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Central Sinama

Si Nneng Pagipagi / [Nneng Pagipagi]

Jaji, a Sama Dilaut fisherman (1966)

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CENTRAL SINAMA

TEXT 1

Narrator: Jaji, a Sama Dilaut fisherman

Text analyst: Kemp Pallesen

Date: 1966

Place: Siganggang, Siasi, Central Sulu

Si Nneng Pagipagi

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Aniya' duwangan maglakibini
exists two married-couple named Pm. | 1. There was a married couple whose names were Kiskisan and Miskinan. |
| 2. Manjari itu landu'
Kiskisan and Pm Miskinan now-then exceeding | 2. It seemed as their life in that place where they were had absolutely no purpose at all. |
| 3. Dakayu' llaw ab'ttong na si
inside district one day pregnant now | 3. One day Kiskisan became pregnant. |
| 4. Taabut pa'in ma bulananna
Kiskisan there arrive at month-her | 4. When her time came she gave birth. |
| 5. Paganak itu agsai
give-birth now Sir giving-birth right-away | 5. and lo and behold it was a stingray; |
| 6. Pahi bo' duma'in ka
given-birth stingray stingray yet not | 6. human but not exactly a human being. |
| 7. Manusiya' bo' duma'in isab manusiya'.
also stingray human yet not also human | 7. You might say it was half-and-half. |
| 8. Sali' magpatonga'-tongaan ba sel.
like half-in-half Sir so-then | 8. On seeing it some said, "Throw it away." |
| 9. Manjari
inan, "Ah, timanin na," yuk kasehe'an i.
there oh throw-away now said others there | |
| 10. Yuk kasehe'an, "Ndu' daa.
said others oh dear don't since-it-is- | 10. But others said, "Oh don't." |
| 11. Tiyap-tiyap
bai pinaganakan, subay pinakallum."
the-case-that past born should keep-alive | 11. "Since the thing has been born alive it ought to be allowed to live." |
| | 12. Kiskisan and Miskinan said, "Just |

12. Yuk si Kiskisan maka si Miskinan inan, "A
said Kiskisan and Miskinan there oh
pakallumunbi na pa'in. 13. Kalu-kalu mura-murahan." alive. 15. Day after
keep-alive-you continue maybe hope-for-the-day, whenever it was
put into a large ba-
14. Na pinakallum na pa'in. 15. Kahaba'-
best now continue to keep-alive day-after-
its fins. 16. Days and
kahaba' llaw sel bang pinat'nna'ni palanggana'
day Sir if placed in large-basin
nights passed and it
was still a sting ray.
17. Nevertheless, even
tho it was a stingray
it talked just like a
human being.
- magkote-kotek sadja. 16. Na dakayu' pasong llaw
flap-fins only now one advance day
pasong bahangi, pahi. 17. Manjari itu minsan
advance night stingray so-then here even
- isab pahi amung du isab buwat manusiya' sel.
though stingray speak also like human Sir
18. Manjari saga kaukakina inan magtulakan 18. One day its cou-
so-then plural cousins-his there leaving
sins were getting
ready for a trip to
the north. 19. They
went ashore to get
provisions for the
trip; 20. went ashore
getting a great vari-
ety of things. 21. They
fixed up their canoe.
22. When they had
finished fixing the
canoe Nneng Pagipagi
said, "Father, ask
permission from my
cousins for me. 23. I
want to go travelling."
- na ni lahat Bisaya'. 19. A na magkaleya
now to country Christian ah now went-inland
went ashore to get
provisions for the
trip; 20. went ashore
getting a great vari-
ety of things. 21. They
fixed up their canoe.
22. When they had
finished fixing the
canoe Nneng Pagipagi
said, "Father, ask
permission from my
cousins for me. 23. I
want to go travelling."
- lutu' na. 20. Na magkaleya kaginisan na.
provisions now went-inland all-kinds
21. Magpahap na pelang. 22. Aubus pa'in
make-good now canoe finished-being
- magpahap pelang, yuk si Nneng Pagi-pagi inan,
make-good canoe said Nneng Pagipagi there
- yuk-na, "Mma', ba'idin aku," yuk-na, "ni
said-he Father ask-permission me said-he to
- saga kakai-ku i'. 23. Ameya' aku amusay."
plural cousins-my there go-with I to-paddle
24. "Oi Nneng Pagi-pagi, mbal ka," yuk-na, "makabeya'
oh Nneng Pagipagi not you said-he able-to-
- sabab pahi ka." 25. "Sagadin na 24. "Oh Nneng Pagipagi,"
go-with because stingray you never-mind now
they said, "you can't
go because you're a
stingray." 25. "Never
mind about that," he
said. 26. "Even though
- ba," yuk-na. 26. Minsan aku," yuk-na, "pahi,
said-he even-though I said-he stingray

