

## THE AMBAHAN: A MANGYAN-HANUNOO POETIC FORM\*

ANTONIO POSTMA

*Mangyan* is a generic name for all the ethnic groups in Mindoro; and the term *Hanunoo* is a name given to a *Mangyan* group geographically located in southeastern part of the Island of Mindoro. Concerning this term *Mangyan* (already known to the early Spanish missionaries), it might be an interesting point of speculation if there is any connection with the name "Ti-ngyan" applied to the ethnic groups in the province of Abra.

According to Harold C. Conklin<sup>1</sup> there are at least ten different sub-tribes of the Mangyan, each with a different language, different customs, manners and traditions, etc. They are found all over the island, but dwell in the mountains, having been driven away from their former habitation along the coast by Christian settlers.

The territory covered by the Mangyan-Hanunoo approximates the area about 800 square kilometers, within the municipalities of Mansalay, San Pedro (formerly Bulalakao) and part of San Jose in Occidental Mindoro. The Hanunoo-Mangyan have an estimated total population of 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants living scattered all over the area. These are a group that have kept their own customs and traditions generally free from the outside influences of material and spiritual character. At the same time they might be

---

\*The present paper was prepared upon the invitation of Dr. Juan R. Francisco, who spent a few months with the Mangyans last year studying their system of writing. It must be put on record here that Dr. Francisco is yet the only Filipino who is studying the Mangyan's culture if only on just one culture aspect.

This paper therefore comes in the wake of the comparatively interesting work done and published by Dr. Harold C. Conklin, who spent years with the Mangyans (1947, 1957) and studied practically all aspects of Mangyan culture (*vide* notes below). It is in fact in deference to Dr. Conklin that this paper appears to supplement, whatever need be supplemented, his work of a few years ago.

For helping the present writer in organizing this paper, Dr. Francisco deserves my immense gratitude, without which this could not have seen print.

<sup>1</sup>"Preliminary Report on Field Work on the Islands of Mindoro and Palawan, Philippines," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, 1949 p. 268-273.

considered as a Mangyan tribe in Mindoro with the highest level of natural culture and education. This is in contrast to the other tribes, particularly those located in northern Mindoro, where, through frequent contacts with other groups, they have adopted in many respects the outward signs of the civilized world, like clothing. Undoubtedly, they have lost part of their own peculiar way of life and thought.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan are not as yet much influenced in that sense by the outside civilization. This might be explained from the fact that they stick to their own way of living, the dresses they wear, and their own code of high moral values, which they guard with care and pride at the same time. All these factors make them stay apart from the civilized Filipinos, known as "Christians (whether living as *pagans* or not) and the modern expressions of life.

The most significant sign, however, that the Hanunoo-Mangyan possess a culture superior to the other tribes, is that they use a system of writing of their own, combined with a wide field of literature, like poems, folktales, proverbs and songs. And as to their writing system, it should be remembered that the Hanunoo, together with the neighboring Buhid-Mangyan and the Tagbanua of Palawan, are the only people in the Philippines who still use this ancient script of pre-hispanic provenance. It is not the purpose of this paper, however, to discuss the writing system.<sup>2</sup>

The present paper deals with a literary product that is common among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, or rather the poetry, if I may be audacious to call it, composed by them since time immemorial. Various types of poetry are known but I will limit my paper to that type to which I have devoted much of my time to study for the past few years.

This type of poetry is called the *AMBAHAN*. The word may be derived from the root "amba", which means "talk, prayer, invocation to the spirits of their forefathers". But I am not quite sure of this derivation. However, in actual use and meaning the word means more than what we have said above.

Let me define *AMBAHAN*. I am using there partly the characteristics of the poetic form as given by Conklin in his Hanunoo-English vocabulary.<sup>3</sup> But I would like to add a few elements and

---

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Francisco is preparing a monograph on the scripts of the Philippines which includes in his discussions the writings of the Mangyans. He hopes to send this work to the press by the middle of this year.

