

Isneg and Kankanay Riddles Explained

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt at analysis of Isneg and Kankanay riddles from a collection of about one thousand items: 645 of the Isneg (not including several variants), and 338 of the Kankanay (including a few variants). This does not mean that I have always been successful in unraveling the enigma, which is the essence of the riddle.¹

Both Isneg and Kankanay inhabit the Cordillera Mountains of Northern Luzon, the Isneg in the extreme north, the Kankanay towards the south.

1. The Isneg riddles, text and translation, were published in Tokyo in *Folklore Studies*, Vol. XII, (1953), pp. 1-95. The Kankanay riddles were published by the University of Manila in *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. II (Jan. 1953), 20 pages.

A PRELIMINARY REMARK

A vast number of both Isneg and Kankanay riddles consist of two parts, both of them having the same ending. This has to be kept in mind when trying to solve any of them, because the first part has often nothing to do with its solution except as it merely furnishes the necessary rhyme. This is especially true when names either of persons or of places are mentioned.

In Isneg:

Pineapple:

Sissida ka daya

*Nagsi-si-ka baxa.*²

A fish upstream, its scales are brass.

Hone:

Apel Iggat

Awan na di mamilgat.

The side of Iggat's thigh, everybody scrapes it.

Mortar:

Bulinawan ka Xannad

lipuliput amlad.

Black stone at Gannad, surrounded by little fishes.

In Kankanay:

Rat:

Wad-an esay lakey

Manguyguyud si uey.

There is an old man, he drags rattan.

Stone:

Tain Balteng

Adi kakkeng.

Excrement of Balteng, it cannot be marked by the nail.

Eye:

Pising ed Kamaligan

Adi kasabaligan.

Taro at Kamaligan, it cannot be moistened by the rain.

2. x, in Isneg, stands for h in horse.

I. MEN

1. In General

Men in a house.

The Isneg riddle: The inside of the stomach talks. Both stomach and house are containers: the inside of the stomach (the house) talks, so there must be people inside.

To a similar riddle "house" is given as the solution. Cf. IX. Buildings and Constructions.

A *xusi* jar and a man.

The *xusi* is a precious jar which is mostly used for storing fermented beverages.

The Isneg riddle: The rich man dies and that is the one they throw away, the servant dies and that is the one they inter.

The rich man (the precious jar) dies (is empty) and that is what they throw away (they put aside), the servant (the man who guards the jar) dies and that is what they inter. In contrast with the usual way: here the rich man is despised and the servant is honored.

Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Woman.

The Isneg riddle: A *latabak* tree, its waist bears a leaf.

Its waist (the waist of the woman) bears a leaf (a tapis).

Children.

The Isneg riddle: Men at the mouth of the river, all of them tailless.

In Isneg the word for hind part of a G string is the same as that for "tail". Isneg small children run around naked, so they wear no G string, and consequently no "tail".

Fetus.

An Isneg riddle: A halfbeak when it crosses the river, a carabao when it comes back. The fetus grows continually: at first it is a halfbeak (rather small), later on it is a carabao (much larger).

To a similar riddle "canoe" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: Two arrange the load, one carries it.

When a pregnant woman stoops down to arrange her load, both mother and child seem to take part in the work: they are on the same

level; but when the woman stands up and puts the load on her head, she is the only one who carries it.

Widow(er).

An Isneg riddle: The pipe does not grow except at the base of a post.

Among the Isneg a dead person is stretched out on the floor of the house at the base of a post. And so nobody can be a widow or a widower except when her or his partner is dead.

A variant of the same riddle: The mushroom does not grow except under the house. Sometimes a person is buried under the house. For the explanation, cf. the preceding variant.

To a similar riddle "basket" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Negrito.

The Isneg riddle: They are many following one another, they all carry a nest. The Negritos inhabit the forest and, when traveling, they follow one another in the narrow paths; they all have an abundance of woolly or kinky hair.

The *manulaw* dancer.

The *manulaw* is a man who dances while holding a *dulaw* in one of his hands. The *dulaw* is a stick which is decorated with feathers of different colors.

The Isneg riddle: Indian corn at Paddig, they all look at it. The dancer being very conspicuous, he attracts the eyes of all the assistants.

To a similar riddle "large tree" is given as the solution.

Oarsman.

The Isneg riddle: It is weeding without reason. His movements resemble those of a man who is weeding his field, but in this case he does it without reason, as there are no weeds in the water.

To the same riddle "fowl" is also given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

Rider on a canoe.

The Isneg riddle: It is weeding all the time without reason.

Cf. the preceding item.

Mayor.

The Isneg riddle: One *singit* post for the whole town.

The *singit* is a short post that supports the floor of the house.

The solution is obvious.

Another Isneg riddle: A basket full of pipes, one smells bad. The basket is the town full of people. The mayor smells bad, because the Isneg are not fond of the authorities established by the government.

Banay.

This man was an inhabitant of Tawit and had been captured several times by the Magapta people, but had always escaped.

The Isneg riddle: Paddig's language, everybody presses it with the fingers, nobody helps it except the Wild Boar.

Everybody presses it with the fingers (they catch him), he is helped (to escape) by the Wild Boar (probably some kind of supernatural being).

The solution is easy for people who knew the man; the same may be said for the next item.

Compare "Top of the ladder" in IV. Buildings and Constructions.

Banglay.

This man also was an inhabitant of Tawit and was never able to take a head, but always promised to do so.

The Isneg riddle: A man at Danadanas, he has a firm purpose, but he has no means of doing it. Cf. the preceding item.

Mind.

The Kankanay riddle: The house is made by it, it cannot be cut.

The solution is obvious.

Speech.

The Kankanay riddle: If you use it profusely it suffices, if you use it sparingly it does not suffice.

In contrast with food, money and so on.

Writing.

The Kankanay riddle: A snapped rope full of whit.

If you consider a line of writing as a rope, it must seem to be snapped, because the words are separated from each other.

Letter.

The Kankanay riddle: A snapped vine full of whit. Cf. the preceding item.

Ghost.

The Isneg riddle: Half a bamboo opened by the spirit Buwebo.

Buwebo is a spirit who looks like fire and is visible only at night.

It is opened (made visible) by Buwebo. This spirit being nocturnal is the appropriate man to make ghosts visible, because ghosts usually make their appearance at night.

The spirit Haggag.

This is a gigantic spirit of the forest, a real fiend.

The Isneg riddle: A man on the mountain, he cannot see men.

In Isneg, "he cannot see them" means: "he hates them", exactly as in Flemish.

This man cannot see (he hates) men.

2. The Body

Body.

The Kankanay riddle: It has nine holes.

Two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth, anus and genitals.

Shadow.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: A rich man travels (or: comes out), a captain accompanying him.

A captain walks, Apiran accompanying him.

In the first riddles the captain is the shadow, and in the other riddle he projects the shadow.

Corpse.

An Isneg riddle: Very heavy and tied with the core of rattan.

The core of rattan is not used for ordinary binding purposes because it is very brittle, but it is good enough for binding up dead bodies.

To the same riddle "coffin" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: A moon in a halo.

When a person dies, a group of people, mostly women, immediately surround the body and lament in a loud voice. The corpse is the moon, and the people who surround it are the halo.

The *saxo* pus.

Saxo is the decayed matter that flows from the nose and mouth of deceased persons.

The Isneg riddle: A brook whose water was made to pass through a tube of *tabbag* wood.

The *tabbag* is a species of *Ficus* (*Ficus hauili*. Blanco, and similar species).

The water (pus) passes through a tube (the throat).

Blood.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Water at Tabbayagan (or: Bassinawan) that is moving, without it we have to die.

Perspiration.

The Isneg riddle: It decreases till it reaches the armpit, it increases till it reaches the malleolus.

To the same riddle "boiling coconut meat" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants; and to a similar riddle "*basi beer*" is given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

Head.

The Isneg riddle and a Kankanay one refer to the head as a hunting ground for lice: to catch one another's lice is a favorite pastime among both tribes.

The Isneg riddle: A small island, a hunting ground for ten.

A Kankanay riddle: A small forest full of deer.

Another Kankanay riddle: There are men, they are very small, there is the owner of the house, but he does not shake them off.

There are men (hairs), there is the owner of the house (head).

A third Kankanay riddle: It is full of black weeds.

Crown of the head.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Small rapids, a place of hard bamboos, my riddle. And: A small sterile patch of ground on the hill where hard bamboos grow.

To this second variant "rice tied up" is also given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

To similar riddles "throat" and "pulse" are given as solutions.

Another Isneg riddle: A spider's den, it becomes better and better.

The fontanelle becomes harder and harder.

Hair.

An Isneg riddle and a Kankanay one refer to the absence of nodes:

In Isneg: A bamboo at Talifugu without nodes.

To similar riddles "iron ring" and "the Donax reed" are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements, and VII. Plants.

In Kankanay: It is very straight, it has no knots.

To a very similar riddle "crowbar" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: Its branch is its fruit.

In Isneg, the split tip of a hair is called *bunga abo* (fruit of the

hair).

A third Isneg riddle: I go to get rattan, it spreads over the whole mountain, to make a *karatay* out of it, it does not suffice.

The *karatay* is an open-worked basket made of strips of rattan.

I go to get rattan (hair), it spreads over the whole mountain (head).

A fourth Isneg riddle with seven variants: 1-2. Bamboo at Anayan (or: Sugar cane at Tagadan), the place where to cut it cannot be noticed. 3. Bamboo at Anayan, the place where to cut it cannot be seen. 4. Bamboo at Anayan, the place where to get at it cannot be noticed. 5-6. Lattaran's sugar cane (or: Bamboo at Anayan), we do not know where to cut it. 7. Sugar cane at Tattagadan, we do not know where to get at it.

Nobody can see the hair of his head.

Another Kankanay riddle: You try to count it, but you cannot count it.

A third Kankanay riddle: A stone at Ul-ulinan, it is full of warts.

A stone (head), it is full of warts (hairs).

This Kankanay riddle seems to include its own solution: My hair is black, I hang it up.

I hang it up—on my head.

Blonde hair.

The Kankanay riddle: My hair is white, I made it stagger.

This riddle seems to include its own solution.

Blonde hair among the Kankanay is almost unknown, that is probably the reason why they made it "stagger".

Forehead.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: A precipice at Alingkadakad (or: a stone at Ngadangad), you cannot see it looking up.

Eyebrows.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: I plant Indian corn on mount Bangkirig, why is it close, a cold mountain.

I plant Indian corn on mount Bangkirig, it does not grow tall, such a cold mountain.

The Indian corn (the hair) is close (too close together), and does not grow tall, because the mountain is cold (because the eyebrow is not fit for plants).

Eye.

Three Isneg riddles and three Kankanay riddles refer to the eyesight:

In Isneg: still here.

"I have gone already", it says, and it is still here.

Resembling the *arimuran* rattan, it steps on everything.

The fruit of the *arimuran* rattan is round and resembles an eye.

In Kankanay: A little thing, it goes as far as Tagudin; and its variant: A small coal, it reaches Tagudin.

Tagudin is a town situated on the seacoast.

A section of rattan, it enters locked things.

When it is here at once it is very far.

Another Isneg riddle: It weeps when fed.

When fed (when extraneous matter touches it).

To the same riddle and to a similar one "hog" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

To another similar riddle "gong" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Three other Kankanay riddles:

A pool at Adaem surrounded by needles.

Surrounded by needles (hairs of the eyebrows and of the eyelids).

A small well entirely surrounded by the sky, if you want to draw from it, you cannot get it.

The sky (the white of the eye).

Taro at Kamaligan, no rain can moisten it.

To a similar riddle "taro" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

Nose.

The Isneg riddles refer to the difficulty one experiences in trying to see it:

A riddle in three variants: It seems far away to one's sight.

It seems far away, it is very near (or: it can be picked up).

Another riddle: Peeping at it, seeing it.

The Kankanay riddle: Reeds upside down, full of needles.

Upside down—the root being at the upper side. Full of needles (hairs).

Nasal mucus.

One Isneg riddle and one Kankanay riddle refer to its movement:

In Isneg: A hard worker when it goes up the ladder, it is slow when going down.

In Kankanay: It comes out slowly, it enters at once.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: Two ride downstream, five catch (or: cut) them.

Five fingers catch the mucus coming from two nostrils.
 Another Kankanay riddle: He cried and was wiped off.
 He cried—when blowing the nose.

Mouth.

One Isneg riddle and one Kankanay riddle refer to the teeth:

In Isneg: A cave full of bones.

To a similar riddle "teeth" is given as the solution.

In Kankanay: A cave at Amliang full of bones.

Another Isneg riddle: Hammering at a place full of stones, swallowing at a place full of vines.

Hammering (chewing) at a place full of stones (teeth), swallowing at a place full of vines (at the throat).

A third Isneg riddle: Remnant of the wise, it cannot be cured.

Remnant—after having been cut; of the wise (the spirits).

To a similar riddle "vulva" and "tattoo" are given as solutions. Cf.

III. Dress and Adornment.

Tongue.

An Isneg riddle in four variants: (there is) a small board, it cannot be made to stand on its side.

A small board, you cannot make it stand on its side (or: board, it cannot be turned over).

Another Isneg riddle: A small *lalakan* insect, we cannot eat it.

A third Isneg riddle: A man at Banaw, immovable and getting dizzy.

The last qualification is added merely for the rhyme: Banaw—makkaw.

A Kankanay riddle: A thin board, the seat of the talker.

Another Kankanay riddle: Without it we cannot speak.

A third Kankanay riddle: It is submerged, but never gone.

Submerged—in saliva; never gone (drowned).

Teeth.

An Isneg riddle: A cave full of bracket fungi.

To a similar riddle "mouth" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Leaves of the hyacinth beans, all alike.

Teeth do not differ one from another.

A third Isneg riddle: A basket full of *koko*.

The *koko* is a kind of plain white cotton cloth.

To a similar riddle "the *xupan* plate" is given as the solution. Cf. V.

Furniture and Implements.

A fourth Isneg riddle: It begins with placing the thatch and then places the substratum of canes.

The thatch (the gums); the substratum of canes (the teeth).

In contrast with the usual construction of the roof.

To the same riddle "cowpea", "the *palali* tree" (Cf. VII. Plants), and "spider" are given as solutions (Cf. VI. Animals).

The Kankanay riddle: When you are far, look: it is white.

The whiteness of the teeth is conspicuous on account of the color of the skin.

Gum of the teeth.

The Isneg riddle: Resin of the *xivi* rattan, it is able to strengthen the board.

The board (the row of teeth).

To a similar riddle "key" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Ear.

An Isneg riddle: It cannot make its den except on a rock.

Another Isneg riddle: Flowers all the time, it does not produce leaves.

If you compare the ear to a flower, there is of course no room for leaves.

The Kankanay riddle: It existed from your childhood on.

Although the ear seems to be a later addition to the rest of the head, it has always been there.

Ears.

The Isneg riddle in four variants: They are a married couple and cannot see one another. They were created equally and did not yet see one another. Since they were made man (or: were created), they did not yet see one another.

The Kankanay riddle: There are two brothers, they turn their back on one another.

Ear and ear pendant.

Cf. III. Dress and Adornment.

Neck.

The Kankanay riddle: You cannot see it.

This could be said of several things besides the neck.

Throat.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Little Puppukok (or: Small

rapids), the strongest kind (of bamboo), my riddle.

Although small, it is very strong and may be compared to bamboo (the hardest kind), on account of a certain resemblance.

To a similar riddle "crown of the head", "pulse" and "rice tied up" (Cf. VII. Plants) are given as solutions.

The Kankanay riddle: At Kabatoan they beat it, at Kawakaan they receive it.

Kabatoan means: a place full of stones (the teeth); Kawakaan means: a place full of vines (the throat).

Gullet.

The Kankanay riddle: It bows continually.

That is: when swallowing either saliva or food.

A woman's breast.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A banana in place where all pass, it ripens when pressed.

The other variant merely adds: with the tips of the fingers.

The place where all (children) pass; it ripens (produces milk) by being pressed (with the lips or with the fingers).

Another Isneg riddle: A banana in the corner embraced by a *danag* spirit.

Embraced by a spirit: thus obtaining some supernatural power, namely: to produce milk.

To the same riddle "rhinoceros beetle" is given as the solution. And to a similar riddle "acacia" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals and VII. Plants.

A third Isneg riddle: A small *bibiyangko* squash, it makes men live.

To a similar riddle "milk" is given as the solution.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A tree at Latabak, it poured out its sap and loses in the contest.

It poured out its sap (milk), and loses in the contest—with the other breast which is still full.

A Kankanay riddle refers to the shape of the breast: An oong *just* sprung up.

The *oong* is a large edible white mushroom.

Another Kankanay riddle in two variants: Water at Dagum-ian, it does not get dirty. And: A well at Bantaugan, it cannot get dirty.

To a similar riddle "coconut" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

A third Kankanay riddle: Water at Tangliben, walk sideways, then

drink.

Walk sideways (at the side of the woman), then drink (suck).

A fourth Kankanay riddle: It perches on your chest.

Milk.

The Isneg riddle in two variants. Water at Palloago, it makes man live.

Water at Banbanayan, without it we die.

To a similar riddle "a woman's breast" is given as the solution.

Belly.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Dali-nag's canoe (or: the canoe of Agkoliman and his people), its load is nothing but ropes.

Ropes (bowels).

Bladder.

The Kankanay riddle: If yo ufill it up with wind, it grows.

Buttocks.

The Isneg riddle: Even though it has a banana, it is a pomelo.

Its shape is that of a pomelo (round), although it has a banana (the groove).

The Kankanay riddle: He knows how to vomit, he does not know how to eat.

Anus.

The Isneg riddle: The frog winks, heartwood is at the upper end.

The winking refers to its movement; the heartwood is the dung.

To a similar riddle "dung" is given as the solution.

The Kankanay riddle: It has very many cuts.

Flatus.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: It crows, it comes from a hollow.

It is crowing, it dwells in a hollow.

Another Isneg riddle: Bekat's *limbak* pudding, it spreads below.

Below (not upward).

What the Isneg mention in the first riddle, the Kankanay distribute over three different riddles: two for the sound and one for the place.

For the sound: Pagitpit's child, a good talker.

To a similar riddle "the *tala* bird" is given as the solution. Cf. VI.

Animals.

He asks leave before going away.

For the place: He lives in a hole.

To the same riddle "iguana" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Animals.

Dung.

An Isneg riddle: A frog winking and cleaving heartwood.

The winking movement of the anus cleaving heartwood (producing dung).

To a similar riddle "anus" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Dropping, dropping.

A third Isneg riddle in three variants: My (or: a) post of heartwood, it dies to-morrow. And: A post of narra turned into dust the next morning.

A fourth Isneg riddle in two variants: Angry when throwing it away, happy when finding it. And: He is very happy when he throws it away, he is angry when he finds it.

Both contradictory statements can be explained satisfactorily: when you throw away something you seem to be angry, but when you find what you threw away and see that you are relieved, you are happy. You are happy when you are relieving yourself, but when you see the result (stench, etc.), it does not suit you.

A fifth Isneg riddle in two variants: A leaf of the *banay* plant, it makes you lame. And: We step on a leaf of the *banay* plant, we immediately get lame.

During the operation a man is unable to move around.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants; if you steal at Gonogon, there is something that will trace you. And: Wherever you go, they will trace you.

What you leave behind (your stool) will be the cause of your being found out.

Another Kankanay riddle: It is continually broken off when it comes out.

Two other Kankanay riddles seem to include their own solution:

Kainga's excrements, they cannot be touched.

If you lift it up, the stool falls down.

If you lift up your G string.

To a riddle almost identical with the first of these two "fire" is given as the solution, which seems much more adequate. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

To a similar riddle "stone" is given as the solution. Cf. VIII. The Outside.

In the second of these two riddles the Kankanay term used for "stool" is obsolete, which may make the riddle enigmatic.

Pubes.

The Isneg riddle: I went to gather fuel, there is nothing long and all are pestles.

The hairs are short and similar to pestles.

A man's genitals.

The Kankanay riddle: Two brothers on one string.

Two brothers (testicles).

Penis.

Both Isneg and Kankanay have a riddle that refers to its origin:

In Isneg: Driven in by Durut, it cannot be pulled out.

In Kankanay: The *kabunian* stuck it in, it cannot be removed.

The *kabunian* is the Supreme Being.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: An Iloko hat (or: head covering) perforated at the top.

The Iloko inhabit the coastal plain. The shape of the *glans penis* accounts for the reference to a hat.

To the first variant of this riddle "orifice of the penis" is also given as the solution.

A third Isneg riddle: A man in a hollow vomiting soft coconut meat.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Something like a bamboo above, full of coconut oil.

A fifth Isneg riddle: A section of *bubug* rattan, it is not able to pound.

A sixth Isneg riddle: A small tree surrounded by schizaeaceous ferns.

The ferns are the pubic hairs.

A seventh Isneg riddle: Coco palms on a patch of river sand, one of them protrudes above the others.

To the same riddle "middle finger" is also given as the solution, which seems to be more adequate.

Another Kankanay riddle: A crooked tree, Bakilo climbs it.

On account of its position, the man seems to climb it.

Orifice of the penis.

The Isneg riddle: An Iloko hat perforated at the top. Cf. Penis, where the same riddle has it for its solution.

Smegma.

The Isneg riddle: A stump of *sikal* reed full of cooked rice (used for provisions), and spreading a bad smell.

The cooked rice is the smegma. Its smell is very offensive to the

Isneg and it is at least one of the reasons why they practise circumcision.

Vulva.

Five Isneg riddles and one Kankanay riddle refer to the clitoris.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: 1. A cut in a stone upstream with a bundle in the middle.

To a similar riddle "a woman's G string" is given as the solution.

Cf. III. Dress and Adornment.

2. A cut in a stone upstream stopped by a bundle.

To the same riddle "clitoris" is given as the solution.

3. A coconut cracker at Masi with popped corn in the middle.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: A small (or: small deep) pond in which an *axodong* shell dives.

A third Isneg riddle: A large *sinandila* pudding, it has a grain of oilless coconut meat.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Half a squash, it has one seed.

A fifth Isneg riddle: Gumusit's hollow with barbs inside.

A Kankanay riddle: A gap, a knife was in the middle.

Two Isneg riddles and two Kankanay riddles refer to copulation:

The Isneg riddles: A small squash tasty without salt. And: Covered, no revenge.

No revenge: the woman does not respond to the man.

The Kankanay riddles: There is a hole, it always thinks of a prop. And: A perforated *banga* jar, difficult to get.

An Isneg riddle and a Kankanay riddle refer to the origin of the vulva:

The Isneg riddle: Slashed by the wise, it cannot be cured.

To the same riddle "tattoo" is given as the solution. Cf. III. Dress and Adornment. And to a similar riddle "mouth" is given as the solution.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: The *kabunian* (or: A Kagayan man) cut it open, it cannot be cured.