- patumpangun pa'in," yuk-na, "ma tōng-tōng
take-as-passenger yet said-he in end
- ajung - bi ilu." 27. Yuk saga kaki-na i', "Ai
canoe-your there said plural cousin-his what
- tausaha-nu?" 28. "Pi'un na, mampa'in du aku,"
able-to-work-at-you carry on if-only I
- yuk-na, tabowabi." 29. Jari sel atulak na
said-he taken-you now-then Sir leave now
- sigā. 30. Nsa' binowa si Nneng Pagi-pagi inān.
they not taken Nneng Pagipagi that
31. Pagtulak-sigā, tabīng. 32. "Tanda'bi na,"
having-left-they returned see-you now
- yuk si Nneng Pagi-pagi i'. 33. "Bang aku," yuk-na,
said Nneng Pagipagi there if I said-he
- "bowabi abontol baliyu-ta" 34. "Na, pi'ilu na
take-you straight wind-our now go-there now
- ka. 35. Ameya' na ka." 36. Na tabeya' na.
you go-with now you now go-with now
37. Yuk-na, "Bang aniya' būd p'ttung
said-he if exists mountain bamboo
- būd kayawan hapitinbi aku," yuk-na, "min
mountain cane drop-off-you me said-he from
- i'." 38. Taabut pa'in aniya' būd aheya,
there arrive while exists mountain large,
- "Na," yuk-na, "aniya būd p'ttung i'," yuk
now said-he exists mountain bamboo there said
- si Nneng Pagipagi inān. 39. "Na bbahinbi na
Nneng Pagipagi there now leave-you now
- aku," yukna, "mailu maka lumpang-lumpangku ilu.
me said-he there with dish- my there
40. Magkotek-kotek na aku mailu." 41. Nibbahan na.
flap-fins now I there left now
42. "Palanjā kam," yuk-na, "ni lahat Bisaya'.
proceed you said-he to country Christian
- I'm a stingray," he
said, "just let me
come aboard at the
very end of your ca-
noe." 27. His cousins
said to him, "What
can you do for a liv-
ing?" 28. He said,
"Never mind that, just
as long as you take me
with you." 29. Well,
off they went, 30. not
taking Nneng Pagipagi
with them, 31. but
they had no sooner
left than they came
back. 32. "See what
happens," said N.P.
33. "If you had just
taken me," he said,
"the wind would have
been favorable."
34. "Alright then,"
said the cousins.
35. "You can come a-
long." 36. So off he
went with them.
37. He said, "If you
see a mountain with
bamboo and cane grow-
ing on it, just drop
me there." 38. By and
by they reached a cer-
tain high mountain,
"There is the bamboo
mountain," said N.P.
29. "Just put me down
there," he said,
"along with my big
basin. 40. I'll flap
my fins right there."

43. "Duwambulan t'ggol -kami." 44. "Taabut ka," 41. So they put him
two-months duration-our reaching you ashore. 42. "You go
yuk-na, "duwambulan palagid ka," yuk-na, "minnitu." on your way to the
said-he two-months call-in you said-he here north country," he
said. 43. "We'll be
two months," said
the others. 44. N.P.
replied, "When the
two months is up you
must call in here,"
he said, "Okay?"
45. "Alright," they
agreed. 46. "Be sure
you call for me!"
47. "Yes," they said.
48. Na at'ggol na kono' magagad si 48. So N.P. waited
now long-time now reportedly waited there a long time, ac-
cording to the story.
- Nneng Pagipagi inan mainaan. 49. Magpuwad kayawan. 49. He was cutting
Nneng Pagipagi there there cut-down cane down cane, 50. when
one day he met a man
50. Jari itu aniya' kono' aa talanggal e'na. 51. who said to him,
now then exists reportedly man met by-him "What are you doing
there N.P.?" 52. "Oh,"
said N.P., "I am a
very poor person.
53. Ever so poor;
54. and I'm just
gathering a little
bamboo." 55. "And
what are you going to
pay for it with?"
asked the man. 56.
"Oh don't be concerned
about that," said N.P.
57. "There is a God
above. 58. If I am to
come into good fortune,
then I'll come into
good fortune, no mat-
ter what," he said.
51. Yuk-i', "Ai," yuk-na, "hinangnu mailu na
said-he what said-he work-your there now
- Nneng Pagi-pagi?" 52. "A," yuk-na, "aku itu na
Nneng Pagipagi ah said-he I here now
- miskin kami itu," yuk-na, 53. "Makalandu'
poor we here said-he exceeding
- pinamiskin. 54. Hal," yuk-na, "magk'llo' p'ittung."
made-poor only said-he getting bamboo
55. "Na ai," yuk-na, "pam'lli?" 56. "Sagarin,"
now what said-he for-buying-it never-mind
- yuk-na. 57. "Dakayu'-kayu'," yuk-na, "Tuhan. 58. Ah
said-he one-only-one said-he God ah
- bang tuud aku," yuk-na, "binuwanan lidjiki'
if really I said-he given good-fortune
- asal du inan binuwanan lidjiki'."
no-matter-what given good-fortune
59. Na saga aa itu magpamole'na
now plural men here went-home now
59. Well, so the
story goes the other

