

SULU STUDIES 2

The people of the Sulu Archipelago are generally divided into three major ethnolinguistic groups: Tausug, Samal, and Boljaw. The Tausug, who according to the 1970 census numbered 280,000, are politically, socially, and economically dominant (Arce 1963). Although concentrated in the north and especially on Jolo Island, increasing numbers are spreading southward through the archipelago. Aside from those in urban occupations in Jolo and Sulu towns, the Tausug are largely farmers, traders, and seafarers. Despite Muslim, they look back with pride on their old and once-powerful sultanate and still retain many of its forms and titles as well as its militantly independent view of the larger Philippine polity. The Tausug language is quite distinct from the others of the archipelago but closely related to the languages of the central Philippines, suggesting that they are relatively recent arrivals from the north (Molony 1972). Traditional historical evidence points to a thirteenth-century (Scheffé 1968).

Samal are less numerous, only 140,000 according to an estimate based on the 1970 census, but are more widely distributed throughout the archipelago. Settled in small coastal communities, they are traditionally known as fishermen or traders. Some have a pre-Islamic folk tradition.

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Art in Sulu: A Survey

David L. Szanton

The Sulu Archipelago, a chain of coral and mountainous islands bridging the 190 miles between southwest Mindanao and northeast Borneo, is one of the most fascinating regions of the Philippines. The islands are strikingly beautiful, and their inhabitants have developed a rich array of historical, sociocultural, and artistic traditions. It is with the arts of Sulu, their forms, variety, and distribution that we will be concerned here. In addition, we will also suggest certain cultural, historical, and ethnographic interpretations for some of the objects if only to stimulate others to investigate the issues further, and expand upon and correct these initial speculations.

The people of the Sulu Archipelago are generally divided into three major ethnolinguistic groups: Tausug, Samal, and Badjaw. The Tausug, who according to the 1970 census numbered 280,000, are politically, socially, and economically dominant (Arce 1963). Although concentrated in the north and especially on Jolo Island, increasing numbers are spreading southward through the archipelago. Aside from those in urban occupations in Jolo and Siasi towns, the Tausug are largely farmers, traders, and seafarers. Devout Muslims, they look back with pride on their old and once-powerful sultanate and still retain many of its forms and titles as well as its militantly independent view of the larger Philippine polity. The Tausug language is quite distinct from the others of the archipelago but closely related to the languages of the central Philippines, suggesting that they are relatively recent arrivals from the north (Molony 1972). Traditional historical evidence points to the fourteenth century (Saleeby 1908).

The Samal are less numerous, only 140,000 according to an

estimate based on the 1970 census, but are more widely distributed throughout the archipelago. Settled in small coastal communities, most earn their livelihood as fishermen or traders, though some also grow coconuts for copra. Pre-Islamic folk traditions and beliefs are still strong in some communities, but the Samal are practicing Muslims (Rixhon 1969). Aside from those in Sulu, Samalan-speaking people are also found in southern Mindanao, northern Borneo, eastern Sulawesi, and the northern Moluccas. Their widespread distribution and sociological and linguistic differentiation probably represent relatively long and isolated development. This runs counter to the popular legend that the Samal of Sulu are recent arrivals from Johore and, in fact, suggests that they were the resident population in the archipelago before the arrival of the Tausug (Molony 1972).

The Badjaw have been the subject of a sizeable popular literature which usually paints them as timid and peaceful wandering sea-gypsies; nomadic boat-dwellers who rarely set foot on land, more or less constantly on the move. Some of this is true, but ethnographic and linguistic studies (Nimmo 1965, 1968) suggest that the Badjaw are a Samalan subgroup that have simply adopted a more boat-oriented life-style than the others, with unique consequences for their social organization and religious life. Spread throughout the archipelago, the Badjaw, numbering some 10,000, are mostly concentrated in the south and along the northern coasts of Borneo. Though some now sell part of their catch to dealers, they are largely subsistence fishermen, traveling in limited areas to exploit the best nearby fishing grounds at the various seasons of the year. Regarded as pagan by the surrounding Samal and Tausug, the Badjaw are now assimilating Islamic elements, especially as they increasingly settle in small clusters, some in their traditional houseboats, others in small houses on light pilings, over coastal reefs and sand banks. These settlements usually center on a Chinese fish-dealer or a missionary school, but community ties are not yet strong. Families are still readily drawn off to new fishing grounds, and flight remains the primary response to external threat. Slowly, however, the Badjaw seem to be settling down (Nimmo 1968).

Relations among the three peoples are complex. All agree that they are rank-ordered Tausug, Samal, Badjaw, and both Tausug and Samal often regard the Badjaw as "outcasts" because of the latter's life-style and "paganism." However, individuals, families, and even communities have shifted their ethnic identity and designation

over time (Stone 1962) by marrying into and/or adopting the language of the next higher group and, in the case of the Badjaw, settling on land and professing Islam. In other words, over time, Badjaw have "become" Samal, and Samal have "become" Tausug. The status motivations for this are obvious, but the effect of this transitional process on nonlinguistic social and cultural forms, including the arts, and traditional religious beliefs and practices, is a fascinating problem that remains to be studied.

The rich art and craft traditions of this ethnographically complex area are frequently mentioned by early twentieth-century writers (Landor 1940, Saleeby 1908, Orosa 1923, Taylor 1930 and 1931, Herre 1929), but up to 1962 there had been no attempt to catalog and describe them. In the summer of 1962, equipped with minimal training in anthropology and art, and guided by the helpful Oblate fathers and their students, I attempted a seven-week survey of the arts of Sulu. The project was part of the first summer's team effort of the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (CISC), then under the direction of the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) of the Ateneo de Manila. I was also partially supported by the US Peace Corps, with which I was then a volunteer. I spent two weeks on Jolo Island, visiting around Jolo town, Parang, Mambung, Indanan, and Taglibi; two weeks in the Siasi area, visiting Laminusa, Tara, Sisangat, Muso, and Manubul; two weeks in Bongao and vicinity, visiting Sanga-Sanga, Tungkalang, Bunabunaan, Lapid-Lapid, Simunul, and Ungus Matata; and several days in the Sibutu-Talisay-Sitangka area. In 1968, 1970, and 1972 I was able to return to some of these communities and add brief visits to Luuk on Jolo Island and Tandubas, Tabawan, and Bunbun off eastern Tawi-Tawi. Whenever possible, I attempted to observe local art and craft and interview local artisans; government officials, teachers, and religious leaders concerning the functions, history, and social and cultural context of the various art forms and activities. English was used when feasible, but most interviews with boat-builders, potters, musicians, blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers and other craftsmen were of necessity in the local language, with the aid of an interpreter. More than 400 photographs were taken to illustrate the objects and craft techniques observed.

Although much useful material was gathered, such a rapid survey without adequate knowledge of the local language is far from ideal. Inevitably, many important communities are left out. In addition, while interpreters can be effective, given the necessity of

brief visits and without being able to speak the local language it was often difficult to locate and gain the confidence of respondents capable of going beyond obvious functional or decorative values of local art forms and articulating their deeper esthetic or sociocultural meanings.

Another problem was that of relating the findings to art forms and associated traditions elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Without any reading or experience in Southeast Asian art, in 1962, I had no notion of how the art of Sulu related to that of the rest of the southern Philippines, and of the larger region. And although I have since been able to read about and travel in the region more extensively, this survey remains partial and exploratory, with suggestions for further investigations scattered throughout the text.

Place names are spelled here as in the 1960 census, except "Bongao" which is rendered "Bonggaw" in the census. The latter is phonemically correct but rarely used in Sulu. Terms in the Tausug and Samalan languages are transcribed as I heard them, using the orthography rules suggested by Ashley (1973) and Pallesen (1972).

General Observations

Central to nearly all art in Sulu, and common to the Tausug, Samal, and Badjaw is the term and concept, *ukkil*. It refers to both the act of carving and a particular type of curvilinear design which combines stylized scroll, leaf, and vine elements in a seemingly infinite range of abstract variations. *Ukkil*, finely wrought or crude and coarse, elegant and controlled or florid and dramatic, is nearly omnipresent as the central manifestation of the plastic arts of Sulu. Although there is some explicitly representational carving, largely among the Badjaw and stemming from pre- or non-Islamic traditions, in a real sense, art *is* *ukkil* in Sulu. It is found on houses, boats, gravemarkers, weapons, working tools, household utensils, saddles, looms, and even flags (Dacanay 1967). In its abstraction, *ukkil* meets the Islamic prohibition on representational art, though it sometimes decorates or even forms the basic formal elements of recognizable figures. Thus, while not as widespread or culturally elaborated as the *sarimanok* (cock or kingfisher) or the *naga* (serpent or dragon) of the Maranaw of Mindanao, similar *ukkil manukmanuk* (bird) or *naga* are sometimes seen on Sulu house decorations and gravemarkers. Nonetheless, the *ukkil* itself remains abstract and nonrepresentational.

Another fairly safe generalization about art in Sulu is that neither Tausug nor Samal nor Badjaw can be credited with "artistic superiority." Each group excels in different domains; the Tausug in decorated weaponry, the Samal in woven mats and coral grave-markers, and the Badjaw in florid boat carvings and wooden grave-markers. Among the Badjaw, decorative forms and motifs are most often large, energetic, and somewhat crude in execution, but most adult men are considered capable of producing them. Samal and Tausug designs, on the other hand, are apt to be smaller, more intricate and controlled, and generally the work of relatively specialized artisans.

In all three groups the finest artists are mostly older men. This may indicate that the forms are dying out or that only older men have had sufficient time to develop their skills. When the current generation of younger craftsmen reach old age, perhaps their work will be as fine; but there are signs to the contrary. In many areas, crude cast-concrete gravemarkers rather than the traditional hand-carved forms are being erected, and the carved panels on Samal fishing boats are now often replaced with simple painted decorations. House carvings are everywhere on the decline. At the same time there are hopeful signs as well. The traditional arts are holding out in some communities, and old motifs are also appearing on new objects and forms. Art has long flourished in Sulu and despite the now rapid influx of foreign ideas and mass-produced objects, the eye and hand for decoration will be a long time in fading.

Gravemarkers

The term "gravemarker" is used for any sign placed on or in the ground to indicate one or more burials below. Most gravemarkers in Sulu consist of an upright form, *sunduk* in Tausug (Badjaw: *sundek*),¹ placed over the head (to the north), often surrounded by or resting on a rectangular frame, or *kubul*, also the general term for "grave" or "burial." Tausug graves are sometimes covered with mounds of earth as much as three feet high while Samal and Badjaw graves are at most slightly mounded with sand. *Sunduk* and *kubul* are found in long-lasting local hardwoods, coral, or more recently, concrete. *Sunduk* for men may be simple or elaborate, but are normally cylindrical and round or pointed on top. Occasionally they are anthropomorphic. They are either inserted directly into the ground, or rest on a box-, boat-, bird-, horse-, or cro-

codile-like form. Sunduk for women are normally flat, often carved with classical ukkil leaf and scroll designs and frequently have the motif of a comb incised or painted somewhere on the marker. They are either set directly into ground or into a board fixed to the two sides of the kubul. Most "adult" sunduk are between two and three feet high. Sunduk for children are generally flat (thus undifferentiated by sex) and usually small, for the most part six to 15 inches high. Today, at least, wooden sunduk are often initially painted red, white, green, and blue with stark enamels available at local stores. On occasion, Arabic inscriptions (often the name of the deceased or lines from the Qur'an) are also painted or incised on the markers. Unless well protected by a shed, however, the sun and salt air usually wear away the paint within a few years. Similarly, kubul may be very plain or else elaborately carved and painted taking forms resembling boats or four-poster beds. Particularly important people are often buried under high mounds known as *tampat*. These are often covered with elaborate wooden sheds or concrete mausoleum-like structures and are considered especially sacred.

Among the Samal and Badjaw, individual kubul are often reused for different members of the same family. Thus, several sunduk are frequently found inside a single kubul enclosure. Within these single family burial sites and within and between communities, however, styles and forms of sunduk may vary enormously. In general, the size, elaboration, and extent of initial and continuing protection for the markers are related to the status, wealth, and age of the deceased. However, some important people have extremely modest graves. Such variations are probably functions of time and changing fashions and skills, but they may also represent differences in the ethnic background of the individuals and families.

The time factor, and thus the natural evolution of styles, is especially difficult to ascertain, for even those sunduk with inscriptions are rarely dated, and local residents invariably prove hesitant even to suggest ages for markers other than those of their immediate family. Taylor (1931) and Ewing (1967) provide some useful information on the burial and mourning practices of the Badjaw and Tausug, but neither offers insights into the meaning or variation of the markers themselves. Kiefer and Sather (1970) provide a fascinating interpretation of the sexual symbolism of the markers and indigenous concepts of the sacred and the profane, but the variation in materials, forms, and styles still deserves further

investigation from esthetic, sociological, and historical points of view.

The remainder of this section, following the sequence of the accompanying figures, describes the gravemarkers of Sulu, moving in a southwesterly direction, starting from Jolo.

Fig. 1 shows a section of a cemetery in Barrio Bus-Bus, on the edge of Jolo town. The markers are extremely plain. Although one might guess that this represents the recent degradation of a more elaborate tradition resulting from the close proximity or modernizing influence of the town, most Tausug cemeteries are very similar, and the markers are almost identical to those depicted in a late nineteenth-century sketch of that same cemetery in Saleeby (1908). The women's markers are flat, usually scalloped on top, and undecorated. The men's markers are also often flat but are round or pointed on top. Plain concrete forms are in abundance and seem fairly similar to markers seen in many other parts of Muslim Southeast Asia. Offerings of stalks of grain are frequently found within the kubul, but the Tausug exert little esthetic effort into their graves or graveyards.

In Parang, a mixed Tausug-Samal municipality on the south side of Jolo Island, there are a number of extremely fine wooden and coral gravemarkers in Barrios Kanaway and Luas (figs. 2 and 3). Of unknown but considerable ancestry, they resemble most closely gravemarkers found more abundantly in the Simunul and Sibutu area (see figs. 25 to 27) and may bear witness to an early Samal settlement in the area. They also bear a considerable resemblance to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century royal gravestones from Malacca and Perak in present-day Malaysia (Anonymous 1959, Shepard 1967).

Moving south to the Samal communities around Siasi, the gravemarkers become more variable. Mostly in wood, they range from the abstract and floral ukkil, to the distinctly anthropomorphic. The kubul are also often elaborately carved, and here I found my first examples of the boat, bird, and crocodile forms as a base for the male sunduk.

Figs. 4, 5, and 6 are from the cemetery of Muso, a small Samal community built on a sand bank approximately 200 yards off Siasi Island. The cemetery is set on the rough sloping shore of Siasi and contains about 125 tightly packed family plots. About half are covered by loosely constructed nipa-thatched sheds. Here the markers range from fairly plain to rather elaborate female sunduk (with

combs), and the two- and three-dimensional representations of children and men. The kubul in figs. 4 and 5 are similar in form, but where the former is plain, the latter is decorated with fine ukkil. The bent-over top of the left-hand female marker in fig. 4 is very unusual in Sulu, where sunduk are almost invariably symmetrical. This asymmetrical form, however, is common to the markers from Santa Cruz Island, off Zamboanga City. This bent-over form is also reminiscent of some of the stone megaliths and gravemarkers of Sabah (Harrison and Harrison 1971); South Sumatra (Van der Hoop n.d.), and the Batu Sanka area of central Sumatra (personal observation).

The Muso cemetery has several other interesting markers, but I was requested not to photograph them by some local people present (the only time this happened). They range from a concrete cylinder about six inches in diameter and 10 inches high, tightly fenced around with wooden stakes, to an impressive tampat on a stone platform, apart from the other markers. The latter is about three feet by five, with a corrugated-iron roof and walls of carved and painted panels. The sunduk inside, however, is small, simple — rather anticlimactic. In general, the Muso cemetery is particularly rich and varied and should be investigated more thoroughly.

On nearby Manubul Island, many of the gravemarkers are similar to those at Muso, but again there are differences. Here, the graves are scattered between the houses of the community, and only a very few have any protection from the elements. The most common types of grave are seen in figs. 7 and 8, but fig. 9, that of a family, and 10 and 11, of individual men, show some of the local variations. The "horse" in fig. 11 is unique, though there is another horse-and-rider sunduk at the distant Badjaw cemetery at Bunabunaan (fig. 29). I was told that the "horse" was erected after a "thousandth-day ceremony," the final Muslim funeral rite. Although my informants did not mention it, this particular form may be explained by the Islamic tradition that the prophet Muhammad journeyed to heaven on the back of a white griffinlike animal, *Burak*. Manubul is also the site of a burial mound about eight feet high and 30 feet across with a cluster of 40 to 50 very simple markers, said to be used by the residents of Sisangat, a community similar to Muso built on a sand bank in the channel between Siasi and Lapak islands.

Tara, a small island off the northern coast of Siasi, is locally famous for pottery. As suggested by fig. 12, one side of a kubul,

very finely carved gravemarkers are found there as well.

Off the eastern coast of Siasi is the island of Laminusa, famed throughout Sulu for *pangdan* sleeping mats. Here, too, gravemarkers are scattered throughout the residential area. Most are fairly simple and made of wood (fig. 13); though it does contain some boat-form markers explicitly termed *bangkabangka* ("boatlike") and also the only coral markers I saw in the Siasi area. About two kilometers from the main settlement is an isolated beach-strand burial ground. I was unable to determine who used this site; but it contains a number of interesting *sunduk*, for example, figs. 14 and 15. The projecting horizontal forms were identified as "mouth of the crocodile." The bases were carved, painted, and set with cowrie shells. The white cloth wrapped around the "head" of the *sunduk* in fig. 14 is a common site throughout Sulu and indicates recent prayers by the survivors. Such prayer cloths may also be dropped from the roof of a protective shed or hung from wooden stakes set at the corners of a grave for that purpose.

Moving further west and south to the islands of the Ubian group just east of Tawi-Tawi, Bunbun, the burial isle of Tabauan, contains one of the largest and richest collections of wooden *sunduk* and *kubul* seen in Sulu. Here the *ukkil* can be enormously complex and sophisticated while retaining a powerful yet elegant expressiveness (for example, fig. 16). Here, too, the "four poster" *kubul* (fig. 17) reaches the height of its intricacy. Nearly all of the *sunduk* of Bunbun are of this verdant abstract variety. Yet the sensitive portrait in fig. 18 — now in the museum of Notre Dame of Jolo College and reminiscent of the standing figures from Muso, Siasi (fig. 6) — comes from a tiny settlement on Tabauan itself directly across the narrow channel from Bunbun.

Just off the southeastern tip of Tawi-Tawi is the island of Tandubas. The settlement also called Tandubas has little of artistic interest, but the nearby community of Ungus Matata is unsurpassed in the archipelago for *pangdan* sleeping mats and also has a number of extremely fine coral gravemarkers of a style seen nowhere else. Here, the upright *sunduk* are nearly absent. Gravesites are instead marked with rectangular or boat-form *kubul*, some quite large. Figs. 19 and 20 show the front and rear of a single boat-form *kubul* with a *tunjuk* (Samaian cognate of *sunduk*) figurehead at the "prow." Within this *kubul* is a rectangular marker much like that in fig. 21. A similar but far more "baroque" form is seen in fig. 22. Fig. 23 shows a smaller coral boat-form common and peculiar to Ungus

Matata. Unfortunately, the last coral kubul, an undecorated rectangular one, was made in 1953, and on some of the more recent concrete forms the ukkil knobs at the corners have been replaced by four-inch shell cases (or by the shells themselves), souvenirs of World War II. The carving of the more elaborate coral kubul survives only as a childhood memory of the middle-aged and elderly residents.

On the island of Simunul, off the western end of Tawi-Tawi, Barrio Tubig-Indagnan is noted for a mosque believed to have been built by a Makhdum, one of the several late fourteenth-century Arab missionaries who first introduced Islam into the area (see Orosa 1971:21 for a photograph of the mosque). Tubig-Indangan is certainly a very old settlement and contains a number of extraordinarily beautiful coral and wooden gravemarkers. Many of the older ones, such as in figs. 24 and 25, have elaborate ukkil sunduk at both ends and along the sides (similar to those at Parang). Herre (1929:311) and Imao (1966:46) provide other photographs of fine kubul from Tubig-Indangan. The latter, in fact, shows one of the few instances in Sulu of a form closely resembling the Maranaw sarimanok. The last of these beautiful gravemarkers were made beyond local memory. Plain rectangular concrete kubul have been in use since before World War II.

Still further south and west, in the Samal community of Sibutu, the ukkil and gravemarkers generally are somewhat less florid. Fig. 26 is fairly typical for a woman's marker, and the three in the foreground of fig. 27, knobbed and hexagonal pillars, are the characteristic form for men. There are some coral boat-form bases there, and one old man claimed he could still carve them, though he had not done so recently. At the time of the survey, attempts were being made to continue traditional ukkil by carving molds for casting concrete kubul (see examples in fig. 27). Dacanay (1967) and local residents say that there were other fine markers near the southern end of Sibutu at Tandubanak, the traditional burial site of one of the early Makhdum. Unfortunately, I have not been able to visit that community.

The Badjaw gravemarkers I saw were generally distinct from their Samal counterparts. Of the two small islets, Bilitan Poon and Bunabunaan, that the Tawi-Tawi Badjaw use as burial grounds, I was able to visit only the latter. There the cemetery seems a shambles; old markers, broken sheds and roofing, boards and rags

are scattered everywhere. The path from the shore is strewn with *balatu*, boat prows traditionally chopped off the craft of the deceased and left behind by their relatives. The gravesite I visited held about 30 families tightly packed into an area of perhaps 75 by 100 feet. Most of the recent *sunduk* were abstract and rather crudely carved and painted, but the anthropomorphic markers in figs. 28 and 29 have a striking resemblance to the Samal markers in figs. 6, 11, and 18. On the whole, however, more attention seems to go into richly carved bed-frame *kubul* as seen in figs. 30 and 31. There are also several instances of *kubul* within *kubul*, presumably indicating multiple burials. Many were protected by sheds, *lumag-lumag* with relatively expensive corrugated-iron roofing.

Under the open sun to the right of the group stand several extraordinary *sunduk* of a seemingly earlier vintage (figs. 32 and 33). The female marker in fig. 32 is among the finest examples of *ukkil* I have seen in Sulu, though strangely, at its base, is a carved board with a design unusual for Sulu but closely resembling the naga typical of Lanao. The airy three-dimensional male form in fig. 33 nearby is also unique, and the low-relief bird on the horizontal of the coral marker behind it was strongly reminiscent of Indonesian *batik* designs. From both the ethnographic and esthetic viewpoints, this rich site, and nearby Bilitan Poon, certainly deserve further study.

Moving on to the southernmost community in the Philippines, the relatively large Badjaw settlement of Sitangkai, esthetic interest seems largely focused on the *sunduk* which are often finely carved and frequently painted green, white, blue, and yellow. Nimmo (1968:38) indicates that other Badjaw burial sites in the area show definite continuities between the gravemarkers of Bunabunaan and Sitangkai, but unfortunately I was not able to visit them. Figs. 34 to 42, however, give some suggestion of the special grace, variety, and beauty of those at the large and tidy cemetery at Sitangkai.

Nearly all of the flat female markers had clearly defined comb forms and many held, or had held, *samin*, or mirrors, said to drive away evil spirits "who cannot stand looking at themselves." (The mirrors are also a common feature at Bunabunaan.) The men's markers in figs. 36 to 39 and fig. 41, there called *duyungduyung*, or *kurakura* ("little horse"), are often extremely handsome, showing remarkable individuality and imagination. Most are set on boat- or crocodile-like forms, although some are on bird forms created by adding wings to the base (see fig. 38). Small carved birds are also

sometimes found on the posts supporting prayer cloths over the graves. Other male sunduk had small tassels carved on top, said to symbolize a fez. Remarkable, too, are the diversity of styles to be found within a single family plot, as in fig. 39, the totally unique nonsymmetrical painted decoration on the male marker in fig. 41, and an occasional flat, and thus presumably female, marker found standing on a presumably "male" boat-form (not shown). What special meanings these forms may have remains for more intensive fieldwork to uncover.

Only a few graves at Sitangkai had carved or painted bed-frame kubul similar to those at Bunabunaan (fig. 40). Most kubul in this relatively wealthy community were plain concrete rectangles and were covered with sturdy well-roofed sheds. Although for the outsider, concrete frames and galvanized-iron roofing may be depressing, these more costly, permanent (and modern) materials are almost certainly more prestigious locally, and they will undoubtedly be used with increasing frequency and pride. Even markers themselves are being made in concrete; fig. 42 shows one of the better, though still crude, attempts at maintaining the traditional design in the new material.

Aside from indicating the site of a burial, the sex of the deceased, and often his/her status, what is the meaning of these markers? Why do they take the forms that they do, and what accounts for the great variations between communities and within cemeteries and individual family plots? Flat wooden markers at the head (and sometimes at the foot) of burials are common in many areas of the Muslim world, but what is one to make of the frequent anthropomorphic forms? To what extent can they be used to trace sociological change or the ethnoreligious history of Sulu? And looking beyond the archipelago, how do these markers relate space and time to the gravemarkers and religious monuments of Southeast Asia more generally? For example, what is their relation to the megalithic traditions of Borneo (Harrison and O'Connor 1970), of Sumatra and Celebes (Holt 1967), or of Malacca and Negri Sembilan (Sheppard 1962) or of the Palau Islands of the Pacific (Osborne 1966)? And how do they relate to the ethnographic and archeological boat-coffin traditions found throughout and beyond Southeast Asia? Closer to home, what, if anything, is their connection with stone secondary burial urns and with sexually distant figures on the lids recently excavated from the caves of the Kuláman

Plateau of southern Cotabato (Maceda 1967; Kurjack and others 1971?). Baradas (1968) provides some suggestive ideas regarding possible sociological esthetic links between the Samal and the Maranao of Mindanao, but the matter is hardly resolved. Looking for other types of meaning, Kiefer and Sather (1970) have provided some intriguing cultural interpretations (mentioned above), but these markers undoubtedly contain clues to many other religious conceptions and psychological categories or propensities of the Tausug, Samal, and Badjau. Much work remains to be done on the gravemarkers of Sulu.

Boat Carvings

There are several different types and an elaborate terminology for Sulu's *vintas*, the small double-outriggered sailing boats used for passengers, cargo, and fishing throughout the archipelago. The most common type is known as *sakayan* around Jolo, *pelang* (S) in the Siasi area, *pelang* (S) or *lepalepa* (B) around Bongao, and *dapang* (S) in Sibutu. Boats of essentially the same design are also found in Basilan and Zamboanga. The hull, *damas*, is shaped from a single log while most of the fittings are of bamboo. The great majority are unadorned, but perhaps one in five has *ukkil* on the prow or stern or, still more rarely, on strips called *sambili* running the length of the hull.

As figs. 43 and 44 suggest, the carvings may be directly on the boat or made separately and attached to it. The figures also show two seemingly universal forms, the *pansal*, the set of wooden horns usually at the stern or *buli*, and the *sangpad*, the truncated rectangular plate placed at an angle above the prow or *munda* (S). Since the hull is identically shaped at the ends, the placement of the mast-step and outriggers determines which end is the prow and which the stern. Boat owners sometimes do the decorative *ukkil* themselves, but most often it is the work of experts who refer to it as *manukmanuk*, or birdlike. Despite the term, however, no recognizable bird forms are ever pointed out by either fishermen or carvers, and if there ever was an attempt at producing representational figures, it is now forgotten. Nonetheless, there are certainly some stylistic resemblances to the more abstract bird-form decorative guards, *bangus*, for sails and spars found on eastcoast Malaysian fishing boats (Sheppard 1963).

Fig. 44 also shows two other forms of decoration only seen in the islands south of Jolo, the crossed shafts with carved tips known

as *adjungadjung* or *sulāsula* which support the mast and sail when they have been taken down, and the decorative cord, *hidjuk*, wrapped and tufted on the sangpad.

The outriggers, *katig*, are held by bamboo supports, *saam* (S), the ends of which are sometimes carved and termed *mata*, or eyes. At Sisangat, Siasi, a stylized but recognizable brow, *lenda*; eyes, *mata*; nose, *ung* (S); and mouth, *boa*, are carved on the *sampung* (S), or "face" of a vinta (fig. 45). These are the only examples I saw of boat carvings given representational value, and their function seemed entirely decorative.

Jailah, a master boat-carver of Bus-Bus, Jolo, said that a new boat is not properly finished unless its carvings are painted yellow, red, green, white, and blue, but the only examples I saw were in Sisangat, Siasi. There, several sangpad and manukmanuk were crudely painted with blue and red rectangles. As far as I could tell, they were of decorative value only.

In the Jolo areas, a resinous putty, *bangkit*, is sometimes used to heighten the decorative effect of carvings. Dried on a leaf, powdered and chewed, it turns red. Applied to the raw wood while still wet, it fills in the carving and contrasts with the surrounding area. Eventually the putty falls off, leaving a dark stain.

The tools used for boat-building and carvings are few and simple (fig. 46). They consist of the axe, *kapa*; planes, *katam*, with either rounded or flat blades; gauge, *sanga*, for scoring the hull; knife, *lahot*, a hand-turned drill made from a half-round chisel; and flat chisel, *patuk* (S), which can be set at an angle to a shank, to make a *sakal* (S), or parallel to a shank to make a *sosokan* (S). For carving the manukmanuk, only the drill and knife are necessary. In fig. 47, the carver, Adjuran of Muso, Siasi, demonstrates the carving technique widely used throughout the islands. The knife is held upright and is directed by the left hand with only the tip of the blade touching the wood. The carver then taps the back of the blade along its course with a wooden baton held in the right hand.

Designs are apparently never sketched out in advance. When I once asked a carver to draw one on paper, he fumbled with the pencil, obviously finding it uncomfortable in his hand. Although carvers are sometimes presented with a specific design to copy, most are simply fashioned to fit the shape of the wood, the traditional alternatives, and the impulses of the moment. As a result, while a

craftsman's products are often similar, I never saw two identical pieces.

Around Siasi, there is another common form of small fishing boat, the *paraw* (fig. 48), a post-World War II innovation. Copied from Bisayan models, they are swift enough to keep up with a school of fish. Their owners can thus fish quite effectively by hook and line. The broader, slower, and less maneuverable *sakayan* are more suited for setting traps and nets.

The *paraw*'s greater speed is achieved by means of a slender and shallow-draft hull. Ten-inch pegs, or *pasok* (S), set in a thin wooden hull support the gunwale, *batiola* or *durung*. The spaces between are covered with tightly woven bamboo strips, or *amakan*, covered with several coats of paint to insure a waterproof free-board. Thwarts, or *gapang*, are placed between the gunwales for stability and to support the mast. Fig. 49 shows a *paraw* under construction in Laminusa, Siasi, where most of them are built. Although they are not adorned with carvings, their sloping prows, or *pamalung* (S), and straight sterns *tangkop* are usually painted with bright enamels and make an extremely graceful and attractive sight.

From the esthetic viewpoint, however, the most exciting craft in Sulu are the large houseboats, or *lepa* (B), and fishing boats, *dapang*, of the Tawi-Tawi Badjaw, seen in figs. 50 to 54 at Tungkalang, Sanga-Sanga, near Bongao. *Lepa* and *dapang* are considerably larger than the *sakayan* and *paraw* and come in two basic designs. The most common type is seen in figs. 50 to 52, but many have the distinctive form seen in fig. 53, with prow and stern curving outward to meet the waterline ahead of, and behind, the deck. These latter craft are said to be made not in Sulu but in Borneo, but I was not able to confirm it. In any case, the differences in hull form do effect maneuverability; the more usual type is easier to turn but more difficult to control than those that project at the waterline.

Both types are almost always handsomely carved fore and aft, and usually in strips, *benglor*, along the hull as well. The *lepa* with receding hulls also have the unique *sala-gunting*, from *gunting* (S), "scissors," seen in figs. 50 and 51 — the functional equivalent of the *adjungadjung* or *sulasula* on the boat in fig. 44 — which start in front of the *sangpad* and end with the shieldlike *tumpa*. *Tumpa* are always carved, though the shafts of the *sala-gunting* need not be. The *lepa* with projecting hulls have large decorative shafts, *jungar*, at the prow, usually carved, as in fig. 53.

The sangpad behind it is covered with a fishing net. Jungar and sangpad at the stern are similar but smaller. Farther back along the gunwale are carved benglor, also seen in fig. 54 on a somewhat smaller Badjaw craft, apparently a compromise between a standard lepa and the sakayan or pelang of the local Samal. The carvings on the latter are also reminiscent of the pansal of the sakayan in fig. 43, as well as the "mouth of the crocodile" gravemarkers at Laminusa in figs. 14 and 15.

At the time of the survey, the lepa in fig. 50 was the only one in the area with painted decorations, sala-gunting, and a corrugated-iron roof, embellishments undoubtedly indicating the relative wealth of the owner. Nonetheless, nearly all of these craft have some decorations, and the presence of carving does not seem a sure sign of wealth or position. Unlike the Samal, the Badjaw say that every man is capable of decorating his own craft, and those who fashion the finest carving express great pride in their work. Although somewhat cruder than the ukkil of the Samal masters, the carvings on the Badjaw lepa are among the most vigorous and impressive seen in Sulu.

Metal Working

Throughout Sulu, blacksmiths using the ancient "Malay forge" produce iron implements ranging from simple fish spears, tools and bolos, modern rifles and finely crafted ceremonial and fighting weapons. Smithing techniques are basically similar throughout the archipelago and are usually passed within families from generation to generation. Figs. 55 to 57 illustrate typical working arrangements. The first shows a Sibutu smith working with his nephew at the bellows; the next, a smith at Jolo with his grandfather at the bellows. The younger brother also helped, filing and finishing the newly forged pieces. And while the smith in fig. 57 used the central anvil, his wife worked the bellows and a younger cousin worked at a secondary anvil nearby. Pumping the bellows, *putputan*, forces air through an underground tube which heats coconut-shell charcoal in the clay hearth, *kalong*, and quickly brings to white heat any metallic object placed in it. Held with tongs, the metal is then repeatedly heated and beaten into shape on an anvil, or *landasan* (S), with either a malletlike hammer, *masuk*, or a hatchet-shaped hammer, *tukul*, attached to a wooden shank by rattan wrappings.

The terms for "blacksmith" in Sulu are extremely variable and there seems to be some confusion regarding their usage. In Jolo, it is *manangsal*; in Parang, also Tausug speaking, *manasal*. On the Samal island of Manubul, Siasi, the Tausug term was said to be *magsasasal* by one smith and *panday kahuy* by another. Both agree that *panday basi* is the local Samal term, though one added that *panday kayu* was also used. Farther south, on Sibutu, the local term is *aamabal*, though *tukang basi* is also used, and *panday basi* is identified as the Tausug term. In Jolo, however, both *panday* and *tukang* refer to someone particularly skilled, an artist, but neither can apply to a blacksmith.

Probably the most common items produced by Sulu's blacksmiths are all-purpose knives — *hanting*, *laring*, *kayyong* (B) — and more specialized bladed tools and weapons. Several of these are seen in fig. 58, including rectangular "Chinese" cleavers, or *kiping*; pear-shaped *utak*; leaf-shaped *barung*, or *pedda* (B); and small bolos *bunak*, or *bari* (B); long, flowing square-ended *janap*; coconut scrapers, *lulugit lahing*; betel knives, *pisaw*; and chisels, *patuk*. Simple but effective axes, *kapa* or *kapakapa*, are also produced and occasionally hunting spears, *budjak*, as well. These latter are now largely for tourist consumption, as various types of small arms have taken their place in local game-hunting. For the local fishermen, the smiths turn out single- and three-pronged spears, *sangkil* (S) and *sapang*. The Badjaw of Sitangkai also term single-pronged spears *sangkil*, those with two, three, or four prongs *sapang*, while others with five or more prongs are called *sulikit* (S).

One Jolo Tausug smith, Sahibil (fig. 57), widely considered a master, claimed he could do almost any piece of work requested, including the conversion of a single-shot rifle into an automatic. Most of his time, however, was spent in providing farmers and fishermen with new tools. Obviously proud of his skill and reputation, he laughed at the idea that Samal smiths might approach the quality of his workmanship and the variety of his products.

In terms of artistry, the most outstanding work of the Sulu smiths are their fine bladed weapons. At one time there was apparently a great variety, some clearly derived from Middle Eastern prototypes, but today there are only three major forms — the long slender *gayang* (S) seen in figs. 59 and 65, produced only on Sibutu in Sulu, and the widespread *barung* and *kalis*.

The simplest in form—and apparently unique to Sulu in South-east Asia—is the *barung* (fig. 60), with its long curved edge, *sulab* or *solab* (S), and fairly wide straight balk, *salig*. It is a heavy weapon ideal for chopping, though its sharp point allows for thrusting as well. There are traditionally three types of *barung* depending on the type of steel used—the Chinese *angkun*, the Spanish *kastil*, and the local *bunak*. The *angkun* and *kastil* are considered the best, but are extremely rare nowadays. When highly decorated on blade, scabbard, and handle, they can sell for as much as ₱200.² Most *bunak* are of lower quality steel, an alloy of two types known as *basi* and *balay*, though the best of these are said to have been made from Japanese helmets of World War II. Well-tempered and highly polished, they are handsome weapons but sell for as low as ₱15 to ₱20. In general, the more ornate the *barung*, the more prestige it carries, though most decoration is confined to the handle and scabbard. Traditionally, the *barung* is passed from father to son. It is said that *barung* still exist which were once used against the Spaniards, and later, against General Pershing's troops. While it is nearly impossible to verify such claims, they give some indication of the pride with which these weapons are carried.

In contrast to the unique *barung*, Sulu's double-edged *kalis* is part of a larger family of similar weapons found throughout Indonesia and Malaysia (Hill 1962, Moebirman 1970) and which goes back to the Madjapahit Empire. In Sulu, three general types of *kalis* are distinguished: the *kalis tulid* (fig. 61) with a straight blade; the *kalis taluseko* (fig. 59)—the most common—with three waves near the grip, then straight thereafter; and the *kalis seko* which is wavy from hilt to tip. This latter type is sometimes now called *kris*, the Malay term recently introduced in Sulu, largely by tourists.

Common to all three types is an elaborate guard, *danganan kalis* at the base of the blade, *mata kalis*. One side has a series of notches capable of catching an opponent's blade, while the other is very elaborately worked. Most informants said it was merely a traditional decoration, but a highly educated datu in Sitangkai identified it as an eagle's beak, *bella* (S), partly open. He also notes that for good luck, the opening should be as small as possible, though never fully closed. It is widely accepted that the length of the blade has great influence on the luck of its owner, and blades are ordered or purchased only after careful measurements have been taken. The standard unit of measure is the prospective owner's thumb. Two

positions of the thumb are distinguished: *illum* (S), "alive," parallel to the length of the blade; and *patay*, "dead," at right angles to the blade. Starting from the handle and alternating the thumb in *illum* and *patay* position, the blade is measured to the tip. A final *illum* position signifies success in both battle and in daily affairs, while a final *patay* position augurs injury in battle and a general predisposition to accidents, even at times when the weapon is not carried.

Particularly fine *kalis* blades are sometimes engraved with floral or geometrical *ukkil* near the hilt (fig. 59). Other partially decorative devices are curved strips of metal, *ganja*, which cross the guard and aid the *tang-piting*, or *puting* (B)—in locking the blade and handle together.

Despite the constant demand for their wares, blacksmithing is rarely a full-time occupation in Sulu. Most often men engage in it in order to earn supplementary income. When questioned, most smiths said that they would prefer to farm if they had enough land. In general, the younger smiths with families to support concentrate on the simpler tools in greatest demand in order to maximize their income. The much lengthier process of forging and ornamenting the finer blades is left largely to the older men who are usually supported by their families. However, some of the younger smiths of Luuk, Jolo, a traditional center for fine blades, have begun to produce regularly medium-quality blades for tourists, a new and profitable market.

A number of people commented that there used to be bronze casting in Patikul, just outside of Jolo town, before World War II. The only examples I saw, however, were two plain bowls, pale reflections of the fine bronzework of Lanao. It was apparently not a very highly developed art in Sulu.

Woodworking

Perhaps as much artistry goes into the handles of the *barung*, *kalis*, and *gayang* as into the blades themselves. Handles, *puhan*, may be plain polished wood—sometimes *narra* (*APterocarpus*), but many are decorated with cord wrappings and iron rings, and some are of ivory and adorned with silver and gold wire or inlay. Handles are sometimes made by blacksmiths, but most are the work of other specialized *panday*. Despite variations in producers and decoration the basic form of the handle for each type of weapon is highly standardized.

The traditional barung handle, *u pida* or *pedda* (S), has alternating bands of cord, *balikaskas*, and metal, *sampa*, close to the blade, while the upper part is of highly polished wood (fig. 60). The end of the handle always has a hook, *lenget*, in the form of a truncated pyramid carved with a rectilinear design on the blade side, and a pointed form with fine ukkil decoration at the back of the handle.

The handle of the kalis has a simpler hexagonal form, though it may also be adorned with elaborate metalwork (figs. 59 and 61). Set at a slight angle to the blade, in Jolo the handle is known as *danganan* or *danganan kalis*; while the Samal of Simumul call it *kok kalis* (S). Since the general form of the kalis handle resembles the lower part of a horse's leg and hoof, the Samal sometimes refer to it as *nay' kura* (S) and Tausug as *siki kura*, both literally translated as "horse's foot." Occasionally, the end of a kalis handle will be covered with small pieces of engraved mother-of-pearl, *tipay*.

The grip of the Sibutu gayang is a simple wooden cylinder wrapped with cord. However, the handles end with a small projection densely carved with fish, frogs, dogs, and goats, often in the act of swallowing one another (figs. 59 and 65). These extremely fine carvings are quite distinct from anything else seen in Sulu, but are nearly identical to those seen on weapon handles in the national museums in Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta coming from the Murut of Land Dyak people of Borneo. The blade form is also closely similar. It would be interesting to know whether this represents trade or closely related craft traditions among these groups. The hardwood scabbards, *taguban*, for the gayang are also quite distinctive, with particularly intricate curvilinear ukkil on raised portions near the middle and at the tip.

Scabbards for the kalis and barung in Jolo are usually wrapped with a fine rattan known as *budbud* or *buoy*. In the more southerly islands, they are generally of plain wood, though some are decorated with carvings. Nevertheless, both tip and hilt of the barung and the kalis scabbards have seemingly invariable traditional forms. The characteristic square tip, *tong taguban*, of the kalis scabbard as well as the standard hilt form, spreading to receive the guards at the proximal end of the blade, are seen in figs. 59 and 61. The hilt of the barung scabbard spreads only on the one side, near the blade's edge, though this is purely decorative since the weapon is without hand guards. The tip of the barung scabbard, known as *sampil* or *bulikna*, always curves upward and again ends in a highly

distinctive form. Both barung and kalis scabbard hilts and tips may be covered with mother-of-pearl engraved with curvilinear ukkil which sometimes takes vaguely recognizable leaf or bird forms. These designs are emphasized by the application of a black glue, *galgal*, in the recessed areas. However, while informants in Sibutu clearly identify the animals on the handles of their gayang, the ukkil on the barung and kalis are uniformly regarded as merely decorative and without representational or symbolic significance.

But weapons are hardly the only everyday objects that display fine carving in Sulu. The base of the pulpit, *paimbalan*, in Parang, Jolo, mosque (fig. 62), is handsomely carved, and comparable decoration is frequently seen on backboards of looms, saddles, and various other common items throughout the archipelago. The island of Sibutu has an unusually rich woodcarving tradition, which decorates both the unique gayang, and an extraordinary variety of tools, utensils, and furnishings. Figs. 63 and 65 show two Sibutu adzes with elaborately carved heads, while figs. 64 shows a local walking cane, *tungkud*. These sometimes conceal a short blade inside. Such canes, and smaller swagger sticks, *tungkud rikiriki* (S), are usually carved from a local hardwood, *ata-ata*, and then painted with geometrical designs or sometimes faces. Aside from the adze and the gayang, fig. 65 also shows finely carved kitchen utensils for making *ja*, a fried dessert popular throughout Sulu. The *sanduk panyam* (S), a coconut shell on a long handle, is filled with rice batter which drips through small holes in the shell's bottom into a frying pan below. As the batter hardens in the pan, the cook rolls and shapes it into a variety of attractive forms using the *tagtagan* standing alongside the adze. The carvings on these utensils are always similar but never exactly alike. Fig. 66 shows the footboard of a Sibutu bed, *kantil* or *pangaw*, made of narra brought from Tawi-Tawi. These and other furniture pieces—chairs, tables, chests, wardrobes—are famous throughout Sulu for their leafy or floral carving, though representational designs are occasionally produced, usually at the request of the purchaser.

Sibutu is also the major producer of *kumpit*, the large, plank-hulled interisland cargo and passenger boats common to Sulu and the surrounding seas. Nearly 50 were under construction during my visit in 1962, and the panday working on them were often the same men who made the finer carvings described above. The traditional though highly sophisticated technology of boat-construction, however, lies beyond this survey.

Why Sibutu should be such a center for woodworking, from fine decorative carving to kumpit-building remains unexplained. In my brief visit I failed to contact one highly recommended master carver, Alipar Laja of Barrio Tandubanak, who might have provided some answers. However, from esthetic, sociological, economic, and cultural-historical perspectives, the subject is worth further study.

Architecture

Materials and building styles in Sulu are not substantially different from those in the areas of the lowland Philippines. One distinctive form often found in older houses on Jolo Island and also on Siasi and Zamboanga is a set of finely carved crossboards, *tadjuk pasung*, at the end of the ridgepole over the front of the house and sometimes at the back as well. While most of these carvings are abstract ukkil, recognizable bird forms, *manukmanuk*, and dragon or serpent forms, *naga*, are sometimes seen. Fig. 67 shows an unusual example from Barrio Bus-Bus, Jolo, which has both *naga* and *manukmanuk* forms on three projections, rather than the normal two. It was carved about 1950 but had disappeared by 1970. Two other *tadjuk pasung* are illustrated in Jainal and others (1972:111). Similar roof carvings are found in various communities of Borneo and eastern Indonesia.

In Parang, Jolo, these carvings are called *julay bay*. Around Siasi, they seem limited to the over-the-water homes of poor fishermen and are called *liyangliyang* (S), or simply ukkil. Fig. 68 shows a house in Manubol, Siasi, with a falling *liyangliyang* and other decorative carvings. The house belonged to a master carver and imam who had died years ago. Although small white flags to ward off evil spirits are often seen hanging from the same point on the roof, the carvings apparently have no such function and are uniformly described as mere traditional decoration.

One architectural feature somewhat more frequent in Sulu than elsewhere in the Philippines, though common elsewhere in Southeast Asia, are the symmetrical carved wooden panels, *jalajala*. They both decorate and allow air through interior and exterior walls and also support banisters and railings in homes, mosques, and mausoleums. They sometimes adorn Badjaw houseboats as well. Frequently painted, they are visible above the *paimbalan* (fig. 62) and are also vaguely discernible under the eaves of the "Blue Mosque" of former Governor Sankola, near Parang (fig. 69).

Another decorative technique more highly developed in Sulu than elsewhere in the Philippines is the use of small slats of wood to form geometrical designs in railings and under eaves. The facade of a house in Parang (fig. 70) is a particularly fine example.

In design and construction, mosques in Sulu (for example, fig. 69) closely resemble their counterparts in Mindanao. One exception is the "old" mosque in Maimbung (fig. 71), obviously based on Middle Eastern models, complete with minarets. The one-room schoolhouse (fig. 72) near Quezon Beach, Jolo, with its gracefully curving roof and carved decorations is also noteworthy.

In general, what is most striking about housing in Sulu is that so much of it is over the water. Large portions of Jolo town, (fig. 73) and entire barrios are built on pilings over reefs and tidal flats. Many southern communities such as Sitangkai (fig. 74) nearly limit their use of land to schools, cemeteries, and agricultural fields. The over-the-water life-style is probably cooler, and it certainly facilitates defense and rapid disposal of refuse. Furthermore, it also avoids landownership problems and, for a people long accustomed to obtaining much of their livelihood from the sea, it may well seem the most convenient and natural setting as well. Nonetheless, this pattern of fairly permanent over-the-water dwelling certainly deserves further investigation from a cultural-historical perspective.

Mat Making

Even on a short visit to Sulu, one is quickly aware of the wide range of colorful double weight pangdan sleeping mats, *baluy*, seen in markets and homes, and carried about by travelers. Used as bedding or underbedding, *baluy* vary greatly in size and quality: "single" mats range from two-by-five to three-by-six feet, while "family" or "double" mats may be as large as eight-by-fifteen feet. *Baluy* are woven by women in communities throughout the archipelago, but one island in particular, Laminusa, Siasi, has the reputation of weaving the finest of all.

Visiting Laminusa, one discovers a very businesslike operation. Nearly all the women spend some time weaving *baluy* for sale to private individuals, in local markets, or in Jolo town. It is a full-fledged home industry with a uniform product of high quality. Singles sell for only ₱8 to ₱12 and doubles for about twice that—a small return for the three to six weeks' labor that they entail.

