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Toward a Classification of Bisayan Folk Beliefs and Customs*

FRANCISCO DEMETRIO

FOLK beliefs constitute one of the most fascinating categories of folklore. Relatively brief in statement, they are nevertheless charged with meaning, psychological, sociological and religious. Like other briefer forms of folklore, e.g., the riddle, the proverb and the wise saying, folk beliefs enshrine according to the proper forms of their culture, a people's insights into the structure of the universe and into the life of man; they also reflect the patterns of a people's feelings and attitudes toward one another and toward their larger community whether it be the family, the kin, the clan, the tribe, or the political unit. They likewise reveal the ambitions of a people. They, therefore, are a significant expression of the cognitive, affective and conative life of a people.

DEFINITIONS

A. *Folk Nomenclature in Dictionary*

The word in Cebuano Bisayan for the verb "to believe" is *túo*. Tomas V. Hermosisima and Pedro S. Lopez, in their Bisayan-English and Tagalog dictionary, define *túo* as *pagbuyon sa hunàhunà sa uban*, the English equivalent of which is

*This is the first of two articles which will serve as the Introduction to a forthcoming volume entitled: *A Dictionary of Philippine Folk Beliefs and Customs* to be published perhaps early in 1969. The second article will appear in the forthcoming issue of this Quarterly.

"to believe; have confidence in (*maniwala*-Tagalog)." What should interest us is the native definition or equivalent: *pagbuyon sa hunàhunà sa uban*. It literally means "to concur, align, be on the same side with, agree with the mind of others." *Túo* also means "to obey." It is synonymous with *pagsugot* or *sumunod*. It is noteworthy that the accent in the word *túo* falls on the first syllable, because in the word immediately following, *tuó-tuó*, which is a reduplicated word, the accent falls on the last syllable. *Tuó-tuó* means "to spread superstition; or to pretend;" consequently, the term for pretender or charlatan is *magpatuó-tuó*, but to this we shall return below.

There are other cognate words rooted in the base of *túo*. The word *pagtúo* is a good example. It is defined as *pagkalawat sa pagkamao kun pagkadihá sa butang*, which literally translated means "to accept the existence or situation of a thing." It is further defined as a substantive in English, "belief, faith, creed, doctrine, dogma, and is equivalent to *tinuho-an* (*paniwala*, *pananampalataya*—Tagalog)." The word can also mean "confidence." *Matuho-tuho-on* is an adjectival form meaning "superstitious, gullible (*mapaniwalain*—Tagalog)."

In the definitions which we have seen above of the verb *túo*, two aspects of the act of believing among Cebuano-Bisayans may be observed: first, its nature or character, and second, its motivation. The act of believing involves not only cognition but also volition; in order to align one's mind with that of another, one must first know what the mind of the other is, and then, by an act of his will, he must positively bring his own mind to concur or agree with it. The motivation for belief is especially evident in the definition given for the cognate verb *pagtúo*, which is "to accept the existence or situation of a thing." It, therefore, seems to be a sane realism, the acceptance of things as they are. This very insight into the "truth of things", the motive for belief, is also the motive for obedience, i.e., for *túo* in the sense of *pagsugot* or *sumunod*. If our lexicographers have done their work well, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Bisayans are realists in the best sense of the term. The meanings of the two terms *túo* and *pagtúo*

seem to reveal, therefore, the attitude of the believer as one of seriousness and earnestness. To accept the "existence and the situation of things" is a serious and weighty matter requiring maturity and responsibility, for, despite its many comic aspects, life remains generally serious.

The Bisayans, as we have seen above, also have a term for expressing pseudo-beliefs. The same root *túo* appears, but it is duplicated. In the folk mind, it seems, reduplication always carries some connotation of a falling off from the serious to the paltry or trivial, or a reference to unreality. The sense of unreality ranges from the *ersatz* or the imitation of the existence or situation of things, or caricature, to the downright lie, falsehood or imposture. A toyhouse, for example is *balay-balay* (house-house); a statue or portrait is *tao-tao* (man-man); both indicate imitation. Before the ecumenical movement, Roman Catholics regarded the ministers of the Aglipayan Church as well as the priests of the pagan native religions as *pari-pari* (priest-priest). What was implied, of course, was that they were pretenders or imposters. A man and a woman living in concubinage are said to be *puyò-puyò* (living-living); in this case, reduplication seems to express a caricature of true marriage. The verb *tuó-tuó*, with the accent shifted to the last syllable of both members, means "to spread superstition or to pretend." Here the drift of the meaning seems to be as much toward falsehood and pretense as toward triviality or unreality.

