bohi no migtogbang si Rudy, pigsuyug-suyug din, kagi din, "Kanay to uyu." 16 Pig-ikagi din sikan su wada man sikandin tuu no ogkaamu si Rudy ogpanagat. 17 Si Rudy puli migpaiyom-iyom aw padajun diya to ayug.

Trapping Edible Freshwater Creatures: The Story of Someone from the Kasilajan River

1 There was a man [Rudy was his name]¹ who worked for a logging company who married the daughter of someone who also worked for that company. 2 One night, as soon as that man was out of sight when he was still courting, the parents of the girl discussed him, the wife said, "I really wouldn't accept a marriage proposal for our daughter if that man wants to marry her because look at how he dresses and moves, like a man who doesn't know how to go into the forest. 3 Now when this company is gone, he will also have no more work, then where will he get a livelihood for his family?" 4 But nothing hindered the marriage of their daughter and that man because they liked each other.

5 That man was the descendant of poor people but it was his custom not to wear ragged clothing, and he would really take care of his body, especially when he went somewhere. 6 According to him, "We must comb our hair even if our situation is poor, because whereas we're already poor, it will increase if we don't comb our hair, then we won't be poor but very destitute already."

7 Rudy had knowledge/skill about fishing² in the river, but he didn't use that skill of his because he was working in the logging company, he was a bulldozer operator. 8 His in-laws didn't hear about his skill because he didn't talk about it.

9 The time came when the company stopped because there were no more trees to be logged. 10 All the company workers lost their jobs. 11 Rudy and his father-in-law helped each other build a house, and they lived there together until Rudy was able to build his own house. 12 At that time, Nely, Rudy's wife, had two children already. 13 Rudy didn't delay about working in the fields and making equipment for fishing/hunting.

14 One day, about three in the afternoon, Rudy carried a bow and arrow that he had just finished making and went down to the Kasilajan river in order to wait for the opportunity [to shoot a fish]. 15 When his mother-in-law saw that Rudy was going down to the river, she mockingly said to him, "The head will be mine." 16 She said that because she didn't believe that Rudy knew how to fish/hunt. 17 Rudy just smiled and proceeded to the river.

This is a true account, and the man named Rudy in this story is the author's second son, Narding.

This word includes procuring all kinds of edible animal life.

18 Nanghapun on to mgo manuk no makauli si Rudy no pigbobog-at no migdae to napana din no jayan rami no madani ogsongo mitru to kahaba. 19 Nakayangkotow to ugangan ni Rudy no mighiling-hiling to sikan rami no inwakdas ni Rudy diya to kusina.

20 "Atu! Kaaslag on man, ogkaamu ka man naan ogpanagat," migsunu-sunu no kagi to ugangan ni Rudy. 21 Pagkabukas, madidigyomay pad pigboyong on ni Nely si Rudy duon to hibatan dan. 22 Wada pad makabangun si Nely pigdinog din no mey inwakdas diya to kusina. 23 Pag-aha din, rami no angod to diya napana ni Rudy no mahapun. 24 "Kadali nu igpakapana no bag-u ka man likat," kagi ni Nely.

25 "Napana ku sikan gabii mahapun di wada ku kapudut su miglibod duon to tunga. 26 Ogsonobon ku podom di madigyom on man," kagi ni Rudy.

27 Sugud to sikan no panahon, minus on sikandan ogkabusan to soda. 28 Ko kona oggamiton to pana, ogpanyawig si Rudy. 29 Gingow to ogkapudut. 30 Ko panahon to amihan aw ogpanaempu to wohig, saboka si Rudy to mahan-in no mgo nangawaday aw kona no pagsoda da to ogkapudut din su ogpakakuwarta usab sikandin su mahan-in man usab to mgo mangumprahay to isda. 31 Kotob no madayom pad to wohig kanunoy madogi to isda no ogkapanagatan to mahan-in no mgo otow no ogkaamu ogpanagat pinaagi to kawad.

32 To mgo taga-wohig no ogkakoon ogkapanagat pinaagi to yokob. 33 Ko og-aslag to wohig, to mgo isda ogpaagad to wohig. 34 Ko andei ogsangko to wohig iyan usab ogsangkoan to mgo isda no ogpamangha to ogkakoon dan. 35 Og-ilingon sikan to sugnap. 36 Na, pagtotey to wohig, ogyokoban sikan ogbajaan to wohig dow taoni sikan yokob to mgo saen-ow ubin bogjas. 37 Pagbati to mgo isda no oghugut on to wohig ogpauli sikandan aw duon sikandan ogdondon to sikan mgo saen-ow.

38 Meyduon usab pagpudut to mgo taga-wohig no pagkoon no og-ilingon to linig. 39 Ko mahaba on to guyabung, ogyakasan to mgo danow. 40 Mahagu no panagat su ogtinigbas to mgo yukos duon to wohig, ogpanaegsob puli. 41 Ogkamaanan ko mey isda no ogkaigu. 42 Pagkaigu to isda, ogdamdamon sikan. 43 Madogi to isda no ogkalinigan ko maisda to danow.

44 Meyduon panagat no og-ilingon to kubu. 45 Mabibu seini no panagat su kona ogpakapudut to isda ko minus to otow no ogpanagat. 46 Ogkinahangyan seini to mahan-in no otow. 47 Ogkinahangyan usab seini to mgo yangkapan. 48 Ogkahimu seini no yagotom

18 The chickens were already roosting when Rudy returned weighed down with carrying a *jayan rami* fish that he had shot, which was almost a meter long. 19 Rudy's mother-in-law was startled as she examined that *rami* which Rudy threw down in the kitchen.

20 "Atu! [exclamation of amazement] It's so big, so you know how to fish/hunt," Rudy's mother-in-law said over and over again. 21 The next morning, it was still somewhat dark when Nely realized Rudy was missing from their bed. 22 Before Nely could get up, she saw someone throwing down something in the kitchen. 23 When she looked, it was a *rami* like the one Rudy had shot the previous afternoon. 24 "How quickly you could shoot it when you have just left," said Nely.

25 "I shot it yesterday afternoon, but I couldn't get it because it got tangled in a submerged tree stump. 26 I would have dived for it, but it was already dark," said Rudy.

27 From that time on, they seldom ran out of viand. 28 If he couldn't use the bow and arrow, Rudy would fish with a large hook and line [yawig]. 29 He would catch gingow fish. 30 During rainy season when the river overflowed, Rudy was one of many fishing with small hooks,³ and it wasn't just viand that they could get but they also made money because there were also many buying fish to resell. 31 As long as the water was still deep, there are always many fish to be caught by many people who know how to fish with hooks [kawad].

32 River-dwellers that can be eaten are caught with a fish trap in the form of a bamboo fence put across a stream. 33 When the river gets high, fish let themselves be carried along in the water. 34 Wherever the water ends up is also where the fish end up looking for their food. 35 That is called *sugnap*. 36 Then, when the water stops rising, a fence is placed across where the river flows and that fence is set with *saen-ow*⁴ or *bogjas*⁵ fish traps. 37 When fish feel that the water is receding, they return and there they end up in those traps.

38 There is another way of getting water-dwellers for food that is called *linig*. 39 If there is a long dry spell, water in lakes recedes. 40 It's hard work to catch fish because men slash with bolos in the water; they just hack away blindly. 41 They can know if a fish has been hit. 42 When a fish has been hit, they feel for it with their hands. 43 Many fish can be caught by slashing in a lake if the lake has many fish.

44 There is fishing called *kubu*. 45 This is a convivial way of fishing because fish cannot be caught if just a few people are fishing. 46 Many people are needed. 47 *Yangkapan* are also needed. 48 This kind of trapping

Three types of hooks are used in fishing. The *kawad*, mentioned here, is about 5 cm [2 in] long. A *yawig* hook is about twice the size of a *kawad*. A *bingwit* hook is smaller than a *kawad*.

saen-ow: fish trap made out of thorny rattan ends.

⁵ *bogjas*: kind of funnel-shaped woven fish trap about 60 cm [2 ft] long and 30 cm [1 ft] in diameter. It is usually used for catching catfish *pantat* when baited with termites and ants wrapped in banana leaves. It is placed facing downstream.

⁶ yangkapan: woven strips of split bamboo that are made into large, long sheets that resemble picket fence segments.

[Minanubu to panagat] ko yakas hilabi to danow. 49 Igtambang to mgo yangkapan no ogpagdakiton dow meyduon mgo otow no og-abug to isda pailing duon to sikan intambang no yangkapan. 50 Pagtidow to sikan ogpaman-abug duon to dani to yangkapan, ogtikupon sikan dow sikan naman-abug ogpatised duon to sikan tinikup no yangkapan. 51 Mabibu hilabi ko mahan-in to isda no ogkasakup su ogpamakalinaksu to mgo isda no ogdakopon to sikan mgo otow duon to sed. 52 Wada oggamit to yugju su unu ko meyduon mangkapalian. 53 Kaling puli ogdakopon. 54 Mahaewoy on ogdakopon sikan mgo isda ko ogkayugoy-yugoy on to dinakopay su ogyotoy on to mgo isda. 55 Ko wadad isda no ogkadamdaman, igtambang manda to yangkapan aw angod da usab to oghinangon. 56 Igtambang sikan yangkapan aw meyduon og-abug to isda padeg duon to yangkapan aw ogtikupon ko og-abut on to mgo isda duon to yangkapan.

can be done if the lake is very low. 49 The yangkapan segments are set in place end to end [with different people holding each segment and together forming a U-shape in the direction that the fish will come] and other people [of the group] will drive the fish toward them. 50 When those who are chasing get near them, those holding the yangkapan segments will form an enclosed circle around them. 51 It's very convivial if many fish are caught because the fish that people inside are catching keep jumping. 52 No one uses a bolo lest someone get wounded. 53 So they just catch them. 54 It's easy to catch those fish if catching them takes them a long time because the fish get weak. 55 If no more fish can be felt by groping around, they set up their yangkapan segments and do the same thing again. 56 They set up the *yangkapan* segments and others will chase the fish toward them, and [those holding the *yangkapan* segments] will encircle them when the fish arrive.

To Pagyagotom to Buaja

1 Notoduon mey mgo Muslim no mig-andini to Sagunto su namoli to kindae to buaja dow nangunoy sikandan to pagyagotom to buaja. 2 Mahal buwa diya kandan to kindae to buaja saba man ogpanimboot sikandan no madogi to mapudut dan no kindae. 3 Diya sikandan yagotom to danow no og-ilingon to Binuni no duon makabotang to lugar no nasakup to Talacogon. 4 Buajahon sikan no danow su ko ogdinog to toue to idu ogpayotow sikan mgo buaja aw ojow pa to hinambug no isturya angod kun to ograptingon no trusu.

5 Migtukhow to diya mgo Muslim su madogi to napudut dan no buaja. 6 Iyan inyagotom dan sikan og-ilingon to isi. 7 Puthow sikan no mae bakey to kobong no magdibayuy to sima ubin sagangat. 8 Oghikotan to madigon no pisi sikan isi dow huyana ighikot duon to buyu no mae tokon. 9 Na sikan isi igsangon duon to tumuy to sikan buyu aw sikan to igpilak to buaja. 10 Pagkapilak to sikan buaja ogsabukan sikan buyu. 11 Na su ogyotow man sikan buyu ogkamaanan inggad andei mudeg sikan buaja. 12 Usahay ogdugukon da su oghimatajan sikan buaja ko ogyotoy on. 13 Su ko dajunon dugukon ko madoson pad yagboy, basi meyduon madoot no mahitabu to otow.

14 Diya to Tikgon [danow usab seini no buajahon di kona no angod to Binuni to kadogi to buaja] mey madoot no nahitabu to otow no nakapudut to buaja di yain no yagotom, sikan og-ilingon to yawig. 15 Kawad sikan no maaslag hilabi no oghikotan to madigon dow maaslag usab no pisi no naylun aw ogpaonan to baktin ubin idu. 16 To diya buaja nakanganga no hatsahan to ompok aw hangtod no pigdae on diya to balsa nakanganga pad. 17 Migsalig sikan otow no patoy on kaling pigkuut din sikan yawig. 18 Di puli din pad natagonan sikan yawig su oglingaton din podom, migtangkob sikan buaja. 19 Iyan pad naan pagkabigtawi. 20 Maaslag to pali to bakyawan to sikan otow su hona-honaa lang to kangkaaslag dow kangkaidob to ngipon to sikan buaja. 21 Marojow su mahan-in to mgo otow no nahimun duon. 22 Pigtatabangan dan to pagligwat to ba-ba to sikan buaja dow tapus kagawang to bakyawan to sikan otow duon to ba-ba to sikan buaja pigdae dajun sikandin diya to huspital diya to Kasapa 1. 23 Huspital sikan to kumpaniya.

24 Meyduon pigtakmag to buaja. 25 Nanyumut sikan otow to isda duon to kat-ihan. 26 [To kat-ihan, danow no madali ogyakasan inggad kona da no mahaba to guyabung.] 27 Wada sikandin kamaan no mey buaja no nakased duon no mugoob to maaslag. 28 Pagpadajun din to pagpanggowgow, nakaanduon

Catching Crocodiles

1 A long time ago there were Muslims who came here to Sagunto to buy crocodile skin, and they themselves trapped crocodiles. 2 Maybe crocodile skins were expensive in their place, especially since they worked hard to get many skins. 3 They trapped crocodiles in a lake called Binuni located in a place in the district of Talacogon. 4 That lake was full of crocodiles because if those crocodiles heard the howling of dogs they would float to the surface and, according to a boastful story, it was reportedly like a raft of logs tied together.

5 Those Muslims were delighted because they got many crocodiles. 6 What they used for trapping was what is called *isi*. 7 It is a piece of iron as big around as one's big toe that has an arrow point or barb on both sides. 8 The *isi* is tied by a strong piece of rope and that is in turn tied to a bamboo as big around as a pole used for poling a boat. 9 Then that *isi* is fitted into the open end of that bamboo and that is what is used to spear the crocodile. 10 After the crocodile is speared, the bamboo is released. 11 Then because the bamboo floats, it can be seen where the crocodile goes. 12 Sometimes someone approaches to kill the crocodile when it's already weakened. 13 Because if it is approached when it is still very strong, maybe something bad will happen to the person.

14 At Tikgon [this is also a crocodile-infested lake but not with as many crocodiles as Binuni] something bad happened to a person who got a crocodile but with a different method of catching it, which is called yawig. 15 This is a very large hook to which is tied a strong and likewise large nylon rope and baited with a piglet or a dog. 16 That crocodile had its mouth open when it was hit on the back of its head with an axe, and until it was taken to a floating house, it still had its mouth open. 17 The person was confident that it was already dead, so he reached his arm down the crocodile's throat to get that hook. 18 But he had just taken hold of the hook to remove it when the crocodile snapped its jaws shut in death. 19 That was when it died. 20 That person had a big wound on his arm because just think of the size and sharpness of that crocodile's teeth! 21 It was good because many people were gathered there. 22 They helped one another to pry open the mouth of the crocodile, and after the arm of the person was removed from the crocodile's mouth, they immediately took him to the hospital at Kasapa 1. 23 It was the company hospital.

24 There was someone bitten by a crocodile. 25 That person was wading in a *kat-ihan*. 26 [A *kat-ihan* is a pool where the water quickly recedes even if it's not a long dry spell.] 27 He didn't know there was a crocodile that had entered there when there had been a big flood. 28 As he proceeded to grope with his hands underwater,

To Pagyagotom to Buaja Catching Crocodiles

sikandin to madayom-dayom no bahin to sikan kat-ihan. 29 Pigsadsad din sikan no bahin agun no to mgo isda no mighobong duon ogpakaanduon to kababawan su duon din ogdakopon. 30 Di nakapangiyak sikandin su pigtakmag to ayob din to buaja. 31 Marojow su maintok pad no buaja aw kona pad ogpakadaog to pagsibad to maaslag. 32 Su ko maaslag pa, na, konad sikandin ogkamaanan to mgo duma din no nanyumut usab duon to duma no mgo kat-ihan. 33 Tongod to pagkagubut to mgo duma ni Ajagda [sikandin to pigtakmag to buaja; taga-Sagunto di patoy on] pigsabukan sikandin to sikan buaja. 34 Migtatabang to mgo yukos to paghimatoy to sikan buaja no songo mitrus on to kahaba. 35 Tapus to sikan, mig-uli sikan mgo otow. 36 Mey migsinokoli to pagbaba ki Ajagda dow mey usab migsinokoli to pagbaba to diya buaja.

37 To buaja ogkapudut usab to sikan yagotom no og-ilingon to buyag-ung. 38 Meyduon otow no iyan ngadan si Vivencio no mig-isturya. 39 To diya maintok pad kun sikandin, meyduon nabuyag-ungan to amoy din no maaslag no buaja di patoy on no tibawon to amoy din to diya yagotom din.

40 To buaja, ko og-atoyug, oggamat diya to pasak no matahay dow ogpamangha to madabhuk [mayomhok] no pasak. 41 Natapuan yagboy to amoy ku to buaja no migpatitogbang no napuun duon to kapun-an to daemuan. 42 Madabhuk hilabi to pasak duon. 43 Anoy man no nalius on to diya buaja, pig-aha to amoy ku to napuunan to sikan buaja. 44 Puli migyagat to mata din no ukison din to mgo daeg no imbumbun to sikan atoyug no kawayuan no buuk. 45 To buaja ko ogatoyug angod to ibid su tapus to pag-atoyug dan, puli on ogpabae-anan, mupisga ko kona. 46 Kaling man to otow no kona og-atindi to mgo anak igpananglit to ibid.

47 Kagi din, "Ogbuyag-ungon ku sikan buaja." 48 Dajun din hikoti to maintok no idu dow ayada din duon to pigbotangan din to buyag-ung. 49 Pagdinog to sikan buaja to ting-ae to idu, miggamat sikandin aw nakasodop to sikan buyag-ung. 50 [To buyag-ung, baegon sikan no ogyabagon.] 51 Pagkased to sikan buaja ogkahikotan sikan duon to liog. 52 Ko mayugoy matibow ogkamatoy su ogkapityok.

53 Sikan to mgo pagyagotom to buaja.

he went into a deeper part of that pool. 29 He groped in that place with his feet so that the fish hiding there would go to the shallow area so he could catch them there. 30 But he screamed because a crocodile bit his knee. 31 It was good that it was a small crocodile and not yet able to catch large prey. 32 Because if it had been big, [the man] could not have alerted his companions who were also wading in other pools. 33 Because of the turmoil of Ajagda's companions [he was the one bitten by the crocodile; he was from Sagunto but is dead now] the crocodile released him. 34 The men ganged up together to kill that crocodile that was one meter long. 35 After that, those people went home. 36 Some took turns carrying Ajagda on their backs, and others took turns carrying that crocodile on their backs.

37 A crocodile can be caught also by a device called a *buyag-ung* noose trap. 38 A person named Vivencia told a story. 39 He said when he was little, his father had caught a large crocodile in a *buyag-ung* trap but it was dead already when his father checked that trap.

40 A crocodile, when it lays eggs, climbs up to dry land and looks for loose earth. 41 My father came upon a crocodile going back down to the water, having come from a clump of bamboo. 42 The earth there was very loose. 43 When the crocodile was out of sight, my father looked at where the crocodile had come from. 44 His eyes just got wide when he removed the leaves that had been used to cover those eighty eggs! 45 A crocodile when it lays eggs is like a monitor lizard because after laying the eggs, it just leaves them, [not caring] whether they hatch or not. 46 So a person who doesn't care for his/her children is compared to a monitor lizard.

47 He said, "I'm going to catch that crocodile with a *buyag-ung* noose trap." 48 So he tied up a small dog and fenced it up into a place where he placed the trap. 49 When the crocodile heard the howling of the dog, it came up and entered the *buyag-ung*. 50 [A *buyag-ung* is a piece of rattan that is formed into a slip knot noose.] 51 When the crocodile enters, it get tied around the neck. 52 If it's a long time before the trap is checked, it will die because it will choke.

53 Those are ways of catching crocodiles.

To Pagyagotom to Kasili

1 To kasili ogkapudut to mgo yagotom angod to taekop, yawig dow bidju.

2 Meyduon bata no yukos no sampuyu pad no tuig to idad no nakayawig to maaslag no kasili. 3 Si Noel to ngadan din. 4 Pigpaonan din to yawig to poit no nabingwitan din dow itaon duon to linow. 5 Mahapun din itaon. 6 Namaan to kakoy ni Noel to pagtaon din to yawig.

7 Anoy man no masem on wada pad makabuyat to mgo duma ni Noel duon to bayoy migsakoy sikandin to beytu su ogtibawon to intaon din no yawig.

8 "Wa, hintawa man to kani ogpanawag," kagi to inoy ni Noel no wada kataga no wadad si Noel duon to hibatan.

9 "Aduy, si Noel buwa," kagi ni Nario [kakoy ni Noel] no dajun migbangun dow patitogbang, "su migtaon sikandin to yawig gabii mahapun."

10 "Andiyaa dow naamonu," pigsugu to inoy no Nario. 11 Dajun sakoy si Nario to beytu dow manu-manuha din si Noel.

12 Si Noel migpadajun to pagpanawag su kona din ogkahimatajan sikan kasili su wada yugju din. 13 Mahan-in to mgo otow no nahimun duon to pangpang di wada dan katabangi si Noel to paghimatoy to sikan kasili su wada beytu no nasakajan. 14 Pag-abut ni Nario duon, pudu yudog to yawa ni Noel su pigtagonan din to uyu to sikan kasili dow ingkudi aw to ikug ogpakalibod duon to yawa din. 15 Dajun panigbasa ni Nario sikan kasili.

16 To taekop kona no angod to bogjas su to bogjas meyduon gayow, di to taekop, wada. 17 To inggad nokoy no klasi to isda no ogsodop to bogjas ogkahaewajan su ogkaabri sikan gayow, di to isda no gustu ogyuwas konad ogpakahimu su sikan gayow ogkimut on. 18 To taekop wada gayow aw mahaewoy hilabi to igsodop to kasili. 19 [To taekop wada yain no ogsodop, kasili da, su ko mey yain no klasi to isda no ogsodop, og-ilingon to mgo Manubu to pamalihi.] 20 Di meyduon taebkasan duon to sed to taekop no pigbotangan to kajamas dow kagang. 21 Pagngadog to kasili to sikan paon, ogsed sikan aw pagkatangkug to sikan taebkasan, ogkabokas aw meyduon ogpakatakop to sikan pigbajaan to kasili. 22 Pighingadanan sikan no yagotom to taekop su ko meyduon ogsed, ogkatakopan, to yain no pagkaikagi, ogkaserahan. 23 Na kona ogpakasabuk to kasili inggad mayugoy matibow sikan no yagotom.

24 Nokani no wada pad ogpandilamita dow ogpanhilu, abunda yagboy to mgo taga-wohig no ogkabuhian to mgo Adgawanon. 25 To mgo mamidjuay

Catching Eels

1 An eel can be caught by devices such as *taekop* trap, *yawig* hook, and *bidju* trap.

2 There was a boy ten years old who caught a big eel with a *yawig* hook. 3 Noel was his name.¹ 4 He baited the hook with a *poit* fish that he had caught and set it in a deep section of the river. 5 He set it in the afternoon. 6 Noel's older brother knew he had set a *yawig* hook.

7 When it was morning and before Noel's companions in the house had awakened, he rode a dugout canoe to check on the hook he had set.

8 "Wa [exclamation of startling], who is that calling," said Noel's mother, who didn't know that Noel wasn't in his bed.

9 "Aduy [exclamation of surprise], maybe it's Noel," said Nario [Noel's older brother] who immediately got up and went down to the river, "because he set a hook yesterday afternoon."

10 "Go find out what happened," ordered the mother of Nario. 11 Then Nario got in a boat and went to check on Noel.

12 Noel continued to call because he couldn't kill the eel because he didn't have a bolo. 13 Many people had gathered on the shore but they couldn't help Noel to kill the eel because they didn't have a boat to ride. 14 When Nario got there, Noel's body was all covered with slime because he was holding the head of the eel and sitting on it, and the tail was wrapped around his body. 15 Immediately Nario slashed the eel.

16 A taekop trap is not like a bogjas trap because the *bogjas* has a funnel entrance, but the *taekop* does not. 17 Whatever kind of fish happens to enter a *bogias* has an easy time of it because the funnel entrance opens, but the fish that wants to leave cannot because the funnel entrance closes. 18 A taekop trap has no funnel entrance, and it's easy for eels to enter it. 19 [Nothing else enters a taekop trap, only eels, because if another kind of fish enters, Manobos say it's a bad omen.] 20 But there is a trigger inside the taekop trap on which various kinds of crabs are placed. 21 When an eel smells that bait, it enters, and when it disturbs the trigger, it springs and something closes the place where the eel passed through. 22 That trap is called a taekop because if something enters, it is takop-ed; in other words, it is shut inside. 23 Then the eel can't get loose even if it's a long time before that trap is checked.

24 Long ago before people used dynamite and poison, there was abundant water life that the people of Adgawan could live on. 25 Those who fished with

¹ This is a true account. Noel is the author's oldest son, Romeo, and Nario is Romeo's younger brother, Narding.

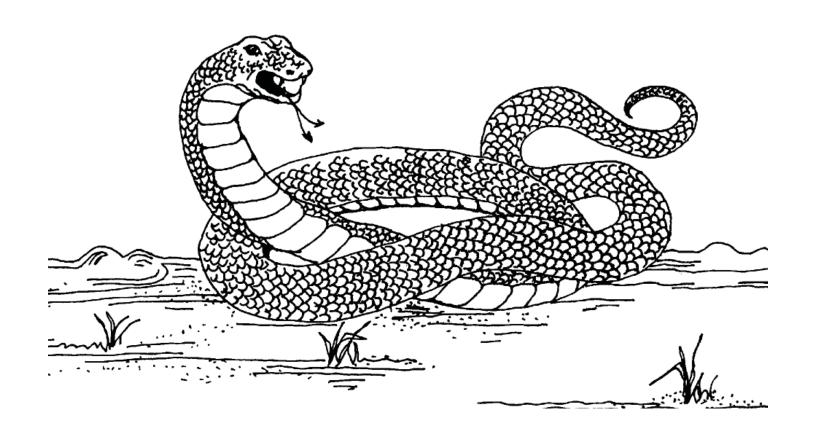
To Pagyagotom to Kasili Catching Eels

madogi to ogkabidjuan aw kona no kasili da to ogkapudut di hasta to duma no klasi to isda. 26 Di usahay mey madoot no ogkahitabu to yamu-yamu dow hawa-hawa no mamidjuay. 27 Meyduon ulitau no migsonob duon to didayom to madamey no bonot duon to linow. 28 Meyduon pigyupug din no maaslag no isda no duon paaput to sikan bonot. 29 Pagyanghag din, pigkita din sikan isda no migpakamonang. 30 "Sikan ka da naan," ginhawa to sikan ulitau dongan to pigbinat din to bidju, di pagbosut din to bidju kona no sikan isda to naigu su to ko-ko din iyan nabidju. 31 Tongod to paghagam-hagama, wada din on kadomdomi no majopot to bidju din aw tongod to kahaba to binat din, to tumuy to bidju nakapaobos on to ko-ko din aw pagbosut din to bidju sikan to nahitabu. 32 Marojow su nakindae da, di ko naisig-isig pa duon to intubu to dila, na ogkatapus gajod sikandin.

33 Meyduon usab namidju no mighoot to yugi. 34 Tongod to pag-awos din no mabidju din sikan kasili no migsed to yugi, migpogos sikandin migsoyod. 35 Pagpanajun din, miglisod iyan di nakasoyod. 36 Na pag-us-us din su ogtunga, mighoot on man. 37 Ko wada pa mgo duma din no migtabang kandin to pagpayuwas, na, ogkabutud gajod sikandin.

spearguns [a type of small harpoon] could get many, and they got not only eels but also other kinds of fish. 26 But sometimes something bad would happen to a careless or impulsive spearfisherman. 27 There was a single man who dived deep into thickly piled debris in a deep part of a river. 28 He was chasing a big fish that took refuge in that debris. 29 When he looked up, he saw that fish staying still there. 30 "So there you are," thought that young man as he stretched the rubber of the speargun, but when he let go the speargun, it was not fish that was hit but his chin was what got speared. 31 Because of his excitement, he hadn't remembered that his speargun was short, and because of the length of his rubber, the end of the speargun was positioned below his chin, and when he let go, that's what happened. 32 It's good that it just penetrated the skin, for if had gone deeper into where the tongue grows, that would have been the end of him.

33 There was someone else who went spearfishing into a tight hole. 34 Because of his desire to spear that eel that went into the hole, he forced his way in. 35 As he proceeded, he indeed had a hard time, but he was able to enter. 36 Then when he backed up in order to surface, it was too tight. 37 If he hadn't had companions to help him to get out, he would really be floating on the water like a dead fish.



IV. Nature and Environment

To Hayas no Ogpakayogot

1 Sumaya to namaanan ku, to hayas klasi-klasi. 2 Indoy diya to mgo lugar no gawas to Agusan dow meyduon mgo hayas no angod to sikan nangkatagahan ku. 3 To tibo mgo hayas ogkahaedokan yagboy to otow su inggad man-u to kaintok wada gajod ogpadani. 4 Inggad ngani ko patoy on ogpadiyu da to otow. 5 Di to mgo hayas kona no tibo ogpakayogot ko ogpakakagat. 6 To bakosan, hayas no kona ogpakayogot di iyan igkamatoy to otow no ogbakosanon su oglibodan dow hogoti aw iyan igkamatoy su ogkapantig man to mgo bokog. 7 Sikan kagi no ogpakayogot, to yain no pagkaikagi, ogpakahilu. 8 To yaposung dow hampapaga iyan mgo hayas no ogpakayogot ubin ogpakahilu to yawa to otow ko ogpakakagat sikan no mgo hayas, di diya kud seini oghisgutan to dapit to katapusan.

9 To hayas no sambenut wada ku yagboy kamatahi dow ogkaamonu to otow no ogkagaton to seini, di sumaya to mgo manigaon ogkadunut kun to kinagatan no bahin to yawa to otow. 10 Meyduon buwa yunas ubin tambae to sikan di wada ku katagahi. 11 To hayas no sambenut kona no angod to duma no hayas no ogbabalhinay to og-ugpaan. 12 Mamonang sikan kaling ogkahinang no pananglitan. 13 To otow no matilon no og-ugpa og-ilingon to ogsasambenut.

14 Meyduon hayas no kona ogduya ko mey ogkaliyagan din ogtokaon, puli ogpatipaetok. 15 Oghingadanan sikan to patok. 16 Majopot, kona no angod to duma no hayas no mahaba.

17 Meyduon sikan og-ilingon to yosok. 18 Duon og-ugpa to didayom to pasak. 19 Meyduon bohi no mig-abuab to tanom din no mgo gulajon no pigkagat di wada din kitaa to migkagat kandin, di su migyobag dow migkodey man sikan kinagaton, mighona-hona to mgo otow no nahimun no migtabang to sikan bohi no hayas to nakakagat kandin. 20 Di mig-ikagi sikan bohi no wada hayas no pigkita din. 21 Na, sumaya to songo tambayan [otow seini no meyduon klasi-klasi no yunas], yosok kun to migkagat. 22 Wada kun kitaa to sikan bohi su listu kun sikan no hayas no ogpatiyosok duon to pasak ko ogkaaha din no meyduon piligru.

23 To hampapaga, wada a hinuun makaaha to otow no ogtokaon to sikan di, ojow pa to una no mgo otow, ogpakayogot kun sikan. 24 Di ogkayunasan ko kona pad ogligub to yayas duon to yawa. 25 To ogkakiyayahan no ogligubon on to yawa to otow to sikan yayas su ogliskog to bubue. 26 Na ko ogliskog on to bubue to otow no ogtokaon, paawaad to ginhawa nu su konad gajod ogkabuhi.

Poisonous Snakes

1 According to what I know, there are different kinds of snakes. 2 I don't know about places outside of Agusan whether there are snakes like those I know about. 3 All people are very afraid of snakes because no matter how small they are, no one goes close to them. 4 Even when they are dead, people just stay far away. 5 But not all snakes are poisonous when they bite. 6 The python is a snake that is not poisonous, but the way a person dies when attacked by a python is that it coils around him and tightens and causes death because his bones are broken. 7 The word *yogot* means, in other words, poisonous. 8 The *yaposung* and *hampapaga* are the poisonous snakes that are venomous or poisonous to the body of a person when they bite them, but I will discuss this at the end.

9 As for the *sambenut* snake, I have not been able to personally observe it nor what will happen to a person who is bitten by it, but according to the old folks the part of the body that is bitten will decay. 10 There may be an herbal remedy or medicine for that, but I'm not aware of any. 11 The *sambenut* snake is not like other snakes that move from one dwelling to another. 12 They just stay put, so they are used as an illustration. 13 A person who stays put, living in one place, is said to be like a *sambenut*.

14 There is a snake that doesn't crawl when it wants to bite something, it just throws itself. 15 That is called a *patok*. 16 It is short, not like other snakes that are long.

17 There is one called a yosok. 18 It lives underground. 19 There was a woman who was weeding her vegetable plants who was bitten but she didn't see what bit her, but because the bite swelled up and ached, the people who gathered to help that woman thought that a snake had bitten her. 20 But the woman said she hadn't seen a snake. 21 Now, according to a healer [this is a person who has various kinds of snakebite remedies], it was said to be a yosok that bit her. 22 He said the woman hadn't seen it because that snake is quick to bury itself in the earth when it sees there is danger.

23 As for the *hampapaga* [snake], I haven't seen a person who was bitten by this but, according to the old people, it is poisonous. 24 But it can be treated if the venom has not yet spread throughout the body. 25 One can tell if that venom has spread throughout the body of a person because their hair becomes stiff. 26 Now if the hair of a bitten person becomes stiff, give up hope [lit. let your breath give up hope] because he cannot live.

A piece of wood that is used as a throwing tool or weapon is called a *patok*. This kind of snake, also called a *patok*, lunges at its victim and thus resembles a *patok* throwing stick in its thrusting or propelling motion.

27 To tibo mgo hayas ogkahaedokan to otow su tibo sikan ogpakadoot to otow. 28 Di to yaposung, ngadan da ngani ogpamiginon to otow. 29 To yaposung ko maintok pad ko maga-bitiis hasta ko maga-puud on, iyan ighimatoy din to otow to yayas to ngipon din. 30 Di ko ogyaboy on duon to kaaslag ilingon ta maga-yawa on to saging to kaaslag din, ogtubuan on to sikan og-ilingon to tangow. 31 Duon sikan ogpakabotang to pusod din aw angod to sanggot to purma. 32 To kabayukan to sikan tangow diya ogpakaatubang to dagaeha din. 33 Na tongod to kaaslag din mabog-at on to paglisu to yawa din kaling ko meyduon otow no ogkatae-an din puli sikandin ogpatiduya aw ogsanggahidan puli to bahin to yawa to otow to sikan tangow din. 34 Ojow pa to mgo otow no nangkamaan to sikan, to ogkagaton kun to yaposung ogkayunasan da, di inggad puli masanggahidan to tangow ogkatapus yagboy to kinabuhi su wada yunas to sikan.

35 Meyduon pigdinog ku no migsambag no ko meyduon tokaon to yaposung ogpahuuman duon to wohig to kinagatan sed to 24 no uras. 36 Di migpanimboot a to pagyalis to diya no sambag su dini to kamanubuan dini to magsayug to Adgawan dow Umajam, ing-ojow to mgo kaaw-apuan to inggad pagyopa to wohig no ogsakoy to beytu ko mey otow no ogtokaon to yaposung.

37 Iyan on man to pag-oyod to wohig. 38 Meyduon yukos no migtibow to intaon din no bogjas. 39 Pagpanajun din, wada hayas no pigkita din. 40 Pagpatipauli din, pagyap-ang din to batang, pigkagat to bitiis din. 41 Pigkita din sikan yaposung di wada din kahimataji su migpadidayom dajun to sikan batang. 42 Pagtidow din duon to wohig, migyanguy sikandin su wada beytu no nayopaan din. 43 Na puli ku oghaptoson no isturya madani pad to intikin din likat to higad to wohig nakapatiingkud sikandin duon to kapun-an to benu su pigpandigyoman on sikandin. 44 Hangtod kuntoon duon pad sikan benu no pigsandigan din no mabigtawan sikandin.

45 To ogtokaon to yaposung kona gajod ogpainomon to wohig su sikan og-inomon din no wohig iyan ogdaya kandin diya to madali no kamatajon. 46 To Mallorca, ko ipainom to otow no ogtokaon, ogpakatabang. 47 Naantihan on sikan. 48 Siak, pigtoka ad to yaposung. 49 Madukilom to diya. 50 Mig-uli a diya to uma likat to baryu. 51 Pigkayag to bana ku to mgo suun ku aw pagkataga dan no pigkagat a to mamang migtidow sikandan aw pigpainom a to songo basu no Mallorca dow hapyasa to magkikilid to sikan kinagatan. 52 Nayunasan a. 53 Di marojow to Mallorca ko madani to tindahan ko meyduon ogkagaton to sikan mamang, di ko wada Mallorca, gamiton to yunas. 54 Aw to otow no ogtokaon kona ogpaponhikon diya

27 People are afraid of all snakes because they can all harm people. 28 But as for a yaposung, even just its name will cause people to shudder. 29 A yaposung,2 whether still small or as big around as the calf or thigh of a person, the way it kills a person is the venom of its teeth. 30 But when it gets extremely big and we say that it's as big around as a banana trunk, there grows that which is called a *tangow*. 31 It is located at the snake's navel and it's the shape of a sanggot bolo. 32 The curve of that tangow faces its chest. 33 Now, because of its size, its heavy body turns slowly, so if it encounters a person it will just slither on a part of the body of a person using its venomous protrusion on its underside. 34 According to people who know about it, a person bitten by a yaposung can be treated, but even if someone is just slightly wounded by the venomous protrusion [of this snake], life really ends because there is no treatment for that.

35 I heard someone giving advice that if someone is bitten by a *yaposung*, the bitten area should be submerged under water for 24 hours. 36 But I argued vigorously against that advice because here among Manobos in the Adgawan and Umajam River areas, the ancestors forbade anyone to even cross a river in a dugout canoe if someone was bitten by a *yaposung*.

37 How much more to be soaked in water. 38 There was a man who was checking his traps. 39 When he went on his way, he didn't see a snake. 40 [But] as he was returning home, stepping over a log, the calf [of his leg] was bitten [by a snake]. 41 He saw the *yaposung* but he wasn't able to kill it because it immediately went under the log. 42 When he reached the river, he swam because didn't have a boat in which to cross the river. 43 Now I'll just shorten my story, when he was still near the place where he left the riverbank, he had to sit down at the base of a wild mango tree because his eyesight was dimming. 44 Until today that wild mango tree is still there that he leaned against when he died [lit. snapped].

45 [A person] bitten by a *yaposung* really should not be given water because the water he drinks is what will carry him to a swift death. 46 Mallorca wine, if given to a snakebite victim to drink, can help. 47 It has been tried [and proven]. 48 As for me, I was once bitten by a *yaposung*. 49 It happened in the evening. 50 I was returning to the farm from town. 51 My husband spread the alarm to my siblings and when they found out that I was bitten by a snake, they came to me and made me drink a glass of Mallorca and they rubbed some of it around the bite. 52 I was healed [of my snakebite]. 53 But Mallorca is [only] good if there is a store near where someone is bitten by that snake, but if there's no Mallorca, use *yunas*³ snakebite antidote. 54 And a person who is bitten should not go

² Manobos measure the size of snake by its girth, not by its length.

yunas: a kind of tree, the bark of which is used to make an antidote for snakebite. See a fuller description of yunas in sentences 59–90 below.

to diatas to bayoy. 55 Paingkudon to yosung dow duon sikandin yunasi. 56 Hasta ko meyduon mangusip dow naamonu sikan otow, kinahangyan no kona sikandin og-iling to "Pigtoka a to mamang." 57 To igtabak din, umiling sikandin to "Nawanggasan a." 58 To ig-ilinga to sikan, ojow pa to mgo minuna, agun kona dajun muligub to yayas duon to yawa to sikan pigtoka.

59 Basi meyduon og-usip dow andei kapuun to yunas. 60 To yunas kona no pigtaginop, kona no tongod to kamaalamon to otow, di pigkita to yunas pinaagi to daduwa no mgo mata to songo otow. 61 To diya paiskuyla ku diya to Loreto, meyduon otow no taga-yunasan, si Anda. 62 Mahan-in to pigtoka to yaposung no nayunasan din. 63 Songo aedow, si Marcelo migduma ki Anda no mighipanow diya to guyangan su ogpamangha kun to ogkasoda. 64 Duon to dayan meyduon mamang [yaposung] no migyambag kandan. 65 Dajun tagoni ni Anda to liog to sikan yaposung dow yanita to kindae to sikan mamang likat to uyu pailing diya to ikug aw dajun tongosa to dohun dow ised to puju no pigbaba din su ogsodaon din. 66 Si Marcelo mig-usip dow nokoy no wada makayaguy sikan hayas no dakopon din. 67 Wada tabak sikan otow no pig-usip, di mey pigbutwa din likat to puju din no garapa no mey tagu no binasbas no talip to kaju dow naponu to Mallorca aw ihajag ki Marcelo. 68 "Yunas seini kaling kona ogpakahisu to mamang ko ogkita kanav."

69 "Andei nu man puduta sikan?" mig-usip manda si Marcelo.

70 "Migpanganup a," mig-isturya si Anda. 71 "Naboyong a su wada babuy no nakobongan ku. 72 Wada kayugoy migdinog a to yuyutigpos. 73 Eh, paglingi ku pa no daduwa no ka-yaposung no tag maga-hawakan to kaaslag. 74 Tongod to dait ku, wada ku kamaani no nakapamonhik a to kaju. 75 Pigsaepan ku sikan migbubuyow. 76 Anoy man to nahina-hina on, pigkita ku sikan saboka no nakotong. 77 Ginhawa ku, patoy on. 78 Halus kona ad ogginhawa no migsayap. 79 Sikan nakotong no yaposung pigbantajan to sikan saboka. 80 Na anoy man no madani on buwa ogkamatoy, ogkabuwa ku su madiyu a da man, miglisu sikan buhi no mamang dow duya pailing duon to kapun-an to kaju dow guas to talip. 81 Pigpa-pa din sikan talip dow ibotang duon to ba-ba to sikan nakotong no hayas. 82 Tapus to sikan, pigkita ku no pighisu to sikan hayas no nakotong to ikug din. 83 Sunu, mighisu to yawa hangtod no pigbajow to uyu din aw duduma sikandan no migduya. 84 Wada ku litadi sikan mgo hayas no migduya hangtod no nalius. 85 Wada a dajun yudus su nahaedok a ko mupauli sikan mgo mamang. 86 To diya pigkita ku no pighinang to sikan hayas, to diya pagbotang din to pigpa-pa no talip to kaju duon to ba-ba to diya og-ilingon ku puli to pagkaikagi to hayas no nadaog din no mububuyow sikandan, nasabut ku no yunas sikan. 87 Dajun a yudus dow anduon a to sikan up into a house. 55 Have him sit on a rice pounding mortar and treat him there. 56 And if someone asks what happened to that person, he must not say, "I was bitten by a snake." 57 His answer, he should say, "I was pricked by a rattan thorn." 58 The reason he should say that, according to the ancestors, is so the venom won't immediately spread throughout the body of the one bitten.

59 Maybe someone will ask where yunas snakebite antidote comes from. 60 Yunas was not dreamed up, and it's not because of human wisdom, but yunas was seen by the two eyes of a person. 61 Back when I was going to school at Loreto, there was a man named Anda who was known to have ability to heal snakebite wounds. 62 He healed many who were bitten by yaposung [snakes] by his yunas herbal remedies. 63 One day a man named Marcelo accompanied Anda walking in the forest because they would look for something to catch for viand. 64 On the way, they encountered a snake, a yaposung. 65 Immediately Anda took hold of the neck of that *yaposung* and stripped off the skin of that snake from the head to the tail and then wrapped it in a leaf and put it inside the pouch he carried on his back because he would make viand out of it. 66 Marcelo asked why the snake was not able to get away when he caught it. 67 The man who was asked did not answer but he took something out from his pouch, a small bottle that was filled with the chopped bark of a tree and Mallorca wine, and he held it up to Marcelo to show it to him. 68 "This is snakebite antidote and that's why the snake couldn't move when it saw me."

69 "Where did you get that?" Marcelo asked further.

70 "I went hunting with my dogs," Anda began his story. 71 "I was surprised that I couldn't find any wild pig tracks. 72 It didn't take long I heard the sound of repeated lashings. 73 Eh [expression of surprise], when I turned around I saw two waist-sized yaposung snakes. 74 In my fright, I climbed a tree without realizing it. 75 I watched the two fighting. 76 After awhile, I saw that one was lying stretched out. 77 'It [must be] dead', I thought. 78 I almost couldn't breathe as I watched. 79 The other yaposung stayed near guarding the stretched out snake. 80 And when maybe it was almost dying, I could say maybe because I was in a distance, the live snake turned around and slithered toward the base of a tree and took a bite of the bark. 81 It chewed the bark and put it in the mouth of the stretched-out snake. 82 After that, I saw the stretched-out snake move its tail. 83 Next, the body moved and then it raised its head, and the two slithered off together. 84 I kept my eyes on the snakes who slithered off until they were gone. 85 I did not climb down immediately because I was afraid that the snakes might return. 86 What I saw that snake do, its putting the chewed tree bark into the mouth of the other snake that I could just say it had defeated when they were fighting, I understood that it was a medicine. 87 Then I climbed down and went to the tree

kaju no pigpudutan to diya hayas to intambae din to diya kuntra din. 88 Pighiling-hiling ku to dohun dow to yawa. 89 Tapus to sikan, migpudut a to linas dow uli a. 90 Seini no yunas," pigbajow din sikan garapa no pigtagonan din, "mahan-in on to pigtoka to yaposung no natambayan."

where the snake had gotten what it used to medicine its opponent. 88 I closely examined the leaves and trunk of the tree. 89 After that, I took some of the bark and went home. 90 This snakebite medicine," he raised the small bottle that he held, "has healed many who have been bitten by *yaposung* snakes."

To Bakosan

1 Dini to kamanubuan yabi diya to kauyu to Adgawan nokani, ko panahon to tig-ani, mgo bohi to og-ani dow to mgo yukos ogpangaesan. 2 Di meyduon da yukos no ogkabilin no ogbulig to mgo bohi su sikandin to ogdaya to mgo diwitan no ogkaponu to mgo inani dow igdiwit duon to tambubung.

3 To ogpamangaesan tag daduwa no simana diya to guyangan ko mailas to panow dan di ko ogsabuon, tag songo simana dan da diya to guyangan. 4 Meyduon upat no mgo yukos no namangaesan—si Sadino, si Sabino, si Saldo dow si Cerilo. 5 Anad seini no mgo yukos to pagpanganup. 6 Pagtidow dan duon to napu no mig-et to daduwa no mgo bubungan, mighinang sikandan to hoyungan dow duon ibilin to baaw dan no humoy [bogas] aw duma no mgo tagudaya dan. 7 Tapus to sikan, migpanow sikandan dow sugud to nanganup. 8 Sikan yagboy no aedow daduwa no buuk to pakot no pigpamood to mgo idu dan.

9 Madani on ogsagpak to soga no mutidow sikandan duon to hoyungan dan. 10 Migbubulig sikan upat no mgo yukos to pagsinadab to sikan mgo babuy. 11 Malipagos sikan mgo yukos no miglihok, di inggad pad to sikan, madigyom on no ikapang-untud dan to mgo ginupae no babuy duon to tapahan su ogsugnuhan.