The techniques for preparing the pangdan and weaving the mats are generally similar throughout Sulu. The following describes the techniques followed in Laminusa. First, the thick pangdan leaves are cut and the spines, *leget* (S), and center rib are removed (fig. 75). The two halves are separated, then rolled, *angalikid*(S), in a coil, *pinatoho'* (S), about one foot in diameter. Tied and held at the bottom of a pot by a rock, the coil is cooked in boiling water *bella* (S), removing some of the color. The coil is then dried in the sun, opened, and the leaves flattened with a stick, *ambuhut* (S). They are drawn through a small metal-bladed tool, *jangan-tan*(S), which cuts each leaf into four or five narrow strips. Edge strips are discarded, and the others are bundled loosely and left to bleach further in the sun before being resoaked in cold water for about 12 hours. By the time they have been sun-dried and softened with the ambuhut once again, the natural color has almost completely faded and dyeing, *anganjibi* (S), can begin. The dyes, *anjibi* (S), are now all commercial. The colors used are green, *gad-dung* (S); orange, *kulit* (S); red, *keyat*; violet, *taluk*; and blue, *bilu*. After cooking in the dye solution, the pangdan strips are dried in the shade to prevent fading and gently beaten once more to ensure softness. These preweaving preparations usually take about a week. The weaving itself is usually a two- to five-week operation.

The center section of a mat is woven first, with a special weave, *amatal*. As the mat develops and the particular design is articulated, it becomes *anaganum* (fig. 76). Since the pangdan strips are rarely long enough to reach from center to edge, continuators called *sugpat* are woven in by a technique known as *anugpat*(S). When the edge is reached, the strips are knotted, *lipi* (S), to prevent unraveling. With the edges tucked under, the completed mat, *deom* (S), is sewn into a larger, somewhat coarser, undyed mat, *lapis* (S). If a person ordering a mat requests a name or expression to be woven into the design, a special and more difficult technique, *sasapanapana*, is used. By this technique, letters can be made which are not at the regular angle of weave. These inscriptions are usually bordered with another special pattern, *sasadandan* or *sasaibud*. The weavers, *pangananumbaluy*, of Laminusa disparege the Bisayan mat makers who make names and figures simply by inserting small pieces of dyed pandan into already completed mats. In Laminusa, and Sulu generally, all designs are directly woven into the mat.

Four general patterns, *sasa* (S), are recognized in Laminusa: stripes *jali'* (S); multicolored squares, *tabanas*; a checkered pattern of white and any other color, *kusa*(S); and a zig-zag device *seko'* (S), also known as *sasa kalis* (S) because of its similarity to the very blade form of the *kalis*. These four patterns are not formally recorded but are highly conventional, and the uniformity between weavers is remarkable. In consequence, although they do judge each other's work on softness and texture, there is no apparent competition among weavers on the basis of design.

In total contrast to Laminusa's commercial mat-making complex, at Ungus Matata, Tandubas, off the northeastern tip of Tawi-Tawi, mats are made for home use only, and they are in fact of far superior quality of material, design, and workmanship. Not only is the weaving tighter (smaller and softer strips are used), but the designs are much more varied and intricate. In less than one hour I was shown mats *tepo* (S) of 10 distinct designs, and I certainly had not exhausted the supply. Two variations of the large checkered pattern, *kusta*, are seen in fig. 77. In figs. 78 and 79 a striped design, *jali'*, is illustrated as well as a pattern taken from a rug the weaver had seen in Sandakan. Some of the others are long rectangles in various colors, *palang borus*; large squares in alternating colors, *kabang*; a complex, predominantly zig-zag design *pinaleko'*; a combination of stripes and diamonds said to be Chinese in origin, *kusta sina'* (S), a combination of zig-zags and diamonds, *balitung*; a pattern of small hexagons, *malasa*, said to have been borrowed from a neighboring island; and a very popular and highly variable pattern, *tinibi* (also called "PT boat"), whose central element is somewhat boat-form.

In contrast to Laminusa, the weavers, *aangahinang tepo* (S), of Ungus Matata show great pride and competitiveness in both the quality of their workmanship and the difficulty and originality of their designs. Several women are widely regarded as masters and given appropriate respect.

It is possible that the weavers of Laminusa once produced mats of equal quality to those of Ungus Matata. But with easier access to the Jolo market, large-scale production of a respectable product, and a reputation for making the best mats of all, standardization has set in at Laminusa, and the quality of its products has declined. But Laminusa's fame is such that even at Ungus Matata I was advised to go there for really good mats. The local residents simply

could not believe that their own tepo were finer than the baluy of Laminusa.

As suggested above, these sleeping mats are woven throughout Sulu. They are quite distinct from the mats produced in Mindanao, or further north in the Philippines, but they have striking resemblances to the mats from the east coast of Malaysia (Kelantan), in the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur. As a result they could well be a basis for studying esthetic and sociological variation within the archipelago and region. One might start in Sibutu where mats of many designs are often used as currency to help pay for new kumpit. Another easy starting point would be aboard any of the large local interisland steamers. In the evening, the passengers lay out their mats on their deck cots, and a few simple questions could provide much information and many leads on the origin and distribution of the various designs.

An entirely different type of highly decorative mat, the rattan *boras* (S), is produced in four barrios of Simunul island (fig. 80). These mats are probably the most self-conscious attempts at artistic expression in Sulu. Generally four to five feet wide, and eight to 20 feet long (though smaller ones can be made on order), unpainted boras are traditional to these communities (similar mats are produced in southern Palawan). Boras are usually used as wall screens or floor mats on ceremonial occasions, and the smaller ones are sometimes used in mosques as prayer rugs.

According to Hadji Idarus of Barrio Tungusung, Simunul, before World War II, the local boras were undecorated though at least some, the *boras waysaga*, had designs burned in with live charcoal. After the war, however, they began to use commercial enamel paint to cover boras with geometrical designs. Later, variations developed with a dominant center design enclosed between two borders. Eventually, sets of independent designs ran the length of the boras with only narrow dividing bands between them. Many of these are still being made, but in about 1957, Hadji Idarus introduced the idea of painting on the boras scenes of Mecca and Medina taken from colorful stylized prints he brought back with him from the Hadj. Ignoring the Arabic inscriptions in the original pictures, the boras makers further stylized the scenes in a row at the top of the boras, placing traditional geometrical and floral designs below. Always charming and often quite beautiful, many of these paintings are reminiscent of "primitive" or prerennaissance

Western paintings, with flat colors, buildings tilted at implausible angles, and a general denial of perspective.

Boras are probably the only artistic productions in Sulu demonstrating a genuine sexual division of labor. Men make the mats, but women do all the painting. Rattan, *buway* (S), from Tawi-Tawi is first cut into five- to six-foot lengths and then into strips about three-eighths of an inch wide. Set on a long wooden measuring device, *pagpagan* (S), each strip is bored with an awl, *husu*, every three and one-half inches (fig. 81). As a strip is completely bored, it is added to others set on a series of rattan stakes, and sections one to two feet wide are stored this way until needed. When a boras is to be made, the stakes are removed from the holes and a finer rattan strip, *surut*, is threaded through in their place. Sections are strung together to reach the desired length. The ends are then notched and bound with a rattan braidwork, *hawkul*.

At this point, the women take over, outline the designs in black, and then fill them in with bright colors available at local stores (fig. 82). There seems to be considerable rivalry over the quality of the paintings and certain women are definitely admired for their skill and imagination. It is claimed that two women can paint a 15-foot boras in three days, but for best quality work five or six days are needed.

Available at Simumul or Jolo, fine large boras sell for as much as ₱40, and some paintings considered especially difficult might cost even more. It was said to be normal to pay ₱5 extra for the winged sphinx-like horse *burak* or *Akura' sambalani* (S) in the central panel of fig. 80. Spare-time boras production could make a considerable addition to a family's income, and Hadji Idarus claims that it enabled him to complete at least the secondary education of all his children. Though a highly localized tradition, boras making is a lively element in the art of Sulu.

Pottery

Only four Samal communities produce pottery in Sulu today: Daungdung Island, south of Jolo; Tara, north of Siasi; Pababag, east of Bongao; and Tubig Indangan, on Simumul (Spoehr 1973). I visited Tara and Tubig Indangan where all the pottery being produced by women using a paddle-and-anvil technique. In both places, the potter's wheel, common in the Visayas, seemed quite unknown. Both communities utilize nearly identical techniques.

with the potter's primary concerns being the functional utility of the item, the rapidity with which it could be produced, and the broadest possible marketing. The potters show considerable pride in their work but largely in terms of their production rates. Esthetic concerns are manifested only if specifically requested by a customer and, even then, are limited to very simple incised geometrical designs.

At Tara, four different items are produced: flat-bottomed *simpi* (fig. 83) for cooking cassava; rice pots, *banga*; hearths, *lapuhan*, designed to contain fire and support a cooking pot on top; and flower pots, *unuhan*, of the same form of the *banga*, though only half as large. The potter begins with a large lump of local clay which she kneads and pounds to a uniform mixture with an equal part of sand and sea water to produce soil-clay *tanatinampa*. A small amount is then separated and molded by hand to the general shape desired. Next, a rounded stone, *batu*, or piece of pottery is held inside the rough form while the outside is beaten into shape with a wooden paddle, *tatampa* (fig. 83). One side of the *tatampa* is scored and used while the piece is still rough; the other is smooth and used for finishing touches. Both the *batu* and *tatampa* vary in size and shape according to the item to be produced. Decorations, if any, are incised on the surface while the piece is still moist. After a few days of slow drying, the wares are fired in a large open fire.

A wider range of items is produced at Tubig Indangan; rice pots of the same form as those from Tara; round-bottomed *lenga* for cooking cassava, somewhat deeper hearths than at Tara; two different types of flower pots, *jambangan*, one taking the common western truncated cone form, the other, a variety of vase-forms based on mass-produced wares; wide-mouthed containers, *pasu*, for coconut oil; water jugs, *binki*, 14 to 30 inches in diameter; and, occasionally, pottery goblets, *panganna-an sawan*, derived from Bornean brasswork. A potter from Tubig Indangan is seen in fig. 84 surrounded by some of her wares, including *lapuhan*, *jambangan*, *banga*, *binki*, and *lenga*.

Tubig Indangan lacks clay, *tana*; it must be brought from Tawi-Tawi and then mixed with local sand. Production techniques are the same as at Tara, though before heating, the pieces are polished with a moistened tiger cowrie shell, *baguan*, to produce a smoother surface. Containers for fluids are sometimes covered with *put*, a tree sap, immediately after heating. This helps waterproof the con-

tainer, and gives a glazed appearance, though also a somewhat sticky surface. At Tubig Indangan, the paddle is called *tamampa* and the shaping stone or anvil *babatu*.

The techniques at both Tara and Tubig Indangan seem closely related to those of the Badjaw of Kampong Taun, Gusi, and Kota Belud in Sabah described in Pike (1970), and their hearths seem similar to the *lapo'an* of the Badjaw potters of Kampong Danawan, Semporna, Sabah, mentioned by Sather (1971). A full study of Sulu's pottery in terms of techniques and linkages with other pottery traditions might well produce useful data for the ethnohistory of the region.

The Minor Arts

Jewelry

Although Chinese merchants are said to control the supply of gold in Sulu and produce much fine jewelry in Jolo, outside the capital there are numerous talented and respected indigenous jewelers, frequently heirs to a family tradition, producing extremely intricate and delicate items. Most of the work is in gold, pearl, mother-of-pearl, and black coral, made to order for customers who provide at least partial advance payments. Finer jewelry is worn only on ceremonial occasions or at special celebrations. Some of the more common items are rings, *singsing*; bracelets, *galing*; necklaces, *ganting ling*; earrings, *aritime*; dress pins, *tambuku* or *pingi* (S); hair-pins, *sipit*; gold tiaras, often with pearls, *korona*; fingernail extensions, *jaingay*, or *surukengkeng* (S) for male or female dancers, made of tin or silver, or rarely, gold. Gold-capped or decorated teeth are also highly esteemed. Many jewelers have foot-powdered dentist's drills to prepare teeth for gold caps or to drill shallow holes for inserting small gold stars or other forms on a customer's incisors.

In smaller communities young girls and women are often seen wearing white shell rings, *singsing sulaw*, or shell bracelets, *galing sulaw*. Made from cone shells, *sulaw*, usually by elderly men no longer capable of fishing or farming, they are also common in archeological sites all over the Philippines. They are made by sawing off the flat end section of the shell, then removing the center with a small pick, *patuk*. The thin circle of shell which remains is then polished smooth on a grinding stone, *asaan*. Three *galing*, a piece of *sulaw*, the *patuk*, and an *asaan* are seen in fig. 85.

Plate covers

Large, colorfully decorated, hemispheric plate covers, *tutup* or *turung dulang* (S), to keep food warm and the flies away are made in many communities by both men and women. Usually 25 to 30 inches across, smaller ones, *turung dulang rikiriki*, are also made as decorative wall pieces. The plate covers are sewn together with *magi* fiber, said to be similar to but stronger than abaca. The inside is made of coconut leaves, while the outside is of *silal* or *buri* leaves. Decorations of brightly dyed and folded pangdan leaf are then added. Fig. 86 shows four modernized *turung dulang* from Talisay, Sibutu; the outside layer and decorations have been made of thin plastic sheeting, though the traditional form and designs have been retained.

Kites

Although I missed the kite-flying (monsoon) season and could collect little information on the subject, a wide variety of large, elaborate and frequently bird-form bamboo and paper kites are flown in Sulu. Parang is often cited for its especially large and colorful kites.

Gates

Barrio Ubol in Simumul is unique for the large number of elaborate wooden gates on the shore leading to its houses over the tidal flat (fig. 87). The size and elaborations of the gates seem to have little relation to the condition of the house, for some relatively modest homes have the most lavish gates. Most gates have the name or initials of the owner, the location, date of construction, and sometimes the expression, "Sholem Saiachim" (*Assalamu' 'Alay-kum*), "May peace be upon you," painted on them, either in English or Arabic.

Cloth weaving

Nearly all of the cloth now used in Sulu is made elsewhere. The once-widespread *kambut* (sash) and *kendit* (loin-cloth and sash) weaving traditions and the *habur tiyahiran* (embroidered sarong), a specialty of Parang, have now completely disappeared. The weav-

ART IN SULU

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID L. SZANTON



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GRAVEMARKERS

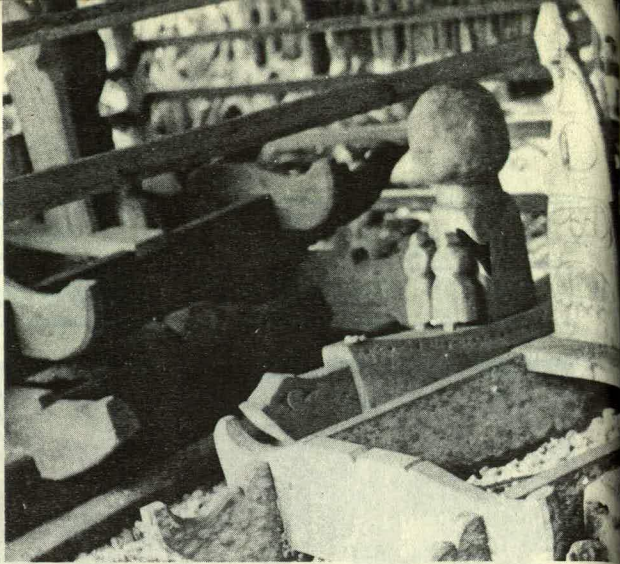


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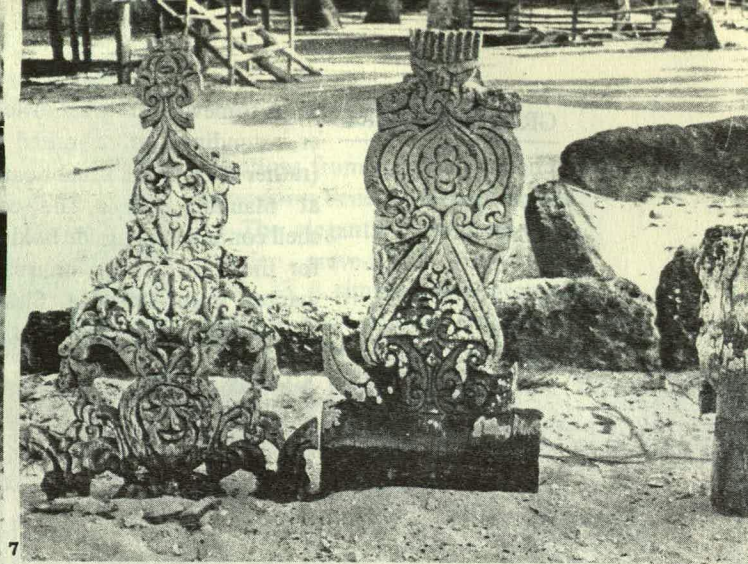


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1 A view of the Muslim cemetery at Bus-bus, Jolo. Upright *sunduk* for men are round or pointed on top, those for women flat or scalloped. 2 A woman's marker, in coral, from Kanaway, Parang, Jolo. 3 A man's marker, in coral, from Kanaway, Parang, Jolo.



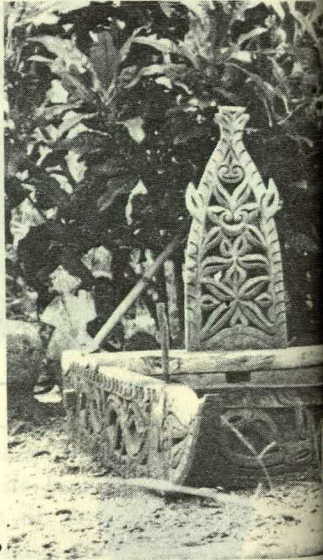
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GRAVEMARKERS

4 A family grave-plot in Muso, Siasi. The flat markers on the grave frame are for women, the round markers on the boat forms, for men. The two small figures on the left-hand boat-form are for children. 5 A finely carved grave-frame, *kubul*, at Muso, Siasi, with two female markers and a fairly ornate male marker nearby. 6 Four clearly representational male markers at Muso, Siasi. A fifth has fallen from its boat-form base between them. 7 Two female and one male lichen-encrusted wooden markers from Manubul, Siasi. Note the comb-form at the top of the central marker, a common motif on female markers in the area. 8 Three wooden markers for women on a crude frame at Manubul, Siasi. Note the comb-forms at the base. This sort of elaborate but controlled *ukkil*, also seen in figs. 5 and 7, is common among the Samal communities around Siasi. 9 A family grave-frame with flat but obviously representational wooden markers from Manubul, Siasi.



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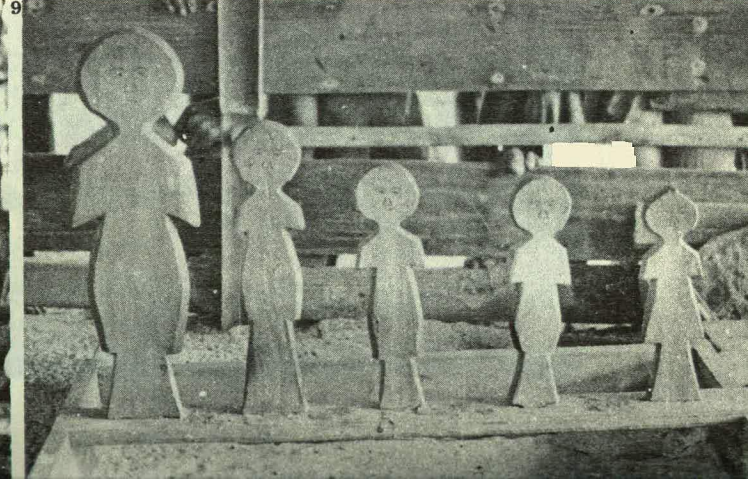
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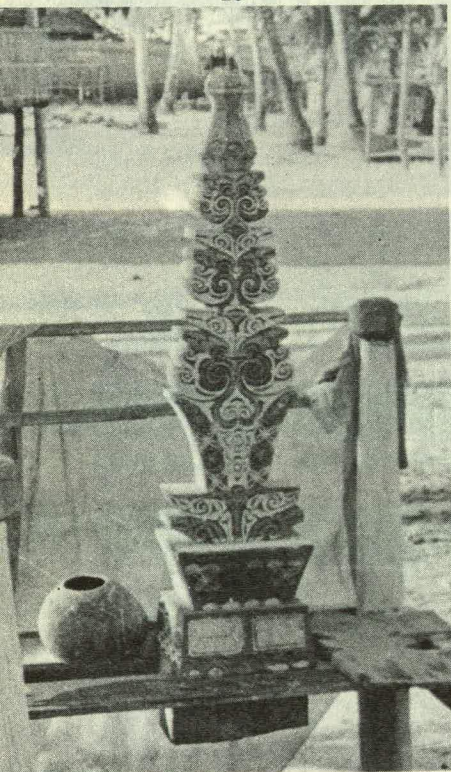
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GRAVEMARKERS

10 A somewhat unusual male marker, standing on a raised frame (rather than on the usual boat-form) at Manubul, Siasi. The coconut shell container alongside holds water for the spirit. **11** An unusual male marker from Manubul, Siasi. The Arabic inscriptions are said to be

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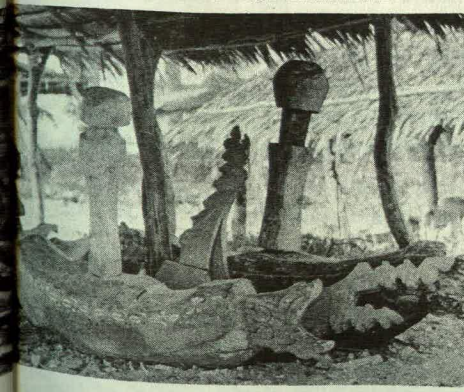


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selections from the Qur'an; and the horse-form beneath is quite unique. **12** The elegantly carved side of a wooden grave-frame from Tara, Siasi. **13** A simple family group of wooden gravemarkers from Laminusa, Siasi. **14** A male marker resting

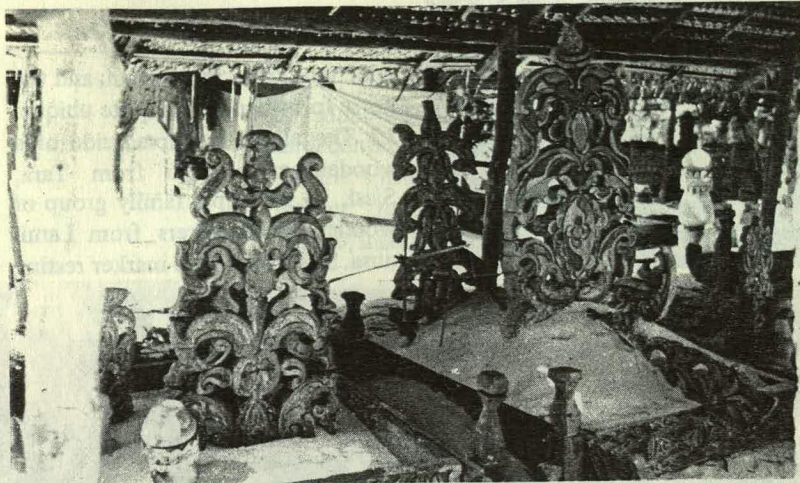


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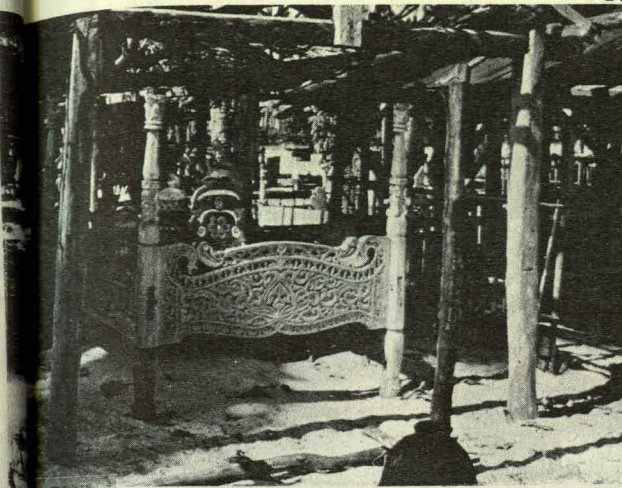


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on a boat form, with terminal *ukkil* decoration said to be "the mouth of the crocodile," from Laminusa, Siasi. White cloth wrapped around the tops of markers indicates that prayers have been recited by the survivors at the site fairly recently. **15** A man's marker from Laminusa, Siasi, with a double "mouth of the crocodile." The lower form is set with cowrie shells and shows traces of painting.



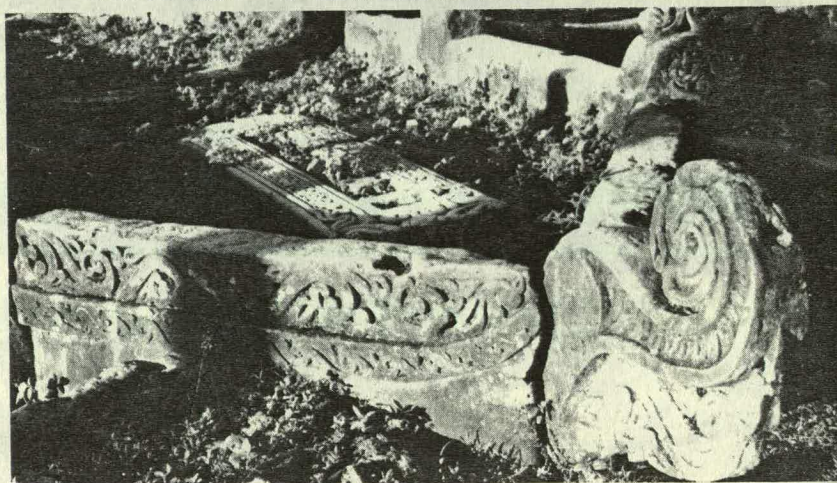
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16 Several elaborate painted wooden markers in well-carved frames from Bun-bun, Tabawan. 17 An extremely fine bed-frame *kubul* from Bun-bun, Tabawan, containing one female and two male markers. 18 A fine representational male marker from Tabawan, now in the Notre Dame of Jolo College Museum. 19 The front end of a large coral boat-form grave-frame at Ungus Matata, Tandubas. Note the handsome "figurehead," *tunjuk*, at the "prow." 20 The back end of the coral marker in fig. 19. 21 A rectangular coral grave-marker from Ungus Matata, Tandubas. This form, common in Ungus Matata, seems rare elsewhere. Variants are seen inside the grave-frame in fig. 19 and in fig. 22.



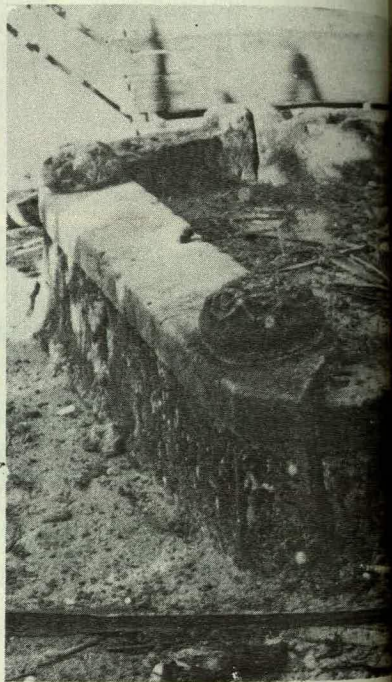
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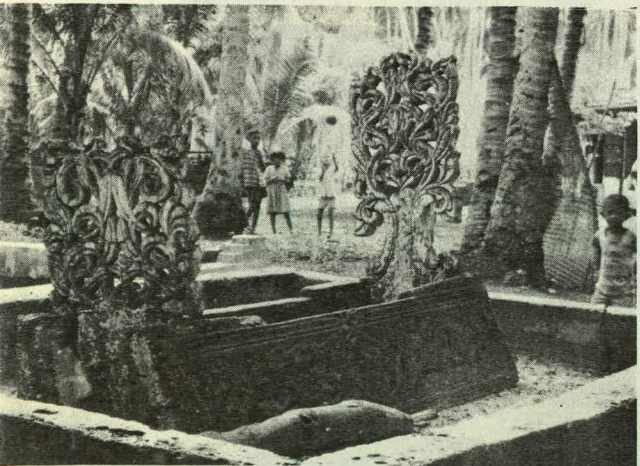
GRAVEMARKERS



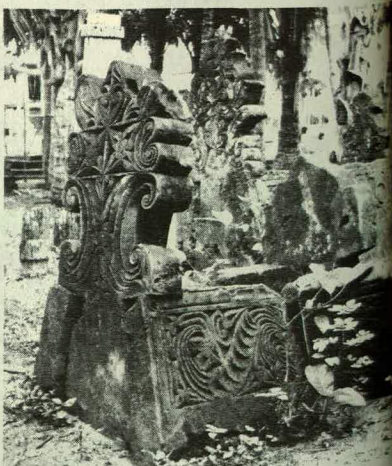
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22 An almost "baroque" coral grave-marker from Ungus Matata, Tandubas. 23 A coral boat-form *kubul* with finely carved knobs at the corners at Ungus Matata, Tandubas. This form is seen fairly frequently in the community, in both coral and concrete. On some of the more modern versions, four-inch shell cases, or even the shells themselves, have been used in place of the traditional knobs. 24 Sides of a coral grave frame with elaborately carved wooden *sunduk* at both ends, at Tubig-Indangan, Simunul. Since prewar days, only concrete markers have been produced here. 25 A handsomely carved coral gravemarker from Tubig-Indangan, Simunul. 26 A woman's coral gravemarker from Sibutu. 27 Examples of the knobbed and often hexagonal male markers of Sibutu.



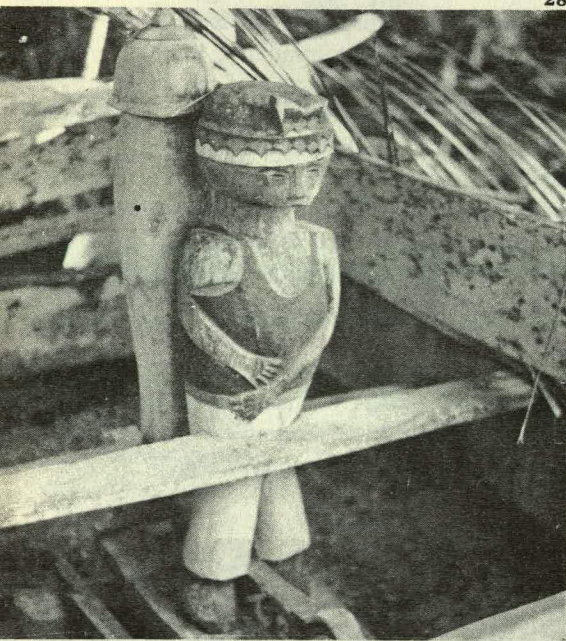
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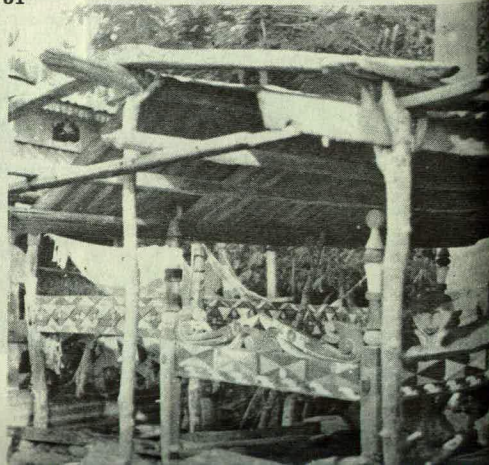
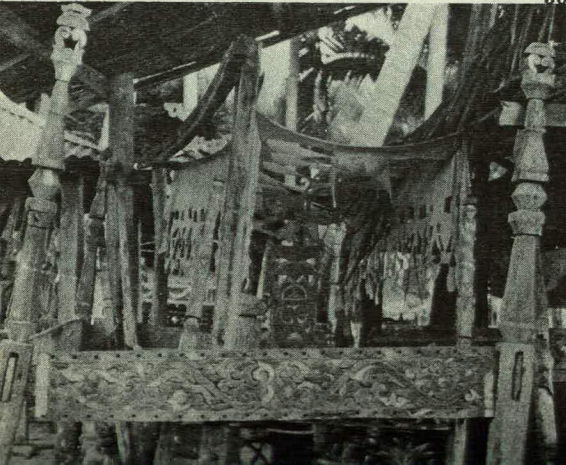
GRAVEMARKERS

28 A carved and painted figure on a boat form in the Bunabunaan Badjaw cemetery. It is somewhat reminiscent of the Samal marker in fig. 18. 29 A male figure on a horse in a grave-frame. A similar horse form is seen in fig. 11. 30 A well-carved and once-painted bed-form grave-frame at the Badjaw cemetery on Binabunaan Island. Protected by a thatched roof, it contains a variety of markers, one of which is seen in fig. 31. 31 A portion of the Badjaw cemetery at Bunabunaan Island, showing a painted bed-frame *kubul*, the general disarray of this site, and the prestigious corrugated-iron roofing over many of the graves.

28 29



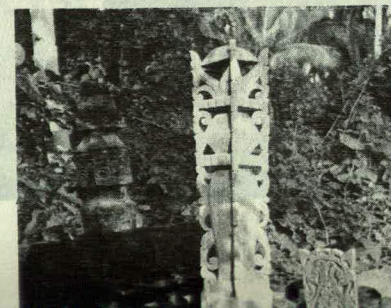
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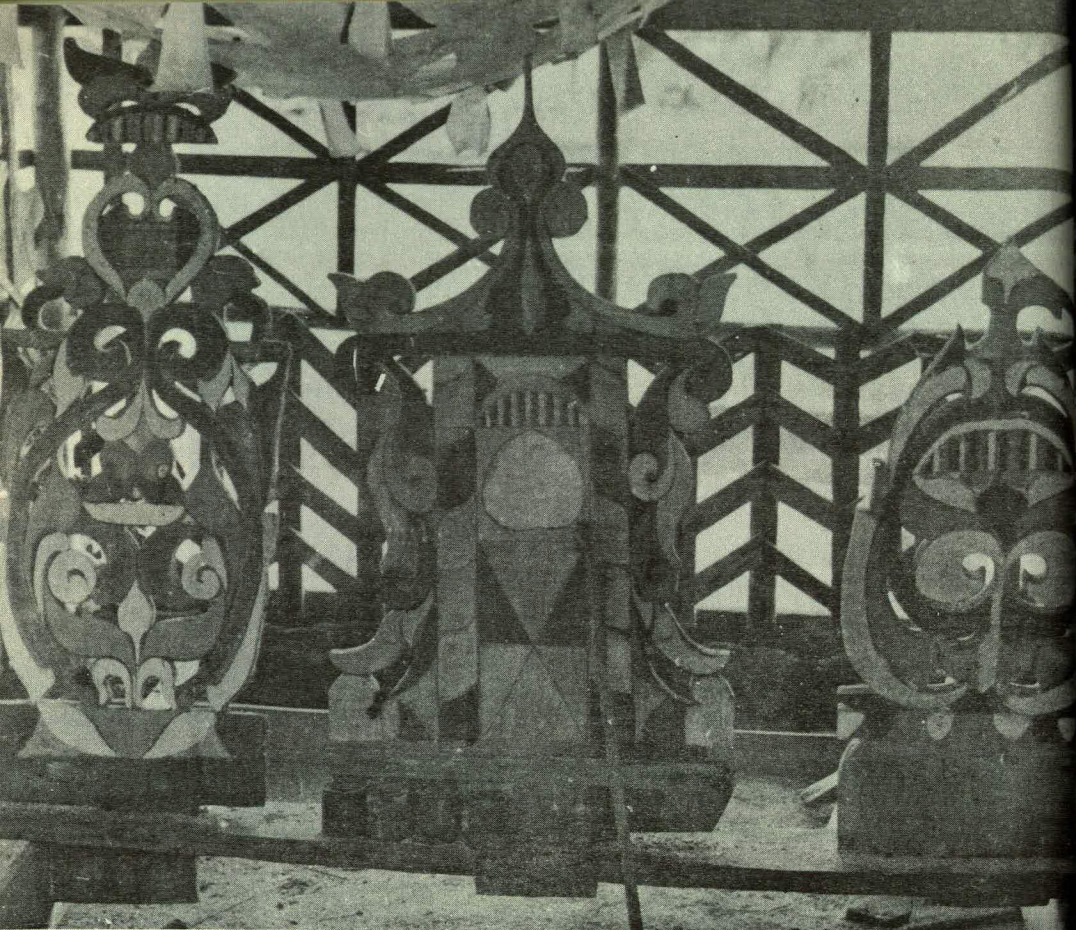


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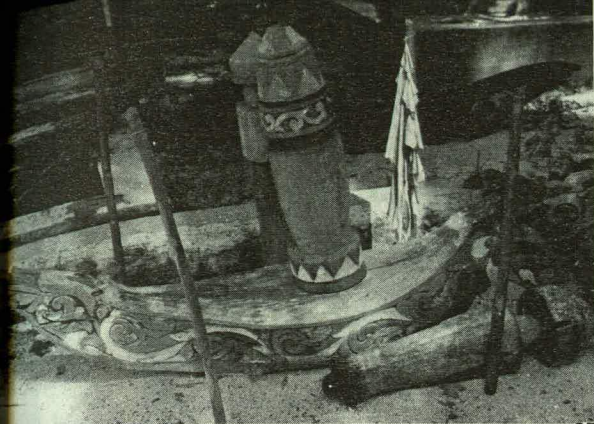
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32 A female gravemarker at Bunabunaan, among the finest carvings seen in Sulu. Broken at its base is a *naga*-form more typical of Lanao than Sulu. 33 Three different markers at Bunabunaan, one in coral, two in wood. The two male markers are extremely fine and fairly unique in the area.

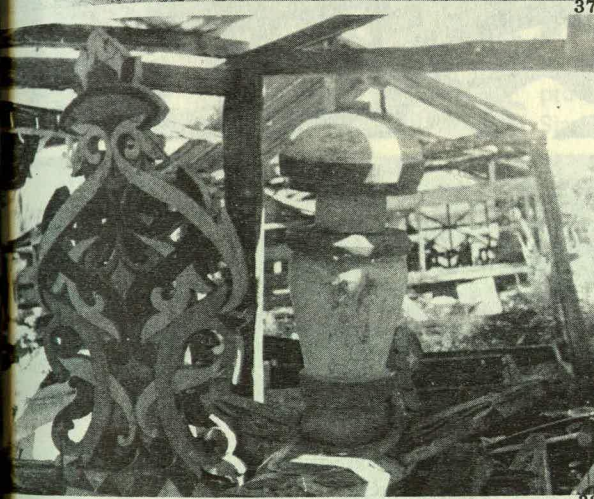




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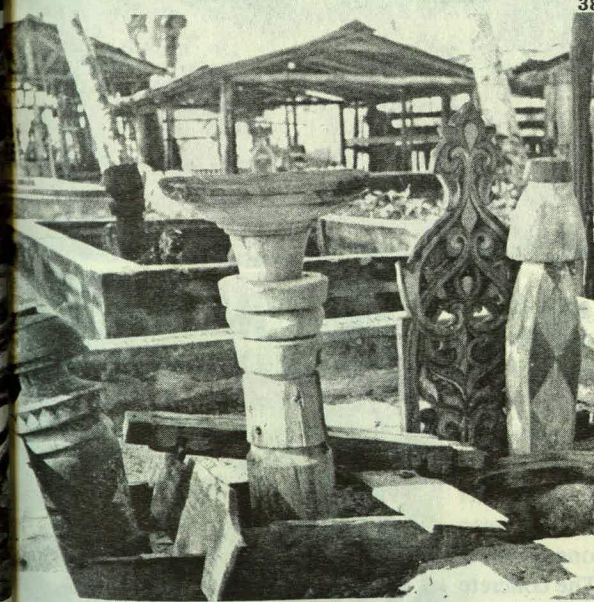
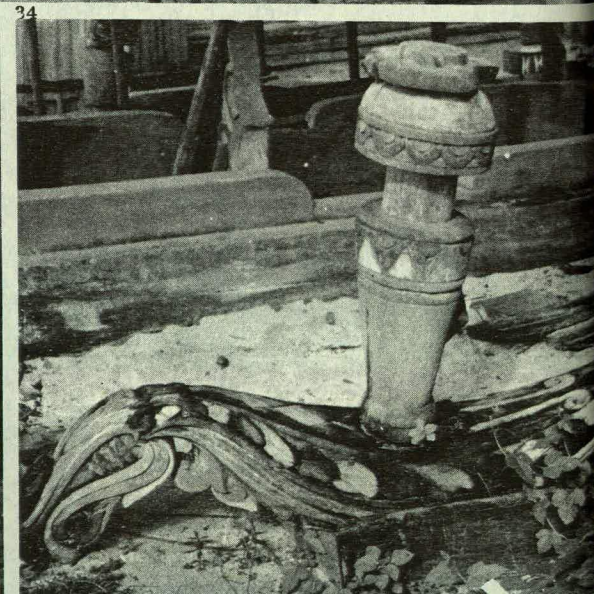
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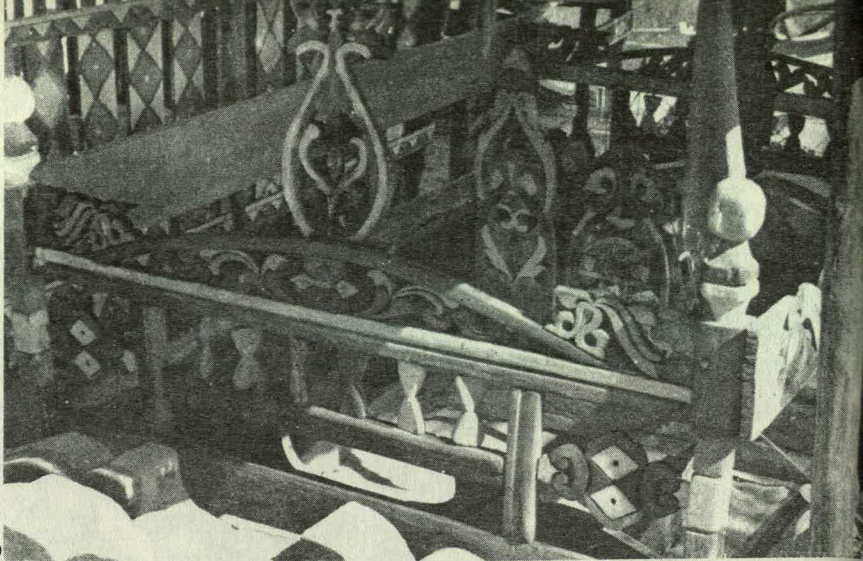
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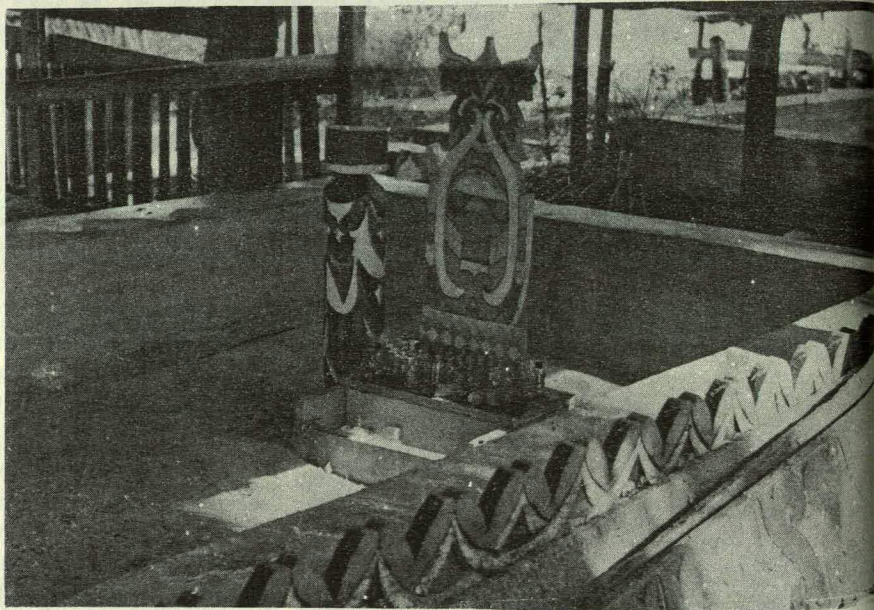
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GRAVEMARKERS

34 Three painted Badjaw female markers in a sturdy shed at Sitangkai. Note the explicit comb forms and the incised area for a mirror in the central marker. 35 Two graceful female markers at Sitangkai. 36 A man's gravemarker, *duyang-duyang*, at Sitangkai. Note the finely carved bird-form base. 37 A man's marker from Sitangkai with a fine bird-form base, and intimations of a fez at the top of the upright. 38 Two particularly handsome male and female Badjaw markers at Sitangkai. Note the "wings" on the male bird-form base. 39 Four extremely different styles of gravemarker in a single Sitangkai *kubul*.



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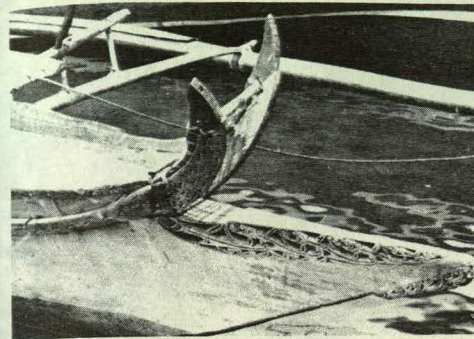
40 A Badjaw bed-frame grave-site at Sitangkai with three female markers. It is somewhat reminiscent of the grave sites of Bunabunaan. 41 A male and female marker at Sitangkai. The perfume bottles at the base of the female marker are offerings to the spirit. The man's marker is the only asymmetrically painted one seen in Sulu. 42 Two wooden and one concrete female markers at Sitangkai. The concrete marker shows an attempt to retain the traditional form and decoration even on the new medium.

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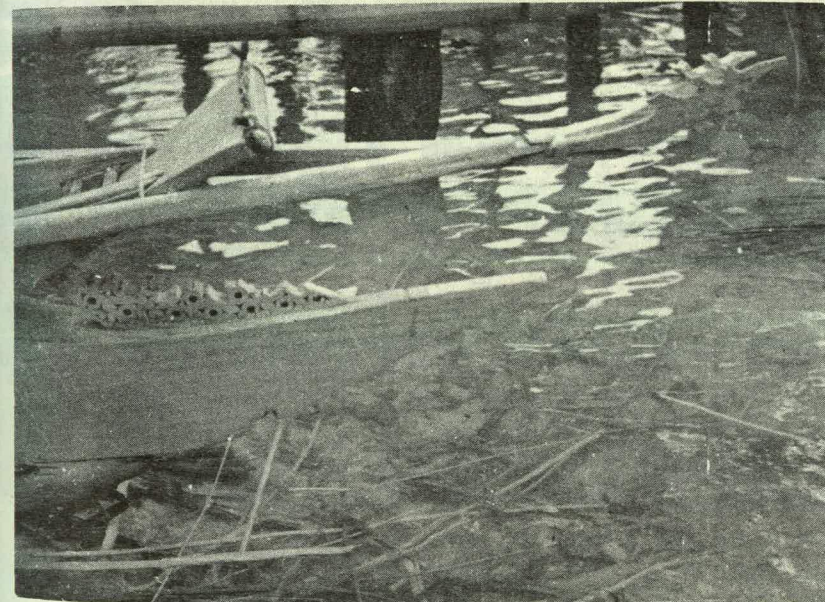


BOAT CARVINGS

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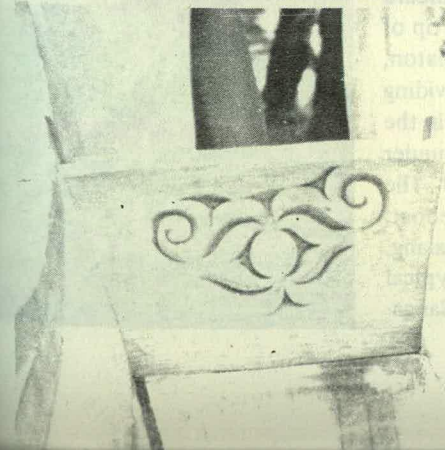


43 The stern of a *sakayan* at Jolo with the traditional set of curved horns, *pansal*, decorated with *ukkil-ukkil* carving. 44 The prow of a *sakayan* at Sisangat, Siasi. Note the carving attached

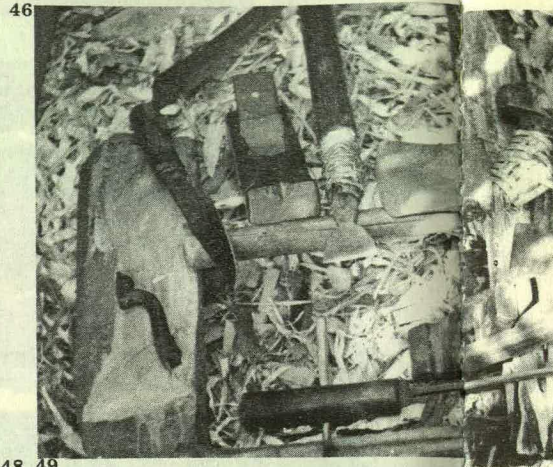


44

45 to it; the decorated wooden plate, *sangpad*, above it; and the carved tips on the projecting shafts, *ajong-ajong*. 45 The "face," *samping*, of a vinta at Sisangat, Siasi.



