

TASADAY CAVE TAPES

TAPE 1, SIDE 1

Acknowledgments. The individuals whose names appear below in bold font assisted in the transcription and interpretation of all or part of this tape. Their invaluable help is hereby gratefully acknowledged. I am also indebted to Pascal Lays for reading through and commenting on the transcriptions of each of the tapes. I wish to express my gratitude also to the late Manuel Elizalde Jr. for providing me with a copy of the original tape.

KEY to Abbreviations

Ad	Adug	Ll	Lolo'
Be	Belayem	Lo	Lobo
Da	Dafal	Ma	Mahayag
Di	Dina	Od	Odo'
Dl	Dula	Ok	Okon
Du	Dul	Sa	Sasa'
Gi	Gintuy	Si	Sindi'
Ig	Igna	Sk	Sikey
Ke	Kelis	Ss	Sius
Ku	Kuletow	Ud	Udelen
Le	Lefonok		

- Be ... 1. **Henak, Mahayag** ... siya pedu ta ok
mese'unut ... 2. Tuwegian siya usa ... 3.
Ngadan ba'elan si duma ta tumesek?
- Du ... 4. **Enda'**.
- Be 5. **Tumudug da pa, siya enda' liku' da,**
liku' da ok tumudug. ... 6. Ya kena' di sa
igkani sa taman si Kakay, si Kakay
Mapoko', si Momo' Dakel Diwata'
Tasaday. 7. Muwang amuk pinede'isek de
kehido di kenita, **kowa**,² Leponok.
- ... 1. It's mine, Mahayag our thoughts¹ if
united ... 2. Roast the pig ... 3. What are our
companions taking photographs of?
- ... 4. No.
5. They are still sleeping, they did not return,
they will return after sleeping. ... 6. That is why
today, Friend,³ Friend Short-One,⁴ [and] Big
Uncle Master of the Tasaday⁵ were less [than
we expected]. 7. It's too bad if he has already
reduced his love for us, what do you say,

¹ Literally, gallbladder. The term is variously translatable as thoughts, ideas, feelings, emotions, heart.

² **kowa** is a frequently occurring hesitation form meaning “who’s-it”, and will not be translated.

³ Literally, older brother. The term is freely applied to males and females, old and young.

- Le **8. Oho'!** Lefonok.
- Be **9. Enda' tumudug di diya' sini ilib sini amuk de'isek kehidu di kenita. Sindi', Sindi' mangay da'ini. ... 10. Enda'. <coughs>** 8. Yes!
- Si **<unclear> 11. Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.** 9. He would not have slept here in the cave if his love for us was small. Sindi', Sindi', come here. ... 10. No.
- Du **12. Kediyu pedu di. 13. Make' me'edup pedu di. <cough>** 11. Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday .
- Be **14. Ma'en ko kelu'ku'? 15. Ubus kag ka'en ubud Kakay Leponok? ... 16. Ya kena' di, kowa, Sindi' hi!** 12. His thoughts are far away. 13. His feelings are lukewarm.
- Si **17. Oho'.** 14. Why are you coughing? 15. Did you already finish eating the palm pith, Friend Lefonok? ... 16. That is why, Sindi', hey!
- Le **21. Oho'.** 17. Yes.
- Be **22. Kowa, Lobo.** 18. As for us, Sindi', you already married me, Belayem. 19. I, Belayem, am your husband, Sindi'. 20. Isn't this so, Lefonok?
- Lo **23. Oho'.** 21. Yes.
- Be **24. Ya kena' di mesawa ké de, Sindi', dana' Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.** 22. Lobo.
- Lo **25. Oho'.** 23. Yes.
- Be **26. Muwang kalé ok de'isek pedu di, kehidu di kenita, Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 27. Enda' ipesawa di kenita Sindi' tebay i Kakay Mapoko', Sindi' tebay i Kakay Mapoko'. 28. Ipesawa i** 24. That is why we are already married, Sindi', because of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday.
25. Yes.
26. Even though his thoughts [for us] are small, he loves us, Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 27. He would not have married us, Sindi', sister⁶ of Friend Short-One; Sindi', sister of Friend Short-One. 28. Big Uncle Master of the

⁴ The term generally used for the Tboli leader, Mai Tuan.

⁵ The name the Tasaday were told to call Manual Elizalde, Jr. The term *Diwata'* means "God" in some languages of the Philippines, but seems not to have been used with that connotation by the Tasaday, who use the Manobo term *Nemula* for "God". In Tasaday, the term appears only in this context, and is therefore translated as "Master".

⁶ Female relative.

- Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. <unclear>**
29. Ya kena' di, Momo' Dakel Diwata'
Tasaday, enda', enda' de tigesa di.
- Du **30. Kuwa ko sadu kayu!**
- Be **31. Kowa, Leponok?**
- Le **32. Oho'.**
- Be **33. Kuwa di igkani. <noise> 34. Ha! ...**
<scaring children away>
- Si **35. Sini du kuwa ko, sini guwa'en di**
kulipus. 36. Ha'a yu sa tumalun.
- Be **<unclear> 37. Oho'.**
- Si **38. Ngadan siya metepu?**
- Be **39. Medo'o sakit si medo'o dumá ta**
tawé. ... 40. Ula'an ok du'en kulinsung
41. Mapi'on siya dakel kulinsung.
- Ud **42. Ugpa' da' niko. 43. Enda' iseg di**
mepi'on siya dakel kulinsung, meda'et
siya.
- Be **44. Diya' é igkani, Sindi'.**
- Si **45. Ya inigsa' ko Belayem. 46. Siya.**
- Be **47. Oho'.**
- Si **48. Tu'u menda'a siya kagi.**
- Be **49. Kani Sindi', sinasawa' di kita si**
Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 50. Ya
ketanda' ketu'u, enda' de'isek kehidu di
kenami Tasaday, kuna tebay Kakay
Mapoko' Tasaday. 51. Sini igkagiyen ku
tigtu si egoh di sini. 52. Aken Belayem,
kuna Sindi' ka. 53. Kuna Sindi' ka, aken
Belayem. 54. Na, diya' nita, umema' ka
ma niko Sindi', diya' si Momo' Dakel
Diwata' Tasaday. 55. Na kumakay ka ma
niko Sindi'. 56. Kakayen ko Kakay
- Tasaday married [us] ... 29. That is why, Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, he is not different [from us].
30. Get some [fire]wood!
31. Lefonok?
32. Yes.
33. He got some today. 34. Hey! ...
35. Get that thing, that firewood that she [Dul] asked for. 36. Watch out for the things that are running away.
37. Yes.
38. What is that broken thing?
39. Many of our companions have problems⁷. ...
40. It's no use if there is a flashlight [that has no batteries] 41. The big light is good.
42. It's the one that is with you. 43. The big light isn't really good, it's bad [for hunting for frogs at night].
44. [Come] here, now, Sindi'.
45. That is what you are asking, Belayem. 46. That's it.
47. Yes.
48. Those words are really true.
49. Now Sindi', Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday married us. 50. The sign that it is true, that his love toward us Tasaday is not small is you, the sister of Friend Short-One Tasaday. 51. What I am saying is true now. 52. I am Belayem, you are Sindi'. 53. You are Sindi', I am Belayem. 54. As for us, you [should] consider Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday as your father. 55. You [should] also treat [someone] as your older brother. 56. Treat Friend Short-One as your older brother. 57.

⁷ Lit. sickness, troubles, problems of any kind.

Mapoko'. 57. Kumakay ma Belayem, kakayen i Kakay Mapoko'. 58. Umema' ma Belayem Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 59. Sak igkani kowa, Leponok.

Belayem will also consider [someone] as his older brother, [he] will treat Friend Short-One as [his] older brother. 58. Belayem will also treat Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday as his father. 59. That [is what we will do] now, Lefonok.