The Kagayan inhabit a valley, east of the Cordillera Mountains.

Here may be seen a difference in religion between the two tribes: the Isneg, being pure animists ascribe its origin to the wise (the spirits), while the Kankanay, who have an idea of a Supreme Being (the *kabunian*), ascribe it to him.

The word "Kagayan" may have been chosen for its resemblance with the word *kabunian*.

This remark about their religion might also have been made, when

the first two riddles of "penis" were mentioned.

Four more riddles of the Kankanay: In front a forest, a mountain in the middle, a cave beneath.

Footprint of a deer, it cannot become dry.

A mouth without teeth.

Mouth on both sides.

On both sides: one in the head, the other below.

Clitoris.

The Isneg riddle: A cut in a stone upstream stopped by a bundle.

Cf. Vulva, where this is given as the solution to the same riddle.

To a similar riddle "a woman's G string" is given as the solution.

Cf. III. Dress and Adornment.

Elbow.

The Isneg riddle in seven variants:

Being at the other side he reaches it, being at the same side he cannot reach it.

If he is at the other side he reaches it, if he is at the same side he does not reach it.

A section (or: an internode; or: a piece) of sugar cane, we cannot reach it.

An internode of sugar cane, it (or: a tree at Kallakallang, that) cannot be reached.

Pulse.

The Isneg riddle: A small riddle, a place where hard bamboos grow, my riddle.

Hard bamboos (sinews).

To similar riddles "throat", "crown of the head" and "rice tied up" are given as solutions. Cf. VII. Plants.

Hand.

A Kankanay riddle: There are five brothers, they have one leg.

Another Kankanay riddle in two variants: He is always awake, very soon he moves. And: He is always wide awake.

The hand never sleeps.

Hands and feet.

The Kankanay riddle: Twenty men having four legs.

Hollow of the hand.

The Kankanay riddle: Spread it open and it is five.

Five—fingers.

Lines in the hand.

The Isneg riddle: A small plain with river banks in all directions.

Fingers.

The Kankanay riddle: He has five heads.

Index finger.

An Isneg riddle: "There", he says, and has no eyes.

Another Isneg riddle: There now, here now.

Middle finger.

The Isneg riddle: Coco palms on a patch of river sand, one of them protrudes above the others.

To the same riddle "penis" is given as the solution.

Finger nail.

An Isneg riddle: It eats wearing a raincoat.

It (the tip of the finger) eats wearing a raincoat (nail).

Another Isneg riddle: It moves to eat.

The hand (with the nails) moves from plate to mouth while the person sits down.

A third Isneg riddle: They are two hunters, when they catch something they turn their backs to cut up the wild boar.

When they catch a wild boar (a louse), the two hunters (nails) turn their backs to cut it up (to crush it).

Nail of fingers and toes.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: It puts on its raincoat and has nowhere to go. And: It is wearing (or: it always wears) a raincoat and is still here.

The raincoat is the nail.

Another Isneg riddle: A small hatchet when I got it, it became a large hatchet and then it did not cut.

The hatchet is the nail small at first, but growing, and still blunt.

The Kankanay riddle: A Kandong man, he wears a hat.

Kandong is a town in the lowlands.

The man (tip of the finger or toe) wears a hat (nail).

Legs.

The Isneg riddle in four variants: They are always two (or: they are two walking), we do not know which is the first.

There are two brothers, none of them is the last.

They are only two, mother and child, none of them is the first.

The Kankanay riddle: Two brothers, they outwalk one another.

Knee.

An Isneg riddle: A small drinking cup carried by those who go to the lowlands.

The knee is compared to a cup.

Another Isneg riddle: Gammak stands up, a *limbak* pudding gets up.

The Kankanay riddle: Kaugan's *akupan* basket, it cannot be opened.

To a similar riddle "coffin" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Calf of the leg.

The Isneg riddle: *Kukkulakulangkuk*, *satiety*, is at the back.

The first word has no meaning.

A Kankanay riddle: Her back is the place of her fetus.

Another Kankanay riddle: She is pregnant, but it is her back which is pregnant.

All three riddles point to the contrast between the calf of the leg and the belly.

Heel.

The Isneg riddle: He loses his tomb.

When people wear sandals, which is much more common than shoes, the heel loses his tomb: it has no part in the cover of the foot, it remains outside.

3. Ailments and Defects

Tetter.

An Isneg riddle: Balatingteng takes pity on it, Balakingkeng makes it grow.

People pity the sick person, but the ailment continues to spread.

Another Isneg riddle: Branches cut off from a *passuwiewep* tree, all clinging together.

Tetter covers a whole patch, without interstices.

A Kankanay riddle: Earth at Sakiay, it is very loose.

Tetter is spread thinly over the skin, not compact.

Another Kankanay riddle: *Kilkilang* beans at Dap-ay, they are enticed.

A tetter spreads farther and farther, it seems to be allured by something.

Affected with tetter.

The Kankanay riddle: If he is there and you are far, he is beautiful; if you stand in front of him, you say you won't approach him.

In the eyes of a Kankanay: the whiter the skin, the more beautiful the person; now when a person affected with tetter stands at a distance, he is colored white and so seems to be beautiful, but when he is near, he is repugnant and emits a bad stench.

Wen.

The Kankanay riddle: He has very many knots on his body.

Blind.

The Isneg riddle: There are two friends, one dies, the other one guards him.

Two friends (the eyesight and the rest of the body); one (the eyesight) dies.

4. Actions

To sleep.

An Isneg riddle: Balakay shouts, all people die.

To a similar riddle "to harvest" and "night" are given as solutions.

Cf. IX. Natural Phenomena.

Another Isneg riddle: Pulpul comes, we are all felled down.

A third Isneg riddle: The broth of the *duskapit* fish is tasty.

Sleeping is agreeable.

The Kankanay riddle: Agili's *tapey*, it makes all towns drunk.

Tapey is a kind of rice wine.

To weep.

The Isneg riddle: The *ladaxan* bird hisses at the base of a cluster of *basan* reeds.

Weeping is compared to the hissing of a bird.

To marry.

The Isneg riddle: It is lucky if there is someone who prepares pudding of immature rice; why is it begging?

When a young man has obtained the consent of the girl he loves, his parents prepare sweets, bring them to the house of the girl's parents and ask the hand of their daughter for their boy: the pudding is begging.

To prepare a field.

The Isneg riddle: That is what we take for our anvil.

To prepare a rice field the Isneg must clear a part of the forest and in order to do this they use their hatches: in this way the soil seems to be the anvil on which they forge their hatchet.

To harvest.

An Isneg riddle: Aruring comes, we are all covered with soot.

At the time of the harvest, many people come to help the owner of the field: they are all covered with soot (perspiration and dust).

To a similar riddle "to sleep" and "night" are given as solutions. Cf. IX. Natural Phenomena.

Another Isneg riddle: They seem to be falling down, none fell down.

When the harvesters have prepared a bundle, they throw it behind them on the ground: they seem to be falling down, but it is only the bundle that falls down.

To store the harvest.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Interring and being happy. And: Being happy because interring.

Interring (placing in the granary).

In contrast with the usual way at a burial.

To pound rice.

The Isneg riddle: Difficult, easy.

The work is hard, but when you see the result, it seems to have been easy.

To the same riddle "Italian millet" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

To cook rice.

The Isneg riddle: A fly at Anayan, it becomes dark pinching it.

When the white rice is being poured into the black cooking jar, it becomes dark.

To prepare *sinursur*.

The *sinursur* is a dish of shreds of taro leaves and chile pepper crushed in a bamboo tube over the fire.

The Isneg riddle: Seize 'me and copulate.

When they thrust the stick into the tube in order to smash the contents.

To the same riddle "the *anursuran* tube" and "the *isusursur* stick" are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

To crush sugar cane.

The Isneg riddle: I plant sugar cane, I cut it but it cannot be severed, I call Takkel to help me crush it.

This riddle seems to include its own solution.

To cut a stem of bananas.

The Isneg riddle: The people upstream go headhunting, they are those who get his horns.

The stem of bananas is considered as the horns of the plant.

To put rice on a plate.

The Isneg riddle: Apways eating, very near.

The plate is placed near the cooking jar so that it can eat (be filled).

To eat.

The Isneg riddle: Pip̄:yangkok's fowl, they chew it five by five.

The five fingers do the business without further tools.

To a similar riddle "betel nut" is given as the solution. Cf. VII.

Plants.

To distribute *basi* beer.

The Isneg riddle: A leaf of the *lipawan* tree falling down, the old men catch it.

When *basi* is distributed, the old men usually have the first share.

To a similar riddle "cup" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

To cleanse (jars, etc.).

The Isneg riddle: Ipusan cannot talk if he does not go down (to the river).

The Isneg cleanse utensils on the bank of a river.

To defecate.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Gattut offers a *say-am* sacrifice, we only come lazily. And: Daup offers a *say-am* sacrifice, they only come lazily.

Who would rush to go to such a performance?

To feed the chickens.

The Isneg riddle: What the heron puts down, scattered it is looted.

When the Isneg want to feed the chickens, they call them and scatter the food in front of them.

To dam a stream.

The Isneg riddle: It can make a house without rattan.

No rattan is necessary for tying the stones of the dam together.

To melt.

The Isneg riddle: Emmanuel defecated, two make him defecate.

The matter to be melted is pressed between the hard objects.

To a similar riddle "the *dammit* bag" is given as the solution. Cf. V.

Furniture and Implements.

To forge.

An Isneg riddle: It cannot resound when dancing on the floor, it resounds when dancing on the rocks.

The floor is usually made of rattan; the anvil is generally a large stone. To similar riddles "a blacksmith's hammer", "the *tungtung* tubes" and "coin" are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: It grows when pounded.

To offer a solemn sacrifice.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: A leaf of the *tamak* tree falling down (a cause of) happiness for children. And: A leaf of the *tamak* tree is thrown down, a cause of happiness for children.

When a man offers a solemn sacrifice many people attend the feast, and the children (and all the people) are happy.

To go down a slope.

The Isneg riddle: Tired, tired, ten roll cigars.

Descending a long slope is very tiresome, and so the Isneg often stop on the way and the ten fingers roll cigars.

To bail.

The Isneg riddle: That is what we fill, very soon it is full, that is what we lessen, very soon it is empty.

To go headhunting.

The Isneg riddle: Betel at Anayan to be picked in the dark.

Heads are usually taken by stealth.

To pursue.

The Isneg riddle: They are many pounding together, one resounds.

They are many headhunters, one resounds (is conspicuous): he is the only one who pursues the enemy.

To kill.

The Isneg riddle: *Padumag, padumag*, it is rumored that there is

one who pursues.

The first two words have no meaning. The pursuit would not be mentioned if he did not kill his enemy.

To behead.

The Isneg riddle: One last small amount of *basi* beer *manaxa*.

The last word having no meaning, it is hard to understand this riddle, but perhaps it might mean that the "small" edge of the hatchet is the man's "last drink".

To inter.

The Isneg riddle: He begins with extracting things and then he puts them in.

The Isneg riddle: He begins with extracting things and then he puts them in.

He extracts things (earth)—while digging the grave.

II. FOOD AND DRINK

Food.

The Kankanay riddle: It defecates very quickly, but you get it and eat it.

It defecates (is put in the plate).

The *bara* food.

It consists of articles of food which are prepared for a feast.

The Isneg riddle: The corpse passes over a bridge.

The food that is being prepared is not consumed immediately, but only the next day: the interval is considered as a river that has to be passed before it may be consumed.

Cooked rice.

The Isneg riddle: A precipice at Anayan, it falls down in big pieces when cut.

The amount of cooked rice is divided in big pieces among the partakers of the meal.

The Kankanay riddle: You eat his intestines, you do not eat his skin.

The intestines (the contents of the jar); the skin (the jar).

The *inixuban* rice.

This is roasted immature rice.

An Isneg riddle: It crackles and is thin.

It crackles—while it is roasting; it is thin—because the kernels have not reached maturity.

To a similar riddle “pitch pine” is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: Gina-dan’s fruits, we cannot take them all out.

Many of the fruits (kernels) are completely burnt, because they were not yet come to maturity.

The *ruddu*-meat.

This is a string of pieces of meat.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: *Kulkukulangsit*, meat at the outside. And: *Kulakulakulanglang*, satiety at the outside.

The two first words have no meaning.

The meat (or: satiety) is at the outside—of the string, instead of inside the skin.

The *silla*-skin.

This is a tripartite strip of skin cut out of the neck (a ring) and the back of a slaughtered hog, at the time of a column sacrifice.

The Isneg riddle: Iwagan’s wood, he puts at the door, it becomes a *bulawan* head.

This alludes to a ceremony performed by shamans: they place things on a plate and deposit it at the entrance of the house, where the things are supposed to disappear and to be changed into beads.

Salt.

An Isneg riddle: The bee sucks, there is nothing to suck from.

Honey cannot be extracted from salt.

Another Isneg riddle: What has the Lord God created? The earth of distinct importance.

Salt is very precious to the Isneg, as they have to import it from the lowlands.

The *linangag* dish.

This consists of scum of boiling sugar cane to which are added slices of sweet potatoes or of papayas, sections of bananas, etc.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: A pond at Bangingiding (or: Makulaling), people crowd on its banks fishing with hooks. And: Water at Marurat surrounded by people using snares.

When the mixture is ready for use, people extract slices of sweet potatoes, etc., by means of some instrument.

Another Isneg riddle: Balaengan's excrements are tasty.

This could be said of many things, as is seen by the fact that to a similar riddle "the *sinandila* sweetmeat" is given as the solution.

The *limba*-pudding.

It consists of roasted immature rice pounded into powder, coconut meat and, occasionally, sugar: it is eaten either raw or cooked.

The Isneg riddle: Balokok cannot sit down except on top of a *balokok* tree.

It (the roasted immature rice) must sit down (must be placed) on top of a tree (in a wooden mortar)—in order to be pounded into powder.

To similar riddles "the *tungtung* tubes" and "the *bayug* stick" are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

The *sinandila* sweetmeat.

It is made of cooked rice mixed with coconut milk and sugar or salt, and is sometimes wrapped in leaves, but it generally has the shape of an ordinary pancake.

An Isneg riddle: Bakelkel's excrements are tasty.

Cf. The *linangag* dish, for a similar riddle.

Another Isneg riddle: A flat stone.

This refers to its usual shape.

The *binaladdibad* sweetmeat.

It consists of rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut milk and sugar or salt. It is wrapped in leaves in such a way as to form brick-shaped blocks.

The Isneg riddle: The sucking pig has only one bone.

The wrapper of the sweetmeat is its only bone.

To the same riddle "bee" and "jack fruit" are given as solutions. Cf. VI. Animals & VII. Plants.

Chewed sugar cane.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: It increases by being surrounded by inquisitive people (or: by being faced).

The teeth are the people who surround or face the sugar cane and cause its sap to increase.

Water.

An Isneg riddle in four variants: It can lift up a *barong* tree, it cannot lift up a needle.

It cannot lift up a needle, it can lift up a *barong* tree.

It carries something large, it cannot carry something small.

It carries a heap of grass, it does not carry a needle.

Another Isneg riddle in three variants: I part the mat, it cannot be parted.

I cut it, cannot be cut.

I cut it, it repents.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Madan walks downstream, bones are strewn. And: Aggiwalan walks downstream, bones are lying strewn around.

Bones: the things carried by the current and thrown ashore.

To similar riddles "the *passo*-poison" and "the *parrud* poison" are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

A fourth Isneg riddle: It is tasty when it has no salt, it is insipid when it has salt.

In contrast with food.

A fifth Isneg riddle: Half a bamboo that can be seen from afar.

Half a bamboo (a stream).

To similar riddles "road" and "rainbow" are given as solutions. Cf. VIII. The Outside & IX. Natural Phenomena.

A sixth Isneg riddle: Heartwood of the *ubiyan* tree, soft when swallowing it.

A seventh Isneg riddle: Binunag's sound that reaches Abulug.

Abulug is a town downstream from the Isneg country.

An eighth Isneg riddle: One who is walking in groups.

One (one stream) who is walking in groups—of drops of water.

A ninth Isneg riddle: It has fat and is thin.

It (the water of a stream) has fat (fishes, etc.).

Two Kankanay riddles refer to a stream: When you pursue it, you cannot catch it. And: You cannot equal him, as he walks in the middle of the day and at night.

A third Kankanay riddle: There is one herb that does not sprout.

Water, fire and wood.

Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

The *alna* ingredients.

These are mixed with the sap of the sugar cane in the preparation of *basi* beer.

The Isneg riddle: Paludap dives, he is very light and waits.

The ingredients wait (remain) till the beverage is ready.

To the same riddle "the *tapput* jar" and "bow net" are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

To a similar riddle “the *tapput* jar” is given as the solution.

Basi beer.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Binig cooks rice (or: Joseph’s cooked rice), the toasted part stays at the upper side.

The toasted part (the cover of the jar).

In contrast with real cooked rice.

To a similar riddle “cover of a jar” is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: It decreases till it reaches the armpit, it goes down till it reaches the wrist bone.

It decreases gradually because people drink it.

To a similar riddle “perspiration” and “boiling coconut meat” are given as solutions. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & VII. Plants.

The *tapput* jar.

This is a jar of *basi* beer that has not yet been opened.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Paludap dives, he is very light and waits. And: Ta-nag dives, he grows yellow waiting.

The jar is waiting to have its contents consumed.

To the first variant “the *alna* ingredients” and “bow net” are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: He can do the work by himself.

Nobody has yet come to partake of the drink.

To a similar riddle “the *pitutay* ring” is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Lees of *basi* beer.

The Isneg riddle: Malukanig’s cooked rice, the toasted part sinks down.

Chewed betel.

An Isneg riddle and a Kankanay riddle refer to the red color of the spittle of betel chewers.

In Isneg: A hen when it enters, a rooster when it leaves.

In Kankanay: If it goes to Mass, it becomes red when it comes out.

Another Isneg riddle: I slaughter a cow, I am not strong if I am not one of a troupe.

Three ingredients are needed: betel nut, betel pepper and lime.

Stump of a cigar.

The Isneg riddle in four variants: “I finish it”, he says (or: even though he finishes it), nevertheless there is still some remnant.

Little Rupruping, we do not finish it.
Although little, nevertheless he leaves some.

III. DRESS AND ADORNMENT

G string.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Housing my penis, housing my cutlass (or' my hatchet).

The Isneg usually stick the helve of their hatchet in their G string from beneath.

Another Isneg riddle: Just tightened strongly, loose again.
A common experience.

Hind part of a G string.

The Isneg riddle: *Baban, bulawan* beads, it accompanies you when you go away from it.

The first word has no meaning.

To a similar riddle "beggar tick" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

Coat

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Bigek (or: Dallik) swallowed may body.

He swallows my body.

Another Isneg riddle: One to put your head through, two to put your arms through.

The Kankanay riddle: A very small book, it is flying.

Kankanay coats are usually very loose.

Blanket.

An Isneg riddle in five variants: A little old woman, there is none she does not throw.

Even though we chisel it, nevertheless it throws you.

A little old woman, and still she throws us.

Whatever your strength, nevertheless it throws you.

Whatever the strength, nevertheless it throws us.

When you go to sleep, the blanket throws you down.

Another Isneg riddle in three variants: Little Pippiyanggok (or: Pippiyanggok's fowl), it roosts in the morning. And: Balukat's fowl, it goes up in the morning.

In the morning the blanket is put in its place.

To a similar riddle “mat and blanket” is given as the solution.

A third Isneg riddle: Even though it is in the shade, nevertheless we make a roof.

When we cover ourselves with a blanket.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A little old woman, she is made to fly.

When we throw the blanket around our body.

The Kankanay riddle: A little *kumpilat* seed which they love.

In the Kankanay region the climate is sometimes very cold.

The *balandan* blanket.

It has alternate narrow stripes of white and blue.

The Isneg riddle: Water at Abulug in rows.

The rows are the stripes.

To a similar riddle “fringes of different colors” and “the *dinaxet* tapis” are given as solutions.

Mat and blanket.

The Isneg riddle: A fowl at Pippiyangkok, it roosts in the morning.

When they are put in their place.

To a similar riddle “blanket” is given as the solution.

Blanket, tapis and jacket.

The Kankanay riddle: Stoop before putting them on.

When taking them up from their place.

The *dinaxet* tapis.

It is striped black, red, yellow and blue.

The Isneg riddle: A burnt field at Abulug, it stands in rows.

The rows are the stripes.

To the same riddle “fringes of different colors” is given as the solution, and to a similar riddle “the *balandan* blanket” is given as the solution.

Fringes of different colors.

The Isneg riddle: A burnt field at Abulug, it stands in rows.

The rows are the different colors.

To the same riddle “the *dinaxet* tapis” is given as the solution, and to a similar riddle “the *balandan* blanket” is given as the solution.

The *kalangkang* string.

It is worn around the waist by women and is used to keep the G string in place, in front and behind.

The Isneg riddle: A vine on the rocks to which scraped coconut meat has been thrust.

A woman's G string is made of scraped (beaten) coconut meat (tree bark).

A woman's G string.

The Isneg riddle: A cut in a stone upstream covered with a bundle.
The cut is the vulva.

To a similar riddle "vulva" and "clitoris" are given as solutions. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

The *ananga* raincoat.

It consists in the limb of a palm leaf.

The Isneg riddle: Something Abek carries on the hips: we go to defecate.

It is used when we go to defecate (when we go outside the house).

Shoe.

An Isneg riddle: Two canoes, one rider.

To the same riddle "sandal" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: It carries me, I carry it.

To a similar riddle "sandal" is given as the solution.

Sandal.

An Isneg riddle: Two canoes, one rider.

To the same riddle "shoe" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: I carry it, it carries me.

To a similar riddle "shoe" is given as the solution.

Hat.

The Isneg riddle: *Inton bakiton*, your head.

The first two words have no meaning.

To a very similar riddle "a woman's headband" is given as the solution.

A Kankanay riddle: A newly woven blanket: if you cover it with mud, it does not rot, if you don't it rots.

The hat is made of basketwork and plastered.

Another Kankanay riddle: You often take it with you.

The *sarikaw* hat.

A kind of large, almost flat hat.

The Isneg riddle: Stump of an *adig* tree besmeared with fat.

It is usually plastered.

To a similar riddle "hone" and "the *batang* bracket fungus" are given as solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements & VII. Plants.

A woman's headband.

The Isneg riddle: *Intom bakitom*, your head.

The two first words have no meaning.

To a very similar riddle "hat" is given as the solution.

Cosmetic.

This is mere coconut oil.

The Isneg riddle: Water at the landslide, it passes through *ganganay* grass.

It passes through grass (hair).

The *saxaban* headdress.