B. Folk Nomenclature: From the Field

It seems then, on the basis of our study of definitions, that superstition ranges from what is trivial and of no consequence to what is unreal because it is either an imitation or a caricature or a downright falsehood, lie or imposture. Yet when we check these meanings of superstition or *tuó-tuó* against the actual folk beliefs, we are hard put to find instances of superstitions which may be classed as downright falsehoods, lies and impostures. There is much that is trivial and inconsequential from our point of view even if not from that of the folk themselves. There is much too of the unreal and the impossible (*adunata*). These nevertheless are not necessarily

without relevance and meaning for the existential life of the peoples who hold them. A few examples will illustrate what I mean.

The Trivial

At night, especially at about midnight, should you hear a knock on your door, wait until your name is called, and only then may you say, "Yes, I'm coming," for the knock could be that of an evil spirit. Should your name be not mentioned, ask, "Who are you?" If, after asking twice, no answer is given, ignore the knocking even if it is hard. Do not be dismayed. For if you say, "Yes, I'm coming," you will die. You will have shown yourself as willing to go along with the evil spirit.¹

At first glance, indeed, this belief seems vain and trivial. Who after all, takes spirits seriously today? Even if one were to believe in spirits it would be rather too much to maintain that they could actually do bodily harm to anyone, or even kill. This, however, is the sophisticated Christian's attitude toward spirits. But unsophisticated Christians are quite willing to grant the existence of spirits and even their influence over human life and behavior.²

This belief, appearances notwithstanding, is quite complex. It contains several elements of folk tradition. First, there is the call at night, nay, at midnight.³ As mid-day has been believed the world over to be a witching hour (when nymphs, fairies and *engkantos* are said to leave their bowers and roam about),⁴ so also the middle of the night enjoys a certain magic

¹ This belief is attested to in Cagayan de Oro, 1967, in Corcuera, Romblon, 1936; and very probably also in many other places in the Philippines.

² Cf. Frank Lynch, S.J. *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference* (Manila, BRAC, 1961), pp. 118, 120.

³ Devil appears at midnight (E431.19); disenchantment at midnight (D791.1.8); flower found only at midnight (F814.3); ghost seen by those born at midnight (E412.1.1.1.); ghosts walk at midnight (E587.5); mermaid appears at midnight (B81.3.1; B81.12.1); tree maidens bathe at midnight (F441.2.1.4); wild hunt appears at midnight (E501.11.1.1.).

⁴ Ghosts walk at mid-day (E587.1). Nymphs are said to be dangerous because anyone who sees them in the heat of mid-day becomes mentally deranged. "The middle of the day was the moment when the

and has been linked with the spirits, particularly evil-intentioned ones. Second, there is the knocking on the door, a very common motif in folklore. It is closely associated with the suffering souls who return to their loved ones. Poltergeists have been so-called because they are the "knocking spirits." (The moving of pieces of furniture, the crashing of tableware, the throwing of stones and rocks which usually characterize the presence of poltergeists are but variants of the same motif, that of "knocking".)⁵ Third, there is the sequence of alternative responses one could take in the given situation, and the threat of death were one to respond inappropriately. There is, finally, the belief that a person's readiness to answer the unknown knocker—unknown because he has neither called the person at whose door he knocks by name nor identified himself after two challenges—is a sign of his willingness to go along with the spirit, i.e., his willingness to die.⁶

One can perhaps see a "fict" in this belief, an artificial device, to use the word of von Sydow,⁷ employed by mothers

nymphs manifested themselves. Whoever saw them became seized with nympholeptic mania; like Teiresias, who saw Pallas and Chariclo, or Acteon, who came upon Artemis and her nymphs. That is why it was advisable, at mid-day, not to go near fountains or springs, or the shadow of certain trees...." Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, The World Publishing Company), p. 255.

⁵ Jaime C. Bulatao, S.J., in "Case of a Quezon City Poltergeist," *Philippine Studies*, 16 (January 1968), pp. 178-88, cites Warren's *Dictionary of Psychology* as defining a poltergeist as a reputed roistering spirit to whom is attributed the commission of miscellaneous petty mischief in the household." The phenomenon of stone-throwing is also mentioned in the earliest case of a poltergeist ever recorded in H. Thurston's *Ghosts and Poltergeists* (London, 1954), p. 330.