12 Dapit on to kaadlawon no malipodong sikandan su pigtagadan dan no mayutu to sinugnuhan dan. 13 Wada pad kahinahina to pagkahikyup dan hinggawan nakabangun si Sadino su migbati sikandin to mahagsi no nakadogkot to yawa din dongan to migdinog sikandin to yayagopu. 14 "Bangun kow yagi!" migbansagon si Sadino aw sikan daduwa no mgo duma din iyan da no pagkabangun aw dajun nakatagon to mgo yugju dan. 15 To kaeju duon to pigsugnuhan dan dugaja pad migyogdog aw sikan to nakatang-ow to sikan duma dan, si Cerilo no pigbakosan. 16 Hogot to pagkakoskos ki Cerilo. 17 Pigpanimboot dan podom no mahimatajan sikan bakosan agun mayuwas sikan duma dan, di nalisodan sikandan to pagtigbas su basi ko yahusan sikandin. 18 Pagkinasamuk dan on migbadbad sikan bakosan aw duon dan on hutaja to paghimatoy, di paglingi dan ki Cerilo, naangod sikandin to binukbuk no pusu. 19 Migyagom hilabi to yawa din, wadad ginhawa din. 20 Migyunoy yagboy to yawa su nagipu-gipu to mgo bokog din.

Python

1 Here among Manobos especially at the headwaters of the Adgawan river long ago, when it was harvest time, women would harvest and the men would gather *paesan* rattan. ¹ 2 But there was a man who stayed to help the women because he was the one to carry the big basket that would be filled with the harvested grain and would take it up into the granary.

3 Those who gathered rattan would stay two weeks at a time in the forest when they had bad luck in their trip, but if they were lucky, they would stay just one week at a time in the forest. 4 There were four men gathering rattan—Sadino, Sabino, Saldo, and Cerilo. 5 These men were used to hunting with dogs. 6 When they arrived at an area of level land between two mountains, they made a shelter and left their provision of rice and their other cargo there. 7 After that, they left and began to hunt with dogs. 8 That very day their dogs caught two large wild male pigs.

9 The sun was about to set when they reached their shelter. 10 Those four men helped each other to singe the pigs. 11 Those men worked quickly, but even so, it was already dark when they were able to place the chunks of pork on the platform above the fire to roast.

12 It was toward morning that they got to sleep because they waited for their roasting meat to cook. 13 It wasn't long after they dozed off that Sadino suddenly got up because he felt something cold against his body while at the same time heard a rustling noise. 14 "Get up friends!" Sadino shouted, and two of his companions got up simultaneously and immediately grabbed their bolos. 15 The fire from their roasting was still flaming and that is what illuminated their companion. Cerilo, who was being attacked by a python. 16 It was tightly coiled around Cerilo. 17 They tried their hardest to kill the python so their companion could be freed, but they had a hard time slashing it for fear that their blows would penetrate through to him. 18 When they made a lot of noise, the python uncoiled itself and they were able to kill it deliberately, but when they looked down at Cerilo, he was like a severely beaten banana blossom. 19 His body was purplish, he was not breathing. 20 His body was very limp because his bones were all broken.

Several kinds of rattan grow in the forested areas of this region. *Paesan* and *kaepi* are the kinds harvested for use in making furniture. The *kaepi* rattan plant bears an edible fruit with scaly skin. *Podlos* is a very thin kind of rattan that need not be split for use in tying. It can make a good clothesline. The *taembingan* variety of rattan can be used for commercial purposes but is less preferred. *Ulisi* rattan is very thick and is considered to be of a poor class.

To Bakosan Python

21 Pagkadaliwakas to aedow namanhimos sikan tatoyu su og-uli sikandan. 22 To daduwa migyayahung ki Cerilo dow sikan saboka migbaba to mgo sinugnuhan. 23 Sikan usab no aedow, to mgo bohi no migpadajun to pag-ani naman-uli su nabayu to degmatoy to inoy ni Cerilo.

21 At daybreak those three packed up in order to return home. 22 Two carried [the body of] Cerilo between them and the other one carried the roasted meat on his back. 23 On that same day, the women who were continuing to harvest went home to see the cause of the noise because Cerilo's mother was wailing.



V. Customs and Practices

68

Minangajow no Gera

1 To minangajow no gera og-ilingon ku to kinawatan no gera su puli ogpakatokow. 2 Kona no angod to gera kuntoon no hamatuk pad ogsasabutan.

3 To gera no mangajow ogkatubu tongod to mgo hinongdan no ogpakagutgut to pagdomot. 4 Angod pananglitan ko meyduon otow no og-agawan to asawa, pinangasawahay no ogkahobyas, dow ko meyduon ogyuiban.

5 To asawa no og-agawon ogyupugon to bana aw ogpaduma to mahan-in no mgo yukos. 6 Duon ogtikin to mgo hitabu no ogpakapakorog to atoy su wada ogpilion to sikan ogpanhimatoy, bata sikandin ko manigaon, yukos ko bohi, basta matae-an oghimatajan gajod.

7 Na, sikan namangajowan ogbayos ogmangajow. 8 Wada usab ogpilion dan, bata ko manigaon tibo dan oghimatajan. 9 Ko kona dan maliwakan sikan ogbayosan dan, kae-at to mgo otow no ogkatae-an dan su kandan to ogkapahungawan to hadat to sikan namangajawan.

10 Ogpadajun sikan no pagpababayosay aw ko wada makasanta to sikan, mahan-in to mgo kinabuhi no ogkauyakan. 11 Kotob no wada makapagtonga to sikan daduwa no grupu no ogdinomotay wada gajod kahusajan no ogkahimu.

12 Ogkahusoy sikan no dinomotay ko mey otow no ogkatahudan aw iyan ogpagtonga. 13 Ogtawagon din sikan daduwa no grupu to mgo otow dow oghimuon din to bila. 14 Sikan og-ilingon to bila kibali maagbot no panapa. 15 Duon to kabaknaan to sikan daduwa no grupu no migdinomotay meyduon baegon no ogtampodon. 16 Igpaaw-angod to pagkatampod to sikan pagdinomotay. 17 Ko andei dapit no grupu to makayapas to sikan pagbila, na iyan og-otokon. 18 Na bali man no malinow on su to kada grupu ogtigpod man no kona kandan makayapas to sikan sinapaay.

19 Tapus on.

Revenge War

1 The *mangajow* war,¹ I call it surprise [lit. stealing] war because it just happens unexpectedly. 2 It's not like wars these days that are properly agreed on.

3 The *mangajow* war comes about [lit. grows] because of causes that stir up hatred. 4 For example, if there is a person whose wife is taken away from him, failure of a marriage proposal, or if someone is betrayed.

5 A husband will follow a wife who has been taken away and many men go along. 6 There begins the event that makes the liver shiver because those who kill are not choosy; whoever is found will surely be killed whether young or old, male or female.

7 Then those who were attacked will attack in revenge. 8 Neither are they choosy, they kill anyone, old or young. 9 If they don't get an opportunity to harm those they want to take revenge on, it's too bad for the people they meet because the wrath of those avengers is vented on them.

10 That back and forth revenging will continue and if no one can stop it, many lives will be wasted. 11 As long as no one can go between the two parties who hate each other, no reconciliation is possible.

12 That hatred can be reconciled if there is a respected person who can be a go-between. 13 He will call those two groups of people and he will establish a peace pact. 14 That which is called peace pact is a very great vow. 15 Between those two groups who hate each other there is a rattan that is cut in two. 16 It is likened to the cutting of that mutual hatred. 17 Whichever of the group might break the peace pact, a curse will befall them. 18 At last there is peace because each group is careful not to break that yow.

19 Finished.

¹ Mangajow attacks are carried out by attack parties of five to eight men.

To Kaugpa to mgo Manubu Notoduon dow Kuntoon

1 Buyan to diya to Nubimbre timpu to tig-ani nakaduma a to yagina ku no migpanig-ani diya to kauyu to Adgawan. 2 Betu to pigsakajan noy pigtokonan to tatoyu no ka-yukos. 3 Tatoyu no aedow to pagsuba noy ayha koy abut diya to tuud noy. 4 Madiyu koy pad duon to ogpadatongan noy, migdinog koy to gimbae dow agung. 5 Usab saboka kanami, "Meyduon mighinang to kahimunan!"

6 Iyan batasan to mgo Manubu to pagtaephag to

The Life of Manobos Before and Now

1 It was in the month of November¹ at the time of the harvest season² when I went with my aunt³ who was harvesting⁴ at the headwaters of the Adgawan.⁵ 2 We rode a boat⁶ poled⁷ by three men.⁸ 3 We went upstream three days before we arrived at our destination.⁹ 4 We were still far from our destination when we heard a drum and gong.¹⁰ 5 We said to one another, "There are people gathered to participate in a sacrifice."¹¹

6 It is the custom of the Manobos to offer a sacrifice¹²

¹ The events described here happened in 1939 when the author was 13 years old. She was brought along on the trip to take care of the baby of the woman identified here as her aunt. See also footnote 3.

In times past there were two harvest seasons. At the beginning of the *goban* season, rice was planted in December and harvested in April or May. At the beginning of the *panuig* season, rice was planted in June and harvested in November. Crops other than rice were *batad* 'corn', *kamuti* 'sweet potato', and *hupi* 'taro'. There were two harvests of corn. Sweet potatoes yielded a continual harvest, maturing no sooner than five months after being planted. The taro crop took six months to mature and yielded only one crop per year. First the main plant is harvested, then secondary shoots grow and are also harvested.

This woman was not actually related to the author by blood. Families were close, and the term *yagina* 'aunt' is used here as a title of respect. The "aunt" was a relative of the owners of the field.

⁴ Before the field had been planted, the lady accompanying the author had given the owners of the field a pig or chickens and in return was allowed to take part in the harvesting part of the field. She also brought a pig with her at harvest time.

The Adgawan River is one of the main tributaries of the Agusan River in Agusan del Sur province, Mindanao. Many Manobo people live in communities along this and the Umayam River to the south. The Adgawan River flows through La Paz municipality and poblacion, and the Umayam River follows its course through Loreto municipality and poblacion.

beytu: a long canoe made from one tree, hollowed out with an axe. A beytu that is in the process of construction and still in rough form is called baiy. The finishing process with an adze, whereby the boat is smoothed out, is known by the verb himpit. To complete the process, coconut leaves are placed lengthwise under the elevated boat and burned to dry out the wood and make it light. This process is called sayab or saeb.

Traveling upstream on the Adgawan River without a motorized boat, one has to use a long pole to propel the boat. It is a difficult task against the fairly strong current. Other kinds of boats used for travel on the Adgawan River are *batiy* and *bangka*. A *batiy* is similar in style to a *beytu*, only smaller. A *bangka* is a much larger boat with an inboard motor, but it cannot navigate very far up the Adgawan River unless the river level is high. A *beytu* that is fitted with brackets to hold an outboard motor is called a *kasku*. Extra boards are added to the sides. These can travel a fair ways up the river, but cannot reach the far upriver communities unless the river is in flood surge stage [*sigoy*]. This kind of boat [*beytu*] can also be propelled by oars, as is usually the case when used in the much deeper Agusan River.

⁸ Three men were needed to pole the boat because it was so heavy and the current was so strong.

The location of the rice harvest was near a place called *Kilal-is*, so called because a thin, sharpened strip of bamboo called *bal-is* was reportedly found there in the entrance to a nearby cave. This *bal-is* supposedly had blood on it, which taken to be a sign indicating that someone in the village would die.

The drum called *gimbae* and the gong called *agung* are used only at important gatherings called *kahimunan* rituals, when a pig is sacrificed and many spirits are in attendance. The *gimbae* and *agung* are played together in rhythm. The *gimbae* is placed between the feet of the player, who is sitting on the ground. To make a *gimbae*, a 30 cm [1 ft] section of tree trunk is cut and hollowed out until the sides are about 1 cm in thickness. Both ends are then covered with the dried skins of deer, monkey, or lizard, and then tied on with rattan. An *agung* must be purchased. It is made of metal, about 30 cm in diameter and 6 cm in breadth, with a rounded knob on the top. It is hung sideways. One player uses two flat bamboo sticks to beat a rhythm on the side, producing a deep sound, and the other player uses a piece of wood with a rounded end to hit the knob, producing a high sound.

A *kahimunan* is a special gathering to invoke the *diwata* spirits. Examples of occasions for the *kahimunan* ritual are ceremonies to appeal to certain *diwatas* for favor in healing sick people, and ceremonies associated with rice harvest time. The type of *kahimunan* mentioned here is traditionally done each evening just before the harvesting of the first of the rice crop begins. People will gather and the *gimbae* 'drum' and *agung* 'gong' will be played together to notify the *diwata* spirits.

Anyone, especially a close friend, can give a chicken to be used as a harvest sacrifice and in return he or she will be given a portion of the field to harvest. The *taephagan diwata* will accept any kind of chicken but a *taegbusow diwata* requires a red chicken for the type of sacrifices offered to it.

uma. 7 Og-unahon dan ogpanawagon to mgo tumatadu to tanom dan su pigtuuhan dan no ogpakaani kandan to madogi no humoy su ogbantoy man seini mgo diwata.

8 Pagkabukas migsugud on to pag-ani to mgo bohi yakip to yagina ku, puli ogtongaon to pagbahin to inani. 9 Meyduon daduwa no ka-yukos no maghakutay to inani. 10 Abutan to pila no aedow meyduon namandatong no mgo otow no migdaya to yain-yain no baligja no igbaylu to humoy. 11 Aedow-aedow meyduon ogdatong no mgo otow likat diya to dibaba. 12 Wada kayugoy, halus wadad ogkahibatan noy su mahan-in on tigbae to mgo otow duon to pigpadatongan noy.

13 Kada mahapun to mgo bohi ogdaya to gangu no humoy dow bajuha para to panihapun. 14 Pagkabukas ogsoyom usab to pagbaju para pamahaw. 15 Pagkatapus to pagbaju ogsayuk to wohig, ogpangadu to igtomog. 16 Kona dan ogpasayukon to mgo yukos su ogpakatabiyow kandan. 17 Ogtagad seini ko honatan to koonon. 18 Mangkabakas to mgo bohi notoduon. 19 Ogpamangayas to duma.

20 Natapus to tig-ani. 21 Diya to kahigadan to Adgawan ogkakitaan nu to mgo balsa no ogyuwanan to humoy. 22 To kanami no balsa naponu usab to

for a field. 7 First they call the spirits¹³ of their plants because they believe they will harvest much rice because these spirits guard [their fields].

8 The next morning the women, including my aunt, began harvesting,¹⁴ and they divided in half what they harvested.¹⁵ 9 There were two men who hauled the harvest.¹⁶ 10 After several days people arrived bringing various merchandise to barter for rice.¹⁷ 11 Every day people arrived from downriver.¹⁸ 12 Before long, there was hardly any place to lie down because there were very many people in the house where we were staying.

13 Every afternoon the women brought dried rice and pounded it for supper.¹⁹ 14 Early the next morning they again pounded for breakfast. 15 After pounding, they would fetch water²⁰ and gather firewood.²¹ 16 They did not ask the men to fetch water because it would be unbecoming to their dignity.²² 17 They [the men] only waited to be served food.²³ 18 Women in the past were very industrious.²⁴ 19 Some cut underbrush.²⁵

20 The harvest was finished.²⁶ 21 On the shores of the Adgawan you could see rafts to be loaded with rice. 22 Our raft²⁷ also was filled with rice. 23 We were

The *tumatadu diwatas* are those that guard [*tadu*] the plants. They guard against such things as insects, rats, disease, birds, but not thieves. It is believed that if these *diwatas* are ignored, the next crop will not be guarded.

The harvester will use a sharp metal tool attached to a small piece of wood when harvesting. This device is a called a *bibi*. The harvested rice is then placed in a basket suspended by a tumpline. This basket is called a *yangi*. The rice is then transferred to a very large basket called a *diwitan*.

The morning's harvest is dedicated to the harvester, while the afternoon's share is for the owner of the field. The harvester's share is called the *magangu*, while the owner's share is called the *diwit*.

After the women poured their harvested rice into the *diwitan* basket, the men carried these baskets, which had straps attached to them, to the granary [tambubung].

People from the lowland area, including Visayans, Boholanos, and other Manobos, came bringing such things as canned goods, dried and salted kinds of fish, alcoholic beverages, hair oil, clothing, blankets, sugar, salt, dishes, and cooking pots to use for barter. After all the rice was bartered away, the upriver Manobos would have no more rice of their own to eat and would have to revert to the squash and sweet potatoes that they also raise.

¹⁸ These people who arrived were both harvesters and merchants.

To go along with the rice during those days of harvest, the people ate dried and canned food brought by the lowlanders. Also, sometimes the men of the area would go into the forest and catch game.

The people of that area would get water from the nearby Adgawan River. At that time it was still quite clean because few people lived upriver from there. They would carry water in hollowed-out bamboo tubes called *sakodu* that had two or three bamboo joint partitions removed. The *sakodu* container would then be leaned against the shoulder of the carrier.

The firewood they used was hacked from the trunks and branches of old trees that had been felled when fields were cleared. Axes and bolos were used to cut the segments for firewood.

Only the women would harvest, carry water, and gather firewood. If men would do that kind of work, it would be considered undignified for them. When going somewhere on a path, women would typically carry a small child in front and a heavy load on her back, strapped to a tumpline. Men would be accompanied by a hunting dog and carry a spear and light backpack. They would thus be unencumbered if the need arose to defend against an attacker. Women didn't resent their lot in life but rather accepted it as just the way life was.

²³ In former times, the Manobos of that area ate two meals a day, one at mid-morning and the second after dark. At other times they would chew betel nut to stave off hunger.

The author observes that this is still true today; many women still do hard work.

Perhaps fewer Manobos today cut underbrush to clear fields for planting [a process called *gayas* or *gaes*] but it was very common in former times. Even some unmarried girls had their own fields and would clear underbrush for field-planting preparation. It was easier back then because there was not much underbrush to deal with in virgin forest.

The author stayed there in the rice harvesting area for perhaps one month.

A *balsa* is a big raft made of bamboo or some light kind of wood. When traveling back downriver on the raft, a roof was made the middle of the raft to shelter the rice and the passengers. A fire table was built on the raft for cooking.

humoy. 23 Mabibu koy no migpaewod su dogi to napudut noy no humoy, di to piglikatan noy kamuti on to ogkoonon su to humoy dan in-imot on inbaylu to mgo baligja no daya to mgo negosyante. 24 Su inggad maintok da to igbogoy kandan, sinaku man to igbayos. 25 Kaling madali sikandan ogkaimotan to humoy.

26 To mgo bata to diya no timpu kona ogkaliyag og-iskuyla; ogkasikow, ogkahaedok to maistru. 27 To diya bata a pad ogkahaedok a og-iskuyla. 28 Inggad ogpogoson a to inoy ku. 29 Ogpakaiskuyla a da ko oggujudon a to pulis. 30 Di to mgo bata no pigpakamonangan on to ginikanan wadad gajod makaiskuyla.

31 To mgo daega mangkahaba to kabo. 32 Kona ogpangabo to majopot su ogkasikow ko makitaan to yoyokonan dan. 33 Mangkahaba usab to bubue. 34 Kona ogpangatratu, ogpabooton to ginikanan dan ko meyduon ogpangasawa kandan. 35 Timpu to pagson-ad ogbabayot su agun kona makapanungit-sungit ko

in a convivial mood²⁸ going downstream²⁹ because we got a lot of rice,³⁰ but those we left behind would just eat sweet potato because they used up their rice bartering for goods brought by the sellers. 24 Because even though little is given to them, they reciprocate with sacks full of rice.³¹ 25 Therefore their rice is soon gone.

26 Children at that time did not want to go to school; they were ashamed, afraid of the teacher.³² 27 When I was a child, I was afraid to go to school. 28 Even when my mother forced me [to go].³³ 29 I would only go to school if a policeman dragged me.³⁴ 30 But the children allowed by their parents to stay home really would not attend school.³⁵

31 The young women wore long clothes. 32 They did not wear short clothes because they would be ashamed if the back of their knees were seen.³⁶ 33 Their hair also was long.³⁷ 34 They did not get engaged, they let their parents decide³⁸ if someone wanted to marry them.³⁹ 35 When cooking, they used a tobacco

The term *mabibu* expresses a Manobo concept that combines the strong cultural values of group togetherness with joyful repartee and a general feeling of well-being. They were happy in this case because they knew they would be bringing joy to their loved ones since they were bringing back a lot of rice. The author states that she didn't think at the time of the plight of the people whom they had left behind who would be left eating sweet potatoes.

In rafting downriver, they did not propel it forward with poles as they did in going upriver. Rather, they would use poles to push off the river bottom or the river bank [tukud] to keep the raft going straight, or else get out and pull the raft with a rope tied to its front to guide it, especially around sharp curves [tagustus].

They returned home with about thirty sacks of unhusked rice. The author estimates that it would have lasted her family for only about two months since it would need to supply her large family and others whom they supported. They also had a field of their own in the community of Langasian that would be harvested a month later.

The owner of the rice field would decide how much to give. It is said that they gave generously because the *diwata* spirits told them to give without measuring so they would be rewarded accordingly. The recipient may also give a token gift in return, such as clothes, canned fish, or Mallorca liquor.

One reason many children did not want to go to school is that education had not yet become a community value. There were no educated Manobos and thus no role models to follow. Children were often needed at home to help their parents. Also, teachers were from the coastal areas and taught in English and Cebuano. The teachers had to go around from house to house and enroll their own students.

The author states several reasons why she was reluctant to go to school: 1) the path to school was through a thick, dark forest. 2) She was afraid of the teacher, who was not from the area and not accustomed to Manobos. 3) She didn't know Cebuano well yet. 4) She had other things she preferred to do at home. 5) As the eldest child, she had to babysit her younger siblings about two days a week.

The author states that policemen would go out looking for students who were playing hooky and bring them forcibly to school, where they would be beaten by the teacher.

³⁵ The author's mother or father accompanied her to school for the first week or so.

³⁶ Skirts were generally mid-calf in length. The back of the knee should not be seen as this was considered provocative. Sleeves were elbow-length or below.

³⁷ Long hair was considered beautiful. The author's hair was below her waist until the fifth grade, when it was cut short. The prevailing attitude was that short hair was appropriate only for men, not for women.

Parents of a prospective groom would look for a girl who was industrious and well-behaved and one who had well-behaved parents. Girls were typically sixteen years of age when married, though some married as early as thirteen. Boys were married at seventeen or eighteen years of age, or when they were ready to farm and take care of a wife. Parents of the prospective groom would first get their son's approval of a certain girl and then start doing favors for that girl's parents. After several months, they would go formally to the girl's parents, taking along a mutual friend as spokesman. Negotiations would often take several visits, during which time the bride price is arranged, including the demands of all the bride's relatives, especially those who helped the prospective bride's father arrange for his own wedding. When the payment is made, the time is set for the wedding. The bride's parents will also reciprocate by giving gifts to the groom's parents. This is called *sinubakay*.

³⁹ The author's evaluation of the custom of arranged marriages is that it had the advantage of keeping couples together because of family pressure to keep the family intact. But in fact, according to her, many married couples only tolerated each other without real love.

nokoy to ogkasonad. 36 Su og-ilahon dan no madoot to bohi no og-una-una ogkoon. 37 Madoot og-ahaon. 38 Oghingadanan to bilasa. 39 Kaling to mgo bohi notoduon hilabi mangkatarong.

40 Tapus to hilabunon to mgo yukos marojow on to lipodong su ogpakailing sikandin no wadad on trabahu su seini no trabahu katapusan no bahin no ogkinahangyan to pagtabang to yukos su to abuabon bohi on man to ogtrabahu. 41 Iyan nanda oghinangon din pagsodyop diya to guyangan su ogpanginsoda. 42 Wada on yain no oghona-honaon.

43 Kuntoon maaslag on to kausaban. 44 Ogkaihap nanda to otow no ogtaephag to uma. 45 Ko ogpangani ki, pitu-pitu to pagbahin. 46 Ko ogpamaylu ki ogtongopan gajod ko man-u to bali to sikan igbaylu nu. 47 Matagsa nanda to ogpakoon su saepi on to pinayabi.

48 To mgo bohi kuntoon konad ogkakulian bahin to mgo hinangon diya to bayoy su meyduon mgo suguonon yabi to asawa to mgo trabahanti to kumpaniya. 49 Konad on ogbaju puli nanda ogsayud to bogas duon to kantina. 50 Konad ogpangaju su iyan on oggamiton to kurinti. 51 Duon on ogson-ad to sikan oghingadanan to istub. 52 To mgo bana kona og-asuk to asawa. 53 Usahay ogpamanghaan pad to asawa dan to daduwa no mgo suguonon.

wad⁴⁰ so they wouldn't snitch bites. 36 Because they considered a woman bad who ate first. 37 It's not good to see. 38 They were called greedy. 39 Therefore women in the past were very well-behaved.⁴¹

40 After weeding and covering seeds,⁴² men could sleep well because they told themselves they had no more work because this work was the end of the part that needed a man's help because women were the ones to do the weeding.⁴³ 41 All he would do was go to the forest and look for viand.⁴⁴ 42 They had nothing more to think of.

43 Now there is a great change.⁴⁵ 44 Only a few people sacrifice in the field.⁴⁶ 45 When we harvest, we divide it into sevenths.⁴⁷ 46 If we barter, the price is equal to the value of the goods. 47 Few offer food [free] because money is more valuable to them.

48 Women today do not have a hard time about their housework because they have maids, especially the wives of the company workers. 48 49 They don't pound rice anymore but just stick their bag under the chute and wait for the bag to fill with rice at the canteen. 49 50 They no longer gather firewood because now they use electricity. 51 Now they cook on what is called a stove. 50 52 Husbands do not overburden their wives with work. 53 Sometimes they look for two servants for their wife.

A *bayot* is a wad of tobacco mixed with lime and a little water. A woman holds it between the lips, in front of the teeth. A man tucks it under his top lip. Reasons for its use: 1) So that a woman will not snitch food while cooking. To do so, especially if visitors are present, is considered extremely bad manners and may affect the reputation of the husband. 2) It made the woman look cheerful. 3) It helps in overcoming morning sickness. 4) For men, it is simply accustomed practice.

The following are some characteristics of a woman who was considered to be well-behaved: 1) She had graceful movements. 2) She does not eat while walking around. 3) Her manner of speaking is nice; she is not impertinent. 4) She arranges her skirt nicely before sitting down [especially before chairs were in common use].

Hilabun is the farming practice whereby either men or women will weed a field on which rice seed has just been broadcast, and in the process till the ground such that the rice seed is covered by soil.

Abuab is the farming practice of cutting weeds at their roots with a blunt-edged bolo. It is done one month after planting a rice field, when the plants are about 20 cm [8 in] high. A forward jabbing motion is made under the surface of the earth to cut the roots of the weeds. This has been considered to be women's work because it is fine work that requires careful attention so as not to uproot the rice plants along with the weeds. Another kind of weeding is called *pamengbung* occurs when the tip of the rice head is ripe. Tall weeds are cut down below the level of the rice plants. This can be done by either men or women.

⁴⁴ See chart entitled "Types of Hunting," p. 51.

⁴⁵ This change is occurring because outsiders are moving into the area and introducing new ways. This change is gradual.

Actually, this practice is still done but not on as large scale as in former time. Reasons given why this practice is on the decline: 1) It is very expensive to invite large numbers of people to an event such as this. Many would rather sell the pig and get the money for it than offer it. 2) Many Manobos have married lowlanders who are not accustomed to this practice. 3) Some Christian groups in the area refuse to take part in this practice. Some people have observed that they get a harvest whether they sacrifice or not, so it is useless to go to the trouble and expense. 4) There are fewer active shamans than before.

In the Adgawan area, harvesters now commonly harvest six bundles for the owner, with the seventh as his own share. However, it is not uncommon for him to make his own bundle considerably larger than the normal bundle.

Actually, most ordinary people do not have paid househelpers, but anyone who can afford to does employ them. Many households have helpers who are not paid large wages but are given other benefits such as clothing or other needs.

The company store referred to here has a chute through which rice is poured by the clerk from inside the store and caught in bags by the customer outside. People who have a lot of rice of their own can take it to the mill. Those with only a little may still pound their own.

The author has qualified this statement to say that, while electric stoves are becoming more common, most people still do their cooking using wood as fuel. Nowadays, men are the ones to gather and split the firewood.

54 To mgo kabataan kuntoon interesadu on bahin to idukasiyun. 55 Inggad wada igkagastu to ginikanan ogpamangha gajod to paagi no makaiskuyla sikandan. 56 To kadogihan kuntoon to mgo batan-on konad ogpamuwayas su diyad on to upisina ogtrabahu su nakaabut man to matikang no idukasiyun.

57 Yabi on usab to batasan to mgo daega kuntoon. 58 Kona tad ogkiyayahon to bohi dow yukos su pudu man ogpanaw-ae hasta to bubue dan mig-aangod to kajopot. 59 Meyduon mgo daega no puli on ogboboot ogminyo inggad kona ogkataga to ginikanan. 60 Meyduon mgo daega usab kuntoon no wada purmalidad. 61 Panahon to pagkoon inggad diya to karsada migpasukap-sukap. 62 Kadoot no og-ahaon! 63 To mgo kabo dan panggad nanda to hita.

64 To mgo yukos kuntoon kona no tongop to isip. 65 Pagkatapus to songo hinangon meyduon on usab igsunu no nahona-honaan no trabahu. 66 Majopot on to linipodongan su iyan da oghona-honaon to pagpauswag to panginabuhi agun kona ogkalisod-lisod diya to piluy no mgo aedow.

67 Seini to tahan dow binag-u no kinabuhi to mgo Manubu.

54 Children today are interested in education.⁵¹ 55 Even if there is no money, the parents look hard for a way for them to go to school. 56 Most young people today do not cut underbrush because they now work in an office because they have attained a high education.⁵²

57 Especially also the custom of young women today. 58 We cannot tell the women from the men because they all wear pants and they all wear their hair short. 53 59 Some young women now just decide to marry without the knowledge of their parents. 54 60 Also some young women today have no manners. 61 When eating, even at the road, 55 they eat with their mouth open. 62 How awful to see! 63 Their clothes only reach their upper thigh area. 56

64 Men today are not limited in their thinking. 65 After a certain job they begin thinking of another job. 66 Their sleep is now short because all they think of is improving their living⁵⁷ so that they will not have difficulty in the coming days.⁵⁸

67 This is the old and new life of the Manobos.

⁵¹ The community value of education varies in Manobo-speaking areas. Generally speaking, the more remote the area, the less value is placed on education.

The author estimates that in her community, one-half of the young people now attempt to go on to seek higher education. Those who get jobs are able to help their parents, especially if they are still single. In the more remote Manobo areas, a much lower percentage are even able to attend high school.

⁵³ In the community of Sagunto, where the author lives, if a woman is seen having long hair it is assumed that she is not a local resident but comes from a more remote Manobo community.

This refers to young women who just go somewhere and come back with a husband and child. The author says that parents will be ashamed when that happens. Marriages need to be witnessed by the older people, according to her, so that they know it's all done properly.

It has traditionally been considered bad manners to eat one's food out in a public place. One reason for this is that it is difficult to share with others in a situation like that.

⁵⁶ This is hyperbole but it serves to show the author's contempt for contemporary moral standards.

On the other hand, people were more relaxed in former times. According to the author, now that people are thinking of money and possessions, there seems to be more fighting, cheating, and other kinds of trouble.

The reference here to the coming days includes expenses like advanced schooling for children and ensuring resources for old age. This includes having land to leave for their children and developing it for future investment.

To Batasan to Manubu

1 Siak no migsuyat to seini, hamatuk a no Manubu. 2 To inoy ku liwat to taga-Kalingga, banwa diya to kauyu to Adgawan. 3 To amoy ku taga-Sagunto, seini banwa no pig-ugpaan ku kuntoon. 4 Meyduon inbatbat to inoy ku kanay bahin to batasan to Manubu. 5 Sikan to oghuyanon ku ogbatbaton kuntoon.

6 To Manubu to diya una pad yagboy no mgo panahon kona kun ogpakapapaawoy to pag-ugpa. 7 Wada pad kandan abuta to balaod to gubernu kaling ogpatujang kandan to ogkahona-honaan dan. 8 Ko ogkaliyag kandan oghimatoy to otow, sikan to oghinangon dan. 9 Wada ogpakasagwae to inggad nokoy no madoot no ogkaliyagan dan oghinangon. 10 Kaling kinahangyan no og-ugpa to Manubu obos to pag-atiman to songo panguyu no og-ilingon to datu agun kona kandin ogkaawajan ko meyduon ogyupig kandin. 11 Mahan-in to mgo datu dow kada datu meyduon mahan-in no mgo sakup. 12 To kada datu duma to mgo sakup din ogtukud to ogbaryuhan duon to banwa no meyduon maaslag no ayug dow duon to meyduon sapa. 13 Na to baryu igsangay to ngadan to sikan ayug ubin sapa.

14 To mgo Manubu nataga no meyduon Diyus, di wada dan tumana. 15 Og-ilingon ku to nataga sikandan su ko ogpanawag kandan to mgo tawagonon dan, og-unahon dan man ogsabihon to Diyus no ojow dan pa, Magbabaja no miggihit to yangit dow pasak. 16 To inoy ku, ko ogpanuman kandin to mgo diwata din og-unahon din man ogsabihon to Diyus. 17 Iyan man ogtumanon dan to mgo diwata su igkapaggilaung dan man. 18 Meyduon mahan-in no mgo diwata di kona ku ogbatbaton tibo. 19 Meyduon diwata no og-ilingon to taegbusow. 20 Ogda-da sikan to yangosa to babuy no igdayu kandin. 21 Ampay din yagboy to yangosa. 22 Kaling man, ko kona kandin ogkadayu, ogpamaja to bohi no ogyangósa, mgo binunuay dow inggad to ogtulion su meyduon bata to diwatahan no pigtuli no madani ogkaotihan to yangosa su migyangósa sikan pigpalian. 23 To mgo abi din angod on to tinibtiban no kapajas. 24 Pagkamaan to sikan diwatahan no pigpilit kan anak din to taegbusow, migboka kandin to taegbusow. 25 Sikan og-ilingon to ogboka to taegbusow, oghimatoy to babuy no bulaw dow ogboka to daemuan, buyak-buyaki to menhow dow paesa to yangosa to babuy dow painoma to yangosa sikan taegbusow. 26 Puli pad migsuwayak sikan babuy no igdayu to taegbusow, migtigpok on to pagyangosa to sikan pigtuli.

27 Meyduon usab diwata no og-ilingon to tagabayow. 28 Duma sikandin to sikan taegbusow. 29 Sikan tagabayow ogpamaja to bohi to pagpayogob to mgo katinulian. 30 Ogpamaja usab to mgo yukos, hawas ko asawahan, to pagpanghilabot to mgo bohi, hawas ko banahan. 31 Na,

The Customs of the Manobos

1 I who write this am a genuine Manobo. 2 My mother was a descendant of those from Kalingga, a place at the headwaters of the Adgawan. 3 My father was from Sagunto, this place where I live now. 4 My mother told me things about the customs of the Manobos. 5 That is what I will in turn tell now.

6 The Manobos in the very early times, it is said, could not live alone. 7 The law of the government had not yet reached them, so they could freely do whatever they could think of. 8 If they wanted to kill a person, that is what they did. 9 No one could stop any bad thing they wanted to do. 10 Therefore it was necessary for the Manobos to live under the care of a leader called a datu so that they would not be caught alone if someone pursued them. 11 There were many datus, and every datu had many followers. 12 Every datu with his subjects founded a village in a place where there was a big river or where there was a stream. 13 Then the barrio would be named after the river or stream.

14 Manobos knew there was a God, but they didn't serve him. 15 I say they knew because when they would call on their spirits, they would first call on God who was, according to them, Magbabaja who created the sky and earth, 16 My mother, when she would sacrifice to her spirits, would first call on God. 17 The ones the Manobos would serve were spirits because they could converse with them. 18 There are many spirits but I will not tell about them all. 19 There is a spirit called taegbusow. 20 It laps blood from a pig that is offered to it. 21 Its favorite food is blood. 22 Therefore, if it is not sacrificed to, it causes a woman to have abnormal bleeding, it causes killing through spearing or stabbing, and even those who are circumcised will also bleed abnormally because there was the son of a shaman who was circumcised who almost lost all his blood because the wound bled excessively. 23 His lips were white like the cut tip of a papaya. 24 When the shaman realized that his son was being afflicted by taegbusow, he appeared the taegbusow with what is called boka. 25 In boka-ing the taegbusow, you kill an albino pig and partially split a piece of bamboo, decorate it with young yellow-green coconut leaves and smear it with blood from a pig and let the taegbusow drink blood. 26 The pig to be sacrificed to the taegbusow had just started to squeal when the bleeding of the one who was circumcised stopped.

27 There is also a spirit called *tagabayow*. 28 It is the companion of *taegbusow*. 29 The *tagabayow* spirit causes a woman to act promiscuously. 30 It also causes men, single or married, to have relations with women, single or married. 31 Then, by means of those

pinaagi to sikan yawan-on no mgo hinang, ogkahitabu to binunuay dow minangajaway su wada gajod otow no ogkaliyag ko ogsokolihan to asawa din. 32 Ko mey on songo otow no mahimatajan tongod to pangabughu ubin tongod to duma no mgo hinongdan, ogsugud duon to sikan to minangajaway to datu kuntra datu duma to mgo sakup dan. 33 Ogkahusoy sikan no kasamuk ko meyduon songo datu no ogpangtonga, di madam-ok on to kinabuhi no ogkauyakan. 34 Sikan no mgo hitabu, ojow noy pa no mgo Manubu, pamaja to taegbusow.

35 Meyduon usab tumanon dan to paghayad to bata duon to sikan tawagonon no og-ilingon to tagun-unon. 36 Ko matiyahu to bata, og-ilingon noy to ogbiduon to tagun-unon, kaling kinahangyan no kona pad ogbuyanon likat to pagkaotow to bata, ogtagun-unan on. 37 To paagi to paghayad to bata ogkabasa duon to duma no mgo sinuyat.

38 To yukos no Manubu, ko ogpangaliyag on kandin to bohi, kona no sikandin to ogpagsabut to bohi dow inggad to pagpili to bohi no og-asawahon din. 39 To ginikanan iyan ogpili to igpaasawa ubin igpabana to anak dan. 40 To masigkaginikanan iyan ogsasabut to pagminyo to mgo anak dan. 41 Ogprisintar to ginikanan to yukos diya to ginikanan to bohi, og-ilingon sikan to panggilaung. 42 Ogkatagahan duon to sikan dow ogdawaton to pangasawa dow ko kona. 43 Ko dawaton to tagabobohi sikan no pangasawa, ogbogoy kandan to hugunan. 44 Na duon ogsugud to binujuay. 45 To inoy to sikan asawahonon ogbuju to sikan og-ilingon to pitas to dinudu. 46 To mgo anggam, mgo yagina dow to mgo apu ogpamuju usab di ogsubakon dan sikan ogbujuon dan. 47 Tapus to binujuay dow sinubakay, sikan mangasawa ogpabilin duon to uganganon din su ogpanakin, tagaod to kona pad ogkumbiti.

48 To igkumbiti no babuy, oghinangon pad to kahimunan dow inggad kona mangimbita to tagabobohi, to agung iyan on kibali imbitasyun. 49 Usahay to pagkumbiti igtapu to tig-ani agun abunda to igkapakoon.

50 Tapus to sikan maaslag no pagkoonan, ogpuduton sikan bohi dow ogdaehon diya to bayoy to sikan yukos. 51 Og-ilingon sikan to ganas.

52 Duon to bayoy to sikan yukos mey manda pagkoonan no oghikajon su meyduon mgo tagabobohi no ogbue-us to sikan pigganas. 53 Meyduon usab mgo daega no ajo to sikan pig-asawa no ogduma. 54 Pagkadukilom, panahon to panihapun, ogpagsayuhon sikan bag-u no mag-asawa. 55 Meyduon bujag-bujag on no ogkatahudan no ogpapagsayu to sikan daduwa. 56 Oghinang kandin to daduwa no kinampey no sinon-ad no humoy dow

wicked deeds, people will be killed with spears and bolos, and there will be revenge killing because there is surely no one who likes it if his wife is taken by another. 32 If someone is killed because of jealousy or because of other reasons, revenge killing starts with datu against datu and their respective subjects. 33 That trouble can be reconciled if there is a datu who acts as a go-between, but already many lives have been wasted. 34 Those happenings, according to Manobos, are caused by taegbusow.

35 They also have ceremonies of offering children to the spirit called *tagun-unon*. 36 If a baby cries a lot, we say the *tagun-unon* is causing it to cry, so it is necessary that before a month passes since the birth of the baby, it be dedicated to the *tagun-unon*. 37 The method of offering the child can be read in another writing.¹

38 Manobo men, if they love a woman, they aren't the ones to make an agreement with the woman or even to choose the woman they will marry. 39 The parents are the ones who choose the one to be wife or husband of their child. 40 Both pairs of parents are the ones who make an agreement about marrying their children. 41 The parents of the man make a proposal to the parents of the woman, and that is called *panggilaung* [lit. making conversation]. 42 At that time it will be known whether the proposal is accepted or not. 43 If the woman's side accept that proposal, they will give something to the parents of the man to indicate consent. 44 Then begins the asking for the bride price. 45 The mother of the bride-to-be asks for what is called "detach" payment for the nursed milk. 46 The uncles, aunts, and grandparents also ask for something but they give something in return equal to the value of what they ask for. 47 After the asking and reciprocating, the suitor remains with his prospective parents-in-law to serve them until the time of the wedding feast.

48 The pig for the wedding feast is first sacrificed to spirits, and even though the bride's family doesn't invite people, the [sound of the] gong is the same as an invitation. 49 Sometimes the wedding feast is held to coincide with harvest time so they have plenty to feed the people.

50 After the big feast, the woman is taken and brought to the house of the man. 51 That is called *ganas*.

52 At the house of the man there is another feast prepared because some of the bride's family will escort the one who was brought to the husband's house. 53 There are also friends of the new bride who go along. 54 When it's night, suppertime, the new couple is caused to eat together. 55 There is a respected older woman who causes the two of them to eat together. 56 She makes two molds of cooked rice and gives one to each of

The author is referring to part of an essay that she wrote called *The Nurture and Discipline of Manobo Children*, sentences 16–33. See that essay for more details about the *tagun-uoon* ceremony (II. Cultural: Family, p. 40). A shaman is in charge of this ritual, which takes place within the first three months of the child's life, at a point when the child is always crying and cannot sleep soundly. The purpose of the *tagun-un* ceremony is to appoint a spirit guardian to protect the child as he or she is growing.

payogobi sikan daduwa. 57 Tapus to sikan ogbabaylu kandan, sikan kaning yukos no kinampey igbogoy din to sikan asawa din. 58 Angod usab to sikan to oghinangon to sikan bohi diya to bana din. 59 Sikan to kibali kasal dan ko kuntoon pa.

60 Nahisgutan kud no to Manubu no ginikanan to ogboot to pagpangasawa ubin pagbabana to anak dan. 61 Meyduon paagi to pagpangasawa no og-ilingon to "tawas."

62 Ko meyduon bohi no ogkaliyagan to ginikanan no igpaasawa to anak dan, ogtawasan dan. 63 Sikandan mismu no mgo ginikanan to yukos iyan ogtawas yabi ko migmamarojow sikan masigkaginikanan. 64 Ogpanakinan sikan tagabobohi, ogdiwit to mgo soda, kalisow, buju, dow kotob to ogpakalipay to sikan ginikanan to sikan ogtawasan. 65 Sikan to oghinangon ko tapus on ogpakapanggilaung to tagayuyukos. 66 Ko masabutan no ogpatawason sikan yukos to daduwa no tuig, ogpanakin sikandin to sikan no kahaba to panahon. 67 Ogtrabahu kandin diya to uma, ogpanginsoda, ogpangaju, ogbaju dow kotob to lihokonon duon to bayoy. 68 Ko kitaon to sikan mangasawa to uganganon ubin sikan asawahonon ubin sikan ogkangkabajaw din no ogtiang to sakodu su ogsayuk to wohig, og-agawon to sikan yukos dow sikandin to ogsayuk. 69 Makuli sikan no paagi to pagpangasawa, kaling usahay ogkatood, usahay ogkahobyas to pangasawa. 70 Inggad maintok da to sajop to sikan mangasawa ubin ginikanan din, oghinangon sikan no patipduhan to paghobyasa to sikan no pangasawa. 71 Kaling to tagayuyukos no ogtawas, matigpod gajod inggad to pag-ikagi.

72 Ko ogkaminyo on to Manubu, to ginikanan kona ogkaliyag no ogyain kandan to pag-ugpa. 73 Gustu to ginikanan no ogsagubahon dan to mgo anak inggad ogkaminyo on agun matabangan ko oglisod. 74 Meyduon ogkaminyo no yukos no kona ogyuwat to ginikanan to asawa din su ogmakaamungon yabi ko mgo manigaon on sikan ginikanan. 75 Kona sikandin ogbujuan to mgo manggad su iyan ogbujuon to yawa din. 76 Na, og-aligrahon dan no mag-asawa sikan mgo ginikanan kotob to ikamatoy.

77 Bahin to panginabuhi to Manubu, iyan permaninti no ogkabuhian dan to kamuti dow kobasae. 78 Og-abutan kandan ko tig-ani to humoy di timpu-timpu da dow inggad man-u to kadogi to abut dan, madali da ogkaimot su igpamaylu dan man to mgo baligja no ogdaehon duon kandan to mgo mamaligjaay. 79 Puli kandan ogkabilinan to ogbinhion no ig-odok to sunu no tig-odok. 80 Wada mgo hingawos dan. 81 Ogkahustuhan on kandan ko mey ogkakoon dow ko mey ogkahoyungan. 82 Kona oghonahona to pagpaiskuyla to mgo anak. 83 Ogpasunudon dan nasi to mgo anak dan to mgo hinang dan angod to pagpanguma dow to pagtrabahu to duma no ogkapudutan to ogkabuhian to otow. 84 Kaling man maintok pad to bata no yukos ogkiwag-kiwag on ubag to tinakosan no ogdumaduma to amoy no ogtrabahu diya to uma.

the two. 57 After that they exchange; the man gives his molded rice to his wife. 58 And what the woman does for her husband is the same. 59 That is the equivalent of the modern wedding.

60 I have already told how the Manobo parents are the ones to decide the marriage of their children. 61 There is a method of courting called *tawas*.

62 If there is a girl that the [man's] parents want for their son to marry, they extract a promise that she will marry him. 63 The parents of the man are themselves the ones to initiate the agreement, especially if the two sets of parents have a good relationship with each other. 64 The woman's family will be served, the man's parents bring to their house meat, betel nut, betel leaf, and whatever will make happy the parents of that one who will be promised in marriage. 65 That is what is done after the man's family has made a proposal. 66 If it is agreed that the man will serve for the woman for two years, he will serve for that length of time. 67 He will work in the field, seek viand, get firewood, pound rice, and whatever work needs to be done in the house, 68 If the suitor sees his prospective parent-in-law or fiancée or brother-in-law carrying a bamboo tube for fetching water, the man will take it away and he will be the one to fetch water. 69 That is a difficult way of courting, therefore sometimes it comes to a successful conclusion, and sometimes the courting fails. 70 Even if the suitor or his parent makes a little mistake, it can be made an excuse for the failure of that courtship. 71 Therefore the family of the man who extracts a promise of marriage are very careful even in their speech.

72 When Manobos marry, the parents don't like them to live separately. 73 The parents want to gather their children even when they are married so they can help them if they have difficulty. 74 There are men who marry who don't separate from the parents of their wife because they are obliged to serve them, especially if her parents are already old. 75 They don't ask for goods because what they ask for is his body. 76 Then the couple cares for the parents until they die.

77 Concerning the livelihood of Manobos, what they always could subsist on is sweet potatoes and squash. 78 They had a harvest at rice harvest time, but it was seasonal because no matter how big their harvest was, it is quickly exhausted because they traded it for commodities that merchants would bring to them. 79 They were just left with seed to sow next sowing season. 80 They had no strong desires. 81 They were content if they had food and if they had shelter. 82 They didn't think about sending their children to school. 83 Instead their children followed/imitated their work like farming and working in other ways to gain a livelihood. 84 Therefore when boys were still small they would already carry a bolo tied to their waist, going with their father to work in the field.