kono' min i' min lahat Bisaya'.
reportedly from there, from place Christian

60. Bang nda'-nu na ba sel tabowa ai-ai itu.
if saw-you now Sir bring things these

61. Tabowa ni anak-h'nda siga. 62. Si Nneng
bring to child-wives- there Nneng

Pagi-pagi inan duwa honga' du p'ttung binowa
Pagipagi there two sections bamboo bring

e'-na. 63. Na, amole' na kono'. 64. Nihapit
by-him now went-home now reportedly stop-in

na si Nneng Pagi-pagi. 65. Paghapit itu bang
now Nneng Pagipagi stopping-in here if

nda'-nu isab min kalumaan itu. 66. Anampang
see-you also from house-group here receive

kasampang-kasampangan na. 67. Magpang'llo' ai-ai
arrival-gifts now collecting things

na i'. 68. Si Nneng Pagi-pagi itu magkotek-kotek
now there Nneng Pagipagi this flapped-fins

na pa'in ma lumpang-lumpang-na. 69. "Pamagay,"
now in large-basin-his for-what-

yuk-na, "si Nneng Pagi-pagi? 70. Ai
purpose said-he Nneng Pagipagi what

tasampang-tam min iya ilu?" yuk-na. 71. "Nsa'
arrival-gift-our from he there said-he no

ai-ai tausaha-na. 73. Duwa honga' du p'ttung."
things livelihood-his two sections bamboo

74. Yuk i', "Sagarin na." 75. Amole' na.
said he never-mind now go-home now

76. "Ndu'," yuk-na.
oh dear said-he

77. Itiya' na si Nneng Pagi-pagi ma luma'
here now Nneng Pagipagi at house

pa'in. 78. "Ai," yuk-na, "tabowa?" 79. Yuk i',
what said-she bring-you said he

fellows were on their way home from the north country. 60. The things they were bringing with them were really something to see, 61. gifts for their families. 62. (As for N.P., all he brought was two sections of bamboo.)

63. And so they were homeward bound.

64. They called in for N.P. 65. After they had picked him up you should have seen all the people coming out from the houses in the village, 66. to get their 'arrival gifts'.

67. They came to collect all the things, 68. but N.P., he just flapped his fins in his big basin.

69. "What's the use of N.P.?" they all said. 70. "What could you expect to get from him! 71. Not a thing. 72. He hasn't gained anything from his trip. 73. Just two miserable sections of bamboo!" 74. N.P. just said, "Never mind," 75. and went home. 76. "Poor thing," said the others.

77. Now when N.P. was home inside the house, 78. his mother asked, "What did you bring?" 79. "Mother," said N.P. "just bring those

"Ina', k'llo'in pa'in," yuk-na, "duwa honga'
mother get said-he two sections

p'ttung i'. 80. Daa" yuk-na, "bbahin.
bamboo there Don't said-he leave

81. Bowahun ni luma'." 82. "Ai," yuk-na, ma
bring to house what said-she

deyomna?" 83. "Sagarin na ba," yuk-na, "ina'."
inside-its never-mind said-he mother

84. Taabut dapitu' ma luma' sel mikipah'nda.
arrive one-week at house Sir request-

85. Yuk-i', "Pah'nda'in aku ni anak
marriage said-he marry me to child

sultan." 86. "Oi," yuk-na, "Nneng Pagi-pagi painay
sultan oh said-she Nneng Pagipagi what-

amah'ndaan kaa ni anak sultan? 87. Sabab,"
means marry you to child sultan because

yuk-na, "halam aniya' alta'ta itu." 88. "Pi'
said-she not exists wealth-our here go-

ka ba," yuk-na, "ina'. 89. Bang aniya' magkawasa
there you said-he mother if exists power