Le **60. Oho'.**

60. Yes.

Be **61. Igkani ula'an da'a amuk mesetipon ki powé.**

61. Now it's too bad, if only we were all together [since some have gone out].

Le **62. Tu'u.**

62. True.

Si **63. Langun duma ta.**

63. All of our companions.

Be **64. Taman si Kuletow, Udeleñ, Mahayag, Bilengan, amuk mesetipon ki. 65. Ngadan mi ba'elan ta sini, ngadan ini kagiyen ta sini, amuk mesetipon ki?**

64. If we come together, there will be only Kuletow, Udeleñ, Mahayag, Bilengan. 65. What will we do, what will we say, when we are all together?

Si **66. Uloy umugpa'.**

66. Simply to stay [here together].

Be **67. Enda' mesetipon ki. 68. Sini nanam meseseba'en <cough> 69. Sini nita keteginapan ta keba'al ta keteb. 70. Sini nita keteginap keba'al ta tupil, keteginapan keba'el ta belatik, keteginapan ini kesakul, keteginapan ini kumali biking. 71. Kowa, Leponok!**

67. We are not together. 68. Wanting to become united 69. What interests us is the making of noose traps. 70. What interests us is the making of monkey traps, the making of spear traps, the making of palm starch, and digging yams. 71. Lefonok!

Le **72.Oho'.**

72. Yes.

Be **73. Ini, Sindi', sinawa ko aken, Belayem. 74. Belayem i ngadan ku. 75. Sak Belayem etaw tegekali biking, tegekali biking. ... 76. Ya kena' di, seba'en da'a Sindi', kena' di kehapun pedu ta, i pedu ta Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 77. Seba'en da kowa Leponok kena' di kehapun pedu ta Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. <cough>**

73. This, Sindi', you married me, Belayem. 74. Belayem is my name. 75. Belayem, a person who digs yams, digs yams. ...

Ke **78. Tila, tila.. 79. Sit! ... 80. Aken polo⁸ ... ya pa'is metepu'.**

76. That is why, it is only one [thing], Sindi', our thoughts, our thoughts should always be on Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 77. It is only one [thing], Lefonok, our thoughts should always be on Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday.

78. Later, later.... 79. Wow! .. 80. I'll be the one [to get it] ... the broken bolo.

Be **81. Ngadan sini hagda ba'elan si medo'o duma ta? 82. Si Ponok owoy si Inay Pana.**

81. What are all our companions⁹ doing? 82. Lefonok and the Mother¹⁰ of Fana. 83. Don't

⁸ Said to be speaking to the child, Sasa'.

83. Yoko ba'elan iya ... 84. Enda' taka' mipanaw. 85. Loso' ta mipanaw ok liku' de si Momo' Dakel.
- Si 86. Ya de ma igke'iyapan pedu hé Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 87. Enda' du'en liyu di ema' iyu. 88. Iya da'a ya Dakel Lawa.
- Be 89. Maka tegisa ma aken i du Sindi'. 90. Lemen kagda medo'o duma ku tagaken da aken kowa, kowa ... 91. Tumimbul da medo'o duma ku sumakul, umugpa' a de aken.
- Si 92. Aya, luma!
- Be 93. Aya da'a, kowa Lefonok. 94. Amuk diya' nak idu tigtu, Sindi', na maké kita da'a, Lefonok, umugpa da'ini pelawa.
- Ma 95. Oho'.
- Be 96. Taka' iyu tumaling pelawa niyu, abungan Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 97. Beken ok enda' ha'uwen di aken, beken de aken, enda' du'en angayan ku. ... 98. Tembu' ma tumudug da'ini ilib sini, Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday, enda' ma du'en ngayan ta.
- Si 99. Ya kuwa ko Lobo.
- Be 100. Kumuwa ki libuted miku' ki. 101. Kumali ki biking ok miku' ki.
- Le 102. Ngadan sini seba'en kagi mipanaw?
- Be 103. Na! ... 104. Beken du 'iya. 105. Naken idu egkesugat pedu ... kowa, Lefonok.
- do that ... 84. Let us not keep going out. 85. When Big Uncle goes home then we can go out.
86. That is also what we like about Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday . 87. Your father is not [emotionally] far from us. 88. It is only he, Big Body.
89. You know, I'll also be different, Sindi'. 90. It doesn't matter if all my companions leave me ... 91. [While] all of my companions go out to get food, to pound palm pith, I will stay [here, in the cave].¹¹
92. That's for sure!
93. Just that, Lefonok. 94. If it is up to me, that is truly [what will happen], Sindi', even if it is just us, Lefonok, we will surely stay here.
95. Yes.
96. You should keep on going out to prepare for Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 97. It's no good if he doesn't see me [here, when he comes], not me, I will not go anywhere. ... 98. In case Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday [comes] to sleep here in the caves, we will not go anywhere.
99. You get [some], Lobo.
100. We will go and get wood grubs [in the daytime], and we will return. 101. We will go to dig yams, as long as we return.
102. What is this single talk of leaving?
103. Now! ... 104. Not that. 105. As for me, my thoughts are right,¹² ... Lefonok.

⁹ Literally, our many companions. Whether the reference was to the visitors, or to the Tasaday who were staying overnight in the forest is not clear.

¹⁰ Referring to Sindi'. Being childless, she was given an imaginary child, Fana.

¹¹ Belayem is supposedly reassuring Sindi' that he will not leave her alone, and that they will wait in the caves while Elizalde and his companions are visiting.

¹² Literally, on target.

- Le **106. Oho'.**
- Be **107. Ma'en iya igkesugat i pedu ta? 108. Ya kena' di beken du iya ... 109. Uman yu pelegkang sini tak a de'isek laké kehidu.**
- Le **110. Mebaluy ok aken tagaken da'in?**
- Be **111. Bayi itagak. 112. Palan de kita me'ama polo.**
- Si **113. Siya kagi.**
- Be **114. Uman du'en kagi.**
- Si **115. Iya kagi.**
- Be **116. Pé...duyuy, o duyuy.**
- Ig **117. Kagi guma'et bata'.**
- Be **118. O duyuy.**
- Ke **119. Uman ka duyuy.**
- Be **120. Éé owéé, inay.**
- Si **121. Nanam a humibat aken, Belayem.**
- Le **122. Semegelay batu, o Belayem, kowa ka'i.**
- Ig **123. Igkani i'ya ma.**
- Be **124. Dayuy yuy, dayus owén.**
- Ig **125. Mepi'on dalem li'eg ko.**
- Be **126. Ngada aken tinulon? 127. Gepenulon pedu ku i Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 128. Igkani né a duyuy. 129. Ya kena' di, Lefonok, igkani né seba'en naken tinulon sebang sini. 130. Aken kinambang kehidu sini.**
106. Yes.
107. Why are our thoughts right? 108. That is why, not that ... 109. You are again beginning this, what I think of as perhaps small love.
110. Is it alright if I am left here?
111. The women can be left. 112. All of us men [can leave].
113. The voices.¹³
114. Again there are voices.
115. The voices.
116. *Fe* ... sing, oh sing.
117. It's the song of someone taking care of a child.
118. Oh sing.
119. Sing again.
120. *Ee owee*, mother.
121. I want to lie down, Belayem.
122. [It is your] *semegelay batu*¹⁴ [song], oh Belayem.
123. Now this also.
124. *Dayuy yuy, dayus owen.*
125. You have a good voice.
126. What shall I sing about? 127. My thoughts desire Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 128. This is now my song. 129. That is why, Lefonok, this is now the one thing that I shall sing about this month. 130. I am experiencing this love.

¹³ Coming from the visitors' camping area below the caves.

¹⁴ The name of Belayem's song, literally to carry a rock in a child's carrying blanket. The reference is unclear.