BOAT CARVINGS

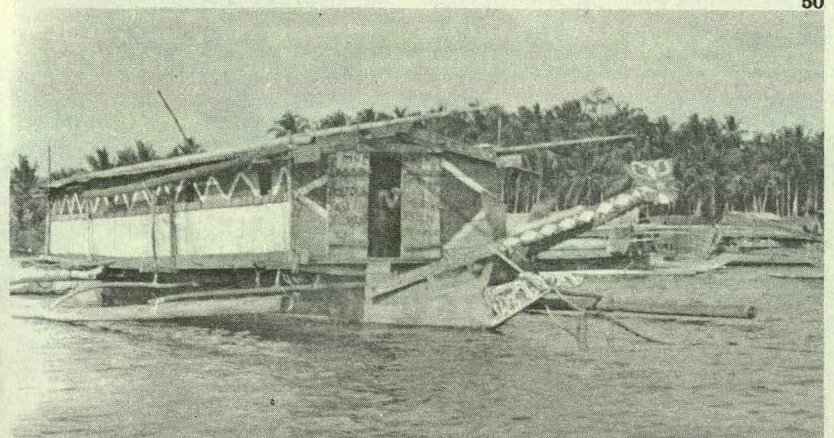
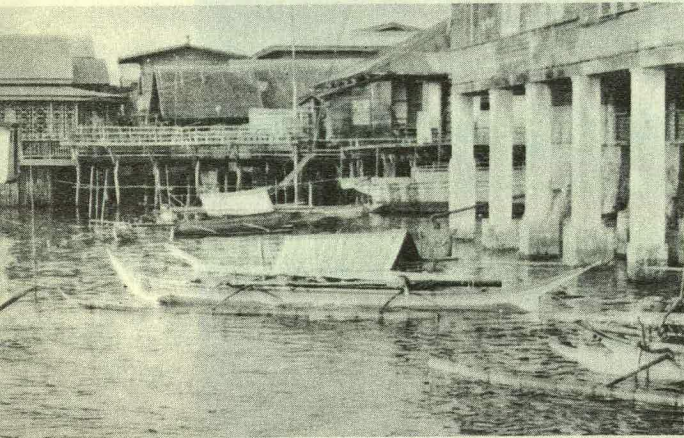


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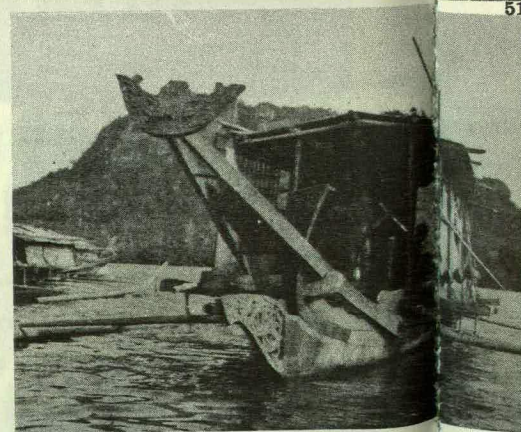


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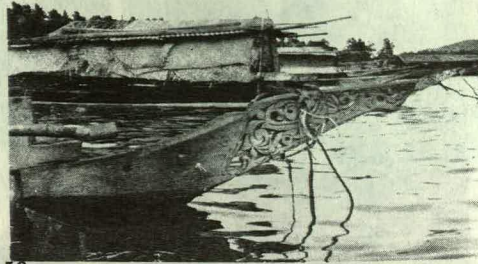
46 Tools for boat- building and carving at Muso, Siasi. 47 A Samal boat-builder at Muso, Siasi, demonstrating the standard carving technique. Note that only the tip of the blade is used with a wooden baton, tapped on the back of the blade, providing the thrust. 48 A *paraw*, most common in the Siasi area, in Jolo harbor. 49 A *paraw* under construction at Laminusa, Siasi. 50 The largest and most richly decorated houseboat, *lepa*, at the Badjaw anchorage at Tungalang, Sanga-Sanga, near Bongao. 51 A fairly typical Badjaw houseboat at Tungalang, Sanga-Sanga.

small houseboat at Tungalang
Sanga-Sanga. The upper portion
from are somewhat reminiscent
of the "mouth of the crocodile"
forms in figs. 14 and 15.

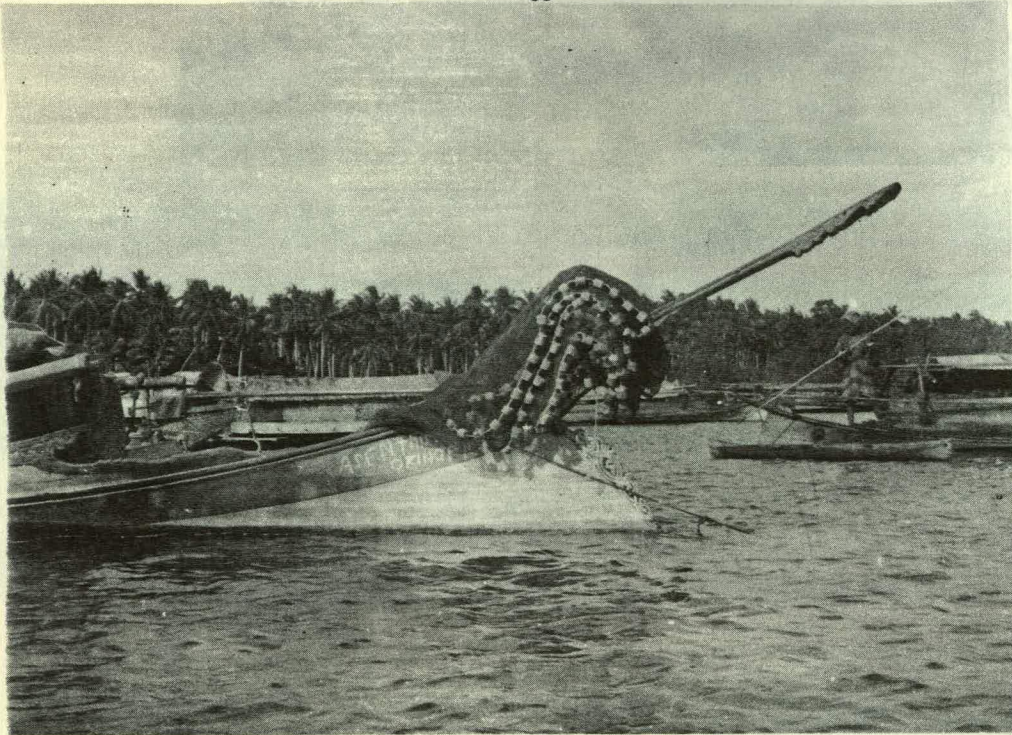
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BOAT CARVINGS

52 The well-carved prow of a Badjaw *lepa* at Tungkalang, Sanga-Sanga. 53 The distinctive and handsomely carved project-

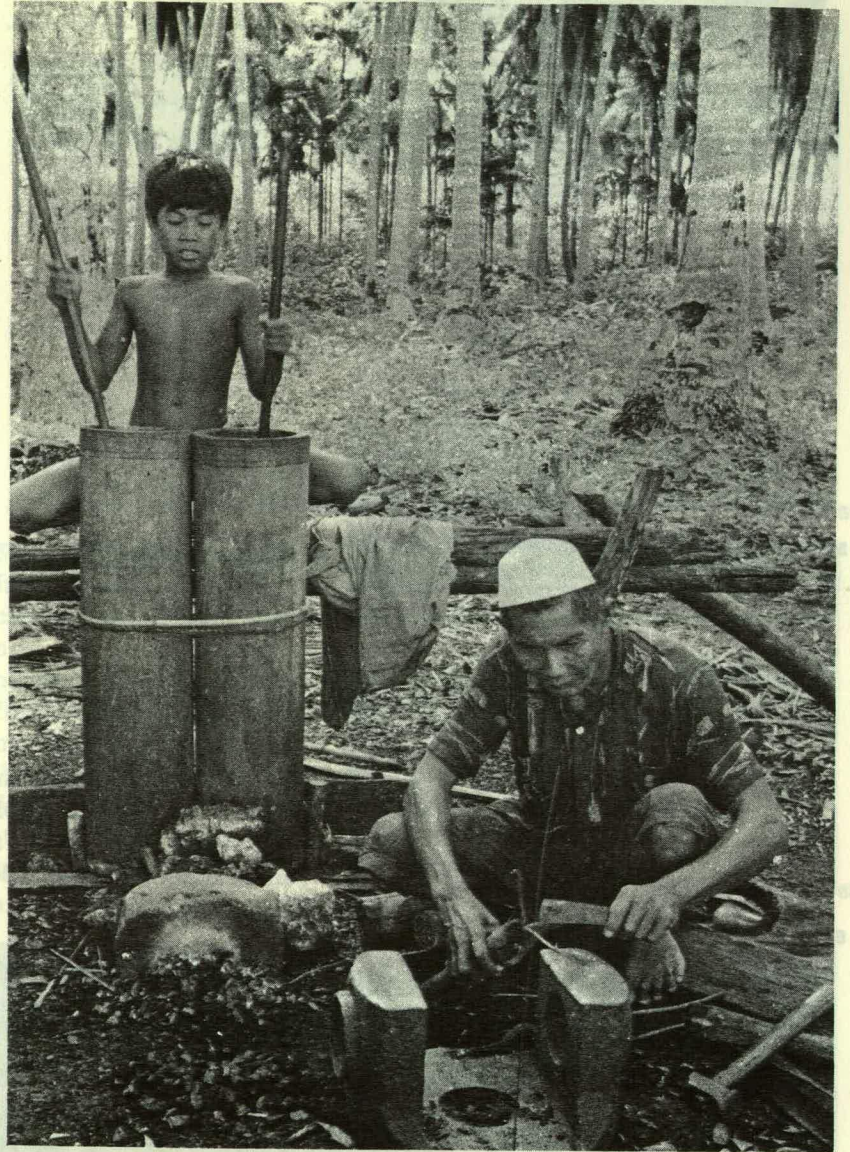
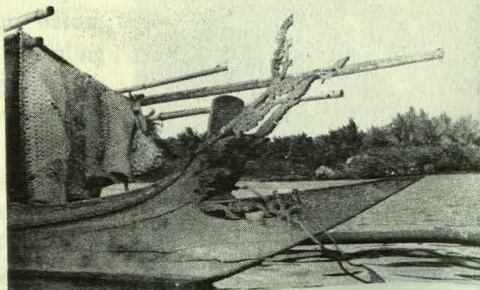


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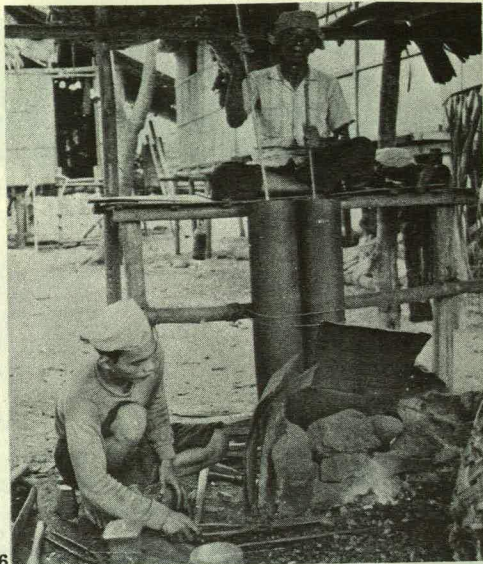


54

ing prow on a Badjaw *lepa* at Tungkalang, Sanga-Sanga. Note also the carved gunwales. 54 Carvings on the prow of a small houseboat at Tungkalang, Sanga-Sanga. The upper projections are somewhat reminiscent of the "mouth of the crocodile" forms in figs. 14 and 15.



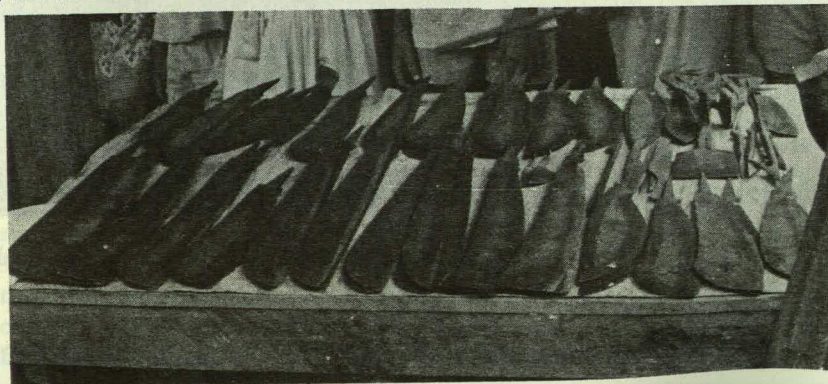
55 A blacksmith with his nephew at the bellows, using the traditional "Malay forge," at Sibutu.



56



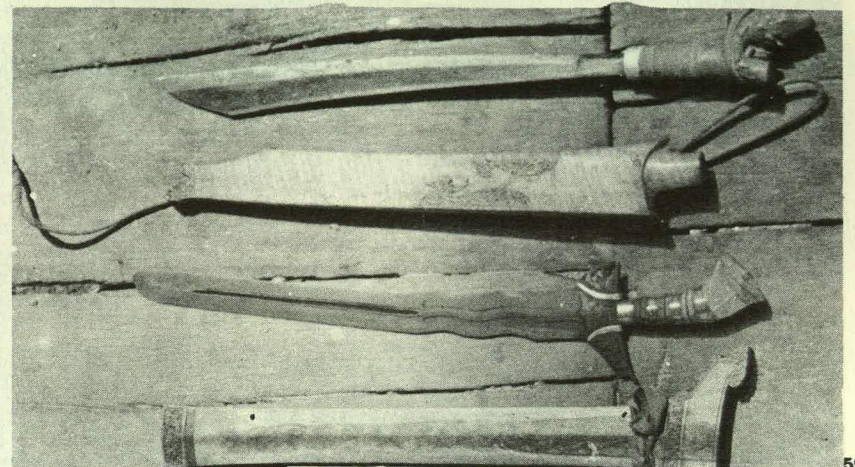
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METAL WORKING

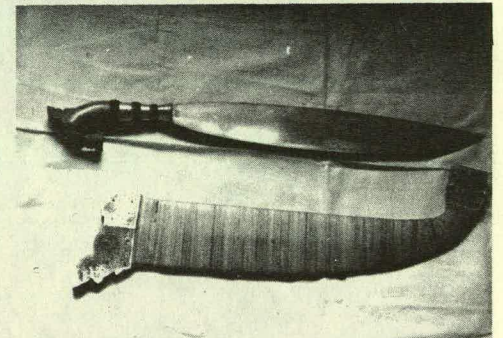
56 A blacksmith with his grandfather at the bellows in Jolo.
 57 A master smith of Jolo. 58 Various locally produced bladed tools for sale in the Jolo market.

WOODWORKING

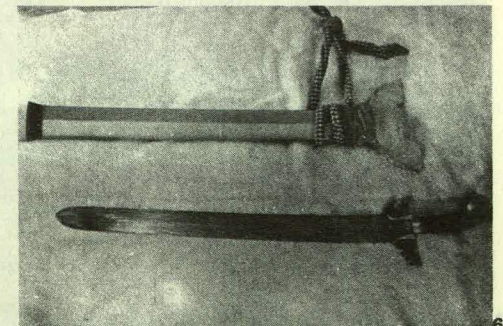


59

59 A *kalis tabuseko* and *gayang* from Sibutu. Note the fine carving on the hardwood scabbards and the distinctive handle of the *gayang*. 60 A *barung* from Luuk, Jolo, with incised mother-of-pearl decoration on the scabbard. 61 A *kalis tulid* from Manubul, Siasi. Note the standard *kalis* "horse-hoof" handle.



60

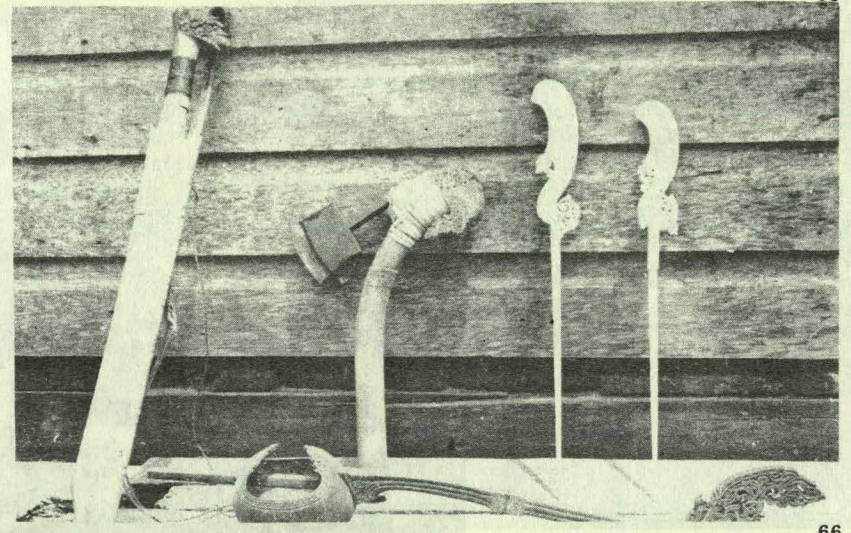
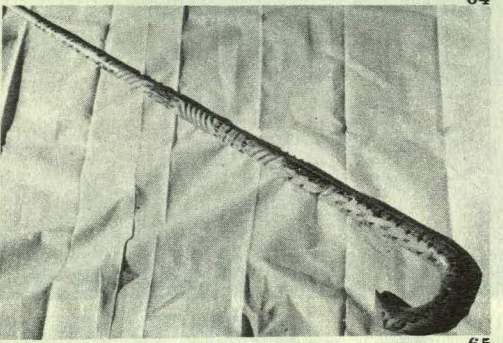


61



WOODWORKING

62 The decoratively carved *paimbalan* of a mosque in Parang, Jolo. Note also the *jala-jala* panels on the walls behind it. 63 A handsomely decorated chisel (*patuk*) at Talisay, Sibutu. 64 A carved and painted walking stick from Sibutu, Sibutu. 65 A *gayang*, *patuk*, two *sanduk panyam*, and a *tagtagan* for making *ja*, a popular Sulu sweet. 66 The carved headboard of a bed from Sibutu, Sibutu.



64

65

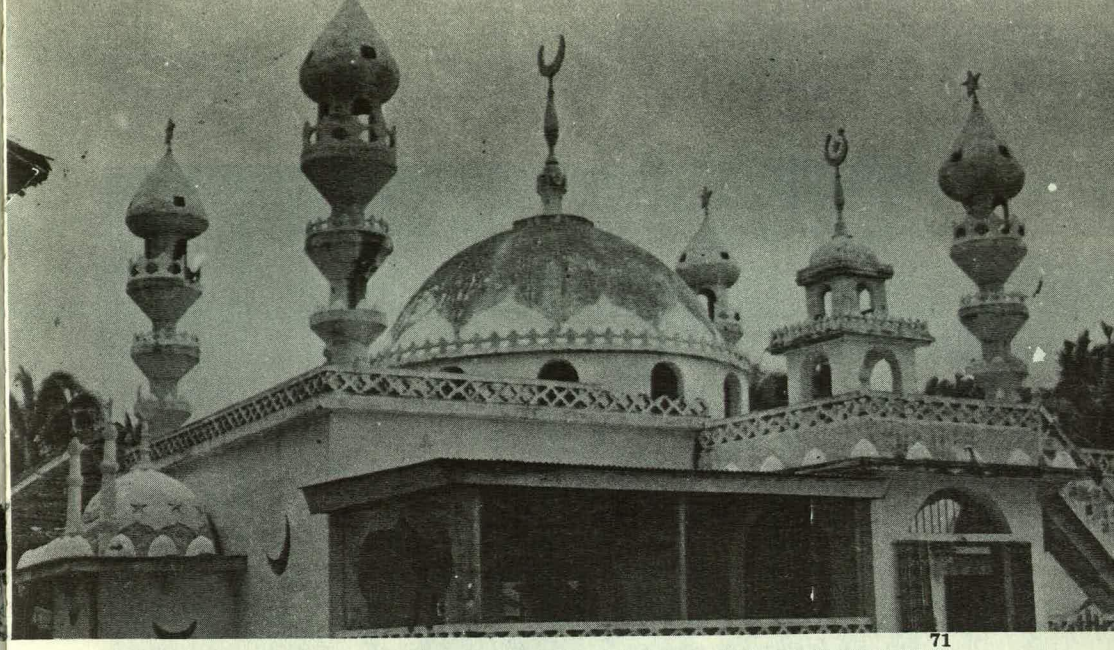
66

ARCHITECTURE

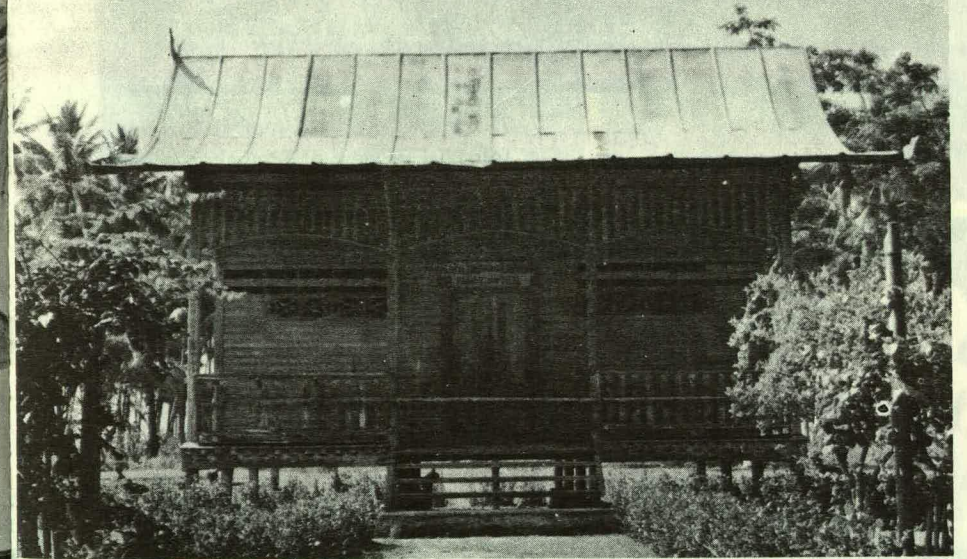
67 68



69 70



71



72

67 A finely carved roof decoration, *tajuk pasung*, with a projecting bird, *manuk-manuk*, and flanking serpent, *naga* forms, at Bus-bus, Jolo. 68 Roof and wall carvings (and a faded painting) on a house in Laminusa, Siasi. 69 The "Blue Mosque" at Parang, Jolo. 70 The facade of a house in Parang, Jolo, with wooden slats arranged in geometrical designs for railings and under the eaves. 71 The "old" mosque of Maimbung, Jolo, based on Middle Eastern models, complete with minarets. 72 The one-room schoolhouse at Taglibi, Jolo.



73 Houses over the reef at Bus-bus, Jolo. 74 A view of Sitangkai, where nearly all of the housing is over the water.

ARCHITECTURE



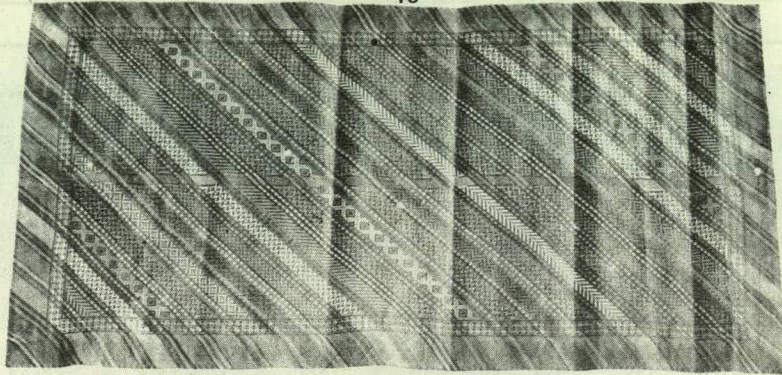
MAT MAKING



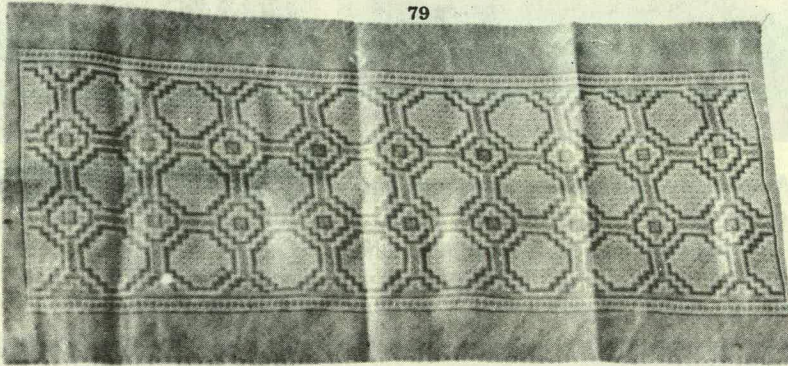
75 A woman at Laminusa, Siasi, removing the center rib of the *pangdan* leaf, preparatory to mat weaving. 76 A new and quite typical mat in process at Laminusa, Siasi. 77 An elderly mat-weaver at Ungus Matata, Tandubas. Note the far greater complexity of design than the mat in progress at Laminusa, in fig. 76.



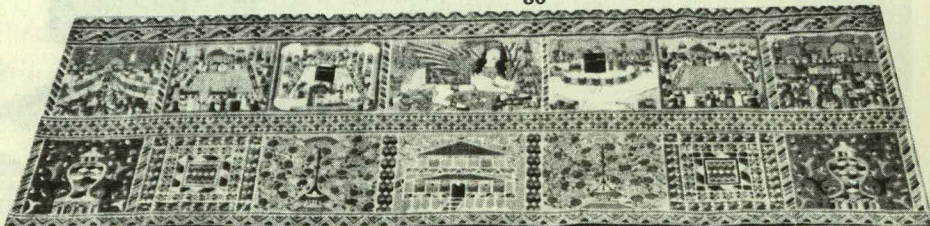
78



79



80



MAT MAKING

78 A large mat with a striped design, *jali*, from Ungus Matata, Tandubas. 79 A mat from Ungus Matata, Tandubas, with a complex pattern, *kusta sasa*, based on a rug the weaver had seen in Sandakan, Sabah. 80 A large rattan *boras*, approximately 5 feet by 20, from Tungusung, Simunul. Painted with scenes of Mecca and Medina, and in geometrical, floral, and architectural designs, they are used as wall screens or floor mats on ceremonial occasions. 81 Two men making *boras* mats at Tungusung, Simunul. 82 A young woman painting a *boras* at Monkai, Simunul.

81



82



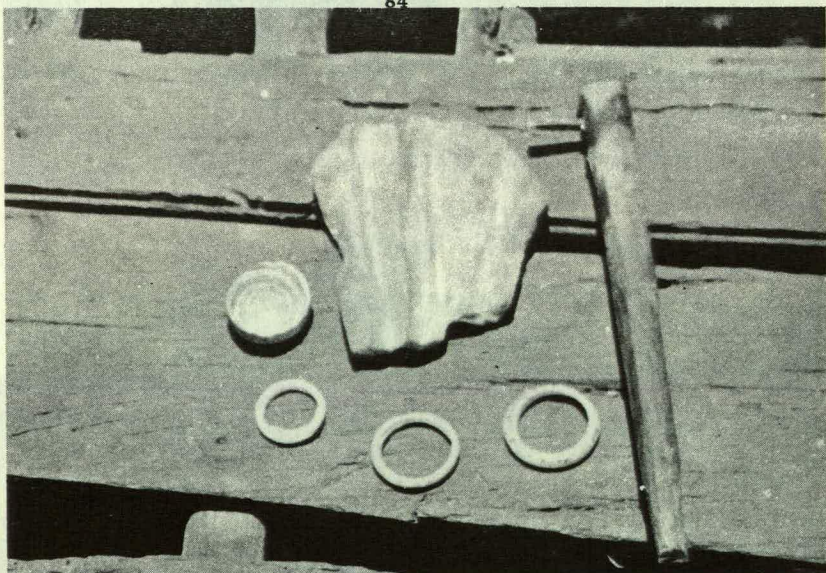
POTTERY

- 83 A potter making flat-bottomed *simpi* for cooking cassava at Tara, Siasi.
 84 A potter at Tubig-Indangan, Simunul, surrounded by a variety of her wares.
 85 Three shell bracelets, *galing sulaw*, the end of a cone shell from which they are produced, a pick and grinding stone, from Manubul, Siasi.



83

84



85

THE MINOR ARTS

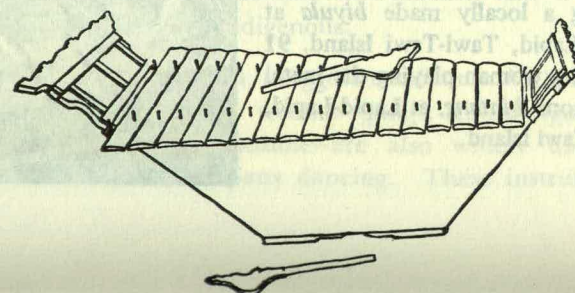


86

86 Plate covers, *turutung dulang* from Talisay, Sibutu. Although the traditional designs are retained, the decorations on these were made of many-colored plastic sheeting. 87 A decorative gate typical of Ubol, Simunul. Note the fairly modest house to which it leads. 88 A bamboo xylophone (*gabbang*) from Bongao. The painted base is a relatively recent introduction.



87



88

THE MINOR ARTS

89



89 A boy playing the *sawnay* at Manubol, Siasi. 90 A young man playing a locally made *biyula* at Lapid-Lapid, Tawi-Tawi Island. 91 A young woman playing the metal xylophone, *bintang*, at Lapid-Lapid, Tawi-Tawi Island.



ing of the *pis siyabit* for formal turbans which once flourished in Parang, Indanan, Luuk, and Kabingaan, Tapul, is now reduced to the activity of a few families in Parang. Made in their free time by women using a back-strap loom, *pis* are about one meter square and subdivided into squares and rectangles filled with elaborate and colorful geometrical designs. Because of their intricacy, *pis* usually take three or four weeks to complete. Weaving is dying out in Sulu because of inadequate marketing arrangements for local cloth and the importation of inexpensive manufactured materials, some of which copy traditional designs.

Musical instruments

There is a rich tradition of instrumental and vocal music, both sacred and secular in Sulu. The Tausug forms have been well analyzed and documented by Trimillos (1965, 1972) and Kiefer (1970). Instruments may be played alone or to accompany singing or dancing or in ensembles. The most important instrument is the *gabbang* (fig. 88), a bamboo xylophone of a range of 14 to 24 keys, but typically, of 16, 17, or 19 keys, using a roughly equidistant seven-note scale. Closely similar instruments are found in many parts of Southeast Asia. In Sulu, *gabbang* may be played by men or women, either alone or to accompany a singer, either for relaxation or entertainment, but they are not used during religious ceremonies. The local wind instruments are the *suling* and *sawnay*, both having close Indonesian counterparts. The *suling* is made from a slender bamboo about two feet long. It has six finger-holes on top and one at the bottom near the reed at one end of the instrument. The *sawnay* (fig. 89) is made from a much shorter and thinner bamboo tube with six holes and a reed of the bamboo itself. It has a pangdan leaf bell which gives it a thrill, oboelike sound. Both the *suling* and *sawnay* are played by men, either alone, particularly when courting, or with *gabbang*, the local *biyula* (fig. 90), or to accompany a vocalist. Children hollow out thick stalks to make *musikos*, simple kazoolike instruments, and a bamboo jews-harp, *kulaying*, is also indigenous.

Two types of large bronze gongs, *tunggalan* and *duwaha*, a drum, *gandang*, and the tuned series of smaller gongs, *kulintangan*—together forming a *kulintangan* ensemble—are also widely used at religious ceremonies and to accompany dancing. These instruments

are not locally produced but come from Maguindanaw or Maranaw bronze casters in Mindanao. In the past they were also obtained from Sabah and Brunei. A bintang, a modest compromise between the gabbang and kulintangan, with seven bossed metal keys is seen in fig. 91, played by Samal girl near Bongao. All of these instruments, along with a complete of vocal music and dance forms, combine to produce an elaborate musical tradition in Sulu, recently influenced by the westernized mass media, but still flourishing as a distinct and independent tradition.

Conclusion

Any such rapid survey must inevitably be superficial and filled with errors and inadequacies. Nearly all of the items discussed above deserve far more intensive treatment, often from several perspectives: esthetic, historical, sociocultural, and even geographic. Although much has been published on the arts of Sulu since the first version of this survey in 1963—some of which have been incorporated in this revised version—the major monograph or set of monographs on the subject remains to be written. My purpose in revising and reprinting this admittedly limited survey has been threefold: first, to bring greater recognition and appreciation of the rich artistic heritage of Sulu; second, to encourage the current efforts by the recently founded Sulu Culture and Historical Society, among others, to preserve and revitalize the traditional arts; and third, to stimulate further investigation on Sulu's complex linkages to the other cultures of the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Even a small success in any one of these would be adequate return for the effort.

Notes

This paper is a completely revised version of that which originally appeared in *Sulu's People and Their Art* (IPC Papers, No. 3; Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1963), pp. 27-66. David L. Szanton has a Ph.D in anthropology (Chicago) and is presently The Ford Foundation's Project Specialist in Asian Studies. His most recently published work is *Estancia in Transition: Economic Growth in a Rural Philippine Community* (IPC Papers, No. 9; Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1971).

1. Unless otherwise indicated, the language in which terms appear is Tausug. Other languages: Samal (S), Badjawa (B).

2. All prices in the text date from 1962 when the exchange rate was about ₱4 to US\$1.

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A Case Classification of Tausug Verbs

Seymour Ashley

Fillmore (1968) has pointed out that the 'covert' grammatical distinction between the two sentences, *John ruined the table* and *John built the table*, is basically a distinction between syntactic-semantic case relationships. The underlying case relationships of the first sentence are *agent* and *patient*. An agent, *John*, acts upon a patient, *the table*. Case relationships of the second sentence are agent, *John*, and factitive, *table*. If a patient were to be expressed in the second sentence it would undoubtedly be the material of which John built the table.

Fillmore further points out that there are many semantically relevant syntactic relationships discoverable in languages, that these relationships or "cases" form a specific finite set, and that observations made about them may be expected to have universal validity.

Stimulated by this theory of case grammar as proposed by Fillmore and later developed by Langendoen (1969), various writers on Philippine languages, Hall (1969), Rhea (1972), Larson (n.d.), Hettick (n.d.) and others, have found it useful to note syntactic-semantic case relationships in deep structure which underlie verbs and their associated nominal phrases in surface structure. This paper proposes a Tausug¹ verb stem description based primarily on the semantic case relationships inherent in the verb stem and secondarily on the mapping relations sustained between certain semantic cases and the grammatical entities to which they relate in the surface structure.

The term focus² as used in this paper refers to the special relationship existing between the topic noun phrase of a clause and the clause predicate whereby that one particular noun phrase is highlighted or focused. This relationship is indicated by verbal inflec-

tion. It has relevance not only at the clause and sentence level, but seems to function at the paragraph level as well and perhaps at discourse level.

Four focus constructions are differentiated: subject (Sf), object (Of), referent (Rf), and accessory (Af). Subject focus verbal affixes (-*um-* and others) indicate that the grammatical subject of the clause is the topic or item being focused in the clause. In the following example *nakakadtu siya pa tabu'* (Sf³-begun-went topic-subject-he directional-marker-to market) 'He went to the market.' *naka-* is the focus affix occurring with the verb went indicating that the focused item or topic *he* stands in a subject relationship to the verb. The object focus affixes (-*un* and others) indicate that the grammatical object of the clause is the item being focused. *lawagun sin sundalu in iban niya* (Of-not-begun-search subject-marker subject-soldier topic-marker object-companion possessive-he) 'The soldier will look for his companion.' The referent focus affixes (-*an* and others) indicate that the grammatical referent of the clause is being focused. *lawagan ta kaw manuk* (Rf-not-begun-search subject-pronoun-I referent-you-singular object-chicken) 'I'll look for a chicken for you.' Similarly accessory focus affixes (*hi-* and others) indicate that grammatical accessory is the focused item or topic. *hipanglawag mu in palitaan* (Af-not-begun-search subject-you-singular topic-marker accessory-lamp) 'Use the lamp for searching.'

Predicate, argument, and proposition are terms used by logicians which have been borrowed by linguists to make statements concerning underlying linguistic structure. Proposition is the term used for the semantic structure that ordinarily underlies a clause, predicate for the semantic representation of a content word (noun or verb) within a proposition, and argument for the semantic elements that correspond to the nouns or noun phrases about which the predicate makes an assertion. For example the proposition underlying the sentence, *kiyamas sin kuting in bata'* 'The cat scratched the child' is composed of three elements, namely, a predicate with its two arguments, agent and patient. The change of state predicate is manifested in surface structure by the verb, *kiyamas* 'scratched.' Agent is manifested by the noun phrase, *sin kuting*, 'cat', and patient by the noun phrase, *in bata'* 'child'.

In this paper the term 'case' refers only to a special set of relationships which exist between a predicate and its arguments; it excludes temporal and locative phrase relationships which exist not between the clause predicate and its arguments, but between the

clause predicate and the entire clause or sentence. Langendoen (1970) calls the list of roles or cases with which a particular predicate can occur its role structure. Some predicates have multiple role structures, each of which corresponds to a separate area of meaning. Case relationships or situational roles that are assumed in this paper are Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Goal, Source, Instrument, Factitive, Range, and Non-Instigative Cause.

Agent is the animate participant who is instigator of the action; if not animate it must be viewed as having animate properties which make it capable of performing the action unaided. *Patient* is the entity affected or changed by the predication or described as being in the state indicated by the predication. *Experiencer* is the animate participant who perceives or feels what is expressed by the predication. *Goal* is where an action is directed. *Source* is where the action comes from. *Instrument* is the inanimate implement utilized by the agent. *Factitive* is the result of the action. *Range* is the area or field of involvement of the predication. *Non-Instigative cause* is the inanimate force causing the state or process-state indicated by the predication. It may also be an animate cause if viewed as being involuntary.

Agent Oriented Stems

Following Hettick, this analysis assumes a major division of verb stems into Agent oriented stems (characterized by the obligatory presence of Agent role and obligatory absence of Patient role) and Experiencer oriented stems (characterized by obligatory presence of Experiencer role). Agent oriented stems are divided into seven subclasses; Standard change of state: Factitive, Field of Action, Travel, Conveyance, Acquisition, and Reciprocal. Change of state verb stems are action-process stems which affect a change of state in the participant receiving the action of the stem. They are of two kinds, Standard and Factitive. As will be noted the criterion used in this paper by which the primary subclasses of stems were determined is that of role structure. Any two stems with identical role structures are considered to be members of the same stem class.

The combinations of underlying semantic cases which comprise role structures and thereby define the primary subclasses of stems will be represented using the following notations: (case) present in deep structure and optional in surface structure. /case/ optiona-

ally present in deep structure and if present in deep structure then obligatory in surface structure. (case-case) both cases are present in deep structure; they underly the same surface structure element and are optional in surface structure. It should be noted that the listing of the semantic cases which comprise the role structure of a stem does not imply any fixed order of the nominal adjuncts which manifest the semantic cases in surface structure since ordering is subject to different arrangements according to various stylistic and grammatical requirements. Further it should be noted that the notation of the case frames is admittedly incomplete since the occurrence or non-occurrence of the corresponding surface constructions has not been fully worked out.

Standard change of state

Standard change of state stems have the role structure or case frame (Agent), (Patient), (Instrument). They differ from Factitive stems by the absence of the Factitive in their case frame. With standard stems Agent maps to the grammatical subject, Patient to grammatical object, and Instrument to grammatical accessory. *hikutkut ku tinapay in ipun ku* (Af-not-begun-bite subject-pronoun-I object-bread topic-marker accessory-teeth possessive-pronoun-my) 'I'll use my teeth to bite the bread.' Other verbs of this class are *kamas* 'scratch', *kubut* 'pinch' *tanduk* 'gore with horn', *tibu* 'strike with back of hand', *tahay* 'dry', *timbang* 'shoot', *paygu* 'bath', *lubu* 'raze', *inum* 'drink', *utud* 'cut'.

Factitive

Factitive or existential result stems have the case frame (Agent), (Patient), (Instrument), (Factitive). They differ from standard change of state stems by the presence of Factitive in their case frame. Agent maps to grammatical subject and Instrument to grammatical accessory. However, either Patient or Factitive can map to grammatical object when only one is present in the surface structure. Contrast *umanyam kita sin bannang sin huk*. (Sf-not-begun-weave topic-pronoun-dual-we object-marker object-yarn accessory-marker accessory-hook) 'We'll crochet the yarn using a hook' with *umanyam kita sin kurtina sin huk ini* (Sf-not-begun-weave topic-pronoun-dual-we object-marker object-curtain accessory-

marker accessory-hook this) 'We'll crochet the curtain using this hook.'

Factitive maps differently, however, when Patient and Factitive are simultaneously manifested in clause. In such cases Factitive maps to the unmarked substantive phrase immediately following the grammatical object. *umanyam aku sin pangdan baluy sin hūk ini* (Sf-not-begun-weave topic-pronoun-I object-marker object-cactus-fiber factitive-sleeping-mat accessory-marker accessory-hook this) 'I'll weave this cactus into a sleeping mat using this hook.' The mapping relations described above hold true with respect to clauses involving not only subject focus as illustrated above, but for clauses involving object, accessory, and referent focus as well: *hablunun ku in pis sin hahablun* (loom-Of-not-begun I-subject-pronoun topic-marker object-scarf accessory-marker accessory-loom) 'I'll loom the man's scarf using a loom' *hipanghablun ku in hahablun sin pis* (Af-distributive aspect-not-begun-loom subject-pronoun-I topic-marker accessory-loom object-marker object-man's-scarf.) 'I will use the loom to loom the man's scarf.' *anyaman nila kaw sin bannang kurtina sin hūk ini* (weave-Rf-not-begun subject-pronoun-you object-marker object-yarn curtain accessory-marker accessory-hook this) 'They'll weave yarn into a curtain with this hook (and bring it) to you.'

It is useful to note that when Patient and Factitive are simultaneously manifested in a clause the linear order of the surface structures which they underly is restricted to that illustrated above, namely, Patient Factitive. Were this not true ambiguities might result, since the grammatical object manifesting Patient and the grammatical accessory manifesting Instrument (which follows Factitive) are introduced by relators identical in form. Other stems of this class include *tunaw* 'melt', *hansul* 'melt', (no apparent difference between these two words), *bati* 'mix ingredients', *tabid* 'twist', *addum* 'mix like a paste or batter', *adjal* 'prepare foods and other things', *hinang* 'make', 'build', *asal* 'forge'.

Field of action

Field of action verbs have an (Agent), (Range) case frame. They are action-process verbs and designate either the field where the action takes place, *languyan sin bata' in lawm sin bungsud* (swim-Rf-not-begun subject-marker subject-youth 'The youth will swim in the interior of the fish corral', or else designate the field from which

the patient is identified and acted upon, *dipan ku in wanni* (peel-Rf-not-begun subject-pronoun-I topic-marker referent-mango) 'I'll peel some of the mangoes,' in which case, as noted by Hettick, Range and Patient are mutually identifying. Many change of state verbs are also members of this field of action class of verbs which has a characteristic partitive meaning: *inuman ku in tubig ni Malik*. (drink-Rf-not-begun subject-pronoun-I topic-marker referent-water possessive-marker-personal Malik) 'I'll drink some of Malik's water. Other stems with this same double-class membership are *bali*' 'break', *kutkut* 'bite', *sunug* 'burn', *bunu* 'fight', *sumbay* 'slaughter', *kali* 'dig', *pila* 'cut down', *saggaw* 'capture.'

With some field of action stems the Patient which is identified by the field relates to the exterior surface of the field and as noted by Kerr (1965) the action performed by the Agent either removes something from or adds something to the field. *paisan niya in mangga* (remove-skin-Rf-not-begun subject-pronoun-he topic-marker referent-mango) 'He'll skin the mango,' *tupalan ku in pantalun sin hikhik* (patch-Rf-not-begun subject-pronoun-I topic-marker referent-pants associate-marker associate-snips of cloth) 'I will patch the snips of cloth onto the pants.'

In some instances the item added or removed from the field is the same item functioning as the verb root (Kerr 1965): *tawmpaan ku in siki ku sin tawmpa' itum* (shoe-Rf-not-begun subject-pronoun-I topic-marker referent-foot possessive-pronoun-my accessory-marker accessory-shoe black) 'I will wear the black shoes.' Some other stems which function in this manner are *tubig* 'water', *bay* 'house', *samin* 'plate glass', *badju* 'shirt', *tawmpa'* 'shoes', *saub* 'cover'.

With field of action verbs Agent maps to grammatical subject and Range to grammatical referent.

Travel

Travel or intransitive motion verbs have an (Agent), (Goal) case frame in deep structure. Stems of this class are action stems indicating movement of the Agent to or toward the Goal: *manaw kita pa Tiyanggi* (Sf-not-begun walk topic-pronoun-dual-we direction-marker Tiyanggi) 'Let's walk to Jolo City.' Agent maps to grammatical subject and Goal to grammatical referent. Travel stems occur with either subject focus inflection as illustrated above, or with object focus inflection, in which case semantic Goal is the

case relationship underlying the focused item: *tukarun mundu in gimba* (go-up-of-not-begun subject-marker subject-outlaw topic-marker referent-interior) 'The outlaw will go up into the interior.' Other stems of this class are *balik* 'return', *umpak* 'jump', *hapit* 'stop by', *datung* 'arrive', *da'git* 'swoop', *guwa* 'exit', *sakat* 'mount onto', or into, *tulak* 'depart', *sūd* 'enter', *dagan* 'run', *kadtu* 'go', *kari* 'come', *lūd* 'go down'.

Each member of this class of travel verbs can occur not only with subject and object focus inflection but with accessory focus inflection as well. In such instances the accessory affix *hi-* functions as a transitivizing affix introducing a Patient into the semantic case frame underlying the verb. Therefore (following the viewpoint adopted in this paper) the particular verb involved is not analyzed as being a travel verb when inflected for accessory focus but rather as a conveyance verb, an instance of multiple role structure.

Conveyance

Conveyance or handling verb stems have the case frame (Agent-Source) (Patient) (Goal) and /Instrument/. They are action-process stems indicating directed action by the Agent upon the Patient resulting in the movement of the Patient away from the Agent toward the Goal. They are divided into three classes: Standard conveyance, Speech stems, and Carrying stems. Movement of the Agent is relevant only as it pertains to carrying stems. With carrying stems Agent moves with the Patient toward a Goal, whereas with standard conveyance and speech stems the motion or non-motion of the Agent is irrelevant. The following is an example of a standard conveyance stem: *biyugit na hi Utu' in kuting ha gi'tung lawd* (Af-begun-throw-away already personal-subject-marker subject-Sonny topic-marker accessory-cat reference-marker referent-middle ocean) 'Sonny threw away the cat into the deep part of the ocean.' As illustrated in the example, verbs of this subclass focus the item being transferred by using accessory focus inflection on the verb. To focus the place toward which the item is moved referent focus inflection is used: *biyugitan niya in lungag sin lummi'* (begun-throw-away-Rf subject-pronoun-he topic-marker referent-hole accessory-marker accessory-filth) 'He threw away the filth into the hole.' Stems of this class do not occur with object

focus. To focus the instrument used in performing the action accessory focus inflection is used: *hipamugit ku sin lummi' in lima ku* (Af-not-begun-throw-away subject-pronoun-I object-marker object-filth topic-marker accessory-hand possessive-pronoun-my) 'I'll use my hand to throw away the filth.' The roles Agent and Source map simultaneously to grammatical subject, which is the reason why they are represented as a compound in the role structure. The role Goal maps to grammatical referent whereas Patient maps to grammatical accessory except when that slot is filled by Instrument (see preceding example) in which instance Patient maps to grammatical object. Instrument maps to grammatical accessory. Other stems of this subclass are *hantak* 'throw', *pusaka* 'bequest', *butang* 'put', *laruk* 'throw', *duhal* 'handover', *dihil* 'give', *anduk* 'bow the head', *bin* 'leave', *sungit* 'eat with fingers', *būs* 'loan', *ungsud* 'give dowry', *sangun* 'install', *ganti* 'exchange'. Although all carrying stems are similar in that they all involve motion of both Agent and Patient toward a specified Goal, in contrast to standard conveyance stems, they are here divided into two classes, standard carrying stems and transitivized travel stems, on the basis of their differing distributions in the four focus constructions. Standard carrying stems like *pipi* 'carry on the hip', *pindit* 'carry dangling', *tanggung* 'carry by stick on the shoulder', *lutu* 'carry on the head', *baba* 'carry piggyback', *balung* 'carry on the shoulder', *dā* 'carry' (generic), *lutu* 'carry food' occur in all four focus constructions. With subject focus affix *-um-*, the subject manifesting semantic Agent is in focus: *dumā aku sin bata'* (Sf-not-begun-carry topic-pronoun-I object-marker object-child) 'I'll carry the child.' With object focus affix *-un* the grammatical object manifesting Patient is in focus: *pipihun ta kaw* (carry-on-the hip-of-not-begun subject-pronoun-I you-singular-topic-pronoun) 'I'll carry you on my hip.'