Tuhan taima' sadja kita ilu." 90. Na mma'-na
God accept only we there now father-his

maka ina'-na inan, si Kiskisan maka si Miskinan
and mother-his there Kiskisan and Miskinan

inan atau ba sel amah'nda sabab bang
there afraid Sir arrange-marriage because if

pahi.
stingray

91. Aniya' t'llu anak-na budjang anak
exists three child-his maiden child

sultan inan. 92. Manjari i' lum'ngngan na
sultan there now-then there walk now

iya si Kiskisan maka si Miskinan inan. 93. "Oi,"
the-ones Kiskisan and Miskinan there oi

two sections of bam-
boo. 80. Don't put
them down at all and
bring them into the
house." 82. "What's
inside them?" she
asked. 83. "Never
mind, Mother," he
said.

84. When a week had
gone by N.P. said he
wanted to get married.

85. He said to his
parents, "Arrange a
marriage for me with
the Sultan's daugh-
ter." 86. "The Sul-
tan's daughter!" they
exclaimed. "How in
the world N.P. can you
possibly be married to
the Sultan's daughter!
87. We don't have a
fortune." 88. "Just
go, Mother," said N.P.
89. "If God has any
power at all we will
be accepted by the
Sultan." 90. So Kiskisan
and Miskinan, N.P.'s
parents, were very
afraid to try and ar-
range a marriage con-
tract, because of their
child being a stingray.

91. Now the Sultan had
three daughters,
92. and when Kiskisan
and Miskinan went to
visit them he greeted
them, 93. "Hey there,
Kiskisan and Miskinan,
94. it must be some
important matter that

yuk-na, "Kiskisan, Miskinan. 94. Aheya pahap
said-he Kiskisan Miskinan great indeed

gawi-nu ilu?" 95. "Aho'," yuk-na, "Tuwan
business-your there yes said-he Sir

Sultan. 96. Taga gawi aku ni kaa. 97. Iya sa
Sultan having-business I to you the

gawi-ku," yuk-na, "ni kaa, arak aku," yuk-na,
business-my said-he to you possibly I said-he

"atilawan si Nneng Pagi-pagi bang sali'," yuk-na,
ask-for Nneng Pagipagi if like said-he

"ah'nda si anak-nu ilu." 98. "Tanggu aku,"
marry child-your there delay I

yuk-na. 99. "Ia pananggu-ku," yuk-na, "tilaw-ku
said-he the delay-my said-he ask-I

gi' saga anak-ku ma deyom t'llungan itu."
yet plural child-my amongst three here

100. Tinilaw na siyaka. 101. "Kaa," yuk-na,
ask now oldest you said-he

"bilahi ka ma si Nneng Pagi-pagi?" 102. "I'!
want you Nneng Pagipagi Ee

pamagay-ku," yuk-na, "bang pahi?" 103. "Kaa,"
for-what-me said-she if sting-ray you

yuk-na, "pat'ngnga', bilahi ka," yuk-na, "ma si
said-he middle-one want you said-he

Nneng Pagi-pagi?" 104. "Mbal," yuk-na. 105. Pagga'
Nneng Pagipagi no said-she when

sel katapusan damuli. 106. "Na," yuk-na, "kka,"
Sir last-one final now said-he you

yuk-na. 107. "Bilahi ka ma si Nneng Pagi-pagi?"
said-he want you Nneng Pagipagi

108. "Bang," yuk-na, "kög-na maka baya'. 109. Bang
if said-she joy-your and desire if

kabayaanbi na bilahi na aku. 110. Bang mbal isab
desire-you now want now I if not also

brings you here?"

95. "Yes, your High-
ness," Miskinan

answered. 96. "I do
have a matter to dis-
cuss with you. 97. My
business with you,"
he said, "was that I
had thought of asking
on N.P.'s behalf if
it would be, uh, if
he could marry your
daughter." 98. "Give
me a bit of time,"
said the sultan.

99. "Let me have long
enough to just ask my
three daughters about
it." 100. He asked his
oldest daughter first.
101. "You; do you fan-
cy N.P.?" 102. "Ugh!
What good is a sting-
ray to me?" she re-
plied. 103. "What
about you?" he asked
the middle daughter.
"Do you fancy N.P.?"

104. "No," she replied.
105. So it came to
youngest, the last
daughter's turn. 106.
"Now, what about you?"
asked the sultan.