131. Ula'an ta ok dini si Mahayag. 132. Simag da pa iyu Mahayag tumulon. 133. Nana'a, nana'a. 134. Si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 135. Ini aken ginugud. 136. Enda' da'ini... 137. Ka'ini de si Kuletow. 138. O Kuletow, igkani ke'unung ta Tasaday, ayo dayuy. 139. Ngadan niyu kiduwan, Gintuy? 140. Ngadan niyu kiduwan igkani? 141. Ngadan kena' i Udelen? 142. Du'en ini aken egtulonen. 143. Ubus a deg ba'el pa'is batu. 144. Pe'edung ta kumeda'et pedu ta. 145. O, Dula, igkani, medapag de si Momo' Dakel. 146. Umesud a de ga'igkani. 147. Tay yé i Momo' Dakel, tay yé i Momo' Dakel. 148. Umesud igkani. 149. Ya kena' di kelangun bata' ... 150. Ula'an ok umugpa' da'ini si Bilengan. 151. Toy yé nana'a nana'a. 152. Luminaban Belayem, pinengadanan diseik ligbalud Tasaday. 153. Yo pe'edung lumaba' Belayem igkani. 154. É dayuy.

Ig	155. Enda' kuna de Belayem.	155. Not you, Belayem.
Be	156. Sit a yén duwén, duwén sit dayuy. 157. O Lolo', Udelen....	156. <i>Sit a yen duwen, duwen sit dayuy.</i> 157. Oh Lolò, Udelen
Dl	158. Hududem dalem wayeg. 159. Ka'ini de ma akay humibathibat.	158. Pour out the water [from the container]. 159. Put this one down already.
Ss	160. Humibat a, inay.	160. I'm going to lie down, mother.
Be	161. Ngadan saba' sini'i? ... 162. Ka'ini de.	161. Who will hold this? 162, [Someone] is here already.
Du	163. Ngadan siya wé migkagi?	163. Who is that speaking?
Be	164. Etaw mabula'. 165. Adug, kuwa wé da'iyawen. 166. Da'iyawen pa sawa ku i	164. White people. 165. Adug, place it there. 166. Let my wife stay there with the young

¹⁵ Mahayag had gone out to make palm starch.

¹⁶ Referring to Kuletow, who arrives as he sings.

¹⁷ Son of Kuletow.

¹⁸ Said to have been requested by Elizalde.

¹⁹ Belayem compares himself to a small hardwood tree.

131. It would be better for us if Mahayag were here.¹⁵ 132. Tomorrow, you will tell Mahayag. 133. *Nanaa, nanaa.* 134. Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 135. This is my news. 136. He¹⁶ is not here. 137. Kuletow has just arrived. 138. Oh Kuletow, today we Tasaday are watching over, *ayo duyuy.* 139. Where have you been, Gintuy?¹⁷ 140. Where have you been today? 141. Where is Udelen? 142. I have something to sing to you. 143. I already finished making the stone axe.¹⁸ 144. We are beginning to feel sad. 145. Oh, Dula, now, Big Uncle is near. 146. I have to wait around now. 147. *Tay ye* Big Uncle, *tay ye* Big Uncle. 148. [We] have to wait around now. 149. That is why all the children ... 150. It would be good if Bilengan were here. 151. *Toy ye nanaa nanaa.* 152. Belayem is worried, named a Tasaday *disek ligbalud* tree.¹⁹ 153. *Yo*, Belayem is beginning to worry now. 154. *E dayuy.*

	kenogon. 167. Aluk ma'en di da'iya sini du i? <People talking together>	woman. 167. Hurry up! Why is that thing there?
Le	168. Sini'i, oho'! 169. Telu de si Lobo, Belayem.	168. This one, yes! 169. There are three including Lobo, Belayem.
Lo	170. Mangay da'ini?	170. Coming here?
Le	171. Oho'.	171. Yes.
Lo	172. Pila le?	172. How many?
Le	173. Telu.	173. Three.
Lo	174. Sadu kedo'o. 175. Mangay ka dutu.	174. Most of them. 175. You go there.
Le	176. Kami de mangay dalem wayeg.	176. We will be the ones to go to the stream. ²⁰
Le	177. Ha'a siya du pa'is batu. 178. Enda' du'en bulbul manuk di.	177. See the stone axe. ²¹ 178. There aren't any chicken feathers on it. ²²
Od	179. Ngadan keba'elan siya?	179. Who made it?
Du	180. Du'en bulbul manuk.	180. There are chicken feathers.
Od	181. Amuk mepi'on sadu wayeg.	181. The stream is clean.
Le	182. Medo'o lupuk Momo' Dakel. 183. Pepi'on i Kakay Mapoko'.	182. Big Uncle made so much garbage. 183. Brother Short-One made them clean it up.
Ma	184. Hé'!	184. Hey!
SS	185. Yaka, yaka ngadan didu. ...	185. Don't, don't do it.
Be	186. Eya, eya.	186. Right, right.
Od	187. Peleglegan ko apuy. ...	187. Light the fire. ...
Be	188. Enda' mesugat dinilap belawang usa.	188. The spear of the pig trap didn't hit its target.
Ok	189. Biking, inay.	189. [Give me some] yam, mother.
Du	190. Pila igkani pa keliku' di?	190. How many more days till he goes home?

²⁰ Where the visitors' campsite is located.

²¹ Talking to the white person who has just arrived at the cave.

²² Referring to the fact that the stream below the campsite had been polluted with rubbish, including feathers from the chickens that had been eaten in the camp.

Si	191. Ha'a ko siya du meda'et.	191. Look at that bad thing.
Be	192. Duwa igkani ba'el belawang. 193. Yaka pinengadan siya du.	192. Two days making pig traps. 193. Don't mention that.
Ud	194. Tagakan ku kuna. 195. Yaka uman pehagtay aken.	194. I'll leave you. ²³ 195. Don't again make me die [with your noise].
Si	196. Aken sidu i migdega.	196. I'll lie down over there.
Ud	197. Simag, tuluy kaba'elan aken lawi' dalem wayeg, siya di dalem libuta'. <cough> 198. Siya du sepulu' etaw. <unclear> <child cries>	197. Tomorrow, I'll continue to make a shelter by the stream, by the mud. 198. Ten people [will go to make palm starch].
Ke	199. Kuwa ko dini siya seba'en. 200. Tagaken pa do'o. 201. Hé, Biking enda' iseg me'abat.	199. Bring one here. 200. Leave the rest behind. 201. Hey, Biking isn't really able [to do that].
Dl	202. Té'él ka kada sensaba' ta.	202. Hurry to carry that to us.
Be	203. O, Mahayag, kuna de pa.	203. Oh, Mahayag, you be the one.
Ma	204. Enda'.	204. No.
Dl	205. O, Biking. 206.Yaka ma migkagi, du'en sini sintolonoy. 207. Tinabang ko sumaba' sini, du'en si hadi ko nanam tumudug.	205. Oh, Biking. 206. Don't make a noise, there is something being discussed. 207. Help to hold this, your little sister wants to asleep.
Du	208. O, Biking, ta siya apuy temeg da'ini.	208. Oh, Biking, we will transfer the fire here.
Dl	209. Uwit ko sadu apuy.	209. Carry the fire.
Be	<unclear>..<coughing>... 210. Enda' de, siya kagi de.	210. No, that is the sound [of someone coming].
Dl	211. Hé, de'isek.	211. Hey, it is small. ²⁴
Be	212. Enda', iya de.	212. No, that's it.
Dl	213. Siya di dumta ta. 214. Yaka de enda' du'en sama'. 215. Me'imet medo'o bata'.	213. It is our companions [who maybe didn't eat yet]. 214. Don't, there isn't anything left. 215. All the children consumed it.
Da	<cough> 216. Sini du pa'is yu. 217.	216. Here are your bolos. 217. What is that you

²³ Speaking to a child that won't stop crying.