It consists of one or more strings of beads worn over the headband by both sexes.

The Isneg riddle: Dongit's coat of all different colors.

The different colors—of the beads.

The *bange* headdress.

It consists in a string of beads worn around the head by women.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: Ten cows, they have one rope (or: one string).

The ten cows are the beads.

Another Kankanay riddle: Only in the evening is it laid down, in the daytime it is carried.

A string of *bungot* beads.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: One waits for a troupe.

One-string-waits for a troupe—of beads.

They are many brothers, they have only one belly.

They are many brothers (beads), they have only one belly (string).

Another Isneg riddle: A leaf of the *taudaw* tree selecting a partner.

When a string of beads is prepared, each bead selects a partner (the next bead). The selection done by the one who prepares the string is here ascribed to the bead that has already found its place in the string.

The *bulawan* bead.

They are much used for ornamental purposes.

An Isneg riddle: Seed of a watermelon, if there is a rich man, he takes it.

To a similar riddle "walking stick" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: A leaf of the *ti* selecting a bead.

Both riddles refer to the popularity of this bead.

Ear and ear pendant.

The Isneg riddle: "Take me, brother, I am about to fall". "How can I take you, I am about to fall".

A conversation between two ear pendants.

To a similar riddle "wheat rust" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

The *bisin* ornament.

This is a large plate of pieces of shell and of beads that dangle either on the chest or on the back.

An Isneg riddle: Going to Lugsad we go whispering.

This alludes to the rustling sound produced by the plate at the least movement of the wearer.

Another Isneg riddle: Gamak's jacket reflectingly white.

On account of the numerous pieces of white shell,

Armlet.

The Isneg riddle: I have rice, mother, I found it at the base of an *umila* tree, mother, Gannawan buys it for twenty *bulawan* beads, guess it.

When we are positively asked to "guess", it must be evident that the solution is not easy and that it depends mostly on chance. Perhaps the value of an armlet might be equal to that of twenty *bulawan* beads, perhaps.

Bracelet.

The Isneg riddle: *Intong bakitong*, your hand.

The first two words have no meaning.

Tattoo.

Two Isneg riddles and one Kankanay riddle refer to its permanency.

In Isneg: A riddle in two variants: Tie of the wise, always their tie.

The wise: those who know the art of tattooing.

Bulan's tie, it cannot be loosened.

Another riddle: Slashed by the wise, it cannot be cured.

Slashed (marked by means of a pointed instrument).

To the same riddle "vulva" is given as the solution, and to a similar riddle "mouth" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

In Kankanay: A riddle in three variants: Padupad's mother spun it (or: Badibad's mother wove it), it cannot be unraveled. And: The belt of Baddibadan's mother, you cannot unravel it.

Another Kankanay riddle in two variants refers to its beauty:

A carved distaff handle, a nice thing to look at. And: A distaff

handle with interstices, a nice thing to buy.

The *andori* tattoo.

This is the specific tattoo of successful Isneg headhunters.

The Isneg riddle: Dapple of the Anayan people, it does not become old.

It is always handsome.

IV. BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTIONS

House.

An Isneg riddle and a Kankanay riddle refer to the inmates of the house.

In Isneg: A riddle in four variants: The inside of the stomach crows (or: talks, or: is talking, or: sounds confusedly).

To a similar riddle "men in a house" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 1. In General.

In Kankanay: What he ate is speaking.

Another Isneg riddle: A stone at Baybayuyang surrounded by *palilang* fish.

The fish are the people.

To a similar riddle "school" and "mat" are given as the solution.

Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

A third Isneg riddle: A canoe on the sea with a tail at both sides.

The tail is the thatch of the ridge that hangs over the gable at both sides of the house.

To a similar riddle "canoe" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

A fourth Isneg riddle in two variants: A mountain when looking at it, a plain when we reach it (or: when we go to reach it).

The Plain is the floor.

Another Kankanay riddle: A hat of the Otukan people, it has been mended.

The hat (the thatched roof) has often to be repaired.

A third Kankanay riddle: A house at Kilat, four were set to shoulder it.

The Kankanay house has only four posts.

Gable.

An Isneg riddle: A fowl at Anani with sickle feathers at both ends.

The feathers are the ends of the thatch of the ridge that hang over

both gables.

To a similar riddle "ridge", "granary" and "trunk" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: A cat's rump that is wet.

The gable is considered as the backside of the house and is continually wet in the Isneg country where it rains ten months in the year. Cf. End of the ridge.

Post of the house.

The Isneg riddle: Banikaldag spears all of them, strong.

The post pierces all the other materials of the house, either of the floor or of the roof, and is strong.

Short post.

The Isneg riddle: A little old man, he seems to carry a load on his shoulders.

The short post does not pierce any material of the house, but only supports it.

The *tobtobo* post.

This post is situated at the outside of the house and supports the end of the ridgepole, without touching any other material of the house.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: Many (or: they are many) brothers-in-law, only two are fast. And: They are six brothers-in-law, two are fast.

Out of the many brothers-in-law (posts) only two are fast (go directly to the beam they are supporting, without hindrance).

Roof.

The Kankanay riddle: *Tageptep*.

This is either an obsolete term or a mere invention that suggests the Kankanay word the roof: *atep*.

Ridge.

The Isneg riddle: A fowl of Malawi and family, sickle feathers at both ends.

The sickle feathers (the thatch of the ridge) fall over the gable at both sides of the house.

To a similar riddle "gable", "granary" and "trunk" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

End of the ridge.

The Isneg riddle: Rump of a cat, wet at the end.

The thatch of the ridge that hangs over the gable is usually wet in

this climate of almost daily rain. Cf. Gable.

To a similar riddle "prop of a fence", "morning and evening", and "day and night" are given as the solution. Cf. IX. Natural Phenomena.

The *agnadan* beam.

It supports the walling of the house.

The Isneg riddle: A crocodile at Tamogak, everybody steps over it.

A person who enters the house steps over this beam at the door.

Wall.

The Kankanay riddle: *Tugalding*.

This is either an obsolete term or a mere invention that suggests the Kankanay word for wall: *dingding*.

Board.

The Isneg riddle: They are many who weave the floor, none is at the edge of the field.

Because a beam is at the edge of the field (floor).

Floor.

The Isneg riddle: They are many brothers-in-law, they cannot be in harmony except if there is one affected with itch.

The parts of the flooring are usually tied together by means of strips of rattan: these strips have been prepared by scraping, exactly as a person does who is affected with itch: he scrapes (scratches) his body.

The Kankanay riddle: *Tugalda*.

This is either an obsolete term or a mere invention that suggests the Kankanay word for floor: *det-a*.

Ties of flooring.

An Isneg riddle: They are many who weave flooring, they fill a girdle.

The person who prepares the floor keeps the ties in his girdle.

To a similar riddle "sugar cane" is given as the solution. Cf. VII.

Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: Dikkadikkadikkit, they cannot be arranged nicely Dikkit not coming.

The first word has no meaning.

Dikkit (the ties) not coming (not being available).

A third Isneg riddle: A plain full of leeches.

The ties that keep the parts of the floor together have, with some imagination, the appearance of leeches.

Tie.

The Isneg riddle: A spider's den, it goes toward the inside.

When a person ties up something, he pushes the tie inside, before he pulls it out at the other side.

The *dala-dat* floor.

This is a rough kind of flooring: slivers of bamboo, stems of rattan or canes of bamboo grass.

The Isneg riddle: Gannad's penthouse, everything face down.

When a person prepares such a floor, all materials are put down, as it seems: face down.

Door.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Kama admits of passage, he does not get dizzy eating. And: Kama's pitfall, it does not get dizzy catching prey.

People pass through the door, but do not stay there: so that it does not get dizzy eating or catching prey (keeping them).

The Kankanay riddle refers to the shutter: It must be evening before you use it.

The Kankanay never shut their house except at night, not even when they leave it in the daytime: they merely remove the ladder.

Window.

An Isneg riddle: Balangkiyaw slashed his house.

Another Isneg riddle: Balukat's child, it ever goes from place to place.

Isneg houses have no windows; in the daytime the inmates remove one or more of the boards of the wall: and so they slash (remove one of the boards from) the house (the wall). This is often done in a different place: so that the child (the window) goes from place to place.

Window shutter.

The Isneg riddle: I have a large house, but it is at the outside that I have my place.

In modern houses that have windows, the shutters are at the outside.

The *tiang* window.

This is a small opening in the roof.

The Kankanay riddle: At night it is patched, at dawn there is a hole in it.

This window is only apparent in the daytime, when it is clear outside.

Ladder.

An Isneg riddle: A small girl, she stays at the eaves.

The usual place of the ladder of the house.

To the same riddle "spider" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

Another Isneg riddle: Andayo's arm seized by young men.

When people enter the house, they take hold of the ladder.

A Kankanay riddle: Without it you cannot enter the house.

Another Kankanay riddle: It has to be lifted.

You cannot enter the house if the ladder is lying down.

A third Kankanay riddle: He looks at you even when you eat.

The top of the ladder emerges into the house and is looking at you.

According to the Kankanay code, it is against all rules of politeness to gaze at people, when they are taking their meals.

Top of the ladder.

The Isneg riddle: Paddig's language, everybody presses it with the fingers.

When they ascend the ladder. Cf. *Baxay* in I. Men, 1. In General.

The *linawang* gutter.

It is dug around the house in order to collect the water that drops from the eaves.

The Isneg riddle: Water at Malagatmo, meeting, meeting.

The water that drops from the eaves continually meets its companions in the gutter.

Granary.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A fowl upstream (or: at Masi), sickle feathers at both ends.

The Isneg granary increases in width from floor to eaves so that the upper part seems to jut out on both sides: the sickle feathers of the riddle.

To a similar riddle "gable", "ridge" and "trunk" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: A large bee, one that looks for honey.

Honey: the rice that has to be stored in the granary.

A third Isneg riddle: Baldak's helms, four are stuck in.

Four helms (short posts) support the granary.

The Kankanay riddle: They go to store rice, when they have to take some, they open it.

The *sipi* granary.

This is a supplementary or temporary more or less box-shaped

granary.

The Isneg riddle: Tying ties at the inside.

In contrast with the ordinary granary, the *sipi* is made entirely of light materials, and such have to be tied carefully, so that many ties are tied even at the inside.

The *bintoal* granary.

This kind of granary has only one post.

The Isneg riddle: Basugigi's house, one post.

To the same riddle "the *ayud* shelf" and "papaya" are given as the solution; and to a similar riddle "the *ayud* shelf" and "bee" are given as the solutions. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements, VI. Animals & VII. Plants.

Church.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A plain full (or: a cluster) of wild banana plants, only one bears fruit.

Of all the plants (people) only one bears fruit—the priest at the altar.

School.

The Isneg riddle: A stone at Sabangan, a playground for *palilang* fish.

The fish are the students.

To a similar riddle "house" and "mat" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

The *at-atoan*.

This is a meeting place for men and a dormitory for boys.

The Kankanay riddle: A pit at Kalawittan caught by headmen.

Pigsty.

The Isneg riddle: My aunt's house where *ilangit* spirits have to stay.

The spirits are the hogs.

To the same riddle "monkey caught in trap" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

Coop.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Tokkong's house, we cannot smell it. And: Tokog's house that cannot be approached.

Because the fowl that occupies it protests against all intruders or is brooding and must be left in peace.

Well.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: We cannot reach it standing (or: if we stand), we can reach it if we sit down.

In contrast with objects that are situated higher up.

Another Isneg riddle: A small sow, the participants in a feast cannot consume it.

The water is never exhausted.

A third Isneg riddle: A large iron pot full, half a coconut full.

The water of the well can fill any kind of receptacle.

Sugar mill.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: It is always eating and never tasting anything (or: never satisfied).

The mill is always eating (crushing) and is never tasting anything nor ever satisfied—because it does not keep the sap to itself.

To a similar riddle “ladle” is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: Dupappak is dancing over a broad stretch of water.

The block that crushes the sugar cane is dancing (going up and down) over a broad stretch of water (over the sap in its container).

To a similar riddle “the whirling beetle” is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

A third Isneg riddle: Rain that is exceedingly strong, sunshine we cannot endure, and there below it is wet.

The Isneg sugar mill is situated in the open air without roof; and there below (under the crusher) it is wet—with sap.

Basi brewery.

The Isneg riddle: Inglan’s sugar mill, the place of the sap is head down.

The sap is poured down into the jar from another receptacle, so that the head (the upper part) is now down (at the lower part) in the jar.

Forge.

The Isneg riddle: Battulayan hissing, the *ladaxan* bird singing.

The different noises of the forge: the hissing of the bellows, the singing of the hammer on the anvil.

Occupied tomb.

The Isneg riddle: A trunk at Vigan, that cannot be opened.

Because it is already filled with a corpse.

Stone wall.

The Kankanay riddle: Even though it be unfinished, there are weeds on it.

In contrast with fields, etc.

Fence.

The Kankanay riddle: He dies looking at the living.

The living—plants in the garden.

Prop of a fence.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A man (or: a child) on a mountain with notched forehead.

The prop is notched at the top for binding purposes.

Another Isneg riddle: The corpse props the living.

The corpse (the dead pole) props the living (the hedge).

To the same riddle "sugar cane" is given as the solution. Cf. VII.

Plants.

A third Isneg riddle: Dung of a cat wet at both ends.

The prop is notched at the top and sharpened at the base, so that both ends are wet after the hatchet has done its work.

To the same riddle "morning and evening" is given as the solution; and to a similar riddle "end of the ridge" and "day and night" are given as the solution. Cf. IX. Natural Phenomena.

The *xaliyat* prop.

It consists in a stem of rattan.

The Isneg riddle: We pull rattan, it is able to strengthen a house.

Bridge.

Both Isneg and Kankanay riddles refer to its width.

In Isneg: a riddle in two variants: They are afraid when there are many, they are not afraid if there is one. And: He is not afraid of many, he is afraid of one.

If there are many—bamboos, trees, etc.

In Kankanay: You are not afraid if there are many, you are afraid if there is only one.

In contrast with the meeting of enemies.

The first variant of the Isneg riddle is probably a mistake and should correspond to the second variant and to the Kankanay riddle.

V. FURNITURE AND IMPLEMENTS

Hearth.

An Isneg riddle: A riddle, a riddle, it produces three fruits.

Three fruits: the three stones on which cooking utensils are placed.

To a similar riddle "the *taxang* stones" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: A banana plant in the corner, it does not shake in a typhoon.

Because it is fixed on the floor of the house.

To a similar riddle "galingale" is given as the solution. Cf. VII.

Plants.

A third Isneg riddle: Fruits of a *piyat* tree, it bears four fruits, fruits of an *araro* tree, it bears three fruits.

The four fruits are the beams of the curb, the three fruits are the stones on which cooking utensils are placed.

To a similar riddle "curb of the hearth" is given as the solution.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A small playground, we cannot all step on it.

We cannot step on it—on account of the fire.

To the same riddle "fire" is given as the solution.

Layer of the hearth.

It consists of a number of leaves.

The Isneg riddle: Roost of the wise, it cannot be covered with soot.

Of course, as it is lying under the fire.

Curb of the heart.

An Isneg riddle: They are four, father and children: when they lie down, they are crossing one another.

The four beams of the curb forming a square on the floor of the house.

Another Isneg riddle: Fruits of a *piyat tree*, fruits four.

To a similar riddle "hearth" is given as the solution.

The *taxang* stones.

They are the three stones on which the cooking utensil is placed.

An Isneg riddle in five variants: Fruits three.

Fruits of the *utaro* tree, fruits three.

Fruits of a tree, fruits only three.

The bamboo produces shoots, it produces three shoots.

Lucio's rice, three cook it.

To a similar riddle "hearth" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: It turns its back while entertaining a visitor. And: It turns its back on its visitor.

The visitor is the cooking utensil which is placed on the "back" of the stones.

A third Isneg riddle: We break off one, it comes from three.

We break off (we take off) one—cooking utensil.

Hearth and the *banga* jar.

The *banga* jar is the usual cooking jar.

The Kankanay riddle: His feet are three, his head one.

The feet are the three stones of the hearth, the head is the jar.

Fire.

Both Isneg and Kankanay riddles refer to the impossibility of touching it.

In Isneg: A small playground, we cannot all step on it.

To the same riddle "hearth" is given as the solution.

Another riddle: I have dogs for pets, they are naturally same, but you are afraid of them.

In Kankanay: a riddle in two variants: Maura's excrements, they cannot be touched. And: A leaf of the *kappakappa* plant, it cannot be touched.

To a similar riddle "dung" and "stone" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & VIII. The Outside.

Another riddle: You are afraid to take hold of it.

A third riddle: In no town can they take it in their hands.

Again both Isneg and Kankanay riddles refer to its antipathy to water.

In Isneg: We plant it in water, it dies, we plant it on a hill, there it grows.

In Kankanay: When it rains, it dies, when it does not rain, it does not die.

Another riddle: If you sow it in what is wet, it dies; if you sow it in what is dry, it lives.

A fourth Isneg riddle in two variants; A small old man exceeding beyond the house (or: beyond the walls of the house).

On account of the light it spreads.

To the same riddle "smoke" and "light" are given as the solution.

A fifth Isneg riddle: The red pricks the black.

The red fire pricks the black jar.

To a similar riddle "fire and the *banga* jar" and "the *banga* jar" are given as the solution.

A sixth Kankanay riddle: When Bayudut walks he eats all the grass. He eats (burns) all the grass.

A seventh Kankanay riddle: It has a very beautiful body but kinky hair.

The tips of the flames resemble kinky hair.

Smoke.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: A small old man exceeding the house (or: the walls of the house).

To the same riddle "fire" is given as the solution.

A small old man who cannot be contained in the house.

Another Isneg riddle: All in curves it quickly ascends.

To a similar riddle "mist" is given as the solution. Cf. IX. Natural Phenomena.

A third Isneg riddle: Heartwood when seen, soft when it is reached.

Soot.

The Kankanay riddle: One branch of rice scattered all over the houses.

There are no chimneys in Kankanay huts.

Water, fire and wood.

The Kankanay riddle: Without them the food cannot be cooked.

Pitch pine.

An Isneg riddle: A deer at Anayan, it crackles and is thin.

It crackles—when lit; and is thin—in comparison with other pieces of wood.

To a similar riddle "the *inixuban* rice" is given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

Another Isneg riddle: Bamboo grass at Dawdawwan, it wears something like the sicles of a rooster.

As the sickles of a rooster—namely: the flames that issue from it when lit.

The *latawan* wood.

This is light dried wood.

The Isneg riddle: The charcoal floats with full cargo.

It does not sink in the water.

Charcoal.

The Isneg riddle: A post of *lalatang* wood, it lasts longer.
It is not easily consumed.

Live coal, the *banga* jar and the cover.

The Kankanay riddle: Its intestines are red, its upper part is black, its upper part is white.

The live coal is red, the jar and its cover are black, the rice inside the jar is white.

Fire and the *banga* jar.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: The red pricks the black. And: The Red One licks the black fellow.

The red fire pricks or licks the black jar.

To a similar riddle "fire" and "the *banga* jar" are given as the solution.

The *banga* jar.

This is the usual cooking utensil.

The Isneg riddle: Cooking of the Red One, a black base.

Cooking of the Red One (the fire), a black base (black bottom of the jar).

To a similar riddle "fire" and "fire and the *banga* jar" are given as the solution.

The Kankanay riddle: They burn his buttocks, he cannot be scorched.

The jar is immune.

The *pitutay* ring.

It usually consists in a section of rattan twisted into a ring at one end, the other end serving as a handle: it is used to lift jars from the fire.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Gurut arises, he beheads people (or: he beheads the arisen one). And: Urat arises, he beheads the one he raised.

The ring is thrown around the neck of the jar.

The arisen one or the one he raised is the jar he lifted.

Another Isneg riddle: He carries (two by two) alone. And: He can do the work by himself.

The ring carries the jar without the help of any other instrument.

Ladle.

An Isneg riddle: His neck is worn out eating.

Eat (drawing out eatables).

To the same riddle "coconut scraper" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Being heated and never tasting anything.

Never tasting anything (never keeping the food to himself).

To a similar riddle "sugar mill" is given as the solution. Cf. IV.

Buildings and Constructions.

A third Isneg riddle: Although he has ten thousand bundles of rice, he carries it on one side.

The ladle carries the food on one side, instead of dividing the load into two parts in order to carry it on his shoulder, as people do.

A fourth Isneg riddle in two variants: It is tired coming down, it is jailed coming up (or: entering).

When the ladle is pushed into the jar, it goes down and thus seems to be tired, but when it comes up or when it enters into the jar, it is jailed in the food it draws out.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: One carabao, if you take hold of his tail, he brings forth all the viands. And: If you take hold of its tail, it catches enough viands for the whole household.

The tail is the handle of the ladle.

Another Kankanay riddle: There is one man who knows well how to enter a hot place.

The hot place is the cooking jar.

Frying pan.

The Isneg riddle: The round thing has only one hair.

That one hair is the handle.

To the same riddle "the *taraid* caterpillar" is given as the solution.

Cf. VI. Animals.

The *rusud* pot.

This is a large iron pot with a round bottom and no handle.

The Isneg riddle: Kubkubakub's house, we do not know its dimensions.

Because it is entirely round, brim and bottom, its length and breadth cannot be measured, neither its height or depth.

The *anursuran* tube.

This is a bamboo tube in which the *sinursur* dish is prepared by mashing shreds of taro leaves and chile pepper over the fire.

An Isneg riddle: A man upstream, he eats nothing but chile.

The chile gives the dish its flavor.

Another Isneg riddle: It sits down with a bunch of feathers.

The feathers are the shreds of taro leaves.

A third Isneg riddle: Seize me and I copulate.

The stick that smashes the contents of the tube is thrust into the latter.

To the same riddle "the *isusursur* stick" and "to prepare *sinursur*" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 4. Actions.

The *isusursur* stick.

It is used to smash shreds of taro leaves and chile pepper in a bamboo tube over the fire, in the preparation of the *sinursur* dish.

An Isneg riddle: At both ends of the day it pounds a bunch of feathers.

At both ends of the day—morning and evening; the bunch of feathers are the shreds of taro leaves.

Another Isneg riddle: Seize me and I copulate.

The stick is thrust into the bamboo tube.

To the same riddle "the *anursuran* tube" and "to prepare *sinursur*" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 4. Actions.

The *amoto* jar.

It is used for fetching and storing water.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Indayo does not go out (or: does not travel) except on horse back. And: Indayo cannot travel except on horse back.

When fetching water people carry it either on the head or on the shoulder.

Another Isneg riddle: An egg of the hornbill, it goes down to the Apayaw river.

A third Isneg riddle: Apullopullo's egg, ten point at it.

The ten fingers point at it (take hold of it) whenever it is needed.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Cowpea when remaining in its place, green gram when placed over something.