<sup>3</sup> *Hanunoo-English Vocabulary*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. IX, p. 1-290, 1953.

modify them in terms of long years of observation made on them. The *Ambahan* is (a) a verse with seven-syllable lines, (b) that is chanted, almost recited, with an undefined musical pitch, and without the accompaniment of musical instruments, (c) has rhyming end-syllables, (d) contains many words that do not occur in the spoken Hanunoo language, whereas it is generally lacking in loan-words from Spanish, Tagalog or Bisaya, and (e) finally, uses a symbolic language to convey the idea expressed.

To explain the elements of the definition further, let us examine each in detail. (A) The seven syllables in one line is certainly the most significant characteristic of the *Ambahan*, in so far as it is distinguished from the other kind of Hanunoo poetry with a different number of syllables. However, there are exceptions to the rule.

It happens that there are *more* than seven syllables. When does that happen? It is found at the *beginning* of the *ambahan*, especially when it starts with the standard expression — *magkunkuno*, “speak, say” (cf. no. 6 & 7) — because it might be that the one who “speaks” has a long name that goes beyond the usual number of seven syllables. Actually, these beginning lines should not be considered as beginning the verse proper. There are more or less introductions or a kind of explanation about the circumstances(s) wherein the *ambahan* that follows was composed or was said.

Another reason for exceeding the seven-syllable rule may be simply because the word or words employed can not be shortened and no other combination of words is available.

On the other hand, it also happens that there are *less* than seven syllables for the reason that adding more syllables would change the meaning or disturbs the line itself. However, the latter alternative exception is very rare.

In connection with this seven-syllable rule that the composer attempts to maintain, there is an important consequence that follows. The composer will have to fit his words within a defined quantity of syllables. That accounts for the many elisions and contractions of words, that make the reading of the *ambahan* in the Hanunoo script so difficult, and exasperates the translator. Some easy examples may be found in the *ambahan* paradigms appended to this paper (e.g., 4:2, 4; 10:3, 4, & 10). So that *nirwas* comes

from *niruwas*, *natpos* from *natupos*, *nil-ang* from *ni-ulang*, *daywan* from *dayo wan*, *katpad* from *katupad*, etc.

Also, the opposite is evident. The words are "extended"; syllables are added to complete the seven syllables. This is, however, a normal process: the use of affixes and suffixes as is generally known in the Philippine languages. The most common in the Hanunoo language is the suffix *-an*. Thus, *manok* becomes *manukan*, *balunos*, *balunusan*, etc., without a change in meaning. But also within the word these *enlargements* are found, and they are not exactly infixes. So that *dayap* becomes *dalayap*, *layaw*, *lugayaw*, etc. Another trick is the reduplication of words, not so much as to make it superlative in meaning (like in Tagalog *laking-laki*), but more to complete the line of seven syllables (see Nos. 1:2, 2:1).

I will not be technical on this point, because it is the function of the linguist to analyse these morphological formations, but I just wish to demonstrate that the prescribed schema of seven syllables in the *ambahan*-verse gives ample opportunity to lexical calisthenics that are worth a careful study.

(B) The *ambahan* is a chanted verse, but the kind of plain chant, without much modulation of the voice, or almost recited. So that when an *ambahan* is "sung", there is hardly a musical pitch recognizable. Except may be towards the end of the *ambahan* where the last syllables are drawn out a bit to indicate that it is finished.

If I said in the definition that the *ambahan* is "sung" without accompaniment of musical instruments, this is merely to state in contrast to the other kind of Mangyan verse—the *urukay*—that usually employs the home-made *gitará*.

(C) The rhyming end-syllable is essential to the *ambahan*, according to the schema of the poetic form. The most common rhyming syllable is *-an*, this is being a regular suffix for verbs and substantives in the Hanunoo language (cf. Nos. 3, 4, 5 in the Paradigms). But other combinations with the vowel *a* are common. Commencing with the single vowel, there are evidences where all the lines have the end-syllable *a*, *ak*, *ad*, *ag*, *ang*; *as*; *at*; *aw*; *ay*. Almost all the consonants available in their writing are applicable to the rhyming schema. In a similar manner, the vowel *i* (or *e*) and the *u* (or *o*) are found to form a rhyming schemata whether singly or in combination. With *i*, there are *i*, *id*, *ip*, *it*, *ing*. With *o*, there are *o*, *ok*, *od*, *on*, *ong*, *os*, *ot*; *oy* (see Paradigms).