⁶ "To die," for many of the Filipino folk, means to join the ranks of the dead ancestors, both the remote and the recent dead, who are often imagined as eager to bring the living into their abode. The concept of the *kalagkalag*, or the restless dead who sometimes "bother" the living relatives by sending them sickness of undiagnosed origin is still very much with the lowland peoples. Masses for the dead are quite often requested with the unavowed intention of "quieting" the soul of some dead relative.

⁷ C.W. von Sydow. "Popular Dite Tradition: A Terminological Outline," *Selected Papers on Folklore* (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, n.d.), pp. 109ff.

or elders to frighten the young against too hasty readiness to fling the door open to strangers, especially at night. If, indeed, overhastiness, so characteristic of the thoughtless youngster, is to be deplored even in the city, how much more in regions distant from the *poblacion* or town. If it is a fict, it is a useful one.

Here then is a belief, a *tuó-tuó* which, though trivial and paltry in the eyes of modern sophisticated man, remains meaningful for the folk who have perpetuated it, serving the salutary function of teaching children greater care in their treatment of strangers. Its continued meaningfulness must account for its survival. A careless attitude toward strangers at night, especially in times of war or tension between tribes or families, may wreak havoc on one's family. A little prudence therefore among the members of the tribe or family becomes desirable. The opposite, of course, is to be condemned. The worst condemnation is always death or the threat of death, misfortune, sadness, sickness, etc.

The Unreal

The significance of unreality in *tuó-tuó* as gathered from folk is neither that of falsehood nor of caricature, imitation, or imposture. Rather, it is simply that of the impossible; it never really happens. There is, for example, a belief among the Bisayans that "the hair of a *kataw* or mermaid, if placed inside a bamboo trap, will cause many fish to enter it."⁸

This belief may again sound trivial to many, but it has a function⁹ for the folk. If it seems trivial, it is only because

⁸ Public School Teachers, Romblon Province, 1938.

⁹ The term "function" is here used rather loosely. It is meant to cover various cultural activities such as education, social control, systems of belief and morality, etc. This broad conception of function seems to find some measure of support from these words of Malinowski:

"From the dynamic point of view, that is, as regards the type of activity, culture can be analysed into a number of aspects such as education, social control, systems of knowledge, belief and morality, and also modes of creative and artistic expression."

Also from the words of Radcliffe-Brown: "The function of any recurrent activity, such as the punishment of a crime, or a funeral ceremony, is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the

it is impossible. Mermaids just do not exist. For the fisherman, however, who trudges wearily home after a catchless day, perhaps the hope of someday coming to possess even one strand of the mermaid's magic hair may somehow buoy up his spirits. It may make him try again. Perhaps tomorrow, if not tomorrow, then the day after; if not this month, then next; if not this year, surely next year: he will still make a large haul which will make his wife and children the envy of the neighborhood. Who is the man, the father and husband, who at some time or another does not dream of being the proud husband of his wife and the proud father of his children? This then is the function of the folk-belief, even the impossible ones. Like the myth and the ritual, it stabilizes the psyche of the people. It prevents at least the phenomenon

contribution it makes to the maintenance of the structural continuity By the definition here offered 'function' is the contribution which a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part." (Cf. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Function in Social Science," *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London, 1952) (Cf. also Ake Hulkrantz, *General Ethnological Concepts International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*, Vol. I: Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960. pp. 145, 147).

The author is aware of the criticism that Robert K. Merton has levelled at the basic assumptions of the functional theory: that every activity is necessary for the social system, and that every social element has a positive function, and that certain functions are necessary or indispensable to society. He is further aware of the concepts of "manifest" and "latent" functions, as well as of "dysfunction," or an activity which contributes to the breaking down (anomie) of a culture or society. He prescind from this highly interesting and complicated debate for the present. The purposes of this collection are served by utilizing the role of "function" which the folk themselves attribute to certain activity or system of knowledge and belief. Whether the belief or activity is "true" or "false" in the light of other principles drawn from philosophy, theology, history or science and technology, does not enter into the criterion for the inclusion of an item into this collection. It is enough that the folk still consider such and such an activity or belief to be still meaningful and, therefore, relevant to their lives even though the total culture which once contained it as a part has for the most part vanished. The consideration of meaningfulness and relevance may either be explicit (the folk say it is so) or implicit (that is in the fact that they still recount such and such a belief or do such and such activity).

of a collective neurosis from settling upon the people, the letting down of spirits. Folk belief keeps alive the will to try again, which is but the expression of the will to live.