With any of the accessory focus affixes *hi-*, *hipag-*, or *hipang-* the grammatical accessory manifesting the semantic role Instrument is in focus. No difference in the use of the three affixes is apparent however. Contrast between them seems to be neutralized when they occur with stems which have a natural instrument indicated in the stem itself. *asal hipagpipi ku sin bata' in kid ku* (naturally Af-not-begun-carry-on-the-hip subject-pronoun-I object-marker object-child topic-marker accessory-hip possessive-pronoun-my) 'Naturally I will use my hip to hip-carry the child.' This particular focus construction seldom occurs, however, since a person is infrequently

called upon to mention the Instrument, which in this case is a body part involved in the lexical meaning of the stem itself.

With referent focus *-an*, the grammatical referent manifesting the semantic Goal is in focus: *balungan ku in pangantin pandala* (shoulder-carry-not-begun-Rf subject-pronoun-I topic-marker Referent-bridegroom groom's-companion) 'I'll shoulder-carry the best man to the bridegroom.'

In contrast to standard carrying stems the transitivized travel stems occur only with accessory and referent focus constructions. In addition, mapping relations are different since stems like *pipi* 'carry on the hip', focus the carried item by using object focus affixes and Patient maps to grammatical object whereas with transitivized travel stems the Goal maps to grammatical referent. Similarly the accessory focus construction with either kind of stem can indicate an instrument as the highlighted adjunct of the clause: however, with transitivized travel stems like *dagan* 'run', only the affixes *hipag-* or *hipang-* are used since *hi-* with transitive travel stems focuses the Patient carried: *hipagdagan ku katas pa upis in siki ku* (Af-not-begun-run subject-pronoun-I paper to-directional-marker referent-office topic-marker accessory-feet possessive-pronoun-my) 'I'll run the paper to the office with my feet.' In instances like this, semantic Patient maps to an unfocusable grammatical object slot rather than to the more usual grammatical accessory. Other transitivized travel stems are *datung* 'arrive', *sakat* 'mount up', *balik* 'return', *guwa* 'exit': in other words, the entire list of travel stems. Basically the meaning 'deliver' is added to the meaning of the travel stem so that *dagan* as a travel stem means 'to run' whereas as a transitivized travel stem it means 'to deliver running.'

Speech stems, although they have the same case frame as other conveyance stems, are classed as distinct from standard conveyance and carrying stems because the speech material occurring in the grammatical constructions manifesting the Patient role many times takes the form of a sentence complement: *nagbayta' sila kaku' sin di' sila magad* (Sf-begun-tell they-topic-pronoun referent-pronoun-me object-marker negative topic-pronoun-they Sf-not-begun-accompany) 'They told me that they will not go along.' With stems like *bayta'* 'tell', the mapping relations are the same as with the transitivized travel stems. Agent maps to grammatical subject, Patient (that which is spoken) maps to grammatical accessory and Goal (the person spoken to) maps to grammatical referent. *hisuysuy ku kanila in pagkalu'* (Af-not-begun-relate subject-pronoun-I refer-

ent-pronoun-them topic-marker accessory-quarrel) 'I'll relate to them concerning the quarrel.' Other stems of this class are *sambung* 'answer', *sumbung* 'report', *bissara* 'talk', *bayta* 'tell', *hindu* 'teach', *salsila* 'relate stories', *galit* 'shout', *ulang* 'yell', *nasihat* 'impart moral teaching'. There are certain stems of this class *isun* 'counsel', *asubu* 'question', and others which have multiple role structures. They can function either as conveyance stems or as acquisition stems.

Acquisition

Acquisition stems have the semantic case frame (Agent-Goal) and (Patient). They are action-process stems indicating an action performed by the Agent upon the Patient resulting in the directed motion of the Patient toward the Agent. *kumawa' kaw tubig kan Johnny* (Sf-not-begun-get singular-topic-pronoun-you object-water referent-marker-personal Johnny) 'You will get water from Johnny.' The semantic roles Agent and Goal map simultaneously to grammatical subject and Patient to grammatical object. Other stems of this class are *agaw* 'illegally dispossess', *takaw* 'steal', *lukat* 'redeem', *būs* 'borrow', *bi* 'buy', *sambi* 'borrow' (anticipating replacement with something else) *utung* 'pull', *pūt* 'pick up', *hilla* 'pull upwards', *dagtu* 'jerk'.

Some stems like *būs* have multiple role structures. In Accessory focus, *būs* functions only as a conveyance stem; *hibūs ku kaymu ni sin* (Af-not-begun-loan subject-pronoun-I singular-referent-pronoun-you topic-marker accessory-money) 'I'll loan you the money.' With subject focus affix *-um-* *būs* functions only as an acquisition stem: *mūs aku sin kaniya* (Sf-not-begun-borrow topic-pronoun-I object-money referent-pronoun-him) 'I'll borrow money from him.'

Reciprocal

Reciprocal verb stems have the case frame (Agent-Patient). Both Agent and Patient are animate and act upon each other reciprocally. They map simultaneously to one grammatical subject, namely the grammatical subject of a subject focus clause; that subject is plural and there is no grammatical object in the clause: *nagbumu' sila* (Sf-begun-fight topic-pronoun-they) 'They are fighting each other.' *nagkalu-kiyaluhi in tau iban pangtungud niya* (Sf-begun-alternate-

reciprocal-quarrel topic-marker subject-person and subject-cousin possessive-pronoun-his) 'The fellow and his cousin alternately and reciprocally quarreled'. Other stems of this class are *lasa* 'love', *suntutuk* 'fist fight', *lingug* 'quarrel', *sambi* 'exchange', *saliyu* 'exchange places', *lugat* 'discuss', *isun* 'counsel'. Similarly to Siocon Subanon (Hall 1969) when this type of stem occurs with other than subject focus constructions it has a different underlying role structure. Some stems like *bunu* 'fight', occur as change-of-state stems, and others like *isun* 'counsel', occur as conveyance stems.

Patient Oriented Stems

Patient oriented stems are divided into two subclasses, Process state stems and Inherent state stems.

Process state

Process-state stems have the semantic roles (Patient) and (Non-instigative cause) in their role structure. These stems indicate a process which the Patient has undergone or will undergo eventuating in the state named by the stem. Both the process and state are due to the affect of the Non-instigative cause. These stems divide into two subclasses, standard and non-standard, on the basis of the different affixes involved. With both subclasses mapping relations are the same. Patient maps to grammatical object, Non-instigative cause to grammatical subject. Standard process-state stems occur with the developmental affix *-um-* *tumugas in simintu sin suga* (Of-not-begun-hard topic-marker object-cement subject-marker subject-sun) 'The sun will harden the cement.' Other verb stems of this subclass are *puti* 'white', *pula* 'red', *lunuk* 'soft', *laggu* 'big', *haba* 'long', *lingkat* 'beautiful', *baba* 'short', *lakbang* 'wide'. Members of this class are also members of the inherent state subclass.

Non-standard stems are those stems which express process state by the use of the affixes *ma-* 'not-begun' and *na-* 'begun'. *nagirit in manta sin hangin* (Of-begun-tear-apart topic-marker object-sheet subject-marker subject-wind) 'The sheet tore from the wind' or 'The wind caused the sheet to tear.' Other stems of this subclass are *utud* 'cut', *bagbag* 'break', *kamas* 'scratch', *kawa* 'get', *hulug* 'fall', *pagat* 'scrape', *sunug* 'burn', *bali* 'break', *sipak* 'split', *dā* 'carry'.

Inherent state

Inherent state stems have only one semantic role, namely (Patient), which maps to the grammatical object. Some of these stems occur unaffixed: *dakula' in bay* (big topic-marker object-house) 'The house is big', while others occur with the stative affix *ma-*: *malingkat in bay* (Of-beautiful topic-marker object-house) 'The house is beautiful.' Other stems of this class are *tugas* 'hard', *laggu* 'big', *tahay* 'dry', *haba* 'long', *baba* 'short', *lakkbang* 'wide', *lawm* 'deep', *tambuk* 'fat', *kayug* 'skinny', *nipis* 'thin', *ashum* 'sour', *asibi* 'small'.

Experiencer Oriented Stems

Experiencer oriented stems have the case frame (Experiencer) and (Non-instigative cause). Stems of this class indicate that which is felt or sensed or perceived by an animate participant. With the developmental affixes *-um-* (not begun) and *-im-* (begun) stems of this class indicate a process which the Experiencer has undergone or will undergo terminating in the state indicated by the stem. The process state is due to a Non-instigative cause: *limisu' in mastal sin hinang sin bata'* (Of-begun-disgust topic-marker object-teacher subject-marker subject-work possessive-marker youth) 'The teacher became disgusted because of what the youth did.'

With the stative affix *ma-*experiencer oriented stems indicate the state of the Experiencer attributable to a Non-instigative cause. *mabuga' in tau sin way iban niya* (Of-fear topic-marker object-person subject-marker none companion possessive-pronoun-his) 'The person is afraid because he has no companion.'

With involuntary mode affix *ha-* and referent focus affix *-qn* experience oriented stems indicate that the Experiencer is strongly assailed by the sensation expressed in the stem or intensively made to sense the condition expressed in the stem. The strong impression is due to a Non-instigative cause. *kiyaasluman aku sin kindi* (involuntary-mode-sour-Rf topic-pronoun-I subject-marker subject-candy) 'The sourness of the candy assailed me.'

With the process-state and inherent state construction Experiencer maps to grammatical object and Non-instigative cause to grammatical subject. With the intensive construction however, Experiencer maps to grammatical referent and Non-instigative cause to

grammatical subject. In all three instances Experiencer is focused or highlighted.

With the affixes *maka-* and *naka-* different mapping relations are involved as well as a different focus construction. *makasusa kaku' in bissara mu yan* (Sf-not-begun-involuntary-trouble referent-pronoun-me topic-marker subject-talk your-singular possessive-pronoun that) 'That talk of yours will trouble me.' With this construction Experiencer maps to grammatical referent and Non-instigative cause to grammatical subject as with the intensive construction, however, with *maka-* and *naka-* Non-instigative cause is highlighted not Experiencer. •

Other stems of the Experiencer class are *astul* 'wrath', *laul* 'tired', *luuy* 'pity', *napsu* 'envy', *ama* 'anger', *dā'dā* 'pout', *kuyag* 'happy'. It should be noted that some stems such as *lingkat* 'beauty', *buggat* 'heavy', *dayaw* 'good', *ngi* 'bad', and others are limited to the intensive construction.

Proposition Consolidation

This paper treats the benefactive and causative relationships of Tausug as abstract predicates so that a sentence such as *dupangan ta kaw tau ha tabu'* (fool-not-begun-Rf subject-pronoun-I singular-topic-pronoun-you reference-marker referent-market) 'I'll fool someone at the market for you' is considered to actually manifest two distinct propositions in deep structure, namely, (I'll fool someone at the market) and (I do something for you). Similarly a sentence such as *hipasasal ku kaymu in bulawan ini* (Af-not-begun-causative-forge subject-pronoun-I singular-referent-pronoun-you topic-marker object-gold this) 'I'll cause you to forge this gold' is considered to manifest two propositions in deep structure namely (I cause something to happen) and (You will forge this gold). These are consolidated into a single verb by means of a proposition consolidation transformation which though the details are not worked out, appears to differ little from the one given by Frantz (1970) for Blackfoot.

Notes

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supported by National Science Foundation Grant GS-3180. I am indebted to Dr. Grimes for his encouragement and help in all parts of my analysis. I am indebted also to Saripul Usman, a native speaker of Tausug, who assisted me during the workshop. My family and I lived in his parents' home from 1959 to 1963. Another source of material available to me was a concordance of morphemes based on 3,362 sentences of text in Tausug made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

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1. There are three languages native to the Sulu Archipelago: Tausug, Yakan, and Samal. Of these, Tausug is the prestige language with approximately 325,000 speakers centering on the island of Jolo, where the provincial capital is located. It is of the Malayo-Polynesian family and has little dialect variation. Chretien (1962) classifies it on the basis of shared vocabulary as a transition language connecting what he called the Macro-Bisayan group of islands (of which it is a member) in the central Philippines with the Mindanao-Sulu group comprised of Tausug, Magindanao, and Maranao. Its closest affinity according to Chretien is with Butuanon.

There are 22 phonemes in Tausug plus a phoneme of length which may occur with all the vowels and most of the consonants. The 19 consonants are: stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /ʔ/, /b/, /d/, /g/, and continuants /m/, /n/, /ñ/, /g/, /s/, /l/, /h/, /j/, /ch/, /r/, /w/, /p/. The three vowels are: /a/, /i/, /u/. All examples in the body of the paper are given in an adapted practical orthography. The alveo-palatal nasal is written as /ny/ and the velar nasal as /ng/. Glottal stop is indicated in intervocalic position by the absence of any other symbol. Elsewhere it is indicated by an apostrophe. Consonant length is symbolized by writing identical consonants. Vowel length is symbolized by writing a macron over the vowel. Syllable patterns are CV, CVC, V, and VC.

2. Focus discussed by McKaughan (1962), Pike (1963), Kerr (1965), Reid (1966), and Longacre (1968). The definition of focus by Wolff (1972) differs from that adopted in this paper.

3. Hyphens placed in the breakdown of the Tausug illustrations indicate that the items connected by the hyphens have reference jointly to only one word in the Tausug illustration. Spaces indicate word boundaries.

4. The view adopted in this paper is that the affixes *-um-* and *-im-* when occurring in non-agentive constructions (constructions involving Patient oriented or Experiencer oriented stems) focus grammatical object not grammatical subject. This viewpoint differs from that current in Philippine linguistics.

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Notes on Tausug Orthography

Seymour Ashley

Asmah Haji Omar (1972) of the University of Malaya in his article, "Language and the Uniformity of Spelling," notes that English, although highly criticized because of its non-phonemic writing system, is actually very consistent in the orthographic representation of English words since the vast majority of English words have only one spelling no matter how atrocious that spelling may be. By contrast Malay, which has several highly phonemic writing systems (Omar 1972) lacks standardization in the representation of its words.¹ One word may have several spellings depending on the bias of the writer toward one or another of the various systems of writing.

In regard to spelling systems Tausug is very much like Malay² since for the most part there is a one-to-one relationship between the phonemes (distinctive sounds) and the graphic symbols and like Malay there is widespread lack of uniformity as to how individual words should be spelled.

Briefly, the purpose of this article will be (in view of the alternative choices available in writing Tausug) to give an account of the practical Tausug orthography utilized in this publication. It is hoped that this account will provide insights into some of the problems involved in writing Tausug and contribute also in some measure to the development of a standardized system of writing. It is assumed as a matter of course that any orthography (including the one presented here) will undergo refinement. Deletions, additions, and adaptations will be made till a comparatively stable system of writing emerges.

Inventory of Symbols

Tausug does not have a highly complicated sound system as do some languages of the world. It has only three vowel phonemes /a/, /i/, and /u/ (a fact which undoubtedly facilitated the adoption by the early people of Sulu of the Arabic, or Jawi script, '*sulat Sug*', as the Tausug call it) and nineteen consonant phonemes distributed in basic syllable patterns which except in instances involving semivowels permit consonant clusters only at syllable boundaries. The nineteen segmental consonants are displayed in the phoneme chart below:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo- palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	voiceless	p	t		ʔ
	voiced	b	d	g	
Fricative					h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Affricates	voiceless		tʃ		
	voiced		dʒ		
Sibilant		s			
Lateral		l			
Vibrant		r			
Semivowels			y		

In the practical orthography presented in this paper the above phonemes are written just as they appear in the chart except for ʔ, n, ŋ, tʃ, and dʒ. The glottal stop is symbolized in intervocalic position by the absence of any other symbol as in *liug* 'neck', *pais* 'skin', and *laung* 'quotative'. Elsewhere it is indicated by an apostrophe as in *kura* 'horse', *ta'ping* 'jaw', and *nag'usiba* 'to despoil'. The alveopalatal nasal is written *ny* as in *dunya* 'world' and the velar nasal is written *ng* as in *patung* 'bamboo'. The voiceless alveopalatal affricate is written *ch* as in *bichara* 'to speak' and the voiced alveopalatal affricate is written *j* as in *janap* 'a kind of working bolo.'

There is also a suprasegmental phoneme of length that may occur with either vowels or consonants. In the case of vowels it is symbolized by a macron written above the vowel as in *ipun* 'slave', *mūs* 'borrow', and *kakās* 'rake'. In the case of consonants, length is symbolized simply by writing identical consonant as in *gallang* 'bracelet', *laggu* 'bigness, size', *sawwal* 'split-leg pajama type trousers' and *Jayyari* 'man's name'.

The Symbolization of the Phoneme u

Some writers of Tausug, influenced by their knowledge of other Philippine languages symbolize the vowel *u*, particularly when it occurs in word final position, with the letter *o*. However, the distribution patterns of Tausug sounds are not the same as those of other Philippine languages and furthermore in Tausug the difference between the vowels *o* and *u* is not distinctive. There are no two Tausug words whose difference in meaning is dependent on the difference between *o* and *u*. A Tausug speaker may say *balu* or he may say *balo*, however no difference in meaning is intended. Both words indicate the same referent — namely, a widow. Therefore we conclude that the two words are the same: indeed we may conclude (within limits) that most Tausug speakers hear the sound *o* and *u* as similar if not the same. Consequently no distinction should be made between *o* and *u* when writing Tausug (even though other Philippine languages may recognize a sound difference which coordinates with a semantic difference between words involving *o* and *u*). It is essential in Tausug in order to avoid unnecessary confusion that only one symbol be utilized for these two sounds. Furthermore it is preferable to choose *u* as the symbol since it is the sound which in actual usage occurs the most frequently of the two.

The Symbolization of Glottal Stop

The basic principle which guides the orthographer in his work is the principle which states that each distinctive sound (phoneme) must have one and only one distinctive symbolization. (There must be a one-to-one phoneme-grapheme relationship.) This means that each distinctive sound should be written the same way in each occurrence unless other considerations dictate to the contrary. This means that ideally in Tausug it would be best to write even the glottal stop with only one symbol wherever

it occurs (a hyphen or grave accent or apostrophe or whatever symbol one might choose — just so long as it is consistently used). However at this point the orthographer is forced to acknowledge other factors which lie quite outside his control, factors which force him to accommodate his other principles and alter them somewhat. Current usage and related language usage are two such factors. For Tausug this means for example that *no glottal stop will be written intervocalically* (following Tagalog precedent and accepted practice in the Bureau of Schools). The word for 'yes' will be simply *huun* and not *hūun* or *hu-un* or *hu'un*. The word 'skin' will be *pais* and not *pāis* or *pa-is* or *pa'is*. Note that acceptance of this one practical orthographic rule has further ramifications. It means that to be consistent (the major objective of all orthography) no word may be written containing two contiguous vowels except those words which contain a glottal between the (seemingly) contiguous vowels. This means that words like *suysuy* 'rumor', and *bay* 'house' may not be written *suisui* and *bai* respectively since following the rule given above, such a symbolization would posit a glottal stop between the contiguous vowels.

Some writers of Tausug regularly use *h* to symbolize word final glottal stop. Other writers use the grave accent³ but the position taken by this paper is that all occurrences of glottal stop which are not intervocalic should be symbolized by an apostrophe. Practical reasons for the use of the apostrophe as a symbol are varied:

1. This symbol is available on all typewriters and printing machines (in contrast to the grave accent).⁴
2. It permits symbolization of the glottal as a segmental linear sound (in contrast to the grave accent which makes it appear as though the glottal stop were a simultaneous sound). Compare *bata* with *bata'* 'child'. Compare also *tay* with *tay'* 'excrement', and *sumbay* with *sumbay'* 'slaughter'.
3. Use of the apostrophe will avoid giving the symbol *h* a double value. Compare *bahu'* with *bahuh* 'stench'.
4. Use of the apostrophe will avoid the confusion sometimes resulting from the double values assigned to the hyphen. To illustrate, compare the words *nag-anad* 'to learn' and *ta-ping* 'jaw' with the words *hilu-hala'* 'commotion, fracas' (a compound word) and *adlaw-adlaw* 'daily' (a reduplicated

word). In the first two words the hyphen functions as a glottal stop, but in the last two words it serves merely to indicate where compound or reduplicated words are joined. Confusion will be avoided if the above four words are written as follows: *nag'anad*, *ta'ping*, *hiluhala'* and *adlaw'adlaw*.

5. Use of the apostrophe will limit the kinds of symbolization for glottal stop to two instead of three.

The Symbolization of High Vocooids

There are six possible vocoid combinations in Tausug which because of the nature of the high vocoid involved in each instance present problems in orthography.

1. The ai combination

Wherever this vocoid sequence occurs it should be spelled *ay* as in the words:

<i>bay</i>	'house'
<i>ayaw</i>	'don't'
<i>aymuka</i>	'facial appearance'
<i>gulamay</i>	'digit'
<i>taytayan</i>	'board walk, bridge'
<i>kaykay</i>	'type of sea shell'
<i>bayta'</i>	'to tell'
<i>sayng</i>	'banana'
<i>kayt</i>	'safety pin'
<i>tay'</i>	'excrement'
<i>taynga</i>	'ear'
<i>sumbay'</i>	'slaughter'

The last words of the above list might have been spelled *saying*, *kayit*, *tayi'*, *tayinga*, *sumbayi'*, etc. However since such spellings would give rise to on-glides and extra syllables which do not occur even in artificially slowed speech it is preferable for accuracy and simplicity to write only the semivowel as in the first examples. A concise statement is thus possible. Wherever *ai* occurs (without a medial glottal) it will always be spelled *ay* (not *ayi*).

2. The *au* combination

Wherever this vocoid sequence occurs it should be spelled *aw* as in the words:

<i>saw</i>	'anchor'
<i>ikaw</i>	'you' (sing.)
<i>sawm</i>	'under'
<i>lawm</i>	'inside'
<i>jawm</i>	'needle'
<i>taw'</i>	'to hold in store'
<i>bawang</i>	'garlic'
<i>lawang</i>	'doorway'
<i>asawa</i>	'wife'

Some of the above words might have been written as *sawum* 'under', *tawu'* 'to hold in store', *jawum* 'needle', etc. However, since such spellings would give rise to on-glides and extra syllables which do not occur even in artificially slowed speech it is preferable for conciseness to write only the semivowel without the homogenous vowel. A short precise statement is thus possible. Wherever *au* occurs (without a medial glottal) it will always be *aw* (not *awu*).

3. The *ai* and *ua* combinations

Where these combinations occur at the first of a word they should be spelled *ya* and *wa* respectively.

<i>yan</i>	'there' (near speaker)
<i>yari</i>	'here'
<i>yaun</i>	'there' (farther than <i>yan</i>)
<i>yadtu</i>	'there' (farthest)
<i>way</i>	'none'
<i>wayib</i>	'necessary'
<i>wajit</i>	'type of rice confection'
<i>walu</i>	'eight'

In other positions the *ia* and *ua* combinations should be spelled *iya* and *uwa* respectively in conformity with Tagalog national language precedent and in order to avoid violating the rule previously adopted that when two vowels are written contiguous to one another a glottal stop is to be pronounced between them.

<i>siya</i>	'he, she'
<i>biya'</i>	'like'
<i>diyā</i>	'carry'
<i>tiyan</i>	'stomach'

<i>miyaki'</i>	'embarrassed'
<i>duwa</i>	'two'
<i>buwa</i>	'rock (a cradle)'
<i>buwahan</i>	'lanzones'
<i>tuwan</i>	'sir'
<i>tuwal</i>	'except'

A helpful rule to remember as to how to write any of the combinations *ai*, *au*, *ia*, or *ua* is that when either *i* or *u* occur contiguous to the vowel *a* they should always be written as semi-vowels *y* or *w*.

4 The *ui* combination

This vocoid sequence presents more problems than the others because vocoids of this sequence are high vocoids and therefore both have the potential for being treated as semivowels and consequently consonants. In most of its occurrences however, it seems best to treat the sequence as a single vowel-consonant sequence *uv* (similar to *ay* and *aw*) since such treatment concords best with non-suspect CVC patterns in the language. Furthermore such treatment causes the least syllable distortion.

<i>babuy</i>	'pig'
<i>susuy</i>	'rumor'
<i>magtuy</i>	'right away'
<i>dūyan</i>	'durian'
<i>luuy</i>	'pity'
<i>tuyu'</i>	'diligent'
<i>bāya</i>	'glass fishing float'
<i>guyud</i>	'abduct'
<i>duy</i>	'drive away'
<i>uyum</i>	'smile'

One might be tempted to spell the above words with an *uwi* sequence instead of *uy*. Note however what would happen with a word like *duy*, for instance, if it were spelled *duwi*. When one adds the imperative suffix *-a*, the word becomes a three-syllable word (*duwiya* 'drive it away') which is out of balance with the pattern symmetry of the rest of the language. Even an abnormal slowing of speech does not give rise to three syllables. The final argument against spelling such words like *duy* and *duwi* is the fact that in actual speech whenever the verb *duy* occurs

with an objective or referential voice suffix it always takes the form of the suffix (-*un*, -*an*, -*a*, or -*i*) which characteristically follows verb stems ending in consonants, not the form of the suffix (-*hun*, -*han*, -*ha*, or -*hi*) which characteristically follows verb stems ending in vowels.

In instances where the *u* of the *ui* combination occurs contiguous to the *a* vowel the combination should be written as *wi* not *uy*. Note that the *w* in the following words occurs in the initial consonant slot of characteristic CV and CVC syllable patterns.

<i>kawin</i>	'marry'
<i>lawig</i>	'to anchor'
<i>gawi</i>	'purpose'
<i>ilawi</i>	'light it for me'

5. The *iu* combination

When the *i* of the *iu* combination occurs adjacent to the vowel *a* then the *iu* will be written *yu*.

<i>kayug</i>	'thin'
<i>bayu</i>	'pound with pestle'
<i>sayu</i>	'consciousness'
<i>sayul</i>	'vegetable'
<i>tayum</i>	'type of sea urchin'

In other positions the *iu* should be written *iyu*. Note that the *y* occurs in the initial consonant slot of the characteristic CV and CVC syllable patterns.

<i>siyu</i>	'who'
<i>liyu</i>	'beyond'
<i>siyum</i>	'kiss'
<i>siyumu</i>	'become bored, disinterested'
<i>biyunu'</i>	'killed'

Notes

Seymour Ashley, a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has lived in Jolo for about thirteen years. He and his family presently reside in Zamboanga City.

1. In Malaysia today there are at least four spelling systems: the Ejaan Sekolah, Ejaan Wilkinson, Ejaan Kongres, and Ejaan Bersama Malaysia-Indonesia. This profusion of writing systems (with its attendant

confusion) prompts Omar to say that the immediate need of the Malay language is one standardized spelling system which will give confidence to teachers, administrators, office workers and people in all walks of life who use written Malay.

2. It should be noted here that the comparison made between Tausug and Malay is only a rather general comparison since the two languages differ greatly in development, number of speakers, and national prestige.

3. The author has not been consistent in the past in his choice of symbols to indicate final glottal stop. In at least one publication he has used the apostrophe but in others he has used the grave accent.

4. In materials produced by the Bureau of Public Schools, word final glottal stop is not symbolized. In private talks at the Division office in Jolo, however, the author was told that this was not due to any reluctance on the part of those producing the materials but rather to a lack of diacritic marks at the printers.

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An Archeological Approach to Ethnic Diversity in Zamboanga and Sulu

Alexander Spoehr

As anthropology moves increasingly into the analysis of complex societies, the study of polyethnic social systems and of ethnic group relations has become of greater significance for field research in many parts of the world. The southern Zamboanga peninsula and the Sulu archipelago possess a special interest in this regard, for there live in this region a series of interacting ethnic groups who have long maintained their identities despite some flow of personnel across ethnic boundaries. This paper reports on an initial step in the study of ethnic diversity in southern Zamboanga and Sulu, utilizing the approaches of archeology and ethnohistory.

Archeological survey and excavations were conducted for two months in 1967 and for 10 months in 1969 in southern Zamboanga, Basilan, Jolo, and Sanga Sanga. Despite difficulty in locating sites suitable for excavation, it proved possible to gain a measure of time perspective on four ethnic groups of the region and some understanding of their relations through trade, as well as to test excavate a much older site on Sanga Sanga.* These four ethnic groups are the Zamboangueno, Subanun, Tausug, and Samal. Results of the 1967 survey have been reported (Spoehr 1968) and the project as a whole is the subject of a recent monograph (Spoehr 1973).

Zamboangueno

The reestablishment in 1719 of Fort Pilar in what is now the urban center of Zamboanga City led to the emergence of the Zamboanguenos as a distinct ethnic group. The fort was manned

by soldiers and artisans from various provinces. At the expiration of their service, many of these remained in Zamboanga. Also, the settlement associated with the fort was augmented by some migration from the north. In view of the fact that the Christian Filipino component of the community came from different provinces whose languages were not mutually intelligible, that the community was small and located in a far southern outpost, and that the positions of administrative authority were held by Spaniards, it is not surprising that the Philippine Spanish Creole today called Chabacano became the language of the Zamboanguenos (cf. Frake 1971). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Zamboangueno farmers slowly spread through the adjacent countryside, until by the close of the nineteenth century they had extended their settlement virtually to the limits of present-day Zamboanga City.

Because Fort Pilar represents the physical manifestation of the origin of the Zamboanguenos, test excavations were conducted in the interior of the fort. These excavations resulted in the recovery of artifacts typical of a colonial outpost, as well as substantial amounts of locally made earthenware and of imported Chinese ceramics. With the exception of one Spanish-inspired ware, the locally made earthenware from Fort Pilar is almost certainly of Samal manufacture. The beginnings of Samal-Zamboangueno trade is represented by this pottery. From limited ethnohistoric sources, it is also probable that from early times the coastal dwelling Samal supplied the Zamboangueno with their fish supply. The utilization of complimentary but different ecological resource zones by Samal and Zamboanguenos is as old as Zamboanga itself and formed the basis of Moslem-Christian trade relations.

The amount of Chinese trade pottery found in the Fort Pilar excavations indicates a greater external trade than the documentary sources suggest. In the eighteenth century Chinese junks are known to have stopped at Zamboanga, and by the middle of the nineteenth century a small Chinese community had become established in the town.

Subanun

The early Spanish accounts of Zamboanga relate that the interior of the peninsula, including its southernmost part, was

settled by Subanun. Today all but a small part of the former Subanun area within Zamboanga City is occupied by Zamboangueno farmers. One small rock shelter in the inland barrio of Bugiao was excavated and two caves located at Limpapa just across the boundary with Zamboanga del Norte Province. The sites are of late fourteenth century to early fifteenth century date and are here assigned to ancestral Subanun. Principal results can be summarized.

The excavations at Bungiao Rock Shelter yielded an assemblage of obsidian, chert, and quartz flakes. The persistence of a stone flake tradition into such late historic times is indeed striking and is a demonstration of the futility of earlier attempts to establish a microlithic or mesolithic period of Philippine prehistory on the basis of tool types divorced from their archeological context.

The earthenware from Bungiao and Limpapa is a simple utilitarian pottery, with the possible exception of a few exotic shards. Whereas the Fort Pilar and contemporary Samal pottery is tempered with carbonate beach sand, the Bungiao and Limpapa ware is tempered with quartz sand from inland streams. This is consonant with the different environments inhabited by Samal and Subanun.

A collection of Chinese, Siamese, and Annamese trade ceramics, of fourteenth to early fifteenth century date, was also recovered. At present the earliest evidence for Subanun involvement in Asiatic trade is no older than the fourteenth century. However, there is no evidence that the Subanun of this region directly engaged in trade with Chinese or Arab traders. Ethnohistoric sources as early as the time of Combes in the seventeenth century indicate that the Samal were intermediaries, and acted as middlemen between the Subanun and the trading ports of Sulu and Zamboanga.

Tausug

Excavations on the island of Jolo were concentrated at five cottas (*kutah*) in Parang poblacion. The span approximately 100 years, from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries. The cottas reflect the importance of leaders and their alliance groups, and as fortified house sites are testimony to the former existence of feuding in the area. During this period the manner of

cotta construction changed from walls of piling and earth to stone and earth.

There is to my knowledge no Tausug tradition of the former making of pottery. The earthenware shards recovered from the cottas are of Samal manufacture and are evidence of continuing internal trade between Tausug and Samal communities probably located on outlying islands.

In addition to the earthenware, the artifact content of the five cottas reflects through time an increasing measure of external trade. At the earliest cotta, trade ceramics are of Chinese manufacture. Thereafter, European pottery makes its appearance and the pattern of importation shifts to increasing amounts of Dutch and British wares. Other evidence of the expansion of external trade consists of the appearance of glass containers, Chinese and British Colonial coins, iron vessels, firearms, and brass containers, ornaments, and chest fittings. The artifact inventory is a measure of the sophisticated taste of the Tausug of Parang and their participation as consumers in the external trade of Jolo.

Bud Datu is a volcanic hill two kilometers south of the town of Jolo. The hill has very steep sides and traditionally was a place of refuge during hostilities. The top of the hill has fertile soil and has also supported a small resident farming community. A surface survey of Bud Datu was undertaken to gain knowledge of the duration of its occupancy through the collection of trade ceramics. The earliest of these are Southern Sun celadons of the late twelfth century to early thirteenth century. These extend the archeological record on Sulu external trade, although it no doubt began several centuries earlier.

Samal

During the course of the archeological work, it was possible to make a study of contemporary Samal pottery-making in greater detail than the useful survey by Szanton (1963). Today the Samal are the only makers of pottery in the region. Although it is a declining craft, Samal pottery-making survives at a limited number of centers from which it is sold to Zamboangueños, Samal, Yakan, Tausug, and Badjaw. These centers are located at Sangali on the east coast of Zamboanga City; Kauluan Island off the southeast coast of Basilan; Balas, a Samal coastal village on

Basilan near the market town of Lamitan; Daungdung Island south of Jolo; Tara Island north of Siasi; Papabag Island east of Bongao; and Tubig Indanan, the principal community on Simunul.

Unfortunately, a curtailment of research funds precluded excavations at a demonstrable Samal site such as Sibutu or Simunul. However, on technical grounds contemporary Samal pottery, the earthenware excavated at Parang and that derived from the Bud Datu survey, and with the exception of one ware the local pottery from Fort Pilar can all be assigned to a single ceramic class which is here termed the Samal pottery tradition. In historic terms, the Samal pottery tradition was one element of a complex of Samal craft specializations which formed a basis for internal trade with both Samal and other ethnic groups.

As interest increases in determining the distribution and internal differentiation of Samalan languages in island Southeast Asia, the Samal pottery tradition is of relevance. The archeological question is whether widely dispersed Samalan speakers maintained a common pottery tradition and to what degree this has lasted into modern times. If a distinctive pottery tradition is associated with Samalan speakers, archeology can contribute knowledge of the distribution and time depth of Samalan culture as a whole.

Sanga Sanga

Test excavations were conducted at a large rock shelter at Balobok on Sanga Sanga Island. No metal, trade porcelain, or stoneware was present of the site. Two radiocarbon dates were determined from samples of *Turbo* opercula. One sample is from a surface depth of 75 cm. and is dated at $4,700 \pm 180$ B.C. The second sample is from a surface depth of 90 cm. and is dated at $b,995 \pm 190$ B.C. The site was subsequently excavated by the National Museum and any definitive conclusions must await the museum's findings.

Sanga Sanga Rock Shelter is too old to be linked with identifiable, historic ethnic groups. The artifact content from the test excavations is important in that the lithic industry, the shell-tool industry, and the pottery are related to the Tabon Caves of Palawan (Fox 1970). Furthermore, the *Tridacna* adzes and gouges of Tabon and Sanga Sanga, plus the presence of red-slipped pottery, gives substance to a prehistoric link between

western Micronesia and the southern Philippines. Finally, the Sanga Sanga pottery may go back to around 4,000 B.C., although this suggestion remains to be tested against a framework of radiocarbon dates with firm pottery associations.

Conclusion

In historic times, the utilization of complementary resource zones and a modest development of craft specialization by the ethnic groups of southern Zamboanga and Sulu formed a basis for internal trade and ethnic group interaction. Included is the exchange of protein from the sea for the agricultural products from the land. Included also is Samal pottery as a craft specialization, which to judge from the archeological record was of considerably greater importance in the past than at the present time.

However, external trade has been of equal if not greater significance in establishing the character of ethnic group relations in this region. Historically, the status of one ethnic group vis-a-vis another seems to be clearly linked to relative access to external trade. Tausug political authority in Sulu was certainly related to their control through the sultanate of foreign trade with other parts of Southeast Asia, China, and eventually Europe. In the Zamboanga peninsula, the Samal, as middlemen between the sources of external trade and the Subanun, were the dominant partner in Samal-Subanun relations. Although the matter requires further investigation, including the role of the Chinese, status relations among the indigenous ethnic groups appear to have been sorted out according to each group's ability to control the channels through which trade in imported goods flowed throughout the region.

The full significance of internal and external trade as a component of ethnic group relations obviously requires the attention of ethnology and cannot be explicated by archeology alone. However, the archeological record of trade assemblages provides a time depth which otherwise is impossible to achieve. The work reported on here is a modest step in this direction. A more complete examination of the ecological basis of ethnic group relations and of the social and cultural mechanisms controlling the interaction of ethnic groups is an endeavor in which both ethnologists and archeologists can fruitfully join.

Notes

Alexander Spoehr (Ph.D., anthropology, University of Chicago) first visited Sulu in 1966. Thereafter he conducted the fieldwork reported on in this paper. He is presently University Professor of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

Financial support for the 1967 and 1969 fieldwork was provided by the University of Pittsburgh and the National Science Foundation. I am indebted to numerous individuals in the Philippines without whose cooperation the field research could not have been accomplished. Of these I particularly wish to acknowledge the assistance of Adolfo Navarro and Ikib Jama of Zamboanga City; Rev. Gerard Rixhon, O.M.I., and Rev. Francis J. Crump, O.M.I., of Notre Dame of Jolo College; Tuwan Iklali Jainal of Parang; Rev. Emile LaQuerre, O.M.I., of Bongao; Assiong Bangali of Sanga Sanga; and Dr. Robert B. Fox of Manila.

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ORAL TRADITION

A 1932 Collection of Sulu Folktales

John H. Ziegler

Editor's Note

These folktales, all originally in Samal, were collected and translated in 1932 by John H. Ziegler, former principal of the Manila South High School Group in the Tawi Tawi area of Southern Sulu. A Certified Public Accountant, Professor Ziegler now teaches accounting in the California State University at Chico (California), where he resides with his wife, Rosario Boquer Ziegler, who was born in Manila. In 1934 he published a little-known book, *Sulu, People and Culture*. Ziegler has also published books and articles on accounting and taxes (see *Who's Who in American Education* [1973]).

In a letter he wrote 40 years after he had left Sulu, Ziegler describes how he went about collecting these folktales:

The Samal dialect is the most used in Tawi Tawi, Simumul and Sibutu. The children were my best teachers and there were always many around. Saldin, my launch captain, was also a kind and patient teacher. He . . . claimed his grandfather was one of the last pirates He knew the sea, the sky, the stars, the weather, the tides While he could not write his name nor read a chart, he had learned well from his father and this accumulated knowledge was passed on to me.

I don't recall whether I started writing down the stories that Saldin told me or whether it started with Datu Jaafar at Sibutu I loved the old Datu [Jaafar] with his many wives and numerous grandchildren.

With the acquisition of the language, many doors were opened to me. After schools were closed for the afternoon, the old Datu would come over. We would discuss his problems and the stories would begin. Since Samal was not a written language, I wrote them [the stories] in an old notebook which I always carried. When I wasn't sure I had it right, I would make him go back over it again. Then I would review it in English with his eldest son who had been

a teacher. I might [would] also resort to reviewing [them] with the teachers, especially with those who had heard the stories No thought was ever given to publishing [these stories], I wanted them exactly right. I wanted nothing lost in translation.

The Datu was a veritable gold mine of stories and how he loved to tell them! He would also share these with other relatives and friends, letting them tell "his" story since someone claimed ownership of it. Since Datu Jaafar spoke both Tausug and Samal, it is possible that he learned them in Tausug, turning them into Samal for my benefit.

There was an old imam at Balimbing on the Tawi Tawi coast who also had a lot of stories. I used to stay there quite often while I was building that schoolhouse. When I heard of a new storyteller, I would go to visit him.

In summary: [the stories] were all in Samal, . . . [and I later wrote them down] in English. They were all reviewed with at least two native critics, since I never trusted myself. They were never edited per se. All corrections were made in the notebook, and Velasquez, my assistant, typed them in his spare time. The stories were to the best of my knowledge exactly as they were told.

At times, on quite a distant island, I would run across a story with the same plot but with different fringe details. This added, rather than detracted, from the veracity of the story.

By and large, there was little genuine interest in Sulu culture during the American regime. Any attempt during this time at understanding the people and their culture is therefore noteworthy. Morton J. Netzorg expresses this sentiment accurately when he writes (personal communication):

I grew up in the Philippines, and was well-acquainted with the American community. It contained a good number of intellectuals, but for the most part it was made up of people bent on getting more pesos to nestle comfortably with the pesos they already had. The number of people who recognized that Filipino culture was worthy of study other than as a means to exert leverage to change it was very small. The orientation toward America and Europe was great, and as a young man I shared in it more than I now relish. This makes Ziegler's interest at that time all the more remarkable.

Ziegler's manuscript remained dormant for forty years until it resurfaced, thanks to an interesting combination of events. While in the Philippines, Ziegler had become a close friend of Morton J. Netzorg, who grew up in Manila. The war separated the two friends, and it was not until some thirty years later that they were able to see each other in Detroit, where the Netzorgs run a bookshop specializing in Filipiniana.

On a trip to Sulu in 1969, the Netzorgs acquainted themselves with the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (CISC). Since then, I have maintained a very rewarding correspondence with them. Sometime after the reunion of the Netzorgs and the Zieglers, Morton J. Netzorg wrote me about the Ziegler collection, which he later sent me. It is now

being reproduced here, with some editorial annotations (Note to paragraph 47, however, is Ziegler's).

The text presented here is numbered by paragraph (or, in some instances, by part) in order to key the explanatory notes found at the bottom of the appropriate pages.

A Legend of the Old Days

1 Our ancestors say that, according to an old tradition, there were [in Sulu] primitive people who lived in rugged huts on the ground. Their minds were slow and weak. They worshipped stones and trees, the moon, and the stars, and the sun. They were so wild that their food consisted only of the creeping animals, such as the lizards, the snakes, and the like. In those days, there was no rice, nor camote, nor corn. If there was any, it was growing wild, and our ancestors had not yet discovered its value.

2 Many accounts of our ancestors' stupidity are repeated from mouth to mouth, from father to son, and from generation to generation. Some of these accounts follow.

3 Some old men were riding a banca. For their oars they secured the stout stems of some growing grass. (There were large species of grass in those days, approaching the circumference of a child's arm.) These old men used the stems for pushing their banca through the shallow river. Suddenly the oar of one man broke. A stream of liquid spouted from the stem and accidentally struck the man's mouth. It tasted sweet. Upon discovering that the poles they were using were sweet, the old men fell to breaking their oars and eating them. They tasted fine. When the men reached their village, they proclaimed to all their finding of a strange grass the stem of which tasted sweet. So all the people began looking for the grass with the sweet stem, planting it, and using the sugar for food. Thus was the sugarcane discovered.

4 One day the women used the tubers of some plants as supporters of their stoves. While one mother was cooking, one of the tubers broke in two with a loud crash, sending fragments all around. It happened that some hot steaming pieces struck the women's hand. Instantly she put her fingers into her mouth and licked the burnt portion of her hand. To her wonder the baked tuber tasted agreeably. After this discovery, everyone fell to looking for the plant. And the first gabi was discovered.

5 There were so many things that our ancestors began wisely to use only after unexpected discovery. If they had allowed their slow minds to slumber, today there would be no rice, no camote, no sugarcane, no food plants.

Putli Manjanay or the Legend of Lupa Sug

6 Mangkaw was the first inhabitant of the island of Lupa Sug. His only occupation was gathering drifting objects—from seaweeds to floating logs and corals—to build his island. In those days Lupa Sug was a giant himself. The deepest part of the sea came only to his knee. So Mangkaw kept on building and enlarging his island with objects the swift current brought to the shore.

7 One day he was on watch as usual. Suddenly he saw some lengths of bamboo floating against the whirling current. They stopped in midcurrent, with their stems pointing to the sky. Mangkaw waded through the water, fetched the bamboo, and planted them in the center of his island home. The largest of the bamboo measured seven feet in circumference.

8 One dark night Mangkaw was roused by a noise as of thunder. Awaking, he was almost blinded by a flash of lightning. What do you think stood before him? A maiden of a beauty that lighted up the island. She had come out of the largest bamboo, which upon splitting had sent forth the noise that was like thunder. The flash of lightning was the beauty of the lady. So Mangkaw was no longer lonely. Putli Manjanay, the woman who came out of the bamboo, lived with him as his daughter.

9 In the west there was a kingdom ruled by a sultan who had an only son. Tuwan Nahuda, the prince, one night dreamt he was alone, hunting in a forest. Suddenly from the heavens, the beautiful moon fell on his lap. At this, he awoke. Next morning all the wise men were consulted and all the books were opened to find the

6 *Lupa Sug* is the local name given to the Sulu Archipelago, the land of currents. The term is also used to designate more specifically the island of Jolo.

8 The story of a princess who comes out of a bamboo is a popular motif in Southeast Asian folk literature.

9 Tuwan Nahuda is the hero of another folktale told by Ayang Dikang Hariba Hadil, a 60-year-old lady from Pang Pang (Tapul, Sulu). This folktale will appear in a future issue of *Sulu Studies*.

meaning of his dream. Not any wise man nor any book could tell him what the dream meant. Suddenly Tuwan Nahuda heard a voice that came from a neglected sword of his that hung on the wall. It seemed to say, "Take me with you and you will find the beautiful lady of your dream, who shall become your wife." Immediately he sheathed the sword, asked for his father's and mother's consent and blessing and, loading his galley with all sorts of plants and provisions, the prince set sail. "Go ever eastward, O prince," his sword seemed to say. The boat headed always east.

10 One night the watchman on the topmast (he was the prince's trusted sword-bearer) informed the prince of a speck of bright light on the eastern horizon. "In a week from tonight," the sword seemed to say to the prince, "you shall see the object of your search."

11 At last the boat approached an island. It was the island of Mangkaw. The compass was dropped to sound the sea. In the sailors' haste to land, the sounder gave way and the weight fell into the sea. The weight was changed into an island, the island of Tulian [which lies off the west coast of Jolo island].

12 Tuwan Nahuda sent seven of the heralds to Mangkaw to tell him of Nahuda's arrival. One herald returned to the boat, and he told Tuwan Nahuda of a lady whose beauty blinded the sight. He further said that his six companions had fallen senseless at the sight of her.

13 To make the story short, Putli Manjanay was promised in marriage to Tuwan Nahuda. Mangkaw asked as his wedding gift from Nahuda the enlargement of his island. "Unless you can make my island ninety-nine times as big as it is now," he said, "Putli Manjanay shall not become your wife."

14 Tuwan Nahuda prayed God to send down all the winds of heaven. All at once there was a raging tempest. Mountain-high waves rolled upon the sea. It appeared as if the last day [the end of the world] had come. Then the storm vanished as suddenly as it had come. Where there had been a tiny island, now there was a big land with mountains, hills, and forests. All the fruit trees and food plants Nahuda had brought with him also took root on the new island. And Mangkaw became contented.

15 After a year of happy marriage, Tuwan Nahuda and his wife, Putli Manjanay, decided to visit the kingdom of Tuwan Nahuda's

father in the west. Nahuda's parents received Putli Manjanay with open arms and all the people of the kingdom welcomed the prince and his beautiful bride. For several days there was feasting and merrymaking at the palace.

16 A year later the couple desired to go back to their island kingdom in the east. Launching the great galley, and with the blessings of the king and queen, both set sail toward the east.

17 One day Putli Manjanay was sewing at the window of the couple's cabin. It happened that Nahuda surprised her from behind—a thing that couples do when they are in happiness. Accidentally Manjanay swung her right arm and the needle struck deep through Nahuda's ring finger. Instantly Nahuda fell in a swoon from which he never awoke. And Putli Manjanay grieved as a wife does for her departed husband. But to the crew she did not disclose her husband's death, for fear the lords and datus who were on board would fight over her. She was too beautiful to be alone.

18 The boat sailed and sailed. The people on board wondered why they did not see Nahuda. He was ill and did not want any visitor in the cabin save his wife, Manjanay pretended to the lords and datus.

19 The island of Tahaw was soon sighted. Manjanay, in her grief, seeing the lonely island, sang,

Tuwan Nahuda, tandawtandaw na ba kaw
Sin pu'pu' Tahaw, aturun hawhaw
Tubig pangdan malihaw,
Hi ubat langgang uhaw.

The song is translated thus:

Beloved Nahuda, look now
At the tiny isle of Tahaw, so little it looks,
Where water clear from the screw pines
Doth cure the parching thirst.

20 And on the boat sped through the calm sea. Every now and then Manjanay would sing. The island of Taganak was sighted next. Manjanay sang again:

Tuwan Nahuda, tandawtandaw na ba kaw
Sin pu' pu' Taganak, aturun anakanak.
Tubig mata ma pakpak
Sababan manga anak.

