

BAGOBO RIDDLES

By E. ARSENIO MANUEL
University of the Philippines
Quezon City, Philippines

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Background.

The bulk of the riddles in this collection was gathered during an ethnographic field work among the upland Bagobo of north-western Davao province, Mindanao, during the period from April to June 1956 made possible through a research grant given by the Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines. Later, Mr. Saddani Pagayaw, my guide and assistant, added more riddles which have been duly incorporated in this compendium.*

This paper, which is exploratory in intention, forms part of a series of studies on Bagobo culture. An initial study on the Bagobo folk epic *Tuwaang*, including text and translation into English of one complete song has already been published previously.¹ Another work that is being readied for publication is a collection of Bagobo folk tales, also one of the results of this field work. This collection consists of thirty-six prose narratives including a genealogy of *Tuwaang*, the central figure of the epic just mentioned and the culture hero of the Bagobo people.

2. The Atukon or Bagobo Riddle.

In so far as I am aware, this is the first collection of Bagobo riddles to appear in print. Previous studies by Fr. Mateo

* In the gathering and interpretation of these riddles, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my Bagobo friends, especially Saddani Pagayaw, Lumayon Lambayon, Salin'u Paniyungan, and Siawan Sanggulan.

1. See *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky*, first published in *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, v. 22, no. 4 (Dec. 1957), pp. 435-497; and then revised (Quezon City, Univ. of the Philippines Press, 1958; vii, 70 pp.).

Gisbert,² Laura Watson Benedict,³ and Fay-Cooper Cole⁴ dealt with the language, folklore and religion, and the general culture respectively of the Bagobo people, but not one of these works contains any specimens of Bagobo riddle, nor any reference to it. In fact Fr. Gisbert's *Diccionario Bagobo-Español* (1892), although it is supposed to be a dictionary, does not register the Bagobo term for riddle which is *atukon*. This *Diccionario*, however, records *atoc* with two meanings—"profetizar" and "opuesto". The first meaning appears to have a closer connotation to the morpheme *atoc* or *atuk*, which I have found to be the wordbase of *atukon*, riddle.

From the examples in this compilation one would notice that there are a number of riddles which start with *atuka ru* (see Nos. 11b, 43, 48, 50a, 50b, 81, 87, 121, 131b, 151), meaning "you guess what it is," or with the phrase *atuka ru sa* (see Nos. 12, 104, 137), with an identical meaning. Sometimes this introductory line is shortened to *atuka* (see No. 127), *atukaw* (examples in Nos. 3, 91), or *atukaw sa* (Nos. 25, 28, 79b, 135b), which all amount to "you guess." While the Bagobo riddle, I suppose, would normally have such an initial line to start the riddle proper with, the compilation does not show that this is the typical pattern in practice. I observed, for instance, that while an incoming participant in riddle making would start his or her riddle with any of these initial phrases, he would not do it when propounding more riddles, or he would only do it at distant intervals. The moment the game of riddling has gained momentum, the participants would just rehearse their stock of riddles one after the other without the introductory line.

3. Riddling in its Social Context.

Riddle making requires no special occasion, nor any par-

2. See his *Diccionario Bagobo-Español* (Manila, Establ. tipo-lito. de Ramirez y Comp., 1892; 64 + pp.); and *Diccionario Español-Bagobo* (Manila, Establ.-tipo. de J. Marty, 1892; xvi, 188 + pp.).

3. See her "Bagobo Myths," *Journal of American Folklore*, v. 26 (1913), pp. 13-63; and *A Study of Bagobo Ceremonial, Magic and Myth* (being v. 25, 1916, of the Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences).

4. See his *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* (being v. 12, no. 2, Sept. 1914, of the Anthropological Series, Field Museum of Natural History.)

ticular social setting, as is found in other Filipino societies.⁵ It may start with younger folks or children, either during some kind of activity like playing house, chatting around the fireplace, waiting for a turn to pound rice, fetching water, or while delousing one another or weaving, occupations of no strenuous nature; or while they are completely at rest after lunch is over. After the impulse is set by young people, the older folks get stimulated somewhat to soon enlist their participation, active or mediocre, depending upon the kind of engagement they are occupied in at the moment.

Any gathering of people where there are children is likely to create an interest in riddle making after the news reports have been exhausted, or the longer tales have been told. These are propitious times for riddle making. There is, however, but one occasion when propounding riddles is not favored, and that is during evenings. This period seems to be the proper time for other more engaging activities such as story telling and epic singing, especially so when there are bigger gatherings.⁶ The old folks say that riddles should only be posed during the day because bad spirits might participate without the knowledge of the riddlers and may charge them, "If you cannot answer my riddle, I shall devour you."

Young people derive a lot of fun from riddle making and so also the older folks. In this connection it should be said that the Bagobo uplanders have not many outlets for amusing themselves. They have not many games, to start with, and these are chiefly for growing people; they have no drama to speak of; therefore, their sources of entertainment are very limited indeed. Although some individuals have an extensive repertoire of songs, I did not have much occasion to hear them, except the singing of *Tuwaang* songs which I consider the most meaningful artistic activity of these people, socially speaking. So riddle making has a place and a role in this society, a point which will be dealt more

5. Among the Remontados, a pagan Tagalog group, of Montalban, Rizal province, for instance, riddling is taboo except when there is a dead person in the house. Among Christian Tagalogs this rigid custom has become relaxed in varying degrees. But among the Ibaloy, solving riddles is indulged around the death chair (see C.R. Moss, "Nabaloi Law and Ritual," *Univ. of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Oct. 28, 1920), p. 230.

6. See my "Introduction" to *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky* (1958).

in detail later. In a contest, unanswered riddles are counted against the participant who may be called *ka'ay'awan ka*, which is close to "you lack intellect," or "you lack imagination." Though such a dubbing may not start a quarrel, it prompts the unwitty, or sharpens individual and social consciousness to the value of learning traditions.

There is another motivation for acquiring a knowledge of riddles which shows that this activity has developed chiefly for entertainment. The older folks may give "green" riddles to arouse humour or laughter. In this compilation, however, only three riddles of this kind have been recorded (see Nos. 41, 82, and 134). I suspect that there should be more, but I felt that there was some inhibition on the part of my informants. It can be added, however, that salacious riddles are not the rule.⁷

4. The Collection and Informants.

Of the 180 specimens in this collection, 153 are base riddles and 27 are variants. When more informants conform to the wording of any riddle than any variant, I call this a base riddle, which may not necessarily mean the original or older form. Of this total 165 were contributed by forty-six male informants and only 15 by seven female riddlers. From this figure I should not make any inferences, because I had the feeling that during my stay of two months I was not able to elicit any fairly excellent response from the opposite sex. Besides, I should state that I think had not covered an area wide enough to warrant definitive statements with regard to Bagobo riddles, nor do I feel sure that I had exhausted even the stock of riddles that my informants had. For the purpose of the record, however, I am listing hereunder my resource persons, indicating therein their contributions at the same time. Another reason for not making an analysis is the fact that the collecting was done with pressure technique, using dragnet methods, and not under normal conditions. That is to say, folks were "herded" in story-telling or riddling sessions and asked to recall and contribute their stock of tales or riddles,

7. There is a taint of impudicity even in the folktales, which Bagobos relish in a spirit of healthy enjoyment. From our *Upland Bagobo Narratives* (unpublished), there is the story of Bulari' who used the clitoris of his mother for a bait, and there is "The Adulteress Rat" among thirty-six folktales in this collection.

hence the informants were under some kind of stress. And then many of them could not stay long enough during these rehearsals.

Name	Sex	Age	Number of Riddles Contributed	Total Count: Base Variant
1 Saddani Pagayaw	m	29	1a, 4c, 8, 9, 20, 29, 38b, 53, 55, 57, 59a, 64, 72, 76, 79a, 85, 88a, 89, 99, 100, 110, 118, 129, 133, 135a, 147, 152b.....	24 5
2 Lumayon Lambayon	m	22	1b, 39, 44a, 67, 74, 77, 81, 88b, 92, 113, 122a, 126, 135c,	19 3
3 Impunan Suhat	f	15	2, 27b, 50b, 121, 151.....	3 2
4 Sumandang Pagayaw	m	35	3, 7, 119, 123, 141	5
5 Engket Tumanding	m	27	4a, 28, 79b, 91, 135b.....	3 2
6 Lisada' Pandoy	m	55	4b	1
7 Ubpay Lumunday	m	18	4d, 5b, 15b, 130	1 3
8 Kamansa' Bansilan	m	20	5a, 117	2
9 Attus Bintayaw	m	51	6, 14, 40, 116	4
10 Adton Ibuk	m	21	15a, 69, 96, 102, 105, 106b.....	5 1
11 Tambaa' Lambayon	m	29	10a, 26, 86, 94, 140, 144, 152a...	7
12 Sasaw Suhat	m	50	10b, 34, 75, 145a.....	3 1
13 Dangginon Ipa	m	37	11a.....	1
14 Tambunan Manlatas	m	37	11b, 43, 131b4 137	2 2
15 Kawata' Dumay	m	21	12, 37, 98, 109.....	4
16 Panus Lasambung	m	34	13, 21, 112.....	3
17 Gabaw Duhinay	m	50	16, 90, 132.....	3
18 Palaytu' Avaw	m	15	17	1
19 Salin'u Paniyungan	m	23	18, 36, 49, 61, 68, 101, 107, 114, 115, 125, 142, 145b.....	11 1
20 Mahullayon Bintayaw	m	45	19, 35, 41, 63, 108, 134, 153.....	7
21 Ukuman Suhat	m	25	22	1
22 Umbuan Lamunay	m	19	23	1
23 Sambilawan Unsang	m	50	24a.....	1
24 Siawan Sanggulian	m	20	24b 32, 46, 80, 84, 93, 103, 128, 149	8 1
25 Miding Suhat	f	13	25, 42, 104.....	3
26 Unggad Katabman	m	45	27a.....	1
27 Galingga' lgad	f	40	30	1
28 Aman Angkaab	m	48	31, 47, 58, 65, 78, 88c.....	5 1
29 Adim Umbaoy	m	43	33, 106a	2
30 Amba' Uyaw	m	34	38a, 62.....	2
31 Ikok Latihan	m	14	44b, 139	1 1
32 Banayaw Manlikay	m	16	45	1

33	Latihan Landim	m	70	48, 59b.....	1	1
34	Anggusong Bayantung	m	37	50a, 87.....	2	
35	Inog Arayam	m	42	50c, 95b	2	
36	Baylon Sambilawan	m	30	511, 54, 122b, 143	3	1
37	Taysan Ayu'	m	35	52	1	
38	Aring Suhat	f	25	56, 66, 97	3	
39	Ikney Suhat	f	22	60	1	
40	Salantay Manlamongan	m	31	70	1	
41	Ayug Ammad	m	23	71, 138.....	2	
42	Batooy Main	m	18	73	1	
43	Tunggay Suhat	m	60	82	1	
44	Utay Suhat	m	14	83	1	
45	Awian Buwisan	m	30	95a.....	1	
46	Adu' Lavawan	m	17	111, 120	2	
47	Ulidan Dahinsa:	f	12	124	1	
48	Samura' Pagayaw	f	32	127	1	
49	Katawanan Mangal	m	30	131a	1	
50	Mampu'Basu:	m	30	131c	1	
51	Lambayon Mudim	m	73	136, 148	2	
52	Duyan Suhat	m	65	149.....	1	
53	Uyaw Maliggatung	m	44	150.....	1	

A breakdown of the contributions by age groups shows that the largest number comes from the 21-30 years old bracket. A summary is given below:

Age Group	Total No. of Riddlers	Contributions:	
		Base Riddles	Variants
11 - 20 years old.....	13.....	26.....	7
21 - 30 " "	15.....	16.....	12
31 - 40 " "	10.....	10.....	2
41 - 50 " "	9	13.....	4
51 - 60 years old.....	3	5	1
61 - 70 " "	2	2	1
71 - 80 " "	1	2	0

Of these 53 informants, only three had gone to school (Saddani Pagayaw at the time of gathering being a college student, Lisada' Pandoy having studied at the Central Luzon Agricultural School, and Salin'u Paniyungan had gone to a local elementary school). Among these folks are also story tellers. In fact Mahullayon Bintayaw was the source of four folktales, Adtum Ibuk of three folktales, and Aring Suhat, Lumayon Latihan, Ukuman Suhat,

Impunan Suhat, Tambaa' Lambayon, Attus Bintayaw, Salin'u Paniyungan, Sasaw Suhat, Saddani Pagayaw, Adim Umbaoy, and Ayug Ammad contributing a folk story each to our *Upland Bagobo Narratives*. Two of them, Aring Suhat and Tunggay Suhat, niece and uncle, are well known epic singers. Besides, Saddani Pagayaw was the immediate source of *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky*.