A cowpea seed is more or less oval like the shape of the jar, but when it is overturned with the round bottom uppermost, it resembles the round green gram.

The *urud* tube and cup.

The *urud* is a bamboo tube used for fetching water.

The Isneg riddle: The fool makes the valiant look upward.

The fool (the tube or the cup) makes the valiant (the people) look upward—when drinking.

To a very similar riddle "cup" is given as the solution.

Cup.

An Isneg riddle: It makes the valiant look upward.

Cf. the preceding item.

Another Isneg riddle: A leaf of the *lipawan* tree is thrown down, a *lippokan* banana catches it.

Here the banana means a finger, on account of their similar shape: it catches the cup in order to take a drink.

To a similar riddle "to distribute *basi* beer" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 4. Actions.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: When you carry him on the head, he dances. And: Carry him on the shoulder and he is stirring.

When the Kankanay have filled their jar with water, they place a cup (a coconut shell) on top of it in order to prevent the water from spilling, and so the cup dances or is stirring while they walk home. The women carry their load on the head, the men carry it on the shoulder.

The *takinaw* shell.

This is a coconut shell used for drawing water from a jar.

An Isneg riddle: Always thirsty and staying in a pond.

The shell being placed on top of the jar, it stays on a pond (the jar that contains the water), and it is thirsty because it never tastes the water while it is staying there.

Another Isneg riddle: It rides a canoe and stays on the mountain.

When the Isneg fetch water, they place a shell on top of their jar to prevent the water from spilling, and so the shell rides a canoe (the jar filled with water) and stays on the mountain (the jar carried by the person or the jar on its stand).

To a similar riddle "automobile" is given as the solution.

The *paroyog* tubes.

They consist in a set of small bamboo tubes used in the distribution of *basi beer*, during some sacrifices.

The Isneg riddle: A tree at Nilbutan tied with *ditan* rattan.

Each tube is tied to a stick by means of a strip of rattan.

Bottle.

An Isneg riddle in six variants: A man on a mountain, his liver is visible (or: is plainly visible).

A child on a mountain, its liver is visible.

A man upstream, his lungs are visible (or: are plainly visible).

There is a man upstream, his lungs are visible.

To a similar riddle "coconut oil in a bottle" is given as the solution.

Cf. VII. Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: *Kulkukulanglang*, bones outside.

The first word has no meaning.

Bones (the glass of the bottle).

To a similar riddle "the *passo*- poison", "the *daxikan* shell", "the *axodong* shell", "land shell" and "coconut" are given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals & VII. Plants.

The *gusi* or *xusi jar*.

These jars are of Chinese origin.

The Isneg riddle: Egg of a *daxoon* bird, if somebody gets it he is rich.

The *xusi* jars are the most precious belongings of the Isneg.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: He eats only salted meat and rice. And: He does not eat rice mixed with sweet potatoes, he does not eat vegetables, only rice.

He eats (contains).

Another Kankanay riddle: He has five ears.

Some of these jars have five knobs below the brim.

A third Kankanay riddle: He is sitting on the floor, they pull out his intestines, he does not die.

These jars usually stand on the floor of the house: when they pull out his intestines (contents), he does not die.

Cover of a jar.

The Isneg riddle: Bilig's cooked rice, the toasted part stays at the upper side.

The toasted part (the cover).

To a similar riddle "*basi* beer" is given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

A *rusud* pot and a *xusi* jar.

The *rusud* is a large iron pot; the *xusi* is a jar of Chinese origin.

The Isneg riddle: The rich man dies and that is the one we throw away, the servant dies and that is the one we inter.

The rich man (the *rusud*) dies (is empty), and that is the one we throw away (we put aside); the servant (the *xusi*) dies (is empty) and that is the one we inter (we carefully keep).

In contrast with the usual treatment.

Compare the next two items.

A *xusi* jar and a man.

The Isneg riddle: The rich man dies and that is the one they throw away, the servant dies and that is the one they inter.

The rich man (the precious jar) dies (is empty) and that is the one they throw away (they put aside); the servant (the man who guards it) dies and they inter him—carefully.

Cf. I. Men, 1. In General; and compare also the preceding item and the next one.

A plate and rice in the husk.

The Isneg riddle: The rich man dies and is thrown away, the servant dies and is interred.

The rich man (the plate) dies (has done its duty) and is thrown away (is put aside); the servant (the rice) dies (is harvested) and is interred (is carefully manipulated, although less valuable: it is stored in the granary, pounded, winnowed, cooked).

Compare with the preceding two items.

The *xupan* plate.

An Isneg riddle: A basket full of *kokok*.

The last word has no meaning, but I believe it stands for *koko*, a kind of plain white cotton cloth. In that case it means: a basket full of *koko* cloth (white rice).

To a similar riddle "teeth" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body. Here *koko* is used instead of *kokok*.

Another Isneg riddle: Up and down getting food.

The plate is put up to the jar in order to be filled, and then set down.

A third Isneg riddle: Even though it is on the lower side, nevertheless we have it as a hunting ground.

Although it is on the lower side—of the person who is eating, and not up in the hills; we have it as a hunting ground (as a place where food is obtained).

Half a coconut shell.

This can be used for many purposes.

The Isneg riddle: A rich man's eating receptacle, it cannot be cleaned.

Earthenware is cleaned much more easily than coconut shells.

To a similar riddle "a dog's earing receptacle" is given as the solution.

Basket.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: It grows when clubbed (or: when

pinched).

This refers to the manufacture of basketry.

To a similar riddle "the *taddo* basket", "mat" and "cotton" are given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: The mushroom does not grow except at the base of a mortar.

When people pound rice in a mortar, they transfer the cleaned product into a basket, so that the latter grows (so that the rice increases gradually in the basket).

To a similar riddle "widow(er)" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 1. In General.

The *lupaw* basket.

It is used for keeping rice.

A Kankanay riddle: A small well full of *ipon* fish.

The *ipon* is a kind of small white fish.

A small well full of *ipon* (full of rice).

To the same riddle "rice" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

Another Kankanay riddle: He has much to eat.

Because he keeps the rice which feeds the whole family.

The *lupaw* and the *bitoto*.

The *lupaw* is a basket that is used for keeping rice, while the *bitoto* basket holds pared sweet potatoes.

The Kankanay riddle: Look what I eat, it is rice, I also eat sweet potatoes.

The *karatay* basket.

It is suspended at the center of the house by means of strings or strips of rattan.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Pomelo at Anayan with four (or: three) stems.

The stems are the strings.

To a similar riddle "the *ayud* shelf" is given as the solution.

The *paxa* shelf.

This shelf is suspended above the hearth.

The Isneg riddle in four variants: Riding, still here.

Riding being here.

Riding, no place to be transferred to.

Mounting a vehicle, no place to go to.

The *ayud* shelf.

This shelf consists in a square piece of woven bamboo or rattan, suspended from the ridge pole by means of strips of rattan, usually four in number.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Pomelo at Anayan with four stems. And: Pomelo of Tubban with three stems.

The stems are the strips of rattan.

To a similar riddle "the *karatay* basket" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: Pasugigi's house, one post. And: Mantug-igi's house, the post is at the upper side.

The strips of rattan are joined into one at their upper end, so there is only one post and it is at the upper side, in contrast with the posts of a real house.

To the same riddle in its first variant "the *bintoal* granary" and "papaya" are given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions & VII. Plants.

To a similar riddle "bee" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

A third Isneg riddle in two variants: If it eats black things, its eyes are black. And: It eats yellow things and its eyes are yellow.

It eats (it contains); its eyes (the interstices in the woof).

To a similar riddle "the *pasiking* basket" and "the *balulang* basket" are given as the solution.

Trunk.

An Isneg riddle: A fish upstream with sickle feathers at both ends.

With sickle feathers (handles) at both ends.

To a similar riddle "gable", "ridge" and "granary" are given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: There is a woman on the mountain, things like ear pendants are at both sides. And: There is a woman at the sea, ear pendants are on both sides, she wears a jacket of cracked bamboos with stolen goods, she walks with long strides.

The ear pendants are the handles of the trunk.

Isneg trunks are usually made of woven bamboo, and so she wears a jacket (at the outside) of bamboo and, at the inside, stolen goods: goods that do not belong to her, but to the owner of the trunk.

She walks with long strides: when she walks (she is displaced), her whole length, a long stride, is displaced.

A third Isneg riddle: It opens its eyes to have your finger stuck into

them.

It opens its eyes (keyhole) to have your finger (key) stuck into them.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Turn a stick in my navel.

Turn a stick (key) in my navel (keyhole).

Key.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: We pull the *xiwi* rattan to straighten the board. And: We pull a young shoot of rattan towards us, it is able to straighten the board.

When we pull out the rattan (the key), it straightens the board (the shutter or lid)—by locking it.

To a similar riddle “gum of the teeth” is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

Another Isneg riddle: Dukankan’s pouch, it does not pick us up one by one, it puts that in the trunk, it cannot accommodate it.

The pouch (the key) cannot accommodate all the things that are to be placed in the trunk, it puts them there, although it did not pick them up: the owner did that. The key is compared to a pouch which has to store away all the objects that actually find their place in the trunk.

Padlock.

The Isneg riddle: A bat below, it knows the law.

It knows the law—that protects property against thieves; and so it guards that property.

Cloth hammock.

The Isneg riddle: It is longing for things although decayed.

Such a hammock is used as a cradle for little children, who often soil it, but the hammock knows that it is used for that purpose.

Mat.

Both Isneg and Kankanay riddles refer to its shaps, when in use, and when, after use, it is rolled up and put on a shelf.

In Isneg: a riddle in four variants: A bamboo (or: an internode) in the daytime, a plain at night.

A plain at night, an internode in the daytime.

A bamboo when placed on a shelf, a board when put down.

In Kankanay: In the evening it is very wide, at dawn it becomes a bamboo section.

Another Isneg riddle: A stone at Sabangan, a playground for *palilang* fishes.

Fishes (people) use it for many purposes: to sleep on, at religious

ceremonies, etc.

To a similar riddle "house" and "school" are given as the solution.

Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions.

A third Isneg riddle: It grows when pinched.

This refers to its manufacture.

To a similar riddle "basket" is given as the solution.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A flat stone at the other side, Kawitan's playground.

This refers to the mat on which shamans perform their ceremonies: then it is supposed to be visited by spirits; Kawitan is a spirit who inhabits the sun.

To a similar riddle "the *singising* saucer" and "the *tutugan* bead" are given as the solution.

Mat and blanket.

Cf. III. Dress and Adornment.

Clothes' peg.

The Kankanay riddle: In the morning they come home, in the evening they go out.

In the morning the Kankanay place their mats and blankets on pegs: they come home. In the evening they take them down for use: they go out.

In contrast with the habits of human beings.

Mirror.

The Isneg riddle: *Sososowadding*, silver den of the spirit Pinading.

The first word has no meaning.

When a person stands before a mirror, which has the color of silver, he sees his image reflected in it, so that it must be inhabited by a spirit, of course.

Telephone.

An Isneg riddle: A bunch of betel nuts, in one day it is back from Manila.

To come home from Manila it would take the people several days, but speech does it much more quickly over the telephone.

To a similar riddle "betel nut" is given as the solution. Cf. VII.

Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: A long piece of *baramban* vine, the rich use it as a bridge.

A bridge—for their speech.

Light.

The Isneg riddle: A small old man extending beyond the (walls of the) house.

To the same riddle "fire" and "smoke" are given as the solution.

The Kankanay riddle: A small bottle, we husband and wife both like it.

In the daytime husband and wife mostly live separately, so that the evening is the best time to enjoy something conjointly: artificial light.

Candle.

The Isneg riddle: A star at Manila, it seldom comes.

Candles are rare in the Isneg country.

The Kankanay riddle: It is good for you to examine: if you peel it, it is kinky.

If you peel, it, it (the wick) is kinky.

Lamp.

An Isneg riddle: He prepares *basi* beer protractedly, he has one ember.

He prepares *basi* beer (light) protractedly (little by little); he has one ember (one wick). The top of the wick becomes an ember.

Another Isneg riddle: Kannaway is dead, Kalissud is still here.

When the petroleum is burnt up, another supply takes its place.

Petroleum.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Burning water. And: Water at Tabbayagan, buy it and burn it.

Electric light.

The Isneg riddle: Inglang's window, it is opened at once.

The light appears at once by turning a knob.

Flashlight.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: A section of *inanapat* pudding (or: Bekat's *inanapat* pudding, or: a section of a stick), it glistens in the dark.

The *bakoba*-calabash.

It is used for keeping pounded rice.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: The worm's den is dark (or: very dark; or: in the dark).

The kernels of rice are compared to worms, and they are in the dark (in the calabash).

Another Isneg riddle: A child from Abulug, it cannot go down the ladder.

It is always kept in the house.

A third Isneg riddle: Always wearing an amulet, never any sickness.

The Isneg are wont to put amulets on those calabashes. Never any sickness (never emptiness).

The *agsalupan* measure.

Its capacity is three liters.

The Isneg riddle: A small young man for thinking about what is sold.

Compare the next item.

The *igtappang* measure.

Its capacity is one third of a liter.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: A small girl for thinking (or: knowing) what is bought. And: A small girl, a measure for buying.

Compare the preceding item.

Mortar.

An Isneg riddle in five variants: Stump of an *ipil* tree surrounded by women.

Stump of a large tree, women are singing.

Stump of an *anut* tree (or: Bulabug's well; or: a little widow), everybody presses around it (or: her).

Rice is usually pounded by women, and often by several at a time.

Another Isneg riddle: Black stone at Gannad surrounded by little fishes.

The little fishes are the rice kernels in the mortar.

A small black pebble is often placed in the mortar for an amulet.

A third Isneg riddle in two variants: Bikat's wood, wood tied in a fagot. And: Bokat's wood, wood in a fagot.

The mortar is a bulky piece of wood, here compared to a fagot.

Pestle.

An Isneg riddle: A tree on the ground, women turn it.

Rice is usually pounded by women: they turn (pick up) the tree (pestle) that lies on the ground—near the mortar.

To a similar riddle "umbrella" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: Up and down, no head. And: It rises, no head.

Up and down or rising—when used at pounding rice; but the pestle has no head.

A Kankanay riddle: When you take hold of his waist, he stirs.

The pestle consists of two equal parts connected by a thinner part (the waist), which is grasped when in use, and then, of course, it stirs.

Another Kankanay riddle: *Siggaldo*.

This is either an obsolete term or a mere invention which suggests the Kankanay word for pestle: *lay-o*.

Winnow.

The Isneg riddle: It is smacking with one lip.

The sound produced at winnowing resembles smacking, but the winnow has only one "lip".

Corn grinder.

The Isneg riddle: Alallak's mat folded into two spinning better than a spindle.

The grinder consists of two stones, the mat folded into two, and its spinning (grinding) obtains a better (finer) product than the spindle.

Coconut scraper.

An Isneg riddle: Sipokpok's child, it leaves its roof, always eating in other people's houses.

Only a few people possess this instrument, and so it is borrowed from the owner by other households where it eats (scrapes).

Another Isneg riddle: Its neck is worn out eating.

Eating (scraping).

To the same riddle "ladle" is given as the solution.

The *dammit* bag.

This is a triangular strainer made of strips of rattan: one part is folded over the matter that has to be pressed (beeswax, honeycombs, etc.) and is lying on the other part; then the two parts are pressed between two sticks.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Emmanuel defecates (or: defecated), two make him defecate.

To a similar riddle "to melt" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 4. Actions.

Wax.

The Isneg riddle: All the inhabitants of Abulug, they sleep forever.

After the wax has been pressed out of the *dammit* strainer (cf. the preceding item), it sleeps (it is solidified) forever.

Cotton gin.

A Kankanay riddle in three variants: You stand in front of him and give something, but he cries.

He cries while you stand in front of him.

He eats crying.

This refers to the craking sound of the two wooden rollers when in action.

Another Kankanay riddle: There is an old woman, who eats only the meat, she does not eat the bones.

The gin eats (lets pass) only the meat (the cotton), not the bones (the seeds).

Spool.

The Isneg riddle: I have a field a little longer than broad, nine hundred bundles to be harvested.

The nine hundred bundles are the large quantity of thread that can be drawn from this spool.

Needle.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A little old man (or: a stem of rattan) perforating a mountain.

It is able to perforate anything.

The Kankanay riddle: When you have to make something and the maker is small.

The maker is the needle.

Scissors.

The Isneg riddle: A leaf of the sugar cane, it is slender.

This can be said of many things, as may be seen by the different solutions that are given to a similar riddle: "flint and steel" and "nose flute".

The Kankanay riddle: Sugar cane at Gesang which is very tall.

Gesang means "gap", and the gap in the scissors when they are open, is very tall (large) in comparison with the rest of the implement.

The *xikay* club.

It is used to soften a piece of bark that is to be made into a G string for women.

The Isneg riddle: Seize me and I bark.

This refers to the sound produced when beating the bark.

Club.

The Kankanay riddle: It has one leg and also one head.

Mold of a basket.

This is an old basket around which a new one is being woven.

The Isneg riddle: They are two people, they are tied.

Paper.

An Isneg riddle: It talks with a dry leaf.

When something is written on it.

Another Isneg riddle: A leaf of tobacco, it goes around the Ilocos provinces.

These are two neighboring provinces.

It goes—when sent as a letter.

Soap.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Dry when you find (or: prick) it, rub it and it bleeds.

Comb.

The Isneg riddle: Durat goes headhunting, he gets nothing.

Cf. the next item.

Fine comb.

The Isneg riddle: Olo goes headhunting, he gets heads.

He gets heads (lice), while an ordinary comb gets nothing.

Sheath.

The Kankanay riddle: He has one ear.

One ear: the means (string, etc.) by which the sheath of a cutlass is attached to a person's body.

Hatchet.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Its one end is wood, its other end is iron.

Both ends a tree and a rock.

Both ends a rock and a tree.

The wood and the tree: the helve; the iron and the rock: the blade.

Another Isneg riddle: It becomes thin eating.

In contrast with the usual way.

It becomes thii (worn out) eating (cutting).

Iron ring.

It is fixed on the hatchet at the place where the tang of the blade is inserted in the helve.

The Isneg riddle: A wooden stick for mashing vegetables without nodes on either side.

This ring has no nodes as a matter of course.

To a similar riddle "hair" and "the Donax reed" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body, and VII. Plants.

The *iko* knife.

This is the most important implemented used by Isneg women: it usually has the shape of a diminutive hatchet.

An Isneg riddle: A little stick all too much played with by women.

Another Isneg riddle: *Aloalo* they take me, they make use of me.

The first word has no meaning.

Hone.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A hog at Anayan, many feed (or: everybody feeds) it, nevertheless it continued to grow thin.

Another Isneg riddle: The side of Iggat's thigh, everybody scrapes it.

A third Isneg riddle in two variants: Stump of an *adig* tree (or: an *adig* tree besmeared with fat), they all cut it.

To a similar riddle "the *sarikaw* hat" and "the *batang* bracket fungus" are given as the solution. Cf. III. Dress and Adornment & VII. Plants.

The Kankanay riddle: Your father's penis where they cut one another.

Pipe.

The Isneg riddle: Napo's cooked rice with the fuel at the upper side.

With the fuel (the burning tobacco) at the upper side.

In contrast with ordinary cooked rice.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: He is small and does not grow, even though you feed him continually. And: Feed him continually, but he never grows.

Another Kankanay riddle: He eats continually, but he is never satiated.

The *dayyet* bag.

This is a large bag made of cloth.

The Isneg riddle: It is satiated when it goes away, it is hungry when it comes.

It is satiated (full of provisions) when it goes away, it is hungry (empty) when it comes (returns).

To the same riddle the next item is given as the solution.

The *kadus* bag.

This is a small bag made of cloth.

An Isneg riddle: It is satiated when it goes away, it is hungry when it comes.

Cf. the preceding item.

Another Isneg riddle: Its eyes are bright when it is hungry.

Its eyes (interstices) are bright (without obstruction) when it is hungry (empty).

Flint and steel.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: They kiss one another entering (or: they are friends when they enter), they kill one another when they get out. And: It gets out of its mother, they kill one another.

The two enter the pouch conjointly like friends, but when they are taken out to produce fire, they strike one another like enemies.

Another Isneg riddle: A leaf of the sugar cane, it is slender, a leaf of the taro, it is slippery.

The steel is slender, the flint slippery.

To a similar riddle "scissors", "nose flute", "native guitar" and "the *abraw* coconut meat" are given as the solution.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: If you strike it, it lives (or: it bears fruit), if you don't strike it, it dies (or: it bears no fruit).

Another Kankanay riddle: His children are innumerable.

It produces children (fire) as often as it is struck.

To a similar riddle "the *wading* fish" and "the *bulbul-o* alga" are given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals, and VII. Plants.

Money.

The Isneg riddle: Sipapat's ring, it pursues you shedding tears; the Spaniard sent it to get a letter; Kalamit sent it to get a pass.

Its clinking sound resembles weeping, and everybody uses it for his own purposes: the Spaniard for buying paper, the native for obtaining a pass.

Coin.

The Isneg riddle: It resounds when it dances on the rocks.

To a similar riddle "the *tungtung* tubes", "a blacksmith's hammer" and "to forge" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 4. Actions.

Silver.

The Isneg riddle: A piece of taro overspread by the sea.

On account of its color.

Lead.

The Isneg riddle: A stone at Sabangan, it melts being placed over the fire.

To a similar riddle "egg" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

A dog's eating receptacle.

The Isneg riddle: A rich man's plate, it cannot be cleaned.

Implements of wood, bamboo, coconut shell, etc., are hard to clean, and no others will be used for a dog.

To a similar riddle "half a coconut shell" is given as the solution.

Hog's food.

The Kankanay riddle: Pressed down in the trough.

The trough that is used for feeding hogs.

Umbrella.

An Isneg riddle in four variants: We pull it toward us and it is a bamboo tube, we distribute it and it is a *dongdong* jar.

We push it and (or: pushed) it is a hut, we pull it towards us and (or: pulled) it is a bamboo tube.

Pushed it is a section of bamboo, pulled it is a hut.

The last variant may be a mistake, but it may also depend on the way people open and close the umbrella.

Another Isneg riddle: A tree on the ground, a girl when turned over.

A girl—wearing a tapis, when turned over (when opened).

To a similar riddle "pestle" is given as the solution.

A third Isneg riddle: Iwagan's house supporting *bulawan* beads.

The beds are the projecting tips of the ribs.

To a similar riddle "spider" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

Staff.

The Isneg riddle: Pool of the wise reaching the front (of hair).

About the length of a man.

Rope.

The Isneg riddle: The thin draws the fat.

Ax.

An Isneg riddle: Little Giggiwatang, nobody can get the better of him.

The ax is considered as the strongest implement in the possession of the Isneg.

