

# TEXTURE, TEXT AND CONTEXT: A JOURNEY INTO MANDAYA FOLKLORE



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Rhodora S. Ranalan, PhD  
Pamela R. Castrillo, PhD  
Maricar Gay V. Panda, PhD  
Judith D. Dalagan, PhD

## ABSTRACT

The folk literature of a community is a repository of its culture. As one of the ethnic groups of Mindanao that have become diverse through time, the folklore of the Mandaya is a rich source of their culture. This research intends to document this culture through the retrieval of its oral literature. The study employs a qualitative research method to retrieve, transcribe and translate the folklore of the Mandaya of Manay, Davao Oriental. Three Barangays of the municipality of Manay were included in the study and through nine key informants, yielded 21 folklore categorized into the following literary genres: Dawot (2), Bagi (2), Bayok (1), Panawagtawag (4), Babatukon (7), Uman-uman (3), and Panultihon (2). The textural features of the folklore include: lengthening of vowel sounds, the dropping of the H sound, and Affixation. Furthermore, these folklore were performed for entertainment and in social and spiritual contexts. Based on the text and context of the folklore collected in this study, there are five categories of Mandaya cultural values and traditions as far as their folklore is concerned. These are: respect for authority, reverence for nature, importance of dreams, chewing of Betel nut, and the ambivalent role of women.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

*Experience suggests that while language endangerment is sometimes reversible, the conservation of cultural practice carried by language is less likely.*

- Roger Blench

#### **Background of the Study**

The rapid march of societies around the world into the socio economic advances of the twenty first century has had dire consequences on smaller communities in terms of preserving their cultural identity. The transmission of the oral traditions, which is the center of cultural practice, is threatened when the elders of the community pass away and the younger generation succumb to the pressures brought by new livelihoods and lifestyles. One such shift, a shift which has eroded certain practices and beliefs, is in the language spoken by these communities.

“During the past several years, linguists have become very concerned about ethno-linguistic groups that are either shifting from their original language to another more opportunistic one, or whose population is diminishing to the extent that the language is in danger of dying” (Rajan, 2003, p.1). This is a reality that present in almost every minority group today. If the trend is not reversed, it could eventually result to language death which could present irreversible problems for the ethnic tribe that language represents. Considering that language is one of the repositories of culture of a certain community, there is an urgency to document these languages before the language shift comes becomes too much that the language would eventually die out along with everything that that language represents.

The oral literature of a tribal community then is worth looking into as language features, endemic to a particular ethnic group are captured in oral traditions. Largely

unchanged by the shifting conditions of the times, oral narratives capture not only the language of a community but its cultural values and traditions as well.

In the Philippines, the situation is not without hope, as far as preservation of oral traditions is concerned. For Nicole Revel (2005), a linguist and anthropologist who has done some oral literature research in the country, there is still a chance for research undertakings to preserve these oral traditions.

In the Christianized culture of this archipelago, vision has progressively overshadowed hearing; a solitary and silent caption has taken over the experience of the communal sharing during feasts and ceremonies as they are still experienced today, in oral cultures. However, an inclination for performances is still there, very much alive, during family gatherings and village feasts. (p.4)

It is in this context that the present research undertaking will be conducted. Mandaya is the language spoken by the most numerous ethnic tribe in the Davao region. This number however is also part of its downfall. The Mandaya people have become dispersed that the language spoken by the natives has become merged and blended with other regional languages. This research intends to document these changing forms of Mandaya language as well as its expressive culture through the retrieval of its oral literature. Also some researches have already attempted to study the Mandaya language and literature, no such research has focused on the Mandaya of Manay, Davao Oriental. Their stories should be heard as such stories are an important form of cultural property that indexes their cultural identity.

#### Research Questions:

This study is undertaken to record, translate, analyze and preserve the folklore of the Mandaya of Manay, Davao Oriental. It specifically answers the following questions:

1. What types of folklore do the Mandaya of Davao Oriental have?
2. What are the textural and contextual features of these folklore?

### 3. What cultural values and traditions are revealed in these folklore?

#### Theoretical Lens

The exploration into the folklore of the Mandaya of Manay, Davao Oriental was guided by the concepts of Alan Dundes about Folklore, particularly his ideas about its three facets: Texture, Text, and Context. In his review of Dundes' analytical essays on folklore, Haring (2008, in the book edited by Brunner, 2007) said that:

Alan Dundes proposed a trifold way of defining the genres of folklore and analyzing people's words. One topic is the "texture": in verbal folklore, texture means the phonemes and morphemes of language. Another is the "text," a single version or performance, as transcribed. The third level is the "context," "the specific social situation in which that particular item is actually employed".

These three levels of analysis can help much towards a definition of what folklore is adding that folklore has many genres and in order to define these genres, it must be analyzed according to these three levels. First is the texture. Dundes(1980) clarifies this term by saying that:

the texture is the language, the specific phonemes and morphemes employed. Thus in verbal forms of folklore, textural features are linguistic features. The textural features of proverbs, for example, include rhyme and alliteration. Other common textural features include: stress, pitch, juncture, tone, and onomatopoeia. The more important the textural features are in a given genre of folklore, the more difficult it is to translate an example of that genre into another language. (p.22)

In the process of translation, this aspect of a folk narrative is the most difficult to do. While it is feasible to translate the text, the nuances and the rhythmic patterns of the utterance are most of the time sacrificed to give a more faithful translation of the work.

The second level is Text. He explains this term by saying that

The text of an item of folklore is essentially a version or a single telling of a tale, a recitation of a proverb, a singing of a folksong. For purposes of analysis, the text may be considered independent of its texture. Whereas texture is, on the whole, untranslatable, text may be translated. The proverb text „Coffee boiled is coffee spoiled“ may in theory be translated into any language, but the chances that the textural features of rhyme will survive translation are virtually nil.” (p.23)

The third level, which is sometimes ignored in the enthusiastic rush to document the oral narratives is Context,

the specific social situation in which that particular item is actually employed. It is necessary to distinguish context and function. Function is essentially an abstraction made on the basis of a number of contexts. Usually, function is an analyst’s statement of what (he thinks) the use or purpose of a given genre of folklore is. Thus one of the functions of myth is to provide a sacred precedent for present action. ...This is not the same as the actual social situation in which a particular myth or proverb is used. (pp.23-24)

It is clear in Dundes’ concepts about folklore that a research study should not only focus on the text but also on its context and even the texture of the oral narratives discovered. This wholistic interpretation of the folklore goes beyond mere documenting but interprets the culture that produced the oral narrative.

### **Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This research was limited to the retrieval, translation and analysis of the Folklore of the Mandaya people residing in Manay, Davao Oriental. Folklore would include folk narratives such as legends, myths, folktales and also such poetry as folksongs, riddles

and proverbs. The study does not include those stories and poems already retrieved and published by other researchers but will focus its analysis on the corpus obtained during the data collection procedure.

An accepted limitation of the study is that the Mandaya language spoken by two members of the research team is already the Davaweno variant and not the pure dialect spoken by the natives or the original settlers. The limitation was answered by using the services of a full blooded Mandaya who is conversant with the tales told in the community. She did not only transcribe the folklore collected but also translated it into Cebuano to aid in the analysis of the folklore. It is also an accepted weakness that being a qualitative study, the findings of the research can not be generalized. The discussion about the Mandaya cultural values and traditions was only a generalization that is limited to the scope of the research, that is, only to the three Mandaya communities included in the study and further limited only to the folklore collected.

### **Significance of the Study**

The documentation and revitalization of a language that records the oral literature of an ethnic community is an endeavour that may save not just the language but the culture of the people from oblivion. It is hoped that this study's effort to do this can benefit the following groups:

The Mandaya ethnic groups themselves, since preserving their oral literature would go a long way into protecting their pride and cultural heritage. With this effort, commitment to indigenous identity among the younger generations would be inculcated and the revitalization of this language would further be encouraged.

The Municipality of Manay whose main inhabitants are native Mandaya can greatly benefit from the findings of the study. A place can only move forward and improve further if it knows how to look back at its past and learn from the wisdom of its ancestors. Such pride in one's cultural heritage would only benefit its citizenry as they learn to take their place in the modern world with a sure knowledge of their own identity.

Curriculum Designers can also use the data gathered through this study to come up with programs to promote indigenous literature by include the literary pieces in classroom discussions. They could also enhance the current move among educational institutions to promote indigenous culture and aspirations.

Folklorists and Linguists may find that the findings of the study can add to the rich repertoire of oral literature in the Philippines.

### **Definition of terms**

The following are the terms used in the study with their conceptual and operational definition.

**Context.** This refers to the surrounding circumstances in which the oral narrative is uttered or performed. Andes (1980) points out that this is different from function which connotes purpose. Context is the actual social situation in which the oral narrative is used.

**Folklore.** Not one author came up with a definitive meaning of this literary genre but Alan Dundes (1980) proposed three components: Texture, Text, and Context, to fully comprehend this term. For this research, the Folklore refers to any utterance, composition or performance, whether orally expressed or through gestures endemic to a particular tribe. This could be in the form of poetry or story.

**Journey.** This term is used in this study to refer to the exploration into the folklore of the Mandaya of Many, Davao oriental as well as a look into their practices and traditions.

**Text.** In this study, text refers to the actual story or poem that will be collected through the informants.

**Texture.** For Andes (1980), this refers to the language of the poem or story. This would include its sound as well as the choice of words employed in the performance of the text.

## Chapter 2

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents the readings and studies on folklore and oral tradition in general as well as studies on folklore and language. It starts with a discussion on oral literature, followed various viewpoints about folkloric study. It will also present a discussion on the Mandaya language and literature. The chapter also talks issue on translation as well as possible follow up steps after literature documentation.

#### Oral Literature

There have been conflicting ways of defining the phrase “indigenous peoples” but this research paper appropriates the definition formulated by the International Labour Organization (ILO) which defines IPs as “a self-identified population that is distinct socially, culturally and economically from other parts of the nation by their traditions and customs and is descended from the original or pre-colonial/contact inhabitants of a region or nation” (cited by Jensen 2006). These groups have evolved through pre-colonial, colonial, and post colonial times and still managed to survive in the modern economy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century with some of their beliefs and customs intact.

Because writing was invented only later in the stage of human evolution, these beliefs and customs are mostly preserved in the oral traditions of many communities. For so long, spoken words are the best means of communication and also the main vehicle and perhaps the only means in the transmission of beliefs, traditions, and practices so these could survive in the next generation.

In some ways, spoken communication is more enduring than any form of communication. As David Bynum (2012) puts it:

a certain proportion of spoken communication is enduring, whether or not any record is made of it in writing or otherwise. It expresses ideas of such proven, lasting utility that special, *poetic* modes of speech exist in every language to assure the remembrance and continuation of those vital ideas in *oral traditions*. *Oral literature* is the material recorded from oral traditions in every age and in every language. (p.2)

This richness of oral literature and its many possibilities as a window into humanity's diverse worldviews, values, beliefs, and knowledge is a worthy endeavor to preserve and disseminate. In fact the World Oral Literature Project is one such organization dedicated to the documentation and dissemination of endangered oral literatures. Established at the University of Cambridge in 2009, it has a different approach into the preservation of oral traditions. It collaborates with local communities to document their own oral literatures. Its support includes "providing funding for original research, alongside training in fieldwork and digital archiving methods" (p.1). The support from this project was able to fund different language documentation researches (Field, & Meza, 2012; Devatine, 2009; Carr, G. L. & Meek, 2013; Malamusi, M. 2010; Blench, & Campos, 2010) in many parts of the world.

Educational institutions also became forerunners in folklore scholarship. Harvard University boasts of four generations of research in oral literature starting with James Child's study of British popular ballads in 1856. The sixties saw the greatest additions to the collection in terms of number of texts recorded, in areas covered, and in chronological depth (Bynum, 2012). This achievement in oral literature research is echoed in many other universities around the world. Fekade (2001) documents the growth of oral literature research in Ethiopia which is due to the efforts of both the expatriates and Ethiopians (students and oral literature research groups) in collecting and studying Ethiopian oral literature. The efforts hope for an annotated works of oral literature as well as an eventual establishment of a folklore institute.

In Malaysia, an anthology of folktales entitled *King Siliman and other Bidayuh folk tales* was added to the collection of oral literature. The monograph, annotating the oral literature of the Dayak people. was sponsored by the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak and is part of the school's effort not only to document oral literature but also to preserve the original recordings into a permanent sound archive so it will be possible to listen to the original words spoken or sung. This interest in the orality of the literary work is a testimony to the returning interest to sound patterns rather than just appreciating the work by reading the printed page.

## Folklore Scholarship

What is folklore? It would seem that there is not one straight answer to this question. An Indian National Folklore Support Centre (NFSC) defines folklore as "a tradition based on any expressive behaviour that brings a group together, creates a convention and commits it to cultural memory"( Sarma, 2008). This orientation allows the group to integrate activism into scholarship as they work to promote Indian folklore research, education, training, networking, and publications. This activism aims to voice the cultures of the marginalised and historically disadvantaged communities in India. A special issue of its newsletter *Indian Folklife*, highlighted the folklore of the Assamese nation, rendering special tribute to such aspects as the trickster and the women in Assamese folktales, its place Lore, the motifs in the Assamese proverbs all side by side such articles as the folk dances and national festivals of Assam.

This aspect of change in Folklore scholarship is nowhere more startling than in the use of technology by contemporary researchers. Oral literature studies, which used to be a laborious task, has now entered the world of technology and has given vitality to folklorists. Aside from the obvious advantages of new equipments in recording and transcribing oral performances with greater accuracy, it can also be used to take the research a step further. In a language documentation study conducted by Victoria Rau and Meng-Chien Yang (2005), they analyzed the application of e-learning in the revitalization of endangered languages. The study entails development of e-learning materials based on the retrieved corpus of speeches of the Yami tribe in Taiwan. It was used to enhance language study. Such efforts did not stop at documenting an endangered language but used Information and Communications Technology to enhance active use of the Yami language again.

Another changing aspect in folkloric scholarship is the search for similarities in the folklore of various societies instead of laying exclusive claim to one story as exclusively their own. As Ramanujan (1989) puts it:

It is well known that folklore items, like many other sorts of items in cultural exchange, are autotelic, that is, they travel by themselves without any actual movement of populations. A proverb, a riddle, a joke, a story, a

remedy, or a recipe travels every time it is told. It crosses linguistic boundaries any time a bilingual tells it or hears it. (p. 5)

This crossing of boundaries is the subject of a study conducted by Francoise Ugochukwu (2007) when he compared French and Nigerian folktales. His main point of comparison is the use of colors in the two groups of folktales in terms of their oppositions, valorization, and depreciation in African culture.

An interesting turn in folkloric study is the one conducted by Herold Rajan (2003) whose study of the endangered language of Gutob–Gadaba, a dying language in Southern Orissa made use of literature to revitalize the language. His paper focuses on the process by which an NGO has encouraged Gutob-Gadaba speakers to develop a written literature in their language in an attempt to revitalize the language and document cultural practices. The paper describes how the literature produced is being used and the perspectives of local community towards literature production in their own language. (p.1)

Another concept which has changed the scholarship of folklore is Alan Dundes who disputed many of the concepts presented by folklorists in the past. One such is the concept of “folk” which used to be associated with the native, or people from the rural or the past. Dundes gave an all encompassing definition of “folk” merely referring to them as any group of people with a common factor of interest. This has far reaching effects in folk literature research as subjects became not only limited to the native people in the hinterlands but even urban people.

### **Philippine Folklore**

Damiana Eugenio (2001), a Filipina folklorist notes that the collection of traditional narrative in the Philippines began late. There was attempt at scholarship during the Spanish regime. It was only in the early twentieth century that folklore scholarship became active. Many Philippine epics have been retrieved with many more waiting to be discovered. As Eugenio further asserts:

Our folk epics will continue to be a significant part of Philippine folk literature and culture because they record part of the national experience. They are the bearers of customs and beliefs, rites and rituals, feasts and festivals, and most especially, the cherished values of tribal Filipino. (p. xxi)

The advent of literacy and especially digital technology, which has penetrated the remotest parts of the country, threatens the existence of these still undiscovered stories and songs. The mode of oral transmission has been confronted with an urban lifestyle for which memory almost no use. Nicole Revel (2005) also comments on this state of folk literature in the Philippines but sees some hope at least:

In the Christianized culture of this archipelago, vision has progressively overshadowed hearing; a solitary and silent caption has taken over the experience of the communal sharing during feasts and ceremonies as they are still experienced today, in oral cultures. However, an inclination for performances is still there, very much alive, during family gatherings and village feasts. (p.4)

Roger Blench and Flordeliza Campos (2010) encountered such a problem when they conducted a study on the oral literatures of the Ifugao. Even with the use of high technology, one problem they encountered in the recording is how to record an oral performance in an age of noise. Traditional rituals are sacred and performed in natural surroundings. How can modern researchers ask the chanters to perform in an environment filled with the noise of karaoke, motorbikes, and other external noise? The best one can do is to transport the performers to a quieter place, which of course defeats the whole objective of the study.

Folklore Research in the Philippines has also begun to penetrate the previously ignored smaller communities in the archipelago. In Mindanao, research interest in folk literature and the "minority languages" can be seen in the studies conducted among the Blaans of Davao del Sur (Sumaljag, 2008), the Mangguangans of Compostela Valley (Ibojo, 2013), the Yakans in Basilan, Cotabato (Mustaham, 2009) the Chavacanos of Zamboanga (Garcia, 2013) and the Mansaka of Davao del Norte (Fuentes & dela Cruz, 1980).

A rich collection of folklore was collected by the Davao historian Macario Tiu (2005) who collected oral narratives in the course of his research into Davao history. This harvest included eight (8) stories of heroes including one tale of a woman hero from Baganga, Davao Oriental, and sixty four (64) myths and legends from various places in Davao. A mixture of creation myths as well as urban legends, the collection showcases how history and culture can be told through the lens of oral tradition.

### **Mandaya Language and Literature**

Mandaya communities are situated in Davao Oriental, a province in Mindanao mostly characterized by rough terrain. Even before the coming of the Spaniards, the Mandaya communities already existed in Davao Oriental and in its neighboring towns. Etymologically, "mandaya" is derived from "man" meaning "first" and "daya" meaning "upstream", or upper portion of a river. Mandaya therefore means the first people upstream. It refers to a number of groups found along the mountain ranges of Davao Oriental, as well as to their customs, language, and beliefs (Velasquez, n.d.).

The language spoken by a particular group is part of its culture and makes that community distinct from others. In the official website of the town of Manay, it lists Davaweno as the language spoken by its inhabitants. This is a variation of the native Mandaya which is still spoken by the native mandaya folks living in the uplands. This is the problem encountered by Lilibeth Galvez (2012) when she conducted a study among the fisherfolk of Davao Oriental to come up with a dialectology of indigenous fishing terms among the Mandaya living in the region. Because the research locale is the coastal part of the province, the Mandaya language spoken by the informants is full of borrowings from settlers and neighboring towns. Furthermore, she found that the language variations found in every town in the province can be attributed to geographical and social factors. She added that:

those who resided along coastal communities have shifted to merging Cebuano and other borrowed languages as the speech community of the migrants dominated the use of the register. Those who resided in the hinterlands have maintained the use of pure dialect. Those most likely to

shift in the use of the dialect are the younger generation particularly those sent to schools outside of the community or those who work outside of the community. (p. 169)

This language shift can also be seen in the study conducted by Edito dela Cruz (1976) about Mandaya oral traditions of the Mandaya in Davao del Norte. He was able to gather at that time 31 riddles, 15 proverbs, six (6) folk songs, eight (8) folktales, one sung religious ritual, and one *Dawot* or epic. The study produced quite a harvest of stories and poems and was later expanded when he collaborated with Vilma May Fuentes (1980) to compile and translate Mansaka and Mandaya Folk Literature. The results of the study were published as a book entitled *A treasury of Mandaya and Mansaka Folktales*. The book has the distinction of being the first publication of Mansaka and Mandaya Folk Literature coming from the Davao Provinces. The original transcriptions were translated into Cebuano then English leaving a few Mansaka and Mandaya words for flavour.

The language shift referred to can be seen in the original transcriptions which bore very little resemblance to the Mandaya language spoken by the inhabitants of Davao Oriental, particularly Manay today. I can speak the Mandaya language but I can hardly understand some of the words transcribed in Dela Cruz's original research. Part of the reason perhaps is in the regional variation as the folklore was gathered from the Mandaya of Davao del Norte. The Mandaya in Davao Oriental is a little different. A study that focused only on the Mandaya spoken by the natives of Davao Oriental is the one conducted by Genevieve Jorolan. Her master's thesis highlighted the retrieval of a Mandaya epic *Yang Mangngagaw*. The paper proved that the story was an epic through the characteristics of ethnoepics outlined by Arsenio Manuel (Lumbera, 2004). One definitive characteristic is the sustained length of the chanted story which was 2,200 lines.

The language variations in the two provinces may be due in part to the changing culture of the Mandaya as time advanced. This is the focus of the grounded study conducted by Leorisyl Siarot (2013) who tried to establish the interface of language and culture among the Mandaya of Davao Oriental. His findings reveal that the Mandaya

indeed use language to hand down culture and heritage, as well as use language as a symbol for the concrete and the abstract realities. Part of these realities may be the changing faces of nature and people and how the Mandaya adapts to the changes in order to survive.

## Chapter 3

### METHOD

This chapter includes the description of the research design, research locale, research subjects and procedures to used in gathering data for the study.

#### **Research Design**

This research paper is mainly a qualitative study employing an ethnographic approach. Qualitative research involves data collection procedures that yield open-ended, non-numerical data which are then interpreted using non-statistical methods such as transcribed recordings analysed by qualitative content analysis (Dornyei, 2007). Since the study involves interview with indigenous peoples to gather their oral literature, it also made use of ethnographic approaches such as in depth interviews to elicit Mandaya folk literature from the key informants.

#### **Research Locale**

The study was conducted in Manay, Davao Oriental. Manay is a second class municipality consisting of 17 barangays. Situated along the Southeastern part of Mindanao, it lies in the Eastern coast of Davao Oriental. It is peopled by a mixture of natives, the Mandaya, as well as migrants from other municipalities and provinces. In its website, it listed the language spoken as Davaweno, a variant of the Mandaya language, but the native Mandaya is still used in the uplands.

Of the 17 barangays comprising the municipality, only three barangays were included in the study. These are: Rizal, Capasnan and Lambog.