5. Riddling and other Folk Arts.

Notwithstanding the limitations under which this collection of riddles was made, I wish to offer the following general observations on the relationship between riddle making and other aesthetic activities in Bagobo society. It could be said that every Bagobo knows a number of riddles, the greatest number contributed to this collection being twenty-four riddles from the store of Saddani Pagayaw, my guide and assistant. This resource person was with me, however, during almost two months of ethnographic work, whereas most of the other folks were in the vicinity of my activity for less than a day at most. Although more than twenty of these informants appear on record to have contributed only one riddle each, this was not actually the case for a number of the riddles were known to every one; however, these riddles could not be credited to them simply because they had already been given previously.

Whereas every person knows a number of riddles, not everyone can sing. Singing as an art appeared to me as limited to a few individuals who have a good voice to start with, or had developed the same quite early through contact with singers. So I should say that riddle making is a more popular pastime with these people than any other oral form of folk literature, and for that reason, it is likely to last longer as a traditional vehicle. Also, every Bagobo knows a number of folk stories, at least in this upland area. Not everyone would tell his stock of tales—many were shy, or were timid in a face-to-face dealing with a newcomer, or were taken aback by a sudden request for stories and if ever they could pull up enough nerves to tell them, these were in abbreviated or incomplete form. Then the people know their mythology or segments of the same. But there are very few persons who could sing their epic, *Tuwaang*.^{7a} This

7a. See "Introduction" to *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky* (1958). There was no singer found, however, who could sing the whole epic.

fact may be attributed to vocal limitations and other factors, for we had recorded a number of prose versions of the narrative songs abridged by descendants of epic singers.⁸

But it appeared to me that there were as many people who could dance as those who could play any musical instrument. The explanation seems to be that the playing of any instrument is closely connected with the dance, although there were old men who would prefer to play a wind instrument rather than dance. I saw more women dancers than men. However, the practitioners of the dance outnumber the epic singers, and do also the instrumentalists, whether these handled percussion, wind, or string instruments. Of these aesthetic manifestations, it seems to me that epic singing is the most demanding of individual talent and personal qualifications.

II. THE RIDDLES

6. Text and Orthography.

There is some simplification in the orthography of the text, but a complete phonemization of Bagobo is yet a task to be accomplished. The symbol *o* representing a sound between the Tagalog sounds *a* and *o*, used in *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky* (1958), is being abandoned for *a*, its allophone. The sounds *b* and *v* are allophones of *b*, but have been maintained as symbols in the present text whenever phonetically present. Contiguous vowels are really separated by a glottal catch represented by ', but the latter sound is weak in many instances, necessitating its omission. The period, used in our work previously cited to indicate a long vowel sound is now replaced by the colon, for the Bagobo long vowel is longer than the orthodox penultimate stress in Tagalog.^{8a}

The riddles are transcribed into lines following pauses made by the riddler, although punctuation marks to indicate such pauses have not been adopted except in very rare cases. The

8. Of the thirty-six stories in *Upland Bagobo Narratives*, some thirteen folktales appear to be derived from the Bagobo epic cycle or are related directly to this epic.

8a. Which stress has already been symbolized by Leonard Bloomfield (*Language*, 1933, p. 173, 310) by a colon and followed by other students of Philippine language like Harold C. Conklin, "Tagalog Speech Disguise," *Language*, v. 32, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1956), pp. 136-139.

division into lines is therefore our own making, but for a reason already mentioned. The exception is when the riddle is in the form of a question, as in Nos. 115 and 124, where there is no marked stopping between any two terms.

7. The Translation.

In making an English rendition of the Bagobo texts, the same principles were followed as in *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky*, without being too literally rigid, but at the same time sticking to a line by line translation. There was not much freedom doing this as the main goal was to make as faithful a rendition of the Bagobo meaning as was possible at our command. Bagobo proper names and other terms were left alone untranslated most often.

8. Arrangement.

The riddles have been arranged according to the solutions in Bagobo, as the texts occupy the first column. To obviate inconvenience to English users that this arrangement will entail, an alphabetical list of answers in English is provided for in Part III. The Lehmann-Nitsche system of classification of riddles, now widely adopted by riddle scholars, could have been utilized, but as this is but a small collection it was thought best to postpone this to a later date when the wealth of Bagobo enigmatic lore shall by then have been fully tapped.^{8b}

9. The Riddles.

BAGOBO TEXT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
A:D ⁹	FENCE
<i>Dullug inis bakassan,</i>	1a As that python crawls,
<i>Kahat dad ta ikug din.</i>	It soon bites its own tail.
	1b As this python crawls,
<i>Addullug ini bakassan,</i>	
<i>Kahat dad ta ikug din.</i>	

8b. As Archer Taylor, world authority on the riddle, Univ. of California, once wrote the writer. "The chief thing is to get the texts into print, and only the large cumulative collections need, I think, be classified elaborately" (Berkeley, California, Oct. 30, 1958).

9. The colon is used in the Bagobo text to indicate vowel length which is phonemically significant in the Bagobo language and which appears longer than the penultimately stressed vowel in Tagalog (also

It soon bites its own tail.¹⁰

AHUNG

*Atuka ru sa*¹¹
Anak ta mahindanaw
Na ahad iddat sa:ysay
Naddinog tadsinaggaw.

GONG

2 You guess what it is
 Magindanaw child¹²
 As far even as Sa:ysay¹³
 Could be heard its cry.

ALLAW

Ad'ipanaw ini datu',
Adpangarap sa lahat.

SUN

3 When this datu travels,¹⁴
 Everyone pays obeisance.

ALLAW UWOY BULLI'

*Atukaw.*¹⁵

symbolized by a colon by other students of Philippine languages; see footnote 8a. This is a modification of the period after the vowel used in our previous work (see *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky*, 1958, already cited).

10. As the fence is finished by sticking the last stakes into the ground, the horizontal pieces are securely fastened to the initial stakes finalizing the enclosure and thus making the resolution of the riddle a perfect one in the Bagobo mind. In my judgment this is one of the most beautifully conceived of pieces in the collection.

11. A way of starting a riddle, the phrase *atuka ru* being derived from *atuk* guess+*ka* you+*ru* it.

12. One of the ethnic groups in west central Mindanaw (see H. Otley Beyer, *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916*, Manila 1917, p. 52). The line shows the upland Bagobos of Davao province are familiar with the Magindanaws. In fact the large bronze gongs that the Bagobos have in their households were trade items coming from that direction. In folk tales (see my *Upland Bagobo Narratives*, MS) and other songs of the *Tuwaang* epic cycle the Magindanaws are mentioned, sometimes as enemies.

13. Name of a place southeast of and below the Dallag plateau where these riddles were mostly collected. This place-name is a variable element and so may be changed for another by the riddler to suit the locale.

14. The *datu* is a powerful and respected individual in upland Bagobo society. If he has the personal attributes, he may exercise political, judicial, police, and religious powers.

15. Another phrase starting a riddle, similar to *atuka ru*; *atukaw* comes from *atuk* guess+*kaw* you.

*Sanga supan*¹⁶ *boggas*
*Na sanga supan kabba:*¹⁷

*Sakkad na supak*¹⁸ *boggas*,
*Sakkad na supak langnga'*¹⁹

Sakkad na supan boggas
Uwoy sakkad na supan kabba:

Sakkad na supak boggas
*Na sakkad na supak bottom.*²⁰

DAY AND NIGHT

- 4a You guess what it is.
 One chupa of hulled rice
 And one chupa of millet.
- 4b One chupa of hulled rice,
 One chupa of sesame.
- 4c One chupa of hulled rice
 And one chupa of millet.
- 4d One chupa of hulled rice
 And one chupa of bottom grain.²¹

ALLAW UWOY BULLI'

Na atin addungguk meton na anak
langun tabpatay;

16. From *supa'* cover of a basket the content of which is equivalent to one chupa + *na* connective particle.

17. A shrub commonly planted around the *kaingin* or field which grows as tall as rice. It bears round pods which contain tiny black seeds which are oily. The pods are dried under the sun, the seeds being roasted in a kettle and pounded in a mortar, the paste now mixed with any vegetable food preparation. The meat of the seed is white, the taste like peanut.

18. From *supa'* cover of a basket + *ka* connective particle.

19. Sesame (*Sesamum orientale* L.).

20. Plant taller than rice, its stem without hollow. It is planted around the *kaingin* at the time of rice planting. The grain is small and is pounded in a mortar like rice. The Bagobos cook it like rice.

21. In these four variants, note the constant referent of hulled rice to day and the variable element in the second part of each riddle.

*Na atin addungguk maputin anak,
langut minuvu' agkauyag.*

*Duwon anak ka pomon dini' tidtallak
nagkaumannang ki, langun tabpatay;
Atin ad'ingumaran ka sakkad na anak,
langun tagkauyag.
Duwon anak na pomon dini' tidtallak*

DAY AND NIGHT

5a When the black child arrives,
all die;
When the white child comes,
all the people come to life again.

5b There is a child who comes from the east,
when it reaches us,
all die;
But when the other child arrives,
all revive.

ALLAW UWOY URAN²²

*Ad'ipanaw inis anak na aruwa',
Nadtinundug inis ari' rin nadsinaggaw.*

SUN AND RAIN

6 When these two children travel,
The younger brother follows him crying.

AMBAKKANG

*Layanglayang sa manuk
Na laton mandon palous.²³*

For another example of a variable factor in Bagobo riddling, see note 13 above.

22. When it is raining and the sun is shining at the same time, it is the time when evil spirits move around and travel and the ghosts of the dead come out of their graves. Parents warn their children not to go out or play during this time because they might encounter them and be harmed by these spirits or ghosts.

23. The winged lizard is a small animal with a keel on its back.

WINGED LIZARD

- 7 As the bird flies
It alights again on a post.

