

TAGABAWA TEXTS

compiled by

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Abbreviations

A	the more agentive, syntactically required argument in a transitive clause	S	the syntactically required argument in a single- argument clause
ABS	absolutive	SF	subject focus
ADJ, <i>adj</i>	adjective	SG	singular
DIST	distributive	TEMP	temporal
EMPH	emphatic	V, <i>v</i>	verb
ERG	ergative	— —	discontinuous morpheme, compound word, or phrase
EX	exclusive	.	idiomatic phrase or compound gloss
EXT	existential		
GEN	genitive		
HAB	habitual		
IMPER	imperative		
IN	inclusive		
INST	instrument		
INTENT	intentional		
IRR	irrealis		
LF	location focus		
lit.	literally		
LK	linker		
MRK	marked		
<i>n</i>	noun		
NEUT	neutral		
NMR	nominalizer		
OBL	oblique		
OF	object focus		
P	the less agentive, syntactically required argument in a transitive clause		
PART	particular		
PL	plural		
REAL	realis		
RS	reported speech		



Introduction

This volume contains a selection of Tagabawa texts representing a variety of genre, including traditional narrative, personal narrative, expository, hortatory, and litigation. The texts were collected by the researchers from 1987 to 1990 while living in the barangay of Malasila, municipality of Makilala, province of Cotabato, Mindanao, Philippines, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The majority of the texts were given orally, in which case they were recorded on audiotape, and then transcribed; however, a few were given in written form.

Tagabawa belongs to the South Manobo subgroup of Manobo languages of the southern Philippines, and is closely related to Sarangani Manobo and Cotabato Manobo (McFarland 1980). The language is spoken by approximately 30,000 speakers living on the eastern and southern slopes of Mt. Apo in the provinces of Davao del Sur and Cotabato in southern Mindanao. The Tagabawas, however, do not identify their language as Manobo; instead, they regard it as one of three or four languages referred to as Bagobo.

The name Bagobo was originally applied to the people living on or around Mt. Apo by the Spaniards in the 1880s (Gloria 1987). Subsequent settlers and researchers continued to use this term. The languages commonly called Bagobo are Tagabawa, Obo (also known as Obo Manobo), and Guiangan (or as the speakers refer to themselves, Áttó or Klata).¹ A fourth language, Tagakaulo, has also been identified as Bagobo by some researchers (Mangune 2001).

The majority of Tagabawas are farmers. They produce a wide variety of grains, vegetables, fruits, rubber, and copra for commercial purposes. Education is highly valued and readily available in the lowland areas, but fewer education facilities are available in the mountain regions. Many Tagabawas hold professional or government positions; however, job opportunities have become more competitive with the increase of college graduates seeking professional positions. The Tagabawas have long been noted for the artistic beauty of their traditional clothing, which they still wear at special events (Cole 1945).

Historically the Tagabawas practiced polygamy, and cases of multiple wives still exist among the older generation (Cole 1945). Slavery was also practiced and was frequently the incentive for raids against neighboring language groups. Although the Tagabawas did not engage in headhunting or cannibalism, they did practice human sacrifice (usually of slaves) until about 1905 (Cole 1913; Blair and Robertson 1903).

Orthography

The orthography of Tagabawa consists of sixteen consonants and six vowels. The consonants are: *b* [b], *d* [d], *g* [g], *h* [h], *k* [k], *l* [l], *m* [m], *n* [n], *ng* [ŋ], *p* [p], *r* [r], *s* [s], *t* [t], *w* [w], *y* [j], ` [ʔ]. The vowels are: *a* [a], *á* [ə], *é* [e][ɛ], *i* [i], *ó* [o], *u* [u]. The glottal stop is a phoneme that occurs word finally and is always represented by the symbol ` in this position, e.g. *batà* [batəʔ] ‘child’. On the other hand, it never occurs word medially as a coda, except in reduplicated forms, e.g. *salàsala* [sələʔsələʔ] ‘fraught with sin’. The glottal stop also occurs word initially and intervocalically (i.e. as an onset following an open syllable). In these positions it is not represented orthographically, e.g. *apù* [ʔapuʔ] ‘grandparent’ or ‘grandchild’ and *buuy* [buʔuj] ‘fruit’.² Stress is phonemic but not written. Regarding the use of [l] and [r], Tagabawa speakers in the Makilala area prefer [l], whereas [r] is spoken elsewhere.

Genre

The texts in this volume are grouped according to genre. In the following list, those texts marked by an asterisk were collected as written texts. All others were collected as oral texts.

Traditional narrative

<i>Ás Sandawà</i>	Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac
Sandawa	
<i>Ás Lumabát</i>	Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac
Lumabat	
* <i>Tô tigkanayan ka lákkáp</i>	Mrs. Melania O. Awe
The origin of the solar eclipse	
<i>Ás Paliman</i>	Mrs. Melania O. Awe
Paliman	
<i>Tô batà buringán</i>	Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac
The unkempt child	
<i>Ás Paladayán</i>	Mrs. Mingka L. Oncoy
Paladayan	
<i>Ás Karapungát asta ás Patulangán</i>	Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac
Karapungan and Patulangan	
<i>Ás Malingling</i>	Mrs. Mingka L. Oncoy
Malingling	

**Tô manubù igdagpakan ka banug*
The person whom an eagle seized

Mr. Umanan A. Lambac

Factual narrative

**Tô pagpamasusu ki Datù Lambac*
The birth of Datu Lambac

Mr. Umanan A. Lambac

Expository

**Tô ágpagimánnalán ák Bagóbô manubù*
The beliefs of the Bagobo people

Miss Peligrina E. Lambac

Tô kalábbáng ka duwán ágkamaté
Burial when someone dies

Miss Peligrina E. Lambac

**Ni gulitán nik sábbad mabaliyan*
This is the narration about a certain midwife

Mrs. Melania O. Awe

Tô sábbad bayi migpamasusu
A certain woman who gave birth

Mrs. Iclayan E. Icdang

Hortatory

Tô taladuma
Spouses

Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac

Péskuwila yu tô gabatà yu
Have your children attend school

Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac

Litigation

Tô kasu
Litigation

Mr. Alfredo A. Lambac
Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac
Mr. Gregorio E. Ambat
Mr. Lumayon A. Ogawan

Notes

¹ Alternate spellings of Guiangan found in the literature are: Giangan, Jangan, Guanga, and Gulanga (Grimes 2000).

² Tagabawa has only CV and CVC syllables; consequently, any word written orthographically as a vowel-initial word always begins with a glottal stop. Furthermore, any word written with a sequence of vowels always has an intervocalic glottal stop.

TEXTS

Ás Sandawà

si Sandawà

MRK Sandawa

Sandawa

*Datu*¹ *Bulatukan A. Lambac*²

1. Tô midugé dán banuwa,³ tô pagbánnal katô mga
tô min-dugé dán banuwa tô pag-bánnal katô mga
OBL REAL.OF-long.time now earth MRK NMR-believe GEN PL

Bagóbô⁴ ás Sandawà,^{5, 6} manubù.⁷

Bagóbô si Sandawà manubù

Bagobo MRK Sandawa person

A long time ago on the earth, the belief of the Bagobo (people) was that Sandawa, he was a person.

2. Ás Sandawà, duwán sábbad bayi migkalyagan din, ás Matutum.⁸
si Sandawà duwán sábbad bayi mig-kalyag-an din si Matutum
MRK Sandawa EXT one woman REAL.LF-marry- 3SG ABS Matutum

As for Sandawa, there was a woman whom he married, (who was) Matutum.

3. Duwán puman sábbad álló ás Sandawà, minarigan ki
duwán puman sábbad álló si Sandawà min-arig-an ki
EXT again one day MRK Sandawa REAL.LF-feel.love.for- OBL

Mibuló.⁹

Mibuló

Mibulo

There was another (later) time when Sandawa, he felt love for Mibulo.

4. Na¹⁰ takud ta taladuma man si Sandawà asta si Matutum, si
na tikud ta taladuma man si Sandawà asta si Matutum si
LK from OBL spouses naturally ABS Sandawa and ABS Matutum MRK

Matutum, ágtanud.

Matutum ág-tanud

Matutum HAB.SF-jealous

And naturally since Sandawa and Matutum were spouses to each other, Matutum, she was jealous.

5. Migpudut din tô barira¹¹ ággamitán ka gabál.
 mig-pudut din tô barira ág-gamit-án ka ág-abál
 REAL.OF-pick.up 3SG ABS batten HAB.OF-use-__ OBL HAB.SF-weave

She picked up the batten that is used for weaving.

6. Migbunal din ás Sandawà.
 mig-bunal din si Sandawà
 REAL.OF-beat.on.head 3SG ABS Sandawa

She beat Sandawa on the head.

7. Purisu atin sumállág ka ki Sandawà, duwán kitanán nu nit
 purisu atin um-sállág ka ki Sandawà duwán kita-án nu dini-ta
 therefore if IRR.SF-look 2SG OBL Sandawa EXT see-IRR.OF 2SG here-OBL

ulu din¹² ibállà.
 ulu din min-bállà
 head 3SG.GEN REAL.OF-split

Therefore if you look at Sandawa (Mt. Apo), you will see something here on its head (that has been) split apart.

8. Tô gó miglagpás i Matutum ka barira.
 tô.gó mig-lagpás i Matutum ka barira
 that's.where.__ REAL.OF-beat ERG Matutum OBL batten

That is where Matutum beat him with the batten.

9. Misókó si Sandawà.
 min-sókó si Sandawà
 REAL.OF-anger ABS Sandawa

Sandawa was angry.

10. Migsipà dìn ás Matutum.
 mig-sipà dìn si Matutum
 REAL.OF-kick 3SG ABS Matutum

He kicked Matutum.

11. Ás Matutum, minantug tun ta madiyù.
 si Matutum min-antug dutun ta ma-diyù
 MRK Matutum REAL.OF-throw there OBL ADJ-far

As for Matutum, she was thrown far away.

12. Ni gabata, mitángngàtángngà.
 ni ga-batà min-tángngàtángngà
 this PL-child REAL.OF-divide.up

As for these children (of Sandawa and Matutum), they were divided up.

13. Duwán tô migtákkás ki Matutum dutut south.
 duwán tô mig-tákkás ki Matutum dutun-ta south
 EXT ABS REAL.SF-accompany OBL Matutum there-OBL south

There were those who accompanied Matutum to the south.

14. Yan gó mga Biraan, Tagakólu, Tagabóli, Kalagan, Manubù.¹³
 yan gó mga Biraan Tagakólu Tagabóli Kalagan Manobo
 that EMPH PL Blaan Tagakaulo Tboli Kalagan Manobo

Those were the Blaans, Tagakaulos, Tbolis, Kalagans, Manobos.

15. Ni duma gabatà igóddô migtákkás kani amé¹⁴ dan,
 ni duma ga-batà mig-óddô mig-tákkás kani amé dan
 this other PL-child REAL.SF-stay REAL.SF-accompany this father 3PL.GEN

Sandawà, mga Matigsalug, Ubù, Áttó, asta sikita gó mga
 Sandawà mga Matigsalug Ubù Áttó asta sikita gó mga
 Sandawa PL Matigsalug Obo.Manobo Guiangan and 1PL.IN EMPH PL

Tagabawà.¹⁵

Tagabawà

Tagabawa

These other children (who) stayed with this father of theirs, Sandawa, they were the Matigsalugs, Obo Manobos, Guiangans, and we Tagabawas.

16. Takud taddô dán si Sandawà, mibaluy¹⁶ pabungan.
 tikud taddô dán si Sandawà min-baluy pabungan
 from there now MRK Sandawa REAL.OF-transform mountain

From that time on Sandawa, he was transformed into a mountain.

17. Ás Matutum, ás Mibuló, mibaluy pagsik pabungan.
 si Matutum si Mibuló min-baluy pagsik pabungan
 MRK Matutum MRK Mibulo REAL.OF-transform also mountain

Matutum and Mibulo, they were also transformed into mountains.

18. Yan pagbánnal kani mga Bagóbô, ás Sandawà, apù¹⁷ ta.
 yan pag-bánnal kani mga Bagóbô si Sandawà apù ta
 that NMR-believe these PL Bagobo MRK Sandawa grandparent 1PL.IN.GEN

That belief of these Bagobos is, as for Sandawa, he is our grandfather.

19. Purisu atin ágngadan é Bagóbô Apù Sandawà, sù
 purisu atin ág-ngadan é Bagóbô Apù Sandawà su-ù
 therefore when HAB.SF-name ABS Bagobo grandparent Sandawa because-EMPH

apù ta.

apù ta

grandparent 1PL.IN.GEN

Therefore when the Bagobos call him Grandfather Sandawa, it is because he is our grandfather.

20. Purisu atin ágngadan ki Apù Sandawà, su apù
 purisu atin ág-ngadan ki Apù Sandawà su apù
 therefore when HAB.SF-name 1PL.IN grandparent Sandawa because grandparent

ta yan.

ta yan

1PL.IN.GEN that

Therefore when we call him Grandfather Sandawa, it is because that one is our grandfather.

21. Taddô dád gó.¹⁸

taddô dád gó

there only EMPH

There only for sure.

Notes

¹ The term *datù* is a title given to a traditional leader. The position may be inherited from a relative or granted by an elder leader of the community for bravery in combat or skill as an arbitrator. The traditional leader is a trusted person, one known for giving wise counsel. The term *mataná* ‘wise’, ‘respected’ is attributed to him. (Also see endnote 59, page 41, following the text *Tô tigkanayan ka lákkáp* ‘The origin of the solar eclipse’.)

Terms related to *datù*

ágdatuán ‘one acknowledged as a leader’ (Also see endnote 59, page 41.)

ágdatù é bulan ‘the moon is full’ (lit. ‘the moon is wealthy’)

ágdatùdatù ‘to act like a wealthy person’

datù ‘wealthy person’

kadatuan ‘wealth’

² Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac was born in 1915 with two umbilical cords wrapped around his neck, an abnormality believed by the Tagabawas to be a bad omen. His grandmother, the midwife, would have put him to death, except for the intervention of an influential man. (For further details, see *Tô pagpamasusu ki Datù Lambac* ‘The birth of Datu Lambac’, page 111.)

Datu Lambac grew up in Sitio Lambac (so named for his father) in Barangay Malasila, Makilala Municipality, Cotabato Province, Mindanao. He was a high school graduate and an acclaimed orator. He was the father of eighteen living children. He founded the Mindanao Highlanders’ Association (MINDAHILA), and he served as vice-mayor of Kidapawan and later as vice-mayor of Makilala. He was also chairman of the Provincial Tribal Council of Cotabato, vice-chairman of the Regional Tribal Council, and Tribal Consultant of Region XII. In 1983 he was received by the president of the Philippines in the presidential palace at Malacañang in Manila. He also addressed the Batasan Pambansa (the National Congress) in Quezon City. His death in June, 2002, was mourned by scores of people who knew and loved him.

³ *Banuwa* ‘place’ (primarily inhabitable) is a residence, a location, a province, a country, the earth, or the world.

⁴ *Bagóbô* is a general term for people living on or near the slopes of Mt. Apo. (For more information about this term, see the introduction.)

⁵ *Sandawà* is the local name for Mt. Apo, the tallest mountain in the Philippines (2,954 meters; 9,692 feet). It is a volcano and erupted last in 1640. *Sandawà* is also the Tagabawa word for sulfur, which can be found on the slopes of Mt. Apo. Sulfur is used for medicinal purposes and believed by some to have supernatural qualities.

⁶ When the S argument of an intransitive clause or the P argument of a transitive clause is moved to a position before the verb, it is analyzed as a fronted NP, i.e. a NP that has been moved out of its clause to a sentence-initial position. When a fronted S or P argument is a 3rd person, it is often represented as a zero anaphor in the clause from which it has been extracted. On the other hand, when a fronted S or P argument is a 1st or 2nd person, it is represented obligatorily as a coreferential pronoun in the clause from which it has been extracted. (For an example of a fronted NP having a 1st person referent, see sentence 42, page 169, in *Tô kasu* ‘Litigation’; for fronted NPs having 2nd person referents, see sentence 7, page 147, in *Tô taladuma* ‘Spouses’ and sentence 12, page 157, in *Péskuwila yu tô gabatà yu* ‘Have your children attend school’.)

⁷ In Tagabawa, the word for ‘person’ is *manubù*. The Tagabawa people refer to Manobo people groups as *Ubù* ‘Obo’. In this text, the contributor demonstrates his knowledge of the outside world by referring to two separate Manobo people groups (probably the Sarangani Manobo and the Obo Manobo).

⁸ *Matutum*, the wife of Sandawa, was believed to have been transformed into the mountain that is also called Matutum, located in South Cotabato Province, Mindanao.

⁹ *Mibuló* was the second woman whom Sandawa desired. In this text, she too was transformed into a mountain, which is called Mibulo. Mibulo is said to be located in the vicinity of Mt. Apo in Davao del Sur Province; however, the current name and exact location of the mountain are uncertain.

¹⁰ When the word *na* occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it is often followed by a phonological pause, which is indicated by a comma. Here, however, no phonological pause occurs, and so a comma does not appear.

¹¹ *Barira* ‘batten’ (of a backstrap loom) is made of *basag*, a hard, black wood that comes from a kind of palm; it is used to tighten the weaving on the loom.

Other parts of a backstrap loom

<i>awit</i>	‘backstrap’
<i>baibitan</i>	‘heddle rod’
<i>balluan</i>	‘shed roll’
<i>bangbang</i>	‘comb’

<i>busak</i>	‘warping frame’
<i>duru</i>	‘hemp’ (thread used for weaving)
<i>ébul</i>	‘front beam rod’
<i>igsai</i>	‘warp’
<i>papa</i>	‘back beam rod’
<i>paru</i>	‘weft’ or ‘woof’
<i>pawadan</i>	‘vertical supports’ (where there is no tie cord)
<i>tali katô papa</i>	‘tie cord’ (lit. ‘cord of the back beam rod’)
<i>tuktuk</i>	‘pegs’ (of warping frame)
<i>urungan</i>	‘shuttle’

¹² As a person, Sandawa sustained a split scalp. After he was transformed into a mountain, the crater crevice (believed to be the result of his split scalp) can be seen at the peak of Mt. Apo.

¹³ The children who followed Matutum to the south had the names of people groups in South Cotabato Province. Among them were the *Biraan* ‘Blaan’, *Tagakólu* ‘Tagakaulo’, *Tagabóli* ‘Tboli’, *Kalagan* ‘Kalagan’, *Manubù* ‘Sarangani Manobo’.

¹⁴ The term *amé* ‘father’ is seldom used; instead, *ámmà* is the preferred term for both the denotation of and the direct address for the referent.

¹⁵ The children who remained with Sandawa had the names of people groups in Cotabato and Bukidnon provinces. Among them were the *Matigsalug* ‘Matigsalug’, *Ubù* ‘Obo Manobo’, *Áttó* ‘Guiangan’, and *Tagabawà* ‘Tagabawa’.

¹⁶ *Mibaluy* ‘to transform’ comes from the root *baluy* ‘beyond’, ‘opposite side’. Several traditional narratives relate that a person who violates a taboo may suffer punishment by being transformed into an animal, a bird, or an inanimate object. (See texts *Ás Lumabát* ‘Lumabat’, page 15; *Ás Paladayán* ‘Paladayan’, page 74; and *Ás Karapungát asta ás Patulangán* ‘Karapungat and Patulangan’, page 83.) A *timbaluy* ‘sorcerer’ is one who claims to have the power to transform a person.

¹⁷ *Apù* ‘grandparent’ or ‘grandchild’ refers to a person of the same relative age as one’s grandparent or grandchild. This is likely the origin for the name Mt. Apo, as sentence 19 seems to support.

Other kinship terms

<i>amayánnán</i>	‘uncle’
<i>apù abul</i>	‘great-grandparent’, ‘great-grandchild’
<i>apù siku</i>	‘great-great-grandparent’, ‘great-great-grandchild’
<i>ayù</i>	‘a woman’s sister-in-law’ (i.e. her husband’s sister)
<i>ámmà</i>	‘father’
<i>batà</i>	‘child’
<i>bataánnán</i>	‘niece’, ‘nephew’
<i>bayó</i>	‘brother-in-law’
<i>bilas</i>	‘sister-in-law’

<i>duma</i>	‘husband’, ‘companion’
<i>idas</i>	‘a woman’s brother-in-law’ (i.e. her sister’s husband or her husband’s sister’s husband), ‘a man’s sister-in-law’ (i.e. his brother’s wife or his wife’s brother’s wife)
<i>ikóddô</i>	‘daughter-in-law’, ‘son-in-law’
<i>inayánnán</i>	‘aunt’
<i>innà</i>	‘mother’
<i>ipag</i>	‘a woman’s brother-in-law’ (i.e. her husband’s brother), ‘a man’s sister-in-law’ (i.e. his wife’s sister)
<i>kataladi</i>	‘brother-brother relationship’, ‘sister-sister relationship’
<i>sawa</i>	‘wife’
<i>taladuma</i>	‘spouse relationship’
<i>tábbé</i>	‘sister’, ‘female relative’
<i>ugang</i>	‘parent-in-law’

¹⁸ Many narrations signal the conclusion of the discourse with the formulaic closing *taddô dád gó* ‘there only for sure’, or a variation of it, e.g. *taddô dád sippang* ‘until there only’, *taddô dád gó sippang* ‘until there only for sure’.

Ás Lumabát

si Lumabát

MRK Lumabat

Lumabat

*Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac*¹⁹

1. Tô midugé dán timpu, mantu pa ni banuwa, duwán
tô min-dugé dán timpu mantu pa ni banuwa duwán
OBL REAL.OF-long.time now time new yet this earth EXT

manubù góddô nit banuwa ágngadanak Lumabát.²⁰
manubù ág-óddô dini-ta banuwa ág-ngadan-an-ki Lumabát
person HAB.SF-dwell here-OBL earth HAB.LF-name-__-OBL Lumabat

A long time ago now, when this earth was still new, there was a person living here on earth named Lumabat.

2. Ás Lumabát, ágpmaké dutut Manama.²¹
si Lumabát ág-pamaké dutun-ta Manama
MRK Lumabat HAB.SF-belief there-OBL God

Lumabat, he believed in God.

3. Na duwán batà din ágngadanak Tagaliyung.
na duwán batà din ág-ngadan-an-ki Tagaliyung
LK EXT child 3SG.GEN HAB.LF-name-__-OBL Tagaliyung

And he had a child named Tagaliyung.

4. Na timpu katô, ás Lumabát, mibaluy su áskandin,
na timpu katô si Lumabát min-baluy su sikandin
LK time OBL MRK Lumabat REAL.OF-transform because 3SG.MRK

ágpmaké.

ág-pamaké

HAB.SF-belief

Now at that time, Lumabat, he was transformed because he, he was a believer.

5. Ágsadun dutun datas ta langit.
 ág-sadun dutun datas ta langit
 HAB.SF-go there up OBL heaven

He kept going up there to heaven.

6. Tô ándà pamaké, duwán mibaluy manuk, duwán mibaluy
 tô ándà pamaké duwán min-baluy manuk duwán min-baluy
 MRK none belief EXT REAL.OF-transform bird EXT REAL.OF-transform

lutung, duwán mibaluy batu.
 lutung duwán min-baluy batu
 monkey EXT REAL.OF-transform rock

As for those unbelievers, some were transformed into birds, some were transformed into monkeys, some were transformed into rocks.

7. Na, duwán batu dutun duwán bónnóng állát kani prubinsiya ák
 na duwán batu dutun duwán bónnóng állát kani prubinsiya ka
 LK EXT rock there EXT resemblance distance this province GEN

Bukidnon asta Cotabato.
 Bukidnon asta Cotabato
 Bukidnon and Cotabato

Now there is a rock that has a (human) resemblance there between these provinces of Bukidnon and Cotabato.

8. Na duwán batu kitanán nu ágtáddung ka nanga.²²
 na duwán batu kita-án nu ág-táddung ka nanga
 LK EXT rock see-IRR.OF 2SG HAB.SF-cover OBL vine.type

And there is a rock you can see that is covered with thorny vines.

9. Kabánnalan katô duwán mibaluy batu.
 ka-bánnal-an katô duwán min-baluy batu
NMR-true-__ OBL EXT REAL.OF-transform rock

That is the truth that there was something transformed into a rock.

10. Ágbabawù ák kabir din, na ágtáddung ka daun
 ág-baba-ù ka kabir din na ág-táddung ka daun
 HAB.SF-carry.on.back-EMPH OBL bag 3SG.GEN LK HAB.SF-head.cover OBL leaf

ka nanga.
 ka nanga
 GEN vine.type

He carries his backpack, and his head is covered with thorny vine leaves.

11. Tô gó manubù tô, pero²³ ibaluy batu tô timpu katô
 tô.gó manubù tô pero min-baluy batu tô timpu katô
that's.what. person ABS but REAL.OF-transform rock OBL time OBL

ibaluy dán si Lumabát.
 min-baluy dán si Lumabát
 REAL.OF-transform now ABS Lumabat

That is what was a person, but he was transformed into a rock at the time Lumabat was transformed.

12. Na, duwán sábbad bayi; migóméng áskandin ka báttám.
 na duwán sábbad bayi mig-óméng sikandin ka báttám
 LK EXT one woman REAL.SF-cook 3SG OBL millet

Now there was a certain woman; she cooked millet.

13. Na kumu²⁴ ménit pô ágkan dán, tô gabatà, ágpagawé.
 na kumu ma-init pa-ù ág-kan dán tô ga-batà ágpa-agó-é
 LK because ADJ-hot yet-EMPH HAB.SF-eat now ABS PL-child HAB.SF-snatch-

And because it was still too hot to eat then, the children, they were snatching it away from each other.

14. Migbunal din ka kaludà é ulu.
 mig-bunal din ka kaludà é ulu
 REAL.OF-beat.on.head 3SG OBL ladle ABS head

She beat them on the head with a ladle.

15. Tô gabatà tô, ibaluy lutung.
 tô ga-batà tô min-baluy lutung
 MRK PL-child ABS REAL.OF-transform monkey

As for those children, they were transformed into monkeys.

16. Tô gó madita lutung áknganni.
 tô.gó ma-dita lutung áknganni
that's.why. ADJ-many monkey nowadays

That is why there are many monkeys nowadays.

17. Na tô iné,²⁵ ágngadanan ki Puné,²⁶ ibaluy manuk.
 na tô iné ág-ngadan-an ki puné min-baluy manuk
 LK MRK mother HAB.LF-name- OBL green.pigeon REAL.OF-transform bird

And the mother, named Green Pigeon, she was transformed into a bird.

18. Dinággán nu tô manuk tô ka ágkagi, mà din, “Mm, mm, batà
 dinág-án nu tô manuk tô ka ág-kagi mà din mm mm batà
 hear-IRR.OF 2SG ABS bird ABS OBL HAB.SF-say said 3SG mm mm child

ku, milapa, báttám.”
 ku min-lapa báttám
 1SG.GEN REAL.OF-burn millet

You can hear that bird when it speaks, saying, “Mm, mm, my child, was burned, by millet.”

19. Sù milapa man gó tô gabatà ka báttám.
 su-ù min-lapa man gó tô ga-batà ka báttám
 because-EMPH REAL.OF-burn naturally EMPH ABS PL-child OBL millet

Because naturally the children were burned by millet.

20. Tô manuk tô, ágngadanak Puné.
 tô manuk tô ág-ngadan-an-ki puné
 MRK bird ABS HAB.LF-name- OBL green.pigeon

As for that bird, it is named Green Pigeon.

21. Tô gó ágkéduwan din tô gabatà din milapa ka
 tô.gó ágka-idu-an din tô ga-batà din min-lapa ka
that's.why. HAB.LF-pity- 3SG ABS PL-child 3SG.GEN REAL.OF-burn OBL

báttám, ibaluy lutung.
 báttám min-baluy lutung
 millet REAL.OF-transform monkey

That is why she pities her children burned by millet, transformed into monkeys.

22. Agad áknganni dinággán nu tô puné ágkagi, mà din, “Mm,
 agad áknganni dinág-án nu tô puné ág-kagi mà din mm
 even nowadays hear-IRR.OF 2SG ABS green.pigeon HAB.SF-say said 3SG mm

mm, batà ku, milapa ka báttám.”
 mm batà ku min-lapa ka báttám
 mm child 1SG.GEN REAL.OF-burn OBL millet

Even nowadays you can hear the green pigeon speaking, saying, “Mm, mm, my child, was burned by millet.”

23. Su kagi man ka Tagabawà; tô karkulu²⁷ ku, Tagabawà.
 su kagi man ka Tagabawà tô karkulu ku Tagabawà
 because say naturally GEN Tagabawa MRK estimate 1SG.GEN Tagabawa

For naturally it is the speech of the Tagabawas; in my estimation, it is Tagabawa.

24. Na, duwán pagsik mga manuk Áttó²⁸ é igpantikudan,
 na duwán pagsik mga manuk Áttó é mig-pan-tikud-an
 LK EXT also PL bird Guiangan ABS REAL.LF-PL-origin-

su manan ka dinággán nu kumagi, mà din, “Ipittóro”; taó²⁹ é
 su manan.ka dinág-án nu um-kagi mà din ipittóro taó é
 because why. hear-IRR.OF 2SG IRR.SF-speak said 3SG ipittóro koel ABS

ngadan katô manuk.
 ngadan katô manuk
 name GEN bird

Now there are also birds whose origin is Guiangan, because why else would you hear them speak, saying, “*Ipittóro*”; koel is the name of the bird.

25. Karkulu ku, Áttó, ibaluyan pagsik mga manuk tô timpu
 karkulu ku Áttó min-baluy-an pagsik mga manuk tô timpu
 estimate 1SG.GEN Guiangan REAL.LF-transform- also PL bird OBL time

tô.
tô
OBL

In my estimation, as for the Guiangan (people), they also were transformed into birds at that time.

26. Na duwán pagsik mga Ubù³⁰ mibaluy manuk, su
na duwán pagsik mga Ubù min-baluy manuk su
LK EXT also PL Obo.Manobo REAL.OF-transform bird because
ágdinággánnù tô kalinsawi³¹ ágkagi, mà din, “Busó siyak,
ág-dinág-án-ù tô kalinsawi ág-kagi mà din busó siyak
HAB.OF-hear-__-EMPH ABS monarch.bird HAB.SF-speak said 3SG evil.spirit 1SG

busó siyak.”
busó siyak
evil.spirit 1SG

And there were also Obo Manobo (people) who were transformed into birds, because the monarch bird can be heard speaking, saying, “I am an evil spirit, I am an evil spirit.”

27. Ubù tô kagi din.
Ubù tô kagi din
Obo.Manobo ABS word 3SG.GEN

Obo Manobo are its words.

28. Agad tô kalyawa,³² mga magdakál manuk, kalyawa tô mà din, “Kô,
agad tô kalyawa mga mag-dakál manuk kalyawa tô mà din kô
even MRK male.hornbill PL very-large bird male.hornbill ABS said 3SG kô

kô, kungkéków.”³³
kô kungkéków
kô kungkéków

Even male hornbills, which are large birds, the male hornbill is the one that says, “Kô, kô, kungkéków.”

29. Tô gó duwán mibaluy manuk, na duwán mibaluy
 tô.gó duwán min-baluy manuk na duwán min-baluy
 that's.when. EXT REAL.OF-transform bird LK EXT REAL.OF-transform

batu tô timpu katô mibaluy ás Lumabát.
 batu tô timpu katô min-baluy si Lumabát
 rock OBL time OBL REAL.OF-transform ABS Lumabat

That is when some were transformed into birds, and some were transformed into rocks at the time when Lumabat was transformed.

30. Nanda si Warì?³⁴
 na-ánda si Warì
 LK-where ABS Wari

Now where was Wari?

31. Ás Warì, mikatákkás ki Lumabát dutun datas ta langit.
 si Warì mika-tákkás ki Lumabát dutun datas ta langit
 MRK Wari REAL.SF-accompany OBL Lumabat there up OBL heaven

As for Wari, he had accompanied Lumabat up there to heaven.

32. Na, ándasu migdunggù dán ás Warì dutun datas, ágdaruwang
 na ándasu mig-dunggù dán si Warì dutun datas ág-daruwang
 LK when REAL.SF-arrive now ABS Wari there up HAB.SF-look.down

dinit siyung, ágsállággán din madita saging milutuan.
 dini-ta siyung ág-sállág-án din ma-dita saging min-lutù-an
 here-OBL under HAB.OF-see- 3SG ADJ-many banana REAL.LF-ripe-

Now when Wari arrived there up above, he looked down here below, seeing many bananas that had ripened.

33. Na mà i Warì, “Muliyô kanak,
 na mà i Warì M-ulì-a-ù kanak
 LK said ERG Wari IRR.SF-go.home-1SG-EMPH 1SG.OBL

Because he was hungry, he ate the trail food there in the sky.

39. Igsugbanan i Lumabát.³⁷
 mig-sugban-an i Lumabát
REAL.LF-cease- ERG Lumabat

Lumabat ceased (letting him down).

40. Na, ándà man pa dini, su tô man pat kawangngawangan,
 na ándà man pa dini su tô man pa-ta ka-awangngawang-an
 LK not naturally yet here because MRK naturally yet-OBL NMR-air-

mikasagpat dutut kayu balitì.³⁸
 mika-sagpat dutun-ta kayu balitì
 REAL.SF-snag there-OBL tree tree.type

Now before he had yet got here, because naturally he was still in the sky, he got snagged in a *balitì* tree.

41. Na tô gó tô lumu i Warì, gabéyù gullaó
 na tô.gó tô lumu i Warì ág-abé-ù ág-ullaó
 LK that's.what- ABS work GEN Wari HAB.SF-keep.on-EMPH HAB.SF-shout

ágpatabangtabang.
 ágpa-tabangtabang
 HAB.SF-help

Then what Wari did, he kept on shouting for help.

42. Ibaluy dán manuk.
 min-baluy dán manuk
 REAL.OF-transform now bird

He was then transformed into a bird.

43. Ágkabulbulan dán.
 ágka-bulbul-an dán
HAB.LF-feathers- now

He then became feathered.

44. Tô gó manuk kulagu³⁹ ás Warì.
 tô.gó manuk kulagu si Warì
 that's.why. bird owl ABS Warì

That is why Warì is a bird, the owl.

45. Atin duwán ágdinággán yu manuk ágkagi, “Kulagu,” ás Warì yan;
 atin duwán ág-dinág-án yu manuk ág-kagi kulagu si Warì yan
 if EXT HAB.OF-hear-__ 2PL bird HAB.SF-say owl MRK Warì that

migulì dutut banuwa su mikakitak malutù saging.
 mig-ulì dutun-ta banuwa su mika-kita-ka ma-lutù saging
 REAL.SF-go.home there-OBL earth because REAL.SF-see-OBL ADJ-ripe banana

If you hear a bird saying, “*Kulagu* (owl),” that is Warì; he returned to the earth because he saw ripe bananas.

46. Timpu katô mibaluy ás Lumabát, madita
 timpu katô min-baluy si Lumabát ma-dita
 time OBL REAL.OF-transform ABS Lumabat ADJ-many

mibaluy.

min-baluy

REAL.OF-transform

At the time Lumabat was transformed, many were transformed.

47. Duwán mibaluy kalyawa.
 duwán min-baluy kalyawa
 EXT REAL.OF-transform male.hornbill

Some were transformed into male hornbills.

48. Duwán mibaluy puné.
 duwán min-baluy puné
 EXT REAL.OF-transform green.pigeon

Some were transformed into green pigeons.

49. Duwán mibaluy mangguwapuy.⁴⁰
 duwán min-baluy mangguwapuy
 EXT REAL.OF-transform pitta.bird

Some were transformed into pitta birds.

50. Duwán ibaluy mga batu.
 duwán min-baluy mga batu
 EXT REAL.OF-transform PL rock

Some were transformed into rocks.

51. Na, tô mangguwapuy, manubù ágkabógókan, ágkarukungán.
 na tô mangguwapuy manubù ágka-bógók-an ág-karukung-án
 LK MRK pitta.bird person HAB.LF-sick- HAB.OF-malaria-

Now, as for the pitta bird, he was a person who was sick, afflicted by malaria chills.

52. Ágpamuyù kapuy.
 ág-pamuyù ka-apuy
 HAB.SF-ask OBL-fire

He kept asking for fire.

53. Tô, sigi ágtawar, mà din, “Bággéya kapuy!”
 tô sigi ág-tawar mà din bággé-a ka-apuy
 MRK continue HAB.SF-call said 3SG give-1SG OBL-fire

As for that one, he kept calling, saying, “Give me fire!”

54. Na gabéyù ágtawar, mà din, “Bággéya kapuy!”
 na ág-abé-ù ág-tawar mà din bággé-a ka-apuy
 LK HAB.SF-keep.on-EMPH HAB.SF-call said 3SG give-1SG OBL-fire

And he kept on calling, saying, “Give me fire!”

55. Ágkabalbulan dán.
 ágka-bulbul-an dán
HAB.LF-feathers- now

He then became feathered.

56. Tô gó ibaluy mangguwapuy.
 tô.gó min-baluy mangguwapuy
 that's.why.__ REAL.OF-transform pitta.bird

That is why he was transformed into a pitta bird.

57. Asta áknganni duwán manuk dinággánnù, tô ágkagi,
 asta áknganni duwán manuk dinág-án-ù tô ág-kagi
 and nowadays EXT bird hear-IRR.OF-EMPH ABS HAB.SF-say

“Mangguwapuy”; manubù yan.
 mangguwapuy manubù yan
 pitta.bird person that

And now there is a bird that is heard, the one that says, “*Mangguwapuy* (pitta bird)”; that was a person.

58. Timpu katô ibaluy ás Lumabát, ibaluy áskandin
 timpu katô min-baluy si Lumabát min-baluy sikandin
 time OBL REAL.OF-transform ABS Lumabat REAL.OF-transform 3SG

mangguwapuy.
 mangguwapuy
 pitta.bird

At the time Lumabat was transformed, he (Mangguwapuy) was transformed into a pitta bird.

59. Ágpamuyù kapuy su kakalyag din minadang, su
 ág-pamuyù ka-apuy su ka-kalyag din M-inadang su
 HAB.SF-ask OBL-fire because NMR-want 3SG.GEN IRR.SF-warm.oneself because

ágkagánnawan, ágkarukungán.
 ágka-gánnó-an ág-karukung-án
HAB.LF-cold-__ HAB.OF-malaria-__

He was asking for fire because he wanted to warm himself, because he was cold, he was afflicted by malaria chills.

60. Duwán pa duma ibaluy manuk mga manubù tô;
 duwán pa duma min-baluy manuk mga manubù tô
 EXT yet other REAL.OF-transform bird PL person ABS

tô gó saguksuk.⁴¹
 tô.gó saguksuk
that's.who. coucal.bird

There were yet other people transformed into birds; that is who are coucal birds.

61. Ágsaguksuk su mà din, “Suksuk kó, palaguy kó,” ó “állás kó,”
 ág-saguksuk su mà din suksuk kó palaguy kó ó állás kó
 HAB.SF-coucal.bird because said 3SG insert 2PL run 2PL or hide 2PL

su imáddangan.
 su min-máddang-an
 because REAL.LF-afraid-__

It is a coucal bird because it says, “You insert yourself (in a tight place), you run,” or “you hide,” because it was afraid.

62. Duwán basì imáddangan dan timpu katô.
 duwán basì min-máddang-an dan timpu katô
 EXT perhaps REAL.LF-afraid-__ 3PL time OBL

Perhaps some of them were afraid at that time.

63. Na tô bayaku⁴² pagsik, tô mà din, “Kédu din, kédu
 na tô bayaku pagsik tô mà din ka-idu din ka-idu
 LK MRK flycatcher also ABS said 3SG NMR-pity 3SG.GEN NMR-pity

din, kédu din”; mga Tagabawà.
 din ka-idu din mga Tagabawà
 3SG.GEN NMR-pity 3SG.GEN PL Tagabawa

And as for the flycatcher also, it is the one that says, “Pity, pity, pity”; they are Tagabawas.

64. Sunnud méduwédu.
 sunnud ma-éduwédu
 especially ADJ-mercy

They are especially merciful.

65. Purisu yan mga Tagabawà, ágkéduwan, sunnud méduwédu.
 purisu yan mga Tagabawà ágka-idu-an sunnud ma-éduwédu
 therefore that PL Tagabawa HAB.LF-pity-__ especially ADJ-mercy

Therefore as for the Tagabawas, they feel pity, they are very merciful.