85 To mgo asawa kona ogsalig to bana to mgo hinangonon. 86 Ogtrabahu kandan to mgo abuabon to humoy, kamuti dow duma pad no mgo tanom.

87 To diya tuig 1932 mig-andiya a to Kalingga diya to mgo suun to inoy ku. 88 Iyan datu duon si Pio no pigdagnajan ki Sumpaon su mahaba to pongot din, kotob duon to dagaeha. 89 Tinahud sikandin to mgo sakup din su marojow to pagdumaya din kandan. 90 To daduwa no simana no pag-ugpa ku duon, napaniidan ku no tu-tuu to isturya kanay to inoy ku no meyduon balaod dan no og-ilingon to hinandugay. 91 Ko meyduon ogpakapudut to babuy no kadlaganon ubin usa, igdiwit sikan duon to bayoy to datu dow igpadedejow din igpahahandugay agun no tibo ogpakasoda su meyduon ikagihonon to mgo minuna no pigsunud dan no pig-iling, "Anoy man to badubu di ogtitibagon to migsusuun." 92 Kaling man, ko nokoy to ogkakoon to songo otow ogkakoon usab to duma.

93 To tig-ani to humoy iyan pinakabibu no panahon to mgo Manubu. 94 Ogdinogon to gimbae dow agung no oglisagon, to pagbibinaju to humoy dow ogdinogon usab to kukusa to mgo bata no ogpaman-usiba. 95 Wada pad yabot to sikan, ko ogdinog to kabujagan to pandalid ogkamaanan dan no meyduon mgo yukos no nakababuy, na ogtabak kandan to, "Woooy wa." 96 Dow ogdugang to kabibu ko og-abut to mgo mamaligjaay. 97 Kona pad halus ogpasu to iningkudan to sikan mamaligjaay ogkaubus ogkahalin to baligja dan no ogpabayluhan to humoy.

98 Sikan to kadodoyog to mgo Manubu.

85 Wives would not just leave all the work to the men. 86 They would work weeding rice, sweet potatoes, and other plants.

87 In the year 1932 I went to Kalingga to my mother's relatives. 88 The *datu* there was Pio who was nicknamed Sumpaon meaning "Bearded" because his beard was long, reaching to his chest. 89 He was respected by his subjects because he administered them well. 90 In my two weeks of staying there, I observed that my mother's story to me was true that they have a rule called "sharing with one another." 91 If someone got a wild pig or deer, it would be taken to the house of the *datu* and he would carefully share portions with everyone so that everyone could have meat, for the ancestors had a saying they followed that said, "Even the *badubu* fruit is shared between two siblings." 92 That's why, whatever one person gets to eat, the others also get to eat.

93 Rice harvest is the most lively time for the Manobos. 94 The playing of the drum and gong can be heard, and the pounding of rice, and the shouting of the children playing can also be heard. 95 Besides that, when the women hear the sound made by beating a buttress root, they knew some men have gotten a pig, then they answer saying, "Woooy wa." 96 And the liveliness increases when the merchants arrive. 97 The places where the merchants are sitting barely get warm before their wares, which they traded for rice, are all gone.

98 Those were the ways of the Manobos in the past.

The *badubu* is a small, peanut-shaped fruit. There is a story to the effect that during a famine long ago, two brothers came across one of these fruits and, small as it was, they shared it.

To Kinaraan dow to Binag-u no Batasan to mgo Manubu

1 Nokani no asoy pad mgo Manubu to mgo uminugpa dini to kasuyukan to Agusan del Sur, ko meyduon bag-u no magtiajun meyduon mgo ginikanan no gustu no kanunoy dan ogsagubahon sikan bag-u no minyo agun ogkatabangan sikandan ko meyduon oglisodan. 2 Og-ugpa kandan duon to iyan da no ugpaanan, iyan da no son-adanan dan, dow iyan da no pagkoon dan. 3 To ogkakoon to saboka ogkakoon to tibo duon to sed to bayoy. 4 Ko nokoy to ogkadiwit to sikan migsoyod ubin to sikan pigsoyodan, ogtitiboan to sikan migsosoyod.

5 Di meyduon bag-u no magtiajun no ogkaliyag ogyain to pag-ugpa. 6 Di kona dan ogkalingawan to pag-ipat to mgo ginikanan dan ko meyduon karojawan no ogkakitaan dan. 7 Angod usab to sikan to oghinangon to mgo ginikanan duon to sikan mgo anak dan. 8 To kalisod to mgo anak kalisod usab to mgo ginikanan. 9 Ko meyduon sakit to ugangan, to ugang no yukos ubin ugang no bohi og-atindi yagboy.

10 Di sikan no batasan to mgo Manubu nausab no muabut to mgo bisaya no namanarabahu duon to kumpaniya to panurusu duon to Silco. 11 Nakagoyad to mgo Manubu to mgo batasan to mgo bisaya. 12 Meyduon batasan to mgo bisaya no og-ilingon to "Iya kahig iya tuktuk." 13 No bag-u abut to mgo bisaya, to mgo Manubu ogbogoy puli diya to mgo bisaya yabi ko ogpakababuy. 14 Di pagkalisig to panahon, naaha to mgo Manubu no to batasan dan dow to batasan to mgo bisaya kona oghisug-ub, su kona man puli ogbogoy to mgo bisaya, igpaboli man ko meyduon kandan.

15 Migsugud on duon to sikan to pagkausab to batasan to mgo Manubu. 16 Kuntoon inggad patae-anak ogpabobolihay on. 17 Kona no angod to diya una no ogpasasagapay inggad to mgo magsumbayoy puli. 18 Konad ogkasugu to otow ko wada igsuhue. 19 Di notoduon ogbaligaan puli to otow wada suhue-suhue. 20 Minus nanda to ogpakoon to dibaldi. 21 Ogpakakoon to otow ko meyduon kuwarta din.

22 Sikan to kayainan to batasan to mgo Manubu notoduon dow kuntoon. 23 Su ojow dan pa, "Sikita, ogbogoy ki to sikan mgo bisaya ko meyduon ita, di sikandan, ko meyduon kandan ogpabolihon ki. 24 Alkansi ki, marojow pad ko sunudon ta to batasan dan."

25 Kuntoon, konad on ogkiyayahon dow hintawa to bisaya aw dow hintawa to Manubu su tibo on man piggoyad to mgo Manubu to batasan dow to inikagihan to mgo bisaya.

26 Tapus.

The Old and New Customs of the Manobo People

1 Long ago when the inhabitants here in the remote part of Agusan del Sur were still all Manobos, when there was a newlywed couple, there were parents who would always want to keep those newlyweds in their fold in order that they will be helped in times of difficulty. 2 They would stay in the same dwelling-place, they would cook in the same cooking pot, and their food would be the same. 3 In that house, what one would eat, everyone would eat. 4 Whatever was brought up into the house by those who lived there or by those who lived with them was shared by all of them.

5 But there were some new couples who wanted to live by themselves. 6 But they would not forget to share with their parents whatever good things they could find. 7 That is also what the parents would do for their children. 8 The difficulties experienced by the children would also be those of the parents. 9 If a parent-in-law would get sick, the son-in-law or daughter-in-law would really take care of him or her.

10 But that custom of the Manobo people changed when the Visayan logging company workers came to Silco. 11 The Manobos imitated the customs of the Visayans. 12 There is a custom of the Visayans that goes like this, "The one who scratches is the one who gets what he pecks." 13 When the Visayans first arrived, the Manobos would just give things to them, especially if they were able to get a wild pig. 14 But as time went on, the Manobos saw that their customs and those of the Visayans were not compatible, because the Visayans would not just give things away; they would make people pay if they had something that others wanted.

15 That began the changing of the custom of the Manobos. 16 Today even parents and their children buy things they get from each other. 17 It's not like before when even neighbors shared with each other what they had. 18 A person can no longer be asked to do work without being paid for it. 19 But in former times people would just agree to work voluntarily without any wages. 20 There are only a few people who will feed others without payment. 21 They will only give food to a person if he has money.

22 That is the difference in the custom of the Manobos previously and now. 23 Because they say, "As for us, we would give to the Visayans what we have, but as for them, they make us pay for what they have. 24 We come out short; it's better if we follow their custom."

25 Nowadays, it can no longer be recognized who is a Visayan and who is a Manobo because the Manobos have imitated both the custom and the language of the Visayans. 26 Finished.

To Pagpanguma Nokani dow Kuntoon

1 Songo kaadlawon to katapusan no simana to Fibreru napukawan si Dalena to una no huni to kuyahaw no duon hapun to matikang no dulian duon to talikudan to bayoy dan. 2 "Hmmmm!" ginhawa ni Dalena, "boka to kuyahaw." 3 Migpadajun sikan kuyahaw to paghuni aw nadomdom si Dalena to diya nanyaboy no panahon no madoson pad to amoy din no ogpanguma.

4 To kuyahaw ogkatawag no magdansogay to mgo mangunguma su namaanan dan no ko oghuni on to kuyahaw, panahon on to pagtrabahu to uma su ogtikdow on to amihan. 5 To kuyahaw matagsa oghuni. 6 Sagad to ighuni dan, Fibreru da, usahay Marsu, kaling to otow no matagsa og-ikagi ogbonyagan to Kuyahaw.

7 To diya bata pad si Dalena, ogduma-duma sikandin to amoy ko ogyawag to uma. 8 "Nokoy no sikuna da man to oggaes?" og-usip si Dalena to amoy. 9 "Marojow ko mahan-in to otow no oggaes agun madali ogkatapusan seini gaesonon nu."

10 "Ogbaliga ki man iyan to mahan-in no mgo otow di og-unahan ku ogyawagan agun meyduon ogsikadan to mgo baliga," migtabak to amoy ni Dalena. 11 Pag-uli ni Dalena dow amoy din diya to bayoy no mahapun on, pigkita din no nahinaat on to bogas no songo saku no igpakoon to mgo baliga to pagkabukas.

12 Pagkamasem on, nahimun to mgo yukos no pigbaligaan to amoy ni Dalena. 13 Migduma to mgo asawa dan su ogbulig to pagson-ad. 14 Meyduon yukos no pigbaligaan to paghimatoy to babuy no igpasoda. 15 Natapusan to gaesonon.

16 Pagyanos to ginayas, pignayogan. 17 Pagyanos to pignayog, piggoba to maaslag no mgo kaju, aw pagyanos to mgo dohun, piggutang dow itagad to mahaba no soga dow sangaba. 18 Pagkasangab to sikan, insunu to pagbakae to binhi no humoy. 19 Songo buyan likat to pagbakae, to humoy abuabanan on. 20 Ogbaliga to mgo bohi to pag-abuab. 21 Na pagkatig-ani, ogpaanihon sikan namanbulig to pag-abuab aw to ogkaani to masem hangtod to maugtu og-ilingon to magangu. 22 To ogkaani to sikan no masem kona ogbahinon su sikan to kabahinan to mig-abuab. 23 To ogkaani likat to maugtu hangtod to

Farming Long Ago and Now

1 One early morning the last week of February, Dalena¹ was awakened by the first song of a *kuyahaw* bird perched on a tall durian tree behind her house. 2 "Hmmm!" thought Dalena, "it's the first and only song of the *kuyahaw*." 3 The *kuyahaw* continued to sing, and Dalena remembered past times when her father was still strong and farming.

4 The *kuyahaw* can be called the encourager of farmers because they know that when the *kuyahaw* sings, it's time to work in the fields because rainy season is letting up. 5 The *kuyahaw* seldom sings. 6 Usually it's only February that it sings, sometimes March, so a person who seldom speaks is named Kuyahaw.

7 When Dalena was still a child, she would go with her father when he mark a field to designate it for clearing. 8 "Why are you the only one to clear the underbrush?" Dalena asked her father. 9 "It would be good if many people cleared underbrush so this area you're clearing would be quickly finished."

10 "We will sponsor a work party of many people but I will first mark it so that the workers will know where to be situated," answered the father of Dalena. 11 When Dalena and her father returned to the house in the evening, she saw that one sack of rice had been prepared with which to feed the workers on the next day.

12 The next morning, the men whom Dalena's father had enlisted to work gathered. 13 Their wives came along to help with the cooking. 14 There were men enlisted to kill pigs for the viand. 15 The clearing of the underbrush was finished.

16 After the underbrush was dry, they cut the small trees. 17 After the cut young trees were dried up, the big trees were felled, and when the leaves were dried up, they were chopped up and then they waited for a long sunny spell and burned them. 18 After they were burned, there followed the planting² of rice seed. 19 One month after planting, the rice was ready for weeding. 20 Women formed a work party for weeding. 21 Then when it was time for harvest, those who had helped with weeding were allowed to harvest, and what was harvested in the morning until noon was called *magangu*.³ 22 What was harvested in that morning was not divided because that was the share of the one who had weeded. 23 What was harvested from

¹ The character Dalena in this story is actually the author. This is a personal account written as a third person narrative.

This word means to plant rice by poking a hole in the ground with a stick, dropping seeds in, and using one's foot to cover the hole with dirt. When corn is planted in this way, the process is called *tudak*. At other times, rice is planted by broadcasting. This is called *odok*, *sawod*, or *sabud*.

The term *magangu* means 'dried'. Since their share was harvested by noon, it could be dried and ready to take home by evening.

mahapun og-ilingon to diwit, kabahinan sikan to tag-iya to uma. 24 Ogkatinonga to pagbahin to sikan no paagi.

25 Pagkatobas to humoy, oghurabason to mgo dagami agun mahawanan to kamuti no igpasodop ko abuabanan on to humoy. 26 Mey usab tobu no igsubuk ko tapus on igbakae ubin igsabud to humoy. 27 Ogkadomdoman ni Dalena to mangkaaslag no kamuti dow to mangkahaba no tobu no ogdiwiton to inoy din ko ogkapuun diya to uma. 28 Ogkadomdoman usab ni Dalena to mgo tanom to amoy din no hupi. 29 Mabakas yagboy to amoy din kaling kanunoy abunda to pagkoon dan. 30 Wada mgo sumusiba to tanom to diya no panahon.

31 Natampod to pagdomdom ni Dalena to diya nanyaboy su migbangun to bana din su ogsemon din ogpasabsabon to kabaw su ogdaru sikandin to basakan.

Binisaya no Pag-uma: Binag-u

32 To mgo Manubu iyan da natagahan no paagi to pag-uma sikan pighisgutan kud duon to naliusan. 33 Wada sikandan kamaan bahin to pagtanom to humoy duon to basakan hangtod no mig-abut to mgo halin likat to yain-yain no banwa dini to Pilipinas su ogpamoli to pasak no ogbasakon dan.

34 Una no lugar no pigtidow to Hilunggu no mgo halin, Santu Tomas nasakup seini distritu to Loreto diya to Umajam. 35 Mansu wada man iyan dalimagmagan to mgo Manubu bahin to basakan, imbaligja to mgo pasak dan. 36 Na kuntoon mgo Hilunggu on to migpahoom-hoom duon to sikan no lugar. 37 To mgo Manubu namakapadaplin on. 38 To distritu to La Paz mey usab mgo lugar no pigtidow to mgo halin, di mgo Ilukanu. 39 Pasak usab no basakan to pigpamangha dan.

40 Bahin to paagi to pag-uma to basakan, Manubu to migsuyat to seini aw kona sikandin ogpakabogoy to duma no mgo paagi to pagbasakan. 41 Iyan da namaanan din no to binhi no humoy og-unahon ogpagition aw ogdutduton sikan ko mgo songo dangow on to katikang dow itanom duon to sikan inandam on no ogtanoman no meyduon wohig. 42 To humoy no og-angay duon to sikan no klasi to uma mgo bag-u. 43 Kona sikan og-angay duon to katikangan no pasak. 44 Aw sikan og-ilingon to karaan no humoy kona og-angay duon to basakan, duon og-angay to katikangan no pasak.

45 Ko pag-angodon to katikangan no pasak dow to basakan, marojow to katikangan su gawas to humoy, mahan-in no klasi to igkatanom, di to basakan humoy da to igkatanom. 46 Di ko humoy to hisgutan, madogi to abut to taga-basakan, minus to taga-katikangan no pasak su to humoy duon to katikangan no pasak minus to singin, di to taga-basakan, masingin.

noon until evening was called *diwit*;⁴ that was the share of the landowner. 24 In that way, it was divided in half.

25 When the rice season was over, the rice straw was cut to make room for sweet potatoes that would be planted when the rice was ready for weeding.⁵ 26 There were also sugarcane cuttings that were planted after the rice was planted by drilling or broadcasting. 27 Dalena remembered the big sweet potatoes and long stalks of sugarcane that her mother brought home when she came from the field. 28 Dalena also remembered her father's taro plants. 29 Her father was very hard-working, so they always had plenty of food. 30 There were no insects and rodents that destroyed crops at that time.

31 Dalena's remembrances of the past were cut short because her husband got up because he was going to put the carabao out to graze early because he was going to plow a rice paddy.

Visayan Farming: New

32 Manobos only knew the method of farming that I have discussed above. 33 They didn't know about planting rice in a paddy until immigrants arrived from various places in the Philippines to buy up land for making rice paddies.

34 The first place to which Ilonggo immigrants came was Santo Tomas, which is part of this district of Loreto along the Umajam River. 35 Since Manobos had no concept of rice paddies, they sold their land. 36 Now Ilonggos are the ones who have availed themselves of the resources in that place. 37 The Manobos had to move aside. 38 The district of La Paz also had places where immigrants came, but they were Ilocanos. 39 They also looked for land for rice paddies.

40 About the method of farming rice paddies, it's a Manobo writing this and she can't tell about other methods of wetland rice farming. 41 All she knows is that the rice seeds are sprouted and then uprooted when they are about one handspan high and planted in a prepared field where there is water. 42 The rice that is suited for that kind of field is new. 43 It is not suited for upland areas. 44 And that which is called "old rice" is not suited for rice paddies, it's suited for upland areas.

45 If you compare upland areas and rice paddies, upland is better because in addition to rice, many kinds of plants can be planted there, but in a paddy, only rice can be planted. 46 But if you're talking about rice, those who have paddies get a bigger harvest, less for those with upland because upland rice has few secondary shoots, but that in the paddies has many secondary shoots.

⁴ Harvested rice is customarily brought to an elevated granary for temporary storage. This process is known in Manobo as *diwit*, and the rice thus stored is also referred to by that same term.

⁵ The rice straw was cut so that the sweet potatoes could grow and spread out underneath the growing rice.

47 Timpu to tig-ani, mahan-in to mgo otow [Bisaya sakot Manubu] no ogpaman-ani duon to mgo humajan duon to basakan. 48 To mgo Manubu nabag-uhan su to pagbahin to mgo inani binag-u on, kona no angod to diya una no mgo Manubu pad to nanguma no tinonga to pagbahin. 49 Meyduon binahinan no linima, mey inomon aw mey pad gajod binahinan no sampuyu mey daduwa ko igpaagi to binogkot, songo bogkot to bahin to sikan og-ani, sampuyu mey saboka to sikan tag-iya to humajan. 50 Mahan-in yagboy to pighuwalian to sikan no binahinan di wada ogkahimu dan su pagboot man to sikan tag-iya. 51 Hangtod kuntoon no panahon migpabilin sikan no binahinan.

52 Kuntoon dini to dibaba to Adgawan, mey on mgo Manubu no ogkaamu on og-uma to basakan. 53 Di diya to kauyu dugaja pad to og-ilingon ku to Minanubu no paagi to pag-uma.

47 At harvest time, many people [Visayans mixed with Manobos] harvest in the paddy fields. 48 Manobos weren't used to it because there's a new way of dividing the harvest, not like before when Manobos still farmed and divided it in halves. 49 Some divide it in fifths, some in sixths, and there are also those dividing it in twelfths by means of bundles, one bundle is the share of the harvester, and eleven for the owner of the rice field. 50 Very many don't like the change that has come in this way of dividing it, but they can't do anything about it because it's up to the owner. 51 Until this time that way of dividing it remains.

52 Now here in lower Adgawan, there are already some Manobos who know how to do wetland farming. 53 But upriver, it's still what I call the Manobo method of farming.

To Pagmama

1 To pagmama batasan to mgo Manubu. 2 Kona ogkalipodong ko kona makamama. 3 Inggad makasaeng to songo pagkoon basta mey ogkamama kona ogbontason.

4 To kamama, buju sikan dow mamaon ubin kalisow dow apug no ogpagsakoton, di to kalisow kona ogkamama ko wada ayag no igsakot. 5 Sikan og-ilingon to mamaon, ko ogmamaon kona ogkinahangyan to ayag. 6 To mamaon, tanom sikan, di to kalisow, puli oggiti diya to guyangan. 7 To ayag, bogas sikan to baegon, tag mae-lingkit to kaaslag. 8 Ko wada buju, bagae to ig-ilis to buju. 9 To bagae, yawa to buju.

10 To manganganup, kamama da to ogdaehon din ko ogpanganup. 11 Kona kandin ogbabaaw to koonon su ogkaguk-ayan, di kona kandin ogbontason inggad ogkahapunan diya to guyangan. 12 Og-ilingon to mgo Manubu no to kamama, panwahot.

13 To kamama ogpakadigon to ngipon, ojow pad to mgo mahimama. 14 To diya una wada tutbras dow kulgit di wada mgo tungagon, madigon to ngipon to mgo otow inggad mgo manigaon on. 15 To kamama, pandojow su inggad ogkaboyu to otow ko ogtadwajon to inapugan, ogdojow to ginhawa din. 16 Sikan to una yagboy no ighonat ko meyduon saka. 17 Kona ogkahimpit to pag-abiabi to mgo Manubu to saka dan ko wada igkapamama.

18 Ko meyduon mangasawa, gawas to mgo soda, mgo ubud, mgo totomog dow duma pad no marojow igpanakin no ogdaehon din duon to og-asawahan din, kona gajod ogkagawang to kalisow su sikan to hilabi igkalipay to sikan mgo uganganon din.

19 To otow no mahimama kona og-ojow to pagmama inggad ogkaongob on. 20 Su konad man ogpakasopa, ogpahinang kandin to maintok no yosung dow aehu dow ogbajuhon din to ogmamaon din.

21 To diya maintok a pad no bata, siak to magbajuhay to kamama to yagina ku no ongob on. 22 Di ko ogkalipodong ad ko madukilom, kandin on to ogbaju to kamama din. 23 Ogkapukawan a to pagbinaju din inggad matayod pad to kadukiloman.

24 To mahimama no otow, inggad ogkasakit kandin kona og-ojow to pagmama. 25 Di naman konad maibog to kamama, na, ogpasabut sikan no ogkatigdaan kandin. 26 Sikan to og-indanan to mgo Manubu.

27 To minama mayogdog hilabi angod to yangosa ko wada ogkakuyang no sasakotay. 28 Di ko mey makuyang no sasakotay, to minama kona ogyogdog. 29 Na ko kona ogyogdog to minama inggad wada kakuyangi to sasakotay, og-iling to mgo Manubu to meyduon ogpakababuy, ogkabaetik ubin

Chewing Betel

1 Chewing betel is a Manobo custom. 2 They cannot sleep if they can't chew betel. 3 It doesn't even matter if they miss a meal; as long as they have betel to chew they won't be hungry.

4 Betel chew is betel leaf and betel nut or wild betel nut and lime mixed together, but wild betel nut cannot be used if there is no *ayag*. 5 That which is called betel nut, when it is chewed it does not need rattan fruit. 6 Betel nut tree is planted, but wild betel nut just grows in the forest. 7 *Ayag* is a rattan fruit as big as a tiny bell. 8 If there is no betel leaf, *bagae* is used in place of betel leaf. 9 *Bagae* is the stem of the betel leaf.

10 As for a hunter, betel chew is all he takes when he goes hunting. 11 He doesn't take cooked rice because it would be awkward, but he doesn't get hungry even if he stays until evening in the forest. 12 Manobos say that betel chew makes them strong.

13 Betel chew can strengthen the teeth, according to people who are fond of betel chew. 14 Formerly there were no toothbrushes or toothpaste but they had no toothaches, people's teeth were strong even when they were old. 15 Betel chew makes people feel good because even if a person is angry when someone hands him betel chew, he will feel better. 16 That is really the first thing to be served when there is a visitor. 17 Manobo hospitality is not complete if there is not betel to chew.

18 If someone proposes marriage, aside from the viand, palm buds, firewood, and other good things that he brings to the girl's family, there will always be the betel nut because that is what makes his prospective parents-in-law happy.

19 The person who is fond of chewing betel does not stop chewing betel even if he loses all his teeth. 20 Because he cannot chew, he has someone make him a small mortar and pestle and he pounds his betel chew.

21 When I was a small child, I was the pounder of betel chew for my toothless aunt. 22 But when I was asleep in the evening, she was the one to pound her betel chew. 23 I would be awakened by her pounding even late at night.

24 The person who is fond of chewing betel, he does not stop chewing betel even if he gets sick. 25 But when he no longer craves betel chew, that means that he is seriously ill. 26 That is what Manobos have observed.

27 Chewed betel is very red like blood if no ingredient is missing. 28 But if an ingredient is missing, chewed betel will not get red. 29 And if the chewed betel will not get red even though no ingredient is missing, Manobos say that someone will be able to catch a wild pig, it might be caught by a pig trap, by dogs, or speared

To Pagmama Chewing Betel

ogkapanganupan ubin ogkasengwagan.

30 Notoduon iyan da kona ogmama to bata no kona pad ogkaamu ogsopa. 31 Tibo to ogkaamu on ogmama, yogob to puju ubin mamaanan.

32 Tapus.

in a trap of sharpened bamboo.

30 Long ago the only ones who did not chew betel were children who didn't yet know how to chew. 31 Everyone knew how to chew betel, everyone had his own backpack or little basket where betel chew was kept.

32 Finished.

Amonuhon to Paghinang to Hikam

1 Meyduon mahan-in no mgo botang no ogkagamit to paghinang to hikam di tatoyu da no klasi to oghisgutan ku. 2 To bayuy, anahiwan aw rumblun.

3 To bayuy diya ogtubu to guyangan. 4 To dohun mahaba aw dugihon to magkikilid. 5 To paghinang to hikam no bayuy seini. 6 Una, managkas to dohun to bayuy. 7 Pagsokoda aw pikasa. 8 To songo dohun ogkadaduwa on no oyad. 9 Pagkapikas on, gibisan to magdibayuy, dadun iboyad. 10 Pagyanos to sikan, habtuan to dohun to pili gobay maputi ko magangu. 11 Pagkatapus to paghabtu, isaba boyada hangtod no magangu yagboy. 12 Pagkagangu, pahukmili agun ogyunoy. 13 Pagyunoy on, alikidon gobay ogkabukyad su to pagboyad to sikan ogyukut man. 14 Abutan to daduwa no aedow, badbadon aw gibisi to kapinikasan su madamey sikan no bahin. 15 Pagkatapus to paggibis, kada songo oyad pikuon dadun kagoskoson. 16 To pagkagoskos: Pag-apida to sampuyu no piniku aw bogkota to mgo ginibis.

17 To songo hikam no bayuy ogkinahangyan to sampuyu-tag-wayu no kagoskos. 18 Dimudu to ogkagamit songo gatus kawayuan no oyad no bayuy. 19 Tapus to pagkagoskos, bunayan gobay ogyunoy dadun gibison sigun to gustu ta no kayakbang to ginibis. 20 Pagkatapus to sikan, andam on no oghinangon.

21 To anahiwan: To anahiwan diya ogtubu to basakan. 22 Kona seini ogkabuhi ko duon makaplastar to lugar no wada wohig. 23 To paghinang to hikam no anahiwan seini: Una, mamudut to anahiwan aw boyada. 24 Pagkagangu, habtuan gobay oglipid. 25 Pagkatapus to paghabtu, andam on no oghinangon. 26 Di ko ogkaliyag ka to madojow no hikam, mahimu no tinaon sikan mgo hinabtuan ayha hinanga. 27 To paggtina: Muinit to wohig duon to maaslag no kalderu ubin lata aw iyunud to tina. 28 Pagsobu to ininit no tina, iyunud to mgo binogkot no mgo anahiwan aw pasobuhi hangtod no dokotan on to tina. 29 Pagkatapus to pagtina, ihayhay duon to lugar no kona ogsogahan. 30 Kaemag da to ogpatahay to seini. 31 Pagtahay, isaban habtuan dajun hinanga.

32 To rumblun: To rumblun tinanom. 33 Angod to bayuy di wada dugi. 34 Pagkatagkas to sikan mgo dohun, pagsokodon angod to bayuy aw pikasa. 35 To sobuuk no dohun ogkadaduwa on no oyad. 36 Iboyad hangtod no muyanos. 37 Pagyanos habtuan gobay maputi ko magangu. 38 Pagkatapus iboyad hangtod no magangu yagboy.

39 Pagkagangu pahukmili aw alikida angod to bayuy. 40 Badbada aw gibisi to kapinikasan su madamey seini no bahin. 41 Gibisa sigun to gustu no kaliyas to

How to Make a Mat

1 There are many things that can be used to make a mats, but I will only discuss three kinds. 2 The *bayuy*, *anahiwan*, and *rumblun*.

3 The bayuy grows in the forest. 4 The leaves are long and have thorny sides. 5 This is how to make a mat out of bayuy. 6 First, cut bayuy leaves. 7 Make it of the same length and split it in two. 8 One leaf becomes two pieces. 9 After it is split, cut thin portions of both sides, then dry it. 10 When it has wilted, brush it with pili leaves so that it will be white when it gets dry. 11 After brushing put it again in the sun until it gets really dry. 12 When it gets dry put it to get cool so that it will soften. 13 When it gets cool, roll it so that it will be flattened because when it was put out to dry it shrank. 14 After two days, unroll and slit it to take away the thicker part of the leaf. 15 After the slitting, fold every piece in two then bind it. 16 To bind: Put ten pieces of folded leaves together and bind it with the thin pieces taken from the sides of the leaves.

17 One mat of *bayuy* needs eighteen bundles of leaves [consisting of ten leaves each]. 18 So it needs one hundred eighty leaves of *bayuy*. 19 After bundling, pound it so that it will soften then split it according to the width we like. 20 After that, it is ready to make.

21 Anahiwan reed: Anahiwan grows in a muddy place. 22 It cannot survive if it located in a place where there is no water. 23 This is how to make an anahiwan mat: First, gather anahiwan and put it out to dry. 24 When it is dried, brush it so that it is flattened. 25 After brushing, it is ready to make. 26 But if you like a good mat, it is possible to dye the brushed pieces before making it. 27 How to dye it: Boil water in a big rice pot or can and put in the dye. 28 When the water with the dye boils, put the bound anahiwan in it and let it boil until the dye sets in. 29 After dyeing, put it in a place where it will not be exposed to the sun. 30 Only air should dry it. 31 When it gets dry, brush it again then measure it.

32 Rumblun: Rumblun is planted. 33 It is similar to a bayuy but has no thorns. 34 When the leaves are cut down, make them the same length as was done with the bayuy and split them. 35 One leaf will make two sheets. 36 Put it to dry until it wilts. 37 When it wilts, brush it so that it will be white when it dries. 38 After that put it to dry until it is totally dried.

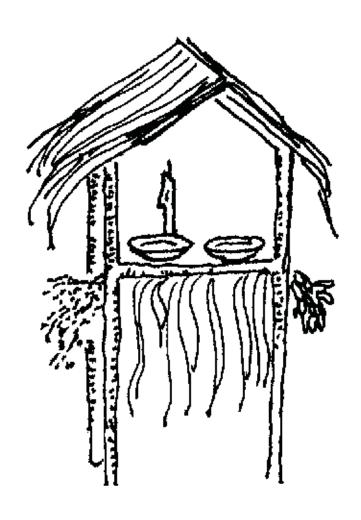
39 When it is dried, put it out to cool and roll it like the *bayuy*. 40 Unroll it and split away a part from where it was split because this is the part which is thick. 41 Split it [with a knife] according to the width you like. 42 It is also good to dye it. 43 Dye really sets in to it.

ginibis. 42 Madojow isab seini ogtinaon. 43 Tigbae ogdokotan to tina. 44 Pagkatapus to pagtina, ihayhay angod to anahiwan. 45 Pagtahay habtui aw hinanga. 46 Ko kona tinaon ogkahimu isab.

47 Tapus.

44 After dyeing, spread it like the *anahiwan*. 45 When it gets dry, brush it and make it. 46 If you don't want to dye it, that's okay too.

47 Finished.



VI. World view: The Spirit World

To Tumanon to Diwatahan

1 Siakon, anak a to diwatahan. 2 To inoy ku iyan nabantug no diwatahan dini to magsayug to Umajan dow Adgawan su mapajag to mgo diwata din, ojow pa to mgo otow. 3 Kaling, ko meyduon ogpabuya to ogkadayuhan, ogpasuyad, oghinang to kahimunan, ogkahaboy dow duma pad no mgo prublima no ogkinahangyan to diwatahan, to diya inoy ku to ogsampiton.

4 Agun no kanunoy madigon to mgo diwata din, to inoy ku ogpanawag to mgo diwata din kada pagkaejun to buyan dow ogpamamaon din to inapugan. 5 Kona kandin ogkagawangan to sinugbahan no babuy dow manuk dow oghinang kandin to kahimunan kasaboka to kada tuig, sagad igtapu din to tig-ani to humoy. 6 Hidoson din sikan to mgo diwata agun kona kandan ogpalipak-lipak ko ogsabihon yabi ko meyduon ogbuyahan no ogkadayuhan. 7 Kinahangyan isab no kanunoy din panawagon su meyduon diwata din no og-ilingon to taegbusow no og-inaswang ko mayugoy on to kona kandin ogpakada-da to yangosa. 8 Sikan no diwata kona ogpawadaan to sinugbahan no yugju no oglibodan to ganggan no panapton dow mayogdog no babuy dow manuk. 9 Kona sikan ogkabaklid su ko baklidon, na, meyduon gajod madoot no ogkahitabu.

10 To diya inoy ku mayana to ginhawa su to diwata din no manguldinay kona ogkaliyag to pigyonaan din no magubut to hona-hona. 11 Kinahangyan no kona mabujongan to mgo diwata. 12 Ig-ojow to mgo diwata to pagpanaepi to sikan pigyonaan dan. 13 Angod pananglitan ko meyduon ogpabuyahan no nadayuhan. 14 Dawaton to diwatahan ko man-u da to igbogoy kandin to sikan pigbuyahan din. 15 Ko mamuju kandin to dogi, ogkabujongan to diwata din. 16 Iyan igpasabut no to mgo diwata din ogkagawangan to gahom to pagpang-uli to masakiton. 17 Sikan isab to ogkahitabu ko to anak to diwatahan, bohi ko yukos, ogboboot ogminyo. 18 Kinahangyan no manumaid kandan to diwata ko ogkaliyag on ogminyo.

19 Meyduon daega no anak to diwatahan no nabodosan. 20 Wada gajod inggad hintawa no nataga. 21 Na meyduon hadi to sikan daega no nasakit. 22 Nanawag sikan amoy to mgo diwata din agun buyahan sikan bata, di ogbalibad to mgo diwata no madigyom to pag-aha dan to sikan bata. 23 Kona dan ogkamaanan dow nokoy to nakailing. 24 Kagi to sikan amoy, "Iyan da man ogkailing ko meyduon mighinang

The Things That a Shaman Has to Observe

1 I am a daughter of a shaman. 2 My mother was a well-known shaman in the area of Umayam and Adgawan [Rivers] because her *diwata* spirits according to people are powerful. 3 So when someone needed a sick one to be healed, to cause a spirit to possess a man, to make a gathering to honor a spirit, when someone is afflicted by bad spirits and other problems that needs a shaman, my mother was the one called.

4 In order that her diwata spirits would always be strong, my mother would always call her diwatas every full moon and offer them betel nut chew. 5 Once a year she would not fail to perform the sacred dedication ritual of offering a pig and chicken and she would call a harvest celebration gathering, usually in conjunction with rice harvest time. 6 This is done to make her *diwata* spirits strong so that they will take heed when they are called especially when there are sick people who need spirit healing. 7 It is also necessary that she always call on them [that is, to offer them betel chew or offer them what is usually done like offering them pigs or chickens] because she had a diwata spirit named taegbusow who would kill people if for a long time it could not drink blood. 8 That diwata spirit is always provided with a bolo bundled with a strip of red cloth and pig with brown hair and a chicken of red feathers. 9 That will not be sold or used for other purposes because if that is sold, well, there will indeed be something bad that will happen.

10 My mother had a gentle spirit [that is, she was not easily irritated or angered] because her *diwata* spirit who advises her would not like that the one whom he possessed will have a troubled mind. 11 It is necessary that the *diwata* spirits do not lose their power through anything that will nullify their power. 12 *Diwata* spirits forbid the persons they possess to make money. 13 Like for example the healing of the sick. 14 The shaman must accept how much the one healed one would give. 15 If he asked for a big amount, the power of his *diwata* spirit will be nullified. 16 What I mean is that [the shaman's] *diwata* spirit would lose the power to heal the sick. 17 That will also happen if a child of a shaman, whether female or male, would just take a husband or a wife with of their own will. 18 It is necessary that they ask permission from the *diwata* spirits if they want to get married.

19 There was an unmarried daughter of a shaman who was impregnated. 20 No one ever knew about it. 21 Now there was a younger sister of that lady who got sick. 22 The father called his *diwata* spirits in order that they will heal the child, but the spirits refused [because] the child [the younger sister] was enveloped in darkness and they could not see her. 23 They could not discern what caused [the illness of the child]. 24 The father said, "This cause is only when somebody had done something bad, this unknown

to madoot, ogkapuutan seini bata." 25 Di kona kandan ogpakahapey to sikan daega su matuyadong man dow mahonok. 26 Puli namatoy to diya bata wada katagahi to nakailing.

27 Anoy kay no aanakay on to sikan bohi, [konad man igkahobong], aw kataga to amoy to sikan man naan to nakailing to kamatajon to diya bata, aw payayangog, panggutas duon to bayoy dae to pinangiyak, nokoy ka man no angod to hiniyab to tibo duon to bayoy. 28 Sikan bohi diyad anak to bayoy to anggam din. 29 Sugud to diya no panahon, sikan amoy wadad koon-koon hangtod nasakit. 30 Mahan-in to mgo tinahud no mgo manigaon to namang-anduon kandin no ogsambag agun mahupoy podom to pagmey-og din, di nasi on migdugang to sakit din hangtod no namatoy. 31 Pag-anak to sikan bohi, Samukan to inngadan to sikan bata su nasamukan yagboy sikan pagkabodosi din. 32 Namatoy pad gajod to amoy din.

33 Sikan to tigpodanan to mgo anak to diwatahan. 34 Naman ko dajun pa namaanan to pagkabodosi to sikan daega, ogkapanyajagan man dajun to diwata to sikan amoy, na ogkabuyahan sikan bata dow kona isab ogkamatoy to amoy dan.

35 Sikan to kadodoyog to kinabuhi to inoy ku no nabuyatan ku. 36 Migtulin koy no migsusuun to pagkoon to mgo diniwatahan to inoy noy. 37 Puli ku og-ilingon to iyan pinakadiyus noy no pamilya to mgo diwata. 38 Iyan pigsaligan noy no ogpakabuhi dow ogpakapanalipod kanami. 39 Su hintawa man to kona ogpakasalig no ko yupigan koy to yain no mgo diwata, meyduon diwata to inoy noy no mabuyut dow madoson no oggapi kanami, sikan og-ilingon to taegbusow. 40 Meyduon ogbantoy to mgo tanom diya to uma, to taephagan. 41 Mey ogpamolig to babuy no kadlaganon, to sugujon. 42 Meyduon ogtul-id ko hintawa kanami to baliku to batasan, to manguldinay no ogngadanan ki babaylanon. 43 Ko meyduon ogkasakit kanami, meyduon ogbuya. 44 Ko ogsampiton to inoy ku to paggudgud to umagad to ogkadayuhan, siak to oghiluwas to kagi to mgo diwata to yanu no Minanubu. 45 Imbot nu dow hintawa a no maghuhubad to inikagihan. 46 Tongod to kalipay to sikan tag-iya to masakiton su kona man kandan ogpakasabut to tod-om, ogdeyjawon dan to pag-aligra kanay to hibatan dow to pagkoon.

47 Sugud no nadaega ad hangtod no naminyo ad dow nanganak, siak to timbang to inoy ku ko ogpandiwata sikandin.

48 Di wada a makapabilin duon to sikan no kabotang su to diya tuig 1974, naCristuhanon a dow hangtod kuntoon tuig 1994, di kona no kotob da kani, su ogpadajunon ku to pag-alagad to Diyus. 49 To diya pig-isturya ku, imbot ku dow iyan da sangkoan to madojow no kinabuhi, di kadojawan

bad deed will cause the death of this child." 25 But they could not suspect that that unmarried woman had done this bad deed because she was upright and silent. 26 The child just died without knowing the cause of her death.

27 And when it was almost time for the woman to deliver her baby, [it could not be hidden any more] and when the father knew that that was then the cause of the death of the child, the father went like insane, chopping whatever in the house with yelling, and everyone in the house were like something shaken off from the house [that is, they were driven away from the house]. 28 The woman gave birth to her child in the house of her uncle. 29 From that time on the father did not eat until he got sick. 30 Many respected old men came to him to give advice so that his mourning will be eased, but his illness got worse instead until he died. 31 When woman delivered her baby, she named him Samukan [from samuk 'trouble'] because her being impregnated without a husband really caused trouble. 32 And even worse because her father died.

33 That is what the children of a shaman should be aware of. 34 If the impregnating of the woman had been discovered early, something would have been given to the *diwata* spirits of the father that would give light to their vision and they would have been able to know what the cause of the illness of the child was, [and] then they could have healed the child and the father also would not have died.

35 That is how my mother lived as far back as I knew. 36 We siblings were raised with food that was offered to the diwata spirits offered by our mother. 37 I could just say that the diwata spirits were the ones that our family took as our god. 38 Those are the ones we trusted to raise and protect us. 39 Because who could not trust [the diwata spirits] when we are cruelly treated by other *diwata* spirits; my mother had a diwata spirit who was brave and strong to protect us, that which is called taegbusow. 40 There is that which guards the plants in the fields, the taephagan. 41 There is that which causes a wild pig to be caught when someone goes hunting, sugujon. 42 There is that which straightens any one of us who has a bad custom, the one who advises named babaylanon. 43 If any of us get sick, there is that which with do the healing. 44 When my mother was asked to do chanting to look for a soul of the sick, I am the one to interpret the word of the spirit to plain Manobo. 45 You can mistakenly think I was a translator of language. 46 Because of the joy of the owner of the sick one because they could not understand the tod-om song, they would take good care of my bed and my food.

47 Starting from when I became a young woman to the time when I got married and had children, I was the partner of my mother when she performed a ceremony for *diwata* spirits.

48 But I did not remain in that situation because in the year 1974 I became a Christian and until now 1994, but not until here only, because I will continue to serve God. 49 What I have already told, I thought that it was the only way of living a good life, but it was

man naan to yawa dow kadootan to kalag. 50 Su naanadan ku duon to Biblya no sikan pigsaligan ku beybegbogay man naan diya to impernu. 51 E-ay, ko wada a makayuwat to sikan mgo diwata, duma a dan man naan no igsugba diya to impernu udoma. 52 Di salamat to Diyus no wada a din pabay-ani to diya no pagkinabuhi ku. 53 Nayuwas a dow to mgo anak ku.

54 To diya inoy ku namatoy on, di ogpakaiman koy no mgo anak din no Cristuhanon no yuwas isab kandin su no madoson pad kanunoy kandin migsimba dow naminog to kagi to Diyus. 55 Duon isab to bayoy to hadi ku kanunoy kandin pig-ikagihan to bahin to Manyuyuwas. 56 Nakapamuju kandin to pasaylu to Diyus. 57 Wadad kandin padanihi to mgo diwata din. 58 Sikan to ogkasabutan noy no Ispiritu on to Diyus to miggahom kandin.

59 Wadad.

then a benefit of the body and the death of the soul. 50 Because I learned from the Bible that which I was trusting with was then to be thrown to hell. 51 *E-ay* [expression of misfortune], if I were not able to separate from the *diwata* spirits, I would then be their company to be roasted in hell in the future. 52 But thanks to God that he did not let me alone with how I lived at that time. 53 I and my children were saved.

54 My mother has died, but we her Christian children have the hope that she is saved because when she was yet strong enough she always attended church services and had heard the word of God. 55 Also in the house of my brother she was always told about the Savior. 56 She was able to ask God for the forgiveness of her sins. 57 She was no longer possessed by her *diwata*. 58 That is when we understood that the Spirit of God had empowered her.

59 No more.

To mgo Tawagonon dow to Trabahu Dan

Taebubung

1 Seini no tawagonon iyan ogbaja to pag-abut to uma. 2 Duon seini og-ugpa to bubungan. 3 Ojow pa to songo diwatahan, to taebubung kanunoy ogbinuwa. 4 Ogtabang kun seini ko meyduon ogpabuwa no masakiton.

Tagamaling

5 Magsusuyam seini no tawagonon. 6 Sikandin to ogbaja to mgo bohi to pagkaamu to pagsuyam. 7 Og-ilingon to ogbaligaan seini tagamaling to taebubung ko meyduon ogpasuyaman din. 8 Seini tagamaling angod da to taebubung, ogbaja to pagabut to uma.

9 Mey diwatahan no mig-iling to migpatae-kadumahan to taebubung, tagamaling aw taephagan. 10 Tibo seini ogtawagon ko oghinang to songo diwatahan to kahimunan. 11 To tagamaling aw taebubung mgo sinuyaman to mgo kabo.

Yumud

12 Ogpamolig seini to soda no taga-wohig. 13 Duon seini og-ugpa to mgo gatungon no lugar. 14 Ko meyduon ogpanagat, og-una og-uyagdok. 15 To og-uyagdok, oghinang to sinaengsang no og-untudan to atoyug no igpakoon to yumud. 16 Ogyakipan usab seini to inapugan. 17 To sinaengsang, buyu seini no ogtibagon to upat no katibag to songo katinampodan. 18 To pagtibag to seini, songo dangow da likat to katinampodan. 19 Ogyagoson seini agun kona mauyug to igpang-untud duon. 20 Tapus to sikan, igtugdok seini duon to higad to ayug aw ogtawagon to yumud.

21 Og-ilingon to mgo diwatahan no hilabi mahaba to bubue to yumud. 22 Ko meyduon ogsomoton din, og-anudon to bubue din aw ogpunipukan to bubue din to ogsomoton din kaling kun inggad ogkaamu ogyangoy to otow, ogkatabug su ogkagapus man to sikan bubue. 23 Di ko ogkasajaan seini ko ogdayuon sikandin, ogpamolig to mahan-in no isda.

Diwata Spirits and Their Work

Taebubung

1 This familiar spirit is the one who works supernaturally in producing a harvest in the fields. ¹ 2 It lives in the mountains. 3 According to one shaman, the *taebubung* always swings in a hammock. 4 It is said that this one helps if a sick person is swung in a hammock.

Tagamaling

5 This familiar spirit is an embroiderer. 6 He is the one who supernaturally gives women the skill of embroidery. 7 It is said that this *tagamaling* is called on to help *taebubung* whenever he has something to embroider. 8 This *tagamaling* is like *taebubung* in that it works supernaturally in producing a harvest in the fields.

9 There is a shaman who says that *taebubung*, *tagamaling*, and *taephagan* are all companions. 10 They are all called when a shaman convenes a spirit-gathering. 11 *Tagamaling* and *taebubung* are embroiderers of clothing.

Yumud

12 This catches viand that lives in the water. 13 It lives in places with many large boulders. 14 If someone will go fishing, he will first perform an *uyagdok* ceremony. 15 The one who performs this ceremony makes a *sinaengsang* altar where an egg is placed for the *yumud* to eat. 16 Betel chew is also included here. 17 The *sinaengsang* is bamboo that is slit into four at one end. 18 The length of the slits are one handspan from the end. 19 The four ends are tied together so that what is placed there won't fall. 20 After that, it is stuck in the ground at the river's edge and the *yumud* is called.