Another Isneg riddle: Although her tapis is new, her buttocks can be seen.

Although her tapis (helve) is new, her buttocks (blade) can be seen.

To the same riddle the next item is given as the solution.

The Kankanay riddle: Kudiamat's house yard thrown down by

lightning.

People believe that when lightning strikes an object, it leaves behind a sharp piece of iron.

The *parakol* ax.

This is a kind of large ax.

An Isneg riddle: Although her tapis is new, her buttocks can be seen.

Cf. the preceding item.

Another Isneg riddle: *Banay* plant of the Gannad people, its neck is perforated.

Its neck (the back of the blade) is perforated—for the insertion of the blade.

To a similar riddle "raft" is given as the solution.

Crowbar.

The Kankanay riddle: It is straight, it has no knots.

To a similar riddle "hair" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

Coffin.

The Isneg riddle: Very heavy and tied with the core of rattan.

The core of rattan is very brittle and never used for tying, except for objects that must not be kept.

To the same riddle "corpse" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

The Kankanay riddle: Kalistuban's *akupan* basket, it cannot be opened.

After it has been used for burying a corpse.

To a very similar riddle "knee" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

Flag.

The Isneg riddle: A section of heartwood placed in the house yard, nobody can climb it. Durepat climbs it, sweet-scented herbs on the head.

Durepat (the flag) is the only one who can climb the heartwood (the flag pole).

On festive gatherings the Isneg stick sweet-scented herbs in their headband: the flag doing the same thing, it means that it is hoisted only on festive occasions.

Spinning top.

An Isneg riddle: Spinning, spinning, breath at the outside.

Another Isneg riddle: Gabbang's child, no hole in the ear lobe, we die of joy.

The top is entirely round, there is nothing to attach something to, like an ear pendant to the ear lobe.

We die of joy: boys spinning tops are very happy.

Kite.

The Isneg riddle: Drag my intestines so that I go above.

Drag my intestines (my rope).

The *bayug* stick.

This is a broken stick used in a native game.

The Isneg riddle: Langkok cannot sit down except on top of a *balokok* tree.

It needs a support.

To a similar riddle "the *tungtung* tubes" and "the *limba*- pudding" are given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

The *dulaw* stick.

It is decorated with feathers of different colors.

The Isneg riddle: A fowl at Dalayapan, its feathers are *bulawan* beads.

The feathers are an ornament to the stick in the same way as beads are an ornament to people.

Riddle.

Among the Isneg solving riddles is taboo except at the time of the harvest.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: We cannot (or: we do not) say it except at the time of the harvest. And: It cannot be said except when harvesting.

Drum.

The Isneg riddle: Dung of a sow having a low voice.

Low in comparison with gongs and other instruments. Cf. Gong.

Drum and gong.

The Isneg riddle: Two constant companions who cannot come very near to each other.

The drum cannot come very near to the person who beats the gong, on account of the length of this instrument which always lies on the floor, while the gong is held in the person's lap.

Gong.

An Isneg riddle: Dung of a sow having a loud voice. Cf. Drum.

Another Isneg riddle: It weeps when you feed it large bones.

It weeps (resounds) when you feed (beat) it; the large bones are the instrument that is used to beat the gong.

To a similar riddle "eye" and "hog" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body and VI. Animals.

Bell.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Kakutan (or: Katkattang) talks and the rich bow down.

The bell talks (rings the Angelus) and the rich (the Christians) bow down—to pray.

Another Isneg riddle: What Bubseran puts down is the sorrow of the rich.

What the bell puts down (announces) is the sorrow of the rich (the Christians): the bell rings at the death or burial of a Christian.

A third Isneg riddle: Seize your father's penis and your mother's vulva shouts.

Seize the tongue of the bell and the bell shouts (resounds).

Nose flute.

An Isneg riddle: A leaf of the sugar cane, it is slender.

This can be said of many things, as is seen by the different solutions given to such a riddle: "scissors" and "flint and steel".

Another Isneg riddle in three variants: A drum at Anayan (or: Inglang's sugar mill) with four holes. And: A drum at Abulug, four cover its holes.

Four—fingers.

A third Isneg riddle: Bararak speaks shedding beads for tears.

Shedding beads (musical notes).

Native guitar.

The Isneg riddle: A taro leaf, it is slippery.

This can be said of many things as may be seen by a different solution given to the same riddle: "the *abraw* coconut meat".

Compare also Flint and Steel.

Harmonicon.

The Isneg riddle: A sugar mill at Pili, it talks with a different voice.

Not usual among the Isneg.

Trombone.

The Isneg riddle: Flower of the *alupalupus* plant thrice curved.

The *walday*.

This is an assortment of clothes and sundry other objects suspended over the *anungtungan* stone (cf. the next item), at the time of a solemn sacrifice.

The Isneg riddle: A mountain at Sampaga to whose top the *malaga* snake climbs.

This means that it is dangerous to touch it, because the *malaga* is a venomous snake whose bite is deadly. And indeed the Isneg believe that a person who touches a *walday* that does not belong to him, will be punished by the shrinking of his hand.

The *anungtungan* stone.

This is a large river pebble that is placed on the floor of the house, at the time of a solemn sacrifice, in preparation for the *tungtung* ceremony. Cf. the next item.

The Isneg riddle: How lucky to have found a playmate at the base of an *amarag* tree: I brought him into the assembly. He is shaking and thumps down.

This riddle describes the entrance of the playmate (the stone) into the assembly and its being thumped down on the floor.

The *tungtung* tubes.

These are long bamboo tubes with which several men thump the *anungtungan* stone (cf. the preceding item), while a shaman dances upon it, at the time of a solemn sacrifice.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: It cannot pound rice in company except on top of a *balokok* tree. And: It pounds rice in company (four by four) on top of an *anitap* tree.

It pounds on top of a tree (on the stone).

To a similar riddle "the *bayug* stick" and "the *limba*- sweetmeat" are given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

Another Isneg riddle: It dances on the rocks and resounds, it dances on the floor and has no sound.

It dances (pounds) on the rocks (the stone).

To a similar riddle "coin", "a blacksmith's hammer" and "to forge" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 4. Actions.

A third Isneg riddle: The *pasingan* bamboo shoots, it puts forth nine shoots.

Among both Isneg and Kankanay "nine" often stands for "many".

Here there are many men who pound the stone and consequently many shoots (tubes).

A fourth Isneg riddle: A bamboo at Talifugu, it decays at once.

The base of the tube decays (is worn out) at once—because it is thumped repeatedly on the stone.

The *singising* saucer.

This is the most important item of a shaman's paraphernalia.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A flat stone at Anayan (or: at the other side), Kawitan's playground.

Kawitan is a spirit who inhabits the sun, and spirits are supposed to rest on these saucers, during a shaman's performances.

To a similar riddle "mat" and "the *tutugan* bead" are given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Ripe things on the *paratang* shelf, nobody can take them down except if he can reach them.

Only shamans know how to use these saucers in the right way, nobody can take them down (can try his hand at them) except if he can reach them (if he knows how to use them in the right way).

Cf. the next item.

The *sibsiba* saucer.

The Isneg riddle: Oldiwawagi is dead, let us put him high up on the shelf, if somebody can take him down, he is a rich man.

Only shamans are able to take down (to use in the right way) these saucers that are put out of reach of the people: they are the rich men.

Cf. the preceding item.

The *anonan* saucer.

This is a small saucer that is sometimes used at the time of a sacrifice.

The Isneg riddle: Aggamaranan's house, it does not reach the tiebeam, it exactly *salodokan* the tip of a coco leaf.

The meaning of *salodokan* is uncertain: it may mean "reaches"; if so the meaning of the riddle is this; When the shaman holds the saucer in the hand, it does not reach the tiebeam of the house, its distance from the floor equals the length of a coco leaf with the tip uppermost.

To a similar riddle "den of a wild boar" is given as the solution. Cf. VIII. The Outside.

The *tutugan* bead.

This is a bead that lies on the shaman's saucer at the time of a sacrifice.

The Isneg riddle: A flat stone at the other side, Kawitan shines

upon it.

Kawitan is a spirit who inhabits the sun; spirits are supposed to rest upon a shaman's saucer at the time of a sacrifice. Here he stands for the bead that shines on the flat stone (the saucer).

To a similar riddle "mat" and "the *singising* saucer" are given as the solution.

The *pasiking* basket.

It is used by travelers and hunters for holding their provisions.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: if it eats black (or: red, or: yellow) things, its eyes are black (or: red, or: yellow).

If it eats (contains) black things, its eyes (interstices) are black.

To a similar riddle "the *ayud* shelf" and "the *balulang* basket" are given as the solution.

Walking stick.

An Isneg riddle: A lobster's chela, if there is a rich man, he owns it. Only the "rich" have such a luxury.

To a similar riddle "the *bulawan* bead" is given as the solution. Cf.

III. Dress and Adornment.

Another Isneg riddle: A short stick of *bokbokang* sugar cane, it is very soon at Passogan.

It is soon very far, because a man who uses a walking stick carries no burden, and so is able to walk very quickly.

Canoe.

An Isneg riddle: A fish of the sea having a tail at both ends.

The prow and the poop.

To a similar riddle "house" is given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions.

Another Isneg riddle: A halfbeak coming back, a coconut spathe crossing the river.

When seen coming down the river, it looks like a fish, very narrow: but when seen crossing the river, it looks like a spathe, very broad.

To a similar riddle "fetus" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 1.

In General.

A third Isneg riddle: The back of the one that goes to Abulug is worn out.

Descending the river as far as Abulug, a town in the next province, the back of the craft is worn out, scraping pebbles in the rapids on the way.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A woman at Bannag, there are two that

look like having themselves swing back and forth.

This refers to the two outriggers.

Oar.

The Isneg riddle: It is making rings without reason.

The rings it makes in the water disappear immediately.

Paddle.

The Isneg riddle: Takdag's hatchet cutting lightly.

It cuts the water superficially.

The *takkan* pole.

This is a long bamboo pole used to drive a canoe upstream.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: It goes to the lowlands and its anus is worm-eaten.

The rump of the one that goes to Abulug is worm-eaten.

Its rump becomes worm-eaten if it goes downstream.

On a long trip the lower end of the pole becomes worn out, because it continually scrapes the bed of the river.

Raft.

An Isneg riddle: A man at Gannad, his whole neck is perforated.

His whole neck, that is all the bamboos that make up the raft, are perforated at one end, where they are tied together.

To a similar riddle "the *parakol* ax" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: It is satiated and does not work.

It is satiated (drenched in water) and does not work—it is passive under the hand of the man who drives it.

Automobile.

The Isneg riddle: It rides a canoe on the mountain.

Among the Isneg the canoe is the most important means of traveling, on account of the many rivers in their country, and so they compare the automobile to a canoe that rides on land.

To a similar riddle "the *takinaw* shell" is given as the solution.

Airplane.

The Isneg riddle: A small rooster going to America and coming back the same day.

Spear.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: The father comes (or: let him come), his barbs are his cheeks.

The barbs of the spear are compared to the cheeks of a man.

Another Isneg riddle: We make a pestle ring that draws along all soldiers.

To muster their dogs, the soldiers of the riddle, the Isneg hunters beat their hatchet against their spear, the pestle of the riddle.

A third Isneg riddle: The stump of a *tarumpanginay* tree, if there is a woman, she puts her arm over its neck.

This refers to a spear used by a shaman at her performances.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Kalalaw's hatchet, it comes back having been lent.

A spear may be borrowed, while a hatchet is possessed by everybody: the hatchet of the riddle is different from all others.

Shield.

The Isneg riddle: It puts its hand in its navel tightening it.

In the center of an Isneg shield, there is a hollow at the inside, that corresponds with a knob at the outside: this is the navel of the riddle; in this hollow there is a little bar which is taken hold of by the bearer of the shield: this is the hand of the riddle, and it tightens (connects) both upper and lower parts of the navel (the hollow).

Gun.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: An internode (or a section) of *pakli* bamboo, all the citizens are driven away. And: An internode of *pakli* bamboo, all the citizens are withered.

When it explodes.

Another Isneg riddle: A tree when lying down, a star when running.

The bullet, when it leaves the gun, is compared to a star that is running.

Cf. the next item.

Bullet.

An Isneg riddle: A tree lying down, a star when running.

Cf. the preceding item.

Another riddle: It stumbles down running after its prey.

The bullet falls down at the end of its course.

To the same riddle "boa" is given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

Hoe.

The Isneg riddle: Wood at Manol, very uneven.

The implement is not straight, blade and helve forming an angle.

To a similar riddle "adze" is given as the solution.

Scarecrow.

The Kankanay riddle: There is one man, when his hat falls down, he does not pick it up, he looks down upon it.

The usual scarecrow is made at the effigy of a man fully clothed.

The *kidkidang* scarecrow.

This is a piece of wood suspended in running water and connected with a group of scarecrows that are scattered over the whole field: as it moves to and fro in the water, it automatically causes all the scarecrows to move and rustle continually.

The Kankanay riddle: Her child cries, its mother bathes.

Her child (the scarecrows) cries, its mother (the piece of wood) bathes.

The *balakkuwit* scarecrow.

It consists of stripes of light bamboo stuck archwise around the field, mostly in such a way as to produce a guilloche effect.

The Isneg riddle: They are many following one another, all of them carved.

To a similar riddle "the *ilug* snare" is given as the solution.

Reaper's knife.

The Isneg riddle: A small butterfly, it eats once a year.

A Kankanay riddle: He does not eat for a year, when he wants to eat, he eats.

Another Kankanay riddle: Without it you cannot get your food.

The *taddo* basket.

It is used to hold immature rice that is being roasted.

An Isneg riddle in four variants: Tarongan does not slap (or: does not walk upstream) except in the middle of the cold season.

Tarongan walks upstream in the middle of the cold season.

Tarongan does not walk upstream except in the middle of the time of the harvest.

Immature rice is roasted only at the time of the harvest, in the cold season.

Another Isneg riddle: It grows when clubbed.

This refers to its manufacture.

To a similar riddle "basket" and "cotton" are given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

The *talla*- bark.

It is used for fuel when roasting immature rice.

The Isneg riddle: Burning of Ballako's back.

The bark of a tree is here called its back.

The *balulang* basket.

This is a large basket used for the transportation of rice in the husk and other products.

The Isneg riddle: If it eats red things, its eyes are red.

If it eats (contains) red things, its eyes (interstices) are red.

To a similar riddle "*the ayud shelf*" and "*the pasiking basket*" are given as the solution.

The *balet* trap.

This is a huge contrivance which shoots an arrow at a passing deer or wild boar that trips over a string that lies in its path.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: It pursues (or: catches) its prey lying down.

The arrow lies on a part of the trap before it shoots the animal.

Bow and arrow.

The Isneg riddle: It resounds emitting urine.

Emitting (shooting) urine (the arrow).

Arrow.

The Isneg riddle: Pagitang stretched it, it continues to be bent.

Pagitang (the arrow) stretched the bow and it will be bent as long as the arrow remains in it.

The *xallowid* stick.

This is a short pointed stick that is stuck in the ground in order to impale a passing animal.

An Isneg riddle: It catches its prey sitting.

Another Isneg riddle: A leaf falls down, the whole household crumbles down.

The whole household (all those who pass over it).

To a similar riddle "locust" and "night" are given as the solution.

Cf. VI. Animals & IX. Natural Phenomena.

The *ilug* snare.

This is a snare for catching birds.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: They are many following one another, all of them end down (or: all of them facing in the same direction). And: They are many brothers-in-law, they face in the same direction and are bent down.

When several of these snares are set (as is usual), all spring poles

are bent down and face in the same direction.

To a similar riddle "the *balakkuwit* scarecrow" is given as the solution.

The *siuwat* snare.

This is a snare for catching birds: a noose is spread over a hollow in the ground, where the bait is placed.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Baturi goes headhunting, he always comes back the same day. And: It catches its prey in one day.

This snare never stays overnight.

Another Isneg riddle: It throttles its visitor.

When the visitor (the bird) pecks at the bait, the noose catches him at the neck.

The *bakgeng* basket.

This is a small, round basket which the women tie to their girdle, usually at the back, when they go to the field: it is used to keep edible snails.

A Kankanay riddle: He is never tired sitting down.

Sitting down—on the hip of the woman who carries him.

Another Kankanay riddle: Mother catches edible snails, look back and they throw stones at one another.

Look back—look at the back of the woman where the basket is located.

They (the snails) throw stones (throw their shells) at one another—in the basket.

Net.

The Isneg riddle: A spider's den, it becomes better and better.

As it gets more and more prey.

The *tapigu* net.

It is used for catching locusts and fish.

The Kankanay riddle: He has very many eyes.

To a very similar riddle "pineapple" is given as the solution. Cf.

VII. Plants.

The *tangdal* scooping net.

The Isneg riddle: It is moving, there it is awaking.

It is moving—there is a fish inside; it is awaking—it stops sleeping, when it emerges with a fish that is living.

The *tabukol* casting net.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: It flies (or: it soars), a plain.

And: One above another, plains.

When this net is cast, it spreads out in the air, like a plain, and flies above another plain, the water.

To a similar riddle "nodes" and "the *bolo* bamboo" are given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: The material goes across back and forth. This refers to its manufacture.

The *asag* trap.

This is a huge contrivance in the shape of an inclined platform that is placed lengthwise in running water: its broadest part is submerged upstream, its other part emerges downstream; the fish mounts the platform at its submerged part and dies on the other part.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: We shake it at its base, we pick up the fruits at its top. And: We shake it at its top, we pick up the fruits at its base.

We shake (submerge) it on one part, we pick up the fruits (the fish) at the other part. The words "base" and "top" are used according to the point of view of the speaker.

The *bansi* leaves.

Placed on a dam, they serve as a scarecrow for fishes.

The Isneg riddle: My stump of *dongon* wood, a trial for locusts. They are a trial (a scarecrow) for locusts (for fishes).

Bow net.

Several of them are set in the evening and lifted the next morning.

An Isneg riddle in four variants: Sharp-pointed (or: sharp) teeth swallowing alive.

Sharp-pointed teeth swallowing the whole.

The teeth are the sharp points of the funnel-shaped entrance.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: Tie a string to me (or: take hold of me) so that I dive.

A third Isneg riddle: Paludap dives, he is very light and waits.

To the same riddle "the *alna* ingredients" and "the *tapput* jar" are given as the solution, and to a similar riddle again "the *tapput* jar" is given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A large troop, one lies in wait.

A large troop—of bow nets; one lies in wait: the owner of them.

A fifth Isneg riddle: Knocking, looking.

That is what people do when they lift their bow nets in the morning.

The Kankanay riddle: Sow it now, to-morrow eat its fruits.
Sow (set) it now, to-morrow eat its fruits (eat the fishes).

The *udag* bow net.

This is an elongated bow net that is used to catch eels by means of a shutter that closes the entrance when the bait is touched.

The Isneg riddle: It closes the door on its visitor.

The *abraw* coconut meat.

This is the fermented remnants of coconut meat after the oil has been extracted. It is much used as a bait for bow nets.

The Isneg riddle: A taro leaf, it is slippery.

This might be said of many things: indeed to the same riddle "native guitar" is given as the solution. Cf. also Flint and steel.

The *kawit* fishhook.

It is attached to a string or a sliver of bamboo and set in the water.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A child on the bank of the river, it passes by and bites. And: Bannit is walking downstream, when he stops, he bites.

The fishhook is not really an inhabitant, but a mere passer-by, who bites and sometimes stops on the way.

Cf. the next item.

The *seding* fishhook.

This is a small fishhook.

The Isneg riddle: Bannit passes by and bites.

Cf. the preceding item.

The *bannuwet* fishhook.

This is a large fishhook.

The Isneg riddle: It catches intestines for its prey.

This refers to the bait, the intestines, which it catches for its prey (for the fishes it will hook).

Bait of small fishhook.

The Isneg riddle: The fruit of the bramble falling down, the *alig* bee who looks for honey, catches it.

The bee (the fishhook) who looks for honey (for fish) catches it for a bait.

The *passo*-poison.

It consists of pounded tobacco mixed with ashes, and is strewn in the water, near the bank of a river, at night.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Batulan (or: Battulang) walks downstream, bones are strewn.

The bones are the poison.

To a similar riddle "the *parrud* poison" and "water" are given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

Another Isneg riddle: *Kulakulakulanglang*, bones are scattered.

The first word has no meaning.

To a similar riddle "bottle", "land shell", "the *daxikan* shell", "the *axodong* shell" and "coconut" are given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals & VII. Plants.

A third Isneg riddle: Kalibsong put things in the water, Kawaway and his whole family die at once.

He put things (poison) in the water and the whole family (the fishes) die at once.

The *parrud* poison.

It consists of pounded tobacco mixed with ashes and is scattered in brooks, in the daytime.

The Isneg riddle: Batulan walks downstream, bones are strewn.

The bones are the poison.

To a similar riddle "the *passo*-poison" and "water" are given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink.

Saw.

The Isneg riddle: A fish at Masi with an overturned backbone.

Its smooth side being at the back of the saw, in contrast with a real backbone.

Adze.

The Isneg riddle: An abandoned rice field at Manol, very uneven.

The implement is not straight, helve and blade forming an angle.

To a similar riddle "hoe" is given as the solution.

Plane.

The Kankanay riddle: His stomach eats and his food comes out at his back.

His stomach (his lower side) eats (does the work) and his food (the shavings) comes out at his back (his upper side).

Bellows.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Duwawwaw's scale (or: pipe), two make it shout. And: Duwawwaw's pipe, two are shouting.

The two tubes of the Isneg bellows.

Another Isneg riddle: The *karabongan* bird flies, Busibutan becomes hot.

Busibutan (the iron) becomes hot through the flying (the breathing) of the bellows.

A third Isneg riddle: It is breathing, very soon it is a piece of wood cut for fuel.

When the bellows are in action, they breathe, but when they are silent, they are mere wood, about the length of a piece of wood that has been cut for fuel.

A blacksmith's hammer.

An Isneg riddle: It dances on the floor and has no sound, it dances on the rocks and resounds.

To a similar riddle "coin", "the *tungtung* tubes" and "to forge" are given as the solution. Cf. L. Men, 4. Actions.

Another Isneg riddle: A cow at Anayan grazing on iron.

Iron bar.

The Isneg riddle: *Dalawdaw, dalawdaw*, it is changed into a hatchet.

The first two words have no meaning.

To a similar riddle "Lima bean" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

VI. ANIMALS

Carabao.

The Kankanay riddle: Biyayeng's father, he wears trees on his head.

The trees are the horns.

Horns of a carabao.

An Isneg riddle: A slanting tree is dancing.

A slanting tree (the horns), is dancing (moving)—when the animal walks.

Another Isneg riddle: A very large *bunga* tree with only two branches.

The two branches are the horns.