The song, translated, runs:

Beloved Nahuda, now look
At the isle of Taganak that looks so small
Now tears from mine eyes do fall
All because of a child.

21 Manjanay regretted that they had no children, so she added the lines "Now tears from mine eyes do fall / All because of a child." Finally, the isle of Lupa Sug appeared very near.

22 Disguised in her husband's clothing, Manjanay landed on the shore before anyone aboard knew she had left. The crew and all the lords and datus at last found out that Tuwan Nahuda, their prince and master, was dead.

23 Manjanay journeyed across the island. There was now a great change since she and Nahuda had left the island two years ago. A certain sultan had established his kingdom on the island. Mangkaw was nowhere to be found. Still dressed like a prince, Manjanay came to the palace of the sultan. She sought service in the palace of the king. All the courtiers and all the ladies believed she was a man, not a woman. Only the sultan's eldest son suspected she was not.

24 Putli Manjanay discovered the prince's suspicion. Out of fear that she would be discovered, she escaped. The prince went after her. Finally, both reached the coast. Manjanay was now almost exhausted, for what woman could endure the fatigue of such wandering? She glanced back. The prince was hardly a stone's throw behind her. Rather than be the wife of any but Tuwan Nahuda, Manjanay prayed God to change her into a stone. Scarcely had she spoken when the prince was almost upon her. But lo! she was changed into stone. Rather than live without her, the prince also prayed God to make his fate the same as hers. His wish was granted and he was also turned into stone.

25 And today on the shore near Malimbaya, one can see the figures of a man and a woman. They are those of Putli Manjanay and the prince.

26 The sea has worked upon the stone statues. Little by little, the human forms have been worn away, so today hardly a trace is left

27 Malimbaya, near Batubatu, Indanan, is a rocky place on the western shore of the island of Jolo.

that the twin stones were once the bodies of the prince and the first woman who lived on the isle of Supa Sug.

The Seven Angels

27 The beautiful rainbow that spans the heavens on a showery day is the bridge the fairy angels use to visit our earth. There are seven of these fairy angels, all lovely and beautiful maidens with the glowing beauty of the rainbow. When the rainbow appears, mortals can be sure that in a deep clear stream, hidden from man's sight, away in the mountains, these seven sisters are enjoying their pleasant bath.

28 Now in the days of long ago, there once lived a poor widow who had an only son called Munaham. Munaham helped his mother earn a living by hunting and trapping.

29 One day Munaham set his bubu trap at the head of a deep clear stream, enclosed by thick bushes and water palms. It was by chance that he had come upon this beautiful stream. "I may have a good catch here," he mused and, marking the place, went home.

30 The next morning, although the sun shone in the skies, it was showering. Over the forest far away, two rainbows arched themselves beautifully against the heavens. Munaham set forth to visit his trap. Arriving at the stream, he broke through the bushes. To his amazement, he saw the strangest sight he had ever met. There trapped inside his bubu trap were seven fair maidens whose beauty shone like the rainbow. Each had a pair of brilliant silver wings on the shoulders. Munaham jumped with glee, threatening to take them home to be his wives.

31 The fairy angels wept. At last the eldest said, "We will gladly go with you. But first of all let us know who you are, your name." Unlucky man! Munaham had forgotten his name. Back to his home he went running, and, reaching it, called out to his mother.

"Mother! Mother!" he cried, "pray tell me my name." The mother, not questioning him why he was in a breathless hurry, shouted out, "Munaham!" Away Munaham rushed to the trap uttering between his teeth his name, "Munaham, Munaham." On nearing the stream, his foot caught between two stones and he stumbled headlong to the ground.

29 *Bubu* is a fish trap shaped like a square basket. The Tausug word also refers to a constellation.

32 "How shall we call you?" asked the fairy angel, she who was the youngest. Woe to Munaham! He had again forgotten his name. Away he went back home. Meanwhile, the eldest angel had escaped. When Munaham returned, he stumbled again, forgot his name and, for the second time, rushed back to the house to ask his mother his name. Then, the second eldest angel had escaped. Six times Munaham forgot his name, as a result of his tumbles, and six angels had escaped. Finally, on his seventh return, the forgetful fellow remembered his name and was able to take the youngest angel home to become his wife. Munaham, fearing that she might escape, clipped off the angel's wings and hid them under a tree in the forest.

33 The following day, Munaham left his wife with his mother. He went on his usual trapping. It was raining a gentle shower. Lulled by the gentle tapping of the shower, the mother fell asleep. Now came the six fairies. They embraced their sister and told her that their father and mother were grieved at her loss. They wanted very much to have her. They decided to take her with them but their wings could carry no more than themselves. So they showed the youngest where to look for her wings. Since the bridge to their kingdom was about to be pulled up, the six sisters bade her, [the youngest one] farewell, reminding her to escape as soon as possible.

34 The youngest fairy angel secretly went to the tree in the forest and dug up her wings. She tried them on and began to fly. Her body was now a little bit heavier. She came down and after a rest tried again. She felt her body lighter. Finally she felt that she could fly without danger of being forced down to earth. She had just risen from earth, when Munaham appeared on the scene. But how could he fly after her? The fairy angel was safe at last. Higher and higher she flew until she got mixed with the clouds and vanished from his sight.

35 Munaham was determined to find her. His love for the heavenly

35 In another story, *Katakata Kan Kanhaw*, obtained from Tuwan Nadjirin Jainal (of Luas, Parang), the *biradali*, or angels, remove their wings to take their bath. Stealing and hiding her wings, Kanhaw gets hold of the youngest angel. The young *biradali* resists his advances by changing herself successively into a snake, a scorpion, a centipede, and finally into an egg. But to no avail. Of this marriage a daughter is born. But the *biradali* is neglected by her husband. One day, while chasing a rat that has grabbed a cake

maiden was so great that he could not bear the loss. He tried to watch the stream where once he caught the fairies. But as long as he was watching there, no rainbow appeared. At last despairing, Munaham, began to wander hither and thither, turning every leaf and blade of grass in the hope of finding his lost love. For years he roamed the earth. Where could he find the fairy angel? Still he went on until he was spent with travel. Only his spirit was left. God, pitying the poor mortal, finally ended all his pain and changed him into a gentle breeze. Today, when the rainbow appears in the sky while a gentle shower falls, you can feel the gentle breeze fan the air. That is the spirit of Munaham visiting his fairy bathing in the clear, deep stream at the foot of the rainbow, far away among the forest and hills. The little princess was found by a shepherd who, with his wife, took care of her in his simple and humble cottage among the hills.

36 Once upon a time a queen gave birth to two twin children—a boy and a girl. They were the prettiest little babies you have ever set eyes upon. There was much rejoicing and feasting in the palace in honor of the coming of the prince and the princess. The cannons welcomed them with seventy loud reports.

37 It came to pass that the king of a neighboring country, who was an enemy of this king, invaded the palace. In the confusion that followed, the two children were separated. The little prince was captured by the enemy king who took him to his kingdom and brought him up as his heir. The little princess was found by a shepherd who, with his wife, took care of her in his simple and humble cottage among the hills.

38 Years passed. The prince grew up to manhood, a living example of daring, courage, and manliness. The little girl became a tall, beautiful, graceful, and charming maiden endowed with womanly virtues.

39 One day a handsome prince, a stranger in the country, riding a white horse, passed by the shepherd's cottage. He saw the beautiful maiden spinning. At once he was charmed by her beauty. Im-

from her daughter, the biradali finds her wings. After mending them, she flies back to heaven with her daughter. Kanhaw is desperate from the loss of his wife and daughter. He then tries to search for them. He decides to swim across the sea to reach the edge of heaven. There he finds maidens fetching water to purify the newly arrived biradali and her daughter, who are being prep-

mediately he sought her hand in marriage. It was with regret and grief that the old shepherd parted with his only daughter.

40 One morning the prince and the princess fell to chatting about the things in the prince's palace. Finally their conversation reverted to their history.

"I once had a twin sister," said the prince, "who, if she were living now, would be as beautiful as you. It happened that this king I call father fought against our father and captured me when I was but knee-high. I have been all over the world in search of my beautiful sister whose trace I have not, until now, found." The prince bowed in sorrow. His story was like her own fate, the princess thought to herself.

"I also had a twin brother," the princess began. "But he got lost when I was but a little babe." Then she bared her arm. On it was impressed the seal of their dead father. The prince also bared his arm and there, to the amazement of both, they saw the same imprint. The two realized, too late, that they were brother and sister. As their atonement, they decided to separate. The prince chose his way toward the west while the princess directed her course toward the east.

41 For years they wandered over the earth, the man ever going westward, while the woman directed her way ever eastward. At last, spent with travel, they rested. God, pitying them both, ended all their earthly pain and placed them in separate kingdoms in heaven. The handsome prince had his in the west; he became the star of the evening sunset. The beautiful maiden was transformed into the star of the morning and had her kingdom in the east. Until the

ared for their wedding to heavenly angels. Instead of quenching his thirst with the fresh water, Kanhaw drops his wedding ring into the golden kettle with which the maidens are collecting water. On the way to the wedding celebration, Kanhaw buys an eel and a firefly.

Kanhaw's biradali wife finds the ring in the kettle, and Kanhaw uses this as an opportunity to ask for her hand from her father, the sultan of this heaven. The sultan accepts his proposal on condition that Kanhaw bring water in a basket and find the youngest of the seven biradalis in one of the ninety-nine rooms of his palace. Helped by the eel's saliva (which he applies on the surface of the basket, to keep the water in) and with the firefly guiding him in the palace, Kanhaw finds the biradali and therefore wins her hand. (Abstract by Muhammad Daud Abdul).

41 Incestuous relations, *sumbang*, are often mentioned in *kaawm* (crea-

end of time, the twin children shall ever be in heaven, never more to see each other.

The Dragon.

42 A ferocious dragon once dwelt in a large cave. He was a horrible monster with eyes that flashed forth fiery flames and a mouth so huge that ten fat carabaos were too little for it to swallow even at one gulp. His tongue, which branched in nine forks, was so sharp that poison followed every licking on the prey.

43 The people of the country where the terrible monster lived were continually harrassed and preyed upon, until there was hardly any living person left. So powerful was the dragon that at a single swing of his tail a fierce wind blew, the great mountains trembled and rocked, and the large trees of the forest fell crashing to earth. So great was the havoc it brought that all the country was laid waste.

44 By sheer luck, there were left only a couple and their only son, whom perhaps the dragon had overlooked. All those that had perished were the wicked ones.

45 One morning the couple, leading their son to the top of the high mountain, prayed to God to end the devastation caused by the monster. They further called on the Almighty to spare their lives if He had mercy and to pity His poor slaves.

46 Their prayer was hardly out of their mouths when they heard a thunderous noise that shook the very mountain on which they stood. Issuing out of his own, the fiery animal leapt with such supernatural force that the earth cracked; trees fell; all along the

tion) and *usulan* (origin) stories. In Mullung's story, "The First People of Sulu" (cf. *Sulu Studies* 1), incest between a parent and a sibling or between siblings was common in the early years of mankind, since the people were then not bound by any law. Incest between father and daughter, or between mother and son, appears in other stories. In a Parang story, *Usulan ha Luwaan* ("The Beginnings of the Badjaw"), the outcast status of the Badjaw is attributed to both forms of incest. To my knowledge, there is no pattern of incestuous relations among the Badjaw. Some prejudiced people (even schooled ones), however, still hold on to this unfounded belief.

In several Tausug and Samal versions, the origin of the chicken (*Kaawn sin Manuk*) is also attributed to incestuous relations between a father and daughter who have been separated at her birth and have innocently entered into a marriage. In these stories, the

trail he followed, there flowed rivers of swift currents. Finally, as if tired of all the destruction he had done, the dragon leapt high into the air and rose higher and higher. The frightened couple and their son looked up and, to their horror, saw the monster rising higher and higher into the heavens while in the wake of his flight there were long trains of smoke and fire. At long last the dragon flew no farther. The couple saw it cease flying altogether. In the evening, the monster appeared to be forever hanging in the air.

47 And, to this very day, the dragon is still suspended in the heavens. On a starry night, you can, as it were, see it spanning the firmament, encircling the earth and the world. All along its fearful body are hosts of fire and smoke. If by chance you can see its head, you will be surprised to see long tongues of fire shooting

The Princess and the Ogre

48 The *agasi* ogre, was a big fellow, so tall that to him the deepest part of the sea was only waist-deep and the tallest mountain reached only his hips. This giant had his home in a great palace hidden among the tallest mountains and thickest forests. He was a very cruel fellow, for his food consisted of nothing but men and women whom he caught on his daily trip, and children who perchance from curiosity came near his palace.

49 So many were the men and women, lords and princesses, queens and kings that the ogre had captured for his dinner that he had built a very huge cage in which to store his prey. This cage was constructed under his palace and was so large that it took the fastest horse to go around it in a single day.

50 One morning the giant was on his usual hunting trip. He came upon a beautiful princess bathing in a stream. She was so pretty that the ogre decided to take her as a slave. The princess did not show any sign of fear but gayly consented to be carried away by the fierce giant. At a single stride the ogre arrived at his home with his beautiful prey. Unlike the others, the princess was placed in a young wife recognizes while picking the lice from her husband's head, either scars or marks that identify him as her father. God punishes the couple by turning them into the first rooster and hen.

47 This *naga*, as the Sulu call it, is the host of myriad stars that, in modern times, is called the Milky Way. At the end of the world, some versions of the legends say, the naga shall stoop down to earth and devour all the wicked and those who do not fear and obey the Almighty God (J.H.Z.).

from its mouth. Forever until doomsday, it shall stand there, a symbol of power and fierceness unimagined by the minds of man. room in the ogre's palace. She was treated kindly as if she were the ogre's child.

"Father Agasi," asked the princess, "pray, what are those hordes underneath your palace?"

"They are the meat of the earth ready for my meals," replied the giant.

51 The ogre let the princess move freely about the palace. She was given everything that the ogre had. However, he made the princess promise never to touch a large bottle hanging in the center of the palace by a braid of hair. The ogre confessed that the bottle contained the most precious gem of his life and that in no circumstance should it be touched.

52 While the giant sallied forth on his usual hunting trip the princess stepped down and talked with the victims inside the cage. She was sorry about their fate. At last she remembered the bottle hanging from the ceiling in the center of the palace. She took the bottle down, immediately dashed it to the rocks, and the bottle broke into fragments. In a moment there was a loud noise as of heavy trees crashing, and the palace shook. The giant had fallen. His head had come to rest on a rock while his body lay several miles away. The gem inside the bottle was the giant's life. He had stored it there for fear that, should he carry along his life with him, an enemy might accidentally kill him on the way.

53 Getting hold of the huge keys, the princess began unlocking the iron gates of the cage, and set free all those imprisoned. Her happiness knew no bounds when among the crowd she found her lover. He had disappeared while he was on his journey to fetch the golden fruit for the princess. Finally the two were united and lived happily thereafter in the palace of the dead ogre. As for the giant, God changed his corpse into a mountain range—which to this very day you can see standing towering to the heavens.

Rajah Sulayman and the Birds

54 One day Rajah Sulayman took a walk with his followers, the birds. They went to Parang Hunain. When they returned home,

53 A Samal version of the story heard in Tandubas (in Tawi Tawi) by Abdurasah Umih, a CISC assistant, runs along similar lines. The

the rajah was very tired. Sitting on an armchair, he soon fell asleep. The moment the birds saw their master sleeping, Bugguk [the heron], called his friends together and said, "Friends, let us have a lively conversation among ourselves. Instead of remaining quiet, it is preferable to talk."

55 Bakakka [the kingfisher] answered: "Even if we talk, but have no purpose, we ought to remain quiet."

Bubulantuk [the woodpecker] said, "If we talk about something good, all right; but rather than converse about something bad, we should remain silent."

Tihilaw [the oriole] gave his idea: "There are two sides to every question—one that leads to goodness, the other to badness."

56 The heated discussion of the birds awakened the rajah. He said, "Who is making all that noise here while I am sleeping?"

Sambulaan [the hawk] responded: "Your servant Bugguk said that instead of remaining quiet, it is preferable to talk. Bakakka said that even if we talk, but have no purpose, we ought to remain quiet. Bubulantuk said that if we talk about something good, it is all right; but if we talk about something bad, then we should remain silent. Finally Tihilaw said that there are two sides to every question—one that leads to goodness, the other to badness."

57 Rajah Sulayman asked Tihilaw, "What talk leads to goodness and what to badness?"

Tihilaw could not say anything. He and the other birds spread out their wings and surrendered themselves to be slain. However, the rajah pitied them and did not kill any of them.

58 Unexpectedly Bubulantuk said:

Oh, my God! Sahi-a-lam, once there was a man, a very bad man while he was alive. When he died, Munkal took him to

captive princess manages to gain the confidence of the giant, who leaves his quarters to her care while he is away. The princess takes advantage of the opportunity by freeing the captives and sailing away with them, taking the giant's vial of life with her. Upon his return, the *agasi* climbs the mountain and sees his captives escape by sea. He follows and succeeds in coming near their boat. At this point, the princess drops the vial, and the giant dies. The story ends with the princess' marriage to her sweetheart, who is one of the captives freed.

58 The term *Sahi-a-lam* is difficult to identify. It is probably the misspelling of an Arabic term of address for God, although it can also be the name of the man in the story.

hell. But there were two paths—one to the right and the other to the left. The man asked Munkal, "Where does this road to the right lead?"

Munkal answered, "The one to the right leads to heaven; the one to the left to hell."

Then he asked Munkal, "And where will you take me?"

"I will take you to hell because you have committed many sins when you were on earth," Munkal responded.

The man pleaded, "You would do better to take me first to heaven so that I shall have something to tell the people in hell."

His wish was granted. So Munkal took him to heaven. The man visited every corner in heaven. There he saw so many beautiful things he had never seen on earth. Here everybody lived in beautiful palaces. The attendants were beautiful angels. After staying two or three hours in heaven, Munkal said, "Come out now. You have seen enough of heaven."

The man did not wish to leave [heaven] now. He said, "No, I will not go out. You are not the owner of heaven; God owns it." So he was left in heaven.

Thus, my Lord, is the nature of talk that leads to goodness." Bubulantuk continued, "If that man had not reasoned out that way, he would surely have been taken by Munkal to hell."

59 And then Tihilaw said:

One day, my Lord, Darwis took a walk. Along the way he found a human skull. The skull told him to be careful with his tongue; for his tongue, the skull said, would cause him to be beheaded. Darwis was amazed to hear what the skull said. He picked it up and brought it to the sultan.

As soon as he came to the palace, he said to the sultan, "My Lord, your servant, Darwis, found a skull that could talk. Here it is."

The sultan asked, "What did the skull say, Darwis?"

"Darwis, be careful with your tongue," Darwis answered, "for your tongue shall cause you to be beheaded."

Munkal is the Angel Munkar. According to Muslim tradition, he, together with the Angel Nakir, are sent by God to ascertain a dead man's true beliefs in God and in Islam. The result of this interrogation determines the retribution the dead will obtain on resurrection day.

So the sultan told Darwis to talk with his skull. And Darwis did. The skull would not say anything. Again and again he [Darwis] tried. But the skull remained silent.

"Well, Darwis, it is true what the skull told you," the Sultan said, "it is better to cut your head off."

So Darwis was beheaded.

60 All the other birds began to talk to one another about Darwis.

"That is the talk, my Lord, that leads to badness." Tihilaw continued, "If Darwis had not told the sultan about his talking skull, he would still be alive today."

61 Rajah Sulayman was much pleased with the sound arguments presented by Bubulantuk and Tihilaw. He rewarded them. To Bugguk he gave the seashore; to Bubulantuk, a red cap; and to Tihilaw, a yellow dress.

The Marriage of the Heron and the Maya Bird

62 Once a heron wished to marry a maya bird. The heron called Baud [the imperial pigeon], "Baurun ba Baurun!"

"Hm!" responded Baud.

"Go and tell Maya I want to marry her," continued the heron.

"Hm!" answered Baud.

63 So Baud went to Maya. He called, "Mayahun ba Mayahun!"

"Tiik!" answered Maya.

"Bugguk wants me to tell you that he desires to marry you," Baud continued.

"Tiik!" Maya said.

64 "Baurun ba Baurun!" Maya replied, "go and tell the heron I do not like him. He has long legs, a long neck, and a long bill."

"Hm!" Baud said.

65 So Baud went to tell Bugguk what Maya said. After hearing all that Baud told him about Maya's answer, Bugguk again said, "Baurun ba Baurun, go and tell Maya:

kaku' kuan dasa

kakumkuman dasa.

"Hm!" Baud answered.

62 *Baurun* is the vocative form of *baud*, and *mayahun* is the vocative form of *maya*.

65 *Kaku' kuan dasa* / *kakumkuman dasa* means "Let's bargain; let's take it" (literally, "clasp the hand, close the fist").

66 Baud went to Maya again. He said, "Mayahun ba Mayahun!"
Tiik!" Maya answered.

"Bugguk wants me to tell you

kaku' kuan dasa

kakumkuman dasa,"

continued Baud.

67 And so Bugguk and Maya were married. One day, bad weather came. The rain fell in torrents. Bugguk felt so cold he curled himself up until he looked like a question mark. When the sun came out, Bugguk stretched out his long legs, and, by so doing, destroyed Maya's house. Thus the couple came at odds. They finally had to divorce.

The Origin of the Crocodile and the Lizard

68 Once there were two prophets who were good friends. One day one of them said to the other, "Friend, let us make a fish trap."

"All right," answered the second prophet.

69 So they went to the forest to get bamboo and vines. With these each of them made a fish trap. Then they dropped their traps side by side into the sea.

70 After several days, the first prophet asked, "When shall we pull up our traps?"

The second prophet responded, "Day after tomorrow." Two days later, they pulled up their traps. Each trap caught five fish of the same kind, size, and color. The second time they pulled up their traps, the contents of their traps were similar, in number and kind.

71 One week passed. The first prophet again asked his companion, "When shall we visit our traps?"

The second prophet answered, "Day after tomorrow." But with the idea of cheating his friend, the first prophet pulled up their traps the following day. He took the fishes from his friend's trap, put them into his trap, and went home.

72 On the appointed day both of them went to sea for their traps. The first prophet pulled his trap and found ten fishes in it, while the second prophet's trap had not a single fish. The second prophet was puzzled over why his trap had not caught any fish. However, he did not let his friend know what he had in mind. Once more, the two friends dropped their traps into the sea and went home.

73 When they reached home, the second prophet asked, "Friend, when shall we visit our traps?" As before, the first prophet said that they were to pull them up two days hence. Suspecting what the first prophet had done to his trap, the second prophet hid the following day behind a bush to watch what his friend would do. Not long after he had hidden himself, he saw the first prophet take the small boat, paddle into the sea, and pull up their traps. He took the contents from the other trap, put them into his, and went home.

74 The second day they went to the sea and pulled up their traps. As before, the trap of the second prophet was empty; while his friend's trap had ten fishes in it. Then the second prophet said, "Give me all those fishes. They are not yours. Why did you steal the contents of my traps?"

The first prophet answered, "Why do you say that? Did you see me do anything with your trap?"

75 Then they went to God for final judgment. Long after they stood before God, the first prophet said, "O Merciful God, my friend accused me of having stolen the fishes in his trap!"

God responded, "I know your errands. This is my decision: you, first prophet, must dive into the sea; and you, second prophet, must run into the forest."

Thus the prophet who dived into the sea became the crocodile; and the one who ran into the forest became the lizard.

The First Manatee

76 There once dwelt a young couple in a home far away among the hills.

77 It was customary for the hill people, after the first harvest, to go down to the coast and spend a day at the shore picnicking.

78 One day, just after the harvest, the hill tribes trooped by families down to the coast. Among them were the young couple. They had brought their day's meals with them. To pass the day away happily, many had brought fishing lines and hooks, traps and nets.

79 The young couple chose a secluded spot far from the rest of the crowd. With his hook and line the young man waded to the deeper part of the water to fish. His young wife, who was at this time conceiving, was left on the rock near the shore, where she said she

would pick the fruit of the flaunting seaweed, which grew in abundance around the big rock.

80 While the young husband was fishing, the young woman was busy gathering seaweed, which she began to eat. The tide had by this time risen high, and the young man, who had caught plenty of fish, decided to return to his wife. Imagine his surprise and bereavement when, reaching the rock where his wife had sat, he could find his wife there no longer. She had disappeared. The husband was sure he had left his wife on that very rock. She could not have gone anywhere. Besides she had promised him she would wait there for him while she would pick seaweed. He thereupon began an inquiry among his neighbors. No one knew where she had gone. He called for her, but no voice answered him save his own echo among the trees.

81 Desperate, the young man searched for his wife. His neighbors helped him in the search. Their quest was fruitless. Utterly disappointed and bereaved, the man went back to where he had left his wife sitting on the rock. To his wonderment and awe, the unhappy husband saw a woman lying flat at the bottom of the water. It was his lost wife. Her arms were no longer human. They had been changed into those of a fish. Her feet and legs were now one single tail. Alas! the young wife had changed into a fish, which the mute husband saw swim farther and farther into the open sea and disappear from sight.

82 That fish was the first manatee, which the Sulu call *duyung* [mermaid]. Today, when the children go to the seashore, the parents caution them not to eat the fruit of the seaweed [right there] lest they also become manatees.

The Lion and the Cat

83 Many, many years ago, the cat and the lion were very good friends. They lived together in a cave in the mountains. You might wonder why the king of the beasts befriended the smallest, most harmless of animals, the cat. You will also wonder how they became enemies.

84 It came to pass that all the beasts of the forest had come to the cat's dwelling to hear a sermon from the cat. In those days the cat was the wisest and most clever of animals. He was the teacher of all the beasts. Only the lion was as stupid as a brute.

85 It so happened that while Master Cat was speaking to his disciples, King Lion passed by. He was surprised to see such a large crowd assembled. He stopped behind a tree to listen. He was so pleased with the cat's lecture that he enrolled himself as the cat's pupil.

86 For many days the lion was taught various kinds of lessons. The cat trained him in all the tricks that he knew. From a stupid animal the lion emerged as the craftiest and most cunning of beasts.

87 One day while all the animals were assembled to hear a sermon from their professor, there was heard a loud, thunderous sound. All the beasts scampered to hide. The monkeys climbed the trees, the deer swiftly entered his abode; everyone helped himself to escape. The cat ran to a tree, climbed it, and soon was far up safely among the branches. The lion, seeing the cat climb, was angered. He had been taught various tricks, but not climbing.

88 "Master Cat," angrily began the lion, when the cat came down, "you have taught me all the tricks, but why did you not teach me how to climb?"

"That," answered the cat, "is for you to learn by yourself, alone." The lion became furious and jumped at the cat. Had it not been for the cat's agility in climbing the tree, he would have been in the lion's mouth.

"From now on," advised the lion, when the cat was safe up in the tree, "you and your descendants shall be my enemies and the prey of my people." The lion decided to wait till the cat came down, but his patience was taxed over long. He walked away with a fierce threat. Ever since the lion and the cat have been the worst of enemies.

Trapping Deer and Pigeon

89 A long time ago there lived on an island a man and a woman. Their house was just big enough for both of them. They were not husband and wife. Neither were they related to one another. Friends, yes, they were.

90 One day the man invited his companion to go trapping in the forest. The woman asked, "What shall we trap?"

"Why, dear and pigeons," the man answered.

91 The woman finally accepted her friend's idea. They gathered some pieces of well-seasoned bamboo and rattan. Each of them

made a trap. Then they went into the thick forest. When they came to a big banyan tree, the man said, "This is a good place to set out traps. Climb the tree and place your trap on one of the big branches."

The woman answered, "I cannot climb. You may put your trap up in the tree. I will put mine on the ground under this tree."

92 So the man climbed the big banyan and placed his trap on one of its branches. The woman placed hers on the ground. Then they went home.

93 The following morning they visited their traps. Both traps were empty. So they returned home.

94 The next morning the man woke up first. He alone visited their traps. As soon as he sighted the banyan, he also saw there on the ground the woman's trap with a deer in it. When he looked up, he saw that his trap also had caught a pigeon. He decided to cheat his companion. He took the deer, climbed the tree and put the deer in his trap. The pigeon from his trap he put in the woman's trap. Then he went home.

95 When the man reached home, the woman was still sound asleep. So he pretended to sleep. Not long afterward the woman woke up. She roused the man to get up for it was time for them to visit their traps.

96 When they came to the tree, the woman jumped with joy for her trap had caught a pigeon. The man looked up and he also was overjoyed for his trap had caught a deer. This surprised the woman. She asked, "How can a deer climb a tree and this pigeon come to the ground?" The man did not answer. So they brought their catch home.

97 It was already quite late in the afternoon when they reached home. The woman removed the feathers of her pigeon and cooked it. The man also cooked his deer. When everything was cooked, they ate together. But the man did not offer his companion any meat. She ate her pigeon without asking the man to give her any meat. The man did not eat all his deer for it was a big deer. After supper they went to bed.

98 At midnight the woman woke up for she felt hungry. She opened her pot but it was empty. Then she opened her companion's

pot. Only one piece was left in it, the deer's larynx. She looked around. Her companion was still sleeping. She got the deer's larynx and put it on her friend's nose. Back to sleep she went.

99 As soon as she closed her eyes the man woke up. He also felt hungry. Immediately he went to open his pot. Nothing was left in it. Then he woke up his companion and said, "Why did you eat all the meat in my pot?"

100 The woman answered, "I do not know about your meat. I did not open your pot." So the woman went back to sleep.

101 While the man was thinking about what happened to his meat, he smelled some cooked meat. He began to look around. Finally he saw a piece of meat around his nose, "Ah," he said, "so you are the one who devoured my meat!" So he picked up a big piece of wood and knocked his nose a thousand times until he himself died.

The Seven Cabinets

102 Once upon a time there lived a wealthy couple in a country ruled by a sultan. For one reason or another their fortune had dwindled away until there was hardly anything left to keep both alive. The man at last decided to sail away to other lands where he said he would try his luck.

103 "But how can I go without any money, to keep me going?" the man questioned his wife. "And I have nothing to leave you while I am away."

"I shall take care of that," answered the wife. "I will go this very day and borrow money."

104 Another version of this story, collected from Dani Sabturani of Lagasan Higad (Parang, Sulu), is entitled "Old Man and Old Woman." The plot follows Ziegler's story, except the ending. Instead of putting the larynx on the old man's facial appendage, the woman mischievously hangs it on the lower one. His slapping it induces an erection which, he feels, threatens him. With a hammer, the old man pounds on his organ, until he dies. Faced with the prospect of the corpse's disposal, the woman visits the leader of a gang of thieves, to whom she talks about her rich clothes in a rolled mat. This piece of news entices the robbers to steal her mat with its heavy load. In the forest, they discover that it is a man they have been carrying. This scares them into dropping the mat and its content and makes them run "until they did not know where they were." (Abstract by Mohammad Daud Abdul, CISC.)

104 She went to the sultan's *panglima*, from whom she obtained a loan of five hundred pesos on condition that, if she failed to pay the amount at the end of the term, she would give herself in as payment. From the *panglima*, she went to the sultan's *maharaja*, and got a loan of the same amount with the same condition. From each of the sultan's chief—the *urangkaya*, the *datu*, *bilal*, the *hatib* and the *imam*—she got a loan of five hundred pesos worth of gold on the same condition agreed upon with the *panglima* and the *maharaja*. Altogether she obtained the sum of thirty-five hundred pesos from the seven chiefs of the sultan and gave it to her husband. Thus provided with a good capital, the man sailed away promising to return when he had earned enough not only to pay the debt but also to subsist on.

105 The day came when the term of the contract expired. The *panglima* came to the woman's house and demanded payment. How could she pay her debt without the required sum in her hand?

106 "As I agreed to give away my own self if I failed to pay my debt," said the woman, "you can do whatever you wish with me." She was quite a beautiful woman. The old *panglima* was rather charmed.

107 "Forget the debt," he announced, "but be my wife." The woman could do nothing but consent. "I shall come tonight at six to marry you," the *panglima* continued, and he left. Presently the *maharaja* came and demanded his money. The woman consented to become his wife and the wedding was to be set at seven that evening. The *urangkaya*, the *datu*, the *bilal*, the *hatib*, and the *imam* came one after another demanding payment. The woman also agreed to marry each of them, after announcing that she had a husband who was away. The *urangkaya* would come at eight, the *datu* at nine, the *bilal* at ten, the *hatib* at eleven and the *imam* at twelve.

108 The woman prepared food for her guests. She instructed her maid to select only the choicest foods. She then went to the best carpenter and ordered a cupboard consisting of seven cabinets each large enough to hold a person. She wanted the cupboard to be painted gold. In the afternoon the golden cupboard was taken to her home.

104 "Panglima," "maharaja," and "urangkaya" are titles given by the sultan to leaders of worth. "Datu" is an hereditary title. "Bilal," "hatib," and "imam" are titles given to purely religious leaders, who officiate at the mosque.

109 At six that evening, the panglima, true to his word, came. Dismissing her maid, the lady served her would-be husband. She offered him all kinds of amusements so that the panglima almost forgot they were going to be married. Just then seven o'clock struck. A knock sounded at the door. The panglima was affright.

110 "That is my husband knocking at the door. He has just arrived," said the woman. "Come, hide inside this cabinet." She then locked the man inside the cupboard. She now admitted the maharaja.

111 She beguiled the maharaja until the man realized that he was there to marry the woman. Presently eight o'clock struck. A knock sounded at the door. The maharaja took fright.

112 "That is my husband just arrived." The woman increased the maharaja's fear. "Come, hide inside this cabinet." And the maharaja was locked inside. The door was opened to the urangkaya. She also regaled him until the marriage was almost forgotten. Just as the ceremony was about to be performed, there was a knock at the door.

113 "That is my husband just returned from his voyage," said the woman. "Come, hide inside this cabinet." The third victim was now locked in helpless. The other creditors met with the same fate. All of them—the seven—were locked up within the cupboard each in his separate closet. The rest of the morning hours the woman and her maid slept soundly.

114 The next day the sultan sent a proclamation throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom. The edict held every subject of his responsible for the search of his seven viziers, who had strangely disappeared. For three days and three nights, the general search for the lost men was pursued. There was no trace of them.

115 On the fourth day, the woman presented herself to the king. She offered to help find the missing viziers.

"If thou, O great sultan, but purchase my golden cupboard for seven thousand pesos worth of gold, most surely you shall be able to find your lost viziers."

"We will have a look at it," agreed the sultan. That afternoon, followed by his retinue, the sultan came to the woman's house. He examined the golden cupboard. He was attracted by the skillful workmanship and beautiful design. "Lay it open that we may see what is inside," ordered the sultan.

116 "Your majesty," protested the woman, "do whatever you wish with the cupboard after you have given me the price I have named."

"True," the sultan agreed. The cupboard was carried to the palace. It took forty strong men to lift it. The woman followed to the palace, where the sultan gave her the seven thousand pesos worth of gold.

117 "Now, your majesty," the woman gayly said, "here are the seven keys to the seven cabinets. You may if you desire have the cupboard opened." Ordering a courtier, the sultan had the seven cabinets unlocked. What do you think they contained? To the amazement of all and the wonder of the sultan, there stepped out the seven lost viziers all almost completely breathless. They had to fetch the royal physician to restore them to their senses.

118 "What is the meaning of all this?" demanded the amused sultan.

119 "Sire, it was with their consent that they were shut inside," the woman explained. "These viziers of yours wanted to marry me although they knew that I was already married." Then she recounted all that had happened from the husband's departure to the shutting in of the seven inside the cabinet, omitting no details.

120 "And, sire," continued the woman, "I was confident that you have honest, God-fearing viziers. But, you will agree with your poor slave that, since these seven wicked men have transgressed God's law and the mandate of his majesty, I demand that they pay me seven thousand pesos in gold as a fine for their misdeed."

121 The sultan never saw a more daring and more witty woman than this lady. By virtue of the law, the seven were required to pay the penalty. Thus the lady, in the absence of her husband, by her wit and cunning, outwitted the sultan and his seven viziers, and gained twice seven thousand pesos in gold plus the amount she got from the unlucky creditors, which she was no longer required to pay.

122 Finally the husband returned. His venture was a profitable one. The wife related to him all that had occurred in his absence.

122 A similar story in Tausug by Datu Nasaluddin Ajijun of Silangkan (Parang, Sulu), who learned it from his uncle Hadji Halib (also of Parang), attributes the adventure to the wife of Abunnawas, one of two legendary Sulu tricksters. In the Silangkan version, the couple's poverty is due to Abunnawas' gambling debts. Well-coached,

With the newly found fortune they now had, they began their life anew and lived happily the rest of their lives.

Pugut

123 Once there was a man whose name was Lungkuyan ["the coy one"]. His wife was Miskinan ["the poor one"]. Lungkuyan had always been sad for he never had the good luck of having any offspring. One day his wife became pregnant. Almost instantly she gave birth to an unnatural child, Pugut [a triggerfish]. Lungkuyan told his wife, "Let us roast it because it is a fish."

"No," the wife replied, "it is my child. I do not care even if one-half [of it] is a dog and the other half is a pig. What can we do? It is God's will."

124 Miskinan made a hammock for her child. In a very short time Pugut grew big. The wonder child had the power of speech. One day Pugut told his mother that he heard Datu Dakula was leaving for some place. Pugut wanted to send his mother to Datu Dakula to tell him that Pugut, her son, would like to accompany him on his trip. The mother said, "No, my son, the datu might throw you overboard."

125 Pugut insisted. "The datu would not be as bad as that. Go ahead and see him. I am determined to go on his trip."

So the mother went. When she reached the palace, the datu asked her, "What can I do for you?"

"I am sent by your servant, Pugut. He wants me to tell you that he would like to go with you on your trip." Miskinan explained her errand to the datu.

"That is good," Datu Dakula answered. "I am leaving tomorrow morning."

126 After the interview, the mother went home. The son was there

the wife borrows money from only three of the Sultan's advisers—the panglima, the maharaja, and the imam. Upon attempting to marry her, each ends up in the closet. Here, the plot follows Ziegler's story, except the ending. The three dignitaries come out of the cabinet, all smeared with feces. The sultan's ensuing anger is then directed against Abunnawas. Abunnawas feigns death, after leaving word that he be buried only after being forgiven by the sultan. The news that the sultan has pardoned him publicly reaches Abunnawas, who returns to the fold very much alive. The sultan has no choice but accept his defeat. (Abstract by Irene Hassan.)

anxiously waiting for his mother's return. As soon as he caught sight of her, he asked, "Well, what is the result, Mother?"

"Pugut, you can go," Miskinan told her son. "The datu is leaving tomorrow morning."

127 When morning came, the mother was sad. Pugut said, "Why are you so sad, Mother? Nothing will happen to me. Find me a *tabayag* fruit, also give me a handful of palay. Miskinan secured these things for her son. She wrapped them in a *labit* [a native basket]. Then they went to the beach. The datu and his men were there already. The datu's followers were launching a big *sappit*. They could not launch the *sappit*. Other men tried and failed. Then Pugut said, "As all of you have tried and failed to launch the *sappit*, now you may load your things on it."

The datu said, "All the more we will not be able to launch it if all our belongings are on it!"

"Never mind," said Pugut. Everybody now busied himself in loading his things on the boat. Pugut asked his mother to place him on the *sappit* just behind the rest.

128 When everything was ready, Pugut said, "Well, Datu, is everything ready? If so, let us start."

129 At once Pugut moved all his fins simultaneously and the *sappit* glided over the water smoothly. The *sappit* ceased sailing when they reached an island. The *sappit* did not want to move any farther. While they were thus stranded, the datu asked, "What mountain is this, Pugut?"

"That is Mount Iron, Datu," replied Pugut.

130 The datu said, "Let us get some iron, Pugut." So they got iron and loaded their *sappit* till it was almost overloaded. After this Pugut again moved all his fins and the *sappit* sailed once more. Several days afterward, they came to another island. Datu Dakula asked, "What mountain is this, Pugut?" The latter replied, "That is Mount Silver, Datu."

131 Immediately Datu Dakula commanded his men to throw overboard all the iron in the *sappit*. In exchange they filled up their

127 *Tabayag* is an unidentified cucurbitaceous plant resembling the *patula*, or gourd.

Sappit is a large cargo boat without outriggers and motor, which is used for loading copra, clam shells, and the like.

sappit with silver. Again Pugut moved all his fins and the sappit sailed.

132 The sappit again stopped sailing when they came to another island. Again the datu asked, "What mountain is that, Pugut?" The latter answered, "That is Mount Gold." Again the datu ordered his men to throw into the sea all the silver they had. They filled their sappit again with gold bars. After this they continued their trip until they came to another island. As soon as they came to this island, Pugut said, "Datu, leave me now on this island." So Pugut was left behind. He was placed near the seashore. Again the sappit sailed on. Just before the datu and his men left him, Pugut told them to pass for him on their way home.

133 As soon as the sappit was out of Pugut's sight, he came out of his shell. Pugut then walked to the mountain. There he planted all he had brought with him, the tabayag fruit and the palay. After planting there, he again entered his covering and once more assumed the appearance of a fish. Two weeks afterward, again he came out of his shell. Happy, indeed, was he to view his plants growing luxuriantly. Then he entered his covering once more. Two weeks later, he came out again to see his plants. Now his palay was almost ripe; his tabayag plant was now bearing flowers. Back he returned to his shell. After another two weeks, Pugut emerged from his covering. At this moment the palay was ready to be harvested; the tabayag tree bore much fruit. Without losing any time, he began to harvest his palay. Then he set about picking up the fruit of the tabayag. While he was drying the fruit of the tabayag, the rats were busy eating his palay. Nothing was left of his palay save the chaff. He watched for the return of the rats. When he saw them come, he chased them. He caught one of them, a big white rat. This was the sultan of the rats. As he was trying to kill the sultan, the other rats rushed toward him and begged him to pardon them. The sultan of the rats said, "If you will let me go free, I will give you a boxful of foodstuff of various kinds. To your father, I will give a boxful of raiment, a spear, and a kris. I will also give your mother a boxful of dresses of different kinds."

134 Almost instantly Pugut turned the white rat loose. Not long afterward the boxes mentioned by the sultan of the rats appeared. Then as the boxes stood before him, the sappit arrived ready to pick up Pugut. Datu Dakula directed his men to load all that Pugut had on shore.

135 Upon arrival, the datu repeated his order for his men to unload Pugut's baggage. Miskinan and Lungkuyan were exceedingly happy to see their son and what he had brought with him. When night came he called his parents. He then prayed to God, "If I am really blessed, I hope my baggage will come to the house." Instantly all his boxes were in the house.

136 When day came, Miskinan and Lungkuyan saw all the boxes. Miskinan told her husband. "If you had roasted my boy would you have this raiment, spear, and kris? Or would you have become rich?" From that time on, the parents loved their son more dearly.

137 One day Pugut told Miskinan, "Mother, go and ask for the hand of the datu's daughter."

"Son," the mother said, "It is not easy to do that. We would risk all our lives. I would not dare do it."

138 Miskinan was forced by the son to express his wish to the datu. Miskinan went crying all the way. Her tears flooded all the streets over which she passed. As soon as she arrived at the palace, the datu asked Miskinan, "What can I do for you?"

"Your Majesty," Miskinan said, "I am sent by your servant, Pugut, to ask His Majesty if there is a possibility for him to have shelter under the roof of this palace." Then Datu Dakula called his seven daughters, all unmarried. They were all asked if any one of them would care to marry Pugut. None of the elder sisters accepted the proposal. When Kabungsuhan, the youngest, was asked, instantly she responded, "I do not select anybody for a husband, Pugut or what not. Even if half of him is a pig and the other half is a dog, if Father likes him, I offer no objection." So Pugut was accepted by Datu Dakula. As for the dowry, all the datu asked was a small house with walls made of silver, the roof made of gold.

139 After that Miskinan went home. She told Pugut how much dowry Datu Dakula had asked for. The son said, "Do not be sad about that. If that is all the datu asked, I consider it nothing. Had the datu requested more I could still afford it. Be sad no longer. Go to sleep now."

140 At daybreak the following morning Pugut woke up. He came out to the porch of his house. There he prayed to God. He said, "Oh God, the Merciful, if I am really blessed, I wish the little house wanted by the datu and many people to appear before me." Not long

afterward all he prayed for was granted him. Pugut, together with the many thousands of people who gathered around him, now went to the palace to marry the princess, Kabungsuhan. They were married that very day.

141 Two days after he was married, Pugut came out of his shell to assume the form of a human being. How good-looking he was! No son of a datu in all the world was handsomer than Pugut.

142 When the elder sisters saw Pugut as the handsomest man in the world, they all shed tears. They could do nothing now. They only beat their breasts hard and repented that they had not accepted Pugut's proposal.

143 After the marriage ceremony, Pugut sent for his parents, Mis-kinan and Lungkuyan. They celebrated with incomparable merry-making.

The Four Brothers

144 It came to pass that the sultan died. To his four sons he had left the will that, whosoever came to them asking for payment of debts, the four princes should settle the same only after making the creditors of the sultan swear. It appeared therefore that the sultan had owed many a man, although to all appearances, he was the richest monarch that ever lived.

145 On learning of the sultan's will, many persons from far and near began pouring into the palace asking for payment of the supposed debts of the deceased monarch. Fulfilling their father's will, the four brothers made the supposed creditors swear and paid them according to the creditor's claims. Almost every day there were creditors about the palace. The princes, not gainsaying the creditors' demands, paid what was due them. Men continued to come

143 Sahibuddin Bahang, from Biid, Parang, tells a similar story about *Lisu' Pangutut* ("The Lazy Fart-maker"), whose body is covered with grime and who is favored with a smile from the youngest of a datu's seven daughters. To win the princess' hand, Pangutut is required by the datu to survive gunshots fired at him for seven days, Pangutut passes the test. He reveals himself as a handsome gentleman and marries the girl. Indulging in business for a living, he barter rice for a cat and dog who, through magical powers, give him 14 gold bars. With capital from his father-in-law, he travels across the islands. Settling on the last island, he plants the squash seeds he has carried with him all along. These grow well.

and ask for settlement of the late sultan's debts, and the four princes made out payments to them, until finally their treasury was empty and their kingdom was given away to those who demanded payment. A day came when the four brothers were forced to vacate their palace.

146 Without anything in their possession, the four princes at last resolved to board a trading vessel bound for the kingdom of India. In the middle of the ocean, the chief steward began collecting the passengers' fares. The four princes could not produce the money. They would have to leave the boat, the steward told them, if they could not pay their fares. Not long after, the boat dropped anchor at one of the ports along its route to India. The captain demanded that the four brothers settle their accounts before they were allowed to board the ship back to India.

147 "My dear Captain," the eldest spoke, "money we have none. But permit us to land here. There are, living in this city, relatives of ours from whom we can secure the necessary fares to bring us to India." The captain consented. "At what time do we sail?" asked the eldest.

"At noon," the captain told them.

"Do lend us your timepiece that we may know the hour of departure," said the eldest prince. The captain loaned it to them. They at once disembarked.

148 The four princes did not stop at the city but chose a road that led to the end of the country. In reality they had no relatives nor friends there. They were totally strangers. At noon the boat departed. The four brothers chose to be left behind. And the poor captain was defrauded of his gold watch.

149 When the four brothers reached the end of the road, they saw a poor hovel where dwelt an old man raising chickens and ducks. The four princes threw in their fortune with the old man, adopted him as their father, and lived there. Now it happened that the four

Soon the squash plants are attacked by rats, one of which Pangutut catches. He spares the life of this rat, however, and, in return is rewarded with bamboo tubes. Returning home, he opens the bamboo tubes, which contain such wealth as diamonds, pearls, silver, and gold. The story ends sadly with Pangutut receiving news of his wife's death in delivery. (Abstract by Mohammad Daud Abdul, CISC.)

princes, save the youngest were each master of some trade. The eldest was an architect and builder, the second was a good businessman, the third was a doctor and physician, and the youngest had only his own self. The youngest was the most handsome of them all, and being the youngest, was much petted by the sultan, so he did not know any trade at all, save his comeliness.

150 "Father," remarked the eldest who was the architect, "let me out into the city to try my fortune." The old man consented, and prepared his necessary provisions. Not long after, the architect arrived at the city. There was an announcement in the public places that the local sultan would give ten thousand pieces of gold to the man who could build for his daughter the most beautiful of palaces. All the architects of the kingdom had come and presented their plans but none could satisfy the princess. The eldest prince now presented himself to the king and laid his plan before the king. It was satisfactory. After a month, the architect had constructed the most beautiful palace, all brilliant with gold. And the sultan gave him the ten thousand pieces of gold. It took a large-sized bull-cart to load the gold and carry it to the hovel where the poultry raiser dwelt. The old man's happiness knew no bounds. He was so overjoyed that he almost neglected his chickens and ducks.

151 The second brother, the businessman, now set out to the city to seek his fortune. He came to the wharf. Boarding one merchant ship, he asked the captain what cargo he was loading in his hold. The cargo, the captain told him, was nothing but ambergris. It sold for three thousand pieces of gold, the captain further informed him.

"I will pay you four thousand," the businessman-prince told the captain. "I shall come for my merchandise three days from today and pay you the four thousand pieces of gold."

"Settled," gayly replied the captain.