21 Shamans say that the *yumud* has very long hair. 22 If it plans to do harm to someone, it lets its hair float and twines its hair around the one it is planning to harm; therefore even if the person knows how to swim, he will drown because he gets tied up in that hair. 23 But when this [*yumud*] is pleased when someone appeases it with an offering, it supernaturally helps him to catch many fish.

Other information concerning *taebubung*: The *taebubung* guards the plants before they are harvested. Like the *tagamaling* spirit, the *taebubung*'s work is embroidering and sewing, so women possessed by the this spirit know how to embroider well.

Kaligaan

24 Tawagonon seini to mgo Banwaon. 25 Ko ogpadatongon dan on to kaliga, ogpangaesan to mgo yukos. 26 Duon to kaliga ogkitaon to klasi-klasi no soda, mgo taga-pasak aw taga-wohig. 27 Ogbogas sikandan to madogi no humoy aw oghinaat to mgo binuhi no babuy. 28 Seini no kahimunan ogtambungan to mahan-in hilabi no otow. 29 Kotob to ogpakadinog og-anduon. 30 Seini no kahimunan og-abutan to tag songo simana. 31 Aw kotob to pig-andam no pagkoon, og-imoton gajod sikan.

32 Songo bahin to kalihokan dan sikan og-ilingon to Dugsu. 33 Bayli seini. 34 Meyduon yukos no ogbaba to sikan ig-ilingon to bahandi [tadjow ko kuntoon pa] no ogtaguan to intos. 35 Ogpatatagonay to mgo yukos dow mgo bohi to boyad aw oglilibong sikandan. 36 Ogkanta sikandan aw ogkukumpas. 37 Sikan to og-ilingon ta, kandan kanta, kandan kumpas. 38 Pagkatapus to sikan, ogpamangoon aw ogpamanginom to intos. 39 Tapus to songo simana ko ogkaimot on to pagkoon, na, ogsusuwoy-suwoy on.

Umli

40 Maintok hilabi seini no tawagonon su ogkahimu ko puli tapajaon. 41 Ogkakiyayahan ko madani sikandin su ogtaghuy. 42 Og-ilingon ku to takawon seini no diwata su impaggilaung ku yagboy to tagtawagonon to seini. 43 "Ogdayahan a to Tres-V ko pikit yagboy to tabaku aw wada igkaboli ku," kagi ni Urnong no tagtawagonon. 44 "Songo panahoon wadad yagboy ogpanihapunon noy su bag-u kaliwas to goob, wada koy pad makapananom. 45 Dajuna ku sabiha to umli ku aw nangoni to kapoyok ku. 46 Wada da katogon-togon to pagboyonga din nakapauli on to umli no nakadaya to singkuwenta pisus. 47 Dajun a boli to bogas."

Taephagan

48 Masagkop aw maintok seini no bohi. 49 Og-ilingon to majopot to saja din aw ogpakahobong seini inggad duon to sayad to daeg. 50 Ogbantoy seini to mgo tanom. 51 Ko meyduon og-abut no mgo sumisiba to tanom, sikandin to og-abug. 52 Oghinangan seini to mgo tagtawagonon to pinajag no og-ugpaan din duon to tonga to kamutihan ubin humajan. 53 Inggad nokoy no tanom no og-abut kona ogkalingawan to tagtanom to pagtaephag ayha sikandin ogkoon.

Kaligaan

24 This is a familiar spirit of the Banwaons.² 25 When they are anticipating the harvest festival, the men go into the forest and camp while hunting. 26 In the harvest festival various kinds of edible animals that live in both the water and on land can be seen. 27 They will pound a lot of rice and prepare domestic pigs. 28 This spirit gathering is attended by many people. 29 Whoever hears about it goes there. 30 This spirit gathering lasts for one week. 31 And as much food as is prepared, it is all consumed.

32 One part of their activities is called *dugsu*. 33 This is a dance. 34 A man carries on his back what is called a *bahandi* [nowadays it's called an *tadjow* 'earthenware jar'] containing sugarcane wine. 35 The men and women hold hands and make a circle. 36 They sing and dance with the music. 37 That's what we say, they sing, they dance. 38 After that, they eat and they drink sugarcane wine. 39 After one week if the food is consumed, then they go their separate ways.

Umli

40 This is a very small familiar spirit because it can just be held in the palm of the hand. 41 One can tell if it's near because it whistles. 42 I say that this familiar spirit is a robber because I talked personally with a medium of this spirit. 43 "It brings me *Tres-V* [a brand of rolled-up tobacco leaves] if tobacco is very scarce and I don't have anything to buy it with," said Urnong, the spirit medium. 44 "One day we had nothing at all for supper because a flood had just receded, and we hadn't been able to plant yet. 45 I proceeded to call my *umli* and told it about my worries. 46 After it disappeared, it wasn't long that the *umli* returned bringing fifty pesos. 47 Then I bought rice."

Taephagan

48 This is a short, small female. 49 It is said that her skirt is short, and she can hide even under a fallen leaf. 50 She guards plants. 51 If insects or rodents come to eat the plants, she chases them away. 52 This spirit's mediums make for her a shelter where she lives in the middle of a sweet potato or rice field. 53 Whatever plants are harvested, the owner of the plants doesn't forget to sacrifice to her before he eats.

² The Banwaons are an ethnic group who speak another language in the Manobo family of languages. They live northwest of the main Agusan Manobo area.

Ibabasuk

54 Suguonon seini to taephagan. 55 Angod-angod da to trabahu dan di iyan yabow to taephagan.

Makabontasay

56 Ogtubad seini to otow no madogi ko ogkoon. 57 Kaling man to otow no madogi ko ogkoon og-ilingon to ogyonaan to makabontasay. 58 Na tongod to kadogi to ogkoonon din, makaes to pagkoon. 59 Kaling ogkabontas. 60 Sikan to igkahingadani to makabontasay.

Sugujon

61 Ogpamolig seini to kadlaganon no babuy. 62 Ko meyduon ogpanganup ubin ogsabit to baetik, og-una seini ogsuguy. 63 Mayogdog no manuk to ogkaliyagan to sugujon no iyan igdayu kandin.

64 To ugpaanan to sugujon oghingadanan to sugujan. 65 Igbitoy seini duon to sed to bayoy aw ko ogtawagon sikandin [sugujon] og-oboson sikan sugujan aw duon igbotang to inapugan. 66 To daega no ogkasae-an on to yukos, ko makaponhik duon to bayoy no meyduon sugujan, ogpakabata sikandin. 67 Ogbujuan sikandin to saepi ubin manuk su igpanyajag to sikan tagtuun to sugujon. 68 Su ojow dan pa, madigyom to pag-aha to diwatahan ko ogkaponhikan sikandin to sae. 69 Na inggad og-amonu sikandin ogpanganup, kona sikandin ogpakapudut to babuy ubin wada ogsodop to mgo yagotom din.

Tagabayow, Agkoy, Dalikaskas

70 Seini to ogtubad to inggad daega ko minyo to pagkaibog to kona din no kapikas to kinabuhi. 71 Kona no bohi da su hasta yukos, ulitau ko minyo. 72 Usahay mey bohi no ogpaayas-ayas to yukos aw angod usab to yukos, ogpaayas-ayas seini to mgo bohi. 73 Meyduon asawa no og-agawon to songo yukos aw usahay mey ogkabinunuay tongod to inagaway to asawa.

Taegbusow, Inampu

74 Suguonon seini to tagabayow. 75 Seini to ogtubad to otow to paghimatoy su iyan ampay din no ogkoonon to yangosa. 76 Ogtubad usab seini to pagyangósa to magkabodos no bohi. 77 Ko kona dajun madayu, ogpadajun seini to pagyangosa hangtod no ogpakaanak to yajas. 78 To pagdayu to taegbusow

These are two words for the same class of spirit.

Ibabasuk

54 This [spirit] is the servant of *taephagan*. 55 Their work is similar but *taephagan* is greater.

Makabontasay

56 This [spirit] supernaturally causes a person to eat a lot. 57 Therefore a person who eats a lot is said to be possessed by *makabontasay*. 58 Then because of his eating so much, the food is quickly consumed. 59 So people get hungry. 60 That's why it's called *makabontasay* ['hunger-causer'].

Sugujon

61 This [spirit] catches wild pigs. 62 If someone hunts with dogs or sets a pig trap, he first offers a sacrifice to this spirit. 63 What *sugujon* likes to be offered is a red chicken.

64 What *sugujon* lives in is called *sugujan*. 65 It is hung inside a house, and when he [*sugujon*] is called, the *sugujan* is lowered and betel chew is placed on it. 66 A girl who has been violated by a man, if she goes up into a house that has a *sugujan*, she will have to put coins on the altar. 67 She will be asked for silver or a chicken with which to enlighten the eyes of the owner of the *sugujon* spirit. 68 For it is said, a shaman's sight will be darkened if sin comes up into his/her house. 69 Then no matter how much he hunts with dogs, he cannot get a pig, and nothing will enter his traps.

Tagabayow, Agkoy, Dalikaskas

70 These [spirits] supernaturally cause either an unmarried or married woman to desire someone who is not their life partner. 71 Not only women but also men, unmarried or married. 72 Sometimes there is a woman who is promiscuous with men and men likewise, they are promiscuous with women. 73 There are wives who are grabbed by other men, and sometimes people kill one another because of wife stealing.

Taegbusow, Inampu³

74 This [spirit] is a servant of the *tagabayow* spirit. 75 It supernaturally causes a person to kill because it's favorite thing to eat is blood. 76 It supernaturally causes pregnant women to bleed profusely. 77 If it is not appeared immediately, that bleeding will continue until she gives birth prematurely. 78 Appearing the *taegbusow*

og-ilingon to ogboka to taegbusow. 79 Ogbasbas to daduwa no yawas no daemuan aw botangi to menhow aw paesa to yangosa to babuy ubin manuk. 80 Gustu to taegbusow to mgo sinugbahan no mayogdog, babuy ko manuk. 81 To sinugbahan no yugju oglibadan to mayogdog no panapton no og-ilingon to ganggan.

82 Ko ogkita ki to diwatahan duon to kahimunan no og-inom to yangosa to babuy, meyduon taegbusow to sikan. 83 Ko meyduon ogmangajow, unahon dan ogtawagon to taegbusow. 84 Seini to ogbogoy to buyut to otow to paghimatoy to angod din no otow. 85 Seini iyan to mgo otow no tu-tuu no naudipon to yawa. 86 Su ko ogkaibog to taegbusow to yangosa, to pigyonaan din ogpamangha gajod to babuy, su ko kona, yangosa to otow to og-inomon din. 87 To otow no ogtaegbusawan wada pagkayuuy to angod din.

88 Meyduon otow no pigtaebusawan diya to Langasian notoduon. 89 Pigdugsuan din to asawa din no magkabodos, aanakay din on sikan no buyan. 90 Wada sikandin kamaan no dugsuan din to asawa din. 91 Ojow din pa no mahuwaan on sikandin, "Migkita a to otow no mighulid to asawa ku. 92 Pigdugsuan ku di iyan man naan naigu to asawa ku." 93 Tapus to pagdugsu to asawa din, pigtulignus din to tabae no insayug diya to diatas aw pon-ug [wada pad sikandin huwai] su namangha to ogpilakon din, di tibo pigbanig to hagdan to mgo otow aw panggakuti to mgo sira to pertahan. 94 Palikat diya to bayoy din to nabitik to pangiyak din hangtod no nakaabut sikandin duon to sogkaen to pig-ugpaan noy no bayoy no mey diwatahan. 95 Nangapug sikandin aw yonai. 96 Pagsibog on to diwata din, migsugu sikandin no dugukon si Tiwan [ngadan to sikan otow] aw paagawi to tabae. 97 Naprisu to diya no otow aw wadad makauli. is called 'splitting something for the *taegbusow*'. 79 One smooths two stalks of *daemuan* [a kind of rattan] and puts on them young green leaves and smears it with blood of a pig or chicken. 80 The *taegbusow* likes to have red things consecrated⁴ to it, either a pig or a chicken. 81 A consecrated bolo has a red cloth wrapped around it, called *ganggan*.

82 If we see a shaman at a spirit gathering drinking pig blood, he/she has a *taegbusow*. 83 If someone goes out to kill, he will first call the *taegbusow*. 84 It gives a person boldness to kill his fellow person. 85 These are the people who are truly enslaved by the devil. 86 For when *taegbusow* craves blood, the one it possesses will really look for a pig, because if he cannot [get one], human blood is what he will drink. 87 A person possessed by a *taegbusow* has no mercy on his fellow person.

88 There was a person possessed by taegbusow at Langasian long ago.⁵ 89 He stabbed his pregnant wife who was due to give birth that month. 90 He didn't know he had stabbed his wife. 91 According to him after the spirit had gone away, "I saw a person lying beside my wife. 92 I stabbed him but the one I happened to hit was my wife." 93 After stabbing his wife, he angrily grabbed his spear that had been stored in the rafters up above and went down from the house [the spirit hadn't left him yet] to look for someone to spear, but the people had removed the stairway and tied shut the doors. 94 From his house he shouted until he reached the yard of the house where we lived, which had a shaman. 95 He [the shaman] prepared betel chew and became possessed by a spirit. 96 When his diwata spirit had retreated, he ordered that Tiwan [the name of that person] be approached and his spear be taken away from him. 97 That person was imprisoned and never returned.

The term *sinugbahan* refers to something that is consecrated for special use into the care of a shaman for the purposes of spirit rituals. If these especially dedicated articles are used for other purposes, it is believed that bad consequences like sickness will happen.

⁵ For a fuller telling of this story, see essay "Customs About Sleeping", VII. World view: Beliefs, p. 109, sentences 3–49.

To Pagbuya dow to Gahom to Diwatahan

1 To diwata ogkapangerinsya. 2 Ko ogkamatoy to diwatahan meyduon anak din no ogpangulian, ko ita pa iyan ogbalhinan to sikan diwata sikan anak. 3 Malisod hilabi ko ogpangulian to otow to diwata su sagad meyduon anak din no igpamagahan. 4 Ko kona dajun matagahan to hinogdan to kamatajon to sikan bata, meyduon pad yain no bata no ogkamatoy su sikan to paagi to sikan mgo diwata agun matagahan no gustu sikandan ogyona to sikan no otow. 5 Na, pinaagi to duma no mgo diwatahan, ogkatagahan no sikan no otow ogpangulian to diwata to amoy din. 6 Na, inggad kona podom ogkaliyag to otow ogdawat to diwata, ogkapogos sikandin to pagdawat agun kona maubus mamatoy to mgo anak din. 7 To mgo diwata ogyona duon to mahanong no otow dow marojow to batasan. 8 To mgo diwata no iyan da gustu no ihayad duon kandan to inapugan og-ilingon to mgo Manubu to marojow no mgo diwata, di to og-inom to yangosa to babuy, sikan no mgo diwata og-ilingon to madoot su ko kona sikandan madayu, ogkoon sikan to mgo binantajan to sikan diwatahan. 9 Na, pagkatagahi to sikan, oghinang to kahimunan sikan otow aw daduwa ubin tatoyu to diwatahan no ogtindog to sikan no kahimunan su oghugkuton dan sikan diwata no gustu ogyona. 10 Ogpatindogon usab sikan otow no ogpayonaan dow ogpasajawon di usahay ogyona da sikan diwata ko katatoyu pad oghinang to kahimunan dow mangkaaslag to babuy no oghimatajan.

11 Tapus makayona to diwata, ogsugud sikan diwatahan to binuyan no pagpanuman. 12 Konad sikandin ogkagawangan to mgo sinugbahan no babuy, dow mgo manuk. 13 Ko mey diwata din no taegbusow, bulaw no bakit no babuy to igpaabin no sinugbahan ubin manuk no yumansad no mayogdog to bubue. 14 Sikan no diwata madoot ko ogligasan su ogbotang to sakit. 15 Ogpamaja sikan to binunuay, ogyangósa to magkabodos dow mey oggisuka to yangosa. 16 Na, kinahangyan no dayuon agun wada ogkahitabu no angod to sikan.

17 Meyduon otow no mahan-in to diwata no ogyona. 18 Aw mey mgo diwata no mapajag dow meyduon sikan og-ilingon to haetahap. 19 To mapajag no diwata, madali din ogkamaanan to hinongdan to sakit to otow no ogbuyahan din. 20 Ogkamaanan din

The Healing Ceremony and Power of a Spirit Medium

1 Diwata spirits are inherited. 2 When a shaman dies, a child of his/hers will be returned upon [by the diwata]: in other words, that diwata will transfer to that son or daughter. 3 It is really difficult if a person is revisited by a diwata because often a child of his/hers will die.1 4 If the cause of the death of that child cannot be recognized right away, another child will die because that is the way diwatas [work] to make known their desire to possess that person. 5 Then, by means of other shamans, it will be known that that person will be returned to by the *diwata* of his father. 6 And even if the person who receives that diwata doesn't want it, he will be forced to receive it so that his children will not be all-finished-off and die. 7 The diwata spirits will possess people who are peaceable and who have good character. 8 The diwata spirits who want only betel chew to be offered to them are called good diwatas by the Manobos, but as for those who drink the blood of pigs, those diwatas are called bad because if they are not appeased, those *diwatas* will eat those that they are watching over. 9 And when that [the desire of the diwata to possess] is realized, that man will make a *kahimunan*² gathering and two or three shamans are the ones to stand in that gathering to invite the diwata who wants to possess to appear to the man he wanted to possess. 10 The man who is to be possessed is also caused to stand and dance, but sometimes the diwata will not possess him until [as many as] three *kahimunan* gatherings are made with huge pigs to be killed.

11 After the *diwata* has possessed [the person], that shaman will begin [to perform] monthly sacrifices. 12 Hemust always have [lit. never be removed] specially-consecrated pigs and chickens [for his *diwata*]. 13 If he has a *taegbusow diwata*, a reddish-haired castrated pig or a rooster with red feathers will be set aside for being specially consecrated [to that *diwata*]. 14 That kind of *diwata* is bad when offended because it will cause illness. 15 It will supernaturally-cause spearing/stabbing [or through] the bleeding of pregnant women, and some will vomit blood. 16 So, it is necessary to appease [the *diwatas*] so that nothing like that will happen.

17 There are people who are possessed by many *diwata* spirits. 18 And there are *diwatas* who are especially-powerful and there are [also] those that are called dull. 19 As for an especially-powerful *diwata*, he easily knows the cause of the illness of the man he wants to supernaturally heal. 20 He can tell if it is a

¹ Pamagahan is a tragic way for the diwata to make known his desire to possess a person.

kahimunan: a special kind of public spirit ceremony during which a shaman dances, accompanied by drums and gongs, and offers a sacrifice of a pig or chicken to *diwata* spirits. Occasions for this kind of gathering, attended by many people, include thanksgiving for a harvest, a request for healing a sick person, and the transfer of a *diwata* spirit to a new shaman.

ko ogpiliton dow ko hanuhas no sakit. 21 Ko ogpiliton, na, ogpamanghaon din no igpabaja to paggudgud aw ko hanuhas no sakit og-iling sikandin to otawan now, ko ita pa, panambayon. 22 To haetahap kona ogpakabuya. 23 To diwata no og-ilingon to totod-omon iyan oggudgudon. 24 Ogpangapug to diwatahan dow ogsabihon sikan totod-omon dow maana to sikan no kapoyok to giotawan.

25 Bag-u pad ogkadukilom, sikan diwatahan ogsugud ogtod-om. 26 Duon to sikan tod-om ogkamaanan ta to lihok to sikan mgo diwata no og-ilingon to mgo totod-omon. 27 Angod pananglitan to seini.

28 Meyduon otow no ogkabukasan to ogpangehoy su makodey to tibuuk yawa dow nanyobag to mgo boyad dow mgo kobong din. 29 Hasta maagbot to hingyow din. 30 Pag-aha kandin to songo diwatahan, mig-iling sikandin no sikan masakiton nasagmanan to tagbanwa. 31 To masakiton kona ogkaulian hangtod no makitaan to umagad. 32 Na pagkadukilom migsugud sikan diwatahan to paggudgud. 33 Seini to panow to sikan mgo diwata no oglituk-litukon to sikan paggudgud.

34 Mighihimun to upat no mgo diwata to sikan diwatahan dow mighihimanu dow og-amonuhon dan to pagtabang to sikan otow no nadayuhan aw ogkatigdaan on. 35 Tapus to paghihimanu dan, pigdawat ni Babaylanon [ngadan to diwata] to yambungan din dow ahaa din duon dow andei makabotang to umagad to sikan otow no nasakit no indangop kandan. 36 Aw duon to songo banwa kani to sei kalibutan pigkita ni Babaylanon duon to yambungan din to umagad no ogkababalikid su gustu podom no makahubad to sikan mgo bogtong no inggapus to mgo kobong dow mgo boyad din no nanyobag on tongod to pag-anggoti. 37 Duon-dajun nanubad-tubad si Babaylanon no meyduon podom masakajan dan agun maabut dan sikan umagad. 38 Puli nakatokow migpotow to baensi dow nakasakoy sikandan to kilat aw migpayojan-yojan si Babaylanon dow to daduwa no mgo yukos no migduma kandin, si Maliyan-liyan dow sikan og-ilingon to anak to kaemag.

39 Anoy man no nadanihan dan on sikan umagad su ogdinogon dan on to pangehoy, mighodos to maagbot no kaemag aw ogpakapadiyu sikandan su igyajap to sikan kaemag. 40 Aw nakabansagon si Babaylanon, iyan pigtobong din sikan anak to kaemag, "Honda man! 41 Basi kona tad masakpanan to ginhawa to sikan ogbuyahan

supernaturally-afflicted or a natural sickness. 21 If it is supernaturally-afflicted, then he will search through the *gudgud* process³ and if it is a natural sickness he will say that this is in the human-realm, which is to say that it can be treated-with-medicine. 22 A dull⁴ *diwata* cannot supernaturally-heal a person. 23 The *diwata* called *totod-omon*⁵ is the one who is addressed in the *gudgud* process. 24 The shaman offers betel chew and invokes the *totod-omon* spirit and lets him know the problem of the human.

25 In the early evening, the shaman begins singing in the *tod-om* style. 26 In [listening to] the *tod-om*, we can know the movements of the *diwatas* called *totod-omon*. 27 Like this, for example.

28 There was a man who was groaning for-the-whole-night because his whole body ached and his hands and feet were swollen. 29 And he had a high fever. 30 When the shaman observed him, he said that the sick one was afflicted by a *tagbanwa* [tree-dwelling] *diwata*. 31 The patient cannot be healed until his soul is found. 32 So when evening came, the shaman began to sing following every move of the *totod-omon diwatas*. 33 This is the journey of the *diwatas*, which is narrated by the *gudgud* song.⁶

34 Four spirits of the shaman gathered and discussed what is to be done to help the man who was sick and was seriously ill. 35 After their discussion, Babaylanon [the name of a diwata] took her mirror and she looked to see where the soul of sick person who had sought help was located. 36 And there in a certain place there in this world Babaylanon saw from her mirror the soul tossing and turning because he would like to get loose the metal strings that were used to bind his feet and hands that had swollen because the wire was biting into his flesh. 37 Immediately Babaylanon supernaturally-uttered that there would be something they can ride on so that they will be able to reach the soul. 38 Suddenly a thunderbolt flashed and they rode on the lightning, and Babaylanon and the two male [diwatas] who accompanied her, the Joker diwata and the one called the son of the wind were floating slowly [in space].

39 When they were nearing the soul, because they could now hear his groanings, a strong wind blew and they went far off-course because they were blown by the wind. 40 And Babaylanon shouted to the son of the wind, "How about it? 41 We may not be able to reach [lit. catch up to] the breath of the one we are

The term *gudgud* refers to the process by which a shaman will search supernaturally for a cure for a sick person by singing in the indigenous Manobo *tod-om* style.

⁴ A *haetahap diwata* is described as dull and ineffective in curing sick people. They can, on the other hand, do harm to people.

A *totod-omon* is a spirit the Manobos called good because he only wants betel chew to be offered to him. The spirit medium is in a trance as he sings in the indigenous style called *tod-om*. He sees the activities of the *totod-omon* spirits and follows their every activity while continuing to sing in the *tod-om* style.

The author was present at the ceremony at which this event actually occurred at Sagunto, La Paz, Agusan del Sur, in 1980 or 1981.

ta." 42 Dajun panubad-tubad sikan anak to kaemag aw mighanong dajun to kaemag. 43 Namaanan dan no ogsomangon podom sikandan to sikan migbantoy to sikan umagad di pigdaog sikandin to gahom to sikan anak to kaemag.

44 Pagkayugonsad onni Babaylanon dini to pasak, pig-ikagihan ni Babaylanon sikan mgo duma din, "Kamonang kow naa kani su og-unahon ku ogmanumanuhon agun mamaanan ta dow og-amonuhon ta to pagpudut sikan umagad." 45 Dajun pabayuy si Babaylanon no manuk-manuk dow taphun duon to bintana to sikan bayoy no pigbotangan to sikan umagad. 46 Di puli pad sikandin nakataphun pigyapdosan sikandin to sikan migbantoy di marojow su wada sikandin kaigu. 47 Migpauli sikandin duon to sikan duma din no mgo yukos. 48 Kagi din, "Mabuyut sikan migbantoy kaling wada ku kahiyoyongi sikan umagad, puli ku ogdinogon to pangehoy din. 49 Nokoy man to iyu no igkasambag?"

50 "Mahaewoy da," iyan migtabak si Maliyan-liyan. 51 Wada da kapiniloki to pagpanubad-tubad ni Maliyan-liyan nabayuy sikandan no daduwa no ka-yukos no matamo-tamo no mgo daega. 52 Dajun kandan padodoyog duon to sikan migbantoy to sikan umagad. 53 Puli nakapanyam-od to yawoy sikan migbantoy to umagad no kitaon din sikan daduwa no migpadodoyog duon kandin. 54 Migtindog sikandin dow tagbuha sikan mgo daega. 55 Wada din on liparaha sikan pigbantajan din. 56 Pagkita ni Babaylanon no nalingag on to sikan mgo bohi sikan migbantoy, pig-anduon din sikan umagad no mayotoy on dow bayuja din no buyawan dow itagu duon to binuta din. 57 Dajun tubad si Babaylanon to kilat dow sakoy sikandin pailing diya to banwa no piglikatan dan. 58 Pag-abut to sikan mgo diwata diya to banwa dan, pigbutwa sikan umagad no nabuyawan dow hudhudi to yana no ojow pa to mgo diwata, ogpakabuhoy. 59 Dajun kahinang no umagad. 60 Pag-abut duon to sikan no bahin to pagsuboy-suboy to lihok to sikan mgo totod-omon, migsigkon sikan diwatahan to paggudgud. 61 Pagsusi to sikan diwatahan dow maamonu on sikan masakiton, nalipodong, wadad pangehoy dow wadad hingyow. 62 Songo paagi sikan to pagbuya to diwata to masakiton.

[trying to] heal." 42 Then the son of the wind made a supernatural-utterance and the wind calmed down. 43 They knew that the guard of that soul would try to supernaturally-stop them but he was defeated by the power of the son of the wind.

44 When Babaylanon and the others had descended here to the earth, Babaylanon said to her companions, "Stay here for a little while because I will first check so that we will know what to do to get the soul." 45 Then Babaylanon turned herself into a bird and alit on the window of the house where the soul was located. 46 But she had no sooner been able to alight than the guard tried to whack her, but it's good because she was not hit. 47 She returned to her male companions. 48 She said, "That guard is fierce, and that's why I was not able look at the soul very well; I can just hear his groaning. 49 What can you advise me?"

50 "That's easy," was what the Joker diwata replied. 51 Joker made a supernatural utterance [and] in less than the blink of an eye, the two male diwatas had became beautiful young women. 52 Then they went toward the guard of the soul. 53 The guard of the soul was stupefied [lit. could just swallow his saliva] when he saw the two [women] going toward him. 54 He stood up to meet the women. 55 He no longer paid any attention to what he was guarding. 56 When Babaylanon saw that the guard was drawn to the women, she went to the soul that was getting weak, and turned him to gold and put it inside her binuta basket.7 57 Then Babaylanon supernaturallyuttered, producing lightning, and she rode on it to the place where they had come from. 58 When the diwatas reached their place, the soul that had been turned to gold was taken out of the basket and oil was poured on it which, according to diwata spirits, is able to give life. 59 Then it was made a soul. 60 When the shaman reached this point in his monitoring the activities of the diwatas, he stopped singing the gudgud song. 61 When the shaman examined that sick one, he saw that he was able to sleep, no longer groaned, and had no more fever. 62 That is one way that the diwatas will heal sick people.

A binuta is a medium-sized, round, short basket woven out of pandanus shrub leaves, with a lid.

To Duma no Pagbuya to mgo Masakiton

1 To bohi, ko ogyangósa likat to pag-anak ubin ko ogyangosa su ogkayandanan og-ilingon to ogpiliton to taegbusow. 2 Kinahangyan no dayuon sikan to babuy no bulaw ubin manuk no mayogdog. 3 Ogpudut to daemuan mgo daduwa no yawas dow bokaa, botangi to menhow dow payasa to yangosa. 4 Og-ilingon sikan no pagdayu to 'ogboka to taegbusow'.

5 Meyduon bata no pigtuli no madani ogkamatoy su madani ogkatistisan to yangosa. 6 Paghimatoy to mayogdog no manuk su indayu to taegbusow, migtigpok to yangosa.

7 Meyduon otow no nadayuhan no ogbuyahan to tatoyu no mgo diwatahan. 8 Saboka to ulitau, to saboka, bayu no bohi dow to saboka mamanigaon on. 9 Mangkapajag to mgo diwata dan. 10 Sikan ulitau pigyonaan to totod-omon, sikan bayu pigyonaan to daligmata dow sikan mamanigaon pigyonaan to inampu. 11 Seini no diwata to angod to taegbusow su og-inom isab to yangosa. 12 To daligmata dow to totod-omon oghibajun to kinaiya su kona og-inom to yangosa, inapugan da to kandan ogkaliyagan.

13 Songo kadukiloman [matayod on] naboyong sikan ulitau no diwatahan no sikan ogbuyahan dan angod to ogbalikidon no hinayub. 14 Kona ogkalipodong, ko og-usipon dow ogkaamonu, og-iling to kona din ogkasabut to ginhawa din. 15 Ogkalituk to ginhawa to sikan ulitau no ogpapon-ugon sikandin. 16 Dajun sikandin dawat to baedow din dow pon-ug. 17 Eh! Ahaon din pa no meyduon migpayongod no puli ogyogdog to mata no ogyanghag to sikan masakiton. 18 Ginhawa to sikan ulitau, "Gin-anow man naan ogka-iling si Julio [ngadan to sikan otow no nasakit]." 19 Anoy man no ogdugukon to sikan ulitau no puli din on pigboyong. 20 Dajun din yupuga. 21 Migponhik sikan pigyupug duon to bayoy no wada otow. 22 Dajun padajun-dajuni to sikan ulitau dow pandugsui. 23 Di puli da pighapuhap to dinugsuan, dajun nagawang to pali, naulian.

24 Na, songo kadukiloman nasamuk to mgo otow duon to sed to bayoy to sikan otow no

Other Ways of Healing the Sick

1 When a woman bleeds excessively after giving birth or because of a miscarriage, she is said to be afflicted by the *taegbusow* spirit. 2 It is necessary to appease it with a reddish pig or a red rooster. 3 Get about two sections of *daemuan* bamboo¹ and cut it in half, split lengthwise, and decorate it with young, yellowish coconut leaves and smear it with blood. 4 That kind of appeasing is called 'splitting the *taegbusow* spirit'.

5 There was a boy who was circumcised who was about to die from loss of blood. 6 When a red chicken was killed to appease the *taegbusow* spirit, the bleeding stopped.

7 There was a person who was sick for whom three shamans held a healing ceremony. 8 One was a single man, one was a widow, and one was an old man. 9 Their *diwata* spirits were powerful. 10 The single man was possessed by a *totod-omon* spirit,² the widow was possessed by a *daligmata* spirit,³ and the old man was possessed by an *inampu* spirit. 11 This *diwata* is like the *taegbusow* because it also drinks blood. 12 The *daligmata* and *totod-omon* spirits are like-minded in nature because they don't drink blood, they only want betel chew.

13 One night [it was late] the single male shaman was surprised that the person for whom they were doing a healing ceremony was tossing and turning like something roasting on a turning spit. 14 He could not sleep; if asked why, he would say that he couldn't understand how he felt. 15 The young man felt compelled [lit. his breath told him] that he was being asked to go down from the house. 16 So he took his dagger and went down. 17 Eh [exclamation of surprise]! He saw something with red eyes looking up at the patient. 18 The young man thought, "So that's why Julio [the name of the sick person] is like that." 19 When that young man approached it, it just disappeared. 20 Then he chased it. 21 The thing that was being chased went up into a vacant house. 22 Then the single man went directly to it and repeatedly stabbed it. 23 But it just stroked the stabbed place and immediately the wound disappeared, and it was healed.

24 Now, one night the people inside the house of that sick person and other shamans who watched him were

daemuan: a kind of thick bamboo often used for fencing and flooring.

The group of *diwatas* known as the *totod-omon* are generally considered to be benevolent because they only want *inapugan* 'betel nut chew', not blood. They calm the minds of people and placate the *taegbusow*. Their area of human responsibility is smooth interpersonal relations. When the *diwata* of a person is hurt in conflict, that person will suffer also. Unless peace is mediated between the *diwatas*, that person will not get well. That's why the role of the *totod-omon diwatas* is so important to humans.

A *daligmata* spirit is said to be omniscient because it can tell, for example, if something has been stolen who got it. If there are things mislaid, she can tell where they are.

masakiton dow to duma no diwatahan no migbantoy kandin su sikan ulitau no diwatahan ogyajasan podom ogbigtawan. 25 Iyan da ogkaikagi din to, "Kapanggadan to pagkayukos." 26 Impasabut din no inggad dow madigon to yawa dow ginhawa to yukos [ko ipaangod to bohi] sikan no pigbati din kona ogkaantus [su maagbot yagboy] inggad dow yukos sikandin.

27 Dajun panawag-tawag sikan bayu no bohi no pigyonaan to daligmata. 28 Pagyona to sikan daligmata mig-ikagi no nabayosan sikan ulitau no diwatahan to diya pigdugsuan din no diwata. 29 Dajun dan sabiha sikan duma dan no ogbuya to sikan masakiton, sikan pigyonaan to taegbusow dow ajum-ajuma. 30 Anoy man no migrojow on sikan ulitau, pig-ikagihan din sikan tag-diwata to taegbusow, "Nalimuhan ku su og-inaswang man sikan diwata nu. 31 Imbot ku man dow hintawa to diya migyongod to seini binantajan ta."

32 Sikan usahay to trabahu to mgo diwata, ogpaantihay dow hintawa to mapajag. 33 Meyduon usab bujag no migbuya to bata no nasakit aw matigda on. 34 Mahan-in to mgo diwatahan duon di sikan bujag to pigsampit su mapajag kun to diwata din. 35 Na, pagkadukilom tapus to pagpangapug piggudgud to sikan bujag to umagad to sikan nasakit no natigdaan. 36 Di bag-u pad sikandin sugud to pagtod-om nakakuligsik to anak din no tagauda no nalipodong. 37 Hinggawan bangun [su to oggudgud oghibat] sikan bujag dow gibaha sikan bata dongan to pigyonaan sikandin aw natagahan din no pigpangantihan sikandin. 38 Sikan bata din meyduon mgo kinayusan duon to liog. 39 Kaling naboyu sikan bujag no mig-ikagi, "Siak, wada pig-amonu ku kani. 40 Aw kona a no angajan ogbayosan to madoot. 41 Di wada ogmahay ko mubayos a."

42 Paghonok to sikan bata, migpadajun sikan bujag to pagtod-om hangtod no tonga to kadukiloman. 43 Pagkabukas mighinang to kahimunan to ginikanan to sikan bata su mig-arang-arang on sikandin. 44 Aw sikan bujag to migtindog to sikan kahimunan. 45 Na, meyduon yukos no mamanigaon on no mig-anduon to kahimunan su ogpabuyahan din to sikan bujag to dagaeha din no higpat puli no angod to meyduon migpasokog. 46 Nakasabut sikan otow no natagahan to sikan bujag no iyan mig-anti kandin to diwata to sikan otow kaling pigbayosan sikandin to diwata to sikan bujag. 47 Ko meyduon diwata no ogpilakon [su nakahinang to madoot], sikan tagdiwata ogyagbasan inggad wada pali no ogkitaon. 48 Iyan igpasabut kani

troubled because that single male shaman seemed as if he would die prematurely.⁴ 25 The only thing he could say was, "This is the limit of manhood." 26 He meant that even though the body and breath of a man are sturdy [compared to a woman], that which he felt could not be endured [because it was very severe] even though he was a man.

27 Then the widow who would be possessed by the *daligmata* spirit invoked that spirit. 28 When the *daligmata* spirit possessed her, it said that revenge was being taken upon that single male shaman for the *diwata* spirit that he had stabbed. 29 Then they called their companion who would hold a healing ceremony for the patient, [the companion was] the one possessed by the *taegbusow* spirit, and he appeased it. 30 When the young man was well, the person who had a *taegbusow* spirit said to him, "I mistook your identity because your *diwata* spirit possessed the spirit of an *aswang*.⁵ 31 I wondered who it was that was standing beneath the place of the one we are guarding."

32 That's what diwata spirits do sometimes, they test one another to see which is more powerful. 33 There was also an old woman who did a healing ceremony for a sick child who was already very seriously ill. 34 Many shamans were there but that old woman was sought for help because her diwata was reputed to be powerful. 35 Now, when it was night, after betel chew had been offered, that old woman sang a gudgud for the seriously ill patient. 36 But she had just started to sing when her youngest child, who was sleeping, screamed. 37 Suddenly that old woman got up [because those who sing gudgud lie down] and took the child on her lap at the same time as she was possessed, and she knew that she was being tested. 38 Her child had scratches on his neck. 39 Therefore that old woman said angrily, "As for me, I didn't do anything [wrong] here. 40 And it's not appropriate to repay me with evil. 41 But no one can blame me if I take revenge."

42 When the child was quiet, the old woman proceeded to sing the tod-om song until midnight. 43 In the morning the parents of the child held a *kahimunan* spirit ceremony because he was already feeling better. 44 And that old woman was the one to officiate in that ceremony. 45 Now, there was a man who was already old who went to the *kahimunan* ceremony in order to get that old woman to do a healing ceremony because he would suddenly feel like there was a hard object in his chest that hindered his breathing. 46 That man understood that the old woman knew that what had been testing her [on the occasion when her child's neck was scratched] was the diwata spirit of that man, so that's why the diwata of that woman was taking revenge on him. 47 If a diwata is stabbed [because it did something bad], its human medium is pierced even though no wound can be seen. 48 What is meant here is that whatever happens to

⁴ This means that he, the young spirit medium, is caused to die by force by the power of the spirit he stabbed the night before.

Aswang spirits are said to walk or fly around at night, attacking and eating people who are in a weakened state. They are also known by the term *wakwak*.

no to ogkahitabu to sikan diwata ogbation isab to sikan tagdiwata. 49 Ogkasakit sikandin aw iyan da ogpakauli sikan migpilak to diwata din. 50 Kaling mig-ikagi sikan otow, "Wada kud kadayu sikan diwata ku kaling ogwinakwak on, di kona ku man sikandin ogsuguon. 51 Kaling kona a nu ogpasomoyan." 52 Na, pigbuyahan sikan otow to sikan bujag. 53 Sikan to kadoyog to mgo diwata.

that *diwata* is also felt by its human medium. 49 He can get sick, and the only one who can heal him is the one who stabbed his *diwata*. 50 Therefore that person said, "I didn't appease my *diwata* so it is acting as a *wakwak*,6 but I'm not sending it to do that. 51 So don't blame me." 52 So that old woman did a healing ceremony for that person. 53 That's the way it is with *diwatas*.

⁶ If a *diwata* spirit cannot be appeased, it will turn into a *wakwak* [or *aswang*] because no one will care for it anymore. See this essay, footnote 5.

To Kinabuhi Tapus to Kamatajon

1 Sikami no mgo Manubu wadad og-imanon no nokoy pad tapus to kamatajon. 2 Wada yangit ubin impernu no namaanan noy. 3 Iyan da natagahan noy no to umagad to otow diya ogdeg ki Maubuyan. 4 Ojow pa to mgo minuna noy, sikan Maubuyan banwa kun to mgo umagad dow to ogdumaya duon, bujag kun no iyan usab ngadan si Ubue. 5 Mahagtong kun duon to sikan no banwa inggad dow ogkitaon to mahan-in no uminugpa duon.

6 To mgo prutas duon to sikan no banwa ogbogas likat to kapun-an pailing diya to ugbusan. 7 Kona sikan ogsigkon to pagbogas. 8 Di wada ogkoon to sikan su to mgo uminugpa duon konad man ogkoon su kamama da to og-awoson dan.

9 Ko tig-ani to humoy, kona koy pad ogkoon to sikan bag-u no humoy og-unahan ogsugnudan to umagad to mgo minatoy noy agun no ojow pa to mgo manigaon noy, wada ogpanggutuson kanami. 10 Sikan to sakit no igbotang to mgo umagad ko puli koy on ogkoon to bag-u no humoy, kona kandan og-unahon.

11 Ko meyduon ogkasakit dini to mgo buhi, ko ogtaginop kandin no pigduma kandin to umagad diya ki Maubuyan, sikan no nasakit ogkatigdaan ubin ogkamatoy. 12 Di ko duon to taginop din kona kandin ogliparahon to sikan umagad ogkayuwas kandin to sakit ubin kamatajon.

13 To inoy ku, si Bungkasanon, mignawnangon kanay no masakit kun kandin to sikan og-ilingon to trangkasu. 14 Daega pad sikandin to diya no panahon. 15 Wada iman to katagsa din, si Higit no iyan mig-aligra kandin, su pigsimanahan on to wada ingkasoyo to ginhawa ni Bungkasanon [og-ilingon ku to pagkaikagi su wada a pad man to diya no panahon] inggad wohig da. 16 Anoy man to migyaboy on to songo simana nahaedok si Higit su hinggawan migbangun sikan masakiton dow hangyu to ogpadigus dow pamuju to koonon.

17 Aduy! Kagi ni Higit [dongan to piggogey sikan masakiton dow tiyahu], "Ogpamuju to koonon, ogbaawon din on."

18 Su dini kanami no mgo Manubu, ko ogpamuju to koonon to masakiton no matigda on og-ilingon noy to ogbaawon din on diya to kamatajon.

19 "Eh, kona ka nasi ogsinogow, bagajan a nu iyan to koonon su ogbontason a. 20 Ogkaibog a to koonon," kagi to sikan masakiton. 21 Mig-ingkud on sikandin. 22 Dajun dapupu si Higit son-ad. 23 Anoy man no nayotuon, honati din sikan namuju. 24 Dajun pangoon dow pighuyasan to tag-mae batad. 25 Migdoson on ubag. 26 Pagkabukas pigdigus. 27 Tapus to pagpadigus mignawnangon ki Higit to taginop din. 28 "Migtaginop a to mig-andiya a kun ki Maibuyan dow pigpamangha ku si Ama dow si Ina. 29 Natae-an ku kandan di pagkita

Life After Death

1 We Manobos have no expectation at all after death. 2 We do not know about heaven or hell. 3 The only thing we know is that people's souls go to Maubuyan. 4 According to our ancestors, Maubuyan is the place of souls, and the one who is in charge there is an old woman whose name is also Ubue. 5 It is said that that place is very silent even though many inhabitants can be seen there.

6 The fruit trees in that place bear fruit from the base to the top. 7 They don't stop bearing. 8 But no one eats [the fruit] because the inhabitants there no longer eat because the only thing they desire is betel chew.

9 When it is rice harvest time, we do not eat any of the harvested rice until we will first give a ritual offering to the souls of our departed relatives so that, according to our elders, none of us will experience abdominal swelling. 10 That is the sickness that the souls will put on us if we just eat the first of the rice and do not let them be first.

11 If there is someone here among the living that becomes sick, if he dreams that a soul accompanies him to Maubuyan, that sick one will become very ill or die. 12 But if in his dream that soul pays no attention to him, he will be saved from sickness or death.

13 My mother, Bungkasanon, told me that she was once sick with influenza. 14 She was a young woman at that time. 15 Her cousin Higit who was taking care of her had given up hope [for her] because nothing was taken into the stomach of Bungkasanon [I say it like this because I was not there at that time], even water. 16 After one week had passed Higit became afraid because suddenly the sick [girl] got up and asked to take a bath and requested some food.

17 Aduy [exclamation of surprise]! Higit said [as she hugged the sick girl and cried], "She's requesting food because she will take it as provisions for her journey."

18 Because here among the Manobos, if a seriously sick person requests food we say that he is carrying travel food for the journey to death.

19 "Eh [exclamation of disagreement], don't cry, just give me food because I'm hungry. 20 I desire food," said the sick girl. 21 She sat up. 22 Then Higit hurriedly began to cook some food. 23 When it was cooked, she served the one who had requested it. 24 Immediately she ate it and started to sweat drops as if the size of corn. 25 She gained a little strength. 26 The next day she took a bath. 27 After [her] bath, she told Higit about the dream she had. 28 "I dreamed that I went to Maibuyan and looked for Father and Mother. 29 I met them, but

dan kanay mig-ikagi kandan kanay, 'Pauli ka, og-amonu ka man dini. 30 Hala pauli on su ogpanghaon ka to mgo kakoy nu'. 31 Na, pagpauli ku nakabuyat a dajun!"

32 "Gin-anow naulian ka su pigpapauli ka dan dini, su ko wada ka makapauli, na ogkamuya ka."

33 Usahay to umagad to mgo buhi, ko ogandiya kandan ki Ubue [another word for Maubuyan] ogyupugon to mgo diwata dow ogpapaulion dini to ugpaanan to mgo buhi.

34 Ojow pa to mgo diwatahan, to mgo umagad diya ki Ubue wada mgo hinang gawas to pagmama.

35 Pigtuuhan noy no ko meyduon ogkasakit kanami no mgo buhi, to umagad ogpakatabang to pagrojow to sikan ogkasakit. 36 Pinaagi to diwatahan ogsabihon sikan umagad no diyad on ki Maubuyan. 37 Oghonat to inapugan dow mey usab kandila no ogsogaan. 38 Na, pagngadog to sikan umagad to ngadog to kandila ogduguk sikandin duon to sikan nahonat no inapaugan. 39 Na su ogkitaon man to sikan diwatahan, sikandin to oghangyu to sikan umagad no tabangan sikan nasakit. 40 Di ko wada diwatahan, inggad wada diwata to otow ogpakahimu to pagpangapug dow pagsugnud to mgo umagad.

41 Meyduon usab ogkasakit no og-ilingon to og-umagadon. 42 Ko malingawan on kandan to mgo buhi, ogbotangan dan to sakit to saboka to mgo suun ubin inoy ubin amoy. 43 Na ko matagahan no pig-umagad iyan, na, ogsugnudan sikan umagad. 44 Di usahay ogrojow to masakiton usahay kona.

45 Tapus.

when they saw me they told me, 'Go home, what are you doing here? 30 *Hala* [exclamation of warning], go on home because your older siblings are looking for you'. 31 So, when I returned I immediately got up!"

32 "No wonder you became well because they made you return here, because if you had not returned you would surely have died." [Higit speaking.]

33 Sometimes the soul of a living [person], if they will go to Ubue [another word for Maubuyan] they will be pursued by a *diwata* spirit and made to go home to the dwelling place of the living.