107. "Would you like
to marry N.P.?" 108. "If
it makes you happy and
you want it," she
answered. 109. "If it's
what you want, then I
want to also." 110. "On
the other hand, if you
don't want it, neither
do I."

kabayaambi du mbal aku."
desire-your not I

111. "Na," yuk-na, "taima' kam. 112. Ia sa
now said-he accept-you the
taiwa' kam subay," yuk-na, "aniya' luma' bulawan.
accept you should said-he exist house gold
113. Subay," yuk-na, "kapanyapan kamemon," yuk-na,
should said-he furnished all said-he
"tabowanu." 114. Yuk-na, "Tangu kami," yuk tagdapu
bring-you said-he delay we said owner
anak i', iya si Kiskisan maka si Miskinan.
child that the Kiskisan and Miskinan
115. Amole' na, 116. Yuk-na, "Nneng Pagi-pagi,
went-home now said-he Nneng Pagipagi
taima' na kita," yuk-na, "sagwa' subay," yuk-na,
accept now we said-he but should said-he
"kita kasokatan luma' bulawan." 117. Na manjari
we bride-priced house gold now so-then
itu sel yuk-na, "K'llo'anbi p'ttung i'.
here Sir said-he get-you bamboo that
118. Bila'un ina' dakayu' p'ttung i' da-honga'
break mother one bamboo that one-
i'. 119. Ukayun-bi kono' bang ai ma
section there open-you please if what
deyomna ilu." 120. Pagbila' itu sel baanan
inside-its there when-broken here Sir
bulawan. 121. Aho'. 122. Manjari itu agtuwi
gold yes now-then here immed.
sali' kinoblaan aa ma deyom paglahat.
like startled people inside country
123. "Niangay," yuk-na, "pahi buwattitu,"
how said-he stingray like-this
yuk-na, "makabak pangalta' itu?" 124. Na
said-he able-to-find wealth this now

111. "Alright," said
the Sultan to N.P.'s
parents, "you are ac-
cepted. 112. The con-
ditions of acceptance
however are that you
should bring me a gold
house. 113. It must be
completely furnished
through-out," he added.
114. "Give us time,"
responded Kiskisan and
Miskinan, the one's
responsible for the
boy. 115. Home they
went. 116. "N.P.,"
they said, "we have
been accepted, but
there has to be a bride-
price of a gold house."
117. At that N.P. said,
"Bring that bamboo.
118. Mother, you break
open one of those sec-
tions. 119. Open it up
and just see what is
inside." 120. When they
had broken it there was
gold inside. 121. Yes,
gold. 122. Well when
that happened all the
people in the village
were very surprised.
123. "How in the world
could a stingray like
this get such a for-
tune?" they said. 124.
Anyhow N.P.'s proposal
was accepted. 125.
"Let's get married,"
he said, "on the fifth
day from now."

taima' na. 125. Yuk-na, "Magkawin kita-bi,"
accepted now said-he marry we

yuk-na, "ma lima," yuk si Nneng Pagi-pagi i'.
said-he at fifth said Nneng Pagipagi there

126. Ah bang kale-nu magkawin na magindaginis
ah if here-you wedding now variety

na itu sel. 127. Maglabot aa kamemon na
now here Sir feasted people all now

i'. 128. Tabowa na saga tahinangan-na dakayu'
there bring now plural made-for-him one

luma' bulawan sultan inan. 129. Paghinang luma'
house gold sultan there having-made house

bulawan magtuwi yuk-i', "Na buwattingga," yuk-na,
gold immed. said-he now how said-he

"bang kam magpun na?" 130. "Sagarin na," yuk-na,
if you marry now never mind said-he

131. "bang kami," yuk-na, "magpun," iya yuk-na,
when we said-he marry the said-he

"palege aku," yuk-na, "ma lumpang-lumpang-ku.
lie I said-he in large-basin-my

132. Magkote-kotek na pa'in aku."
flap-fins now contin. I

133. Taabut sel limam-bahangi pagpun,
reach Sir five-nights marry

p'ddahan na palitaan ma deom luma' e' Sultan.
extinguish now lamp inside house by Sultan

134. Sinib na anak siyali e' siyaka-na d'nda
spy now child youngest by eldest-her female

i'. 135. Yuk-na, "Appa', appa'." 136. Magbati' na.
there said-she Father Father woke-up now

137. Magbati' na ma deyom bilik. 138. Yuk-na,
woke-up now inside room said-she

"Appa', appa'." 139. "Ai?" yuk-na. 140. "Niangay,"
Father Father what said-he how

126. Oh what a wonderful thing to hear all the variety of the wedding celebrations! 127. All the people who came were well-feasted. 128. The gold house that they had made for the Sultan was delivered. 129. When it was completed the Sultan asked, 130. "How are you going to marriage when you are married?" 130. N.P. replies, "Don't worry, 131. when we are married I'll just lie down in my basin as usual, 132. flapping my fins.