152 For the first two days the businessman-prince wandered through the streets of the city. He lounged in coffee shops. Where could he secure the four thousand pieces of gold? On the third day, almost disheartened, he met a wealthy *sawragal*, merchant, to whom he offered the ambergris for fourteen thousand pieces of gold. As he was in need of the article, the merchant paid him the amount immediately. Going to the boat, the businessman-prince approached the captain, paid him the four thousand pieces of gold, and unloaded the ambergris for the merchant. From the deal the prince gained

ten thousand pieces of gold with no capital whatsoever. With a bull-cart he set off for the palace of his adopted father. (Ever since the eldest had brought the ten thousand pieces of gold, the hovel had been changed into a palace built by the architect.) Now the little family had plenty of gold to live on.

153 The third brother now set off for the city. Like his elder brothers he also wanted to try his luck. It came to pass that the king's daughter was gravely ill and was at the point of death. Not even the best physician of the kingdom could cure her. At last the sultan issued a proclamation to the effect that he would give half his kingdom and the princess to anyone who could revive her. The doctor-prince presented himself before the sultan. In no time the princess became as well as before and beauty bloomed on her young cheeks once more. So the prince obtained his prize, half the sultan's kingdom, and the princess for his wife.

154 It came to pass that the sultan died. It was the custom of the country that when the sultan died, another successor of his was to be chosen from the members of the royalty. The choosing was done by the snow-white elephant that was reared in a palatial stable. Ever since the first sultan, the great-great grandfather of the present ruler, it was the duty of the elephant to select the king for the kingdom.

155 Next morning all the royal members from all over the kingdom came. They were all lined up in the front yard, men and women and all. The white elephant was let loose. He trotted through the lines of kingly folk, sniffed at each as he passed by, and appeared to disapprove of all. Three times the elephant paraded, each time rejecting all. At the fourth time, the elephant dashed past the assembled candidates and headed for the country in the direction of the brothers' adopted place. In a short while, the elephant returned with the handsome prince [the youngest of the four brothers] folded in his great trunk. He set the prince on the throne. After this he returned to his stable.

156 "We do not consent to be ruled by a stranger!" all the royalty protested. So fetching the young prince, the grand vizier returned him whence he had been taken by the white elephant. Next day the selection resumed. The white elephant for the second time disapproved the candidates. For the second time he brought the handsome prince. And twice he was rejected by the royalty.

157 At last when the third day of the selection came, the white elephant again fetched the handsome prince from his home at the country's end. The younger princess, who was the prettier of the sultan's two daughters (the eldest had been married to the physician) happened to see the handsome young prince. She stepped down to the courtyard and, taking the prince by the hand, announced to the people, in her sweet voice: "Look not for another sultan. It is fore-ordained in the great book that a stranger shall become your sultan, after my father. Behold His Majesty!" That very day, there was a joyous celebration at the palace. The youngest brother was crowned sultan and the princess became his wife and sultana. Thus the four brothers, ejected from their own kingdom, finally had found better fortune and a larger kingdom, where they prospered and lived happily the rest of their lives.

The Philosopher, the Goldsmith, the Archer, and the Robber

158 Four sons were born to the sultan of a certain country. When the boys were of age, the sultan, their father, called for them.

"My sons," began the sultan, "I have decided that since you four have come of age, I shall send you into the world to seek your fortune. At the end of three years, you are to return and tell me what special knowledge and skill you have obtained." Each provided with four hundred pieces of gold, the four princes started on their journey.

159 The four brothers took different roads, each leading to a different country. At each place they went, the princes looked for the best knowledge they could find. At last, three years had passed, and the four princes, each with his own skill, returned to their father. Equipped with their own learning, they each presented themselves before the sultan.

160 All the sultan's subjects had been called to witness the test of whether the sultan's sons had learned worthy occupations during their three years of journey. Each of the sultan's sons was required to show how excellently he could execute his own trade.

161 The next morning the palace was all excitement. All the people from far and near had arrived. There was a great crowd assembled in the vast courtyard.

162 Now the eldest prince, who had earned his title as a great philosopher, and who could tell you offhand what your mind was

thinking, was the first one to be tested. He chose a big black tree at a distance, and ordered it chopped down. When the tree fell crashing to the ground, the prince opened his book, and raising his eyes, said, or rather proclaimed, to all the crowd that the tree had this many large trunks, this many big branches, this many small branches, this many large leaves, this many small leaves, and this many fruits. The sultan ordered his courtiers to count [what had been enumerated by the philosopher]. There was nothing amiss in what the philosopher had said. For this a great applause rent the air in recognition of the philosopher's skill.

163 Next came the second brother. He was the best accomplished goldsmith. He could even forge for you the likeness of a man who could talk and laugh, sing and cry, and do things like a real man, except that he had no soul. Asking for several pounds of gold, he beat the metal, pounded on it, and in less than five minutes, he produced a beautiful gold tray loaded with all the precious things on earth. The sultan was delighted at this skill of his son. Another loud applause rent the air.

164 Now the third prince's turn came. He was the best archer in the kingdom. He was such an expert archer that he could strike a fly atop a carabao ninety-nine paces away. The archer asked for a single strand of hair. He asked for two men and instructed them each to hold either end of the hair. Without even aiming, the archer let his arrow fly. To the amazement of all, including the sultan, the arrow was suspended in mid-air. It had struck the hair, splitting it in two, and through it was still hanging. An equal applause was awarded the prince for his most extraordinary feat.

165 Last came the turn of the youngest brother. He was an accomplished robber, so expert in his trade that he could even rob you of your thoughts without your least knowing that he had stolen them. He asked for a sitting hen. Placing the hen on the ground, he then commanded the men to crowd around the nest, thus forming an impenetrable wall, ninety-nine deep, around it. Before you could have said, "mother," the robber had produced in his hands the hen's twelve eggs. The wall of men did not know that the prince had taken the eggs. Neither did the hen feel that her eggs were stolen. The sultan was greatly pleased with the four princes. At once he caused a grand feast celebrated at the palace in honor of the extraordinary feats of his four sons.

166 One day, feeling that his end was drawing near, the sultan called for his sons.

"It will not be long," the sultan told his sons, "and I shall be no more. I have decided to divide the kingdom into three, and the one who receives no share should be made happy." The sultan died in no time. The four princes thereupon fell to quarreling, disputing over the division of the property.

167 "Let three of us divide the property," said the robber. "The philosopher will not get a share; he can take care of himself."

"Let us not give to the robber," protested the eldest brother. "He can manage well without any property, as he is an expert robber." No one could decide who should not get a share. Finally they took the matter to a neighboring king, who was the wisest judge of all. They soon started on their journey.

168 They had gone about halfway to the king's palace when they saw some prints on the roads.

"These are hoofprints of a carabao," the eldest suggested. "And that carabao is a female carabao."

"I agree with you," said the goldsmith, "and that female carabao is an escaped carabao."

"You two are right," said the archer. "I believe that that escaped carabao was loaded with milk and honey."

"That carabao was loaded with milk and honey," remarked the robber. "In my belief, that carabao is blind in the left eye." They did not contradict one another's remark, and they continued on their way.

169 Presently they met a man running toward them.

"Have you seen my carabao?" he breathlessly inquired.

"Was your carabao a female one?" asked the philosopher.

"My carabao was female," replied the man.

"And did your carabao run away?" queried the goldsmith.

"My carabao escaped," said the man.

"Did your carabao carry milk and honey?" asked the archer.

"Verily, that was my carabao!"

"Was your carabao blind in the left eye?" asked the robber.

"Verily, you have stolen my carabao," accused the man.

"We just saw her hoofprints," the four protested. The man did not believe them. He accused them of having stolen his carabao. The man at last agreed to take the case to the sultan.

170 Not long after, they arrived at the sultan's palace. The four brothers and the man appeared before the sultan.

"What case brought you here?" demanded the sultan.

"Your majesty," said the eldest brother, "this man has a suit against us. Pray, ask him."

171 "I accuse these four young men of stealing my carabao," instantly replied the man. "Each one knew how my carabao looks. One said it was female; another that it was an escaped carabao; another that it carried milk and honey. The other said that it was blind in the left eye. And that describes my own, real, carabao."

172 "What say you to this, young men?" asked the sultan.

"Sire," answered the philosopher, "we observed the hoofprints on the way. I remarked that it was female, because, your majesty, a female carabao has her hoof quite wide at the partition."

"I told my brothers it was an escaped carabao, because there was the trace of rope trailing the animal. Only escaped animals drag the ropes they are tied with." Thus spoke the goldsmith.

"And I believed that this carabao carried milk and honey because, all along the way, swarms of bees were trailing the hoofprints on either side, while a long line of ants also followed."

"I said it was blind on the left," remarked the robber, "because all the leaves and grass that lay to the right of the road were eaten up. Evidently the carabao could not see the grass that lay to the left of the road."

173 "Now, my man," decided the sultan, "these four young men were only guessing about the hoofprints they saw. They did not steal your carabao." And the man left.

174 "Now, young men, what business brought you hither?" the sultan asked.

"Your majesty," said the philosopher, "when our father, the sultan died, he left a will specifying that his property be divided among three of us, and that the one without a share should be made happy. Unfair as the will may be, we are following our father's wish. How can we divide the property while making the one without a share happy?"

175 It was a difficult question for the sultan to decide. For three months the case was deliberated on, but no final decision could be reached. Exhausted, the sultan called for his beautiful daughter to decide the case of the young men. The daughter appeared before

the young men and, producing a golden casket as large as an apple, began questioning the four princes.

"What lies within this golden casket?" she asked the philosopher. "It is a fruit which once your mother ate when she conceived you," replied the philosopher.

"That fruit," answered the goldsmith, "is round." When unripe, it is green. When ripe, it is somewhat yellowish-pinkish."

"All that is true," conceded the archer. "I know that that fruit has small round seeds. When ripe, the seeds are pinkish and are sweet to eat."

176 The princess turned to the robber. "Tell me straightway—what is inside my golden casket?"

"My three brothers told you it is a fruit. I agree with them. I have seen that fruit placed inside the casket. Even now I can see it."

"What is it?" again the princess asked.

"That fruit is a pomegranate," said the robber.

177 "Now your case is settled," said the princess. "You three, the philosopher, the archer, and the goldsmith return to your kingdom and divide your father's property among yourselves. The robber shall stay and marry me."

178 The three brothers were amazed. Each of them wanted to marry the princess and give up his own share. But as the decision was rendered, they had to abide by it. So they returned to their kingdom, divided the property, while the youngest brother, the robber, married the princess. Thus the sultan's wish was fulfilled. The kingdom was divided equally among the three, while the one

178 A Tausug tale (*katakata*) entitled "Sumayang Galura'" (The Soaring Garuda") from Dastala Panda, 47, of Biid (Parang, Sulu), gives very few elements similar to this story. In it, the sultan has a son born dumb and a beautiful daughter. The sultan promises his daughter in marriage to anyone who would cure his son. A young datu manages to do so. In the meantime, the sultan's daughter is snatched by Sumayang Galura', along with six other princesses from different sultanates. The sultan's son, the datu, the curer, and five other young datus together form a group. Each in the group learns a different specialization: the first becomes a blacksmith, the second, a hypnotizer, the third, a sharpshooter, the fourth, a fortune-teller. The youngest becomes a robber. (There are only six of them, it being understood that the missing specialist is the curer.) They then proceed to free the seven princesses from the giant bird, whose lair lies atop a towering tree one meter away

who did not receive any share was made happy by his marriage to the princess, who was as beautiful as she was wealthy.

The Freed Slave

179 A certain wealthy panglima was known to be the most selfish person the country round. He was too miserly to allow even a few grains of corn to slip from his great granary to aid poor and needy people. Woe to the servant who gave away to beggars, for a hundred lashes were her punishment. In all his lifetime, the panglima was known never to have given alms to orphans nor widows.

180 One sultry afternoon, the miser and his wife were taking their customary siesta. All the household had also retired. The slave girl alone was awake, and sat at the doorway sewing.

181 Resting awhile, and raising her eyes from her sewing, the little girl saw standing before her an old woman, bent with age, supporting her frail, weak body on a staff. Half afraid and half surprised at the sudden appearance of the old woman, the slave asked in a most polite and kind tone, "Which way are you going, Grandmother?"

"My good child," said the old woman in a trembling voice, "I am so famished. I still have a long, long way to go to my country in the West. Pray, can you give me something to eat?"

182 The slave, half fearing her master's wrath and half pitying the old woman, stole into the kitchen, gathered a handful of rice, and quickly made porridge for the hungry old woman. How she wished that neither the panglima nor any other member of the household would awake while she served the old lady. Fortunately the old woman got through her simple meal, and none stirred in the house. Thanking the little girl and praying God to bless her, the wrinkled old woman vanished from sight as if she were an angel from heaven.

183 Suddenly the whole household was aroused by a wild cry of "Fire!" issuing from the master's room. Everyone rushed to the place. The slave trembled with fear. There was no sign of fire.

from the sky. Defeated, Sumayang Galura' promises to change his food from human beings to fish, and gives the seven new couples a large diamond for light. Many brigands from different localities who try, without success, to rob the couples of the precious stone become these datu's followers. (Abstract by Mohammad Daud Abdul, CISC.)

The master had dreamed. It appeared to him that the four walls of his room were walls of red hot flames leaping nearer and nearer to eat him up. In his fright, he had shouted "Fire! Fire!" Just then, shadowing the flames, appeared grains of rice, which the fire began burning up. All at once the fire vanished. And the panglima awoke.

184 The panglima immediately began inquiring as to who during the day had given rice to some passerby. No one admitted it. The panglima turned to the slave.

185 "My master," trembled the slave, who was sure of the hundred lashes, "I am solely to blame. This afternoon while you were all asleep, an old woman came to beg for something to eat. I took pity on her, and cooked some porridge. After she had eaten it all up, the old woman vanished. I am sure she was an angel from heaven."

186 "Enough," said the panglima. "My child, you have saved me from hell. You have taught me how it is to give alms to the poor and needy. From now on you are no longer our slave, but our own daughter, flesh and blood." That afternoon the panglima summoned all his people before whom he recognized the slave as his own daughter. The *lantaka* [cannons] were fired, cows were slaughtered for the feast—all in token of the mercy of God, and in recognition of the slave's freedom.

The Wise-Foolish Boy

187 Have you ever heard of the story of the boy who was foolish but also wise? Would you like to know what he did, what the people thought about him, and what finally happened to him?

188 The wise-foolish boy lived with his father and mother on a small farm far from the city of the great sultan. The mother and father sent their son to study with a certain learned imam in a village nearby. But do you think a stupid boy can learn? This is what he conceived of. He would pretend to his parents that he was really learning something. Taking possession of a discarded blank book, he showed his parents that he was learning something worthwhile.

189 One morning the foolish boy pretended he was on his way to the imam's house. He hid behind a tree and watched his father and mother go to their field. Climbing the tree from which he could

have a vantage view of the farm, the foolish boy watched his father and mother work.

190 At noon the parents arrived home. The foolish boy came home later. Presently the mother asked the boy what his uncle, the imam, had taught him for the day. Many things, the boy informed them.

"My book tells me," the foolish boy was up to his trick again, uttering some unintelligible words, "that you both were planting corn, feeding the sow, and fencing the farm." The father and mother were surprised at this truth and praised their son for his learning. The next day, as usual, the boy left the house on his make-believe journey to the imam's village. Just as soon as his parents left for the farm, he returned to the house and, taking his parent's only trunk, hid it in a thick bush near the house.

191 At noon the parents came home. The boy arrived later. "Our only trunk is lost," the mother wept. The box contained all they had and its loss meant very much to them.

192 Taking his scrapbook, the boy uttered something unintelligible to his parents. "What day is today?" he inquired.

"Friday, and first quarter of the moon," replied the mother.

"My book tells me that the trunk is not far from our house. It tells me that it is hidden in a bush." The father went out and looked for the trunk. There hidden by a thick bush was the trunk. At last the parents were convinced that their son had a worthwhile and serviceable knowledge. The fame of the foolish boy spread far and wide.

193 Now it came to pass that the queen's diamond ring was lost. Not the wisest vizier could tell where it was. Finally the fame of the foolish boy reached the sultan's ears. Instantly the foolish boy was sent for. "I shall reward you with a bag of gold if you can tell us where the ring is," offered the sultan.

194 The foolish boy was perplexed. How could his tricks help in this real and actual problem? He did not know what to do. His book could help him no longer. I think luck was with him in his despair. Accidentally he met the butcher alone in the kitchen. "You got the ring," he jokingly said. "Do not lie to me." The butcher trembled with fear.

"Save me, and I shall pay you greatly," said the butcher.

"Do what I will tell you," said the foolish boy then. "Tonight,

place the ring inside the bill of the queen's most precious goose. See to it that it is swallowed by the goose." That night the butcher made the goose swallow the ring.

195 On the morrow the foolish boy bowed before the sultan. All the courtiers were assembled. The queen was present. The beautiful princess was there too. All had come to hear the wisdom of the foolish boy.

196 "Your noble majesty," began the foolish boy, "Look not far to find the ring. My book tells me the diamond ring is in the stomach of the goose that is most precious to the queen." After much protest from the sultana, the goose was butchered. Found imbedded within its belly was the diamond ring. Then and there the sultan gave the foolish boy the bag of gold. This enriched his parents. Then, the sultan took the foolish boy in his service.

197 Across the wide sea there was a kingdom ruled by a merchant king. Learning of the foolish boy's unusual prodigy at prophesying things, the sultan decided to try the boy's skill. Equipping himself with four closed chests, he set sail with his chosen courtiers [to the kingdom where the foolish boy lived]. When he arrived at the palace, he was received with loud rejoicing that befits a neighbor and a royal person. The visiting sultan made his mission known to his host. They agreed that the test [of the foolish boy's prodigy] would start on the morrow.

198 Thereupon the foolish boy bowed his head in sorrow. How could he guess the contents of the four chests when he did not see what was placed in them? His previous triumphs were but results of chance, and now he was sure to miss his guess.

199 That afternoon he hit upon a sly idea, as only a foolish boy would. In the evening, the foolish boy swam out secretly to the sultan's boat, which was dropping anchor in the bay. Upon reaching it, he clung to a rope suspended on the side of the big boat. Not long after, he heard a conversation. "Most probably, the crew," the boy thought.

"Box number one," said one, "contains unhusked rice."

"Yes," said another, "and box number two is filled with corn."

"I heard the chief steward say," put in another, "that box number three contains coal."

"The maid told me that box number four is filled with sand."

At the last word, the foolish boy slid gently down into the water and swam back to the shore. He slept till morning.

200 On the morrow the courtyard was filled with attending lords and princes to witness the great test. The two sultans sat on two thrones, while beside them sat the sultana and the princess. When all the judges had been seated, the test began. And what idiot cannot relate what simple things he has heard? The foolish boy, true to his fame, guessed rightly all the contents of each box. And the more was the boy's fame established. Thereupon the sultan made him grand vizier.

201 Because he [the wise-foolish boy] was such a splendid fellow, the sultan decided that he be married to the princess. "But before the marriage," the sultan considered, "he must guess what is contained in the casket I will give him."

202 Next morning all the courtiers were assembled again. The foolish boy was called forth. On his face there was an expression of great disappointment. At last he was nearing his doom. This would be the last trick into which he would sell himself. Furthermore, he thought, it might be fatal to his reputation and fame, and to the sultan's confidence in him.

203 He pondered long. His book could not help him a bit. Finally he resolved to give up and to hide his shame. Then, he hit upon the idea of escaping through the crowd. He began to mark where the crowd was thinnest. With one great stride, he advanced shouting, "Who will guess the dung of the dog and the pig?" The sultan thought his grand vizier was mad, shouting about the waste of the most despicable animal, the pig. The people believed that the foolish boy had run away to escape the applause of the crowd. The boy escaped because he did not know that he had guessed right. As a matter of fact, his guess was correct. The sultan immediately called for him and on that very day the boy's wedding to the princess was celebrated.

204 The foolish boy, in order to make his reputation and fame secure, destroyed his book and swore before all the people that he would, henceforward, use his knowledge no more. He further exacted from all the people present a promise not to mention this knowledge anymore on the pain of death. Thus the wise fool, out of his foolish tricks, emerged a happy fellow and lived prosperously for many years with the princess, his wife.

Paluy and His Parents

205 Once upon a time there was a boy by the name of Paluy. One day he went into the forest to hunt. On his way he found a small lake. At the sight of this lake, Paluy thought of playing a trick on his parents. To carry out the plan in his mind, he made two trails leading to the lake: one trail was straight; while the other was circuitous. After this he went home.

206 Paluy told his parents about the wonderful lake. Fishes of various kinds abound in the lake, he told them. One day he invited his parents to go fishing in the lake. For bait they used ripe bananas. Each of them brought his hook and line.

207 On the way they talked of the beautiful flowers they saw on the roadside; also about the birds singing in the trees. Soon they came to the edge of the forest. There was the crossing of the paths Paluy had made. Here the boy told his parents to take the path to the left—the circuitous one. He took the one to the right for, he told them, he felt a need for privacy. In truth Paluy felt nothing. He did it only to fool his parents.

208 Paluy ran as fast as he could. He reached the lake far ahead of his parents. Paluy immediately jumped into the lake and pretended to be a fish. Soon the parents came. They were amazed to see the fishes swimming in the lake. They could even hear the splashing of the big ones on the other side of the lake. Actually it was Paluy who was splashing loudly to surprise his parents. In haste the father threw his hook and line into the lake. Surely a big fish, Paluy, caught the bait. The father pulled in hard. Unfortunately, however, the supposed fish got away. Now, encouraged by the first bite, both father and mother put twenty bananas on their hooks at the same time. Then they threw their hooks into the lake. To their consternation, the boy took all their bait.

209 Not long afterward, they saw Paluy swimming in the lake among the fishes. The father decided to give his boy a sound beating. He hurriedly went home to get a pestle. While they were away, Paluy climbed a tall tree beside the lake. His shadow was visible in the lake. When the parents came, they saw the boy in the water. The father told his wife to stay on land and wait for their son to come up, while he would dive into the water and catch the boy. The man also told his wife. "The moment Paluy's head comes to the

surface of the water, strike him on the head with the pestle." The man tried to catch the boy. He tried to catch him again and again. But every time he failed. Soon the father's head emerged from the water. With lightning speed, the wife gave him a strong knock on the head. The man wriggled for some time in the water. As soon as he gained consciousness, he scolded his wife loudly for hitting him.

210 Paluy, who was up in the tree, saw all these things. As he could not resist laughing any longer, he gave out a loud laugh. The parents knew right away where that laugh came from. When they looked up, there they saw Paluy sitting comfortably on one of the big branches. Without wasting a fraction of a second, the man told his wife to watch the boy while he ran home to get an ax. Arriving with a big ax, the man at once chopped down the tree. Soon the tree fell; but Paluy was not hurt. There safely he stood. The father rushed at him and caught him by the hips. The father then beat the boy like a drum. Paluy cried bitterly and promised his parents he would not do such mischief again. Then they all went home.

211 One day, long after this incident, Paluy again decided to fool his parents. His plan was this. He was going to ask some persons in the neighborhood to help his parents plant palay. His parents agreed to this proposition. Instead of inviting fifty persons, Paluy borrowed fifty hats. These he scattered in the ricefield. Then he told his parents that fifty persons would come early the next morning. He also said they would go direct to the field because they felt ashamed toward his father. Paluy said, "Father, early in the morning you must kill one cow. You must also cook plenty of rice. When all of these are cooked, I shall come to the house to get them."

212 The next morning the parents saw many hats in the ricefield. They believed they were the fifty persons invited by Paluy. So they went home, killed a cow, and cooked plenty of rice, sufficient to feed fifty persons.

213 At about nine o'clock, Paluy went home and told his parents the workers were all happy. Since everything was cooked, Paluy brought all the food to the farm. With the dilating power of an anaconda, he ate everything up. After swallowing the last mouthful, Paluy felt an abdominal pain; then he became somewhat dizzy, and finally he vomited. His vomit reached five-feet high. The parents

did not know Paluy had eaten all the food by himself. The boy gathered many leaves and covered his vomit. Over this little mound, he placed a deerhorn. All the hats he had borrowed he hid in the forest. Then he went home.

214 He told his parents about the excellent cooperation of the fifty persons he had invited. He also told them that they had already gone home. Just before he left the ricefield, he said, there was a big deer grazing in the field. At the mention of "deer," the father stood up and said he wanted to kill the deer. Paluy brought a spear.

215 As soon as they came to the edge of the ricefield, the father saw the horns of the deer behind the little mound. The father said, "Paluy, let me have the spear." Unhesitatingly, Paluy gave it. The father then walked quietly toward the spot where the deer was. As soon as he was about four meters away from the deer, he threw the spear. He followed the spear with a run and caught the deer by the horn. Not only did the father catch the deer horn but also found himself in a pool of vomit. Paluy, seeing his father's situation, ran away. The father did not say anything. Paluy stayed away from home for three days. On the fourth day, Paluy returned home. The parents did not scold him. They treated him nicely and gave him rice cakes to eat as he was very hungry. After this the father asked, "Paluy, how did the rice cakes you ate taste?"

"Why, they are the best I have tasted in all my life," Paluy said.

"Do you know what they are made of, Paluy?" the father asked again.

216 Paluy said nothing. Then the father told him they were made of his vomit. Paluy had learned his lesson.

Iddil

217 Once a young man named Iddil was betrothed to a certain maiden, a farmer's daughter. A custom of the Tausug prescribes that once a young man is engaged to a girl, the groom-to-be shall stay with the bride's parents and help about in every undertaking of the girl's family. A slight indifference on the part of the young man or the man's family is a sure cause for the breaking of the engagement.

218 Iddil was a faithful lover. He helped about in his father-in-law's work at the farm. One day, at noon, all of the family were seated for lunch. They had a viand of meat packed in a bamboo,

which is called *tiyama'*. Iddil would not eat of it even at the hard coaxing of his future mother-in-law.

219 One night the moon was at its full. Everybody had retired to sleep. It happened that the house was only half-roofed, since it was newly constructed. Iddil woke in the middle of the night and stole quietly to where the *tiyama'* was stored. He inserted his hand into the bamboo. He tried to extract the *tiyama'* out. But he could not. Hard as he might try, the bamboo would not let his full arm go. So he decided to knock the bamboo. Going to the doorway, he saw a shining object. Not knowing what it was, but believing it was a log, Iddil knocked the bamboo hard against it. There was at once a terrifying shout from the object. Iddil had unluckily knocked against the head of his future father-in-law. At this time the old man's head was shaved to the skin so that in the moonlight it glimmered and shone. Upon this discovery, Iddil rushed from the house, out into the moonlight and, like a frightened steed, ran at the top of his breath. He was never heard of anymore by his betrothed from that night on. So the betrothal was annulled then and there.

The Father's Will

220 A wealthy farmer who was at the point of death called his three sons to his bedside. Having no other relatives alive, the old man bequeathed all his property to the three sons, on one condition.

"You, my son," said he, pointing to the eldest, "bury me in a pit when I die."

"You," continued the dying man, now addressing his second son, "when I am dead, bury me under a hill.

"And you," pointing to the youngest, said, "when I am no more, bury me under a tree." At these words, the good old man breathed his last.

221 At once the three brothers fell to planning as to what they should do. How could they bury their father in three different places all at the same time? In the meantime, while unable to solve the puzzle, the three young men embalmed their father, and set forth on a journey to inquire from the wisest judge the course they would follow in burying their father. They had, so to speak, covered the entire length and breadth of the country. At the end of three years,

218 *Tiyama'* means "chopped to pieces," from the verb *tama'* "to chop to pieces, to slice into small pieces."

utterly discouraged, they took the road back to their native country. 222 One fine morning, the three young men chanced to pass by a certain village. They neither turned to the right nor to the left, nor minded what they passed by. They were all downcast and in the most disheartened spirit. On and on they walked. Finally they came upon a boy of ten playing with a large white cat by the roadway. The little boy, on seeing them, abandoned his playmate. Straightway he approached the three young men and inquired as to what misfortune had befallen them, and in what way he could serve them.

223 "It is now fully three years," replied the eldest, who was the saddest of them all, "since our father died. He left us a will instructing us each to bury him in a hole, under a hill and beneath a tree. We searched the whole country round; but no man could direct us in properly fulfilling our father's wish. How can we bury our poor father in three different spots at the same time?"

224 The eyes of the little boy brightened. He scratched his small, tawny head and, with a meaningful gleam in his intelligent eyes, spoke.

"My brothers," the little boy began, "you need not go far to seek the solution of your father's will. If you but listen to me, everything will be solved. One of you, when you arrive home, must dig a hole large enough to hold in your father's body comfortably. Lay your father in the hole. Then, another should cover the hole and pile the earth into a mound. The last one of you should fetch a branch from a tree and plant it at the head of your father's grave. Thus you will have buried your father in a hole under a hill and under a tree simultaneously.

Mandangan's Story

225 Mandangan was the only son of a widow. He was so much loved that, from childhood to adulthood, he was never made to do any heavy piece of work.

226 One morning Mandangan's mother went to the market. "Son," said she, "while I am away, watch our palay." The palay was piled in three large shallow baskets, *ligu*, to dry in the sun. Mandangan sat under a nipa shed and watched.

226 *Ligu* is a flat basket used for winnowing palay.

227 Very soon a large flock of ducks came trooping along. All at once they invaded the baskets and devoured as much as they could—until there was hardly any single grain left. Mandangan did not make any move to drive away the ducks but continued sitting, watching the fowls eat all the rice.

228 Later toward noon, the mother arrived. She was downcast at seeing the baskets empty.

“Where is the rice?” queried the mother in an agitated voice.

“A flock of ducks ate it all up,” replied Mandangan, with the least sign of anxiety.

“Why did you allow the ducks to eat all the palay?” asked the mother. “And now we will have no rice for our lunch,” the mother continued.

“Why, Mother,” the spoiled boy almost shouted “when you went to the market you told me to watch the rice. I watched. When the ducks came to eat, I continued to watch. I was simply obeying your orders.”

Abunnawas

229 In a far off time, in a faraway country, there once lived a man who was renowned for his humor and wit. He was surely the most clever person, so clever that he gained wide reputation as a sage and philosopher.

230 One day, this man Abunnawas visited the sultan. It came to pass that on his arrival the sultan was taken ill and was complaining of a terrible headache. This was, by way of a pretext, for the sultan desired to test the wit of the fellow Abunnawas.

231 “What ails my lord, the Tuwan Sultan?” Abunnawas humbly inquired.

“My good friend,” the sultan said in a whimpering sort of voice, “it is nigh a week since this malady seized me. My head aches so terribly it seems it might break.”

232 There are many Abunnawas stories told in Tausug and Samal. In all these versions, Abunnawas is a wise man. One Tausug version given by Datu Nasaluddin Ajiji of Silangkan (Parang, Sulu), and summarized by Irene Hassan (CISC), begins with the same challenge but without the headache bit and continues with more contests of wit and other adventures, one of which involves Abunnawas' wife in a situation somewhat similar to that in the “Seven Cabinets.”

"When the waves break on the shore," continued the sultan in a weaker voice, "the pain increases as though a great weight is pounding against my head."

232 "What may your poor slave do for his majesty?" asked Abunnawas. "I shall go far and even give my poor body to relieve the lord, my sultan, of this malady."

"It seems to me, Abunnawas," said the sultan, "that, when the waves stop breaking on the shore, the pain in my head also subsides and I earn a complete rest. But as soon as the breakers dash to the shore, my head begins to ache again, as terribly as before."

"I think, Abunnawas," continued the sultan, "that if you harness the waves I shall be relieved of this illness. I therefore command you to bind the waves."

"That I shall try to do," answered Abunnawas. He then left the sultan. Afterwards, he returned.

233 "O, most serene majesty, the lord, my sultan," said Abunnawas; "I forgot to tell you something."

"What may that be?" questioned the sultan.

"I forgot to tell you," replied Abunnawas, "that I can harness and bind the waves only on condition that your noble greatness can braid the sand for me."

"But," said the sultan, "I cannot braid the sand."

"Then," triumphantly said Abunnawas, "I cannot bind and harness the waves."

234 Many a tale were told about this humorous fellow. On one occasion the sultan invited Abunnawas to a game.

"We will play laying eggs," began the sultan. "He who cannot produce an egg shall lose a hundred pounds of gold."

235 "Agreed," volunteered Abunnawas. The game began. The sultan had prearranged the matter. Forty-four eggs were laid at the bottom of a dry well. Forty-three of his courtiers and the sultan himself took part in the contest. One courtier went down the well and brought out an egg. Each of the other courtiers went into the well and each produced an egg. The sultan also produced an egg. At last it was Abunnawas' turn to play.

236 "How could I produce an egg?" mused he when he got inside the well. At last he hit upon an idea.

"Kukku-gauk!" shouted Abunnawas, leaping out of the well.

"Where is your egg?" demanded the sultan.

"A cock never lays eggs," gayly replied Abunnawas.

"You all laid eggs, therefore you all are hens. I am the cock."

A Pusung Story

237 Once there lived a man whose name was Pusung. One day he went to the sultan's palace. He was bringing some excellent cakes for the sultan. The latter was much pleased with the delicious cakes. After tasting some of them, the sultan asked, "Pusung, what are these cakes made of?"

Pusung answered, "They are made of dog's hair, Sultan."

"The hair of whose dog is it, Pusung?" the sultan again asked.

"My dog, Sultan," Pusung replied.

238 The sultan begged Pusung to give him the dog. And Pusung could not refuse. So the dog was given to the sultan.

239 In the palace the dog was given the very best of care. That night it slept beside the sultan. Immediately, his majesty ordered his men to bring him the dog and shave off some of its hair. This they did without hesitation. They placed the dog's hair in a saucer. The sultan ate the hair raw. It tasted so bad nothing edible could be compared with it.

240 This angered the sultan very much. Pusung was then summoned to appear before him. Those who were sent to fetch him met Pusung on the way. They said, "Pusung, you are wanted by the sultan. Come with us."

241 Pusung hesitated for a moment and then said, "There are many men in this town named Pusung. To avoid any misunderstanding, pray tell me what color are the buttocks of the Pusung you are after?"

One of them answered, "We are after Pusung with the black buttocks."

Then Pusung said, "I am sorry I'm not the one the sultan wants. The one you just described is another Pusung. My buttocks are yellow."

242 So the followers returned to the palace to report this incident to the sultan. Their leader told the sultan, "Sultan, on the way we met a man whose name was Pusung. We told him he was wanted by his majesty. He told us there are many persons named Pusung

in this town. To avoid any misunderstanding, he asked us what the color was of the buttocks of the Pusung we were after. When we told him we were after Pusung with the black buttocks, he said he was not the one, for his buttocks were yellow. Thus we have failed to fetch him before you."

243 Again the sultan commanded his men to catch Pusung. Sure indeed they caught him. Upon the sultan's order, they put Pusung in a sack. Pusung was to be dropped into the sea.

244 The following morning, when Pusung was still in the sack, Tugbuk Lawihan passed by. He was elegantly dressed. His kris glittered by his side. Lawihan said, "Pusung, what are you doing in that sack?"

Pusung answered, "Here I am in heaven. And here I see your mother and father."

Lawihan said, "Let me take your place."

"Yes, you may," Pusung responded, "but you have to be naked."

245 So Lawihan undressed himself and got into the sack. Pusung tied the mouth of the sack carefully so that Lawihan could not get out of it. After this Pusung dressed himself in Lawihan's gorgeous garments and mounted the latter's horse. He passed by the sultan's palace. The sultan's sons recognized him. They said, "There is Pusung riding on horseback!"

The sultan said, "How can that be possible when Pusung is in the sack?"

246 In the afternoon they dropped the sack into the sea. Lawihan shouted with all his might, "Please set me free. I am not Pusung. I am Tugbuk Lawihan." The sultan did not heed him. Thus Lawihan died.

247 The following morning Pusung again mounted his horse, and passed by the palace. The sultan saw him. He asked, "Why did you not die, Pusung?"

Pusung answered, "I did not die. Instead, I felt I was in heaven. There I saw your grandfather and grandmother."

248 The sultan then told Pusung he also wanted to see his grandparents. So, the sultan sent his men to look for one empty sack.

248 The Pusung-trickster stories are famous all over Sulu. They usually follow the same plot. Pusung invariably tricks the sultan through deeds that vary from tale to tale (e.g., sexual exploits in different

When this was brought to him, he placed himself in it. Then he was thrown into the sea. Thus also the sultan died. As for Pusung, he lives happily even to this day.

Another Pusung Story

249 Pusung fell in with a band of robbers who were in the act of robbing a rich man's house. Three of the gang were posted at the door and two were stationed below the stairs. It was Pusung's lot to do the robbing.

"How do I know it is money I take, hold of?" asked he of the robber. Evidently Pusung had never seen the sight of any money whether in coins or in bills.

"If you see some round, white objects which give a clanging sound, that's the silver money to be taken," suggested one who was presumably the leader.

250 So Pusung entered the house from the back porch. He found himself inside the kitchen. In the corner, Pusung saw a large, white, round object. To test whether it gave a clanging sound, he took a piece of wood and began beating the object. At the same time, he shouted, "I have found the money!" It was a basin he had found, and not money. Fearing that the occupants of the house might awake, all the robbers scampered away, shouting to Pusung to follow.

251 How the leader scolded and scorned Pusung for his ignorance. How all the robbers mocked him for his shallow-mindedness. Thenceforward they threw him away from their company. And Pusung wandered alone.

252 After a while Pusung arrived at the palace of the sultan. Putli, the sultan's daughter, took him in her employ.

253 One day the sultan's bag of gold disappeared from the drawer. Pusung also disappeared. There was no other who took it save Pu-

settings with different women close to the sultan, financial dealings, cheating, lies, sleight of hand.) Frustrated, the sultan orders Pusung to be imprisoned in a fish trap (or cage, or sack) and to be drowned in the middle of the ocean. While awaiting his execution, Pusung entices a handsome, rich, and curious young man (usually name Tugbuk Lawihan) to enter his prison. Pusung then escapes. While the dumb young man believed to be Pusung is thrown into the sea, the real Pusung parades around—ready for another exploit.

sung, everybody was saying. The sultan believed it was he; the princess was sure it was Pusung who stole the bag of gold; everyone accused Pusung of theft. Immediately men were sent out in different directions to hunt for him.

254 Very soon a company of the sultan's men approached a tree. They saw a man trudging on with a heavy load on his bent back. It was Pusung. But whether it was the bag of gold he was carrying, I am not sure.

255 "O, man," said he who was the leader, "have you seen Pusung pass this way? He has stolen the king's gold."

"Even I" pretended Pusung, "am also searching for Pusung. He has deserted me and made me responsible for the load I am carrying now."

"I will help you find him," Pusung continued. "You stay under this tree while I go in this direction. As soon as you hear a shout, at once beat your *agung* [gong], and Pusung will surely be caught." Everyone agreed. The sultan's men gathered at the place under the tree. Not long after there was a faint shout. Instantly the *agung*-bearer began to beat the gong. Suddenly a swarm of bees with nests up in the tree were disturbed by the noise, and flew here and there stinging the sultan's men all they could. All the company returned with sores around their faces. Pusung, who had perhaps taken the sultan's gold, had outwitted them. He then went his own way peacefully.

255 Compared to other Pusung stories, this story is unfinished, as most of these tales end with the capture of the trickster, his imprisonment either in a sack or in a fish trap to be lowered in the sea, his tricking the light-headed Tugbuk Lawihan, and his escape. Narrators sometimes stop at one of these points, and the audience mentally supply the rest of the story.

The Parang Sabil of Abdulla and Putli' Isara in Spanish Times: A Tausug Ballad Sung by Indah Annura

Translated by Mohammad Daud Abdul, Rose Marie
Adjawie, and Ricardo Adjawie

Editor's Note

In this ballad, Indah Annura sings about Abdulla and Putli' Isara, who choose to do a *parang sabil*, or go *juramentado*, as the Spaniards call it. The *parang sabil* is a traditional Tausug institution that has been strongly discouraged by most Sulu leaders, for the cause of *jihād*, or holy war in the defense of Islam, was often absent in most of the instances it was committed.

Parang sabil comes from *parang*, meaning "war" or "sword," and *sabil*, from the Arabic *Sabīlu 'llah* (Qur'an 2: 149), "in the path of god." In doing a *parang sabil*, the Tausug seeks death at the hand of infidels (*kāpil*, from *kāfir*), in order to reach heaven with his great wealth of merits suddenly multiplied. The Tausug believes that a *sabil* merits him a journey direct to heaven, on the back of a flaming white horse. Since being slain "in the path of God," in the defense of Islam, is a religious act, the singing of the *parang sabil* ballad is considered also a religious activity. For more details on the *parang sabil*, see the excellent monograph on the Tausug by Kiefer (1972: 132-33) and his recording with text and notes of another *parang sabil* ballad (Kiefer 1970: 6-9).

"The *parang sabil* of Abdulla and Putli' Isara" is one of the best pieces in the repertoire of Indah Annura, a popular singer in Jolo, Sulu, who has sung over the radio and is often asked to grace certain festivities in town. Mohammad Daud Abdul, research assistant of the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (CISC), did the recording and the transcription of the Tausug text and also made the first literal translation. The manuscript was prepared for publication by Ricardo and Rose Marie Adjawie, research assistants of the CISC, while the annotations were written by Gerard Rixhon, director of the CISC.

The text presented here is numbered by stanza in order to key the explanatory notes found at the end of the selection (pp. 189-91). Words enclosed in square brackets have been supplied to minimize syntactic discontinuities brought about by translation. Except for these, the translation follows the Tausug text faithfully.

- Hiyajarat hi tagna'
In sabab sin kastila';
Lugay di naghula',
kalingugan dakula'.
- 1 Let- [me] tell [you]
About the Spaniards:
While they lived here,
[They caused] great
turmoil.
- Kastila' landu' sapat
Magpahinang barak,
Nagisun mawpakkat
Sundalu in sumakat.
- 2 The Spaniards were
very fast
In building their barrack.
They discussed and agreed
That the soldiers [should
stay there].
- Kastila' in nagpikil
Ba nagpahinang kuwatil.
Diyumulan ha nukil
Tunangan in magsabil.
- 3 The Spaniards' intended
That quarters be erected.
[At the same time] it was
foreseen and prophesied
That two lovers would
commit suicide.
- Hi sulay ta hi kissa
In anak sin panglima,
Bang sumung in dunya
Masa binan niya.
- 4 We shall attempt to relate
[How] the Panglima's
daughter,
As time went on,
Left a lesson.
- Hiyajarat hi tuman
In nagtunang sin jaman;
Wala' kiyakawinan
Sin Tuhan iyukuman.
- 5 To relate the truth
About the lovers of that
time:
They were not [yet]
married
[Nor] by God united.
- Hi sulay ta hi kissa
Ba hi Putli' Isara,
Babai sa malangka,
In tunang hi Abdulla.
- 6 We shall attempt to tell
About Putli' Isara,
A lovely, darling girl,
The sweetheart of Abdulla.
- Hi Isara panalak
Ba in lingkat sali' malak;
Nagsahaya nagtilak
Sin adlaw pulakpulak.
- 7 Isara was lovely
And had an angel-like
beauty;
She shone brilliantly
Even in the midst of day.

- Hi Putli' Isara
Aturun makamula,
Di' ta makilakila
In tunang hi Abdulla.
- Hi Isara marurug
Sarangsarang in hambug.
Bang sin tunang maatud,
Ba dumagan lumungtud.
- Bang lumuntud pa bilik,
Agaran manga tulik.
Misan sapahan mustik,
Di' gumuwa' magbalik.
- In hangkan di' gumuwa'.
Kan Abdulla mabuga'.
Siyapali in bata',
"Subay kaw mamayta'.
- "Baytai ba aku;
Ayaw magtipu-tipu.
Masipug tuud aku
Kan Abdulla tunang ku."
- Hi Abdulla lingkatan
naglapal nagsambatan;
Namayta' sin mattan
Ba tumulak pa Sandakan.
- "Bapa' tumulak aku,
Day' day' da aku.
In pasal sin tunang ku,
Yari ra kaw bapa' ku."
- 8 Putli' Isara
Had a beauty few men
could resist,
We cannot underrate
The sweetheart of Abdulla.
- 9 Isara was beautiful
And had a shapely body.
Whenever her fiancé would
look at her,
She would run leaping.
- 10 While running to the
room,
She would shout.
Even oaths of doom she
would utter,
Never again would she
come out.
- 11 The reason she would not
come out
[Was that] she was afraid
of Abdulla.
She connived with the
lad [her brother],
"You must speak it out.
- 12 "Please tell me;
Do not be treacherous.
I am really coy [in
the presence]
Of Abdulla my fiancé."
- 13 The handsome Abdulla
Expressed [his idea];
He told [that in] reality
To Sandakan he must
journey.
- 14 "Sir, I will sail,
But I will not tarry.
Regarding my fiancée,
Sir, you are here anyway.

"Bapa' amu gawi ku
Ba in panyap bihun ku'
Kumala' bang uwi ku',
In ikaw kawinan ku."

In Panglima simambung
Ba wa' nagtapuk naglimbung.
Baytai in kampung
Kumawin ha' ini bang
, dumatung.

"Huun marayaw na,
Tulak mu lanjalan na,
Bisan susa unu na,
Ba in jumaga aku na."

Hi Abdulla nagsakap
Tumulak in kahandak.
In tunang landu' lingkat
Ba piya tubig kumakap.

Hi Isara naglugtu',
Jimunjung huku' huku'.
In danan nagtuyu'
Liyubag mamaygu'.

"La ila ama' ku,
Ba pa tubig pa ba aku.
Yari ra in manghud ku.
Magpaiban da aku."

"Way biya' kaymu;

15 "My purpose, sir, is
To buy the [wedding]
needs.
When I return, my jewel,
You I will marry."

16 The panglima responded
Without pretense and
reservation.
"Tell our relatives
That [Abdulla] will marry
[Isara] on his return.

17 "Yes, very well,
Proceed with your travel.
Whatever worry there
will be,
Her guardian I shall be."

18 Abdulla prepared
For the journey he
intended.
His very beautiful
sweetheart
[Prepared] to visit the
river.

19 Isara did her best;
With sobs she pleaded
[that her request be
granted].
The reason for her effort
[Was that she wanted]
To wash the grime from
her body.

20 "Oh, God! My father,
Let me go to the river.
After all my younger
brother is here.
I will ask him to
accompany me there."

21 "There is no one like you;

Yan mangi' in addat mu.
Tagari in tunang mu,
Pa tubig mayan kamu."

Hi Putli' Isara
Ba giyuwa' in suwara.
"Pagkilakila ha ra
Magbunyug duwaruwa."

"Hangkan ta kaw hawiran
Maka baba' ha baran.
Bang awn kasipugan,
Mu mahunit bawgbugan.

"La ila ama' kú
Magpaiban di' aku
Masipug tuud aku
Ba kan Abdulla tunang ku."

In ama' nagkabtangan,
"Mayta' kaw maluman?
Hangkan na kaw tunangan
Bang kaw manaw ibanan."

"Duwal bang bukun aku
Ba ampa di' hilanjat ku;
Limandu' in lubag ku
Makatug di' aku."

"Dayang di' kaw tugutan
Ku ha butang hika minsan,

You have an undesirable
trait.
Wait for your lover,
Then together you may go
to the river."

22 Then Putli' Isara
Voiced out her opinion.
"Try to consider
[The probable
consequences] when two
lovers are together."

23 "The reason I forbid you
[to go to the river]
[Is that it] will lower
your dignity.
If an embarrassment will
result,
It will be hard for you
to outlive it."

24 "Oh, God! My father,
I will not let [him]
accompany me;
I am shy [to face]
Abdulla my fiancé."

25 The father said,
"Why do you feel abashed?
That is why you are
betrothed
So that when you go out
[you will have an]
escort."

26 "Only if I am not myself
Then I will not proceed.
I have too much grime
[That] I cannot sleep."

27 "Dear, I will not allow you
For this time only, though.

Bang panaw mu lausan
 Ba bang ta kaw di' hukutan.
 Bang panaw mu lausan
 Bang ta kaw ha' dayang
 di' hukutan."

But if you insist on going
 Then I will not have to tie
 you.
 If you insist on going
 Dear, I will not have to
 tie you."

Hi Isara nagsakap
 Piya tubig kumakap.
 In luha' nagkapakpak
 Itung in daghal sipak.

28 Isara prepared
 To visit the river.
 Her tears began to fall
 [And she felt] as if her
 chest would break.

Ubus ampa nanaug
 Tiyawag na in manghud
 In luha' natayudtud.
 Ba in lawm jantung utud.

29 Then she went down
 And called her younger
 brother
 As her tears rolled down.
 [She felt as if] her heart
 would break asunder.

Katan kalabayan,
 Luha' way tahayan,
 Ha manghud nakaiyan
 Ba hi ama' jiyuruan.

30 Through all that she
 passed,
 Her tears never dried.
 She said to her brother
 [That] she had disobeyed
 their father.

In karatung pa tubig
 Suga tagna' limid
 Piya batu simandig
 Ba in luha' magkaligid.

31 When she arrived at the
 spring
 The sun had started to set.
 On a rock she leaned
 While her tears fell.

Ubus ampa timindug;
 Ba piya tubig namu'sug.
 Nagjajaga in manghud,
 Duun na nagaatud.

32 Then she stood;
 To the river she went
 and bathed.
 The younger brother, while
 guarding,
 Was right there watching.

Duun na namaygu'
 In manghud nagtutunggu'.