Hog.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: It weeps when fed. And: It weeps when you feed it bones (or: large bones).

It weeps (grunts) when fed. The bones are the hog's food.

To a similar riddle "eye" and "gong" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle: The rich man takes a bath, he continues to be covered with soot.

A hog is never clean.

A third Isneg riddle: Four sustain it, one whips it.

Four—legs; one—tail.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A bamboo shoot creating six.

Six—pair of dug.

A fifth Isneg riddle: The one who eats is her child, its mother does not eat.

The mother (the sow) does not eat, while her child (the piglet) eats (sucks).

Sow dung.

The Kankanay riddle: Excrement of the *kadew* frog bearing interest for the dead.

Used as fertilizer, it causes the field to produce a good harvest, and so to enable the people to offer sacrifices for the dead.

Horse dung.

The Kankanay riddle: There is one man, all twenty-centavo coins.

The dung is compared to coins.

Dog.

Both an Isneg and a Kankanay riddle refer to the grin of an angry dog.

In Isneg: It laughs and it is angry.

In Kankanay: His laugh is his anger.

Three Isneg riddles refer to a contrast between man and dog:

A riddle in two variants: *Kulakulakulangug* (or: *kulkulangug*), the knee at the backside.

The two first words have no meaning.

Another riddle in two variants: When it sits down it is tall, when it stands it is short. And: On top when it is sitting, below when it is standing.

A third riddle: It descends the ladder head down.

A fifth Isneg riddle: He goes down (to the river), he does not want to wash himself.

Dogs are not wont to bathe.

A sixth Isneg riddle: Kamat's ring, noosed it pursues something.

This refers to a hunter held in leash by its owner.

Cat.

An Isneg riddle: A soldier lying in ambush below Malabado.

This refers to the hunting propensities of the cat.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: Child of the harelip, they are absolutely (or: they are) all hareliped.

This refers to the shape of their snout.

Wild cat.

The Isneg riddle: The place where the girl urinated, it spreads an agreeable odor.

The girl is the wild cat.

Rabbit.

The Kankanay riddle: He runs, when spit upon he dies.

When spit upon (when reached).

This refers to a rabbit that is pursued by a hunter.

Monkey.

An Isneg riddle: Batulan walking on top of a forest of tall trees.

Another Isneg riddle: A man on a mountain like a mountain.

Here the monkey is compared to a mountain, when seen from afar.

The Kankanay riddle: A rich man at Langbayan who steals *deguay* fruits.

The *deguay* (*Saurauia bontocensis*. Merr.) is a forest shrub whose fruits are eaten by man, so that monkeys seem to steal them from the people.

Monkey caught in a trap.

The Isneg riddle: My aunt's house where *ilangit* spirits have to stay.

The spirits are the monkeys, and having been caught in a trap, they have to stay there.

To the same riddle "pigsty" is given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions.

Deer.

The Isneg riddle: Aggawetak's neck on which grow *putak* bamboos.

The bamboos are the antlers.

Rat.

Both Isneg and Kankanay riddles refer to the tail as to a piece of rattan.

In Isneg: A little old man dragging a piece of rattan.

In Kankanay: a riddle in two variants: Three Mageymey people trailing a piece of rattan. And: There is an old man, he drags rattan.

Fruit bat.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Bokat (or: Bekat) does not dry his coconut except on top of a guava shrub.

This refers to the usual habitat of these animals, namely: on trees.

Cheek of animals.

The Isneg riddle: Gammad's sugar mill whose pole is at the lower side.

The pole is the cheek bone: it is at the lower side, in contrast with the pole of a sugar mill.

To a similar riddle "the *to-rit* halfbeak" and "lip of the *to-rit*" are given as the solution.

Bird.

An Isneg riddle: It dies when given meat to eat.

Meat is not the food of a bird.

To the same riddle "fowl" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Throttled, given to be roasted.

After having been throttled in a snare, the bird is given to be roasted.

Fowl.

An Isneg riddle in our variants: All citizens of Gannad (or: Bannag), none can urinate.

All citizens of Tannad, they cannot urinate.

People of Bannag, none can urinate.

Another Isneg riddle: It is weeding without reason.

It is weeding (scratching) without reason—there are no weeds to be pulled out.

To the same riddle "oarsman", and to a similar riddle "rider on a canoe" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 1. In General.

A third Isneg riddle in two variants: All the citizens of Tuwaw (or: Kumaw), none can sit down.

None can sit down like human beings, with legs extended.

A fourth Isneg riddle: It dies when given meat to eat.

Cf. the preceding item.

A fifth Isneg riddle: Bokto's house with a lean-to at one end.

The house (body) has a lean-to (head) at one end.

A sixth Isneg riddle: Only two legs *tinud*.

The last word having no meaning, it is hard to explain this riddle. But I believe that by mentioning the two legs, they want to suggest that it is different from all other animals reared by them.

Chick.

The Kankanay riddle: A new-born babe, it thrusts out its eyes.

Hen.

The Kankanay riddle: When she has young she cares for them, when they grow up, she kills them.

She kills (abandons) them—to their own devices.

Jungle fowl.

The Isneg riddle: An old man in a thick forest shrieking and shouting.

Shrieking and shouting (crowing).

To a similar riddle "frog" is given as the solution.

Ear of a fowl.

The Isneg riddle: Buwawa's ear, Buwawa's *balitok* bead.

The ear is compared to a bead.

Contents of the crop of a fowl.

The Isneg riddle: Bulut's provisions, all piled up.

Wood pigeon.

The Isneg riddle: A bird at Tabbayagan.

I think that a person who tries to solve this riddle, must rely on chance.

Buzzard.

The Kankanay riddle: He comes from Masla, he wears a *bayyaong* blanket.

This blanket is white with black stripes.

The blanket (plumage) of the buzzard is white and brown.

Crow.

The Kankanay riddle: He comes from Lub-ong, he wears a *bayyaong* blanket.

Cf. the preceding item, but here the black stripes of the blanket are the only color taken into consideration.

Wood pecker.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A person at Polon, a knocker.
And: A person at Polpolon wearing a coat of ragged cloth and pounding with bamboos.

Both variants refer to the habits of the bird. Cf. also the next item.

The *taxzoko*-cuckoo.

The Isneg riddle: A person of the bushes, she wears a ragged tapis and walks unsteadily.

The ragged tapis is the plumage.

The *tala* bird.

It mimics the singing of other birds.

The Kankanay riddle: Pagpagitpit is my child, he is a good talker.

To a similar riddle "flatus" is given as the solution. Cf. L. Men, 2. The Body.

The *kiwing* bird.

The Kankanay riddle: They must transplant rice before he talks.

This redbreast serves for a signal to the farmer's activities.

The *kiling*, the *adas* and similar birds.

The Kankanay riddle: When he thinks it opportune, he talks.

The *biding* bird.

The Kankanay riddle: Its mother is red, but her child is white.

This refers to the plumage of adult and young birds.

The *pipixaw* bird.

The Isneg riddle: Paddugay does not make his nest except on the brink of a landslide.

This alludes to the place where this bird builds its nest.

The *ladaxan* bird.

The Isneg riddle: Bagalay talks, Gusamay hisses.

This alludes to a difference between male and female.

Egg.

Both an Isneg and a Kankanay riddle refer to the absence of a pedicel, in contrast with fruits.

In Isneg: A guava at a place full of stones, it has no stem.

In Kankanay: A squash at Wanga, you cannot see where it was

cut.

Another Isneg riddle in five variants: Iwagan's coconut oil, it sleeps being placed over the fire (or: being melted).

Iwagab's bottle, it sleeps being placed over the fire (or: being melted).

Iwagan's bottle, it melts being placed over the fire.

It sleeps (coagulates)—when it is kept in its shell; it melts—when the shell is broken.

To a similar riddle "lead" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

A third Isneg riddle in three variants: Bintok (or: Bingkok) is enveloped, silver was used to envelop him. And: *Intom bakitom*, silver was used to envelop it.

The first two words of the last variant have no meaning.

The silver is the shell.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Wood at Balangubong, it cannot be tied into a bundle.

Another Kankanay riddle: A squash at Wanga, an oval one.

A third Kankanay riddle: A round stone, after a while it has legs.

Boa.

The Isneg riddle: It stumbles down running after its prey.

The boa resides in trees and "stumbles down" when catching its prey.

To the same riddle "bullet" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

The *simek* snake.

The Kankanay riddle: He has no eyes and still he walks.

This small, venomous snake is erroneously supposed to be eyeless.

Iguana.

The Kankanay riddle: Its house is a hole.

Its house (den) is a hole (cave).

To a similar riddle "flatus" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2.

The Body.

Tortoise.

The Kankanay riddle: He carries his house with him.

Frog.

An Isneg riddle: A child at the bank of the river covered with dirt.

With dirt (slime).

To the same riddle "the *girgira*-frong" and "the *modi* fish" are given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: A man in a thick forest (or: a man below) shrieking and shouting.

Shrieking and shouting (croaking).

To a similar riddle "jungle fowl" is given as the solution.

A third Isneg riddle: She gives birth lying face downwards.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Five float down, one catches them.

Five (several small prey) float down, one (the frog) catches them.

The Kankanay riddle: He has four legs, he does not walk, he jumps and that's all.

The *girgira*-frog

The Isneg riddle: A child at the bank of the river covered with dirt.

Cf. the preceding item.

Tadpole.

The Isneg riddle: Use your strength, Tubibbig, perforating the sky.

Its tail moving continually, it seems to perforate something: it perforates the sky (the air).

A Kankanay riddle: His belly is very big.

Another Kankanay riddle: His body is sweet, his belly is bitter.

Before consuming a tadpole, some of its intestines are removed.

Fish.

An Isneg riddle: A man upstream, his ears breathe.

The ears are the gills.

Another Isneg riddle: Splinters swimming.

With some imagination fishes may be compared to splinters.

The *kampo* fish.

Its fins secrete a kind of poison.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A dry leaf of the Abulug people, it bites with its back. And: A dry leaf at Abulug, when touched it bites.

The *to-rit* halfbeak.

An Isneg riddle: Bawwet's sugar mill whose pole is at the lower side.

In contrast with the real pole.

This refers to the shape of the animal's snout.

To a similar riddle "cheek of animals" is given as the solution.

Cf. also the next item.

Another Isneg riddle: With only one kernel of rice for provisions, he goes to Abulug.

This proves its endurance.

Abulug is a town situated near the mouth of the Apayaw river.

Lip of the *to-rit* halfbeak.

The Isneg riddle: Bawwet's sugar mill whose pole is at the lower side.

Cf. the preceding item.

The *palilang* fish.

An Isneg riddle: I pinched Basingulan under the *balintugan* stone.

This fish is mostly caught with the bare hand.

Another Isneg riddle: It dies when pinched.

When pinched (when caught).

The *wading* fish.

The Kankanay riddle: He has many children.

To a very similar riddle "flint and steel" and "the *bulbul-o* alga" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements & VII. Plants.

The *modi* fish.

These small, speckled fishes are caught in large quantities by means of poison.

An Isneg riddle: A child at the bank of the river covered with dirt.

The dirt probably refers to the poison.

To the same riddle "frog" and "the *girgira*-frog" are given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: A man on the bank of a river, he wears a coat of different colors.

Eel.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A splinter of wood swims. And: A dibble for planting yams dives.

The Isneg are fond of comparing fish to pieces of wood: cf. Fish and the next riddle.

Another Isneg riddle: A piece of *baniyakaw* wood cut for fuel, it crosses the Apayaw river by itself.

A third Isneg riddle: It walks without legs.

Shell.

The Isneg riddle: The large cup grows upon the water.

The Kankanay riddle: Your mother goes to the field, when she comes back you throw stones at your old woman.

The edible snails are gathered by the women; when they come home, the children get the largest share of these dainties: they throw away the stones (the shells).

Land shell.

An Isneg riddle: *Kulkukulanglang*, bones at the outside.

The first word has no meaning.

To a similar riddle "bottle", "the *passo*-poison" and "coconut" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements & VII. Plants. Cf. also the next two items.

Another Isneg riddle in four variants: It does not sing except on top of a prop (or: of an *umila* tree).

It cannot sing at all except on top of an *umila* tree.

It has no means of talking except on top of an *umila* tree.

Land shells always cling to vegetation.

A third Isneg riddle: It always carries its house.

To a similar riddle "the *sawit* gastropod" is given as the solution.

The *daxikan* shell.

The Isneg riddle: *Kulkukulanglang*, bones at the outside.

Cf. the preceding item and the next one.

The *axodong* shell.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: *Kulkukulanglang*, bones outside.

And: *Kulakulakulanglang*, bones at the outside.

Cf. the preceding two items.

The *sawit* gastropod.

An Isneg riddle: It is carrying its house.

To a similar riddle "land shell" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: *Kulanglang* at Iron.

Iron probably alludes to the hardness of the shell, but the solution seems to be guesswork.

The *palling* gastropod.

Some of these marine gastropods form a part of a shaman's

paraphernalia, but at least one of them must be a large, spinose conch.

An Isneg riddle: Up and down being covered (sexually).

Up and down—on the waves of the sea.

Being covered—by the large, spinose conch, the male.

Another Isneg riddle: Two brothers-in-law meet.

When a shaman officiates, there are at least two of these gastropods in her possession. Nevertheless the solution of this riddle seems to depend much on chance.

Leech.

The Isneg riddle: Although much in a hurry, it smells its breech (nevertheless).

This refers to the way it is moving along the ground.

The Kankanay riddle: You cannot see where he bit, when you look he is eating.

Snail.

The Kankanay riddle: A horned chicken, a snail, tell it.

The person who wants to solve this riddle has a choice between two items, but both refer to the same animal. Nevertheless this riddle seems to contain its own solution.

The *ginga* edible snail.

A Kankanay riddle: He bows walking.

This refers to the way it moves about.

Another Kankanay riddle: His tongue walks.

His tongue: that is the animal that inhabits the shell.

The *ket-an* edible snail.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: If you do not take off his tail, you cannot pull him. And: If you do not take off his rump, although the whole household come to the rescue, he cannot be taken.

In order to be able to extract the animal from its shell, you must break off the tail or the rump (the tip of the shell).

The *kabibi* mussel.

The Isneg riddle: *Aligmaman* baskets at Bannad, two join their rim, a worm entered.

The worm is the animal.

Crab.

An Isneg riddle in six variants: A fish in the sea (or: a fish upstream), mine is its head, nobody can say anything.

There is a fish upstream, mine is its tail, nobody can say anything.

A fish upstream, mine is its head, nothing can be said.

A fish upstream, nobody can locate its head.

A fish upstream with scales of brass, mine is its head, mine is its tail, nobody can say anything.

The only edible part is the head or the tail: it is difficult to say which is the head and which is the tail, as nobody can locate its head; but some people claim both head and tail, to be sure.

Another riddle in two variants: A parcel swimming (or: diving).

The animal is compared to a parcel, as its limbs are difficult to distinguish one from another.

A Kankanay riddle: He carries his scissors with him.

His scissors are the chelae.

Another Kankanay riddle: He has ten legs.

The ten legs: the legs, the chelae, and so on.

Lobster.

The Isneg riddle: A Suwag man walking downstream and gathering forked sticks.

Gathering (carrying) forked sticks—the mouth pieces, the chelae, and so on.

Cf. the next three items.

Shrimp.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Aruwag (or: Battuwag, or Wabuwag) is walking downstream carrying a forked stick.

Carrying a forked stick (a chela).

Cf. the preceding item and the next two.

Another Isneg riddle: Magkarag riges birth walking backwards.

When a shrimp gives birth (lays her eggs), she has to walk (swim) backwards—in order to keep them under her body.

A third Isneg riddle; Walking downstream to Pagara, it is very roomy at the eyes.

Because they are projected far outwards.

The *lagdaw* shrimp.

The Isneg riddle: Manurag is walking downstream carrying a forked stick.

Cf. the preceding two items and the next one.

The *pilalat* shrimp.

The Isneg riddle: Kabuwag is walking downstream carrying a forked stick.

Cf. the three preceding items.

The *kaddud* prawn.

The Isneg riddle: A man on a mountain with intestines outside.
The intestines are whatever it carries under its belly.

Centiped.

The Kankanay riddle: Its legs are innumerable.

Spider.

An Isneg riddle: It begins with placing the thatch and then places the substratum of canes.

The thatch is the web; the substratum are the things placed or caught in it.

To the same riddle "teeth", "cowpea" and "the *palali* tree" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men. 2. The Body & VII. Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: A small girl, she stays at the eaves.

The usual place of the spiders.

To the same riddle "ladder" is given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions.

A third Isneg riddle: Kamaranan's house, *bulawan* beads serve it for a ladder.

The beads are the spider's legs.

To a similar riddle "umbrella" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

A Kankanay riddle: She lies upon her child.

Another Kankanay riddle: Two sisters, they carry one another's child.

A third Kankanay riddle: Her weaving is done in the twinkling of an eye.

The *babbalakay* spider.

The Isneg riddle: Tukay builds a house, he does not gather rattan.

Earthworm.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Going up he defecates, going down he sleeps.

Is makes a roof with its dung.

Its house is at the lower side, its dung is at the upper side.

Another Isneg riddle: Barigkawan does not come out except when frisking.

This refers to the movements of an earthworm when it comes out of the ground.

Itch mite.

The Isneg riddle: Meat that flows.

It seems yo be meat (flesh)—a part of the muscle; it flows (spreads)—the itch spreads over the skin.

Louse.

The Kankanay riddle: They are children, they fill their Father's beard.

The beard (the hair) of their father (of the head).

Small louse.

The Kankanay riddle: He is very small, his bite is awful.

Nit.

An Isneg riddle: Egg of the *piroka* bird, Baka's beads.

The nit is compared to an egg and to a bead.

Another Isneg riddle: An egg with a spur.

A spur—that bites.

A third Isneg riddle: It carries (two by two) crosswise.

The nit attached to a hair seems to carry it, not on the head nor on the shoulder, but crosswise (at the side).

Carabao's louse.

The Kankanay riddle: There is a man who has no buttocks.

No buttocks—nothing protuberant about its body.

Flea.

Two Kankanay riddles refer to its abundance: A *loa* basket full of sesame sown in the earth. And: Shells abounding in all towns.

The flea is compared to a seed of sesame and to a shell.

A third Kankanay riddle in two variants: He always sticks to something. And: There is a child whom you do not carry on the hip, and it sticks.

A fourth Kankanay riddle: A *bulinget* spirit who falls upon you.

The fleas jump from place to place: they seem to fall from the sky, but they stick.

Weevil.

The Isneg riddle: It eats its dung.

The *amsi*- ant.

The Isneg riddle in two variants; A *palilang* fish at Anayan, it leaves the water (or: it comes out) when you approach it.

It threatens with stinging anyone who comes near it.

The *atingayawan* ant.

This is a large dark-brown ant.

The Kankanay riddle: There are girls very slender.

The *boos* ant.

The eggs of this ant are edible.

The Isneg riddle: The broth of the *limugan* bird is sour.

The *lallaxa* ant.

This kind of large ant is much used as a bait for fishhooks.

The Isneg riddle: A *tagaklat* reed sucked by fruit bats.

Sucked by fruit bats—caught by fishes.

Water scorpion.

The Kankanay riddle: He wears an *aladdang* blanket, its superior part is worn out.

The *aladdang* is a kind of black blanket.

The superior part—where his front legs are situated.

It is worn out—this part of the animal seems bare in contrast with the rest of its body.

The *whirligig* beetle.

An Isneg riddle in five variants: A small *dipdipadip*, it dances over (or: it crosses by itself) an overflowing river.

A small *dipdipadip*, it wades a river although overflowing.

Dupappak dances over a broad stretch of water.

A small *takkit* bird swimming over an overflowing river.

The meaning of *dipdipadip* is unknown.

To a similar riddle "sugar mill" is given as the solution. Cf. IV.

Buildings and Constructions.

Another Isneg riddle: A large deer, nobody can detect its track.

Its track—in the water.

The rhinoceros beetle.

An Isneg riddle: A banana in the corner embraced by a *danag* spirit.

Embraced by a spirit—on account of its extraordinary shape.

To the same riddle "a woman's breast", and to a similar riddle "acacia" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & VII.

Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: A mouthful of large deer.

Its horn being compared to the antlers of a deer: large, in comparison with the rest of its body, but only a mouthful, on account of

the size of the animal.

Mole cricket.

All three Kankanay riddles refer to its den.

My *bulbul* dog, he clears ground.

His head makes his house.

Just a child, but its house is very good.

Cicada.

The Isneg riddle: It talks once a year.

To the same riddle "the *doldoli* insect" is given as the solution.

Bee.

An Isneg riddle: Busigigi's house, one post.

The post is the sting.

To a similar riddle "the *bintoal* granary", "the *ayud* shelf" and "papaya" are given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions, V. Furniture and Implements & VII. Plants.

Another Isneg riddle: The sucking pig has only one bone.

The bone is the sting.

To the same riddle "the *binaladdibad* sweetmeat" and "jack fruit" are given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink & VII. Plants.

A third Isneg riddle: I plant squashes, it bears one fruit.

The fruit is the sting.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Coconut at Paddig, one piece, one spitful.

One spitful—one animal on a spit (a sting).

A fifth Isneg riddle: The one whose child is insipid, but whose mother is tasty.

The child (the young bee) is insipid, but the mother (the honey) is tasty.

The *alig* bee.

This is a small bee whose honey is much esteemed.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A small girl, your heart beats (or: it rains heavily) looking for her.

People look for these bees with a beating heart—eagerly and anxiously. Sometimes it rains heavily—they perspire abundantly.

Another Isneg riddle: Gantong flies.

The first term must be conventional or the solution of the riddle is mere guesswork.

The *kukkuruban* bee.

This is a large bee that builds its nest in the ground.

The Isneg riddle: Very large *batikang* taro, after one year it produces one leaf.

One leaf (one honeycomb).

To a similar riddle "galingale", "screw pine" and "the *dongon* tree" are given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

The *pulut* bee.

This is a small bee that builds its nest in the hollow of trees.

The Isneg riddle: It eats rotten things raw.

The rotten things are to be found in the hollow of trees.

Wasp.

The Kankanay riddle: A small man, a good talker.

Locust.

An Isneg riddle: A leaf of the *bubug* rattan falls down, we die worrying.

The destructive power of the locust makes people worry.

To a similar riddle "the xallowid stick" and "night" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements & IX. Natural Phenomena.

Another Isneg riddle: Neither king nor priest, it has legs like a saw.

Fly.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Madan's child (or: A child from Anayan), it cannot be taught to behave.

In this country flies are often exceedingly annoying to people.

Another Isneg riddle: Rice of a rich man taken out of the pot, the black fellow eats first.

The black fellow is the fly.

Compare the next item.