66. Su állág ka man, su agad tô ibaluy dán
 su állág ka man su agad tô min-baluy dán
 because imagine.it 2SG naturally because even MRK REAL.OF-transform now

manuk, ágkéduwan.

manuk ágka-idu-an

bird HAB.LF-pity-__

For naturally just imagine it, because even those who were transformed into birds, they feel mercy.

67. Taddô dád gó sippang.
 taddô dád gó sippang
 there only EMPH until

Until there only for sure.

Notes

¹⁹ For information about the contributor, see endnote 2, page 11, following the text *Ás Sandawà* 'Sandawa'.

²⁰ *Lumabát* was one of the very earliest people in the traditional history of the Tagabawas. At a certain time in the ancient past, Lumabat was to be taken up to heaven, or *mabaluy* 'to be transformed'. At the time of his transformation, certain conditions had to be met by those still living on the earth if they also wanted to accompany him to heaven. The primary condition was that no one was to utter a word at the time when Lumabat was transformed lest the hapless speaker be transformed into a bird, an animal, or an inanimate object and be left in that form on earth.

²¹ *Manama* 'God' is currently considered to be the creator and all powerful. In Tagabawa oral literature, he is one of many *diwata* 'gods'. Manama is said to be the one who dispenses reward and punishment (Gloria 1987).

²² *Nanga* is a kind of thorny vine that is recognized by local residents; however, the compilers of these texts have not been able to identify the plant's scientific name.

²³ *Pero* 'but' appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *asal*.

- ²⁴ *Kumu* ‘since’ or ‘because’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *su*.
- ²⁵ The term *iné* ‘mother’ is seldom used. Rather *innà* is the preferred term for both the denotation of and the direct address for the referent.
- ²⁶ The *puné* is the pink-necked green pigeon (*Treron vernans vernans*). In some Philippine languages, it is called *punay*.
- ²⁷ *Karkulu* ‘to calculate’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *alàalà* ‘to estimate’, ‘to calculate’, ‘to plan to do something’.
- ²⁸ The *Áttó* people, also known as Guiangan, mostly populate the northeastern slopes of Mt. Apo in the southern Philippines.
- ²⁹ The *taó* bird is the Philippine koel (*Eudynamys scolopacea mindanensis*).
- ³⁰ The *Ubù* are the Obo Manobo people, who mostly populate the southwestern slopes of Mt. Apo in the southern Philippines.
- ³¹ The *kalinsawi* bird is the black-naped blue monarch (*Hypothymis azurea azurea*).
- ³² The *kalyawa* bird is the male tarictic hornbill (*Penelopides panini affinis*). *Ángngék* is the female tarictic hornbill.
- ³³ The narrator was reminded that the call of the hornbill is very much like the sound of Obo words.
- ³⁴ *Wari* was a man who followed Lumabat to heaven, but longed to return to the earth when he saw that his bananas were ripe. He was transformed into an owl.
- ³⁵ *Kawangngawangan* is ‘sky’, ‘atmosphere’ or ‘air’, ‘lower heaven’.

Other related terms

<i>datas ta langit</i>	‘above heaven’ (where God dwells)
<i>langit</i>	‘upper sky’, ‘heaven’ (above the <i>kawangngawangan</i>)
<i>ligad ka langit</i>	‘edge of heaven’ (very far off)
<i>lindig ka langit</i>	‘edge of heaven’ (term used primarily in traditional narratives)
<i>sagulapunán</i>	‘area of the clouds’, ‘fog’

- ³⁶ *Wari* was to be let down to earth by a tether of some sort. His barking dogs were to be the signal that *Wari* had reached the earth because, it was assumed, when he landed on the earth and ate his lunch, his dogs would fight over his food scraps.
- ³⁷ *Lumabat* released the rope, believing that *Wari* had already reached the earth, but because he had not, he fell and landed in a tree.
- ³⁸ The *baliti* tree is a kind of strangler fig, a species of *Ficus* which starts as epiphytes and strangles its host, assuming a tree form. The *baliti* tree is commonly believed to be inhabited by *busó*, a class of evil spirits.

³⁹ Wari was transformed into a *kulagu* bird, the generic term for ‘owl’.

⁴⁰ The *manguwapuy* bird is the red-breasted pitta (*Pitta erythrogaster erythrogaster*) or the black-headed pitta (*Pitta sordida sordida*).

⁴¹ The *saguksuk* bird is the Philippine coucal (*Centropus viridis viridis*).

⁴² The *bayaku* bird is the mangrove blue flycatcher (*Cyornis rufigaster philippinensis*).

Tô tigkanayan ka lákkáp
 tô tigkané-an ka lákkáp
 MRK begin-NMR GEN solar.eclipse

The origin of the solar eclipse

*Mrs. Melania O. Awe*⁴³

1. Tô tigkanayan ka lákkáp⁴⁴ su migpakitaé tô bulan⁴⁵
 tô tigkané-an ka lákkáp su migpa-kita-é tô bulan
 MRK begin-NMR GEN solar.eclipse because REAL.SF-meet-__ ABS moon

asta tô álló.⁴⁶
 asta tô álló
 and ABS sun

The origin of the solar eclipse was because the moon and the sun met each other.

2. Ni gulitán ni, gulitán katô mga tapé manubù⁴⁷
 ni ág-ulit-án ni ág-ulit-án katô mga tapé manubù
 this HAB.OF-tell-__ this HAB.OF-tell-__ ERG PL old person

sayyan.
 sayyan
 long.ago

This story, the old people long ago told it.

3. Na migdinág katô innà ku, na migulit din kanak.
 na mig-dinág katô innà ku na mig-ulit din kanak
 LK REAL.OF-hear ERG mother 1SG.GEN LK REAL.OF-tell 3SG 1SG.OBL

And my mother heard it, and she told it to me.

4. Su tô gó kun tô tigkanayan ka lákkáp su
 su tô.gó kun tô tigkané-an ka lákkáp su
 because that's.what. __ RS ABS begin-NMR GEN solar.eclipse because

migpakitaé tô bulan asta tô álló.
 migpa-kita-é tô bulan asta tô álló
REAL.SF-meet-__ ABS moon and ABS sun

For the reason for the origin of the solar eclipse was because the moon and the sun met each other.

5. Sapulù lima⁴⁸ ámmé⁴⁹ a dád pa, midinággan ku tô
 sapulù lima ámmé a dád pa min-dinág-an ku tô
 ten five year 1SG only yet REAL.LF-hear-__ 1SG ABS

gulitán katô innà ku.
 ág-ulit-án katô innà ku
HAB.OF-tell-__ GEN mother 1SG.GEN

I was only fifteen years old, (when) I happened to hear my mother's story.

6. Sábbad álló, ágpatóngkôtóngkóé tô mga tugál ka ándin é migtigkanayan
 sábbad álló ágpa-tóngkôtóngkô-é tô mga tugál ka.ándin é mig-tigkané-an
 one day HAB.SF-converse-__ ABS PL old what. __ ABS REAL.LF-begin-__

katô ágngadanan lákkáp.
 katô ág-ngadan-an lákkáp
 GEN HAB.LF-name-__ solar.eclipse

One day, the old people were conversing with each other about what began what is called the solar eclipse.

7. Dì dán ágkéyap é biyaán miglabé, tô kun bulan asta tô álló,
 dì dán ágka-iyap é biyaán mig-labé tô kun bulan asta tô álló
 not now HAB.OF-count ABS year REAL.SF-pass MRK RS moon and MRK sun

talasawa.⁵⁰
 talasawa
 spouses

The years that have passed cannot be counted, (that) the moon and the sun, they were spouses.

8. Ágpaginawaé⁵¹ dan tuu, su atin ka ágpatawaré dan, “Ó Bulan ku,”
 ágpa-ginawa-é dan tuu su atin.ka ágpa-tawar-é dan ó bulan ku
 HAB.SF-love-__ 3PL very because when. __ HAB.SF-call-__ 3PL oh moon 1SG.GEN

“Ó Álló ku,”⁵² dì dan kun ágpadiaé; agad ánda dan
 ó álló ku dì dan kun ágpa-diyà-é agad.ánda dan
 oh sun 1SG.GEN not 3PL.GEN RS HAB.SF-separate-__ wherever. __ 3PL

ágpatákkássé dan ù.
 ágpa-tákkás-é dan ù
 HAB.SF-accompany-__ 3PL EMPH

They loved each other very much, because whenever they called to each other, “Oh my Moon,” “Oh my Sun,” they would not separate from each other; wherever they went they surely accompanied each other.

9. Midugé dan taladuma.
 min-dugé dan taladuma
 REAL.OF-long.time 3PL spouses

For a long time they had been husband and wife.

10. Atin ágpanó ka dukilám tô álló, ágtákkássù pagsik
 atin ág-panó ka dukilám tô álló ág-tákkás-ù pagsik
 when HAB.SF-travel OBL night ABS sun HAB.SF-accompany-EMPH also

tô bulan.
 tô bulan
 ABS moon

When the sun would travel at night, the moon would also certainly accompany him.

11. Bayi tô bulan, mama tô álló.
 bayi tô bulan mama tô álló
 female ABS moon male ABS sun

The moon was female, the sun was male.

12. Sábbad álló, misókó tô bulan katô álló su
 sábbad álló min-sókó tô bulan katô álló su
 one day REAL.OF-anger ABS moon OBL sun because

idugé ándà ulì.⁵³
 min-dugé ándà ulì
 REAL.OF-long.time not go.home

One day, the moon was angry at the sun because he did not return home for a long time.

13. Ágtanud tô bulan.
 ág-tanud tô bulan
 HAB.SF-jealous ABS moon

The moon was jealous.

14. Igpamatayé⁵⁴ dan sippang ka igpadiyaé dan.
 migpa-maté-é dan sippang ka migpa-diyà-é dan
 REAL.SF-fight- 3PL until OBL REAL.SF-separate- 3PL

They fought with each other until they separated from each other.

15. Migpasapaé dan na dì dan malyag pakitaé.
 migpa-sapà-é dan na dì dan M-kalyag pa-kita-é
 REAL.SF-vow- 3PL LK not 3PL IRR.SF-want IRR.SF-meet-

They vowed to each other that they did not want to meet each other (again).

16. Ébô⁵⁵ kun dì pakitaé, tô bulan, kalì panó ka dukilám; tô
 ébô kun dì pa-kita-é tô bulan kalì panó ka dukilám tô
 so.that RS not IRR.SF-meet- MRK moon not.until travel OBL night MRK

álló, panó pagsik ka álló.
 álló panó pagsik ka álló
 sun travel also OBL sun

So that they would not meet each other, the moon, it would not travel until nighttime; the sun, it also would travel in the daytime.

17. Na tô gó, atin bulanán ka dukilám, ágpanó tô bulan
 na tô.gó atin bulan-án ka dukilám ág-panó tô bulan
 LK that's.why- when moon-IRR.OF OBL night HAB.SF-travel ABS moon

su migpasapaé dan na atin pakitaé dan, kumangittáng é
 su migpa-sapà-é dan na atin pa-kita-é dan kuma-ngittáng é
 because REAL.SF-vow-__ 3PL LK if IRR.SF-meet-__ 3PL IRR.SF-dark ABS

banuwa.

banuwa

earth

And that is why, when it is moonlight at night, the moon is traveling because they vowed to each other that if they met each other, the earth would become dark.

18. Duwán sábbad dukilám na migpanó tô bulan.
 duwán sábbad dukilám na mig-panó tô bulan
 EXT one night LK REAL.SF-travel ABS moon

There was a night when the moon went traveling.

19. Ándà din kasóddóri na ágbanganan ák mandukawa.⁵⁶
 ándà din ka-sóddór-i na ág-bangan-an ka mandukawa
 not 3SG NEUT.LF-know-__ LK HAB.LF-ambush-__ ERG legendary.bird

She did not know that the legendary bird was ambushing her.

20. Na, ándà láttó tô iló katô bulan su igámmám katô
 na ándà láttó tô iló katô bulan su mig-ámmám katô
 LK not appear ABS light GEN moon because REAL.OF-in.mouth ERG

mandukawa.

mandukawa

legendary.bird

Now the light of the moon did not shine because the legendary bird was holding it (the moon) in its mouth.

21. Kalì luwai katô mandukawa tô bulan igtuu
 kalì luwà-i katô mandukawa tô bulan mig-tuu
 not.until release-NEUT.OF ERG legendary.bird ABS moon REAL.SF-very

igpagayis⁵⁷ tô mga manubù dinit tanà.
 mig-pagayis tô mga manubù dini-ta tanà
 REAL.SF-scream ABS PL person here-OBL earth

The legendary bird would not release the moon until the people here on the earth screamed very hard.

22. Duwán pagsik ágdukduk ka mga lata.
 duwán pagsik ág-dukduk ka mga lata
 EXT also HAB.SF-pound OBL PL can

Some also were pounding on cans.

23. Tuu gótép tô mga manubù.
 tuu ág-ótép tô mga manubù
 very HAB.SF-noise ABS PL person

The people made lots of vocal noise.

24. Yampa migluwà katô mandukawa tô bulan.
 yan.pa mig-luwà katô mandukawa tô bulan
 after.that. REAL.OF-release ERG legendary.bird ABS moon

After that the legendary bird released the moon.

25. Na mappawà dán puman tô dukilám su migláltó dán tô iló
 na ma-pawà dán puman tô dukilám su mig-láltó dán tô iló
 LK ADJ-light now again ABS night because REAL.SF-appear now ABS light

katô bulan.
 katô bulan
 GEN moon

Then the night was bright again because the light of the moon appeared.

26. Duwán álló mitudugan tô bulan.
 duwán álló min-tudug-an tô bulan
 EXT day REAL.LF-sleep. ABS moon

There was a day when the moon was sleepy (i.e. overslept).

27. Ándà sóddór din ka álló pa.
 ándà sóddór din ka álló pa
 none know 3SG.GEN if day yet

She did not know it was daylight yet.

28. Ándà pa malássád é álló, migsékót migánnó asta
 ándà pa ma-lássád é álló mig-sékót mig-ánnó asta
 none yet ADJ-overhead ABS sun REAL.SF-immediate REAL.SF-get.up and

migpanó.

mig-panó

REAL.SF-travel

Before the sun was directly overhead, immediately she woke up and traveled.

29. Na, ándà tayam din na kasumaran din tô álló.
 na ándà tayam din na ka-sumar-an din tô álló
 LK not aware 3SG LK IRR.LF-meet- 3SG ABS sun

Now she was not aware she would meet the sun.

30. Ágkasalábbuan tô álló su duwán gagó katô iló din.
 ágka-salábbù-an tô álló su duwán ág-agó katô iló din
HAB.LF-surprise- ABS sun because EXT HAB.SF-snatch OBL light 3SG.GEN

The sun was surprised because something was snatching at his light.

31. Migsállág tô álló!
 mig-sállág tô álló
 REAL.SF-look ABS sun

The sun looked!

32. Tô bulan kannê!
 tô bulan kannê
 MRK moon really

It was actually the moon!

33. Misókó áskandin!
 min-sókó sikandin
 REAL.OF-anger 3SG

He was angry!

34. Migpadunggué tô iló dan!
 migpa-dunggù-é tô iló dan
 REAL.SF-arrive-__ ABS light 3PL.GEN

Their lights had encountered each other!

35. Tigkan migmangittáng ni banuwa.
 tigkan migma-ngittáng ni banuwa
 sudden REAL.SF-dark this earth

Suddenly this earth became dark.

36. Tô gó tô igngadanan ka manubù dǎngngan lákkáp.
 tô.gó tô mig-ngadan-an ka manubù dǎngngan lákkáp
 that's.what.__ ABS REAL.LF-name-__ ERG person previous solar.eclipse

That is what the early people called a solar eclipse.

37. Midugé⁵⁸ pa tô lákkáp.
 min-dugé pa tô lákkáp
 REAL.OF-long.time yet ABS solar.eclipse

The solar eclipse lasted a long time.

38. Sunnud miranu tô mga manubù.
 sunnud min-ranu tô mga manubù
 very REAL.OF-sad ABS PL person

The people were very sad.

39. Igkagi tô ágdatuán⁵⁹ dan, “Kangéyi yu tô
 mig-kagi tô ág-datù-án dan kangé-i yu tô
 REAL.SF-say ABS HAB.NMR-leader-__ 3PL.GEN fetch-IMPER.LF 2PL ABS

titikan⁶⁰ yu, tabun kó kapuy, rákkátti yu tô sulù yu.”
 titik-an yu tabun kó ka-apuy rákkát-i yu tô sulù yu
 ignite-NMR 2PL.GEN fuel 2PL OBL-fire light-IMPER.LF 2PL ABS light 2PL.GEN

Their leader said, “Fetch your igniters, fuel your fires, light your lamps.”

40. Na ándasu duwán dán apuy dan, ándà dán sunnud kadugé
 na ándasu duwán dán apuy dan ándà dán sunnud ka-dugé
 LK when EXT already fire 3PL.GEN not now very NEUT.OF-long.time

migmappawà dán.

migma-pawà dán

REAL.SF-light now

Then when they already had their fires, it was not very long when it now became bright.

41. Midayawan dán tô mga manubù ágsállág dan katô álló.
 min-dayó-an dán tô mga manubù ág-sállág dan katô álló
REAL.LF-happy-__ now ABS PL person HAB.SF-see 3PL OBL sun

The people were now happy seeing the sun.

42. Lampas dán malássád álló.⁶¹
 lampas dán ma-lássád álló
 beyond already ADJ-overhead sun

It was already past noontime.

43. Duwán misalábbuan dan su tô bulan, madani tun ta álló.
 duwán min-salábbù-an dan su tô bulan ma-dani dutun ta álló
 EXT REAL.LF-surprise-__ 3PL because MRK moon ADJ-near there OBL sun

They were surprised because the moon, it was near the sun.

44. Ikgagi tô tugál agud ta⁶² kannê miglákkáp su
 mig-kagi tô tugál agud ta kannê mig-lákkáp su
 REAL.SF-say ABS old really OBL really REAL.SF-solar.eclipse because

migpadunggué tô bulan asta álló.
 migpa-dunggù-é tô bulan asta álló
REAL.SF-arrive-__ ABS moon and sun

The old ones said the reason there was a solar eclipse was because the moon and the sun encountered each other.

Notes

⁴³ Mrs. Melania O. Awe was born and raised in Malasila. She is the daughter of the late Mrs. Mingka Oncoy and the niece of her mother's next younger sibling, the late Datu Bulatukan Lambac. Mrs. Awe has written several dramas performed for local entertainment.

⁴⁴ The Tagabawas believe that at the time of a *lákkáp* 'solar eclipse', evil spirits will snatch children away; therefore, children are urged to remain indoors, and a parent may even hold on to them to ensure their safety. A pregnant woman will not venture outside for fear that her unborn child might die. A lunar eclipse, *áglamáddán tô bulan* 'the moon will be swallowed', is believed to occur when *mandukawa*, a giant legendary bird, swallows the moon. (See sentences 19–25 of this text.)

⁴⁵ In this text, *bulan* 'moon' is female (see sentence 11).

Other terms related to the moon

<i>ágdatù tô bulan</i>	'the moon is full' (lit. 'the moon is wealthy')
<i>ándà bulan</i>	'there is no moonlight' (lit. 'there is no moon')
<i>bulanán</i>	'moonlit night'
<i>bulanbulan</i>	'monthly'
<i>duwán bulan</i>	'there is moonlight' (lit. 'there is a moon')

⁴⁶ In this text, *álló* 'sun', 'day', 'time' is male (see sentence 11).

Other terms related to the sun

<i>állówálló</i>	'daily'
<i>kallówan</i>	'to be overtaken by the dawn'
<i>malló</i>	'light'

Also see endnote 61, page 42, for more related terms.

⁴⁷ Here the narrator refers to the ancient generation as *mga tapé manubù* 'old people'.

Other terms for older generations

<i>ágtugállán</i>	'an elder'
<i>kamónaan</i>	'ancestors'
<i>manubù dangan</i>	'early people' (lit. 'previous people')
<i>manubù sayyan</i>	'people of long ago'

<i>móna manubù</i>	‘ancient people’
<i>tugál</i>	‘elderly person’

⁴⁸ The Tagabawa counting system adds a single digit number after the number ten when counting from eleven to nineteen, e.g. *sapulù lima* ‘fifteen’. The number two *duwa* replaces the prefix *sa-* before *pulù* when counting from twenty to twenty-nine, e.g. *duwapulù* ‘twenty’. The number three *tállu* replaces *sa-* before *pulù* when counting from thirty to thirty-nine, e.g. *tállupulù* ‘thirty’. From number forty to ninety-nine, the affixes *ka--an* are added, e.g. *kappatan* ‘forty’, *kaliman* ‘fifty’.

⁴⁹ *Ámmé* is the term currently used for ‘year’; it has replaced the archaic term *biyaán* ‘year’ (see sentence 7). (*Ámmé* is also the generic term for ‘rice’.)

⁵⁰ The narrator uses the term *talasawa* for ‘spouses’. See endnote 191, page 152, following the text *Tô taladuma* ‘Spouses’ for an explanation of the preferred term, *taladuma*.

⁵¹ *Ágpaginawaé* ‘to love each other’ comes from the root *ginawa* ‘feeling’, ‘love’.

Other terms using *ginawa*

<i>labinawa</i>	‘to breathe’
<i>paginawa</i>	‘to rest oneself’

⁵² The expression *Ó Bulan ku, Ó Álló ku* ‘Oh my Moon, Oh my Sun’ is a figurative means of addressing one’s sweetheart. Here the moon is the fiancée and the sun the fiancé.

⁵³ The phrase *idugé ándà uli* ‘did not return home for a long time’ indicates a cultural assumption that it is the husband who usually stays out late, causing the wife to become angry and jealous.

⁵⁴ The term *igpamatayé* ‘to fight each other’ comes from the root *maté* ‘to die’, ‘to kill’.

⁵⁵ Depending on the geographical location of the Tagabawa speakers, the term *ébô* ‘so that’ is also pronounced *ibô* and *abô*.

⁵⁶ The legendary bird, *mandukawa* or *manukawa*, is the largest of all birds that no one has ever seen, but which is said to swallow the moon during a lunar eclipse. One woman, an elderly aunt of the contributor, envisioned its wings (perhaps in a dream) and recreated the design in a hemp fiber weaving. The compilers of these texts have seen this weaving, and the design resembles bird feathers.

⁵⁷ Many indigenous groups practice *ágpagayis* ‘to shout’ and beat on cans or gongs during a lunar eclipse to hasten the moon’s release from whatever has intercepted it.

⁵⁸ An eclipse is commonly believed to last a long time, even up to three days.

⁵⁹ The term *ágdatuán* ‘one acknowledged as a leader’ comes from the root *datù*. The literal meaning of *datù* is ‘a wealthy person’. In past times, when there was a dispute between two parties in which a debt was incurred, an arbitrator would settle the case by paying the debt in order to end the dispute. Thus the arbitrator came to be known as a *datù*, or ‘a wealthy person’. Today, however, those who are recognized leaders of the community and who serve as arbitrators in disputes are not always wealthy

and so they do not necessarily pay the debt incurred (see *Tô kasu* ‘Litigation’, page 160). As a result, the term *datù* currently has more the meaning of ‘leader’ or ‘arbitrator’ rather than ‘wealthy person’. (Also see endnote 1, page 11.)

Other words that pattern like *datù* and *ágdatuán* are: *pangulu* ‘leader’ and *ágpangulun* ‘one who is acknowledged as a leader’, and *Manama* ‘God’ and *ágmanaman* ‘someone or something acknowledged as a god’.

⁶⁰ A *titikan* ‘igniter’ is an instrument used to ignite a fire by friction.

Other instruments or methods for igniting a fire

<i>batu titikan</i>	‘flint stone’
<i>pólas</i>	‘process of igniting a fire by bamboo friction’ (A piece of dry bamboo is rapidly rubbed across a stationary piece of dry bamboo. When the stationary piece begins to smoke, tiny shavings are placed near it to ignite.)
<i>puspuru</i>	‘matches’

⁶¹ *Malássád é álló* ‘noon’ means literally ‘the sun is (directly) overhead’.

Other temporal terms (in sequential order)

<i>burusmalló</i>	‘predawn darkness’
<i>ágkallówalló</i>	‘dawn’
<i>ágbáttu tô álló</i>	‘sunrise’ (lit. ‘the sun is bursting’)
<i>ágsilat tô álló</i>	‘sunrise’ (lit. ‘the sun is rising’)
<i>sállám</i>	‘morning’
<i>mallayat dán é álló</i>	‘the sun is high already’
<i>ágkaballing dán é álló</i>	‘early afternoon’ (lit. ‘the sun is already reversing’)
<i>mapun</i>	‘late afternoon’
<i>ágsalláp tô álló</i>	‘sunset’ (lit. ‘the sun is setting’)
<i>ágsagkup</i>	‘twilight’
<i>mantu dukilám</i>	‘early evening’ (lit. ‘new night’)
<i>dukilám</i>	‘nighttime’
<i>tángngà ka dukilám</i>	‘midnight’ (lit. ‘middle of the night’)

⁶² The exclamation *agud ta* means ‘no wonder’, ‘that’s the reason’, ‘of course, that’s why’.

Ás Paliman

si Paliman

MRK Paliman

Paliman

*Mrs. Melania O. Awe*⁶³

1. Ni gulitán ku, bánnal, su gulitán ni ka
ni ág-ulit-án ku bánnal su ág-ulit-án ni ka
this HAB.OF-tell- 1SG true because HAB.OF-tell- this ERG

apù ku.
apù ku
grandparent 1SG.GEN

This that I am telling about, it is true, because my grandmother told this.

2. Duwán banuwa igngadanan ka Banga.⁶⁴
duwán banuwa mig-ngadan-an ka Banga
EXT place REAL.LF-name- OBL Banga

There was a place named Banga.

3. Na, tô banuwa tô, ándà sunnud mga manubù.
na tô banuwa tô ándà sunnud mga manubù
LK MRK place MRK none very PL person

Now that place, it did not have very many people.

4. Karapungan kandan, marag gamama asta gabatà.
ka-rapung-an kandan marag ga-mama asta ga-batà
NMR-many- 3PL.OBL mostly PL-male and PL-child

The majority of them, they were mostly men and children.

5. Tagpiraé dád é dalaga, su atin ka ágpamasusu tô bayi,
tagpiraé dád é daraga su atin.ka ág-pamasusu tô bayi
few only ABS maiden because when. HAB.SF-give.birth ABS female

gábbuan tô gátták, (asta) ágkangén tô malambù tun
 ág-ábbù-an tô gátták asta ág-kangé-án tô malambù dutun
 HAB.LF-cut.open-__ ABS abdomen and HAB.OF-fetch-__ ABS fat there

dalám katô mabataan.⁶⁵
 dalám katô mabataan
 inside GEN womb

There were only a few maidens, because whenever a woman gave birth, her abdomen was cut open, and the fat was taken from inside the womb.

6. Na, tô gó tô pagpasusu katô délák burayì,⁶⁶ su ándà man
 na tô.gó tô pag-pasusu katô délák burayì su ándà man
 LK that's.what.__ ABS INST-suck OBL small newborn because none naturally

sóddór dan ka ágpamánnun é kawat katô ágpamasusu.
 sóddór dan ka ágpa-mánnu-án é ka-awat katô ág-pamasusu
 know 3PL.GEN if HAB.OF-how-__ ABS NMR-receive.baby OBL HAB.SF-give.birth

Now that is what was used for the small newborn to suck on, because naturally they had absolutely no knowledge of how to perform midwifery for someone giving birth.

7. Na tô pagsik bayi, ágkamaté dán.
 na tô pagsik bayi ágka-maté dán
 LK MRK also woman HAB.OF-die now

And as for the woman also, she dies.

8. Na, duwán manubù inggadanan ki Paliman⁶⁷ na góddô
 na duwán manubù mig-ngadan-an ki Paliman na ág-óddô
 LK EXT person REAL.LF-name-__ OBL Paliman LK HAB.SF.dwell

tun ta banuwa din inggadanan Bassa.
 dutun ta banuwa din mig-ngadan-an Bassa
 there OBL place 3SG.GEN REAL.LF-name-__ Bassa

Now there was a person (man) named Paliman who lived at a place named Bassa.

9. Sábbad álló, gimarrimar áskandin na madun dutun ki Datù Basagan⁶⁸
 sábbad álló ág-imarrimar sikandin na M-sadun dutun ki datù Basagan
 one day HAB.SF-prepare.to 3SG LK IRR.SF-go there OBL datu Basagan

na ágdatuán dutun ta Banga.
 na ág-datù-án dutun ta Banga
 LK HAB.NMR-leader-__ there OBL Banga

One day, he prepared to go to Datu Basagan who was the leader at Banga.

10. Igpìd dìn tò kudà dìn, su pagbullas⁶⁹ ka mga agung⁷⁰
 mig-pìd dìn tò kudà dìn su pag-bullas ka mga agung
 REAL.OF-bring 3SG ABS horse 3SG.GEN because INST-barter OBL PL gong

asta kisi na inabál.⁷¹
 asta kisi na min-abál
 and blanket LK REAL.OF-weave

He brought his horse, because it would be used as barter (payment) for gongs and woven blankets.

11. Lima álló migpanó si Paliman tikud tut Bassa sippang tut
 lima álló mig-panó si Paliman tikud dutun-ta Bassa sippang dutun-ta
 five day REAL.SF-travel ABS Paliman from there-OBL Bassa until there-OBL

Banga.

Banga

Banga

Five days Paliman traveled from Bassa until reaching Banga.

12. Róggun dìn góddô dutun, áglumu si Paliman na gimu
 róggun dìn ág-óddô dutun ág-lumu si Paliman na ág-imu
 while 3SG.GEN HAB.SF-stay there HAB.SF-work ABS Paliman LK HAB.SF-make

katô mga tikás,⁷² su gangatan i Basagan tò mga sakup
 katô mga tikás su ág-angat-an i Basagan tò mga sakup
 OBL PL leg.band because HAB.LF-wait-__ ERG Basagan ABS PL subject

dìn ágpanagasu.⁷³
 dìn ág-panagasu
 3SG.GEN HAB.SF-hunt.with.dog

While he was staying there, Paliman worked making leg bands, because Basagan was waiting for his subjects who were hunting with dogs.

- That is why he would not yet let Paliman go home.

- ágpansággó.
ág-pan-sággó
HAB.SF-DIST-cry

One day, in the morning, Paliman was surprised because he saw Basagan's subjects each crying.

- ágsággó.
ág-sággó
HAB.SF-cry

They were each crying and were sad, and even Basagan's wife, she was crying very hard.

- mga ranu dan.
mga ranu dan
PL sad 3PL.GEN

17. Na, igkagi si Basagan, “Ágsággó ké asta ágranu
 na mig-kagi si Basagan ág-sággó ké asta ág-ranu
 LK REAL.SF-say ABS Basagan HAB.SF-cry 1PL.EX and HAB.SF-sad

ké, su yan batà ku, ágpangalalan dán.
 ké su yan batà ku ág-pangalalan dán
 1PL.EX because that child 1SG.GEN HAB.SF-labor.pain now

Now Basagan said, “We are crying and we are sad, because as for that child (daughter) of mine, she is now experiencing labor pains.

18. Ágkasakitan ka gátták din.
 ágka-sakit-an ka gátták din
 HAB.LF-pain-__ OBL abdomen 3SG.GEN

She is experiencing pain in her abdomen.

19. Mamasusu dán áskandin.
 M-pamasusu dán sikandin
 IRR.SF-give.birth now 3SG

She is going to give birth now.

20. Tô gó ágsággawan dé, su ábbuan dán man kani
 tô.gó ág-sággó-an dé su ábbù-an dán man kani
 that's.who. __ HAB.LF-cry-__ 1PL.EX because cut.open-IRR.LF now naturally this

ka mapun.
 ka mapun
 OBL afternoon

That is who we are crying for, because naturally she will be cut open later this afternoon.

21. Na maté dán yan batà ku bayi.”
 na maté dán yan batà ku bayi
 LK die now that child 1SG.GEN female

And that daughter of mine will now die.”

22. Igkagi si Paliman, “Yakó ágranu asta ágsággó su
 mig-kagi si Paliman iyà-kó ág-ranu asta ág-sággó su
 REAL.SF-say ABS Paliman don't-2PL HAB.SF-sad and HAB.SF-cry because

agó makatabang a kanan batà yu bayi.”
 agó maka-tabang a kanan batà yu bayi
 perhaps IRR.SF-help 1SG that child 2PL.GEN female

Paliman said, “Do not be sad and cry because perhaps I can help that daughter of yours.”

23. Na, igkagi si Basagan, “Atin makatabang ka kani batà
 na mig-kagi si Basagan atin maka-tabang ka kani batà
 LK REAL.SF-say ABS Basagan if IRR.SF-help 2SG this child

ku, bággén ku áknikó agad ándin tô pamuyuán nu.”
 ku bággé-án ku áknikó agad.ándin tô pamuyù-án nu
 1SG.GEN give-IRR.OF 1SG 2SG.OBL whatever. ABS ask-IRR.OF 2SG

Then Basagan said, “If you are able to help this child of mine, I will give you whatever you ask for.”

24. “Dì ki patóngkóé tingód kanan.
 dì ki pa-tóngkô-é tingód kanan
 not 1PL.IN IRR.SF-converse. about that

“Let us not talk about that.

25. Diya ág-pamuyù, agad ándin.
 dì-a ág-pamuyù agad.ándin
 not-1SG HAB.SF-ask whatever.

I will not ask for anything, whatever (it might be).

26. Tô dád ginawa nu dini kanak, tô gangatan ku,” mà i
 tô dád ginawa nu dini kanak tô ág-angat-an ku mà i
 MRK only love 2SG.GEN here 1SG.OBL ABS HAB.LF-wait. 1SG said ERG

Paliman.

Paliman

Paliman

Just your love for me, that is what I will wait for,” said Paliman.

27. Na yampa, góméng⁷⁴ dán sikandan.
 na yan.pa ág-óméng dán sikandan
 LK after.that. HAB.SF-cook now 3PL

And after that, they cooked (rice).

28. Sagpu dán ágkadayawan tô mga manubù su tingód katô
 sagpu dán ágka-dayó-an tô mga manubù su tingód katô
 somewhat now HAB.LF-happy. ABS PL person because about OBL

migkagi i Paliman dutun kandan.
 mig-kagi i Paliman dutun kandan
 REAL.OF-say ERG Paliman there 3PL.OBL

The people were now somewhat happy because of what Paliman had said to them.

29. Na, malássád dán é álló, pángnga dán sikandan igkan,
 na ma-lássád dán é álló pángnga dán sikandan mig-kan
 LK ADJ-overhead now ABS sun finish now 3PL REAL.SF-eat

ágsállággán i Paliman tô bayi dì dán pakatónnók.
 ág-sállág-án i Paliman tô bayi dì dán paka-tónnók
HAB.OF-see. ERG Paliman ABS woman not now NEUT.SF-still

Now at noontime, after they finished eating, Paliman saw that the woman could no longer be still.

30. Marikit dán ágsakal tô batà dutun ta gátták din.
 ma-rikít dán ág-sakal tô batà dutun ta gátták din
 ADJ-continually now HAB.SF-move ABS baby there OBL abdomen 3SG.GEN

The baby was continually moving (toward birth) in her abdomen.

31. Igtindág si Paliman.
 mig-tindág si Paliman
 REAL.SF-stand ABS Paliman

Paliman stood up.

32. Igpadággà dìn tò bayi.
 migpa-dággà dìn tò bayi
 REAL.OF-lie.down 3SG ABS woman

He made the woman lie down.

33. Igtakmagan dìn é gátták.
 mig-takmag-an dìn é gátták
 REAL.LF-touch-__ 3SG ABS abdomen

He touched the abdomen.

34. Na migilus dìn.
 na mig-ilus dìn
 LK REAL.OF-massage 3SG

And he massaged it.

35. Ándà kadugé, miglássut⁷⁵ tò batà, na igpanayun
 ándà ka-dugé mig-lássut tò batà na mig-panayun
 not IRR.OF-long.time REAL.SF-out ABS baby LK REAL.SF-proceed

igsággó.
 mig-sággó
 REAL.SF-cry

Before long, the baby came out, and it proceeded to cry.

36. Igsággó tò batà dutun ta saruwan⁷⁶ katô innà dìn.
 mig-sággó tò batà dutun ta saru-an katô innà dìn
 REAL.SF-cry ABS baby there OBL front-NMR GEN mother 3SG.GEN

The baby cried in front of its mother.

37. Migkita si Basagan na iglássutan dán tò batà dìn bayi.
 mig-kita si Basagan na mig-lássut-an dán tò batà dìn bayi
 REAL.SF-see ABS Basagan LK REAL.LF-out-__ now ABS child 3SG.GEN female

Basagan saw that his daughter had given birth.

38. Na ágsállággán din madigárrù man, dì man ágkamaté.
 na ág-sállág-án din ma-digár-ù man dì man ágka-maté
 LK HAB.OF-see- 3SG ADJ-good-EMPH naturally not naturally HAB.OF-die

And he saw she was well, and she would not die from it.

39. Ágkasalábbuan si Basagan.
 ágka-salábbù-an si Basagan
 HAB.LF-surprise- ABS Basagan

Basagan was surprised.

40. Tô gó langun katô mga sakup i Basagan, migpadángngané dan
 tô.gó langun katô mga sakup i Basagan migpa-dángngan-é dan
 that's.why. all GEN PL subject GEN Basagan REAL.SF-together- 3PL

igpadaniyan si Paliman, na miggakus⁷⁷ dan.
 migpa-dani-an si Paliman na mig-gakus dan
 REAL.LF-near- ABS Paliman LK REAL.OF-hug 3PL

That is why all Basagan's subjects, they simultaneously came near to Paliman, and they hugged him.

41. Migsipit dan.
 mig-sipit dan
 REAL.OF-hold 3PL

They held him in their arms.

42. Igsuisuiyan dan su idayawan dan na madigár é
 mig-suisui-an dan su min-dayó-an dan na ma-digár é
 REAL.LF-take.turns- 3PL because REAL.LF-happy- 3PL LK ADJ-good ABS

kapamasusu katô batà din.
 ka-pamasusu katô batà din
 NMR-give.birth GEN child 3SG.GEN

They took turns (holding him) because they were happy that his (Basagan's) daughter's giving birth was good.

43. Na, sábbad álló, igkagi i Basagan, mà din, “Mga manubù,
 na sábbad álló mig-kagi i Basagan mà din mga manubù
 LK one day REAL.OF-speak ERG Basagan said 3SG PL person

palimudé kó langun su mimu ki ka inámmán.⁷⁸
 pa-limud-é kó langun su M-imu ki ka inám-án
 IRR.SF-gather-__ 2PL all because IRR.SF-make 1PL.IN OBL drink-NMR

Now one day, Basagan spoke, saying, “People, all of you gather together because we will make a feast (lit. something to drink).”

44. Magpista ki.
 mag-pista ki
 IRR.SF-celebrate 1PL.IN

We will have a celebration.

45. Pistaan ta si Paliman, su tikud kandin, kumarapung dán
 pista-an ta si Paliman su tikud kandin kuma-rapung dán
 celebrate-IRR.LF 1PL.IN ABS Paliman because from 3SG.OBL IRR.SF-many now

ni manubù ni ta Banga, su migtabangan din ni batà ku
 ni manubù ni ta Banga su mig-tabang-an din ni batà ku
 this person this OBL Banga because REAL.LF-help-__ 3SG this child 1SG.GEN

bayi.
 bayi
 female

We will celebrate (honor) Paliman, because from him, these very people here in Banga will now multiply, because he helped this daughter of mine.

46. Na dì ku pa,” mà din, “áskandin pólián sippang ka duwán
 na dì ku pa mà din sikandin pa-ulì-án sippang.ka duwán
 LK not 1SG yet said 3SG 3SG IRR.OF-go.home-__ until.__ EXT

dán makakatig gawat⁷⁹ ka ágpamasusu.”
 dán maka-katig ág-awat ka ág-pamasusu
 already IRR.SF-know.how HAB.SF-receive.baby OBL HAB.SF-give.birth

And I will not yet,” he said, “let him go home until there is already someone who is skilled at being a midwife for someone giving birth.”