ANAK NADSUSU'

*Singkatu' duwa' batang,
Langngag duwa' bituon.*

SUCKLING CHILD

- 8 Leaping on two logs,²⁴
He saw two stars.²⁵

ANGU'²⁶

*Mappiyapiya' na mangovay
Agkaat lawa' rin.*

TORCH

- 9 A very charming girl²⁷
Eating up her own body.

APANG

*Kalasanon ta untud
Na makalanu' kadlanna'.*

*Kalasanon ta untud
Na makadlasay kadlanna'.*

*Kaumpad idda da'ut kawayan
Langut minuvu' agka:nu'.*

*Atukaru.
Agkau:g ka da'ut kawayan
Nagka:nga' sa mahingad.*

It usually alights on trunks of trees, not on branches, so the riddle which appears to be based on this observation.

24. The two logs are the thighs of the mother on which the child is held.

25. The two stars are the nipples of the mother.

26. The torch is made of fresh rattan leaves provided with resin in-between and tied neatly with split rattan vine. The newly made torch can be used immediately because people prefer to use it when fresh, for then it will not burn easily.

27. To a Baggobo the torch so made is beautiful to look at, so the personification here.

LOCUST

- 10a A wild chicken from the sky
Worries people when it comes.
- 10b A wild chicken from the sky
Causes suffering when it comes.
- 11a When these bamboo leaves fall
All men become worried.
- 11b Guess what it is.
Bamboo leaves falling
People worrying.

ATOP UWOY BA:HON

*Atin wara' si kawayway,
Nagkau:g das kataptap.*

ROOF AND RATTAN

- 12 If it were not for kawayway,²⁸
Kataptap²⁹ would have fallen.

APUY

*Anak na mid'aylogga'
Na langut datu' nadka:nga';
Na atin ad'annaw.
Nadkaha:k datu'.*

FIRE

- 13 When this child is lying,
All the datus are unhappy;
But when this child gets up,
The datus are happy.³⁰

A:TTI'

*Abpatongko:y inis datu',
Na kannag kapongnga';*

28, 29. *Kawayway* is a personification of *uway* (rattan), nd *kataptap* of *atop* (roof). There is a wordplay of sounds here suggestive of the answer.

30. That is, when the fire is lying low there is nothing cooking, hence, people will go hungry. The upland Bagobo family keeps a fire-brand always burning under the ashes.

Ka kannad inguma'
Ka sakkad na datu'.

DAMMING IN FISHING

- 14 These datu's foregather,
 But they cannot agree,
 If he does not arrive
 The other datu'.³¹

A'UNG

Mobbava' na lapuk
Kannad kaappus
Kabpannatayan.

Maliblivutut na batang
Na kannag kaappus
Kabpannatayan.

SHADOW

- 15a It is a short log
 Whose end cannot be reached
 By treading over it.
- 15b It is a very short log
 Whose end cannot be reached
 By treading over it.³²

BADSI:

Pamallangay si anaay,
Nabagsayan ni madilay.

BADSI: BIRD

- 16 Anaay³³ is sailing,
 While madilay³⁴ is paddling.³⁵

31. The fishermen here are making a dike of stones, the datu's referred to in the riddle. But unless mud, the other datu, is plastered to the dike, the dam will leak and therefore the hole cannot be dried up and the fishes cannot be caught with the hand. The word *a:tti'* means to dry up. For an analogous riddle, see no. 33, *infra*.

32. People cross kaingins or streams over logs or unburnt tree trunks, forming the stimulus for the riddle.

33, 34. Annay, referring to the wings, and madilay to the tail, are personifications used only in riddle-making. See notes 28 & 29 for other examples.

35. On why this particular bird answers the riddle, Saddani Pagag-

BAHIBBI'

Kayu' ta pattad
Na navuwahuy ka da'un.

BAHIBBI' PALMTREE

17 A tree on the plain
 With leaves outspreading.

BAHIYANG

Abbovaoy ini kanakan
Na atin abpakapongnga'
Na diyan ad'ubpa' ta liyuan.

BAHIYANG PLANT³⁶

18 This young man is building a house
 Which when finished
 Would make him live outside the wall.³⁷

BA:HON

Id' ipanaw inis anak
Na sakkad din da'
Na gorali' naka'uli'
Na kanna rud agkavilang.

RATTAN

19 This child departed
 Just alone
 But when he returns
 You cannot count them.³⁸

BAKA'

O:nwahan ni apu'
Kannag kasambayan.

LOWER JAW

20 The seesaw of apu'
 Cannot be borrowed.

yaw, my informant, explained that this bird while flyng flaps its wings and moves its tail up and down at a frequency higher than most birds.

36, 37. A tuber that grows tall with wide leaves and bears fruits around its trunk, the same being eaten during days of famine. The tubers are the young men who ordinarily should be found under the ground, but this plant bears tubers otherwise, around the trunk.

38. Because the rattan is now split into many pieces.

BAKASSAN

Po'awan ni apu'
Na warab pakasambay.

Bangkaling ni lumimbod
Tikos ni dumalanggay
Midlagunando' punay
Nigkutolanda' limukon
Danda' pamuyvuyani'.

PYTHON

- 21 The belt of apu'
 Which no one can borrow.
- 22 Lumimbod's *bangkaling*³⁹
 Dumalanggay's *tikos*⁴⁰
 Likened to the punay bird
 Simulated by the limukon bird
 The decoration was made of.⁴¹

BAKBAK

Ballu' duwa' mata' rin
Kunan toman tabballu' ka batu'.

FROG

- 23 Jumping with his two eyes
 I thought I have jumped on a stone.⁴²

BALIOG

Sakkad na hatas ka anak
Na sakkad dak bituka' ran.
Mahatus sa kanakan
Sakkad dak ginawa'.

39, 40. The *bangkaling* is a decorated leglet wider than the ordinary *tikos*, which has a narrower though finer weave.

41. The decoration on the *bangkaling* and *tikos* is likened to the eyes of the *punay* and *limukon* birds and again compared to the stripes found on the python. Bagobo descriptive style finds expressive exuberance in this riddle, only to be excelled in the epic poems (see again *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky*, already cited).

42. That is, a frog when jumping does not mind alighting on another because it does not think the animal to be another frog but a stone. This is according to Bagobo interpretation.

NECKLACE OF BEADS

24a Being one hundred children
But have only one intestine.^{42a}

24b One hundred young men
Have but one life.^{42b}

BA'OD

Atukaw sa
Anak uwoy'uwoy bakkut.

SNARE

25 Guess what it is
Whose children are all hunchback.⁴³

BA'OY

La:ngkob ini banug
Nadlivunglivung ka pusung.

Ka:vow nabbatas ta dakkon weeg
Kannag ka:mmas ka gottok
Iyan agka:mmas ka pokka'.

Abbatas ka bavuy
Kannag ka:mmas ka gottok.

HOUSE

26 This eagle sits
While its heart wanders.⁴⁴

27a A carabao crossing a big river
Its belly cannot be wet
What gets wet is its back.

27b A pig crosses a river
Its belly cannot be wet.

42a, 42b. To the Bagobo imagination the intestine and life stand for the string of the necklace.

43. Because this snare is composed of many snapping nooses.

44. The eagle is the house while the heart refers to the inhabitant of the house.

BA:TIK

*Atukaw sa
Tuyyang ni apu' aggabbu' kad ikataan
Atin kannad ikattan kannag gabbu'.*

BA:TIK TRAP

- 28 Guess what it is
 Apu's dog barks when leashed
 But when not leashed it does not bark.⁴⁵

BA'UNTU:'

*Avollon ni ginduon⁴⁶
Napagus ta pagawa'an.*

*Avollon ni ginduon
Natunas ta lumbiya'an.*

RAINBOW

- 29 Ginduon's loom
 Is set in the air.
- 30 Ginduon's loom
 Is the lumbiya'an's second growth.⁴⁷

BAVOT KAVI:

*Ad'ipanaw inis anak
Aruwa' rak ka:mmas ta suddu'
Nad'uli' na idda reen.*

CARRYING BAG

- 31 When this man leaves
 He makes but two footprints
 At the time he returns.⁴⁸

45. The *ba:tik* trap consists of a resilient bow which will not work if not leashed, and, therefore, will not bark.

46. Ginduon is a folk figure.

47. It is believed that a rainbow starts from the stump of a tree or plant, in this case, the *lumbiya'an*, which is a species of tree the bark of the roots of which is used as a substitute for the betel-nut.

48. The carrying bag straps make but two marks on the shoulders, which fact deceives the audience expecting the man to make many footprints in going and coming.

BAYUKUNG

La'ubug sa ka:vow
Ka'attiyak dahat.

BAYUKUNG LAND SHELL

32 The carabao wades
 Drying up the sea.⁴⁹

BESOK

Ahad natipun ki sa minuvu'
Nad'a:tti' na kannad ka'attian
Na atin kannad sombong iddas anak
Na kannad ka'atti'.

MUD

33 Even if all of us people should gather
 To dry up the pool of water we cannot do so
 If the child would not show up
 It cannot be dried up.⁵⁰

BINAYU'

Tanudan ta
Kiyudan ta.

RICE POUNDING

34 We both watch it
 Bow and straighten up before it.⁵¹

BITUON

Tibbason subpatugison
Na kannan' matag da' nadtibbason

49. The *bayukung* land shell is collected by the people when they see it empty in the field, woods, or along their pathway. It is punched, strung, and stocked for lime making, since the upland Bagobo now live in the highlands away from the sea. The shell is arranged tier after tier in a pile of sticks and burned, then the burnt shell is picked up carefully and stored in bamboo tubes or lime containers. The *bayukung* is the carabao in this riddle drying up the sea because water is mixed with the lime, and a sure indication that the burning is properly done and the lime suitable for use is when the water is absorbed readily by the calcined material.

50. See Riddle No. 14 for an analog.

51. The Bagobo women, who prepare the food for the family, assume a position and posture when pounding rice which distinguishes them from their Christian countrymen. They set their feet at a con-

*Su idtahad ki dumangin
Ta datu' ta dumaduun.*

STARS

- 35 We slash it in order to clear it
But it is not merely clearing it
But waiting for Dumangin
The Datu' who lives up there.⁵²

BOGGAS

*Ubpa' ka ra' putian
Siyak malayanglayang.*

HULLED RICE

- 36 Just stay here white one
I am flying about.⁵³

BOGGAS UWOY DAMPA'

*Adsannab inis mahatus
Na kannu' mabpakaabbog
Nadsannab inis mahasa'
Nabpakaabog.*

RICE AND LADLE

- 37 When these one hundred ones dive
The water does not become muddy

venient angle equidistant from the mortar and remain fixed in that position, in contrast with the Tagalog and Ilokano pounders whose one foot is set forward and the other backward. The Bagobo women, most often, hold their pestles with both hands, thus swaying their bodies greatest at the buttocks, making rice pounding a picturesque and sexy performance indeed. In comparison with Tagalog and Ilokano rice pounders who have freedom with their feet and arms, the swaying is suave and timid. The English rendition of *kiyudan* is certainly very weak.

52. In starting to clear a *kaingin*, the Bagobo farmer consults the position of certain stars to find out whether it would be favorable to make a clearing.