A third Isneg riddle: I have a chick for a pet, it is tame, but wild.

Tame—because it lives with the family like cats and dogs.

The Kankanay riddle: He arranges his raincoat, even in the evening he does not take it off.

He arranges his raincoat—when the fly rubs its body with its legs.

The *banggaw* fly.

The Isneg riddle: Image of a rich man, the black fellow eats first.

Cf. the preceding item.

The dragon fly.

The Kankanay riddle: His buttocks drink.

This refers to the shape of its head: like buttocks.

Larva of the dragon fly.

The Kankanay riddle: He has three spears and they are attached to his buttocks.

Firefly.

The Isneg riddle: We do not know the fire except when morning comes.

We do not know the fire—the origin of the fire.

Mosquito nest.

The Kankanay riddle: A small *tupil* basket full of mosquitoes.

Wiggler.

The Isneg riddle: A stump of *pa-li* bamboo full of *pappalaggi* beads.

On these beads there are three undulate lines, which may suggest the movement of this animal.

The *attat* insect.

The Isneg riddle: A man below, he looks out of the window at once.

It leaves the inside of the house as soon as there is an opening.

The *doldoli* insect.

The Isneg riddle: It talks once a year.

To the same riddle "cicada" is given as the solution.

The *kulalleng* insect.

This is a hemipterous insect, a *Naucoris* or some allied species.

The Kankanay riddle: She carries her child.

The *laylaya* insect.

This is a hemipterous insect, a *Naucoris* or some allied species.

The Kankanay riddle: She carries her child.

The *laylaya* insect.

This is a blue, wingless insect.

The Kankanay riddle: There is one creature that bites if you take hold of it.

The *papayut* insect.

The Isneg riddle: Silsiltut does not arrive except at the time of roasting immature rice.

Thus at the time of the harvest.

The *bubuli* moth.

This is a kind of small, white moth.

The Kankanay riddle: There is one man, a belly is the only thing

he has.

Butterfly.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Splinters flying (or: soaring).

Cocoon.

The Kankanay riddle: If you took hold of him, your hand is sore.

Caterpillar.

A Kankanay riddle: His head and his buttocks walk.

Another Kankanay riddle: It must drizzle the whole day before he comes out.

The *bugabugan* caterpillar.

This is a kind of stinging, yellow caterpillar.

A Kankanay riddle: There is one rich man who scorches you if you touch him.

Another Kankanay riddle: His teeth are on his back.

The *tarnid* caterpillar.

This is a stinging caterpillar.

The Isneg riddle: The round thing has only one hair.

One hair (sting).

To the same riddle "frying pan" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

VII. PLANTS

Rice in the husk.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Its base is bamboo, its top is a place full of stones. And: Its base is a bamboo thicket, its top is a tuft of hair.

A place full of stones (full of seeds or grain); a tuft of hair (of awns).

Another Isneg riddle: Have mercy on me and throttle me.

At harvest time, they throttle it (they cut it at the neck)—somewhere under the head or ear of rice.

A third riddle: It burns its one hair.

It burns (exposes to the sun) its one hair (awn).

A Kankanay riddle: You must pound it, then cook it.

Another Kankanay riddle: It needs much preparing.

A third Kankanay riddle: It is alone, and when it bears offspring it is numerous.

It is alone (one grain).

Wheat rust.

The Isneg riddle: Take me, I am about to fall.

The grain affected with rust is about to fall (to be destroyed).

To a similar riddle "ear and ear pendant" is given as the solution.

Cf. III. Dress and Adornment.

Rice tied up.

Before the harvest an old woman ties amulets to one of the stalks of rice that have to be harvested: This rice being the share of the spirits, is always kept in the granary and is never consumed by man.

An Isneg riddle: A sterile patch of ground on the hill where hard bamboos grow.

As this rice is never consumed by man, it is sterile as far as human beings are concerned.

The hill where hard bamboos grow is the rice field.

To a similar riddle "crown of the head", "throat" and "pulse" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

Another Isneg riddle: Do not touch that on which is placed the stump of a cigar.

It is not allowed to touch (to consume) the rice on which a stump of a cigar (an amulet) has been placed.

A third Isneg riddle: Akok's *gitappang* measure full of green pepper.

The *gitappang* is an implement used for measuring rice.

It is full of green pepper—it contains no rice, namely: the rice that is reserved for the spirits and cannot be consumed by man.

Straw.

That is the straw that remains on the field after the harvest.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Pattek's branchless tree, we did not all climb it. And: Nantek's branchless tree, not all climb it.

It would be impossible to climb this branchless tree (this straw).

To a similar riddle "rice field being harvested" and "harvested rice field" are given as the solution. Cf. VIII. The Outside.

The Kankanay riddle: A very small road, it has much to carry.

After the field has been harvested, there are rows of straw that lie between the paths trodden by the reapers: these rows resemble roads, and they have much to carry—much straw.

The *bangibang* rice.

This is a heap of small bundles of rice, before they are tied into the

usual large bundles. Passing over this heap is taboo.

The Isneg riddle: A small *dapdappig* plant, the intrepid cannot pass over it.

Cf. the next item.

The *datto* rice.

This is a heap of large bundles of rice that have been counted before they are stored in the granary. Passing over them is taboo.

The Isneg riddle: The frog kneels down, nobody can pass over it.

Cf. the preceding item.

A plate and rice in the husk.

Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Rice.

This is pounded rice.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Eggs of the *tatarakay* ant, we cannot overthrow them all.

A heap of rice kernels cannot be overthrown, it can only be scattered.

To the same riddle "patch of sand" is given as the solution. Cf.

VIII. The Outside.

Eggs of the *aliliwat* insect (or: of the *bibbirikan* animal). We cannot count them all.

Another Isneg riddle: Alet's *bungot* beads, sharpened at both ends.

A Kankanay riddle: A small well full of *ipon* fish.

The *ipon* is a kind of small white fish.

To the same riddle "the *lupaw* basket" is given as the solution. Cf.

V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Kankanay riddle: A chicken at Kandong, a pure *bugay-yong* bean.

The ordinary *bugayyong* bean has a colored spot, but rice is "pure".

The *atta* kernel.

This is a kernel of rice in the husk left amidst pounded rice.

The Isneg riddle: A basket full of chicken dung, one stinks.

One stinks—one is normal: all the others have lost their stench (their husk).

Indian corn.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A mountain full of squirrels, all of them pregnant. And: A plain full of squirrels, they are all pregnant.

The seeds being turgid, in contrast with the kernels of rice, are

compared to pregnant "squirrels".

Another Isneg riddle: There is a tree near Sarat, it bears fruits like *dumat* beads, we eat them at the beginning of the heavy rain.

A Kankanay riddle: He has one leg, he always carries his children, he does not get tired till they cut them off.

Another Kankanay riddle: Three of them, father and children, they carry one another on the hip.

Three of them: father (stalk) and children (two ears).

A third Kankanay riddle: A tree like a staff, its leaves are tamarinds, its fruits are like children.

Like children—that are carried on the hip.

A fourth Kankanay riddle: He carries his blankets one upon another, his hair is red.

His blankets (husks); his hair (silk).

A fifth Kankanay riddle: Her child comes out at her hip.

A sixth Kankanay riddle in two variants: She lulls her child asleep. And: She rocks her child.

Her child (the ear)—that rests on her hip.

A seventh Kankanay riddle: She carries her child under her arms.

An eighth Kankanay riddle: Her hair is blood red.

The hair is the silk.

A ninth Kankanay riddle: Her coats cover one another.

The coats are the husks.

Italian millet.

Setaria italica. Beauv.

An Isneg riddle: Difficult, easy.

Difficult to pound, but after seeing the result, it seems easy.

To the same riddle "to pound" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men,

4. Actions.

Another Isneg riddle: A little wee thing sprouts.

A little wee thing is the seed of the millet.

A third Isneg riddle: A plain full of the hair of the eyebrows.

The Kankanay riddle: A rat's tail, its top is lacerated.

The ear is compared to the tail of a rat, but its tip is different.

Sorghum.

Andropogon sorghum. (L.) Brot.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Kappit's rump opens its lips.

And: It opens its lips, it is difficult.

It opens its lips—the ear spreads open; it is difficult—to pound.

Sweet potato.

A Kankanay riddle: It arrives, they peel it, then they wash it, then they dry it on the *sapangan* stand.

Another Kankanay riddle: Her children come out of her base.

A third Kankanay riddle: It resembles a child.

Some of these sweet potatoes are distorted into various shapes.

Yam.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Ganawan dives to be pulled out after one year.

Ganawan dives, he stays away a year.

Iwagan's bottle, it stays away a year.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: Gimpupuling (or: Ginkukuling) dives, he comes out, but rolls down.

The *lo-to* yam.

Dioscorea fasciculata. Roxb. and *D. aculeata*. L.

The Isneg riddle: A coconut at Malagatmo, coir enveloping it.

The coir is the skin, and there is no shell under it.

The *piddaor* yam.

This is a kind of elongated yam.

The Isneg riddle: It dives a little splinter of wood, it comes now a long splinter of wood.

Taro.

Colocasia esculenta. (L.) Schott.

An Isneg riddle: Men on a mountain turning their heads at the same time.

The heads are the leaves: they are solidary.

Cf. the next item.

Another Isneg riddle: They cannot be pulled out, the roots of the *ligaba* taro's child.

The roots (rhizomes) are on a level with the soil, and being rather large, they are removed with difficulty.

In the native text the word *ligaba* stands by itself: this variety of taro is probably not known by many people, otherwise the riddle would contain its own solution.

A Kankanay riddle: A cock at Kamaligan, no rain can moisten him.

On account of the waxy surface of the leaves.

To a similar riddle "eye" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body.

Another Kankanay riddle: There is one plant, it has one leg, if it has leaves, it is a hut.

One leg (rhizome); a hut—on account of the big size of the leaves. Taro leaf.

An Isneg riddle: Men on a mountain turning their heads at the same time.

Cf. the preceding item.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: Maglilalang's tapis does not get wet. And: Padama's tapis never gets wet.

Here is expressed the same idea as in the first Kankanay riddle for the preceding item.

Cowpea.

Vigna sinensis. (L.) Endl.

An Isneg riddle: It begins by placing the thatch and then places the substratum of canes,

The thatch is the pod, the canes are the peas.

To the same riddle "the *palali* tree", "teeth", and "spider" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & VI. Animals.

Another Isneg riddle in three variants: Many (or: there are many) companions filling a coffin. And: There are some who live under the same roof filling a coffin.

The companions are the peas and the coffin is the pod.

A third Isneg riddle in two variants: A butterfly at the beginning (or: at Anayan), it ends by becoming a dibble.

The flower is naturally compared to a butterfly, the pod to a dibble.

To a similar riddle "Lima bean" is given as the solution.

A fourth Isneg riddle: A section of *balagbag* bamboo crammed with bullets.

The bullets are the peas.

A fifth Isneg riddle: Rolled tobacco hanging.

The pod that hangs on the plant is compared to a cigar.

A Kankanay riddle: It is sweet to eat, but difficult to sow.

Difficult to sow—because the Kankanay plant mostly rice and sweet potatoes, and beans are something extraordinary.

Another Kankanay riddle: When it is put in water and then hung over the fire, it becomes red.

Lima bean.

Phaseolus lunatus. L.

An Isneg riddle: A butterfly very much, a stick in the afternoon.
The flower is naturally compared to a butterfly, the pod to a stick.
To a similar riddle "cowpea" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: A snake, Dalawdaw's snake, it is chonged into a hatchet and resounds.

You may compare it to a hatchet and say that it resounds when broken up, but to a similar riddle "iron" bar is given as the solution, and this seems to be much more adequate. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

A third Isneg riddle: A tree near Piddig, it bears fruits like *upit* baskets; we eat them at the beginning of the drizzle.

Squash.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Her child creeps, its mother sits down. And: Her child is sitting down, its mother creeps.

Everything depends on whom you consider to be the mother and whom the child: the vine that creeps and the fruit that sits down.

To a similar riddle "cucumber" is given as the solution.

The Kankanay riddle: *Salamaka, samalaka*.

These are either obsolete terms or conventional inventions.

The *kabatiti* fruit.

Luffa cylindrica. Roem.

The Isneg riddle: Its outside is repulsive, its inside is threadbare.

Repulsive: this is especially true of the ribbed variety, but both varieties are of a dirty green color.

Threadbare: when the skin is removed there are no more coverings: but this seems to be the usual rule, coconuts and so on being an exception.

The *palia* fruit.

Momordica charantia. L.

Two Kankanay riddles refer to the roughness of its skin: A riddle in two variants: A stone at Bantaugan (or: at Ul-ulinan), it is full of warts. And: There is one child full of itch.

A third Kankanay riddle: A boar's excrements, they are very hard.

The skin is very thick and hard.

Cucumber.

An Isneg riddle: Her child sits down, its mother creeps.

Her child (the fruit) sits down, its mother (the vine) creeps.

To a similar riddle "squash" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Egg of the *basoso* bird hidden in the bushes.

The bushes are the leaves.

Eggplant.

Solanum melongena. L.

The Isneg riddle: It bears flowers like large cups, it bears fruits like bottles.

Green pepper.

Capsicum annuum. L.

The Isneg riddle: The *buradang* taro bears fruit, it bears red fruits.

Chile pepper.

Capsicum frutescens. L.

Both an Isneg riddle and a Kankanay one refer to its hotness.

In Isneg: A riddle in two variants: Remnant of the wise, it (or: provisions of cooked rice of the wise, they) cannot become cold.

In Kankanay: When you eat it, your mouth is hot.

Another Isneg riddle: Iwagan does not alight except in the middle of the garden.

This plant appears only sporadically in Isneg gardens.

A third Isneg riddle: The valiant one hangs.

Valiant—on account of its hotness.

The valiant one hangs—on the plant; in contrast with valiant people who are never hanged on a gibbet.

Ginger.

The Isneg riddle: A cluster of *sabagan* grass around which *aran* spirits cannot walk.

The Isneg use ginger to drive away evil spirits.

Onion.

The Isneg riddle: There is its bark, there is its tuber, tell it.

Bark and tuber different from all plants cultivated by the Isneg.

Banana plant.

Both Isneg and Kankanay riddles refer to the position of the fruit.

In Isneg: A riddle in two variants: Ulapa brings forth her child, she brings forth her child through her mouth. And: She vomits her child.

In Kankanay: Her child comes out of her mouth.

Banana fruit.

The Isneg riddle: Circumcize it, eat it.

Circumcize (peel) it.

The Isneg practise circumcision; the riddle alludes to the shape of the fruit.

Unopened banana inflorescence.

It marks the end of a stem of bananas.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: It falls down under the one that gives birth. And: A dropping lung that gives birth.

It falls down—it stays at the end of the stem; under the one that gives birth (under the plant).

The “lung” gives birth—it left behind the stem that it had produced.

A stem of bananas.

The Isneg riddle: One ear (of grain), one basketful.

Ripened bananas.

The Isneg riddle: A rich man on the *paratag* shelf spreading over the house yard.

After the bananas have been ripening on the shelf that is situated above the hearth, they are eaten and their skins spread over (thrown into) the house yard.

Wild banana.

The Isneg riddle: Trees in thick groups shunned by locusts.

Locusts cannot consume these groups of large leaves.

Coconut.

Both an Isneg and a Kankanay riddle refer to its safety from pollution.

In Isneg: A riddle in four variants: Lingan’s (or: Ginalingan’s) well, it cannot be dirtied.

Lingan’s *aligmaman* basket, it cannot be dirtied.

Malindaw’s well, it cannot be touched.

To a similar riddle “coconut milk” is given as the solution.

In Kankanay: Well of the Tadian people, it cannot get dirty.

To a similar riddle “a woman’s breast” is given as the solution. Cf.

I. Men, 2. The Body.

Another Isneg riddle: *Kulangkulangkulanglang* bones at the outside.

The first word has no meaning.

Bones (shell) at the outside.

To a similar riddle “bottle”, “the *passo*-poison”, “land shell”, “the *daxikan* shell” and “the *axodong* shell” are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements & VI. Animals.

A third Isneg riddle: A man upstream, he has three eyes, one is clear.

The three eyes are the three holes of the shell; through one of them, the clear one, the sprout will issue.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Sky on both sides, sea in the middle.

The sky is the white meat; the sea is the milk.

Coconut milk.

The Isneg riddle: Lingan's well, it cannot be dirtied.

Cf. the preceding item.

The *tobal* coconut meat.

This is the spongy meat inside the nut, just before the shell is pierced by the sprout.

The Isneg riddle: Egg of the hornbill, quite light.

Boiling coconut meat.

An Isneg riddle: Roaring, no outlet.

While it is roaring (boiling) it has no outlet—it is kept in the pot.

To the same riddle "strong wind" is given as the solution. Cf. IX.

Natural Phenomena.

Another Isneg riddle: It decreases till it reaches the armpit, it increases till it reaches the malleolus.

The meat decreases from above downwards, and the oil increases from below upwards, but it never reaches the same height as that of the meat at the start.

To the same riddle "perspiration" and to a similar riddle "*basi* beer" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & II. Food and Drink.

Coconut oil in a bottle.

The Isneg riddle: A man on a mountain, his liver is visible.

His liver: the contents of the bottle, namely: the coconut oil.

To a similar riddle "bottle" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Coco leaf.

The Isneg riddle: The side of the father's thigh falls down.

The large coco leaf on the tree is compared to the thigh of a man: it falls down—it does not stay on the tree forever.

Pineapple.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: A fish (or: a man) upstream with scales of brass. And: A fish upstream with scales of gold alloy.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: He has many eyes. And:

He is full of eyes.

To the first variant of this riddle "the *tapigu* net" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Papaya.

Both an Isneg and a Kankanay riddle refer to the seeds in the fruit.

In Isneg: A riddle in two variants: Iwagan's bottle containing *bulawan* beads. And: A *dordori* jar at Masi containing *pappalaggi* beads.

In Kankanay: A chest at San Gabriel full of old coins.

Another Isneg riddle: Pasugigi's house, one post.

One post (pedicel).

To the same riddle "the *bintoal* granary" and "the *ayud* shelf", and to a similar riddle "the *ayud* shelf" and "bee" are given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions, V. Furniture and Implements & VI. Animals.

A third Isneg riddle: Pasugigi's house surrounded by *buddi* jars.

The jars are the fruits that surround the stem of the tree.

A fourth Isneg riddle: There is a tree, it bears flowers like large cups.

Namely: the female flowers of the papaya.

Mango.

An Isneg riddle: There is a tree near the Ilocos provinces, it bears fruits like hearts, we eat them at the beginning of the rain.

Another Isneg riddle: Hanging hearts.

Jack fruit.

Artocarpus integrifolia. L.

An Isneg riddle: The sucking pig has only one bone.

One bone (pedicel).

To the same riddle "the *binaladdibad* sweetmeat" and "bee" are given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink & VI. Animals.

Another Isneg riddle: Its inside is a place full of stones, its outside is a place full of thorns.

Java plum.

Eugenia jambolana. Lam.

The Isneg riddle: There is a tree near Sarat, it bears fruits like *dumat* beads, we eat them at the beginning of the heavy rain.

Coffee.

The Kankanay riddle: When it bears fruits it becomes red.

The flowers are white, the ripe fruits are red.

Cacao.

The Isneg riddle: Its inside is a place full of hills.
The hills are the nuts.

Sugar cane.

An Isneg riddle: The corpse props the living.
The corpse: a stake that is used to prop the stalks of sugar cane.
To the same riddle "prop of a fence" is given as the solution. Cf.

IV. Buildings and Constructions.

Another Isneg riddle: There are old women, they fill a girdle.
When the stalks of sugar cane are harvested, they are tied up into bundles by means of a "girdle".

A third Isneg riddle: We cleave *tubong* reed, water that does not subside.

The water is the sap that issues from the stalk when cleft.

Betel nut.

Areca catechu. L.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Many (or: there are many) brothers filling a cheek.

Many brothers (nuts) filling a cheek (a spathe).

Cf. the next item.

Another Isneg riddle: Little Pippiyanggok, ten chew it.

Ten—fibers chew it (put it into the mouth).

To a similar riddle "to eat" is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men,
4. Actions.

A third Isneg riddle: A bunch of betel nuts, in one day it is back from Dagara.

This seems to include its own solution, but another solution given to a similar riddle is much more adequate, namely: telephone. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

The *litag* betel nut.

The Isneg riddle: They are many brothers filling a cheek.

Cf. the preceding item.

Betel pepper.

Piper betle. L.

The Isneg riddle: It enters the house lying on its back.

This vine being often cultivated in the proximity of the house, it sometimes enters the latter, on its back—as most vines do.

Fruit of the betel pepper.

The Isneg riddle: Its fruit is a cluster of berries, its leaves spread.
This seems to refer to the whole vine.

Tobacco.

The Isneg riddle: The broth of the *taret* bird is bitter.

Its broth (sap) is bitter.

The Kankanay riddle: Leaf of the *geyamugam*, it delays the weeder.

Because they have to roll it into a cigar and light it.

Tobacco seedling.

The Isneg riddle: Husk of rice that sprouts.

The seed is compared to the husk of rice.

Cotton.

The Isneg riddle: It grows when beaten.

It grows (it augments in volume) after it has been fluffed and beaten.

To a similar riddle "basket" and "the *taddo* basket" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

The Kankanay riddle: Grease, cable, leather.

The native text: *beat, belat, lalat*, with its endings in "at" may be a conventional way of insinuating the answer to the initiated; to other people it must be incomprehensible.

Indigo.

Indigofera suffruticosa. Mill. and *I. tinctoria*. L.

The Isneg riddle: Abiyawan's *basi* beer, it is infected *tabawan*.

The last word having no known meaning, it is difficult to explain this riddle, nevertheless it seems to mean that this kind of beer is not potable.

Leaf of the *Livistona* palm.

Livistona rotundifolia. Mart. Its leaf blades are cleft into numerous wide segments.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: Its sources are numerous, its mouth is one.

Its mouths are numerous, its source is one.

A brook at Magububung, its mouth has many sources.

This depends on what may be called "source" and "mouth": the base of the leaf blade or its segments.

The ti or palm lily.

Cordyline terminalis. Willd.

The Isneg riddle: "it is red", we now say to Karkar, "it is red" we

say though to the valiant.

Its leaves are red and its flowers are pink.

The flame tree.

Delonix regia. (bog.) Ral.

The Isneg riddle: A tree at Mauyumuy, it bears fire for fruits.

The *kawayan* bamboo.

Bambusa blumeana. Schultes.

The Kankanay riddle: When she is born, she wears a tapis, when she grows up, she throws away her tapis.

In contrast with the usual way of people.

The tapis is the sheath that envelops the shoot.

The *bolo* bamboo.