47. Na, tikud taddô, ágtádduan i Paliman tô mga manubù diyan
 na tikud taddô ág-táddù-an i Paliman tô mga manubù diyan
 LK from there HAB.LF-instruct-__ ERG Paliman ABS PL person there

ta Banga ka ágpamánnun é kawat, ágpamánnun é
 ta Banga ka ágpa-mánnu-án é ka-awat ágpa-mánnu-án é
 OBL Banga OBL HAB.OF-how-__ ABS NMR-receive.baby HAB.OF-how-__ ABS

ágtákkán,⁸⁰ ágpamánnun é kélus katô gabayi.
 ág-tákkán ágpa-mánnu-án é ka-ilus katô ga-bayi
 HAB.SF-push HAB.OF-how-__ ABS NMR-rub OBL PL-woman

Now from that time on, Paliman instructed the people at Banga about how to perform midwifery, how to perform pushing, and how to perform massaging on women.

48. Ikakatig⁸¹ man tapé si Paliman dutun ta kandin pa
 mika-katig man tapé si Paliman dutun ta kandin pa
 REAL.SF-know.how naturally previously ABS Paliman there OBL 3SG.GEN yet

banuwa, su ágkita man áskandin ka ágpamánnun ka
 banuwa su ág-kita man sikandin ka ágpa-mánnu-án ka
 place because HAB.SF-see naturally 3SG OBL HAB.OF-how-__ OBL

kawat katô tugál gabayi diyan.
 ka-awat katô tugál ga-bayi diyan
 NMR-receive.baby GEN old PL-woman there

Paliman naturally had previously become skilled in his own place, because naturally he had observed the old women's way of performing midwifery.

49. Na tô gó kalì ulì si Paliman dutun ta banuwa din
 na tô.gó kalì ulì si Paliman dutun ta banuwa din
 LK that's.why. __ not.until go.home ABS Paliman there OBL place 3SG.GEN

Bassa katig dán tô sawa i Basagan gawat.
 Bassa katig dán tô sawa i Basagan ág-awat
 Bassa know.how now ABS wife GEN Basagan HAB.SF-receive.baby

And that is why Paliman did not go home to his place at Bassa until Basagan's wife was skilled at being a midwife.

50. Na, tô igulì si Paliman, tuu ágsággó tô sakup
 na tô mig-ulì si Paliman tuu ág-sággó tô sakup
 LK OBL REAL.SF-go.home ABS Paliman very HAB.SF-cry ABS subject

i Basagan, su mà dan, igginawaan dan si Paliman su
 i Basagan su mà dan mig-ginawa-an dan si Paliman su
 GEN Basagan because said 3PL REAL.LF-love- 3PL ABS Paliman because

mikatabang kandan.
 mika-tabang kandan
 REAL.SF-help 3PL.OBL

Now when Paliman left for home, Basagan's subjects cried very hard, because they said, they loved Paliman because he was able to help them.

51. Migulì si Paliman.
 mig-ulì si Paliman
 REAL.SF-go.home ABS Paliman

Paliman went home.

52. Igbággayan⁸² áskandin ka marapung agung.
 mig-bággé-an sikandin ka ma-rapung agung
REAL.LF-give- 3SG OBL ADJ-many gong

He was given many brass gongs.

53. Yan migbággayan áskandin pagsik ka lima tô állang⁸³ gabayi i
 yan mig-bággé-an sikandin pagsik ka lima tô állang ga-bayi i
 that REAL.LF-give- 3SG also OBL five MRK slave PL-woman GEN

Basagan, lima pagsik tô gamama, marag állang.
 Basagan lima pagsik tô ga-mama marag állang
 Basagan five also MRK PL-man all slave

Then he was also given five who were Basagan's women slaves, and also five who were men, all slaves.

54. Igpapid i Basagan ki Paliman gulì dutun ta Bassa.
 migpa-pid i Basagan ki Paliman ág-ulì dutun ta Bassa
 REAL.OF-bring ERG Basagan OBL Paliman HAB.SF-go.home there OBL Bassa

Basagan sent them home with Paliman to Bassa.

55. Na igbullug pô gó si Paliman, igpasaké katô kudà,
 na mig-bullug pa-ù gó si Paliman migpa-saké katô kudà
 LK REAL.OF-guide yet-EMPH EMPH ABS Paliman REAL.OF-ride OBL horse

su ágginawaan dan su ikatabang kandan.
 su ág-ginawa-an dan su mika-tabang kandan
 because HAB.LF-love- 3PL because REAL.SF-help 3PL.OBL

And Paliman, who was made to ride a horse, was guided along, because they loved him because he had been able to help them.

56. Na, tô gó tikud dutun ki Paliman, migmarapung é manubù
 na tô.gó tikud dutun ki Paliman migma-rapung é manubù
 LK that's.why. from there OBL Paliman REAL.SF-many ABS person

dutun ta Banga.
 dutun ta Banga
 there OBL Banga

Now that is why beginning from the time of Paliman, the people at Banga became many.

57. Taddô dád gó tô gultán katô apù ku.
 taddô dád gó tô ág-ulit-án katô apù ku
 there only EMPH ABS HAB.OF-tell- ERG grandparent 1SG.GEN

That is the end of what my grandmother told about.

Notes

⁶³ For information about the contributor, see endnote 43, page 40, following the text *Tô tigkanayan ka lákkáp* 'The origin of the solar eclipse'.

⁶⁴ The location of *Banga* is now unknown. The same name is mentioned in another traditional narrative not included in this collection.

⁶⁵ *Mabataan* ‘womb’ literally means ‘place for the child’; its root is *batà* ‘child’, ‘offspring’.

Other terms using *batà*

<i>batà ka dalan</i>	‘illegitimate child’ (lit. ‘a child of the path’)
<i>bataánnán</i>	‘niece’, ‘nephew’
<i>batàbatà</i>	‘to play house’, ‘to act childish’
<i>gabatà</i>	‘children’
<i>mabatà</i>	‘to become younger’ (in appearance)
<i>matà</i>	‘to have children’
<i>talabatà</i>	‘parent-child relationship’

⁶⁶ Stages of human development

<i>burayì</i>	‘infant’
<i>batà</i>	‘child’
<i>immót</i>	‘preadolescent’
<i>daraga</i>	‘young woman’, ‘maiden’
<i>mallaki</i>	‘young man’, ‘bachelor’
<i>tugál</i>	‘elderly person’ (male or female)

⁶⁷ *Paliman* is the name of an ancient ancestor believed to have lived in a place called *Bassa*, the location of which is unknown to the present generation. This text reveals that *Paliman* introduced the practice of midwifery to the people of *Banga* and, by extension, to the *Tagabawa* people.

⁶⁸ *Datù Basagan* is believed to be the name of an ancestral leader.

⁶⁹ Trading by the *Tagabawas* within their own ethnic group as well as with outsiders has been a practice from long ago.

Terms related to trade

<i>bullas</i>	‘to exchange’, ‘to barter for’, ‘to replace’
<i>mélól</i>	‘to look for’ (This word implies travel to a distant place for the purpose of obtaining something, e.g. gongs, horses, or anything one needs or wants. Such a trip would typically take from three to seven days.)
<i>nigusyu</i>	‘to trade’, ‘to do business’ (appears to be a borrowed word)
<i>tabù</i>	‘to barter trade’, ‘to meet for trading’ (appears to be a borrowed word)

⁷⁰ An *agung* is a brass gong, usually ranging in size from 18–60 centimeters (7 inches to 2 feet) in diameter. These gongs usually have deep sides (20–30 centimeters; 8–12 inches) with a knob at the center called *pusád* ‘navel’. Gongs are not a product of *Tagabawa* craftsmanship; rather, they are usually obtained through trade and are valued for use in bride price negotiations.

⁷¹ *Gabál* ‘traditional weaving’ was done using *duru* ‘abaca’ or ‘Manila hemp’ (*Musa textilis*) that had been dyed red (from the root of the *sikarig* palm) or black (from the leaves, roots, and bark of the *kinaróm* tree (*Morinda bracteata*)), and interwoven with the natural bone-colored fibers of the *duru*

plant to produce a variety of designs. The finished weaving is normally used for making a woman's *sónnód* 'tube skirt' or a man's *tinémpól* 'short pants'. Apparently this type of weaving was also used for a *kisì* 'blanket', as noted in sentence 10.

⁷² *Tikás* are legbands woven from *nitô* (*Lygodium* species), a scrambling fern, the stems of which are used for weaving. The completed bands are just large enough to fit over the calf of the wearer's leg, and several are worn just below the knee by both men and women. Sometimes *kurungkurung* 'small brass bells' are attached to the legbands.

⁷³ When hunting wild pig or deer, it was customary to *ágpanagasu* 'to hunt with a dog'.

Other terms related to hunting

<i>ágbatáng</i>	'to snare ground birds (e.g. quail or green-winged ground doves) with a rope noose'
<i>gággut</i>	'to catch fish'
<i>malatik</i>	'to trap'
<i>panubu</i>	'to hunt with a rifle'

⁷⁴ *Góméng* is the term for 'to cook rice'.

Other terms for cooking

<i>ággang</i>	'to grill over hot coals'
<i>bóliyót</i>	'to cook cornmeal porridge'
<i>dangé</i>	'to cook cassava in a covered pan or kettle without water or oil'
<i>gisa</i>	'to fry in a little oil' (appears to be a borrowed word)
<i>katapaan</i>	'to dry meat slowly over a fire', 'to smoke meat over fire'
<i>lakaddak</i>	'to boil' (refers to any liquid)
<i>lágga</i>	'to boil some food (e.g. mung beans) with something else (e.g. meat bones)'; (<i>adj</i>) 'cooked'
<i>pritu</i>	'to deep fry' (appears to be a borrowed word)
<i>sugba</i>	'to broil tubers over fire or hot coals' (appears to be a borrowed word)
<i>tug</i>	'to cook over fire or in hot coals'

⁷⁵ *Miglássut* 'to pop out', 'to squeeze out', as a baby at the moment of birth, or a coffee bean from the hull when squeezed. The generic term for 'to give birth' is *pamasusu*.

⁷⁶ *Saruwan*, from the root *saru* 'toward', is the space in front of a person or specifically between the legs of the mother who just gave birth.

⁷⁷ *Miggakus* 'to hug' appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *igdakáp*. It is likely that only the men embraced Paliman because, even to this day, it is culturally improper for women and men to embrace in public.

Other terms for holding

<i>ággál</i>	‘to grasp’, ‘to hold back’ (as to prevent fighting between two parties)
<i>ámmám</i>	‘to hold in the mouth’, ‘to close lips tightly’
<i>awid</i>	‘to grasp tightly to prevent slippage’
<i>bitbit</i>	‘to dangle’, ‘to carry suspended from the hand’
<i>dakáp</i>	‘to hug’, ‘to embrace’
<i>dappán</i>	‘to hold the stomach’
<i>kámkám</i>	‘to hold in a closed hand’
<i>kápkáp</i>	‘to hug or embrace by putting arms around another’; ‘a unit of measure equal to the circumference of a person’s embrace with fingertips touching’
<i>káppit</i>	‘to hold securely to prevent from falling’
<i>lamág</i>	‘to hold in the hand’, ‘to toy with something in the hand’
<i>sabà</i>	‘to hold up to prevent from falling over’
<i>sabban</i>	‘to hold onto’, ‘to restrain’
<i>sipit</i>	‘to hold closely to the breast’ (as a mother cuddles a baby)
<i>takmag</i>	‘to touch’, ‘to hold onto or grasp with the hand’

⁷⁸ In this text, *inámmán* ‘drink’ (*n*) refers to intoxicating drink offered in celebration of a successful event. An earlier practice of holding the ceremony called *ginám* ‘drinking’ (*n*) was usually given by a datu to thank the spirits for success in war or domestic affairs, to ward off sickness and danger, to drive away *busó* ‘evil spirits’, or to appease the spirits so they would give prosperity to the people (Cole 1945).

⁷⁹ *Gawat* ‘to receive’ describes the action of the midwife who receives or catches the baby in the birthing process.

Other terms for midwife

<i>mabaliyan</i>	‘midwife’, ‘one skilled in administering traditional medicine’
<i>taraawat</i>	‘a midwife by occupation’, ‘one whose occupation is to receive babies at birth’
<i>tarasusu</i>	‘one who assists in the birth process’

⁸⁰ *Ágtákkán* ‘to push on the abdomen of a woman in labor’ is performed by the midwife specifically during labor and childbirth.

⁸¹ It is unusual that it would have been a man who had the skill to teach women the art of midwifery, as this text alleges, since both in the past and the present, midwives have been women.

⁸² The custom of sending a visitor away with gifts is still a high cultural value.

⁸³ The acquisition of an *állang* ‘slave’ was common in the history of the Tagabawas. Slaves were usually captured during raids and could be bought and sold. Any slave who might have a physical defect (e.g. blindness, deafness, lameness, extreme old age) or was useless to the owner would be a candidate for human sacrifice, a custom formerly practiced by the Tagabawas. A slave of a *datu*

‘traditional leader’ could be sacrificed at the death of his master allegedly to accompany the deceased on his journey into the afterlife.

Tô batà buringán

tô batà buringán

MRK child unkempt

The unkempt child

*Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac*⁸⁴

1. Ni gulitán ni, atag katô batà buringán.
ni ág-ulit-án ni atag katô batà buringán
this HAB.OF-tell-__ this about OBL child unkempt

This story, it is about the unkempt child.

2. Tô midugé dán miglabé biyaán, duwán sábbad batà, na
tô min-dugé dán mig-labé biyaán duwán sábbad batà na
OBL REAL.OF-long.time now REAL.SF-pass year EXT one child LK

sunnud áskandin ágkatuluan.

sunnud sikandin ágka-tulù-an

very 3SG HAB.LF-lack.sense-__

A long time ago in years past, there was a certain child, and he was very lacking in common sense.

3. Buringán áskandin, asta yan é kandin lumu na ágpamilé katô mga
buringán sikandin asta yan é kandin lumu na ágpaN-pilé katô mga
unkempt 3SG and that ABS 3SG.GEN work LK HAB.SF-cut.down OBL PL

pamula katô amé din.

pamula katô amé din

plant GEN father 3SG.GEN

He was unkempt, and the thing that was his work was cutting down his father's plants.

4. Duwán sábbad álló misókó tô mga tábbé din, na
duwán sábbad álló min-sókó tô mga tábbé din na
EXT one day REAL.OF-anger ABS PL sister 3SG.GEN LK

migbunal áskandin kallu,⁸⁵ na midabù na kalì
 mig-bunal sikandin ka-állu na min-dabù na kalì
 REAL.OF-beat.on.head 3SG OBL-pestle LK REAL.OF-fall LK not.until

kólii áskandin na miglugsuan⁸⁶ kódan.
 ka-ulì-i sikandin na mig-rugsù-an ka-udan
 NEUT.LF-recover-__ 3SG LK REAL.LF-drench-__ OBL-rain

There was a day his sisters became angry, and (they) beat him on the head with a pestle, and he fell down and did not recover until he had become drenched with rain.

5. Ándasu ikabanóbanó dán áskandin, migpudut din tô salóbbóy⁸⁷
 ándasu mika-banóbanó dán sikandin mig-pudut din tô salóbbóy
 when REAL.SF-conscious now 3SG REAL.OF-pick.up 3SG ABS carrying.cloth

din, migpanó.
 din mig-panó
 3SG.GEN REAL.SF-travel

When he became conscious, he picked up his carrying cloth, and he traveled.

6. Na, ándasu dutun dán ta madiyù, dutun ta mabánnás, na duwán
 na ándasu dutun dán ta ma-diyù dutun ta ma-bánnás na duwán
 LK when there now OBL ADJ-far there OBL ADJ-brushy LK EXT

migdinág din ágdagunut, sunnud dakál dagunután, su ágsippang
 mig-dinág din ág-dagunut sunnud dakál dagunut-án su ág-sippang
 REAL.OF-hear 3SG HAB.SF-noise very large noise-NMR because HAB.SF-until

ák lindig ka langit ágkadinág.
 ka lindig ka langit ágka-dinág
 OBL edge GEN heaven HAB.OF-hear

Now when he was far away, in the forest, there was something he heard making a noise, a very loud noise, because it could be heard as far away as the edge of heaven.

7. Ándasu migbantang din é mata din, yan é misállággan din,
 ándasu mig-bantang din é mata din yan é min-sállág-an din
 when REAL.OF-fall.down 3SG ABS eye 3SG.GEN that ABS REAL.LF-see-__ 3SG

tô áppuy ágpmatayé.
 tô áppuy ágpa-maté-é
 MRK snake HAB.SF-fight-

When he turned his eyes down to the side, the thing that he saw, it was some snakes fighting each other.

8. Pató nu ák dakál áppuy su ágsuru dutut langit.
 pató nu ka dakál áppuy su ág-suru dutun-ta langit
 proof 2SG.GEN OBL large snake because HAB.SF-reach there-OBL heaven

The proof that they were big snakes is because they reached to heaven.

9. Mikagit áskandin katô galangatán.
 mika-git sikandin katô galangatán
 REAL.SF-step 3SG OBL twig

He happened to step on a twig.

10. Mikadinág tô áppuy.
 mika-dinág tô áppuy
 REAL.SF-hear ABS snake

The snakes heard it.

11. Sikandan, igsódô.
 sikandan mig-sódô
 3PL.MRK REAL.SF-stop

They, they ceased (fighting).

12. Mikakita katô batà, na migsingyasan dan tô batà, ágpasadunán
 mika-kita katô batà na mig-singyas-an dan tô batà ágpa-sadun-án
 REAL.SF-see OBL child LK REAL.LF-gesture- 3PL ABS child HAB.OF-go-

dutut madani dan.
 dutun-ta ma-dani dan
 there-OBL ADJ-near 3PL.GEN

They saw the child, and they gestured to the child, having him go near to them.

13. Ándasu igdunggù tò batà, mà katô sábbad, “Pudut nu,” mà din, “ni
 ándasu mig-dunggù tò batà mà katô sábbad pudut nu mà din ni
 when REAL.SF-arrive ABS child said ERG one pick.up 2SG said 3SG this

bulawan nit ulu ku,” asta tò sábbad áppuy mà din, “Pudut
 bulawan dini-ta ulu ku asta tò sábbad áppuy mà din pudut
 gold here-OBL head 1SG.GEN and MRK one snake said 3SG pick.up

nu,” mà din, “ni bulawan nit ulu ku.”
 nu mà din ni bulawan dini-ta ulu ku
 2SG said 3SG this gold here-OBL head 1SG.GEN

When the child arrived, one of them said, “Pick up,” he said, “this gold here on my head,”
 and the other snake said, “Pick up,” he said, “this gold here on my head.”

14. Na ándasu igpudut din tò bulawan tut ulu katô duwa áppuy,
 na ándasu mig-pudut din tò bulawan dutun-ta ulu katô duwa áppuy
 LK when REAL.OF-pick.up 3SG ABS gold there-OBL head GEN two snake

tákkô tò áppuy, minaté, tò duwa áppuy.
 tákkô tò áppuy min-maté tò duwa áppuy
 sudden MRK snake REAL.OF-die MRK two snake

Now when he picked up the gold on the heads of the two snakes, the snakes, suddenly they
 died, the two snakes.

15. Pero ándà pa sikandan minaté, migpanalanan⁸⁸ dan, mà dan, “Tampád
 pero ándà pa sikandan min-maté mig-panalan-an dan mà dan tampád
 but not yet 3PL REAL.OF-die REAL.LF-instruct-__ 3PL said 3PL cut.off

nu ni ikug ku, na pamula nu tun ta tanà.
 nu ni ikug ku na pamula nu dutun ta tanà
 2SG this tail 1SG.GEN LK plant 2SG there OBL ground

But before they died, they instructed him, saying, “Cut off this tail of mine, and plant it in
 the ground.

16. Ni sábbad, pamula nu dadat silatan, na tò sábbad, dadat
 ni sábbad pamula nu dadan-ta silat-an na tò sábbad dadan-ta
 this one plant 2SG toward-OBL sunrise-NMR LK MRK one toward-OBL

salláppan, ka ánda é kitaan nu ka banuwa nu.”
 salláp-an ka.ánda é kita-an nu ka banuwa nu
 sunset-NMR where. ABS find-NMR 2SG OBL place 2SG.GEN

This one, plant it on the east side, and the other one, on the west side, wherever you will find your place.”

17. Migtuman katô batà.
 mig-tuman katô batà
 REAL.OF-fulfill ERG child

The child fulfilled (their instructions).

18. Na ándasu minaté dán tô áppuy, migpudut din tô bulawan,
 na ándasu min-maté dán tô áppuy mig-pudut din tô bulawan
 LK when REAL.OF-die now ABS snake REAL.OF-pick.up 3SG ABS gold

migtagù din tut salóbbóy din, asta migtampád din
 mig-tagù din dutun-ta salóbbóy din asta mig-tampád din
 REAL.OF-put 3SG there-OBL carrying.cloth 3SG.GEN and REAL.OF-cut.off 3SG

tô duwa ikug, igtagù din pagsik tun ta kandin salóbbóy.
 tô duwa ikug mig-tagù din pagsik dutun ta kandin salóbbóy
 ABS two tail REAL.OF-put 3SG also there OBL 3SG.GEN carrying.cloth

And when the snakes were dead, he picked up the gold, he put it in his carrying cloth, and he cut off the two tails, he put them also in his carrying cloth.

19. Pero tô ándà pa sikandan kamaté, igpanalan dan, mà dan, “Atin
 pero tô ándà pa sikandan ka-maté mig-panalan dan mà dan atin
 but OBL not yet 3PL IRR.OF-die REAL.SF-instruct 3PL said 3PL when

ágpanó ka takud kannun, agad sadan é ágtawar ó garággáng
 ág-panó ka tikud kannun agad.sadan é ág-tawar ó ág-arággáng
 HAB.SF-travel 2SG from here whoever. ABS HAB.SF-call or HAB.SF-converse

áknikó, na yaka,” mà dan, “ágtaba, su atin tumaba ka,
 áknikó na iyà-ka mà dan ág-taba su atin um-taba ka
 2SG.OBL LK don't-2SG said 3PL HAB.SF-answer because if IRR.SF-answer 2SG

na kantusan⁸⁹ nu, na kahirapan ka.”
 na ka-antus-an nu na ka-hirap-an ka
 LK IRR.LF-suffer- 2SG LK IRR.LF-hardship- 2SG

But before they died, they instructed him, saying, “When you travel from here on, no matter who calls to you or talks to you, do not,” they said, “answer, because if you answer, you will experience suffering, and you will experience hardship.”

20. Ándasu ágpanó dán tô batà tô, minaté dán tô áppuy.
 ándasu ág-panó dán tô batà tô min-maté dán tô áppuy
 when HAB.SF-travel now ABS child ABS REAL.OF-die already ABS snake

When the child started to travel, the snakes had already died.

21. Ándasu dutun tógpuk dalan, tákkô tô kayu dalumé,⁹⁰
 ándasu dutun ta-ugpu-ka dalan tákkô tô kayu dalumé
 when there OBL-part-GEN path sudden MRK tree tree.type

miginsà kandin, “Mándak saru, tô batà buiringán malandág é
 mig-insà kandin M-ánda-ka saru tô batà buiringán ma-landág é
 REAL.SF-ask 3SG.OBL IRR.SF-where-2SG go ABS child unkempt ADJ-slick ABS

kiré?”⁹¹

kiré
 eyebrow

When he was further along the path, suddenly the *dalumé* tree, it asked him,
 “Where are you going, unkempt child with the slick eyebrows?”

22. Ándà mikapáttud tô batà.
 ándà mika-páttud tô batà
 not REAL.SF-control ABS child

The child was unable to control himself.

23. Ándà din kasampátti.
 ándà din ka-sampát-i
 not 3SG NEUT.LF-remember-

He did not remember (what he had been told).

24. Milingawan din tô panalan katô áppuy.
 min-lingó-an din tô panalan katô áppuy
 REAL.LF-forget- 3SG ABS instruct GEN snake

He forgot the snake's instruction.

25. Tigkô áskandin migtaba.
 tigkô sikandin mig-taba
 immediate 3SG REAL.SF-answer

He answered immediately.

26. Takud ta mikataba áskandin, tákkô migkinamian katô kayu
 tikud ta mika-taba sikandin tákkô mig-kinamì-an katô kayu
 from OBL REAL.SF-answer 3SG sudden REAL.LF-envelop- ERG tree

dalumé.

dalumé

tree.type

From the time he unintentionally answered, suddenly the *dalumé* tree enveloped him.

27. Na ándasu misampáttan din tô buntiyà⁹² din, migkangé din.
 na ándasu min-sampát-an din tô buntiyà din mig-kangé din
 LK when REAL.LF-remember- 3SG ABS amulet 3SG.GEN REAL.OF-fetch 3SG

Now when he happened to remember his amulet, he got it out.

28. Innan igkállángkálláng tô buntiyà din, tákkô mibias tô kayu
 innan mig-kállángkálláng tô buntiyà din tákkô min-bias tô kayu
 when REAL.SF-jiggle ABS amulet 3SG.GEN sudden REAL.OF-split ABS tree

dalumé.

dalumé

tree.type

When his amulet jiggled, suddenly the *dalumé* tree was split apart.

29. Yampa mikaluwà tô batà.
 yan.pa mika-luwà tô batà
 after.that- REAL.SF-escape ABS child

After that the child was able to escape.

30. Na takud dán puman dutun, tô batà burengán, igpanó.
 na tikud dán puman dutun tô batà burengán mig-panó
 LK from now again there MRK child unkempt REAL.SF-travel

Then from there again, the unkempt child, he traveled on.

31. Na ándasu igdunggù dán puman dutun ta madiyù dán,
 na ándasu mig-dunggù dán puman dutun ta ma-diyù dán
 LK when REAL.SF-arrive already again there OBL ADJ-far now

tákkô puman igkagi tô biyat gamógamó⁹³ mà din,
 tákkô puman mig-kagi tô biyà-ta gamógamó mà din
 sudden again REAL.SF-say ABS fairy-OBL lake said 3SG

“Mándak saru, é pangilinan⁹⁴ malandág é kiré?”
 M-ánda-ka saru é pangilinan ma-landág é kiré
 IRR.SF-where-2SG go ABS little.boy ADJ-slick ABS eyebrow

Now when he again had reached a far distance, again suddenly the fairy at the lake spoke, saying, “Where are you going, little boy with the slick eyebrows?”

32. Tigkô puman milingawan katô batà tô migpanalan kandin, na
 tigkô puman min-lingó-an katô batà tô mig-panalan kandin na
 immediate again REAL.LF-forget-__ ERG child ABS REAL.OF-instruct 3SG.OBL LK

mikataba áskandin.
 mika-taba sikandin
 REAL.SF-answer 3SG

Again the child immediately forgot what had been given as instructions to him, and he unintentionally answered.

33. Ándasu mikataba áskandin, tákkô puman migtákkô
 ándasu mika-taba sikandin tákkô puman mig-tákkô
 when REAL.SF-answer 3SG sudden again REAL.OF-sudden

migséddóp katô lanó, na kalì din kasóddóri, na dutun dán
 mig-séddóp katô ranó na kalì din ka-sóddór-i na dutun dán
 REAL.OF-suck.in ERG lake LK not.until 3SG NEUT.LF-know-__ LK there now

ta madalám linó.
 ta ma-dalám linó
 OBL ADJ-deep pool

When he unintentionally answered, again suddenly the lake sucked him in, and before he knew it, there he was in a deep pool.

34. Misampáttan dín puman tô buntiyà.
 min-sampát-an dín puman tô buntiyà
 REAL.LF-remember-__ 3SG again ABS amulet

Again he happened to remember the amulet.

35. Tigkô puman ibaluy dakál buwaya na séddópi dín
 tigkô puman min-baluy dakál buwaya na séddóp-i dín
 immediate again REAL.OF-transform large crocodile LK suck.in-NEUT.OF 3SG

tô wayig.
 tô wayig
 ABS water

Again immediately it was transformed into a big crocodile that sucked up the water.

36. Na tigkô mitittian tô wayig, na yampa puman áskandin
 na tigkô min-tittì-an tô wayig na yan.pa puman sikandin
 LK immediate REAL.LF-dry.up-__ ABS water LK after.that.__ again 3SG

mikaluwà.
 mika-luwà
 REAL.SF-escape

Immediately the water was dried up, and after that he was able to escape again.

37. Na takud dán puman dutun, áskandin, igpanó.
 na tikud dán puman dutun sikandin mig-panó
 LK from now again there 3SG.MRK REAL.SF-travel

Then from there again, he, he traveled on.

38. Na ándasu dutun dán ta madiyù, migkita dín tô banuwa na
 na ándasu dutun dán ta ma-diyù mig-kita dín tô banuwa na
 LK when there already OBL ADJ-far REAL.OF-see 3SG ABS place LK

madigál, na tákkô áskandin mikapangadóy, na mà din, “Mólà
 ma-digár na tákkô sikandin mika-pangadóy na mà din mólà
 ADJ-good LK sudden 3SG REAL.SF-sigh LK said 3SG may.it.be

pád ka kannun é banuwa imuwan ku.”
 pád ka kannun é banuwa imu-an ku
 hopefully OBL here ABS place make-IRR.LF 1SG

Now when he was already at a far distance, he saw a place that was good, and suddenly he sighed, and said, “May it be that here is the place I will make (mine).”

39. Mimu áskandin ák banuwa tut pabungan át Luwayán, na
 M-imu sikandin ka banuwa dutun-ta pabungan ta Luwayán na
 IRR.SF-make 3SG OBL place there-OBL mountain OBL Luwayan LK

minému.

min-imu

REAL.OF-do

He would make a place on the mountain at Luwayan, and he was able to do so.

40. Na, tô sábbad ikug katô áppuy, migpamula din tut dadan át
 na tô sábbad ikug katô áppuy mig-pamula din dutun-ta dadan ta
 LK MRK one tail GEN snake REAL.OF-plant 3SG there-OBL toward OBL

silatan.⁹⁵

silat-an

sunrise-NMR

Now as for the one snake’s tail, he planted it toward the east.

41. Migtubù tô mibaluy kayu, kayu ka kallungan bulawan,
 mig-tubù tô min-baluy kayu kayu ka ka-állung-an bulawan
 REAL.SF-sprout ABS REAL.OF-transform tree tree OBL NMR-shelter-__ gold

ágpangak sinapang, ágdaun ka salapì.
 ág-panga-ka sinapang ág-daun ka salapì
 HAB.SF-branch-OBL gun HAB.SF-leaf OBL money

It sprouted into a tree, a golden shade tree, having branches of guns, leaves of money.

42. Pamulayi din puman tô sábbad ikug katô áppuy dadat salláppan,
 pamula-i din puman tô sábbad ikug katô áppuy dadan-ta salláp-an
 plant-NEUT.OF 3SG also ABS one tail GEN snake toward-OBL sunset-NMR

na migtubù tô kayu, kayu ballas bulawan⁹⁶ na migbuuy ák
 na mig-tubù tô kayu kayu ballas bulawan na mig-buuy ka
 LK REAL.SF-sprout ABS tree tree tree.type gold LK REAL.SF-fruit OBL

salapì.

salapì

money

He also planted the other snake's tail on the west side, and a tree sprouted, a golden *ballas* tree that bore fruit of money.

43. Takud taddô, migóddô áskandin na agad ánda banuwayi.
 tikud taddô mig-óddô sikandin na agad.ánda banuwa-i
 from there REAL.SF-dwell 3SG LK wherever. place-PART

From that time on, he lived just whichever place (he wished).

44. Minému áskandin midinág, na agad ánda banuwayi,
 min-imu sikandin min-dinág na agad.ánda banuwa-i
 REAL.OF-become 3SG REAL.OF-hear LK wherever. place-PART

ibantugan tô pangilinan batà buringán.
 min-bantug-an tô pangilinan batà buringán
 REAL.LF-fame-__ ABS little.boy child unkempt

He became known, and whichever place he was, the little unkempt boy was famous.

45. Imbis⁹⁷ batà buringán áskandin, na minému dán mallaki áskandin na
 imbis batà buringán sikandin na min-imu dán mallaki sikandin na
 instead child unkempt 3SG LK REAL.OF-become now bachelor 3SG LK

mibantugan sippang ák lindig ka langit é bantug din.
 min-bantug-an sippang ka lindig ka langit é bantug din
 REAL.LF-fame-__ until OBL edge GEN heaven ABS famous 3SG.GEN

Instead of his being an unkempt child, he became a young man who was famous until (i.e. his fame reached as far as) the edge of heaven.

46. Mikadinág é biyà góddô tut ugis langit, na tákkô
 mika-dinág é biyà ág-óddô dutun-ta ugis langit na tákkô
 REAL.SF-hear ABS fairy HAB.SF-dwell there-OBL white heaven LK sudden

na migdunggù áskandin igsadun dutut balé katô mallaki.
 na mig-dunggù sikandin mig-sadun dutun-ta balé katô mallaki
 LK REAL.SF-arrive 3SG REAL.SF-go there-OBL house GEN bachelor

A fairy (princess) who lived in the holy heaven happened to hear about him, and suddenly she arrived and went to the young man's house.

47. Na minému sikandan migpakalyagé, na migsakupan ka
 na min-imu sikandan migpa-kalyag-é na mig-sakup-an ka
 LK REAL.OF-become 3PL REAL.SF-want- LK REAL.LF-include- ERG

madita mga datù tut pabungan át Luwayán.
 ma-dita mga datù dutun-ta pabungan ta Luwayán
 ADJ-many PL datu there-OBL mountain OBL Luwayan

Then they became married, and many datu were (at the wedding) there on the mountain at Luwayan.

48. Taddô dán áskandin migtonnók migóddô.
 taddô dán sikandin mig-tonnók mig-óddô
 there now 3SG REAL.SF-still REAL.SF-dwell

There he settled down and lived.

49. Taddô dád gó sippang.
 taddô dád gó sippang
 there only EMPH until

Until there only for sure.

Notes

⁸⁴ For information about the contributor, see endnote 2, page 11, following the text *Ás Sandawà* 'Sandawa'.

⁸⁵ The *állu* is the pestle used for pounding rice, coffee, etc. in a *lássung* 'mortar'.

⁸⁶ *Miglugsuan*, which comes from the root *rugsù*, means 'to be drenched' (by a heavy rainfall).

Other related terms

<i>igsunung ka udan</i>	‘to become wet with rain’
<i>inódanan</i>	‘to happen to get wet in the rain’
<i>kadamuran</i>	‘to be wet from dew’
<i>lánnukan</i>	‘to be moist from night air dampness’
<i>mammás</i>	‘to be wet’
<i>marammê</i>	‘to be damp’

⁸⁷ The *salóbbóy* is a circular piece of fabric worn over the shoulder for carrying a child or baggage. It can double as a *kisì* ‘blanket’ in which to wrap one’s self for sleeping. For a description of other clothing, see endnote 170, page 137, following the text *Ni gultán nik sábbad mabaliyan* ‘This is the narration about a certain midwife’.

⁸⁸ *Panalan* ‘instruction’, from the root *talan* ‘word of advice’, usually applies to a person’s final words of instruction before dying. It is also a generic term for advice or instructions.

⁸⁹ *Kantusan* ‘to suffer’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *tigkól*.

⁹⁰ The *dalumé* tree has not been identified.

⁹¹ In this text, the unkempt child is twice addressed as *batà buringán malandág é kiré* ‘unkempt child with slick eyebrows’. People are sometimes identified by a term that befits their appearance or manner. A common practice of the ancestors was to apply coconut oil to their hair or eyebrows as beautification. This may have been the case with the unkempt child, thus giving rise to this particular reference to his personal appearance. His untidy appearance seems to be highlighted merely to increase the contrast between his humble origin and his eventual success. (See sentence 45, where this contrast is stated explicitly.)

⁹² This is the first mention in the text of the boy’s having a *buntiyà* ‘amulet’. Perhaps it is assumed that everyone carried an amulet for protection because of their belief in its supernatural power.

⁹³ The term *biyat gamógamó* is used in traditional narratives to refer to the *bayi ka ranu* ‘fairy of the lake’. She was the spirit owner of the lake and, therefore, had supernatural power to inflict harm on anyone who spoke aloud when approaching her lake. This is perhaps the basis for the common belief that a person who approaches a large body of water for the first time should remain silent so as not to offend the spirit owner who inhabits it. In order to avoid violating this belief, the person puts a small pebble into his mouth so he will not inadvertently speak and end up suffering illness as a consequence of violating the taboo.

⁹⁴ The term *pangilinan* ‘little boy’ is used primarily in traditional narratives. It is not understood by the majority of the current generation.

⁹⁵ The literal meaning of *silatan* ‘east’ is ‘rising place (of the sun or moon)’, and that of *saláppan* ‘west’ (sentence 42) is ‘setting place (of the sun)’. There are no Tagabawa equivalents for north or south.

⁹⁶ *Kayu ballas bulawan* ‘golden ballas tree’ with its fruit of money is an imaginary tree mentioned in

traditional narratives to lend flavor to a point in the story. Tagabawas call this embellishment a *bulak* ‘flower’ of the story.

⁹⁷ *Imbis* ‘instead’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *kullagó*.

Ás Paladayán

si Paladayán

MRK Paladayan

Paladayan

*Mrs. Mingka L. Oncoy*⁹⁸

1. Ás Paladayán,⁹⁹ mà din katô tábbé¹⁰⁰ din, “Managasu
si Paladayán mà din katô tábbé din M-panagasu
MRK Paladayan said 3SG OBL sister 3SG.GEN IRR.SF-hunt.with.dog

a pa; sábbadan¹⁰¹ a dád,” mà kun i Paladayán.
a pa sábbad-an a dád mà kun i Paladayán
1SG yet one-IRR.LF 1SG only said RS ERG Paladayan

Paladayan, he said to his sister, “I will hunt with the dog; I will only be (gone) one night,” Paladayan said.

2. Gayun dán ágpanó, duwán mga balun¹⁰² din, ágakannán.
ág-ayun dán ág-panó duwán mga balun din ág-kan-án
HAB.SF-proceed now HAB.SF-depart EXT PL food.pack 3SG.GEN HAB.OF-eat-

When he proceeded to depart, he had his food packs, cooked rice.

3. Ándà dán pid ka bággas.
ándà dán pid ka bággas
not now take OBL hulled.rice

He did not take any hulled rice.

4. Ágakannán dád tô igbalun din, asta tô asu din,
ág-kan-án dád tô mig-balun din asta tô asu din
HAB.OF-eat- only ABS REAL.OF-food.pack 3SG and MRK dog 3SG.GEN

ágpakannán din.
ágpa-kan-án din
HAB.OF-eat- 3SG

Cooked rice was the only thing he took as trail food, and as for his dog, he was feeding it.

5. Na, isábbadan ás Paladayán, ándà man ábbu é asu¹⁰³
 na min-sábbad-an si Paladayán ándà man ábbu é asu
 LK REAL.LF-one-__ ABS Paladayan not naturally bark ABS dog

din.
 din
 3SG.GEN

Now Paladayan had stayed one night, and naturally his dog had not barked (at anything).

6. Una dán é asu ulì.
 una dán é asu ulì
 ahead already ABS dog go.home

The dog had already gone ahead home.

7. Na, si Paladayán, gádding pa ággáttas ka balagán.¹⁰⁴
 na si Paladayán ág-ádding pa ág-gáttas ka balagán
 LK MRK Paladayan HAB.SF-stop.awhile yet HAB.SF-cut OBL rattan

Now Paladayan, he stopped off awhile to cut rattan.

8. Ágdunggù é asu tut balé gó i Paladayán, tô dád
 ág-dunggù é asu dutun-ta balé gó i Paladayán tô dád
 HAB.SF-arrive ABS dog there-OBL house EMPH GEN Paladayan MRK only

man tábbé din.
 man tábbé din
 naturally sister 3SG.GEN

When the dog arrived at the house of Paladayan, naturally only his (Paladayan's) sister was there.

9. Na, igsumar katô tábbé din tô asu dut pagampak,¹⁰⁵
 na mig-sumar katô tábbé din tô asu dutun-ta pag-ampak
 LK REAL.OF-meet ERG sister 3SG.GEN ABS dog there-OBL NMR-enter

mà din kun, “Igánda dán si Paladayán?
 mà din kun mig-ánda dán si Paladayán
 said 3SG RS REAL.SF-where now ABS Paladayan

Now his sister met the dog at the entrance, she said, “Where is Paladayan now?”