Generally speaking the process of rhyming in the *ambahan* is consequent, that is, once started with e.g., *-an*, all the lines will

end in *-an*. This is contrary, it seems, to Tagalog poetry, where it has been noticed that the rhyming in the end of a line is only a vowel rhyme, whereas any consonant in combination with this vowel is admitted as being "according to the rule". The *ambahan* is more strict in this respect, though it is interesting to note that here and there consonants that belong to the same series are admitted as the rhyming consonant in combination with the rhyming vowel. Note the following example: The word *inwag* rhymes with *ma-ayad*, because *g* and *d* both belong to the series of voiced stops. Or the word *humbak* rhymes with *dagat* because the *k* and the *t* both belong to the same series of voiceless stops. The word *sun-dong*, *lumon* and *tayutom* are the end-syllables of one *ambahan* and *ng* and *n* and *m* belong to the phoneme class of voiced sonorants.

Of course it is not because the Hanunoo-Mangyans know anything about phonemics that these instances occur, but it is a fact that interchanges with these consonants is not considered as the unwritten rules of the *ambahan* provided the vowel remains the same.

At least, it is clear that there is something in the *ambahan*, that justifies its being called poetry and at the same time is a sign of the high intelligence of the composers.

(D) One who knows the language of the Hanunoo-Mangyan as it is used in their daily conversation will be surprised that he understands only little of the language that is used in the *ambahan*. It uses a vocabulary different from that of the spoken language. It is an interesting fact that many a common word of the daily Hanunoo speech has its equivalent in the *ambahan* vocabulary. It is possible to draw a long list of words (eventually a complete dictionary) that are primarily used in the *ambahan* verse.

A few paradigms may be listed here to give us a small insight into the statement made above.

*In the common speech*

amang (father)  
inang (mother)  
danum (water)  
balay (house)  
niyog (coconut)  
bagaw (talk)

*In Ambahan language*

bansay (9.2)  
suyong (9.1)  
kaghan (5.6; 6.5)  
labag (7.6)  
bu-anay  
duyan (8.1, 3)

It is indeed interesting that they occur in the *ambahan* of the Hanunoo, but still more interesting is that they can also be found

in the literary productions of the other Mangyan tribes that are neighbors to the Hanunoo. It should be remembered though that these tribes use a conversational speech that is completely different from the Hanunoo language.

The question may be asked: where do these *ambahan* words come from? Are there other dialects in the Philippines from which they are derived? Or do we have to look beyond the Philippine shores — in India or China — for an explanation? This is one subject that needs further investigation.

The second part of this fourth element of the definition refers to loan-words from other dialects. Loan-words from Spanish, Tagalog, or Bisaya are generally very few in the *ambahan*, especially in the older types, but in the conversational language there are words that are derived or even directly borrowed from Spanish, Tagalog, Bisaya and English, due to verbal contact with these languages.

On the other hand, it does not mean that there is a complete difference of language between the *ambahan* and the conversational Hanunoo. Not all the words used in the *ambahan* are of exclusively for the verse-form. A great number used in daily conversation can be traced back to the *ambahan*.

(E) The fifth element of the definition: it uses a symbolic language to convey the idea expressed. It is this element that gives beauty to the *ambahan*, but it is rather obscure, and difficult to explain. I am yet unable to discover the reasons for the obscurity of this literary phenomenon.