34 According to shamans, the souls where Ubue is do nothing but chew betel nut.

35 We believe that if one of us living people gets sick, souls can help in healing the sick one. 36 By means of the shaman the soul who is already in Maubuyan is called. 37 Betel chew is served and there is also a candle that is lit. 38 Then, when the soul smells that scent of the candle, it comes near to the betel chew that was served. 39 Then because the shaman sees the soul, he/she is the one to request the soul to help the sick one. 40 But if there is no shaman present, even a person without a *diwata* spirit can do the serving of betel chew and give a ritual offering to the souls.¹

41 There are also people who get sick who are said to be afflicted by a soul. 42 If they [souls] are forgotten by the living, they cause sickness to one of their siblings or mother or father. 43 So if it is known that the person is really afflicted by a soul, then an offering is given to the soul. 44 But sometimes the sick one is healed, sometimes not.

45 Finished.

But actually only the odor of what is served is needed by the soul.

Anit: Ogkatatoyu no Bahin

To una, sikan og-ilingon to oglintian.

1 Migtuu to mgo Manubu no ogkaigu to otow to linti ko ogngisi seini to makaanit. 2 Ko kona seini ogkodog duon to otow, duon seini ogpakaigu to kaju no madani. 3 Og-ilingon no ogngadogon to Anit sikan otow no ogngisi to makaanit su inggad makapalisu sikandin to kadogihan, ogkatongop sikandin ogkaigu. 4 Kaling ogbahog to mgo manigaon no wada gajod ogngingisi to makaanit.

5 Pig-iling usab no mey mgo buhi to inajow angod to ambak, poit aw bauu. 6 Ko ogngisihan seini no mgo mamang ogkabaensi su ogkaboyu to inadow. 7 Sikandin to tag-iya to anit.

8 Meyduon bata no yukos no pig-anitan. 9 Seini no bata namingwit aw pigtubugan sikandin to poit. 10 Mig-uli sikandin diya to bayoy aw sikan poit no wada din lingata duon to bingwit pigpausibaan din to piya. 11 Ig-itsa din duon to sikan piya, aw ogyaksu sikan piya su ogtamukon din podom sikan poit di ogbugkuton din aw iitsa manda dongan to ogkaokoy sikandin no ogngisi. 12 To mgo yagi din migsapad podom kandin di nasi sikandin nasugu. 13 To mgo yagi din no mgo balinhaedokon to kilat namanyaguy. 14 Pagtakahi din to mig-usiba to poit dow piya, pigpudut din to bauu no pighikotan to inoy din aw ibotang duon to botanganan to bobohug to babuy su to maligsom to bauu tambae kun to sakit to babuy.

15 Pigpudut to sikan bata to bauu no duon to botanganan to bohug to babuy aw hinangi din to balsahan aw ipagujud-gujud duon to karsada. 16 Wada migduguk duon kandin no mgo bata su oglikoy sikandan to anit.

17 Pagkaugtu to sikan no aedow, migtumbu to mae-ligu no kibey duon to inugtuhan duon to nakalibong to soga. 18 Hintawa man gajod to ogtuu no og-udan to diya no maugtu su marojow man to panahon! 19 Di dongan to pagdakyom su nayoponan on to kibey sikan soga, migdogsang to maagbot no udan dow kaemag no pigdonganan to pagbabaensi. 20 To mgo sundayu naliyag to pagpadigus su maagbot to udan. 21 Migpayongod sikandan duon to sandayung duon to kuwartel. 22 To bata no nahisgutan ganina no nakabingwit to poit migpagsakot to mgo sundayu no migpadigus. 23 Puli natokow aw pigkogaan to

The Anit Taboo: Three Parts

First, that which is called struck-by-lightning.

1 Manobos believe that a person can be struck by lightning if he laughs at something that incurs the consequence of the *anit* taboo. 2 If it doesn't hit a person, it hits a nearby tree. 3 It is said that *Anit* smells that person who laughs at something that incurs the consequence of the *anit* taboo because even if he is in the midst of a crowd, he can be hit without affecting the others. 4 So old men warn people to never laugh at something that incurs the consequence of the *anit* taboo.

5 It is also said that the *inajow* spirit¹ has pets such as the frog, *poit* fish,² and turtle. 6 If these animals are laughed at, lightning will strike because the *inadow* spirit becomes angry. 7 He is the owner of the *anit* taboo.

8 There was a boy who incurred the consequence of the *anit* taboo.³ 9 This boy went fishing and caught a *poit* fish. 10 He went home and let a cat play with that *poit* fish that he hadn't removed from the hook. 11 He would toss it to the cat, and the cat would jump to catch the *poit*, but he would pull it away and toss it again while laughing convulsively. 12 His friends tried to stop him but instead he did it all the more. 13 His friends who were fearful of lightning ran away. 14 When he got tired of playing with the fish and the cat, he got a turtle that his mother had tied and placed in a container of pig food because it is said that the dirt of a turtle will treat pigs' disease.

15 The child took the turtle from the container of pig food and made for it a sledge and made it pull it around on the road. 16 No children got near to him because they were avoiding the *anit* taboo.

17 At noon on that day, clouds the size of winnowing baskets built up overhead around the sun. 18 Who would believe that it would rain that noon because the weather was good! 19 But just as it got dark because the sun was covered with clouds, a heavy rain began to fall and wind accompanied by a lightning storm. 20 The soldiers enjoyed bathing because it was raining hard. 21 They stood under the gutter at the headquarters. 22 The child mentioned earlier who had caught a *poit* fish mingled with the soldiers who were bathing. 23 Suddenly the

¹ *inajow*: a kind of spirit said to control the rain, lightning, and floods. According to Manobo shamans, *Inajow* is a sensitive diwata who gets angry when people look at him and who is easily provoked.

² *poit*: small fish resembling carp. They grow to about 5 cm (2 in) long in the area in which the author lives. *Poit* are edible but tend to be bitter in taste.

³ The author witnessed the event described here when she was nine or ten years old at Waloe, Loreto, Agusan del Sur.

mgo namadigus no mgo sundayu no mupotow to migkaewinit no kilat no pigsunuan to nakabongey no migbotu no yugung dongan to pigboyong dan to bata no migpabakna kandan no migpadigus. 24 Migyagsik naan seini diya diatas aw pagkodog din duon to pasak, wadad on ginhawa aw migyagom to interu yawa din aw angod to wada bokog, migyunoy.

Ikaduwa, sikan og-ilingon to og-anitan.

25 Ko meyduon yukos aw bohi no magparienti no og-inasawahay, ogpakapanganak sikandan to pulid aw usahay ko hintawa kandan no mag-asawa to ogkodogan to anit ogkapungku. 26 To mgo anak dan ogpanyobagan aw ogpang-ugudon. 27 Ko kona sikandan mandayu to inajow, kona sikandan ogkaulian. 28 Malisod ko ogdayu to inajow su ugis da no manuk ubin babuy to ogkagustuhan din. 29 Aw ko ogdayuon sikan no diwata, tag tatoyu no aedow no kona ogkaponhikan sikan migdayu. 30 Kaling og-ilingon dan to maitung to inajow. 31 Hasta to diya ogkasakup to sikan no pagdayu, tag tatoyu usab no aedow to pag-ugpa dan duon. 32 Ogliwason to tatoyu no aedow ayha sikandan ogpakauli aw kona sikandan ogpakadaya inggad namubra to babuy no igdayu. 33 Ko mey makasu-ang to sikan no pagpandayu, ogkaboyu to inajow aw to sakit kona ogkaulian, nasi ogdugang. 34 Na sikan otow no nakasu-ang ogbujuan to ugis no manuk aw ig-ajum-ajum to sikan inajow no naboyu.

To ikatoyu sikan og-ilingon to sig-anit.

35 Ko panahon to tig-odok aw ogpakatapu seini to guyabung, ogpangkagon. 36 Kaling, agun no umudan, to mgo otow ogsingajow. 37 Ogtagkas sikandan to [mayombu no dohun to niyug ubin paesan] menhow aw iglinapdos dan duon to wohig. 38 Puli da ogkahapun ogsaegapun. 39 Puli og-udan to maabot. 40 Wada madoot no ogkahitabu.

41 Tibo seini tatoyu no bahin no nahisgutan og-ilingon to pig-anitan: 1) To bata no piglintian 2) To magparienti no og-inasawahay 3) To migsig-anit/migsingajow.

bathing soldiers were startled when lightning flashed in quick succession followed by a deafening explosion of thunder at the same time as the child who had been bathing in the middle of them disappeared. 24 He had been thrown upward and when he landed back on the ground, he had no more breath and his whole body was purplish and as if he had no bones, he was limp.

Second, that which is called affected-by-anit.

25 If a man and woman who are related to each other marry, they can have children who are deformed and sometimes they themselves will be hit by the anit curse and will become hunchbacked. 26 Their children will have swelling and skin infections. 27 If they don't appease the *inajow* spirit, they cannot get well. 28 It's difficult to appease the inajow, because it only likes a white chicken or pig. 29 And in trying to appease that spirit, for three days no one can enter the house of the one who is doing the ceremonies. 30 Therefore they say that *inajow* is selfish. 31 And anyone who is in the house of the one doing the ceremony, they also have to stay there for three days. 32 Three days pass before they can go home and they cannot take even the excess of the pig that was used for the ceremony. 33 If anyone disturbs the proceedings while the ceremony is going on, the inajow spirit gets angry and the illness doesn't get better, instead it gets worse. 34 Then that person who disturbed the ceremony will be required to give a white chicken with which to placate the angered inajow.

The third is that which is called inciting-the-anit.4

35 When it's time for planting and coincides with a dry spell, the sown rice becomes parched. 36 Therefore, so that it will rain, people do something against the will of the *inajow* spirit. 37 They cut young leaves of coconut or rattan and repeatedly slap them on water. 38 It just storms all afternoon with rain and strong wind. 39 It just rains hard. 40 Nothing bad happens.

41 All of these three parts discussed here are called "affected by the *anit* taboo": 1) The child who was struck by lightning 2) Relatives who marry, and 3) To provoke a reaction called *migsig-anit* or *migsingajow* from the *inajow* spirit.

sig-anit: to do something that will trigger a reaction from the *inajow* spirit.



VII. World view: Beliefs

Mgo Paagi to Paghimatoy to Otow no Kona Ogpalian

1 To diya karaan no panahon, to otow nataga no meyduon Diyus di wada dan tuuhi dow saligi. 2 Iyan pigsaligan dow pigtuuhan dan to mangkadoot no ispiritu no sakup ni Satanas. 3 Na, mansu iyan man ogpagubernuhon to kinabuhi dan sikan mangkadoot, mangkadoot isab to panghona-hona dan. 4 Kona ogpasaylu, wada kayuuy dow yaktod no pagkaikagi wada paghigugma to angod dan. 5 Igkalipay dan nasi to pagdoot to angod dan no otow. 6 Kona dan igkapusina ko sikandan to angodan to sikan. 7 Ko meyduon igkahinawoy dan to duma kona oglipodongan kotob no mahimatajan, sikan paghimatoy no wada pali.

8 Oghisgut a to pila no klasi to kumitan no oggamiton to mayupig no mgo otow to paghimatoy to angod dan inggad maintok da to ogtipduhan. 9 "To kumitan," ojow pa to songo kumitanon no impaggilaung to amoy ku, "ko kona igkakumitan to duma no mgo otow, to tag-iya to sikan kumitan iyan ogkotkoton. 10 Kaling to kumitanon ogpamangha gajod to ogkakumitanan din." 11 To kumitan klasi-klasi.

12 Duon to songo baryu meyduon pig-intapan to mgo otow no kumitanon. 13 Kanunoy on kandin namansag to mahan-in on to nanoytoy to bakyawan din. 14 Iyan igpasabut din to mahan-in on to namatoy din. 15 Na meyduon panahon no mayunsi yagboy sikan kumitanon. 16 Usab saboka to mgo otow no nataga kandin, "Ogkotkoton to kumitan din su wada man ogkakumitanan din."

17 Wada mgo otow no ogduguk to sikan no otow ko meyduon pagkoonan no oghikajon din. 18 Di meyduon panahon no indoy dow nokoy to migpamaja no migsugut man to songo otow no sumbayoy to sikan kumitan no yunuson hinggaton su mey kun ogmamatimosan dan no soda.

19 "Kona kad ogpanghinggat to duma su kona ogkabueng to sabyok ta ko mey makasayu ita," mighagas sikan kumitanon. 20 Pagkasapat to sikan sumbayoy duon to bayoy to sikan kumitanon, pigpikit dajun diya to sinabong dow duon kandan koon. 21 Panungita to sikan kumitanon sikan sumbayoy din, "O pangoon ka agun ogyajang to sabyok nu." 22 Linutyut no pantat to pigkoon dan. 23 "Na, oglilimatok ad," kagi to sikan pig-imbita. 24 Dajun uli. 25 Nalipay sikan sumbayoy su nahantoy kandin. 26 Di wada pad katonga to kadukiloman napukawan to mgo sumbayoy to degmatoy to asawa to sikan otow no pigpakoon to sikan kumitanon. 27 Kayugajan natagahan no atoyug to yaposung no buguk to ingkumitan to sikan namatoy. 28 Ogyagaon sikan buguk no atoyug to yaposung. 29 Na inggad mae

Ways of Killing a Person Without Wounding Him

1 In olden times, people knew there was a God but they didn't believe him and trust him. 2 What they trusted and believed were bad spirits who are subjects of Satan. 3 Now since what governed their lives was evil, their thinking was also evil. 4 They would not forgive, they had no compassion and in short, they had no love for others. 5 Instead they were happy to harm their fellow people. 6 They could not think how they would feel if they were treated like that. 7 If they had something to criticize another person for, they could not sleep until they killed him with a kind of killing that produces no wound.

8 I will discuss a few kinds of sorcery used by cruel people to kill their fellows even for even just a little offense. 9 "Things used for sorcery," according to one sorcerer who spoke with my father, "if he cannot do sorcery on other people, their owner will be the one affected. 10 Therefore a sorcerer really looks for someone on whom to do his sorcery." 11 There are various kinds of sorcery.

12 In one barrio there was a sorcerer of whom people were afraid because of what he had done to others. 13 He would always boast that many had walked along his arm. 14 What he meant was that he had killed many people. 15 Now there was a time when that sorcerer was very pale. 16 People who knew him would say to one another, "His things used for sorcery are affecting him because he hasn't been able to work sorcery on anyone."

17 Nobody would go near that person if he would prepare a meal. 18 But there was a time when I don't know what drew a person irresistibly, a neighbor of that sorcerer who was secretly invited because he said there was viand that they would eat secretly.

19 "Don't mention it to others because our hunger for viand cannot be satisfied if someone eats with us," whispered that sorcerer. 20 When the neighbor had gone up to the house of that sorcerer, he was led by the hand into a bedroom and there they ate. 21 That sorcerer put food to his neighbor's mouth saying, "Here, eat so your hunger for viand will fly away." 22 What they ate was pantat fish roasted in bamboo. 23 "Now I will go home because I'm full [lit. I'll do like a leech]," said the invited one. 24 Then he went home. 25 The neighbor was happy because he was full. 26 But before midnight the neighbors were awakened by the wailing of the wife of the man who had been fed by the sorcerer. 27 Later on it was known that what was used to do sorcery on the one who died was an unfertilized egg of a poisonous snake. 28 That unfertilized egg of a poisonous snake would be boiled.

suyu da to igbotang duon to og-inomon ubin ogkoonon, ogpakamatoy to otow.

30 Meyduon kumitan no og-ilingon to pikpik. 31 Puli ogpikpikon to otow, tagbaja ogkayoos.

32 Meyduon yukos no kaslonon, Efren. 33 Di sikan asawahon ni Efren mahan-in to ogpangasawa podom, di si Efren to naliyagan ni Shirley. 34 Likat to simbahan mahan-in to miglamanu to sikan kinasal. 35 Di mey saboka no migpadani ki Efren no wada lamanu, puli din pigpikpik si Efren. 36 Eh, bag-u pad ogdudunga to mgo imbitadu duon to lamisa su ogkoon no tabangan si Efren su mig-ongot on to baka. 37 Madojow su duon sikan yagina ni Efren no migdawdaya to banauli to kumitan, su natagahan din no mahan-in to kumitanon duon to sikan lugar to sikan bohi no pig-asawa ni Efren. 38 Ligwati din to ba-ba ni Efren dow painoma to banauli dow hapyasa to yawa din. 39 Sikan to kumitan no pikpik.

40 Kayugajan natagahan no mey ulitau no ribal ni Efren to pagpangasawa ki Shirley no migsugu no kumitanan si Efren.

41 Meyduon kumitan no og-ilingon to paligi. 42 Puli ogligian to otow no ogpakakoon to sikan no kumitan. 43 Igpabaja sikan to minama dow mgo pagkoon dow to inggad nokoy basta makased to ginhawahan to otow. 44 Oggasaan to otow dow ko kona mabanaulian, ogkamatoy.

45 Yain sikan og-ilingon to sigbin. 46 Angod sikan to idu. 47 Oggamiton isab sikan to tag-iya to paghimatoy to kuntra din.

48 Meyduon daduwa no ka otow no migkuntrahan, si Umbad dow si Galaciano, tongod to pangasawa no nahobyas. 49 Si Umbod iyan migmanigaon to yukos no nangasawa dow si Galaciano to migmanigaon to tagabobohi. 50 Og-ilingon ku to si Umbod to tagayuyukos dow si Galaciano to tagabobohi. 51 Mig-iman si Umbod no oghugun si Galaciano su ogdawat man to mgo panakin to sikan yukos no pigmanigaonan din. 52 Dow no manggilaung kandin, pigdawat man ni Galaciano to nabajow no gilaung dow pigterminuhan no ogpapaulion ayha ogkatagahan dow oghugunan dow kona.

53 Tigbae pigyangotan si Umbod no hobyason ni Galaciano to pangasawa din. 54 Tongod to sikan, nakahona-hona kandin to madoot. 55 Manno meyduon sigbin din, haewoy din to migpudut to dalid to kakaw no maputi dow purmaha no idu no impaaw-angod to sigbin. 56 Hinang kandin to tabae dow itugdok duon to dani to sikan idu-idu. 57 Dajun himatoy to uwakon no manuk dow panawag-tawag dow sugua to sigbin din to paghimatoy ki Galaciano no diya ugpa to songo wohigan. 58 Masem din sugua sikan sigbin, pagkabangkolid to soga pigsabut din no nakapamood on sikan sigbin din su migyangosa to ba-ba to sikan idu-idu dow napuyog usab sikan tabae to yangosa. 59 Sikan yagboy no uras,

29 Then even a fingernail-size piece of that put in food or drink could kill a person.

30 There is sorcery that is called *pikpik* [patting]. 31 A person is just patted and suddenly collapses.

32 There was a man who was to be married named Efren. 33 But his fiancée had many who wanted to marry her, but Efren was the one Shirley liked. 34 From the church many shook hands with the married couple. 35 But there was one who got close to Efren who didn't shake hands, he just patted Efren on the back. 36 *Eh* [exclamation of negative feeling], the guests had just gone to the table to eat when Efren had to receive first aid because his jaw locked. 37 It was good that Efren's aunt was there who had brought medicine to counteract sorcery, for she knew that there were many sorcerers in the place of that woman whom Efren married. 38 She pried open Efren's mouth and caused him to drink the medicine and rubbed some on his body. 39 That is *pikpik* sorcery.

40 Later on it was found out that there was a young man who was a rival of Efren in marrying Shirley who commanded that sorcery be done on Efren.

41 There is sorcery called *paligi*. 42 A person who happens to eat that which is used in sorcery just wastes away. 43 It is done through betel chew and foods or whatever as long as it goes into the person's abdominal cavity. 44 The person gets thin and if he's not given medicine to counteract the sorcery, he dies.

45 There's a different one called *sigbin*. 46 It's like a dog. 47 It's also used by the owner to kill his enemies.

48 There were two people who were enemies, Umbod and Galaciano, because of an aborted marriage proposal. 49 Umbod was the one who served as leader for a man who made a marriage proposal and Galaciano was the one who served as leader for the lady's side. 50 I say that Umbod was the one on the man's side and Galaciano was on the lady's side. 51 Umbod expected that Galaciano would accept the proposal because he accepted the gifts given over a period of time by the man whom he represented. 52 And when they made the proposal, Galaciano accepted the gifts that were the basis of the proposal and gave a deadline when they would return to find out of the proposal would be accepted or not.

53 Umbod was extremely furious when Galaciano caused the proposal to fail. 54 Because of that, he thought of something bad. 55 Since he had a *sigbin* spirit, it was easy for him to get roots of white cacao and form them into a dog made like *sigbin*. 56 He made a spear and set it upright near his imitation dog. 57 Then he killed a black chicken and called on his *sigbin* spirit and sent it to kill Galaciano who lived along another watershed area. 58 It was still morning when he sent that *sigbin*; when the sun was just past its zenith he understood that his *sigbin* had killed prey because the mouth of his imitation dog was bloody and the spear was smeared with blood. 59 At that very

si Galaciano angod to pigbitoy no kayow. 60 Kona ogkatius to pangadoy-adoy din su kona din ogkasabut to ginhawa din. 61 Wada gajod badbadi si Galaciano to diya pigbati din, namatoy sikandin. 62 Sikan to og-ilingon to pigpamood to sigbin.

63 Meyduon kumitan no og-ilingon to pantahus. 64 Ko mayam-od to otow sikan no kumitan, ogkamatoy kandin tongod to pangindos to yangosa. 65 To kinoon din isab kona ogtilon duon to tungue din, ogyahus, oggawas. 66 Madojow ko mabanaulian su ogkabuhi da to otow, di ko puli pabay-anan, na ogkatapus gajod kandin.

67 To diya taga-sigbinan no otow nayugoy da kamatoy. 68 To diya mgo kumitanon hagbay da isab no migtalikud to seini kalibutan. 69 Nakaangod kandan to diya nangkamatoy no pigpangumitanan dow impapamood to sigbin. 70 Na nokoy kay buwa to ganansya dan to diya madoot no pighinang dan? 71 Indoy, nokoy man to iyu no hona-hona?

time, Galaciano was like a hung-up hornbill [meaning he yelled and screamed in pain]. 60 His expressions of pain wouldn't stop because he could not understand what he was feeling. 61 Galaciano was never released from that which he felt; he died. 62 That is what is called being preyed upon by *sigbin*.

63 There is sorcery called *pantahus*. 64 If a person swallows that which is used for this sorcery, he dies from defecating blood. 65 The food he eats also does not stay in his intestines, it just passes directly through. 66 It's good if that is cured with medicine to counteract sorcery, but if it is just ignored, he will really meet his end.

67 That person who had a *sigbin* spirit died a long time ago. 68 Those sorcerers also left this earth a long time ago. 69 They became like those who died from their sorcery and whom they caused to be preyed upon by *sigbin*. 70 Now what did they gain from that evil thing they did? 71 I don't know, what do you think?

Mgo Batasan to Paglipodong

1 To mgo otow nokani, ko oglipodong kandan kanunoy oghulidon to panganiban dan tongod to kayama. 2 Kanunoy kandan ogyama to mangajow. 3 Di kuntoon imbahog on no ko oglipodong, ipadiyu yagboy to panganiban tongod to otow no mig-unoy to paghimatoy to asawa din. 4 Seini to nahitabu:

5 Mgo pitu ad buwa no tuig to diya no panahon su kona kud man ogkalingawan to diya hitabu no diya koy ugpa to Langasian. 6 Meyduon otow no iyan ngadan si Tiwan. 7 Tatoyu on to anak, dow to asawa din magkabodos to diya no panahon. 8 Mighinigugmaay to diya no mag-asawa. 9 Di songo kadukiloman, una no miglipodong sikan asawa, si Tiwan mig-ingkud pad. 10 Anoy man to natudtud on kan asawa, pigpukow kandin ni Tiwan dow tadwaji to inapugan. 11 Di mansu nalipodong on kan asawa, migbalibad kandin no konad ogmama su oglipodong on. 12 To pagbalibad to sikan asawa ingkaboyu hilabi to sikan bana. 13 Na, tongod to sikan pagkaboyu din, migsakoy buwa to madoot no ispiritu, og-ilingon ku to ispiritu to pangabughu su pag-aha to sikan bana to sikan asawa din no mighinagong tongod to madayom on no lipodong, migkita sikandin to yukos no mighibat duon to piluy to asawa din. 14 Gin-anow naan wada dawat seini asawa ku to ing-apug ku kandin su meyduon man naan seini kadajow din.

15 Na, mansu duon da to takidingan din to yugju din no ogkahiyupan to bubue to kahait, wada kapiniloki nahuyabut din dow dugsu-i sikan kunungkun yukos no mighulid to asawa din. 16 Igu din ogtaga-taga no nahakwad on to bata duon to sed to gotok to asawa din no pigpandugsuan din. 17 Pagkamaan din no asawa din naan sikan pigdugsuan din, pigtulignus to tabae din dow pon-ug su ogpamangha to ig-unung to asawa din, di nakaandam to mgo otow. 18 Buyanon to diya no panahon, pagkaejun dow ogkapajagan to amoy ku si Tiwan no ogpapauli duon to karsada no ogpanghinanggat ko hintawa to mabuyut. 19 Di to mgo otow, nasi dan on pigbanigan to mgo bayoy dan agun kona makaponhik sikan pigtaegbusawan. 20 Eh, nangios-kios to mgo otow, wada mgo popotikan. 21 Iyan da ogdinogon ku to amoy ku no oghagas to inoy ku no kona koy ogpukawon su basi mutiyahu koy. 22 Di buyat a to kanay. 23 Mgo hadi ku da to mgo lipodong.

24 To pagdugsu-i to sikan magkabodos mgo alas utsu buwa to diya no kadukiloman. 25 Hangtod no ikaduwa on no panagauk to manuk [mgo ala una buwa] wada lipdong to mgo otow su sigi man to panghinanggat din no ogpinangiyak. 26 Anoy man no sagunsun on migtagauk to manuk, naingey on buwa si Tata Sawod

Customs about Sleeping

1 People long ago, when they slept they always would keep a weapon beside them because of alertness for danger. 2 They were always wary of raiders. 3 But now it's warned that when one sleeps, he must really keep his weapon far away because of a person who killed his own wife. 4 This is what happened:

5 Maybe I was seven years old already at that time because I cannot forget what happened when we lived at Langasian. 6 There was a person named Tiwan. 7 He had three children, and his wife was pregnant at that time. 8 That couple really loved each other. 9 But one night, the wife went to sleep first; Tiwan sat up for a while. 10 When the wife was sound asleep. Tiwan awoke her and handed her betel chew. 11 But since the wife was already sleeping, she refused to chew betel because she was going to sleep. 12 The wife's refusal made the husband very angry. 13 Now, because of his anger, maybe a bad spirit took advantage of the situation [lit. rode], which is called a spirit of jealousy because when the husband looked at his wife who was snoring because of her deep sleep, he saw a man lying on the other side of his wife. 14 [He thought,] "So that's why my wife didn't accept the betel chew I gave her because she has this lover!"

15 Now, since his bolo, which was so sharp that a hair blown against it would be cut, was right beside him, before one could blink he unsheathed it and stabbed that which he looked like a man who was lying with his wife. 16 Before he knew it, the child in his wife's abdomen whom he had stabbed came out. 17 When he realized that it was his wife whom he has stabbed, he angrily snatched his spear and went down out of the house to look for someone to kill along with his wife, but the people were ready. 18 The moon was shining at that time, full moon, and my father could clearly see Tiwan going back and forth in the road challenging whoever was brave to come fight. 19 But the people instead removed the ladders from their houses so that the one possessed by a taegbusow spirit could not come in. 20 Eh [exclamation of negative feeling], the people were afraid, they made not a sound. 21 The only thing I could hear was my father whispering to my mother that we shouldn't be awakened because we might cry. 22 But I was awake. 23 Only my younger siblings were asleep.

24 The stabbing of that pregnant woman was maybe about eight o'clock that night. 25 Until the second crowing of the roosters [maybe one o'clock], people didn't sleep because he kept screaming challenges to come and fight. 26 When the roosters were crowing one right after the other, maybe Tata Sawod, whose house

no pigsoyodan noy [su kandin man to agayon duon to Langasian to diya no panahon]. 27 Nangapug sikandin dow hangyua to diwata din no ajum-ajumon sikan namaja ki Tiwan to paghimatoy no sibogan din on si Tiwan su nakada-da on man sikandin to yangosa. 28 Tapus to pagpanabi-sabi ni Tata Sawod, pigyukuban sikandin. 29 Anoy man no migsibog on to diwata din, mig-igda kandin to mgo yukos no anduonon si Tiwan dow agawi to tabae. 30 Ogpadodoyog pad sikan mgo yukos duon ki Tiwan, imbagdak din to tabae duon to pasak pagpakiyaya no wada piligru. 31 Tapus dawata to sikan mgo yukos to tabae ni Tiwan, pig-ajo si Tiwan to daduwa no ka yukos dow daeha diya ki Tata Sawod. 32 Ingnangon din to nahitabu.

33 Pagpauli din diya to bayoy, migduuma kandin si Tata Sawod dow mahan-in no mgo yukos. 34 Sikan bohi wada pad kamatoy. 35 Pagkita ni Tiwan to sikan asawa din, migtiniyahu sikandin dow nayuyugajan to migngog-ngog.

36 Dugaja pad kandin migngog-ngog mig-abut to mgo kustabli puun diya to Waloe no pigdokat to daduwa no ka otow no migdoyom to pag-andiya to Waloe to sikan yagboy uras no dunggabon sikan bohi. 37 Wada yangan pigpusasan si Tiwan. 38 Sikan asawa nangamuju pad to sikan mgo kustabli no kona dan og-amonuhon sikan bana din su wada sae. 39 "Eh," usab saboka, "dugaja oghimatajan kad og-iling ka pad to wada sae."

40 Pigdae si Tiwan diya to Waloe dow prisuha.

41 Abutan to tatoyu buwa no tuig to pagkaprisu ni Tiwan, pigpudut a to katagsa ku no nakabana to kustabli su pighinang a no taetamong to bata. 42 Ogkitaon ku si Tiwan no oghihipanow duon to pawa to Headquarter to mgo kustabli su usahay ogpagawason kandin to prisuhan, di meyduon ogbantoy kandin no kustabli.

43 Songo kamaseman, migbuwa-buwa a to bata. 44 Puli a nakogaan no mey migbotu to kadaduwa dongan to meyduon mig-iiyak-iyak. 45 Eh, mutandow a pa no si Tiwan man naan no ogyaguy podom. 46 Wada kandin kahaedok to botu, migpadajun kandin to paglinaguy, di wada kandin makalikoy su pigbanganan kandin to mgo iskuyla dow dakopa aw dajun ipauli diya to sed to prisuhan.

47 Anoy man to pigsimanahan on buwa likat to diya pagyaguy podom ni Tiwan, paniidan ku no wadad Tiwan no mighipanow duon to pawa. 48 Pagpangusip ku to bana to sikan katagsa ku dow andeid si Tiwan, mig-iling kandin to imbalhin on diya to yain no prisuhan.

49 Ogkadawdaega ad on no makadinog a no si Tiwan nabuang duon to prisuhan diya to Munting Lupa.

50 Kaling kona gajod no madojow to paghulid to panganiban ko oglipodong, yabi to otow no pagtatayamon.

51 Batasan to mgo Manubu nokani no kona ogyuyuwat to magtiajun ko oglipodong, kona ngani ogka-eytan to anak dan. 52 Kona ogpakayain to paglipodong to bana we were living in, got irritated [because he was the boss at Langasian at that time]. 27 He prepared betel chew and requested his *diwata* spirit to pacify the spirit that caused Tiwan to kill so he would leave Tiwan because he [the spirit] had already gotten to lap up blood. 28 After Tata Sawod had invoked [his spirit], it possessed him. 29 When his *diwata* had left him, he urged the men to go to Tiwan and take away his spear. 30 When the men were still headed toward Tiwan, he stuck his spear into the ground to show that there was no danger. 31 After the men got Tiwan's spear, two men put their arms around Tiwan's shoulders and took him to Tata Sawod. 32 He told what had happened.

33 When he returned to his house, Tata Sawod and many men went with him. 34 The woman had not died yet. 35 When Tiwan saw his wife, he cried and sobbed hard for a long time.

36 While he was still sobbing, soldiers arrived from Waloe who had been fetched by two people who had gone at night to Waloe at the very time when the woman was stabbed. 37 Tiwan was handcuffed without delay. 38 The wife still begged the soldiers not to do anything to her husband because he wasn't at fault. 39 "Eh [exclamation of negative feeling]," they said to one another, "while you are being killed you still say he's not at fault."

40 Tiwan was taken to Waloe and imprisoned.

41 When Tiwan had been imprisoned for maybe three years, my cousin who had married a soldier got me to make me a babysitter for her children. 42 I could see Tiwan walking around in the yard of the Headquarters of the soldiers because sometimes he would be released from the prison, but a soldier would guard him.

43 One morning, I was swinging the child in a hammock. 44 I was just startled when shots rang out twice along with shouting. 45 *Eh* [exclamation of negative feeling], I looked out the window and it was Tiwan trying to run away. 46 He wasn't afraid of the shots, he continued to run away, but he was not able to escape because students blocked his way and he was arrested and returned immediately to the inside of the prison.

47 When maybe a week had passed since Tiwan's attempt to run away, I noticed that Tiwan was no more walking around in the yard. 48 When I asked the husband of my cousin where Tiwan was, he said that he had been transferred to another prison.

49 I was already a preteen when I heard that Tiwan had gone crazy in the prison at Munting Lupa.

50 Therefore it's really not good to sleep with a weapon, especially for a person who does things in his sleep.

51 It was customary for Manobos long ago that a married couple would not sleep separately, not even with their children between them. 52 Husbands and

ubin asawa su pamalihi. 53 Ogkabubugti to paglipdong ko to bana ubin asawa ogpanow to madiyu. 54 Nokoy no og-ilingon to pamilihi ko ogpakayain to bana ubin asawa to paglipodong, su iyan da kun man oghiyuwat ko to saboka patoy on.

55 Pamilihi to otow no oglipodong no ogyay-ang dow ogpangotong su angod to patoy no ogkotangon. 56 Kaling man ko meyduon oglipodong no angod to sikan, ogpatikidingon.

57 To paglipodong no ogpahawae-hawae, madoot notoduon dow inggad pad kuntoon. 58 Su meyduon isturya.

59 Panahon kun to tig-ani to diya no hitabu. 60 Meyduon otow no migpahawae-hawae miglipodong duon to saog [wada hikam] su napasuan hilabi no pighaeghaegan su nangoon to karni to kadlaganon no babuy. 61 Na seini mayama. 62 Anoy kay no tibo on mahagtong, aw bugkuta to maagbot no tiyog, dow makakawas sikan migpahawae-hawae, na ajaw ka to ngingisi to mgo duma din no natapus to tiyog! 63 Su ogdinogon dan man sikan otow diya to solib no kona ogponhik, puli ogdapupu ogpanabi to asawa to, "Tiyay, Tiyay, taw-ae ku, taw-ae ku" su sapyad kandin. 64 Iyan igpasabut din to ogpaitsa ki Tiyay no asawa din to saw-ae. 65 Na, tang-awan pa to mgo duma din no puli pigsampongan to mgo payad din to atubangan din.

66 Na, ligdongi now seini agun kona madajag to mgo kayaw-ajan ta ko meyduon mgo kahaedokanan no ogpakatokow og-abut ita ko madukilom.

67 Meyduon isab batasan to Manubu no kona ogyay-ang ko oglipodong su mapajag kun to baga ta ko meyduon madoot no og-aha ita yabi to magkabodos. 68 Mapajag kun hilabi ogkaaha to bata duon to gotok to inoy. 69 Ko meyduon oghagong ko oglipodong ogpukawon su basi dayongon to madoot. 70 Kinahangyan no kona ogyay-ang dow ogpangotong su basi mahamugan su iyan man ogkaangod to sikan to ogkotangon no patoy.

71 Seini no nasugilon ku nangkabajaan ku yagboy su iyan man nabuyatan ku no pigbatasan to mgo ginikanan ku, aw sikan una no ingnawnangon ku naana ku man yagboy no hitabu.

wives could not sleep apart because it was a bad omen. 53 They would have to sleep separately if the husband or wife would travel far away. 54 The reason it was called a bad omen if a husband or wife would sleep separately was because they said the only time they would be separated would be if one of them had died.

55 It was a bad omen for a person for sleep on his back with his legs stretched out straight because he would be like a dead person laid out. 56 Therefore if someone slept like that, he would be turned on his side.

57 Sleeping naked was bad long ago and even now. 58 For there's a story.

59 They say it was harvest time when it happened. 60 There was a person who slept naked on the floor [without a mat] because he really felt hot because he had eaten wild pig meat. 61 Now the people were alert at that time. 62 When everything was quiet, and a severe earthquake happened, and that naked man jumped out of the house, oh my, how his companions laughed after the earthquake! 63 For they could hear that person under the house who wouldn't go up into the house, he just called his wife hurriedly, "Tiyay, Tiyay, my panth, my panth" because he had a lisp. 64 What he meant was for his wife Tiyay to throw his pants to him. 65 Then when his companions shone a light on him, he just covered his front with his hand.

66 Now, pay attention to this so our indecency won't be revealed if something suddenly happens to us in the middle of the night.

67 There is also a custom of Manobos that they don't lie on their back when sleeping because it's said that our lungs are clearly seen if something bad looks at us, especially at a pregnant woman. 68 It's said that a child can be clearly seen in the abdomen of a mother. 69 If someone snores when sleeping, he must be awakened because maybe bad spirits will gather under the house and listen to him and harm him. 70 One must not lie on his back with his legs stretched out because maybe bad spirits will think he's dead and attack him, because the laying out of a dead person is like that.

71 This which I have told I really experienced because it's what I was born into which my parents practiced, and the first story that I told, I really saw it happen.

Pagbahuy to Linti

1 Nahisgutan duon to sinuyat bahin to anit no usahay to linti duon ogkapaigu to kaju. 2 Duon to kaju no ogkaigu to linti, meyduon ogkabilin no og-ilingon to dila to linti. 3 Meyduon usab og-ilingon to ngipon to linti. 4 Sikan og-ilingon to dila angod to purma to dila, aw to og-ilingon to ngipon angod to purma to hatsa di maiintok da. 5 Mangkaputi seini.

6 To pagpudut to seini, ogtak-oban to dohun to bagjang sikan nasiak no kaju aw tapus to pila no aedow ogyogwa sikan dila ubin ngipon to linti. 7 Ko ogkabaensi, ighasa sikan ngipon ubin dila duon to wohig aw ipanhapyas ko hintawa to diya natagahan no mig-ugisi no makaanit. 8 Na, ogkabahuy to baensi.

9 To bagjang ogpakabahuy usab to linti. 10 Ogtansakon to yawa aw dohun to seini duon to sogkaen to bayoy ko ogbabaensi. 11 Namaanan seini tongod to sikan dila ubin ngipon to linti no ogyogwa ko ogtambunan to bagjang. 12 Ogpakabahuy seini su madogos.

Stopping Lightning

1 In the writing about *anit* it has been mentioned that sometimes lightning hits a tree. ¹ 2 On a tree hit by lightning, something is left called a "tongue of lightning." 3 There is also something called "tooth of lightning." 4 That which is called "tongue" is like the shape of a tongue, and that which is called "tooth" is like the shape of an axe but just small. 5 They are white.

6 To get it, the part of the tree that was split by lightning is covered with an elephant ear leaf, and after several days that tongue or tooth of lightning comes out. 7 When there is a lightning storm, that tooth or tongue is grated into water and rubbed onto whoever was known to laugh at something that provokes the *anit* taboo. 8 So, that can stop lightning.

9 Elephant ear can also stop lightning.² 10 The stem and leaf of this is cut into pieces in the yard of the house if there is a lightning storm. 11 This is known because of the tongue or tooth of lightning that comes out when covered by an elephant ear leaf. 12 It can stop lightning because it's itchy.

The author may be referring to her essay entitled *The Anit Taboo: Three Parts*, sentence 2 (p. 103), where she states that if a lightning strike occurs as a consequence of someone breaking the *anit* taboo, the lightning may hit a person or may hit a nearby tree.

² Traditionally, Manobos believe that the itchiness caused by the elephant ear plant has the effect of repelling lightning.

Mgo Taginop dow to Kahuyugan

1 To bana ku trabahanti to kumpaniya, di ultimu su maggobaay kandin to kaju no ogtrusuhon. 2 Sikan to pinakamabog-at no trabahu duon to kumpaniya. 3 Ogkae-at a to sikan bana ku, su kada pag-uli to sikan bana ku puun to trabahuan ogkabasa to kabo din dow ogboyajan hilabi.

4 Anoy man no nayugoy on, migtaginop a to migkita a to maintok no pisi no insugpat duon to maaslag no pisi. 5 Pagkabuyat ku, ginhawa ku, "Nokoy no migtaginop a man to sikan no wada a man hona-hona to pisi?" 6 Di nalingawan ku da to diya taginop.

7 Na, songo kahapunan, to bana ku migtataghuyay no mig-uli puun to trabahuan. 8 Naboyong a su anoy on man to diya ko og-iiling sikandin, kaling pig-usip ku, "Nokoy no ogbinag-u ka man ogtataghuyay? 9 Meyduon karojawan no natae-an nu?"

10 "Meyduon iyan," migtabak sikan bana ku. 11 "Imbalhin a to trabahu. 12 Ogpanukud a to trusu dow pig-uswagan to suhue ku."

13 "Marojow," kagi ku, "su ogpakahimayoy kad to sikan mabog-at no trabahu dow mig-aaslag to suweldu nu. 14 Aduy, mey nadomdoman ku. 15 Sikan buwa to naiguan to diya taginop ku, di wada ku inawnangon. 16 Migtaginop a to meyduon kun maintok no pisi no insugpat duon to maaslag no pisi."

17 "Basi kay," kagi to bana ku.

18 Seini to paghiluwas to sikan taginop: 19 Sikan pisi no maintok, sikan bana ku. 20 Ogkailing to maintok su ultimu kandin dow obos da to suweldu. 21 Sikan maaslag no pisi, mgo otow sikan no mey mgo ranggu duon to kumpaniya dow maaslag to suweldu. 22 [Sikan bana ku no ultimu imbalhin duon to pagpanukud to trusu no hahayahay no trabahu dow maaslag to suweldu.]

23 Ko mey ogtaginop to ogkita kandin to binogkot no sani no ogdaehon duon to bayoy din, meyduon otow no masakiton no igpaabut duon to bayoy din, di ogkamatoy.

24 Ko ogtaginop to otow to kuwarta, dimalas sikandin. 25 Meyduon anak ku no migtaginop to maaslag no kuwarta din. 26 Puli da nabukas likat to pagtaginop din, nadisgrasya kandin dow asawa din duon to hunda no pigsakajan dan. 27 Marojow su wada da kandin kamatoy. 28 Sikan yukos nayuad to ayob dow kapaklisi to mgo bakyawan din. 29 Sikan asawa napaklis to kindae to goja din dow ko-ko. 30 Napantey kandan to songo buyan. 31 Sikan no taginop og-ilingon to kadoot.

32 Meyduon taginop no og-ilingon to kaemgu. 33 Si amay pigkaemguhan. 34 Meyduon kun migbogoy kandin to songo yawas no tabaku. 35 Nadasig kandin to pagpanibow to baetik din. 36 Eh, ahaon pa ni amay to baetik din no napuyog to yangosa sikan tagkip.

Dreams and Their Meanings

1 My husband was a worker in the company, but of the lowest rank because he was a feller of trees that would be logged. 2 That was the heaviest work in the company. 3 I felt sorry for my husband, because every time my husband came home from work his clothes were wet and he was very tired.

4 After a long time, I dreamed that I saw a small rope that was attached to the end of a big rope. 5 When I awoke, I thought, "Why did I dream that when I wasn't thinking about rope?" 6 But I just forgot about that dream.

7 Now, one afternoon, my husband was whistling when he came home from work. 8 I was surprised because that was the first time he had ever done anything like that, so I asked him, "What made you just now start whistling? 9 Have you found something good?"

10 "Yes, I have," answered my husband. 11 "I have been transferred to another job. 12 I will measure logs and my salary has been increased."

13 "Good," I said, "because you can now rest from that heavy work and your salary has been increased. 14 Oh, I remembered something. 15 Maybe that is the point of my dream, but I didn't tell it. 16 I dreamed that there was a small rope attached to the end of a big rope."

17 "Maybe so," said my husband.

18 This is the explanation of that dream: 19 That small rope was my husband. 20 He can be called small because he was lowest in rank and had a low salary. 21 That large rope, that was people with rank in the company and big salaries. 22 [My husband whose rank was lowest was transferred to measuring logs which was easy work and had a large salary.]

23 If someone dreams that he sees a bundle of nipa palm roofing shingles being brought to his house, a sick person will stay at his house, but will die.

24 If a person dreams of money, he is unlucky. 25 I had a child who dreamed that he had a large [amount of] money. 26 The next morning after his dreaming, he and his wife had an accident on a motorcycle that they were riding. 27 It was good that they didn't die. 28 The man's knee was dislocated and his arms were skinned. 29 The wife skinned the skin of her forehead and chin. 30 They were disabled for one month. 31 That dream is called a *kadoot* [lit. bad].

32 There are dreams called *kaemgu* [good portent dream]. 33 Dad had a *kaemgu* dream. 34 He dreamed that someone gave him a bamboo section full of tobacco. 35 He was encouraged to check his pig trap. 36 Oh my, when Dad looked at his pig trap, the head of the bamboo

37 Pag-unuga din, wada da ka songo dogpak to upa natae-an din sikan babuy no bag-u kabigtawi su mapasu pad on to yawa. 38 Sikan songo sugung no tabaku, iyan impasabut sikan babuy. 39 Ko ogpangaemguhan to otow, meyduon og-abut kandin no karojawan.

40 To diya umanakay ad on to panganoy no bata ku, migtaginop a to migkinantahon a dow pigduyugan ku to sista to pagkanta ku. 41 Songo simana likat to pagtaginop ku, pighajodan a. 42 Natatoyuhan to paghajodi ku. 43 Nakatiniyahu a su muyawa ad muinogod kona man ogpakayogwa sikan bata. 44 Ogkahapuhap ku to gotok ku, naangod to sikan pagpanista ku duon to taginop ku dow nakatiniyahu a angod to sikan pagkinantahon ku duon to taginop din.

45 Ko duon to taginop ogkita ka to otow no ogtagon to martilyu ubin gabas ubin pala dow yansang, meyduon ogkamuya to pamilya ubin kadumahan nu. 46 Di ko duon to taginop sikuna to ogtagon to sikan nangkahisgutan, ogpakatabang ka to ogkamuyahan.

47 Ojow pa to mgo diwatahan, ko ogkadootan ka, hukasa to kabo no inghibat nu dow ipangujab agun kona muotok sikan kadoot.

48 Ko ogtaginop ka to mgo suwagan, mgo amu, mgo hayas dow mgo buaja, pakabantoy ka su mgo sakup sikan ni Satanas. 49 Impakita ikow no ogdooton ka to sikan no mgo ispiritu. 50 Meyduon otow no mig-iling to, "Naman ogtaginop a to sikan no mgo mananap, kanunoy madoot to ginhawa noy no mag-asawa. 51 Kanunoy koy ogbubuyow inggad maintok da to ogtipduhan."

52 Ko ogtaginop ka to meyduon sangab, meyduon sakit no og-abut.

53 Ko ogtaginop ka no oggamat ka to bubungan, og-abuton ka to kalisod. 54 Ko ogtaginop ka usab no ogponhik ka to bayoy no goba to hagdan, oglisod to kaugpa nu. 55 Og-abut to mgo dimalas angod pananglitan to wada abut to uma, madoot no mgo pangyawa, dow duma no kakuli to kinabuhi.

56 Ko ogtaginop to otow to ogkayagakan kandin to mahal no botang din, meyduon hilogod din no ogboyongon din su ogtalikud to seini kalibutan.