The same fictive function may be claimed for the following beliefs:

1. At midnight on Holy Friday the bells in the belfry become soft. Whoever bites off a piece and swallows it will possess the power to jump the height or the distance of ten feet.
2. At midnight on Holy Friday a certain species of banana yields a hard stone which, if caught and swallowed will make one charming to women.

The beliefs seem to be daydreams of people laboring under some kind of handicap. The first was perhaps created by a man physically weak and short in stature; the second, by one who had been frustrated in his efforts to attract the fairer sex.

A very common custom among the people in Cagayan de Oro even to this day is that of passing over a smoking fire as one leaves the cemetery after a burial. Young and old, men and women do this. If asked, many, I am sure, will be hard put to explain the meaning or purpose of their behavior. It is done, however, and has been done by the elders, and so people still do it today. Belief in purification by fire or smoke is, of course, common among the folk. *Palina* is the cure of diseases, especially those caused by supernatural beings (*engkantos*, *mga kalag*, *barangans* and others). It may also be used for other purposes, e.g., to ensure the good luck of a store or of fishing gears (boats and nets are "smoked") or for gambling (the *tari* or *sabong*, or the spurs fastened to the ankles of fighting cocks are also "smoked"). The custom of smoking, however, seems to have been borrowed by the lowland peoples from the uplanders. Among the Subanun¹⁰ and the Bukidnon or Higaunon it is believed that there are in man, besides the "soul" or vital principle, at least two kinds of "guardian

¹⁰ Cf. E. B. Christi. *The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay* (Manila, 1909), p. 17. There is the soul in the joints, the breath or *gi-na-wa*, and the soul proper, *gi-mud*.

Vincent G. Cullen, S.J. *The Spirit World of the Bukidnon* (typescript), (Kisalom, 1968), to be published in *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. XXVII:2.

spirit": the *gimokod*, the real soul which leaves the body in death and goes to join the dead in the land of Magbabaya; this is said to be in the summit of Mt. Balatukan in the hinterlands of Oriental Misamis; and the *tumanod* or personal guardian spirit, which accompanies the *gimokod* on its journey to Balatukan. What happens to the *tumanod* after the *gimokod* reaches the land of Magbabaya is not clear. The *kawa* a personal, malignant soul-companion is said to remain around the grave of the newly dead to devour the corpse, scare people, cause them harm, and do damage to the reproductive powers, especially of women. It seems possible, therefore, that the custom of walking over a smoking fire at the exit of the cemetery, besides being purificatory, is, in origin at least, for the purpose of killing or rendering the *kawa* innocuous. This, however, needs to be further substantiated.

TUO-TUO AND COGNATE TERMS

The term *tuó-tuó* as described above carries the connotation of both triviality and unreality. Opposed to it is another term which in the mind of the folk is both serious and real, namely, *tinuhoan* which translated means belief or religion.

Quite possibly, on the witness of the folk themselves, what to one person is considered a *tuó-tuó* may be a *tinuhoan* for another.¹¹ The reason is perhaps cultural. A belief kept alive

¹¹ A story was related to the writer by Mr. Crisogono Abejo, currently the City Superintendent of Schools in Cagayan de Oro. The story brings out very clearly the fact that a *tuó-tuó* to one person may still be a *tinuho-an* to another. A certain gentleman from Claveria, Oriental Misamis, during the early part of this century, went to the University of the Philippines to study. While there, he came under the tutorship of Dr. H. Otley Beyer and other scientists. Although he was himself a native Higaunon, he gradually lost his respect for his native traditions. He returned to Claveria after his studies and became a government employee. The time came for him to marry. He chose for his mate the daughter of the *iman* or local native priest. Although he had turned Protestant during his student days, he married the girl in the Catholic Church. As a marriage gift, their sponsors, members of the principalia of the province, gave them a statue of the Holy Family. It is said that the statue was placed inside their chicken-coup, and that it used to be smeared with chicken dung.