But this is what I found in the *ambahan*. If one reads the pieces given as examples, he will notice that sometimes the themes deal with a bird, a flower, a tree, an insect. Other cases talk about the sun, moon and stars, the rain and the wind. What does this all mean? Is the topic really about the bird, the flower, etc.? Does the Mangyan like to tell his companion that a certain flower is beautiful and possesses a fragrance that is worth singing about. Of course not. Because the *ambahan* is a poem with a practical purpose.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan uses allegorical symbols to express, in an hidden manner, the reality or actual conditions in life. Sometimes these symbols are very clear, e.g. if a boy talks to his girl about a "beautiful flower that he desires to bring home." But very often one symbol can be explained in different ways when it refers to different conditions and circumstances. Take Para-

digm No. 8. What does it mean? First, simply what does it say: "be careful otherwise you will be stung by a bee. Take precautions if you like to get honey". But now comes the application, and that depends upon the occasion and circumstance. In this case — when climbing a mountain, when going to the sea, to town, competing with another person, going to the parents of the lovely girl to ask for her hand in marriage, etc.

Indeed, it must be admitted that the reading or chanting and understanding an *ambahan* involves a sharp and keen intellect for the whole *ambahan* is a mystery known only to the Mangyan themselves.<sup>4</sup>

After the analysis of the definition of the *ambahan*, it seems appropriate to discuss the origin of the poetic form. If one asks a Hanunoo-Mangyan: "Where did you get this *ambahan*," The answer may simply be: "I copied it from someone." This is true, because the usual way the *ambahan* is transmitted about is by means of the writing on bamboo. This might be anything. From the container of *tabako* or *apog*, the scabbard or sheath of the bolo to their violins or *gitara*, and even the bamboo beams of their houses. So when a Mangyan discovers a beautiful *ambahan*, that he wishes to keep, he will copy it with his knife engraving it on bamboo, etc. That is the reason for his answer: "I copied it."

The question may well be answered in this manner: "We got this from our forefathers." And, this is actually the case. Most of the *ambahans* they now chant and sing are through continuous copying handed down from parent to child — from father to son or from mother to daughter.

On the other hand, however, there is no doubt that new *ambahans* are being written by the real poets and composers, even today, although it will be difficult to find out who these poets are. The Mangyan is too modest, or simply does not like to admit that he writes *ambahans*.

Fortunately, there is a kind of method for classifying the *ambahans* according to approximate age. There are two criteria

---

<sup>4</sup>To find out the different meanings of many an *ambahan* that this writer has collected through the years has been a continuous study for him since.

Eventually another study could be undertaken on the psychological backgrounds to find the reason behind the Mangyan's utilization of animals, plants and the elements of nature in his *ambahans*. One of the probable conclusions that this study may reach would be—that the Mangyan is a keen observer of everything that happens in nature around him.

available. One is *CONTENT*, and the other is the kind of WORDS used in the *ambahan*.

The first criterium is rather weak, as the theme of the *ambahan* is sometimes general, and could be applied for any age. But when one finds reference in the poetic form to Muslim attacks, or to Mangyans still living along the sea shore, then he gets a foothold in history, as the attacks of the Muslim are known to have occurred at a certain period of their history, and the habitation of the Mangyans along the shore took place before the settlement of non-Mangyan on the island. As was mentioned in this paper earlier, the Mangyans now live in the mountains, because they were driven into the interior by the unChristian settlers.<sup>5</sup>

The second criterium is more significant, and if utilized by experts, it might reveal the real clue for determining the age of the *ambahan*. It may be contended that three kinds of *ambahans* can be distinguished according to their respective age.

*First* is the kind of *ambahan* that uses the so-called *ambahan* words to the greatest extent. No mixture of other dialects, not even of the neighboring speeches. Eventually, common Hanunoo words are used, the greatest percentage of which is the literary type, not used in daily conversation. According to the Mangyans themselves, this type of *ambahan* is the oldest.

Next comes the type that is strongly mixed with words used by the neighboring tribes, especially the Buhid. Frequent contact with this tribe made them accept their words and expressions, so that this even is reflected in their *ambahans*.

Finally, there is the *ambahan* of later times as evidenced from the loan-words from Spanish, Tagalog or Bisaya. In the hands of the trained anthropologist who has studied the culture aspect carefully, this method might unravel the answer to the time-question of the *ambahan*. It should be kept in mind, however, that many *ambahans* could belong to one class or another, because the characteristics of one or another period might overlap.