57 To diya babag-uhay a pad kabayu, migtaginop a to mig-ingkud a kun to siya su namintana a. 58 Ogsajug-sajugon ku to mgo kobong ku dow ogdomey a to mayow-ag dow mating-ow no wohig duon to yongod to sikan bintana dow duon to sikan wohig, pigkita ku to mangkaintok no mgo isda no namanyanguy-yanguy. 59 Ko ogtaginop to otow to sikan, meyduon kun saepi din no kona no kandin to ogpuesan, di iyan on ogpuesan to mgo anak din. 60 Migpasabut sikan no ko mamatoy a, meyduon kuwarta no ogkapuesan to mgo anak ku. 61 Buhi a pad hangtod kuntoon. 62 Puli ku ogpaniidan dow nokoy to ogkadegan to seini no taginop ku. 63 To kahuyugan to seini no taginop naaha ku duon to libru to mgo taginop.

64 To diya pagtiyog to maagbot diya to Luzon, mahan-in to mgo otow no nakayobong no buhi. 65 No

spear was smeared with blood. 37 When he followed [the blood trail] about a betel wad throw away, he found the pierced pig that had just died because the body was still warm. 38 That one bamboo section of tobacco meant that pig. 39 When a person has a *kaemgu* dream, something good will happen to him.

40 When I was about to give birth to my first child, I dreamed that I was singing and accompanying my singing by playing a guitar. 41 One week after my dream, I went into labor. 42 I was in labor for three days. 43 I cried because no matter how hard I pushed, the baby could not come out. 44 I would stroke my stomach, and it was like my playing the guitar in my dream, and I cried like my singing in my dream.

45 If, in a dream, you see a person holding a hammer or saw or shovel and nails, someone in your family or one of your companions/relatives will die. 46 But if in that dream you are the one holding those things mentioned, you will help someone who is bereaved.

47 According to shamans, if you have a bad dream, take off the garment that you were sleeping in and shake it out so that bad dream won't take effect.

48 If you dream of something with horns, of monkeys, of snakes, and crocodiles, watch out because those are subjects of Satan. 49 It has been shown to you that those spirits will do harm to you. 50 There was someone who said, "Whenever I dream of those animals, my wife and I always have bad feelings toward each other [lit. bad breath]. 51 We always fight even about little things."

52 If you dream that there is a big fire, sickness will come.

53 If you dream that you are climbing a mountain, difficulty will come to you. 54 And if you dream that you are going up into a house with rotten steps, your living will become difficult. 55 Bad luck will come to you like for example an unproductive field, bad health, and other difficulties of life.

56 If a person dreams that he lost an expensive possession, he will soon be missing a dear one because that one will die [lit. turn his back on this world].

57 When I was first widowed, I dreamed that I sat on a chair to look out the window. 58 I was swinging my legs and looking down on a wide and clear river beneath that window, and in the river, I saw small fish swimming. 59 When a person dreams of that, it is said that he has money that he will not be able to make use of, but the ones to use it will be his children. 60 That meant that when I would die, there would be money that my children would be able to use. 61 I'm still alive now. 62 I'll just see what is the outcome of my dream. 63 I found the meaning of this dream in a book of dreams.

64 When there was a strong earthquake on Luzon, many people were buried alive. 65 Before that strong

wada pad kahitabu sikan maagbot no tiyog, meyduon ulitau no istudyanti to kulihiyu no mig-isturya diya to amoy din to taginop din. 66 Puli da nabukas likat to sikan pagtaginop din, migtiyog to maagbot dow nahobhob to pasak dow to iskuylahan nadaya dow natambunan yakip sikan istudyanti. 67 Ojow pa to mgo balita to radyu dow to mgo mantalaan nan-aagoyo sikan nangkatambunan. 68 Na meyduon otow no nakaanduon no naguul yagboy no nakapaminog to sikan inagoyo.

69 Kagi din dongan to tiyahu, "Utu, gin-anow migtaginop ka ganina madukilom to namuju ka kun kanay to wohig, su seini man naan to ogkadegan nu." 70 Su sikan anak din mignangon to amoy to taginop din, "Itay," kagi to sikan ulitau, "migtaginop a to namuju a ikow to wohig."

71 Na, sikuna no ogbasa to seini, og-amonuhon nu man to paghiluwas to sikan no taginop, su mey on man nahitabu? 72 To kanay no pagsabut, sikan ulitau no buhi pad kandin duon to didayom to pasak, namuju to tabang podom to amoy din. 73 Di puli on kandin namatoy, wada nahimu to amoy din.

earthquake happened, there was a young man who was a college student who told his father about his dream. 66 On the day after his dream, there was a strong earthquake and the earth caved in and the school was carried along and buried, including that student. 67 According to the radio news and the newspapers, those who had been buried were groaning. 68 Now there was a person who went there who was very sad listening to that groaning.

69 He said crying, "Sonny, so that's why you dreamed last night that you asked me for water, because this is what happened to you." 70 Because his son had told the father his dream, "Father," said that young man, "I dreamed that I asked you for water."

71 Now, you who read this, how will you explain that dream, because something did happen? 72 In my understanding, that young man who was alive underground was asking his father for help. 73 But he just died; his father could do nothing.

Tigom

1 Para to mgo Manubu, to tigom kona no dugadihanan. 2 Ogkaikagi sikan ko meyduon ogtigpatajon. 3 Kaling man ogkaboyu to Manubu ko meyduon ogtigom ko wada patoy. 4 Og-iling dajun to, "Nokoy man, meyduon pigkotang nu? 5 Iyan da man ogtigom ko meyduon patoy."

6 Ogkaboyu, su pigtuuhan noy no mgo Manubu no to ogtigom ogdayongon to busow su ogkailing to ginhawa din to meyduon patoy. 7 Na ko makaanduon to busow aw maaha din no wada patoy, basi meyduon pasomoyan din su ogpakahinajak to ginhawa din.

8 Ko meyduon ogtigom duon to ogpamanegpatoy dow ogkatabak sikan no tigom, og-ilingon sikan to naagtoman ubin pigpantigan kona og-ilingon to natabak on. 9 Ko meyduon ogtigom, to pagtabak to sikan kona og-ilingon to tabaka, di og-ilingon to agtoma ubin pantigi.

10 Sikan da.

Riddles

1 For Manobos, riddles are not to be made as a joke. 2 They can be spoken when there is a wake held for a dead person. 3 Therefore Manobos get angry if someone tells a riddle if no one died. 4 They will immediately say, "What, have you laid out a corpse? 5 The only time to make riddles is when there is a dead person."

6 They get angry because we Manobos believe that when riddles are spoken, evil spirits come near and listen because they think there is a corpse. 7 And if the evil spirit goes there and sees there is no corpse, maybe he will take his anger out on someone because of his unfulfilled expectation.

8 When someone among those at the wake tells a riddle and that riddle is answered, it is said that it was guessed or broken, not that it was answered. 9 If someone tells a riddle, we do not say "answer it", but we say "guess it" or "break it".

10 That's all.



VIII. Herbal Remedies

Kajam

1 To bata no bag-u ig-anak no mayahag to yawa dow mata, meyduon sakit. 2 Og-ilingon sikan no sakit to kajam. 3 Sikan no bata inggad amonuhon to pag-aligra kona gajod og-unuk, nasi ogpangonot to kindae.

4 Sikan no sakit iyan ogpakailing to paghipanow to inoy ko magkabodos pad. 5 Hinang sikan to madoot no ispiritu no igkatagbu din ko oghipanow kandin to madukilom.

6 To ogpakarojow to sikan no sakit, gawod no og-ilingon to sampinit no maputi. 7 Ogpatodon sikan dow ogpaawason to wohig dow ipainom to bata no pigkajaman.

8 Si Maclin, anak ni Pastor Bada pigkajaman. 9 Migyahag to mata dow to yawa din dow to indos din maputi. 10 Kona oghalin to gatas no ogduduon din. 11 Mahan-in to mgo tambae no puun to butika di wada oghalinan to sakit no Macmac. 12 Magasa hilabi, nangonot to kindae.

13 Na si Pastor Bada dow to asawa din migsasabut no ogdaehon sikan anak dan diya to Cebu su igpahuspital. 14 Meyduon katagsa ni Pastor Bada no daega, si Zenaida, no mig-ugpa duon kandan su mig-iskuyla duon to Mindanao Christian Academy. 15 Pagdinog din to pighimanuhan to sikan magtiajun, mig-ikagi sikan daega, "Antiha now naa kun painoma to wohig to sampinit no maputi. 16 Namaan a to sikan su to apu ku no yukos anak to Banwaon. 17 Inghindu kandin to amoy din. 18 Ogpakatambae sikan to sakit no kajam." 19 Wada panogon-togon si Pastor Bada migpapudut dajun to gawod no sampinit no maputi.

20 Na, puli ku ogyaktodon to pag-isturya, kadaduwa da painoma si Macmac to wohig to sikan sampinit, natural on to indos din dow to kayahag to mata dow yawa din nagawang. 21 Ko nakatood pa kandan diya to Cebu, indoy dow man-u to saepi no ogkagastu dan.

22 Pigtuud ku pigsuyat seini su basi mey mgo anakan no makabasa to seini. 23 Ajaw kow ogduwa-duwa to paggamit to sikan no gawod [sampinit no maputi] su kona no puli pigpanubutubu su tinood seini no hitabu. 24 Siak yagboy to migpainom ki Macmac dow naaha ku yagboy to pagkaulii din to diya taga-guyangan no tambae.

25 Pigsuyat ku usab seini agun kona malingawan sikan no tambae su wadad man ogpakanawnangon ko wada ad dini to kalibutan. 26 Di seini to igpadomdom ku ko hintawa to makabasa to seini. 27 No wada pad makaikagi si Zenaida bahin to sikan no tambae, meyduon pad mahan-in no mgo pag-ampu noy, pag-ampu to pagsalig noy to Diyus no anyadan koy din to marojow

1 A newborn baby whose body and eyes are yellow is sick. 2 That sickness is called *kajam* ['newborn jaundice']. 3 No matter how much you care for that child, he will not get fat, instead his skin will be wrinkled.

4 That sickness is caused by the mother going out at night when she is pregnant. 5 That is the work of a bad spirit that she met when she walked outside at night.

6 What can heal that sickness is a vine called white *sampinit*.¹ 7 It will be cut and let the water flow from it and let the jaundiced child drink it.

8 Maclin [nicknamed Macmac], the son of [my son] Pastor Bada, was jaundiced. 9 His eyes and body got yellow and his feces became white. 10 The milk that he got while nursing produced no change. 11 There were many medicines they got from the pharmacy, but Macmac's sickness didn't change. 12 He was very thin, and his skin wrinkled.

13 Then Pastor Bada and his wife agreed that they would take their son to Cebu to be hospitalized. 14 Pastor Bada had a teenage girl cousin, Zenaida, who lived with them because she was going to school at Mindanao Christian Academy. 15 When she heard what the couple was discussing, that girl said, "Please first try letting him drink water from white *sampinit*. 16 I know about that because my grandfather was the son of a Banwaon. 17 It was shown to him by his father. 18 It can heal the sickness of infant jaundice." 19 Pastor Bada did not delay, he immediately had someone get a vine of white *sampinit*.

20 Now I will just shorten my story, Macmac was only caused to drink the water of the *sampinit* twice, then his feces were natural and the yellowness of his eyes and body were gone. 21 If they had carried out their plan of going to Cebu, I don't know how much money they would have had to spend.

22 I have purposely written this because maybe some who have children will read this. 23 Don't be hesitant about using that vine [white *sampinit*] because this is not just made-up because it really happened. 24 I myself was the one who made Macmac drink and I really saw his recovery because of that medicine from the forest.

25 Also I have written this so that medicine will not be forgotten because no one will be able to tell about it when I am no longer here on the earth. 26 But this is what I will cause to be remembered by whoever reads this. 27 Before Zenaida spoke about that medicine, we prayed much, prayers of our trust in God that he would guide us to what would be good to do so that Macmac

118

Newborn Jaundice

sampinit, sapinit: kind of thorny vine. Caesalpinia nuga.

Kajam Newborn Jaundice

no oghinangon agun murojow si Macmac to sikan sakit din. 28 Kani to seini isturya ku namaan a no migtabang gajod to Diyus 29 Basaha seini mgo saad din: Salmo 91:14; Jeremias 33:3. 30 Seini to mgo saad to Diyus no kanunoy ku ogpaningkuton to mgo panahon no angod to seini.

31 Tapus.

would be healed of his illness. 28 In this story I know that God really helped. 29 Read these promises of his: Psalm 91:14; [and] Jeremiah 33:3. 30 These are God's promises that I always claim at times like this.

31 Finished.

Tambae to Oggutuson: Bata ko Manigaon

1 Ogkagamit: alibu to tabaku yana (ipakasent ko mansanilya ubin yana to niyug) dohun to tubatuba

2 Subsuba to tabaku. 3 Yaoba to dohun to tubatuba, igua no ogyoop duon to gotok to masakiton. 4 Ohuga to yana sikan sinubsub no tabaku aw ihapyas duon to mgo dohun to tubatuba. 5 Hapyasi usab to gotok to masakiton. 6 Tapus to sikan, ikapi to hinapyas no tubatuba duon to gotok aw bogkoti to panapton agun kona ogkawakawaka. 7 Yabin marojow ko hinangon seini ko madukilom dajun on to paglipodong to masakiton. 8 Ipabilin seini hangtod mabukas. 9 Ogkakiyayahan ko ogkaulian to masakiton su sigi og-otut aw og-ihi.

10 Ko meyduon kabaywa marojow isab seini no igtambae to oggutuson. 11 Dokdokon to kabaywa hangtod no ogyunoy. 12 Ligad-ligada duon to mamathan to abu no bag-u pad gawangi to kaeju—mapasu pad. 13 Ajaw ogyugaja. 14 Igu on ko ongod-ongodon no mapasu on to gita din. 15 [Ko mayugoy haunon ogsagkot to gita aw konad ogpuyus.] 16 Hauna aw tampoda duon to platu aw pogaa. 17 Sakoti to apug di saegajawon da. 18 [Mapasu to gita to kabaywa ko ogsakotan to apug.] 19 Tapus to sikan, hapyasa to gotok to sikan piggutus. 20 Pagtahay to sikan inghapyas, usabi hapyasi hangtod no maimot to tinimpla. 21 Ko masabid og-otut ubin ogihi ogpakailing ki no ogkaulian to masakiton.

Medicine for Bloating: Child or Adult

1 Items to be used:

tobacco ashes

oil (efficascent oil, or *mansanilya* oil for children, or coconut oil)

leaves of the *tubatuba* plant¹

2 Burn the tobacco to ashes. 3 Wilt the *tubatuba* leaves by placing them over a fire, enough to cover the stomach of the patient. 4 Mix that burnt tobacco with oil and smear it onto the *tubatuba* leaves. 5 Smear it also on the stomach of the patient. 6 After that, apply the smeared *tubatuba* leaves as a poultice to the stomach and tie with cloth so it won't become disarranged. 7 It's better if this is done at night and the patient sleeps immediately. 8 Leave it until morning. 9 It will be known if the patient is getting well because he will keep passing gas and urinating.

10 If there is *kabaywa* fruit,² this is also good for treating someone with bloating. 11 Pound the *kabaywa* until it's soft. 12 Roll it around in the ashes on the firetable where fire has just gone out but it's still hot. 13 Don't do it for long. 14 Just estimate the heat of its juice. 15 [If it's left in the heat too long, the juice will thicken and be useless.] 16 Remove it from the heat and cut it on a plate and squeeze it. 17 Mix it with lime but keep it watery. 18 [The *kabaywa* juice should be hot when mixed with lime.] 19 After that, smear it on the stomach of the bloated person. 20 After that which has been applied has dried, smear it again until the mixture is gone. 21 When the patient frequently passes gas or urinates, we can say that he is getting well.

¹ *tubatuba*: kind of medicinal shrub, *Jatropha curcas*. Leaves used for poultice, seeds dried and burned for light, bark and cambium layer used as medicinal rub.

kabaywa: kind of fragrant lemon-shaped lime with double-lobed leaves.

Talimoghat

1 Tambae to bag-u og-anak no ogkaboghat. 2 Og-ilingon seini to lihiya.

3 Ogkagamit:

1 paka to saging no sab-a no puli pad ogyahag 1 paka to saging no bunguyan no puli pad ogyahag 1 paka to saging no ritunlan no puli pad ogyahag bilu to pili

4 Og-amonuhon to Pag-andam. 5 Tampoda to paka to sab-a, ritunlan, dow bunguyan no saging likat to yawa aw tampoda kotob to dohun. 6 Hayuba sikan duon to baga hangtod no muyunoy. 7 Ajaw ogyugaja duon to kaeju su to wohig ubin gita ogkaoti. 8 Hauna dow bahawa. 9 Bidbida aw sayuda to gita. 10 Tapus to sikan. tutunga ubin padokoti to pili aw ipayongod duon to obey to pili to platu no pursilana ubin lata; ajaw to plastik su ogtunow. 11 To obey to sikan pili duon ogsangko to sikan igpayongod no platu aw ogkahinang on no bilu. 12 Pakamonangi sikan platu [tagonan] hangtod no madamey on to bilu likat to obey to pili. 13 Dedejawa pagsakota to gita to mgo paka to saging aw to bilu to pili. 14 Ongod-ongoda no igu igkahapyas to tibuuk yawa to sikan naboghat. 15 Unahi dapuki to alipudhan aw mgo yoyoatan aw to duma ihapyas to yawa aw hiluta igu puli matangkug to mgo ugat. 16 Kona og-agbotan to paghilut su ogkadugangan to pagkaboghat. 17 Tapus to paghilut pakimbuta to sabanas aw ajaw ogpakaemagi. 18 Himua seini to katatoyu. 19 Di ko murojow dajun to naboghat, inggad kasaboka da.

Medicine for Relapse of a Newly Delivered Mother

1 Medicine for a woman who just delivered a baby and becomes ill because of going back to strenuous work too soon. 2 This is called *lihiya*.

3 Items to be used:

1 branch of a *sab-a* banana¹ that is just getting yellow 1 branch of a *bunguyan* banana that is just getting yellow 1 branch of a *ritunlan* banana that is just getting yellow soot from the burnt sap of the *pili* tree

4 How to prepare it: 5 Cut a branch each of sab-a, ritunlan, and bunguyan banana plants from the trunk and cut off the leaves [that is, use the portion between the leaf and the trunk]. 6 Roast it over coals until it is soft. 7 Don't leave it on the fire long because the water or juice will evaporate. 8 Remove it from the heat and cool it. 9 Wring it and catch the juice in a container. 10 After that, burn the pili sap and place over the smoke of the pili a plate of porcelain or tin; don't use plastic because it will melt. 11 The smoke of the *pili* sap will accumulate on the plate over it and will become soot. 12 Leave the plate there [holding it] until the soot from the pili smoke has become thick. 13 Carefully mix together the juice of the banana branches and the pili soot. 14 Estimate the right amount to rub over the whole body of the sick woman. 15 First apply it to the top of her head and her joints, and then rub the rest on her body and massage it just until the blood vessels are stimulated. 16 Don't massage hard because it would cause her illness to get worse. 17 After massaging, wrap her in blankets and don't expose her to wind. 18 Do this three times.² 19 But if the sick one gets well immediately, it's okay to just do it once.

Kinds of bananas available locally: 1) *sab-a*: a small cooking banana. 2) *sarabiya*: a short, fat, cooking banana resembling a *sab-a* banana. These are not native to the region. 3) *bunguyan*: a long, green, eating banana. 4) *ritunlan*: a small, yellow, eating banana. 5) *binaengoy*: a small, orange-yellow, eating banana that keeps well. 6) *tumbaga*: a red banana that can be cooked or eaten uncooked.

This means once every day for three consecutive days, at bedtime.

Ogpanghopong no Yawa

1 Ogkagamit:

yawa to tubatuba (to kaaslag ogdipindi to idad to otow no'g tambayon)

songo yogas no ahus [maaslag]

2 Kagison to yawa to tubatuba. 3 Isakot to songo yogas no ahus no dinokdok. 4 Bunggani. 5 Hauna. 6 Igu no ogkaantus on to kapasu, ibanyus likat to uyu hangtod diya to kobong to masakiton. 7 Kona oghapyason to mgo payad aw padapada. 8 Tapus to pagbanyus kumbuti to sabanas. 9 Ajaw ogpakaemagi. 10 Hinanga seini to katatoyu. 11 Banyusi ko dajun on to paghibat to madukilom. 12 Ogkakiyayahan ko ogkaigu to tambae seini no sakit su masabid og-ihi to masakiton migpasabut no ogkaulian seini. 13 Ogkagawang usab seini no sakit pinaagi to huyas.

Edema [Swelling of the Body]

1 Items to be used:

stem of the *tubatuba* plant¹ (the size depends on the age² of the person to be treated)

one piece of garlic [large]

2 Scrape the surface of the *tubatuba* stem. 3 Mix [the scrapings] with one clove of pounded garlic. 4 Cook it in a fire, wrapped in leaves. 5 Remove it from the heat. 6 As hot as can be endured, rub it on the patient from head to feet. 7 Don't rub the palms of the hands or soles of the feet. 8 After rubbing it on, wrap the patient in a blanket. 9 Don't expose him to wind. 10 Do this three times. 11 Rub him with the mixture when he is just ready to lie down for the night. 12 It will be known when this illness has been effectively treated by the medicine because the patient will urinate frequently, which means he will get well. 13 This illness can also be removed by sweating.

tubatuba: kind of medicinal shrub, *Jatropha curcas*. Leaves used for poultice; seeds dried and burned for light; bark and cambium layer used as medicinal rub.

² For a child of about twelve years of age, use three handspans of *tubatuba*. For an adult, five handspans.

Gisuka'g, Indos

1 Ogkagamit: 1 yogas ahus (maaslag) bilu duon to yongod to abu

2 Subsuba to ahus. 3 Mukagis to bilu duon to yongod to abu. 4 Igu to songo basu. 5 Pinuha to pagdupuk to sinubsub no ahus hasta to bilu. 6 Pagsakota. 7 Tapus to sikan iyunud duon to pigbahaw no pinasobu no wohig no madani ogkaponu to basu. 8 Guligawa. 9 Tapus to sikan, sagoya aw ipainom. 10 Inibuton to pagpainom agun kona iggisuka.

Vomiting and Diarrhea

1 Items to be used: 1 piece of garlic (large) soot from over the firetable

2 Burn the garlic to ashes. 3 Scrape soot from above the firetable. 4 Do enough to fill a glass. 5 Finely pulverize the burnt garlic and the soot. 6 Mix them together. 7 After that, add them to cooled boiled water, almost a glassful. 8 Stir. 9 After that, strain it and let the patient drink it. 10 It should be drunk in small amounts so it won't be vomited up.

Ugihap

1 Ogkagamit:

ubi

tagok to yumbiya

2 To ugihap ogsugud to angod to daegis duon to kindae. 3 Madogos seini di ko ogkamason, masakit. 4 Abutan to tatoyu no aedow ogpanlimbotug on aw to ogkaigu to seini konad ogkalipodong tongod to kasakit. 5 Oghaeghaegan. 6 Ko masabutan no naigu to ugihap, mukadae to ubi aw payoopi to pagtapli sikan naigu no bahin to yawa. 7 Nipison da. 8 Ko wada ubi, to tagok to yumbiya ogkahimu usab. 9 Ogkaulian seini ko tag mae daegis pad ogkataplian on to kinadae no ubi ubin tagok to yumbiya. 10 Di ko ognana on mayugoy ogkaulian.

Shingles

1 Items to be used:

yam root

sap from a sago palm

2 *Ugihap*¹ begins like a heat rash on the skin. 3 It is itchy when scratched, and painful. 4 When three days have passed, it erupts in bumps/splotches and the person affected by it cannot sleep because of the pain. 5 He feels hot inside. 6 If it's understood that the person has *ugihap*, grate a yam root and apply it all over the affected part of the body. 7 Just do it thinly. 8 If there is no yam, sap of a sago palm can also be used. 9 This can be cured if the yam or sago palm sap can be applied when it is still the size of heat rash. 10 But if there is already pus, it will take a long time to heal.

The traditional belief about the source of the *ugihap* rash is that it comes from a type of worm that sprays its venom as the unwary victim passes by. The symptoms associated with this condition seem to match the malady known as shingles.

Tambae to Madoson no Ubu

1 Ogkagamit: tebutubu to kaju no kaebihid tebutubu to kaju no anunang tebutubu to kaju no iba

2 Tagkasa to tebutubu to kaebihid, anunang, aw iba. 3 Pamalisi. 4 Kagisa to mgo daenut. 5 Pagsakota aw pogaa duon to basu ubin tasa. 6 Sagoya. 7 Ipainom to gita no mgo tonga to basu. 8 Inggad musubra to tonga to basu wada delikadu. 9 Marojow seini para to mgo mangkaaslag aw mgo manigaon on no mgo otow. 10 Himua seini sed to tatoyu no aedow kada madukilom ko kona pad oglipodong.

Medicine for a Hard Cough

1 Items to be used: the sapling of a *kaebihid* tree the sapling of an *anunang* tree the sapling of an *iba* tree

2 Cut down a the sapling [each] of a *kaebihid*,¹ *anunang*,² and *iba*³ tree. 3 Peel the bark off. 4 Scrape off the cambium layers. 5 Combine them and squeeze the juice into a glass or cup. 6 Strain it. 7 Make the patient drink about half a glass of juice. 8 Even if they drink more than a half glass, it's not dangerous. 9 This is good for big and old people. 10 Do this for three days, every evening before going to bed.

kaebihid: a kind of tree with a very tall trunk, Spondias pinnata. Bears sour fruit; leaves and cambium layer are used medicinally.

anunang: a kind of medium-sized tree, *Cordia dicotoma*. Its fruit, which grows in bunches, can be used to make paste for paper, and is a favorite of birds. The cambium layer is made into a remedy for cough and fever. Wood from the *anunang* tree is often used for fence posts because it will sprout when set in the ground and thus not deteriorate.

iba: a kind of tree that bears small, green, sour fruit, Averrhoa bilimbi. Fruit can be used for seasoning food; the cambium layer can be used medicinally.

Tungag

1 Ogkagamit:

gamut to huwas-huwas ubin buju to hayas

2 Hugasi to marojow to gamut to huwas-huwas. 3 Dokdoka to pinu. 4 Bunggani. 5 Ajaw ogyugaja duon to kaeju su ogtahajan. 6 Hauna aw igu ogkaantus to kapasu yosoki to yugi to ngipon to binungganan no gamut. 7 Likajan no kona makayam-od to gita. 8 Iilob. 9 Ogsigkon to pagkodey to ngipon.

Dental Cavity

1 Items to be used:

root of the *huwas-huwas* vine, [otherwise known as] *buju to hayas* [lit. betel leaf of the snake].

2 Wash the root of *huwas-huwas* thoroughly. 3 Pound it finely. 4 Cook it in a fire, wrapped in leaves. 5 Don't leave it in the fire too long lest it become dry. 6 Remove from the fire and as hot as can be endured, insert the root wrapped with leaves into the tooth cavity. 7 Be careful not to swallow the juice. 8 Spit it out. 9 The toothache will stop.

Pabahaon: Tambae to Bata no Ogsipounon

1 Ogkagamit: anampoyan

2 Mutagkas to mayombu no yawa to anampoyan. 3 Kotuha to ugbusan. 4 Palisi to yawa aw kagisa to daenut, pogaa aw ipainom. 5 To ugbusan pulipison aw ipangadog to bata. 6 Ogbahaonon to bata aw ogkagawang to pot-an. 7 Ogkabongkag to sipoun diya to didayom to bata.

Causing to Sneeze: Medicine for a Child with a Cold

1 Items to be used: *anampoyan* bush¹

2 Cut a young/tender stem of an *anampoyan* bush. 3 Pick the leaves off. 4 Peel the stem and scrape off the cambium layer, squeeze it and let the child drink it. 5 Rub the leaves between the thumb and finger and let the child smell them. 6 The child will sneeze and the nasal congestion will be removed. 7 The cold inside the lungs will be broken up.

anampoyan: a bushy plant whose cambium layer juice is extracted and drunk as a treatment for cough. A medicinal application for cold sufferers is that the leaf tip can be crushed and its scent inhaled in order to facilitate breathing.

Tambae to Pali no Ogyangósa

1 Ogkagamit seini mgo kaju: bungyuy takipan

2 Mupudut to gobuk no bungyuy aw gobuk no takipan. 3 Pagsakoton aw ipoga to gita ubin wohig duon to pali.

Medicine for a Bleeding Wound

1 Wood to be used:

bungyuy takipan

2 Get rotten *bungyuy* and rotten *takipan* wood. 3 Mix them together and squeeze the juice or water onto the wound.



IX. Traditional Narratives

Si Juan dow si Maria

1 Nokani no maintok a pad no bata balinliyagan a no ogpaminog to sugilon no mgo kinaraan. 2 To inoy ku matisugilon aw iyan oghinangon din ko madukilom ko tapus koy to panihapun. 3 Mahan-in to sugilon to inoy ku di iyan yagboy naliyagan ku to insugilon din kanay, Si Juan dow si Maria. 4 Seini to sugilon.

5 Meyduon pitu no mgo daega no migsusuun no mig-ugpa diya to yangit. 6 Sikan no mgo daega meyduon limbutung no hitsura to gomow. 7 Sikan no mgo daega, ko ogpadigus sikandan, ogsul-ub to mgo limbutung dan dow pamanyajang pailing duon to sapa no dani to pig-ugpaan to yukos no iyan ngadan si Juan. 8 Iyan pagpamadigus dan ko ogkasasakyopay on ko pagkaejun to buyan.

9 Songo panahon migdinog si Juan to wagaswas to mahan-in no namanyajang pailing duon to sapa. 10 Dajun sikandin pon-ug dow silibi din.

11 Ato! Puli migyagat to mata ni Juan no kitaon din no hukason to limbutung to sikan una no migtogpa duon to sapa. 12 Nasaepan din sikan namanhukas to limbutung likat to sikan una no migtogpa hangtod to sikan kinahudihan. 13 Halus kona ogpilok si Juan no migsayap to sikan mgo daega no namanyanguy-yanguy hangtod no namanghaw-as duon masigsul-ub to mgo limbutung dan dow pamanyajang. 14 Angod to intugdok no kandila si Juan no migsayap to sikan mgo daega hangtod no wada din on kitaa su namakapadibayuy on sikandan to gabun.

15 Sikan no kadukiloman, si Juan wada kalipodong. 16 Mangkatamo-tamo sikan mgo daega no pigkita din di iyan yagboy kona ogkapapas duon to isip din sikan kinahudihan no migtogpa. 17 Wada kasabuti ni Juan to ginhawa din hangtod no mighona-hona sikandin to paagi agun no makandin sikan daega.

18 Anoy man no pagkaejun manda to buyan, wada pad kasakyop mighinaat on si Juan mig-anduon to sikan pighobongan din no siliban din sikan mgo daega. 19 Anoy man no ogkasasakyopay on halus konad ogginhawa si Juan no dinogon din to wagaswas to mgo pagikpik to sikan mgo gomow. 20 Anoy man no tibo on namakapanhukas to mgo limbutung dan namanyanguy-yanguy on sikan mgo daega wada dan kaliparahi si Juan no migpudut to limbutung to sikan kinahudihan no migtogpa to diya una no pagkitaa ni Juan no kinahudihan manda no migtogpa to sikan no panahon.

21 Pagtaka on to sikan mgo daega to pagpadigus namanhaw-as dow masigsul-ub to limbutung dan aw kada sikan nakasul-ub to limbutung migyajang. 22 Paghaw-as to sikan kinahudihan wada din kitaa to limbutung din. 23 Pigpamangha din, di wada din on gajod kitaa. 24 Puli nanda sikandin migsinogow.

25 Migsisinogow sikan bohi no yogwaon ni Juan,

Juan and Maria

1 Long ago when I was still a small child, I was very fond of listening to the stories of the ancient ones. 2 My mother liked to tell stories and that is what she would do in the evening after we had eaten supper. 3 My mother had many stories but of those she told me, the one I really liked was Juan and Maria. 4 This is the story.

5 There were seven young ladies who were sisters who lived in the sky/heavens. 6 Those young ladies had costumes in the form of ducks. 7 As for those young ladies, when they took a bath, they would put on their costumes and fly together to a stream which was near to the place where a man by the name of Juan lived. 8 It was only at twilight during a full moon that they would bathe in this way.

9 One day Juan heard the whooshing sound of many things flying toward the stream. 10 Then he went downstairs and peeked out [from a hiding place].

11 Ato! [exclamation of amazement] Juan's eyes widened as he saw the first one that landed at the stream take off her mask. 12 He watched every move as each one from the first to the last took off their costumes. 13 Juan hardly even blinked his eyes as he watched every move of those young ladies as they swam around until they each put on their costumes and flew away. 14 Juan just stood there like a stuck down candle as he watched every move of those young ladies until he could see them no longer because they were already on the other side of the clouds.

15 That night, Juan was not able to sleep. 16 Those young ladies that he had seen were all beautiful, but the one whom could really not be erased from his mind was the last one who landed. 17 Juan could not understand his feelings [lit. breath] until he thought of a way to make that young lady his own [i.e. marry her].

18 When the moon was full again, before twilight Juan had already gone to the place where he hid to peek out at those young ladies. 19 When it was almost twilight Juan almost didn't breathe when he heard the whooshing of the wings of those ducks. 20 When those young ladies had all taken off their costumes and were swimming around they did not notice Juan who took the costume of the last one who landed who was also the last one to land the previous time.

21 When those young ladies got tired of swimming they got out of the water and put on their costumes and each one put on her costume and flew. 22 When the last one got out [of the water] she did not find her costume. 23 She looked around, but she could not find it anywhere. 24 She just cried.

25 That woman was crying when Juan appeared.

Si Juan dow si Maria Juan and Maria

"Honda daga," kagi ni Juan no kunungkun wada kataga, "nakaamonu ka man kani? Nokoy man to igsinogow nu?" 26 Pagdinog to sikan bohi to tingog nakapanampong sikandin to mgo delikadu no bahin to yawa din aw migtabak, "Nayagak to sul-uban ku kaling nabilin a kani. 27 To mgo kakoy ku naman-uli on diya kanami."

28 "Na, sigkon ka to ogsinogow su ogtabangan ku ikow," kagi ni Juan. 29 Pighukas ni Juan to kabo din dow itadwoy to sikan bohi. 30 "Tampia seini aw duma ka kanay diya to bayoy ku." 31 Pighona-hona to sikan daega no wada man ogkahimu din no ogpakauli diya kandan kaling wada din balibada to intambajag kandin ni Juan no tabang. 32 Pagpailing dan diya to bayoy mig-usip si Juan, "Hintawa man to ngadan nu daga?" 33 "Si Maria," migtabak sikan daega. 34 "Siak, si Juan," migpaila si Juan to kaugalingon din.

35 Pag-abut dan diya to bayoy, "Ho, hintawa man seini duma nu Juan?" mig-usip to inoy ni Juan. 36 "Gin-anow angod ka to ogsoyop no yana su sei man naan to ogkahaegan nu," naboyu to inoy ni Juan. 37 Si Juan naanad on to kadoot to batasan to inoy din kaling wada din liparaha. 38 Iyan pig-atubang din si Maria. 39 Pigpamalikoskos din to patadyung to inoy din dow pakoona.

40 Tongod to marojow no pag-aligra ni Juan ki Maria wada sikandin balibad no hangyuon ni Juan no ogasawahon. 41 Paglisig to panahon mig-ugwad to kainggit to sikan inoy ni Juan ki Maria. 42 Ko ogpakaliow si Juan madoot to mgo ikagihonon to sikan bujag ki Maria di puli mahonok si Maria. 43 Wada din maana si Juan bahin to kadoot to sikan bujag. 44 Hangtod no magkabodos on si Maria wada kausab to batasan to sikan inoy ni Juan hangtod no songo aedow migsinogow si Maria su migsakit on yagboy to ginhawa din. 45 Pagyanghag din diya to binubungan migkita sikandin to pendag. 46 Ginhawa din, "Ogpuduton ku suja pendag su ogpamendag a agun magawang to kasakit to ginhawa ku." 47 Dajun din ponhika sikan pendag. 48 Paghiyup din wada tanug. 49 Pag-aha din su basi meyduon nakasongsong, halus makakuligsik sikandin su iyan man pigkita din to sul-uban din. 50 Nagama-gama sikandin to paghukbut, ginhawa din, "Sikan naan bana ku to migpudut dow kani din ihobong. 51 Kuntoon ogpakauli ad gajod diya kanami." 52 Dajun din isul-ub dow anoy man to migpaliling on sikandin migpanabiya sikandin to sikan ugangan din. 53 Pigpigonan pad podom to sikan ugangan din di gajun on migyajang si Maria. 54 Ginhawa din, "Ogpamanghaon ku pad si Juan agun mataga sikandin no mig-uli a diya kanami." 55 Migpasagkop sikandin duon to babow to mgo kakajuhan aw migkita sikandin to migoobey. 56 Dajun sikandin taphun duon to kaju dow pigdomoyan din si Juan no migsinadab to babuy no napanganupan din. 57 "Juan," migsabi si Maria. 58 Pagyanghag ni Juan pigkita din si Maria no nakasul-ub to limbutung din. 59 "Og-uli a diya kanami aw ko meyduon ginhawa nu kanay yumupug ka kanay diya to migtalingwag no yangit."

"Hey, lady," Juan said, pretending that he didn't know, "what's the matter here? Why are you crying?" 26 When that woman heard the voice she covered the private parts of her body and answered, "That which I was wearing is lost so I am left behind here. 27 My older siblings have already returned there to my place."

28 "Okay, well just stop crying because I will help you," said Juan. 29 Juan took off his shirt and handed it to that woman. 30 "Wrap this around yourself and follow me to my house." 31 That young lady was thinking that there was nothing else that she could do to go home to their place so she did not refuse the help offered her by Juan. 32 As they were going toward the house Juan asked, "What [lit. who] is your name lady?" 33 "Maria," answered the young lady. 34 "I am Juan," Juan introduced himself.

35 When they arrived at the house, Juan's mother asked, "Hey, who is your companion Juan? 36 So that's why you are like oil that [cannot be seen because it] is absorbed because that's what you were preoccupied with," Juan's mother said angrily. 37 Juan was already used to his mother's bad behavior so he paid her no mind. 38 The one he paid attention to was Maria. 39 He had Maria wrap around a sarong of his mother and gave her something to eat.

40 Because of Juan's good treatment of Maria she did not refuse when Juan asked to marry her. 41 As time went by the cruelty of Juan's mother to Maria got worse and worse. 42 When Juan was away from home that old woman spoke harshly to Maria but Maria was just silent. 43 She did not tell Juan about the bad deeds of that old woman. 44 The behavior of Juan's mother did not change and one day, after Maria became pregnant, Maria cried because she was so sad [lit. her breath hurt]. 45 When she looked up to the peak of the roof she saw a flute. 46 She thought, "I'll get that flute and play it to take away my sadness [lit. the pain of my breath]." 47 So she climbed up to get the flute. 48 When she blew into it there was no sound. 49 When she looked because maybe there was something rolled up inside she almost screamed because what she saw was her costume [lit. that which is put on]. 50 She excitedly pulled it out, thinking, "So it was my husband who took it and here is where he hid it. 51 Now I can return home to our place." 52 Then she put it on and when she was ready to leave she bade farewell to her mother-in-law. 53 Her mother-in-law tried to restrain her but immediately Maria started to fly away. 54 She thought, "I will search for Juan to tell him that I am returning home to our place." 55 She flew low over the tops of the trees and she saw smoke. 56 Then she landed on a tree and looked down on Juan who was singeing a pig that he had caught using dogs for hunting. 57 "Juan," called Maria. 58 When Juan looked up, he saw Maria dressed in her costume. 59 "I am going home to our [place] and if you love me [lit. you have breath for me] you will follow me to the edge of the sky/heavens [that is, the place where the sky meets the earth]."

Si Juan dow si Maria Juan and Maria

60 Halus nabuang si Juan. 61 "Maria," kagi din, "igatang koonon nu seini atoy to babuy no igtagama ku podom ikow inggad umuli ka diya iyu." 62 Di si Maria wada ujun to hangyu ni Juan migpadajun sikandin to pagyajang pailing diya to banwa din. 63 Pag-uli ni Juan diya to bayoy pendag nanda to pigkita din.

64 Migyaboy to mgo buyan, mgo tuig si Juan puli migpanow to wada nadegan. 65 Monok on ogpanow si Juan no nakatae sikandin to bakosan. 66 Kagi to sikan bakosan, "Juan, angod to meyduon ogkapekan nu." 67 "Ay, ko mangongoon ka koonan a nud su wadad pag-oyog ku to seini kinabuhi ku," migtabak si Juan. 68 "Eh, ikagiha su basi makatabang a ikow," kagi to sikan bakosan. 69 Dajun soysaji ni Juan sikan bakosan to tuud to paghipanow din to wada nadegan aw nahinampotan din to pig-ugpaan to asawa din. 70 "Ah, mahaewoy da sikan," kagi to bakosan. 71 "Pamangha ka to kapituan no buuk no atoyug dow andini ka su ogdaehon ku ikow diya to pig-ugpaan to asawa nu."

72 Anoy man no nakapudut on si Juan to atoyug pig-ikagihan sikandin to sikan bakosan, "Sakoy ka kani to talikudan ku aw kada pagpakunat ku sungiton a nu to saboka no atoyug agun kona a ogyotoy." 73 Dajun sakoy si Juan aw kada pagpakunat to sikan bakosan ogsungiton sikandin ni Juan to saboka no atoyug. 74 Migpadajun sikan bakosan to pagpakunat hangtod no mig-abut sikandan duon to sikan migtalingwag no yangit. 75 "Yaksu kad su seinid to banwa to asawa nu," pig-igda si Juan to sikan bakosan. 76 Igu man iyan no nakasapat si Juan no mahobyas sikan bakosan dow kamatoy.

77 Anoy man to nakapanow on si Juan to madiyu-diyu likat to sikan migtalingwag no yangit migkita sikandin to mgo otow no nahimun duon to bayoy no maaslag. 78 Dajun sikandin usip to otow no ingkatagbu din, "Nokoy man to oghihimunan to sikan mgo otow duon to sikan maaslag no bayoy?"

79 Kagi din, "Kuwa, sikan anak to datu no gihadihan wada makauli to pila no tuig su naojowan to mgo suun din no namamadigus sikandan to songo panahon duon to sapa diya to pasak, nakauli iyan sikandin di magkabodos on aw kuntoon madoson on no ogpanow sikan anak din. 80 Nahimun to mahan-in no mgo yukos duon su og-ahaon to sikan datu dow hintawa to amoy to sikan bata," migtabak sikan pig-usip.

81 "Og-anduon a," kagi ni Juan, "basi siak to makaangkon to sikan bata." 82 Naikagi sikan ni Juan su sumaya to ingnangon to sikan otow nasiguru din no sikandin gajod to tag-anak to sikan bata.

83 "Awwww, ogpatugu ka kay," kagi to sikan otow, "ngani man to mgo anak to datu no mangkarojow to mgo bisti wada makaangkon to sikan bata sikunad man no kona ogdokotan sikan bisti nu ko tutungon. 84 Aja kad ogpadajun su ginona ka ogkasikawan."

85 "Og-anti a puli," kagi ni Juan, aw migpadajun sikandin.

86 Migponhik si Juan duon to sikan bayoy, di

60 Juan almost went crazy. 61 "Maria," he said, "at least come here and eat the liver of this pig that I have saved for you even if you must return home to your place." 62 But Maria did not agree to Juan's request but instead took off and continued flying toward her place. 63 When Juan returned to the house the only thing he saw was the flute.

64 Months, years passed with Juan just walking around without getting anywhere. 65 As Juan was walking he met a python. 66 That python said, "Juan, it's as if there is something troubling you." 67 "Oh, if you are a predator, eat me because I do not any longer cherish my life," answered Juan. 68 "Oh, tell me because I might be able to help you," said that python. 69 So Juan told that python his purpose in his walking around without getting anywhere and mentioned that he was seeking the dwelling place of his wife. 70 "Oh, that's simple," said the python. 71 "Find seventy eggs and come here because I will take you to the dwelling place of your wife."

72 After Juan gathered the eggs that python said to him, "Ride here on my back and every time I stretch myself feed me one egg so that I will not get weak." 73 So Juan rode on the python's back as instructed and every time he stretched Juan fed him one egg. 74 That python continued to stretch until he reached the edge of the sky/heavens. 75 "Jump off now because this is the place of your wife," instructed that python. 76 Just as Juan reached that place, the python fell down and died.

77 When Juan had walked a ways from the edge of the sky/heavens he saw people gathered at a large house. 78 So he asked a man whom he met, "Why are those people gathered at that large house?"

79 He said, "Kuwa [particle of hesitation], the youngest daughter of the datu who has not been able to return home for several years because she was abandoned by her siblings as they were bathing one time by a creek there on the earth, she has returned home but she was pregnant [and bore a child] and now that child is already old enough to walk well. 80 Many men have gathered here because the datu will see who is the father of the child," answered the one who was asked.

81 "I will go there," said Juan, "maybe I can claim that child." 82 Juan said that because from what that man had said he was sure that he was the owner of that child.

83 "Oh my, how daring you are," said that man, "even the son of a *datu* whose clothes are nice is not able to claim that child how much less you whose clothes are filthy [lit. wouldn't catch fire if [attempted to be] burned]. 84 Don't proceed because you will just be put to shame."

85 "I will just try," said Juan, and he continued on. 86 Juan ascended the stairs of that house, but since Si Juan dow si Maria Juan and Maria

man no migdasok man to mgo yukos duon da sikandin makaingkud to pasapatan.

87 Kada aedow sed on to songo simana to pagbalik-balika to paagi to pag-ila dow hintawa to amoy to sikan bata. 88 Kada aedow meyduon usab mgo yukos no ogkapuun to yain-yain no mgo lugar no og-anduon su ogpakadinog to tawag to sikan datu bahin to pag-ila to amoy to sikan bata. 89 Kada aedow ogbogajan sikan bata to inapugan dow ogsuguon to inoy to pagbogoy to sikan inapugan duon to amoy din. 90 To una no aedow no pagsugu to inoy to sikan bata, pigkomo to sikan bata to inapugan dow yogob-yogoba ahaa sikan nahimun di wada nabogajan to sikan inapugan aw migpadajun sikan no paagi hangtod no nakaabut si Juan.

91 Angod to migbabaju to dagaeha ni Juan no kitaon din sikan asawa dow anak din di wada sikandin pasabut. 92 Pigpakomo manda sikan bata to inapugan dow pigyagoyad to sikan bata to nangkahimun. 93 Sikan no panahon mey on mgo yukos no halus og-agawon on sikan inapugan di ig-ojow to sikan bata aw panuud-tuuda si Juan no mig-ingkud duon to pasapatan. 94 To mata to sikan mgo yukos nahimun duon ki Juan no pigtadwajan to sikan bata to inapugan dow pagiba to amoy. 95 Ko mailing on to sikan, angod to pinan-uyug no buku sikan mgo yukos hangtod no si Juan nanda no nakagiba pad to sikan anak din to nabilin.

96 Dajun ikagi sikan datu, "Kona a pad ogpakatuu to sikan. 97 Basi nasajop sikan bata kaling og-usabon ku og-antihan. 98 Kona a pad ogpakadawat ikow kuntoon, di gaja madukilom ko mabatukan nu to hibatan ni Maria dow sikan bata, na bali man no ogpakailing a no sikuna to bana ni Maria."

99 Pagkadukilom, sikan onom no mgo suun ni Maria naman-andam to oghibatan dan aw si Maria impatonga dan. 100 Mig-aangod tibo to mgo hibatanan dan. 101 Si Juan napoyok hilabi su mig-ikagi to datu no ko kona din mabatukan to pighibatan ni Maria ogtampodan sikandin to liog di ko mabatukan din ogbahinan si Maria to katigajunan aw duon da sikandan ogpaugpaon.