²⁴ Probably referring to a food portion.

Ngadan siya du é kinuwa ko sido' i? 218.
Dutu ko.

- Dl **219. Yaka pediyu'.** got there? 218. Put it there.
- Be **220. Yaka pe'ugpa' diya' siya du tagbes busug ku, angay ko pe'ugpa' dalem sido' du.** 221. Ngada ma'en si Tikap inuwit di sadu kayu?
- Du **222. Tagaken ku sadu puyut ku.** 219. Don't put it [firewood] so far away.
- Ke **223. Na' guma' sini du pa'is, Odo'? 224. Enda' ha'a.** 220. Don't place it there against the string of my bow, go put it over there. 221. Why did Tikaf carry the wood [over there]?
- Dl **225. Du'en pa wé libuted?** 222. I'll leave my bag.
- Ke **226. Sini, hé!** 223. Where is the scabbard of the bolo, Odo?
- Sa **227. Enda', beken iya du.** 224. [I] can't see [it].
- Be **228. O, Udeleñ. 229. Ya kena' di, kita etaw, kowa, Mahayag,** 225. Are there any more wood grubs?
- Ma **230. Oho'.** 226. Here's one, hey!
- Be **231. Ya kena' di, sini, ligawa enda' dumá'ini dini si Bilengan.** 232. Enda' dini di Tikap. 233. Enda? lapag si Tikap é du é. 234. Ya kena' di, pedu ta sigoh di sini, seba'en da'a, kena' pedu ta si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.
- Dl **235. Pe'ugpa' ko da'ini kowa, inay, siya du sakit.** 227. No, that's not one.
- Sk **236. Oho'.** 228. Oh, Udeleñ. 229. That's why, as for us people, Mahayag,
- Be **237. Ya kena' di, seba'nen ta, kowa, Adug.** 238. Seba'en de si egoh sini, Mahayag. 239. Petawa ki, seba'en de sini, Mahayag, melingga' ki. 240. Meked ki pelebenung palas. 241. Meked ki pa kemala. 242. Meked ki egkebenges nanam. 243. Ngada ma'en ta egkebenges nanam? 244. Ngada ma'en ta kelebenung palas? 245. Sa, kena' di, keles de'isek 230. Yes.
235. You leave [them] here, mother,²⁵ the chili peppers.²⁶ 231. That's why, this, it seems that Bilengan is not coming here. 232. Tikaf is not here. 233. Tikaf is not included [among us]. 234. That's why, our thoughts now, are only one, our thoughts are placed on Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday
236. Yes. 235. You leave [them] here, mother,²⁵ the chili peppers.²⁶
237. That's why, we should be as one, Adug. 238. Be united now, Mahayag. 239. Let's laugh, [and] be united Mahayag, let's be happy. 240. We should not appear unhappy. 241. We should not be shy. 242. Let us not start being unhappy. 243. Why are we becoming unhappy? 244. Why do we appear irritated?
245. That is from having [only] embraced small

²⁵ Speaking to Sikey, mother of Mahayag.

²⁶ Said to have been brought by Dafal.

pedu ta diya' si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 246. Ya kena' di polo, Udelen?

- thoughts towards Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday.
246. That is why, isn't it Udelen?
- Ud **247. Oho'.** 247. Yes.
- Be **248. Leponok.** 248. Lefonok.
- Le **249. Oho'.** 249. Yes.
- Be **250. Mahayag.** 250. Mahayag.
- Ma **251. Tu'u.** 251. True.
- Be **252. Kuletow.** 252. Kuletow.
- Ku **253. Oho'.** 253. Yes.
- Be **254. Adug.** 254. Adug.
- Ad **255. Ya.** 255. Sure.
- Be **256. Gintuy.** 256. Gintuy.
- Gi **257. Oho'.** 257. Yes.
- Be **258. Enda' dini Bilengan, egsakul. 259. Hé! 260. Sak nita kepedemdem, enda' du'en dumā kena' di pekesugat kepedemdem ta, seba'en Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 261. Seba'en i Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 262. Kena' di pekesugat i kepedemdem ta. 263. Muwang kalé amuk tig de'isek kehidu kenita diya' Tasaday, enda' pesawa'en di si Sindi' si Belayem.** 258. Bilengan is not here, he is making palm starch. 259. Hey! 260. As for our feelings, there is no other than to focus our feelings, to be one with Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 261. There is only one [person], Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 262. That's why we should focus our feelings. 263. If not for this, if he only had a small love for us Tasaday, he would not have married Sindi' to Belayem.
- Ke **264. Yaka tumigdeg da'iya, dumineg di sini' i.** 264. Don't stand there, listen to this.²⁷
- Be **265. Pesawa'en da aken Kakay Mapoko', si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.** 265. Brother Short-One and Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday married me.
- Ke **266. Enda' mepi'on sini, enda' alu', menabu' ka.** 266. It's not good here, it's not easy, you'll fall.
- Be **267. Ya maké', Udelen.** 267. Even so, Udelen.

²⁷ Probably speaking to the child, Sasa'.

- Ud **268. Oho'.** 268. Yes
- Be **269. Enda' eya maké pediyu'en ta diya' si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 270. Siya du nita pedu.** 269. We should not distance ourselves from Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 270. That is our thoughts.
- Ud **271. Tu'u.** 271. True.
- Be **272. Kowa, Kuletow?** 272. [What about you], Kuletow?
- Ku **273. Oho'.** 273. Yes.
- Be **274. Kowa, Leponok.** 274. Lefonok.
- Le **275. Oho'.** 275. Yes
- Be **276. Kowa, Mahayag.** 276. Mahayag.
- Ma **277. Oho'.** 277. Yes.
- Be **278. Adug.** 278. Adug.
- Ad **279. Oho'.** 279. Yes.
- Be **280. Gintuy.** 280. Gintuy.
- Gi **281. Tu'u siya.** 281. That is true.
- Be **282. Hé! 283. Langun tebay ta. 284. Sini polo pedu niyu ma pedu, kowa, seba'en yu ma niyu pedu. 285. Labi na nami palan me'ama, kowa, senba'enen na nami pedu. 286. Yaka ébéken na! 287. Iyog ébéken si medo'o bata'. 288. Hé! 289. Si'ini bayi, Dul, Dula, Itet, Sikey, epat da ini. 290. Enda' lapag ta Ginun, malu' bisuwen de. 291. Inita' gelima di Ginun. 292. Na ... seba'en yu ma niyu pedu, Dul.** 282. Hey! 283. All of our sisters. 284. This [should] still be your thoughts, unite your thoughts. 285. Especially us men, let us unite our thoughts. 286. Don't make a noise!
287. All you children are making a noise. 288. Hey! 289. The women here, Dul, Dula, Itet, Sikey, four of them here. 290. Not including Ginun, she is somewhat deaf. 291. Ginun is the fifth among us. 292. Now unite your thoughts, Dul.
- Du **293. Oho'.** 293. Yes.
- Be **294. Seba'en yu ma niyu pedu, Kakay Dula.** 294. Unite your thoughts, Friend Dula.
- Dl **295. Oho'.** 295. Yes.
- Be **296. Sikey.** 296. Sikey.
- Sk **297. Oho'.** 297. Yes.
- Be **298. Enu' niko, Sindi'?** 298. And you, Sindi'?