53. The white one refers to the hulled rice, the other one flying about being the husk. Although the latter is the more active one of the two and the one speaking, the Bagobo audience does not answer this riddle with "husk". The riddle portrays winnowing after pounding.

But when this thin one dives
The water is stirred dirty.⁵⁴

BOLLAD

Sanga sappin bulig
Na bawi' tora' taddaggas.

Sanga sappi' na suyak
Bawi' tora' taddaggas.

HAND

38a A bunch of bananas
Is the cure for our itch.⁵⁵

38b One spadix of *suyak* banana
Is the cure for our itch.⁵⁶

BOTAD

Disok poron na anak
Duwon dad sawwon din
Ahad kas mama'
Duwon dan sawwon din.

CORN⁵⁷

39 While yet a small child
He is already with offspring
Even as he grows into a man
He still carries his child.

BOTAD NAGSANAGGAN

Pamehes inis anak
Nagkalikab.

CORN BEING POPPED

40 When this child cries
Down below he goes.

54. The one hundred ones refer to the rice being poured into the pot of water, while the thin one that stirs the water dirty is the ladle.

55, 56. The hand has the fingers that scratch and relieve itchiness. While Riddles 38a and 38b are substantially the same, the answer for the latter is "fingers" sometimes.

57. In the Bagobo language there is another synonym for *botad*, corn, and this is *sannoy*, both soft varieties. These terms do not refer to any other plant or grain.

BOTTI

Battung ta lihawasan
Na sakkadsakkad ka batu'.

VAGINA⁵⁸

- 41 The river of Lihawasan
 Has but one stone.

BUAN

Tuwod ta bantulinay
Nadpakapantaw ta dahat.

MOON

- 42 It is a stump of the *bantulinay* tree
 Overlooking the sea

BULLI'

Atukaru
Abpamunlawik banug
Agkapanlas sa mahingad.

NIGHT

- 43 Guess what it is
 When the *banug* bird hoots⁵⁹
 The inhabitants die.

BUNUWIT

Adsannab inis anak
Nabpaka'angay ta buwawan.

58. Young people would not ordinarily give this kind of riddle, Saddani Pagayaw explained to me. In this case the riddler was then more than forty years old, the older folks not being inhibited when amongst themselves or even when amongst younger people to humour the audience. The "one stone" in the river is the clitoris.

59. The *banug*, identified as a variety of eagle, when it cries symbolizes death or destruction to the Bagobo; whereas the *kuwahu*'s cry foretells ill luck (observed by traders, travellers, or affianced persons to be wed, that is, if the *kuwahu*' sings before the trader or traveller starts or while along his way, it means to these people certain failure or trouble, and they would return home, or the wedding ceremony would have to be postponed). It appears that the eagle's cry is taken as foretelling some distant event, while the *kuwahu*'s scream has immediate meaning.

Sannab inis kanakan
Nabpaka'angayt buwawan.

FISHING HOOK, LINE, AND ROD

44a When this child dives
 He brings up gold.⁶⁰

44b This child dives
 Bringing up gold.

BURAKAN

Addullug ka bakassan
Na kannu' ra' abpaka'uva' ta lahithit.

BURAKAN VINE

45 When that python crawls
 It cannot even move the grass.

BUVU:

Mapung na baliti'
Kannag kasarollan kag kasabpi'.

HAIR

46 Sturdy as a *baliti* tree is
 You will never know whereof a branch breaks
 off.

BUVU'

Ad'ilogga' iddas manga kanakan
Na mahatus wara' tapid ibpit.

BUVU' TRAP

47 Lying down together these young men
 A hundred of them without anyone being edged
 out.⁶¹

60. Gold symbolizes fish here because the Bagobo value fish as first class food, even more than venison, the deer being more plentiful.

61. This is so because the *buyu'* trap is cylindrical or barrel-like in shape and is made of slats fastened longitudinally around bamboo rings. The hundred young men are the slats which actually do not reach half that number, and hence this personification is a good example of folk exaggeration.

BUYAYAG

*Atukaru**Sekkaw warad tavod du.*

PARENTS

- 48 Guess what it is
 You would not be without your belt.⁶²

DAHAT UWOY WE:G

*Id'anak inis malitan**Na udsarad agkavu:ng**Ka pomon dad ta anak din.*

SEA AND RIVERS

- 49 This woman bearing children
 Could only be satiated
 If fed by her own children.

DA:N

*Atukaru**Bitukat ullu:**Pakatukas ta dahat.**Atukaru**Bitukat kay kayasi'**Nabpakatukas ta dahat.**Bitukat taligtig**Abpakatukas ta dahat.*

PATH or TRAIL

- 50a Guess what it is
 The *ullu:* bird's intestine⁶³
 It reaches to the sea.
- 50b Guess what it is
 The *kayasi'* bird's intestine⁶⁴
 It reaches to the sea.

62. The belt stands for parents, because it symbolizes strength (one informant going so far as to explain that when one tightens his belt when he is hungry, he regains vigor).

63. The *ullu:* is a small bird with grey-brown feathers.

64. The *kayasi'* or *kaykayasi'*, smaller than the *ullu:* bird, has dark grey feathers.

- 50c The *taligtig* bird's intestine⁶⁵
Reaches out to the sea.

DA:N

Sondongngan du
Layug na moman
Unayan du
Taman dat bukuvuku'.

PATH or TRAIL

- 51 When you look at it from afar
It is a tall betel nut tree
But when you are close to it
It is just up to your ankle.

DA'UN TA KAYU'

Abpangayaw ini anak
Na kannad abpaka'uli'.

LEAF OF TREE

- 52 When this child goes to war
He would never be able to return.

DILA'

Kasili' ta liddapan
Kannab pakabaliyung.

TONGUE⁶⁶

- 53 The eel from Liddapan
Cannot turn on its back.

DUHI'

Abpakauta inis anak
Kanna rig ka'oggan tabbava'
Boyang agka'oggi'
Kabbitbitan.

65. Of the three birds used in this type of riddle, the *taligtig* is the smallest; it has dark grey feathers with a light breast and a red spot there. It is apparent in this type of riddle that the use of small birds is resorted to heighten contrast and hence to mislead.

66. Same riddle is answered with *laliyungan*, house ridge, by Lumayon Lambayon and Latihan Landim.

THORN

- 54 This child is having a catch
 He cannot carry on his back
 But it becomes light
 When carried with the fingers.⁶⁷

DARU'OY

Tuwod ta kapayawi'
Aruwa' sa batang
Na sakkad da' ka tuwod.

POLYGENIST

- 55 A stump of the kapayawi' tree
 Has two logs
 Although only one trunk.^{67a}

GAPUNGGAPUN

Atin sollom malihonnoy
Atin pakauntud don ka allaw
Na morat don.

GAPUNGGAPUN GRASS FLOWER

- 56 In the morning it is beautiful
 But as the sun rises to the zenith
 It becomes ugly by then.⁶⁸

GASSAW

Mahatus na kanakan
Sakkad deen kas u:nan.

67. The catch here has reference to the thorn which cannot be carried on the back because it got stuck somewhere in the sole of the foot. Such a sliver incapacitates the person to carry any load on his back too. The antecedent of it in the third line therefore confounds, because what is uppermost in the mind of the audience is the load which becomes light the moment the thorn is removed with the fingers. But the thorn is the referent here which is indeed very light when compared with any load. So whether the riddle is considered as a fact or a creation of the imagination, it becomes doubly puzzling.

67a. Polygyny is permissible in Bagobo society if sanctioned by the first wife and if economic status allows. As custom law permits divorce, polygyny is not common.

68. This grass crawls on the ground and has tiny flowers which gather dew and look like silver or diamonds in the morning but become dissipated at noon looking like disarranged hair losing its glitter to the Bagobo. The flowers have no scent.

COMMON RAFTERS

- 57 A hundred young men
Have only one pillow.

GEDDAN

Geddan tak su:ngan
Samsamon tak pokka'.

ONE LOG LADDER

- 58 We step on her breast
Hold on her back.⁶⁹

GINAWA' or SONGNGA'

Ka'anud inis lopuk
Kannad laras sudsuva'.

Adka'anud inis lopuk
Muling makapa:ras
Na muling nakapasuva'.

BREATH

- 59a This log is carried by the waters
Not downstream but upstream.
- 59b This log is carried by the waters
Floating downstream
Then upstream.

IKAM

Atim bulli' linaw
Atin allaw batang.

MAT

- 60 In the evening it is a pool of water
During the day it is a log.⁷⁰

KA:MAG

Anday kid lihad keta'?

69. This is just plain description of what a person does when he goes up a Bagobo house using a one log ladder. I stopped for a long time trying to figure out the answer to this riddle which fascinated me very much. I did not succeed. Giving the right answer was prolonged by the fact that this one log ladder is now being displaced by the stair-frame with rungs.

70. The mat is rolled up into a tube, so the figure in the second line.

Sagengke: wara' paa'
Boyang la'ud si datu'
Kadla'ud si mandauda'.

WIND

- 61 Who is passing by us?
- 62 Dancing without feet
 This datu' dances only
 When Maudauda' dances.

KA:MBUG

Baboy ta ki banbanon
Na diyan da'om baukag.

KA:MBUG TREE⁷¹

- 63 Our wild hog from Banbanon⁷²
 Its bristles are inside.

KAMMO: UWOY IRUNG

Ad'ipanaw inis aruwa'
Adsinuhungngon ta limma'.

HAND AND NOSE

- 64 When these two travel
 They are met by five.⁷³

KAMOT

Naka'uta: inis kanakan
Naboyang abpamillakon
Kad'upusan padtitiya'.

KAINGIN (i.e., SWIDDEN)

- 65 This young man has a catch

71. With a sour fruit (although I have not seen this tree, it appears that this is Tagalog *katmon* tree from description).

72. The *kaingin*, after the trees are felled and dry, is burned first before the rice seeds are planted. Holes, in which the seeds are deposited, are made with dribbling sticks described as the spearing in the riddle. Normally, a wild hog or deer is speared to death first and singed later, the reverse of the picture portrayed in the riddle.

73. When mucus is secreted down the two nostrils, it is received immediately by the hand and fingers and flung.

But before spearing it
He sings it first.⁷⁴

KAPAYAS

Mangovay nadlahinat
Nabpakalingkus kadsapipiyon.

PAPAYA TREE

66 This maiden stood up
Carrying all under her armpits.⁷⁵

KA:SIDU' UWOY KAMANGA'

Ayad'adan ta pu.'
Ta danggayan ta bayanak.

BOLO AND WHETTING STONE

67 It is a rubbing-place on an island
Where the *bayanak* fish swims around.⁷⁶

KASILA'

Addullug ini bakassan
Nabpaka'appus ka sa.'

SWEET POTATO⁷⁷

68 As this python crawls
It lays eggs all along.

KASU'AT

Aggusik diyan
Aggusik dini'.

LAUGHTER

69 You open up there
You open up here.⁷⁸

KAVA:

Lumayang si lumanggak
Layang si langga'upay

74. Bambanon appears as a placename in folklore or riddles only.

75. The fruits and flowers appear under the petiole to the Bagobo.

76. This is understood to mean the island is the whetting stone and the fish is the bolo being whetted.

77. *Tavosa*., squash, is another answer to this riddle.

78. *Aggusi'* means to open up little by little. During my stay of two

Dinaput da'út taggap
Daput da'ún kinarom.