---

<sup>5</sup>And it seems that even mountains do not afford safe refuge from unscrupulous land-grabbers *permitted* by equally unscrupulous officials. It would not be ill-considered to mention here that not only the Mangyans are victims of official apathy, but also other minority groups because they are merely *natives*.

Three questions appear to be significant to the present study— (1) Where can the *ambahans* be found, (2) Who use them? (3) On what occasion?

(1) The *ambahan* is found among the Hanunoo-Mangyans. It is very common among them. It may be that there are Mangyans who do not write and read their own script (about 60% might be literate). But it may be rare that one meets a Mangyan who does not know the *art* of the *ambahan*. However, if one asks them, they will deny any knowledge of it. But it is only a polite way of saying: "I do not like to give a demonstration." The people who tried to collect *ambahans* may be asked how difficult it is to get the Mangyans to recite them, particularly if there is no occasion for their being recited.

Apart from the Hanunoo-Mangyans, a neighboring Mangyan tribe know the *ambahan* art. Though no investigation has been made on the actual spread of the *ambahan*, it is certain that this type of poetry is common also among the Buhid Mangyans. The language of the Buhid is completely different from the Hanunoo, but when it comes to *ambahan*, they understand each other's literary attempts.

Information has reached this writer that the *ambahan* is also known among the Bangon-Mangyan. This is a tribe that lives deep in the mountains. Very rarely do they come to the plains. On one occasion a few copies of their *ambahan* have been acquired. The Hanunoo-Mangyans do not understand much of it, except where the exclusive *ambahan* words are used. This field is not yet sufficiently explored to say anything authoritative about it.

(2) *Ambahan* is used by every Hanunoo-Mangyan — young and old men, women, children. Each age level has its own type of *ambahan*. A child will not use that of the adults. Moreover, he would not understand it. The children definitely have their own kind of *ambahan*. This type of *ambahan* may be equivalent to the nursery rhymes we know. However, all the elements of the definition of the *ambahan* are evident, except for the use of a simple language. Archaic *ambahan* words do not necessarily occur. They are also short; most of them do not have more than six lines. Perhaps, it is merely a training material to prepare the children for the more difficult *ambahans* afterwards.

The boy (*binata*) and the girl (*dalaga*) will use the *ambahan* that are fit for their level, but once they are married, they will

not use the *ambahans* of the unmarried people, but those that belong to their new state of life.

(3) When? Before answering the question, it may be appropriate to explain beforehand what kind of poetry the *ambahan* is. Herein lies the answer to the question: "When is the *ambahan* used?"

It is admitted that the *ambahan* is indeed poetry, being an expression in a beautiful and harmonious language, but it is not like the poetry known to the "civilized" world. The poetry of our world could be composed mainly to express the poet's satisfaction or feeling. It is his brainchild. He would write a poem although no one would ever read it. But the *ambahan* is different. It is primarily of *social character*. It does not stand alone, it is not for one man, but finds its true existence in the company of others. It is a social art, created by the Mangyan to enrich and enliven the community.

To answer the question, thus — the *ambahan* is used in practical social contact between and among the people of the community. That means, by the parents in educating their children (Paradigm No. 2); by young people courting each other (Paradigm Nos. 6 and 7); by a visitor asking for food; by a relative who leaves and says goodbye; etc.

It must not, however, be construed that the Mangyans converse only by means of the *ambahan*. If a man comes from his field, he would not use an *ambahan* to tell his wife that he is hungry, but he will just say: "I am hungry." Generally, however, it may be said that the poetic form is used on those occasions, when something has to be said is somewhat embarrassing, shameful, delicate or even precious (as in love) to state, to ask or to communicate in ordinary language. A boy may tell a girl in plain language that he will not forget her, but it sounds much more romantic if he does it in the way of the *ambahan* (see Paradigm No. 4).