- Si **299. Oho'.**
- Be **300. Seba'en yu ma niyu pedu, sido' du niyu pedu ma. 301. Yoko pediyu diya' si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.**
- Ke **302. Petulu sadu bata'.**
- Be **303. Sidu kami ma, pedu palan me'ama enda' pediyu'en sadu nami pedu diya' si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 304. Hé! 305. Ya kena' di, aya tigtu ketu'u di, Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday sak kehidu di kenita Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 306. Ngada ma'en diya' peke'uma di ini kenita kena' ugpa'? 307. Ani', ani' do seba'en do etaw. 308. Hina'a ta diya' sini nita kena' umugpa'. 309. Loso' ta di huma'a etaw si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday owoy si Kakay Mapoko'. Si Kakay Mapoko' Tasaday. 310. Hé! 311. Ya kena' di, tay Mahayag.**
- Ma **312. Tu'u.**
- Be **313. Amuk mepuleg Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday manaw ma keda'et pedu ta dini. 314. Sak nita ke'iyap diya' si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday sak enda' nepitasan mata sadu enugpa'an ta dutu na tinudugan di de sini ilib sini kena' ta ugpa'. 315. Iya da tanda' ketu'u di du tigtu iglahuk di kita dalem atay, tinudugan di de kita.**
- Si **316. Oho'.**
- Be **317. Muwang kalé, amuk enda' iglahuk di kita diya', diya' atay, diya' atay di, diya' pusung di Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday, enda' pa tumudug di diya' kenita, o, Mahayag.**
- Ma **318. Oho'.**
299. Yes.
300. Unite your thoughts, that's also how your thoughts [should be]. 301. Don't distance yourself from Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday.
302. Teach the children.
303. As for us men, let us not distance our thoughts from the thoughts of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 304. Hey! 305. That is why, that is really true, Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, his love for us, Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 306. Why did he come here to be with us in our place? 307. So that, so that the people would be as one. 308. We saw him here in this place where we stay.
309. Before we saw him Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday and Brother Short-One. Brother Short-One Tasaday.
310. Hey! 311. That is why, Mahayag.
312. True.
313. If Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday loses interest our feelings will be devastated. 314. What we like about Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, we did not shift our gaze from him when he slept with us in our place here in the caves.
315. That is the true sign that he really entered into our hearts,²⁸ he slept with us already.
316. Yes.
317. Even though, if he did not take us into, into his feelings,²⁹ into the heart of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, he would not yet have slept with us, oh, Mahayag.
318. Yes.

²⁸ Literally, liver.

²⁹ Literally, liver.

Be	319. Kowa Udelen.	319. Udelen.
Ud	320. Oho'.	320. Yes.
Be	321. Leponok.	321. Lefonok.
Le	322. Tu'u.	322. True.
Be	323. Kowa Kuletow.	323. Kuletow.
Ku	324. Oho'.	324. Yes.
Be	325. Adug.	325. Adug.
Ad	326. Oho'.	326. Yes.
Si	327. Melo' kemala si Adug.	327. Adug is a little shy.
Be	328. Gintuy.	328. Gintuy.
Gi	329. Oho'.	329. Yes.
Be	330. Hé! 331. Ya kena' di, ya make' pediyu'en ta nita ini pedu, ya du hagdi ma pedu, enda' ma pinadiyu' du diya' kenita, kowa Mahayag. 332. Igpeha'a di de kenita, sido' du hagdi tigtu kehidu kenita.	330. Hey! 331. Let us not distance our feelings from him, he did not distance himself from us, Mahayag. 332. He showed it to us, that true love of his for us.
Si	333. Oho'.	333. Yes.
Be	334. Muwang kalé, amuk enda' igtulu' di du kenita i kehidu di du kenita, Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday, enda' tumudug di polo diya' kenita. 335. Dutu de kena' di tumudug, kena' di ugpa', kowa Mahayag.	334. Even so, if he didn't demonstrate to us his love for us, he would never have slept with us, Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 335. There is the place where he slept, the place where he stayed, Mahayag.
Ma	336. Oho'.	336. Yes.
Be	337. Hé! 338. Sini, sido' nita ma pedu sido' nita meked ta pediyu' da hagdi, kowa Mahayag.	337. Hey! 338. These, these feelings of ours, don't let them drift away from him, Mahayag.
Ma	339. Tu'u.	339. True.
Be	340. Kowa Leponok.	340. Lefonok.
Le	341. Oho'.	341. Yes.
Be	342. Ibegay ta ma hagdi sadu nita pedu. 343. Ibegay ta ma kagdi sadu kenita	342. Let us give our feelings to him. 343. Let us give to him [the feelings] coming from our

	ipelegkang dalem atay.	hearts.
Le	344. Oho'.	344. Yes.
Be	345. Hé! 346. Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday sadu nita ke'iyp de. 347. Enda' de melenga'an sadu, kowa, Udelen.	345. Hey! 346. Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday is the one we desire. 347. Let us not let that go, Udelen.
Ud	348. É, é...	348. Yes.
Be	349. Enda' di mepitasan mata ta, Kuletow. 350. Hé. 351. Aken sak Belayem, sak Mahayag, sak Leponok, sak Kuletow.	349. Let us not remove our gaze [from him], Kuletow. 350. Hey! 351. I, Belayem, Mahayag, Lefonok, Kuletow.
Ku	352. Oho'.	352. Yes.
Be	353. Sak Kuletow lumomo' kenaken egoh ku de'isek. 354. Egoh ku idu egoh di matay inay ku, egoh di matay ema' ku, Kuletow ilomo' kenak.	353. Kuletow who took care of me when I was young. 354. Back then when my mother died, when my father died, Kuletow raised me.
Si	355. Yakag kagi dalem.	355. Stop talking in there. ³⁰
Be	356. Hé! 357. Ya kena' di sa tigtu kagiyen ta i egoh di sini, yoko.... hiduwi yu aken Belayem. 358. Yoko petigesa du de dalem kagpa yu. 359. Langun bata', langun bayi, yag petigesa yu. 360. O, Dul!	356. Hey! 357. That is why what we are truly saying now, is don't pity me Belayem. 358. Don't make distinctions in your hearts. ³¹ 359. All [you] children, all [you] women, don't make distinctions. 360. Oh, Dul!
Du	361. Enda' du'en de, du'en enda' mama'.	361. There aren't any left, there aren't any betel nuts.
Be	362. O, Mahayag.	362. Oh, Mahayag.
Ma	363. Tu'u.	363. True.
Be	364. Mangay ka tumabang pa?	364. Are you going to go help? ³²
Ma	365. Enda' naken, dakel e buha'.	365. Not me, I have a bad cough.
Be	366. Apay pa buha' pa'a pe'anagan.	366. Even though you still have a cough, [you can do it] slowly.
Ll	367. Duwa ta nita.	367. The two of us.

³⁰ Speaking to the children.

³¹ Literally, in your chests.

³² To make palm starch. They are planning their activities for the following day.