FLYING SQUIRREL⁷⁹

- 70 Lumonggak took to its wings
 Langgaupay^{79a} flew in the air
 Alighting like the leaf of the tanggap
 Alighted like the kinarom leaf.⁸⁰

KAVI:

Darubmuk bavuy
Na kannad darubmon diyat pattad
Su diyat tanggat da:ma'.

CARRYING BAG

- 71 When the wild hog makes its nest
 He does not make it in the plain
 But in the middle of the cliff.⁸¹

KILAT

Tibbasan dawandawan
Uli' mongobogkobog.

Avollon dawandawan
Pakud ta udtuwan.

LIGHTNING

- 72 It slashes everywhere
 It returns roaring.
- 73 Looms everywhere
 Fastened to the zenith of the sky.

months with the upland Bagobo in 1956, I have the impression that they are not given to laughter.

79. A dark grey four-footed animal interpreted by the people as an ambitious creature who wishes to fly like a bird by getting up a tree first before flying, but only to land on the ground like a leaf.

79a. Lamonggak and langgaupay are fictitious names of animals which exist only in riddles and folktales.

80. The *tanggap* tree is tall and the *kinarom* tree small, but the falling leaf of these trees appears like the flying squirrel to the Bagobo, so the figure of speech.

81. Because this bag, really a sort of knapsack, is carried on the back with straps.

KILAY

Pamehes ka antig
Nagkatabba: kas vubungan.

EYEBROW

74 When that frog croaks
 The mountains slide.

KUGLUNG

Kayu' ta pangandasan
Malagawlaw sambolon.

KUGLUNG GUITAR

75 The tree of Pangandasan
 Resounds deeply when strummed.

KURON UWOY APUY

Labbut ni kaitoman
Dilotan ni kapuypuy.

POT AND FIRE

76 The anus of kaitoman
 Is being licked by Kapuypuy.⁸²

KUWAT

Bavaoy inis anak
Sakkadsakkad ka tuddok.

KUWAT MUSHROOM

77 This child is building a house
 It has only one post.

LABBONG

Pamuwa' ta
Kanna tad adlawwian.

82. This could also be rendered into:
 Is being licked by Firie.
 The anus of Blackie.

The Bagobo term *metom*, black, and *apuy*, fire, are both personified into Kaitoman and Kapuypuy respectively.

GRAVE

- 78 We plant it
But never visit it.⁸³

LANOG

Atin mavaddas sikandin
Abpaningkayu'
Atin kannu' mavaddas
Kannad paningkayu'.

Atukaw sa
Malitan na mavaddas
Manokka: nabpiad ta kayu'
Atin kannu' mavaddas
Kannab paka'allag nabpiad ta kayu.

SWOLLEN RIVER

- 79a When she becomes pregnant
She would gather fuel
But when she is not pregnant
She would not gather fuel.
- 79b You guess what it is
She is a pregnant woman
Strong to carry trees
But when she is not pregnant
She does not even have enough strength to
carry firewood.

LANTUY

Kasili' ta liddapan
Pa:tlimma' sa mata'.

LANTUY FLUTE

- 80 The eel from Liddapan⁸⁴

83. In the Bagobo culture preceding the present, whenever death occurred, the family abandoned the house and residence and moved to a new place (unlike in the contemporary culture which now allows burial near the house without necessitating abandonment). So the riddle is a true picture of an older folkway, although the people even of the present generation still understand the riddle.

84. Liddapan, a folkloristic placename, has already been used previously in Riddle No. 53, which has the same initial line.

Has four to five eyes.⁸⁵

LASSUNG

Atuka ru

Pung

Sa waloy.

MORTAR

- 81 You guess what it is
Flat is the base
Of the house.⁸⁶

LASU'

Kayu' ta kapatahan

Na sinusu'an sa u'ud.

PENIS

- 82 A tree from the plain
Its end is decorticated.

LAVIRANG

Bilingbiling mana'ung

Tabagon ta buwaya'.

WINGED LAWAN TREE FRUIT

- 83 The whirling Manaung
Is cracked by the crocodile.⁸⁷

LAWIT MANUK

Ka:sidut datu'

Atin idtibbas ta datu'

Kannag kabongawan

Atin idtibbas ta weeg

Agkabengawan.

85. The *lantuy* has really only four fingered holes, but the riddler here has included the blowing hole to confound his audience.

86. The *pung* of the text is an aphaeresis of *lappung*, flat at both ends, and *waloy* which should be *baoy*, house, are purposive linguistic changes to disguise speech.

87. Mana'ung is a personified name in riddle-making, no person having that name on the Dallag plateau where this collection was made; so Mana'ung here is understood to mean the winged fruit, and the crocodile the wild hog who eats the nut by cracking it.

ROOSTER'S LONGEST TAIL FEATHER

- 84 The bolo of the datu
 If slashed against a stone
 It does not nick
 If slashed against water
 It becomes nicked.

LAYA'

Atin anak pa
Abpana'uwa:
Atin buyyag don
Warad sa'uwa:

BAMBOO SHOOT

- 85 While still young
 He wears trousers
 But when already old
 He is without trousers.⁸⁸

LIMATOK

Ba:hon nabpadaldal
Na weeg nagkumpaniya:' nadsavang.

LEECH

- 86 It is a rattan swaying
 Turning into a river junction.⁸⁹

LITTAG

Atuka ru
Patintinunduhay
Uway'uway bakkuta.

SNARE

- 87 You guess what it is
 Walking in a single file
 They are all hunchbacks.⁹⁰

88. The young bamboo shoot has sheaths which peel off as it matures.

89. The leech in its search for prey stands on its distal end moving to and fro, so the figure, and when it does find a host it sucks the blood which flows into its body, creating the second figure in this riddle.

90. See a simpler riddle in No. 25, *ante*.

LOKKOB

Ibpamu'a ku ka'ungkay
Simag abbarutang kud.

Pamu'a ru ta mapon
Na atin sallom nabarutan don.

Pamu'atat mapon
Barutan tat sallom.

DOOR

88a I planted it today
 To harvest it tomorrow.

88b You plant it in the afternoon
 But in the morning it is pulled out.

88c We plant it in the afternoon
 We pull it out in the morning.

LUMANSAD

Pomontu'ang ka dava'
Pomonwit ka daya'.

ROOSTER

89 Stoning fish downstream
 Hooking it upstream.⁹¹

MAHINTA'UNAN

Uripon ka'ay ta datu' na mama'
Na kannad kuwa' kabbayaran
Su mama's rad kibbayad.

WILD CHICKEN TAMED FOR CATCHING OTHER
WILD CHICKENS

90 This datu has a male slave
 Who does not want to be paid in cash
 But another male in kind.⁹²

91. When a rooster or chicken pecks, the first part of the riddle is described; but as it does so its tail goes up and this is seen as fishing with hook and line. A Bagobo fisherman when he sees a fish under a stone would knock that stone with another if he could not reach it with his hand, and this with the intention of crushing it.

92. The male slave here is the decoy used in baiting other wild chickens, that is, another slave if the datu (the trapper) catches one.

MILITAN UWOY ANAK DIN

Atukaw
Sanga lippan battung
Ma'ura: kidsavang.

MOTHER AND CHILDREN

- 91 Guess what it is
 Two arm-lengths of stream
 It has many junctions.

MANUK

Disok poron
Duwon don tangku':

Atin dinit daya' panikop
Dinit dava' pamunuwit.

CHICKEN

- 92 Although it is small
 It already wears a headdress.⁹³

 93 If upstream he fishes with hands
 If downstream he fishes with a hook.⁹⁴

MANGOVAY

Anay karisakkay ku
Na wara' ku nasarolli'
Sa pansamuk tagmaya'an.

MAIDEN or YOUNG GIRL

- 94 Sicne I was born
 I have not known
 How to guard against *maya* birds.⁹⁵

93. It is the man who wears a headdress in Bagobo society, and he may start wearing it in his adolescent years, when reaching seventeen or eighteen. At an earlier period, however, he may have demonstrated exceptional bravery by killing enemies, in which case he is allowed to wear a maroon or red headdress with designs made by tie-dyeing.

94. Although differently worded, this is similar to Riddle No. 89 above.

95. The subject of the riddle is not even hinted at. The *maya* birds are supposed to be young men who might molest or carry off a young woman guarded by her parents, the one speaking in this riddle being the father.

MATA'

Aruwan anak
Na budtuk ta iddakko:
Wara' nakagkita'.

Anak na aruwa'
Abaparivaoy yet buvungan
Kanna' mabpakadkita'.

Idda ron
Ini ron.

EYES

95a They are two siblings
 Who since their birth
 Have not seen each other.

95b There are two siblings
 Living on each side of a mountain
 Never seeing each other.

96 It is there now
 It is here now.

MINUVU' NABPATAY

Kavukarat tuvangon
Na ipat allang ka'umpad.

DYING PERSON

97 The flower of the *tuvangon* rattan
 Falls every day.

MONO: UWOY PATIYUKAN

Ka:sag ta anitu'
Adsambayat katu:san.

HAWK AND BEEHIVE

98 The shield of the *anitu*⁹⁶
 Was borrowed by the *katu:san* bird.⁹⁷

96. Benevolent spirit who looks after the welfare of man. I have heard it pronounced *anittu* sometimes.

97. Hawks are known to snatch chunks of the beehive which is symbolized by the shield of the *anitu* in the riddle.

NGARAN TA MINUVU' NIBPATAY

Agkapilay inis balite'
Nagka'abburon kas lawa'
Na duwon poron kas da da'ún din.

NAME OF A DEAD PERSON

99 When a *balite* tree falls
 Its trunk decays
 But its leaves will still be there.⁹⁸

NGIPON

Kapilay inis as'as
As'as dad kagkaraggan.

TEETH

100 When these logs drop
 They hit other logs.

NGUWOG

Atin adtupang mananoy
Atin adtakaddog masi'apat.

MUCUS

101 When it goes down the slope it is slow
 When it goes up the slope it moves fast.⁹⁹

PA'A'

Ta: suwod
Wa' tapid
Ad'unna'.

LEGS

102 There are two brothers
 Neither of them
 Walks ahead of each other.

PANSA:

Sannob inis kanakan
Adlappaw ron ka u': rin.

98. Although a person may die, his name will still live in the memory of the people.

99. Children allow the slimy mucus to ooze down their nostrills and when it has gone so far below suddenly inhale it back into the nostrills, instead of wiping it.

NAIL

- 103 When this young man dives
His head still shows out.

PANU'AN

Atuka ru sa
Anak pa'awngutay
Uwoy'uwoy ngoggan.

PANU'AN SHRUB

- 104 You guess what it is
Children sitting together
All of them have mucus.¹⁰⁰

PANUMPA'

Sa:rong diyat pattad
Kannab panabtab diyat pattad
Su diyan ta da:ma' abpanabtab.

TWEEZER

- 105 The deer in the plain
Would not graze in the lowland
But would nibble up in the cliff.¹⁰¹

PANGAT SA:RONG

Tongtongngan du nahangu'
Atin adtipakan du melaw.

Tongtongngan du
Tungannu'
Gorali' adtipakan du
Melaw man.

ANTLER

- 106a When you look at it it is a dead tree
But when you chop it it is a live one.
- 106b When you look at it
It is a dead tree

100. The shrub has a trunk as large as the thumb and bears small fruits which grow on the roots, the fruits containing a slimy substance which is sweet.