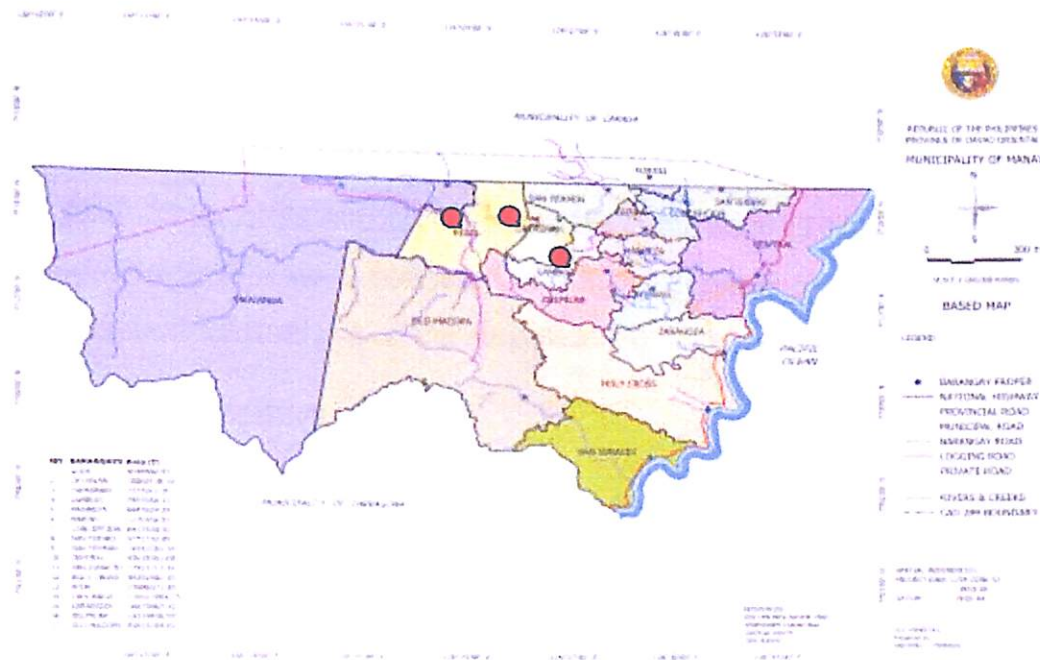


Fig 1. Map of the Municipality of Manay  
(highlighting the Barangays of Rizal, Capasnan and Lambog)

Source: <http://manay.gov.ph/index.php/maps/81-base-map>

## Participants of the Study

The study employed purposive sampling in the choosing of informants. The criteria that the informants met are: first, they must be a native of the place and speaks the Mandaya language well; Second, they must have the attribute of being the most reliable source of the folklore of the place either from being a *balyan* or a chanter of these stories; and third, they are highly recommended by the barangay captain or by the elders of the community.

The final nine key informants of the study range from 45 to 70 years old. All could speak the highland Mandaya language fluently. They are either elders of their tribe or are vouched for by their tribal chieftains or Barangay Captains. They all hail from the three Barangays included in the study, namely: Lambog, Capasnan, and Rizal. A complete summary of the informants as well as the folklore they contributed is found in Appendix A.

## **Data Sources**

The data analyzed are the Folk literature of the Mandaya of Manay, Davao Oriental. Depending on the shared oral tradition of the participants, it came in the form of folktales such as legends and myths and also in the form of poetry such as folksongs, and proverbs. 21 folk lore were collected and these became the core of the textual, textural and contextual analysis. (See Appendix A)

## **Data Collection Procedure**

The research team first approached the regional Director of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) to seek the necessary permission to enter the Indigenous communities included in the study. The work order for the FPIC process was granted 28 April 2014. The team then made contact with the focal persons from the NCIP provincial office in Mati, Davao Oriental. The work and financial plan (WFP) was deliberated in consultation with the NCIP staff in Mati and duly submitted to the NCIP regional office in Davao city.

The research team likewise made contact with the IP Mandatory Representative in Manay, Davao Oriental to facilitate the choice of the Barangays where folklore can still be retrieved, and to seek permission from local tribal chieftains for the research to be conducted. It was decided that three barangays namely: *Lambog*, *Capasnan* and *Rizal* would be the research locale for the Mandaya folklore study.

After the identification of key informants by their tribal chieftains, the researchers followed the procedures for the Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) set by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). For the data gathering, the primary tool used was the key Informant Interview (KII) method. This is a face to face interview with selected native Mandaya. The interview was overt in nature as the informant was made aware of the purpose of the conversation and the goals of the study. The KII was conducted in a natural setting as the data gathering was done in the Informant's own community so as to make the informants more comfortable and to aid in the recollection of the desired stories and poems.

Some retelling was done through performance and these were audio and video taped in order to make the analysis more accurate and detailed. Field notes were also done to aid in the recording of certain details about the ritual or performance.

After both parties - the research team and the key informants with their IP elders - came to an agreement about the terms and conditions of the conduct of the research with the requisite informed consent given, the formal interviews of the key informants took place.

Three barangays namely: Lambog, Capasnan and Rizal in the municipality of Manay, Davao Oriental were visited for the in-depth interviews. A total of nine (9) key informants shared their stories and these were correspondingly recorded through audio and video. The audio and video recordings were then compiled for storage and were turned over to the documenter who transcribed and then translated the folklore in their original Mandaya to Bisaya.

### **Trustworthiness of the Study**

To reduce the subjectivity and misinterpretation, researchers employ a variety of procedures or methods. For qualitative casework, the method used is called triangulation. "Triangulation has been generally considered a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation" (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2003, p. 148). The triangulation methods used in the study are the Key informant Interview (KII) and observation.

The study also used peer debriefing to ensure that the accuracy and authenticity of the data collected. The transcription and translation was done by a Mandaya herself who speaks fluently the Mandaya language and is also knowledgeable of the many folktales and chants from the Mandaya tribe.

As part of the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) process, the data gathered were validated by the informants themselves. The narratives were read to them to affirm the veracity of the transcription and translation. Gaps in the narrative were filled during this stage of the study and tentative generalizations were confirmed by the informants.

## **Role of the Researcher**

The research team took on the role of non-participant observer. We carefully recorded the oral narratives of the Mandaya and observed the context around which these narratives were performed. Two of the members of the research team are Mandaya themselves. Having grown up in Manay, Davao Oriental, we know the Mandaya language and the people of the place. This connection helped gave us access to these stories in the sense that it facilitated the establishment of the rapport with our key the informants since we know them and their tribal chieftains.

## **Ethical Considerations**

Since the study involves members of an ethnic tribe, special care was taken to make sure that the rights of the indigenous peoples were observed. Permission from the Regional office of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) was obtained as well as permission from the chieftain was likewise was obtained. Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) was also observed with the objectives of the study fully explained to the informants. Once the work order from the director of the NCIP Regional office was obtained, the research team went through the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) process.

With the three NCIP staff assigned to the research project by the NCIP provincial office in Mati, Davao Oriental to facilitate the meetings with the IP elders and chieftains, the following steps in the FPIC process were undertaken:

- a) First Community Assembly with Tribal Chieftains of the three barangays. This involves validation of the Decision making process by IP Elders and Leaders.
- b) Second community assembly for the presentation of the study by the proponents. Its objectives and what were expected of the informants were explained to the elders and the IP leaders.
- c) Consensus building with the tribal chieftains of the three barangays and NCIP Staff.
- d) Negotiation of terms and conditions with IP leaders of the three Barangays as well as their elders and informants.

- e) Signing of the memorandum of Agreement (MOA) detailing the terms and conditions agreed upon between the research team and the tribal community
- f) Validation of the data collected for the study

During the conduct of the Interview, videotaping was kept to a minimum and due permission was asked before the audio recording of the narratives. Care was also taken that the anonymity of the informants was kept and their names and pictures were not included in the manuscript without the express consent of the key informants.

### **Data Analysis**

The interviews were audio and video taped which helped in the transcription of the folklore. After transcribing and translating, the narratives were grouped and categorized to determine the literary genre they belong to. Open coding was done to surface certain language features and themes recurring in the narratives. The context of the retelling of each folklore through observation of the performance of the oral narratives was incorporated into the analysis.

## Chapter 4

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Folklore as a genre of literature has been described by Alan Dundes (1980) as a term that can be defined through three levels of analysis: Texture, Text and Context. The „folk“ cannot be separated from the „lore“ so it is not enough to just examine the text with its texture, but also the social setting with which the lore is told. This chapter’s presentation of the collected Folklore follows these three levels. It first presents a description of the textual features of each folklore, followed by a discussion of the content of each folklore and ends with an analysis of the context with which these folklores were uttered or performed. Each folklore is coded representing first its informant and then its genre. For example, the first *Dawot* from the first informant is coded as *I<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>* with *I<sub>1</sub>* meaning first Informant, and *D<sub>1</sub>* meaning first *Dawot*.

#### MANDAYA FOLKLORE

A total of nine (9) key informants became the sources of the 21 Mandaya folklores collected for this study. These folklores can be classified into seven specific literary forms distinct to Mandaya literature namely: *Bayok*, *Dawot*, *Bagi*, *Babatukon*, *Uman-uman*, *Panawagtawag* and *Panultihon*. These were coded as *Ba*, *D*, *Bg*, *Bt*, *U*, *P* and *Pn* respectively. Other folklores that do not fit into these literary categories but are still considered as Folklore are labelled as personal narratives (*N*).

#### Bayok

*Bayok* is a love and adventure song (Velasquez, n.d.) that have remained in the repertoire of the native Mandaya. Only one *Bayok* was collected during the study and this is presented below. It was chanted in a singsong manner by the informant and was composed on the spot. The textural features of this *Bayok* (*I<sub>1</sub>Ba<sub>1</sub>*) include assonantal lines particularly the “i” sound, such as the long vowel “i” in the poetic line:

***Ning kagawī kay ninī***  
(who commanded me)

It also has alliterative lines such as the succession of “m” sounds in the poetic line:

***Matakan si magbuton.***  
(The barangay captain)

A phonetic feature discernible in the *Bayok* is the lengthening of certain vowel sounds. For example, the word *kadul’luman* (towards evening) has actually only three vowels because the mid vowel – *du’lu* – is prolonged and pronounced as just vowel. The entire word would then be pronounced as [*kadu’uman*]. This style of utterance is distinctive among the highland Mandaya, particularly in the communities included in the study. This feature can also be found in the other literary forms.

The *Bayok* sung by the first informant does not have a regular rhythm. Some lines are short and some are prolonged by the singer making them considerably longer than the other poetic lines. Although there is no dominant rhyme scheme, the song preserves its melodious quality in its end rhymes which is dominantly nasal. An alternate rhyme scheme (*ababa* pattern) can be seen in this verse of the *Bayok*:

***babayta pagpadunggan*** (a)  
***bay ta pagparanoon*** (b)  
***unuon kay duwayan*** (a)  
***tyamban yadtong similat bayon***(b)  
***kami kadul’luman*** (a)  
(Why are we here  
What are the plans  
What are we going to do  
The sun might set soon  
And we’ll get caught in the night)

In terms of language use, a metaphor is employed in this poetic line:

***gilubkan ng gilaw sang tunga ng gidagatan***  
(in the midst of our journey in this wide ocean)

The chanter indirectly compared their situation of coming to the meeting with journeying in an ocean. Considering the mountainous terrain of the community, this description of her journey and what she went through during and after it can be said to be traversing a vast ocean.

This ocean metaphor is at the core of this *Dawot*'s meaning. The singer speculates on what could be the purpose of the meeting with the guests. She also wonders when the meeting will end as the day is getting longer and it will be night time soon. The singer also expresses her misgivings about the assembly and cites the barangay captain as the only reason why she attended the meeting. The sign of respect to the captain can be seen in the following lines:

***Ning kagawi kay nini***

***butad sining kapitan***

***bay ako dunggon,***

***puyaon, batiin, pul'layon.***

(if not also for the Barangay Captain

who gave me a command,

In my thinking

He always informs me, remembers me

If there are new developments)

These lines basically express the chanter's gratitude to the captain who calls them if there are projects or developments in the barrio. And because the Barangay Captain called for the meeting, she acquiesced to this authority.

On the whole, the ocean metaphor expresses the chanter's impatience with the whole assembly. The wide expanse of the ocean is seen as an apt description for the proceedings which seems to be interminable and might make her late in going home. True to the tradition of the Bayok, which as an adventure song, the singer invokes the image of the vast ocean to portray the journey she went through just to be present in the meeting.

The informant, when asked to explain what her Bayok meant, says that her song expresses a personal sentiment:

***bay sa wal'la irespeto. Aw buko pasa na lungsod ko yani didak makani, tuyo kay ani ako tutulin, agaw ani ako. Bisan aw buyag da ako yapanaw pa ani.***

(There seems to be no respect. If not for the reason that this is my own place, I would not come here. I grew up in this place so that's why I'm here. Even if I'm already an old woman, I walked just to be here.)

The context of this utterance would further explain the verse presented here. The Bayok was sung during the assembly with the tribal leaders. As an elder of the community, this informant attended the assembly and later she consented to sing a Bayok entirely composed on the spur of the moment. The long wait until she was at last asked to share her composition influenced the verses collected by the researchers. The spontaneity of the act of expression through verse impressed her audience. When asked if this practice was taught to her by somebody, she replied:

***Ako kay ipan ako magbabal-longon ipan ako manalinga, magsuon, tig-ako magpabal-long para ako matigam. Wa man ako tudloi ng kanak mga ginikanan na ikaw pagbayok kon dili ako lamang.***

***(I, who sing a Dawot, I listen, I imitate others and I practice singing so that I will know. My parents did not teach me that I do a Dawot but only my decision.)***

This explanation affirmed a common belief that oral poetry is inspired by everyday, ordinary experiences and not something formally composed like written poetry.

## **Dawot**

*Dawot* is a verse chanted for specific purposes and situations. It is usually chanted by a *Balyan*, the community's spiritual leader and healer, as part of a healing ritual. Two (2) *Dawot* were gathered from two informants during the course of the study. These were chanted by two elders who used to be a *Balyan*.

***Dawot 1.*** The first *Dawot* (I<sub>6</sub>, D<sub>1</sub>) only presents the opening verse:

***nining adlaw bayko  
lugayaw bay ko lugsad sining  
pamanag..yaning pamanag, dal'lum***

(today....

I want to go down

Downstairs to the ground

In this bright ground)

The textural features of this Dawot include the phonetic style presented in the discussion of the Bayok. The same lengthening of the mid vowel is seen in the word "*dal'lum*", which is pronounced [*dawum*]. The same phonetic feature is manifested by the word "*kadul'luman*" which is pronounced [*kaduyeman*].

Because this is just the opening verse, conclusions about the rhyme scheme and rhythmic versification of this Dawot can not be made. There is however a complex metaphor in the fourth line which describes downstairs or the ground as something bright. In the last line of the verse quoted above, this light has a yellowish (*yamal-lag*) bright color. This brightness attracts the persona's attention and makes her want to come down.

**Dawot 2.** The same idea of going down from a certain height is at the core of the second Dawot (I8, D2).

*Magangay bay kami eehhhh...*

*Lugayaw sang dal'lum*

*Lugsad sang pamanag*

(We might...

We might go to your place

We will go downstairs

If a *Dawot* is chanted by a *Balyan* in its natural setting, then it would have been part of a *Manaog* or *Balilig*, a ritual performed on a makeshift stage where the *Balyan* invokes the spirits to heal the afflicted. In this particular study, the performance occurred in the house of the Barangay captain which was two stories high. An ethnopharmacological study(2000) conducted among the Mandaya of Manay, Davao Oriental reports some rituals associated with the Balilig:

There are also numerous rituals of the *balyan* for healing and safety or protection... One is *manaog* to prepare the house of a *balyan* using various material offerings like *sagay-sagay* (bracelets), *linangaw* (necklaces) and others. *Pyagasautan* or *sayaw* is also executed. The *manaog* is for driving away the *busao* or preventing them to come near the household.

Further to this context, it would be interesting to point out that that the informants claimed that they had been Christianized and were not Balyan anymore:

***Itakigan ako kay mam. Basta man gud yan silan tawagon, makawon gayod. Ban adoon dida kami saan magakauyon kay kristiano daman kami saan. (I<sub>8</sub>, N<sub>4</sub>)***

(I went into a trance Ma'am. Once the spirits are called, they would really come. Now, we don't agree with this practice anymore because we have become Christians.)

This half apologetic utterance explains why the informant stopped her chanting. She was afraid to offend her new religion, particularly her Pastor whom she did not ask permission from when she consented to the interview. She rationalizes this however by saying that:

***Wadak makabaid sang kanami Pastor. Pero laung IPMR okey sa lamang yaan kay kanato yani na Mandaya. Bisan sa aw di ako mobaid okey sa lamang naming kina yangawat. (I<sub>8</sub>, N<sub>4</sub>)***

(I did not ask permission from my Pastor. But the IPMR (Indigenous People's Mandatory Representative) said it is okay, this is our concern because we are Mandaya. Even if I did not ask permission, it is okay. It's not as if I stole something.)

Though she was constrained by her new religion, the informant was still able to harness her spiritual powers and was able to go into a trance – a prelude to the summoning of the spirits. That she deliberately stopped her performance because of certain considerations, affected the outcome of the Dawot collected for this study.

This suppression of her Balyan powers is also evident in the first Dawot collected which was even shorter. This informant stopped herself even before she started to go into a trance. Aside from her new religion, she had other factors to consider:

***Adoon na mga panaon, laung nilan aw mamatay yang balyan, yang kalag pagaguyodguyodon. Labina da kanak na yang mga anak pastor aw pastora. Yakabutang man kuno yaan sa bibliya. Ako pwede pasa ako makasayaw ng katik. (I<sub>6</sub>, N<sub>2</sub>)***

(These days, they say that if a Balyan dies, her soul would be dragged. Especially for me that my son and daughter are Pastors. They say it is written in the bible. But I could still dance the *Katik*.)

The additional pressure of her children further suppressed this informant's desire for the old ways. But this desire is not completely eradicated as indicated by the last sentence of her

statement above. The assertion that she could still dance the *Katik* speaks of a silence in this informant's life. *Katik* is a Mandaya dance using native musical instruments usually played to accompany a dancing Balyan. The *Katik* is performed by the community as a sign to start a new *sugmo* (generation) in Mandaya tribe.

## Bagi

Bagi is a song which can be sung by both men and women during various occasions and for different purposes. There were two Bagi collected during the fieldwork.

**Bagi 1.** The first *Bagi* (I1Bg1) is a song sung during weddings. It has three quatrains with an aabb rhyme scheme although this rhyming pattern was not sustained in the second stanza of the song. A poetic device used throughout the song is alliteration which can be seen in the succession of Ps, Ds, Ks and Ts in the following lines:

<b><i>daw pila pa lamang ka tuwig</i></b>	(only a few years passed)
<b><i>daan da takaw tinimanan</i></b>	( I have kept my eye on you)
<b><i>Kaoy ko daw amolawi</i></b>	( I'm a tree like an <i>amolawi</i> )

A simile was used in this line comparing the tree and an *amolawi*. As discussed in the previous sections, there is a dropping of the H such as the line:

***Inay-inay panaon*** (time moves slowly)

Instead of saying "*hinay*" and "*panahon*", the Mandaya speakers drop the "h" sound and as in the case of "*panaon*" substitutes a "w" sound to say "*panawon*".

The song's meaning is centered around a girl to whom the song is dedicated. It has a teasing tone where the girl is described as seen or found after a time:

***Dalaga kay tulong gawi***  
***Kay mamunyag na pero makulin***  
(Maiden of good behaviour who thought she won't be found)

The song goes on to "put the girl on the spot" by alluding to how long it took her to grow up:

***Kadugay mo inday misulig***  
***daw pila pa lamang ka tuwig.***  
(It took you so long girl to grow up, time seems so slow)

If the context of the song is a wedding, and the song is dedicated to the bride, then the tone of teasing can be understood to be in the light of the bride's state of settling down. Being the

center of attention during the wedding day, the girl is "found" in the sense that the groom was able to woo her into settling down. It is also possible that the singer is the groom himself as he refers to his waiting for the girl to grow up which introduce a tone of sadness in the last stanza as the groom sings of the slow passage of time.

***Inay-inay panaon,  
inday inday makamimingaw  
Bisan inday ang kaoy  
miduyog sa labing kalooy***

(time so slow, girl, it is sad, even the tree, joins in great sadness)

The singer sees the slow passage of time as sad on that it is witness to the bride's slow transformation from a young girl to a wedded woman. Though weddings are joyful occasions, it is also a forlorn day as the bride leaves girlhood behind and enters a new state of maturity. The waiting for the girl to grow up is also particularly cumbersome for the man waiting for the girl to be ready to marry him. This mix of emotions is reflected in the last two lines as the singer shifts to a teasing tone again by singing:

***Dalaga pa kaw sangadto  
daan da takaw tinimanan da***

(Even when you were still a maiden before, I already marked you.)

The image of the groom patiently watching and waiting for the girl can alternately sound romantic and funny particularly in the context of a wedding where the two finally become husband and wife.

**Bagi 2.** (I1, Bg2) The second Bagi is a lullaby. It has only one stanza and although it does not have a regular rhyme scheme, it does contain certain poetic devices like alliteration. There is a succession of K sound in the following lines:

***Katul'log da kaytin,  
kamugo da***

(slumber now, little boy, go to sleep)

Other sound devices that contribute to this *Bagi*'s musicality are assonance and consonance as can be seen in the following line:

***yaw lunsad sining dal'lom***

(below downstairs)

The assonantal A sound interplays with the consonantal N and S sounds to give the song its musical flow.

In terms of meaning and context, the song is a lullaby, which primarily functions to put children to sleep. The singer, who can either be the mother or someone in charge of the baby for a while, cajoles the little boy to go to sleep. It also hints at the singer's desire for the boy to go to sleep as she has chores still to be done.

***babay kita lumuga,***

***yaw lunsad sining dal'lom***

***Daig buluwatan ta***

(How can we go out, go downstairs, there is a lot of work to be done)

Although the speaker uses the plural *kita* (we), it really only refers to herself as having a lot of work to do. Since the little boy she is trying to put to sleep is a baby, it would be illogical for the baby to also go down with her after putting him to sleep. This language use is indicative of a person who sings to the baby and at the same time also sing to herself since the baby could not really understand her.

### **Panawagtawag**

The *Panawagtawag* is akin to a proverb or a saying and is treated in this study as a separate literary type. It is in a verse chanted over and over by the performer and is a minor ritual incorporated into a major ritual such as healing or planting rituals. It is performed not only by the Balyan but also by certain members of the community. For purposes of healing, a Balyan performs a *panawagtawag* to call her *abyan* (spirit guide) to invoke help in transferring the ailment of the person being cured to an animal. (2000)

For other purposes like planting and harvesting, a farmer performs a *panawagtawag* to ask the spirits for help in protecting the crop.

***Kaloy-yan mo kay tagal-lang yang kanak pawa kay para kabuton***

***Malooy kaw kay tagal-lang sang kanak kabrid (I<sub>1</sub>, P<sub>1</sub>)***

(Have Mercy oh Tagal-lang to my farm so it will produce crops.

Have mercy oh Tagal-lang to my crop.)

In this *panawagtawag*, the most obvious textural feature is repetition where the chanter repeats the name of the deity being invoked for help. The help being sought for is also repeated. This repetition achieves a melodious effect with the succession of alliterative lines using the "K" sound such as *kanak kabrid*.

The highest deity for the Mandaya people is the *Magbabaya* or *Taganlang*. In this <sup>30</sup> *panawagtawag*, the highest being's help was invoked so that the farm would be blessed and would bear a good harvest.

In other cases, the *Magbabaya*'s help is also invoked to inflict harm to those who will impede the production of a good harvest.

***paabuton mo yang umay ko disini,***

***Yang magakayam... mamatay.***

***ikaw yang matigam sang kanak umay disini. (I<sub>1</sub>, P<sub>2</sub>)***

(let my rice spread here.

Those who would waste it, let them die.

I leave to you my rice here.)

The textural features of this *Panawagtawag* include the language peculiarity of not pronouncing the "h". The Mandaya for rice is *humay* but the highland Mandaya drop this letter and just pronounce it as "*umay*". Repetition could also be seen in the use of the word "*disini*", which is roughly translated as „here". This confines the curse to just the farm and only to those who would harm the crop.

Farming is one of the main sources of livelihood among the native Mandaya. The invocation of the help of the spirits is to ensure that the harvest would not be failure. It is chanted during a *Pyapatadum*, a ritual for planting which is performed before a *taugbini*, a makeshift altar near, above or at the farthest point of the farm where food is placed as offering to the spirits.