10. Igánda dán si Paladayán?” mà kun katô bayi, tábbé gó i
 mig-ánda dán si Paladayán mà kun katô bayi tábbé gó i
 REAL.SF-where now ABS Paladayan said RS ERG woman sister EMPH GEN

Paladayán.

Paladayán

Paladayan

Where is Paladayan now?” said the woman, the sister of Paladayan.

11. Na, dì man ágkagi tô asu, su asu man.
 na dì man ág-kagi tô asu su asu man
 LK not naturally HAB.SF-say ABS dog because dog naturally

Now naturally the dog would not speak, because it was a dog.

12. Dì man ágkagi.
 dì man ág-kagi
 not naturally HAB.SF-say

Naturally it would not speak.

13. Labé dán tô asu ágbaringkurung tut sunu katô góddóan.
 labé dán tô asu ág-baringkurung dutun-ta sunu katô ág-óddô-an
 proceed now ABS dog HAB.SF-curl.up there-OBL corner GEN HAB.LF-dwell-

The dog just proceeded to curl up in the corner of the home.

14. Na dutun dán gó tô tábbé i Paladayán.
 na dutun dán gó tô tábbé i Paladayán
 LK there now EMPH ABS sister GEN Paladayan

Then Paladayan’s sister just went there.

15. Mà din kun, “Ulit kad migánda dát Paladayán,” mà katô
 mà din kun ulit ka-dán mig-ánda dán-ta Paladayán mà katô
 said 3SG RS tell 2SG-now REAL.SF-where now-OBL Paladayan said ERG

bayi.
bayi
woman

She said, “You tell (me) where Paladayan is now,” said the woman.

16. Na ágpalayuy¹⁰⁶ dán tô asu.
na ág-palayuy dán tô asu
LK HAB.SF-run now ABS dog

Then the dog was running.

17. Na áglupugánnù gó katô bayi, su ginsà ák
na ág-lupug-án-ù gó katô bayi su ág-insà ka
LK HAB.OF-chase-__-EMPH EMPH ERG woman because HAB.SF-ask about

Paladayán ák migánda.
Paladayán ka mig-ánda
Paladayan about REAL.SF-where

And the woman was chasing it, because she kept asking about where Paladayan is.

18. Na, dì man gó ágkagi, su ánnà man manubù, su asu
na dì man gó ág-kagi su ánnà man manubù su asu
LK not naturally EMPH HAB.SF-say because not naturally person because dog

man.
man
naturally

Now naturally it would not speak, because it was not a person, because it was a dog.

19. Na, idugédugé dì dán pakatónnók tô asu su ágpampalayuy
na min-dugédugé dì dán paka-tónnók tô asu su ág-pan-palayuy
LK REAL.OF-take.time not now NEUT.SF-still ABS dog because HAB.SF-DIST-run

tun dalám katô balé.
dutun dalám katô balé
there inside GEN house

Then for a while the dog was not able to remain still because they kept running back and forth inside the house.

20. Na áglupugánnù gó katô bayi; “Ulit kad,” mà din,
 na ág-lupug-án-ù gó katô bayi ulit ka-dán mà din
 LK HAB.OF-chase-__-EMPH EMPH ERG woman tell 2SG-now said 3SG

“migánda dát Paladayán.”
 mig-ánda dán-ta Paladayán
 REAL.SF-where now-OBL Paladayan

And the woman kept chasing it (the dog); “You tell me,” she said, “where Paladayan is now.”

21. Na, ándà dán kadugé, mà katô asu, “Pasinsiya¹⁰⁷ kó.¹⁰⁸
 na ándà dán ka-dugé mà katô asu pasinsiya kó
 LK not now IRR.OF-long.time said ERG dog excuse 2PL

Then before long, the dog said, “Excuse me.

22. Yakó ágrákkád kanak,” mà kun katô asu.
 iyà-kó ág-rákkád kanak mà kun katô asu
 don’t-2PL HAB.SF-blame 1SG.OBL said RS ERG dog

Do not blame me,” the dog said.

23. “Diya ágtaba áknikó su asu a man.
 dì-a ág-taba áknikó su asu a man
 not-1SG HAB.SF-answer 2SG.OBL because dog 1SG naturally

“I would not answer you because naturally I am a dog.

24. Manan ka sumigi¹⁰⁹ ka kanak minsà?” mà katô asu.
 manan.ka um-sigi ka kanak M-insà mà katô asu
why.__ IRR.SF-continue 2SG 1SG.OBL IRR.SF-ask said ERG dog

Why do you keep on asking me?” said the dog.

25. “Na, yakó,” mà din, “gótép su duwán dumunggù ákniyu,” mà
 na iyà-kó mà din ág-ótép su duwán um-dunggù ákniyu mà
 LK don’t-2PL said 3SG HAB.SF-talk because EXT IRR.SF-arrive 2PL.OBL said

katô asu.

katô asu

ERG dog

“Now do not,” it said, “talk because there is something (bad) that will come to you all,” said the dog.

26. Na, itagadtagad, ágdunggù ás Paladayán.
 na min-tagadtagad ág-dunggù si Paladayán
 LK REAL.OF-short.time HAB.SF-arrive ABS Paladayan

Now after a short time, Paladayan arrived.

27. Na mikónsad ás Paladayán.
 na mika-unsad si Paladayán
 LK REAL.SF-sit ABS Paladayan

Then Paladayan happened to sit down.

28. Na, ándin é kuwa nu, su ágsámmuk man dán gó
 na ándin é kuwa nu su ág-sámmuk man dán gó
 LK what ABS something 2SG.GEN because HAB.SF-flow naturally now EMPH

yan wayig tikud dutut siyung katô balé i Paladayán.
 yan wayig tikud dutun-ta siyung katô balé i Paladayán
 that river from there-OBL under GEN house GEN Paladayan

Now what do you know, because a river was now flowing out from under Paladayan’s house.

29. Ágsámmuk dán gó yan dakál wayig.
 ág-sámmuk dán gó yan dakál wayig
 HAB.SF-flow now EMPH that big river

That big river then was flowing out.

30. Nandin é kuwa nu?
 na-ándin é kuwa nu
 LK-what ABS something 2SG.GEN

Now, what do you know?

31. Tô balé i Paladayán, ándà dán kitayi.
 tô balé i Paladayán ándà dán kita-i
 MRK house GEN Paladayan none now see-NEUT.OF

As for Paladayan's house, there was nothing to be seen of it.

32. Ándà dán kitayi, tun dát dalám ák wayig.
 ándà dán kita-i dutun dán-ta dalám ka wayig
 none now see-NEUT.OF there already-OBL inside GEN river

There was nothing to be seen of it, it was already inside the river.

33. Na, yan dád man é ibaluyan katô asu i
 na yan dád man é min-baluy-an katô asu i
 LK that only naturally ABS REAL.NMR-transform- GEN dog GEN

Paladayán, agad tô mga gabatà din, ibaluy pawikan,
 Paladayán agad tô mga ga-batà din min-baluy pawikan
 Paladayan even MRK PL PL-child 3SG.GEN REAL.OF-transform turtle

pawikan!¹¹⁰

pawikan

turtle

Now the thing that Paladayan's dog was transformed into, even his (Paladayan's) children, they were transformed into turtles, turtles!

34. Pasikánnamkánnam¹¹¹ tun bówwó katô wayig é pawikan.
 pasi-kánnamkánnam dutun bówwó katô wayig é pawikan
 DIST-crawl there top GEN river ABS turtle

Each one of those turtles was crawling slowly at the surface of the river.

35. Na dun dán, ándà man dán ás Paladayán, su tun man dán
 na dutun dán ándà man dán si Paladayán su dutun man dán
 LK there now none naturally now ABS Paladayan because there naturally now

dalám ka wayig su igsámmukan man gó katô wayig.
 dalám ka wayig su mig-sámmuk-an man gó katô wayig
 inside GEN river because REAL.LF-flow- naturally EMPH ERG river

Now he was gone, Paladayan was no more, because he was now in the river because the river had engulfed him.

36. Na dutun dán dalám.
 na dutun dán dalám
 LK there now inside

And he was now in it.

37. Pángnga dán.
 pángnga dán
 finish now

It is finished now.

Notes

⁹⁸ The late Mrs. Mingka L. Oncoy was the eldest of the Lambac descendents, living on ancestral land in Malasila, when the researchers first came to live in Malasila. Her knowledge of traditional stories could have increased the size of this volume threefold. Her services as a local *mabaliyan* ‘midwife’ were much in demand for a good part of her eighty-seven years. Most of the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the Lambac descendents were brought into the world by Mingka.

⁹⁹ *Paladayán* is the name of an ancient ancestor who customarily hunted wild game, usually pig or deer, with a dog in the forest. The theme of this text is that disaster comes to those who talk to animals, for either to speak to animals or to desire to marry one’s close relative is considered taboo. The consequence of violating the taboo against speaking to animals involves punishment by water. The offender may be overcome by a prolonged or unnatural phenomenon, e.g. the sudden emergence of a large body of water, a heavy rainfall, a flood, or a large wave at the ocean. Or the offender may be turned into a water creature.

¹⁰⁰ One of the key participants in this text is Paladayan’s *tábbé* ‘sister’ or ‘female relative’ who perhaps lived next door. Although children of Paladayan are mentioned in sentence 33, his wife is nowhere mentioned. She was apparently not one of the key participants, for only key participants are directly quoted (Brainard and DuBois 1990).

¹⁰¹ The hunting trip was intended to be just an overnight trip, *sábbadan* ‘to be one night’, from the root *sábbad* ‘one’.

¹⁰² *Balun* ‘food for a journey’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *tánnó*. It can also mean ‘money enough to be used on a journey’. In the text, it may be assumed that the trail food was *ágkannán* ‘cooked rice’ since it would not spoil over a twenty-four hour period. Sentence 3 mentions that Paladayan did not take any *bággas* ‘hulled rice’ with him because he would not be gone long enough to require cooking rice.

¹⁰³ The dog did not bark because it did not smell any game, and so Paladayan caught nothing.

¹⁰⁴ Because Paladayan was already in the forest, he stopped to *gáttas ka balagán* ‘to cut rattan’, which would be useful for any weaving he might do. It was at least some consolation for having found no game.

¹⁰⁵ A *pagampak* is the place where one steps when entering a house, such as the bottom rung of a ladder or a bamboo platform. As soon as the dog made the first step to enter the house, the sister was there to find out where Paladayan was.

¹⁰⁶ The dog did not run away from the house but rather moved about inside the house trying to avoid the pursuit of Paladayan’s sister, as indicated in sentence 19.

¹⁰⁷ *Pasinsiya* ‘to be patient with’, ‘to forgive’, ‘to excuse’ is a typical expression to deflect blame from oneself for the unfavorable results, as when a potential benefactor has nothing to give a hopeful beneficiary. In this text, the dog was asking the sister to excuse him for the negative consequences she would suffer because she was violating the taboo against talking to animals.

¹⁰⁸ The personal pronoun *kó* ‘second person plural’ is used when speaking to a person of higher status to show respect.

¹⁰⁹ *Sumigi* ‘to proceed to do something’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *abé* ‘to continue’ or *panayun* ‘to proceed’.

¹¹⁰ The repetition of a word, as in *pawikan, pawikan!* ‘turtle, turtle!’, or a phrase, usually at the end of an utterance and with a lowered voice, is a rhetorical device for focusing the listener’s attention on an element in a narrative text.

¹¹¹ The prefix *pasi-* is a distributive affix meaning ‘each and every one doing the same thing’.

Other examples of *pasi-*

<i>pasikánnamkánnam</i>	‘each one crawling slowly’
<i>pasilayang</i>	‘each one flying away’
<i>pasipalaguy</i>	‘each one running away’
<i>pasisággó</i>	‘each one crying’
<i>pasitudug</i>	‘each one sleeping’

Ás	Karapungát asta	ás	Patulangán
si	Karapungát asta	si	Patulangán
MRK	Karapungat and	MRK	Patulangan

Karapungat and Patulangan

*Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac*¹¹²

1. Ás Karapungát asta ás Patulangán,¹¹³ sunnud katig ka
 si Karapungát asta si Patulangán sunnud katig ka
 MRK Karapungat and MRK Patulangan very skill OBL

tógô ¹¹⁴	asta	palandag. ¹¹⁵
tógô	asta	palandag
bamboo.instrument	and	flute

Karapungat and Patulangan, they were very skilled at (playing) a plucked bamboo instrument and a flute.

2. Duwán sábbad álló, mapun, sikandan, ágpabandayé¹¹⁶
 duwán sábbad álló mapun sikandan ágpa-banda-é
 EXT one day afternoon 3PL.MRK HAB.SF-play.musical.instrument-__

siráb	katô	kayu	tut	mallung.
siráb	katô	kayu	dutun-ta	mallung
underneath	GEN	tree	there-OBL	shade

There was a day, in the afternoon (that) they, they were playing musical instruments together under a tree in the shade.

3. Tákkô¹¹⁷ tô limaták, migkáppit tut susu i Patulangán.
 tákkô tô limaták mig-káppit dutun-ta susu i Patulangán
 sudden MRK leech REAL.SF-hold there-OBL breast GEN Patulangan

Suddenly a leech, it clung to Patulangan's breast.

4. Migkita si Patulangán katô!
 mig-kita si Patulangán katô
 REAL.SF-see ABS Patulangan OBL

Patulangan saw it!

5. Migkurágging áskandin!
 mig-kurágging sikandin
 REAL.SF-scream 3SG

She screamed!

6. Migpatabangtabang ki Karapungát!
 migpa-tabangtabang ki Karapungát
 REAL.SF-help OBL Karapungat

She called to Karapungat for help!

7. Migkarit i Karapungát katô palandag din!
 mig-karit i Karapungát katô palandag din
 REAL.OF-flick ERG Karapungat OBL flute 3SG.GEN

Karapungat flicked it off with his flute!

8. Takud taddô tô migkarit din tô limaták, tákkô tô wayig,
 tikud taddô tô mig-karit din tô limaták tákkô tô wayig
 from there OBL REAL.OF-flick 3SG ABS leech sudden MRK water

migtubù¹¹⁸ tun ta igtindággan dan.
 mig-tubù dutun ta mig-tindág-an dan
 REAL.SF-gush there OBL REAL.LF-stand- 3PL

From the moment when he flicked off the leech, suddenly water, it gushed out where they stood.

9. Mimáddangan sikandan katô!
 min-máddang-an sikandan katô
REAL.LF-afraid- 3PL OBL

They became afraid of it!

10. Na migpalaguy!
 na mig-palaguy
 LK REAL.SF-run

Then they ran away!

11. Na migpasuwayé!
 na migpa-suwé-é
 LK REAL.SF-part.ways-

And they went in different directions!

12. Na agad ánda é gukitán dan, ánda é ágpallaguyan,
 na agad.ánda é ág-ukit-án dan ánda é ág-palaguy-an
 LK wherever. ABS HAB.OF-pass.through- 3PL where ABS HAB.LF-run-

ágtákkás tô wayig astaasta misautan.
 ág-tákkás tô wayig astaasta min-saut-an
 HAB.SF-accompany ABS water until REAL.LF-overtake-

Then wherever they went, wherever they ran, the water kept following them until they were overtaken.

13. Na minému ás Karapungát wayig ta kasili, asta ás
 na min-imu si Karapungát wayig ta kasili asta si
 LK REAL.OF-become ABS Karapungat water OBL eel and MRK

Patulangán pagsik, minému wayig na migtuddà dutut wayig
 Patulangán pagsik min-imu wayig na mig-tuddà dutun-ta wayig
 Patulangan also REAL.OF-become water LK REAL.SF-join there-OBL water

Karapungát.
 Karapungát
 Karapungat

Then Karapungat became a river for eels, and Patulangan also, she became a river that joined the Karapungat River.

14. Ni wayig ni, kitanán ta taddô át baryu ka Kisante, Makilala,
 ni wayig ni kita-án ta taddô ta baryu ka Kisante Makilala
 this water this see-IRR.OF 1PL.IN there OBL barrio GEN Kisante Makilala

North Cotabato.
 North Cotabato
 North Cotabato

As for this river, we can see it there at Barrio Kisante, Makilala, North Cotabato.

15. Tun ta pagtuu¹¹⁹ katô mga nitibu,¹²⁰ dî mému
 dutun ta pag-tuu katô mga nitibu dî ma-imu
 there OBL NMR-believe GEN PL indigenous not ADJ-possible

pakalyagé¹²¹ tô mga mataladi¹²² asta mga talatábbé.¹²³
 pa-kalyag-é tô mga mataladi asta mga talatábbé
 IRR.SF-marry-__ ABS PL relative and PL siblings

In the belief of the indigenous people, it is not permissible for close relatives or siblings to marry each other.

16. Takud ta sikandan, mému ganitan¹²⁴ mabaluy wayig ó
 tikud ta sikandan ma-imu ág-anit-an ma-baluy wayig ó
 from OBL 3PL IRR.OF-become HAB.LF-taboo-__ IRR.OF-transform water or

kasili.
 kasili
 eel

From their (Karapungat and Patulangan's) time on, the ones who suffer the consequences of violating the taboo will be transformed into a river or an eel.

17. Taddô dád gó sippang.
 taddô dád gó sippang
 there only EMPH until

Until there only for sure.

Notes

¹¹² For information about the contributor, see endnote 2, page 11, following the text *Ás Sandawà* 'Sandawa'.

¹¹³ In this text, Karapungat and Patulangan were brother and sister. They were both musical and were in the habit of playing their bamboo instruments, the *tógô* and the *palandag*.

¹¹⁴ The *tógô* is made from one internode of *kawayan* bamboo (*Bambusa blumeana*) about 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter. Narrow strips are cut the length of the bamboo with both ends left attached. These strips are elevated and made taut with small bamboo bridges, and then plucked with a stick or the fingers.

¹¹⁵ The *palandag* is a mouth flute with four finger holes; it is made from a piece of *balakayu* bamboo (*Schizostachyum lima*) 2.5 centimeters (1 inch) in diameter and about 90 centimeters (3 feet) in length. The brother and sister violated the incest taboo when the brother, Karapungat, touched the breast of his sister, Patulangan, with the flute. They suffered the consequences by being overcome by a sudden gush of water. Karapungat was turned into a river of eels, and Patulangan was turned into a river which joined the Karapungat River. Because the two rivers were joined together, today there is only one river named Karapungat located in Kisante, Makilala, province of Cotabato, not far from the narrator's home area.

¹¹⁶ Playing musical instruments together is called *ágpabandayé*.

Other terms for playing musical instruments

<i>ágkómbéng</i>	'to play a Jew's harp'
<i>ágpalandag</i>	'to play the <i>balakayu</i> bamboo flute'
<i>ágtagunggu</i>	'to play the set of brass gongs'
<i>ágtógô</i>	'to play the <i>kawayan</i> bamboo instrument'

¹¹⁷ *Tákkô* 'suddenly', 'startlingly' implies being caught unprepared or unawares.

Other related terms

<i>sékót</i>	'to happen quickly, easily'
<i>tigkô</i>	'to happen immediately, abruptly'
<i>tigkan</i>	'to happen unexpectedly' (as from excitement which results in something else happening, as to cry from joy)

¹¹⁸ As a verb, the primary meaning of *tubù* is 'to sprout' (as for a plant). In this sentence in which the word describes the sudden action of the water, it has a secondary meaning 'to gush up'.

Other terms using *tubù*

<i>mantu tubù</i>	'new sprout', 'the new generation'
<i>patubué</i>	'to have grown up together'
<i>patubuan</i>	'sprouted coconut seedling'
<i>tubù</i>	'interest on money loaned'

¹¹⁹ *Pagtuu* 'belief' appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *pagbánnal*.

¹²⁰ *Nitibu* 'indigenous people' in this text refers specifically to the Tagabawas.

¹²¹ *Pakalyagé*, from the root *kalyag* 'desire', is the term used to indicate a couple's desire to marry each other. By touching his sister's breast, Karapungat was acting in a suggestive manner that in Tagabawa culture implies the couple wishes to marry.

¹²² One's *mataladi* 'relative' may include any close relation such as a brother, a sister, a first cousin, a niece, a nephew, an aunt, or an uncle, but not distant relatives.

¹²³ The term *talatábbé* ‘male-female relation between relatives’ refers in particular to the relationship between a brother and a sister or between first cousins, at least one of whom is female.

¹²⁴ A violation of an *anit* ‘taboo’ is reason for the offender to expect retribution. Incest is a violation of an *anit* and can result in *ganitan* ‘punishment for violating the incest taboo’. The usual punishment involves water, e.g. water gushes up from the earth to envelop the person, an ocean wave may wash him out to sea, or he might be turned into a river or a river creature. It is still believed that if close relatives marry each other, they should avoid going into the ocean lest they be overcome by a wave and become part of the ocean. (See also endnote 99, page 81, following the text *Paladayán* ‘Paladayan’.)

Ás Malingling

si Malingling

MRK Malingling

Malingling

*Mrs. Mingka L. Oncoy*¹²⁵

1. Ás Malingling,¹²⁶ dakál kasili.
si Malingling dakál kasili
MRK Malingling big eel

Malingling, he was a big eel.

2. Dakál kasili, su igkita a katô igukit i Malingling
dakál kasili su mig-kita a katô mig-ukit i Malingling
big eel because REAL.SF-see 1SG OBL REAL.OF-pass.through ERG Malingling

tô migliyu tut Subuwan.¹²⁷
tô mig-liyu dutun-ta Subuwan
OBL REAL.SF-around there-OBL Subuwan

He was a big eel, because I saw where Malingling passed through when he went around Subuwan.

3. Inggó kapù kani¹²⁸ é kaluwag, na mga duwa mitrus.
iring-gó kapù kani é ka-luwag na mga duwa mitrus
be.like-EMPH for.example this ABS NMR-wide LK PL two meters

His width was like this, about two meters.

4. Itumpag¹²⁹ gó tô tanà igukit i Malingling
min-tumpag gó tô tanà mig-ukit i Malingling
REAL.OF-destroy EMPH ABS ground REAL.OF-pass.through ERG Malingling

igsadun tut Subuwan, su migakaran katô dadang.
mig-sadun dutun-ta Subuwan su mig-akar-an katô dadang
REAL.SF-go there-OBL Subuwan because REAL.LF-deceive-__ ERG shrimp

The ground was destroyed where Malingling had passed through to go to Subuwan, because the shrimp had deceived him.

5. Mà katô dadang, “Kédu din ka manubù,” su
 mà katô dadang ka-idu din ka manubù su
 said ERG shrimp NMR-pity 3SG.GEN OBL person because

ágkapánnas dán ágkamaté.
 ágka-pánnas dán ágka-maté
 HAB.OF-decimate already HAB.OF-die

The shrimp said, “Pity the people,” because they were being decimated and dying.

6. Áglámmáddán i Malingling, áglámmáddán, agad tô
 ág-lámmád-án i Malingling ág-lámmád-án agad tô
 HAB.OF-swallow-__ ERG Malingling HAB.OF-swallow-__ even MRK

patákkássé dád matalláng, tô gabayi kapù, gamama
 pa-tákkás-é dád ma-talláng tô ga-bayi kapù ga-mama
 IRR.SF-accompany-__ only ADJ-amiable MRK PL-female for.example PL-male

na matallángngù man tô ágpatákkássé.
 na ma-talláng-ù man tô ágpa-tákkás-é
 LK ADJ-amiable-EMPH naturally ABS HAB.SF-accompany-__

Malingling was swallowing them, (he) was swallowing them, even those who just accompanied each other properly, for example, women and men whose accompanying each other was entirely proper.

7. Na, ámmugán i Malingling tô wayig.
 na ámmug-án i Malingling tô wayig
 LK hold.in.mouth-IRR.OF ERG Malingling ABS water

Now Malingling would hold water in (his) mouth.

8. Ámmugán din tô wayig, na sumámmuk dán dakál wayig.
 ámmug-án din tô wayig na um-sámmuk dán dakál wayig
 hold.in.mouth-IRR.OF 3SG ABS water LK IRR.SF-flow now big river

He would hold water in his mouth, and it would then flow out like a big river.

9. Manud dán tô manubù malánnád.
 M-anud dán tô manubù ma-lánnád
 IRR.OF-wash.away now ABS person IRR.OF-drown

The people would then be washed away and drowned.

10. Na, ágkannán dán i Malingling.
 na ág-kan-án dán i Malingling
 LK HAB.OF-eat-__ now ERG Malingling

Now Malingling was eating them.

11. Áglámmáddán dán i Malingling.
 ág-lámmád-án dán i Malingling
HAB.OF-swallow-__ now ERG Malingling

Malingling was swallowing them.

12. Na, mà katô dadang, “Kédu din ka manubù ágkapánnas
 na mà katô dadang ka-idu din ka manubù ágka-pánnas
 LK said ERG shrimp NMR-pity 3SG.GEN OBL person HAB.OF-decimate

- dán; áglámmáddán i Malingling.
 dán ág-lámmád-án i Malingling
 already HAB.OF-swallow-__ ERG Malingling

Now the shrimp said, “Pity the people who are already being decimated; Malingling is swallowing them.

13. Yaka pa,” mà kun katô dadang, su tô banuwa i Malingling,
 iyà-ka pa mà kun katô dadang su tô banuwa i Malingling
 don’t-2SG yet said RS ERG shrimp because MRK place GEN Malingling

- tut wayig ágngadanan Ballawán na dadan dutun ta Kabacan.
 dutun-ta wayig ág-ngadan-an Ballawán na dadan dutun ta Kabacan
 there-OBL river HAB.LF-name-__ Ballawan LK toward there OBL Kabacan

Wait for a while,” said the shrimp, because as for Malingling’s place, it was at the river named Ballawan that is toward Kabacan.

14. Ballawán tô banuwa i Malingling.
 Ballawán tô banuwa i Malingling
 Ballawan ABS place GEN Malingling

Ballawan was Malingling's place.

15. Igpasadunné¹³⁰ kun tô dakál dalama.
 migpa-sadun-é kun tô dakál dalama
 REAL.SF-go-__ RS ABS big cliff

Big cliffs crisscross it.

16. Na dini gó ni dakál wayig tô góddóan i Malingling.
 na dini gó ni dakál wayig tô ág-óddô-an i Malingling
 LK here EMPH this big river ABS HAB.LF-dwell-__ GEN Malingling

And here at the big river was the dwelling place of Malingling.

17. Na mà kun katô dadang, "Panówa."
 na mà kun katô dadang panó-a
 LK said RS ERG shrimp depart-1SG

Then the shrimp said, "I will depart."

18. Panó tô dadang tun gó ta wayig Ballawán.
 panó tô dadang dutun gó ta wayig Ballawán
 depart ABS shrimp there EMPH OBL river Ballawan

The shrimp departed for the Ballawan river.

19. Mà kun i Malingling, "Ándin yan ágkuwan nu?"¹³¹
 mà kun i Malingling ándin yan ág-kuwa-án nu
 said RS ERG Malingling what that HAB.OF-something-__ 2SG

Malingling said to him, "What is it that you will something-or-other?"

20. Na mà katô dadang, "Sumakup ki ka pista.
 na mà katô dadang um-sakup ki ka pista
 LK said ERG shrimp IRR.SF-include 1PL.IN OBL celebrate

Then the shrimp said, "Let us include ourselves in the celebration.

21. Ágpista tô taga Subuwan.”
 ág-pista tô taga Subuwan
 HAB.SF-celebrate ABS resident.of Subuwan

The residents of Subuwan are having a celebration.”

22. Na mà kun katô dadang su ágkéduwan dán é dadang
 na mà kun katô dadang su ágka-idu-an dán é dadang
 LK said RS ERG shrimp because HAB.LF-pity-__ now ABS shrimp

 ák manubù ándà dán, ágkapánnas dán; áglámmáddán dán
 ka manubù ándà dán ágka-pánnas dán ág-lámmád-án dán
 OBL person none already HAB.OF-decimate already HAB.OF-swallow-__ now

i Malingling.
 i Malingling
 ERG Malingling

That is what the shrimp said because the shrimp now felt pity for the people who had already disappeared, who were already being decimated; Malingling was swallowing them.

23. Agad tô délák dád sayup, sumámmuk dán gó tô dakál wayig,
 agad tô délák dád sayup um-sámmuk dán gó tô dakál wayig
 even MRK small only mistake IRR.SF-flow now EMPH ABS big water

su gámmugán man i Malingling tikud dinit
 su ág-ámmug-án man i Malingling tikud dini-ta
 because HAB.OF-hold.in.mouth-__ naturally ERG Malingling from here-OBL

gátták din.
 gátták din
 abdomen 3SG.GEN

Even if it was only a small mistake, a big river would then flow out, because Malingling was holding water in his mouth from here in his abdomen.

24. Na panó dan dán, sadun tun ta Mulaan, tô dakál pabungan
 na panó dan dán sadun dutun ta Mulaan tô dakál pabungan
 LK depart 3PL now go there OBL Mulaan ABS big mountain

mitumpag gó yan.
 min-tumpag gó yan
 REAL.OF-destroy EMPH that

Then they departed, going to Mulaan, that big mountain that was destroyed (by a landslide).

25. Igukit i Malingling katô madun dán dutun ta Subuwan.
 mig-ukit i Malingling katô M-sadun dán dutun ta Subuwan
 REAL.OF-pass.through ERG Malingling OBL IRR.SF-go now there OBL Subuwan
 Malingling passed that way as he was going to Subuwan.

26. Na ánda tun dán ta dalan, mà kun katô dadang, “Ni madani
 na ánda dutun dán ta dalan mà kun katô dadang ni ma-dani
 LK where there now OBL path said RS ERG shrimp this ADJ-near

kid.
 ki-dán
 1PL.IN-already

Then along the way, the shrimp said, “We are already near.

27. Madani kid dutun ta ágpistaan.
 ma-dani ki-dán dutun ta ág-pista-an
 ADJ-near 1PL.IN-already there OBL HAB.LF-celebrate-

We are already near the place where the celebration is.

28. Na, atin kanik duwán dán ágdinággán nu, ágdaging agung,
 na atin kani-ka duwán dán ág-dinág-án nu ág-daging agung
 LK if later-if EXT now HAB.OF-hear- 2SG HAB.SF-sound gong

áhtagunggù, ággát kad lipáddáng,” mà kun katô dadang,
 ág-tagunggù ággát ka-dán lipáddáng mà kun katô dadang
 HAB.SF-play.gong close.tightly 2SG-now close.eyes said RS ERG shrimp

“su madani dán.
 su ma-dani dán
 because ADJ-near already

Now if later on there is something that you then hear, gongs making noise, gongs playing, you then shut your eyes tightly,” said the shrimp, “because (we are) already near.

29. Madani dán.”
 ma-dani dán
 ADJ-near already

(We are) already near.”

30. “Óó,” mà kun i Malingling, tô dakál kasili.
 óó mà kun i Malingling tô dakál kasili
 yes said RS ERG Malingling MRK big eel

“Yes,” said Malingling, the big eel.

31. Na, madani dan dán.
 na ma-dani dan dán
 LK ADJ-near 3PL already

Then they were already near.

32. “Ó,” mà kun katô dadang, “tô dán gó!
 ó mà kun katô dadang tô dán gó
 oh said RS ERG shrimp MRK now EMPH

“Oh,” said the shrimp, “that is it now!

33. Innág ka man katô ágtagunggù.
 dinág ka man katô ág-tagunggù
 hear 2SG naturally OBL HAB.SF-play.gong

Listen to the gongs playing.

34. Madani dán tô ágpista.
 ma-dani dán tô ág-pista
 ADJ-near already ABS HAB.SF-celebrate

The celebration is already near.

35. Ágpansayó dán,” mà kun katô dadang.
 ág-pan-sayó dán mà kun katô dadang
 HAB.SF-DIST-dance already said RS ERG shrimp

They are all dancing already,” said the shrimp.

36. “Ágsayó dán.”
 ág-sayó dán
 HAB.SF-dance already

“They are dancing already.”

37. Na mà kun katô dadang, “Lipáddáng kad.
 na mà kun katô dadang lipáddáng ka-dán
 LK said RS ERG shrimp close.eyes 2SG-now

Then the shrimp said, “Close your eyes now.

38. Yaka ágragórù áglagimmata,” mà kun katô dadang.
 iyà-ka ág-ragórù ág-lagimmata mà kun katô dadang
 don’t-2SG HAB.SF-tease HAB.SF-open.eyes said RS ERG shrimp

Do not tease and open your eyes,” said the shrimp.

39. Na, madani dán.
 na ma-dani dán
 LK ADJ-near already

Then it was already near.

40. Tuu dán madani tô ágdagunut.
 tuu dán ma-dani tô ág-dagunut
 very already ADJ-near ABS HAB.SF-sound

The sounds were already very near.

41. Na mà kun katô dadang, “Tuu nu ággátti yan mata nu.
 na mà kun katô dadang tuu nu ággát-i yan mata nu
 LK said RS ERG shrimp very 2SG close.tightly-IMPER.LF that eye 2SG.GEN

Then the shrimp said, “Keep your eyes tightly closed.

42. Lipáddáng ka.”

lipáddáng ka
close.eyes 2SG

Close your eyes.”

43. Na gággáttù man pagsik ás Malingling
na ág-ággát-ù man pagsik si Malingling
LK HAB.SF-close.tightly-EMPH naturally also ABS Malingling

áglipáddáng.

ág-lipáddáng

HAB.SF-close.eyes

And Malingling naturally was keeping them very tightly closed.

44. Na, ándin é kuwa nu, su madani man
na ándin é kuwa nu su ma-dani man
LK what ABS something 2SG.GEN because ADJ-near naturally

dán é tarusuban ka Subuwan.

dán é tarusuban ka Subuwan

now ABS waterfall GEN Subuwan

Now what do you know, because the Subuwan waterfall was now very near.

45. Tô gó tô ágkagin katô dadang, “Ágtagunggù,” su
tô.gó tô ág-kagi-án katô dadang ág-tagunggù su
that’s.why. ABS HAB.OF-say- ERG shrimp HAB.SF-play.gong because

ágdagunut tô tarusuban pakadag tut batu.

ág-dagunut tô tarusuban paka-dag dutun-ta batu

HAB.SF-sound ABS waterfall NEUT.SF-fall.on there-OBL rock

That is why the shrimp kept saying, “Gongs are playing,” because the waterfall was making noise falling on the rocks.

46. Na, “Ó,” mà kun katô dadang, “Ni dán gó.

na ó mà kun katô dadang ni dán gó

LK oh said RS ERG shrimp this now EMPH

Then “Oh,” said the shrimp, “This is it now.

47. Madani dán.
 ma-dani dán
 ADJ-near already

It is already near.

48. Ménék kid.
 M-pénék ki-dán
 IRR.SF-climb 1PL.IN-now

Let's go up now.

49. Ággát kad lipáddáng.”
 ággát ka-dán lipáddáng
 close.tightly 2SG-now close.eyes

Keep your eyes tightly closed now.”

50. Na gággát áglipáddáng ás Malingling.
 na ág-ággát ág-lipáddáng si Malingling
 LK HAB.SF-close.tightly HAB.SF-close.eyes ABS Malingling

And Malingling was keeping his eyes tightly closed.

51. Na, ándin é kuwan nu, ikapanayun man dan
 na ándin é kuwa-án nu mika-panayun man dan
 LK what ABS something-IRR.OF 2SG REAL.SF-proceed naturally 3PL

- gó tun ta dakál tarusuban.
 gó dutun ta dakál tarusuban
 EMPH there OBL big waterfall

Now what do you know, naturally they proceeded to the big waterfall.

52. Na mikadag tut batu.
 na mika-dag dutun-ta batu
 LK REAL.SF-fall.on there-OBL rock

Then he (Malingling) fell against a rock.

53. Ikadag tut dakál batu tô ulu din.
 mika-dag dutun-ta dakál batu tô ulu din
 REAL.SF-fall.on there-OBL big rock ABS head 3SG.GEN

His head fell against a big rock.

54. Ni gó ilóggô gó ni alig.
 ni gó min-lóggô gó ni alig
 this EMPH REAL.OF-dislocate EMPH this neck

His neck was definitely dislocated.

55. Na, ándin pa, minaté dán man gó ás Malingling.
 na ándin pa min-maté dán man gó si Malingling
 LK what yet REAL.OF-die now naturally EMPH ABS Malingling

Now what happened next, naturally Malingling really died.

56. Na, mà kun katô dadang, “Uman ka!
 na mà kun katô dadang uman ka
 LK said RS ERG shrimp again 2SG

Then the shrimp said, “Do it again!

57. Agad dán gó!”¹³²
 agad dán gó
 even now EMPH

You had it coming!”

58. Mà kun katô dadang, “Méduwad ka manubù; ándà dán
 mà kun katô dadang ma-idu-a-dán ka manubù ándà dá
 said RS ERG shrimp IRR.OF-pity-1SG-now OBL person none now

- ipánnas dán; ágkannán nu.”
 min-pánnas dán ág-kan-án nu
 REAL.OF-decimate now HAB.OF-eat-__ 2SG

The shrimp said, “I pity the people; no one is going to be decimated now; you will not eat anyone.”

59. Na, inaté dán si Malingling.
 na min-maté dán si Malingling
 LK REAL.OF-die already ABS Malingling

Now Malingling was already dead.

60. Igtuu é taga Subuwan igkan gó katô, manáng tô
 mig-tuu é taga Subuwan mig-kan gó katô manáng tô
 REAL.SF-entirely ABS resident.of Subuwan REAL.SF-eat EMPH OBL but MRK

dád tô ágkannán dan, tô ni kapù ta bókkóg su
 dád tô ág-kan-án dan tô ni kapù ta bókkóg su
 only MRK HAB.OF-eat-__ 3PL ABS this for.example OBL back because

bánnallù man tô.
 bánnal-ù man tô
 true-EMPH naturally ABS

The residents of Subuwan entirely consumed it (the eel), but what they were eating, it was only this part at the back for that is quite naturally true.

61. Ni dád ta bókkóg tô ágkannán dan.
 ni dád ta bókkóg tô ág-kan-án dan
 this only OBL back ABS HAB.OF-eat-__ 3PL

Only this part at the back is what they were eating.

62. Dì ágkan kani dadan dinit gátták su sana tullannù
 dì ág-kan kani dadan dini-ta gátták su sana tullan-ù
 not HAB.SF-eat this toward here-OBL abdomen because full.of bones-EMPH

man ák manubù.
 man ka manubù
 naturally GEN person

They would not eat this part toward the stomach because it was full of the bones of a person.

63. Ipánnù nit gátták i Malingling.
 min-pánnù dini-ta gátták i Malingling
 REAL.OF-full here-OBL abdomen GEN Malingling

In Malingling's stomach, it was full (of bones).

64. Ni dád ni ágkannán, ni dadan ta bókkóg katô kasili.
 ni dád ni ág-kan-án dini dadan ta bókkóg katô kasili
 this only this HAB.OF-eat- here toward OBL back GEN eel

This part that was being eaten, it was here toward the back of the eel.

65. Langun é taga Subuwan, ágpisangán dan dád gó nit
 langun é taga Subuwan ág-pisang-án dan dád gó dini-ta
 all ABS resident.of Subuwan HAB.OF-slice- 3PL only EMPH here-OBL

bókkóg.

bókkóg

back

All of the residents of Subuwan, they just sliced off pieces here at the back.

66. Na, taddô dád gó.
 na taddô dád gó
 LK there only EMPH

Now there only for sure.

Notes

¹²⁵ For information about the contributor, see endnote 98, page 81, following the text *Ás Paladayán* ‘Paladayan’.

¹²⁶ *Malingling* is the name of a big eel in Tagabawa traditional oral literature.

¹²⁷ *Subuwan* is the archaic term for the place known today as *Sibulan*, located in the upper region of the eastern slopes of Mt. Apo in the southern Philippines.

¹²⁸ The narrator gestured with her hands, *inggó kani* ‘like this’, to indicate the width of the eel.

¹²⁹ *Itumpag* ‘to destroy’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *gábbà*.

¹³⁰ The narrator gestured with her hands, *igpasadunné* ‘like this’, to indicate the crisscrossing of the cliff.

¹³¹ *Ádin yan ágkuwan nu?* is an expression that means generally ‘What do you want?’ In sentence 44, a similar question is asked that can be rendered ‘What do you know?’