As a consequence of the social character of the *ambahan*, it functions as a kind of verbal contest. Whenever there are many Mangyans gathered together, there will always be a few (mostly old men) who would compete to test each other's ability of *using* the right *ambahan* in the right place as a right answer. These occasions happen during a festivity — mostly combined with celebration of a primary and secondary burials. May

be one Mangyan might challenge the other with Number 8 (see Paradigms).

And then it starts. It is a pleasure, indeed, to see the people, surround the contestants (without agreement, without rules, without bets), listening intently to *ambahan* one after the other. After having sung an *ambahan*, with an air of 'try-to-beat-me-on-that-one', the other party, after thinking of a suitable answer, comes forward with the reply supported by the laughs and encouraging cheers of the others. In most cases, the one who answers last is the unacclaimed winner. But then it might be deep into the night. The contest is not the most important. It is the joy of entertainment.

A few final remarks on the translation of the *ambahan* might be of interest. One who happens to be in the mountains of Mansalay and has the fortune of getting acquainted with this poetic form will become enthusiastic about it, unless he possesses no sense of "discovering the mysterious." Such enthusiasm develops into real interests; he has to study the alphabet. Once he has mastered the script fairly well, he will find out to his dismay that he is unable to read completely what is written on the bamboo. However, that is not his fault, but due to the script itself that simply does not express the final consonant of each syllable.

But he will get over that disappointment, and manages to get an *ambahan* written down in clear understandable form. Now he will try to understand it. But the Mangyans are the only ones who could explain it to him. It is true, there is a vocabulary<sup>6</sup> more than ten years ago by Conklin, but the author himself admits that it is far from being complete.

Then he sits down, and asks a Mangyan who understands some Tagalog (if the Hanunoo language is unknown to him) to explain the meaning of that certain *ambahan*. But if he wishes to know the exact meaning of each word, the Mangyan and the enthusiast will both be at a loss. To translate into another language is indeed not an easy task.

If one would have difficulties in translation, all the more a simple Mangyan who never heard of translating would find himself at a loss when pressed for exact meanings of words, of ver-

---

<sup>6</sup>Vide Note No. 2.

ses or strophes. In fact, the present author had to spend hours and hours (in the night) to get a translation that satisfies him.

The special difficulty that one encounters in the study of the *ambahan* is the symbolism that it exudes. In asking for a translation, the Mangyan might explain the final applications, and that does not make one much wiser about the meaning of certain words. The only help given to a translator of this poetic form is sometimes given within the poem itself. Because one of the *ambahan* methods of stressing an idea is by repeating it with the use of synonyms. Sometimes complete lines are repeated with synonyms. To understand the *ambahan* completely, one needs continuous study, comparing one with the other, looking how the same words are used in another context, etc.

The only task that could be done for the *ambahan* at present is to collect as many as possible, have them translated and the words classified and afterwards have experts bring forward their final conclusions. Then, perhaps from all these tiresome efforts will emerge a clear image of the beauty, the charm and the richness of the *ambahan*.

#### P A R A D I G M S

##### 1. (2)\*

1. *Kang manok si tigbaya*
2. *Kawo dag baya baya*
3. *Kuntay buya yi nita*
4. *No mag-alpas ud kanta*
5. *Layang mamalibhasa*
6. *Sa malinyaw binunga*

*Not so sure yet*  
(about) my bird the *tigbaya*  
don't be so happy, you,  
even if it is ours already  
if it escapes, it is ours no longer  
it will fly far away  
to the top of the binunga tree

##### 2. (2a)

1. *kang manok tangway tangway*
2. *pag sugoon manguway*
3. *magpasakiton labay*
4. *magpalintong sa sulay*

---

\*Figures in parentheses refer to this writer's number in his collection of Mangyan *ambahans*.

*Excuse for Laziness*  
 my bird the tangway  
 if told to get "uway"  
 (he says) my shoulder aches  
 I hit it against a beam

## 3. (7)

1. *Ti umakay kang lagban*
2. *Ti lumingo kang ngaran*
3. *Kang tawagon suyungan*
4. *Kang tawagon bansayan*

*Lonely*  
 whoever takes my house along  
 whoever gets my name  
 I'll love him as my mother  
 He'll be dear to me as my father.