133. When the five days had passed and they were married, the Sultan put out all the lights in the house. 134. The eldest daughter, however, spied on her youngest sister. 135. "Hey Father! Father!" she called. 136. They woke up. 137. Everybody in the room woke up. 138. "Father, Father!" she cried. 139. "What is it?" he asked. 140. "How come my sister's husband isn't a

yuk-na, "duma'in na ka pahi h'lla," yuk-na,
said-she not now stingray husband said-she

"siyali-ku? 141. Aa na," yuk-na. 142. "Ah," yuk
younger-my man now said-she ah said

anu i', yuk sultan i'. 143. "Ah pahi
thingammy there said sultan there ah stingray

i'," yuk-na. 144. "Duma'in ka ba," yuk-na.
that said-he not so said-she

145. "Dai' ka ba. 146. Sib-sibun." 147. Ninda'
come-here you spy look

na sali' ma deyom bilik buwatti'. 148. Na ai
now like inside room like-that now what

pag'nda'nda' itu sel? 149. Pag'nda' itu sel
see here Sir when-look here Sir

duma'in pahi. 150. Manusiya' na. 151. L'lla na.
not stingray human now man now

152. Nsa' sali'-na. 153. Nsa' aniya' ma deyom dunya.
no like-him not exists inside world

154. Apote' na. 155. Ahap l'lla.
white now good man

156. Na pinagsiyum na maina'an.
now kissed now there

157. Pinagagawan na. 158. Yuk siyaka, "Aku,"
grabbed now said eldest I

yuk-na. 159. "Ma aku na," yuk-na, "itu.
said-she for me now said-she this

160. H'lla-ku na, ah," yuk-na. 161. Yuk
husband-my now ah said-she said

t'ngnga'an damikiyan-na. 162. Yuk sultan i',
middle-one likewise said sultan there

"Iya na tuud," yuk-na, "sukud ma siyali'-bi
that really said-he fortune of younger-your

ilu," yuk-na.
there said-he

stingray anymore?"
she demanded. 141. "He
is a human being."
142. "Oh," said the
Sultan, 143. "it's
nothing but a stingray."
144. "You are mistaken,"
she insisted. 145.
"Come here 146. and
peep." 147. So the
Sultan looked into
the room; 148. and
what did he see? 149.
What he saw was not a
stingray; 150. it was
a human being. 151. A
man 152. beyond com-
pare. 153. He had no
equal in all the
world; 154. fairskinned
155. and handsome.

156. The two of them
kissed right there,
157. but the other
two daughters started
to struggle for him.
158. The eldest said,
"Me!" 159. "He's mine,"
she said. 160. "He's my
husband now." 161. The
middle daughter said
exactly the same. 162.
But the Sultan, he said,
"As a matter of fact
it's just your younger
sister's good fortune."

163. Na angkan ko' aa bang aniya'
now that's-why people when exists
- pahi, amusay kaut. 164. Tinugpangan e'-siga.
stingray paddle seawards claim by-them
165. Kin'llo' h'lla parahal pahi.
get husband even-though stingray
166. Na ambat siga binuwatte' ambat siga
now the-more they do-like-that the-more they
- pali'an. 167. Amatay e' pahi.
wounded killed by stingray
163. And that is the reason whenever people see a sting-ray out at sea they paddle after it, 164. and when they get to it they claim it, 165. thinking that they might get it as a husband, even tho' it is nothing but a stingray. 166. And of course the more they do that the more they get wounded, 167. and killed by stingrays.

NOTES

1. Summary of the Sama Culture

The 300,000 Sama people of the Philippines live in Sulu and several places round the Mindanao coast. Most of them are oriented to the sea; about 80,000 of them living in pile villages just off shore from the many islands of the Sulu archipelago. These are referred to as Sama Dilaut, (Sea Sama) and Jaji who told this story is one of them. Their whole economy is based on a protein-starch exchange with land oriented people.

The men are usually fishermen, and use a patrilineally inherited fishing technique - trap, net, line or spear fishing. The sea is their home and that is where they feel at ease and it is the rare Sama Dilaut who chooses to sleep ashore when he could sleep in the safety of his boat or sea house.