102 Higpat meyduon mayagting no tingog no pigdinog din, aw pagtonggak din pigkita din to aninipot aw mig-usip kandin, "Nokoy man to ogkapekan nu?" 103 Ingnangon ni Juan to napekan din. 104 "Aja ka ogkapoyok su ogtabangan ku ikow. 105 Unuga a aw sikan bitoy to kiyambu no oghapunan ku iyan pighibatan ni Maria dow sikan bata." 106 Anoy man to matayod-tayod on to kadukiloman pig-igda to sikan aninipot si Juan, "Ogkuwa kid." 107 Dajun tindog si Juan dow unuga din sikan aninipot hangtod no migtaphun duon to bitoy to kiyambu ni Maria.

108 Pagkabukas, mig-igda to datu no manghipid to hibatan sikan mgo bohi. 109 Sikan onom no mgo bohi namakahipid on to hibatan dan to ki Maria da to nabilin no wada kahipid. 110 Duon pad makatuu sikan datu no si Juan iyan to amoy to sikan bata. 111 Dajun sikandin migpahikay to pagkoonan dow migkinalipay sikandan.

men were crowded there he just sat at the top of the stairs.

87 Every day for a week the means of knowing who the father of the child was would be repeated. 88 Every day there were also men from many places who would come because they heard the call of that *datu* concerning the knowing about the father of that child. 89 Every day that child was given betel chew ingredients and asked by his mother to give it to his father. 90 The first day that the mother asked the child to do that, the child placed the betel chew ingredients in his fist and went around to all to see those gathered there but no one was given the betel chew ingredients and this method had continued until Juan arrived.

91 It was if his chest was pounding [as a mortar would do to a pestle] when he saw his wife and child but he did not reveal [to anyone that the child was indeed his own]. 92 The child again held in the fist the betel chew ingredients and did it one by one to those gathered. 93 At that time there were men who almost snatched the betel chew ingredients but the child refused and intentionally went to Juan who was sitting at the top of the stairs. 94 The eyes of those men were centered [lit. gathered] on Juan as the child extended to him the betel chew ingredients and sat on the lap of his father. 95 When that happened, the men left one by one [lit. it was as if the bamboo rings fell] until the only ones left were Juan and his child sitting on his lap.

96 Then the *datu* said, "I still don't believe it. 97 Maybe the child was mistaken so let's try it again. 98 I can't accept you now, but later tonight if you can find [that is, find something hidden] the sleeping place of Maria and the child, then I can finally say that you are the husband of Maria."

99 When it was dark, the six siblings of Maria prepared their sleeping places and Maria was placed at the center. 100 All of the sleeping places were the same. 101 Juan was really worried because the *datu* had said that if he could not find the place where Maria slept, his neck would be severed but if he was able to find it, Maria would be given a share of her father's possessions and they would live there [in the *datu*'s large house].

102 Suddenly there was a small voice that he heard and he looked up and saw a firefly which asked him, "Why are you worrying?" 103 Juan told him what he was worrying about. 104 "Don't worry because I will help you. 105 Follow me and you will see that the tie of the mosquito net on which I land is the sleeping place of Maria and the child." 106 When it was the deepest part of the night the firefly instructed Juan, "Let's go." 107 Then Juan stood up and followed that firefly until it landed on the tie of Maria's mosquito net.

108 The next morning, the *datu* instructed that each woman should put away their own beddings. 109 Six of the women put away their bedding but Maria's alone was left not put away. 110 It was then that the *datu* believed that Juan was indeed the father of that child. 111 Then he caused to be prepared a feast and they made merry.

To Yana no Ogpakabanhaw

1 To diya karaan no panahon, to mgo otow kinaraan pad yagboy to tinuuhan. 2 Migtuu sikandan to mgo diwata, migtuu usab sikandan to mgo tagbanwa duon to kakajuhan yabi to diya kaju no mangkasagapa angod to baliti, mgo tuhug. 3 Ko og-abutan sikandan to mgo panghinanom wada yain no'g tawagon dan ko kona no mgo diwata, mgo diwata no ogtadu to mgo tanom dan ojow dan pa. 4 To mgo pangumbilin to mgo ginikanan aw mgo kaaw-apuan dan hilabi dan oghipidan duon to mgo ginhawa dan. 5 To mgo kabilin usab hilabi dan og-oyogon.

6 Duon to songo yunsud to diya no panahon, meyduon magtiajun no meyduon anak no ulitau no yagboy matinahudon kandan. 7 Seini no ulitau mabakas, kona ogsalig to mgo ginikanan din bahin to panginabuhi dan. 8 Kona sikandin ogtagad ko igdahon to pagtrabahu kaling pinadajag hilabi sikandin to mgo ginikanan. 9 Tongod to sikan no batasan din mahan-in to mgo daega no nanganduy no pangulitauhan din podom piru angod to wada din pad batia sikan no ginhawa.

10 Batasan notoduon to mgo ginikanan no sikandan to ogpamili to bohi no igpaasawa to anak dan ubin igpabana to anak dan no bohi. 11 Songo panahon miggigilaung to amoy aw inoy ni Pabul. 12 [Pabul to ngadan to sikan ulitau.] 13 Kagi to amoy, "Ogminyoon tad seini anak ta. 14 Ogpakabuhion sikandin to asawa aw mgo anak su'g kaamu on ogtrabahu." 15 Su to indan notoduon basta ogpakabuhion to yukos to asawa din puydi on ogminyo. 16 Kaling songo kadukiloman tapus to panihapun pig-ikagihan to sikan magtiajun si Pabul. 17 "Utu," kagi dan, "angajan kad no ogminyo. 18 Nokoy man, kona ka pad ogkaliyag ogminyo?"

19 Nayugoy tabak to yukos. 20 Pagkatogon-togon mig-ikagi sikandin, "Meyduon on ginhawa ku to pagminyo piru wada ogkaliyagan ku to seini mgo bohi kani ita."

21 Kagi to sikan inoy, "Sikan naan anak to sumbayoy ta. 22 Naliyagan ku sikan su mabakas usab. 23 Ogkapatimbang ikow to panginabuhi." 24 Su sikan no bohi iyan napili to sikan inoy ni Pabul. 25 Migpaingey-ingey si Pabul wada puli tabak. 26 Migpadajun to inoy to pag-ikagi, "Angajan kad ogminyo kuntoon su madoot ko ogminyo da to otow ko manigaon on konad ogpakasugu to mgo liwat din. 27 Kaling kinahangyan no igpangasawa noy on sikuna." 28 Piru migmaojow si Pabul. 29 Wada nahimu to mgo ginikanan, pigpasagdan dan puli si Pabul.

30 Songo aedow, nasip-atan to inoy si Pabul no mig-iingkud duon to sogkaen dan no madiyu to pagpan-aha. 31 Manno mahagtong si Pabul no otow kona

The Oil that Could Raise the Dead to Life

1 During the ancient time, the people really still held ancient beliefs. 2 They believed in *diwata* spirits, they also believed in *tagbanwas* [dwellers in the trees] especially those trees that are leafy and sturdy with branches extended far from the trunk like the *baliti* and *tuhug*. 3 When their plants gave abundant harvest there is no other that they will do than call on than the *diwata* spirits who watch over their plants according to them. 4 The last wish of their parents and grandparents they really keep in their breaths. 5 Also their really cherish inherited things.

6 In a certain town during that time, there was a couple who had a son, a young man who was very respectful to them. 7 This young man was industrious, he would not depend upon his parents concerning their livelihood. 8 He would not wait to be commanded to work therefore he is much loved by his parents. 9 Because of his behavior many young ladies longed for him to court them but it was as if he didn't feel that feeling [lit. breath].

10 It was the custom long-ago of the parents that they would choose a lady to be the wife of their son or to be the husband of their daughter. 11 One time Pabul's father and mother had a conversation. 12 [Pabul was the name of the young man.] 13 The father said, "Let's have our son get married. 14 He is able to support his wife and children because he already knows how to work." 15 Because long ago, the sign of a man who is ready to marry is when he is able to support a wife. 16 Therefore one night after supper that couple spoke to Pabul. 17 "Son," they said, "it's appropriate that you marry now. 18 What, don't you want to marry yet?"

19 The man did not answer right away. 20 After a while he said, "I feel like marrying but there is none of these girls here in our place that I like."

21 The mother said, "How about that daughter of our neighbor? 22 I like her because she is also industrious. 23 She can complement you in making a livelihood." 24 Because that lady was the one Pabul's mother had chosen. 25 Pabul shook his head but did not answer. 26 The mother continued saying, "It's fitting for you to marry now because it's bad if a person gets married when he is old and cannot have his children obey his commands. 27 Therefore we must cause you to marry now." 28 But Pabul refused. 29 The parents could do nothing, they just left Pabul alone.

30 One day the mother noticed Pabul sitting in their yard looking far away. 31 Since Pabul was a silent person his mother could not know his feelings [lit.

ogkamaanan to inoy dow nokoy to ginhawa din. 32 Kaling pigduguk din aw usipa, "Nokoy man to ogkadomdoman nu? 33 Nangoni a su basi makabulig a ikow."

34 Migyanghag si Pabul to inoy aw ikagi, "Ogkaliyag ad ogpangasawa di gustu ku no ogpamangha a to sikan ogkaangajan ku no bohi."

35 Pigpanghingadanan to inoy to mahan-in no mgo daega duon to yunsud dan, piru wada naangajan ni Pabul. 36 "Andei ka man naan ogpangasawa?" kagi to inoy.

37 "Ogpanow a," iyan tabak ni Pabul. 38 "Diya ku ogpamanghaon to bohi no ogkaangajan ku to madiyu no banwa. 39 Inay, tuguti a. 40 Ihimos a to baaw su'g panow a kasem."

41 "Oghimanuhan ta pad to amoy nu bahin to sikan no ginhawa nu."

42 Pagkahimun dan to sikan no mahapun pighimanuhan dan to planu ni Pabul. 43 Kagi to amoy, "Ko sikan man to planu nu ogpanawag ki pad to umagad to kaawapuan nu agun dumahan ka to pagpanow."

44 Pagkahapun to sunud no aedow nanilad to inoy ni Pabul to mamaon aw nangapug sikandan. 45 Pigsabi dan to umagad to amoy dan, apu ni Pabul. 46 Nanawagtawag to amoy ni Pabul no mig-iling, "Sikuna no umagad to amoy ku dumuguk ka dini su meyduon kasoong noy. 47 Si Pabul ogkaliyag on ogminyo di gustu din no diya to kadiyuan ogpamangha to og-asawahon din. 48 Mahan-in to mgo daega kani to pig-ugpaan noy no banwa di wada ogkaangajan din. 49 Kaling pigsabi noy sikuna kuntoon su oghangyuon noy sikuna no itunyag nu ki Pabul to bohi no ogkaangajan din, to bohi no igkaduma din to pag-ugpa to tibuuk no kinabuhi din. 50 Oghangyuon noy usab sikuna no ko mupanow si Pabul bantajan nu sikandin no wada ogkaamonuhan din duon to dayan hangtod no makitaan din to bohi no ogpangasawahon din."

51 Natapus to panawagtawag, dajun siboga to inoy ni Pabul to inapugan. 52 Dajun tindog to amoy ni Pabul aw andiya to suyambi din aw puduta to kampilan no kabilin to amoy din, apu ni Pabul. 53 Migpauli sikandin duon to pig-ingkudan aw ikagi, "Pabul, seini no kampilan kabilin to apu nu, aw intugun din no kona seini oggamiton gawas to panahon no kinahangyanon gajod seini. 54 Kaling ko mupanow ka takason nu seini su ogpakatabang ikow ko duon ka to kalisod." 55 Dajun din itadwoy ki Pabul. 56 Pagkadawat ni Pabul to kampilan pighuyabut din aw sapiluha. 57 Mahait hilabi ogkahiyupan to bubue. 58 Insugub din to kampilan aw ibotang duon to duma no dayahonon din no pighinaat on to inoy.

59 Wada pad pamajagpajag mighikay on to inoy ni Pabul to pagkoon. 60 Pigyain din to ogkapamahaw ni Pabul aw yaina din usab to ogbaawon. 61 Tapus makakoon si Pabul pigtakos din to kampilan, aw babaha din to puju no pigtaguan to baaw, aw sagilaja to kabo din no og-ilisan ko mabasa sikandin. 62 Tapus tesona to inoy dow amoy no mupakadejow sikandin aw no madali da mupauli, migpanabiya sikandin kandan.

breath]. 32 So she approached him and asked, "What are you thinking about? 33 Tell me because maybe I can help you."

34 Pabul looked up at his mother and said, "I want to marry but I want to look for the one woman that is suited to me."

35 The mother named many young ladies in their town, but none were suited to Pabul. 36 "Where will you marry?" said the mother.

37 "I will travel," was Pabul's answer. 38 "There in a faraway place I will look for a woman suited to me. 39 Mother, allow me. 40 Pack me travel food because I will leave tomorrow."

41 "We will discuss with your father about your feelings."

42 When they gathered that afternoon they discussed Pabul's plan. 43 The father said, "If that is your plan let's first call the soul of your ancestors so they will go with you on your journey."

44 The next afternoon Paul's mother split some betel nut and they offered it. 45 They called the soul of their father, Pabul's grandfather. 46 Pabul's father made an invocation saying, "You the soul of my father approach here because we have a problem. 47 Pabul wants to marry now but he wants to look far away from one to be his wife. 48 There are many young ladies here in the place where we live but none are suited to him. 49 So we are calling you to request you to cause Pabul to meet the woman who is suited to him, a woman who can be his companion in living his entire life. 50 We also ask you that when Pabul goes you guard him that nothing will happen to him on the way until he finds the woman he will marry."

51 The invocation was done, then Pabul's mother put away the offered betel nut. 52 Then Pabul's father stood and went to his room and got a war bolo he had inherited from his father, the grandfather of Pabul. 53 He returned to his seat and said, "Pabul, this war bolo is an inheritance from your grandfather, and he said this could not be used except at a time when it is really needed. 54 So when you go tie this on your waist because it can help you if you are in difficulty." 55 Then he handed it to Pabul. 56 When Pabul took the war bolo he unsheathed it and felt the blade with his fingers. 57 It was so sharp a hair blown against it would be cut. 58 He sheathed the war bolo and put it with the other things to take that his mother had prepared.

59 Before daylight Pabul's mother prepared food. 60 She separated what Pabul would eat for breakfast and also separated what he would eat on the way. 61 After Pabul ate he tied the war bolo on his waist and put on his back the backpack containing his food for the journey, and carried over his shoulder the clothes he would change into if he got wet. 62 After the mother and father had warned him to be careful and to come home soon, he bade them good-bye.

63 Napugut on to songo buyan to pagpanow ni Pabul piru wada din pad kabaeki to pigpamangha din. 64 Anoy man no kunu ogboyajan on sikandin, songo kadukiloman nanabisabi sikandin to umagad to apu, "Ko mapajag da man to umagad to apu ku aw ko migdumaduma ka man kanay kuntoon sadangay di pamajai a no maaha kud to nayugoy da no pigpamangha ku." 65 Dajun lipodong si Pabul. 66 Nakabuyat si Pabul su migdinog sikandin to tagauk to manuk. 67 Nasabut din no dapit on to kaadlawon. 68 Pig-indanan din to napuunan to tagauk to manuk su mighona-hona sikandin no ogtondokon din gaja mabukas to pigtagaukan to sikan manuk. 69 Mae gotok pad to amu to kabukasanon migbaekwit on si Pabul to puju din aw panow. 70 Pigtondok din to pigtagaukan to manuk. 71 Wada pad sikandin makapanow to madiyu likat to intikin din pigkita din on to pinajag no pigkugmutan to budakan. 72 Migpadajun sikandin to pagpanow hangtod mig-abut sikandin duon to pawa aw ikagi, "Otow, otow." 73 Wada katogon-togon migyogwa to manigaon no tagbayoy.

74 "Honda, manganak," kagi to manigaon, "nadamhugan ka pad. 75 Masoyom ka hilabi no mighipanow. 76 Andei ka pad man kapuun?"

77 Migtabak si Pabul, "Ognawnangonan ku da sikuna gaja. 78 Paponhika a naa."

79 "Aw hoo iyan," kagi to manigaon, "angod ad man to mangungig. 80 Ponhik ka, padajun ka."

81 Tapus din paingkuda si Pabul duon to saog su wada ingkudanan din, migbalikid sikan manigaon pailing diya to kusina no ogkitaon da ni Pabul. 82 Nangohit sikandin to pigtabidak no ubi aw pauli duon ki Pabul. 83 "O utu, pasui to gihob nu to sei pigtabidak ku." 84 Pigdawat ni Pabul to pagkoon aw dajun sikandin sungit.

85 Tapus kasibog to kinoonan mignawnangon si Pabul. 86 "Napugut on to subra to songo buyan to paghipanow ku to pagpamangha to bohi no igkatiajun ku di hangtod kuntoon puli ad migsangko kani ikow wada pad on nabaekan ku. 87 Pagboot buwa to mgo tawagonon no nakabaek a ikow aw kuntoon ogpasambag a ikow dow andei a ogdeg."

88 Nanagaham to manigaon aw ikagi, "Manganak wada igkasambag ku ikow su naawoy a kani to seini no banwa aw wada tinuhani ku to mgo otow diya to gawas to seini pig-ugpaan ku. 89 Di wada yain igkatabang ku ikow." 90 Migtindog dajun to manigaon aw puduta to garapa din, yanhan aw ipakita ki Pabul. 91 "Seini da to igkatabang ku, utu. 92 Yanhan seini no ogpakabanhaw to patoy. 93 Ko meyduon patoy no gustu nu ogbuhion, hapyason nu puli to seini yana aw dajun ogkabuhi." 94 Dajun din itadwoy ki Pabul.

95 Piggogey ni Pabul to manigaon dongan to pagpanabiya aw dajun sikandin panow. 96 Anoy man no madani on og-ugtuhon nakauntud sikandin duon to peputukan to bubungan. 97 Duon to sikan

63 One month of Pabul's journey was over but he had not found what he was looking for. 64 When he was almost getting tired, one night he called the soul of his grandfather, "If my grandfather's soul is evident and if you are accompanying me now please bring it about that I will be able to find what I have long been searching for." 65 Then Pabul slept. 66 Pabul awoke because he heard the crowing of a chicken. 67 He understood that it was a few hours before dawn. 68 He made mental note of the direction the chicken's crow came from because he thought he would take a bearing on where that chicken crowed from later at daybreak. 69 It was still dark like the color of the stomach of a monkey when Pabul put the backpack on his back and left. 70 He took a bearing toward the source of the chicken's crow. 71 He had not walked far from where he started when he saw a little house covered with vines. 72 He continued to walk until he arrived at the yard and said, "A person, a person." 73 Before long an old man who owned the house appeared.

74 "Hello, son," said the old man, "you are wet with dew. 75 You are walking very early. 76 Where have you come from?"

77 Pabul answered, "I will tell you later. 78 Let me come up first."

79 "Oh yes that's right," said the old man, "I'm like one who has no sense of decency [that is, one who entertains his visitor in his yard, not inviting him to enter his house]. 80 Come up, come in."

81 After he had seated Pabul on the floor because he had no seat, that old man turned to the kitchen where Pabul could see him. 82 He dished up some boiled yam and returned to Pabul. 83 "Here, sonny, warm up your stomach with this that I boiled." 84 Pabul took the food and then took a bite.

85 When the dishes were put away Pabul told the story. 86 "More than one month is over in my journey to find a woman I could have for a partner but so far I have just ended up here at your place, I have not found one. 87 Maybe it is the will of our familiar spirits that I meet you and now I want to ask your advice where I should go."

88 The old man cleared his throat and said, "Son, I have no advice for you because I am alone in this place and I have no idea about people outside this place where I live. 89 But I have no other way with which to help you." 90 Immediately the old man stood and got his small bottle and showed it to Pabul. 91 "This is all I can help you with, sonny. 92 [The contents of] this small bottle can raise the dead to life. 93 If there is a dead person that you want to raise to life, just rub on some of this oil and immediately he will be raised to life." 94 Then he handed it to Pabul.

95 Paul hugged the old man as he bade him farewell and then he left. 96 When it was almost noon he stood on the peak of a mountain. 97 From

pigtindogan ni Pabul nabandow din to mahan-in no bayoy. 98 "Yunsud!" kagi din. 99 Nalipay sikandin no migkita to yunsud. 100 Dajun sikandin togbang to sikan bubungan aw pangimpatag. 101 Mig-unug sikandin to dayan padeg diya to sikan yunsud. 102 Duon to kilid to yunsud mig-onoon sikandin aw paniid. 103 Wada inggad nokoy no pigdinog din. 104 Mahagtong yagboy. 105 Ginhawa din, "Andei man buwa to mgo unimugpa kani? 106 Ogpadajun a su ogsusihon ku."

107 Pigponhik din to bayoy no naunahan din aw nakita din no nayugoy on no wada mig-ugpa duon inggad dow to mgo botang duon da. 108 Namaponhik sikandin to lima no kabayoy angod da gihapun wada otow di to mgo ginamiton to panimayoy duon da on. 109 "Nokoy buwa to nadegan to mgo unimugpa kani," ginhawa din.

110 Migpon-ug sikandin aw anduon to bayoy no duon to kabaknaan no maaslag no bayoy iyan da migyahi duon to sikan mgo bayoy no nakalibong. 111 Dajun sikandin ponhik aw panyayaghagay. 112 Duon to binubungan pigkita din to gimbae no pigbitoy. 113 Ginhawa din, "Ogpuduton ku sikan gimbae su ogginimbayon a agun mabayu to mgo uminugpa dow andei sikandan deg. 114 Basi diya sikandan to mgo uma." 115 Dajun din ponhika to gimbae. 116 Paghubad din to sikan, pigbati din to kabog-at to sikan gimbae. 117 "Nokoy man buwa to tagu to seini?" ginhawa din. 118 No duon on to saog sikan gimbae, piggimbae din piru kona ogtanug. 119 Paminogan din no og-ikagi diya to soyod, "Ajaw oggimbaya sikan su ogkabongey a." 120 Migpaantoyo si Pabul. 121 "Ogdinog a to kagi to bohi." 122 Ginhawa din, "Likat kani to gimbae." 123 Dajun din hubada to imbogkot to sikan gimbae. 124 Aw ahaon din pa sujan bohi no yagboy matamo-tamo no bohi.

125 "Aduy!" kagi to sikan bohi, "mig-amonu ka man dini? 126 Inghatod nud iyan to kinabuhi nu. 127 Ko andei ka ogdeg, panow kad on, padajun kad su kona ogkayugoy og-abut on to kani mangongoon. 128 Panow kad on," pig-usab pig-udue to bohi sikan ulitau.

129 "Kona ku sikuna og-ojowan," kagi to ulitau. 130 "Ko nokoy man sikan ogkahaedokan nu, ko mamatoy ka man ogkamatoy a."

131 "Panow kad on," pig-usab pig-udue to daega sikan ulitau, "inggad mamatoy a to kanay su sama a nanda to kamatajon." 132 Di wada paminog si Pabul, nasi sikandin nangandam. 133 "Oho paminog ka," kagi to sikan bohi, "og-aanog-og on. 134 Kanid on to kani mangongoon." 135 Pigdinog iyan ni Pabul to aanog-og aw kakanoos to kalibutan dongan to pagdigyom. 136 Nasabut din no og-abut on iyan sikan nahaedokan to sikan daega.

137 Pighogotan din to pagtagon to puyu to kampilan aw tagoni din to bohi aw iwakli din dini to talikudan din. 138 Kagi din, "Pasalipod ka kanay." 139 Wada katogontogon no pighawi on to suja maaslag no bakosan to dila din duon to

where Pabul stood he overlooked many houses. 98 "A village!" he said. 99 He was happy to see a village. 100 Then he climbed down the mountain to the plain. 101 He followed the path going to that village. 102 At the edge of the village he stopped and observed. 103 He heard nothing at all. 104 He was very quiet. 105 He thought, "Where might be the inhabitants here? 106 I will proceed so I can investigate."

107 He climbed up to the first house he came to and he saw that for a long time no one had lived there even though the things were still there. 108 He climbed up into five houses and likewise there were no people but the household equipment was still there. 109 "What might have happened to the inhabitants here?" he thought.

110 He went down and went to a house in the middle, a big house, the only house that was different from the surrounding houses. 111 Then he climbed up and looked around upward. 112 There beneath the peak of the roof he saw a drum hanging. 113 He thought, "I will get that drum and play it so that the inhabitants will come to investigate the noise [from] wherever they have gone. 114 Maybe they are in their fields." 115 Then he climbed up to the drum. 116 When he had untied it, he felt the weight of the drum. 117 "What might be inside this?" he thought. 118 When the drum was on the floor, he drummed it but it would not sound. 119 He heard someone talking inside, "Don't drum it because I will become deaf." 120 Pabul stared, motionless. 121 "I hear the voice of a woman." 122 He thought, "From the drum here." 123 Then he untied the drum. 124 And he saw a woman who was very beautiful!

125 "Oh, my!" said the woman, "what are you doing here? 126 You are risking your life [lit. you have carried your life]. 127 Wherever you are going, go on now, proceed on because before long the monster will arrive. 128 Go on now," the woman again urged the young man to go.

129 "I won't leave you," said the young man. 130 "Whatever it is that you're afraid of, if you die I will die."

131 "Go on now," the young lady again urged the young man to go, "as for me, no matter if I die because I am the only one left who did not die [lit. only a remnant of death]." 132 But Pabul did not listen, instead he got ready. 133 "There, listen," said the woman, "it's thundering. 134 The monster is here now." 135 Pabul indeed heard thunder and an eerie, mysterious sound as it became dark. 136 He understood that what the young lady was afraid of was indeed arriving.

137 He held tight to the handle of the war bolo and took hold of the woman and pushed her behind him. 138 He said, "Stay behind me for protection." 139 Before long the big python hung down its tongue from the roof peak. 140 When the tongue of the python

binubungan. 140 Anoy man no ogkadanihan on sikandin to dila to sikan bakosan nanikad-sikad si Pabul aw aedabisa din to liog to sikan bakosan puli nakaitsa to uyu aw kahugmun to yawa. 141 Puli nakapiyong sikan bohi no kitaon din to natapungan to yawa to bakosan. 142 Si Pabul wada patimbae to sikan bakosan no nahugmun. 143 Nangandam gihapun sikandin su pigdinog din gihapun to kahanoos to kalibutan. 144 Wada da iyan katogon-togon no pighawi manda to sikan bakosan to dila din su ogkaewiton podom si Pabul dow kan daega di angod da gihapun to pighinang ni Pabul. 145 Ginamit to tibo no doson din pig-aedabis din to liog to sikan saboka no bakosan aw nahugmun sikandan tibo.

146 Piglingi ni Pabul to daega no ampan popotikan no angod on to tiniktikan to apug to abi. 147 "Honda daga," kagi ni Pabul, "seini iyan to nahaedokan nu? 148 Wadad on yain?"

149 "Wadad," mahinoy no migtabak to bohi, "sikan iyan to mig-imot to kaotawan kani to mgo ginikanan aw mgo suun ku. 150 Siakon nanda to nabilin su insoyod a man ni Amay to gimbae no wada pad sikandan kakoon to sikan bakosan. 151 Nahimatajan on iyan sikan mgo mangongoon di wadad on puyus to pagkabuhi ku dini to kalibutan su sowsobuukon a nanda."

152 Agun mahupoy to kaguul to sikan bohi, mig-ikagi si Pabul, "Daga, kona ka ogkaawoy su kona ku sikuna og-ojowan aw og-antihon ta ogbuhion to mgo ginikanan nu aw duma pad no mgo kaotawan kani to seini no banwa." 153 Nakayongyong sikan daega ki Pabul no malituk din sikan no mgo kagi angod to nangusip dow matuud to pig-ikagi ni Pabul. 154 "Hoo," kagi ni Pabul, "ogbuhion ta to mgo ginikanan nu yakip to duma no kaotawan no pigkoon to sikan bakosan. 155 Sayap ka puli."

156 Pig-obuan ni Pabul sikan daduwa no mgo bakosan aw panghaw-asa to mgo bokog duon to sed to ginhawahan dan. 157 No tibo on mahaw-as pigpamitikan ni Pabul to yana sikan mgo bokog dajun kangkabuhi to mgo otow yakip to ginikanan to kan daega. 158 Pagkabuhi to ginikanan to sikan daega impaila din si Pabul kandan aw diya to tibo mgo kaotawan no nangkabuhi.

159 Pagkahimotang on to mgo otow duon to tagsa-tagsa no mgo ugpaanan dan, si Pabul migpabilin duon to bayoy to sikan bohi. 160 Wadad on sikandin pauli diya to ugpaanan din.

161 Wada kayugoy nadinog no si Pabul ogpangasawa to kan daega no pig-ujunan to mgo ginikanan to sikan bohi. 162 Naminyo si Pabul duon aw pighigugma sikandin to kaotawan aw pighimu dan sikandin no panguyu.

163 Songo buuk on to anak dan no hisgutan to asawa ni Pabul to mgo ginikanan ni Pabul. 164 "Gustu ku podom no ogpagkita to mgo ginikanan nu," kagi din, "agun maaha dan seini anak ta."

165 "Kona no seini da anak ta di sikuna usab to ogkaaha dan ko makaandiya ki kandan," migpaiyom-iyom si Pabul no mig-ikagi dongan to pagyongyong to asawa.

came near him Pabul set his feet ready and slashed the neck of the python horizontally and the head was thrown and the body fell in a heap. 141 The woman could just close her eyes when she saw the piled-up body of the python. 142 Pabul was not diverted from his purpose by that piled-up python. 143 He got ready anyhow because he still heard the sound that eerie, mysterious noise. 144 Indeed before long the [second] python hung down its tongue to catch Pabul and the young lady but Pabul did the same thing again. 145 Using all his strength he slashed horizontally the neck of that other python and they both were fallen in a heap.

146 Pabul turned his head toward the young lady who could say nothing with lips as pale as if lime had been sprinkled on them. 147 "Well, young lady," Pabul said, "is this what you were afraid of? 148 Is there anything else?"

149 "There's nothing more," the woman answered in a low voice, "that is what ate all the people here, my parents and my siblings. 150 I only am left because Father put me in the drum before that python ate him. 151 Those monsters are killed now, it's true, but my living is useless here on the earth because I am alone."

152 In order to comfort the grief of the girl, Pabul said, "Young lady, you will not be alone because I will not leave you and we will try to raise to life your parents and the other people of this place." 153 The young lady stared at Pabul when he said those words as if to ask if what Pabul said were true. 154 "Yes," said Pabul, "we will raise to life your parents and the other people that python ate. 155 You just watch."

156 Pabul cut open the snakes of those two pythons and took out the bones from inside them. 157 When they were all taken out Pabul sprinkled the oil on those bones and immediately the people lived including the parents of the young lady. 158 When the parents of the young lady came to life she introduced Pabul to them and to all the people who had come to life.

159 When the people were situated each in their dwellings, Pabul stayed in the house of that girl. 160 He didn't return to his home.

161 Before long it was heard that Pabul would marry the young lady with the consent of the girl's parents. 162 Pabul married there and he was much loved by the people and they made him their leader.

163 They already had one child when Pabul's wife talked about Pabul's parents. 164 "I would like to meet your parents," she said, "so they can see our child."

165 "Not only our child but they can also see you when we go to them," Pabul smiled as he spoke and looked at his wife. 166 "Maybe they miss me because

166 "Pigmingaw on buwa sikandan kanay su no lumikat a pigteson a man ngani no madali a da ogpapaulion. 167 Di madiyu hilabi to kanay no banwa. 168 Ogbuyanan ki to pagpanow."

169 "Inggad on," kagi to asawa.

170 Abutan to pila no aedow nahimos onsi Pabul aw miglikat. 171 Mighona-hona si Pabul no duon sikandan oglipodong to sikan manigaon no migbogoy kandin to yanhan. 172 Nalipay hilabi to manigaon no kitaon din si Pabul hasta asawa aw anak din. 173 Pigbana din sikan magtiajun to sobuuk no manuk. 174 Tapus to panihapun mighisgut si Pabul bahin to kadiyu to panow dan. 175 "Kona ka ogkapoyok su ogtabangan ku ikow," kagi to manigaon.

176 Saju to kamasemon, pigbutwa to manigaon to panyu din no gamhanan. 177 "Seini no panyu ogkagamit nu inggad andei ka ogdoyog," kagi to manigaon. 178 Pigpatindog din sikan mag-asawa duon to panyu yakip to bata no pig-apipi ni Pabul. 179 Dajun panubad-tubad to manigaon, "Panyu no gamhanan dayaha sikandan diya to banwa dan." 180 Pagkalituk to kagi to manigaon nabajow onsi Pabul aw angod to migliyu to aebat, nakaabut sikandan diya to mgo ginikanan ni Pabul. 181 Migkumbiti to mgo ginikanan ni Pabul tongod to kalipay.

when I left they even warned me to return soon. 167 But my place is very far away. 168 It will take us a month to travel."

169 "That doesn't matter," said his wife.

170 After a few days Pabul and his wife and child packed and left. 171 Pabul planned to stay overnight in the house of that old man who gave him the oil. 172 The old man was very happy to see Pabul and his wife and child. 173 He treated the couple to a chicken dinner. 174 After supper Pabul talked about the distance of their travel. 175 "Don't worry because I will help you," said the old man.

176 Early in the morning, the old man took out his powerful handkerchief. 177 "You can use this handkerchief wherever you go," the old man said. 178 He had the couple stand on the handkerchief with the child Pabul was holding. 179 Then the old man spoke magic words, "Powerful handkerchief, carry them to their place." 180 When the words of the old man were uttered Pabul and the others were lifted and it was as if they just went to the other side of a wall, they reached Pabul's parents. 181 Pabul's parents made a feast because of joy.

To Suhue to Pagkamatarong

1 Gahapun, meyduon mig-ugpa duon to tonga to guyangan no budag no daduwa no anak no mgo yukos. 2 Migpanguma sikan mgo beybata piru to abut dan kona ogpakasuplagar to kinahangyanon dan. 3 Sikan panganoy madoot to batasan. 4 Iyan da og-asukon to trabahu sikan hadi din. 5 Piru ko meyduon karodawan gustu no sikandin to ogpayabihon. 6 Hukawon seini no otow. 7 Sikan hadi no yukos marodow to batasan. 8 Matinahudon to inoy dow kakoy din.

9 Songo panahon, mig-abut to mahaba no guyabung. 10 Nangkamatoy to mgo tanom dan, no hapit on kandan ogkamatoy to bontas. 11 Tongod to seini no hitabu, migsasabut sikan magsuun to pagbalhin diya to yain no lugar su basi diya kandan makakita to marodow no panginabuhi.

12 Pagkadinog to sikan budag to seini, mig-ikagi sikandin, "Ko ogkaliyag kow ogpamangha to ogkabuhian diya to yain no lugar, na panow kow; piru siak ogpakamonang a da." 13 "Basi man mamatoy ka to bontas manginoy," kagi to sikan anak din no hadi. 14 "Kona ka utu ogkalimuut kanay su man-u da man to ogkakoon ko sabokahon a da man." 15 Wada dan kapogos sikan budag dadun kandan panow.

16 Diya kandan patidoyog to lugar no kona ta ogkailing to tibo sapian to mgo otow di meyduon usab igu no ogkabuhian. 17 Pag-abut dan duon migpayogob sikandan to pagpamangha to ogkaugpaan dan.

18 Pagyaboy to songo tuig nangkaminyo sikan magsuun. 19 Sikan kakoy nakaasawa to sapian; mgo garbusu sikandan. 20 Wada kayuuy to mgo pubri hangtod no inggad to inoy nalingawan din on. 21 To hadi nakaasawa to bohi no mahigugmaon kandin dow matarong. 22 Inggad pubri sikandan piru naajunan to mgo sumbayoy dan.

23 Abutan to pila no buyan to kaminyoon dan, nadomdoman din to inoy din. 24 "Ogyoujon ta si manginoy," pig-ikagihan to asawa din. 25 "Marodow su disdi ki maminyo wada a makakita to inoy nu," kagi to asawa din. 26 Dadun kandan panow.

27 Madiyu pad sikandan duon to pig-ugpaanan to budag migdinog sikandan to sunata no duon dan igtondok to nabotangan to pinadag dan notoduon. 28 Pagpakadani dan on, nangoyat to mgo mata dan to pagkakita dan to maaslag dow marodow no pagkahinang no bayoy. 29 Tongod to katingaya wada makahisu sikan yukos. 30 Sakot katingaya dow kalimuut to pigbati din. 31 Natingaya sikandin su maaslag on man seini bayoy no nakatugdok duon to pigpinadagan dan notoduon. 32 Nalimuut usab sikandin dow andei din on ogpamanghaon to inoy din. 33 Iyan on ingkalingi din

The Wages of Righteousness

1 Long ago, there was an old woman who lived in the middle of the forest who had two sons. 2 Those young men farmed, but that which they produced was not able to supply their needs. 3 The character of the older son was bad. 4 The one who bore the brunt of the work was his younger brother. 5 But whenever there was something good, [the older brother] wanted to get it first. 6 He was a lazy person. 7 The character of the younger son was good. 8 He was respectful of his mother and older brother.

9 One time, a long drought came. 10 Their plants died and they nearly died of hunger. 11 Because of this that had happened, the brothers decided to transfer to another place because maybe they could find a good livelihood there.

12 When the old woman heard this, she said, "If you want to seek a living in another place, okay, go ahead; but I'm just going to stay here." 13 "Maybe you'll die of hunger, mother," said the younger son. 14 "Don't worry about me, sonny, because how much would I eat all by myself." 15 They did not force the old woman [to go with them and] then they left.

16 They headed for a place where we can't say all the people were rich but they had enough to live on. 17 When they arrived there they searched all around for a place where they would live.

18 After a year those brothers both got married. 19 The older brother married a rich person; they were arrogant. 20 They had no compassion on poor people to the point that he even forgot his mother. 21 The younger brother married a woman who was loving towards him and was a person of good character. 22 Even though they were poor their neighbors liked them.

23 Several months after they were married he remembered his mother. 24 "Let's visit mother to see how she's doing," he said to his wife. 25 "That would be good because since we've been married I have not been able to see your mother," said his wife. 26 Then they left.

27 When they were still far from the place where the old woman lived they heard music coming from the place where they estimated that their small house had been before. 28 When they got closer, their eyes became wide when they saw a large and well-built house. 29 Because of amazement the man was not able to move. 30 He felt a mixture of amazement and worry. 31 He was amazed because of this large house that was established on the site where the small house had been before. 32 He was also worried about where he could search for his mother. 33 What made his head turn

to kagi to asawa din, "Kagi nu maintok to bayoy now, kimbusna maaslag man naan."

34 "Wada ku ikow gayui. 35 Maintok to bayoy noy no iyan dingding to linas to kadu. 36 Piru seini no bayoy sapian to tag-iya." 37 Wada pad katapus to kagi to sikan bana, "Nokoy no kona kow ogpadadun? 38 Ponhik kow on dini." 39 Nadinog dow pigkiyaya to tingog to inoy din, pigpikit to asawa din aw linaguy sikandan no migponhik. 40 Pag-abut dan diya to diatas pigpanggogey sikan inoy din.

41 "Seini to asawa ku, Manginoy," impaila-ila sikan asawa din.

42 "Hoo, namaan ad to sikan." 43 Pigyongyongan to anak sikan inoy din. 44 Naboyong sikandin su wada man kataga sikan budag to pagpangasawa din. 45 "Natingaya ka?" kagi to sikan budag. 46 "Pighinang ku seini para ikow. 47 Su puli nayugoy to pagyouy nu kanay di natagahan ku no kanunoy matuyadong to hinang nu, kanunoy ka ogkadomdom to mgo pag-anad ku ikow, dow nakaasawa ka to bohi no matuyadong usab dow mahigugmaon." 48 Pigpanggogey to sikan budag sikan mag-asawa. 49 Pagkatapus to pagkoon dow mahaba no uboy-uboy, mig-ikagi sikan budag, "Kuntoon umugpa kow on kani. 50 Iyu seini no bayoy, ahaa suda mgo suguonon now no mgo bohi dow yukos. 51 Tibo to mgo botang no nakasoyod kani sikiyu to tag-iya."

52 "Manginoy," kagi to sikan yukos, "og-uli koy pad diya to ugangan ku su basi ko malimuutan koy su og-imanon koy da kuntoon." 53 Pigtugutan sikandan to budag. 54 "Sikiyu to boboot to pagbalik now dini." 55 Tapus to uboy-uboy mig-abut to mgo suguonon no yogob to tagudaya. 56 Meyduon migdaya to saepi, meyduon migdaya to buyawan, yain to migdaya to duma no kinahangyanon to sikan magtiadon.

57 Pagyaboy to pila no aedow, natingaya sikan kakoy no yukos to maaslag no kausaban to kahimtang to sikan hadi din. 58 Abunda on to pagkoon dan, marodow on to mgo bisti, dow tibo to mgo kinahangyanon ogkaboli su abunda man to saepi.

59 Sugu to katingaya dow kasina, wada katigkey mig-andiya to sikan hadi din aw pangusip, "Nalipay a suun ku su marodow on to panginabuhi nu kuntoon. 60 Nokoy man to panaepi nu kuntoon no tagbaja kad man nasapian?" 61 Mig-ikagi sikandin no kunung kun nalipay di diya to didayom to kasing-kasing pighipidan din to tigbae no kasina.

62 Pignawnangonan to sikan hadi to nahitabu. 63 Pagkadinog to sikan kakoy, migpanabiya dadun. 64 Pag-abut din diya to bayoy, pignangonan to asawa din to hinongdan to pagkasapian to sikan hadi din. 65 Punu to kasina, mig-ikagi to asawa, "Nokoy no kona ki man og-andiya? 66 Ko pigbagadan sikandan to inoy nu wada katarongan no kona ki usab ogbagadan." 67 Wada pad makapon-ug sikan bana nakauna on to asawa. 68 Piru pag-abut dan to sikan lugar wada yain no

[rousing him from his thoughts] were the words of his wife, "You said your house was small, so how is it that it really is large."

34 "I did not deceive you. 35 It was a small house with tree bark for walls. 36 But this house has a rich person as owner." 37 The husband had not yet finished [speaking when someone said], "Why don't you proceed on? 38 Come on up here." 39 He heard and recognized the voice of his mother and his wife took him by the hand and they ran and climbed the stairs. 40 When they arrived at the top he hugged his mother.

41 "This is my wife, Mother," he said introducing his wife.

42 "Yes, I already know that." 43 The son stared at his mother. 44 He was surprised because no one had told the old woman that he had been married. 45 "Are you surprised?" said the old woman. 46 "I made this for you. 47 Because [I realized] that since you not visited me for such a long time [and] knowing that you are a good person and that you have always remembered what I taught you, [I knew that] you had married a woman who was also good and loving." 48 The old woman hugged the couple. 49 After eating and talking for a long time, the old woman said, "Now you live here. 50 This house is yours, look at all your male and female servants. 51 Everything that's here is yours."

52 "Mother," said the man, "we will first go to the place of my in-laws because maybe they will be worried about us because they are expecting us now." 53 The old woman agreed. 54 "You are the ones to decide when you [want to] return here." 55 After talking [some more] the servants came each carrying things. 56 There were some who carried silver and some who carried gold and others who carried other things needed for that couple.

57 After a few days, the older brother was surprised because he realized that a great change had come upon the circumstances of his younger brother. 58 They had plenty of food, nice clothes, and they could buy whatever they needed because they had plenty of money.

59 Driven by amazement and envy, that older brother couldn't control himself and asked, "I'm happy my brother that your life is good now. 60 What's your source of income that you're now so suddenly rich?" 61 He spoke as if he were happy but inside his heart he hid intense envy.

62 His younger brother told him what had happened. 63 When his older brother heard this, he immediately took his leave. 64 When he arrived at his house, he told his wife the cause of his younger brother's riches. 65 Full of envy, his wife said, "Why should we not go there? 66 If your mother gave to them there's no reason why we should not be given also." 67 The husband had not yet descended the stairs of the house when his wife preceded him. 68 But when they arrived at that place they saw

pigkita dan, sikan da bayoy to budag no pigkugmutan on to budakan. 69 Pagponhik dan, iyan da nakitaan dan to budag no mighibat no mighihikam to yombis. 70 Pagkadinog to budag no meyduon migponhik no otow migbangun sikandin. 71 Pagkakita din no anak din man naan, mig-ikagi to budag, "Honda utu, dini ka man naan; hintawa man seini duma nu?" 72 Wada tabak sikan anak migpon-ug dadun duma to asawa din. 73 Mig-uli kandan no wada daya.

74 Abutan to pila no buyan, sikan hadi no yukos duma to asawa dow mgo anak migpauli duon to sikan bayoy diya to tonga to guyangan. 75 Madiyu pad on sikandan nadinog dan to sunata no duon ogkapuun to sikan no bayoy. 76 Pagpakadani dan da aw to pagyanghag dan iyan nakitaan dan to budag no malipadon no migpaabut kandan. 77 Pag-abut dan diya to diatas pigboyong dan to diya budag. 78 Mig-ugpa sikan magtiadon no malipadon duma to mgo anak dan.

79 Katapusan.

nothing different, just that old woman's house that was overgrown with *budakan* vines. 69 When they climbed the stairs, the only thing they saw was that old woman who was lying on a torn mat. 70 When the old woman heard that a person had climbed up into the house she got up. 71 When she saw that it was indeed her son, the old woman said, "How is it, sonny, you have come here indeed; who is this companion of yours?" 72 Without a reply that son immediately went back downstairs with his wife. 73 They went home carrying nothing.

74 After several months, the younger son and his wife and their children returned to that house in the middle of the forest. 75 When they were still far they heard music coming from the house. 76 When they got closer and looked upwards, what they saw was the old woman who was happily expecting them. 77 When they arrived upstairs, the old woman disappeared. 78 That couple lived there happily with their children.

79 The end.

To Sinugdanan to Humoy

1 Diya una no mgo aedow to humoy ogboboot og-andiya to tambubung ko seini ogkahinug on. 2 To humoy notoduon mangkaaslag.

3 Songo panahon, wada pad makatapus to paghinang to tambubung sikan tag-iya, nahinug on to humoy diya to uma. 4 Nawili sikan tag-iya to humoy to paghinang to sikan tambubung. 5 To paglingi din pa duon on sikan mgo humoy to talikudan din natiludud on pa andiya to tambubung. 6 Man no wada pad katapus kan bayoy, mig-iling kan tag-iya to, "Pauli kow naa su wada pad katapus seini tambubung." 7 Di nasi on man ogkasugu sikan mgo humoy. 8 Duon naboyu sikan tag-iya. 9 Dajun pudut to tinampod no kaju dow panaeposa sikan humoy puli nangkadupuk-dupuk. 10 Sugud to diya, to humoy konad on ogboboot og-andiya to bayoy. 11 Ogtagad on ko puduton to tag-iya.

12 Seini to sinugdanan to humoy.

The Beginning of Rice

1 In former days, rice would go by itself to the granary¹ when it was ripe. 2 The rice before was big.²

3 One time, the owner had not yet finished making his granary when the rice was already ripe in the field. 4 The owner of the rice was busy making his granary. 5 When he turned around, there was the rice behind him, rolling toward the granary. 6 Since the house was not yet finished, the owner said, "Go back for awhile because this granary is not yet finished." 7 But the rice just kept coming all the more. 8 Then the owner became angry. 9 Then he got a piece of firewood and beat the rice into small pieces. 10 Since then, rice doesn't any longer go to the house of its own will. 11 It waits to be gotten by the owner.

12 This is the origin of rice.

tambubung: a small building where rice is stored. It is built each year at each new rice field location.

That is, it was like a big ball in form.

Tahaw

1 To diya una no panahon meyduon magtiajon no tatoyu to anak no mig-ugpa duon to uma. 2 Ogkaihap da to aedow no kona sikan magtiajon og-andiya to uma. 3 Ogyabi to mgo aedow no og-andiya sikandan to uma aw mahan-in to oghinangon dan. 4 Oggahit sikan bana to mgo tanom dan angod to kamuti, humoy aw tobu no ogbahiton to mgo babuy no kadlaganon. 5 Sikan asawa, tapus to mgo trabahu din diya to uma ogpangapajas sikandin aw ogpanigpu to toba no ogdaehon dan diya to bayoy ko og-ulion kandan. 6 Madojow to ginhawa to sikan magtiajon hasta to mgo anak dan su abunda to ogkabuhian dan. 7 To bana kona ogkagawangan to yagotom no iyan ogkapudutan dan to pagsoda.