***Yang pyapagbal'law nami sin-nan yang mga tagiya ng lupa ng umay sang kagul'langan na magguya. Apil yang tagal-lang magalaung kami."Kaloy-yan mo kay tagal-lang yaning kanami pawa ansini para abuton. Tawag dini kanami pyapatadom.***

(I<sub>1</sub>, N<sub>1</sub>)

(The ones we are talking to when we chant this are the spirits who live in the earth and are the owners of the rice and forest. We also invoke the help of Tagal-lang. We would say, "Have mercy Tagal-lang on our farm so we will have abundant crops." We call this *Pyapatadum*.)

The idea of spirits residing in the land can also be seen in another use of the *Panawagtawag*, one that is done even before planting the crops.

***dida kamu magkadaman daw al'lon magguya anising kanami apawaon.***

***Yadi kay yang tuba apa inum nami kamayo.***

(Don't be angry, if there are spirits who reside in this land we are going to farm.  
Here is *tuba* we are offering you to drink.  
Take care of this land where we live,  
You who walk around this place.)

The chant quoted above aims to pacify the spirits residing on a piece of land that the farmer wants to cultivate.

The panawagtawag can also be done during the *Balilig* – the healing ritual performed by the Balyan.

***inum kamo ng tuba, kaan kamo sinig yapugan (I<sub>2</sub>, P<sub>4</sub>)***  
(drink this coconut wine, eat this betel nut)

The chant quoted above is performed by the Balyan as a prelude to the actual healing. The food offered is a sacrifice to the spirits to pacify those who have been angered by what the ill patient has done. For this to happen, choice food has to be offered and the offering of betel nut indicates the high value they give to this practice.

### **Panultihon**

A more formal proverb was shared one informant who talked about normal everyday occurrences in her household. She said that the kitchen is her domain and indicates what happens with the family. Comparing her stove to a neighbor's kitchen, she said:

***Madayaw pa sa yang kanak kusina, awon gaobuon. Yang kanaan abo yata'ay. (I<sub>9</sub>, Pn<sub>1</sub>)***  
(My kitchen is better because there is smoke. But her stove is dry (smokeless).

The proverb is a succinct expression of the speaker's beliefs. It consists of two parallel statements, one describing her kitchen, and another describing the neighbor's kitchen. The musicality of the *panultihon* is due to the succession of [k] sounds in the alliterative words *kanak kusina* and the [Y] sound in the words *yang yata'ay*. The use of a concrete image – smoke – effectively signifies the heart and function of a kitchen. A kitchen with no activity at all, that is, smokeless, signals a household whose occupants are not fed well. It also indicates the function of

the kitchen, and by extension, the woman of the household, as provider of sustenance for the entire family.

The metaphorical statement does not directly criticize the neighbor for not cooking anything to feed her children. It uses instead a figurative language to describe the informant's kitchen as busy with the preparation of food (full of smoke) as opposed to her neighbor's which looks abandoned (smokeless). The smoke imagery is effective in the sense that the kitchen is place where smoke is a fixture and if there is none found in this place, then it must not be doing its function.

The proverb is also indicative of the Mandaya's penchant not to directly insult or even plainly voice out a sentiment. They instead couch it in allegorical terms to still convey the feeling but not in terms that may offend. This tendency to state in circuitous terms what one wants to say is expressed in another proverb:

***Pag bubog bubogan da sa ngining mga iso, antak makakaan.*** (I<sub>9</sub>, Pn<sub>2</sub>)

(Please prepare porridge for these children so they can eat.)

This *panultihon* was spoken in the melodious way the Mandaya expresses a sentiment with lengthening of vowels and alliterative words (*bubog bubogan* and *makakaan*). This simple statement conveys a lot of the beliefs and practices of the community whose hospitable ways lets one offer to others even though one has little food in the house.

The context of the saying is a couple offering food for the hungry children of a neighbour. Although the statement says *bubog* (porridge or congee), the couple actually served a rich meal to the kids, with three dishes and cooked rice, not just watered down rice. When asked why the word *bubog* was used, the informant says, it is just the way they speak. They are not showy of their belongings but would just surprise the guests with their hospitality.

## **Babatukon**

The *Babatukon* is a form of prose fiction narrating a story for different purposes such as telling the origin of a place or for entertaining children and friends. There were seven (7) *Babatukon* collected in the course of the study.

### **1. *Babatukon ng Rizal*** (I<sub>2</sub>, Bt<sub>1</sub>).

Being a legend, the story presents an explanation of why a particular community was named Rizal. The structure of the legend can be described as comprising of two parts: the exposition and the main story. The exposition is the entire first paragraph of the tale and serves as the prelude to the actual tale which explains the meaning of the name of the place. The point of view used in the exposition is first person narration told by the informant himself. The main story is also told from a

first person perspective but centers more on the two characters of the story, namely: a teacher and a *Mangkatadong*, an elder of the community.

The explanation of the name of the place follows the stranger motif in which a newcomer to the place asks about the name of the community. It also uses a name substitution motif since the natives already gave the place a name which is *Pyalidan* (blown away). In the main part of the legend, the teacher asked why they gave the place that name. The *Mangkatadong* explained to the teacher that once, they experienced a very strong storm that even a heavy whetstone was blown away. It weighed four to five kilos but it was still blown away by the storm. The camote plants looked like they were bulldozed. Hearing the background of the name, the teacher suggested that they change it and because the elder's first name was Jose, he suggested that the name of the place be changed to Rizal.

***Maraat kay aylog yaan na pagngal'lan ng kanaton lugar. Kay ikaw man sini yang yagapuno na baryo pagngal'lanan data ng Rizal kay Jose man isab yang kanmo ngal'lan.***

(This name is not good *aylog* for our place. Because you are the leader of this barrio, let us name this Rizal since your first name is also Jose.)

The suggested name Rizal paid tribute to both the teacher's background and the elder's ascendancy over the place. The use of the honorific *Aylog* manifests the respect of the teacher for the *Mangkatadong*.

## **2. *Dayanon, the Last Bagani* (I<sub>2</sub>, Bt<sub>2</sub>).**

The second Babatukon collected relates the story of a *Bagani*, a warrior of the *Mandaya* tribe who occupies an important place in the political scene of the community. This particular *Bagani* named *Dayanon* had twenty eight (28) followers and the tale recounts the death of this warrior.

The structure of the tale follows the exposition, conflict and conclusion pattern. The exposition presents a description of *Dayanon*, depicting him as the last *Bagani* of the *Mandaya*. In his reign, the qualities of a *Bagani* have already deteriorated and *Dayanon* had a reputation of being a cruel and tyrannical warrior. The description of his followers was included in the exposition with the information that one of his followers was actually the one who killed him.

The conflict of the story, which is between *Dayanon* and his followers, ensues without much previous explanation for the discord. It is implied however that *Dayanon*'s domineering ways so angered a lot of people that it may have been a factor for the plot to kill him. An interesting linguistic feature is the use of character epithets, which is usually found in epics. *Dayanon*'s followers did not call him by his name. Instead they used an elaborate character description:

***ama ni Bal'lawan, panging sang bul'lan daw kalibnan ng apog***  
 (Father of Ballawan, look at this, there might be excess apog.)

Ballawan was Dayanon's eldest son and his name was invoked instead of directly addressing the Bagani. It could also be part of the ruse since Dayanon was immediately killed when his attention was focused on the cigar overflowing with *apog*, a powdered shell used for smoking. In terms of story structure, this Babatukon could be described as having an abrupt ending with not much explanation for the conflict of the tale. The story just ended with a *kasamongan* (thanksgiving celebration) to mark the death of Dayanon.

When asked about the probable cause why Dayanon's followers betrayed him, the informant related that a Bagani's ways are hard and at times could be cruel.

***Yang bagani aw doon pa mga military, mangkaisugay yaan silan na otaw way balaod na pyagada nilan pero yang matuman yang kanilan pyagauyonan... Dili kaw atawagon na bagani aw dili kaw makapatay ng pito angtod pataas... Dili yaan silan gusto na kakahuliyang mas bale silan yang makamatay ng otaw nungka ng silan yang patayon (I<sub>2</sub>, N<sub>2</sub>)***

(The Bagani is like today's military, they are very fierce men. They don't follow any law except those that they have agreed upon...You cannot be called a Bagani if you have not killed seven or more...They don't want to be last. It's better that they kill first than that they will be killed.)

This portrayal of a Bagani as a fierce warrior who must kill to validate his leadership could be a contributing factor to the plan to kill Dayanon. Fearing that they will be killed, his followers attacked Dayanon first.

The perception of a *Bagani* as more of a war mongerer than a wise leader, could also be seen in the following extract from the informant's sharing:

***Awon mga bagani na tigpabikil. Usahay magaingkod sang awon iti. Aw pag areklamo sang tag-iya nanga pyapaingkod sang al'lon iti. Bun-nal'lan dayon yang tag-iya. Aw way kaatag na sapi papatayon da idtong tagiya. (I<sub>2</sub>, N<sub>2</sub>)***

(There are Bagani who look for trouble. There are some who will sit on a bench with chicken's feces and then complain to the owner of the house why he was made to sit on it. Then he will punish the owner and if the latter cannot pay, the Bagani will kill him.)

Tales of the exploits, good or bad, of the Bagani are told and retold among the folks in the communities included in the study. These fearsome warriors have become the stuff of legends in

the countryside. Some warriors do not become full fledged Bagani but once they reach this status, ordinary folks know they have become one because the warriors' outside appearance changes:

***Aw bagani da yang isa ka otaw magapudong da ng pula, al'lon sangkil tag duha matag siki. Yang sundang pyagabutang sang kalinto na bahin ng lawas, hawak para pabunot diritso. Tapos yaga awid ng pangayam aw awon salukot sang ul'lo. Tapos al'lon isab pam bal'ladaw. Isa yani ka pamaagi ipan sang pagtanaw ng isa ka bagani.***(I<sub>2</sub>, N<sub>2</sub>)

(If a person becomes a Bagani, he will wear a red headband as well as *sangkil* on each foot. At his right hip is a big bolo so that it is easy to pull. On his hand is a lance and on his head is a salukot. He also carries a double blade knife. This is one way of viewing a Bagani.)

The red headband is one of the distinctive parts of a Bagani costume which distinguishes him from an ordinary warrior. The *sangkil*, a foot bracelet, is also distinctive as it warns people that a Bagani is approaching. Every step the Bagani takes makes the *sangkil* ring thereby telling others to clear the path for the warrior.

### 3. *Valiero* (I<sub>2</sub>, Bt<sub>4</sub>).

Another warrior whose exploits are told by the informant is *Valiero* who was not a full fledged Bagani but nevertheless became known enough for infamous deeds. The story's structure is simple. The exposition presents a brief background of the place of origin of the tale's main character and then immediately goes into a description of the characteristic for which *Valiero* is known for. This is the habit of eating his enemy's liver after killing him.

***Yagahawid yaan ng armas aw al'lon gusto patayon obin kalaban niya diritsoon patayon aw kaana yang atay. Tinuohan na para kuno mosanay aw padayon yang kaisug.***

(He carries weapons when he wants to kill an enemy whom he will instantly kill and afterwards eat the liver. The belief is that this will lengthen his life and will strengthen his fierceness.)

The multiple information in just one sentence, which presents several events is a linguistic feature typical of oral narratives. A pause after each event suffices to separate one action from another.

The Bagani complex among the Mandaya in Eastern Mindanao waned during the 20s (Yengoyan, 1966) but the place of these warriors in the people's memories are still alive today.

The informant's focus on the cannibalistic habit of Valiero is just one of the many characteristics attributed to the Bagani. It also helps explain the courage and fierceness exhibited by these leaders of warriors. Eating the entrails or vital parts of an enemy is part of many myths in Asia.

#### 4. *Yang Balyan* (I<sub>2</sub>, Bt<sub>4</sub>).

Another folkloric figure who occupies a vital part in Indigenous minds and cultures is the *Balyan*. "*Balyan* served as healers, religious leaders, spirit-human mediators, astronomers and teachers in IP communities." (Santos, 2000) Among the Mandaya, the *Balyan* primarily serves as healer and this Babatukon centers on this healing prowess.

Like the other Babatukon collected for the study, this tale is short and presented through a first person point of view – the narrator being the informant. The entire tale is a reported speech of this informant based on his memories of the *Balyan* included in the story. It does not have a clear exposition-conflict-conclusion structure. The flow of narration is not linear and the narrator often digresses to include other information about the life of a *Balyan*.

The exposition starts with the description of the first *Balyan* in Capasnan, one of the communities serving as research locale for the study. This *Balyan* teaches young maidens how to become one. The main part of the tale describes the stages that a young female apprentice undergoes to become a full fledged *Balyan*.

***Yang pagka balyan, bago kaw maimo na balyan, ombasan kaw naa. Yaan na panaon dili pakaw magabado ng pula, magkaitum itum yang suot basta pyagabon pakaw lamang. Pero aw balyan da gayod pula da saan yang suoton. Ansaan na panaon aw balyan da mutakig da gayod aw magtitiyabon. Maundang lamang yaan aw paraon ng iban na balyan.***

(Being a *Balyan*, before you can become one, you go through an *Ombasan*. In that time, you cannot wear the red costume but only the black one of a *Pyagabon*. But if you are already a *Balyan*, you will start wearing the red dress. In that time, you can already go through a trance and start chanting words. This can only end if stopped by other *Balyan*.)

The stages that a young apprentice goes through include the *Ombasan*, an ordination ritual where she is officially inducted as a trainee. This *Pyagabon* or trainee is differentiated from a full-fledged *Balyan* through the color of the dress they wear.

It is during this stage that this Babatukon shifts perspective and focuses on the life of one *Pyagabon* – Melinda. Melinda left her vocation of being a *Balyan* after she was exposed to Christianity. But there were dire consequences to this decision.

***Ngani kanami si Tiya Melinda pagbiya naan ng pagkabalyan yang bago naan na bay urot gayod masunog. Ngidto yang panaon na yagpakasal aw magpabunyag sang katoliko. Adoon dida yaan mumuli kay urot isab ng mga bado aw gamit naan sang balyan yamasunog apil yang pal'latina, sangki.***

(Here in our place, Aunt Melinda, when she abandoned her being a Balyan, her new house was burned to the ground. That was the time she married and then baptized into the Catholic faith. Now, she does not want to return to being balyan. Her clothes and all her paraphernalia as a Balyan are all burned, including her *pal'latina*, and *sangki*.)

The misfortune that Melinda went through may be attributed to other factors but the informant believes that this is related to her abandonment of the profession of a Balyan.

***Yang inungdan ng pagkasunog ng kanilan bal'lay kay yanag-away yang bana. Pero tyutuowan na ngin-nan na pagsilot da kanaan ng mga spirit kay bibiyaan man yang tradisyon.***

(The reason why her house burned was because she quarrelled with her husband. But, it was a general belief that the spirits punished her because she abandoned the tradition.)

This context helps clarify the important role of the Balyan in the community. Believed to be a spiritual guide and healer, the community views the Balyan as blessed by the spirits and thus, the Balyan who eschews her functions is in disfavour of the spirits.

### **5. *Don Felipe* (I<sub>3</sub>, Bt<sub>5</sub>)**

This story is categorized as a *Babatukon*, a tale which seeks to entertain but at the same time also teaches a lesson. The Tale of Don Felipe recounts the adventures of Felipe who ventures to another land to seek his fate. The linear narrative presents chronologically the many trials he overcomes to gain his wife. The plot events at times do not connect logically and the narrative is profuse with supernatural elements that aid Felipe in the tasks given him by the father of Merenciana. These supernatural elements are plot devices that forward the narrative which wouldn't have happened without this supernatural aid as the tasks are beyond normal human capabilities.

The third person narration echoes ancient storytelling techniques where one event or adventure is introduced one after the other. This narration follows the exposition-conflict-climax-denouement structure and ends with a happy conclusion for the primary characters. The exposition is in the form of a dream which tells Felipe, the main hero, to go seek his fortune in the

land of Salintyanas. Felipe then does what the dream tells him and seeks the place with the aid of a bird who brings him to the house of a sultan who has a beautiful daughter. The encounter between the two leads to a romantic relationship between the young couple. The primary conflict is between the girl's parents and the young couple and this takes up the bulk of the story leading to a climax where the couple triumphs and is able to escape. The story then slows down to a denouement where the couple reunites and lives happily ever after. The narration is interspersed with dialogue using many of the phonetic features discussed in the previous section. It also used metaphoric devices such as these lines:

As for the narrative content, the romantic adventure presents Felipe's tasks to gain the fate promised by his dream. There were three tasks given by Merenciana's father to him. These are: to build a bridge from the house to the sea; to retrieve a ring that the sultan threw to the ocean; and to ride a horse around the hacienda. All these were accomplished with the help of Merenciana whose knowledge of magic helped them through the tasks. These series of tasks developed to the climactic moment where the couple was able to flee from the pursuing parents and was able to escape. The twist in the end of the adventure shows Felipe leaving Merenciana in Pangasinan but the denouement presents the couple being reunited after the lady confronts Felipe with his abandonment.

Considering the purpose of the Babatukon, which is to entertain, one relates the flow of structure of the story with this function. If this is told to children, the straightforward storytelling would be in keeping with the nature of its audience and would explain the lack of details in the plot. The development of the love affair for example between the young couple is truncated and its details kept to a minimum. They first met when Merenciana was taking a bath and Felipe was an unintentional audience on this bath. The small details which would have been not appropriate for the ears of children was glossed over and if this babatukon is placed in its historical and geographical context, one would wonder about the names used for the characters of the story. Felipe and Merenciana are Spanish names The symbolic equivalent of number 7

#### 6. *Si Juan asta Yang Prinsesa* (I<sub>4</sub>, Bt<sub>6</sub>)

This babatukon is a romantic story of a man's pursuit of his beloved. There is not much exposition in the opening scene, just a presentation of the setting which is a description of an indefinite time in the mode of traditional folktales (*citation*). It then immediately shifted to the primary conflict that the central character, Juan, is facing.

*Isa ka al'law sin'nan si Juan dili usuguton ng Prinsesa kay pobre.*

(One day, the princess will not accept Juan's suit because he was poor.)

The literal English translation of "*isa ka al'law sin'nan*" loses much of the nuances of the original language. The words "one day" cannot entirely capture the tone of the word "*sin'nan*" which is roughly equivalent to the Cebuano word "*niana*." The word "*sin'nan*" is not a verbal filler for it has the syntactic function of adverb in the sentence but when translated, the word is deleted. This affirms what Alan Dundes said that "the more important the textural features are in a given genre of folklore, the more difficult it is to translate an example of that genre into another language" (p.22).

Another linguistic feature of the story is the inclusion of the word "*doon*" literally translated as "now" but functions as a transition device to move the plot sequence from one event to the next.

***Doon al'lon abilidad ni Juan gikan sang kaoy na Otof. Doon idal'la ni Juan ngadto bay ng Prinsesa ibutang sang agdanan yang likit. Pag-agi doon ng Prinsesa sang agdanan yaga ototon man.***

(Now, Juan has an ability from the vine "*Otof*". Now, Juan brought the *otof* to the house of the princess and placed it in the stairs as a talisman. When the princess passed the stairs, she started farting.)

In terms of morphological features, affixation is used by adding the prefix "a" to certain words.

***Pero wal'la silan akasayod*** (But they did not know)

In the utterance above, "a" was added to the word *Kasayod* (know) which does not really change its meaning for *akasayod* still means "know". This affixation can also be seen in the following utterance:

***Sege mag-ototon, adoon mukadto sang doctor kay sege mag ototon daw nanga sa ngini.*** (She kept farting, so she went to the doctor to find out why she was farting.)

The word *doon* has the prefix "a" which, as seen in the previous example has no semantic function but is just a part of the word formation in the Mandaya language.

In terms of content, this Babatukon presented Juan as a character who tricked his way to the Princess in a humorous way. He planted the *otof* vine in the stairs of the Princess's house. It had the effect of a talisman and the princess started having symptoms which the king considered dire enough that he promised to give the princess to whomever can cure her. Of course Juan spread the word that he can cure her and made sure that the King would honor his words once he treated the princess. It was a simple act of getting the *otof* from the stairs and the princess was cured immediately. After marrying the princess, Juan now became a crown prince and he did get to become king when the princess' father died.

Stories such as this are usually told for entertainment during gatherings and occasions such as feasts. Unlike the other fantastical stories in this collection, this *babatukon* has the characteristics of a trickster tale. A poor but smart person gets the better of a wealthy, powerful ruler. Juan, with nothing but his wits, was able to better himself and even become king. The tricks he used on the way to the top may be deceitful but can be seen as a poor man's arsenal against a more powerful entity. Seen from this perspective, this kind of tale is the type told by ordinary folks among themselves as they celebrate their cunning in coming off as better than somebody from a higher social strata.

### 7. *Yang Karabaw asta Tagnok* (I<sub>5</sub>, Bt<sub>7</sub>)

This *babatukon* is a fable where the characters are animals. Just like the other tales gathered for this study, it exhibits linguistic features such as the use of transition devices like *adon* as discourse markers to delineate one event from another. It also contains a succession of alliterations:

***Yang karabaw yulubog adon yamabot man yang ambak.***

(The carabao soaked in mud and then the frog arrived.)

The succession of "Y" in the opening line of the story gave it a musical sound which sets the tone for the rest of the tale which keeps adding more and more animals as the plot unfolds.

The enumeration of animals in the story is similar to nursery rhyme tales which adds one animal to the previous one as events are narrated. The first animal to be mentioned was the carabao which was disturbed in his mudbath by a frog which would not stop laughing. The carabao complained to the captain because he could not sleep through the noise of the laughing frog. The captain investigated the frog, which told him the reason for its laughter – the turtle carrying its house on its back. When the turtle was summoned, they discovered the reason why it was carrying its house everywhere – for fear that the firefly would burn his house. The firefly was then summoned and discovered that it was carrying fire for fear of being bitten by the mosquito. When the captain summoned the mosquito, the latter gave an unsatisfying answer and was punished. The captain could not imprison the mosquito so slapped it instead. To this day, people keep on slapping mosquitos.

The way the events are narrated is what makes this *babatukon* unique. It calls for skills in storytelling as well as good memory of the storyteller. Everytime the captain would investigate a new animal, he would narrate the story from the beginning starting with the carabao's complaint, then the frog's laughter, the turtle's house, the firefly's flight. The building of events is repeated with each investigation until the last animal – the mosquito with its penchant for biting people just to awaken them.

With entertainment as its primary function, this fable also exhibits characteristics of oral literature – the use of ordinary circumstances as choice of subject. Familiar objects such as the carabao became the focus of the tale and the audience respond to the tale because they are also familiar with the habits of these animals.

## Uman-uman

The *Uman-uman* is also a type of prose fiction. The tale is told to teach a lesson or simply to entertain. There were three (3) *Uman-uman* collected for this study: *Buyag aw Bakl'og*, *Tamisa*, and *Yilas na Baboy*.

### 1. *Buyag aw Bakl'og* (I3, U2)

This *Uman uman* is a tale of full of humor and sexual references. It contains many of the linguistic features discussed in the previous sections such as the dropping of the consonant H. This dropping can be seen in the following statement where the H sound in the initial position (*ari* instead of *hari*) and the mid position (*manganap* instead of *maghanap*) are dropped.

***Doon yapanaw yang ari manganap ng tambal.***

(Now, the king went out to look for medicine.)

This dropping is not limited to the H sound but also includes the dropping of the B sound particularly when it is the initial consonant and when used in conversation or as an honorific.

***“uyag makadto kita sang pawa mangamang ng kal'lubang.” Laung ng buyag,  
“ud kay akl'log.”***

(“My dear wife, let us go to the farm to get some *kal'lubang*.” The wife replied, “yes, dear husband.”)