¹³² *Agad dán gó* is an expression similar to ‘He had it coming to him!’ or ‘That’s what he gets (for his bad deeds)’.

Tô manubù igdagpakan ka banug
 tô manubù mig-dagpak-an ka banug
 MRK person REAL.LF-seize-__ ERG eagle

The person whom an eagle seized

*Mr. Umanan A. Lambac*¹³³

1. Duwán sábbad gultán na duwán sábbad manubù dangingan
 duwán sábbad ág-ulit-án na duwán sábbad manubù dangingan
 EXT one HAB.OF-tell-__ LK EXT one person previous

góddô tut Kisante.¹³⁴
 ág-óddô dutun-ta Kisante
 HAB.SF-dwell there-OBL Kisante

There is a certain story that there was a certain person previously living in Kisante.

2. Igitur áskandin kanan Bulatukan Wayig.
 mig-itur sikandin kanan Bulatukan wayig
 REAL.SF-follow 3SG that Bulatukan river

He followed the Bulatukan River.

3. Na tô kandin ágdantulán,¹³⁵ managasu.
 na tô kandin ág-dantul-án M-panagasu
 LK MRK 3SG.GEN HAB.OF-purpose-__ IRR.SF-hunt.with.dog

And his purpose, it was to hunt with a dog.

4. Igpíd áskandin ka asu su mággut áskandin ka saladáng.¹³⁶
 mig-pid sikandin ka asu su M-ággut sikandin ka saladáng
 REAL.SF-bring 3SG OBL dog because IRR.SF-catch 3SG OBL deer

He brought along a dog because he was going to catch a deer.

5. Igdunggù áskandin diyan ta pabungan siyung kanan Buring Dalama,¹³⁷ ulu
 mig-dunggù sikandin diyan ta pabungan siyung kanan Buring Dalama ulu
 REAL.SF-arrive 3SG there OBL mountain under that Buring Dalama head

kanan Bulatukan Wayig, na mikaggut áskandin ka sábbad dakál saladáng.
 kanan Bulatukan Wayig na mika-ággut sikandin ka sábbad dakál saladáng
 that Bulatukan River LK REAL.SF-catch 3SG OBL one large deer

He reached the mountain below the Buring Dalama, headwater of the Bulatukan River, and he caught one large deer.

6. Áknganni, mulì dán áskandin diyan ta Kisante su
 áknganni M-ulì dán sikandin diyan ta Kisante su
 at.the.time IRR.SF-go.home now 3SG there OBL Kisante because

inémmáttan dán áskandin ka ágkannán din.
 min-immát-an dán sikandin ka ág-kan-án din
 REAL.LF-consume-__ now 3SG OBL HAB.OF-eat-__ 3SG.GEN

At the time, he was going to return home to Kisante because his food had run out on him (lit. he was affected by the exhaustion of his food).

7. Na, migbaba¹³⁸ din tô saladáng.
 na mig-baba din tô saladáng
 LK REAL.OF-carry.on.back 3SG ABS deer

Then he carried the deer on his back.

8. Na, duwán man idinággan din na sunnud dakál dagunután,
 na duwán man min-dinág-an din na sunnud dakál dagunut-án
 LK EXT certainly REAL.LF-hear-__ 3SG LK very large sound-NMR

igtákkássan ka ágpagayis, na isóddóran din na banug¹³⁹
 mig-tákkás-an ka ág-pagayis na min-sóddór-an din na banug
 REAL.LF-accompany-__ ERG HAB.SF-scream LK REAL.LF-know-__ 3SG LK eagle

su dumawi ka manubù.
 su um-dawi ka manubù
 because IRR.SF-prey.on OBL person

Now then there was certainly something he heard that was a very loud noise, something screaming accompanied it, and he knew it was an eagle because it would prey on people.

9. Na, ándà kadugé, migdunggù tô banug na migtóppaan asta
 na ándà ka-dugé mig-dunggù tô banug na mig-tóppà-an asta
 LK not IRR.OF-long.time REAL.SF-arrive ABS eagle LK REAL.LF-headlong- and

igdagpakan áskandin na igbitbit áskandin saru datas.
 mig-dagpak-an sikandin na mig-bitbit sikandin saru datas
REAL.LF-seize- 3SG LK REAL.OF-dangle.carry 3SG go up

Then before long, the eagle arrived and swooped down headlong (at him) and seized him and carried him dangling into the air.

10. Na, yan dád é mikadigár kandin su tô ikabbangan katô
 na yan dád é mika-digár kandin su tô min-kabbang-an katô
 LK that only ABS REAL.SF-good 3SG.OBL because MRK REAL.LF-grasp- ERG

sulu katô banug, tô dád kandin binabaan tut
 sulu katô banug tô dád kandin in-baba-an dutun-ta
 fingernail GEN eagle ABS only 3SG.GEN NMR-carry.on.back- there-OBL

bókkóg din, tô saladáng.
 bókkóg din tô saladáng
 back 3SG.GEN ABS deer

Now there was something fortunate for him because what the eagle's claws had grasped, it was only what he carried on his back, the deer.

11. Iglayang tô banug dutun datas tun ta mallayat pangpang na duwán
 mig-layang tô banug dutun datas dutun ta ma-layat pangpang na duwán
 REAL.SF-fly ABS eagle there up there OBL ADJ-high cliff LK EXT

dakál takub tut tángnaan katô pangpang.
 dakál takub dutun-ta tángnà-an katô pangpang
 large cave there-OBL half-NMR GEN cliff

The eagle flew up to a high cliff where there was a big cave halfway up the cliff.

12. Na dutun gó igpid katô banug tô manubù.
 na dutun gó mig-pid katô banug tô manubù
 LK there EMPH REAL.OF-bring ERG eagle ABS person

And that is where the eagle brought the person.

13. Pagdunggù katô manubù tun dalám katô takub, igkita din
 pag-dunggù katô manubù dutun dalám katô takub mig-kita din
 TEMP-arrive GEN person there inside GEN cave REAL.OF-see 3SG

tô duwa pispis katô banug na ándà pa bulbul.¹⁴⁰
 tô duwa pispis katô banug na ándà pa bulbul
 ABS two chick GEN eagle LK none yet feathers

When the person arrived inside the cave, he saw the eagle's two chicks that had no feathers yet.

14. Na, róggun din dutun, madigár su duwán mikallás bóbbó katô takub
 na róggun din dutun ma-digár su duwán mika-állás bóbbó katô takub
 LK while 3SG there ADJ-good because EXT REAL.SF-hide hole GEN cave

na dì makanángngà tô banug, su maliggát tô bóbbó.
 na dì maka-nángngà tô banug su ma-liggát tô bóbbó
 LK not IRR.SF-correct ABS eagle because ADJ-tight ABS hole

Now while he was there, it was good because the cave had a hidden hole that was not big enough for the eagle, because the hole was too tight.

15. Na, tô manubù, su ándà man áskandin kamù katô
 na tô manubù su ándà man sikandin ka-amù katô
 LK MRK person because not naturally 3SG NEUT.OF-wound ERG

sulu katô banug, na manté áskandin.
 sulu katô banug na M-anté sikandin
 fingernail GEN eagle LK IRR.SF-live 3SG

Now as for the person, because the eagle's claws had not wounded him, he would survive.

16. Na, yan é ikatabang kandin su ándà kéwà tô sángngì
 na yan é mika-tabang kandin su ándà ka-iwà tô sángngì
 LK that ABS REAL.SF-help 3SG.OBL because not IRR.OF-depart ABS knife

din tun ta kandin awak na ággamitán din pagiras
 din dutun ta kandin awak na ág-gamit-án din pag-iras
 3SG.GEN there OBL 3SG.GEN waist LK HAB.OF-use- 3SG INST-slice

katô saladáng.

katô saladáng

OBL deer

Then there was something helpful to him because his knife, (that was) at his waist that he uses for slicing deer, did not fall out.

17. Tô gó tô una ikatabang kandin, su tô saladáng asta mga
 tô.gó tô una mika-tabang kandin su tô saladáng asta mga
 that's.what.__ ABS first REAL.SF-help 3SG.OBL because MRK deer and PL

babuy ák mabánnás¹⁴¹ ágpidán katô banug na pagsunggud
 babuy ka ma-bánnás ág-pid-án katô banug na pag-sunggud
 pig GEN ADJ-brushy HAB.OF-bring-__ ERG eagle LK NMR-provide.for

din katô kandin pispis, tô gó tô ágkannán din róggun
 din katô kandin pispis tô.gó tô ág-kan-án din róggun
 3SG.GEN OBL 3SG.GEN chick that's.what.__ ABS HAB.OF-eat-__ 3SG while

tun dalám áskandin gállás.

dutun dalám sikandin ág-állás

there inside 3SG HAB.SF-hide

That is what first helped him, because the deer and the wild pigs that the eagle brought as provisions for its own chicks, that is what he (the person) ate while he was hiding inside.

18. Na, ágkilón din dád man, asta ágpakannán din pagsik tô pispis
 na ág-kiló-án din dád man asta ágpa-kan-án din pagsik tô pispis
 LK HAB.OF-raw-__ 3SG only naturally and HAB.OF-eat-__ 3SG also ABS chick

katô banug.

katô banug

GEN eagle

Now naturally he (the person) ate only raw meat, and he also fed the eagle's chicks.

19. Na, duwán duwa kandin kakatigan.
 na duwán duwa kandin ka-katig-an
 LK EXT two 3SG.GEN NMR-ability-__

Now he had two strategies.

20. Sábbad, atin ágdunggù tô banug, gállás áskandin.
 sábbad atin ág-dunggù tô banug ág-állás sikandin
 one when HAB.SF-arrive ABS eagle HAB.SF-hide 3SG

First, when the eagle would arrive, he (the person) would hide.

21. Na, atin áglayang dán puman tô banug, ágluwà áskandin na
 na atin ág-layang dán puman tô banug ág-luwà sikandin na
 LK when HAB.SF-fly now again ABS eagle HAB.SF-outside 3SG LK

ágkan katô saladáng, tô minaggut din.
 ág-kan katô saladáng tô min-ággut din
 HAB.SF-eat OBL deer ABS REAL.OF-catch 3SG

And when the eagle would fly away again, he would go out (of the hole) and eat the deer, the one that it (the eagle) had caught.

22. Na, duwán pô kandin ginawa na makóli, su
 na duwán pa-ù kandin ginawa na maka-ulì su
 LK EXT yet-EMPH 3SG.GEN feeling LK IRR.SF-go.home because

atin ka kabulbulan tô duwa pispis, tô gó tô makatabang
 atin.ka ka-bulbul-an tô duwa pispis tô.gó tô maka-tabang
when. IRR.LF-feathers- ABS two chick that's.when. ABS IRR.SF-help

kandin.

kandin

3SG.OBL

Now then he still had the feeling that he would be able to go home, because when the two chicks would grow feathers, that is when (they) would be able to help him.

23. Bánnal man su ibulbulan dán tô pispis na sagpu
 bánnal man su min-bulbul-an dán tô pispis na sagpu
 true naturally because REAL.LF-feathers- already ABS chick LK somewhat

dán áglayang.

dán ág-layang

now HAB.SF-fly

It was naturally true because the chicks had already grown feathers and were flying somewhat.

24. Róggun katô innà ándà taddô, igpudut din tô sábbad pispis katô
 róggun katô innà ándà taddô mig-pudut din tô sábbad pispis katô
 while GEN mother not there REAL.OF-pick.up 3SG ABS one chick OBL

ibang ballad din, na tô sábbad, igpudut din katô kawanan
 ibang ballad din na tô sábbad mig-pudut din katô kawanan
 left hand 3SG.GEN LK MRK other REAL.OF-pick.up 3SG OBL right

bállad din.

bállad din

hand 3SG.GEN

While the mother was not there, he picked up one chick with his left hand, and the other (chick), he picked it up with his right hand.

25. Tô gó tô igawidan din ayunan din dán gó
 tô.gó tô mig-awid-an din ayun-an din dán gó
 that's.what. ABS REAL.LF-hold- 3SG simultaneously-IRR.LF 3SG now EMPH

tumuppas katô mallayat pangpang.

um-tuppas katô ma-layat pangpang

IRR.SF-jump.down OBL ADJ-high cliff

That is what he held onto while simultaneously jumping down from the high cliff.

26. Alì kun áskandin, áglipáddáng, su ágkamáddangan man puman
 alì kun sikandin ág-lipáddáng su ágka-máddang-an man puman
 just RS 3SG HAB.SF-close.eyes because HAB.LF-afraid- naturally again

áskandin ka dungguan katô innà katô banug.

sikandin ka dunggù-an katô innà katô banug

3SG if arrive-IRR.LF ERG mother GEN eagle

As for him, he just kept his eyes shut, because naturally he was afraid again that the eagles' mother would arrive there.

27. Tô gó tô kandin kapókit na mikóli áskandin
 tô.gó tô kandin ka-pókit na mika-ulì sikandin
 that's.how. ABS 3SG.GEN NMR-way LK REAL.SF-go.home 3SG

taddô ta Kisante, asta áskandin ù é migulit kani
 taddô ta Kisante asta sikandin ù é mig-ulit kani
 there OBL Kisante and 3SG.MRK EMPH ABS REAL.SF-tell this

inókitan din, na bánnal.
 min-ukit-an din na bánnal
REAL.LF-pass.through-__ 3SG.GEN LK true

That was the way that he returned home to Kisante, and he himself is the one who told what he had gone through, which is true.

Notes

¹³³ Mr. Umanan A. Lambac, born in 1927, is a younger brother of the late Datu Bulatukan Lambac. He has spent most of his seventy-seven years in Malasila where his ancestral roots are. He is the father of nine children, one of whom is also a text contributor, Miss Peligrina Lambac. Mr. Lambac has engaged mostly in farming and has also served as Barangay Captain while living for several years in Bitaug, Bansalan, Davao del Sur Province, Mindanao.

¹³⁴ Kisante Barangay is located in Makilala, Cotabato Province, Mindanao.

¹³⁵ *Ágdantulán* ‘purpose’ means to go somewhere for a specific purpose as to do something or to ask for something.

Other terms for purpose

<i>gulitán</i>	‘to state one’s purpose’ (usually a request for help)
<i>tónggà</i>	‘to do something for a specific purpose’ (archaic)
<i>tuyù</i>	‘to request something be handed over’ (one’s purpose in asking is to receive something in return) (Cebuano <i>tuyu</i>)

¹³⁶ *Saladáng* is a male deer (*Cervidae*).

Other terms for deer

<i>kulápping</i>	‘doe’
<i>usa</i>	‘deer’ (generic)

¹³⁷ *Buring Dalama* is the name of the headwaters of the Bulatukan River. *Buring* means ‘dirty’, and *dalama* means a ‘place where water spreads in various directions’.

¹³⁸ *Migbaba* means ‘to carry something on the back’.

Other terms for carrying

<i>aggán</i>	‘to carry a load’
<i>bakutung</i>	‘to carry large bundle on the back’
<i>bangà</i>	‘to carry in the mouth’ (as a cat its kitten)
<i>baut</i>	‘to carry or haul something in several trips’
<i>bitbit</i>	‘to carry suspended, dangling’
<i>ié</i>	‘for two or more people to carry something suspended on their shoulders’
<i>kulukulu</i>	‘to carry cargo (e.g. basket, bundle) suspended by a strap across the forehead’
<i>panagóllóy</i>	‘to carry a child suspended in a tube cloth slung over the shoulder’ (archaic)
<i>pid</i>	‘to carry’, ‘to bring’ (generic)
<i>pingga</i>	‘for two people to help each other carry something’ (without poles or sling)
<i>salinduwa</i>	‘to carry two bamboo containers of water, one on each shoulder’
<i>sallé</i>	‘to carry a container (e.g. bucket, bag, basket) on the shoulder by means of a strap’
<i>saruru</i>	‘to carry a child suspended in a tube cloth slung over the shoulder’
<i>singé</i>	‘to carry a child on the shoulder’
<i>sipit</i>	‘to carry something in the arms held against the chest’
<i>sudù</i>	‘to carry on the head’
<i>tiang</i>	‘to carry a load (e.g. board, sack, basket) on the shoulder’

¹³⁹ *Banug* is the monkey-eating eagle (*Pithecophaga jefferyi*).

¹⁴⁰ *Bulbul* is the term for ‘feathers’, ‘fur’, or ‘body hair’ (not including any hair on one’s head).

¹⁴¹ *Babuy ák mabánnás* ‘pig of the bush’ is the wild pig (*Sus* species).

Tô pagpamasusu ki Datù Lambac
 tô pag-pamasusu ki datù Lambac
 MRK NMR-give.birth OBL datu Lambac

The birth of Datu Lambac

*Mr. Umanan A. Lambac*¹⁴²

1. Ni ánggadanan ki Datù Masaglang,¹⁴³ ni gó ni manubù na
 ni ág-ngadan-an ki datù Masaglang ni gó ni manubù na
 this HAB.LF-name-__ OBL datu Masaglang this EMPH this person LK

mikatabang ki Datù Bulatukan Lambac,¹⁴⁴ kaké ku, su
 mika-tabang ki datù Bulatukan Lambac kaké ku su
 REAL.SF-help OBL datu Bulatukan Lambac elder.sibling 1SG.GEN because

áskandin igpamasusu katô innà ku, na tô kandin
 sikandin mig-pamasusu katô innà ku na tô kandin
 3SG.MRK REAL.OF-give.birth ERG mother 1SG.GEN LK MRK 3SG.GEN

ábbù,¹⁴⁵ duwa abuk na miglibád tun ta kandin alig.
 ábbù duwa abuk na mig-libád dutun ta kandin alig
 umbilical.cord two piece LK REAL.SF-coil there OBL 3SG.GEN neck

This one named Datu Masaglang, this is the person who helped Datu Bulatukan Lambac, my older sibling, because he was the one that my mother gave birth to, and his umbilical cord, it was two pieces that were coiled around his neck.

2. Na, madat dutun kandan, su ágtulád kun ka antén.
 na ma-dat dutun kandan su ág-tulád kun ka anté-án
 LK ADJ-bad there 3PL.OBL because HAB.SF-omen RS if live-IRR.OF

Now that was bad for them (the Tagabawas), because it is a bad omen if he were to live.

3. Tô gó igplanu tô apù ku bayi, na mabaliyan, na
 tô.gó mig-planu tô apù ku bayi na mabaliyan na
that's.why. __ REAL.SF-plan ABS grandparent 1SG.GEN female LK midwife LK

sungitán ka ménit abu¹⁴⁶ su abô ágkamaté.
 sungit-án ka ma-init abu su.ébô ágka-maté
 feed-IRR.OF OBL ADJ-hot ashes so.that. HAB.OF-die

That is why my grandmother, who was a midwife, planned to put hot ashes in his mouth so that he would die from it.

4. Igtun dan dán ta digu¹⁴⁷tô batà délák su
 mig-dutun dan dán ta digu tô batà délák su
 REAL.OF-put.there 3PL already OBL tray ABS baby small because

sungitán dán ka ménit abu, na igdutun dan dán pagsik
 sungit-án dán ka ma-init abu na mig-dutun dan dán pagsik
 feed-IRR.OF now OBL ADJ-hot ashes LK REAL.OF-put.there 3PL already also

ta békóng tô ménit abu.
 ta békóng tô ma-init abu
 OBL coconut.shell ABS ADJ-hot ashes

They had already put the small baby in a winnowing tray because they were going to feed it hot ashes, and they also had already put hot ashes in a coconut shell.

5. Na igtákkô, migdunggù si Datù Masaglang, tô pangulu
 na mig-tákkô mig-dunggù si datù Masaglang tô pangulu
 LK REAL.SF-sudden REAL.SF-arrive ABS datu Masaglang MRK leader

ka ágtimbaluy.
 ka ág-timbaluy
 GEN HAB.SF-sorcery

Then suddenly, Datu Masaglang, the leader of the sorcerers, arrived.

6. Ikasóddór áskandin katô batà igpamasusu na igsalagbat ka
 mika-sóddór sikandin katô batà mig-pamasusu na mig-salagbat ka
 REAL.SF-know 3SG OBL baby REAL.OF-give.birth LK REAL.OF-necklace OBL

ábbù, na sungitán dan dán ka abu.
 ábbù na sungit-án dan dán ka abu
 umbilical.cord LK feed-IRR.OF 3PL now OBL ashes

He knew a baby had been born who had the umbilical cord coiled like a necklace around its neck, and they were about to feed it (hot) ashes.

7. Misókó sunnud áskandin na dì malyag na matayan tô batà,
 min-sókó sunnud sikandin na dì M-kalyag na maté-an tô batà
 REAL.OF-anger very 3SG LK not IRR.SF-want LK kill-IRR.LF ABS baby

su agó duwán kun kadigárran tut tapuri álló.
 su agó duwán kun ka-digár-an dutun-ta tapuri álló
 because perhaps EXT RS NMR-good-__ there-OBL future day

He was very angry and did not want the baby to be killed, because there might be a benefit in the future.

8. Ni batà ni, áskandin si Datù Bulatukan Lambac.
 ni batà ni sikandin si datù Bulatukan Lambac
 this baby this 3SG.MRK ABS datu Bulatukan Lambac

This baby, he is Datu Bulatukan Lambac.

9. Mituman tô igkagi i Masaglang, na tun kun ta
 min-tuman tô mig-kagi i Masaglang na dutun kun ta
 REAL.OF-fulfill ABS REAL.OF-say ERG Masaglang LK there RS OBL

tapuri álló duwán kadigárran, na tullid gó.
 tapuri álló duwán ka-digár-an na tullid gó
 future day EXT NMR-good-__ LK correct EMPH

What Masaglang said was fulfilled, that in the future there would be a benefit, and it was certainly correct.

10. Tabak Manama, áskandin, sippang áknganni, manté pô, na
 tabang-ka Manama sikandin sippang áknganni M-anté pa-ù na
 help-GEN God 3SG.MRK until nowadays IRR.SF-live yet-EMPH LK

marapung sunnud igtabangan din manubù.
 ma-rapung sunnud mig-tabang-an din manubù
 ADJ-many very REAL.LF-help-__ 3SG person

By the help of God, he (Datu Lambac), until the present time, he is for sure still living, and he has helped very many people.

Notes

¹⁴² For information about the contributor, see endnote 133, page 109, following the text *Tô manubù igdagpakan ka banug* ‘The person whom an eagle seized’.

¹⁴³ *Datù Masaglang* was a Tagabawa leader around the turn of the twentieth century who claimed to have power to perform sorcery. It was his habit to frequent a cave on Mt. Apo where he would communicate with the spirits, which inhabit rocks, trees, or other inanimate objects. He was a relative of the Lambac family.

¹⁴⁴ The events surrounding Datu Bulatukan Lambac’s birth are the subject of this text. For further details of his life, see endnote 2, page 11, following the text *Ás Sandawà* ‘Sandawa’.

¹⁴⁵ The two *ábbù* ‘umbilical cords’ coiled around his neck at birth were an abnormal phenomenon indicating an *ágtulád* ‘bad omen resulting in death’. Therefore his grandmother, the attending midwife, intended to put him to death. They believed that if the child were allowed to live, someone else in the family would die.

¹⁴⁶ Hot ashes put in the baby’s mouth was a furtive method used by the midwife to suffocate the baby so that others, not in the room, would not know the baby had been put to death. An external wound, for example, would be a more obvious indication of infanticide.

¹⁴⁷ The *digu* is a small winnowing tray that is open at one end. It is made of woven *napnap*, a type of small bamboo, and is used for winnowing grain or coffee.

Other types of woven containers

<i>alat</i>	‘large open woven basket’
<i>baskit</i>	‘basket’
<i>bilaw</i>	‘large round winnowing tray made of woven rattan’
<i>bukug</i>	‘large tightly woven basket’
<i>kabir</i>	‘small string pouch’ (It is usually carried over the shoulder by men, but sometimes also by women.)
<i>kambul</i>	‘small tightly woven basket’
<i>sulad</i>	‘large tall tightly woven basket made of <i>napnap</i> bamboo’ (The <i>sulad</i> basket is larger than the <i>bukug</i> basket.)

Tò ágpangimánnalán ák Bagóbô manubù

tò ág-pangimánnal-án ka Bagóbô manubù

MRK HAB.OF-believe- GEN Bagobo person

The beliefs of the Bagobo people

*Miss Peligrina E. Lambac*¹⁴⁸

1. Duwán ágpangimánnalán¹⁴⁹ ák móna sayyan na tókkót áknganni.
duwán ág-pangimánnal-án ka móna sayyan na tókkót áknganni
EXT HAB.OF-believe- GEN prior long.ago LK until nowadays

There are beliefs of the early ancestors that continue until the present time.

2. Atin kun ka ngumisi¹⁵⁰ kak mga kutu, saku, mga mannanap
atin kun ka um-ngisi ka-ka mga kutu saku mga mannanap
if RS if IRR.SF-laugh 2SG-OBL PL lice sack PL animal

ágpakalyagé, asta mga áragóruk ulád na kangisiyan, madat
ágpa-kalyag-é asta mga ág-ragórù-ka ulád na ka-ngisi-an ma-dat
HAB.SF-want- and PL HAB.SF-play-GEN insect LK IRR.LF-laugh- ADJ-bad

kun su pakasabálló.¹⁵¹
kun su paka-sabálló
RS because NEUT.SF-consequence

They say if you laugh at lice, at sacks, at animals that are mating, and at the playing of insects that are comical, it is bad because it can provoke negative consequences.

3. Na ágtuppasan kak kilat,¹⁵² na ágburibidán é alig nu,
na ág-tuppas-an ka-ka kilat na ág-buribid-án é alig nu
LK HAB.LF-strike- 2SG-OBL thunder LK HAB.OF-twist- ABS neck 2SG.GEN

áglóbódán, ó makébed kun é babbà nu, asta duwánnù gó
ág-lóbód-án ó ma-kébed kun é babbà nu asta duwán-ù gó
HAB.OF-skew- or IRR.OF-crooked RS ABS mouth 2SG.GEN and EXT-EMPH EMPH

ágkamaté.
 ágka-maté
 HAB.OF-die

And you will be struck with thunder, and your neck will be twisted, skewed, or your mouth will be crooked, and someone will surely die on account of it (violating the taboo).

4. Atin kun tô manubù ágsabállón, ágkasakitak ulu, asta
 atin kun tô manubù ág-sabálló-án ágka-sakit-an-ka ulu asta
 if RS MRK person HAB.OF-consequence-__ HAB.LF-pain-__-OBL head and

pakénótà na ágkabalóyón.
 paka-inótà na ágka-balóyón
 NEUT.SF-vomit LK HAB.OF-dizzy

As for the one who suffers negative consequences, his head will ache, and he will vomit and feel dizzy.

5. Na, tô pagbawì dan, ka duwán ágsabállón,
 na tô pag-bawì dan ka duwán ág-sabálló-án
 LK MRK INST-medicine 3PL.GEN if EXT HAB.OF-consequence-__

ágkangé dan ák ubbus daun ák ramé¹⁵³ su ágkinnamán
 ág-kangé dan ka ubbus daun ka ramé su ág-kinnam-án
 HAB.SF-fetch 3PL OBL leaf.bud leaf GEN tree.type because HAB.OF-test-__

dan ka ágmallutù.
 dan ka ág-mallutù
 3PL if HAB.SF-red

Now what they use as herbal medicine, if there is someone suffering the consequences (of having violated the taboo), they get immature leaves of the *ramé* tree because they test it to see if it will become red.

6. Na tô daun, garámmán dan tut wayig ágtunnán dan
 na tô daun ág-arám-án dan dutun-ta wayig ág-dutun-án dan
 LK MRK leaf HAB.OF-soak-__ 3PL there-OBL water HAB.OF-put.there-__ 3PL

át basu, na ágdappugán dan katô ágkasakitak ulu.
 ta basu na ág-dappug-án dan katô ágka-sakit-an-ka ulu
 OBL glass LK HAB.OF-clean.face- 3PL OBL HAB.LF-painful- -OBL head

Then the leaves, they steep them in water that they have put in a glass, and they wash the face of the one with a headache.

7. Na atin ka ágmallutù tò wayig misamà tut basu tò
 na atin.ka ág-mallutù tò wayig min-samà dutun-ta basu tò
 LK if- HAB.SF-red ABS water REAL.OF-remain there-OBL glass OBL

igdappugan dan katô ágkabógókan, na tò dán gó tò
 mig-dappug-an dan katô ágka-bógók-an na tò.dán.gó tò
REAL.LF-clean.face- 3PL OBL HAB.LF-sick- LK that's.how- ABS

ágkasóddóran dan ka ágsabállón tò manubù.
 ágka-sóddór-an dan ka ág-sabálló-án tò manubù
HAB.LF-know- 3PL if HAB.OF-consequence- ABS person

Then if the water left in the glass becomes red when they wash the face of the one who is sick, then that is how they know if the person is suffering the consequences (of having violated the taboo).

8. Na yampa ágbawian dan katô bawì ka ágsabállón.
 na yan.pa ág-bawì-an dan katô bawì ka ág-sabálló-án
 LK after.that- HAB.LF-medicine- 3PL OBL medicine if HAB.OF-consequence-

Then after that they treat the person with herbal medicine if he is suffering the consequences (of having violated the taboo).

9. Tô mga bawì dan, tò ngipán ák kilat¹⁵⁴ na garámmán dan
 tò mga bawì dan tò ngipán ka kilat na ág-arám-án dan
 MRK PL medicine 3PL.GEN ABS tooth GEN thunder LK HAB.OF-soak- 3PL

tut wayig, na yampa ágpólétán tut bukád ó
 dutun-ta wayig na yan.pa ág-pólét-án dutun-ta bukád ó
 there-OBL water LK after.that- HAB.OF-rub- there-OBL forehead or

tut lawa katô manubù ágkabógókan.
 dutun-ta lawa katô manubù ágka-bógók-an
 there-OBL body GEN person HAB.LF-sick-

As for their herbal medicine, it is a tooth of the thunder that they soak in water, and after that it is rubbed on the forehead or on the body of the person who is sick.

10. Marapung pa tô pagturing dan tut lawa katô ágkabógókan, su
 ma-rapung pa tô pag-turing dan dutun-ta lawa katô ágka-bógók-an su
 ADJ-many yet ABS INST-streak 3PL there-OBL body GEN HAB.LF-sick- because

ágkamáddangan dan ka ágburibidán ák kilat ó áglóbódán.
 ágka-máddang-an dan ka ág-buribid-án ka kilat ó áglóbód-án
HAB.LF-afraid- 3PL if HAB.OF-twist- ERG thunder or HAB.OF-skew -

Many times they use it to streak on the body of the one who is sick, because they are afraid that the thunder will twist their neck or skew their face.

11. Na, atin pagsik ka ágkilat dán, tô ágkémun
 na atin pagsik ka ág-kilat dán tô ág-kému-án
 LK when also if HAB.SF-thunder now MRK HAB.NMR-custom-

dan, ágbunsudán dan é pangidù tut buriran katô balé
 dan ág-bunsud-án dan é pangidù dutun-ta buriran katô balé
 3PL.GEN HAB.OF-erect- 3PL ABS spear there-OBL ridgepole GEN house

dan su abô kun ágkamáddangan tô kilat katô pangidù na dì
 dan su.ébô kun ágka-máddang-an tô kilat katô pangidù na dì
 3PL.GEN so.that- RS HAB.LF-afraid- ABS thunder OBL spear LK not

tumuppas tut balé dan.
 um-tuppas dutun-ta balé dan
 IRR.SF-strike there-OBL house 3PL.GEN

Now also whenever there is a thunderstorm, their custom is, they will erect a spear on the roof ridge of their house so that the thunder will be afraid of the spear and will not strike their house.

12. Asta pagsik ka ágkilat, tô pangalungan dan, ágtambunan dan
 asta pagsik ka ág-kilat tô pangalungan dan ág-tambun-an dan
 and also if HAB.SF-thunder MRK mirror 3PL.GEN HAB.LF-cover- 3PL

su sambang kun tuppasan ák kilat, na mapássà.
 su sambang kun tuppas-an ka kilat na ma-pássà
 because might RS strike-IRR.LF ERG thunder LK IRR.OF-crack

And also if it thunders, their mirror, they cover it because the thunder might strike it, and it would be broken.

13. Asta pagsik ágguntingán dan tô pingà katô gabatà su agó ka
 asta pagsik ág-gunting-án dan tô pingà katô ga-batà su agó ka
 and also HAB.OF-scissors-__ 3PL ABS sideburns GEN PL-child because lest if

duwán igngisiyan, na ággóbbón dan tut apuy asta
 duwán mig-ngisi-an na ág-góbbó-án dan dutun-ta apuy asta
 EXT REAL.LF-laugh-__ LK HAB.OF-burn-__ 3PL there-OBL fire and

ágbaláttan dan ák asin.
 ág-balát-an dan ka asin
HAB.LF-mix-__ 3PL OBL salt

And also they cut off (with scissors) the sideburns of the children lest there be someone who has laughed at something, and they burn it (the hair) in the fire after they mix it with salt.

14. Na atin ka ágkirám dán, ágtaguán dan dán gó tut
 na atin.ka ág-kirám dán ág-tagù-án dan dán gó dutun-ta
 LK when-__ HAB.SF-lightning now HAB.OF-put-__ 3PL now EMPH there-OBL

apuy, su atin ágkilat dán, ágbáttì dán tô asin asta
 apuy su atin ág-kilat dán ág-báttì dán tô asin asta
 fire because when HAB.SF-thunder now HAB.SF-crackle now ABS salt and

ágmaransi¹⁵⁵ dán tô ulu, na dì dán kun tumuppas tô kilat
 ágma-ransi dán tô ulu na dì dán kun um-tuppas tô kilat
 HAB.SF-smell.of.hair now ABS hair LK not now RS IRR.SF-strike ABS thunder

su kéman din ka tô kadumaan din, migóbbó
 su kéman din ka tô ka-duma-an din min-góbbó
 because assume 3SG LK MRK NMR-companion-__ 3SG.GEN REAL.OF-burn

dán.
dán
already

And whenever lightning flashes, they (quickly) put it (the hair to be burned) into the fire, because when it thunders, the salt will crackle and the hair will smell of burning hair, and then the thunder will not strike because it will mistakenly assume that its companion (the lightning), it has already burned them up.

15. Tô ágngadanan dan ngipán ák kilat, igkita dan tun
tô ág-ngadan-an dan ngipán ka kilat mig-kita dan dutun
MRK HAB.LF-name-__ 3PL tooth GEN thunder REAL.OF-find 3PL there

ta kayu na igtuppasan kun ák kilat na migangu dán.
ta kayu na mig-tuppas-an kun ka kilat na min-gangu dán
OBL tree LK REAL.LF-strike-__ RS ERG thunder LK REAL.OF-withered now

As for what they call tooth of the thunder, they found it in a tree that the thunder had struck and that had become withered.

16. Gudali mipilé dán tô kayu, migkita dan tô inggó na
gudali min-pilé dán tô kayu mig-kita dan tô iring-gó na
when REAL.OF-fell now ABS tree REAL.OF-find 3PL ABS be.like-EMPH LK

batu na mikasuksuk tun át kayu.
batu na mika-suksuk dutun ta kayu
rock LK REAL.SF-insert there OBL tree

When the tree fell over, they found what was like a stone that had become wedged in the tree.

17. Na mà dan ngipán kun ák kilat.
na mà dan ngipán kun ka kilat
LK said 3PL tooth RS GEN thunder

And they say it is a tooth of the thunder.

18. Na, tô dán gó tô ágbawián dan ka duwán
na tô dán gó tô ág-bawì-án dan ka duwán
LK MRK now EMPH ABS HAB.OF-medicine-__ 3PL if EXT

ágsabállón.

ág-sabálló-án

HAB.OF-consequence-__

Now that is how they treat (a person) if someone is suffering the consequences (of having violated the taboo).

19. Taddô dád gó sippang.

taddô dád gó sippang

there only EMPH until

Until there only for sure.

Notes

¹⁴⁸ Miss Peligrina E. Lambac was born in Bitaug, Bansalan, Davao del Sur Province, Mindanao in 1954, but she spent most of her life in Malasila, Cotabato Province. She is one of nine children. Her father is a younger brother of the late Datu Bulatukan Lambac. Miss Lambac has a Bachelor of Science degree in Mathematics from the University of Southeastern Philippines, Davao City. She gave up a possible career in teaching to assist the compilers of these texts in learning the language and the culture of her people. She has remained a committed adviser and a faithful friend.

¹⁴⁹ These are the *ágpangimánnalán* ‘beliefs’ associated with violating the taboo against laughing at creatures. The theme of this text is the punishment by thunder of an offender who violates this taboo. Sentences 1–4 give the cause of the violation and the result. Sentences 5–10 give the treatment for one who is suffering the punishment for having violated the taboo. Sentences 11–14 explain the actions one takes to prevent being afflicted by thunder.

¹⁵⁰ The Tagabawas believe that *ngumisi* ‘to laugh’ at lice that are fighting each other, or at animals or small creatures that are mating, or at someone who wraps himself in a sack feigning to clothe himself will result in punishment of the offender.

¹⁵¹ The term *pakasabálló* ‘to suffer the consequence’ usually refers to the offender’s suffering a twisted neck, a skewed face (as from Bell’s Palsy), a headache, dizziness, vomiting, and even death as a result of being struck by thunder.

¹⁵² It is commonly believed that it is thunder, not lightning, that strikes and causes damage. People are more afraid of the loud noise of thunder than they are of the bright flash of lightning. Those who have learned that thunder is only the sound that accompanies a lightning strike are beginning to accept that it is lightning that is the dangerous element.

¹⁵³ The leaves of the *ramé* tree are used for treating someone who is suffering punishment for having violated the taboo against laughing at creatures (animals or insects). The compilers have been unable

to identify the scientific name of this tree; however, it is not the *ramie* plant (*Boehmeria nivea*), which is grown chiefly for its fiber.

¹⁵⁴ The *ngipán ák kilat* ‘tooth of the thunder’ is a stone-like substance usually found wedged in a fallen tree trunk and is believed to have resulted from a lightning strike. (See sentences 15–17.) It is used in treating a person suffering a physical condition believed to be punishment for having violated the taboo of laughing at creatures.

¹⁵⁵ *Ágmaransi* is the smell of burning hair or feathers.

Other terms for odor

<i>adák</i>	‘to smell’, ‘to sniff’, ‘to kiss’
<i>makábbó</i>	‘bad odor’ (e.g. smelly feet)
<i>mammút</i>	‘fragrant’, ‘sweet smelling’ (e.g. flowers, food cooking)
<i>masanggi</i>	‘smell of urine’
<i>mawù</i>	‘malodorous’, ‘bad smell’ (e.g. a latrine)
<i>ngadág</i>	(<i>n</i>) ‘smell’ (generic) (This word may refer to bad smells, e.g. body odor or decaying flesh, and good smells, e.g. perfume.)

Tô kalábbáng ka duwán ágkamaté
 tô ka-lábbáng ka duwán ágka-maté
 MRK NMR-bury OBL EXT HAB.OF-die

Burial when someone dies

*Miss Peligrina E. Lambac*¹⁵⁶

1. Tô isóddóran ku katô mga Bagóbô¹⁵⁷ manubù, su atin
 tô min-sóddór-an ku katô mga Bagóbô manubù su atin
 MRK REAL.LF-know- 1SG OBL PL Bagobo person because when

duwán ágkamaté¹⁵⁸ kandan, sunnud dan ágkaranu.
 duwán ágka-maté kandan sunnud dan ágka-ranu
 EXT HAB.OF-die 3PL.OBL very 3PL HAB.OF-sad

This is what I know about Bagobo people, because when someone dies among them, they are very sad.

2. Duwán ágsággó, na langun dán ágkagin dan tô ágkasampáttan
 duwán ág-sággó na langun dán ág-kagi-án dan tô ágka-sampát-an
 EXT HAB.SF-cry LK all now HAB.OF-say- 3PL ABS HAB.LF-remember-

dan na áglumun katô minaté, batà dan ó duma dan
 dan na ág-lumu-án katô min-maté batà dan ó duma dan
 3PL LK HAB.OF-work- ERG REAL.OF-die child 3PL.GEN or husband 3PL.GEN

ó tô kataladi dan.
 ó tô ka-taladi dan
 or ABS NMR-relative 3PL.GEN

Some are crying, and they now speak about all the things they remember and about what the deceased person did, their child or their husband or their relative (who died).