101. The riddler interprets the cliff here as the chin or the parts around the mouth. The Bagobo tweezer is made of bronze or copper which people make themselves out of broken gongs.

The moment you chop it
It is alive again.

PANGA:WAG

Layang si kappikappi'
Agkatutungan sa langit.

RED SKY OR CLOUDS

107 When kappikappi' flew¹⁰²
The sky began to burn. .

PANGOTTOB

Kammas ni buwa:kaw
Na duwon poron kaungkay.

TATTOO

108 The footprints of Buwa:kaw¹⁰³
Are still there to this day.

PARAKU:

Adlayang inis limukon
Adlatambag kadlaton.

AX

109 When this *limukon* bird flies
It sings as it perches.¹⁰⁴

PASSUNGAN

Singkabong si dayadnak
Naddinog ka sanga suhud.

Ad'ukalu' si natarin
Nadtavak si natalobpi'
Nadtavak si natalobpi'
Natalobpi' ta dallag
Na natarin ta bala'as.

102. Kappi' is hawk, but is duplicated here to simulate the sun; the metaphor is intended to describe the burning cloud set afire by the glowing sinking sun.

103. This name appears only in Bagobo folklore; I have not found it actually used as a personal name by the people.

104. The picture described here is that of the ax being swung against a tree, the swizzing tool culminating in an impact, thus creating the sound described as singing while the ax is driven into the wood and so perches there. The *limukon* is used as a bird of augury.

POUNDING BLOCK¹⁰⁵

110 Dayadnak playing with both hands on the
water¹⁰⁶
Could be heard in another hill.

111 Natarin is crowing
Natalobpi' answers
The condemned one on the plateau
Is lost among the bushes.¹⁰⁷

PATIYUKAN

Ka:sag ni apu'
Naggannayhannay ka upung.

Bava'oy inis anak
Kanna rabpakakampot ka guwos din.

Mappiya' nagkannon
Na matoggas nad'angayon.

105. The *passungan* is a sounding board on which the mortar or mortars are set. As the pounders hull the rice a musical sound is emitted by the impact not only of the pestle against the mortar but doubly so by the latter against the *passungan* board. The sonorous notes are deafening but as these are echoed back by the hills and mountains, they keep the work more lively and enjoyable. Men do not pound rice, pounding being the work of women. A flat stone is sometimes placed at one end of the board to add to the percussion sound as the women pound.

106. Dayadnak is a personal name in the riddle, not now used by the people.

107. The sound from the *passungan* board is considered lost as it travels in space until it reaches an obstacle when it is considered condemned, because as the echo, which is feeble in comparison, travels back it is finally lost among the bushes. The Bagobos prefer to build their houses on tops of hills or sides of mountains and not in deep valleys, so gong and *passungan* playing could be heard at great distances.

There is a deep and expressive interplay of words and meanings in this riddle threaded like beads by the *passungan* sound, so that another rendition becomes tempting:

The lost one is crowing
The condemned one answering
The condemned one of the plateau
Is lost amongst the bushes.

BEEHIVE

- 112 The shield of grandfather
Has trappings that move about.¹⁰⁸
- 113 This young man is building a house
His fastening does not reach around.¹⁰⁹
- 114 It is delicious to eat
But difficult to secure.

PATTUNG

Onday kadsuliyuk ki ta'?

POST

- 115 Who is spearing us from below?

PAYUS

Ad'ipanaw inis anak
Na anay rabpakaponog
Nabpapa'u ron.

CANE

- 116 This child leaves on a journey
The moment he is on the ground
He starts kicking.

PAYYAT

Sagengke' wara' pa'a'
Na saut wara' paningting.

PAYYAT FISH¹¹⁰

- 117 Strutting without feet
Dancing without ankles.

108. The Bagobo shield is decorated with horsehair around it and is compared to the beehive puckered by moving bees, the picture conveyed being that of a moving shield as the horsehair flaps in the wind and the bees creating the impression that the beehive is moving as they flutter about.

109. The beehive is attached to the tree or branch on one side only, so the basis of the riddle.

110. A small freshwater fish with white scale and, on this account, probably selected because it could be seen conspicuously leaping in the water.

PILAKPILAK

Pa'umpossoy ini anak
Kanna mabpakad'o:ggoy.

EYELASH

118 These children beat one another
 Without anyone being defeated.

PINGGAN

Anak na atin abpakannon du
Nibpo:mpad du;
Na atin abpaka'impus
Nad'uli' ron tid'ubpan din.

PLATE OR DISH

119 This child when you feed him
 You have to put him down;
 But when he is through
 He will return to his place.

POAS

Sangga'at ta minatay
Na ba'ag ta makatangon.

LIZARD

120 It is the g-string of the dead
 And loin cloth that is fastened.¹¹¹

PONGGOANG

Atuka ru
Kawkambo' ta niyug
Na kalo'ko' ta mam'o'on.

SHELL BRACELET

121 Guess what it is
 Buds of the coconut tree
 Sheath of the betel nut tree.¹¹²

111. I did not see any g-string nor loin cloth in 1956 when I was on the Dallag plateau, but I was told that fishermen do use it when engaged in fishing. The streaked lizard is compared to the striped loin cloth, and since the lizard's marks are permanent the riddler carries that feature in the second line.

112. The shell bracelet, with all its whiteness and natural design,

PONGPONG

Pulangi' nakapangkat
Dagat nakapagolot.

Pulangi' nakatangkad
Dagat nakapagolot.

WATER IN THE HOLLOW OF TREES

122a A Pulangi' river in an isolated place
 A sea found in the middle.

122b A Pulangi' river found up above
 A sea found in the middle.

PU:NG

Pa:viyan ta dongngan
Uwoy gantangan ta ka'ungkay.

WORK

123 It is our custom of the past
 And our measure of today.

PUSOD

Orak toktok du?

UMBILICAL HOLE

124 What hole do you have in your body?

SAHING

Ad'imatayan inis malitan
Aggatton da kas anak din.

BANANA PLANTS

125 This woman will be killed
 Her children will be spared.¹¹³

SA:KOY

Yavag si mahivay
Na dumapon da'ut tohop
Dapon da'ut kinarom.

is compared to the coconut buds and the betel-nut tree sheath in the imagination of the Bagobo. It is worn by both women and men.

113. A banana plant with mature bunch of fruits is cut down (i.e., killed), but the surrounding shoots are "spared" to bloom and bear fruits.

HEADDRESS

- 126 Mahivay took to its wings¹¹⁴
 Alighting on a *tohop* leaf
 Resting on *kinarom* leaves.¹¹⁵

SALLOY

Atuka
Tigatiga' tu'ungtu'ung
Tunas ta lumbiya'an.

SALLOY EARRING

- 127 Guess what it is
 Twinkling like a firefly
 A stem it is of the *lumbiya'an* tree.¹¹⁶

SAYAP¹¹⁷

Ko:glahan ta datu'
Kannag ka'ayon kidsanggat
Udsag ka'ayon
Kigpa'unsad duwot sa:g.

HAT

- 128 The suitcase of the datu
 It is not good to hang
 But it could be done
 If set on the floor.

SIGGANG

Palinglingutay inis kanakan
Uwoy'uwoy avu'an.

STOVE OF THREE STONE-HEADS

- 129 Sitting together these young men
 Are all covered with ashes.

114. Personified name used in riddles and folk stories only.

115. Cf. Riddle No. 70 about the flying squirrel, *ante*. The *tohop* leaf refers to the head and the *kinarom* leaves to the hair, *kinarom* being a tree the leaves of which being used for dyeing fibers black.

116. The *salloy* is an ear-plug made from the root of the *lumbiya'an* tree; it is encrusted with bronze, silver, or gold which makes it shiny, so the figure of the firefly.

117. *Saruk* was the first answer to this riddle which is the Bukidnon term for hat made of *anahaw* palm leaves. Since there is a Bagobo term *sayap* for the same object, the latter was preferred. The *sayap* hat is like the Tagalog *salakot*, although I did not see one on the Dallag

SIKU'

Duwon manuk naddakappan du
Na atin ad'aruwanan du
Taddakop na kannad ka'uta:
Na atin adsakaddan du
Na adka'uta:

ELBOW

130 There is a bird you can catch
 If you use your two hands
 You would not catch it;
 But if you do it with one hand
 Then you would catch it.

SIMAT

Mid'attut sa pa:vasan
Nad'abbas ta luyung.
Atuka ru
Abpehes ini antig
Ad'abbas ta luyung.
Pa'u' inis antig
Abpaka'abbas ta luyung.
Agkatipon iddas datu'
Na kannag katapus ka tongko'
Ka kannu' ad'ihuma' iddas anak.

NEEDLE

131a The salamander moved its hot air
 It passed through the base-roots.
 131b You guess what it is
 The cries of this frog
 Could pass through the base-roots.
 131c This frog kicked
 Coming out of the base-roots.
 132 All the datus are there assembled
 But they could not reach an agreement
 If that child does not arrive.¹¹⁸

plateau and other areas, the reason given being that the *anahaw* palm tree has become very rare in these places.

118. The pieces that make up a dress may be prepared, but without a needle no dress can be made.

SINAPANG

Taw'angay ta dallag
Marahing nabbadturon.

GUN

- 133 A reed on the plateau
 A loud sound it makes when pulled.¹¹⁹

SUSU'

Binibitoy na bidas
Na bitayon na miyadoy.

NIPPLES

- 134 Hanging bidas fruits
 Suspend from miyadoy.¹²⁰

TABBU'

Sakaddu' ni apu'
Kannad kaitis.

Atukaw sa
Sinupan apu'
Na kannag ka'itis.

Panakaddu' sa ratu'
Sanga tiro reen
Ad'itisan du
Kannag ka'itis.

119. The older folks know a type of gun called *bigkangan* (also known as *sa:vintun*), which is lighted to explode it (which I never saw). This gun was secured from the Moros. It appears that *sinapang* covers all sorts of guns known to the Bagobo people, this term being used in the folklore, the proboscis of the shrimp being taken for the *sinapang*, gun.

120. The *bidas* fruits are not edible, but attract attention because they sway from the branches. *Miyadoy* has a synonym *miyaroy* which is used for calling girls when boys or men are poking holes in the ground preparatory to depositing seeds in them. Therefore the term here has a double meaning which may refer to the fruits or the nipples, thus making the suggestion intriguing. There is a lullabye which starts like this, as the baby is lulled to sleep in her cradle:

A, diyadiya di'
 Lumbad don
 Kas miyaroy.

A, diyadiya di'
 Swaying now
 Like miyaroy.

SUGARCANE

- 135a Grandfather's water-tube
Cannot spill.
- 135b Guess what it is
Grandfather's bamboo receptacle
It cannot spill.
- 135c The datu fetched water
With only one long tube
If you pour it out
It will not spill.

TAGUNGGU' UWOY GIBBA:

Simba:non
Sayon sa:rong.

GONG AND DRUM PLAYING

- 136 Beating it
The deer dances.¹²¹

TALINGA'

Atuka ru sa
Manuk na uhis
Adtangtangnan du na maila'
Nabpurutan du na maitik.

Tangtangngan du
Kanna rub kakita'
Boyang dud kasaralli'
Kabpurutan dud.