33 She took a bath there
 While her brother

In lawm jantung du'du'
Ba bat kan ama nagjuru'.

In iban bata'bata',
Timawag "andu' kaka'
In sundalu kastila'
Aturun makabuga'."

Hi Putli' Isara
Ba imungsit iban gaga,
"Unu kabugaan ta?
Ba Panglima in ama' ta."

La ila kaka' ku,
Limandu' in buga' ku.
Bang takdil' awn pikpik ku,
Ba malugay na limuntu."

In sundalu dimatung;
In taud di' maitung.
Buga' di' mapalambung.
Hi kaka' piyapatung.

Tininti nagsambatan
Kan isara lingkatan,
"Di' ta na kaw lawakan
Ba tuy na kiyamputan."

Hi Putli' Isara
Giyuwa' in suwara
"Pagkilakila ha ra
Tunang ku hi Abdulla.

"Hi Abdulla tunang ku.
Tagad kaw tangtangan ku.
Butawani na aku,

guarded her.
Deep in her heart she
lamented
Disobeying her father.

34 Her companion, the little
boy,
Called out, "Oh, Sister,
A Spanish soldier
Is frightful to look at."

35 Putli' Isara
Shouted and said,
"What are we afraid of?
Our father is a panglima."

36 "Oh, my God! Sister,
I am really afraid.
If only I have wings,
I would have flown
earlier."

37 The soldiers arrived;
Their number could not
be counted.
How great was his fear
[When they] stared at his
sister.

38 The lieutenant said
To beautiful Isara,
"I will not part from you
anymore."
Then he immediately
touched her.

39 Putli' Isara
Gave out her answer,
"Try to consider that
Abdulla is my lover.

40 "Abdulla is my fiancé.
Wait, I will take off [my
engagement ring].

- Ikaw an in tunang ku.
 Now let me go,
 [Then I will regard] you
 as my lover."
- "Dayang bisan tunangan,
 Ba ikaw na in limbangan.
 Hi Abdulla mandangan,
 Ba timbakun ku ra kuman."
 41 "Dear, even if you are
 engaged,
 You will be my partner.
 Abdulla might be enraged,
 [But] I will just shoot
 him later."
- "Huun marayaw na,
 Ba in tunang ku ikaw na,
 Maabut na mabana.
 In aku baka na."
 42 "Yes, very well,
 You are now my lover,
 When you will be my
 husband,
 Then you will have to
 meet me."
- Wala' nagpalugay;
 Minuwi' da pa bay.
 Bisang maguyum daghay,
 Hansul in lawm atay.
 43 She did not tarry;
 She still went home.
 Even though she was
 smilingly sighing,
 [She felt as if] her heart
 was melting.
- In sundalu kastila'
 Limandu' jahulaka'.
 Anak tau dakula'
 Kiya dihilan salla'.
 44 The Spanish soldier
 Was very troublesome.
 The daughter of a leader
 Was given a bad mark.
- Piya bay dimatung,
 Ba bagbag in lawm jantung
 Susa di' mapalambung
 Piya ama' nagsumbung.
 45 When she arrived home,
 Her heart was broken.
 Her grief was so great
 [That] to her father she
 reported it.
- "La ila ama' ku,
 Limandu'in susa ku.
 Dimatung in sundalu,
 Ba siyaggaw in baran ku."
 46 "Oh, my God! Father,
 I have a big problem.
 When the soldier arrived,
 He touched my body."
- In ama' nagpangiyan,
 "Di' kaw kapag kaagihan,
 Tunang mu ha bugsayan
 47 The father then
 commented,
 "You are hard-headed.

Awn na kasipugan."

"Sari na ama' ku,
Bisan masipug aku,
In tunang tagaran ku
Ba magparang sabil aku."

Ama' nagkainagun.
"In anak ku kawgun.
Kawai madtu sabun;
Hugasan ta igun."

"Ama' di' ku kawaan.
Ba in sipug ku sangkaan.
Tunang ku ha tulakan
Subay ku kabaytaan."

"Ama' di' ku hugasan.
In sipug ku tatasan.
Duun maghinapusan
Ba bang tunang kabukisan."

"Tunang ku ha sandakan
Subay ku kabaytaan.
Bang namu' kakitaan,
Dakula' kasagkaan."

Hi Abdulla dimatung;
Ba ha higad nagpaantung.
Hina hinagun
Hi Isara piyunung.

Your fiancé who is on a
journey
Has now something to be
ashamed of."

48 "Never mind, my father,
Even if I have been
shamed,
I will wait for my fiancé
Then I will do parang
sabil."

49 The father tried to do
his best.
"My daughter is woefully
lost.
We will wash it [your
shame] off."

50 "Father, I will not
remove it.
I shall bear my shame.
My fiancé who is on
a journey
Must be informed by me.

51 "Father, I will not wash
it off.
I shall endure my shame.
It will end
When I shall have
my fiancé."

52 "My fiancé who is in
Sandakan
Has to be informed by me.
If we see [the soldier],
There will be a great
enmity."

53 Then Abdulla arrived;
On the shore he landed.
Right there and then
Isara fainted.

Piyunung na in tunang
 Di' na makaatud pandang.
 Atay lutang manglutang
 Ba sundalu taga utang.

54 [His] fiancée had fainted
 And could not look at
 [him] straight.
 [Her] heart was shattered
 [For what] the soldier had
 done to her.

Abdulla piya bay
 Kapanyapan iyukay
 Kakana' dasu lanay
 Jiyagjag biyulakay.

55 Abdulla went to his house
 And opened his things.
 Expensive silk cloths
 He displayed and scattered.

Kakana' kamarinda
 In dagbus makamula.
 Bini hi Abdulla
 Ba kan Putli' Isara.

56 The cloth from Kamarinda
 Was so beautiful and rare.
 It was bought by Abdulla
 For Putli' Isara.

"Binihan ku burrak
 In katan siyakap.
 Bang hi rayang humadlak
 Ba itung in daghal sipak.

57 "I bought her some powder
 And prepared everything.
 Each time I remembered
 my love.
 [I felt] as though my heart
 were breaking.

"In burrak hi dayang ku
 Yari bibi ku.
 Asal nagaganta', ku
 Ba paguwi' kawinan ku.

58 "The powder of my love
 [That] I have bought is
 here.
 I had already decided
 That upon my return I
 would marry her.

"Burrak limandu' hammut;
 Ba tiyaw' piya hugut.
 Bang kami mahambuuk,
 Hi rayang in magbatuk.

59 "The powder smells so
 sweet;
 [I have] carefully kept
 [it].
 Once we are united.
 My dear will have to seek
 [it].

"Susa di' katahanan;
 Ku adjab in pananaman.
 Bang di' ku pagimanan,
 Tahan ha daghal dupunan.

60 "[My] grief is unbearable;
 I feel miserable.
 If I can no longer
 control it,
 I just press my chest.

- "Taka hi kumala' ku
Nagunud ha likud ku,
Na inuinu aku
Ba nagtangis hi rayang ku."
- Hi Abdulla timindug
Sumugawa' imatud.
Bissara piya taud,
"Ba rayang unu in maksud?"
- "Abdulla in maksud ku
Ikaw baytaan ku
Nasipug tuud aku
Nasaggaw sin sundalu."
- Hi Abdulla imanduk
Ba in karukkaan karuk.
Sumugawa' nanyabut,
"Sulayan ku maglagut.
- "Maglagut sulayan ku
Ba bang pasal mu dayang ku.
Kuwatig panawun ku
Parang sabil aku.
- Hi Putli' Isara
Giyuwa' in suwara,
Tuwan ayaw kaw magawa.
Ba in aku paagara.
- "Tuwan bang kaw magsabil,
Duwa kita matapil.
Di' kita sumurindil;
Ba umatu ha kapil.
- "Bang kita masabil na,
- 61 "While my precious jewel
Murmured at my back,
I was wondering
Why my dear was crying."
- 62 Abdulla stood up
Then looked at [her].
He spoke lengthily [then
asked],
"What is the matter, my
dear?"
- 63 "Abdulla, my purpose
Is to tell you that
I was much insulted
Because a soldier touched
me."
- 64 Abdulla bowed his head
For the problem was very
grave.
But God he invoked
Then said, "I will try to
fight.
- 65 "I will try to fight
If the cause is you, my dear.
I will go to the
headquarters
To do parang sabil."
- 66 Putli' Isara
Brought up [her idea],
"My dear, do not worry.
I shall go with you.
- 67 "If you commit [ritual]
suicide, my dear,
We will do it together.
We will not surrender;
We will fight against the
kaffir."
- 68 "Should we be slain,

- Niyatun ta kaw bana.
Di' makawin ha' dunya,
Ha' kamatay didtu na."
- Hi Abdulla lingkatan
Ba naglapal nagsambatan
"Bang di kapaglagutan
Di' nila kaginsapan."
- Hi Abdulla timindug
Ba bissara piya taud.
Hi Abdulla timindug
Iban pangda isug.
"Bisan baran malupug,
Pa kuwatil sumud.
- Pag-ubus namayspis,
Piyut na in kalis,
"Bang in kadal matangkis
Ba duwa kita malapis."
- In tunang makaulung
Ba piyut na in barung,
"Bang in Tuhan magtulung
Duwa kita mag unung."
- Nanaug na karuwa
Nag-abay nagbissara.
Hi Putli' Isara
Hansul in kirakira.
Pa kuwatil dimatung,
- I will regard you as my
husband.
Though we are not married
on earth,
In heaven it shall be done."
- 69 [Then] the handsome
Abdulla
Said and commented,
"If there will be no fight,
They will not realize
[their misdeed]."
- 70 Abdulla stood up
And spokè at length.
Abdulla stood up
Bearing his courage.
"Even if [my] body will
be pulverized,
[I] will enter the
headquarters."
- 71 After getting dressed
hurriedly,
He picked up the kris,
[saying]
"If fate is wily,
Two of us will be in
danger."
- 72 The pitiful fiancée
Picked up the *barung*,
[saying]
"With the help of God
We shall die together."
- 73 Then the two descended
[the house];
Side by side they talked.
Putli' Isara
Was pitifully worried.
- 74 Upon reaching the

Ba in panaw nakahundung.
 "Bang in tuhan magtulung
 Ba duwa kita magunung."
 Isug di' mapalambung
 Karuwa maka ulung.

In tunang dimatung na,
 Pa lawm simud na.
 Tininti simagina.
 "Asawa ku yari na."

Limingkud na pa siya;
 Nag abay na sila.
 Iban uyum katawa
 Nagmiting na karuwa.

Duwa sila nagmiting
 Ba hi Abdulla himing.
 In niyat di' mapalling.
 "Lagutun ku na dalling."

Gimaban hi Abdulla
 Piya lingkud ha siya.
 Tininti kiyatawa
 Diyuhalan na siga.

Miyanaw na timulin
 Way na katukintukin.
 Abdulla usug lain.
 "Ba in Tininti hariin?"

Tininti imasubu,
 "Unu ta' in gawi mu?

headquarters, [they
 stopped]
 [For] their journey ended
 [there].
 "With the help of God
 We shall die together."
 [Their] courage was
 beyond compare;
 How pitiful the two lovers
 were.

75 When his fiancée arrived,
 She went inside.
 The lieutenant greeted her.
 "My wife is here now."

76 [She] sat down on a chair;
 Side by side they sat
 there.
 With smiles and laughter
 They started to confer.

77 The two were talking
 While Abdulla peeped.
 His intention was firm.
 "I will strike now,
 my darling."

78 Then Abdulla ascended
 And was asked to be
 seated.
 The lieutenant laughed
 As he offered [Abdulla]
 a cigarette.

79 Hurriedly he walked
 Without hesitation:
 Abdulla became a different
 man.
 "Where is the lieutenant?"

80 The lieutenant asked,
 "What is your purpose?"

Bayta' kaw sin amu;
Biya' angayangay mu."

"Hangkan miyari ku
Dakula' in gawi ku.
In kalis diya ku
Kaymu hi pusaka' ku.

"Hangkan pusakaan
Ku bat awn pangitaan.
Bisan napas kawaan,
Ayaw mu ha' dayang baytaan."

Hi Putli' Isara
Kiyublit hi Abdulla,
Naglagut na karuwa;
Ba nagdura' na sila.

Nagdura' naglagut
Duwa lapal siyabbut.
In tininti nalibut,
Ubus ampa naghagut.

Liyagut ha abaga;
Ba iyagaran bismilla.
In tininti nagmula;
Nasipak na nagduwa.

Agi hi Isara,
"In barung ku yari na
Ha baran mu nanama
Ba luba'luba' niyu na."

Tell me the truth;
You never before came
to see me."

81 "The reason of my coming
Is a great reason.
The kris I have brought
I would like to give you
as a memento."

82 "The reason I am giving it
Is [for you] to have a
souvenir.
Even if [my] breath would
be taken away,
Do not reveal it, my
dearie."

83 Putli' Isara
Was tapped lightly [on the
shoulder] by Abdulla.
The couple then
simultaneously hacked;
Together they struck.

84 Simultaneously they struck
As two words were uttered.
The lieutenant was
surrounded,
And then he groaned.

85 They hacked him on the
shoulder;
[They did it] with a
prayer.
The lieutenant was in
serious danger;
In two he was divided
[later].

86 Isara said,
"Here is my barung.
Feel it on your body
For your undesirable act."

- Liyagut piyuspusan
 Duwa kahinapusan
 Tininti hukum pangsan;
 Ba napas kiya utasan.
 Tininti hukum pangsan;
 Napas kiya utasan.
- Nagpigsik na in dugu
 Ba piya lupa' nagtu';
 Kita' sin ha tabu'
 Ha upis in nagbunu'.
- In sundalu na hiyul;
 Nagdagan nag urul.
 Hi Abdulla ganarul,
 Ba in tininti nahansul.
- In tau himati;
 Nalingug in siti.
 Miyatay in tininti
 Taga dusa hati,
- Tininti di' manjari,
 Ba baran di' matabali.
 Kalingugan limabi
 Dusa pasal babai.
- In tininti kastila'
 Ba dusa sabab dakula'.
 Hangkan napas kiyawa'
 Hi Abdulla nahina'.
- 87 Furiously [they] slashed
 The last two [attackers]
 Lifeless, the lieutenant
 [slumped];
 His breathing had stopped.
 Lifeless, the lieutenant
 [slumped];
 His breathing had stopped.
- 88 Then blood spurted
 And dripped to the ground;
 It was seen from the
 marketplace
 That the fight was in
 the office.
- 89 The soldiers were stunned;
 They followed one another
 and ran.
 Abdulla was durable,
 [But] the lieutenant was
 pitiful.
- 90 The people wanted to know
 [what had happened];
 The city was disturbed.
 The lieutenant died
 For an offense he had
 committed.
- 91 The lieutenant was
 helpless,
 For his body was mutilated.
 How great was the turmoil
 Because of a girl.
- 92 The Spanish lieutenant
 Had committed a serious
 offense.
 The reason his breath was
 taken away
 Was that Abdulla was
 humiliated.

Hangkan piyagsabilan
 Di' na kapangandulan.
 Amu kiya langgalan
 Ba in tau gagandilan.

Hangkan na biyunu'
 Ba in hinang nakalandu'.
 Tininti mang hihindu'
 Amu hinang ha' nila
 manglummu'.

In hangkan na biyunu'
 Ba in hinang nakalandu'.
 Ari a-a a-a.
 Tininti mang hihindu'
 Amu hinang manglummu'.

Ubus ampa nanaug
 Tunang in piya sunud.
 Ha lupa' nakatubtud,
 Ba pa sundalu limungtud.

Hi Isara malingkat
 Ba naglagut landu' sapat.
 Bang timbak kumularak,
 Mamahit pa umulak.

Hi Putli' Isara
 Maglagut makamula.
 Bang limimbay pa lawa,
 Ba maligad manga duwa.

Hi Abdulla mahumput
 Ba akkal bukun dulaput.
 Bang in tuhan magtugut,
 In punglu' di' magabut.

Awn timbak hambuuk

93 The reason [he] was killed
 Was that he could no
 longer be trusted.
 Those he had met
 Were invincible people.

94 The reason he was slain
 Was that he had abused.
 The lieutenant who ought
 to teach
 Did nothing but debauch.

95 The reason he was slain
 Was that he had abused.
Ari a-a a-a.
 The lieutenant who ought
 to teach
 Did nothing but debauch.

96 Then they went down
 With [Abdulla's] fiancée
 following him.
 When they reached the
 ground,
 They rushed the soldiers.

97 The beautiful Isara
 Was very swift in hacking.
 When the guns sounded,
 In rage she shouted.

98 Putli' Isara
 Was a deadly hacker.
 When she swung to the
 left,
 At least two were hit.

99 Abdulla was humble
 And was a good man.
 If God would permit,
 The bullet would not
 reach him.

100 There was one shot

Ba kiyugdan na ha tuktuk.
 Hi rayang malibuuk;
 Ba baran di' matibuuk.

That hit [her] on the
 forehead.
 [His] love fell down;
 [Her] body was shattered.

Abdulla umbul satu;
 Maglagut maalistu.
 Bang limimbay pa tuu,
 Ba maligad manga walu.

101 Abdulla was the best;
 In hacking he was agile.
 When he swung to the
 right,
 At least eight fell.

In sundalu hambuuk
 Ba dimagan timapuk.
 Marayaw in kasuksuk
 Wala' sin tau nabatuk.

102 There was one soldier
 Who ran to hide himself.
 He hid so well
 That the people did not
 find him.

In hambuuk kapitan
 Himarap pa sadlupan.
 Sakali iyabutan
 Nalagut pa ha tiyan.

103 There was one captain
 Who ran to the west.
 However, he was caught
 And was hacked at the
 waist.

Hi Abdulla namunu'
 Naglapal simawnu'.
 Way pagkunu' kunu
 Naligu' na sin 'dugu'.

104 Abdulla fought
 As he made some
 utterances.
 All of a sudden
 He was covered with blood.

Pagubus namayspis,
 Ba piyut na in kalis.
 Siyayang na in kalis,
 "Kansang na kamu galis
 Di' na aku tumangkis."

105 After hurriedly wiping
 himself,
 He picked up the kris.
 Then he raised the kris,
 [saying]
 "Do your best to hurt me
 Because I will not
 anymore parry."

Mahuli nagkabtangan,
 In tunang kiya pangan.
 Niyat sin anganangan —
 Ba pakamatay unungan.

106 After saying his last words,
 He prostrated [himself]
 over his fiancée's [body].
 His intention was sincere—
 In death he would join her.

Abdulla sarang durug
Kiyugdan na ha simud.
In hula' nagdawgdug
Sampay pa lupa' punud.

Timbak tagna' himugpay,
Duwa sila miyatay.
Naligad nagaabay;
Sin kura' siyusungay.

Timbak tagna' himundung,
Ba sundalu makaulung,
In nakawa' nagunung;
Katluan ha' dayang in na
itung.

Katluan ha itungan;
Nalingug in lungan.
Bat niyu kapamintangan
Ba managgaw sin tunangan.

Hinangan puunan
Kuwaun labanan.
Bang masabbut in jaman,
Ba kalu ra katumtuman.

In sundalu kastila'
Hinangan pusaka'.
Sampay pa huling bata',
Di' maurul in limpa'.

Pagka bunu' hupay na,
Ba sundalu nagdaak na
Sabil hipaput na,
In anak sin Panglima.

107 The handsome Abdulla
Was then hit on the mouth.
The earth thundered
Including the underworld.

108 When the first firing
ceased,
The two had already died.
They fell side by side;
A horse nosed them then.

109 When the first firing
ended.
The soldiers were pitiful.
Many died with the lovers;
Thirty dead were counted
in [his] fiancée's favor.

110 Thirty dead were counted;
It troubled the community.
So that you will realize
[That it is not good] to
touch a betrothed girl.

111 A precedence was set
To be regarded as a lesson.
When that time is
mentioned,
May [the event] be
remembered.

112 The Spanish soldiers
Were given a lesson.
The younger generation,
too,
[So that] they will not
follow the bad example.

113 Since the battle had
already ended,
The soldiers commanded
That the suicides be
picked up,

Himupay na in timbak
 In sundalu nagdaak
 Hipaput na in anak.
 Ha kuwatil himantak.

Pagdaak piya kadtu
 Hambuuk sarahintu:
 "Panglima in anal mu
 Ba hipaput kaymu."

Sarahintu pandikal
 Landu' mahaba' akkal.
 Wa' na madtu lumanjal,
 Ba mahalli' sin malanggal.

Sarahintu kastila'
 Ba in akkal piyahaba'.
 Piya kadtu in bata':
 "Anak mu ha' dayang
 hipa kawa'."

Panglima diyatungan,
 Biya' sin kiyangkangan.
 "In anak mu tunangan
 Naghinang karupangan.

"In paraak kaymu,
 Panglima, dungugun mu.
 Puta in anak mu;

[Especially] the panglima's
 daughter.

114 The firing had already
 ceased
 When the soldiers
 commanded
 That the [the panglima's]
 daughter be picked up.
 She had fallen at the
 headquarters.

115 With the command an
 order was given
 To a sergeant [to tell the
 girl's father]:
 "Panglima, your daughter
 [is dead].
 Go pick up [her corpse]."

116 The sergeant was wise
 And was really intelligent.
 He did not anymore
 proceed,
 Wary of what he might
 meet.

117 The Spanish sergeant
 Used his mind well.
 He sent a little boy
 [instead to tell:]
 "You are requested to pick
 up [the corpse of] your
 dear daughter."

118 [When the message]
 reached the panglima,
 He was astounded.
 "Your betrothed daughter
 Did some foolishness.

119 "The call for you,
 Panglima, you should hear.
 Pick up your daughter's

Ba makasipug kaymu."

[corpse];

It is shameful to you."

"In sabab sin anak ku,
Ba in mut di' na aku.
Pasari na madtu
Ba di' mahagad agi ku."

120 "Regarding my daughter,
I will not get [her corpse].
Just leave [her] there
She disobeyed my counsel."

In asawa simambung.
Ba wa' nagtapuk naglimbun.
"Puta makaulung
Makasipug ha kampung."

121 The [panglima's] wife
answered.
She did not conceal nor
hide [anything].
"Pick [her] up, she is
pitiful.
[If you do not], it will be
shameful to our relatives."

In agi sin Panglima,
"Ba in mut aku ri' na.
Bisan susa unu na,
Baya'baya' niyu na."

122 The panglima then said,
"I will never pick [her] up.
Whatever is the problem,
That is up to you
[to solve]."

"Way biya' kaymu;
Yan limandu' in buga' mu.
Way tuwi' sipug mu
Ba ha usug pagkahi mu."

123 "There is nobody like you;
Your fear is too much.
So you do not feel shame
Toward men like you."

"May aku masipug?
Sin pilak ku mataud.
Bang sin tau maatud
Ba ha bay makaibug."

124 "Why should I feel shame?
I have plenty of money
after all.
If the people can see it
At home, they would envy
[me]."

In asawa limaksu,
"Ba usug kaw way tantu."
In asawa limaksu,
"Usug kaw way tantu.
Karian in kalis ku;
Ba hirayang putun ku."

125 The wife jumped up
[saying]
"You are a useless man."
The wife jumped up,
[saying]
"You are a useless man.
Give me my kris:
I will pick up my dear

Nagsakap in asawa
 Iyatud na sin bana.
 Wayruun suwara;
 Apit pa magbinasa.

Ampa in bata'bata'
 In tulik bukun ganta'
 Timawag pa ha ina',
 "Ba magad aku kan kaka!"

"Ina' magad ba aku,
 Magputkan kaka' ku.
 Bang duun ha landu ku,
 Bisan hikamatay kul"

In bata' nagkabtangan,
 "Hi kaka' kaulungan.
 Bang awn kalambungan,
 Ku hi kaka' ku unungan!

"Bisan aku bata'bata',
 Unungan ku hi kaka'
 In sundalu kastila'
 Bunuun ku way bidda!"

"Ayaw na kaw magagad.
 Di na kaw tumagad.
 Hi ama' mu maglawag
 Ba sumuhun magagad."

"La ila ina' ku
 Paagara na aku.
 Hi kaka' tumtumun ku.

daughter."

126 The wife dressed up
 Then her husband
 conducted her [to
 the place].
 They did not say anything
 to each other;
 They almost fought.

127 While the little boy
 Was uncontrollably
 crying, he
 Called out to his mother,
 "I will go with you to
 [see] my sister."

128 "Let me go with you,
 Mother,
 To pick up my sister.
 If I am at my worst,
 Death I will not avoid!"

129 The little boy added,
 "My sister should be pitied.
 If I can see [a soldier],
 I will avenge my sister!

130 "Although I am only a
 child,
 I will avenge my sister!
 I shall kill the Spanish
 soldiers
 In some way!"

131 "Do not come with me
 anymore.
 Just wait here.
 Your father might get tired
 Looking for you."

132 "Oh, my God! Mother,
 Please let me go with you.
 I shall always remember

Ba ina' matay na aku!"

"Yari ra hi ama' mu,
Ba magpakaun kaymu.
Manay pa hi ina mu.
Paguwi' ha' ini buhi ka unu."

"Bisan aku buhiun
Bang hi kaka' wa' duun.
Sulayan ku kadtuun
Ba putun ku kawaun."

Ina' ampa nanaug
Nagbalik pa simud.
Simiyum pa in maksud
Ba piya anak limungtud.

Nanaug na pa lupa';
In susa bukun ganta'.
Luha' di' magkakawa'
Tumtum ha' bata'bata'.

In ina' nagpapanaw,
Ba in anak naghuhundaw,
Ari alla hi rayang.
In luha' di' maghulaw
Marum pa maadlaw.

Pa kuwatil dimatung
Ba anak in piyapatung.
Lingkat di' mapalambung;
Iban tunang nagunung.

Sister.

I will die, Mother!"

133 "Your father is here, after
all,
To feed you.
Your mother has to go out.
I will come home either
alive or not."

134 "[I will never be happy]
even if I live
If Sister is not here.
I will try to go there
To pick up and get her."

135 The mother then went
down
But returned and reentered
the house.
Her purpose was to kiss
And embrace her son.

136 Then she descended to
the ground;
She was so much worried
Her tears never stopped
falling
As she thought of her son.

137 While his mother walked,
The child was at the
window looking.
How pitiful was she, dear
Her tears did not stop
falling
From night till morning.

138 She arrived at the
headquarters
And stared at her
daughter.
Her beauty was beyond

"Kailu sin anak kul
Ba mugtu' na in napas ku.
Hi ama' mu way tantu;
Di' maulung kaymu."

Limumpat pa namahit
Ba siyayang na in kalis.
Kailu hi Matagpis;
Nagunung hangka gulis.

Ubus ampa imulak.
Namahit pa imulak.
Ba in sundalu nanimbak.
"Bang sukud tiyampak,
Ba apit baran masipak."

Naglagut lawa tuu,
Ina' halawm hilu
In kastila' sundalu
Dagan buta bisu.

In hambuuk kapitan
Ba timimbak nakaminsan,
In sakali kiyugdan
Ha taas puun tiyan.

Wala' da naghaatay,
Ba ha unud wala' lumapay,
"Bang in punglu limipay,
Duun aku mapatay.
Bang in punglu' limipay,
Duun aku mapatay."

compare;
She died together with
her lover.

139 "How pitiful is my
daughter!
[I feel as if] my breath
is stopping.
Your father is useless;
He does not pity you."

140 She jumped up and raged
As she raised the kris.
Matagpis is pitiful:
She will meet the same fate.

141 And then she shouted.
Angrily she shouted.
Then the soldiers fired.
"If I faced my fate.
My body would have been
broken."

142 She hacked left and right.
The mother was crazy with
anger [while]
The Spanish soldiers
Were running like hell.

143 There was one captain
Who, with one shot,
Hit her
Above the belly.

144 She did not mind,
however,
For it did not pierce her
flesh.
"If the bullet will not
waver,
Then it can kill me.
If the bullet will not
waver,
Then it can kill me."

Malasig maalistu
 Simung pa sundalu.
 Sarangsarang sa' bu
 Ba miyatay pa in pitu.

Pagtimbang nakaruwa,
 Imuyum kimatawa.
 Baran wala' mapaya;
 Ba pa Tuhan limaya.

In agi sin kapitan,
 "Ba subay natu lawakan.
 Isig sali saytan;
 Sin punglu' di' abutan."

Tagna' suga limambung,
 In timbak nakahundung,
 Pagubus nagtalongpung
 Ba bang kiyugdan matapung.

Asawa sin panglima
 Malasig wa' lumamma.
 Kalis di' maupama;
 Ba di' matapus sin lima.

Pagubus hiyudhuran —
 Sin timbak piyudpuran.
 Amuna in ka kugdan.
 Ba himantak na in baran.

In sakali miyatay;
 Ba bata'bata' nagmatay.
 In sakali miyatay;
 Bata'bata' nagmatay.

145 Actively and skillfully
 She moved toward the
 soldiers.
 She was just on time
 To kill seven more.

146 When the second shot
 was fired,
 She laughed and smiled.
 Her body had not tired;
 In God she trusted.

147 The captain said,
 "We should retreat.
 She is as bold as the devil;
 No bullet can reach her."

148 When the sun cast its
 first shadow,
 The firing had already
 ceased.
 Then a telescope was used
 To find out if she was
 torn to pieces.

149 The panglima's wife
 Was active — she did not
 get tired.
 The kris could not be
 underestimated;
 It could not be completely
 enclosed by the hand.

150 Then bullets rained on
 her —
 She was [subjected to] a
 volley fire.
 Then she was hit,
 And she collapsed.

151 And then she died;
 The little boy
 uncontrollably cried.
 And then she died;

Tu sila' nagabay
Sin kura' siyusungay.

Parang sabil in bata';
Tiyagamahan kura'.
Biya 'tuud piyatta'
Limambung ha pilita'.

Agi sin bata'bata',
"Ba kita' ku hi ina!"
Nagtawag na ha ama',
"Kita' ku hi ina'
Ba yadtu ha taas kura!"

Hi Panglima simambung,
"Gampa kaw himundung,
Bisan sila limambung,
Ba di da' aku umulung."

"Maybaha' ama' ku?
Limambung ha mata ku.
Karian in kalis ku:
Hi ina' urulun ku."

"Ayaw na kaw maglata.
Umurul di na kita.
Unu kagawahan ta
Ba mataud in pilak ta.

"In pilak ta mataud
Ha bay makaibug.
Bang sin tau maatud,

The little boy
uncontrollably cried.
The three of them were
side by side
As a horse nosed [them].

152 The boy [decided] to
commit [ritual] suicide;
A horse was prepared for
him.
[He saw his mother] like
an image
Hovering over the lamp.

153 The little boy said,
"I saw my mother!"
Then he called out to his
father,
"I saw my mother
Astride a mare!"

154 The panglima answered,
"Better stop talking.
Even if they [your mother
and sister] appear,
I will not pity them."

155 "Why so, Father?
My mother's image
appeared before my eyes.
Please hand me my kris;
I will follow Mother."

156 "Do not talk anymore.
We will not follow them.
We have nothing to worry
about
For we have plenty of
money.

157 "We have plenty of money
That is worth envying at
home.

Ba sa' sila imibug.

If the people could see it,
They [could not help]
but feel envious [of us].

"In pilak ta ha bay.
Sa' kita magukay.
Ba bisan tahun lumabay,
Di' pa kita mapilay."

158 "Our money is at home.
All we have to do is open
[the trunk].
Years may pass,
But we will never be
[financially] crippled."

Anak nagumbul satu
Ba nagkabtangan na ridtu,
"Ama' tinurul na aku.
Makasipug ha tau."

159 The son braced himself
Then said,
"Father, I will not follow
[them].
It is already shameful to
other people."

Anak tunggalan usug
Ba ha langgung namawgbug.
In hangkan nagmakusug
Ha kampung maka sipug.

160 The only son
Upheld his sister's [honor].
The reason he was firm
[Was that otherwise it
would be] shameful to
his relatives.

"La ila ama' ku,
Ba maapa tuud aku,
In panaw hi lanjal ku.
Magparang ha' ini sabil aku."

161 "Oh, my God! Father,
Please forgive me.
I have to proceed with my
journey.
I will do parang sabil."

Nagtuy na miyanaw
Sin pulakpulak adlaw.
Dunya nagandahaw;
Ba parang sabil hi bunglaw.

162 He then left immediately
In broad daylight.
The world was in a shower;
Parang sabil would be
the rinser.

"Di' ku na hika sipat,
Ama' bang sumaigpat.
Ubus magmaaripat,
Ha kuwatil in tempat."

163 "I cannot bear it any
longer.
Father, whenever I
remember.
After I shall have said
my prayer,

Namaid pa imulak
 Ba gumi pantun nalarak.
 Isig di' hika sipat
 Ba nakamatay pa upat.

Ubus nagpabayta';
 Nagparaak in sara':
 Bang mapatay in bata',
 Katu makasiksa'.

In agi sin kastila'
 Ba hipa saggaw in bata'.
 "Dahun ta maghula'
 Ba hisampay pa manila'."

In kastila' nagdaak
 Di' tuud hipa timbak.
 "Kawaun ku na anak
 Ba aku na in magpat.

"Ayaw na hipa gantung;
 In bata' makaulung.
 Bang lumaggu' sumung,
 Kalukalu manulung.

"In sundalu miyatay
 Niyat ta na miyugsay.
 In bata' bang lumugay,
 Ba makasugpat ha atay."

My grave will be the
 headquarters."

164 He shouted his farewell
 As the earth almost broke.
 With courage beyond
 compare
 He was able to kill four.

165 Then information was
 sent out;
 The law issued an order:
 If the little boy dies,
 The blame will be ours.

166 The Spanish [officer] said
 That the boy should be
 arrested.
 "Let us allow him to stay
 with us
 Until we go to Manila."

167 The Spanish [officer]
 ordered
 [That the child] should
 not be shot.
 "I will adopt him
 And take care of him.

168 "Do not hang him;
 The boy is pitiful.
 When he grows up and
 matures,
 He might be of help
 [to us].

169 "The soldiers who have
 died
 Should be regarded as
 having travelled.
 The boy, in the future,
 May be able to soften the
 heart [of the people]."

Biyutangan pamikil
 Ba tiyapuk pa kuwatil.
 Biyutangan pamikil
 Tiyapuk ha' dayang pa kuwatil.
 Andu' a-a
 Hambuuk way timpil,
 Ha lawm piya tapil.

In sundalu hambuuk
 Pa kuwatil timapuk.
 Marayaw in kasuksuk.
 Ba wa' sin atu mabatuk.

Bata'bata' naglawag
 Ba nagkulibut sin ad.
 Limingkud na timagad
 Ba way na maagad.

Ubus ampa miyanaw
 Pa kuwatil himundaw.
 Sundalu siyanaw
 Ba tiyawag "day' ba kaw!"

In karatung pa hagdan,
 Ba piya bay gimaban.
 Sundalu tiyagaran,
 Ba nasaggaw na in baran.

Huun marayaw na.
 Ba giyuwa' in sundalu
 Bata'bata' kiyadtu.

170 A plan was [thus] made
 To hide [the boy] in the
 headquarters.
 A plan was made
 To hide [the boy], dear,
 in the headquarters.
Andu' a-a
 Since he [the boy] did not
 have a shield,
 He was told to seek cover
 within.

171 There was one soldier
 Who hid in the
 headquarters.
 He concealed himself
 so well.
 That the people could not
 find [him].

172 The little boy searched
 [for the soldier who was
 hiding].
 As he rounded the fence.
 He then sat and waited
 For there was nobody with
 whom he could go.

173 Then he walked
 And took a look in the
 headquarters.
 He searched for the soldier
 As he called out, "Come
 here!"

174 After reaching the stairs,
 He went up the building.
 He waited for the soldier,
 But he himself was caught.

175 Yes, very well then.
 The soldier went out
 And approached the child.

Kapitan imalistu,
 "Ba ikaw na in anak ku."

"Huun marayaw na
 In ama' ku ikaw na."
 "Huun marayaw na,
 Piyag hatihan na.
 In anak mu aku na
 In am' ku ikaw na."

In agi sin kapitan,
 "Kasi hangka labban
 Bang sin Tuhan tugutan,
 Di' ta na kaw lawakan.

"Anak ta na kaw tuud
 Ba sampay pa lupa' punud.
 Kasi ku di' magpunud
 Ha anak Tausug."

Kailu sin Panglima
 Ba ha anak naglawag na.
 Panaw pa kaina,
 Kaingati ha' dayang wala na.

Kailu sin Panglima
 Ha anak naglawag na.
 Panaw pa kaina,
 Ba kaingati wala' na.

"Pasari na madtu
 Maglawag di' na aku
 Bisan isaisa ku
 Magbuhì'buhi' aku."

The shrewd captain [said],
 "You are now my son."

176 "Yes, very well, then
 You are now my son.
 Yes, very well then,
 It is already understood.
 I am now your child,
 And you are now my
 father."

177 Then the captain said,
 "My love for you is great.
 If God will permit,
 I will never stay away
 from you.

178 "You are now really
 my son
 From now until eternity.
 My love will never die
 For my Tausug son."

179 The pitiful panglima
 Looked for his son.
 He searched since some
 time ago,
 But he did not find him,
 dear.

180 The pitiful panglima
 Looked for his son.
 He searched since some
 time ago,
 But he did not find him,
 dear.

181 "Never mind," [the pang-
 lima said],
 I will not look [for him]
 anymore.
 Though I am [now] alone,
 I can still go on living."

Wala' da nagpalugay;
 Naghula' da ha bay.
 Duwa bulan da limabay,
 Ba nasakit da miyatay.

182 He did not [search] for
 long;
 He remained in his house.
 Only months later,
 He got sick and died.

Tammam na in kalangan;
 Di' ta na karungangan.
 Hi bin panumtuman
 Ha manga kakampungan.

183 The song has ended;
 Nothing more can we add
 to it.
 We leave it as a reminder
 To relatives and friends.

Notes

- 2 *Sundalu in sumakat* literally means "the soldiers will climb (or ascend)." It is translated as "the soldiers should stay in it," since the statement refers to the barracks.
- 8 *Aturun makamula* literally means "deadly when looked at." Here, it is translated as "had a beauty few men could resist."
- 9 *Sarangsarang in hambug* literally means "fat enough." The translation used is "had a shapely body." "Look" here connotes an ardent look. In a society with strong taboos concerning boy-girl relationships, one such look is enough to disturb a girl.
- 14 *Day' day' da aku* literally means "I'll only be for a short while." It is translated as "but I will not tarry."
- 18 *Tubig* is "water," but it is commonly used to refer to a river, spring, or stream, especially by the Tausug living in the hinterlands of Jolo.
- 21 Sexual taboos in Sulu are very strict. From puberty on, a boy is expected to avoid any verbal or nonverbal (looks) contacts with any girl of marrying age. Violation of the taboo incurs severe punishments, even for engaged couples.
- 23 *Makababa' ha baran* literally means "will lower the body." The translation used is "it will lower your dignity."
- 27 *Bang panaw mu lausan* literally means "if you proceed with your travel." Here, it is translated as "if you insist on going." *Bang ta kaw di' hukutan* literally means "if I will not tie you." It is translated as "I will have to tie you."
- 40 *Tangtangun ku* literally means "I will disconnect it." Here, it is translated as "I will take off my engagement ring," since the statement obviously refers to Isara's engagement to Abdulla.
- 47 *Di' kaw kapagagihan* literally means "you cannot be ordered or commanded." It is translated here as "you are hard-headed."
- 62 *Rayang ununu in maksud* literally means "dear, what is the purpose?" The translation used is "what is the matter, my dear?"

- 63 *Nasaggaw* literally means "was caught." "Touched me" is the translation used here.
- 64 *Maglagut* literally means "to hack." Here, it is translated as "fight."
- 66 *In aku paagara* literally means "let me go with you." It is translated as "I shall go with you."
- 67 The term *kapil*, kaffir, is used among Muslims to describe contemptuously any unbeliever or "infidel"; it is also applied to one who believes in the divinity of Christ.
- 68 *Ha kamatay didtu na* literally means "there already in death." Here, it is translated as "in heaven it shall be done."
- 71 *Duwa kita malapis* literally means "two of us will lose." The translation used is "two of us will be in danger."
- 72 *Bang in Tuhan magtulong* literally means "if God will help." "With the help of God" is the translation used.
- 77 *Lagutun* literally means "will hack." It is translated as "I will strike."
- 80 *Biya' angayangay mu* literally means "it is seldom of you." Here, it is translated as "you never before came to see me."
- 85 *Bismilla*, which literally means "in the name of God," is the prayer that begins meals and other important actions. It is taken here as "a prayer."
- 86 *Luba'luba' niyu na* literally means "you are the worst." It is translated as "for your undesirable act."
- 95 *Ari a-a a-a* is a vocalization expressing dismay.
- 99 *Akkal bukun dulaput* literally means "not an evil mind." Here, it is translated as "was a good man."
- 108 The "horse" here refers to the *burak*, the horse believed to take the lovers to heaven upon their being killed by infidels (cf. introductory note).
- 112 *Hinangan pusaka'* literally means "made a legacy." It is translated as "were given a lesson." *Di' maurul in limpa*, literally means "the footsteps cannot be traced." The translation used is "so that they will not follow the bad example."
- 117 *In akkal piyahaba'* literally means "lengthened the mind." It is translated as "used his mind well."
- 128 *Bisan hikamatay ku* literally means "even if it kills me." It is translated as "death I will not avoid."
- 131 *Sumuhun magagad* literally means "lose interest in following." It is translated as "might get tired looking."
- 140 "Matagpis" seems to be the name of Putli' Isara's mother.
- 142 *Dagan buta bisu* literally means "run like blind or deaf." This is an expression used to describe how cowards run away from battle. Its English equivalent is "run like hell."
- 144 *Ha unud wala' lumapay* literally means "it did not include the flesh." It is translated as "it did not pierce her flesh."

- 150 *Hiyudhuran* literally means "pored with." It is translated as "bullets rained on her."
- 152 The *burak*, horse, was ready for the boy, since he had decided to do parang sabil.
- 153 This also refers to the belief that one who does a parang sabil goes straight to heaven on a white horse (cf. introductory note).
- 154 *Besan sila limambung* literally means "even if they shadowed." Here, it is translated as "even if they appear."
- 156 *Unu kagawahan ta* literally means "what are we worried about?" The translation used is "we have nothing to worry about."
- 159 *Anak nagumbal satu* literally means "the child appeared to be the best." "The son braced himself" is the translation used here.
- 169 *Bang lumugay* literally means "if for long." It is translated as "in the future."
- 170 *Biyutangan pamikil* literally means "an idea was placed." Here, it is translated as "a plan was made." *Andu' a-a* is also a vocalization expressing dismay.
- 173 *Sundalu siyanaw* literally means "touched the soldier." It is translated as "he searched for the soldier."
- 174 *Pila bay gimaban* literally means "went up the house." Since it refers to the headquarters, "went up the building" is used.
- 177 *Kasi hangka labban* literally means "boxful of love." It is here translated as "my love for you is great."
- 178 *Sampay pa lupa' punud* literally means "until the solid earth." The expression means "till death." Here, "until eternity" is the translation used.
- 183 *Kakampungan* in itself means "kinfolk." It is commonly used by the Tausug, however, to refer to anyone to whom one feels close. Hence, the translation "relatives and friends."

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Abunnawas

Editor's Note

These five Samal folktales were narrated by Titua Udjid, 66 years old, of Lung Nusa, South Ubian, Sulu. They were recorded on cassette tapes and translated by Abdurasa Umih, a senior at the Notre Dame of Jolo College (Sulu), for the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (CISC), under grant no. 2683 of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Ricardo Adjawie, research assistant of the CISC, prepared the final text for publication.

I

1 Ania dakayu Abunnawas, tagna awal Suk, ia onna deom tiangi inan bai Luwai. Sultan awal Suk magtaluhan maka Abunnawas.

Yukna, "Ampun, minsan ka sultan, kan ilu mbal makalang-ngan min diata kayu, bang aku makalang-ngan aku min diata kayu."

2 Yukna, "Abunnawas, painai bang ka mbal makalang-ngan mariata kayu, pung-gulan ku k'llong nu lu?"

"Aho, ampun, makajari na."

3 Bo na amole kaleia si Abunnawas. A nga pataw t'llon d'ppa langkaw na. Bo pi a nga kayu singahan ni hinangan singa ena. Akatis bai bin'ggot ap'nnap na kamemon ahogot na, bo na pi palubak angaldang.

4 Pagkaldang, sarang-sarang ia ni lang-ngan ina luma sultan. Pagta'abot luma sultan, yukna, "Ampun, anganda ka ba, ndaun ba patandao ka."

Pagtandao, yukna, "B'nnal-b'nnal du sab si Abunnawas itu makalang-ngan min diata kayu."

3 The *pataw*, a euphorbiaceous tree (*Macaranga tanarius* Muell, Arg.), is called *limbunga* in Tausug.

Abunnawas, a Samal Trickster:
A Story Told by Titua Udjid
Translated by Abdurasa Umih

The text presented here is numbered by paragraph (or in some instances, by part) in order to key the explanatory notes found at the appropriate pages. Words enclosed in square brackets have been supplied to minimize syntactic discontinuities brought about by translation. Except for these, the translation follows the Tausug text faithfully.

I

1 In the old days when Jolo was called Luwai, there lived a man named Abunnawas. One day, he made a bet with the sultan.

"My lord," Abunnawas began, "even if you are a sultan, you cannot walk on top of a piece of wood like I can."

2 [Piqued,] the sultan said, "Abunnawas, suppose [it turns out that] you cannot [do it] shall I cut off your head?"

"Yes, my lord, I agree."

3 After having gone home for a while, Abunnawas went to the forest and cut a piece of *pataw* wood about three meters long. He also cut another piece of wood that had branches. He tied both pieces together firmly; a stilt was thus made. He then walked toward the sultan's house on the stilt.

4 Reaching the sultan's house, [Abunnawas] called out, "My lord, [come and] look! Look out of your window!"

Looking out, the sultan exclaimed, "Abunnawas can indeed walk on top of a piece of wood!"

5 "Ndaun na, mbal ka atau lumang-ngan min diata kayu, bang aku atau lumang-ngan mariata kayu."

Yukna, "B'nnal du ka Abunnawas, kaa atau lumang-ngan mariata kayu."

II

6 Ania isab dakayu Abunnawas. Yukna, "Ampon, dalam ania guna ta magsultan, mareom lahat itu, mbal kita taga usaha, ania sultan dalam usahaan? Bang aku sadja ampon, bo aku paluwas ni dai-dai sadja aku lumang-ngan saga duwam jam, kinatoonan kita e aa taga usaha."

7 Na, yukna, "Ahap, Abunnawas, paluwas ka."

Bo ni paluwas. Ai hinang na paluwas si Abunnawas? Ania tanda na kalbao aa kin'llogan wae tinangkao ena. Pagtangkao ni nna ni deo kayu alengdon. Bo wae ginantong ena.

8 Amole. Pagpole bo bahak. . . Halam gi at'ggol lumang-ngan sa dapuna. Yuk wagil sultan, "Ai lang-ngan bi piitu?"

Yukna, "Peilu kami ania kono abantog tendog sultan atau amuteka."

9 Yukna, "Ania, Abunnawas, abate ka, ania aa. ni kaa."

Yukna, "Heia pahap hadjat nu?"

Yukna, "Wae alungai kalbao na, bang tabak kalbao e mawan t'llo hatu pilak, bang tanto toman potekaan."

10 Pinuteka e si Abunnawas, pagpoteka e si Abunnawas, ni itung, yukna, "Kalbao nu wai bai tenae he aa, ginantung mareo kayu, so bang mbal tasaut nu arae na ni nga binowa na, palisto ka. Bang ka lumang-ngan sudju timol lang-ngan nu, bo ka pabeklo ni mata-satan, bang ania lang tabak nu mareo kayu heia."

11 Pi lumang-ngan, paglang-ngan dalam tabak, yukna, "Angai, dalam tabak bi?"

Yukna, "Halam tabak."

Yukna, "Piitu kam meia maaku."

7 *Alengdon* is an unidentified tree.

5 "So you see, I can walk on top of a piece of wood, but you, you are not capable of doing it."

"Truly said, Abunnawas, you know how to walk on top of a piece of wood" [the sultan sadly conceded].

II

6 One day [as he was conversing with the sultan], Abunnawas commended, "My lord, it is useless to be a sultan in this place. [You] have no earnings. Is there a sultan with no income? If I could only walk around [the village] for even just two hours, people will realize that we know how to earn [money]."

7 "All right, Abunnawas, you may walk around [the village]," [the sultan said].

So Abunnawas went out. What did he do when he was out? He saw a prized carabao and stole it. He tied the carabao to an *atengdon* tree and left it hanging there.

8 Then he went back to the house [of the sultan] and rested. After a while, the owner [of the carabao] came to the sultan's house. The guard asked him, "What is your purpose in coming here?"

The man replied, "I have come because it is said that the sultan has a follower who is a learned fortune-teller."

9 "We do have him," the guard answered. [Then he woke Abunnawas up]. "Abunnawas, wake up! Somebody wishes to see you."

"What is his purpose?"

"He lost his carabao, and he is offering three hundred pesos [to anybody who] can find it."

10 Abunnawas [pretended] to consult his book of fortune and made the gesture of counting. Then he spoke: "Somebody kept your carabao hanging under a tree. If you cannot get there on time, he will take it away. You must hurry. Walk toward the south, then turn east. [You will come to] a forest where you will find [your carabao] beneath a tree."