- Be **368. Na! 369. Sumakul ka di kona. 370. Siya du pipedu Mahayag.** 368. Now! 369. You be the one to make palm starch. 370. You are smart at it, Mahayag.
- Ma **371. Enda' naken.** 371. Not me.
- Be **372. Nekapus naken i du neti'igan.** 372. I don't know how to do it properly.
- Si **373. Peleglegen ko sadu apuy ta!** 373. Stoke up our fire!
- Ma **374. Ha'a ko si egoh di sini Belayem.** 374. You see, now, Belayem.
- Be **375. Na, Mahayag?** 375. What, Mahayag?
- Ma **376. Migkagi a, aken idu Mahayag Bulul a.** 376. I will speak, I who am Mahayag Bulul.³³
- Le **377. Na. 378. Miku' ta de, té'él ka.** 377. Now. 378. We are returning [to our place], hurry up!
- Ma **379. Tako sini du'en si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday da' kenita. 380. Na, sido' du kagi da' kenita, yoko du'u uman eglenga', yoko du uman kedanan du. 381. Yoko du nelipot du. 382. Sido' du guwa'en di Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 383. Sini langun dalem sini tuduk yu, langun sini menuwa yu, yoko du peka'en du usa yu. 384. Yoko du uman peka'en ubud yu. 385. Yoko du peka'en du liwas yu, ubal yu, ..** 379. You see Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday is here with us. 380. Now, [about] those words that he said to us, don't ever let them go, don't ever leave them. 381. Don't ever forget them. 382. Those things that Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday said to us. 383. "All of the things here in your mountain, all of the things in your place, don't give away your wild animals. 384. Don't give away your palm pith. 385. Don't give away your male monkeys, your monkeys, ..
- Be **386. Bakbak, bakbak.** 386. Frogs, frogs.
- Ma **...387. Biking yu, bitog yu, langun keto'o seda' yu, dalem sini tuduk yu. 388. Enda' du'en uman du tumangga' du umangay du'u. 389. Enda' du'en uman du bitog yu. 390. Enda' du'en pegeso' du'u. 391. Ok enda' du'en kenita etaw tigesa luminegkang, ngadan hagdi linegkang. 392 Ha! 393. Guwa'en di sini egoh di sini, Belayem.** ... 387. "Your wild yams, your tadpoles, all of the things that you eat here in your mountain. 388. [If you do] there will be no more [food] to distribute when [we] go [to get some]. 389. There will be no more tadpoles. 390. There will be no more fishing. 391 When there are no more outsiders with us, wherever they come from." 392. Ha! 393. That is what he says to us now, Belayem.
- Be **394. Na, Mahayag.** 394. That's right, Mahayag.
- Ma **395. Ya alas ipatenta sini egoh di sini. 396. Ya alas di yoko du itangtang du ikagi** 395. We must always take care of these things now. 396. We must never forget the words of

³³ A name Mahayag gave himself. The name Mahayag means "Cleared". He added to it the name Bulul "Mountain".

**i Kakay Mapoko' ta diya' Tasaday,
meke'uma diya' si Momo' Dakel Diwata'
Tasaday.**

Be **397. Ya, Mahayag.**

Ma **398. Na egoh di sini, ya kagi ta diya'
langun kedo'o ta igkani, diya' langun ke-
do'o duma ta me'ama, dinegen yu sini
tinulon ku diya' keniko sini'i kagi diya'
niyu.**

Be **399. Oho'.**

Ma **400. Yoko du enda' dineg du yoko yu bisu
du'u. 401. Yu dineg yu sak kagi kelangun
bata'. 402. Kelangun bata', kelangun bayi
pe'ugpa' dalem kagpa sini kagi. 403.
Tagu' yu dalem pusung sini kagi ké sini.
404. Yoko du'u amping du'u. 405. Yoko
du'u bisu du'u. 406. Langun de bata',
pi'onen yu pedu yu.**

Dl **407. Oho'.**

Ma **408. Yoko du nelipot du kagi du Dakel
Diwata' Tasaday. 409. Yoko du nelipot du
kagi Kakay ta Mapoko' diya' Tasaday.**

Dl **410. Oho'.**

Ma **411. Tapayen yu peni'on si aken di egoh
di. 412. Tako si egoh di sini natek dalem
sini tuduk ta sini. 413. Ungaya' si Kakay
Mapoko' enda' umunut umun ta da'
seba'en etaw ugpa'. 414. Enda' ka'enen di
seba'en etaw. 415. Balu' me'ami' natek
ké dalem sini tuduk. 416. Balu' kita épé'
di, me'ami' biking dalem sini tuduk ta,
balu' kita épé' di.**

**417. Me'ami' basag. 418. Me'ami' nita
épé' di sini, sini'i tuduk. 419. Me'ami'
seda' wayeg, me'ami' ubud. 420. Na,
Belayem? 421. Ok kita me'ami' du'u**

our Brother Short-One to us Tasaday, words
coming from Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday.

397. Right, Mahayag.

398. Now, what we are saying to all of us now,
to all of our male companions, listen to what I
have told you, these words to you.

399. Yes.

400. Don't not listen, don't be deaf! 401. You
children, listen to these words. 402. All of the
children, all of the women, keep these words
deep within you.³⁴ 403. Hide these words in
your hearts. 404. Don't ever be mistaken. 405.
Don't ever be deaf. 406. All you children, make
your thoughts good.

407. Yes.

408. Don't ever forget the words of Big Master
of the Tasaday. 409. Don't ever forget the
words of our Brother Short-One in Tasaday.

410. Yes.

411. Prepare now to emulate me. 412. You see
now this palm starch here in our mountain.
413. Brother Short-One wants that we do not
take it for distributing to even one person³⁵
staying here. 414. Not one person should eat it.
415. Because [if we do] the palm starch will be
depleted from our mountain. 416. The result
for us who are the owners of it, our yams will be
depleted from our mountain, that is what the
result would be for us owners. 417. The
Caryota palms would be depleted. 418. The
things that we own here, here in this mountain
would be used up. 419. The fish³⁶ in the
streams would be all gone, the palm pith would

³⁴ Literally, in your chests.

³⁵ Referring to visitors, or people who might come from the outside to settle in the area.

³⁶ Literally, any edible creature found in the streams.

**ubud dalem sini tuduk, kita épé' di kita,
etaw umugpa' dalem sini ilib ta sini.**

**422. Dong egoh anay sini kita kena' ugpa'
dalem sini. 423. Kena' di ugpa' do' tapay
tupu' ta egoh anay kena' ta ugpa' sini.
424. Ini hunan di si egoh umugpa' ki
dalem. 425. Enda' uman ta mekedan di
dalem di.**

Si **426. Adug owoy si Gintuy.**

Ma **427. Na, ini de ema' ta, ini de tapay tupu'
ta, umugpa' diya' kenita ini Momo' Dakel
Diwata' Tasaday. 428. Yoko du uman
tagak sini kena' ta sini. 429. Yoko du ...
sini kena' ta ugpa' sini. 430. Apay padoh
lagbet ta biking liku' ta menda'a.**

Be **431. Oho'.**

Ma **432. Apay padoh sigep kelagbet ko basag
miku' ta dalem sido' tana' kena' ta
mipanaw. 433. Miku' ké menda'a mangay
dini.**

Dl **434. Na, henaten ko wé!**

Ma **435. Sido' po ... kena' megeso', liku' ka
mangay dini du.**

Ke **436. Ok enda' hina'a, miku'.**

Ma **437. Ya, hunan di, sini egoh di sini, dana'
di de, sigba'en sini pedu pebohol ta kita
pedu si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.**

Be **438. Na, kowa Mahayag, sineba'en de nita
pedu, pedu bayi, pedu me'ama. 439. Na,
Mahayag, yoko du enda' dineg du'u, yoko
du'u salibang du'u. 440. Na, sini ke'ugpa'
ta sini seba'en da pedu ta. 441. Amuk sini
kedo'o bayi, medo'o sini bayi, medo'o sini
me'ama, miling seba'en me'ama, miling
seba'an ma bayi. 442. Migkagi seba'en
bayi, seba'en ma kagi. 443. Migkagi**

be all gone. 420. Isn't that right, Belayem?
421. If we use up all the palm pith in here in the
mountain, we who are the owners of it, we
people who live here in these caves. 422. Since
long ago, we have stayed here. 423. This place
where our ancestors stayed before is now the
place where we stay. 424. That is why we stay
inside here. 425. We will never again leave
from here.

426. Adug and Gintuy

427. Now, this is our father, this is our ancestor,
staying with us, this Big Uncle Master of the
Tasaday. 428. We must never again leave from
this place. 429. Don't ... this place where we
stay. 430. Even if we go to look for yams we
will just come back here.

431. Yes.

432. Even if it is night when we go to look for
palms we will return home from the place
where we went. 433. We will just come back
here.