*Buyag* is a term which means „old woman“ among the Mandaya. It is also used as a term of endearment for a wife. To show familiarity and affection, the husband in this story, instead of saying *Buyag*, dropped the B sound and just said *uyag*. The same language feature is seen in the word *baklog* (a term of endearment for the husband). The initial consonant B was dropped and the wife just said *aklog*.

The opening scene presents a humorous situation of a husband and wife with no sexual relations in their years of marriage. The husband thought the menstruating wife was sick and consulted another man who said he knew how to cure the wife. The succeeding ludicrous events see the husband dying and the wife cutting off his organ as a souvenir. The narrative then moves from the original couple as the tale was continued by other characters with their own adventures. The *buyag* gave birth to a son who soon became an orphan and moved with another family.

denouement of the story is not very clear as the shift in the point of view moves the story's focus from the orphaned son to a king whose wife was ill. The connection between this new conflict and the previous story was that the woman who adopted the Buyag's son knew how to cure the king's wife. The story ended with the king giving his daughter as payment for the curing his wife.

The sexual innuendoes in the story indicate that this tale is not for children. This *Uman uman* was told during gatherings of adult friends, or perhaps drinking friends on occasions like birthdays or weddings. Although the first conflict of a couple with no sexual relation at all is ludicrous, certain beliefs among the Mandaya indicate that this situation does happen in real life

The fact that the informant is a male would explain the seemingly sexist references that dot the story. The portrayal of women as sex objects and even properties who can be given as payment would indicate either a patriarchal community or that the particular social situation with which the story is told is a male dominated gathering.

***"Al'lon mangod mo na bobay?" ilawngan nginnang usog. "Pangasawaon ta, magabaylo kita," laung sin-nan dyagit. "Ud, mal-law apitin ko."***

("Do you have a younger sister?" asked the man. "I will make her my wife, let us exchange," said the dyagit. "Yes, I will fetch her later.")

The words said in an ordinary tone would place the status of women in a marginalized position whose opinions and wishes are not consulted as they are bargained off to other men. In the context of a storytelling activity meant to fetch laughs from the audience, this part of the tale would indicate that the audience are men who could relate with the kind of power wielded by the male characters in the story. The words used are bald, with no consideration that women might find this offensive. The latter protagonist would even be described as king though he acted in ways no different from other men.

***Laong ng dyagit, "wain da ing baylo?" Laung ng ari, "mal-law dasa atod ko." Uli yang ari adto bal'lay kanilan aw lapii yang asawa. Pagkadayaw ng asawa, kayan atagan yang anak na prinsesa sang dyagit. Yaan baylo ng pagkadayaw ng asawa ng ari.***

(The dyagit said, "where is the payment (girl) you will give to me?" The king said, "later, I will bring her to you." The king went home and treated his wife. When she got well, he gave his daughter the princess to the *dyagit*. She is the payment for the good health of his wife.

The unfolding events indicate that the king referred to here is not the West's concept of a king who has a kingdom and a palace. In the context of the Philippines which does not and never has followed a monarchical system, the term "king" perceived in a different light. It can become a concept used to describe a rich man, or a powerful man who has command over others. In this particular story, the "king" was not really portrayed to be all powerful.

It should be noted however that while the informant was narrating this story, those who heard the tale were laughing indicating that it has achieved its primary objective which was to entertain. Those who heard the storytelling were mostly male and again this supports the discussion above that it is a story told among males during their male gatherings.

## **2. Tamisa (I4, U3)**

This Uman uman is a tale of adventure of a figure popular among the Mandaya folks – the Tamisa, who is the youngest child in a family. The texture of the tale is similar with the other stories collected in this study. Among these linguistic features are the dropping of the H sound and affixation.

***al'lon kyakaagiyan naan na adoon adal'laon adto sang ari, pyagaimo na sakyanan ng ari na baroto. Tul'lo ka otaw silan yang yagaimo.***

(They passed by someone making a boat for the king. Three men were making the boat.)

In the extract above, there is a dropping of the H sound in the initial position – *ari* instead of *hari* (king) – as well as in mid position – *yagaimo* instead of *yagahimo* (to make).

The narrative structure of the tale itself is episodic in that one event does not directly flow into the next event. The story recounts the adventures of Tamisa as he seeks his fortune in the outside world. The exposition presents Tamisa as an only child who helps his mother by bringing home birds for food which he acquires through hunting in the forest. This first scene portrays Tamisa as adventurous as he looks for a bird with multicolored feathers.

The next adventure sees Tamisa as resourceful and fearless as he takes on the making of a boat for the king. After he successfully crafted the boat, they sailed to the ocean where he undergoes more adventures. This part of the tale turns choppy as Tamisa encounters one difficulty after another in a sequence which does not have a conclusive denouement.

As a tale told for entertainment and perhaps teach a lesson, this uman uman serves to highlight the role of parents in the caring of their only child. The narrative continually invokes the mother as Tamisa's remembers her advice and guidance which gets him through rough situations. As the only child, Tamisa is unique in the community because his circle of relations and significant influences is quite limited. The extended role of the mother, even though she is left home while he goes through different adventures, is telling of a child who grew up on his own with only the parents as role models.

This tale is the shortest of the *uman uman* collected for this study. Linguistically, it has many of the features previously discussed in the other sections of this paper. Among these are the lengthening of the vowel in the statement

***dya'a nami san doktor*** (brought to the doctor)

where the vowel *a* in ***dya'a*** was prolonged. This lengthening of the vowel can also be seen in the following statement which also uses affixation.

***wa'a gayud akadayaw*** (he did not get well)

The prolonged *a* sound can be heard in ***wa'a*** and the addition of *a* to the root word ***kadayaw*** are features unique to the Mandaya language.

The story itself is simple – about Magellan Legis, the informant's relative, who got sick. This illness is attributed to the water spirits who got angry because

***yangamang ng mag-uya san tubig***

(getting the creatures living in the water)

The phrasing of the statement indicates that the those living in the fresh water encompasses both the water spirits and all forms of river food – *Kaya*. The *Kaya* is differentiated from the spirits as the former are creatures in the river such as shrimp and eel, the constant taking of which angered the spirits living also in the water. This is because the manner of fishing is called *Yanag-ubas* (draining) a kind of community fishing where the water in a portion of the river is redirected so that it becomes shallow enough for easy pickings of river food.

### **Mandaya Cultural Values and Traditions**

Folk literature is a cultural artifact in the sense that it is a reservoir of customs, beliefs, practices of a particular community. Based on the text and context of the folklore collected in this study, there are six categories of Mandaya cultural values and traditions as far as the folklore collected for the study is concerned. These categories are: respect for authority, reverence for nature, importance of dreams, chewing of Betel nut, and the ambivalent role of women.

#### ***Respect for Authority***

The high regard for authorities can be seen in the way the informants talked about the *mangkatadong* (elders). These *mangkatadong* or *mangkatikadong* were consulted for important decisions and their advice are valued by the natives. During the conduct of the study, the elders

were the first priority of the tribal chieftains as far as choosing the informants is concerned. When the Indigenous Peoples Mandatory Representative (IPMR) was first consulted about the research project, he also suggested Barangays whose elders are still willing and able to share their stories. This is the first consideration in the choice of the Barangays to be included in the study. Other factors such as safety and accessibility were also discussed, but these were secondary concerns to the presence and availability of the elders in the community.

The contemporary Mandaya barangays still show respect for the elders who still occupy certain positions of leadership in present day communities. Some have become tribal chieftains of their respective Barangays although the three barangays included in the study have chieftains who are relatively young but nevertheless are full blooded Mandaya who can trace their genealogy to the *mangkatadong* of their barangays.

Aside from the tribal chieftain, present day leadership such as the one represented by the Barangay Captain also enjoys the respect previously accorded to elders. One key informant stated that she would not have cooperated with the FPIC process if not for the Barangay captain.

***Ning kagawi kay nini  
butad sining kapitan  
bay ako dunggon,  
puyaon, batiin, pul'layon. (I<sub>1</sub>, Ba1)***  
(if not also for the Barangay Captain  
who gave me a command,  
In my thinking  
He always informs me, remembers me  
If there are new developments)

Other figures of authority which still remain in the consciousness of the Mandaya community is the Bagani and the Balyan. These are considered as folk heroes and still figure predominantly in the narratives of the Mandaya people.

***Bagani complex.*** The Bagani is a military figure of authority, a folkloric hero both praised and feared by the members of the community. Many myths surround the Bagani and most of these center on his fearless ways. He is said to have killed at least seven people before being declared as a Bagani. His leadership of a band of warriors is a legacy that is felt by the present generation of Mandaya. The tale of Dayanon included in the study portrays the last Bagani of the Mandaya tribe and also the waning of the Bagani complex. Dayanon is depicted in the tale as more of a war mongerer than a wise leader. The informant says:

***Wal'la yaan makasusun ng madyaw na gawi ng pagka bagani.***  
(He was not able to follow the good ways of a Bagani.)

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The notion of the Bagani as a fierce yet good leader is a legacy that has remained in the consciousness of even the young generation of Mandaya. This nostalgia for a warrior whose attributes made him feared by other tribes and potential invaders added to the cohesion of the community and their strength as a tribe.

***Balyan as healer.*** Another authority figure that is still in the consciousness of the Mandaya is the Balyan. The primary purpose of the Balyan is for healing but like the Bagani, her figure is shrouded in myth giving her not only a medical prowess but also spiritual attributes. Her connection to the spirit world is one that even the present day Balyan still makes a claim to. One key informant, who was a Balyan, stopped her chant even though she was still into the opening verses because she already felt the spirit within her.

***Itakigan ako kay mam. Basta man gud yan silan tawagon, makawon gayod.*** (I<sub>6</sub>, N<sub>4</sub>)  
(I went into a trance Ma'am. Once the spirits are called, they would really come.)

Though she respected her new religion (Foursquare protestant), she acknowledges that she still remembers the old ways and can even still perform its rituals. Another key informant, who also used to be a Balyan says that she can she can still dance the *Katik* (I<sub>6</sub>, N<sub>2</sub>). *Katik* is a Mandaya dance using native musical instruments which was usually played to accompany a dancing Balyan. She refuses to dance it anymore however due to the strictures of her new religion. The remembrance of the old ways and yet adhering to a new religion is part of a negotiation of cultural identity as she adjusts to a new environment which enforces a new religion on her.

### ***Respect for nature***

Reverence for nature – in its physical as well as supernatural form – is part of the way of life of the Mandaya. Farming, fishing and hunting are three of the main sources of food of the community and these entail getting into contact with nature. Preserving this nature then is an important consideration for a sustained source of livelihood. One story narrated by the key informant tells how a fisherman was punished by the river spirits for constantly taking the creatures living in the fresh water. This respect for other life forces living in the environment prevented abuse of its bounty and preserves it for future generation.

The same consideration for nature can be seen in stories that tell about taking care not to throw stones or garbage or even urinating anywhere. One has to say "*tabi, tabi kay ompo*" to

forestall punishment from the spirits living in wide trees and wide areas. Before planting, the farmer must perform a *panawagtawag*, a pseudo ritual, asking permission from the spirits living in the land and also to ensure a good harvest.

Many of the narratives also personify aspects of nature. For example, birds talk to the main characters and even give them advice. This regard for birds and other forms of nature indicate the community's relationship with creatures of nature. These are not just objects or animals that one can take for granted but are actually guarded by powerful spirits and one must obey certain laws of nature for a peaceful and harmonious existence among everyone – animals, objects and peoples – living in the area.

### ***Importance of Dreams***

Dreams play a significant role in the life of the community as revealed by the stories narrated by the informants. Aside from the *panawagtawag*, which was performed before planting, farmers rely on dreams in terms of when and where to plant. An example of this dream is a farmer who dreamed that he:

***yangamang ng mga kaoy. Yang italabao ko pyamugkot ko aw pangaritowa ko (I<sub>2</sub>, N<sub>4</sub>)***  
(gathering firewood. I tied them up together and then brought them back.)

This dream of gathering firewood was interpreted by the farmer as a good omen indicating that the place is good for planting. The availability of the firewood in the area must have been interpreted as an indication of the abundance of the place which was able to sustain the farmer's wants.

For the Balyan, the dream is crucial particularly as it can be an indication that you are chosen to become a Balyan. One key informant, who used to be a practicing Balyan, shared that she dreamed of people wearing white clothes (I<sub>6</sub>,N<sub>5</sub>) and who are treating someone's illness. She dreamed of the same dream seven times before she realized that this is a signal that she is destined to become a Balyan.

Dreams are also an important part of the healing ritual performed by the Balyan. She cannot prescribe any medication until she receives instructions through a dream from the Magbabaya (I<sub>8</sub>,N<sub>7</sub>). The Balyan's connection to the spirit world is an important connection. She not only interprets the sickness and its cause but also prescribes a solution to the problem. These are given to her by communicating with the spirits who are usually the cause of a person's illness. This communication is through by dreams and other aids (such as herbs) that bridge the spirit world and the human world.

The chewing of the Betel nut is not exclusive to the Mandaya as this is shared by many tribal cultures. For the Mandaya community, *magma* (chewing of the betel nut) has a social function. It is done when among friends and relatives to pass the time and during conversation. When offered to another, it is taken as a sign of friendship or affection for the other person. In the story of Dayanon, he was assisted by a follower in the preparation of his *mama* which contributed to the lessening of any suspicion he might have that he will be betrayed by his followers.

The practice of chewing the betel nut can also have a practical function. It is said to make the throat less dry because the mouth will be filled with moisture while chewing the nut (I<sub>2</sub>, N<sub>3</sub>). When going on a long walk to another barangay, the person's *mama* can aid in the lubrication of the throat and will make the person less thirsty. The practice is also thought to make the teeth stronger as it is coated by the juice of the nut.

The chewing of the betel nut can also have a religious function in that it is part of a healing ritual by the Balyan. When communicating with the spirits, the Balyan often uses the *mama* as an offering to appease the spirit whom the patient has offended. This indicates its high value among the Mandaya that it is even deemed worthy as offering for the gods.

### **Role of women**

Women among the Mandaya community occupy various roles which can either be empowering or marginalizing. As empowerment, women are seen as medical and spiritual leaders in their role of Balyan. The Balyan has multiple functions and serves as healer, spiritual guide, and even keeper of songs and chants, which are often the ones performed during a healing ritual. As healer, their diagnosis of the illness are taken seriously and their prescriptions to heal the illness, followed strictly. As spiritual guide, they are consulted on matters concerning spirits whose abode, may it be water, tree, or mountain, the Balyan can connect to or have access to.

Some women, as narrated in the stories, perform the role of adviser to their male partners whose success were actually due to the help of the woman character. In the tale of Don Felipe, Dona Merenciana made it possible for Felipe to do all the tasks given by her father because of her knowledge in magic and familiarity with the ways of her parents. She is portrayed in the story as a woman of power who is wise to the ways of the world and knows what she wants in life. All her strong attributes however, as well as the particular help she gave to Felipe was not fully acknowledged as she was abandoned by Felipe towards the end of the story. It is only when she reminded him of all the sacrifice she did on his behalf that the two could reconcile.

This tendency to treat women as something that can be ignored is given a different portrayal in other stories that feature women. In these tales, women are depicted as payment and even as objects of desire. In the tale of Juan, the King offered his daughter, the princess, to anyone who could cure her illness. In another story, the woman is featured as hungry for marital relations with her husband. This portrayal of the woman as sex objects whose happiness depends on a man is conditioned by the context of the narration, which is a male narrator told to male friends during a gathering.

The patriarchal orientation can also be seen in polygamous practices where a man may have several wives. The Bagani can have as many as a dozen wives and these are usually captives, taken during raids and some just plainly abducted.

***sangaon mangasawa ing bagani angtod dose ka asawa. Yang kanilan trabaho amo yang pagkadto sang gul'langan pagpangayam ng yal'las na baboy. (I<sub>2</sub>, N<sub>3</sub>)***

(Before, the Bagani can have up to twelve wives. Their work is to go to the forest and hunt wild pigs.)

The statement shows that the purpose of the wives was not just for companionship or love, but for practical functions so they can do household chores and even help the Bagani find sources of food.

## Chapter 5

### SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the findings of the study as well as some implications for further study.

#### SUMMARY

The study employs a qualitative research method to retrieve, transcribe and translate the folklore of the Mandaya of Manay, Davao Oriental. Three Barangays of the municipality of Manay were included in the study and through eight key informants, it yielded 21 folklore categorized into the following literary genres:

- a) Dawot - 2
- b) Bagi - 2
- c) Bayok - 1
- d) Panawagtawag - 4
- e) Babatukon -7
- f) Uman-uman 3
- g) Panultihon - 2

#### ***Linguistic Features***

The 21 folklore gathered for the study have common textural features categorized as either phonological and morphological features. Phonologically, the corpus indicate a lengthening of vowel sounds and the dropping of the H sound. The lengthening of vowel sounds give the utterance a melodic quality particularly the prolonged " i " sound and the "u" sound.

This lengthening of vowel sounds can also be seen when there is a consonant dropping particularly the sound of the letter H. This dropping occurs when "H" is in both initial (*,angin* instead of *hangin*) and mid position (*mang'anap* instead of *manghanap*). Some utterances also feature a dropping of the "B" sound if it is in the initial position (*uyag* instead of *buyag*).

In cases when a consonant is dropped, there is a lengthening of the vowel sound to bridge over the missing letter. For example, *ari* (without the “H” sound in *Hari*) is pronounced as *aari*.

Other phonological features of the folklore collected include the use of sound devices, particularly for the songs *Bayok* and *Dawot*. These sound devices are assonance, alliteration and consonance which give the songs their rhythmical quality. Figures of speech are also evident in the lines used in the songs and chants.

The morphological feature of the folklore collected included affixation. The addition of the prefix “a” is a language feature of the Mandayan language. For example: “a” is added to the word *doon* (now) to produce “adoon” or “adon”. There is no semantic change in the new word because it still means the same thing but the addition of the prefix is a language feature common to highland speakers of Mandaya. The lowland speakers, who speak the more modern “Dabawenyoy” do not add a prefix to their words.

The structural form of the narratives can best be described as episodic. Many start with an exposition but these are short background information of either the setting or the main character. Plot events are marked from each other with the use of discourse markers. The most common transition device is the word *adon* (now) used to introduce another event.

### **Context**

The 21 folklore collected for the study primarily have entertainment functions. The songs are sung on special occasions like weddings or celebrations. The folktales are also narrated for entertainment purposes and can become full of sexual innuendos especially when in the company of male friends. The tales use ordinary, everyday details and those that the storyteller is familiar with. Some tales border on the fantastic, particularly those tales with magic and supernatural powers.

The *Bayok*, which is composed on the spot, is a natural expression of sentiment. It changes with the singer and because of its oral nature, may change in subject matter with whoever is singing it.

### ***Cultural values and Traditions***

Based on the text and context of the folklore collected in this study, there are five categories of Mandaya cultural values and traditions as far as the folklore collected for the study is concerned. These categories are: respect for authority, reverence for nature, importance of dreams, chewing of Betel nut, and the ambivalent role of women.

The authoritative figures that the community looks up to include folkloric heroes such as the Bagani and Balyan, as well as the *mangkatadong* (elders) in the olden days and the Barangay captain for the present leadership. Respect for nature can be seen in the way the community relates with the environment as well as the respect accorded to spirits of nature. Dreams have a special role in the lifestyle portents the community as these can be omens of what is to come or just may be guidance from the spirits and the Magbabaya. The chewing of the betel nut is practice quite popular during the ancient times. Having mainly a social function, the practice has waned during recent times although the old folks of the community still adhere to the practice. Women have an ambivalent role in the community in that they can perform powerful and leadership roles but they also may be just objects of desire of the male.

### **IMPLICATIONS**

Folklore is constantly being created anew in contemporary life (Dundes, 1990). The folklore collected for the present study is only the tip of the iceberg as far as Mandaya Folklore is concerned. It was only able to collect songs and oral narratives. It also dealt only with oral narratives from the past but not the present day myths and other forms of legends among the new generation of the Mandaya.

Ethnic identity is not a fixed form present only among the old folks of a tribe. The present generation recreates their identities to survive among modern conditions and challenges. It would be a challenge to explore this negotiation of identity through the new forms of folklore that the Mandaya created.

Future research could also expand to include other municipalities to include other Mandaya groups in Davao Oriental. Some of the Mandaya communities have

become Islamized while others have intermarried with other tribal groups. An exploration of the language changes and the changes in values and customs is another direction that language experts as well as folklorists could take.

Future researchers may also consider the publication of a Mandaya book featuring not only the folklore of the Mandaya People but also other Indigenous knowledge and practices to get a more in-depth view of the world of this ethnic tribe in Mindanao. Aside from language revitalization, this project could go a long way to promote our ethnic heritage as the Filipinos try to reconstitute themselves in a postcolonial landscape.

As part of this language revitalization, the project could also undertake to produce an orthography of the Mandaya language. Linguist scholars could also gather corpus, synchronically and diachronically, from different speakers to document and study the variations in the Mandaya language.

To attempt an endeavour of this magnitude, one must take into account the Free, prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) process that must be undertaken when conducting a research among Indigenous Peoples. The different stages of the process undertaken by the research team was facilitated by the National Commission on the Indigenous Peoples which was commissioned to protect the rights of the Lumad. However, the results of the study were limited because of this process. The FPIC almost took one year to accomplish and this left very little time for the actual gathering of data.

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# APPENDICES

### Appendix A. Informants and Folklore contributed

INFORMANT (Audit Trail)	TITLE / TYPE OF FOLKLORE	Barangay	TOTAL # OF FOLKLORE
Trinidad Tono (I1)	Bayok – Ba1 Bagi (pangkasal) – Bg1 Bagi (pangpatulog sa bata) – Bg2 Panawagtawag – P1 Panawagtawag - P2 Narrative (personal life) –N1 Narrative/Interview – N2	Lambog	5
Benjamin Legis I2	Babatukon (Legend of Rizal) – Bt1 Narrative (Story of Bagani) – N2 Babatukon (Dayanon) – Bt2 Babatukon (Valiero) – Bt3 Babatukon (Yang Balyan) – Bt4 Panawagtawag – P3 Kaya (Uman-uman) – U3 Narrative/Interview – N3 Narrative/Interview – N4	Rizal	5
Melodo Masanguid I3	Babatukon (Don Felipe) Bt5 Uman-uman (Buyag aw Bak'og) U1	Capasnan	2
Sabado Lanos I4	Babatukon (Juan) Bt6 Uman-uman (Tamisa)U2	Lambog	2
Salvador Audan I5	Babatukon ( Yang Karabaw asta Tagnok) – Bt7	Capasnan	1
Arapayla Lanos I6	Dawot (Baylan chant) – D116 Narrative (personal life – N5 17	Lambog	1
Martin Donato I7	Panawagtawag – P4 Narrative (personal life) – N6	Rizal	1
Asuncion Cortez I8	Dawot – D1 Dawot (lullaby) – D2 Narrative (personal life as Balyan) – N7	Capasnan	2
Lydia Casanaan I9	Panultihon – Pan1 Panultihon – Pan2	Lambog	2
			21

## TRANSCRIPTION (RAW) AND TRANSLATION

### Informant # 1

Kami nangaon walay lain kinabuhi nami ing pagtanum ng umay, saging, kamote, ugbos. Aw dili pa sambuton ng umay wal'la pa maggani yakadto sang gul'angan aw pamal'atik. Ipan isab magkaya sang bagwan na tubig way lain na kanami pangutan yang owang aw iban pa. Aw yagapawa kami yang una gayod yagagal'las, sunog, pyapawa, tapos panggas ng umay. Aw way kanami umay na panggas, mamalit kami sang mga yakawna mag ani da.