11 So the man [together with some friends] departed. They came back empty-handed. Abunnawas asked them, "Why, were you not able to find it?"

The owner replied, "[No, we were] not able to find it."

"Come with me, then," said Abunnawas.

12 Ia bai anao. Paglang-ngan lang-ngan itu sudju ni mata-satan nag'-ngae mangantungan, mareo kayu ahea. Yukna, "Ai e."

Yukna, "Kalbao."

"Ndaun bu kalo ia na he."

13 Pag'nda ia na he. Yukna, "L'kkahin t'ongan ilu na aa hai manangkao e binonokita."

14 Ginuyud. Pagtandan pehe, ni harapan sultan, ia na naan kalbao he. Angitong t'llo hatas pilak. Amole na aa bai katangkawan. Yukna, "Ndaun ba Ampun, bang kita mbal manglang-ngan mbal kita taga usaha, e taga usaha na kita, ania mag sultan dalam ania usaha na?"

III

15 Dakayu isab Abunnawas Ia na inaan Abunnawas, he). Ania dakayu sultan min lahat dambila tudju Suk angangga ra magtaluhan, malaingkan bang sigam taraog k'ppal (sigam) maka tendog sigam atina lob' na ma sultan Suk. Bang taraog sultan Suk Tabowa lahat, tabowa aa na molé.

16 Asusa 'kkal na sultan Suk, tagna awal Suk magsultan bai kambo'mboan la gi. Yukna, "Ngain aku si Abunnawas piitu." Ni nga si Abunnawas. Yukna, "Na Ampun 'ai pangaan nu aku he?"

Yukna, "Abunnawas, kapasuan aku e magtaluhan itu, sab sinoho tinokod bohe maka tahik, na sai makatalos mbal tatokod."

17 Yukna, "Daa ka asusa, alalom du l'kkop-l'kkop kuhita, amole gi aku kaleia."

"Na, Abunnawas, pagtaluhan e sum'ddai, ena k'ppal he ma-jambatan pasampig k'ppal pote."

Yukna, "Aho, Ampun."

18 Ai hinang na si Abunnawas, pagsangom pagk'llat subu magtaluhan. Ni langi ena buli k'ppal he, sinakat ena min buli na.

12 So the owner and his companions followed Abunnawas. Turning east, they saw a carabao hanging under a big tree. [Pointing to it, Abunnawas asked,] "What is that?"

"A carabao," [replied the man].

"Find out if it is the one [we are looking for]."

13 The man looked at it closely and found out it was the one. Abunnawas then directed, "Untie it quickly. The thief might come anytime and kill us."

14 They dragged the carabao and brought it before the sultan [saying] it was the carabao [they were looking for]. The owner counted three hundred pesos [and handed it to Abunnawas]. Then he went home [happily dragging his prized carabao]. "You see, my lord," [Abunnawas said to the sultan], "if [I] did not go out, we would not have earned [300 pesos]. Now we have an income already. Is there a sultan with no income?"

III

15 There was once a sultan from another place who came to Jolo to bet with [his counterpart]. Their agreement was that if the sultan of Jolo lost, his kingdom would be governed by the visiting sultan, and his people would be transported to the latter's territory. If the [visitor] lost, the sultan of Jolo would acquire his ship and all the men [therein].

16 The sultan of Jolo was worried, for if he would lose, his kingdom would be ruled by a foreigner, and no foreigner ever ruled Jolo. So he sent for Abunnawas saying, "Bring Abunnawas to me."

Abunnawas was thus fetched. "My lord, what is it that has made you summon me?" Abunnawas asked.

17 "I have difficulty concerning a bet I made," replied the sultan. "I have to distinguish a cup of fresh water from a cup of sea water. Who can guess right? Nobody has done it yet."

"Do not worry. The sucker of an octopus is deeper than that," Abunnawas said. "But first allow me to go home."

"Abunnawas, the test will take place the day after tomorrow. The sultan's ship is already at the wharf."

"Yes, my lord."

18 On the eve of the test, Abunnawas swam to the ship and boarded it [stealthily] from the rear. Two of the ship's officers

Yuk dangan he, "Bang kaa amat' nna bohe mindingga?"

19 Yukna, "Nna ta min subangan."

"Na, tahik ilu?"

"Ni nna min s'ddopan, harapun ni s'ddopan malamisahan."

"Na, ahap."

20 Pareo si Abunnawas pakamaya-maya, wae na palangi kaleia.

Pagk'llat subu bo na pi palubak amoisiko, na ai lagi magtaluhan, galulat na deom tiangi inan. Bin'nnujan na si Abunnawas. Yukna, "Tukas na sultan, taraog na sultan mailu. Painai e nokod ia bohe sali-sali masawan inan, daluwa-daluwa, mbal magsilang bohe maka tahik inan, mbal kinatoonan bang ingga ia bohe 'nnga ia tahik."

21 Pagsong si Abunnawas angan'da na kamemon aa. Yukna, "Maringga na tokod-tokod he?"

"Na, iluy na malamisahan bohe maka tahik."

"Ia na itu tokod-tokod he?"

"Ia na itu?"

"No, tampal ni subangan itu bohe, tampal ni s'ddopan tahik."

22 Paginum tampal ni subangan bohe. Paginum tampal ni s'ddopan tahik. Taraog k'ppal ingan e at'ggan. Halaman ania makapole, anuy lob kamemon maka k'ppal na.

IV

23 Pagania dakayu waktu abantog, min sultan lahat dakayu na isab, ania kono sultan Suk itu wagil na atau amuteka, atuman. Sultan nan anak na inan, as'kki bo halaman as'kki. So mbal maka bichara anak sultan inan. Asusa na a'kkal na, bo anak dakayu-dakayu dinaru. Pinutpot, pagputpot, at'kka ni Suk, ni sultan.

happened to be discussing the placement of the cup of fresh water and the cup of sea water to be used during the test. One asked the other, "What will be the position of the [cup of] fresh water?"

19 "Let us place it facing the east," [said the other].

"What about the [cup of] sea water?"

"It will face the west. [This will be its position] on the table."

20 As silently as he had boarded it, Abunnawas descended the ship and swam back to shore.

The following day, excitement gripped the people of Jolo. They took care of Abunnawas like a bride. Some commented: "The sultan is facing a crucial test. He will surely lose. How can he distinguish sea water from fresh water? Sea water and fresh water are almost identical."

21 Abunnawas reached the scene. All eyes were now on him. Abunnawas asked [the man in charge of the event], "Where is the test?"

"The [cups containing] sea water and fresh water are there on the table."

"Is this the test?"

"Yes, it is. Which cup contains sea water and which one contains fresh water?"

"Well, the cup facing the east contains fresh water. The one facing the west contains sea water" [Abunnawas replied].

22 When [the man in charge] drank the contents [of the cups], he found out that the cup facing the east truly contained fresh water and the one facing the west contained sea water.

Thus the sultan of Jolo won. The visiting sultan lost his ship. Nobody on it could go home anymore.

IV

23 There was also a time when the sultan of a different place heard that the sultan of Jolo had a follower who could tell fortunes accurately [or solve any problem]. [One day] the sultan's daughter looked sick. Then she lost her power of speech. This worried the sultan, for she was his only child. The sultan sent messengers to Jolo.

24 Yukna, "Ampun, ania gawi kami, sinoho kami piitu e sultan kami ania kono wagil nu atau amuteka, atuman. Bang pauli anak na he, dakayu k'ppal maka aa na makaam.

"Na, ni nga si Abunnawas!"

25 Asusa a'kkal na sultan. Yukna, "Matay na si Abunnawas itu, bang poteka-poteka bate mbal tatalus na ai-ai he. Abunnawas, etia ka, ginawi e sultan, mapasal anak na mbal maka bichara. Dalam isab as'kki mbo mbal maka bichara, aumao."

"Na, Ampon, sinulayan."

26 Na, meia na si Abunnawas, piputputan. Yukna, "Hapetin aku min puh inan. Pareo aku asungi."

Yukna, "Na, maitu na ma k'ppal itu."

"Mbal aku makatanam, subai maihe."

27 Pinareo min bute. Pagpareo min bute inan, dalam bai asungi, atapuk mareo kayu. Bo na pi magpiha k'ppal inan. T'ggol na pasungi dalam tabak. Ai hinang na mareo kayu he? Aha! ania baggok pote maka 'ttom. Yukna, "Bang makaa anak sultan he, ai makas'kki ia?"

28 Yuk baggok pote, "Subai alaan haronan na he. Bai panulaban Nabi, deo haronan he, jari patumbok osol haronan ni kok Nabi. Bang he alaan duun-duun du am'ssala."

Paluwas. Pagluwas si Abunnawas ananggi. Tinundug na ke k'ppal. "T'ggol na pagpiha kami, dalam ka tabak."

Yukna, "Ananggi aku maitu, masi aku ajamban."

29 Samot ta na, niruwa na. Pi am'pput. Pagputpot ak'kka na pehe, pareo na. Pagdeo, pinakan na si Abunnawas pinagadjalan na. Ubos bai magadjal magkakan. Pagubos, ni 'nda ne ena. Na

24 "My lord," [the messengers said upon arrival at the court of the sultan of Jolo], "our sultan has sent us to see you because you have a follower who can tell fortunes accurately. If his daughter can be cured [by your fortune-teller], you will receive a ship and a crew."

"Bring Abunnawas to me" [the sultan ordered].

25 The sultan, however, was worried. He muttered, "Abunnawas shall be put to death if he fails to tell rightly what is wrong with that sultan's daughter." [He addressed Abunnawas when the latter arrived, thus]: "These people have been sent by their sultan [to consult you] about his only child who can no longer talk. [The child] seems in good health, but she has lost her power of speech."

"Well, my lord, I will do what I can" [Abunnawas promised].

26 Thus Abunnawas was taken [to the realm of the other sultan]. On the way, Abunnawas said, "Drop anchor by that island. I am going down to defecate."

"You can do it here on the launch," [his escort countered].

"But I am not used to doing it [in a place like this]; I must do it there [on that island]."

27 So they allowed him to go down. [Upon reaching the island,] Abunnawas did not defecate; he hid under a tree, instead [After some time.] some members of the crew went to the island to look for him, but they could not find him. What did he do under the tree? "Ah! [he saw] a black heron and a white one [talking with each other]. "What do you think happened to the sultan's daughter. What makes her sick?" [the black heron questioned its companion].

28 The white heron answered, "They should remove the ladder [of the house] because the prophet's head [i.e., Muhammad's grave] is under it. If the ladder is removed, she will be able to speak again right there and then."

After hearing this, Abunnawas went out of his hiding place. [Seeing him, the men] approached saying, "We have been looking for you for a long time, but we could not find you."

"I stood here defecating," Abunnawas replied.

29 They [boarded the launch and] sailed on. [At last] they reached [their destination]. Abunnawas was well received. He was served many kinds of delicious food. Afterwards he went

ai ba d'nda, anak sultan binowa magb'ssala mbal ah'ling. Pinuteka na ena. Pagpoteka si Abunnawas, yukna, "Ampun, laanin haronan nu itu, bang alaan itu, alangkat anak nu itu makab'ssala."

30 Bo po ni l'ppo llaw inaan, ni lubu. Paglubu ni hawanen. Ubos bai pinantai pareata. Pagdeata piyainum bohe e si Abunnawas. Paginum nuy am'ssala dalam ania sakki na d'nda inan.

Na, abantog min di si Abunnawas, atau amuteka. Bang Abunnawas wagil sultan Suk atau.

Makabowa dakayu k'ppal. Tinuranan na si Suk. Pareo na si sultan. "Na, Abunnawas ilu na ka?"

31 Yukna, "Aho, ampun, etia na aku, taga k'ppal kita dakayu, pamuwan kita."

"Ah, Abunnawas, yuk ku kaa he magmula e saga aa, tanto binono ka, bang mbal tatuman e nu, pinapatay ka."

Yukna, "Mbal, ampun."

V

32 Ania dakayu sultan, malahat sigan inan, ia na ia sultan. Ania umbul dakayu d'nda mainaan. Ia naani hap d'nda malahat sultan inan. D'nda inan taga h'lla.

Ania waktu mbal na taitung tahun na malahat sultan he, abalu d'nda inan. Pagbalu na kinabalihan he sultan. Mbal bilahi magh'lla d'nda inan, minsan gi sai, minsan gi sultan sai, hiap gi sultan lumu mbal bilahi magh'lla.

33 Ania waktu dinda inan, kinali ena toolang h'lla na, ni nna maluma, kambal na magh'lla. Dakayu waktu, ania ni anan si Abunnawas. Yuk si Abunnawas, "Ampun, bang aku mahanda d'nda inan taaku."

Yukna, "Abunnawas, taanu?"

"Aho, ampon, bang aku taaku."

to see the sultan's daughter. He spoke to her, but she could not utter a word in reply. Then Abunnawas [pretended] to consult his book of knowledge and said, "My lord, remove the ladder [of your house]. If it is removed and destroyed, your daughter will be able to speak."

30 The ladder was thus demolished that day. The area on which it stood was cleaned and leveled. Then Abunnawas went up the house and gave the girl a drink of water. Right after drinking, the girl spoke. All signs of illness had vanished from her.

Because of what he had done, Abunnawas became a famous fortune-teller. It became known [far and wide] that Abunnawas, the loyal subject of the sultan of Jolo, was learned.

Abunnawas returned to Jolo [on board the ship promised as a gift for his sultan] soon after the event. [His master] was at the wharf when he arrived. "So you are back, Abunnawas!" [the sultan greeted him].

31 "Yes, my lord. I am back with the ship promised to be given to us."

"Ah, Abunnawas, you were in grave danger. You would surely have been executed had you failed to guess it right [and cure that sultan's daughter]."

"No, my lord" [Abunnawas humbly replied].

V

32 There was once a girl, a married one, in a place ruled by a sultan. She was the most beautiful girl in that kingdom.

[Many years later,] the girl became a widow, and the sultan fell in love with her. But the girl had no desire to remarry. She did not want to get married again — not to any man, even if he were the sultan. [In fact,] she resented the sultan for his seediness.

33 One day, the girl dug her husband's grave. She took his bones home and kept these beside her each night she slept. At that time, Abunnawas [was having a conversation with the sultan]. He said, "My lord, I think I can win the [love of that] girl."

[The sultan] asked, "Abunnawas can you really do it?" do it?"

"Yes, my lord, I can do it" [came the firm reply].

34 "Painai bang mbal taanu, gantung ta ka?"

"Makajari na, ampon, gantungan aku, na bang isab taaku bat'ingga?"

Yukna, "Bowanan ta ka duwangibu pilak."

"Ahap," yukna.

35 Amikil si Abunnawas, bang ai panga ia d'nda inan. Mbal'gi magh'lla minsan gi sultan ai, minsal gi sultan lumu. Sogo d'nda dalam ania salina malahat sultan inan. Tapikil e si Abunnawas. Yukna, "Maingga toolang h'lla na?"

36 Yukna, "Ena maluna, suli-suli aa kamemon pamat'nnan ia puntil kiat."

"Ahap, bang bowate ania ba aa."

Ia tapikil e si Abunnawas, gom ia angalit toolang. Pagkalit na, anga ia toolang manusia pinutos ena maka puntil pote. Ia na tapikil ena, 'gom ia maglang-ngan lang-ngan, magtalunan, magikuku maglang-ngan, na ka tampe-tampehan, ni deom talon, ni sab'dda na palang-nganan na. Ania saga mareom duwam bulan sampa t'llum bulan, maglang-ngan lang-ngan si Abunnawas inan.

37 Ania waktu taabot kohap, sarang-sarang matong pantan d'nda inan. Mainaan na ni ka s'ddopan llaw. Jari na tu, maka deo nggo d'nda nan, tilao si Abunnawas. Yukna, "Magai ka marei ilu?"

"A, aku ilu, dalam na pat'na, t'ggol na paglang-ngan ku sab magkarok-kaan aku ma'nda ku. Na, sab'dda na patulihan ku, ma tampe ingga-ingga tule na pain aku, atowa mareom talon."

38 Yukna, "Ia ra ku anak kune, magkarok-kaan ma h'lla na, bowate ka ru sab. Sogo, tiap-tiap ania luma, ania paglahat bowate ilu, sab ka atuli ma tampe, ma tong pantan, gom ka tuli ni luma, asal du kaa lu maglang-ngan."

Yukna, "Peheun na atuli na aku maitu."

"Daa, atuli ka ni luma he."

39 Pigga bowatinaan, ating meia na l'lla inan. Pagbeia l'lla inan. bin'llatan na pabahakan, si Abunnawas inan. Dalam isab katoonan si Abunnawas. Na, maingan na, pinakan na. Pagubos, atuli, ni

34 "And if you fall in love to win her, shall I hang you?"

"You may hang me, my lord, [if I fail]. But [suppose I succeed], then what?"

"I will give you two thousand pesos," said the sultan.

"Very well," concluded Abunnawas.

35 Abunnawas then planned how to win the girl. [He knew that] she did not want to get married again — not to any man, [not] even to the seedy sultan or to any other sultan. No other girl was more beautiful than she in that kingdom. [Abunnawas then went around trying to find what happened to the bones of the girl's husband, after he had seen the open grave]. He asked [each person he met], "Where are the bones of her husband?"

36 "[There is a talk that] the bones were wrapped in a red cloth and brought home [by his widow]," they told him.

"Good, if that is what they say," [commented Abunnawas].

Abunnawas decided to dig up some human bones. He wrapped these in a white cloth. [Apparently in accordance with his plan,] Abunnawas walked about aimlessly. He went to the beach, to the forest, and back; he went everywhere. He wandered for about two to three months.

37 One late afternoon, he came to the widow's place and sat at the edge of the stairs leading to her house. He stayed there till sunset. The girl's mother saw him as she was going down [the stairs]. She asked Abunnawas, "What are you doing there below?"

He replied: "Oh, I have no place to go. I have been wandering for a long time lamenting for my [dead] wife. I have slept wherever [my tired feet took me] — on the beach, in the forest, anywhere."

38 [The old woman] said, "My child is grieving like you; she lost her husband. Instead of sleeping on the beach or at the edge of the stairs, it would be better for you to sleep in this house; a house is made [for tired people like you] to rest in. You have no place to go anyway."

"Never mind," he countered, "I will sleep here."

"No, sleep in the house" [the old woman insisted].

39 And so Abunnawas went into the house with the old woman. She prepared a bed for him. Nobody [in the house] knew, however, that he was Abunnawas. Then he was given something to

hulid ena toolang 'nda na inan. Ia ru sab d'nda inan maghulid maka toolang H'lla na min dampong.

40 Jari, pal'kkas ta na, atuli na sigam. Sarang-sarang abahagi t'llo bahangi h'ddok na tule na, ni nga na ena puntil d'nda inan. ia h'lla na. Bo pi nga ena puntil 'nda na inan, puntil pote, ni nna ena ni deom tuung. Pinannoan ena maka kaha, lappo, buling, maka kamemon na tabak na. Sarang-sarang anipe ni Ilaw, atuli pabalik bo na si Abunnawas inan amahang'gak. Halaman na sayo na.

41 Pagbate-bate subu-subu, d'nda inan ahidjul na, bang maingga na toolang h'lla na, bang sai na nangkao ia. Halaman, Abunnawas inan hidjul-hidjul, minsan du magtendek d'nda inan, minsan du mag-olang atule na pain. At'ggol na magalang, maginda lupa, ginis na mareom luma inan, abate na sim Abunnawas.

Pagbate, si Abunnawas inan, "All, ia ru toolang 'nda kom halaman na maitu. Halambeara kam sai nangkao ia itu, mbal kam manjari. Gom aku halaman bai atule maitu, mbal tatangkao toolang 'nda ku itu."

42 Na magsagao na mainaan, sampai emam, hatib, belar, panglima apun na kememon mainaan, maghidjul na. Yukna, "Anabang kam amiha, bang mbal tapiha, sampai lahat itu tunu ku."

P'bba piniha tabak mareom tuung. Pag'nda inan magt'kkop karuwa puntil. Puntil l'll mindeata, puntil danda min deo.

43 Yukna, "Saga aa itu bang aku angila-angila, bang bai sigam 'llum, minsan ia taga h'll, minsan ia tga 'nda, ating saga aa tu bang mag'nda magari du. Ia gi mbal mag-a madunya itu, ndaun minsan ma'aherat, toolang sadja itu, tia ru kahandakan he Aula Subahun. Hu Ataala."

44 Yukna, "Halaman aku makapikil mag'nda mag'nda inan, sogo angkan aku makapikil, minsan halaman ania bilahi ku, na bowate itu na luma na subai mags'ppak sali-sali."

Na yukna hatib, maka emam, "Painai kaa d'nda ilu."

"Na, minsan na bang aku sab ni hinang bowateitu he h'lla ku, malaingkan minsan na aku mbal bilahi mag'h'lla."

eat. Afterwards, he went to bed beside the bones he brought with him. In another part of the house, the widow slept with her husband's bones close to her.

40 To make a long story short, they slept that night. Past midnight, as the widow was sound asleep, [Abunnawas] took the bag of bones from her [the widow's] side, and wrapped them together with the bones of his [supposed] wife in a white cloth. He then placed the bundle in a box into which he added a pot, frying pan, charcoal, and many other objects. Then he went back to bed. He slept soundly till dawn.

41 Early in the morning, the widow discovered that her husband's bones were missing. She wondered where they were and who stole them. She became hysterical, but Abunnawas was not awakened by her shouts and hysterics. He was still sound asleep.

At last, [the crescendo of] her shouts and the din that ensued woke Abunnawas up. Rising, he exclaimed, "Oh, the bones of my wife are also missing! Damn you people who stole them! You are wicked. [Alas,] I would not have lost them if I did not sleep here."

42 [The house was a scene of uproar.] The imam, the hatib the bilal, and the panglima were called for consultation. Abunnawas said to them, "Better help [me] look for the bones. I will burn this whole place if they are not found!"

Finally, the bones were found inside a box. A closer look revealed that the bones seemed to be embracing. The man's bones were on top of the woman's bones.

43 "Well" [the imam said,] "I think if these people were alive, they would have married each other even if they had their respective spouses. These are just bones, but look [at how they behave]. God has granted them their wish in heaven. How much more if they were still on earth?"

44 [Abunnawas] then declared, "I have had no intention of marrying this girl, but now I have decided [to marry her] because we have to respond in kind."

"What do you think?" the imam and the hatib asked [the girl].

"Well, what can I do if my husband has [shown such infidelity]? Even if it is against my will [I will remarry now]."

45 Na, ia onna kinawen. Na maglae-lame na. Puwes bai kinawen maghale-hale na. Taabot dapitu yukna, "Dayang, ahap kita amasial ni lahat sulatan, pi parampong he, massial-massial kita, landong kohap inan."

Amakai-amakai na. Pagpasial landong kohap inan, pasagid-sagid min halaman sultan he.

Niolangan sultan yuk na, "Owa, ampon, owa, ampon, owa, ampon."

46 "Ai sa lu Abunnawas?"

"Patandao kono ka, ndaun."

Pag'nda sultan magkeleng-keleng, yukna, "B'nnal-b'nnal du isab pintal si Abunnawas. Mapasal d'nda ilu sai-sai aa mahanda mareom dunya ilu dalam ania kinabelehan ena, sultan eng-gara sultan, datu eng-gara datu, wal du kaa. Abunnawas, b'nnal-b'nnal du komforme na aku makaa, pandai ka anga d'nda."

Yukna, "Pagtolohan ta he."

"Na, taraug aku enu, sogo ngaun na makaa itu."

Neitungan si Abunnawas duwangibo pilak.

45 And so Abunnawas and the widow were married. A [big] celebration was held [in their honor]. A week after the ceremony, [Abunnawas] said as they were having a rest, "Darling, let us stroll toward the sultan's place on the other side [of the village] this afternoon."

They then put on their clothes and went out for their walk. Upon reaching the sultan's garden, Abunnawas called out, "Hello, my lord! Hello, my lord! Hello, my lord!"

46 [The sultan asked from within the house,] "What is it, Abunnawas?"

"Please look out of your window!" [Abunnawas shouted].

When the sultan saw them, he shook his head and said, "Abunnawas, [you are] truly wise. Many men, among them datus and sultan, wooed that girl but no one won her love but you. I truly believe in you Abunnawas. You know how to win a girl's love."

[Abunnawas] asked, "What about our bet?"

"Well, I lost. Take this now."

[He] counted two thousand pesos [for] Abunnawas.

A Selection of Tausug Riddles and Proverbs

Compiled and translated by
Irene Hassan and T. Iklali Jainal

Editor's Note

Tigumtigum, and *tukudtukud* (from *tukud*, "to guess") are the Tausug terms for "riddle." The riddles presented here are of two types — (1) those asked in casual conversation, and (2) those sung at celebrations. In both cases, the person spoken to is expected to provide the answer. In the sung riddles, the singer gives the answer in song, only after having waited for the audience to give their guess.

The proverbs, *masaalla* or *daman*, were collected over the years without much attempt at placing them in their proper setting, i.e., within the contexts in which they are in fact used. The present research of the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (CISC) is now geared to the patient and long-range search of the total cultural context. This supplements the collection of proverbs published by Garvan (1934).

This first selection of riddles and proverbs should lead toward a more complete collection of this oral genre, together with an analysis of the behavioral context in which they are presented. Along the socio-linguistic lines suggested by Roberts and Forman (1972:180-209), a study in a future issue of *Sulu Studies* will analyze the linguistic pattern of riddles and proverbs as well as their role as "expressive models of interrogation," their function in terms of socialization, particularly their possible association with "high responsibility training."

The recited riddles were contributed by the following persons: Irene Hassan (1 to 5, 9 to 13, 23 to 27, 32, 33, 35 to 38, 40 and 41), Fauzia Abing (8, 14 to 20, 24, 28, 31, 34, 39 and 43), and F. Nebab (6, 7, 21, 29, 30, 42 and 44), all of Jolo, Sulu. Of the sung riddles, 1 and 2 were contributed by Maas Mutamad, 45, of Lagasan (Parang, Sulu); 4 to 6 were sung with much gusto by the Utu' Dakula', 50, of Lupa' Abu (Parang, Sulu), a popular professional singer; and 7 to 9 were contributed by the respected Datu Hassan, 71, of Maimbung, Sulu. Riddles 3 and 10 were contributed by Tuwan Iklali Jainal, of Luas (Parang, Sulu), who also taped these riddles. The proverbs were contributed mainly by two persons — Tuwan Iklali Jainal and Halina Mariwa of Jolo, Sulu.

Irene Hassan and Tuwan Iklali Jainal, who collaborated in preparing this selection, both work for the CISC.

In the text presented here, numbers of notes at the bottom of the pages correspond to those of the appropriate riddles or proverbs. Words enclosed in square brackets have been supplied to minimize syntactic discontinuities brought about by translation. Except for these, the translation follows the Tausug text faithfully.

R I D D L E S

*Recited Riddles**Riddles on nature*

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| Taytayan mamamis
Walna' ginisginis. | 1 | A gorgeous bridge
With various colors. |
| Yatun na yari na;
Ha rahun kilaha. | 2 | It is there, it is here;
You will know it through the
leaves. |
| Kananaman mu,
Sumagawa' di' kakitaan. | 3 | You can feel it
But you cannot see it. |
| Pakain pakain kaw,
Miyamagad kaymu. | 4 | Wherever you go,
It follows you. |
| Manukmanuk puti'
Nagtakbi' way pali'. | 5 | A white bird
That fights like a cock but
suffers no wound. |
| Miyana nagdawragpi';
Sumalupa tiyumpi';
Bang in ikug hilagpi',
Mabisa tuud in pali'. | 6 | It walks flat on the surface;
It looks like a <i>tiyumpi'</i> ;
When it wags its tail,
[It produces] a torturous
wound. |
| In taykud tiyupakan;
In daghal liyampinan;
Yampana lubakan,
U di kabakan. | 7 | Its back is patched up;
Its chest is covered;
When it is hit,
Its head disappears. |

1 *Bangaw*: rainbow.2 *Hangin*: wind.3 *Hangin*: wind.4 *Lambung*: shadow.5 *Alun*: wave.6 *Pagi*: sting ray. *Tiyumpi'* is grated cassava molded in two somewhat rectangular layers and carefully wrapped in banana leaves.7 *Bauu*: turtle.

Kahuykahuy yattu
 Hinang hangka pitu;
 Pasu' haggut nangkaku.
 Tubig manjari batu.

Pagtanum,
 Pagkulay.

Tiyanum biya' ipun;
 Nagbunga biya' buktun.

Way ipun, way ngilu';
 Tumagawa' in baran
 mapasu'.

Awn tau
 Taga mata, way u;
 Kungkung in siku.

Katilibut sin baran
 taga mata.

Jambangan hi sinyura,
 Diringding palda;
 Nagdahun nagkampilan;
 Nagbunga iyukkilan.

8 That little tree
 Was made within a week;
 It has suffered heat and cold.
 It is water changed into
 stone.

9 Planted,
 It rises immediately.

10 It was planted like a tooth;
 It bore a fruit as big as
 the forearm.

11 It has no teeth, it has no
 gum;
 But its body is warm.

12 There is a man
 Who has eyes but has no
 head;
 His elbow is bent.

13 Its body is surrounded
 with eyes.

14 The flower garden of
 madame,
 It is walled by a skirt;
 Its leaves are like *kampilan*
 It bears a carved fruit.

8 *Tubig batu*: ice.

9 *Asu*: smoke.

10 *Gandum*: corn (on the
 stalk).

11 *Gandum*: corn (cooked).

12 *Pisang*: pineapple.

13 *Pisang*: pineapple.

14 *Pisang*: pineapple. A *kampilan*
 is a long-handled blade.

- Isikalang iklugun
Ja in pamugaran;
Halawn pa sin ina'
Asal na piyupusa';
Ha lawn pa sin iklug
Asal na taga ikug.
- Nagbabatangan takun;
Nagbubunga tunukun.
Bang mahulug, pukpukun,
Ampa hamuthamutun.
- Tubig ha lahi' lahi';
Tuwangun di matuwang.
Tubig ha liyun liyung;
Di' kapakpakan dahun.
- Ista'ista' ha lupa';
Walna' gaddung iban pula;
Sisik niya kakitaan
Ha lawm pamaranan.
- Jambangan hi Tumanggung;
Nagbabatangan gaddung;
Nagsayingsing nagsanga;
Nagdahun di' magbunga.
- Dimagan na mauggut;
Sumalupa pa pugut;
Minsan ad mahugut;
Latasum minsan baggut.
- 15 *Nangka'*: jackfruit. *Ja* is a native rice cake that looks like a collapsed spider web.
- 16 *Duyan*: Durian.
- 17 *Tubu*: sugarcane.
- 15 Hard cookies with many eggs
Ja is its nest;
While in the womb of its mother
It is already hatched;
While inside the egg
It already has a tail.
- 16 Its stem is like the heel;
It bears thorny fruits
When the fruit falls, it is struck,
Then smells.
- 17 Water in a small bamboo;
It cannot be poured.
- 18 Water inside a tunnel;
No leaves can be dropped in it.
- 19 It is a small fish on earth;
It is green and red;
Its scales can be seen
Inside its body.
- 20 It is the flower garden of Tumanggung;
Whose branches are green;
It has many branches and twigs;
It has leaves but has no fruits.
- 21 It runs so swiftly;
It looks like a demon;
[It can destroy] however strong a fence;
It can even break off its leash.
- 18 *Butung*: coconut.
- 19 *Lara*: pepper.
- 20 *Barwang*: garlic.
- 21 *Babuy talun*: wild hog.

Awn sattuwa' taton
 Pais niya taton;
 Bang sin iru' tanghulun,
 Kid in pagkatulun.

Piyaawn sin Tuhan,
 Liyawa' sin manusiya'.

Duwang kagulong salban,
 Makaabut pa awan.

Tibulung ing bayhu'
 Duwa lima nagtudlu.

Li'tag ha liyu bud
 Dungandungan bang
 lumagtik.

Awn hambuuk patung
 Mataud in timanggung.

Riddles on artifacts

Duwa digpi' tiyapil
 Hinangan sin kapil;
 Minsan in manga pakil
 Kahunitan mamikil.

Kahuy tu tilayus
 Sali'sali' in bugnus;
 Bang kugdanan hunus,
 Dumagan lumagunus.

Tagnaan niya patung
 Iyanyam ambungambung;
 Bang ha lawd hilubung
 Muwi' ta untung.

22 There is a wild animal
 With a hairy skin;
 When the dog barks [at it],
 It scratches its flank.

23 It was created by God.
 [But] disposed of by man.

24 Two rolls of thread
 That can reach the blue sky.

25 A round face
 With two hands pointing.

26 Traps behind the mountain
 Flick simultaneously.

27 There is one bamboo pole
 Carried by many [people].

28 Two boards joined together
 And made by the kaffir;
 Even the priest
 Can hardly figure it out.

29 Three tall trees
 That look alike;
 When struck by the wind,
 Run swiftly.

30 It starts as bamboo
 Then it is woven into a
 basket.
 When buried at sea
 It returns with profit.

22 *Amu*: monkey.

23 *Lawa'*: spider.

24 *Mata*: eyes.

25 *Lilus*: clock.

26 *Piluk mata*: eyelashes.

27 *Patay*: corpse.

28 *Kappal*: boat.

29 *Kumpit*: kumpit.

30 *Bubu*: fish trap.

- Ista'ista lambana'
Nagbukug kakana';
Minsan majuljana'
Mataud da ha Sina'.
- Hambuuk budjang ling-
katan
Nagkakaun sin baran.
- Bukun tau;
Bukun hayup,
Sa' tu in u.
- Lurun tukarun;
Pagdatung, mu sumbayun.
- Ista' ista asibi',
Tiyutuhug ha buli'.
- Ing hawaḡan manahut
Lumunsul katilibut.
- Ista'ista' malandug,
Maglanguy sung sibug.
- Diyara mu,
Diyara kaw.
- Dum dum taktakun;
Bang adlaw ha
sablayan.
- Bang tambul biya'
ha'lu;
Bang ukab biya' ligu.
- 31 A *lambana'* fish
That has a string for its bone;
Even if it is destroyed,
A lot of it is with the
Chinese.
- 32 A beautiful girl
Who eats her own self.
- 33 It is not a man;
It is not an animal,
But it has three heads.
- 34 It descends and ascends;
When it arrives, its throat is
cut.
- 35 A tiny fish,
Pierced on its posterior.
- 36 A slender waistline
That travels all around.
- 37 A tiny slippery fish,
It swims to and fro.
- 38 You carry it,
It carries you.
- 39 Every night it is lowered;
During the day it is hung.
- 40 When closed, it is like a
pestle;
When opened, it is like a
winnowing basket.

31 *Lansuk*: candle. (The *lam-*32 *Lansuk*: candle.
bana' is a sea pike.)33 *Sukul*: stove.34 *Hablun*: loom.35 *Jawm*: needle.36 *Jawm*: needle.37 *Jawm*: needle.38 *Tawmpa'*: shoe.39 *Kulambu*: mosquito net.40 *Payung*: umbrella.

Awn dahun di ha dunya
Pagaddatan sing katan:

Ta halimaw tunggu';
Ta hukut bilanggu';
Tigbasun di' magdugu';
Di mabasa bang maygu'.

Higu naga mata
Malagalaga;
Diyupunan ha abaga,
Similawak gumaga.

Kahuy bas bas pasagi',
Nagbunga jali'jali';
Bang kaw bukun matali',
Mawmu kaw malugi'.

41 There is a leaf on earth
That everybody respects.

42 It is guarded by a tiger;
It is fastened with a chain;
It does not bleed when
packed;
It does not get wet when it
bathes.

43 It has piercing eyes;
When pressed on the
shoulder,
It shouts violently.

44 A piece of rectangular wood,
It bears striped fruits;
If [with it] you are not wise
enough,
you will always lose.

Sung Riddles

Tumbaga bukun talam.
Sa lugay ha alam,
Wala' pikitan haram.
In haram bingkulan
Ha langit kiyahukuman
Nag Sug Sambuangan
Basilan.

In tukuran niya bulan.

I Bronze, not a tray.
While in the universe,
No forbidden [things] have
stuck to it.
[What has been] forbidden
is fenced.
In the sky as ruled [by God]
From Jolo to Zamboanga to
Basilan.

The answer is the moon.

41 *Panji*: flag.
42 *Taguri'*: kite.

43 *Agung*: gong.
44 *Tsis*: chessboard.

- Duun aku nagkukulang-
kulang
Ha palangkaan lawang;
Amu na kita' ku mintas
hi Atikka.
Hi Atikka nagkapala.
Hi Ulangkaya Pala
Himinagud pa dunya.
- In tukuran niya *bangaw*.
- Miyanaw nagiluran;
In mata ha kiran.
Bang kumaun in tiyan,
U in kansuban.
In tukuran niya *kugita*.
- Taga mata taynga;
Taga siki way lima;
Taga ilung hi sunga
Taga simud hi nganga.
- Ubus ku tiyali'
Ha kitab mukali'
In tukuran limalli'.
Maray' pusat *sili'*.
- 2 I was lying down there
On the dais by the door;
I saw Atikka pass by.
Atikka was the head.
Ulangkaya Pala
Slid down to earth.
The answer is the *rainbow*.
- 3 It worms its way out;
Its eyes are on either side.
When it eats,
Its head bulges.
The answer is the *octopus*.
- 4 It has eyes and ears;
It has feet but has no hands;
It has a nose to blow
It has a mouth to open.
After I had pondered
The book of prophecies
The answer became clear.
Perhaps it is the damned
kettle.

- 2 *Ulangkaya Pala* is the title of a legendary secondary chief. Atikka was a girl whose beauty tempted the chief to fall down from heaven and to remain suspended as a rainbow while Atikka took her bath.
- 3 *Bang kumaun in tiyan* literally means "if the stomach eats." Here, it is translated "when it eats." *U in kansuban*, which literally means "the head is satisfied" is translated here as "its head bulges."

- Kabaw itumitum
 Di' maambat sungitan.
 Tukud na kamu ritun.
 In ingat niyu matun
 Ha katan tuntunun.
- 5 A black buffalo
 That never tires of eating.
 You there may make a guess.
 You might think it will go
 there
 Being hung by all.
- Ubos naglangan langan
 Ha katan katad juman
 Tukura niya kakampungan.
- After [I] have sung a
 lullaby
 To all who care to listen,
 Make a guess, friends and
 relatives.
- Tukud sin kakampungan
 Maray' na sa yan *gilingan*.
- Our relatives' guess is that
 It is perhaps the *grinder*.
- Wayruun simud niya,
 Sa' yaun ipun niya.
 Saga' bang kumaun na,
 Ba karahal landu' na,
 Rayang.
- 6 It has no mouth,
 But it has teeth.
 And once it eats,
 Its gluttony [shows],
 Dear.
- Ubos piyagbutasan
 Sambil pagdilasan,
 Tukuran iyatasan:
 Maray' na yan *liisan*.
- After having parted
 And separated,
 A guess was guaranteed:
 Perhaps it is the *grater*.
- Miyanaw agakagak.
 Usug iban umagak,
 Bang magbak magdugpak
 Biya' patung sipak.
- 7 It walks sluggishly.
 When the male and female
 meet,
 They bump into each other
 [Sounding] like splitting
 bamboo.
- Inut ku hinang
 Dain ha higad dingding.
- Stealthily I peeped
 Through [a hole] on the
 wall's edge.
- Tanduk nagbabaingbing.
- [Their] horns were
 entangled.
- Tukuran niya *kambing*.
- The answer is the *goat*.

Duwa lubid siyubay
 Duwa digpi' nagabay.
 Bang pukpukun magmatay,
 Magpakahansul atay.

Hiyantak pa silangan,
 Iban pamilangan;
 Pukpukun tangantangan.

In tukuran niya
kulintangan.

Pinting biya' ligu,
 Ha taas da in tu.

Bang pukpukun, magangbu
 Agunagun malabu
 Pinting biya' ambung
 Ha taas da sin ubung
 Bang pukpukun, maghagung.

In tukuran niya *agung*.

Kahuykahuy tanus,
 Kahuy batang tanus;
 Bang dupuyan sin hunus,
 Ugbus in magkatagnus.

In tukuran niya *sumpitan*.

8 Two ropes intertwining
 Two boards together.
 When struck it wails,
 [Making] the heart melt.

Dropped heavily on its back,
 [It is used by someone]
 crosslegged;
 It is struck with the finger.

The answer is the *kulintangan*.

9 [Though] hung like a flat
 winnowing basket,
 Its head still [points to]
 the top.

When struck, it sounds
 Like [it is being] destroyed.
 [Though] hung like a
 basket
 Still it [emerges] on top of
 the beam.
 When struck, it snores.

The answer is the *gong*.

10 A small piece of wood sucked
 of its juice,
 A hollow stem;
 When blown by the storm,
 Its bud is ejected.

The answer is the *blowgun*.

8 The *kulintangan* is a Tausug musical instrument consisting of a set of eight small gongs arranged in scale and resting on intertwined strings.

P R O V E R B S

Way burus di' hipaganak.	1	No pregnant woman would not give birth.
Gam tumambul sapa' ayaw tumambul simud.	2	It is easier to dam the brook than the [river's] mouth.
In nangka' di' munga marang.	3	The jackfruit [tree] can never bear a <i>marang</i> .
Dugayng in kimaun sin nangka', dugayng in kiyatagukan.	4	Somebody ate the jackfruit [but] somebody [else] felt the gum.
Hinang sin baran muwi' kan baran.	5	The deeds of the body return to the body.
In mabahu' subay buwarun.	6	Anything that stinks should be put up to dry.

- 1 This proverb has two variants: (a) *Minsan biya'diin in burus hi-panganak*, or, or "no matter how pregnant a woman is, she will have to give birth" (Tuan Iklali Jainal); and (b) *Tiap-tiap burus hi-paagnak*, or "enciente must give birth" (Garvan 1934:287). The common interpretation of the proverb is "the truth will always out no matter how hard one tries to conceal it."
- 2 Other versions of this proverb are: (a) *Marayaw pa tumampān suba' ayaw sin simud*, or "it is better to block a river than the mouth of a person" (Garvan 1934:287); and (b) *Matambul in simud suba' dain ha simud sin ta'u*, or "the mouth of a river can be closed more easily than the mouth of a man." In Jolo, this proverb is interpreted thus: "It is difficult to silence the gossip, the rumor-monger, the slanderer." Another interpretation given is "what has been said cannot be taken back."
- 3 "The children are reflections of their parents" is a common interpretation given of this proverb.
- 4 "Mind your own business."
- 5 Tuan Iklali Jainal explains the maxim thus: "Whatever you do — good or bad — you will be the recipient of the fruits of your actions. It is like farming: if you plant rice, you will harvest rice; and like going to school (*bang kaw magiskul*): once you finish schooling, you land a job, and therefore receive compensation for studying." Others understand this maxim in the negative context of misdeeds or misbehavior (*addat mangi*).
- 6 "An offense one commits will soon be known by others."

- In tubig di' malubug
dayn ha sikam
dayn sadja ha uhan. 7 The water cannot be
muddled from below
but only from above.
- Bang in hay mu samin
ayaw kaw manitu';
bang kaw mabaus
masusa kaw mandu'. 8 If your house is made of
glass do not throw stones
[at other people's houses];
[for] if they take revenge
on you, you will be greatly
sorry.
- Bang malaggu' in tambuku;
subay isab malaggu'
in lungag. 9 If the button is big, the
buttonhole must also be
big.
- In hayup patay
di' na magkagunahan
sin dahun adlay. 10 A dead animal
is no longer in need
of grass.
- Baga bula' in dukut
in pasu' bukun daggut. 11 The bamboo ember has heat
that cannot penetrate.
- Wayruun asu
bang way kayu. 12 There is no smoke
when there is no fire.
- Di' mulan
bang way andum. 13 There is no rain
when there are no dark
clouds.
- Di' sumadlup in suga
bang di magtu'gum. 14 The sun will not set
unless it is twilight.
- Gam muti' in bukug
ayaw in tikudtikud. 15 It is better for the bone to
turn white than for the
heel.

7 Children do not spoil themselves; it is the parents who spoil them.

8 "Examine yourself before criticizing others."

9 "The richer one becomes, the more extravagant he becomes."

10 "A favor given late is useless."

11 This is similar to what the Tagalog call *ningas cogon*, or excessive enthusiasm which, after a project has started, simply dies out.

14 "Try and try until you succeed."

15 "Better die than be dishonored"; "do not run away from a fight."

- Hangka puunpuun gandum
hangkaga' in lambung. 16 A single stalk of corn
casts the shadow of a
cavan.
- Unu in dangdangun mu?
Asal na lutu'. 17 What will you roast?
It is already cooked.
- Salawmlawm sisik,
malawm pa in unud. 18 [No matter] how deep the
scale is, the flesh is deeper.
- Sarayawrayaw lutang,
marayaw pa in bagbag. 19 No matter how good the
crack is, a fracture is better.
- In babai iban usug
biya' sapantun gasulin
iban bagid; di' makapagsuuk
malablab. 20 A man and a woman
[together] are like gasoline
and a match; they will
burst into flame.
- Usug pa amu di' baga
misan babai labi laga. 21 Man cannot remain an
ember when woman has
more fire.
- Bang sukud bunut,
hitantup; bang
sukud batu hilu'
dang. 22 When fate is [like] a
coconut husk, it floats;
when fate is [like] a stone,
it sinks.
- In tarul matay ha gula'. 23 The small' bee will die for
honey.
- In halli' subay wajib
mangadjang ha di'
patumu' in ulan. 24 One must always be
prepared to have a roof
ready before the rain falls.
- 16 "Kinship gives power." says Tuwan Iklali Jainal. It also means "in
unity there is strength."
- 17 "Is is useless trying to convince a stubborn person."
- 19 "If you break something, break it well" could be another way of
putting this proverb. "If you want to kill a man, do not wound him.
Kill him outright."
- 21 "A man has to strive hard when in love with a girl; he should
always be a step ahead of her, else he will lose her."
- 22 "A lucky man has no problem — he will grow richer and happier;
an unlucky man will grow worse in his bad luck."
- 23 "A man will die for his woman."

- Kibita' in pais mu;
bang masakit' kaymu,
masakit da isab ha
kaibanan mu. 25 Pinch your own skin;
if it is painful to you,
it also is painful when
done to your fellows.
- In kutu di' kumutkut
pa habul subay pa u. 26 The louse does not bite the
sarong but the head.
- Bang piya tinggil na ha
abaga, ayaw na damag
pa u. 27 If you are allowed to step on
another's shoulders, do not
climb on his head.
- Malimu' pa in-sukal, labi in
tipu akkal. 28 Sugar is sweet, [but] slyness
is sweeter.
- Sarayawrayaw lugi', marayaw
pa in laba. 29 If it is good to lose,
it is better to win.
- Marayaw pa in tangaun
kuting dayn sin tangaun-
iru'. 30 It is better to be held in the
mouth by the cat than by
the dog.
- Ay kaw magpanawd sinan-
dum, subay mulan ampa kaw
manawd. 31 Do not prepare to get rain
at the [first] sign of
clouds, get it when it rains.

26 "If your family has a problem, rely not on outsiders to help solve it, but on your nearest relatives."

27 "If you receive a favor do not ask for more and become abusive; you will later fall into disgrace."

28 "A person's sympathy for a cause is won through diplomacy and cunning."

29 "It is better to pay the dowry than to let your son elope with a girl. In an elopement, you pay a lesser fine, but it is not as good as a proper marriage, which establishes or strengthens the ties between two families. Furthermore, by following custom and waiting for a proper marriage, the girl keeps her honor."

30 This proverb is similar to the preceding proverb (29): things should be done ideally the right way, especially in marriage. The cat is a "clean" (*halal*) animal, while the dog is "unclean" and a prohibited (*haram*) food.

31 Wishful thinking does not lead anywhere. Especially in making marriage plans, a man should not rush into preparation unless he is sure that the girl's family will react positively and the marriage will push through.

- Unuhun ku in talungkup- 32 Why should I have
 batang sagay lubayan a top made of the stem of
 lupis? the devil's nettle?
- Taas atay pa langit 33 The heart climbs up the sky
 hug patay pinit. but drops down like a dead
 lizard.
- In kapaya hinug kasuban 34 The crow is fond of boring
 sin uwak kuhungan. holes in the papaya.
- Unu, guna usug mamaha'nun 35 Of what use is a man's
 bang di' tumulahad sneeze if not to make him
 magbangun? get up?
- 32 "Why should I play with a poorly built spinning-top, a top made of
sagay, the devil's nettle [*Urticaceae*] or *sagay* [an itchy plant related
 to the ramie]"; or, "why should I marry a homosexual?"
- 33 "Do not attempt to marry a girl whose dowry you cannot afford;
 do not be too ambitious."
- 34 "Men are very fond of women who, if not well protected, will be
 easily abused."
- 35 "The first early morning sneeze should make one get up" (i.e., "do
 not be lazy").

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Owing to space limitations, not all of the research papers and oral literature previously announced have been included in this issue. Gerard Rixhon's "Preliminary Survey of Tausug Oral Literature" will appear as an independent CISC title in mid-1974; the rest of the papers will form part of **Sulu Studies 3**, presently in press, scheduled for release in late 1974. (See announcement, back cover.)