The Sama Dilaut of the Siasi lagoon area (Central Sulu), have conventionalized relationships of a limited nature (mainly economic) with land-based Tausugs who speak a different language.

The villages in the Siasi lagoon area have populations of 1500 to 4000. Each village is segmented according to kindred lines, with the segmentation reflected in fishing methods. Houses within each segment are connected by narrow bridges. Adjacent clusters will have very little to do with each other because the Sama regards himself as responsible only to his fairly wide circle of kin and not to the outsider even though he may live only a few yards away and speak the same language. Leadership is exercised by an elder of each kindred who deals with low-level civil problems. Kindreds tend to be endogamous.

The hearth religion of the Sama Dilaut is worship of ancestral spirits. This religion has an elaborate set of rituals to cover every aspect of life from birth to the grave. In addition to their basic animism the Sama Dilaut are professing Muslims. Like many other Muslim groups of S.E. Asia it is the disposition to be Muslim that counts rather than orthodoxy.

2. The Story Teller

Jaji, a male Sama Dilaut of about 40 years, told us this story in 1966. It was not a natural setting for story-telling because we asked him to tell us some stories in order to record them on tape.

He would be regarded as one of the good story-tellers and has a wide repertoire of stories like this one, stories about past events and we have seen him make his own experiences into great stories.

He got this story from his aunt who lived in Sisangat, another village in the Siasi lagoon area. I don't know if he regards the story as true or not. He does use the word kono 'reportedly' a few times, (see sentences 48 and 59), which means he is disclaiming responsibility for the truth of what he said. But in sentences 60 and 126 he speaks as if he was really there. 'If you Sir (recorder) had seen the things they were bringing' and 'If you'd heard Sir all the variety of the wedding celebrations'.

3. Analysis of the Story

I am going to go through the story and make comments on some of the tensions of Sama life reflected in the story and so show something about the Sama culture. Because I haven't compared it with the same story in other cultures my conclusions can only be regarded as tentative.

The second part of this section will be a comment on the explanation of the story as given by Jaji in the final sentences.

a) Areas of tension in the Sama Culture

This and all other stories that I know of do not deal with the two main areas of concern in the life of the Sama Dilaut, i.e. sickness and death. Maybe this is because, as Melville Jacobs says, the Sama like the Clackamas accept the availability and efficiency of their shamans. The Sama however, do not fear their shamans and so would not be afraid to tell stories about them, but they certainly are afraid of offending the spirits.

1) Birth The act of birth is a time of concern. Even though the Sama have their own midwives there is always the possibility of problems arising and there is the fear that the child born will not be healthy and complete. The period from conception to the purification of the mother after birth is attended by a great deal of care and ritual

prescriptions to minimise the risks of childbirth and to ensure that the newborn child will be healthy.

When this stingray was born it was not surprising that some friends recommended getting rid of it. Sama do not kill deformed children but it does seem the case that they are not as well cared for as healthy children and so fall prey more easily to sicknesses that lead to death.

2) Youth to adulthood When a young man becomes an adult in the eyes of the community is a question that every Sama youth asks. Finally it is decided by the youth himself and in making his own decision about wanting to go on a fishing trip with his cousins Nneng Pagipagi behaved like a typical Sama youth. See under 4): one of the virtues expected in young men is independence.

3) The go-between In sentence 22 Nneng Pagipagi used his father as a go-between when requesting permission from his cousins to accompany them on a fishing trip. This meant he could be refused and yet not 'lose face'. Also by sending his father he would not be shamed because of his deformity. It should be noted that the use of a go-between is common throughout all Philippine cultures and so cannot be regarded as peculiar to the Sama Dilaut.

The other occasion when a go-between was used was when Nneng Pagipagi (s. 85) asked his parents to go and request his marriage to the Sultan's daughter. Here he was acting in a distinctly unSama way. Usually the uncles of the boy go through a long process of negotiation with the uncles of the prospective bride and the young people don't have much say in the matter at all. Certainly the parents of the boy do not initiate the arrangements. I have no explanation for this unusual behaviour by the parents, unless the original form (possibly not from the Sama culture) has persisted.