3. Tô gó sunnud dan ágkaranu su ágkasampáttan dan tô
 tô.gó sunnud dan ágka-ranu su ágka-sampát-an dan tô
that's.why- very 3PL HAB.OF-sad because HAB.LF-remember- 3PL ABS

ágpanlumun na madigár katô minaté.
 ág-pan-lumu-án na ma-digár katô min-maté
HAB.OF-DIST-work-__ LK ADJ-good ERG REAL.OF-die

That is why they are very sad because they were remembering each and every good thing that the deceased person did.

4. Na ánnà inggó katô dǎngngan, su tô dǎngngan,
 na ánnà iring-gó katô dǎngngan su tô dǎngngan
 LK not be.like-EMPH OBL previous because MRK previous

ássawù¹⁵⁹ tô kandan áglumun.
 ássa-ù tô kandan ág-lumu-án
 different-EMPH ABS 3PL.GEN HAB.OF-work-__

It is not the same as it was previously, because (what was done) previously, what they did was different.

5. Marapung tô áglumun dan, pero madat su ándà pa sikandan
 ma-rapung tô ág-lumu-án dan pero ma-dat su ándà pa sikandan
 ADJ-many ABS HAB.OF-work-__ 3PL but ADJ-bad because not yet 3PL

ikadinág katô Kagi ák Manama.
 mika-dinág katô kagi ka Manama
 REAL.SF-hear OBL word GEN God

They did many things (previously), but it was bad because they had not yet heard the Word of God.

6. Pero áknganni, tô áglumun katô mga manubù, atin tô balé
 pero áknganni tô ág-lumu-án katô mga manubù atin tô balé
 but nowadays MRK HAB.OF-work-__ ERG PL person if MRK house

ágkamatayan, atin áglábbángngán dan dán tô minaté, tô langun katô
 ágka-maté-an atin ág-lábbáng-án dan dán tô min-maté tô langun katô
HAB.LF-die-__ when HAB.OF-bury-__ 3PL now ABS REAL.OF-die MRK all GEN

umpak din, umpak katô minaté ó langun katô impán din,
 umpak din umpak katô min-maté ó langun katô impán din
 clothes 3SG.GEN clothes GEN REAL.OF-die or all GEN belongings 3SG.GEN

ágpapiddán dan tô langun abô ándà dán ágkitanán dan
 ágpa-pid-án dan tô langun ébô ándà dán ág-kita-án dan
 HAB.OF-take-__ 3PL MRK all so.that none now HAB.OF-see-__ 3PL

isamà dutut balé dan.
 min-samà dutun-ta balé dan
 REAL.OF-remain there-OBL house 3PL.GEN

But now, what people do is, if it is the household that has been bereaved, when they bury the deceased, all of his clothing, the clothing of the deceased or all of his belongings, they have all of them (the belongings) taken away so that they will see nothing remaining (belonging to the deceased) in their house.

7. Su atin duwán pa masamà, tô gó tô sunnud dan dán puman
 su atin duwán pa ma-samà tô.gó tô sunnud dan dán puman
 because if EXT yet ADJ-remain that's.why. ABS very 3PL now again

ágkaranu, su ágkasállággan¹⁶⁰ dan.
 ágka-ranu su ágka-sállág-an dan
 HAB.OF-sad because HAB.LF-look-__ 3PL

Because if there is anything remaining, that is why they would be very sad again, because they would be looking at it.

8. Tô gó tô kalyag dan ágpapiddán dan langun tô impán
 tô.gó tô kalyag dan ágpa-pid-án dan langun tô impán
that's.why. ABS want 3PL.GEN HAB.OF-take-__ 3PL all ABS belongings

katô batà minaté, ó ka sadan tô minaté kandan.
 katô batà min-maté ó ka sadan tô min-maté kandan
 GEN child REAL.OF-die or if who ABS REAL.OF-die 3PL.OBL

That is why they want to have all the belongings of their deceased child taken away, or whoever it was of theirs who died.

9. Asta pagsik ka áglábbángngán dán tô minaté, dì dan
 asta pagsik ka ág-lábbáng-án dán tô min-maté dì dan
 and also OBL HAB.OF-bury-__ now ABS REAL.OF-die not 3PL

ágpókitán dutut sállat, su madat kun.
 ágpa-ukit-án dutun-ta sállat su ma-dat kun
HAB.OF-pass.through- there-OBL doorway because ADJ-bad RS

And also when the deceased person is buried, they will not have him passed through the doorway, because they say that is bad.

10. Ágpókitán dan dád dutun ta bintanà¹⁶¹ ka ánnà gimu
 ágpa-ukit-án dan dád dutun ta bintanà ka ánnà ág-imu
HAB.OF-pass.through- 3PL only there OBL window if not HAB.SF-make

dan ák bóbbó para ukitan katô lungun ó tô minaté na
 dan ka bóbbó para ukit-an katô lungun ó tô min-maté na
 3PL OBL hole for pass.through-IRR.LF OBL coffin or OBL REAL.OF-die LK

madun dan dutut lábbángngan, su mà dan atin kun
 M-sadun dan dutun-ta lábbáng-an su mà dan atin kun
 IRR.SF-go 3PL there-OBL grave-NMR because said 3PL if RS

ukitán tut sállat, duwán dán kun puman maté tô mga
 ukit-án dutun-ta sállat duwán dán kun puman maté tô mga
 pass.through-IRR.OF there-OBL doorway EXT now RS also die ABS PL

kataladi din dì madugé.
 ka-taladi din dì ma-dugé
 NMR-relative 3SG.GEN not ADJ-long.time

They only have him passed through a window if they do not make a hole for a passageway for the coffin or the deceased when they go to the grave site, because they say if he (the deceased) will be passed through the doorway, someone among his relatives also will die before long.

11. Tô gó tô kalyag dan ukitán dád dutut bintanà
 tô.gó tô kalyag dan ukit-án dád dutun-ta bintanà
that's.why- ABS want 3PL.GEN pass.through-IRR.OF only there-OBL window

ó diyan ta igimu dan katô nángngà ukitan.
 ó diyan ta mig-imu dan katô nángngà ukit-an
 or there OBL REAL.OF-make 3PL OBL correct pass.through-IRR.LF

That is why they want to pass him (the deceased) only through a window or through what they have made that is a large enough to pass through.

12. Na atin kun pagsik tô duwán minaté tun kandan batà, tô
 na atin kun pagsik tô duwán min-maté dutun kandan batà tô
 LK if RS also MRK EXT REAL.OF-die there 3PL.GEN child MRK

innà, dì dán ágtákkás dutun ta áglábbángngan, su madat¹⁶²
 innà dì dán ág-tákkás dutun ta ág-lábbáng-an su ma-dat
 mother not now HAB.SF-accompany there OBL HAB.LF-bury-__ because ADJ-bad

kun.

kun

RS

And it is also said that if it is a child of theirs who has died, the mother, she does not accompany (the body) to the burial place, because that is bad.

13. Tô dád ámmà asta tô kataladi din.
 tô dád ámmà asta tô ka-taladi din
 MRK only father and MRK NMR-relative 3SG.GEN

It is only the father and close relatives of the deceased (who can go there).

14. Na, duwán pagsik isóddóran ku.
 na duwán pagsik min-sóddór-an ku
 LK EXT also REAL.LF-know-__ 1SG

Now there is something else I know.

15. Atin duwán ágkamaté kandan, tô duwán inaté duma din,
 atin duwán ágka-maté kandan tô duwán min-maté duma din
 when EXT HAB.OF-die 3PL.OBL MRK EXT REAL.OF-die husband 3SG.GEN

tô sawa din, sunnud ágsággó na gullaó áskandin.
 tô sawa din sunnud ág-sággó na ág-ullaó sikandin
 MRK wife 3SG.GEN very HAB.SF-cry LK HAB.SF-shout 3SG

When one of them dies, the one whose husband has died, his wife, she cries a lot and she shouts loudly.

16. Atin tun dán át áglábbángngan, tuu gullaó tô sawa din
 atin dutun dán ta ág-lábbáng-an tuu ág-ullaó tô sawa din
 when there already OBL HAB.LF-bury-__ very HAB.SF-shout ABS wife 3SG.GEN

na délák samà¹⁶³ mákkás dutun ta lábbáng tô ágpiddán tô
 na délák samà um-tákkás dutun ta lábbáng tô ág-pid-án tô
 LK small remain IRR.SF-follow there OBL grave OBL HAB.OF-bring-__ ABS

minaté.

min-maté

REAL.OF-die

When they are already at the burial place, his wife shouts very loudly and would almost follow right into the grave when the deceased is brought there.

17. Guna gó áskandin dutun tumindabù dutun ta igkaliyan.
 ág-una gó sikandin dutun um-tiN-dabù dutun ta mig-kali-an
 HAB.SF-first EMPH 3SG there IRR.SF-INTENT-fall there OBL REAL.LF-dig-__

She would surely go there first to throw herself into the (freshly) dug grave.

18. Na tô gó tô marapung gawid; gawidan katô duma manubù.
 na tô.gó tô ma-rapung ág-awid ág-awid-an katô duma manubù
 LK that's.why. __ ABS ADJ-many HAB.SF-hold HAB.LF-hold-__ ERG other person

And that is why many (people) hold on; other people hold onto her.

19. Asta duwán ágtabangtabangan¹⁶⁴ su duwán dán pagsik inggó na
 asta duwán ág-tabangtabang-an su duwán dán pagsik iring-gó na
 and EXT HAB.LF-help-__ because EXT now also be.like-EMPH LK

ágkamaté dán, dì dán áglaginawa, ágpiddán dán dutut
 ágka-maté dán dì dán ág-laginawa ág-pid-án dán dutun-ta
 HAB.OF-die already not now HAB.SF-breath HAB.OF-take-__ now there-OBL

balé.

balé

house

And some people must be attended to closely because some also become like they have already died, not breathing, and are taken to the house.

20. Ágtabangtabangan su ágkagáttasan.
 ág-tabangtabang-an su ágka-gáttas-an
HAB.LF-help-__ because HAB.LF-collapse-__

They are attended to closely because they have collapsed.

21. Taddô gó sippang.
 taddô gó sippang
 there EMPH until

Until there for sure.

Notes

¹⁵⁶ For information about the contributor, see endnote 148, page 121, following the text *Tô ág pangimánnalán ák Bagóbô manubù* ‘The beliefs of the Bagobo people’.

¹⁵⁷ For an explanation of the term *Bagóbô*, see the introduction, page 1.

¹⁵⁸ The term *ágkamaté* ‘to die’ comes from the root *maté* ‘to die’, ‘to kill’.

Other terms using *maté*

<i>ágkamatayan</i>	‘to be bereaved’ (i.e. to be adversely affected by the death of one’s relative)
<i>immatayan</i>	‘to kill someone’ (intentionally)
<i>kamatayan</i>	‘cause of a death’, ‘possible result in a death’, ‘death’
<i>pamatayé</i>	‘to argue with or fight each other’, ‘to kill each other’ (as in war)

¹⁵⁹ The term *ássawù* comes from the root *ássa* ‘different’. Depending on the context, it may mean simply that something or someone is different with no negative connotations, or it may mean to set something aside. In this sentence, however, the term has negative connotations and refers to the custom of human sacrifice, which was followed in the past but is no longer practiced today. In the past, the ancestors practiced *palimuwas* ‘the offering of a person’, usually a slave, allegedly to accompany the deceased in his passage through the afterlife. The custom involved erecting *sanggólang* ‘bamboo posts’ on the path at the entrance to a village as a warning to outsiders that the death ritual was taking place. Outside visitors were not well received at such a time and might even end up being

killed. The person being offered as a sacrifice would be hacked into pieces and scattered over the grave of the deceased. Those attending the ritual would dip a finger in the blood of the murdered one and streak the blood on their own foreheads to identify their participation in the killing. Following this ritual, the bamboo posts would be removed, visitors would be received, and life would return to normal.

¹⁶⁰ The *ágkasállággan*, from the root *sállág* ‘to look at’, is also a noun that refers to the clothing or other belongings of the deceased that remained in the house. The sight of these items would be a reminder to the bereaved and cause renewed grief and mourning.

¹⁶¹ The Tagabawas believe that if the body or the coffin holding the body is passed through the doorway, the normal passageway, then some other family member will soon die. On the other hand, if the body is passed through a window or a hole made in the wall of the house, i.e. openings that are not the normal passageway, then that will prevent the death of another family member.

¹⁶² The Tagabawas believe it is *madat* ‘bad’ for a mother to accompany her deceased child’s body to the grave, because the action implies that she, the one who nurtured the child, sanctioned or desired the death of her child.

¹⁶³ *Délák samà* ‘little to spare’ (lit. ‘small remain’) is an expression meaning the person barely escaped something happening. In this situation, the bereaved nearly followed the body into the grave. People usually stand beside the wife to prevent her from throwing herself into the open grave of her deceased husband.

¹⁶⁴ *Ágtabangtabangan* ‘person being attended closely by others’ comes from the root *tabang* ‘help’. A person may lose consciousness due to grief and need assistance to be restored. Restoration is usually accomplished by massaging the person’s head, arms, chest, and back, and by calling loudly to the person.

Ni gultán nik sábbad mabaliyan
 ni ág-ulit-án ni-ka sábbad mabaliyan
 this HAB.OF-tell-__ this-OBL one midwife

This is the narration about a certain midwife

*Mrs. Melania O. Awe*¹⁶⁵

1. Ni gultán nik sábbad mabaliyan,¹⁶⁶ katô ágkalumuwan din
 ni ág-ulit-án ni-ka sábbad mabaliyan katô ágka-lumu-an din
 this HAB.OF-tell-__ this-OBL one midwife OBL HAB.LF-work-__ 3SG

ka duwán bayi ágpamasusu.
 ka duwán bayi ág-pamasusu
 OBL EXT woman HAB.SF-give.birth

This narration is about a certain midwife, about what she does when there is a woman who is giving birth.

2. Tikud tun ta ágmabáddás pa tô bayi, áskandin dán é
 tikud dutun ta ágma-báddás pa tô bayi sikandin dán é
 from that.time OBL HAB.SF-pregnant yet ABS woman 3SG.MRK now ABS

gilus¹⁶⁷ asta ágdóppón.
 ág-ilus asta ág-dóppón
 HAB.SF-rub and HAB.SF-care.for

From the time the woman is pregnant, she (the midwife) is the one who massages her (the woman) and takes care of her.

3. Atin siyó dán bulan, ágbawian¹⁶⁸ din abô ði ágkatággasan ka
 atin siyó dán bulan ág-bawì-an din ébô ði ágka-tággas-an ka
 when nine now month HAB.LF-medicine-__ 3SG so.that not HAB.LF-hard-__ OBL

ágpamasusu dán.
 ág-pamasusu dán
 HAB.SF-give.birth now

After nine months, she (the midwife) treats her (the woman) with herbal medicine so that she will not suffer hardship when she gives birth.

4. Atin ka áglássutan dán tô bayi, gunan¹⁶⁹ din áglínisan tô
 atin.ka ág-lássut-an dán tô bayi ág-una-án din ág-línis-an tô
when. HAB.LF-out- now ABS woman HAB.OF-first- 3SG HAB.LF-clean- ABS

batà.

batà

baby

Whenever a woman gives birth, she (the midwife) first cleans the baby.

5. Ágtampáddan din ka ábbù tô batà katô layà na
 ág-tampád-an din ka ábbù tô batà katô layà na
HAB.LF-cut.off- 3SG OBL umbilical.cord ABS baby OBL bamboo.type LK

migéréan, asal igupus din pa migsbuk tun ta
 mig-érê-an asal mig-upus din pa mig-subuk dutun ta
REAL.LF-sharp- but REAL.OF-do.first 3SG yet REAL.OF-add there OBL

áglakaddak wayig tô layà, asta ágsabunan su tô gó
 ág-lakaddak wayig tô layà asta ág-sabun-an su tô.gó
 HAB.SF-boil water ABS bamboo.type and HAB.LF-soap- because that's.what.

kun tô ággamítán din sayyan tô mantu pa áskandin ágtigkané
 kun tô ág-gamit-án din sayyan tô mantu pa sikandin ág-tigkané
 RS ABS HAB.OF-use- 3SG formerly OBL new yet 3SG HAB.SF-begin

gawat.

ág-awat

HAB.SF-receive

She cuts off the baby's umbilical cord with bamboo that has been sharpened, but first she puts the bamboo into boiling water, and she soaps it because that (bamboo) is what she was in the habit of using formerly when she first began being a midwife.

6. Na ándasu pángnga din ágtampád, gággát din ágbagkás
 na ándasu pángnga din ág-tampád ág-ággát din ágbagkás
 LK when finish 3SG HAB.OF-cut.off HAB.OF-close.tightly 3SG HAB.SF-tie.up

ka sinulid abô dî ágdipanug.
 ka sinulid ébô dî ág-dipanug
 OBL thread so.that not HAB.SF-blood

And when she finishes cutting it (the cord), she tightly closes it tying it with thread so it will not bleed.

7. Pángnga katô, gumpakan¹⁷⁰ din tô batà, asta ágpasipitán din katô
 pángnga katô ág-umpak-an din tô batà asta ágpa-sipit-án din katô
 finish OBL HAB.LF-clothes- 3SG ABS baby and HAB.OF-hold- 3SG OBL

kadumaan din gawat.¹⁷¹
 ka-duma-an din ág-awat
NMR-companion- 3SG.GEN HAB.SF-receive

When that is finished, she dresses the baby, and she lets her companion who is skilled at being a midwife hold it.

8. Pángnga din tô batà áglinis, tô dán puman innà katô batà,
 pángnga din tô batà ág-linis tô dán puman innà katô batà
 finish 3SG ABS baby HAB.OF-clean MRK now also mother GEN baby

ágrapuwan din ka ménit wayig, ágbullasan din ka umpak,
 ág-trapu-an din ka ma-init wayig ág-bullas-an din ka umpak
HAB.LF-wiping.cloth- 3SG OBL ADJ-hot water HAB.LF-change- 3SG OBL clothes

na ágpiyaan tô ágdággaan katô bayi.
 na ág-piyà-an tô ág-dággà-an katô bayi
 LK HAB.LF-good- ABS HAB.LF-lie- ERG woman

When she finishes cleaning the baby, the mother of the baby too, she (the midwife) wipes her with a hot wet cloth, she changes her (the mother's) clothes, and she makes comfortable the place where the woman is lying.

9. Kalì panó áskandin madigár dán é kadággà katô bayi asta tô
 kalì panó sikandin ma-digár dán é ka-dággà katô bayi asta tô
 not.until depart 3SG ADJ-good now ABS NMR-lie GEN woman and ABS

batà.

batà

baby

She does not depart until the repose of the woman and the baby are good.

10. Miduwaan yampa gahaán din tô bayi ka
 min-duwa-an yan.pa ág-ahà-án din tô bayi ka
 REAL.LF-two-__ after.that.__ HAB.OF-check.up.on-__ 3SG ABS woman if

madigárrù, ándà masakit din, asta tô pusád katô batà.
 ma-digár-ù ándà ma-sakit din asta tô pusád katô batà
 ADJ-good-EMPH none ADJ-painful 3SG.GEN and ABS navel GEN baby

Two days after that she checks up on the woman to see if her condition is good, (if) she has no pain, and (she checks on) the baby's navel.

11. Asta ágbawian din tô pusád abô ò ágwayig.
 asta ág-bawì-an din tô pusád ébô ò ág-wayig
 and HAB.LF-medicine-__ 3SG ABS navel so.that not HAB.SF-ooze

And she treats the navel (with herbal medicine) so that it will not ooze.

12. Sapulù lima álló yampa ágpädigusan din tô bayi.
 sapulù lima álló yan.pa ág-padigus-an din tô bayi
 ten five day after.that.__ HAB.LF-bathe-__ 3SG ABS woman

Fifteen days after that she bathes the woman.

13. Tô ngadan katô ágpädigus ka mantu ágpamasusu kalémél.¹⁷²
 tô ngadan katô ág-padigus ka mantu ág-pamasusu kalémél
 MRK name GEN HAB.SF-bathe OBL new HAB.SF-give.birth procedure.type

The name of the bathing procedure for someone who has just given birth is *kalémél*.

14. Ginitán tô wayig tut kudán, asta ágtaguan ka mga
 ág-init-án tô wayig dutun-ta kudán asta ág-tagù-an ka mga
 HAB.OF-hot-__ ABS water there-OBL clay.pot and HAB.LF-put-__ OBL PL

hérbas.

hérbas

herbs

Water is heated in a clay pot, and some herbs are put into it.

15. Tô gó tô ággamitán ka ágkalémél.
 tô.gó tô ág-gamit-án ka ág-kalémél
 that's.how.__ ABS HAB.OF-use-__ if HAB.SF-procedure.type

That is how the *kalémél* procedure is done.

16. Ássawù¹⁷³ tô wayig pagpadigus.
 ássa-ù tô wayig pag-padigus
 different-EMPH ABS water INST-bathe

The water used for bathing is different.

17. Ássawù pagsik tô pagkalémél.
 ássa-ù pagsik tô pag-kalémél
 different-EMPH also ABS INST-procedure.type

What is used for the *kalémél* procedure is also different.

18. Tô miginit tut kudán, tô pagkalémél, su tingód
 tô mig-init dutun-ta kudán tô pag-kalémél su tingód
 MRK REAL.OF-hot there-OBL clay.pot ABS INST-procedure.type because pertain

katô mabaliyan asta tô ágtabang kandin.

katô mabaliyan asta tô ág-tabang kandin

OBL midwife and ABS HAB.SF-help 3SG.OBL

What is heated in a clay pot, it is used for the *kalémél* procedure, because it pertains to the midwife and the one who helps her.

19. Áglámmássán katô mabaliyan tô mallutù óggét, ó kalikam,¹⁷⁴ katô wayig.
 ág-lámmás-án katô mabaliyan tô mallutù óggét ó kalikam katô wayig
 HAB.OF-wet-__ ERG midwife ABS red cloth or red.cloth OBL water

The midwife wets the red cloth, or *kalikam*, with water.

20. Tô gó tô pagpunas din tun ta mata din asta tut
 tô.gó tô pag-punas din dutun ta mata din asta dutun-ta
 that's.what.__ ABS INST-wipe 3SG there OBL eye 3SG.GEN and there-OBL

kadumaan din, su abô kun dì ágmasakit tô mata dan.¹⁷⁵
 ka-duma-an din su.ébô kun dì ágma-sakit tô mata dan
 NMR-companion-__ 3SG.GEN so.that.__ RS not HAB.SF-painful ABS eye 3PL.GEN

That is what she uses to wipe her (own) eyes and those of her companion, so that their eyes will not be painful.

21. Asta atin ágpadigus dán tô ágpamasusu, tô gó pagsik tô
 asta atin ág-padigus dán tô ág-pamasusu tô.gó pagsik tô
 and when HAB.SF-bathe now ABS HAB.SF-give.birth that's.when.__ also ABS

katandan katô mabaliyan.
 ka-tandan katô mabaliyan
 NMR-stipend OBL midwife

And when the one who gives birth bathes, that is also when the midwife is paid a stipend.

22. Tô dǎngngan áglumu pak kalémél, pero áknganni dì dán,
 tô dǎngngan ág-lumu pa-ka kalémél pero áknganni dì dán
 OBL previous HAB.SF-work yet-OBL procedure.type but nowadays not now

su dì man dán pakatuman ni mga mantu tubù.¹⁷⁶
 su dì man dán paka-tuman ni mga mantu tubù
 because not naturally now NEUT.SF-fulfill this PL new generation

Previously they were practicing the *kalémél* procedure, but nowadays they do not, because naturally this new generation does not practice it.

23. Diritsu dán ágtandanan tô mabaliyan.
 diritsu dán ág-tandan-an tô mabaliyan
 directly now HAB.LF-wages-__ ABS midwife

The midwife is paid a stipend immediately.

24. Tô gó masakit kun tô mata dan su ménit kun tô
 tô.gó ma-sakit kun tô mata dan su ma-init kun tô
 that's.why.__ ADJ-painful RS ABS eye 3PL.GEN because ADJ-hot RS ABS

dipanug katô bayi ágpmasusu.
 dipanug katô bayi ág-pamasusu
 blood GEN woman HAB.SF-give.birth

That is why their eyes are painful because the blood of the woman giving birth is hot.

Notes

¹⁶⁵ For information about the contributor, see endnote 43, page 40, following the text *Tô tigkanayan ka lákkáp* ‘The origin of the solar eclipse’.

¹⁶⁶ Traditionally a *mabaliyan* ‘midwife’ was usually a middle-aged woman who was also a spirit medium. In addition to delivering babies, she performed special ceremonies at certain times of the year and participated in planting and harvesting ceremonies. Some of these activities required a knowledge of herbal plants that could be used to appease the spirits. As a midwife, she came under the protection of a *bayit pandé* or *mapandé bayi* ‘wise woman’, which was a female spirit guardian of weavers or a spirit of wisdom to women (Cole 1945). Currently a *mabaliyan* is usually associated with midwifery only, although older midwives may also practice herbal medicine as part of their care of the mother and the newborn.

¹⁶⁷ *Gilus* ‘to massage’ is done throughout a woman’s pregnancy, especially if the fetus causes the expectant mother discomfort. It is also the preferred treatment for body aches, as from the flu or some other body-weakening illness or an injury. The belief in its remedial qualities is so strong that massaging is sought even though additional damage might occur, as for someone suffering serious internal injury, broken bones, or torn ligaments.

¹⁶⁸ *Ágbawian* ‘to treat with herbal medicine’ comes from the root *bawì* ‘herbal medicine’. The practice includes performing rituals or using any item believed to cure an illness or a physical affliction that is punishment for having violated a taboo, or to ward off evil spirits. A *tarabawian* is an indigenous healer who uses herbs or performs rituals for these purposes. An example of an *ágbawian* practice would be to take a vine or rope that has been tied around the waist of a monkey and tie it around the waist of an expectant mother to speed up the delivery of the baby. Another example, and a more common traditional practice for ensuring an easy delivery, would be to give the expectant mother a drink made from a combination of leaves, roots, and bark. Today the term *bawì* also includes modern medicine as well as herbal medicine.

¹⁶⁹ The events mentioned in sentences 4–7 are not necessarily sequential, but rather a statement of the initial care of the newborn. The activities mentioned in sentences 5–7 appear to be sequential: the cord is cut (sentence 5), then tied (sentence 6), and the baby is dressed (sentence 7). The washing of the baby is probably done before the dressing.

¹⁷⁰ The term *umpak* refers to clothing worn on the upper part of the body, e.g. shirt, blouse, dress; it does not include pants.

Other terms for clothing

<i>ampit</i>	'tube skirt' (machine woven, usually with plaid design)
<i>kóyón</i>	'traditional clothing' (including shirt and pants)
<i>óggét</i>	'cloth fabric'
<i>salóbbóy</i>	'tubular cloth sling' (slung across the shoulder and used to carry a child)
<i>saruar</i>	'long pants', 'trousers'
<i>sayal</i>	'skirt'
<i>sónnód</i>	'tube skirt' (made of hand-woven abaca fiber)
<i>tampì</i>	'piece of clothing worn while bathing', 'covering worn while changing clothes'
<i>tinémpól</i>	'man's short pants' (made of hand-woven abaca fiber)

¹⁷¹ *Gawat* 'to receive' refers to a midwife or her helper who receives or catches the baby as it is born.

¹⁷² *Kalémél* 'bathing with herbs' is a type of sponge bath that is given to a woman ten to fifteen days following her delivery of a baby. The bathing signals the time when the midwife is paid, and the woman can begin to resume normal chores. (For details about the procedure, see endnote 173 for this text.)

¹⁷³ The *kalémél*, or special sponge bath that is given to a woman who has recently given birth, is *ássawù* 'different' from a normal bath with soap. For the *kalémél* procedure, the midwife mixes together certain herbs. One type of herb is the leaf of the *magulibas* plant (*Artemisia vulgaris*), known in Tagalog as the *Damong Maria* plant. The herbs are boiled in water in a *kudán* 'clay pot'. The water is then used to sponge bathe the woman.

¹⁷⁴ In addition to bathing the woman, the midwife and her assistants will also wipe their eyes with the herbal water using a *kalikam* 'red satin cloth' as protection against blindness that is believed to result from contact with blood during a delivery.

¹⁷⁵ It is commonly believed that midwives are prone to eye problems, even blindness, because they handle blood during the birthing process. They believe that wiping their eyes with a red cloth, the *kalikam*, may prevent eye problems.

¹⁷⁶ *Mantu tubù* 'new generation' comes from the root *tubù* 'sprout'. For related terms see endnote 118, page 87, following the text *Ás Karapungát asta ás Patulangán* 'Karapungat and Patulangan'.

Tô sábbad bayi migpamasusu
 tô sábbad bayi mig-pamasusu
 MRK one woman REAL.SF-give.birth

A certain woman who gave birth

*Mrs. Iclayan E. Icdang*¹⁷⁷

1. Duwán sábbad bayi migpamasusu.¹⁷⁸
 duwán sábbad bayi mig-pamasusu
 EXT one woman REAL.SF-give.birth

There was a certain woman who gave birth.

2. Pagdunggù ku dutun, igilus ku áskandin, igilus
 pag-dunggù ku dutun mig-ilus ku sikandin mig-ilus
 TEMP-arrive 1SG.GEN there REAL.OF-massage 1SG 3SG REAL.OF-massage

ku tô bayi.
 ku tô bayi
 1SG ABS woman

When I arrived there, I massaged her, I massaged the woman.

3. Migdaddasan ku katô bawì ku na lana¹⁷⁹ para
 mig-daddas-an ku katô bawì ku na lana para
 REAL.LF-rub-__ 1SG OBL medicine 1SG.GEN LK coconut.oil for

ka panuhut.¹⁸⁰
 ka panuhut
 OBL chills

I rubbed her with my herbal medicine that was coconut oil (used) for chills.

4. Ándà kadugé, tô bayi, migbáttu tô ininám.
 ándà ka-dugé tô bayi mig-báttu tô ininám
 not NEUT.OF-long.time MRK woman REAL.SF-burst ABS bag.of.water

Not long after that, the woman, her bag of water burst.

5. Ándà kadugé tikud dun, migluwà tô batà, asta tô
 ándà ka-dugé tikud dutun mig-luwà tô batà asta tô
 not NEUT.OF-long.time from that.time REAL.SF-outside ABS baby and MRK

inulunan, igluwà.

inulunan mig-luwà

placenta REAL.SF-outside

Not long after that, the baby came out, and the placenta, it came out.

6. Tikud dun, iginitan ku pak wayig tô gunting; bayinti
 tikud dutun mig-init-an ku pa-ka wayig tô gunting bayinti
 from that.time REAL.LF-hot-__ 1SG yet-OBL water ABS scissors twenty

minutu igpalakaddakan ku tô gunting abô tô batà, dì
 minutu migpa-lakaddak-an ku tô gunting ébô tô batà dì
 minute REAL.LF-boil-__ 1SG ABS scissors so.that MRK baby not

titanusán.

titanus-án

tetanus-IRR.OF

After that, I first heated the scissors in water; for twenty minutes I let the scissors boil so that the baby, it would not get tetanus.

7. Na tô gó tô madigár pagsik kapókit katô mga mabaliyan, su
 na tô.gó tô ma-digár pagsik ka-pókit katô mga mabaliyan su
 LK that's.what-__ ABS ADJ-good also NMR-way GEN PL midwife because

atin tô mga layà¹⁸¹ dǎngngan pagtampád kabbù, agó
 atin tô mga layà dǎngngan pag-tampád ka-ábbù agó
 if MRK PL bamboo.type previous INST-cut.off OBL-umbilical.cord perhaps

tô batà, titanusán.

tô batà titanus-án

MRK baby tetanus-IRR.OF

And that is also a good procedure for midwives, because if it were bamboo (which was) used before for cutting the umbilical cord, the baby, it might get tetanus.

8. Na tikud taddô, ágdungguan ka sapulù álló, mému dán
 na tikud taddô ág-dunggù-an ka sapulù álló ma-imu dán
 LK from there HAB.LF-arrive-__ ERG ten day ADJ-possible now

padigusán¹⁸² dé tô innà abô áskandin, makalumu dán,
 padigus-án dé tô innà ébô sikandin maka-lumu dán
 bathe-IRR.OF 1PL.EX ABS mother so.that 3SG.MRK IRR.SF-work now

makalaba dán áskandin.
 maka-laba dán sikandin
 IRR.SF-laundry now 3SG

Ten days after that, we may then bathe the mother so that she, she will be able to work, she will be able to do laundry.

9. Makalagénut dán áskandin makalumu dán tun dalám ka balé din,
 maka-lagénut dán sikandin maka-lumu dán dutun dalám ka balé din
 IRR.SF-slowly now 3SG IRR.SF-work now there inside GEN house 3SG.GEN

asal dì pa tô sunnud mabággat mga lumu.
 asal dì pa tô sunnud ma-bággat mga lumu
 but not yet ABS very ADJ-heavy PL work

She will now be able to work slowly inside her house, but not the very heavy work yet.

10. Pángnga katô, migpadigus ku áskandin.
 pángnga katô mig-padigus ku sikandin
 finish OBL REAL.OF-bathe 1SG 3SG

After that, I bathed her.

11. Tô mga igbalát ku katô wayig, tagamaing, daun baungun, bayabas,
 tô mga mig-balát ku katô wayig tagamaing daun baungun bayabas
 MRK PL REAL.OF-mix 1SG OBL water camphor leaf pomelo guava

igpalakaddak para padigusán katô innà.
 migpa-lakaddak para padigus-án katô innà
 REAL.OF-boil for bathe-IRR.OF OBL mother

The things I mixed together in water, camphor leaves, pomelo leaves, guava leaves, they were boiled for bathing the mother.

12. Pángnga katô igpadigus ku tô innà, mému dán áskandin
 pángnga katô mig-padigus ku tô innà ma-imu dán sikandin
 finish OBL REAL.OF-bathe 1SG ABS mother ADJ-possible now 3SG

ilusán é ulu din asta lawa din asta ni butbut¹⁸³ ka
 ilus-án é ulu din asta lawa din asta ni butbut ka
 massage-IRR.OF ABS head 3SG.GEN and body 3SG.GEN and this base GEN

gátták din.
 gátták din
 abdomen 3SG.GEN

When I finished bathing the mother, then her head and body and the base of her stomach could be massaged.

13. Ilusán áskandin su abô ágkólì¹⁸⁴ tô mga bákkár
 ilus-án sikandin su ébô ágka-ulì tô mga bákkár
 massage-IRR.OF 3SG because so.that HAB.OF-recover ABS PL strong

din, abô ágkólì tô lawa din, su iring na
 din ébô ágka-ulì tô lawa din su iring na
 3SG.GEN so.that HAB.OF-recover ABS body 3SG.GEN because be.like LK

mibugtus¹⁸⁵ tô mga ugat din.
 min-bugtus tô mga ugat din
 REAL.OF-snap.apart ABS PL tendon 3SG.GEN

She will be massaged so that her strength will recover, so that her body will recover, for it is as if her tendons have been severed.

14. Na tô batà pagsik migluwà, ágdungguan pa áskandin ka
 na tô batà pagsik mig-luwà ág-dunggù-an pa sikandin ka
 LK MRK baby also REAL.SF-outside HAB.LF-arrive- yet 3SG OBL

mga áppat uras, mému dán áskandin purgan¹⁸⁶ nu.
 mga áppat uras ma-imu dán sikandin purga-án nu
 PL four hour ADJ-possible now 3SG purge-IRR.OF 2SG

Now as for the baby that came out, after about four hours, you may purge it.

15. Dì pa áskandin pasusun katô innà kun dì unan pa áskandin
 dì pa sikandin pasusu-án katô innà kun dì una-án pa sikandin
 not yet 3SG suck-IRR.OF ERG mother if not first-IRR.OF yet 3SG

pasusun katô wayig iginít igsukaran katô mallutù¹⁸⁷ sukar.
 pasusu-án katô wayig mig-init mig-sukar-an katô mallutù sukar
 suck-IRR.OF OBL water REAL.OF-hot REAL.LF-sugar- OBL red sugar

The mother should not yet let it nurse (suck) if it is not first made to suck some water that has been warmed and sweetened with brown sugar.

16. Tô gó tô pasusun nu katô batà.
 tô.gó tô pasusu-án nu katô batà
that's.what. ABS suck-IRR.OF 2SG OBL baby

That is what you have the baby suck.

17. Pángnga katô, mému dán áskandin pasusun katô innà.
 pángnga katô ma-imu dán sikandin pasusu-án katô innà
 finish OBL ADJ-possible now 3SG suck-IRR.OF ERG mother

After that, the mother may let it nurse (suck).

18. Tô dǎngngan, pagpurga katô mga katugállan, tô kun pariyà.¹⁸⁸
 tô dǎngngan pag-purga katô mga ka-tugál-an tô kun pariyà
 OBL previous INST-purge GEN PL NMR-old- ABS RS ampalaya

Previously, what the old ones used as a purge, it was *ampalaya*.

19. Asal áknganni, igiwà dán tô pariyà, su tô pariyà,
 asal áknganni mig-iwà dán tô pariyà su tô pariyà
 but nowadays REAL.OF-discontinue now ABS ampalaya because MRK ampalaya

madita dán ágpamulak gulay na gispriyan¹⁸⁹ dan, na tô daun,
 ma-dita dán ág-pamula-ka gulay na ág-ispri-an dan na tô daun
 ADJ-many now HAB.SF-plant-OBL viand LK HAB.LF-spray- 3PL LK MRK leaf

ágkéspriyan pagsik.
 ágka-ispri-an pagsik
HAB.LF-spray- also

But nowadays, *ampalaya* has been discontinued, because *ampalaya*, many now plant it for viand and they spray it, and the leaves, they are also sprayed.

20. Tô gó tô makamáddang gamitán pa tô pariyà parak gabatà
 tô.gó tô maka-máddang gamit-án pa tô pariyà para-ka ga-batà
 that's.why. ABS IRR.SF-afraid use-IRR.OF yet ABS ampalaya for-OBL PL-baby

na mantu ipamasusu.
 na mantu min-pamasusu
 LK new REAL.OF-give.birth

That is why it would be frightening to use *ampalaya* for babies that have just been born.

21. Tô gó tô isóddóran ku para ka gabatà.
 tô.gó tô min-sóddór-an ku para ka ga-batà
 that's.what. ABS REAL.LF-know- 1SG for OBL PL-baby

That is what I know about babies.

Notes

¹⁷⁷ Mrs. Iclayan E. Icdang was born in the early 1920s, and raised in Malasila, Cotabato Province, Mindanao. Her husband also speaks Obo Manobo. She is a cousin of the late Datu Bulatukan Lambac. She is a compassionate midwife who demonstrates her love and concern for all people.

¹⁷⁸ *Migpamasusu* 'to give birth' comes from the root *susu*, which as a noun means 'nipple' or 'breast' and as a verb means 'to suck'. *Pamasusuwan* is a person's birth place.

¹⁷⁹ *Lana* 'coconut oil' appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *langis*. The term *lana* refers specifically to coconut oil, i.e. it is not a generic term for oil. Coconut oil is normally used for cooking, grooming hair, and medicinal purposes.

¹⁸⁰ *Panuhut* 'body coldness accompanied by sweat and fever' appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *igánnawan tô lawa* 'the body is chilled'. The condition occurs as when a person feels bloated or when a woman is pregnant.

¹⁸¹ *Layà* 'type of bamboo', when sharpened, is used for cutting the umbilical cord. Traditionally midwives did not boil the bamboo before cutting the cord, and as a result, babies sometimes contracted tetanus.

¹⁸² The midwife performs a special bathing procedure called *kalémél* to signal that the specified rest period following giving birth has elapsed and the mother is now strong enough to resume some household chores. For details about this postnatal procedure, see endnotes 172 and 173, page 138, following the text *Ni gulitán nik sábbad mabaliyan* ‘This is the narration about a certain midwife’.

¹⁸³ *Butbut* ‘base’ usually refers to a tree; however, in this text, it refers to the lower area of a person’s abdomen.

¹⁸⁴ *Ágkólî* ‘to restore (to health)’, ‘to recover’ comes from the root *ulî* ‘to return to the original place’.