434. Here, lift [this] up!

435. That place ... where we go fishing, you just
come back here.

436. If there is anything to be caught,³⁷ come
back.

437. That is why, now, because of this, unite
[our] feelings, let us make our thoughts clear to
Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday.

438. Now, Mahayag, let us focus our our
feelings, the feelings of the women, the feelings
of the men. 439. Now, Mahayag, don't ignore³⁸
it, don't disobey it. 440. Now, in this place of
ours here, let our feelings be united. 441. And
all the women, all the women, and all the men,
let the men be as one, also let the women be as
one.

³⁷ Literally, seen.

³⁸ Literally, don't not listen.

seba'en me'ama, seba'en ma kagi, enda' iseg medo'o di uman migkagi. 444. Na! 445. Amuk siya kagi etaw sigoh di sini. 446. Ubus kita idu menuwa. 447. Ubus pedu ta etaw, enda' de uman de neletig du'u, tulu' du kagda kagi. 448. Kowa Mahayag. 449. Na! 450. Ya hunan di hi, Mahayag. 451. Na! 452. Na enu' si egoh di sini, ngadan sini nita angatan ini menuwa ta sini? 453. Na! 454. Ngadan sini nita angatan keha'a sini menuwa ta sini? 455. Na enu' sini di, sini du ke'ugpa' ta sini? 456. Enday ta, amuk sini ke'ugpa' ta sini, amuk enda' de umugpa' ké dalem kena' di sigepe de. 457. Mepi'on pa kena' ta, peketuleng du'u ...

Ma 458. Kowa, Belayem, beken mat nita migkagi. 459 Beken mat bayi migkagi.

Be 460.Na!

Ma 461. Umugpa' ta de nita I. 462. Yoko du uman du'u du'en kagi. 463. Yoko du uman du'u du'en pedemdem yu.

Be 464. Na!

Ma 465. Seba'en de netulengan ta keba'el belawang. 466. Seba'en de netulengan ta keba'el belatik. 467. Seba'en de ta keba'el keteb.

Be 468. Tu'u.

Ma 469. Keba'el keteb, seba'en de pedu ta huma'a keteb.

Be 470. Oho'.

Ma 471. Ha'a belawang, seba'en da pedu ta huma'a belawang. 472. Seba'en de pedu ta huma'a tupil. 473. Ya, kita idu etaw, di si egoh di sini.

442. When a woman speaks, let only one speak. 443. When a man speaks, let only one speak, [rather than] several speaking. 444. Now! 445. And the words of that person, now. 446. [Even if] our place will be all used up. 447. [Even if] the people's feelings be all consumed, [nevertheless, I] will not ever again be tired of teaching their words. 448. Mahayag. 449. Now! 450. That is why, Mahayag. 451. Now! 452. Why now, what are we waiting for in this place of ours?³⁹ 453. Now! 454. What are we waiting to see here in this place of ours? 455. Why is this, this place of ours here? 456. We do not know if this is the place we [have to] stay, [or] if we do not [have to] stay in this dark place. 457. Our place is good, [we] understand it ...

458. Belayem, we will not be the ones to speak. 459 The women will not be the ones to speak.

460. That's so.

461. We're staying here. 462 Don't again speak [about it]. 463. Don't again have feelings [about it].

464. Agreed.

465. One thing we know is the making of pig traps. 466. Another thing we know is the making of spear traps. 467. Another is the making of snare traps.

468. True.

469. When [we] make snare traps, the only thing we think about is going to check the snare traps.

470. Yes.

471. To check the pig traps, the only thing we think about is checking the pig traps. 472. The only thing we think about is checking the monkey traps. 473. Yes, [that is what] we people do now.

³⁹ The meaning of this sentence, and the remaining sentences of this utterance of Belayem are obscure. The translations are provisional.

- Be **474. He!** **475. Uman, uman a pa, Mahayag hi!** **476. O, Mahayag!**
- Ma **477. Oho'.**
- Be **478. Uman, uman a pa, hi.** **479. Hé!** **480. Kowa iling, iling diya' kagi.**
- Ma **481. Ya!**
- Be **482. Iling, iling niyu pedu ma meke'etek yu pegeso'.** **483. Seba'en de sido' ba'elan, kowa, seba'en de pegeso'.**
- Ma **484. Ya.**
- Du **485. Oho'.**
- Be **486. Na, Dula.**
- Dl **487. Oho'.**
- Be **488. Na, Dul.**
- Du **489. Oho'.**
- Be **490. Sikey.**
- Si **491. Oho'.**
- Be **492. Na, ya kena' di, ya kena' di, kowa, Mahayag hi!**
- Ma **493. Ya!**
- Be **494. Sa kagi i Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday, kagi Kakay Mapoko'.**
- Ma **495. Ya.**
- Be **496. Belagen yu, enda' mesi'at di.**
- Ma **497. Ya.**
- Be **498. Biking yu, enda' mesi'at di.**
- Ma **499. Ya.**
- Be **500. Natek yu, enda' mesi'at di.**
- Ma **501. Ya.**
474. Hey! 475. Again, again I [will speak], Mahayag! 476. Oh, Mahayag!
477. Yes.
478. Again, you [speak] again! 479. Hey! 480. It's like, it's like [my] words.
481. Yes!
482. It is like you are thinking about planning to go fishing. 483. Be united in doing that, united in going fishing.
484. Yes.
485. Yes.
486. Now, Dula.
487. Yes.
488. Now, Dul.
489. Yes.
490. Sikey.
491. Yes.
492. Now, that is why, that is why, Mahayag!
493. Yes!
494. The words of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, the words of Brother Short-One.
495. Yes.
496. Your rattan, don't deplete it.
497. Yes.
498. Your yams, don't deplete them.
499. Yes.
500. Your palm starch, don't deplete it.
501. Yes.

- Be **502.** Enda' du'en etaw diya' niyu tumangga' natek yu. 502. Don't distribute your palm starch to other people.
- Ma **503.** Enda' na meketalad di. 503. It cannot be shared.
- Be **504.** Enda' meketalad diya' etaw liyu. 505. Palan diya' si Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday sini natek, sini bitog, sini bakkabak, sini kiyumang. 504. It cannot be shared with other people. 505. All is for Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, the palm starch, the tadpoles, the frogs, the crabs.
- Ma **506.** Ya. 506. Yes.
- Be **507.** Sini ubal yu. 507. Your monkeys.
- Ma **508.** Ya. 508. Yes.
- Be **509.** Langun seda' diya' melimedek seda' Tasaday. 509. All of the fish, all of the little fish of the Tasaday.
- Ma **510.** Ya. 510. Yes.
- Be **511.** Melimedek ma ka'enен tana' diya' Tasaday. 511. The little things that are eaten here in Tasaday.
- Ma **512.** Ya. 512. Yes.
- Be **513.** Biking, melimedek ka'enен. **514.** Labi de natek. **515.** Labi dat kayu. 513. Yams, the little things that are eaten. 514. Especially the palm starch. 515. Especially the trees.
- Ma **516.** Ya. 516. Yes.
- Be **517.** Labi dat kayu ta, enda' du'en tumangga' du. **518.** Labi dat belagen ta, enda' du'en kumuwa. 517. Especially our trees, there is none that can be given away. 518. Especially our rattan, there is none that can be taken.
- Ma **519.** Ya. 519. Yes.
- Be **520.** Nita ma de belagen, nita ma de kayu, nita ma de tuduk Tasaday, nita ma de bitog Tasaday, nita ma de bakkabak Tasaday, nita ma de kiyumang Tasaday. **521.** Ya kena' di. **522.** Sak kagi i Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday, sak kagi di. **523.** Tumudug ki kani. 520. Our rattan, our trees, our Tasaday mountain, our Tasaday tadpoles, our Tasaday frogs, our Tasaday crabs.
521. That is why. 522 The words of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, those words of his.
523. Let's sleep now.
- Ma **524.** Oho'. 524. Yes.
- Be **525.** Uwiten ta tumudug hi, kowa Mahayag. 525. Let us carry [those words] when we go to sleep, Mahayag.

