BAGOBO RIDDLES

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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 northwestern 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 Sanggulian.

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, Laura Watson Benedict, and Fay-Cooper Cole 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.


Riddle making requires no special occasion, nor any par-
BAGOBO RIDDLES

ticular social setting, as is found in other Filipino societies. 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. 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.

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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total No. of Riddlers</th>
<th>Contributions:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Base Riddles</td>
<td>Riddles</td>
<td>Variants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 20 years old</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 60 years old</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 - 70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 - 80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*.  

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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.
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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BAGOBO TEXT</th>
<th>ENGLISH TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A:D⁹</td>
<td>FENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dullug inis bakassan,</td>
<td>1a As that python crawls,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahat dad ta ikug din.</td>
<td>It soon bites its own tail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addullug ini bakassan,</td>
<td>1b As this python crawls,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahat dad ta ikug din.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\textsuperscript{10}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{AHUNG} & \textbf{GONG} \\
\textit{Atuka ru sa}\textsuperscript{11} & \textit{You guess what it is} \\
\textit{Anak ta mahindanaw} & \textit{Magindanaw child}\textsuperscript{12} \\
\textit{Na ahad iddat sa:ysay} & \textit{As far even as Sa:ysay}\textsuperscript{13} \\
\textit{Naddinog tadsinaggaw} & \textit{Could be heard its cry.} \\
\end{tabular}

\textbf{ALLAW} \\
\textit{Ad'ipanaw ini datu',} \\
\textit{Adpangarap sa lahat.}

\textbf{SUN} \\
3 When this datu travels,\textsuperscript{14} Everyone pays obeisance.

\textbf{ALLAW UWOY BULLI'} \\
\textit{Atukaw.}\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{atuka ru} being derived from \textit{atuk} guess+\textit{ka} you+\textit{ru} it.

12. One of the ethnic groups in west central Mindanaw (see H. Otley Beyer, \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{atuka ru}; \textit{atukaw} comes from \textit{atuk} guess+\textit{kaw} you.
Sanga supan\textsuperscript{16} boggas  
Na sanga supan kabba\textsuperscript{17}.

Sakkad na supak\textsuperscript{16} boggas,  
Sakkad na supak langnga\textsuperscript{19}.

Sakkad na supan boggas  
Uwoy sakkad na supan kabba:.

Sakkad na supak boggas  
Na sakkad na supak bottom\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{21}

ALLAW UWONY BULLI'  
Na atin addungguk meton na anak  
langun tabpatay;

\textsuperscript{16} From supa' cover of a basket the content of which is equivalent to one chupa+na connective particle.  
\textsuperscript{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.  
\textsuperscript{18} From supa' cover of a basket+ka connective particle.  
\textsuperscript{19} Sesame (Sesamum orientale L.).  
\textsuperscript{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.  
\textsuperscript{21} In these four variants, note the constant referrent 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 UWOT URAN**

Ad’ipanaw inis anak na aruwa’,  
Nadtinundug inis ar’ 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.

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

ANGU26
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.
Agka:nu 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,
Nagkaw: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.
Ndka:ha: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 katap-
tap 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.
BAGOBO RIDDLES

Ka kannad inguma'  
Ka sakkad na datu'.

DAMMING IN FISHING

14 These datus 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 datus 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. Anaay, 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-
yaw, my informant, explained that this bird while flying 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
Dumalanggay's tikos
Likened to the punay bird
Simulated by the limukon bird
The decoration was made of.

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.

BALIOG
Sakkad na hatus 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'O'D

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 kanna' 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 UWÖY DAMPA'
Adsannab inis mahatus
Na kanna' 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.*

**CORN**

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'._

**VAGINA**

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 hoots  
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.\textsuperscript{60}

44b This child dives
Bringing up gold.

BURAKAN
Addullug ka bakassan
Na kanna’ ra’ abpak’a’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.\textsuperscript{61}

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

\textsuperscript{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.
BUYYAG
Atukaru
Sekkaw warad tavod du.

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

DAHAT UWYO WEG
Id’anak inis malitan
Na udsarad agkavun’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 ulla:
Pakatukas ta dahat.

Atukaru
Bitukat kay kayasi’
Nabpakatukas ta dahat.

Bitukat taligtig
Abpakatukas ta dahat.

PATH or TRAIL
50a Guess what it is
The ulla: 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 ulla: is a small bird with grey-brown feathers.
64. The kayasi’ or kaykayasi’, smaller than the ulla: bird, has dark grey feathers.
50c The taligtig bird’s intestine
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.*

**TONGUE**

53 The eel from Liddapan
Cannot turn on its back.

**DUHI’**

*Abpakauta inis anak*
*Kanna rig ka’oggan tabbava’*
*Boyang agka’oggi’*
*Kabbitbitatan.*

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{68}

GASSAW

*Mahatus na kanakan
Sakkad deen kas unan.*

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 Mandauda' dances.