## 4. (8)

1. *No kawo ti magduyan*
2. *Sumay kanta ti limtan*
3. *No ako ti magduyan*
4. *Sumay padi kalimtan*
5. *Hanggan sa manundugan*

*Memory*  
 If it's up to you to say  
 In your thoughts I will not stay  
 But if I may speak up too  
 I won't forget my meeting you  
 Till my life's very last day

## 5. (17)

1. *Kalansiw kalandagan*
2. *Napadna sa sugkadan*
3. *Lakaw kinuyankuyan*
4. *Nakan kinuyankuyan*
5. *Nagbanta kay abyagan*
6. *May sa paglinong kagnan*
7. *May sa unay maghagan*

*In Doubt*  
 the kalansiw-bird  
 alights in front of the house  
 walking with tail up and down  
 that's why with tail up and down  
 (because) he is thinking where to go  
 to the quiet water-pool  
 (or) to the water that is flowing

## 6. (27)

1. *Magkunkuno ti buyingaw*
2. *nakatangda bulatok*
3. *balayi bala-ayan*
4. *kita mana magkaban*
5. *babaw sa unay kagnan*

*Invitation*

says the firefly  
 looking up at the wood-pecker  
 hey, my friend  
 let us go together  
 to the water source

## 7. (24)

1. *Magkunkuno ti bulatok*
2. *Balayi bala-ayan*
3. *Biknan kanta magkaban*
4. *No kawo may rumbungan*
5. *No ako may bangdayan*
6. *Sa labag hinulinan*

*Invitation declined*

says the wood-pecker  
 hey, my friend  
 how could we go together?  
 when you have a companion  
 when I have a spouse  
 which I left at home.

## 8. (26)

1. *Putyukan sa binunga*
2. *Napatundog yi tida*
3. *Danga yi paghinam-a*
4. *No hinam-on bay waya*
5. *Pagdara bunot lima*
6. *Alaga sa ginhawa*

*Be Careful*

there is a bee in the *binunga*  
 it's high on the top  
 don't dare to get it (i.e. the honey)  
 but if you like by all means  
 better bring five "smokers" along  
 to protect your body

## 9. (56)

1. *Suyong ngawag gumnav*
2. *Banşay ngayag rug-usan*
3. *Kaywan bay gumhit wa*
4. *Unay dagpayon tuman*
5. *Labag sa payaspasan*
6. *Sindong hamoy habangan*

*Decision*

even if mother will weep  
 even if father will cry  
 the tree is cut already  
 at the water of Dagpayon  
 the house is exposed to the wind  
 without the shelter of the mountain

## 10. (57)

1. *Hinton yi waydi asan*
2. *Pagbuyong sa sangdulan*
3. *Ga may langit nagba-an*
4. *Ga may banwa nalyaman*
5. *Kahawan panga-uran*
6. *Uran ud may labagan*
7. *Kalungan panga-amyán*
8. *Amyán ud may buyungan*
9. *Sangdan way tawo ngaran*
10. *Ti ga dayi migbalkan*
11. *Sa talisi Balsigan*

*Wait a minute*

now, what's the matter?  
 with your headache  
 as if heaven is coming down  
 as if a town is falling apart  
 the rain stops  
 but the rain has no house  
 the wind ceases  
 but the wind has no dwelling  
 don't we have the name: MAN?  
 does he ever refuse to go back?  
 to his own house (lit.—water system)

## 11. (172)

1. *Kang di pagkama-amban*
2. *Sa umraw sa salud man*
3. *Ud may kinasiginan*
4. *Ud may kinasibayan*
5. *No kuntay mamangday wan*
7. *Ud ayon mamuwaynan*
7. *Bay-an kang magbugtungan*
8. *Maglikid diman kunman*

*Bachelor*

If I am together  
 with boy or girl  
 nothing bad will happen  
 no evil will be done  
 but if it comes to courting  
 nothing for me those love-exclamations  
 just leave me along  
 I know how to walk like that.