EARS

- 137 You guess what it is
There is a white bird
When you look at it it is very wild
But when you hold it it is very tame.
- 138 When you look at it
You cannot see it
But you know it is there
When you hold it.

121. The Bagobos usually make the deer skin as drumhead. As the drum is beaten the skin vibrates, which vibration in the imaginative mind of the riddler is the deer dancing.

TAVANGAW

Bingkulan luyung makaw
Puti' malayanglayang.

TAVANGAW VINE¹²²

139 When you tap the buttress roots of the makaw
 tree
 Whites fly about.

TAVAKU'

Pamu'a' ku dikuman
Na kanna ta ra' agkannon
Subpakira'unan ta ra'.

TOBACCO

143 I planted *dikuman*¹²³
 We do not eat it
 But use its leaves only.

TAVU:WAN

Tavu'un apu'
Na kannag kasambayan.

WASP

141 It is grandfather's receptacle
 Which cannot be borrowed.

TEHENOPPON

Bonna: romman
Uvat domman.

DREAM

142 True it is sometimes
 False it is sometimes.

TITIKON

Tibbasan du le:ngngu'
Alin dutun le:ngngu'.

122. The vine itself is used for shampooing and soaping the body.
 Its seeds have white cotton-like wings.

123. *Dikuman* is a creation of the riddler for its sound effect as its ending is in consonance with the ending of *agkannon* in the second line.

STEEL-FLINT FIRE MAKING APPARATUS

- 143 When you slash him it sparks
When you strike it again it sparks.

TO'AN

Ikat'ikat ta maya'
Ikat ta tama'uyan
Kannad savut ta nandu'.

QUIPU: KNOTTED STRING FOR REMEMBERING
DATES OR NUMBERS

- 144 It is a knotted leash of the maya
The string of the tama'uyan bird
We do not know when it ends.¹²⁴

TUYYANG

Ad'ipanaw ini datu'
Nadtiyang ta pangassu'
Agkasuggung ta na kanna taman igkava:kki'
Atin kasuat na igkava:kki ta.

Atin ad'imatay agkasu'at
Atin adtamballak ta pangassu' rin
Kannad imatay.

Atidlahinat malivutut
Atid'a'unsad ma'oweet.

Atin ad'ilogga' inis anak
Ad'a'u:nat buvun din.

DOG

- 145a When this datu' departs
He carries with him a spear
When we meet him we are not afraid of him;
But when he laughs we begin to fear.¹²⁵

124. Contracting parties usually make use of the *toan* to remember when the date is due for the performance of their obligations, but outside of the parties no one else would seem to know the end or last day of the agreement.

125. The tail stands for the spear, and when the dog opens its mouth, the Bagobo riddler translates this as laughing.

145b If he laughs he feels mad
But when he shakes his spear
He is not going to kill.

146 When he stands up he is short
When he sits down he becomes tall.

147 When this child sleeps
He uses his thigh for a pillow.

TUYYANG NAGGABBU' TA BAVUY

Kalilid ini gatung
Nadtinunduhon tagkakak.

DOG CATCHING A WILD HOG

148 As this stone rolls
It is followed by a cackling sound.¹²⁶

UMPAK

Ka'aruwa' kidsikop
Kasakkad kid'usok.

JACKET

149 We put in our hands twice
And we go in once.

U:NAN

Lammin anak nidtabbaw
Na kasakkad da agka'an.

PILLOW

150 A newly born child
Who eats only once.¹²⁷

UPUS

Atuka ru
Kas mangovay nadpasuva'
Namatag don agga'un
Kanna' mabpandappug.

126. As the hog runs to escape, it is followed by a barking dog.

127. When one makes a pillow, it is stuffed only once.

CAT

- 151 You guess what it is
Like a girl going upstream
Who later comes home
Never washing her face.

URAN

Gassa' ni apu'
Na kannad kavilang.

Gassan apu'
Kannag kavilang.

RAIN

- 152a The arrows of grandfather
That cannot be counted.

- 152b The arrows of grandfather
Cannot be counted.

UVA:

Sa:nayt binitbitan
Na iyan dad paka'angay
Ka kanakat idta'ilan.

MONKEY

- 153 The rattan fruits of Binitbitan
The only one who could get them
Is the young man from Idta'ilan.¹²⁸

III. INDEX TO SOLUTIONS IN ENGLISH

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Antler 106a, 106b | Bracelet 121 |
| Ax 109 | Breath 59a, 59b |
| Bag, carryin 31, 71 | Cane 116 |
| Bamboo shoot 85 | Cat 151 |
| Banana plants 125 | Chicken 92, 93. See also Rooster. |
| Beads, see Necklace | Chicken, wild 90 |
| Beehive 98, 112, 113, 114 | Child sucking 8 |
| Bird (<i>badsi</i> :) 16 | Children 91 |
| Bolo and whetting stone 67 | Clouds, red 107 |

128. Both Binitbitan and Idta'ilan are folkloristic names, used here for their rhythmic effect.

- Corn 39
Cornbeing popped 40
Damming method of fishing 14
Day and night 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d, 5a, 5b
Dish 119
Dog 145a, 145b 146, 147
Dog catching wild hog 148
Door 88a, 88b, 88c
Dream 142
Drum and gong playing 136
Dying person 97
Earring 127
Ears 137, 138
Elbow 130
Eyebrow 74
Eyelash 113
Eyes 95a, 95b, 96
Feather, rooster's tail 84
Fence 1a., 1b
Fingers 64. See also Hand.
Fire 13. See also Pot and fire.
Firemaking apparatus 143
Fish 117
Fishing 14
Fishing hook, line, and rod 44a, 44b
Flower, grass 56
Flute 80
Frog 23
Fruit of lawan tree 83
Girl 94
Gong 2
Gong and drum playing 136
Grass flower 56
Grave 78
Guitar 75
Gun 133
Hair 46
Hanl 38a, 38b
Hand and nose 64
Hat 128
Hawk and beehive 98
Headdress 126
House 26, 27a, 27b
House ridge, see Tongue, f. 66.
Jacket 149
Jaw 20
Kaingin 65
Ladder 58
Laughter 69
Leaf of tree 52
Leech 86
Legs 102
Lightning 72, 73
Lizard 7, 120
Locust 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b
Maiden 94
Mat 60
Monkey 153
Moon 42
Mortar 81
Mother and children 91
Mucus 101
Mud 33
Mushroom 77
Nail 103
Name 99
Necklace 24a, 24b
Needle 131a, 131b, 131c. 132
Night 43
Nipples 134
Palm tree 17
Papaya tree 66
Parents 48
Path 50a, 50b, 50c, 51
Penis 82. cf. Vagina.
Pillow 150
Plate 119
Polygenist 55
Potato, sweet 68
Pounding block 110, 111
Pounding rice 34
Pot and fire 76
Python 21, 22
Quipu 144
Rafters, common 57
Rain 152a, 152b
Rainbow 29, 30
Rattan 19
Rattan and roof 12
Rice, hulled 36
Rice pounding 34
Rice and ladle 37
River 49, 79a, 79b
Road. See Path.
Roof and rattan 12
Rooster 84, 89

Sea and rivers 49	Teeth 100
Shadow 15a, 15b	Thorn 54
Shell 32, 122	Tobacco 140
Shrub 104	Tongue 53
Sky, red 107	Torch 9
Share 25, 87. See also Traps.	Traps 28, 47. See also Snare.
Squash 68	Tree 63
Squirrel 70	Tree fruit, winged 83
Stars 35	Tuber 18
Stove 129	Tweezer 105
String of knots for remembering dates 144	Umbilical hole 124
Sucking child 8	Vagina 41. Cf. Penis.
Sugarcane 133a, 133b, 133c.	Vine 45, 139
Sun 3	Wasp 141
Sun and rain 6	Water in hollow of trees 122a, 122b
Sweet potato 68	Whetting stone and bolo 68
Swidden 65	Wind 61, 62
Tail feather 84	Winged lizard 7
Tattoo 108	Work 123

IV. ANALYTICAL INDEX TO COMPARISONS AND DESCRIPTIONS

- antler* a dead tree, 106a, 106b.
arrows of grandfather as rain, 152a, 152b.
ax as *limukon* bird flying, singing as it perches, 109.
bag (carrying) as man who makes but two footprints, 31; as wild
 hog making its nest in the middle of the cliff, 71.
bahiyang plant as a young man building a house which will make
 him live outside the wall, 18.
balite trunk decaying as a dead person, 99.
bamboo leaves falling likened to locusts, 11a, 11b.
bamboo shoot described, 85.
bamboo tube which cannot spill is sugarcane, 135a, 135b, 135c.
banana bunch which is the cure for our itch is hand, 38a, 38b.
banana grove described as a woman who will be killed and her
 children who will be spared, 125.
banug bird as house, 26; as night, 43.
beads of necklace likened to 100 children, 24a; to 100 young men,
 24b.
beehive seen as the shield of the *anitu'*, 98; as the shield of grand-
 father, 112; as house, 113; as delicious to eat, 114.
belt seen as python, 21; regarded as parents, 48.

- bird* likened to ax which sings as it perches, 109; as elbow you cannot catch with two hands, 130; as ear, 137.
- birds* (maya) as young men, 94.
- bolo* viewed as bayanak fish, 67; as rooster's longest tail feather, 84.
- bottom grain* is night (because it is black), 4d.
- bracelet* described, 121.
- branch* of tree likened to hair, 46.
- breath* pictured as a log carried by the waters, not downstream but upstream, 59a; as floating downstream, then upstream, 59b.
- brothers* as legs, 102.
- buds* of coconut tree likened to shell bracelet, 121.
- buttress roots* appear as tavangaw vine, 139.
- cackling sound* is description for dog barking, 148.
- cane* as a child kicking, 116.
- carabao* creates image of house the belly of which cannot be wet, 27a; stands for bayukung land shell drying up the sea, 32.
- cat* like a girl who never washes her face, 151.
- catch which cannot be carried on back* is thorn, 54.
- chicken from the sky* is picture of locust which worries people, 10a, 10b. See also *decoy*.
- chicken* described, 92.
- child* as fire, 13; lying low symbolizing unhappiness, 13; leaping meaning happiness, 13; as rattan, 19; as building mud, 33; as fishing hook, line, and rod, 44a, 44b; as pillow, 150.
- child crying* is the image of gong being beaten, 2.
- child going to war* is leaf falling, 52.
- child* compared to place or dish, 119.
- child sucking* described, 8.
- child* traveling and kicking is cane, 116; as needle, 132; child sleeps using his thigh for a pillow is dog, 147.
- children* as split rattan, 19; as snare, 25; as rivers, 49; as junctions of stream, 91; as banana shoots, 125.
- children beating one another* is picture of eyelash, 118.
- children with mucus* sitting together are panu'an shrub fruits, 104.
- clearing a kaingin* described, 35.
- clitoris* as one stone in the river, 41.
- corn being popped* is description for crying child, 40.
- corn plant* described, 39.
- coxcomb* is seen as headdress, 92.