¹⁸⁵ The weakness a woman feels following the delivery of a baby is described as *mibugtus tô mga ugat* ‘the blood vessels (muscles, veins, tendons) are broken in strength’.

¹⁸⁶ The Tagabawas believe the newborn must be purged (*purga*) of any residue membrane, blood, or fluids that may have been ingested prior to or at the time of birth. Sweetened water or crushed *ampalaya* ‘bitter gourd’ is used for the purging process. (Also see sentences 15–19 of this text). Although some no longer use *ampalaya*, others still do. (See endnote 188 for this text for more details about purging.)

¹⁸⁷ *Mallutù* means ‘red or brown in color’. (Compare this with *malutù* ‘cooked’.)

¹⁸⁸ *Pariyà* ‘*ampalaya*’ or ‘bitter gourd’ (*Momordica charantia* L.), is a long, thin vegetable with bumpy, fissured skin. Traditionally it was rubbed on the inside of the baby’s mouth following birth in order to induce vomiting so that any mucus would be expelled.

¹⁸⁹ *Gispriyan* ‘to spray with insecticide’ is a common practice in farming.

Tô taladuma

tô taladuma

MRK spouses

Spouses

*Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac*¹⁹⁰

1. Madigál su kannun kó.
ma-digár su kannun kó
ADJ-good because here 2PL

It is good because you are here.

2. Na, mantu kó taladuma.¹⁹¹
na mantu kó taladuma
LK new 2PL spouses

Now you are a newly married couple.

3. Takud kannun, tô panámdám yu, na sikiyu taladuma kó.
tikud kannun tô panámdám yu na sikiyu taladuma kó
from here MRK think 2PL.GEN LK 2PL.MRK spouses 2PL

From now on, what you should bear in mind, it is that you are a married couple.

4. Yakó ágpmatayé.
iyà-kó ágpa-maté-é
don't-2PL HAB.SF-fight-__

Do not fight with each other.

5. Lumu kók madigál.
lumu kó-ka ma-digár
do 2PL-OBL ADJ-good

Do what is good.

6. Tô é lumu yu, tô nángngà makabággé ka dayó tun ta pusung
tô é lumu yu tô nángngà maka-bággé ka dayó dutun ta pusung
MRK ABS do 2PL.GEN ABS adequate IRR.SF-give OBL joy there OBL heart

katô duma nu.
 katô duma nu
 GEN spouse 2SG.GEN

What you are to do, it is (to do) what can adequately give joy to the heart of your spouse.

7. Áskuna bayi, yaka ágpallayat¹⁹² katô mama.¹⁹³
 sikuna bayi iyà-ka ágpa-layat katô mama
 2SG.MRK woman don't-2SG HAB.SF-superior OBL man

You woman, do not make yourself superior to the man.

8. Pabbabà ka katô mama, kumu sikuna, bayi ka.
 pa-babà ka katô mama kumu sikuna bayi ka
 IMPER.SF-humble 2SG OBL man because 2SG.MRK woman 2SG

Make yourself inferior to the man, because you, you are a woman.

9. Na, sikuna pagsik mama, yan é lumu nu, tô nángngà
 na sikuna pagsik mama yan é lumu nu tô nángngà
 LK 2SG.MRK also man that ABS do 2SG.GEN ABS adequate

makabággék dayó katô duma¹⁹⁴ nu.
 maka-bággé-ka dayó katô duma nu
 IRR.SF-give-OBL joy OBL spouse 2SG.GEN

Now, you man, the thing you are to do, it is to adequately give joy to your spouse.

10. Yaka áglumu katô makabággé kandin ka masakit ginawa, para
 iyà-ka ág-lumu katô maka-bággé kandin ka ma-sakit ginawa para
 don't-2SG HAB.SF-do OBL IRR.SF-give 3SG.OBL OBL ADJ-painful feeling so.that

madrigal é kóddô¹⁹⁵ yu.
 ma-digár é ka-óddô yu
 ADJ-good ABS NMR-live 2PL.GEN

Do not do what may give her painful feelings, so that your living will be good.

11. Parispituwé¹⁹⁶ kó, na móddô kó.
 pa-rispitu-é kó na M-óddô kó
 IMPER.SF-respect-__ 2PL LK IRR.SF-live 2PL

Respect each other, and live (in peace).

12. Lumu kó katô nángngà makabággé ákniyu ka
 lumu kó katô nángngà maka-bággé ákniyu ka
 do 2PL OBL adequate IRR.SF-give 2PL.OBL OBL

kadigállan dutun ta ákniyu kóddô.
 ka-digár-an dutun ta ákniyu ka-óddô
 NMR-good-__ there OBL 2PL.GEN NMR-live

Do what will adequately give you what will be a benefit to your lives.

13. Yaka áglumu katô nángngà na makabággé ka probléma¹⁹⁷ tun ta
 iyà-ka ág-lumu katô nángngà na maka-bággé ka probléma dutun ta
 don't-2SG HAB.SF-do OBL adequate LK IRR.SF-give OBL problem there OBL

ákniyu kóddô.
 ákniyu ka-óddô
 2PL.GEN NMR-live

Do not do what can just give problems to your lives.

14. Tô lumu yu, tô nángngà makadigál ákniyu, makabággék dayó,
 tô lumu yu tô nángngà maka-digár ákniyu maka-bággé-ka dayó
 MRK do 2PL.GEN ABS adequate IRR.SF-good 2PL.OBL IRR.SF-give-OBL joy

asta makabággé pagsik ka dayó dutun ta ákniyu silingan.¹⁹⁸
 asta maka-bággé pagsik ka dayó dutun ta ákniyu silingan
 and IRR.SF-give also OBL joy there OBL 2PL.GEN neighbor

What you should do, it is what will adequately benefit you, what will give joy, and what will also give joy to your neighbor.

15. Na imu kó ka ákniyu sarili góddóan, para madigál tô
 na imu kó ka ákniyu sarili ág-óddô-an para ma-digár tô
 LK make 2PL OBL 2PL.GEN own HAB.LF-dwell-__ so.that ADJ-good ABS

ákniyu kóddô; asta pamula kó, abô manté kó.
 ákniyu ka-óddô asta pamula kó ébô M-anté kó
 2PL.GEN NMR-live and plant 2PL so.that IRR.SF-live 2PL

And make your own dwelling place, so that your lives will be good; and plant (things), so that you may survive.

16. Su dutut tapuli álló ka duwán dán gabatà yu, mému
 su dutun-ta tapuri álló ka duwán dán ga-batà yu ma-imu
 because there-OBL future day OBL EXT now PL-child 2PL.GEN ADJ-possible
- tô gabatà yu makóskuwila na duwán kangayan yu ka gastu,
 tô ga-batà yu maka-iskuwila na duwán kangé-an yu ka gastu
 ABS PL-child 2PL.GEN IRR.SF-school LK EXT fetch-IRR.LF 2PL OBL expense
- su sikiyu, na duwán man lumu yu.
 su sikiyu na duwán man lumu yu
 because 2PL.MRK LK EXT naturally do 2PL.GEN

Because in days to come when you have children, it will be possible that your children will be able to go to school and you will have resources for paying expenses, because you, you have your work.

17. Asta tô mga silingan yu, rispituwi yu.
 asta tô mga silingan yu rispitu-i yu
 and MRK PL neighbor 2PL.GEN respect-IMPER.LF 2PL

And as for your neighbors, respect them.

18. Pamuyù¹⁹⁹ yu tô madigál ginawa katô simbalé yu.
 pamuyù yu tô ma-digár ginawa katô simbalé yu
 ask 2PL ABS ADJ-good feeling GEN neighbor 2PL.GEN

Solicit the good feelings of your neighbors.

19. Lahat katô nángngà makadigál katô kóddô yu, tô gó é
 lahat katô nángngà maka-digár katô ka-óddô yu tô.gó é
 all OBL adequate IRR.SF-good OBL NMR-live 2PL.GEN that's.what. ABS

lumu yu.
 lumu yu
 do 2PL.GEN

All that can adequately benefit your lives, that is what you should do.

20. Unauna ka lahat, sadun kó tun ta simbaan, para kada
 unauna ka lahat sadun kó dutun ta simba-an para kada
 first GEN all go 2PL there OBL worship-NMR so.that each

Duminggu²⁰⁰ pakadinág kó katô Kagik Manama na makabággé
 Linggu paka-dinág kó katô kagi-ka Manama na maka-bággé
 Sunday NEUT.SF-hear 2PL OBL word-GEN God LK IRR.SF-give

kadigállan dutun ta ákniyu kóddô.
 ka-digár-an dutun ta ákniyu ka-óddô
NMR-good-__ there OBL 2PL.GEN NMR-live

First of all, go to church, so that every Sunday you can hear the Word of God which can produce benefits in your lives.

21. Kabággayan kók mga tinurù tun ta kóddô, tun ta ágpíd
 ka-bággé-an kó-ka mga tinurù dutun ta ka-óddô dutun ta ág-píd
IRR.LF-give-__ 2PL-OBL PL teach there OBL NMR-live there OBL HAB.SF-lead

ka pamilya, asta dutun ta ágpíd katô ákniyu mga simbalé.
 ka pamilya asta dutun ta ág-píd katô ákniyu mga simbalé
 OBL family and there OBL HAB.SF-lead OBL 2PL.GEN PL neighbor

You will be given instruction about life, about how to lead the family, and about how to lead (deal with) your neighbors.

22. Bággé kók pagrispitu dutun ta agad sadan manubù.
 bággé kó-ka pag-rispitu dutun ta agad.sadan manubù
 give 2PL-OBL NMR-respect there OBL whoever__ person

Give respect to everyone regardless of who they are.

23. Asta tô ákniyu, linisi yu tô ákniyu góddóan.
 asta tô ákniyu linis-i yu tô ákniyu ág-óddô-an
 and MRK 2PL.GEN clean-IMPER.LF 2PL ABS 2PL.GEN HAB.LF-dwell-__

And as for you, keep the place clean where you live.

24. Imu kók mga gindássan.
 imu kó-ka mga ág-indás-an
 make 2PL-OBL PL HAB.LF-defecate-__

Make toilets.

25. Tô mga manuk yu, kulung²⁰¹ yu para dì kó makabággé
 tô mga manuk yu kulung yu para dì kó maka-bággé
 MRK PL bird 2PL.GEN confine 2PL so.that not 2PL IRR.SF-give

makadisturbu²⁰² katô mga silingan yu.
 maka-disturbu katô mga silingan yu
 IRR.SF-disturb OBL PL neighbor 2PL.GEN

As for your chickens, confine them so you will not create a disturbance for your neighbors.

26. Atin duwán babuy yu, kulung yu.
 atin duwán babuy yu kulung yu
 if EXT pig 2PL.GEN confine 2PL

If you have a pig, confine it.

27. Atin duwán manuk yu, imuwi yuk pultri.²⁰³
 atin duwán manuk yu imu-i yu-ka pultri
 if EXT bird 2PL.GEN make-IMPER.LF 2PL-OBL chicken.pen

If you have chickens, build a chicken pen for them.

28. Na atin duwán mga patu yu, kural yu, abô dì pakagawas.²⁰⁴
 na atin duwán mga patu yu kural yu ébô dì paka-gawas
 LK if EXT PL duck 2PL.GEN fence 2PL so.that not NEUT.SF-outside

And if you have ducks, fence them in, so they will not be able to get out.

29. Dì pakasirà katô pamula katô duma manubù, para ándà samuk
 dì paka-sirà katô pamula katô duma manubù para ándà samuk
 not NEUT.SF-destroy OBL plant GEN other person so.that none disturb

yu góddô.
 yu ág-óddô
 2PL.GEN HAB.SF-live

They (the ducks) will not be able to destroy the plants of other people, so that you will have no disturbance while you live.

30. Dì kó makapamuyù katô sókó katô silingan yu.
 dì kó maka-pamuyù katô sókó katô silingan yu
 not 2PL IRR.SF-ask OBL anger GEN neighbor 2PL.GEN

Do not solicit the anger of your neighbors.

31. Linisi yu tô ákniyu góddóan, asta pamula
 linis-i yu tô ákniyu ág-óddô-an asta pamula
 clean-IMPER.LF 2PL ABS 2PL.GEN HAB.LF-dwell-__ and plant
- kók bulak para madigál é kasállág, na malinis tô
 kó-ka bulak para ma-digár é ka-sállág na ma-linis tô
 2PL-OBL flower so.that ADJ-good ABS NEUT.OF-look LK ADJ-clean ABS
- ákniyu góddóan.
 ákniyu ág-óddô-an
 2PL.GEN HAB.LF-dwell-__

Clean the place where you live, and plant flowers so that (the flowers) will be good to look at, and the place where you live will be clean.

Notes

¹⁹⁰ For information about the contributor, see endnote 2, page 11, following the text *Ás Sandawà* ‘Sandawa’.

¹⁹¹ *Taladuma* means ‘husband-wife relationship’. The word *duma* is ‘husband’ and *sawa* is ‘wife’. The word *talasawa* is also used for the husband-wife relationship, but it has overtones of sexual intercourse. For this reason, *taladuma* is regarded as the more socially acceptable word for this relationship.

¹⁹² *Ágpallayat* ‘to make oneself superior’ comes from the root *layat* ‘high’, ‘tall’.

¹⁹³ The reason that the wife should not make herself more important than her husband, the *mama* ‘man’ or ‘male’, is to preserve unity and understanding in the marriage relationship. This is a traditional value in Tagabawa culture. Another term related to the word *mama* is *ágmamamama* ‘to act like a man’.

¹⁹⁴ *Duma* means ‘other’, ‘companion’, ‘husband’, and in certain contexts ‘spouse’ (husband or wife).

¹⁹⁵ *Kóddô* as a noun means ‘lifestyle’, ‘living situation’, or ‘community’, and as a verb it means ‘to live’. It comes from the root *óddô* ‘to reside somewhere’, ‘to dwell’.

¹⁹⁶ *Parispituwé* ‘to respect each other’ appears to be a borrowed word. Various ways of showing respect are to extend courtesy to a person according to his station in life, to avoid stepping on a person’s sleeping mat, to avoid calling one’s parent-in-law by name, to invite a visitor to eat or drink even if nothing is yet ready to be offered.

¹⁹⁷ The term *probléma* ‘problem’ usually means a financial difficulty or need.

¹⁹⁸ *Silingan* ‘neighbor’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *simbalé*.

¹⁹⁹ The primary meaning of *pamuyù* ‘to ask’ means to ask for something. In this context, it implies fostering or courting good feelings by doing kind acts for one’s neighbor, such as sharing goods or assisting, with no expectation of return.

²⁰⁰ *Duminggu* ‘Sunday’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *linggu* ‘Sunday’ or ‘week’.

²⁰¹ The term *kulung* ‘to confine’ usually means to confine to a small area; for example, by placing in a cage or a fenced-in area, or by tying with a tether.

²⁰² *Makadisturbu* ‘to cause a disturbance’ appears to be a borrowed word.

Tagabawa terms equivalent to *makadisturbu*

<i>kabaring</i>	‘to delay someone in doing work’, ‘to distract someone from something’
<i>samuk</i>	‘trouble’, ‘disturbance’, ‘fighting’
<i>sórô</i>	‘to disturb’

²⁰³ A *pultri* ‘chicken house’ or ‘chicken pen’ is usually a small space enclosed with a roof and wall slats, which are placed close together so that the chickens cannot escape. Normally chickens are allowed to roam during the day and are placed in the *pultri* only at night.

²⁰⁴ *Gawas* ‘to go outside’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *luwà*. *Gawas* also means ‘aside’, and the Tagabawa equivalent is *ássa* ‘different’, ‘separate from’.

Péskuwila yu tô gabatà yu
 pa-iskuwila yu tô ga-batà yu
 IMPER.OF-school 2PL ABS PL-child 2PL.GEN

Have your children attend school

*Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac*²⁰⁵

1. Salamat su kannun kó.
 salamat su kannun kó
 thanks because here 2PL

Thank you because you are here.

2. Yan ág-pamuyúan ku diyan ákniyu, tô gabatà yu,
 yan ág-pamuyù-án ku diyan ákniyu tô ga-batà yu
 that HAB.OF-ask-__ 1SG there 2PL.OBL MRK PL-child 2PL.GEN

péskuwila²⁰⁶ yu, abô dutun ta tapuli álló, na mému áskandan
 pa-iskuwila yu ébô dutun ta tapuri álló na ma-imu sikandan
 IMPER.OF-school 2PL so.that that.time OBL future day LK ADJ-possible 3PL

na sábbad pagsik mid kani kóddô.²⁰⁷
 na sábbad pagsik M-pid kani ka-óddô
 LK one also IRR.SF-lead this NMR-dwell

What I am asking of you is, your children, have them attend school, so that at some future time, it may be possible that one of them also will lead this community.

3. Su kailangan tô gabatà makóskuwila para makakatig áskandan
 su kailangan tô ga-batà maka-iskuwila para maka-katig sikandan
 because must.be MRK PL-child IRR.SF-school so.that IRR.SF-know.how 3PL

asta makakitak lumu tut tapuli álló, su dì maluku²⁰⁸
 asta maka-kita-ka lumu dutun-ta tapuri álló su dì ma-luku
 and IRR.SF-find-OBL work there-OBL future day because not IRR.OF-deceive

áskandan, asta makakatig áskandan ágpíd katô kandan kóddô.
 sikandan asta maka-katig sikandan ág-píd katô kandan ka-óddô
 3PL and IRR.SF-know.how 3PL HAB.SF-lead OBL 3PL.GEN NMR-dwell

Because children must go to school so that they can become knowledgeable and be able to find work at some future time, because they will not be deceived, and they will know how to lead their community.

4. Tô edyukasyon, impórtanti, atin tô gabatà, mikóskuwila, tô gó tô
 tô edyukasyon impórtanti atin tô ga-batà mika-iskuwila tô.gó tô
 MRK education important if MRK PL-child REAL.SF-school that's.what. ABS

sábbad na parihu handumanan²⁰⁹ tun kandan, tun ta ginikanan
 sábbad na parihu handum-anan dutun kandan dutun ta ginikanan
 one LK same remember-NMR there 3PL.OBL there OBL parents

dan, tô edyukasyon na migbággé ta.
 dan tô edyukasyon na mig-bággé ta
 3PL.GEN MRK education LK REAL.OF-give 1PL.IN

Education, it is important, (because) if the children are able to attend school, that is what will be like a remembrance to them, to their parents, the education that we have given to them (the children).

5. Tô edyukasyon, dì mému makangé dutun áknikó.
 tô edyukasyon dì ma-imu ma-kangé dutun áknikó
 MRK education not ADJ-possible IRR.OF-fetch there 2SG.OBL

Education, it is not possible for it to be taken away from you.

6. Dì mému magóbbó.
 dì ma-imu ma-góbbó
 not ADJ-possible IRR.OF-burn

It is not possible for it to be burned up.

7. Tô mga prupidad²¹⁰ katananan yu mibággé tut gabatà,
 tô mga prupidad ka-tanan-an yu min-bággé dutun-ta ga-batà
 MRK PL property IRR.LF-leave. 2PL REAL.OF-give there-OBL PL-child

mému pa takón, mému pa magóbbó, mému pa
 ma-imu pa takó-án ma-imu pa ma-góbbó ma-imu pa
 ADJ-possible yet steal-IRR.OF ADJ-possible yet IRR.OF-burn ADJ-possible yet

masirà, pero tô edyukasyon igbággé yu katô gabatà yu,
 ma-sirà pero tô edyukasyon mig-bággé yu katô ga-batà yu
 IRR.OF-destroy but MRK education REAL.OF-give 2PL OBL PL-child 2PL.GEN

dì méwà dutun kandan.
 dì ma-iwà dutun kandan
 not IRR.OF-depart there 3PL.OBL

As for the property you will leave behind to be given to (your) children, it is possible for it to be stolen, it is possible for it to be burned, it is possible for it to be destroyed, but the education you gave to your children, it cannot be taken away from them.

8. Mugtukmugtuk²¹¹ dutun kandan hanggang²¹² kamatayan na dì méwà
 mugtukmugtuk dutun kandan hanggang ka-maté-an na dì ma-iwà
 forever there 3PL.OBL until NMR-die-__ LK not IRR.OF-depart

dutun kandan.
 dutun kandan
 there 3PL.OBL

It is forever with them until death and cannot be taken away from them.

9. Purisu yan gabatà yu, péskuwila yu.
 purisu yan ga-batà yu pa-iskuwila yu
 therefore that PL-child 2PL.GEN IMPER.OF-school 2PL

Therefore your children, have them attend school.

10. Asta para makasupurtar kó katô gabatà yu guskuwila,
 asta para maka-supurtar kó katô ga-batà yu ág-iskuwila
 and so.that IRR.SF-support 2PL OBL PL-child 2PL.GEN HAB.SF-school

lumu kó abô duwán para magastu katô gabatà yu.
 lumu kó ébô duwán para ma-gastu katô ga-batà yu
 work 2PL so.that EXT so.that IRR.OF-expense OBL PL-child 2PL.GEN

And so that you will be able to support your children attending school, work so that you will have something for paying the expenses of your children.

11. Na mému áskandan makapángngak high school ó makapángnga dutun
 na ma-imu sikandan maka-pángnga-ka high.school ó maka-pángnga dutun
 LK ADJ-possible 3PL IRR.SF-finish-OBL high.school or IRR.SF-finish there

ta kulihiyu.

ta kulihiyu

OBL college

Then it will be possible for them to finish high school or to finish college.

12. Purisu sikiyu ginikanan,²¹³ na intrisadu kó póskuwila katô
 purisu sikiyu ginikanan na intrisadu kó pa-iskuwila katô
 therefore 2PL.MRK parents LK interest 2PL IRR.SF-school OBL

gabata yu abô tô gabata yu, mému kani mga
 ga-bata yu ébô tô ga-bata yu ma-imu kani mga
 PL-child 2PL.GEN so.that MRK PL-child 2PL.GEN IRR.OF-become later PL

leader pagsik kani banuwa.

pangulu pagsik kani banuwa

leader also this country

Therefore you parents, you (should) be interested in having your children attend school so that your children, they may also later become leaders of this country.

13. Na kapiyalan²¹⁴ na ágpíd kani banuwa takud áskandan ikóskuwila
 na ka-piyal-an na ág-pid kani banuwa tikud sikandan mika-iskuwila
 LK IRR.IF-trust- LK HAB.SF-lead this country from 3PL REAL.SF-school

na mikakatig.

na mika-katig

LK REAL.SF-knowledgeable

And they will be trustworthy in leading this country because of their having been able to attend school and having become knowledgeable.

14. Purisu entero²¹⁵ gabata yu, póskuwila yu, para áskandan
 purisu entero ga-bata yu pa-iskuwila yu para sikandan
 therefore entire PL-child 2PL.GEN IMPER.OF-school 2PL so.that 3PL.MRK

mému mga leader tut tapuli álló.
 ma-imu mga pangulu dutun-ta tapuri álló
 IRR.OF-become PL leader there-OBL future day

Therefore as for all your children, have them attend school, so that they can become leaders in the future.

15. Na tô nángngà kapiyalan ta na mid ka banuwa.
 na tô nángngà ka-piyal-an ta na M-pid ka banuwa
 LK MRK adequate IRR.LF-trust-__ 1PL.IN.GEN LK IRR.SF-lead OBL country

Then we will be adequately trustworthy in leading the country.

16. Na katinuruan áskandan tô nángngà ágpíd katô kóddô,
 na ka-tinurù-an sikandan tô nángngà ág-píd katô ka-óddô
 LK IRR.LF-teach-__ 3PL ABS adequate HAB.SF-lead OBL NMR-live

ágpíd katô kandan kamanubuan,²¹⁶ takud ta áskandan itinuruan
 ág-píd katô kandan ka-manubù-an tikud ta sikandan min-tinurù-an
 HAB.SF-lead OBL 3PL.GEN NMR-person-__ from OBL 3PL.MRK REAL.LF-teach-__

tun ta iskuwilaan.
 dutun ta iskuwila-an
 there OBL school-NMR

They will be taught what is the adequate way to lead their lives, to conduct themselves, on account that it is they (who) have been taught at school.

Notes

²⁰⁵ For information about the contributor, see endnote 2, page 11, following the text *Ás Sandawà* ‘Sandawa’

²⁰⁶ *Péskuwila* ‘to have a someone attend school’ appears to be a borrowed word for which there is no Tagabawa equivalent. The present generation of parents is more interested in sending their children to school because some of them do not want their children to be like their own parents who did not learn to read or write and who were not interested in having their children educated.

²⁰⁷ For a list of the meanings of *kóddô*, see endnote 195, page 152, following the text *Tô taladuma* ‘Spouses’.

²⁰⁸ *Maluku* ‘to be deceived’ appears to be a borrowed word for which there is no Tagabawa equivalent.

²⁰⁹ *Handumanan* ‘remembrance’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *kasampáttan*, from the root *sampat* ‘to remember’.

²¹⁰ *Prupidad* ‘property’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *kaduwánnan* ‘what one has’, ‘belongings’.

²¹¹ The term *mugtukmugtuk* ‘eternity’, ‘permanence’ comes from the root *bugtuk*, which as an adjective means ‘eternal’, ‘permanent’, and as a verb means ‘to live forever’.

²¹² *Hanggang* ‘until’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *sippang*.

²¹³ *Ginikanan* ‘parents’ appears to be a borrowed word for which there is no exact equivalent in Tagabawa. One refers to *ámma* ‘father’ and *innà* ‘mother’ or to *ágtugállán* ‘elders’.

²¹⁴ *Kapiyalan* ‘to be trustworthy’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *kasarigan*.

²¹⁵ *Entero* ‘entire’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *langun* ‘all’.

²¹⁶ *Kamanubuan* ‘personhood’, ‘humanness’ comes from the root *manubù* ‘person’.

Tô kasu

tô kasu

MRK case

Litigation

*Mr. Alfredo A. Lambac*²¹⁷

Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac

Mr. Gregorio E. Ambat

Mr. Lumayon A. Ogawan

Alfredo:

1. Datù, igsadun a dini áknikó su tô pamula ku,
datù mig-sadun a dini áknikó su tô pamula ku
datu REAL.SF-come 1SG here 2SG.OBL because MRK crop 1SG.GEN

dakál é misirà.²¹⁸

dakál é min-sirà

large ABS REAL.OF-destroy

Datu, I have come here to you because my crop, a lot of it was destroyed.

2. Igkan ka kudà.

mig-kan ka kudà

REAL.OF-eat ERG horse

A horse ate it.

3. Batad ku asta ámmé ku, misirà.

batad ku asta ámmé ku min-sirà

corn 1SG.GEN and rice 1SG.GEN REAL.OF-destroy

My corn and my rice, they were destroyed.

4. Tô gó tô igsadun a dini áknikó su pabayadan ku

tô.gó tô mig-sadun a dini áknikó su pa-bayad-an ku

that's.why. ABS REAL.SF-come 1SG here 2SG.OBL because IRR.LF-pay- 1SG

tô.

tô

ABS

That is why I have come here to you because I will require payment for it.

Datu:

5. Pira dán álló migkan ka kudà tô pamula nu?
 pira dán álló mig-kan ka kudà tô pamula nu
 how.many already day REAL.OF-eat ERG horse ABS crop 2SG.GEN

For how many days already did the horse eat your crops?

Alfredo:

6. Sábbad álló asta sábbad dukilám.²¹⁹
 sábbad álló asta sábbad dukilám
 one day and one night

One day and one night.

Datu:

7. Duwán mga sábbad álló katô.
 duwán mga sábbad álló katô
 EXT PL one day OBL

That was about one day.

8. Na ándin tô pabayadan nu?
 na ándin tô pa-bayad-an nu
 LK what ABS IRR.LF-pay- 2SG

And what will you require to be paid?

9. Ó misóddóran nu ka sadan tô tigatun katô kudà igkan katô mga
 ó min-sóddór-an nu ka.sadan tô tigatun katô kudà mig-kan katô mga
 or REAL.LF-know- 2SG who. ABS owner GEN horse REAL.SF-eat OBL PL

pamula nu?
 pamula nu
 crop 2SG.GEN

Or do you know who is the owner of the horse that ate your crops?

Alfredo:

10. Duwán sábbad igsadun tut balé, igkagi katô kudà.
 duwán sábbad mig-sadun dutun-ta balé mig-kagi katô kudà
 EXT one REAL.SF-come there-OBL house REAL.SF-speak OBL horse

Someone came to (my) house, and he spoke of the horse.

11. Migámmát din.
 mig-ámmát din
 REAL.OF-catch 3SG

He caught it.

12. Ikasóddór sikandin na duwán tigatun katô kudà.
 mika-sóddór sikandin na duwán tigatun katô kudà
 REAL.SF-know 3SG LK EXT owner GEN horse

He knew that there was an owner of the horse.

13. Na, tô gó tô pamula ku na pabayadan ku ka sadan é
 na tô.gó tô pamula ku na pa-bayad-an ku ka.sadan é
 LK that's.why. ABS crop 1SG.GEN LK IRR.LF-pay- 1SG who. ABS

tigatun katô kudà.
 tigatun katô kudà
 owner GEN horse

Now that's why it is my crop that I will require payment for from whoever is the owner of the horse.

Datu:

14. Tô migkita katô kudà migkan katô pamula nu,
 tô mig-kita katô kudà mig-kan katô pamula nu
 MRK REAL.SF-see OBL horse REAL.SF-eat OBL crop 2SG.GEN

misóddóran din ka sadan kudà?
 min-sóddór-an din ka.sadan kudà
 REAL.LF-know-__ 3SG who.__ horse

As for the one who saw the horse eating your crop, did he know whose horse it is?

15. Igulit²²⁰ din áknikó ka sadan é tigatun katô kudà?
 mig-ulit din áknikó ka.sadan é tigatun katô kudà
 REAL.OF-tell 3SG 2SG.OBL who.__ ABS owner GEN horse

Did he tell you who is the owner of the horse?

Alfredo:

16. Tô tigatun katô kudà, igkagi sikandin, na mà din, “Tô kudà
 tô tigatun katô kudà mig-kagi sikandin na mà din tô kudà
 MRK owner GEN horse REAL.SF-say 3SG LK said 3SG MRK horse

igkan katô pamula nu batad asta ámmé, ki Lumayon.”²²¹
 mig-kan katô pamula nu batad asta ámmé ki Lumayon
 REAL.SF-eat OBL crop 2SG.GEN corn and rice OBL Lumayon

As for the owner of that horse, he (the reporter) spoke, saying, “The horse that ate your corn and rice crop, it pertains to Lumayon.”

17. Na, tô igulit kanak, si Gregorio Ambat, na tô gó tô
 na tô mig-ulit kanak si Gregorio Ambat na tô.gó tô
 LK MRK REAL.SF-tell 1SG.OBL ABS Gregorio Ambat LK that's.why.__ ABS

patawar nu si Lumayon Ogawan, su dakál misirà katô
 pa-tawar nu si Lumayon Ogawan su dakál min-sirà katô
 IMPER.OF-summon 2SG ABS Lumayon Ogawan because large REAL.OF-destroy OBL

pamula ku.
 pamula ku
 crop 1SG.GEN

Now the one who told me, it was Gregorio Ambat, and that is why you should summon Lumayon Ogawan, because a lot of my crop has been destroyed.

18. Kakalyag ku ni dád gó álló ni na kasóddóran ku na tô
 ka-kalyag ku ni dád gó álló ni na ka-sóddór-an ku na tô
 NMR-desire 1SG.GEN this only EMPH day this LK IRR.LF-know- 1SG LK MRK

kudà I Lumayon na intrigun²²² kannun áknikó, su pabayad
 kudà I Lumayon na intrigu-án kannun áknikó su pa-bayad
 horse GEN Lumayon LK hand.over-IRR.OF here 2SG.OBL because IRR.SF-pay

a katô dakál misirà pamula ku.
 a katô dakál min-sirà pamula ku
 1SG OBL large REAL.OF-destroy crop 1SG.GEN

My desire this very day is to know that it is Lumayon's horse that will be handed over (as collateral) to you, because I will require payment for my greatly destroyed crop.

Datu:

19. Bánnal, Gregorio Ambat, sikuna tô mikakita²²³ katô kudà i
 bánnal Gregorio Ambat sikuna tô mika-kita katô kudà i
 true Gregorio Ambat 2SG.MRK ABS REAL.SF-see OBL horse GEN

Lumayon migkan katô batad asta ámmé i Alfredo Lambac?
 Lumayon mig-kan katô batad asta ámmé i Alfredo Lambac
 Lumayon REAL.SF-eat OBL corn and rice GEN Alfredo Lambac

Is it true, Gregorio Ambat, that you were the one who happened to see Lumayon's horse eating Alfredo Lambac's corn and rice?

Gregorio:

20. Bánnal igkita ku dutun ta kinamát i Alfredo Lambac.
 bánnal mig-kita ku dutun ta kinamát i Alfredo Lambac
 true REAL.OF-see 1SG there OBL field GEN Alfredo Lambac

It is true I saw it (the horse) in Alfredo Lambac's field.

21. Na igkilala ku na tô kudà tô, ki Lumayon Ogawan.
 na mig-kilala ku na tô kudà tô ki Lumayon Ogawan
 LK REAL.OF-recognize 1SG LK MRK horse MRK OBL Lumayon Ogawan

And I recognized that that very horse, it pertains to Lumayon Ogawan.

Datu:

22. Mému pasóddórán nu si Lumayon Ogawan na madun
 ma-imu pa-sóddór-án nu si Lumayon Ogawan na M-sadun
 ADJ-possible IRR.OF-know-__ 2SG ABS Lumayon Ogawan LK IRR.SF-come

kannun su para²²⁴ mémbistigar ku ka bánnal kandin tô kudà
 kannun su.para ma-imbistigar ku ka bánnal kandin tô kudà
 here so.that. __ IRR.OF-investigate 1SG if true 3SG.GEN ABS horse

migkan katô pamula i Alfredo Lambac?
 mig-kan katô pamula i Alfredo Lambac
 REAL.SF-eat OBL crop GEN Alfredo Lambac

Would it be possible for you to inform Lumayon Ogawan that he should come here so that I can investigate whether it is true that his was the horse that ate Alfredo Lambac's crops?

23. Kakalyag ku ni dád gó álló gó ni pasadunán kannun.
 ka-kalyag ku ni dád gó álló gó ni pa-sadun-án kannun
 NMR-desire 1SG.GEN this only EMPH day EMPH this IRR.OF-come-__ here

My desire this very day is to have him come here.

Gregorio:

24. Na, sadunan ku dutun si Lumayon Ogawan, “Na, bánnal bánnal²²⁵
 na sadun-an ku dutun si Lumayon Ogawan na bánnal bánnal
 LK go-IRR.LF 1SG there ABS Lumayon Ogawan LK surely

patawarán ka katô datù su tô kudà, áknikó tô.
 pa-tawar-án ka katô datù su tô kudà áknikó tô
 IRR.OF-summon-__ 2SG ERG datu because MRK horse 2SG.GEN ABS

Now I will go there to Lumayon Ogawan (and say), “Now surely the datu will summon you because the horse, it is yours.

25. Na madigár kani ka dutun kat datù para kaligraan²²⁶ ta,
 na ma-digár kani ka dutun ka-ta datù para ka-aligra-an ta
 LK ADJ-good later if there 2SG-OBL datu so.that IRR.LF-mediate-__ 1PL.IN

su si Alfredo Lambac, bánnal bánnal ágpayabayad katô pamulanán,
 su si Alfredo Lambac bánnal bánnal ágpa-bayad katô pamula-ánnán
 because MRK Alfredo Lambac surely HAB.SF-pay OBL plant-NMR

su dakál misirà katô pamulanán din ámmé asta mga
 su dakál min-sirà katô pamula-ánnán din ámmé asta mga
 because much REAL.OF-destroy OBL plant-NMR 3SG.GEN rice and PL

batad.”

batad

corn

And it would be good later if you go to the datu so that we can mediate (the disturbance), because as for Alfredo Lambac, he will surely require payment for the crop, because a lot of his rice and corn crop was destroyed.”

Datu:

26. Ándin, kannun dán si Lumayon Ogawan?
 ándin kannun dán si Lumayon Ogawan
 what here already ABS Lumayon Ogawan

What (are you saying), is Lumayon Ogawan already here?

27. Atin kannun dán, na kakalyag ku, ménsà ku sikandin ka
 atin kannun dán na ka-kalyag ku ma-insà ku sikandin ka
 if here already LK NMR-desire 1SG.GEN IRR.OF-question 1SG 3SG if

bánnal na tô kandin kudà tô migkan katô pamula i Alfredo
 bánnal na tô kandin kudà tô mig-kan katô pamula i Alfredo
 true LK MRK 3SG.GEN horse ABS REAL.SF-eat OBL crop GEN Alfredo

Lambac.

Lambac

Lambac

If he is already here, then my desire is, I will question him if it is true that his horse was the one that ate Alfredo Lambac's crop.

Gregorio:

28. Na, kannun dán, Datù, su igsadunan ku tut balé
 na kannun dán datù su mig-sadun-an ku dutun-ta balé
 LK here already datu because REAL.LF-go-__ 1SG there-OBL house

din.

din

3SG.GEN

Now he is already here, Datu, because I went to him at his house.

29. Na madun dán gó diyan áknikó.
 na M-sadun dán gó diyan áknikó
 LK IRR.SF-come now EMPH there 2SG.OBL

And he will now come to you.

30. Kannun dán gó.
 kannun dán gó
 here already EMPH

He is indeed already here.

Datu:

31. Ó, si Lumayon Ogawan dán gó ni?
 ó si Lumayon Ogawan dán gó dini
 oh MRK Lumayon Ogawan already EMPH here

Oh, is Lumayon Ogawan already here?

32. Na, madigár su igsadun ka kannun, su si Alfredo Lambac,
 na ma-digár su mig-sadun ka kannun su si Alfredo Lambac
 LK ADJ-good because REAL.SF-come 2SG here because MRK Alfredo Lambac

duwán igulit din kanak, tô kudà nu, milángngaan,
 duwán mig-ulit din kanak tô kudà nu min-lángngà-an
 EXT REAL.OF-tell 3SG 1SG.OBL MRK horse 2SG.GEN REAL.LF-untether-__

migkan katô pamula din.
 mig-kan katô pamula din
 REAL.SF-eat OBL crop 3SG.GEN

Now it is good because you have come here, because as for Alfredo Lambac, there is something he has told me, (that) your horse, it became untethered, it ate his crop.

33. Na, madigár su kannun ka.
 na ma-digár su kannun ka
 LK ADJ-good because here 2SG

Now it is good because you are here.

34. Ándin, bánnal tô?
 ándin bánnal tô
 what true ABS

What (do you say), is it true?

35. Ulit nu kanak ka bánnal migkan tô kudà nu katô ámmé asta
 ulit nu kanak ka bánnal mig-kan tô kudà nu katô ámmé asta
 tell 2SG 1SG.OBL if true REAL.SF-eat ABS horse 2SG.GEN OBL rice and

batad din.
 batad din
 corn 3SG.GEN

Tell me if it is true that your horse ate his rice and corn.

Lumayon:

36. Na, madigár sállám, Datù.
 na ma-digár sállám datù
 LK ADJ-good morning datu

Now good morning, Datu.

37. Migdunggù tô sábbad manubù diyan, si Gregorio Ambat.
 mig-dunggù tô sábbad manubù diyan si Gregorio Ambat
 REAL.SF-arrive ABS one person there ABS Gregorio Ambat

A certain person arrived there, Gregorio Ambat.

38. Na, tô gulitán din kanak, tô kudà ku, milángngaan,
 na tô ág-ulit-án din kanak tô kudà ku min-lángngà-an
 LK MRK HAB.OF-tell- 3SG 1SG.OBL MRK horse 1SG.GEN REAL.LF-untether-

na dakál é igkan katô pamula i Alfredo Lambac, mga batad,
 na dakál é mig-kan katô pamula i Alfredo Lambac mga batad
 LK large ABS REAL.OF-eat OBL crop GEN Alfredo Lambac PL corn

ámmé.

ámmé

rice

Now what he told me, my horse, it became untethered, and a lot of Alfredo Lambac's crop, (his) corn, (and his) rice was eaten.

39. Na, ni, diya pád maru dini, su dakál lumu ku.
 na ni ñi-a pád um-saru dini su dakál lumu ku
 LK today not-1SG hopefully IRR.SF-come here because big work 1SG.GEN

Now, today, I had hoped I would not have come here, because I have much work.