KA:MBUG  
Baboy ta ki banbanon  
Na diyan da'om baukag.

KA:MBUG TREE\(^{71}\)  
63  Our wild hog from Banbanon\(^{72}\)  
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  
Nabo'yang 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 singes it first.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{KAPAYAS}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Mangovay nadlahinat}
\textit{Nabpakalingkus kadsapipiyon.}
\end{quote}

\textbf{PAPAYA TREE}
\begin{quote}
66 This maiden stood up
Carrying all under her armpits.\textsuperscript{75}
\end{quote}

\textbf{KA:SIDU’ UWOY KAMANGA’}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Ayad’adan ta pu’}
\textit{Ta danggayan ta bayanak.}
\end{quote}

\textbf{BOLO AND WHETTING STONE}
\begin{quote}
67 It is a rubbing-place on an island
Where the \textit{bayanak} fish swims around.\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

\textbf{KASILA’}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Addullug ini bakassan}
\textit{Nabpaka’appus ka sa’.}
\end{quote}

\textbf{SWEET POTATO}\textsuperscript{77}
\begin{quote}
68 As this python crawls
It lays eggs all along.
\end{quote}

\textbf{KASU’AT}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Aggusik diyan}
\textit{Aggusik dini’}.
\end{quote}

\textbf{LAUGHTER}
\begin{quote}
69 You open up there
You open up here.\textsuperscript{78}
\end{quote}

\textbf{KAVA:}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Lumayang si lumanggak}
\textit{Layang si langga’upay}
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74} Bambanon appears as a placename in folklore or riddles only.
\item \textsuperscript{75} The fruits and flowers appear under the petiole to the Bagobo.
\item \textsuperscript{76} This is understood to mean the island is the whetting stone and the fish is the bolo being whetted.
\item \textsuperscript{77} \textit{Tavosa}, squash, is another answer to this riddle.\item \textsuperscript{78} \textit{Aggusi’} means to open up little by little. During my stay of two
\end{itemize}
Dinaput da’üt taggap
Daput da’ün kinarom.

FLYING SQUIRREL

70 Lumonggak took to its wings
Langgaupay flew in the air
Alighting like the leaf of the tanggap
Alighted like the kinarom leaf.

KAVI:
Darubmuk bavuy
Na kannad darubmon diyat pattad
Su diyat tangngat 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.

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 kanna' mavaddas  
Kannad paningkayu'.

Atukáw sa  
Malitan na mavaddas  
Manokka: nabpiad ta kayu'  
Atin kanna' 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.
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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 nabadaldal
Na weeg nagkumpaniya:’ nadsavang.

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

LIITTAG
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 nasaroll’i
   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.
MATÁ'
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’
Was borrowed by the katu:san bird.

96. Benevolent spirit who looks after the welfare of man. I have heard it pronounced anitu 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'u'n 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 ad tupang mananoy
Atin ad takaddog mas'i'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’woy 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 diyant 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’ flew\(^{102}\)
The sky began to burn.

**PANGOTTOB**

*Kammis ni buwa:kaw*
*Na duwon poron kaungkay.*

**TATTOO**

108 The footprints of Buwa:kaw\(^{103}\)
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 BLOCK

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

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

PATIYUKAN

Ka:saq 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.\textsuperscript{108}

113 This young man is building a house
    His fastening does not reach around.\textsuperscript{109}

114 It is delicious to eat
    But difficult to eat.

PATTUNG

On day 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 FISH\textsuperscript{110}

117 Strutting without feet
    Dancing without ankles.

\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{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
Na‘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 kalö’ko’ ta mamo’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 totok 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:KOV
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 wings\textsuperscript{114}
Alighting on a tohop leaf
Resting on kinarom leaves.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{116}

SAYAP\textsuperscript{117}
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.

\textsuperscript{114} Personified name used in riddles and folk stories only.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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 kanna’ 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.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{118}  plateau and other areas, the reason given being that the anahaw palm
tree has become very rare in these places.

\textsuperscript{118}  The pieces that make up a dress may be prepared, but with­
out a needle no dress can be made.
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.

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' A, diyadiya di'
Lumbad don Swaying now
Kas miyaroy. 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
Adtangtangngan 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.
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TAVANGAW
Bingkulan luyung makaw
Puti’ malayanglayang.

TAVANGAW VINE\textsuperscript{122}
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\textsuperscript{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’.

\textsuperscript{122} The vine itself is used for shampooing and soaping the body.
Its seeds have white cotton-like wings.
\textsuperscript{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.
If he laughs he feels mad
But when he shakes his spear
He is not going to kill.

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

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

UMPARK
Kaaruwa' 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.\(^{128}\)

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