- crawling python* likened to fence in construction, 1a, 1b; as vine, 45.
- cries of frog* passing through baseroots like needle, 131b.
- crying child* is gong being beaten, 2; is corn being popped, 40.
- dancing without ankles* is fish, 117.
- datu* as stone 14; as mud, 14; as star, 35.
- datu* traveling regarded as the sun, 3; as wind, 62.
- day* as hulled rice, 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d; as white child, 5a; as child who comes from the east, 5b.
- dead person* is balite tree, 99.
- decoy* as a male slave who does not want to be paid in cash, 90.
- deer dances* as gong and drum are beaten, 136.
- deer* pictured as tweezer, 105.
- delicacy* is beehive, 114.
- dieing person* is rattan flower falling every day, 97.
- diving* of 100 ones and thin one contrasted, 37.
- dog barks* when leashed, etc., is trap, 28.
- dog described* as carrying a spear, 145a; as shaking spear, 145b; short when standing, tall when sitting, 146; as child using his thigh for a pillow, 147; catching a wild hog, 148.
- door* as something planted, 88a, 88b, 88c.
- dream* described as sometimes true, sometimes false, 142.
- drum*, see *gong*.
- drying up pool of water* described, 33.
- eagle* regarded as house, 26.
- ear* as a wild bird, 137; described as something you cannot see, but...hold, 138.
- earring* described, 127.
- eel* described as having four to five eyes is *lantuy* flute, 80; eel that cannot turn on its back is tongue, 53.
- eggs* laid by crawling python as sweet potato, 68.
- elbow* is a bird you can catch with one hand, but not with two hands, 130.
- eyebrow* is frog that croaks causing mountains to slide, 74.
- eyelashes* as children beating one another, 118.
- eyes* regarded as two siblings, 95a, 95b; power of eyes described, 96.
- false* sometimes, true sometimes, is dream, 142.
- fence* (in construction) as python crawling, 1a, 1b.
- fingers*, see *hand*, and f. 55.
- fire* as child, 13; personified as Kapuypuy, 76.
- fire lying low* symbolizing unhappiness, 13; when leaping, happi-

- ness, 13.
- firefly* twinkling is earring, 127.
- fish* symbolized by gold, 44a, 44b; is bolo swimming around, 67.
- fish* described, 117.
- fishing hook*, line, and rod as diving child, 44a, 44b.
- flint-steel fire making apparatus* described, 143.
- flower of gapunggapun grass* described, 56.
- flower falling every day* is person dying, 97.
- flute* as eel with four to five eyes, 80.
- flying lizard* as a kind of bird, 7.
- footprints* as tattoo, 108.
- footprints* as welts made by carrying bag, 31.
- frog croaking* and mountains sliding when eyebrow moves, 74.
- frog jumping* on another thinking it is a stone, 23.
- frog kicking* through base-roots just as a needle does, 131c.
- fruit of ka:mbug* as wild hog with bristles inside, 63.
- fruit* (winged) personified as Manaung, 83.
- fruits of bidas* hanging imagined as nipples, 134.
- girl* (very charming one) eating up her own body is torch, 9; girl going upstream never washing her face is cat, 151.
- gold* symbolizing fish, 44a, 44b.
- gong* (being beaten) is child crying (from a distance), 2.
- gong and drum playing* gives image of deer dancing, 136.
- grave* as something planted, 78.
- g-string* of the dead describes streaked lizard, 120.
- guitar* is the tree of Pangandasan resounding deeply when strummed, 75.
- gun* described as a reed on the plateau, 133.
- hair* as tree branch, 46; as *kinarom* leaves, 126.
- hand* see nas a brunch of bananas, 38a, 38b; as five (people), 64.
- hat* pictured as suitcase of the datu', 128.
- head* as tohop leaf, 126.
- headdress* stands for coxcomb of chicken, 92; described, 126.
- heart* as inhabitant of house, 26.
- hog* whose bristles are inside describes ka:mbug fruit, 63.
- hole in body* is umbilical hole, 124.
- hot air* made by salamander passing through base-roots describes needle moving, 131a.
- house* outside which live young men, 18; as eagle with wandering heart, 26; as wading carabao, 27a; as a pig crossing a river, 27b; carabao stands for beehive, 113.
- house with flat base* pictures mortar, 81.

- house with only one post* depicts mushroom, 77.
hunchback children portrayed by snare, 25, 87.
intestine of bird as path, 50a, 50b, 50c.
jacket described as worn, 149.
jaw, see *lower jaw*.
kaingin (slash-and-burn method of making a clearing) making described, 35, 65.
kataptap personifies roof, 12.
kawayway personifies rattan, 12.
kinarom leaves as hair, 126.
ladder having breast and back, 58.
ladle as thin one diving and stirring the water dirty, 37.
laughter described, 69.
laughter spells fear, 145a, 145b.
leaf falling is picture of child going to war, 52.
leash of bird is toan knotted string, 144.
leaves of balite tree as name of a dead person, 99.
leech described, 86.
leglet of Lumimbod simulated by the limukon bird is decoration on python, 22.
legs as two brothers, 102.
lightning slashes everywhere, returns roaring, 72; as looms, 73.
limukon bird simulates decoration on python, 22.
lizard appears as g-string and loin cloth, 120.
locust as a wild chicken from the sky, 10a, 10b; as bamboo leaves falling, 11a, 11b.
log as breath, 59a, 59b; as mat, 60.
log (short) is shadow, 15a, 15b.
logs as teeth, 100; as thighs, 8; as wives, 55.
loom seen as rainbow, 29, 30; as lightning, 73.
lower jaw described as grandsire's seesaw, 20.
lying child symbolizing unhappiness, 13.
maiden carrying everything under armpits identified as the papaya tree, 66; object of maya bird, 94.
mandible, see *lower jaw*.
mat described as a pool of water, etc., 60.
millet grain is night, 4a, 4c.
monkey identified as the young man from Idta'ilan who could get rattan fruits, 153.
moon seen as a stump overlooking the sea, 42.
mortar described as a house with a flat base, 81.
mother as sea, 49; as stream, 91.

- mother and children* as stream with many junctions, 91; as banana plants, 125.
- mucus* as two travelers, 64; described, 101.
- mud* identified as the other *datu*, 14; as child, 33.
- mushroom* as house which has only one post, 77.
- nail* as a diving young man with head out, 103.
- name of a person* as leaves of balite tree, 99.
- necklace of beads* seen as 100 children with one intestine, 24a; as 100 young men having but one life, 24b.
- needle* as hot air, 131a; as cries of frog, 131b; as kicking and coming out of base-roots, 131c.
- night* as one chupa of millet, 4a, 4c; as one chupa of sesame, 4b; as one chupa of bottom grain, 4d; as black child, 5a.
- night* as hooting bird which causes death to inhabitants, 43.
- nipples* seen in hanging bidas fruits, 134; as stars, 8.
- palm tree* (bahibbi') described, 17.
- panu'an* shrub fruits are children sitting together with mucus, 104.
- papaya* plant described, 66.
- parents* as belt, 48; as sea, 49.
- path* described as bird's intestine, 50a, 50b, 50c; as a tall betel nut tree, 51.
- penis* seen as a tree from the plain with decorticated end, 82.
- people* as stones, 33.
- pig* as house, 27b. See also *hog*.
- pillow* as a newly born child who eats only once, 150.
- plant* is door, 88a, 88b, 88c; is grave, 78.
- plate* likened to child when you feed him, etc., 119.
- polygenist* described, 56.
- pool of water* identified as mat, 60.
- post* (of house) seen as a spear below, 115.
- pot* personified as Kaitoman, 76.
- pounding rice* described, 34.
- pounding block* sounding like Dayadnak playing on the water, 110; described, 111.
- punay bird* compared to python, 22.
- python* described, 22.
- python* as grandsire's belt, 21; as leglet, 22; compared to *punay* bird, 22; compared to *limukon* bird, 22.
- python crawling* compared to fence in construction, 1a, 1b; to *burakan* vine, 45; to sweet potato vine laying eggs, 68.
- quipu* described, 144.

- rafters* (common) as 100 young men, 57.
rain described as arrows, 152a, 152b.
rain as crying brother, 6.
rainbow viewed as loom set in the air, 29, 30.
rattan as child (when split becomes countless children), 19;
 personified as Kawayway, 12.
rattan turning into a river junction is leech, 86.
receptacle which cannot be borrowed is wasp, 141.
reed on plateau is gun, 133.
rice (grains) as the one hundred ones diving who cannot make
 the water muddy, 37.
rice (hulled) symbolizing day, 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d.
rice pounding described, 34; *rice winnowing* described, 36.
river junction compared to leech, 86.
river seen as water in the hollow of tree, 122a, 122b.
river swollen compared to pregnant woman, 79a, 79b.
rivers as children, 49.
road, see *path*.
roof personified as Kataptap, 12.
rooster pecking pictured, 89, 93.
sea portrayed as water in hollow of tree, 122a, 122b.
seesaw is lower jaw, 20.
sesame symbolizes night, 4b.
shadow described, 15a, 15b; as a short log, 15a, 15b.
sheath of betelnut tree compared to bracelet, 121.
shell seen in carabao wading and drying up the sea, 32.
shield of the anitu' describes beehive, 98, 112
sky set afire by Kappikappi, 107.
snare described as a person having children who are all hunch-
 back, 25, 87.
sound from pounding block described, 111.
spear seen in post of house, 115.
squash, see *sweet potato*, and f. 77.
squirrel's flying described, 70.
stars are nipples, 8; symbolize datu, 35.
steel-flint fire making apparatus described, 143.
sticks of buvu' trap as lying 100 young men, 47.
stone in the river is image of clitoris, 41.
stone rolling is wild hog being chased, 148.
stones as datu, 14; as people, 33.
stove described, 129.
string of beads as intestine, 24a; as life, 24b.

- string of bird* compared to toan, 144.
strutting without feet, etc., is fish, 117.
stump overlooking the sea is moon, 42.
sucking child described, 8.
sugarcane compared to water-tube, 135a, 135c; to bamboo receptacle, 135b.
suitcase of the datu' describes hat, 128.
sun is datu traveling, 3.
sun and rain as brother, 6.
sweet potato vine is python laying eggs, 68.
tail as spear, 145a, 145b.
tail feathers personified by Madilay, 16.
tail feather as bolo, 84.
tattoo marks as footprints, 108.
teeth as logs, 100.
thighs as logs, 8.
thorn compared to a catch, 54.
toan described, 144.
tobacco described, 140.
tohop leaf as head, 126.
tongue is eel from Liddapan, 53.
torch described as a charming girl, 9.
trail, see *path*.
trap described as dog barking when leashed, etc., 23.
traveling datu' is sun, 3.
tree seen when looking at antler, 106a, 106b.
tree resounding is guitar, 75.
tree with decorticated end is penis, 82.
tributaries stand for children, 91.
true-false is dream, 142.
tweezer is deer who would not graze in the lowland, etc., 105.
umbilical hole as hole in the body, 124.
vagina described, 41.
vine seen as buttress roots, 139.
wasp is grandfather's receptacle, 141.
welts made by carrying bag seen as footprints, 31.
whetting stone described, 67. D
wind as someone passing by, 61; dancing, 62.
winged lizard as bird, 7.
wings personified by Anaay, 16.
winnowing rice described, 36.
wives as logs, 55.

woman (pregnant) is swollen river, 79a, 79b.

work described, 123.

young man diving with head out is nail, 103.

young men as sticks of trap, 47; as common rafters, 57; as *maya* birds, 74; as three stone-heads of stove, 129.