Tig kami saan manawagtawag bago magtanum ngin-nang tyatawag na "tal'lugini" apasungpasungon ng kaoy. Ipan nami panawagtawag na maglaung "paabuton mo yang tanum nami na umay dosini". Basin al'lon magkayam ikaw dakman yang matigam para mamatay. Yang pyapagbal'law nami sin-nan yang mga tagiya ng lupa ng umay sang kagul'angan na magguya. Apil yang tagal-lang magalaung kami."Kaloy-yan mo kay tagal-lang yaning kanami pawa ansini para abuton. Tawag dini kanami **pyapatadom**".

Panaon ng ting-ani, ilabina aw padamgoon dakaw na madayaw da sin-nan na al-law maggani. Diritsoon kay yaan dayon "kul'logon" yang al'layan, mapono dayon, mamaal'lon.

Dawot:

Kami kaniadto walay lain kinabuhi kon dili magtanum sa humay, saging, kamote ug ugbos (*dahon sa gabi*). Kon dili pa ting ani sa humay muadto kami sa lasang aron mamal'atik (*one process of trapping wild animals*). Mangisda usab kami sa bagwan na tubig sa among sud-an sama sa owang (shrimps) ug uban pa. Kon yagapawa (*farming*) kami, unahon gayod ang pag gal'las (*hagbas*), sunog (*burn*) pyapawa (*paghapnig sa gagmay'ng kahoy ug mga sagbot sa daplin*) ug pagpanggas (*pagtanum*) sa humay. Kon wala kami tanumon nga humay, mamalit „mi sa mga silingan nga naka ani na.

Naga ampo kami bago magtanum gitawag kini ug "tal'lugini" (*Maghimo ug gamayng altar sa duol sa ibabaw o tumoy nga bahin sa farm nga anaa ang pagkaon nga gihalad sa mga spirito*). Dinhi kami mag ampo nga mag-ingon, "padaghana kining maong tanum namo nga humay". " Basi adunay magsira ikaw na ang kahibalo aron dili kini mamatay." Ang among gistorya niana mao ang mga spirito nga nagpuyo sa yuta ug nagtag-iya sa humay ug kalasangan. Amo usab giapil ang Tagal-lang (HesuKristo) sa pagsampit, na unta "kaloy-an kami ni HesuKristo sa among pagtanum dinhi. Ang tawag niini namo "pyapatadom".

Panahon sa ting-ani, ilabina kon maayo ang damgo anang adlaw diha diha dayon mag ani. Kana diritsohon na dayon "kul'logon" (*giuyog* ) ang al'layan (*sudlanan*), mapuno dayon ug mudaghan.

Ohhh.....ohhh.....ohhhh....  
 manungal'lan.....  
 Koh...koh....ahh....ah....  
 kay inungdan..

*babayta pagpadunggan  
 bay ta pagparanoon  
 unuon kay duwayan  
 tyamban yadtong similat bayon  
 kami kadul'luman.  
 Sang gilubkan ng gilaw sang tunga ng  
 gidagatan.*

*Aw buko pagaw nining iyan da  
 didak maga kaal'lang-al'lang  
 na kagabi ng kapitan  
 bintad ni dinandanon.  
 Sangal'layon nining lunsad  
 lanto niining tul'luganan.*

*Adowa yagkakambyo,  
 unda ko yal'lapinidan  
 kadungan ko dabo  
 manggitikos sul'lambudon.  
 Matakan si Magbuton  
 sigun si Maglawas  
 aduwa sining danlagan  
 Munong sining yag udyo  
 buko da ng mayninyan.  
 Ning kagawi kay nini  
 butad sining kapitan  
 laung ng kanak dyumdum  
 bay ako dunggon,  
 puyaon, batiin, pul'layon."*

Nag-ingon akong kanta bay sa wal'la  
 irespeto. Aw buko pasa na lungsod ko yani  
 didak makani, tuyo kay ani ako tutulin,  
 agaw ani ako. Bisan aw buyag da ako  
 yapanaw pa ani.

Ako kay ipan ako magbabal-longon ipan  
 ako manalinga, magsuon, tig-ako  
 magpabal-long para ako matigam. Wa  
 man ako tudloi ng kanak mga ginikanan na  
 ikaw pagbayok kon dili ako lamang.

Ohhh.....ohhh.....ohhhh....  
 Kinsay pangalan  
 Koh...koh....ahh....ah....  
 Unsay hinungdan  
 Nganong nia mi karon  
 Unsa diay mga plano  
 Unsaon namu ni karon  
 Basi wala nay adlaw  
 Ug kami magabhian  
 Sa tunga tunga sa among paglakaw  
 Dinhi sa malantaw'ng kadagatan.  
 Kon dili pa lamang niana  
 Dili ko magduha duha  
 Tungod sa kapitan gahapon  
 Nga among respetadong pangulo  
 Dinhi niining lungsod  
 Niining balaya.

*Kon nagkambyo pa lamang  
 Nalipay ko  
 kay ang akong amigo  
 Nga anak sa kaedad nako  
 Kining kapitan karon  
 Uban sa iyang mga amiga  
 Nga sila si maam  
 Nga maoy nagsugo kanako.  
 Kon dili pa usab sa kapitan  
 Nga yagasugo kanako  
 Sa akong panghunahuna  
 Kanunay ko niya sampiton  
 mahinumduman  
 Kon unsay mga kaayuhan.*

Nag-ingon akong kanta (dawot) basig wala  
 girespeto. Kon dili pa lamang nga ako kini  
 lungsod, dili ko muanhi. Dinhi man gud ko  
 midaku mao ng ania ako. Bisan paman  
 tigulang naku pero milakaw ko paanhi.

Ako nga naga dawot(kanta), nagapaminaw  
 ko, nagsundogsundog ug naga praktis  
 pagkanta aron makahibalo. Wala ko  
 gitudloan sa akong mga ginikanan nga ako  
 magbayok (a kind of chant)

**Sample sa bagi (pangkasal)**

*Dalaga kay tulong gawi mamunyang da pero makauli. Kaoy ko daw amolawi na sagbot ko na tawitawi.*

*Kadugay mo inday misulig daw pila pa lamang ka tuwig. Inay-inay panaon, inday-inday makamimingaw.*

*Bisan inday ang kaoy miduyog sa labing kalooy. Dalaga bisan kaniadto daan da takaw tinimanan.*

Oman da....

**Sample sa bagi (pampatulog sa bata)**

*Katul'log da kaytin, kamugo da, babay kita lumuga, yaw lunsad sining dal'lom. Daig buluwaton ta, manangay ikaw kay pyawdag.*

*Didiiii...di.. nining adlaw bayko lugayaw bay ko lugsad sining pamanag..yaning pamanag, dal'lum na yamal-lag.*

**Informant # 2**

Ako isa ka balyan sangawon yagadamgo na al'lon yanagpanaw na mga puti yang mga bado... sang dum dum ko mga pastor. Laung ko yakain kamu tubag silan yanambal kami ng al'lon goiter. Laung ko, ako gani al'lon. Laung nilan al'lon kanak lana para tambal.. wak magaatiman sin-nan na damgo ko. Mag uli-uli doon yaan ng maka site. Laung sin-nan mga otaw sang damgo ko na aw al'lon manganak yani kay yang pagtambalan ilabina aw masakit da yang bagakwang. Wa isab ako sin-nan mag-atiman.

**Sample sa bagi pangkasal**

Dalaga nga maayong batasan, pagtuo niya dili makit-an  
Murag kahoy ko nga amolawi  
diin may sagbot nga tawitawi

Kadugay nimu inday midaku  
Pila lamang ang tuig,  
Ang panahon hinayhinay  
Makamingaw ikaw inday.

Bisan inday ang kahoy  
miduyog sa kalooy  
Ikaw dalaga, bisan kaniadto pa  
Ikaw daan gitiman-an na.  
Tapos na..

Katulog na dong, kahinanok na  
Unsaon nato paglabas, didto sa baba  
Daghan tag buluhaton oh palangga nga  
akong gihimugsong anak

*Didiiii...di.. niining adlaw  
gusto naku magbaba,  
monaug dinhi sa silong  
Niining silong nga mahayag*

Ako usa ka balyan kaniadto nga nagdamgo ko nga aduna kuno naglakaw nga nakaputi ug mga sinina. Sa akong pagtan aw mga pastor. Akong giingnan asa man mo? Mitubag sila nga "manambal kami sa adunay goiter". Ingon ko, ako man gani nay goiter. Mitubag sila nga nag-ingon, "Naa kami tambal niana". Wala ko nag atiman niang akong damgo. Nagbalikbalik man noon ang akong damgo ika syete mibalik. Nag-ingon na usab ang akong damgo gikan nianang mga tao nga akong nakita, "Kon adunay manganak

Pyapasagdan ko. Pila ka al-law da isab yang yamagi pyagdamgo daku isab na yaga laung, "gamitin mo kay yani sang manganak".

Kadini way doctor pero madayaw ng balyan yang mga sakit. Adoon na mga panaon, laung nilan aw mamatay yang balyan, yang kalag pagaguyodguyodon. Labina da kanak na yang mga anak pastor aw pastora. Yakabutang man kuno yaan sa bibliya. Ako pwde pasa ako makasayaw ng katik.

Yang pagkabalyan al'lon gayod saan iyas na mamabalyan kaw. Daan pa daan ng dyutay mamasayod kaw ng titiyabon mo.

Yang pangulo amo yang magatudlo sang mga bago. Al'lon gani saan pyagainang, pyagalindog ng bacal'lag. Pyagasayawan tag isang ka tuwig. Magabuno silan ng baboy. Ilabina aw magtapos da ng bacal'lag madaigay na mga balyan yang masayaw. Magadagto pa ng manok.

Tig pag inangon yani nangaon aw al'lon masakit na mga iso. Pagakangayon dakay ako ng mga balyan na "papagbalyanon daku yani tapos pakadyawa da. Tutudlowan da ng sayaw-sayaw, pagpatuyok-tuyokon...aw matigam da, ombasan dakay. Al'lon mga gaum ng pagkabalyan na takigan da kaw. Di dakaw masayod ng mga pyaniyab mo. Pyagatakigan kaw kay al'lon yagbaya aw mga yawa. Sangadto pyagatawag yang yawa... pyapagbantay isab. Suol'lan nami para dili manghilabot. Al'lon suol'i na gamit yang manok o mag-imo ng baroto

mao kini ang itambal ilabina kon sakit na gyud kaayo ang hawak". Wala usab ko niana nag atiman. Akong gipasagdan. Pila na usab ka adlaw ang milabay nagdamgo na usab ako nga nag-ingon "Gamiton ni nimu sa mga mag-anak."

Kaniadto walay doctor pero maayo sa balyan ang mga sakit. Karon nga panahon nag-ingon sila kon mamatay daw ang balyan ang kalag guyodguyuron. Ilabina sa ako nga ang akong mga anak pastor ug pastura. Nakabutang daw na sa bibliya. Ako pwde paku karon makasayaw sa katik (klase sa tugtug sa mandaya).

Ang pagkabalyan adunay hiyas nga ikaw mamahimong balyan. Gamay kapa daan makahibalo kana nga ikaw mamahimong balyan pinaagi sa imong mga gipangsulti.

Ang pangulo maoy magtudlo sa mga bago. Naa gani ana gihimo nga mga proseso, magtukod ug bakal'lag (*usa ka ritwal place nga didto pasayawan sa mga balyan ug mga nagatuon pa sa pagkabalyan.*) Kini tag usa ka tuig. Mag-ihaw sila ug baboy. Ilabina kini kon hapit na matapos. Daghan na ang mga balyan nga muanha ug musayaw. Magpatay pa sila ug manok.

Ginahimo kini kaniadto kon adunay masakit nga mga bata. Paga adtoan naka sa ubang balyan para magbantay sa masakiton aron maayo ug kon maayo na tudloan na dayon para magsayaw, patuyok tuyokon. Kon makahibalo na, himoon na syang "ombasan" (ordinahan). Kanang higayona mag trance na ang usa ka balyan ug dili naka makabantay sa iyong gipangstorya. Magtrance kana ana tungod kay anaa sa iya ang Ginoo ug yawa nagbantay usab. Ang yawa among suholan aron dili manghilabot. Duna kami suhol nga manok o maghimo ug baroto ug

aw pasakya yang manok para dili masakit da yang masakiton. Tyatawag isab nangaon yang Tagal-lang aw Magbabaya na Ginoo/Dios nami adoon kay al'lon day mga pastor wal'la da kay Ginoo da o Dios.

### Uman-uman: Informant #3

Al'lon anak ng buyag si Tamisa, pagkadaku saan, Maglaung sang ina mangita da kita ng ulam. Yakakita sya ng madlog aw iba pa na langgam pito ka buok. Laung ng ina, wain kaw sini kaytin? Tubag yang iso, "kyakasumpitan ko kay ina." Pagkatapos sin-nan mapanaw da isab yang iso kay manumpit, al'lon man idtong langgam na luntod balaibo al'lon pul'la aw puti.

Ayo-ayo, al'lon kyakaagiyan naan na adoon adal'laon adto sang ari, pyagaimo na sakyanan ng ari na baroto. Tul'lo ka otaw silan yang yagaimo. Iyan yang pangul'lo, pagkatingog pa na aw ako saan yang mag-imo kamang ko gayod. Laung ng pangul'lo daon takaw adto sang ari. Pag-abot adto, laung ng ari aw matigam kaw sang kanak sakyanan atag ko kanmo yang prinsesa ko aw dili kaw matigam "patyon takaw". Iyan da saan yang parakol, martilyo aw sarotso. Pagtanaw adi putol, adi punta putol. Pagkatapos sin-nan sumingadto silan sang ari aw maglaung, "ari tapos da, adi da sang pamanag mo yang sakayan mo. Sakay silan...pag-abot sang lawod al'lon ikita nilan na

mangga al'lon yamal-log na "tubo bunga" "tubo bunga". Ikamang ngiyan aw labakan isab, tubo bunga "tubo bunga", wal'lay sapi nilan bay sang , apa na byabayo pito ka sako amo seguro yani yang kay ina. Kargaan nilan sang baroto aw ubowa

ipasakay ang manok aron dili na masakit ang masakiton. Gitawag usab ang Tagal-lang (Hesu Kristo) ug Magbabaya (God). Karon kay aduna namay pastor nahimo na syang Ginoo o Dios.

Adunay anak sa tigulang babaye nga si Tamisa (*nag-iisang anak nga babae o lalaki*). Pagka daku niya nag-ingon siya sa iyang inahan, nga mangita ug sud-an kanang madlog (*klase sa langgam*) aw iban pa na langgam mga pito ka buok. Ingon sa mama, "asa ka ani dong"? Mitubag ang anak, "Nasumpitan (*himan sa pagkuha ug langgam*) naku nay. Pagkahuman ana mulakaw na usab ang anak aron manumpit. Naa man gud kadtong langgam nga nagsapawsapaw ang balahibo nga pula ug puti.

Hangtod nga aduna syay nahapitan nga naghimo ug sakyanan sa hari nga baroto. Tulo sila ka mga tawo ang naghimo. Anaa ang ilang pangulo sa paghimo. Nag-ingon ang Tamisa, "aw kon ako ana ang maghimo makuha gyod naku. Ingon sa pangulo, "dal-on taka didto sa hari". Pag-abot didto, ingon sa hari kon makahibalo ka sa akong sakyanan akong ihatag ang prinsesa pero kon dili ka makahibalo, "patyon taka". Naa na dinha ang palakol, amrtilyo ug sarotso. Pagtan – aw pa putol, unya sa tumoy putol usab. Pagkahuman paghimo miadto sila sa hari ug nag-ingon, "Hari human na, ug nia na diri ang imong sakyanan sa imong nataran ug misakay sila. Pag-abot sa lawod aduna silay nakita

Nga 5 anga. Adunay nahulog nga bunga ug gitubuan na, bunga nga gitubuan na. wala silay kwarta kon dili tahop nga pito ka sako. Mao seguro kini ang giingon sa akong inahan. Gikarga kini sa baroto ug giyabo duol sa dapit nga adunay nagpuyo

ansini malapit sang mga magguya sang dagat. Sege manag-iyak silan sege bunal'í-bunal'ílan. Laung sin-nan ammamal'íoy, basi kita katubaan bay kami mamatay. Ayaw kami pagtaboni, pagpili daw nyana ing kanmo kay atagan takaw ng tuburan. Pamili lamang pag-abot ng ina ng Tamisa. Pag-abot sagaw sadtong lawod, magpatubod ng barko, bado, sapi, bul'íawan aw trabanti.

#### Yal'ílas na baboy

Nangaon way lain 6ang na pangulam tig lamang kami kumadto sang kagul'íangan, abot adto al'íon yal'ílas na yagatago sang sagbot pag-abot ng ama ko bunoon ng pangayam. Tapos yagadal'íla dal'íla ng budyak. Madali lamang pagkita kanilan tungod ng dugmon aw tingog. Anas silan nangaon sang pagpangayam aw pagkamang ng mga yal'ílas.

#### Don Felipe(MELODO MASANGUID)

Si Don Felipe anak ng ari yagadamgo nginnan, adoon laung ng damgo ni Felipe na yagalaung "Don Felipe....Don Felipe usipon mo san lunsod ng Salintyanas". Malayo yaan san lunsod sang Salintyanas. Adoon al'íon buyag yanal'ílang sang atul'íon kay tyatakigan. Sini yang ngal'ílan mo laung ng buyag..... Si Felipe... na unan kyakaniyan mo ani? Laung ni Felipe... Kay ina wain yang dal'ílan pasingod san lunsod ng Salintyanas? Sang bal'ílay ng buyag al'íon mga bowi na langgam. Laung ng buyag kay Felipe..."Inday sagaw sining mga tamsi?... "Petoy sayod kaw ng lunsod ng Salintyanas? Inday sagaw sining Owak, ingon ni tamsi. Daw sayod kaw san lunsod ng Salintyanas.. Laung da isab, inday sagaw kang Manaol'í, ingon ni owak. Pyangontana da isab si Petoy Manaol'í daw sayod ng lunsod ng Salintyanas adto

sa dagat nga dili pareho nato. Sege sila pangsyagit ug sege bunal bunalan. Ingon sa am-mamal'íoy (spirit nga nagpuyo sa dagat) basi kita matuba ug mamatay. Ayaw kami tabuni, pagpili lamang unsay imo kay hatagan taka ug tuburan ingon sa am-mamal'íoy. Pamili lamang unya pag-abot sa inahan sa Tamisa. Pag-abot didto sa lawod, nagpatubod (majic) ug barko, sinina, kwrtá, bulawan aw mga trabahante.

Kaniadto walay lain namu nga sud-anon mao lamang ang pag-adto sa lasang. Pag-abot didto adunay ihalas nga baboy nagtago sa kasagbutan ug pag abot sa akong amahan gilabay ug pangayam (spear). Unya nagdala ug budyak (daku nga sundang nga double bladed). Dali lamang pagdetermine kung adunay ihalas nga baboy tungod sa ilang mga ungod ug tingog. Kuyaw yang kanilan abilidad sang pagpangayam ug pagpanguha sa ihalas.

Si Don Felipe anak sa usa ka hari ug nagdamgo kini. Ingon sa damgo ni Felipe nga nag-ingon, "Don Felipe... Don Felipe, pakighinabi sa lungsod sa Salintyanas." Layo kayo na nga lungsod sa Salintyanas. Karon adunay tigulang nga nagpinit sa abohan kay gipanugnaw ug gikurugan. "Kinsa imong ngalan" ingon ang tiguwang. Si Felipe... unsay imong giarian. Tubag si Felipe... "Nay, asa ang dalan paingon sa lungsod sa Salintyanas? Sa balay sa tigulang daghang binuhi nga langgam. Ingon ang tigulang kay Felipe.. Ambot aning mga tamsi (klase sa langgam)? "Petoy na tamsi sayod kaw ng lungsod ng Salintyanas? Ambot aning owak, ingon ni tamsi."Kon kahibalo kaba sa lungsod sa Salintyanas, Ingon napud ni Owak, ambot aning manaol'í (klase sa langgam. Petoy manaol'í kahibalo ka bas a lungsod sa Salintyanas? Tubag si manaol'í, "didto man ko gikan". Ingon

sak magsikon. Laung dayon ng buyag doon tabangi yaning si Felipe aw kargaa ni Manaol'i. Adto sagaw sadtong kanyogan ng sul'laatan pitom buok ing bintana, pitom buok ing linti papakaan. Agaw pag-abot adto maglaung ing suol'an kay Felipe, wain kaw? Laung ni Felipe ani lamang kay tiyo, nangasa yakakani kaw? Adto kaw sang bito mag-uya.

Tupar na si Donya Merensyana magasugbo, laung naan "ama magasugbo gal'lo ako". Tubag ing sal'laotan na yagalaung "al'lon otaw dag dal'lum si Felipe adoon sege mag uli-uli maglaung "ama magasugbo gal'lo ako mapaso. Angtod yakakatul'log yang sul'lotan, kawas sagaw si Donya Merensyana kay al'lon buluwatan, maglubas aw magsugbo. Sege ng tabon tabon sin-nan na dapit kyakitaan ni Felipe. Yangkay na yagsugbo da si Donya Merensyana yag panilibsilib, ikita si Felipe, laung ng Donya... "Oh sinu kaw?" Wain kaw?... Tubag si Felipe, Ako si Felipe, yagadamgo ako na yang swerte ko adto sang lunsod ng Salintyanas. Laung isab ni Donya Merensyana na yang damgo ko isab yagalaung na yang swerte ko adto sang lunsod ng kalangitan. Angtod na yagpakila"la aw mag-asawa silan. Yang pangayo kay Felipe ng Sul'lotan amo yang pantalan gikan sang bal'lay naan angtod sang dagat.

Mangutana si Donya Merensyana daw unan pyagalaung ng ama, Tubag si Felipe na pyangayoan ako ng Pantalan. Laung ni Donya, tudlowan takaw na kumamang kaw ng pitom buok na kaoy butangan gikan sang bal'lay angtod adto sang dagat. Pagka adlaw magsuna si Sal'lawtan, Maglaung, wain yang tulay? Laung ni Felipe panaytay dasa.

dayon ang tigulang, karon mamalihog ko nga tabangan nimu si Felipe. Gikarga dayon ni Manaol'i si Felipe. Miadto dayon sila ug miagi sa kanyogan ug sul'laatan nga adunay pito ang bintana ug pito ang dal'logdug nga ipakaon. Pag-abot didto sa sul'lutan kay Felipe, asa man ka. Mitubag si Felipe, dinhi lamang tiyo. Nganong nakaanhi ka man? Didto ka sa bito (lalom nga bato nga dunay bangag) magpuyo.

Nakatupar si Donya Merensyana nga magligo, ug miingon, "Tay magligo unta ko". Tubag ang sal'lawtan nga nag-ingon, "naa may tao didto sa baba si Felipe". Sege karon gibalik balik ni Donya Merensyana, nga magligo siya kay init ang panahon. Hangtod na lang nga nakatulog ang Sal'lawtan. Minaug si Donya Merensyana kay daghan pa usab buhatonon, naghubo ug nagligo siya. Nagsalibon siya pero nakita gihapon ni Felipe ug siya usab. Pagkakita ni Donya Merensyana, pangotan-on si Felipe nga nag-ingon, "oh kinsa ka?", "asa ka"? Mitubag si Felipe, Ako si Felipe, nagdamgo nga ang akong swerte dinhi sa lungsod sa salintyanas. Ingon usab ni Donya Merensyanas nga "nagdamgo usab ako nga ang akong swerte anaa sa lungsod sa kalangitan. Hangtod nga nagkaila sila ug nag asawa. Gipangayoan si Felipe sa iyang amahan ug pantalan nga mogikan sa ilang balay hangtod sa dagat.