8 Songo aedow nakauli sikan magtiajon likat to uma. 9 Puli pigbobogat sikan asawa to pigsay-ung din no mgo pangan-onon no igpadatong dan to mgo bata. 10 Ogkitaon nu duon to mgo dalikan, mgo yombong aw duma pad angod to mgo kapajas, mgo hinug no saging aw mgo tobu.

11 Migtukhow hilabi to mgo anak dan aw no makabotang on to ayat no pigsay-ung to sikan inoy dan, masigdawat sikandan kotob to naliyagan dan. 12 Gawas pad to duma no pangan-onon no napisi to sikan gihadihan, nakapisi usab sikandin to tobu. 13 Pighipid din pad to duma no pangan-onon su iyan og-unahon din ogtoposon to tobu. 14 To daduwa no mgo suun din manno maaslag on sikandan ogpakaboboot on sikandan to pagsakbu to tobu dan. 15 Di sikan gihadihan dan kona pad ogkaamu ogpanginabuhian, kaling migduguk duon to amoy din no nangujab-kujab diya to suyambi su napasuan su likat pad man to uma. 16 "Amay, kuniti kun seini tobu ku," kagi to sikan bata.

17 "Eh, Utu, pigboyajan a pad—diya ka to inoy nu." 18 Dajun andiya sikan bata to inoy din. 19 "Inay, kuniti kun seini toba ku," kagi din.

20 Nahukow bangun sikan inoy no mighibat-hibat su migsakit to ompok din to pagsay-ung to diya mgo pangan-onon. 21 "Diya nu pakuniti to mgo kakoy nu sikan toba nu," kagi to sikan inoy. 22 Migdinog sikan mgo kakoy to kagi to inoy dan di puli pad podom ogpadodoyog duon kandan sikan hadi dan, migbinusae on sikan panganoy no mig-ikagi, "Kaaju-aju nu, inggad puli da pagkunit to sikan tobu kona ka ogkaamu. 23 Kanunoy ka ogpauda-uda. 24 Hala, boboot kad puli."

The Tahaw Bird¹

1 In a previous time there was a couple with three children who lived on a farm. 2 You could just count the days when that couple didn't go to the field. 3 They usually went to the field and they had many things to do. 4 The husband would clear a strip of land to prevent wild pigs from eating their plants such as sweet potato, rice, and sugarcane. 5 As for the wife, after her work in the field, she would gather papayas and cut sugarcane that she would take to the house when she went home. 6 That couple and their children were happy because they had plenty to live on. 7 The husband always had traps in which they got [animals and fish for] viand.

8 One day the couple were returning from the field. 9 The wife was just weighed down carrying on her back² various kinds of treats they were taking home to their children. 10 You could see the *dalikan* and *yombong* fruits and other things like papayas, ripe bananas, and sugarcane.

11 Their children really rejoiced, and when the basket that their mother was carrying was set down, they each took as much as they wanted. 12 Besides the other treats that the youngest had picked up, he also picked up sugarcane. 13 He hid the other treats for a while because he wanted to chew the sugarcane first. 14 His two siblings, since they were big, could manage to peel their own sugarcane. 15 But their youngest brother didn't yet have life skills, so he approached his father who was fanning himself in the house extension because he had just come from the field. 16 "Father, please peel my sugarcane with your teeth," said that child.

17 "Oh, Sonny, I'm still tired—go to your mother." 18 Then the child went to his mother. 19 "Mother, please peel my sugarcane," he said.

20 The mother, who was lying down because her neck hurt from carrying those treats, didn't feel like getting up. 21 "Go let your older siblings peel your sugarcane," the mother said. 22 The older siblings heard what their mother said, but while their little brother was just heading over to them, the eldest spoke harshly saying, "Poor you, you don't even know how to peel that sugarcane. 23 You're always acting like a baby. 24 Go ahead, just do it yourself."

¹ tahaw: nightjar; kind of bird that flies in the evening. Caprimulgus, batrachostomus, and/or eurostopodus.

Only women will carry baskets on their backs, with these baskets attached to a tumpline strap that will rest on the woman's forehead. The types of baskets used in this way are of two types, one made of rattan and another made of reeds. A basket of this type made of rattan is called an *ayat*. Baskets made of reeds can be small [*kajad*] or large [*yangi*]. When men carry a basket resting on their backs, they will not use a tumpline. This method is called *baba*.

Tahaw The *Tahaw* Bird

25 Nakuwa-kuwa to bata aw dajun migbalikid aw padiyu to sikan mgo kakoy aw hobong duon to pinayangkob no baeknan. 26 Sikan kakoy migkita to paghobong to sikan hadi di manno nawili to mgo pangan-onon wada sikandin lipara to hadi din.

27 Anoy man no tigkokoon on to paniudtu, "Andei man to hadi now?" nanlingi-lingi sikan inoy no nangusip. 28 "Duon to baeknan. Mighobong," iyan migtabak sikan panganoy. 29 "Utu," migsabi sikan inoy, "dini kad su ogkoon kid." 30 Hasta kapila sabi sikan inoy, di wada bata no migtabak. 31 Dajun duguka to inoy sikan baeknan aw payay-anga di kona no bata to pigkita din su manuk-manuk no maitom to bubue aw maintok duon to uwak. 32 Wada dajun makatuu sikan inoy no duon hobong to diya bata di sikan panganoy no anak din no migkita to diya bata no mighobong duon ogkatuuhan su mey on boot. 33 "Natahaw si Utu su nayogob ki din to paghangyu no ogpasakbuhan podom to tobu din, di wada ta liparaha." 34 Dajun yajang sikan manuk-manuk padeg diya to gawas to bayoy aw to nalituk to huni din mig-iling, "Tahaw, tahaw."

35 Kuntoon ko madojow to panahon to madukilom ogkitaon sikan no manuk-manuk no oglinajang yabi ko buyanon aw oghuni to "tahaw, tik tahaw".

25 The child's feelings were hurt and immediately he turned around and went far from his older siblings and hid under an overturned basket. 26 The older sibling saw his little brother hiding but since he was preoccupied with his treats, he didn't pay attention to his little brother.

27 When it was time for lunch, "Where is your little brother?" the mother asked, looking around. 28 "Under the basket. Hiding," was the answer of the eldest. 29 "Sonny," called the mother, "come here and let's eat." 30 And no matter how many times the mother called, no child answered. 31 Then the mother approached the basket and set it upright, but it was not a child she saw, for it was a bird with black feathers smaller than a crow. 32 The mother didn't immediately believe that the child had hidden there, but her eldest child who had seen the child hiding there could be believed because he was old enough to be responsible. 33 "Sonny became a tahaw because he asked all of us to peel his sugarcane, but we didn't pay any attention to him."3 34 Then the bird flew going out of the house and the sound that came from him was, "Tahaw, tahaw."

35 Now if the weather is good at night, you can see that bird flying around, especially if there is a full moon, and it cries, "tahaw, tik tahaw."

The Manobo word *tahaw* used as a verb means to seek help from one source after another but to be frustrated in each attempt. The bird is thus called *tahaw* because when he was a boy he had experienced just that sort of frustration.

Handaen-og

1 To diya maintok a pad no bata, subra ad buwa to onom no tuig, ojow pa to mgo minuna igu ad no ogkasugu to pagpudut to kaeju, balinliyagon a no ogpasugilon.

2 Batasan noy no mgo Manubu no ko ogkaposokan koy to kaeju, ogpamuju koy diya to sumbayoy noy aw ogbogajan koy to agipu. 3 Sabokahon pad to tindahan to diya no panahon, tindahan to Insik. 4 Iyan da igkapanaepi noy to abut to uma su sikan Insik ogboli man to batad. 5 Di kona no ogkakunyajun to pagbaligja noy su usahay ogdoot to mgo panghinanom kaling inggad puspuru kona koy on ogboli.

6 Di pag-abut to mahan-in no mgo bisaya [og-ilingon noy notoduon to mgo binonyagan] napaniidan ku no ko meyduon ogpamuju to kaeju duon kandan iyan igbogoy to purpuru. 7 Kona ogbogoy to kaeju. 8 Wada a puli to diya. 9 Na pagtulin-tulin kud on natagahan ku no iyan kona dan igbogoy to agipu su ogkasalinan kun to suwerti dan. 10 Indoy to duma no mgo bisaya dow sikan usab to hona-hona dan. 11 Di to paghona-hona ku basi kona sikandan ogbogoy to kaeju su ogkasalinan to agipu to pigpanagaeju dan. 12 Indoy dow andei to sikan daduwa to tinood.

13 Meyduon to diya og-ilingon noy to gotgotan no saboka no paagi no ogpakakaeju koy di iyan da ogpakakaeju to madoson no oggotgot, di ko mayotoy, puli on ogyatajan to paggotgot kona gajod ogpakakaeju. 14 Kaling agun kona koy on makatanam makapamuju to kaeju, si Inay kanunoy og-uuyung. 15 Kada pagkatapus din to pagson-ad og-uuyung sikandin.

16 Na songo kamaseman iyan nabuyatan ku si Inay diya to abu no nakailing to "Awuuu!" 17 Naopus naan to uyung din su manyagpas no kaju. 18 "Tata," migtawag si Inay, [sikan to igsabi kanay to mgo ginikanan ku]. 19 "Pudut ka naa to kaeju, naopus to uyung ku." 20 Na su bag-u a makabuyat, mighukow a, nayugoy a bangun.

21 Migtawag manda si Inay, "Andiya kad, pudut ka to kaeju su ogsugilonan ku ikow gaja madukilom." 22 Pagdinog ku no ogsugilonan a, dajun a namintana aw paghanow-hanow a dow andei to bayoy no mig-oobey. 23 Migpon-ug a dajun dow pamuju to kaeju.

24 Pagkadukilom tapus to panihapun, migboyat si Inay to hikam dow bitoy to kiyambu aw dajun koy sed

The Handaen-og Insect

1 When I was still a small child—maybe I was more than six years old, because according to the ancestors, I was old enough to be sent to get fire¹—I really liked to listen to stories.

2 It's the custom of us Manobos that when our fire went out, we ask our neighbor and are given a large glowing ember. 3 At that time there was still just one store, a store belonging to a Chinese. 4 The only way we could earn money was from the harvest of our fields, because that Chinese man would buy the corn. 5 But we didn't always have something to sell because sometimes our crops failed, so we couldn't even buy matches.

6 But when many Visayans [we called them "baptized-ones" long ago] arrived, we observed that if someone asked them for fire, what they would give was matches. 7 They didn't give fire. 8 I didn't pay much attention to it. 9 Then when I was older I learned that the reason they wouldn't give a large glowing ember was because if they did, their luck would be diminished. 10 I don't know about other Visayans, whether that is what they also think. 11 But I thought that maybe the reason they didn't give a large glowing ember was that, if they did, they wouldn't have enough wood for their cooking. 12 I don't know which of the two is true.

13 There was something we called *gotgotan*² which was one way we could get a fire; but only strong people could ignite a fire; if a weak person did it, he would just wear out his strength trying to do it but could not ignite a fire. 14 Therefore so that we wouldn't always have to ask someone for fire, Mother would always bank our fire. 15 Every time she finished cooking, she banked the fire.

16 Now, one morning I was awakened by Mother in the kitchen saying, "Awwww!" 17 Her banked fire had burned up because it was wood that easily burned. 18 "Tata," Mother called, [that was what my parents called me]. 19 "Get some fire; our banked fire has burned up." 20 Now since I had just awakened, I was lazy and took a while to get up.

21 Mother called again, "Go, get some fire and I will tell you a story tonight." 22 When I heard that she would tell me a story, I immediately looked out the window and looked around to see where there was a house with smoke coming out of it. 23 Then I went out [lit. down] and asked for fire.

24 That night after supper, Mother spread out a mat and hung a mosquito net, and then we got into it

¹ In order to start a fire for cooking, Manobos would typically look around at their neighbors to see which houses had smoke coming from them and then go there and ask for live embers that they could take back home and use to kindle their own fire.

² gotgotan: two pieces of slit bamboo 30 cm (1 ft) long that produce fire when rubbed together.

³ Awwww!: an expression used when lamenting the fact that something very unfortunate has happened.

Handaen-og The Handaen-og Insect

dow hibat. 25 To tagauda ni Inay nalipodong on. 26 Siak nanda dow to hadi ku no migsunu kanay [balinyliyagon usab no ogpasugilon] to buyat.

27 "Ogsugilonan kow to handaen-og," migsugud si Inay. 28 "To diya babag-uhay pad kahinang to kalibutan dow to tibo mgo hininang yakip to mgo sumisilat diya to yangit, to soga dow to buyan mig-aasawa kun. 29 Ogkailing ku to kan su insugilon man puli kanay ni Amay no angod a pad iyu.

30 "Sikan buyan dow soga meyduon sabokahon no anak, bohi. 31 Matamo-tamo no bata aw mig-ugwad on to katamo-tamo no madaega on sikandin.

32 "Songo aedow pigtagu to sikan soga sikan daega su natamo-tamoan din, di natutung dow kamatoy. 33 Migsakit hilabi to ginhawa to sikan buyan. 34 Dajun din tadtada sikan daega dow isabud dini to pasak. 35 Sikan to nangkahinang no handaen-og. 36 Kay paminog kow ko madani on ogsilat to buyan oghuni man to handaen-og."

37 "Nokoy no oghuni man to handaen-og ko pasilaton on to buyan?" mig-usip a ki Inay."

38 "Ogpangadus-adus man sikan handaen-og ko madani pa podom sikandin to kan inoy din. 39 Angod man iyu no kanunoy kani to piluy ku ko oglipodong kow," migtabak to inoy ku. 40 Pag-ikagi ni Inay to sikan, migpadogkot a kandin. 41 Ginhawa ku, "Marojow man iyan gajod ko madani a kanunoy ki Inay."

42 To hadi ku mighinagong on, di siak mighangyu a pad to yain no sugilon su najopotan a to insugilon din di pigsaadan a ni Inay no og-usaban a da ogsugilonan ko mey on ikasugilon din.

43 Na, naman oghuni on to handaen-og og-ikagihan a ni Inay no madani on ogsilat to buyan.

44 Tapus.

and lay down. 25 Mother's youngest child was already asleep. 26 Only I and my next-youngest brother [who also loved stories] were awake.

27 "I will tell you a story about a *handaen-og* insect," my mother began. 28 "When the world and everything was newly made, including all that shines in the sky, the sun and the moon got married, they say. 29 I say that because Father told it to me when I was a child like you.

30 "The moon and sun had only one child, a daughter. 31 She was a beautiful child, and her beauty became extreme when she became a young lady.

32 "One day the sun touched the young lady's chin because she looked so beautiful to him, but she was burned and died. 33 The moon was very grieved [lit. the moon's breath hurt very much]. 34 Then she chopped up the young lady and scattered the pieces on the earth. 35 They became the *handaen-og* insect. 36 Because just listen when the moon is about to rise, the *handaen-og* insect makes its sound."

37 "Why does the *handaen-og* make its sound when the moon is about to rise?" I asked Mother.

38 "The *handaen-og* longs to be close to its mother. 39 Like you who are always beside me when you sleep," my mother answered. 40 When Mother said that, I moved close to her. 41 I thought, "It is really good to always be near Mother."

42 My brother was already snoring, but I asked for another story because the story she told was too short for me, but Mother promised that she would tell me another story when she had a story to tell.

43 So whenever the *handaen-og* made its sound, Mother would tell me that the moon would soon shine.

44 The end.

The *handaen-og* insect lives in the ground. It produces a shrill sound especially at night when there is a full moon. The author describes the sound as causing a lonely sound.

To Babuy dow to Liyun

1 Meyduon babuy no kadlaganon no mig-anak duon to pilang. 2 Wayu no buuk to anak din. 3 Mansu wada man ogbohug to kadlaganon no babuy oglinuwas sikandin to sikan pilang ogpamahit, ogpamangha to ogkakoon din, di madali da sikandin ogpauli su manno bag-u pad on anak, to mgo baktin kinahangyan no togontogon ogdudu.

4 Songo panahon, no tatoyu on no buyan to mgo baktin din migyuwas sikandin to kan pilang su ogpamahit. 5 Manno ogkaojowan on man to mayugoy sikan mgo baktin, madiyu to panow din su namahit sikandin to kamutihan to mgo otow.

6 Sikan no panahon meyduon liyun no mighipanow su'g pamangha usab to pagkoon din. 7 Monok on panow sikan liyun nangadogan din on sikan babuy no nandungae duon to tonga to kamutihan. 8 Pagtonggak to sikan babuy likat to pagpandungae, dongan to pagngadog din to liyun nahisungya to mgo mata dan su madani on sikan liyun duon kandin. 9 Tongod to hilabi din no dait migpakalinaguy sikan babuy hangtod no mig-abut sikandin duon to gatung no matikang no pig-untudan to kogsik. 10 Kagi din, "Yagi tabangi a su pigyupug a to liyun."

11 Wada katogontogon mig-abut to liyun aw dongan to ogpangujapat on podom duon to gatung migbansagon to kogsik, "Kamonang ka yagi, ajaw ka oghisu, su ogkaligad seini gatung ogkodogan ka." 12 Pagdinog to liyun to kagi to kogsik nakapaantoyo sikandin. 13 Pag-aha din no maaslag yagboy naan to gatung, ginhawa din, "Hoo iyan. 14 Ko maligad seini gatung aw kaligpiti a ogkadupuk a man gajod." 15 Kaling wadad yagboy sikandin hisu inggad pagpilok.

16 Pag-aha to kogsik no migpakamonang on to liyun, pigsikdu din sikan babuy maningkaegan "yaguy kad on." 17 Dajun yaksu to babuy aw uli diya to pilang. 18 Pagyaksu to babuy nahaedok usab sikan kogsik ko sikandin to koonon migyaksu usab aw pangujapat diya to diatas to kaju.

19 Pagkatatoyuhi, inggad dow migkapi on to gotok to sikan liyun tongod to kabontas wada gajod sikandin hisu. 20 To mgo kobong din kanunoy da indampa duon to sikan gatung.

21 Na, sikan usab no panahon nadomdom sikan babuy to sikan liyun. 22 Kagi din, "Dow naamonu on buwa to diya liyun? 23 Ogpauli a su og-ahaon ku sikandin." 24 Na tinood iyan. 25 Pag-abut din pigkita din to liyun no nasengoyngoy on to uyu tongod to hilabi no kabontas aw kaboyoy. 26 Dajun din duguka. 27 "Honda liyun, nokoy no migpakamonang ka man duon?"

28 Kagi to liyun, "Basi man maligad seini batu aw basi maligpitan a."

29 Kagi to babuy, "Kona da."

30 "Eh," kagi to liyun, "ogkaligpitan a iyan."

The Pig and the Lion

1 There was a wild pig who gave birth in a cave. 2 She had eight offspring. 3 Since no one feeds wild pigs, she would go out of that cave to eat plants, to look for something to eat, but she would quickly return because since she had recently given birth and her piglets had to nurse often.

4 One time, when her piglets were three months old she went out of the cave to eat plants. 5 Since the piglets could already be left for long periods, she went far to eat in the sweet potato field of people.

6 That time there was also a lion who went to search for his food. 7 As the lion walked he smelled the pig that was digging in the middle of the sweet potato field. 8 When the pig raised its head from digging, she smelled the lion at the same time as their eyes met because the lion was near her. 9 Because of her extreme terror, the pig ran as fast as she could go until she reached a tall boulder on which sat a squirrel. 10 She said, "Friend, help me because a lion is chasing me."

11 Before long the lion arrived and as it tried to climb the boulder the squirrel shouted, "Stay still, friend, don't move, because this boulder will roll and fall on you." 12 When the lion heard the words of the squirrel he kept still, staring straight ahead. 13 When he saw that the boulder was indeed very big, he thought, "Yes that's right. 14 If this boulder rolls and pins me down I will surely be crushed." 15 So he really didn't move at all even to blink.

16 When the squirrel saw that the lion was staying there, he elbowed the pig meaning "go away now." 17 Then the pig jumped down and returned to the cave. 18 When the pig jumped the squirrel was also afraid that he might be eaten and also jumped and climbed up a tree.

19 After three days, even though the stomach of the lion was already caved in because of hunger, he still did not move at all. 20 His feet were always placed against the rock.

21 Now, also at that time the pig remembered the lion. 22 She said, "What might have happened to the lion? 23 I will return to look at him." 24 And it was true. 25 When she arrived she saw the lion whose head was already bent over because of severe hunger and exhaustion. 26 Then she approached him. 27 "Well lion, why are you staying there?"

28 The lion said, "Maybe this rock will roll and maybe I will be pinned."

29 The pig said, "No, it won't."

30 "Eh [exclamation of negative feeling]," said the lion, "I will so be pinned."

To Babuy dow to Liyun The Pig and the Lion

31 "Na," kagi to babuy, "antiha. 32 Gawanga kan sobuuk no kobong nu." 33 Dajun gawanga to liyun to saboka no kobong din. 34 Wada man katangkug to batu. 35 "Na," kagi to babuy, "usaba kan dibayuy." 36 Dajun din gawanga kan dibayuy no kobong. 37 Wada iyan kaligad to gatung. 38 "Aha ka!" kagi to babuy, "Ko wada ku naan sikuna kaandinihi puli kad on ogkamatoy."

39 "Salamat," kagi to liyun, "su nadomdoman a nu da di hilabi ad on pigbontas. 40 Ko mahimu ogduma a ikow diya to ugpaanan nu."

41 "Na hala," kagi to babuy, "basta kona a nu ogkoonon."

42 "Kona," kagi to liyun, "igatang ogduma a."

43 Dajun sikandan duduma pailing diya to ugpaanan to babuy diya to pilang. 44 Pagsed to sikan liyun pigkita din sikan mgo baktin no mangkarojow to yawa, mangkataba. 45 Migsugud to pagtagdu to yawoy din. 46 "Karojow ogkoonon to sikan mgo baktin," ginhawa din. 47 Wada din katagoni to ginhawa din mighangyu, "Ogbujuon ku sikan gipis no baktin su ogkoonon ku. 48 Hilabi ad pigbontas." 49 Ogbalibad pad podom sikan babuy di wada din on katagoni sikan liyun pigkoon on sikan gipis no baktin din. 50 Wada kahantoy, to liyun mig-usab namuju to sikan ikaduwa no baktin. 51 "Og-usabon kud on sikan saboka su wada a pad kahantoy." 52 Wada gajod makabalibad to babuy. 53 Na yaktod no pagkaikagi pig-imot to liyun to mgo baktin aw iyakip to inoy no babuy.

54 Wadad.

31 "Okay," said the pig, "try it. 32 Take away one of your feet." 33 Then the lion took away one of his feet. 34 The rock did not move. 35 "Okay," said the pig, "repeat with the other one." 36 Then he took away the other foot. 37 Indeed the boulder did not roll. 38 "Look!" said the pig, "if I had not come here to you would have just died."

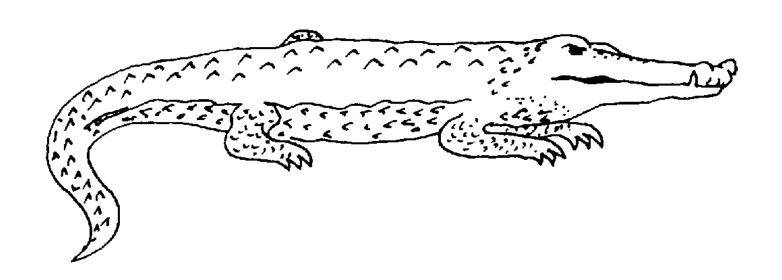
39 "Thank you," said the lion, "for remembering me here but I am very hungry now. 40 If possible I will accompany you to your home."

41 "Okay, come along," said the pig, "as long as you don't eat me."

42 "No," said the lion, "I will just go along."

43 Then they went together to the home of the pig in the cave. 44 When the lion entered he saw the healthy, fat piglets. 45 His saliva began to drip. 46 "Those piglets would be so good to eat," he thought. 47 He could not control his feelings so he asked, "I will ask for that runt/youngest piglet to eat. 48 I am very hungry." 49 The pig refused but she could not hold back the lion and it ate her youngest/runt piglet. 50 Not satisfied, the lion against asked for the second piglet. 51 "I will eat again that other piglet because I am still not satisfied." 52 Again the pig could not refuse. 53 Now to make a long story short the lion ate all the piglets and included the mother pig.

54 No more.



Appendix: Interlinear Manobo Text

Abbreviations

Noun Phrase

Verb Morphology

ADJ ADJR ADVR D2 D3 DET EXIS-neg LK neg NR pdet1 pdet2 pdet3 PLZR PRON-cleft PRON-rel PTL	adjective adjectivizer adverbializer deictic, there somewhat far deictic, there distant determiner the negative existential wada linker/ligature the negative adverb kona nominalizing affix personal determiner, set 1 [si] personal determiner, set 2 [ni] personal determiner, set 3 [ki] pluralizer pronoun in cleft construction relative pronoun particle	ab AF anb CAUS DIST EXIS GER IF imper invol irr OF pl POS PTC RDP-cv RDP-stem RF s	Action Begun temporal aspect Actor Focus Action Not Begun temp. aspect causative distributive aspect the existential meyduon gerund Instrument Focus imperative involuntary mode irrealis Goal Focus plural positional-directional aspect participational aspect first syllable reduplication stem reduplication Referent Focus singular
		•	•

Si Subana aw to Buhidin no Buaja si Subanu Subana and her Pet Crocodile Subanu

Si Subana aw to buhi din no buaja si Subanu. Si Subana aw to buhi din no buaja si Subanu pdet1 Subana and DET pet her LK crocodile pdet1 Subanu

Subana and her pet crocodile Subanu.

1. Gahapun meyduon magtiajun no mig-ugpa duon to uma no Gahapun meyduon magtiajun no mig = ugpa duon to uma no long-ago there-was married-couple PRON-rel AF-ab = live D2 DET farm PRON-rel

nakahigad to sapa. naka = higad to sapa AF-invol-ab = riverside DET creek

Long ago there was a couple that lived on a farm beside a creek.

2. Seini no magtiajun sobuukon to anak no bohi. Seini no magtiajun sobuukon to anak no bohi this LK married-couple one DET offspring LK female

This couple had one daughter.

3. Sikandin to og-atiman to mgo hinangon duon to bayoy su to Sikandin to og = atiman to mgo hinang = on duon to bayoy su to he-emph DET AF-anb = care-for DET PLZR do = NR D2 DET house because DET

```
mgo ginikanan din ogtrabahu man diya to uma kada aedow.
mgo ginikanan din og = trabahu man diya to uma kada aedow
PLZR parents her AF-anb = work PTL D3 DET field each day
```

She was the one to take care of the things that needed to be done around the house while her parents worked out in the field each day.

4. Songo kadukiloman mig-udan to maagbot aw panyapwas Songo ka =dukilom = an mig = udan to ma = agbot aw paN = yapwas one NR = night = NR AF-ab = rain DET ADJ = intense and DIST = overflow

```
to wohig duon to mgo patag.
to wohig duon to mgo patag
DET river D2 DET PLZR plain
```

One night it rained hard and the river overflowed onto the plain.

5. Pagkabukas migtogbang diya to sapa to bohi agun pagka = bukas mig = togbang diya to sapa to bohi agun when-invol = morning AF-ab = go-downhill D3 DET creek DET female so-that

paglaba. pag = laba

GER = wash-clothes

In the morning the girl went to the creek to wash clothes.

6. Duon to dayan pailing diya to sapa migkita sikandin to duon to dayan pailing diya to sapa mig = kita sikandin to D2 DET path going-towards D3 DET creek AF-ab = see she DET

```
naliboy-ung no wohig.
na =liboy-ung no wohig
STAT =puddle LK water
```

On the path to the creek she saw the standing water.

7. Duon meyduon pigkita din no mighisu.
duon meyduon pig = kita din no mig = hisu
D2 EXIS OF-ab = see she LK AF-ab = move

She saw something move there.

8. Migduguk sikandin aw ahaa dow nokoy to mighisu. mig = duguk sikandin aw aha = a dow nokoy to mig = hisu AF-ab = approach she and observe = OF-irr-ab ADVR what DET AF-ab = move

She approached to see what it was.

9. Duon nakitaan din to maintok no buaja no nabilin to duon na = kita = an din to ma = intok no buaja no na = bilin to D2 invol-ab = see = RF she DET ADJ = small LK crocodile PRON-rel STAT = leave DET

pagyakas on to wohig. pag = yakas on to wohig when = recede PTL DET water

There she saw a small crocodile that was left when the water receded.

10. Dajun sikandin andiya to bayoy aw pudut to inbohug din to Dajun sikandin andiya to bayoy aw pudut to in =bohug din to then she go-D3 DET house and get DET IF-ab =feed-animals she DET

maintok no buaja. ma = intok no buaja ADJ = small LK crocodile

Then she went to the house to get something to feed the small crocodile.

11. Kada aedow pigbohugan din seini. Kada aedow pig = bohug = an din seini every day ab = feed-animals = RF she this

Every day she fed it.

12. Anoy man no migyakas on to wohig no Anoy man no mig = yakas on to wohig no when PTL LK AF-ab = recede PTL-already DET water PRON-rel

nabotangan to buaja, pigdaya din on seini diya to bayoy aw na = botang = an to buaja pig = daya din on seini diya to bayoy aw invol-ab = place = RF DET crocodile OF-ab = carry she PTL this D3 DET house and

When the water in which the crocodile was placed receded, she carried it to the house and put it in a frying pan.

13. Pag-uli da to amoy din diya to bayoy, naboyu seini to pag = uli da to amoy din diya to bayoy na = boyu seini to when = return-home PTL DET father her D3 DET house STAT = angry this-one DET

pagkakita din to buaja. pagka = kita din to buaja when-invol = see he DET crocodile

When her father returned to the house he became angry when he saw the crocodile.

14. "Ibegbog sikan," kagi to amoy din. i = begbog sikan kagi to amoy din IF-imper-anb = throw that say DET father her

"Throw it away," said her father.

15. "Og-uyak-uyak ka to koonon. og = RDP-stem = uyak ka to koonon AF-anb = RDP-stem = waste you-s DET food

"You are wasting food.

16. Kona nu ngani ibegbog, oghimatajan ku sikan." Kona nu ngani i = begbog og = himatoy = an ku sikan PTL-neg you-s PTL IF-irr-ab = throw anb = kill = RF I that

If you don't throw it away I will kill it."

haedok no 17. Tongod to himatajan to amoy to buhi din no buaja, Tongod to haedok no himatoy = an toamoy to buhi din no buaja because-of DET fear PRON-rel kill =RF DET father DET pet her LK crocodile

pigdaya din seini diya to wohig aw hikoti. pig = daya din seini diya to wohig aw hikot = i OF-ab = bring she this-one D3 DET river and tie-up = RF-irr-ab

Because of fear that her father would kill her pet crocodile, she took it to the water and tied it up.

18. Kada masem og-ahaon din dow duon da on seini buhi din. Kada masem og = aha = on din dow duon da on seini buhi din each morning anb = look-at = OF she whether D2 PTL PTL this pet her

Each morning she would look to see if her pet was still there.

19. Pagyaboy to mgo buyan, to buaja maaslag on.
pag = yaboy to mgo buyan to buaja ma = aslag on
when = pass DET PLZR month DET crocodile ADJ = large PTL-already

After several months, the crocodile was already large.

- 20. Seini migtulin kamaani no wada to amoy din. Seini mig =tulin no wada = maan = i amoy din ka to this-one AF-ab = grow PRON-rel EXIS-neg irr-invol = know = RF-irr-ab DET father her It grew without her father knowing it.

One day the girl's father took a bath.

22. Diya to didaja to pigpadigusan din, nakitaan to buhi to Diya to didaja to pig = padigus = an din na = kita = an to buhi to D3 DET upriver DET ab = bathe = RF his invol-ab = see = RF DET pet DET

```
anak din.
anak din
offspring his
```

Upriver from the place where he was bathing he saw his child's pet.

23. "Aha, sikan man naan!
Aha sikan man naan
aha that PTL PTL-confirmation

"Aha, so that's how it is!

24. Imbot ku dow intimbag kad on."

Imbot ku dow in = timbag ka = d on

mistakenly-think I content-orienter IF-ab = throw you-s = PTL-already

I thought you had already by thrown away."

25. Dajun pudut to yugju din aw tastasa to hikot to buaja.

Dajun pudut to yugju din aw tastas = a to hikot to buaja
then get DET bolo his and sever = OF-irr-ab DET tie-up DET crocodile

Then he got a bolo and severed the crocodile's leash.

26. Tatoyu no aedow to wada kayouy to daega to Tatoyu no aedow to wada ka =youy to daega to three LK day DET EXIS-neg OF-irr-invol-ab =visit DET unmarried-woman DET

buhi din su pighingyow sikandin. buhi din su pig =hingyow sikandin pet her because OF-ab =fever she

For three days the girl was not able to visit her pet because she had a fever.

27. Pagka-uliid on to hingyow din pagka = uli = i = d on to hingyow din when-invol = became-well = RF-irr-ab = PTL-already PTL-already DET fever her

```
migdali-dali sikandin pagtogbang diya to sapa.
mig = RDP-stem = dali sikandin pag = togbang diya to sapa
AF-ab = RDP-stem = hurry she GER = go-down-to-water D3 DET creek
```

When she recovered from her fever she hurried down to the creek.

28. Pag-abut duon to pighikotan to buhi din no buaja, pag = abut duon to pig = hikot = an to buhi din no buaja when = arrive D2 DET ab = tie-up = RF DET pet her LK crocodile

Subanu (ngadan to pigpanawag din si buaja) di wada man Subanu ngadan to buaja pig = paN = tawag din sidi wada man OF-ab = DIST = callshe pdet1 Subanu name DET crocodile but EXIS-neg PTL

migtabak.

mig = tabak

AF-ab = answer

When she arrived at the place where her pet crocodile had been tied, she called Subanu (the name of her pet) but nothing answered.

```
29. Pig-usab din pigpanawag to buaja di iyan da man pig = usab din pig = paN = tawag to buaja di iyan da man OF-ab = again she OF-ab = DIST = call DET crocodile but PRON-cleft PTL-only PTL
```

```
ogdinogon to yagong din no ogpanikung-sikung duon to og = dinog = on to yagong din no og = paN = RDP-stem = sikung duon to anb = hear = OF DET voice her PRON-rel AF-anb = DIST = RDP-stem = echo D2 DET
```

kapangpangan.

ka = pangpang = an

NR = cliff = NR

She again called to the crocodile but all she heard was her voice echoing on the cliffs.

30. Mig-udohik kandin to sapa no ubya nanawag ki Subanu mig = udohik kandin to sapa no ubya naN = tawag ki Subanu AF-ab = wade-upstream she DET creek LK frequently DIST-ab = call pdet3 Subanu

```
hangtod mig-abut kandin duon to pagsabangan to sapa no buajahon. hangtod mig = abut kandin duon to pag = sabang = an to sapa no buaja = on until AF-ab = arrive she D2 DET GER = junction = NR DET creek LK crocodile = ADJR
```

She waded upstream in the creek frequently calling for Subanu until she arrived at the junction of a creek that was full of crocodiles.

31. Duon pigkita din to mangkaaslag aw mangkaintok no buada. duon pig = kita din to mangka = aslag aw mangka = intok no buada D2 OF-ab = see she DET ADJ-pl = large and ADJ-pl = small LK crocodile

There she saw large and small crocodiles.

32. Tongod to haedok miggamat sikandin diya to pangpang. Tongod to haedok mig = gamat sikandin diya to pangpang because-of DET fear AF-ab = go-uphill she D3 DET cliff

Because of fear she climbed the steep riverbank.

buada 33. Migsuboy kandin to migpanawag seini sugud to to mig = subov kandin to seini aw sugud to mig = paN = tawag tobuada AF-ab = follow sheDET DET-this and begin DET AF-ab = DIST = call DET crocodile

din.

din

her

She walked along this riverbank and started to call her crocodile.

34. Di wada man migtabak.

Di wada man mig = tabak

but EXIS-neg PTL AF-ab = answer

But there was no answer.

35. Migpadadun sikandin to pagpanow hangtod nakakita kandin to mig = padadun sikandin to pag = panow hangtod naka = kita kandin to AF-ab = continue she DET GER = walk until AF-invol-ab = see she DET

pinadag no nawasa on diya to umahan. pinadag no na = wasa on diya to uma = an hut PRON-rel STAT = dilapidated PTL-already D3 DET field = NR

She continued to walk until she saw a small, dilapidated house over in some fields.

36. Migsigkon sikandin to pagpanow aw hona-hona sikandin dow andei mig = sigkon sikandin to pag = panow aw hona-hona sikandin dow andei AF-ab = stop she DET GER = walk and think she ADVR where

ogpamanghaon si Subanu. og = pamangha = on si Subanu anb = search = OF pdet1 Subanu

She stopped walking and considered where to search for Subanu.

37. Meyduon pigdinog din no mig-ikagi, "Og-amonu ka man kani?" meyduon pig = dinog din no mig = ikagi og = amonu ka man kani EXIS OF-ab = hear she LK AF-ab = say AF-anb = what-to-do you-s PTL here

She heard someone saying to her, "What are you doing here?"

38. Paglingi duon to talikudan din, iyan din to daduwa no pigkita talikudan din iyan pag = lingiduon to pig =kita din to daduwa no when = turn-head D2 DET back her PRON-cleft OF-ab = see she DET two LK

ka-otow no mangkahaba to bubue. ka = otow no mangka = haba to bubue $LK = person \ LK \ ADJ-pl = long \ DET \ hair$

When she looked back what she saw was two men with long hair.

39. Seini no mgo otow namakayaguy likat to prisuhan no Seini no mgo otow namaka = yaguy likat to prisuhan no these LK PLZR person AF-ab-invol-pl = flee from DET prison LK

migyaag-yaag diya to guyangan. mig = RDP-stem = yaag diya to guyangan AF-ab = RDP-stem = wander D3 DET forest

These people had fled from prison and wandered around in the forest.

40. Pigpagyogoban dadun to pagdawat to magdibayuy din no bokton. pig = pag = yogob = an dadun to pag = dawat to magdibayuy din no bokton ab = PTC = do-it-all = RF immediately DET GER = hold DET both-sides-of her LK arm

They grabbed her by both arm.

41. Migyangotong sikandin agun masabukan di wada mig =yangotong sikandin agun ma = sabuk = an di wada AF-ab = struggle she so-that OF-irr-anb = break-free = RF but EXIS-neg

nahimu din. na = himu din OF-invol-ab = able-to she

She struggled to break loose but she was not able to.

42. Migkuligsik sikandin no'g panawag to tabang di hintawa man mig =kuligsik sikandin no = og paN = tawag to tabang di hintawa man AF-ab = scream she LK = AF-anb DIST = call DET help but who PTL

to'g pakatabang kandin no madiyu on man to bayoy din, to = og paka = tabang kandin no ma = diyu on man to bayoy din DET = AF-anb invol = help her when ADJ = far PTL PTL DET house her

konad man ogdinogon to pagtawag din kona = d man og = dinog = on to pag = tawag din PTL-neg = PTL-anymore PTL anb = hear = OF DET GER = call her

She screamed, calling for help, but who would be able to help her when her house was so far away and no one could hear her call.

43. Mayotoy on sikandin dow kawadai to panimoot.
ma = yotoy on sikandin dow ka = wada = i to panimoot
ADJ = weak PTL-already she and irr-invol = devoid-of = RF-irr-ab DET consciousness

She became weak and lost consciousness.

44. Pagkatogon-togon naulian sikandin aw iyan pagka = togon-togon na = uli = an sikandin aw iyan when-invol = after-awhile invol-ab = recover = RF she and PRON-cleft

dadagamang duon to ingkatindog din su migdinog to dani din. mig dadagamang duon to ingka = tindog din su = dinog to dani din IF-invol-ab = stand she because AF-ab = hear DET rustling-noise D2 DET proximity her

After awhile she recovered and what made her stand was the rustling noise that she heard nearby.

45. Ahaon din pa si Subanu no migpanabang kandin.
Aha = on din pa si Subanu no mig = paN = tabang kandin observe = OF-irr-anb she PTL-subjv pdet1 Subanu PRON-rel AF-ab = DIST = help her

She saw Subanu helping her.

46. Duon naan seini to didayom to pinadag no goba aw mapadag duon naan seini to didayom to pinadag no goba aw ma = padag D3 PTL-surprise this-one DET inside DET hut LK dilapidated and ADJ = clearly

hilabi no nadinog din to pagkuligsik ni Subana. hilabi no na =dinog din to pag =kuligsik ni Subana very-much LK OF-invol-ab =hear she DET GER =scream pdet2 Subana

He was there in the dilapidated hut and he had heard the screams of Subana very clearly.

47. Pigdaghaan din to daduwa no ka-otow aw pig = dagha = an din to daduwa no ka = otow aw OF-ab = impact-violently = RF he DET two LK LK = person and

panghigbita din sikandan aw si Subana wada makahisu no paN = higbit = a din sikandan aw si Subana wada maka = hisu no DIST = rend = OF-irr-ab he them and pdet1 Subana EXIS-neg AF-irr-invol-ab = move as

migsayap ki Subanu no mighimatoy to sikan mig = sayap ki Subanu no mig = himatoy to sikan AF-ab = watch-intently pdet3 Subanu PRON-rel AF-ab = kill DET DET-those

og-amung-amung podom kandin. og = RDP-stem = amung podom kandin AF-anb = RDP-stem = act-maliciously PTL-intention her

He attacked those two men and ravaged them and Subana was not able to move as she watched Subanu kill those who would have abused her.

48. Pagkatapus to seini makahawhaedok no pagka = tapus to seini maka = haw = haedok no when-invol = finish DET DET-this ADJR = RDP-cv = fear LK

duon ki Subanu og-ahaon, migtiyahu si Subana no migduguk mig = tivahu si Subana no mig = duguk Subanu og = aha=on duon ki anb = look-at = OF-anb AF-ab = crypdet1 Subana as AF-ab = approach D2 pdet3 Subanu

no mig-iling, "Nokoy no migyaguy ka man? no mig = iling Nokoy no mig = yaguy ka man LK AF-ab = say why LK AF-ab = flee you-s PTL

After that horrible scene Subana cried as she approached Subanu and said, "Why did you run away?

49. Napoyok a hilabi su basi kona kud ikow na = poyok a hilabi su basi kona ku = d ikow STAT = worry I very-much because maybe PTL-neg I = PTL-anymore you-s

makitaan.

ma = kita = an irr-invol-anb = see = RF

I was really worried because I thought that maybe I would never see you again.

50. Salamat to pagyuwas nu kanay. Salamat to pag = yuwas nu kanay thank-you DET GER = save you-s me

Thank you for saving me.

51. Ko wada ka kani, indoy dow og-amonuhon a ko wada ka kani indoy dow og = amonu = on a if EXIS-neg you-s here who-knows content-orienter anb = s.t.-bad-happens = OF-anb me

to seini mangkayupig no mgo otow." to seini mangka = yupig no mgo otow DET DET-these ADJ-pl = cruel LK PLZR person

If you hadn't come here who knows what would have happened to me at the hands of these cruel people."

52. To tabak ni Subanu pighisu to ikug din no madopot.
to tabak ni Subanu pig = hisu to ikug din no ma = dopot
DET answer pdet2 Subanu OF-ab = move DET tail his LK ADJ = short
Subanu's only answer was to wiggle his short tail.

53. Samtang sikan to situwasiyun dan mig-udan to maagbot no Samtang sikan to situwasiyun dan mig = udan to ma = agbot no while that DET situation their AF-ab = rain DET ADJ = intense LK

pigdumahan to yugung aw kilat. pig = duma = an to yugung aw kilat ab = accompany = RF DET thunder and lightning

Meanwhile it began to rain hard with thunder and lightning.

54. Wada kayugoy migdagausu on to sapa. Wada ka = yugoy mig = dagausu on to sapa EXIS-neg OF-irr-invol-ab = long-time AF-ab = rising-water PTL DET creek

Before long the creek began to rise.

55. "Og-uli kid on," kagi ni Subana, "su og = uli ki = d on kagi ni Subana su AF-anb = return-home we = PTL-now PTL-now said pdet2 Subana because

ogkalimuut on kanay kuntoon to mgo ginikanan ku." ogka =limuut on kanay kuntoon to mgo ginikanan ku STAT-anb =worry PTL-already me now DET PLZR parents my

"Let's go home now," said Subana, "because my parents will be worried about me."

56. Miglihok si Subanu aw patitogbang diya to sapa no mig = lihok si Subanu aw pati = togbang diya to sapa no AF-ab = move pdet1 Subanu and POS = go-down-to-water D3 DET creek PRON-rel

```
kanunoy pad ogtulin to wohig.
kanunoy pad og = tulin to wohig
always PTL-still AF-anb = grow DET water
```

Subanu began to move and went down to the creek which was getting higher and higher.

57. Nakasabut si Subana no migsigkon si Subanu dadun sikandin naka = sabut si Subana no mig = sigkon si Subanu dadun sikandin AF-invol-ab = understand pdet1 Subana when AF-ab = stop pdet1 Subanu then she

```
sakoy duon to talikudan ni Subanu aw patipaewod kandan. sakoy duon to talikudan ni Subanu aw pati = paewod kandan ride D2 DET back pdet2 Subanu and POS = float they
```

Subana understood when Subanu stopped and then she rode on Subanu's back and they floated downstream.

```
58. Pag-abut dan duon to pagsabangan to sapa pag = abut dan duon to pag = sabang = an to sapa when = arrive they D2 DET GER = junction = NR DET creek
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```
migpayotow to mgo buada su nakangadog kandan to
mig = pa = yotow to mgo buada su naka = ngadog kandan to
AF-ab = CAUS = float DET PLZR crocodile because AF-invol-ab = smell they DET
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```
marodow no ogkoonon, piru pagkita dan ki Subanu dadun ma = dodow no og = koon = on piru pag = kita dan ki Subanu dadun ADJ = good LK anb = eat = OF-anb but when = see they pdet3 Subanu immediately
```

kandan migpayagdang. kandan mig = pa = yagdang they AF-ab = CAUS = settle

When they reached the junction of the creek, the crocodiles floated (toward her) because they smelled something good to eat, but when they saw Subanu they immediately settled themselves.

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59. "Nangkahaedok sikandan ki Subanu," nakaikagi si Subana duon to nangka = haedok sikandan ki Subanu naka = ikagi si Subana duon to STAT-pl-ab = fear they pdet3 Subanu AF-invol-ab = say pdet1 Subana D2 DET
```

kaugalingon din. kaugalingon din self her

"They are afraid of Subanu," Subana said to herself.

```
60. Migpadadun sikandan hangtod mig-abut diya to togbangan mig = padadun sikandan hangtod mig = abut diya to togbang = an AF-ab = continue they until AF-ab = arrive D3 DET go-down-to-water = NR
```

```
no pighikotan din ki Subanu.

no pig = hikot = an din ki Subanu

where ab = tie-up = RF she pdet3 Subanu
```

They continued until they arrived at the path down to the water where Subanu had been tied up.

61. Duon migtatagad to inoy dow amoy din no tigbae duon mig = RDP-stem = tagad to inoy dow amoy din no tigbae D2 AF-ab = RDP-stem = wait DET mother and father her PRON-rel very-much

nalimuut kandin. na = limuut kandin STAT = worry her

There her father and mother waited, being very much worried about her.

62. Sugud to diya no timpu wada hilaboti to amoy ni Sugud to diya no timpu wada hilabot = i to amoy ni begin DET D3 LK time EXIS-neg act-maliciously-toward = RF-irr-ab DET father pdet2

Subana si Subanu. Subana si Subanu Subana pdet1 Subanu

From that time on, the father of Subana did not disturb Subanu.

63. Tapus. tapus finish

That's all.