The father-in-law of this gentleman being a native priest had a

by the prevailing culture is both relevant and real, that is, it satisfies certain psychic or other needs. Once the cultural framework is dismantled through the process of acculturation, then a number of those ancient beliefs, once considered relevant and real (*tinuhoan*) in that culture, fade away and lose their relevance for the life of the folk. They consequently fall to the level of superstition, the trivial and the unreal (*tuó-tuó*).

Since in actual fact the folk themselves are not clear on the distinction between *tuó-tuó* and *tinuhoan*, it is better for the present to leave this matter unresolved and to focus attention on the other categories of folk beliefs which are more or less distinct in the mind of the folk themselves.

It seems that the most general terms for folk beliefs are *tuó-tuó* and *tinuhoan*. Next in extension is the term *Tilimad-on*

special wooden chair made of black wood. It was believed to be the seat of the spirits. At particular times during the year, the *iman* would lower the chair with the abaca rope by which it was ordinarily hung from the ceiling of his house. Food would be offered in front of the chair, and, in the course of the ceremony, the *iman* would invoke the spirits to come and take their places in the chair. It was in other words a thing very sacred to him and his followers. Now this chair became the object of his educated son-in-law's attention. He not only openly professed his disbelief in this practice, but at one time when the *iman* was away, he removed the chair from its honored place in the ceiling, and threw it into the dump heap. When the father-in-law returned and found out what he had done, he was very much peeved. He remonstrated with his son-in-law. He could not swallow the attitude of disrespect for their native traditions. Unable to contain his feelings within the family circle, the wise old man approached Mr. Abejo who was at that time in Claveria. "Mr. Abejo," he said, "you are a Christian, what do you think of my people's beliefs and practices?" He then related his resentment at what his son-in-law had done to his sacred chair. In answer, Mr. Abejo told the old man: "I am a Christian, and I believe and practice the religion which has been taught me since my childhood and which I believe to be true. But I do not despise you for your beliefs and practices. I may not believe in them, but I will never do anything to ridicule them nor to stop you from believing in them." The old man thanked Mr. Abejo for his humanity. He went away happy and satisfied that this Christian was his own brother although they differed in their beliefs and practices in the question of religion. (From a personal interview with Mr. Crisogono Abejo by the author, February 9, 1968 on the air from Cagayan to Manila).

and *Mangasa* (or *Pangasa* or *Malisya*). *Tilimad-on* itself is subdivided into *Panglihi* and *Tigal-i*, the latter having its own subdivisions: *Sumpà* and *Panagang*. There are other categories of folk beliefs, e.g., *Balà* (divination), or *Buyag* (evil tongue or evil eye, etc.), but these categories may be omitted for the time being.

I. *Tilimad-on*

Tilimad-on is defined "*ilhanan sa panahon*," or "the sign of the times." It is a clue, a sign, an omen. The following are examples given by the folk themselves:

(1) *Kon ang tigulang mamatay inubanan sa usa ka bata nga patay usab, maayo ang kahintang sa kalag sa tigulang tungod kay kinuyugan man siya sa usa ka angel—nga mao ang kalag sa bata.*¹²

Here the simultaneous death of the old man and the child is taken as a sign or omen of the good state of the old man's soul.

(2) *Kon ikaw sugarol ug aduna ka'y manok, ayaw ibulang ang imong manok sa adlaw nga nahi-atol sa pagkamatay sa imong silingan kay kana mapilde gayud.*¹³

Here obviously the death of the neighbor is taken as a sign of poor luck in gambling.

(3) If, in the course of the evening meal, the light is accidentally put out, the parties concerned will not succeed in their undertakings.¹⁴

Here the accidental turing off of the light is considered as a sign of lucklessness.

(4) The dropping of a spoon while one is eating is a sign that visitors are to be expected.¹⁵

¹² If an old man dies and simultaneously also a child dies, the soul of the old man is in a happy state because he is accompanied by an angel—the soul of the child (Apolonio Muego, Cagayan de Oro, February 8, 1968).

¹³ If you are a gambler and it happens that you have a cock, do not bring your cock to the pit on the day a neighbor dies because it is sure to lose (Apolonio Muego, Cagayan de Oro, February 8, 1968).