Nangutana si Donya Merensyana kon unsay giingon sa amahan, mitubag si Felipe, "gipangayoan kog pantalan. Ingon ni Donya, "tudloan taka nga magkuha ug 7 ka kahoy ibutang sa balay paingon sa dagat. Pagka adlaw nangutana na usab si Sal'lawtan nga nag-ingon, "asa na ang tulay"? Ingon ni Felipe, "latay na".

Kisul"bm laung ni Sal"lawtan yang singsing ko ita ko san dagat aw batuka. Laung isab ni Donya Merensyana, Unan laung ni Ama, Tubag si Felipe, " yang singsing kono naan ita san dagat kay pabatok kanak..

Patay kaw saan, unoon mo pagkita saang singsing na alabak san dagat. Laung ni Donya. Main da lamang sini pagka alas dos mal-law kamang sang lagaraw, ngining kilawan magatadtad kita sang manok aw ibutangan sang palato para ita adto. Pagkatapos sin-an urot sagaw ita pero al"lon pay bilin aw sagpuda labakan. Yangutana da isab si Sal"lawtan, "Handa wain da kanak singsing? Yadi sa paningsing da. Way gawan naan na titibas tibas yang Donya. Handa nanga yang kabayo na numero site (7),Laung ni Sal"lawtan, tubag si Felipe, "Sakyan ko". Saki sagaw yang kabayo aw pagpalibotlibuta sang asenda.

Tudlowi da isab ng asawa na aw pagpalibot-libot kaw sang asenda..Kamang ng alabre, lubida aw pal"lupal"luwa yang singo-singo ng kabayo angtod na mamatay. Laung ni Sal"lawtan, wain da kabayo ko, laung ni Felipe, "tyo pag-abot ko sang dal"lum mo patay da.

Pagka alas 5 mal-law ako maga awid ng suga. Laung ni Donya Merensyana, "Ama aw mag-awid kaw ng suga urot kita masunog. Tanan gud ng kalibutan sil-latan san suga. Layas silan duwa gamit ing isa ka kabayo. Pero bago ngin nan yangipos pa silan inistorya yang lul"lundan yanalg na aw pangontanaon maglaung na yangipos pa. Ikaw na banig maglaung kaw na ikaw yagalul"lon. Ikaw na sudlay paglaunga na yanudlay pa. Yakadungog man adoon yang ina na al"lon isab kagaum. Maglaung sagaw yang ina , "Oh

Ugmang adlaw a akong ilabay usab ang akong singsing sa dagat ug pangitaa, ingon ni Sal"lawtan. Miingon na usab si Donya Merensyana, unsa daw ang ingon ni Itay?, Mitubag si Felipe, "ang singsing daw ilabay nya ugma sa dagat ug akong pangitaon."

Patay ka ana, unsaon nimu pagpangita sa singsing nga ilabay man sa dagat? Ingon ni Donya. Ing ani na lang, unya alas dos, magkuha kag lagaraw, tadtaron sa kilawanan sa manok ug ibutang sa plato ug maoy ilabay didto. Pagkahuman, hurot giitsa ug duna pay nahibilin nga gamay pero gibalik jud ug hitsa. Nangutana na usab si Sal"lawtan, " oh asa na akong singsing? „Kini paningsing na". Wala sya kahibalo nga gitigbas tigbas ang Donya. Ingon na pud si Sil"lawtan, "Oh ngano manang kabayo nga ika 7? Tubag si Felipe, "sakyan naku." Gisakyan pa bitaw na ni Felipe ug gipatuyoktuyok sa hacienda.

Gitugloan napuud sa asawa nga kon magtuyoktuyok ka sa hacienda magkuha kag alabre, ilubid sya ug ipalopalo sa ilong aron mamatay. Ingon ni Sal"lawtan, asa na karon akong kabayo? Ingon ni Felipe, Tiyo pag abot naku sa imong panimalay patay naman."

Pagka alas 5 unya ako ang maggunit sa suga, ingon ni Donya Merensyana, "tay kon maggunit ka ug suga hurot man ta masunog." Tanan sa kalibutan gisidlakan sa adlaw." Milayas sila duha gigamit ang usa ka kabayo. Pero bag-o sila milakaw nanghipos usa sila ug gistorya ang lul"lundan (kitchen container) kon muabot sila ingna lamang nga nanghipos pa. Ikaw nga banig ingna usab nga gilukot pa. Ikaw nga suklay inga usab nga nagsuklay pa. Karon nakabati man ang inahan ni Donya Merensyana nga aduna usab kagahum.

kay Sal'lawtan, ngaong anak mo na traydor adto da yandal'lagan. Yakamang sagaw si Donya Merensyana ng mutya ng kaoy, tubig, lai aw laga. Ilupog silan ng ama. Nang apit da ng ama sambuton, una labak yang mutya ng lai, ilayugan ng kabayo, uman da isab yang mutya ng kaoy ilayugan da isab ng kabayo. Ilabakan da isab ng mutya ng tubig sunod yang mutya ng laga wada sambuta yumuli. Wal'la giyapon sambuta. Adoon yumuli aw magbatok sang asawa. Laung ng asawa ako da yang mulupog kanilan. Apit da silan sambutan ng ina. Laung dayon ni Donya Merensyana na ikaw na muntura mamaimo kaw ng bato. Ikaw na kabayo mamaimo kaw na bal'od. Angtod na wal'la da silan kita.

Utoktukon gal'lo ng ina ngin nan si Felipe, wal'la gayod. Maglaung dakman na sekera tyuka dakaw lamang ng tika'loy. Adoy tyuka sagaw siya. Sege tubogon, tubugon yapul'on yang tuka. Uli da dayon yang asawa ni Sal'lawtan. Adoon managpamanaw da lamang yang mag-asawa ngadto sang pangasinan.

Pagka-al-law sin-nan yamabot si Donya Merensyana yagababa ng kanaan kinabi na ngin-nan na kinabi puno ng majic. Pag-abot naan maglaung na maga majic gal'lo. Madyaw kay tiyo, tiya... Al'on gal'lo majic ko yang labuyo aw tagal'i. Una kontanaon ngin nan labuyo ng bobay, laung kay dipa... tyutudlowan takaw? Dipa... ipasakay kaw ng kabayo? Dipa... titibas mo ako? Nanga sa kuno bibiyaan mo ako sang pangasinan .. Di yasabot si Felipe na main kaw kadi yang kaatubang niya si Donya Merensyana. Yag-uli silan aw magtibu aw magpakasal..

Nag-ingon ang inahan, "oh sal'lawtan kining imong anak nga traydoor adto na nanlakaw na. Mikuya bitaw si Donya Merensyana ug mutya sa kahoy, tubig, lai ug kalayo. Gigukod sila sa amahan. Ug hapit kini masakpan, unan gilabay ang mutya sa lai, giambakan kini sa kabayo. Gilabay na usab ang mutya sa tubig, ug sunod ang mutya sa kalayo ug wala na jud sila naapsan kaya miuli sila. Karon miuli na lang ug nagsumbong sa asawa. Ang asawa na ang migukod sa ila. Karon hapit na gyod sila maapsan sa inahan. Ingon dayon ni Donya Merensyana ikaw muntura (tawag sa lingkuranan sa kabayo) mamahimo ka nga bato. Ikaw nga kabayo mamahimo kang balod. Hangtod nga wala na nila nakita

Tadtaron unta sa inahan si Felipe. Unya miingon na lang ang inahan kay Felipe, "Tusikon unta ka sa tika'loy (klase sa langgam)? Unya gitusik gyod siya. Miuli na dayon ang asawa ni Sal'lawtan. Karon milakaw na lamang ang mag-asawa didto sa pangasinan (lugar).

Pagka adlaw niana miabot si Donya Merensyana. Nagdala ug packbag nga puno ug majic. Pag abot niya, mag-ingon, mayo tiyo, tiya, duna unta koy majic sa manok nga labuyo ug hinangkan. Una gipangutana ang labuyo sa babae, nga nag-ingon, "diba gitudloan taka?.. Diba... gipasakay taka sa kabayo... Diba gitigbastigbas ko nimu? Ngano man nga imo kong gibiyaan sa pangasinan. Unya nakasabot pag-ayo si Felipe nga diay kaatubang nya si Donya Merensyana. Nagkauli sila, nag-ipon ug nagpakasal.

# 15

Isa ka al-law sin-nan si Juan dili usuguton ng Prinsesa kay pobre. Doon al'lon abilidad ni Juan gikan sang kaoy na Otot. Doon idal'la ni Juan ngadto bay ng Prinsesa ibutang sang agdanan yang likit. Pag-agi doon ng Prinsesa sang agdanan yaga ototon man. Sege mag-ototon, adoon mukadto sang doctor kay sege mag ototon daw nanga sa ngini. Dili matambalan giyapon ng doctor sege mag ototon. Di yagpalabas si Juan ng storya na yaan awon tambal ko. Kon musugot lamang yang prinsesa, ako da saan magatambal. Doon yakaabot da sang ari na si Juan awon tambal. Kon matambalan ni Juan yang anak ko na Prinsesa kanaan da laung ng ari. Ngadto kay Juan ngin-nan otaw na yagabatok sang ari. Laung ni Juan sege, mga tul'lo ka al-law adoon mukadto ako sang bal'lay ng ari. Wapay ikatul'lo ka al-law ikaduwa pa lamang yukadto sang bal'lay ng ari si Juan. Ikamang ngin-nan byubutang sang agdan. Pagka al-law yukadto si Juan sang ari yapag bal'law daw tinuod atag kanaan yang prinsesa aw Katambalan naan. Doon yang inimo ni Juan magakamang ng testigos sang lain na datu pagkatinuod aw madayaw naan yang prinsesa atag da kanaan.

Pagkatapos sin-nan na kasabutan san datu, tyambalan da ni Juan yang prinsesa yaplasan da naan yang lawas. Pero wal'la silan akasayod na idtong byubutang sang agdan na likit kyamang da ni Juan para dili da mag ototon yang prinsesa. Kinali pagtambal madayaw da yang prinsesa. Pagkadayaw ng Prinsesa atag ng ari kang Juan.

Pila ing sugilong, pila ka al-law yamatay isab yang ari. Si Juan da yang yakapanonod ng kabutang ng datu.

# 15

Isa ka adlaw niana si Juan dili sugton sa Prinsesa kay pobre. Karon dunay abilidad si Juan gikan sa kahoy nga otot. Gidala kini ni Juan sa balay sa Prinsesa gibutang sa hagdan ang iyang likit. Pag-agi karon sa hagdan sa Prinsesa sege na kini mangotot. Gidala nila sa doctor para tambalan ang sege pangotot. Wala gihapon kini natambalan sa doctor. Si Juan nagpalabas ug storya nga aduna siyay tambal sa sege ug pangotot. Kon musugot lamang ang Prinsesa ako na ang magtambal. Nakaabot kana nga storya didto sa hari. Gipatawag si Juan sa hari ug nagsabot nga kon matambalan nya ang Prinsesa ihatag na sa iya. Ingon si Juan, sege. Mga tulo ka adlaw karong mubalik ko didto sa hari. Ikaduwa pa lamang ka adlaw miadto na si Juan sa balay sa hari para pagkuha sa iyang gibutang sa hagdan. Pagka adlaw miadto na si Juan sa hari nakigstorya kon ihatag pa gyod kaniya ang prinsesa kon matambalan niya. Karon ang gihimo ni Juan nagkuha siya ug makatestigo nga laing datu para patinud-an nga kon mayo niya ang prinsesa maiya na.

Pagkahuman ana nga kasabutan apil ang datu, gitambalan ni Juan ang Prinsesa. Gihaplasan ang lawas. Pero wala sila kamatikod nga kadtong gibutang sa hagdanan nga likit gikuha na ni Juan para dili na segeg pangotot ang Prinsesa. Samtang nagtambal sa prinsesa wala na sege pangotot. Pagkaayo sa prinsesa gihatag na sa hari ngadto kay Juan.

Pila lamang ang storya, milabay ang adlaw namatay ang hari. Si Juan na ang nakapanonod sa tanan kabtangan sa hari.

# 16

Yang karabaw yulubog adon yamabot man yang ambak. sige magkatawa yang ambak, sige magkatawa yang ambak. Adon yagreklamo, yag ..gademanda yang karabaw sang baryo husgado lawong kapitan, madyaw na umaga! Lawong oo, lawong wain kaw? lawong kapitan yulubog ako gawo tuyo masaba yang ambak. Wa makakatull"og. Adon ipasudoy isab ng kapitan yang ambak. Lawong pag abot sang kapitan lawong ambak, lawong sir kapitan madyaw na umaga. Lawong oo, lawong unan yang kanaton? Lawong gademanda yang karabaw kay yulubog wa makakatull"og kay sige kaw magkatawa na ambak lawong sir gahill"on sagaw kay yang bawo gadaladala ng bay di tama ba yang bawo pyagadaladala man gayud ng bay nilan diba? Adon ipasudoy da isab yang bawo ipasudoy da isab yang bawo lawong paga abot ng bawo lawong sir kapitan maayong buntag madyaw na umaga lawong oo kapitan unan kanaton? Gademanda yang karabaw wa makakatull"og ng ambak sige magkatawa kay gkatawa kanmu kay pyagadaladala mo yang bay mo.

Ang kalabaw milubog samtang miabot ang palaka. Sege ug katawa ang palaka. Nagreklamo ang kalabaw miadto sa baryo sa husgado ang kapitan. Maayong buntag ingon sa Kalabaw. Ingon sa kapitan, "oo, asa ka? Ingon sa Kalabaw, milubog unta ko pero gisamukan ko sa palaka, wala ko makakatulog." Karon gipaadtoan sa kapitan ang palaka. Pag-abot sa palaka ngadto sa kapitan. Ingon sa palaka, maayong buntag, ingon sa kapitan, "oo unsay ato? Ingon sa kapitan, nagdemanda ang kalabaw nga miilubog nga wala siya nakakatulog kay sege ka ug katawa". Mitubag ang palaka, "sir nagkatawa k okay ang bao sege ug daladala sa iyang balay. Karon gipaadtoan na usab ang bao. Pag abot sa bao, nag-ingon, "maayong buntag kapitan". Oo unsay ato? ingon sa kapitan. Misulti ang kapitan nga nagdemanda ang kalabaw kay dili makakatulog kay sege ug katawa ang palaka u gang palaka sege ug katawa kay ikaw nga bao nagdaladala sa imong balay.

Pag abot disiyang ipasudoy da isab yang kwan lawong ng bawo sir pyagadaladala ko yang bay ko kay yang aninipot gadaladala ng atull"on diba yang aninipot bitaw boko galight light lawong basin manlaw sunogon adon ipasudoy daman isab yang kwan aninipot lawong oy aninipot ngasa gadaladala kaw agaw ng

Mitubag ang bao nga "sir akong gidaladala ang akong bbalay kay basi sunogon sa aninipot (firefly) kay nagadala dala siya ug ilaw. Karon gipaadtoan napud ang aninipot. Giimbistiga napud ang aninipot nganong nagdaladala siyag ilaw nga miingon, "aninipot tan-awa karon ang bao nagdaladala sa iyang balay, nagkatawa

<p>atull'on? Tanaw yang bawo pyagadaladala yang bay gakatawa yang <b>ambaw</b> (palaka) agaw wa makakatulog yang karabaw lawong ng aninipot pyagadaladala gadaladala ako ng atull'on kay sir kay yang tagnok tigpangagat protekta ko lawong yani sang kanak lawas basin ako manlaw kagaton aw kamalarya ako. Ipasudoy da isab yang tagnok lawong sir unan yang kanaton? Lawong pyapasudoy takaw agaw kay yang aninipot gadaladala ng atull'on pagdaladala ng bawo yang kanan balay tapos gakatawa yang ambak wa makakatull'og yang karabaw tubag isab yang tagnok lawong kwan man gud sir gapangagat ako sagaw ng kadlawon kay pokawon ta kamo kay tungod ng kamayo trabaho adon pildi man gayod yang tagnok kay ma'am mangagat sagaw na yang malarya. Pagkaputi unohon pagbunal sang tagnok na diman sakupon dyadapi dalang yang tagnok patay hangtod adon yang tagnok pyagadapi taman diba? Saksi kaw sa tapos</p>	<p>ang palaka mao ng hinungdan nga wala makatulog ang kalabaw." Mitubag ang aninipot, sir nagdaladala kog ilaw ka yang lamok mamaak. Protekta naku ni sa ilang kagat sa malaria. Gipaadtoan na usab ang lamok. Pag-abot sa lamok magg-ingon, sir unsa man? Mitubag ang kapitan nga gipaanhi tam okay ang aninipot nagadaladala sa iyang ilaw tapos ang bao nagdaladala sa iyang balay unya sege katawa ang palaka hinungdan nga wala nakatulog ang kalabaw. Mitubag ang lamok nga nag-ingon, "sir nagapaak bitaw ko pero kaadlawon lamang kay pukawon naku sila para sa ilang trabaho. Pildi man gyud ang lamok kay kon mamaak may malaria. Unsaon pagbunal bitaw sa lamok nga dili man masakpan. Gihimo nila gihapak na lang ang lamok nga naa ug namatay kini. Tapos na.</p>
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# 17

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Babatukon ng Rizal</b></p> <p>Yang sinugdanan ng Rizal awon maestro na yakakadto ipanganlan ni Martin Malia. Yang ugangan ko na si Jose Bitaac amo yaan ing yagapagadan/develop saan na baryo. Pag-abot adto ng maestro na si Martin Malia yakontana kay sangaon si Jose Bitaac amo man yang mangkatadong adsidto. Yaan kuno na lugar pagngal'lanan na Pyalidan. Nanga sa yamaawod saan yang kanaan pangal'lan? Pagbatok ni Jose Bitaac; nanga sa Pyalidan?</p>	<p>Yang sinugdanan sa storya sa Rizal tungod kay kaniadto adunay maestro nga ginganlan ug Martin Malia. Ugangan nya si Jose Bitaac nga maoy nagdevelop sa maong baryo. Pag-abot sa maestro nga si Martin Malia, nangontana kay Jose Bitaac, nga maoy respetadong pangulo didto. Kana daw nga lugar ang pangalan ana "Pyalidan". Ngano man ana ang iyang pangalan. Nagsugilon si Jose Bitaac sa pangalan nga pyalidan.</p>
<p>Nangaon na panaon awon kusugay na bagyo na bisan yang bagidan na bato pyamalid. Yaan na bato magatimbang ng</p>	<p>Kaniadto nga panahon adunay kusug kaau nga bagyo nga bisan ang bairan nga bato gipangpalid. Kana nga batoo magtimbang</p>

mga upat ka kilos pero pyapalid gayod ng bagyo. Agaw byubunyagan name na Pyalidan yani na banwa. Panaon saan na bagyo yang mga tanum na kamote maynang byubuldos. "Maraat kay aylog yaan na pagngal'lan ng kanaton lugar. Kay ikaw man sini yang yagapuno na baryo pagngal'lanan data ng Rizal kay Jose man isab yang kanmo ngal'lan." Gikan sidto Rizal da ing pangal'lan angtod adoon na yaimo da na baryo.

ug 4 to 5 kilos pero gipalid gihapon sa bagyo. Mao na nga ginganlan namu ug Pyalidan kini na lugar. Kana nga panahon bisan ang tanum nga kamote murag gibuldos. Ingon si Martin, walay ayo ana nga pangalan. Kay ikaw man ang pangulo dinhing dapita ato kini kambyoan ug Rizal kay ikaw Jose man ang pangalan. Sukad niadto Rizal na ang tawag ani nga baryo.

# 18

### Storya ng Bagani

Yang bagani aw doon pa mga military, mangkaisugay yaan silan na otaw way balaod na pyagada nilan pero yang matuman yang kanilan pyagauyonan. Pareyas aw ako yang bagani magapatawag ng tipon para storyahan yang mga kaiban na bagani. Aw yusulong yang bagani al'lon dal'la na pangayam, sundang. Aw yusulong silan tapos awon mga bobay bibihagon nilan para pangasawahon. Walay lain na katabang nilan sang bagani kon dili pagkinabuwi. Agaw sangaon mangasawa ing bagani angtod dose ka asawa. Yang kanilan trabaho amo yang pagkadto sang gul'lanan pagpangayam ng yal'las na baboy. Dili yaan silan gusto na kakahuliyang mas bale silan yang makamatay ng otaw nungka ng silan yang patayon. Amo yaan yang batasan ng bagani. Dominante, dili maglaung na amo gayod yang batasan.

Ang bagani kon karon murag military. Isog sila ug walay balaod nga ilang gisunod. Pero ang kanunay matuman ang ilang gikauyonan. Pananglit kon ako usa ka bagani magpatawag ko ug tigum para magstoryahan sa mga kauban nga bagani. Kon musulong ang bagani magdala sila ug pangayam (spear) ug sundang (bolo). Kon musulong sila unya adunay mga babae bihagon nila aron pangasawahon. Wala silay lain katabang sa bagani kondili ang pagkinabuhi. Mao na kaniadto mangasawa ang bagani hangtod ika dose ka asawa. Ang ilang trabaho mao ang pag-adto nila sa lasang aron manguha ug ihalas baboy. Dili sila gusto nga mahuli o maunhan. Bahala sila ang una makapatay nungka sila ang maunhan nga patyon. Mao kana ang batasan sa bagani. Dominante, dili mag-ingon nga mao na gyod ang batasan.