- Ma **526. Oho'.** 526. Yes.
- Be **527. Umenaw ki, uwiten ta umenaw.** 527. When we wake up, let us carry them when we are awake.
- Ma **528. Ya.** 528. Yes.
- Be **529. Mipanaw ta mangay sumakul, uwiten ta mangay sumakul.** 529. When we leave to go to make palm starch, let us carry them when we go to make palm starch.
- Ma **530. Ya.** 530. Yes.
- Be **531. Kuma'en ki, alas du kaka'enan ta du iya'i kagi i Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.** 531. When we eat, let us always eat those words of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday.
- Ma **532. Ya.** 532. Yes.
- Be **533. Ma'el ki belatik alas kepedemdem ta iya'i kagi i Kakay Mapoko'.** 533. When we are making spear traps, let us always dwell on those words of Brother Short-One.
- Ma **534. Ya.** 534. Yes.
- Be **535. Na, ma'el ki tupil, alas do, alas do, enda' petangtang ta du Mahayag, sa 'i nekagi Kakay Mapoko'.** 535. Now, when we make monkey traps, always, always let us not leave them behind, Mahayag, those words of Brother Short-One.
- Ma **536. Ya.** 536. Yes.
- Be **537. Nita ma de biking, nita ma de natek, nita bitog, seda' wayeg, langun seda' wayeg, palan de nita seda' wayeg. 538. Ido', meked ki petangtang du sido', si nikagi Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday. 539. Hé! 540. Ngadan di ke'umow ta du Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday, amuk petangtangen, kowa Mahayag?** 537. Our yams, our palm starch, our tadpoles, our fish, all of the fish, every one of our fish. 538. Those, we must never leave them behind, those words of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday. 539. Hey! 540. What do we call Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, if we leave them behind, Mahayag?
- Ma **541. Tu'u.** 541. True.
- Be **542. Sido' nikagi Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday, i Kakay Mapoko'. 543. Hé! 544. Ngadan de pa kena' ko dumineg sido' kagi egpemalang seda' wayeg, kagi pemalang du biking, kagi pemalang du ubal, kagi pemalang du bitog, kagi pemalang du kayu, kagi pemalang du belagen, kagi pemalang du usa ta, kowa Mahayag.** 542. Those words of Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday, of Brother Short-One. 543. Hey! 544. Where did you hear this from, these words to conserve the fish, words to conserve the yams, words to conserve the monkeys, words to conserve the tadpoles, words to conserve the trees, words to conserve the rattan, words to conserve the wild animals, Mahayag?
- Ma **545. Tu'u.** 545. True.

- Be **546. Seba'en ma da'a etaw hina'a ta, iglesut diya' sini kena' ta ugpa', diya' sini ilib.** 547. **Seba'en i Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.**
- Ma **548. Ya.**
- Be **549. Hé!** 550. Agut, siya da'a i kagi'en ta diya' langun bata', me'ama, langun bayi. 551. Kagi'en ta diya' kagda. 552. Sini da'a ba'elen yu petawa yu. 553. Sini da'a ba'elen yu lingga' yu. 554. Ngada ma'en yu enda' pelingga'? 555. Ngada ma'en yu enda' petawa? 556. Ngada ma'en yu kelebenung palas? 557. Ngada ma'en yu kelebenung palas yu, si du'en de ema' ta Momo' Dakel Diwata' Tasaday.
- Dl **558. Tu'u, siya wé.**
- Du **559. Tu'u siya.**
- Be **560. Kowa, Kuletow.**
- Ku **561. Oho'.**
- Be **562. Kowa, Gintuy.**
- Gi **563. Oho'.**
- Be **564. Adug, Mahayag.**
- Ma **565. Tu'u.**
- Be **566. Leponok.**
- Le **567. Oho'.**
- Be **568. Udelen.**
- Ud **569. Oho'**
- Be **570. Dul.**
- Du **571. Oho'.**
- Be **572. Dula.**
- Dl **573. Oho'.**
- Be **574. Na, Sikey.**
546. There was only one person whom we saw come out from where we stay, from these caves. 547. That one is Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday
548. Yes.
549. Hey! 550. So that is the only thing that we will talk about to all the children, to the men, to all the women. 551. We will talk about it to them. 552. This is the only thing you [should] do, you [should] laugh. 553. This is the only thing you [should] do, you [should] be happy. 554. Why are you not happy? 555. Why are you not laughing? 556. Why do you appear sad? 557. Why are you frowning, when our father, Big Uncle Master of the Tasaday is here?
558. True, that's right.
559. That's true.
560. Kuletow.
561. Yes.
562. Gintuy.
563. Yes.
564. Adug, Mahayag.
565. True.
566. Lefonok.
567. Yes.
568. Udelen.
569. Yes.
570. Dul.
571. Yes.
572. Dula.
573. Yes.
574. Sikey.

- Sk **575. Oho'.** 575. Yes.
- Be **576. Na, Sindi'.** 576. Sindi'.
- Si **577. Oho'.** 577. Yes.
- Be **578. Dinegdineg de pa Mahayag niko i kagikagiyen. 579. Si Udelen uman mikagi.** 578. Keep listening, Mahayag, to what is being said. 579. Udelen will speak again.
- Ud **580. Kena' di egoh di sini, mepi'on keka'en en ta ya da'a, amuk sadu nikagi sini du langun keto'o ta sini.** 580. That is why now, our food [supply] will only be good, if what we all here are saying [is adhered to].
- Be **581. Na!** 581. Right!
- Ud **582. Apay pa du'u ikagi ta, anan de du'en pedu de duma keto'o ta sini.** 582. Even though we say it, there will always be the feelings of our other companions.
- Be **583. Na!** 583. Right!
- Ud **584. Gesa ma iya i inuman ta pa ilugsud du'u sido' du'u pedu, netulengan siya seba'en etaw. 585. Nita ma netulengan di ma kagda. 586. Kagda ma ipedu tikong di du'en kena' di, kumakapus pedu. 587. Ya kena' di iling sini do keto'o pedu. 588. Ya kena' di tulon ta kagda medo'o etaw sini pedu ta sini. 589. Sini ba'elan ta sini. 590. Ngadan sido' du keba'elan ta kesakul? 591. Ngadan sido' keba'elan ta belawang, keba'elan keteb? 592. Na! 593. Aba' da'a, ikagi ta da' kagda sini taman netulengan di kagda sini medo'o duma ta. 594. Palan enda' pigtu'u da ma kagda. 595. Enda' pigtu'u da ma langun keto'o bayi. 596. Na! 597. Du'en du ma dumineg ko ya, hunan di du'en ketulengan. 598. Ya hunan di, si egoh ...** 584. It's too bad that we have to repeat it [in order to] develop their ideas, [so that] each person understands. 585. As for us, we understand them. 586. There is perhaps a reason for their feelings, [they are] shortsighted.⁴⁰ 587. That is why they are like that. 588. That is why we should tell all the people these ideas. 589. This is what we are doing here. 590. How are we to make palm starch? 591. How are we to make pig traps, to make rodent traps?⁴¹ 592. Now! 593. Despite this, let us talk to them until they understand, all of our companions. 594. They do not always believe. 595. All the women do not believe. 596. Now! 597. The things that you heard, because of that there is understanding.
598. Because of that, now ...

END TAPE I, Side 1.

⁴⁰ Literally, lacking gallbladder.

⁴¹ If they have to spend time making sure all the members of their community understand the new teachings.