¹⁴ School Teachers, Romblon Province, 1938.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

(5) A person with a mole just below the eye on the path of tears will be a frequent widower.¹⁶

(6) The brilliance and duration of the light of the candles placed at the sides of the groom and the bride during the wedding ceremony will determine the longevity of the lives of either of the couple.¹⁷

A *tilimad-on*, therefore, can be many things: an event (death of child together with the death of an old man, the death of a neighbor, the failure of light during evening meal); an action or gesture (dropping a spoon, singing by the stove); or an object (a mole under the eye, a rather large ear which is a sign of longevity, the smell of candle burning). The whole ominal world is therefore comprised in the concept of *tilimad-on*, and the omens may be either favorable or unfavorable.

II. *Mangasa, Pangasa or Malisya*

Mangasa, pangasa or *malisya* are omens or premonitions of death. Again these can be many things: objects (large fly, black cloth, *amimispis*, an insect), or peculiar animal or even human activities (spider *suddenly dropping* in front of one, dog *digging* in one's yard, *knocking* at one's door or wall), or events (petromax lamp going off and on for 3 consecutive times, cold wind blowing, a dream of riding a boat over clear water that suddenly turns murky), or sometimes a general feeling of malaise or uneasiness.

Perhaps what distinguishes the *mangasa* or *malisya* from the ordinary *tilimad-on* is that the person for whom the sign is intended becomes aware of the former, even personally sensing or intuiting, at least in a vague sort of way, that something unfortunate will happen or has happened to someone close to him. A *tilimad-on*, on the other hand, need not be adverted to by the one for whom the sign is given, until someone reminds him of it. Moreover, the *pangasa* or *malisya* is always an omen for misfortune. A characteristic which is common to both the *tilimad-on* and *mangasa* or *malisya* is that both happen quite often without the intervention of the

¹⁶ Romblon Province, 1938.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

human will. Indeed, most of the objects, actions and events that fall under these categories are either natural and congenital, cosmic or accidental.

III. *Panglihi* or just plain *Lihi*

This may be of many faces. For example, at least four different instances of what one informant insists is *panglihi* have been filed.

(1) *Ang mabdos nga nahigugma sa bisan unsang butanga, ang holma nianang butanga makita sa lawas sa batà nga mahimugso.*¹⁸

Here the *panglihi* or the *lihi* is the visible mark upon the baby's body resembling the object of the mother's fancy. A missionary with Caucasian features, e.g., blonde hair, a high ridged nose, and fair complexion claims that pregnant women in his parish used to look at him for hours with obvious pleasure in the hope that their children might be *malihi-an*. He also claims that some Bukidnon children have blonde hair in precisely this manner.

(2) *Mahitungod sa mga buluhaton sa pagtanom sa bisan unsang tanoma sa adlaw sa mga santos ug sa mga kalag* (November 1 and 2).¹⁹

The observances for planting on the feasts of All Saints and All Souls prescribe that the planter:

(a) take 3 strands of hair; 9 pieces of small hot pepper; and 9 pieces of shells (*kinhason nga gitawag tapoktapok*);

(b) bury these things together with the roots or tubers that he may wish to plant (but one should plant in only 3 holes and no more);

(c) say the following prayer as he digs: *Maghimaya ka Maria, napuno ka sa grasya*;²⁰

¹⁸ The shape or likeness of the thing loved by the pregnant mother becomes clearly visible on the body of the child after it has been born.

¹⁹ Concerning the observances to be kept when you plant anything during the feasts of All Saints and All Souls (November 1 and 2).

²⁰ "Hail Mary, full of grace."

(d) and bury in each of the 3 holes, one strand of hair, together with 3 pieces of red hot pepper or *sili*, and 3 pieces of sea shells.

The *panglihi* here seems to be a complex of both negative and positive elements: *negative*: do not plant in more than 3 holes, do not use more than 3 strands, or 9 pieces of *sili* or 9 pieces of *tapoktapok*; *positive*: secure hair, *sili*, *tapoktapok*; bury these by repeating a prayer at every plant-hole; and cover the hole with soil only after the prayer.

(3) *Sa Semana-Santa, labi na gayud sa Hueves Santo, Viernes Santo ug Sabado Santo mao kini'y mga adlaw nga iglilahi, ug dili angay nga magtrabaho.*²¹

Here the *lihi* seems to center around the abstention from heavy physical work. It is in this case negative.