40. Pero ágtahud²²⁷ a áknikó, su sikuna é ágdatuán
 pero ág-tahud a áknikó su sikuna é ág-datù-án
 but HAB.SF-respect 1SG 2SG.OBL because 2SG.MRK ABS HAB.NMR-leader-

kannun ta áknita banuwa, igsaru diniya.
 kannun ta áknita banuwa mig-saru dini-a
 here OBL 1PL.IN.GEN place REAL.SF-come here-1SG

But I have respect for you, because you are the leader here in our place, (and so) I came here.

41. Na, maminágga ka ándin é madigár katapid²²⁸ diyan.
 na maN-minág-a ka.ándin é ma-digár ka-tapid diyan
 LK IRR.SF-listen-1SG what. ABS ADJ-good NMR-arrange there

Now I will listen to what is a good arrangement (i.e. settlement) of it (the case).

42. Su sak, bánnalbénnal na matug²²⁹ a ka ándin, kapù, tô
 su sakán bánnalbénnal na M-atug a ka.ándin kapù tô
 because 1SG.MRK surely LK IRR.SF-pay 1SG what. for.example MRK

nángngà kabatugan ku, tikud dutun ta pamula i Alfredo
 nángngà ka-batug-an ku tikud dutun ta pamula i Alfredo
 adequate IRR.LF-accomplish- 1SG from there OBL crop GEN Alfredo

Lambac na misirà.
 Lambac na min-sirà
 Lambac LK REAL.OF-destroy

Because as for me, it is certain that I will pay what I can regarding Alfredo Lambac's crop that was destroyed.

Datu:

43. Takud ta migahà ku tô mga misirà katô
 tikud ta mig-ahà ku tô mga min-sirà katô
 from OBL REAL.OF-examine 1SG ABS PL REAL.OF-destroy OBL

pamula, mga batad asta mga ámmé, tô mga pamula tô, duwán lagà mga
 pamula mga batad asta mga ámmé tô mga pamula tô duwán lagà mga
 crop PL corn and PL rice MRK PL crop ABS EXT value PL

sábbad abuk ka agung,²³⁰ baliyan²³¹ lima.
 sábbad abuk ka agung bali-an lima
 one piece GEN gong worth-IRR.LF five

From the time I examined what had been destroyed of the crops, the corn and the rice, those crops, they have a value of about a single gong, worth five (hundred pesos).

44. Na, ándin tô?
 na ándin tô
 LK what ABS

Now what (do you say) about it?

45. Numunug ka katô bayadan nu sábbad abuk agung ágbaliyan lima
 um-nunug ka katô bayad-an nu sábbad abuk agung ág-bali-an lima
 IRR.SF-agree 2SG OBL pay-IRR.LF 2SG one piece gong HAB.LF-worth- five

tô mga pamula, tô midattan?
 tô mga pamula tô min-dat-an
 ABS PL crop MRK REAL.LF-bad-__

Will you agree to pay with a single gong valued at five (hundred) for the crops, those that were damaged?

46. Na, atin numunug ka, na kakalyag ku, kasóddóran ku ka
 na atin um-nunug ka na ka-kalyag ku ka-sóddór-an ku ka
 LK if IRR.SF-agree 2SG LK NMR-desire 1SG.GEN IRR.LF-know-__ 1SG if

numunug ka katô baluran²³² sábbad dakál agung, baluran lima.
 um-nunug ka katô balur-an sábbad dakál agung balur-an lima
 IRR.SF-agree 2SG OBL value-IRR.LF one large gong value-IRR.LF five

Now if you will agree, then my desire is, I will know if you will agree to the value of one large gong, valued at five (hundred).

Lumayon:

47. Datù, yan tindággan ku.
 datù yan tindág-an ku
 datu that settle-IRR.LF 1SG

Datu, I will settle for that.

48. Tindággan ku, su tô kanak kudà, mikasirà man ka
 tindág-an ku su tô kanak kudà mika-sirà man ka
 settle-IRR.LF 1SG because MRK 1SG.GEN horse REAL.SF-destroy naturally OBL

pamula.

pamula

crop

I will settle for that, because my horse, it happened to destroy the crop.

49. Na, ni gó uras ni, pakangén ta ki Gregorio Ambat tô
 na ni gó uras ni pa-kangé-án ta ki Gregorio Ambat tô
 LK this EMPH hour this IRR.OF-fetch-__ 1PL.IN OBL Gregorio Ambat ABS

baliyan lima agung dutut balé, dakál burunsi.
 bali-an lima agung dutun-ta balé dakál burunsi
 worth-IRR.LF five gong there-OBL house large brass

Now, at this very hour, let's have Gregorio Ambat get the gong worth five (hundred) at (my) house, the large brass one.

50. Dakál burunsi baliyan lima.
 dakál burunsi bali-an lima
 large brass worth-IRR.LF five

It is a large brass one worth five (hundred).

51. Na, sugù nu si Gregorio Ambat, kangén din tut balé tô dakál
 na sugù nu si Gregorio Ambat kangé-án din dutun-ta balé tô dakál
 LK send 2SG ABS Gregorio Ambat fetch-IRR.OF 3SG there-OBL house ABS large

agung, su para ágkatindág, kapù, tô husay, kaligraan
 agung su.para ágka-tindág kapù tô husay ka-aligra-an
 gong so.that. HAB.OF-settle for.example ABS case IRR.LF-mediate.

ta tô samuk.²³³
 ta tô samuk
 1PL.IN ABS disturb

Now send Gregorio Ambat, and he will get from (my) house that large gong, so that the case, for example, can be settled, and we can mediate the disturbance.

Datu:

52. Na, Alfredo Lambac, si Lumayon, na ágtanggapán din tô
 na Alfredo Lambac si Lumayon na ág-tanggap-án din tô
 LK Alfredo Lambac MRK Lumayon LK HAB.OF-accept. 3SG ABS

kantidad²³⁴ katô misirà pamula nu.
 kantidad katô min-sirà pamula nu
 price GEN REAL.OF-destroy crop 2SG.GEN

Now, Alfredo Lambac, as for Lumayon, he will accept the value of your destroyed crop.

53. Bayadan din sábbad abuk ka dakál agung, ágbaluran ka lima.
 bayad-an din sábbad abuk ka dakál agung ág-balur-an ka lima
 pay-IRR.LF 3SG one piece GEN large gong HAB.NMR-value-__ GEN five

He will pay a single large gong, valued at five (hundred).

54. Na, atin malyag ka katô, na suguán ku si Gregorio Ambat na
 na atin M-kalyag ka katô na sugù-án ku si Gregorio Ambat na
 LK if IRR.SF-desire 2SG OBL LK send-IRR.OF 1SG ABS Gregorio Ambat LK

kangén tô agung na bayad katô misirà pamula nu.
 kangé-án tô agung na bayad katô min-sirà pamula nu
 fetch-IRR.OF ABS gong LK pay OBL REAL.OF-destroy crop 2SG.GEN

Now if you desire that, then I will send Gregorio Ambat to get the gong that is payment for your destroyed crop.

Alfredo:

55. Na Datù, su tô man dán tô igulittulit i
 na datù su tô man dán tô mig-ulittulit i
 LK datu because MRK naturally now ABS REAL.OF-proclaim ERG

Lumayon Ogawan, na alangngalang,²³⁵ kapù, dì ku tákkássan?
 Lumayon Ogawan na alangngalang kapù dì ku tákkás-an
 Lumayon Ogawan LK why.should for.example not 1SG follow-IRR.LF

Now Datu, because naturally what Lumayon Ogawan has now proclaimed, then why, for example, should I not go along with it?

56. Na, tikud dun áknikó man aligra tô, na alangngalang dì
 na tikud dutun áknikó man aligra tô na alangngalang dì
 LK from that.time 2SG.GEN naturally mediate MRK LK why.should not

ki tumákkás, su sikuna man gó tô ágdatuán
 ki um-tákkás su sikuna man gó tô ág-datù-án
 1PL.IN IRR.SF-follow because 2SG.MRK naturally EMPH ABS HAB.NMR-leader-__

dé kannun.
 dé kannun
 1PL.EX.GEN here

Now naturally regarding that mediation of yours, why should we not go along with it, for you are our leader here.

57. Na, salamat katô migbággé i Lumayon kanak, su bayad katô
 na salamat katô mig-bággé i Lumayon kanak su bayad katô
 LK thanks OBL REAL.OF-give ERG Lumayon 1SG.OBL because pay OBL

pamula ku.
 pamula ku
 crop 1SG.GEN

Now thank you for what Lumayon has given me, because it is payment for my crop.

58. Na, ni gó ni, taddô nu pa áknikó tô agung, su
 na ni gó ni taddô nu pa áknikó tô agung su
 LK this EMPH this there 2SG yet 2SG.OBL ABS gong because

lumónóddô dini.
 um-lónód-a-ù dini
 IRR.SF-return-1SG-EMPH here

Now then for the time being, let the gong remain here with you, because I will surely return here.

Datu:

59. Na, salamat kumpurmiyan²³⁶ nu.
 na salamat kumpurmi-an nu
 LK thanks agree-IRR.LF 2SG

Now thank you for agreeing to this.

60. Na, pakangén ku ki Gregorio Ambat tô agung ni álló ni.
 na pa-kangé-án ku ki Gregorio Ambat tô agung ni álló ni
 LK IRR.OF-fetch- 1SG OBL Gregorio Ambat ABS gong this day this

Now I will have Gregorio Ambat get the gong today.

Gregorio:

61. Na, Datù, ni dán baluran ka lima agung, igpid kud
 na datù ni dán balur-an ka lima agung mig-pid ku-dán
 LK datu this now value-IRR.LF GEN five gong REAL.OF-bring 1SG-now

nit saruwan nu.
 dini-ta saru-an nu
 here-OBL front-NMR 2SG.GEN

Now then, Datu, this gong valued at five (hundred pesos), I have now brought it here before you.

62. Bahalà²³⁷ kad kani, na patawar nud si Alfredo Lambac,
 bahalà ka-dán kani na pa-tawar nu-dán si Alfredo Lambac
 responsible 2SG-now this LK IMPER.OF-summon 2SG-now ABS Alfredo Lambac

su dini dán ta áknikó balé ni agung.
 su dini dán ta áknikó balé ni agung
 because here now OBL 2SG.GEN house this gong

You are now responsible for this, and you must now summon Alfredo Lambac, because this gong is now here at your house.

Datu:

63. Mister Alfredo Lambac, tô agung balur ák lima, kannun dát
 Mister Alfredo Lambac tô agung balur ka lima kannun dán-ta
 Mister Alfredo Lambac MRK gong value GEN five here now-OBL

balé.
 balé
 house

Mr. Alfredo Lambac, that gong valued at five (hundred), it is now here at the house.

64. Na madigár ahà nu ka nángngà dutun ta ginawa nu tô agung.
 na ma-digár ahà nu ka nángngà dutun ta ginawa nu tô agung
 LK ADJ-good examine 2SG if enough there OBL feeling 2SG.GEN ABS gong

And it would be good for you to examine whether the gong is enough to your liking.

Alfredo:

65. Na, ni agung, kapù, igbággé i Lumayon tingód katô
 na ni agung kapù mig-bággé i Lumayon tingód katô
 LK this gong for.example REAL.OF-give ERG Lumayon about OBL

miperde²³⁸ pamula ku, ágnunug ad kani, Datù.
 min-perde pamula ku ág-nunug a-dán kani datù
 REAL.OF-loss crop 1SG.GEN HAB.SF-agree 1SG-now this datu

Now as for this gong, for example, that Lumayon has given on behalf of my lost crop, I now agree to this, Datu.

66. Subrasubra²³⁹ ni dán gó ni su ágbaliyan dán
 subrasubra ni dán gó ni su ág-bali-an dán
 exceed this already EMPH this because HAB.LF-worth-__ already

ka lima ni.
 ka lima ni
 GEN five this

This for sure is already more than enough because it is already worth five (hundred).

67. Na, su kannun dán, na pasalamatta ka aligra nu.
 na su kannun dán na pa-salamat-a ka aligra nu
 LK because here now LK IRR.SF-thanks-1SG OBL mediate 2SG.GEN

Now because it (the gong) is here now, I will thank you for your mediation.

68. Na ni gó álló ni, na palamanuwé si Lumayon, na abô ándà
 na ni gó álló ni na pa-lamanu-é si Lumayon na ébô ándà
 LK this EMPH day this LK IRR.SF-shake.hands-__ ABS Lumayon LK so.that none

sókó din kanak tut tapuri álló.
 sókó din kanak dutun-ta tapuri álló
 anger 3SG.GEN 1SG.OBL there-OBL future day

And this very day, Lumayon (and I) will shake hands with each other, and then he will have no anger toward me in the future.

Datu:

69. Salamat na tanggapán yu tô aligra, su ánggad sikita mga
 salamat na tanggap-án yu tô aligra su ánggad sikita mga
 thanks LK receive-IRR.OF 2PL ABS mediate because since 1PL.IN PL

nitibu, parihi²⁴⁰ mga mataladi kid.
 nitibu parihi mga mataladi ki-dán
 indigenous like PL relative 1PL.IN.GEN-already

(I am) thankful that you have accepted the mediation, because all of us indigenous people, we are already the same as brothers.

70. Ka duwán marinták samuk ta, ukitán ta ka
 ka duwán ma-rénták samuk ta ukit-án ta ka
 if EXT ADJ-small disturb 1PL.IN.GEN pass.through-IRR.OF 1PL.IN OBL

paligraé.
 pa-aligra-é
 IRR.SF-mediate-__

If we have some small disturbance, we resolve it by reciprocal mediation.

71. Ánnà ukitán dutun ta ágpamatayé, su ukitán
 ánnà ukit-án dutun ta ágpa-maté-é su ukit-án
 not pass.through-IRR.OF there OBL HAB.SF-fight-__ because pass.through-IRR.OF

dutun ta madigár.
 dutun ta ma-digár
 there OBL ADJ-good

It is not resolved by fighting each other, because it is resolved by something good.

72. Na, igpasalamatta dutun ta igpamulak manubù na
 na migpa-salamat-a dutun ta mig-pamula-ka manubù na
 LK REAL.SF-thanks-1SG there OBL REAL.SF-plant-OBL person LK

minaligraan tô kasu, na igtanggap yu tô aligra ku.
 min-aligra-an tô kasu na mig-tanggap yu tô aligra ku
REAL.LF-mediate-__ ABS case LK REAL.OF-accept 2PL ABS mediate 1SG.GEN

Now I am thankful to the one (God) who planted (i.e. created) people that the case has been mediated, and that you have accepted my mediation.

Lumayon:

73. Datù, gawas pa katô áknikó aligra, tikud dini ta pusung ku,
 datù gawas pa katô áknikó aligra tikud dini ta pusung ku
 datu aside yet OBL 2SG.GEN mediate from here OBL heart 1SG.GEN

pólié ki dutun ta madigár mga kóddóóddô ta.
 pa-ulì-é ki dutun ta ma-digár mga ka-óddóóddô ta
IRR.SF-go.home-__ 1PL.IN there OBL ADJ-good PL NMR-relationship 1PL.IN.GEN

Datu, aside from your mediation, (I say this) from my heart, we will restore to each other our good relationship.

74. Mámmátta pa ák manuk.
 M-ámmát-a pa ka manuk
 IRR.SF-catch-1SG yet OBL bird

I will catch a chicken.

75. Pabinayu a pa kammé.
 pa-binayu a pa ka-ámmé
 IRR.SF-pound 1SG yet OBL-rice

I will have rice pounded.

76. Pasábbadé ki pa kuman kannun ta balé nu kanik
 pa-sábbad-é ki pa um-kan kannun ta balé nu kani-ka
 IRR.SF-one-__ 1PL.IN yet IRR.SF-eat here OBL house 2SG.GEN later-OBL

dukilám.
 dukilám
 night

We will all come together to eat here at your house later this evening.

Datu:

77. Ó, salamat na kani pakitaé ki.
 ó salamat na kani pa-kita-é ki
 oh thanks LK later IRR.SF-see-__ 1PL.IN

Oh, thank you that later (tonight) we will see each other (again).

Notes

²¹⁷ This text records a simulated litigation in which each participant played a fictitious part. The participants were all members of the Malasila community where they were born and raised, and they are all related to each other.

The plaintiff, Mr. Alfredo A. Lambac, is a farmer but has served also as Barangay Captain in Malasila for several years. He is a younger brother of Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac.

The mediator was the late Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac. For information about him, see endnote 2, page 11, following the text *Ás Sandawà* ‘Sandawa’.

The witness, Mr. Gregorio E. Ambat, is a farmer and a cousin of the late Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac.

The defendant, the late Mr. Lumayon A. Ogawan, was a farmer in Malasila. He was a cousin of the late Datu Bulatukan A. Lambac.

²¹⁸ *Misirà* ‘to damage’, ‘to destroy’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *midattan*.

²¹⁹ *Sábbad álló asta sábbad dukilám* ‘one day and one night’ constitutes one twenty-four-hour period. *Sábbad álló* also means ‘one twenty-four-hour period’, as stated in sentence 7.

Other time expressions

<i>állówálló/tukid kalló</i>	‘everyday’, ‘daily’
<i>dángngan</i>	‘before’, ‘previously’
<i>géna</i>	‘a while ago’
<i>iglabé linggu</i>	‘last week’ (lit. ‘the week gone by’)
<i>kani</i>	‘later’
<i>mantu pa</i>	‘recently’
<i>mantu pa iglabé</i>	‘recently occurred’
<i>ni álló ni</i>	‘this very day’, ‘today’
<i>ni gó</i>	‘now’, ‘today’
<i>ni gó mapun</i>	‘this afternoon’
<i>ni gó sállám</i>	‘this morning’
<i>ni pa gó</i>	‘just now’

<i>nit dumunggù linggu</i>	‘next week’ (lit. ‘this approaching week’)
<i>sábbad ámmé</i>	‘one year’
<i>sábbad bulan</i>	‘one month’
<i>sábbad dukilám</i>	‘one night’
<i>sábbad linggu</i>	‘one week’
<i>saru simagé</i>	‘someday’
<i>sayyan</i>	‘long ago’
<i>tapuri álló</i>	‘later day’, ‘last day’

²²⁰ *Igilit* ‘to tell’ comes from the root *ulit* ‘to tell something’.

Other terms using *ulit*

<i>gulitán</i>	(n) ‘story’; (v) ‘to tell something’, ‘to state one’s purpose’ (usually to ask for something)
<i>mulit</i>	‘to chant a ballad’
<i>mulittulit</i>	‘to give a speech’, ‘to proclaim’, ‘to preach’

²²¹ The words *ki Lumayon* mean ‘it (the horse) pertains to Lumayon’. The speaker might have made the more direct statement *i Lumayon* ‘it (the horse) was Lumayon’s’, but he did not. This appears to be a case of intentional mitigation to make the accusation less hostile. (See also sentence 21 in this text.)

²²² *Intrigun* ‘to hand over’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *bággén* ‘to give’. In this situation, the horse would be handed over as collateral, i.e. a guarantee of payment for damages incurred.

²²³ A witness, or *mikakita* ‘one who happened to see’, had to be found before a case could be brought to the officials.

²²⁴ *Para* ‘for’, ‘so that’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *ébô*.

²²⁵ When reduplicated, the root *bánnal* ‘true’ means ‘surely’, ‘sincerely’, ‘truly’.

²²⁶ *Kaligraan* ‘to cheer’, ‘to gladden’ appears to be a borrowed word. As a noun, it means ‘hearing’ or ‘settlement’; as a verb, it means ‘to arrive at an agreement’. The Tagabawa equivalent of the noun is *usé* ‘mediation’, ‘settlement’.

²²⁷ *Ágtahud* ‘to have respect for’ appears to be a borrowed word. There is no known Tagabawa equivalent.

²²⁸ *Katapid* ‘arrangement’ is an archaic term; the more commonly used term is *kapókit* ‘way’. In this context, *katapid* refers to the way the case was managed.

²²⁹ *Matug* ‘to pay a fine’ comes from the archaic root *batug*, which as a noun means ‘fine’ and as a verb means ‘to give something in payment for a fine’, ‘to pay a debt’. The more common term is *bayad* ‘payment’.

²³⁰ For a description of *agung* ‘gong’, see endnote 70, page 56, following the text *Ás Paliman* ‘Paliman’.

²³¹ *Baliyan* ‘to be worth’ appears to be a borrowed word. There is no known Tagabawa equivalent.

²³² *Baluran* ‘to have the value of’ appears to be a borrowed word. There is no known Tagabawa equivalent.

²³³ *Samuk* as a noun means ‘disturbance’, ‘trouble’, ‘fighting’, ‘domestic conflict’, and as a verb means ‘to bother someone’. If one is called *gimuk samuk*, it means he is a troublemaker.

²³⁴ *Kantidad* ‘price’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *lagà*.

²³⁵ *Alangngalang* ‘why should one do...’ appears to be a borrowed word and always occurs with a negator, e.g. *dì* ‘not’. The Tagabawa equivalent is *manan* ‘why’.

²³⁶ *Kumpurmiyan* ‘to comply’, ‘to agree’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *nunugan* ‘to agree with’.

²³⁷ *Bahalà* ‘responsible for’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *balà kad* ‘it’s your responsibility’.

²³⁸ *Miperde*, which as a verb means ‘to cause loss or destruction’ and as a noun means ‘loss’, appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *idattan* ‘to be destroyed’, ‘to have loss of its usefulness’.

²³⁹ *Subrasubra* ‘over’, ‘above’, ‘beyond’, ‘exceeding the necessary limit’, ‘abundant’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *sunnud* ‘much’ followed by the item it modifies.

²⁴⁰ *Parihu* ‘same’, ‘alike’ appears to be a borrowed word. The Tagabawa equivalent is *magunawa* ‘same’ or *inggó* ‘like’.

Appendix A

Case Markers, Pronouns, Locatives, and Prepositions in Tagabawa

Nominal markers, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns in Tagabawa are all marked for case. In order to discuss case-marking patterns in Tagabawa, it is necessary first to describe the VPA word order inverse that occurs in the language.²⁴¹

Word order inverse

Tagabawa has two types of transitive clause: an active construction and an inverse construction. The two constructions are distinguished by word order and pronominal sets. Specifically, the active construction has VAP word order, and the inverse construction has VPA word order. The pronominal sets for the A and P arguments in a VAP active construction are distinct from those for the A and P arguments in a VPA inverse construction. (See table 4.)

Selection of the active construction and the inverse construction is determined by a hierarchy which is governed in part by person and in part by topicality. The hierarchy is shown in figure 1.

1 > 2 > 3 > pronoun > full NP

Figure 2. Topicality hierarchy

In this hierarchy, 1st person outranks 2nd person and 2nd person outranks 3rd person. If A outranks P in person, then the VAP active construction is chosen (1), but if P outranks A, then the VPA inverse construction is chosen (2). This pattern is obligatory when either the A or P argument is 1st or 2nd person.

(1) VAP active construction

	A	P
Lagpássán	ku	sikandin.
lagpás-án	ku	sikandin
hit-IRR.OF	1SG	3SG

I will hit him.

(2) VPA inverse construction

P	A
Lagpássánna	ikandin.
lagpás-án-a	ikandin
hit-IRR.OF-1SG	3SG

He will hit me.

On the other hand, if A and P are both 3rd persons, either the active construction or the inverse construction is possible with one exception. When both constructions are possible, selection is determined by the relative topicality of A and P. Specifically, when A is more topical than P, the VAP active construction is chosen (3), and when P is more topical than A, the VPA inverse construction is chosen (4).

(3) VAP active construction

A	P
Lagpássán	katô batà tô áppuy.
lagpás-án	katô batà tô áppuy
hit-IRR.OF	ERG child ABS snake

The child will hit the snake.

(4) VPA inverse construction

P	A
Lagpássán	tô áppuy katô batà.
lagpás-án	tô áppuy katô batà
hit-IRR.OF	ABS snake ERG child

The child will hit the snake.

The exception to this pattern occurs when A is a 3rd person pronoun and P is a full NP. For this combination, only the VAP active construction is possible (5)(6).

(5) VAP active construction

	A	P	
Lagpássán	din	tô	asu.
lagpás-án	din	tô	asu
hit-IRR.OF	3SG	ABS	dog

He will hit the dog.

(6) VPA inverse construction

	P		A
*Lagpássán	tô	asu	din.
lagpás-án	tô	asu	din
hit-IRR.OF	ABS	dog	3SG

He will hit the dog.²⁴²

In contrast, when A is a full NP and P is a pronoun, both the VAP active construction and the VPA inverse construction are possible. Here, selection of voice construction is determined by the relative topicality of A and P, i.e. if A is the more topical argument, the active construction is chosen (7), and if P is the more topical argument, the inverse construction is chosen (8).

(7) VAP active construction

	A	P	
Lagpássán	katô	batà	sikandin.
lagpás-án	katô	batà	sikandin
hit-IRR.OF	ERG	child	3SG

The child will hit him.

(8) VPA inverse construction

	P	A	
Lagpássán	sikandin	katô	batà.
lagpás-án	sikandin	katô	batà
hit-IRR.OF	3SG	ERG	child

The child will hit him.

Case markers

Nominal markers in Tagabawa distinguish between the A argument and the P argument in a transitive clause and so, by definition, function as case markers. Tagabawa case markers form a split ergative system. When A and P are full NPs, i.e. common nouns or personal names, case marking displays a consistent ergative-absolutive system in both the active VAP construction and the inverse VPA construction.²⁴³ That is, S and P are marked the same, and A is marked differently. This pattern is seen in the following sentences. In (9)–(11), S, A, and P are common nouns; in (12)–(14), they are personal names.

Common nouns

(9) Intransitive clause

	S				
Madun	tô	batà	tut		wayig.
M-sadun	tô	batà	dutun-ta		wayig
IRR.SF-go	ABS	child	there-OBL		river

The child will go to the river.

(10) VAP active construction

	A		P		
Pégpégán	katô	batà	tô		lata.
pégpég-án	katô	batà	tô		lata
flatten-IRR.OF	ERG	child	ABS		can

The child will flatten the can.

(11) VPA inverse construction

	P			A	
Pégpégán	tô	lata	katô	batà.	
pégpég-án	tô	lata	katô	batà	
flatten-IRR.OF	ABS	can	ERG	child	

The child will flatten the can.²⁴⁴

Personal names

(12) Intransitive clause

	S				
Madun	si	Lisa	tut	wayig.	
M-sadun	si	Lisa	dutun-ta	wayig	
IRR.SF-go	ABS	Lisa	there-OBL	river	

Lisa will go to the river.

(13) VAP active construction

	A		P		
Sumarán	i	Lisa	si	Maria.	
sumar-án	i	Lisa	si	Maria	
meet-IRR.OF	ERG	Lisa	ABS	Maria	

Lisa will meet Maria.

(14) VPA inverse construction

	P		A		
Sumarán	si	Maria	i	Lisa.	
sumar-án	si	Maria	i	Lisa	
meet-IRR.OF	ABS	Maria	ERG	Lisa	

Lisa will meet Maria.

Case-marked personal pronouns

All personal pronouns in Tagabawa are also marked for case and display a split ergative system. Specifically, all personal pronouns in both the VAP active construction and the VPA inverse construction display an ergative pattern, except 2nd person pronouns occurring in the VAP active construction, which display a tripartite pattern. Consider first the ergative pattern, in which S and P have the same form and A has a different form. Third person singular pronouns in (15)–(17) illustrate this pattern: S in (15) and P in (16) have the same pronominal form, *sikandin*, and A in (17) has a different form, *din*.

(15) Intransitive clause

S			
Madun	sikandin	tut	wayig.
M-sadun	sikandin	dutun-ta	wayig
IRR.SF-go	3SG	there-OBL	river

He will go to the river.

(16) VAP active construction

A	P
Lagpássán	nu sikandin.
lagpás-án	nu sikandin
hit-IRR.OF	2SG 3SG

You will hit him.

(17) VAP active construction

A	P
Lagpássán	din sikuna.
lagpás-án	din sikuna
hit-IRR.OF	3SG 3SG

He will hit him.

Now consider the tripartite pattern, in which S, A, and P each has a unique form. This pattern is displayed only by 2nd person singular pronouns and only when those pronouns occur in VAP active constructions, as shown in (18)–(20). Here S is *ka* (18), P is *sikuna* (19), and A is *nu* (20).

(18) Intransitive clause

S			
Madun	ka	tut	wayig.
M-sadun	ka	dutun-ta	wayig
IRR.SF-go	2SG	there-OBL	river

You will go to the river.

(19) VAP active construction

	A	P
Lagpássán	ku	sikuna.
lagpás-án	ku	sikuna
hit-IRR.OF	1SG	2SG

I will hit you.

(20) VAP active construction

	A	P
Lagpássán	nu	sikandin.
lagpás-án	nu	sikandin
hit-IRR.OF	2SG	3SG

You will hit him.

On the other hand, in VPA inverse constructions, 2nd person singular pronouns display an ergative pattern, as seen in (18), (21), and (22). Here S (18) and P (21) have the same form, *ka*, and A (22) has a different form, *ikuna*.

(21) VPA inverse construction

	P	A
Lagpássán	ka	ikandin.
lagpás-án	ka	ikandin
hit-IRR.OF	2SG	3SG

He will hit you.

(22) VPA inverse construction

	P	A
Lagpássánna		ikuna.
lagpás-án-a		ikuna
hit-IRR.OF-1SG		2SG

You will hit me.

These patterns are summarized in table 1.

Table 1. Summary of case-marking patterns in Tagabawa

	VAP	VPA
Pronouns		
1SG/PL	N/A	N/A
2SG/PL	tripartite	ergative-absolutive
3SG/PL	ergative-absolutive	ergative-absolutive
Common nouns	ergative-absolutive	ergative-absolutive
Personal names	ergative-absolutive	ergative-absolutive

All case markers and personal pronouns in Tagabawa are listed in tables 2–5. Examples follow the tables.

Table 2. Case markers occurring with S, A, and P in Tagabawa

	VS	VAP		VPA	
	S	A	P	P	A
Common nouns	tô	katô	tô	tô	katô
Personal names	si	i	si	si	i

Table 3. Case markers occurring with other NPs in Tagabawa

	Marked	Genitive	Oblique	
			Nonlocation	Location
Common nouns	tô	katô	katô	ta
Personal names	si	i	ki	ki

Notes:

1. The case marker *tô* may be replaced by *é*, and *katô* by *ka*. Although the exact parameters governing the selection of one member of a pair over the other has yet

to be determined, *tô* and *katô* appear to occur with more specific or definite NPs, and *é* and *ka* with more general or indefinite NPs.

2. The following markers have variant forms:

si varies with *ás*

ka varies with *ák*

ki varies with *ák*

ta varies with *át*

The 'marked' case marker occurs on NPs in various marked constructions, e.g. fronted NPs (23) and cleft constructions (24).

- (23) Tô batà, madun tut wayig.
 tô batà M-sadun dutun-ta wayig
 MRK child IRR.SF-go there-OBL river

As for the child, he will go to the river.

- (24) Tô batà tô madun tut wayig.
 tô batà tô M-sadun dutun-ta wayig
 MRK child ABS IRR.SF-go there-OBL river

The child is the one who will go to the river.

The genitive marker precedes the possessor in a genitive NP (25).

- (25) Mabbabà tô ikug katô asu.
 ma-babà tô ikug katô asu
 ADJ-short ABS tail GEN dog

The tail of the dog is short.

Common nouns may be preceded by two oblique markers: one that occurs before locations (26) and one that occurs before nonlocations (27).

- (26) Munsad tô batà tut bangkù.
 M-unsad tô batà dutun-ta bangkù
 IRR.SF-sit ABS child there-OBL chair

The child will sit on the chair.

- (27) Bággayan ku sikuna katô sulat.
 bággé-an ku sikuna katô sulat
 give-IRR.LF 1SG 2SG OBL letter

I will give you a letter.

Table 4. Personal pronouns for S, A, and P in Tagabawa

	VS	VAP		VPA	
Singular	S	A	P	P	A
1	-a	ku	—	-a	—
2	ka	nu	sikuna	ka	ikuna
3	sikandin/Ø	din	sikandin/Ø	sikandin/Ø	ikandin
Plural					
1EX	ké	dé	—	ké	—
1IN	ki	ta	—	ki	—
2	kó	yu	sikiyu	kó	ikiyu
3	sikandan/dan	dan	sikandan	sikandan/dan	ikandan

Table 5. Personal pronouns for other NPs in Tagabawa

	Marked	Preposed Genitive	Postposed Genitive	Oblique
Singular				
1	sakán	kanak	ku	kanak
2	sikuna	áknikó	nu	áknikó
3	sikandin	kandin	din	kandin
Plural				
1EX	sikami	áknami	dé	áknami
1IN	sikita	áknita	ta	áknita
2	sikiyu	ákniyu	yu	ákniyu
3	sikandan	kandan	dan	kandan

Note: All pronouns beginning with *si* have variants beginning with *ás*, as in:

<i>sikuna</i>	~	<i>áskuna</i>
<i>sikandin</i>	~	<i>áskandin</i>
<i>sikami</i>	~	<i>áskami</i>
<i>sikita</i>	~	<i>áskita</i>
<i>sikiyu</i>	~	<i>áskiyu</i>
<i>sikandan</i>	~	<i>áskandan</i>

The ‘marked’ pronoun occurs in marked constructions, e.g. fronted NPs (28) and cleft constructions (29).

- (28) Sikandin, madun tut wayig.
 sikandin M-sadun dutun-ta wayig
 3SG.MRK IRR.SF-go there-OBL river

As for him, he will go to the river.

- (29) Sikandin tô madun tut wayig.
 sikandin tô M-sadun dutun-ta wayig
 3SG.MRK ABS IRR.SF-go there-OBL river

He is the one who will go to the river.

Tagabawa has two types of genitive pronoun: one that occurs before the head noun (30), and one that occurs after it (31).

- (30) Ni tô kanak asu.
 ni tô kanak asu
 this ABS 1SG.GEN dog

This is my dog.

- (31) Ni tô asu ku.
 ni tô asu ku
 this ABS dog 1SG.GEN

This is my dog.

Oblique pronouns have the same form regardless of whether they are locations (32) or nonlocations (33).

- (32) Bággén ku tô libru tun kandin.
 bággé-án ku tô libru dutun kandin
 give-IRR.OF 1SG ABS book there 3SG.OBL

I will give the book to him.

- (33) Sumumar si Maria kandin.
 -um-sumar si Maria kandin
 IRR.SF-meet ABS Maria 3SG.OBL

Maria will meet him.

Demonstrative pronouns

Tagabawa demonstrative pronouns distinguish two spatial orientations: proximate (or near the speaker) and remote (or far from the speaker). Demonstratives are marked for case and follow the same ergative-absolutive pattern as case markers. (See table 6).

Table 6. Demonstrative pronouns occurring as S, A, and P in Tagabawa

	VS	VAP		VPA		Marked	Genitive/ Oblique
	S	A	P	P	A		
Proximate	ni	kani	ni	ni	kani	ni	kani
Remote	yan	kanan	yan	yan	kanan	yan	kanan

Locatives and prepositions

Locatives in Tagabawa distinguish three spatial orientations: proximate, remote 1, and remote 2, with remote 2 being more distant from the speaker than remote 1. (See table 7.)

Table 7. Locatives in Tagabawa

Proximate	dini	‘here’
Remote 1	dutun	‘there’
Remote 2	diyan	‘there’

In addition Tagabawa has three spatial prepositions: *dadān* ‘toward’ or ‘in the direction of’, *tikud* or *takud* ‘from’, and *sippang* ‘as far as’.

Notes

²⁴¹ A word order inverse was first proposed by Givón (1994). Adopting Givón's proposal, Payne (1994) was the first to identify a word order inverse in a Philippine language (i.e. Cebuano). Since then word order inverses have been noted in other Philippine languages, e.g. Butbut Kalinga (Mijares and Brainard 1996). Obo Manobo (Brainard and Vander Molen 1997), Mayoyao Ifugao (Hodder 1999), and Kagayanen (Pebly and Brainard 1999).

In this paper, S is the syntactically required argument of a single-argument clause; A is the more agentive, syntactically required argument of a transitive clause; and P is the less agentive, syntactically required argument of a transitive clause.

²⁴² Sentence (6) is a grammatical sentence; however, its meaning is 'His dog will be hit', as in:

Lagpássán	tô	asu	din.
lagpás-án	tô	asu	din
hit-IRR.OF	ABS	dog	3SG.GEN

His dog will be hit.

Tagabawa speakers verify that (6) cannot mean 'He will hit the dog'.

²⁴³ Henceforth 'ergative-absolutive' will be referred to as 'ergative'.

²⁴⁴ It should be noted that (11) may also mean 'The child's can will be flattened', as in:

Pégpégán	tô	lata	katô	batà.
pégpég-án	tô	lata	katô	batà
flatten-IRR.OF	ABS	can	GEN	child

The child's can will be flattened.

Appendix B

Verb Affixes in Tagabawa

Verb affixes in Tagabawa signal a range of information, such as dynamism, transitivity, mood, aspect, and volitionality. In addition, a verb affix may signal more than one kind of information. All Tagabawa verbal affixes are listed in table 8. The headings in the table give some of the information commonly indicated by each affix.

Table 8. Verb affixes in Tagabawa

	Realis	Irrealis	Neutral/ Imperative	Habitual ²⁴⁵
Dynamic/Intentive				
SF OF LF	mig- mig- mig--an	M-/um- ²⁴⁶ -án -an	Ø -i/Ø ²⁴⁷ -i	ág- ág--án ág--an
Distributive				
SF OF LF	migpaN- migpaN- migpaN--an	maN- paN--án paN--an	paN- paN--i paN--i	ágpaN- ágpaN--án ágpaN--an
Involuntary/Aptative/ Stative				
SF OF LF	mika- min- min--an	maka- ma- ka--an	paka- ka- ka--i	ágpaka- ágka- ágka--an

	Realis	Irrealis	Neutral/ Imperative	Habitual
Causative				
SF OF LF	migpa- migpa- migpa--an	pa- pa--án pa--an	pa- pa--i/pa- ²⁴⁸ pa--i	ágpa- ágpa--án ágpa--an
Reciprocal				
SF	migpa--é	pa--é	pa--é	ágpa--é
Adjectival verbs				
SF LF	migma- migma--an	kuma-	ma-	ágma-

Note: All [m]-initial prefixes have phonological variants in which the initial [m] is deleted, e.g. *mig-* and *ig-*. For the prefix *min-*, the final [n] may also be deleted; thus, *min-* has three variants: *min-*, *in-*, and *i-*. For some Tagabawa speakers, phonological variants for all [m]-initial prefixes vary freely; however, for other Tagabawa speakers, the [m]-initial variant indicates an event or state that has occurred in more recent time, and the variant without the initial [m] indicates an event or state that has occurred in more distant time.

Notes

²⁴⁵ The label ‘habitual’ is a cover term for several functions, including habitual aspect, imperfective aspect, continuous or reiterative aspect.

²⁴⁶ Regarding the distribution of *M-* and *-um-*, *M-* occurs with words beginning with a vowel, surfacing as [m]. It also occurs with words beginning with [p] and [b], in which case [p] and [b] are deleted and *M-* again surfaces as [m]. The affix *-um-* occurs with words beginning with all other consonants. It should be noted that the following verbs have two forms when affixed:

<i>kalyag</i>	‘to desire’ or ‘to want’	<i>kumalyag</i>	<i>malyag</i>
<i>kangé</i>	‘to fetch’	<i>kumangé</i>	<i>mangé</i>
<i>sadun</i>	‘to go’	<i>sumadun</i>	<i>madun</i>
<i>tákkás</i>	‘to accompany’	<i>tumákkás</i>	<i>mákkás</i>

The shorter affixed form may be analyzed in two ways. In the first analysis, *-um-* is added to the root, and then the first consonant and vowel of the affixed form are deleted. In the second analysis, the first consonant of the root is deleted, and then *M-* is added to the shortened root. For the texts in this volume, the second analysis has been adopted.

²⁴⁷ The neutral form takes *-i*; the imperative form does not take a suffix.

²⁴⁸ The neutral form takes *pa--i*; the imperative form takes *pa-*.

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TAGABAWA TEXTS

compiled by Lauretta J. DuBois and Carl D. DuBois

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