Yang kanami bantugan gayod na bagani nangaon si bagani Doble Ambasan. Tapos si Bagani Basikong gikan Matabang. Awon mga bagani na tigpabikil. Usahay magaingkod sang awon iti. Aw pag areklamo sang tag-iya nanga pyapaingkod sang al'lon iti. Bun-nal'lan dayon yang tag-iya. Aw way kaatag na sapi papatayon da

Ang among bantugan gayod kaniadto nga bagani si bagani Doble Ambasan. Tapos si Bagani Basikong nga gikan Matabang. Adunay mga bagani nga tigpamikil. Usahay maglingkod sa adunay iti sa manok. Magreklamo kini Sa tag-iya sa balay nga nakalingkod siya ug iti. Unya iya dayon kini silutan hatagan ug penalty

<p>idiong tagiya. Dili kaw atawagon na bagani aw dili kkaw makapatay ng pito angtod pataas. Dikaw isab basta basta mabagani aw dili pakaw makaabot sang kwentada nilan kay pyagakudlit man sang pangayam naan. Kay dili silan matigam magbilang ng isa, duwa, tul'lo.</p>	<p>(danyos). Kon walay ikahatag nga kwrt a sa tag-iya sa balay pagapatyon kini. Dili usab ka matawag nga bagani kon wala kappa nakapatay ug pito pataas. Dili ka basta basta nga bagani aw kon dili ka makaabot sa kwentada nga ginakudlit sa ilang pangayam kay dili man sila kahibalo magkwenta ug isa, duha, tulo.</p>
<p>Isa na isulong ng bagani yadtong malapit sadtong kal'lagan na tubig. Yadtong yanagsabang sang Caraga River, Kal'lagan man yaan na tubig. Aw al'lon samok datu butay, Maglahos, Sangab, yang mga otaw ngadto aw di makaantos mubalhin silan sang kasal'iman ngani Manay.</p>	<p>Usa nga gisulong sa bagani ang lugar sa kal'lagan nga tubig diin nagsabang ang Caraga River. Kon dunay samok didto sa Butay, Maglahos, Sangab ang mga tao didto kon dili na kaantos mubalhin dinhi sa Kasal'aman dinhi sa Manay.</p>
<p>Dili magbal'lay yang mga bagani san patag adto taas ng kaoy na yang pyanaglatayan yang bul'la ng pasan. Bukid yaan silan magbal'lay adto sadtong Dakul'lang banwa na buntod kay aw al'lon kalaban di dayon madali dali silan madugsang.</p>	<p>Dili magbalay ang bagani sa patag, kasagaran didto gayod sa taas sa kahoy nga adunay latayan nga rattan. Bukid kini kasagaran magbalay didto sa Dakul'lang Banwa nga bungtod aron dili dayon maabot ug tugsukon sa kalaban.</p>
<p>Al'lon mga timaanan nilan daw al'lon bukad tungod ng agyananan pasingod sang bay nilan. Dili basta-basta yang yang kanilan pyagauyaan kay aw al'lon pasingod ngawon madali lamang masayod silan. Pananglitan motanog yang mga timanaan nilan aw al'lon pasingod adto sang bal'lay, yagalama (yaga-andam) pirmi.</p>	<p>Aduna silay mga timailhan kon dunay muabot nga bukad tungod sa ilang agianan. Dili basta basta ang ilang gipuyan kay kon adunay paingon didto dali dayon mamatikdan nila. Pananglitan motingog ang ilang timan-anan paingon sa ilang balay tungod kay nagaandam sila pirmi.</p>
<p>Cont. # 19</p> <p>Aw bagani da yang isa ka otaw magapudong da ng pula, al'lon sangkil tag duha matag siki. Yang sundang pyagabutang sang kalinto na bahin ng lawas, hawak para pabunot diritso. Tapos yaga awid ng pangayam aw awon salukot</p>	<p>Kon bagani na ang usa ka tao, magtundong na ug pula. Duna nay sangki nga tagduha ang matag tiil. Ang sundang ginabutang sa tuo nga bahin sa lawas sa hawak aron pagbunot diritso. Naggunit sila ug pangayam, dunay salukot ang ulo. Unya aduna usab sundang nga double blade. Kini usa ka mga timailhan isip usa</p>

<p>sang ul'lo. Tapos al'lon isab pam bal'ladaw. Isa yani ka pamaagi ipan sang pagtanaw ng isa ka bagani.</p>	<p>ka bagani.</p>
<p><b>Dayanon: (LEGIS)</b></p> <p>Si Dayanon al'lon 28 ka mga sakop. Isa ka al-law al'lon gusto nilan bukadon. Puro yaan silan magmama para dili malangga kay sege man silan bumukad. Yanagpauway san tubig, yanag ingkod ingkod para magmama. Bal'lawan-anak na panganay ni Dayanon, "laung kay ng mga kaiban , "ama ni bal'lawan, panding sang bul'lan daw kalibnan ng apog." Diritsowa dayonn tidowa si Dayanon aw kamatay. Ipatay si dayanon ng kanaan mismo sakop.</p>	<p>Si Dayanon adunay 28 ka mga ginsakpan. Usa ka adlaw duna silay gusto bukadon(sulungon). Kana sila halos tanan nagamama(chewing betelnut) aron dili sila uhawon panahon nga sila musulong. Nagpahulay sa tubig, naglingkod ug nagmama. Si Bal'lawan maoy anak nga panganay ni dayanon. Ingon sa mga kauban, "Amahan ni Bal'lawan tan-awa kini basi nasubrahan ug apog (powdered sheel). Gidiritso dayon gitiro sa iyang sakop si Dayanon.</p>
<p>Si Valiero</p> <p>Adto sang Old Macopa Manay al'lon pyagangal'lanan na si Valiero aw pumatay ng otaw tig kamangon yang atay aw kaana. Dili yaan bagani pero maisugay gayod. Yagahawid yaan ng armas aw al'lon gusto patayon obin kalaban niya diritsoon patayon aw kaana yang atay. Tinuohan na para kuno mosanay aw padayon yang kaisug.</p> <p>Sidtong yag pugante tungod kay madaig da pyatay kinaanglan da gayod dakpon ng governo adto da bukid sang gul'langan mag-uya. Dili na dili gayod magapadakop.</p>	<p>Didto sa Old Macopa adunay ginganlan nga si Valiero kon mupatay ug tawo ginakuha nya ang atay ug kaanon. Dili sya bagani pero isug kayo. Naggunit siyag armas kon aduna siyay gusto patayon o kalaban iya kini diritsohon patyon ug kuhaon ang atay. Tinuhuan niya para kuno mosanay ug padayon ang kaisug.</p> <p>Niadtong nagpugante pa siya daghan ang iyang gipatay ug kinahanglan na gyod siya dakpon sa governo. Didto na siya sa lasang nagpuyo. Dili nga dili gayod sya magpadakop.</p>
<p># 21 Cont. B-Legis</p> <p>Balyan Manuay</p>	<p>Ang pianakauna nga balyan dinhi sa</p>

<p>Pinakauna na balyan ngani Capasnan amo yang Ompo ni kapitan Alvino Manuay. Doble yang kanaan katungod sang katilingban yang pagkabalyan aw pagkamanabang. Yang mga buntis dili maglisud aw manganak kay iyan man yang mananabang na madaig ipan yang tigbutang sang lawas ng buntis para madali lamang manganak. Pananglitan sini yang mga bunga ng kaoy na tyutudlo gikan sang damgo. Amo yaan ing tawag sang Mandaya na tagal'lumo.</p>	<p>Capasnan mao ang Lola ni Kapitan Alvino Manuay. Duha ang iyang katungod sa katilingban ang pagka balyan ug pagka mananabang sa buntis. Ang buntis dili maglisud kon manganak kay daghan man siya ug ipangbutang sa lawas sa buntis para dali manganak. Pananglitan niana ang mga bunga sa kahoy nga gitudlo kaniya sa damgo. Kana gitawag sa Mandaya nga "tagal'lumo".</p>
<p># 22</p> <p>Aw yamatul'log kita tapos yagdamgo na yagaabot abot adto sang iban na lugar. Tapos aw awon kastorya mo na otaw halos ilado pareyas ng pyagaatubang mo gayod. Na aw kumamang sin-nan na adoon kaoy o bunga ngiyan na pangan gamiton mo ngiyan sang manganakay na bobay. Dida kinaanglan ng doctor. Mangganak ngiyang bobay pero dili kinaanglan na magalisud. Yang yagastorya kanaan idtong otaw na pyagadamgo naan. Kadtonan ngiyan na sagbot para kamangon kay makatambal sian na sakit. Pagkatapos mo pagdamgo labas gayod ng bay anapa ngiyan na sagbot para makita mo para pagdamgo mo para tumugo. Aw pakadlawan mo laung nilan dida mutugo.</p>	<p>Kon nakatulog kita unya magdamgo nga nag abot abot ta sa ubang lugar, unya kon aduna kitay kastorya nga tawo halos ilado ug parehas nga kaatubang gyod. Na kon mukuha niana nga kahoy o bunga kaha, adtoan gyod nimu aron gamiton para sa manganak nga mga babae. Dili na kinahanglan ang doctor. Manganak kana nga babae pero dili maglisud. Ang maghatag niana kadtong imong gidamgo. Adtoan kana nga sagbot ug kuhaon kay tambal man ana nga sakit. Pagkahuman nimu ug damgo adto gayod aron "tumugo"(mabisa). Kon pakaadlawan nimu possible dili na mutugo (mawala ang bisa).</p>
<p>Aw tyatakigan yang balyan gikan giyapon yaan sang damgo. Mga dahon ng kahoy amo yang pagaligo nilan sidtong mamaimo na balyan. Agaw sa usahay yang Mandaya dilikado kay awon man pyagadamgo na makamatay. Yaan gikan gihapon sang una na mga henerasyon na yangkamatay da.</p>	<p>Kon nagtrance ang balyan gikan gihapon kana sa damgo. Mga dahon ug kahoy maoy iligo sa mamahimong balyan. Mao na usahay ang balyan dilikado kay aduna usahay makamatay nga gidamgo. Kana gikan pa sa unang henerasyon nga nangamatay na.</p>

<p>Awon bay na kanilan pyagasayawan. Tag isa ka tuwig pyagasayawan. Gawas na awon tagaymo awon isab pyagagamit na tutulisin yang tiyan na maynang uling. Yasabot kaw sa seguro ng lusong. Mukamang ako ng sundang aw baaga para mutipik sang lusong aw sunuga pagkatapos basaon ng laway. Kon mahimo da na uling amo pa yang pagbagad mo sang tiyan.</p>	<p>Aduna silay balay nga ginasayawan. Tag usa ka tuig sayawan. Gawas nga dunay "tagal'lumo" (palihi sa manganak aron dili kini maglisud ug masakitan) aduna usa ihaplas sa tiyan nga murag uling. Kasabot man seguro ka ug lusong. Magkuha ug sundang ug iduol kini sa kalayo para mutipik sa lusong ug sunugon kini pagkahuman bas-on sa laway. Kon mahimo na nga uling ihapyod na kini sa tiyan.</p>
<p>Sa una way doctor, yang kanami lamang doctor na isaligan yang balyan. Yamasakit yang kanaan iso kay gustoway kuhaon na balyan. Pag-abot ipan ngawon ng balyan mangayo ng mamaon aw bagaybay. Yang bagaybay diritso yaan kamangon aw atagan sang balyan. Dili pa yaan ukadon. Pagkatapos magabado da yaan ng kanaan bado na mandaya na kompleto. Iyan da mga linangaw. Na awon onto ng buwaya, mga sagaysagay, magatabon da ng pula kay manawagtawag da yaan. Pero sabay da yang takig naan aw magatitiyabon naan. Dahon yang masakiton sang apit awidan yang lawas. Dida nami ipan pagkasabtan yang pyagatiyab naan. Kon unan man yang kikita na pyupunuan na sakit</p>	<p>Sa una walay doctor, ang among doctor mao ang sinaligan namu nga balyan. Nasakit ang iyang anak gusto kuhaon para mamahimong balyan. Pag abot diha sa ila mangayo ang balyan ug mamaon(betelnut) ug bagaybay(newly sprout betelnut). Kanang bagaybay diritsohon kana kuhaon ug ihatag sa balyan. Dili pa na siya iopen. Pagkahuman ana mag ilis na ang balyan sa iyang sinina ug magkompleto sa mga gamit apil na ang linangaw (necklace) nga adunay ngipon sa buaya, mga sagaysagay (black bracelet) ug magtundong na ug pula unya manawagtawag (mag-ampo). Dal-on ang masakiton sa dapit ug gunitan ang lawas. Dili na namu masabtan an gang iyang gipanulti. Kon unsa man ang nakita nila nga gisugdan sa sakit</p>
<p>ng isa ka otaw. Pananglit yaning iso al'lon yagailabot na mag-uya ansin-nan na tubig.kyakabuyagan yaning iso yang mag-uya sang puno ng lumbia. Kay madayaw sini pagabalilig. Aw maglaung da yang balyan na magabalilig awon kay dayon saan mukamang ng mga gamiton ng balilig. Isa da sin-nan yang sayapo na kaoy aw kawayan. Yang ikamang na kaoy dili putulan ng sanga. Pag ugdok sin-nan mag-atubang sang sil-latan. Adto kay yang balyan magsayaw malapit sang masakiton. Awon isab butanganan ng baboy para pagdayaw ng masakiton. Bale</p>	<p>Sa usa ka tao. Pananglitan ang bata adunay naghilabot nga nagpuyo sa tubig. Nabuyagan ang bata sa nagpuyo sa lumbia. Ang mayo ani magbalilig (balilig usa ka taas nga pamaagi sa pag-ampo sa mandaya alang sa pagpaayo sa masakit). Kon Mag-ingon ang balyan nga ang tambal balilig aduna na dayon manguha sa mga gamitonon sa balilig. Usa niana ang sayapo nga kahoy ug kawayan. Kanang gikuha nga kahoy dili putlan ang sanga. Kon iugdok na dapat mag-atubang sa sidlakan. Didto ang balyan musayaw duol sa masakitoon. Aduna usab</p>

<p>pangayoon da yang pagkadayaw sin-nan na yamasakit. Kambyo ngiyan kibali ng yagailabot sin-nan na otaw.</p>	<p>butanganan sa baboy aron iayo sa masakiton. Bali pangayoon nga unta mayo ang nasakit nga tao ug kambyoan kini sa baboy. Bali kambyoan niining baboy kadtong naghilabot sa nasakit.</p>
<p>"inum kamo ng tuba, kaan kamo sining yapugan", amo yani yang panawagtawag da aw yagabalilig. Pyanawag yang iban na mag-uya apil si Magbabaya na kanaton Ginoo. Mga tul'lo ka adlaw saan madayaw da saan. Idtong si Ompo Pyanong Manuay, amo ipan yang tigtudlo ng mga iso na itawag ng pagkabalyan way sweldo kon dili pagsakripisyo lamang</p>	<p>"inma ninyo kining tuba, kaon kamu niining yapugan" mao na kini ang pag ampo sa balilig. Gitawag ang uban nga nagpuya niang lugara apil na ang Ginoo. Mga tulo ka adlaw ana maayo na gyod ang nasakit. Kadto si Ompo Pyanong Manuay mao ang nagatudlo sa mga bata nga gitawag sa pagka balyan. Walay sweldo kon dili ang pagsakripisyo lamang.</p>
<p># 23</p> <p>Yang pagka balyan, bago kaw maimo na balyan, ombasan kaw naa. Yaan na panaon dili pakaw magabado ng pula, magkaitum itum yang suot basta pyagabon pakaw lamang. Pero aw balyan da gayod pula da saan yang suoton. Ansaan na panaon aw balyan da mutakig da gayod aw magtitiyabon. Maundang lamang yaan aw paraon ng iban na balyan.</p>	<p>Ang pagka balyan, bago ka mamahimong balyan, ombasan (ordinahan) ka. Kana nga panahon dili kappa magsinina ug pula, navyblue usa, ang tawag sa magsuot ana pyagabon (trainee) pa. Kon balyan na jud pula na ang suoton. Kon balyan na magtrance na na siya unya mag sege na ug storya. Maundang lamang kana kon paundangon sa ubang balyan.</p>
<p>Ngani kanami si Tiya Melinda pagbiya naan ng pagkabalyan yang bago naan na bay urot gayod masunog. Ngidto yang panaon na yagpakasal aw magpabunyag sang katoliko. Adoon dida yaan mumuli kay urot isab ng mga bado aw gamit naan sang balyan yamasunog apil yang pal'latina, sangki.</p>	<p>Dinhi sa amo si Tiya Melinda pagbiya niya sa iyang pagkabalyan ang bag-o niya nga balay nahurot ug kasunog. Kadto nga higayon nagpakasal na siya ug nagpabunyag sa katoliko. Karon dili na siya mubalik pa sa pagkabalyan kay tanan sa iyang mga gamit nasunog apila ang pal'latina (silver necklace plate) aw sangki (foot bracelet).</p>
<p>Yang inungdan ng pagkasunog ng kanilan bal'lay kay yanag-away yang bana. Pero tyutuowan na ngin-nan na pagsilot da kanaan ng mga spirit kay bibiyaan man yang tradisyon.</p>	<p>Ang hinungdan sa pagkasunog sa ilang balay kay nag-away sila sa iyang bana. Pero kadto gituohan nga gisilotan na siya sa mga spirit nga gibiyaan naman ang tradisyon.</p>
<p># 24</p>	

Yang kabagas ng pawa, kami da saan yang yanagtrabao. Bago yaan trabaonon pyanawagtawag. Yagada kami ng tuba tawag saan yagatanaw kami san lupa wain yang apawaon nami. Pag-abot nami sang lasang magtanaw kami na ansin nan kami magsugod. Magada ng mga ilimnon para sang panawagtawag. Aw magsugod da paggaras magalaung, Kami na, " dida kamu magkadaman daw al'lon magguya anising kanami apawaon." Yadi kay yang tuba apa inum nami kamayo." "Pakadyawon mayo dosini yang kanami pag-uya, sining mamanaw panaw sang lupa. Pagkatapos sin-nan mumuli kaw, duwawa mal-law ng alas tres, ng hapon. Sumpayan nami idto ng paggaras gamay lamang. Kay basi mal-law ng dum magdamgo daw madayaw o dili yang pagpawa ansin-nan. Pagka adlaw isig pangutana kami daw unan yang mga damgo. Pagkontana kanak unan ing damgo isab kontanaon yang ama. Aw maglaung mal-law yang ama na al'lon magstorya aw manalinga kami. "na kay itay munmuno yang damgo mo. "Laung yangamang ng mga kaoy, yang italabao ko pyamugkot ko aw pangaritowa ko." Buot pasabot sin-

nan, madayaw aw umaabot yang tanum ansin-nan. Padayon kita. Pero awon pa saan inangon ta, magapayag kita kain ta inangon yang payag ta ansini. Adto kita sidto yang bay nato kay pawa ansini. Awon man mga buwagon na tag pareyas sini kadaku, putolputolon yaan singod sini kataas tag duwa ka "p" sais ka putol aw pikas pikason magdose tanan. Magakabot ng lupa aw sudlan yang buwagon pero palutawon aw butangi ng lupa aw sikadi sumpaysumpayon kay yaan doon. Kon malingin siya padayon pero aw dili maporma ng lidong dili padayonon yang paggimo ng bay kay wa man yaan tuyuwa.

Ang kadaku sa uma, kami na ana ang nagtrabaho. Bago kana trabahoon manawagtawag. Nagadala kami ug tuba, ang tawag ana, nagtan-aw sa yuta kon asa ang iuma. Pag-abot sa lasang magtan aw kami asa mi magsugod. Magdala kami ug mga ilimnon para sa panawagtawag (pag-ampo). Kon magsugod na ug hagbas mag-ingon kami nga, "ayaw namu kasuko, kon aduna may nagpuyo dinhing dapita nga among umahon." Nia ang tuba among idalit kaninyo." "Ayoha ninyo kining among gipuy-an, kini among ipahinungod sa mga nagpuyo ug naglakawlakaw dinhing dapita". Pagkahuman nia mag uli sa balay unya duawon na usab unyang alas tress a hapon. Ipadayon ang paghagbas bisan gamay lamang. Kay basi unyang gabii magdamgo na usab kon mayo ba o dili ang pag-uma didtong dapita. Pagka adlaw isig pangutana kon mayo ba ang mga damgo. Pangotan-on ang amahan. Kon magstorya maminaw kami mag-ingon, " itay kumusta man imong damgo"? Kon mag-ingon nga nanguha ug kahoy ug gipangbugkos ug gihakot naku." Buot pasabot niana

maayo ang itanum dinhang dapita. Magpadayon ta. Pero aduna pa gayod himoon ana, magbalay ug payag kon asa itukod dinha. Didto tang dapita magpayag kay uma dinhi. Aduna may balagon nga pareha niini kadaku atong putolputuulon, ing ani kataas mga duha ka "p" sais ka putol ug pikason nato kini para mahimong dose tanan. Magkalot ug yuta isulod ang balagon pero palutawon kini ug butangan ug yuta ug tamakan ug isumpaysumpay kini dayon. Kung lingin ang porma padayon kini. Pero kon dili malingin dili kini ipadayon ang paghimo sa balay kay wala mana gituyo. Lain gyod ang mahitabo.

<p>Magadiskasi gayod, maraat yaan yamabakas, yanagsagnat gayod. Padayon yang pawa pero yang bal'lay dili magapadayon ansin-nan. Mangita da isab ng lain na lugar.</p>	<p>Ipadayon ang uma pero ang balay dili dapat idayon dinhang dapita. Mangita ug laing lugar para itukod ang payag.</p>
<p>Sangawon al'lon pyagatawag na dul'lon, aw tugpaan yang isa ka ektarya na umayan mamaurot gayod dayon way mabilin. Dili mo pwede silan bugawon. Sangaon, malakas pa yang ama ko na iabtan kami ng dul'lon. Apil yang ambaw man, ban aw storyahon takaw ng kanami kinabuwi, seguro duwa ka adllaw di matapos yang storya.</p>	<p>Sa una adunay gitawag nga dul'lon (dangan) kon mudagsa kana sa usa ka ektarya nga humayan mahurot gyod ang tanan walay mabilin. Dili na pwede bulagon. Sauna, kusgan pa akong amahan nga giabtan kami ug dangan. Apil ang ilaga, sus kon storyahon lamang among kinabuhi, seguro mag duha ka adlaw dili mahuman ang storya.</p>
<p>Yang mga kagutom sangaon, malisud pagsustento. Wa kami kasayod ng Manay pero yulahutay kami ug kyatigaman nami isip Mandaya. Yang pag-imo ng bay aw pag-unaw para makakaan.</p>	<p>Ang mga kagutom kaniadto lisud ang pagsustento. Wala kami nakahibalo sa Manay pero milahutayy mi sa among nahibaloan isip usa ka Mandaya. Ang paghimo ug balay ug pagpanguha ug unaw (giproseso kini nga pagkaon gikan sa punuan sa nipa) aron makakaon</p>
<p>Nanga sa kaya moabot yang dul'lon? Moabot yang basta tingtanum ng humay. Don wada yaan. Seguro yawa da yaan kay igamitan da silan ng mga teknolowiya ng goberno.</p>	<p>Ngano kaya muabot ang dangan? Moabot kana kon kini tingtanum na sa humay. Karon wala na kini. Seguro nawala kini tungod kay gigamitan na ug teknolohiya sa atong goberno.</p>
<p>Sangaon awon ba kahinumduman pa mayo na dul'lon na yuabot sang pamilya mayo? Normal dasa yaan sang kanami pamilya. Sa una moabot yaan ng buntag o kaya mga alas tres o alas kwrto ng hapon. Pero doon wada man yaan. Sang Mandaya aw yuabot da amo yaan ing pyagalaung na dangan (pagdagsa).Way kabag-ohan ng panahon o hangin. Basta moabot lamang yaan silan.</p>	<p>Sa unang panahon makahinumdum pa ba mo nga dunay dangan nga miabot sa inyong pamilya? Normal lamang kana sa among pamilya. Sa una muabot kana sa buntag o kaya mga alas 3 o 4 sa haponn. Pero karon wala na man. Sa Mandaya kon muabot na kana mao na siya ang gitawag nga dangan(ang pagdagsa). Walay kabag-ohan sa panahon o hangin. Basta moabot lamang kana sila.</p>
<p>#25  Si Magellan Legis isa ka bungol'i. Bata pa trabahante da. Yang sinugdanan siyan na</p>	<p>Si Magellan legis usa ka bungol. Bata pa siya nga nahimong trabahante na. Ang</p>