Schizostachyum mucronatum. Mack.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: The one who wears a tapis is her child, its mother does not wear a tapis. And: Her child wears a tapis, its mother is naked.

Compare the preceding item.

Another Isneg riddle: One above another, plains.

This refers to the nodes inside the bamboo.

Cf. the next item.

Nodes.

The Isneg riddle: One above another, plains.

Cf. the preceding item.

To this riddle five solutions are given: nodes (in general), the nodes of the *kawayan* bamboo, the nodes of the *bolo* bamboo, the *bolo* bamboo and the *tabukol* net. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

The *pasingan* bamboo.

This is a kind of heavy bamboo with large hollows.

The Isneg riddle: A leaf of the *basikkalang* tree falling down, it closes up at the same time.

As soon as it comes into existence, it closes all its hollows.

The *arimuran* rattan.

An Isneg riddle: Ligan's aligmaman basket speckled all over.

This refers to its fruits.

To the same riddle "the pigpigko mushroom" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Dupay's pouch untied.

Rattan is used for binding purposes: while it is growing in the forest, it is as yet untied.

Fruits of the *arimuran* rattan.

The Isneg riddle: A basket full of what we eat, a basket full of what we leave.

The fruits are edible, but the edible part is very small in comparison with what remains after consuming it.

The *xiwi* rattan.

The Isneg riddle: Manggat's pouch tied.

It is tied with rattan.

Compare the *arimuran* rattan (above).

The *palangipang* rattan.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Dapapak's (or: Dupappak's) house full of meat cut into pieces.

When a slaughtered hog is brought into the house, at the time of a solemn sacrifice, it is cut into pieces, and a few leaves, or at least the petiole of one of them, must be placed among these pieces, so that the lard be increased. The riddle mentions only the pieces of meat, but everybody knows there must be something else besides.

Cogon grass.

Imperata cylindrica (L.) Beauv. var. *koenigii*. (Retz) Benth.

The Isneg riddle in three variants: Her child pursues, not so its mother.

Its mother creeps, her child stands.

His child is valiant, its father is a coward.

The child (the young shoot) is rigid and piercing, and liable to wound a person's leg.

Compare the next item.

Young cogon leaf.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: My *bulalean* dog, they lie in wait for you on the road. And: My *bulbulan* dog, he lies in wait on the road.

Another Kankanay riddle: Although her child is cruel, its mother is kind.

Cf. the preceding item.

The *saksakkong* herb.

Monochoria vaginalis. Presl.

The Kankanay riddle: A tree in your rice field, even though the whole household come to the rescue, you cannot fell it.

This edible, aquatic herb is strongly imbedded in rice fields.

The *bulbul-o* alga.

This is a kind of edible, green alga in the shape of a bubble found in rice fields.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: He stirs, but does not work.
And: He rolls and that is all.

Another Kankanay riddle: He has very many children.

To a very similar riddle "flint and steel" and "the *wading* fish" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements & VI. Animals.

The *oong* mushroom.

This is a kind of edible, white mushroom.

The Kankanay riddle: Lub-ong girls wearing hats.

The *pigpigko* mushroom.

This is a kind of puffball.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Lingan's *aligmaman* basket speckled all over (or: full of spots).

To the same riddle, in its first variant, "the *arimuran* rattan" is given as the solution.

Another Isneg riddle: Ginalingan's baskets, all are nearly full.

Bracket fungus.

The Isneg riddle: Stump of a *pitak* tree overlaid with silver.

The usual color of these fungi.

The *kurup* bracket fungus.

The Isneg riddle: Bangkariri's thigh grown on *riri*.

The last word having no known meaning it is hard to explain this riddle; nevertheless I believe that it must mean that the fungus grows on wood.

The *batang* bracket fungus.

This is a hard and rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear.

The Isneg riddle: Stump of an *adig* tree full of fat.

To a similar riddle "the *sarikaw* hat" and "hone" are given as the solution. Cf. III. Dress and Adornment & V. Furniture and Implements.

Guava.

The Isneg riddle in five variants: A coconut at Talifugu (or: Talapugo, or: Pallokago) dried when nipped.

A coconut at Talifugu ripening when nipped.

Fruit of a tree above drying when nipped.

A Kankanay riddle: It has one leg, it has one eye.

One leg—the pedicel; one eye—the crown of the fruit.

In general, the fruits eaten by the Kankanay have no crown like that of the guava.

Another Kankanay riddle: Its leaves are very green, its fruits are small, if it wants them small, its fruits are large, if it wants them so.

Most of these fruits are eaten before they are completely ripe and when their size is much smaller than that of the ripe fruit, so that the guava seems to bear fruits of different sizes.

Bramble.

Rubus rosaefolius. Sm. and *R. vanoverberghii*. Merr.

The Kankanay riddle: It looks white.

These plants are not very tall, and when they are in full bloom, their white flowers dominate the whole.

The *bannaken* shrub.

Elaeagnus philippinensis. Perr.

The Kankanay riddle: Its leaves seem to be dry, its fruit is red.

The *tarosi* fruit.

This is a zingiberaceous herb whose edible fruit is situated at the base of the plant.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Egg of the *takit* bird, it should be alone (or: take it alone).

Cf. the next item.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: A coco at Tattanugtug with a base that bears fruit. And: My yellow coco, its base bears fruit.

The *ka-pulan* plant.

This is a zingiberaceous plant similar to the above.

The Isneg riddle: Egg of the *takit* bird, take it alone, as it is tasty.

Cf. the preceding item.

Fruits of the *bilowan* tree.

The Isneg riddle: The seeds of the *taplit* tree are scattered.

The *palali* tree.

Its flowers and its fruits are edible, but sour to the taste.

The Isneg riddle: It begins by placing the thatch, and then places the substratum of canes.

The thatch are the flowers and the fruits which are only a little differentiated; the canes are the seeds.

To the same riddle "cowpea", "teeth" and "spider" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & VI. Animals.

The *sanglaw* tree.

Ficus stipulosa. Miq.

Its young leaves are red and edible.

The Kankanay riddle: A tree at Payangapang, it goes to where it is diminished, and then eaten.

To where it is diminished—to where people strip it of its young leaves.

Galingale.

Kaempferia galanga. L.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: Something tall in a corner, it does not shake during a typhoon.

It does not shake during a typhoon, it shakes during an earthquake.

A banana in a corner, it does not shake.

This plant is so low that no typhoons can touch it, but earthquakes, of course, do.

To a similar riddle "hearth" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: One plant of *batikong* taro, it produces a leaf each year. And: My *batikong* taro produces a leaf each year.

To a similar riddle "screw pine", "the *dongon* tree" and "the *kukkuruban* bee" are given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

A third Isneg riddle: Coco seedling of the wise, it always carries an *aligmaman* basket.

The broad leaves, spread open, are compared to a basket.

The *bugayyong* bean.

Abrus precatorius. L.

A Kankanay riddle: He is red on both sides, he is black where broken off, he is white in the center.

Another Kankanay riddle: There is one seed, you take it by its pointed iron.

These beans are used as beads on a string, and so must be perforated by a "pointed iron".

Salago.

Wikstroemia ovata. Miq.

The Kankanay riddle: Bokayo's spear with a removable head, it is joined at both ends.

This refers to the fruits.

Large tree.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Male flowers of the Indian corn (or: Indian corn with male flowers), they all look at it.

They all look at it—on account of its conspicuousness.

To a similar riddle “the *manulaw* dancer” is given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 1. In General.

Acacia.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A tree (or: beads) in the corner embraced by a *danag* spirit.

These trees are often supposed to be inhabited by spirits.

To a similar riddle “a woman’s breast” and “the rhinoceros beetle” are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & VI. Animals.

The *arusip* tree.

Antidesma ghaesembilia. Gartn.

The Isneg riddle: A tree on the bank of the river, its fruits are *garanakit* beads.

The *garanakit* are small, round beads.

The *balbal* tree.

Mallotus sp.

The Isneg riddle: Dog’s excrements are hanging.

This refers to the fruits.

The *dongon* tree.

Heritiera littoralis. Dryand.

The Isneg riddle: My taro at Dummalikong, it produces a leaf each year.

It renews its leaves every year.

To a similar riddle “galingale”, “screw pine” and “the *kukkuruban* bee” are given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

The *ulayan* tree.

An Isneg riddle: A pot of cooked rice put off the fire hanging.

This refers to the shape of the fruits.

Another Isneg riddle: In-innong makes *basi* beer from it.

The bark of this tree is used in the preparation of *basi* beer.

Tree fern.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A man in the forest covered with scars (or: full of holes).

The *lito* fern.

This is a schizaeaceous fern of the genus *Lygodium*.

The Isneg riddle: One plant of *batikang taro*, it produces a leaf each year.

To a similar riddle "galingale", "the *dongon tree*" and "the *kukkuruban bee*" are given as the solution. Cf. VI. Animals.

The *karinsodong* shrub.

Its fruits resemble coffee berries, but they are longer and contain smaller seeds.

The Isneg riddle: A tree on the rock, the fruits are *masirap* beads.

The *masirap* are barrel-shaped or cylindrical.

The *mawini* vine.

An Isneg riddle: A section of a pestle with stinging hairs.

The *mawini* vine has stinging hairs.

Another Isneg riddle: The egg of the *takkit* bird, it does not get smashed except when there is lightning.

Emphasizing the toughness of this vine.

The *tapaw* plant.

The Isneg riddle: Planted it rots, it lives when pulled out.

Being an aquatic plant, it does not live when planted on solid ground.

Pond weed.

Potamogeton perversus. A. Benn.

The Kankanay riddle: Even though you tear it up for years, it does not get out.

Compare the preceding item.

Prickly fruit.

Bidens sp., *Cynoglossum sp.*, *Triumfetta sp.*

The Kankanay riddle: If you forget it, you take it, if you don't forget it, you don't take it.

In contrast with the usual way: it sticks to you unawares.

Beggar tick.

Bidens pilosa. L.

The Isneg riddle: It accompanies you when you go away from it.

To a similar riddle "hind part of a G string" is given as the solution. Cf. III. Dress and Adornment.

The Donax reed.

Donax cannaeformis. Rolfe.

The Isneg riddle: Sugar cane on a patch of river and without nodes.

To a similar riddle "hair" and "iron ring" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 2. The Body & V. Furniture and Implements.

The *adas* sedge.

Scleria sp.

The Isneg riddle: A woman at a place where all pass, she catches all who pass by.

By means of the cutting edges of the leaves.

To a similar riddle "the sensitive plant" is given as the solution.

Elephant's-ears.

Alocasia indica. (Roxb.) Schott.

The Kankanay riddle: Leaves of the *kappakappa* herb only two, but very broad.

The pitcher plant.

Nepenthes alata. Blanco.

The Kankanay riddle: One herb, it bears its fruit on its leaves.

The fruit is the pitcher-like appendix of the leaf.

Lily.

Lilium philippinense. Bak.

A Kankanay riddle: A precipice at Kumpilat, awned with *kumpilat* seeds.

A precipice (a mountain slope)—where these lilies usually grow: thus it is "awned" by them.

They are compared to *kumpilat* seeds, the broad-winged seeds of *Oroxylum indicum*. Bent.

Another Kankanay riddle: A beautiful girl when a new-born babe, after a while she becomes ugly; even the Spaniards like her.

The sensitive plant.

Mimosa pudica. L.

The Isneg riddle: A woman at Baliwanan, she dies if you pass by.

She dies (she folds her leaves) if you pass by (if you touch her).

To a similar riddle "the *adas* sedge" is given as the solution.

Stone lichen.

The Kankanay riddle: If you sow it on stones, it lives; if you sow it in the earth, it does not live.

VIII. THE OUTSIDE

Stone.

A Kankanay riddle in three variants: A cockroach's excrements, they cannot be squeezed.

Kainga's excrements, they cannot be hammered.

Balieng's excrements, they cannot be marked by the nails.

Another Kankanay riddle in two variants: Lebaben's excrements, they are heavy. And: you cannot lift it.

Flint.

The Kankanay riddle: A stone in the sky mixed with gold.

To a similar riddle "hail" is given as the solution. Cf. IX. Natural Phenomena.

A patch of sand.

The Isneg riddle: Eggs of the *tatarakay* ant, we cannot overthrow them all.

It cannot be overthrown, only scattered.

To the same riddle "rice" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

Ascent of a hill.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A section of *bokang* sugar cane, it suffices to satiate us. And: A severed end of *bokang* sugar cane, enough to satiate you.

Having ascended the hill, people are satiated—they do not want any more climbing.

Hole in the ground.

The Kankanay riddle: If you tread in it by mistake, you come out in something else.

You come out in mud or something similar.

Landslide.

An Isneg riddle in five variants: Lingan's burning, the lower end of the field flares up.

Kadag's child, the lower end of the field burns.

The burning goes downwards (or: descends).

The burning at Banug, it burns below.

The cloud of dust emitted by the landslide is compared to smoke caused by burning.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: *Palilang* fish at Dasah, it snaps

the rope of the bait (or: it snaps the rope, when you ensnare it).

The landslide snaps whatever held it back.

Brook.

The Isneg riddle: A bunch of *xiwi* rattan, it overflows the whole town.

It overflows whatever it passes.

Pond in a stream.

An Isneg riddle: My taro at Buringat, it cannot be sounded.

Another Isneg riddle: A rock when looked at, water when we go to reach it.

Rapids.

The Isneg riddle: A man below (at the river), he shouts protractedly.

Cf. the next item.

Waterfall.

The Isneg riddle: A child below (at the river), it shouts all the time.

Cf. the preceding item.

Den of a wild boar.

The Isneg riddle: Kamaranan's house, it does not reach the tiebeam.

To a similar riddle "the *anonan* saucer" is given as the solution. Cf.

V. Furniture and Implements.

Footprint.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: You patched it, you left it.
And: After you covered it, you left it.

Rice field.

The Kankanay riddle: Its water gushes out, its path is crooked.

Rice field being harvested.

The Isneg riddle: Gaddek's branchless tree, we do not all climb it.
It would be impossible to climb the stalks of rice.

To a similar riddle "straw" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

Compare also the next item.

Harvested rice field.

The Isneg riddle: Addayek's branchless tree, we do not all climb it.

Cf. the preceding item.

Path.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A piece of yam, all the roots are

here. And: A coco's root at Paddig, it reaches this place.

The path is compared to roots that reach this place, here.

Another Isneg riddle: Mary's mat, we cannot measure it with our arms.

The path is much too long to be measured that way.

The Kankanay riddle: Its beginning is straight, its end is crooked.

Road.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A path on a mountain, a path for all men. And: Path of the judge, path of ants.

A road is constructed by the authorities in order to be used by everybody, while a path is reserved to some people in order to go to their fields or to a neighboring settlement.

Another Isneg riddle: Half a bamboo that can be seen from afar.

To a similar riddle "water" and "rainbow" are given as the solution.

Cf. II. Food and Drink & IX. Natural Phenomena.

The Kankanay riddle: It is very straight.

Compare the Kankanay riddle in the preceding item.

The *anugnadan* place.

Here, at the base of a tree, are deposited the *sugnad*, the offerings of the inhabitants of a town to their tutelary spirit.

The Isneg riddle: One plate for the whole town.

IX. NATURAL PHENOMENA

Sky and earth.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Two of them, two of them, they always face one another. And: The worst and the best face one another.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: Leaves of the elephant's-ears (or: of the castor-oil plant), two very large leaves, they have no equal.

Sky.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: A large (or: a very large) umbrella, it affords no shade.

Earth.

The Isneg riddle: A branch of the *balisi* tree roomy enough for a whole town.

Sun and moon.

The Isneg riddle: There are many ladies, they come from Paniya, we like only two.

Sun.

The Kankanay riddle: It is soft on both sides, it is very hard in the middle.

Soft, hard—to the eyes.

Sunbeam.

The Isneg riddle: *Alummagiyan* heartwood, its softest parts are at both ends.

Compare the preceding Kankanay riddle.

Sunshine.

The Isneg riddle: There now, here it is already.

Moon.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: A piece of the *maili* mushroom, the whole town has a share in it. And: A mirror for the whole town.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: A section (or: half a stem) of the *baniyakaw* tree higher than the Apayaw river.

Higher than the river—up in the sky.

Star.

A Kankanay riddle: Guavas at Kabasan, they are ripe.

Not green.

Another Kankanay riddle: Guavas at Leglegan which ride, it dawns and they are gone.

A third Kankanay riddle: Guavas at Amdekkan, it must be clear to pluck them.

While it is night, you cannot reach them.

A fourth Kankanay riddle: Guavas at Leglegan, they cannot be plucked.

A guava tree at Amdekkan laden with fruits.

In all these riddles the stars are compared to guavas: small, round fruits.

Shooting star.

In Kankanay: *tain di talaw*, excrement of a star.

The Kankanay riddle: His excrements are covered with worms.

Glowworms, of course.

Rainbow.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: Half a bamboo that can be seen from afar. And: Sindayo meets it, it can be seen from afar.

To a similar riddle "water" and "road" are given as the solution. Cf. II. Food and Drink & VIII. The Outside.

Another Isneg riddle: Bulillet does not go out except when wearing a headband of different colors.

A third Isneg riddle: The sun gathers leaves, he gathers yellow leaves.

Yellow often stands for "colored"; the leaves are the rainbow that owes its being to the sun.

A fourth Isneg riddle: Stepping on the earth, stepping on water.

The rainbow steps on (touches) either water or solid ground indifferently.

A fifth Isneg riddle: Tail of a wild cat entirely curved, looking like one who *maxan-an-annon*.

The last part of this riddle must remain an enigma, as the verb has no known meaning.

The Kankanay riddle: A weapon with many barbs.

It may look that way to a headhunter, who is always in need of weapons.

Rain.

An Isneg riddle: They call me, they hate me.

Another Isneg riddle: It is noisy without reason.

A third Isneg riddle: Wood falling down, it is water already when it alights.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants; The staves of Basilang's (or: the hair of Bagilang's) mother, which cannot be counted.

Hail.

The Isneg riddle: A brook at the other side, its stones are *rangdan* beads.

A Kankanay riddle: A stone in the sky, it falls down and it is gold.

To a similar riddle "flint" is given as the solution. Cf. VIII. The Outside.

Another Kankanay riddle: A stone at Mugaw, it perched.

It perched—as birds do.

Dew.

The Isneg riddle: Indayo's *minalayo* jar, it drops down when the sun is overhead.

It drops down (it disappears).

The Kankanay riddle: It is almost midday, and he does not throw away his child.

His child (the dew)—which originated in the night.

Mist.

An Isneg riddle in three variants: What Balukat dries in the sun (or: what Binunag puts in the sun to dry), he takes away when the sun shines. And: Marannag's rice placed over the fire to dry, he takes out when the sun shines.

What he dries in the sun or what he puts in the sun to dry (what he brings out at dawn)—the mist, as if to dry it in the sun.

He takes it away when the sun shines—in contrast with the usual way.

In the third variant there must be a mistake: the rice should be put in the sun, not over the fire.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: A deep pond when viewing it, it sinks down when we go to reach it. And: Far away when viewing it, it is not there when we go to reach it.

A third Isneg riddle: All in curves it ascends a slope full of strength.

To a similar riddle "smoke" is given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements.

A fourth Isneg riddle: She cleans her field at noon, she suns her rice upon the water.

She cleans her field—the mist disappears.

She suns her rice (the mist) upon the water (the mist).

All in contrast with the usual way.

A Kankanay riddle: When it arrives, it frolics.

Another Kankanay riddle: It comes down and it ascends.

Wind.

An Isneg riddle: It runs and we catch it, and if it goes slowly we catch it.

Cf. the next item.

Another Isneg riddle: An itch mite in the house and a large deer in the bushes.

The wind is only slightly felt in the house, but very much in the bushes.

A Kankanay riddle in two variants: Allaw's flatus (or: cutlass), it cannot be stopped.

Another Kankanay riddle: When he goes, he calls, and when he goes back, he frolics.

In going, the wind calls (roars), in coming back, much abated, it frolics.

Strong wind.

An Isneg riddle in two variants: It runs and it is caught, if it goes slowly, they cannot catch it.

We cannot overtake it, if it goes slowly, we can overtake it, if it goes fast.

In contrast with the usual way.

If the wind goes slowly, it always remains behind; but if it goes fast, we may be able to overtake it.

Cf. the preceding item.

Another Isneg riddle: Roaring, no outlet.

It always remains in the atmosphere.

To the same riddle "boiling coconut meat" is given as the solution. Cf. VII. Plants.

A third Isneg riddle in two variants: A leaf of the bamboo grass that is howling. And: It talks without body.

Lightning.

The Isneg riddle: A small piece of a stick that reaches the sky.

The Kankanay riddle: When he happens to be there, he is red in the twinkling of an eye.

Thunder.

The Isneg riddle in two variants: Unni (or: it) does not talk except when the *mawini* vine bears fruit.

The Kankanay riddle in two variants: Agili's voice, it can be heard by many towns. And: When he comes, many towns hear his voice.

Earthquake and rain.

The Kankanay riddle: Agem-eman offers a *sida* sacrifice, they dance for six days.

The dance is the earthquake; the duration refers to the rain.

Night.

An Isneg riddle in seven variants: Agsematay comes (or: passes by), all people die.

Sematay walks downstream, all people die.

Lukay comes, all of us men die.

Gobing comes, we all die.

The water snake comes, and absolutely all of us die.

Aruring comes, we are all covered with soot.

They die (sleep) or are covered with soot—in a house without chimney.

To a similar riddle "to sleep" and "to harvest" are given as the solution. Cf. I. Men, 4. Actions.

Another Isneg riddle in two variants: A *bubug* rattan falls down, we die worrying. And: A leaf of the *tabbag* tree is thrown down, we all decay.

To a similar riddle "the *xallowid* stick" and "locust" are given as the solution. Cf. V. Furniture and Implements & VI. Animals.

Day and night.

The Isneg riddle: A tree at Balinusnus, soft at both ends.

No "hard" sun and no "deep" sleep at both ends.

To a similar riddle "prop of a fence" and "end of the ridge" are given as the solution. Cf. IV. Buildings and Constructions.

Compare also the next item.

Morning and evening.

The Isneg riddle: Dung of a cat, wet at both ends.

Wet—with dew in the morning and with rain in the evening.

Cf. the preceding item and its similar solutions.

Dawn or Twilight.

In Isneg: *nagpultan gabi si algaw*, night and day snatching things from one another.

The Isneg riddle: Twenty-five, one fifth, one eighth, one fourth.

For dawn: twenty-five—full night; one fifth—day snatches a part of it; one eighth—night clinging to a small remnant; one fourth—day snatching twice as much: and dawn gets out and day comes in.

For twilight: twenty-five—full day; one fifth—night snatching a part of it; one eighth—day clinging to a small remnant; one fourth—night snatching twice as much: and twilight gets out and night comes in.

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