4) Attitude to parents As long as adults are fulfilling their role as providers they are regarded with respect by the younger generation. On the other hand parents seem to give in easily to the wishes of their children. So we see Nneng Pagipagi telling his parents what to do and them obeying him, and on the other hand we see the Sultan's daughter wanting only to please her parents even if it means marrying a stingray. In Sama society one of the virtues of a young Sama woman is to be teachable and obedient, and during our ten years amongst the Sama we have not seen a Sama girl acting in defiance of her parents' wishes. However, one of the secondary virtues looked for in a Sama youth is independence, which shows he has reached adulthood.

It is interesting to note here that the reward of the obedient daughter of the Sultan was this wonderful man who used to be a stingray. His main attributes were a handsome appearance and a fair skin. Sama regard fair smooth skin as a real sign of beauty. That is why many of them put on a mask of rice paste at night because this helps to bleach and soften the skin.

5) Success in fishing The Sama say that good fortune comes from God and they generally play down any success they have had. In s. 57 Nneng Pagipagi answers the question as to what he is doing, with, "I'm just a poor person, just gathering a little bamboo," and then adds, "There is a God above. If I am to come into good fortune, then I'll come into good fortune, no matter what." This is in keeping with the attitude we have seen amongst the Sama. A man coming home laden with fish when asked how many he caught replies, "There are some, just enough to buy some food." The Sama hold the notion of limited good, so boasting about success one day is to invite a compensatory poor catch the following day.

Another tension revealed in this part of the story is the uncertainty of the outcome of any major economic venture. A Sama goes into debt before leaving on one of his long fishing trips in order to leave money with his wife and to buy provisions and equipment for himself. He doesn't know how much success he will have, and even if he will catch enough fish to pay back the money he borrowed. So when the men in s. 65 brought back many arrival gifts there was great rejoicing for a really successful trip.

It should be noted that in s. 79 Nneng Pagipagi was acting in a truly Sama way when he told his mother to bring the pieces of bamboo into the house. When a man gets back even from a day's fishing it is proper for his mother, sister or wife to help bring up into the house his paddle, fish kept for the family's meal, fishing gear and anything he bought at the market after he sold his fish. We saw a marriage break up because for one thing the wife refused to help her husband in this way.

6) Getting a wife Here now is a real area of tension in Sama life, and unlike birth and death it is something that can be manipulated. The aim of the uncles of any young man is to get him safely married to a girl who is the best one they can afford. There are no restrictions on marrying 'up' provided they can afford the bride price. The uncles of the girl want the marriage arrangements to be settled for the highest possible price because this reflects on the worth of the girl. (Although the uncles share in the bride price it cannot be regarded as a particularly profitable business. Most of the money is spent on the wedding celebration.)

Nneng Pagipagi was certainly marrying as high as he could go, but because he was able to come up with the fantastically expensive bride price the Sultan was happy enough to accept him as his son-in-law. In s. 129 however, the question is raised by the father of the bride as to how Nneng Pagipagi is going to consummate the marriage, him being a stingray! This too is an area of tension in the Sama's life. Jaji himself confessed that he didn't have intercourse with his new wife during the first few weeks when they lived with her family, and all slept in the same room. He said he was so shy he went off on a fishing trip! Sama regard this shyness as something to be expected

in the early days of married life. Generally relatives do not spy on the newly wed couple as did the eldest sister in the story.

7) Magic It is interesting to see that in this story and some others that have magical items or events there is no explanation given for the origin of the magic. No donor figure appears. Inexplicably a talking stingray is born of human parents. In a magical way he gains two bamboo sections full of gold. It doesn't say if he found them or earned the gold by selling the bamboo he was busily cutting down. It is not told either how he managed to make a gold house, complete with all its furnishings, out of the gold from two small bamboo sections. Also there is no explanation given for the miraculous transformation from stingray to handsome human. It is never suggested that he was under a spell, but putting curses or spells on people is found amongst the Sama.

Maybe the inexplicable magical happenings reflect the Sama fatalistic attitude to life. Success is out of their hands (see under 4) and even magic doesn't have to be explained. This attitude is expressed in Nneng Pagipagi's words (sentence 89) 'If God has any power at all we will be accepted by the Sultan.'

b) Explanation of the story

The story teller's conclusion (153-163) interprets the story as providing a rationale for the behaviour of Sama women when a stingray is sighted out at sea. I can only assume, not having witnessed any such occasion, that the story teller is talking sincerely about a folk-belief, namely that every stingray is a potentially wonderful husband. There is no doubt that Sama Dilaut men are more pragmatic in this respect. After politely asking for forgiveness, since stingrays are members of the class of creatures dignified by the title of Grandfather (= ancestor), they proceed to harpoon any one they can catch and load it into their canoes. Stingrays are a valuable source of food.