<p>isa ka adlaw adto tubig yangamang ng mag-uya san tubig. Yanag-ubas pag-uli sidto masakit angtod dya'la nami san doctor aw mga tambalan. Wal'la gayod akadayaw. Laung ng mananambal na ikomedyahan kuno san tubig kay sobra da kuno yang pagpangamang sang kaya san tubig. Yadaman yang taga tubig nangasa kuno sege kamangon yang iyan san tubig. Pananglitan sawognon, owabang, awon lapinigan.</p>	<p>sinugdanan ana, usa ka adlaw miadto sya sa tubig nanguha ug isda o ubang pagkaon sa tabang nga tubig. Yanag-ubas (community fishing, gipahubsan ang usa ka portion sa tubig). Pag uli sa balay nasakit ug gidala sa doctor ug tambalang binisaya. Wala gyod siya naayo. Pero ingon sa mananambal nga ggikomedyahan daw siya sa nagpuyo sa tubig. Sobra na daw ang iyang pagpanguha ug kaya (all creatures ing fresh water). Nasuko ang nagpuyo sa tubig, ngano daw nga sege kuhaon ang nagpuyo sa tubig. Pananglitan niana mao ang sawognon (like hito), owabang (shrimps), ug lapinigan (like eel).</p>
<p># 26</p> <p>Yang Brgy. Lambog gikan sang pangan ng Lambog na kahoy. Madaig yaan na yutubo na kahoy na iyan san baryo. Yang mga muna tanan ng kahoy sang kaguwangan. Sayod silan apil da saan yang lambog. Yang mga muna yang yagaatag ng pangan sin nan na kaoy. Kami na sumusunod yanguntana kami unan yang pangan saan na kahoy. Itudlo kanami na lambog. Yang lambog na kahoy na awon bunga na pwde makaan. Waday makita mo doon na lambog san baryo kay pyamutol da.</p>	<p>Ang barangay lambog gikan sa pangalan sa kahoy nga mao ang lambog. Daghan kaniadto ang mitubo diha sa baryo. Ang mga kaliwatan kahibalo sa tanang ngalan sa kahoy sa kalasangan. Kahibalo sila apil na ang kahoy nga lambog. Ang mga kaliwatan maoy nagngalan sa maong kahoy. Kami nga mga bagong kaliwatan nangutana unsa kana nga kahoy. Ang gitudlo kanamo nga kana nga kahoy mao ang lambog. Ang bunga niana makaon. Karon nga panahon wala na kay makita ana nga kahoy dini sa baryo kay gipangputol na.</p>
<p># 14 Melodo Masanguid</p> <p>Buyag aw Bakl'log</p> <p>Isang ka al-law sin-nan yang bakl'log disti wal'la makakuwan sang buyag. Pagka tugontugon laung ng buyag, "uyag makadto kita sang pawa mangamang ng kal'lubang. Laung ng buyag, "ud kay ak'l'log." Ako da yang mapanik, basta dili mo ak pag-ingal'loon. Tubag yang bakl'log,</p>	<p>Usa ka adlaw niana ang tigulang lalaki sukad wala pa gayod nakahilabot sa iyang asawa. Ingon sa bana, "uyag muadto kita sa uma kay manguha kita ug kal'lubang (family of beans). Ingon sa tigulang babae, "oo ak'l'log." Ako na ang musaka basta dili ka maghangad. Mitubag ang tigulang</p>

"ud kay uyag". Mainkaw kadi iningal'lo ng bakl'log yang buyag aw paglaung "uyag... uyag...uyag nyana naan mapul'la sang bobot mo? Kawas... kawas.. kawas.. kay atanawon ta. Daw yamasamad kaw. Adoon yanganap yang bana ng makatambal sang asawa. Kadto sang isa ka bakl'log pangutanaa daw al'lon tambal ng ikasamadan. Laung ng isa ka bakl'log al'lon tambal ko saan. Makamang ako ng sal'lo...lilibuton. Tapos yang bana yamuti ng tayako para panlaugon. Laung ng bana wain da yang asawa ko, tubag yang isa ka bakl'log adi tatambalan daku.. kawas.. kawas naa.pagkawas ng bana magsugod magtambal yang isa ka bakl'log, kandug maglaung " yani kay yaning tatayapo na bakl'log.... Yani kay.. kay bakl'log.. Mainkaw kadi sege tudyakon yang buyag. Pagkatapos sin-nan yaglaung yang yagatambal na kay uyag..paglaunga yang bakl'log mo na amo yani kay yang tambal....

lalaki, "oo buyag. Diay to gihangad sa tigulang lalaki ang buyag ug nag-ingon, uyag...uyag...uyag.. unsa manang pula sa imong lubot? Naug...naug...naug kay akong tan awon. Basi nasamad ka. Karon nangita ang bana sa makatambal sa asawa. Miadto sa usa ka tigulang lalaki nangutana kon aduna ba siyay tambal sa nasamad nya nga asawa. Ingon sa usa ka tigulang lalaki, oo aduna akoy tambal niana. Magkuha ko ug sal'lo (panit sa kahoy nga daku).. lilibuton (gihimong lingin). Samtang ang bana nanguha ug tayako (bunga sa kahoy nga ginahimo ug kwentas) para tuhugon. Ingon sa bana.. asa na akong asawa. Mitubag ang isa ka tigulang lalaki nia diri ako na tambalan... naug..naug..naug usa. Pagnaug sa bana nagsugod na ang pagtambal sa tiguwang babae ug nag-ingon, .. mao kini ang akong tambal..mao kini..mao kini..diay to sege gamiton sa nagtambal nga tigulang ang babae.. pagkahuman niana pagtambal sa babae giingnan siya nga ingna imong bana mao kini ang tambal...

Pagkatapos sin-nan pyumanaw yang magtambalay katingog yang buyag akl'log adto kita sadtong kalubuwon. Yang buyag da yang yagpatitibaya sang bana aw pagbal'los ng bana maglaung yang buyag na "akl'log pagpadugyasdugyasi...pagpaligasligasi angtod na yamatusok ng lubo yang itlog ng bakl'log. Yatingal'la da yang buyag na wada magaginok yang kanaan bakl'log. Pagtanaw pa patay da kadi. Gusuga sagaw ngin-nang itlog ng bakl'log aw bul'lada sang tuod.

Pagkahuman niana milakaw na ang magtambalay. Miingon na usab ang babae nga "akl'log mag adto pa didto sa sagbutan." Ang babae na ang nanguna sa iyang bana. Pagbalos sa bana mag-ingon ang babae, "akl'log padulasdulan....Palihislihisian.. hangtod nga natusok kini ug sagbot ang itlog sa lalaki. Natingala ang babae nga wala na kini maglihok. Pagtan-aw pa patay na kini. Gihiwa dayon sa babae ang itlog sa lalaki ug gibulad kini sa tuod.

Pagka-al-law dagita ng owak. Pag-anapa adoon ng buyag daw wain da yang byubul'lad naan na otin ng bakl'log.

Pagka adlaw gidagit kini sa owak. Gipangita sa babae ang iyang gibulad nga itlog sa iyang bana.

<p>Adto sang unaan ng pyagabul'ladan al'lon mag-asawa na yanagpangot san tubig. Kadto yang buyag aw anapa yang otin ng bana. Bul'la bul'la awidan ng buyag yang otin sin-nang otaw na yagapangot kandog maglaung ..kanak..kanak yani.. kanak yani.. laung ng bakl'log, buko... buko... buko yani ng kanmo.. aw paglubas ng sal'lawtan yang bakl'log na buko yani ng kanmo yakapilit man isab.. na pildi yang buyag sin-nan.</p>	<p>Didto sa unahan sa iyang gibularan, adunay manag-asawa nga nangisda sa tubig. Miadto ang babae aron sa pagpangita sa iyang nawala nga itlog. Mikalit man dayon ang babae paggunit sa itlog sa lalaki nga nangisda ug miingon.. Akoa...akoa..kini...akoa kini..tubag ang lalaki nga nangisda, dili...dili..dili ni imo..ug tuod gihubo ang short sa lalaki..pagtan-aw pa nakapilit man gyod ug nag-ingon ang lalaki..dili ni imoha..walay mahimo sa babae kay pildi man siya..</p>
<p>Pila ka al-law yang yalabay yabuntis da yang buyag angtod na kyataw-wan. Hinay hinay yagdaku yang iso na usog. Magtudliin na magasugbo sang dagat aw panagsugbo silan. Dagita da isab ng langgam ngin-nang buyag.</p>	<p>Pila ka adlaw ang nangagi buntis ang babae hangtod kini nanganak. Hinayhinay midaku ang bata nga lalaki. Nagatudlo siya nga magligo sa dagat ug nagligo gyod sila. Gidagit na usab sa langgam ang babae.</p>
<p>Adto sidto malapit sang kyakadtowan nilan na al'lon buyag na pitombuok yang anak na puro bobay. Taudtaud syusugo sin-nang ina yang anak para kadtonan yang umay daw al'lon yagakaan.. Ud kay ina, laung ng anak. Ina...ina.. al'lon otaw... ooyy..unan ing pagngal'lan ...usog kay inay, udi..udi.. usog? Laung ng anak. Laung da isab ng ina... eh.. lumon mo yaan. Kyakamang byubutang sang al'lad ngin nang usog... binuta... tinakpanan ..way ikitaon da..</p>	<p>Didto sa ilang giadtoan adunay tigulang babae nga adunay 7 ang mga anak nga puro babae. Taudtaud gisugo sa inahan ang anak, paadtoan ang huma kon aduna bay nagkaon. Ingon sa anak, "oo inay akong adtoan." Inay..inay.. dunay tao...mitubag ang inahan..."lalaki ban a?" Oo inay... Ingon sa inahan, " eh igsoon na nimu.. Gikuha ug gibutang sa al'lad (balay balay sa baboy) ang batang lalaki. Gisulod sa binuta (sudlanan ug sinina) gitakluban aron dili na kit-on.</p>
<p>Adoon masakitay yang asawa ng ari. Al'lon talabon na pyapatanog, tyataptap ng pandita ipan yani tumugan. Yang makatambal sang asawa amo idtong buyag na al'lon anak na pito ka bobay aw isa ka usog. Laung ng ari kadtoni naa mayo idtong anak na usog ng buyag. Laung ng syusugo way anak sidto na usog.. pakpak da isab yang talabon. Laung ng ari kadtowi mayo kay al'lon aw dili sumugot atag ko yang kanak prinsesa. Na sege pumakpak</p>	<p>Karon nasakit pag-ayo ang asawa sa hari. Adunay "talabon" nga gipatingog. Ginabunalan sa pandita aron magtug-an. Giingnan ang hari nga ang makatambal sa imong asawa kadtong tigulang babae nga adunay anak nga pito ka babae ug usa ka lalaki. Ingon sa hari adtoi ninyo siya. Ingon sa gisugo, wala mana siyay anak nga lalaki. Mitingog na pud ang "talabon" ug miingon, Hari paadtoi ninyo kadtong babae kay naa siyay anak nga lalaki, kon dili siya musugot ingna nga ihatag naku ang akong</p>

yang talabon, yutugan gayod. Yagbatok da silan na aw matambalan yang asawa ng ari atag yang anak na prinsesa. Laung ng pandita kadtoni kay ari yang tambal adto sang baba ng bagyo kamanga yang sagbot. Doon yapanaw yang ari manganap ng tambal.

anak nga prinsesa. Sege magtingog gihapon ang talabon. Nagstorya na sila nga kon matambalan ang asawa sa hari ihatag ang prinsesa. Ingon sa pandita (mananambal) adtoi hari ang tambal tua nahimutang sa baba sa bagyo kuhaa didto ang maong sagbot. Karon milakaw ang hari ug gipangita kini.

Adoon al'lon da isab duwa ka maglumon na sege magdul'log ng pasong. Unan doon yang sambag mo sini laung ngadto sang ari. Laung naan pagtrabao kawas ag dal'um para magtrabao. Al'lon kyagyan da isab na maglumon sang pangindal'lanan, isa bobay aw isa usog. Yanguntana silan makain kaw? Al'lon sa lamang kadtonan ko na tambal. Al'lon mangod mo na bobay ilawngan nginnang usog. Pangasawaon ta, magabaylo kita laung sin-nan dyagit , "ud mal-law apitin ko. Samtang yakamang ng tambal para paglapi ng tuod ng asawa naan. Laung ko dyagit wain da ing baylo " laung ng ari mal-law dasa atod ko. Uli yang ari adto bal'lay kanilan aw lapii yang asawa. Pagkadayaw ng asawa, kayan atagan yang anak na prinsesa sang dyagit . Yaan baylo ng pagkadayaw ng asawa ng ari.

Karon aduna na usabb duha ka magsuon nga sege ug dulog sa pasungan. Unsa daw ang matambag nimu hari sa akong kahimtang ingon ang duha ka magsuon. Ingon sa hari naug kamu ug pagtrabaho.. Naa na usab magsuon nga naagian babae ug lalaki. Nangutan sila asa ka? Aduna lamang ako gianhian nga tambal. Aduna ka bay igsoon nga babae ingon sa lalaki..magkambyo ta ingon sa lalaking gidagit. "oo unya akong haoitan. Samtang nanguha ug tambal aron ilahampol sa tuhod sa asawa nya. Ingon ko, dyagit asa na ang kambyo kay akong ihatod. Miuli ang hari sa ilang balay ug gihampulan ang asawa. Pagkaayo sa asawa, gihatag ang prinsesa sa dyagit. Kana kambyo sa pagkaayo sa asawa sa hari.

TM-14



Republic of the Philippines  
**OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT**  
**National Commission on Indigenous Peoples**  
Region XI

E. Valeroso Bldg., E.B. Lopez St., Sandawa Plaza, SIR Mauna, Davao City  
Tel. Nos. 298-0495 • 298-2957 Tel. Fax 298-2942

WORK ORDER NO 71  
Series of 2014

April 28, 2014

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE REGIONAL DIRECTOR

**LILIAN AQUINO**

CAO / FPIC / FP  
Admin. Officer IV

**SUBJECT : CONDUCT THE REQUIRED FPIC PROCESS FOR THE PROPOSED STUDY ENTITLED TEXTURE, TEXT AND CONTEXT: A JOURNEY INTO MANDAYA FOLKLORE IN MANAY, DAVAO ORIENTAL BY THE ATENEO RESEARCHERS**


In the exigency of public service and pursuant to Sec. 59 of RA 8371 and its implementing guidelines, you are hereby officially constituted as the FPIC Team, designating **ATTY. AILEEN GRACE BURGOS**, Legal Officer as the Team Leader.

As such, you are hereby directed to conduct the required activities on the subject in accordance with the processes/procedures and requirements laid down under NCIP Administrative Order No. 1, series of 2012 or the Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices and Customary Law Recognition and Documentation

Further, you have to submit appropriate report and recommendation within ten (10) days from commencement of MOA Negotiation and Signing for assessment and proper action.

Finally, please be reminded to strictly observe the prescribed period within which to perform your task from the date of this Work Order as required under the guidelines.

For your compliance.

  
Dr. LILIBETH D. MALABANAN

cc: TMSD  
Records/file

FPIC REGION XI  
DAVAO CITY  
**RELEASED**  
DATE APR 28 2014

# RESOLUSYON

Kami na mga inila na lider ng mga Mandaya sang Brgys. Capasnan, Lambog asta Rizal gakahi-usa sang paghatag ng pagtugot sang research/dokumentasyon ng Ateneo de Davao University mahitungod sang kanami kultura aw tradisyon.

Kami yuhatag ng pagtagot kanilan kay ngidi na proyekto na ipresentar nilan makatabang isab kanami isip tribu kay isa ngidi sang mga pamaagi para mapreserba ing kanami kultura labi da duon na mga higayon na hinay-hinay da pyagakalingawon ng mga batan-on yang kanami pagka Mandaya aw tradisyon nami isip tribu. Dugang pa, duha sang mga magadokumento, gikan sang Banwa ng Maray o natibo gayud ng Manay agaw yusalig kami kanilan na silan mutabang isab kanami isip kabahin ng tribu.

Hatag nami ing mga impormasyon na kinahanglanon nilan na kanami pa isab kyasayudan hanod duon. Ing kanami paghatag ng pagtugot gawason. Way yanlugos kanami sang pagpirma sin-I duon na adlaw, July 2014.

PANGAN:	POSISYON/LUGAR:	PIRMA:
1. ROMERO C. PONTINGA	IPMR - Capasnan	Robertoyas
2. Justina L. Sumambot	IPMR - Lambog	[Signature]
3. Belardo - Macatangud		- B.M.
4. Trinidad C. Tunong		
5. Assuncion Cortez		[Signature]
6. Rafaela Lambog		[Signature]
7. Sabado Lambog		[Signature]
8. Inocencio S. Donato		[Signature]
9. Bert D. Andara		[Signature]
10. Roger B. Donato		[Signature]
11. Justina A. Donato		[Signature]
12. Lita D. Panayan	IP WENTEN	[Signature]
13. Diosdado H. Agabuntong	IP Sul/Lambog	[Signature]
14. Milver Manman	Eldero/Lambog	[Signature]

# MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

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BETWEEN THE MANDAYA TRIBE OF BARANGAYS RIZAL, LAMBOG AND CAPASNAN, ALL IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF MANAY, PROVINCE OF DAVAO ORIENTAL AND THE ATENEO DE DAVAO UNIVERSITY

In Re:

IKSP Research and Documentation  
[TEXTURE, TEXT, CONTEXT: A JOURNEY INTO MANDAYA FOLKLORE]

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

This Memorandum of Agreement, entered into and executed by and between:

The **INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF BARANGAYS RIZAL, LAMBOG and CAPASNAN, ALL IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF MANAY, PROVINCE OF DAVAO ORIENTAL**, a recognized Indigenous Cultural Community belonging to the MANDAYA TRIBE and herein represented by MARTIN DONATO (for and in behalf of Brgy. Rizal), ASUNCION CORTEZ, JUSVIN SUMAMBOT, SABADO LANOS and RAFAELA M. LANOS (for Brgy. Lambog), ROMERO C. BENTAYAO, \_\_\_\_\_ (for Brgy. Capasnan), all of legal age, Filipino citizens, married, residents of Manay, Davao Oriental and acknowledged leaders/elders of the herein Barangays they are respectively representing, by virtue of the Resolutions duly approved by the ICCs/IPs of BARANGAYS RIZAL, LAMBOG and CAPASNAN, all dated July 23, 2014 and attached herein as integral part of this agreement;

AND

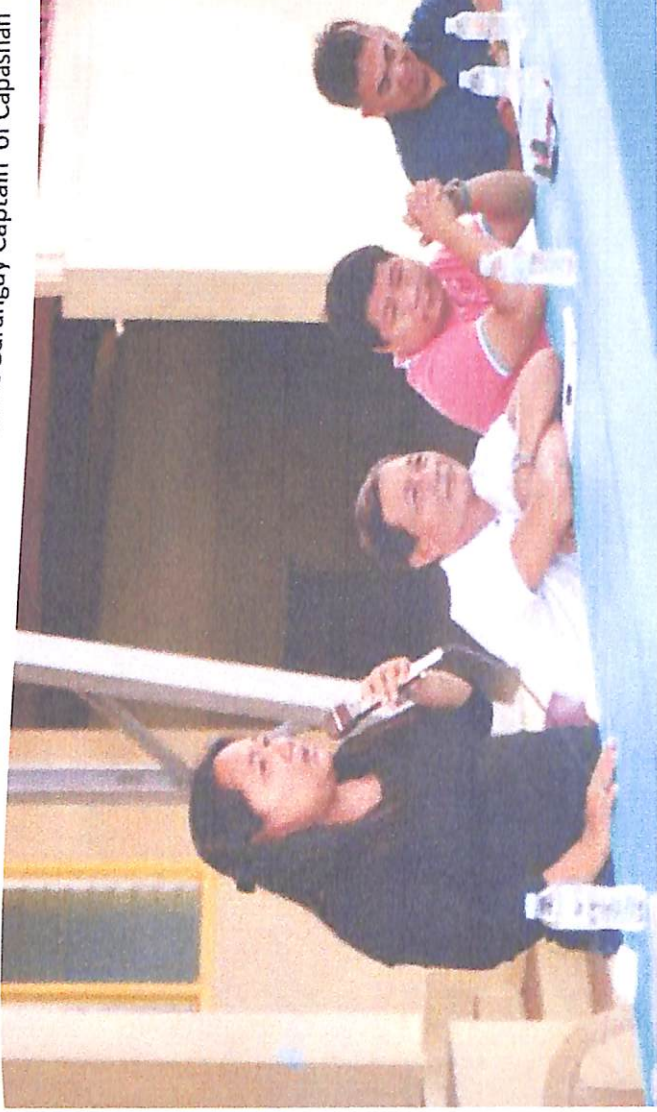
THE **ATENEO DE DAVAO UNIVERSITY**, also known as the PROPONENT, a religious institution, organized and existing under the laws of the Republic of the Philippines with principal address at Claveria St., Davao City, duly managed by the Society of Jesus, herein represented by the lead researcher, RHODORA S. RANALAN, PAMELA R. CASTRILLO, VIRGILIO R. CASTRILLO AND MARICAR GAY V. PANDA, all of legal age, Filipino citizens, and residents of Davao City,

Witnesseth:

**WHEREAS**, pursuant to Republic Act 8371 or the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 and NCIIP Administrative Order No. 1, Series of 2012 otherwise known as the Indigenous Knowledge, Systems and Practices and Customary Laws Research and Documentation Guidelines of 2012, the indigenous cultural communities/ indigenous peoples (ICCs/IPs) have the right to determine and activities for development affecting their lives, beliefs, economy and use, and to

## Appendix G - PICTURES

COMMUNITY ASSEMBLY with the NCIP staff and the Barangay Captain of Capasnan

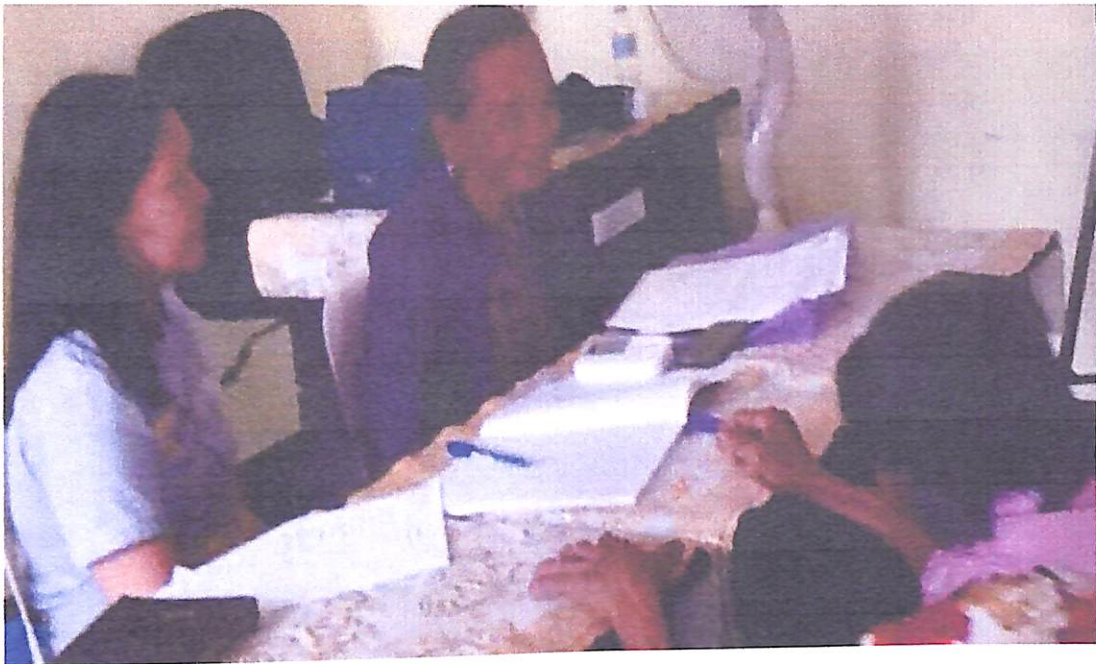


CONSENSUS BUILDING



INTERVIEW WITH KEY INFORMANTS







INTERVIEW WITH INFORMANTS





MEETING WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES MANDATORY REPRESENTATIVE (IPMR) at the Sanggunian Bayan Building, Manay, Davao Oriental