(4) *Ang pagdalit sa bag-ong abut sa mga namuyo sa yutà nga dili ingon natò sa panahon sa unang pag-ani sa humay o sa mais, ingon man usab ang dili pagkaon nianang unang abut sa walà pa mahimo kining pagdalit.*²²

Here the *panglihi* is again positive as well as negative: an *injunction* to make the offering of the first fruits of the harvest and the *prohibition* from eating the harvest until after the sacrifice has been made.

Another informant classified the following as *panglihi*:

(5) Always leave some grain of rice in any of your containers or in a rice granary. The belief is that the livelihood of the family will not dry up (Romblon Province, 1936).

(6) It is not good to step or walk over a young man or woman lying down on the floor, for doing so would cause the victim no chance of marriage (Romblon Province, 1936).

(7) After the wedding ceremony, it is bad luck for either the bride or the groom to look at the mirror while they have not changed their wedding attire (Romblon Province, 1936).

²¹ During Holy Week, but especially during Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, these being holy days of obligation, one must not do heavy physical work.

²² The offering of the first rice or corn meal to the spirits of the earth after harvest, and the taboo on partaking of the produce before this offering has been made.

(8) Pigs meant for fattening should be castrated one or two days before the full moon. That will make their bodies full and round in a very short time (Romblon Province, 1936).

(9) Unhatched eggs are not good for children to eat. Their heads will not hatch anything good (Romblon Province, 1936).

(10) The first fish caught from a new trap is thrown back into the sea in order that the liberated fish may tell its companions that there is no harm in entering the fish trap (Romblon Province, 1936).

(11) Cut hair should be buried in mud to prevent the hair from which it was cut from falling off (Romblon Province, 1936).

(12) Touching a land turtle will make a pupil poor in class (Romblon Province, 1936).

(13) Before one occupies a newly built house, he should slaughter an animal and spill its blood at the base of every post so that the house will not be haunted by evil spirits (Romblon Province, 1936).

(14) In planting the posts of a house, the order to be followed should be clockwise in order that it will become windproof (Romblon Province, 1936).

(15) Putting grated coconut in the roots of an orange tree will make it bear abundant fruits (Romblon Province, 1936).

(16) A woman on the family way should avoid eating the pancreas (*mandungo*, *balabag* for the Romblon people) of slaughtered animals so that she will have an easy delivery (Romblon Province, 1936).

(17) To ease the delivery of a pregnant woman in difficult labor, some closed objects inside the house are opened, or some knotted or tied objects loosened (Romblon Province, 1936).

(18) A child's disposition toward travel is influenced by the manner his placenta (*enonlan*) is disposed of. If it is buried in the ground near the mid-post of the house, the child will be a stay-at-home. If it is buried at the foot of the stairs, the child will always return home though he travels far. If it is thrown into the sea the child will travel far and wide (Romblon Province, 1936).

(19) Walking over a rope is considered bad for expectant mothers (Romblon Province, 1936). ("Concerns *lumawig*, or cord," added by an informant, Cagayan de Oro, 1968).

(20) Expectant mothers are not allowed to wear any kind of scarf as this may cause the death of the child before or after delivery (Romblon Province, 1936).

(21) Persons erecting a house should insert silver coins into the bottom end of the posts to bring prosperity to its inhabitants (Romblon Province, 1936).

It is evident that the folk themselves are not quite clear about the precise difference between *tilimad-on* and *panglihi*. Of the 21 examples of *panglihi* cited above, at least 6 are controverted by the two informants I have consulted. The first (Mr. Castro Gaabucayan) lumps all of the 21 under the head of *panglihi*, whereas the second (Mr. Apolonio Muego) accepts only 15 of the 21. He considers Nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16 and 17 as simple *tilimad-on*. In fact he is quite reluctant to take all the 15 to be *panglihi*. The only ones he is really positive about as *panglihi* are Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Some observations concerning *Panglihi*.

There are a number of points to be noted with regard to this category.

1. All 21 examples cite actions, events or objects which are directly or indirectly under the control of the human will or of human initiative. These are presented either as positively *enjoined* or negatively *banned*. The purpose of the injunction or prohibition (whether this be stated explicitly or only implicitly) is *always* the *acquisition* of some good and/or the *avoidance* of some evil. As a matter of fact, most, if not all the instances, exhibit a sanction: punishment and reward for behavior. We cannot now go deeply into content-analysis because this is not the prime purpose of this collection. We hope to do so in subsequent studies.

2. In at least 16 of the 21 numbers there is question of some kind of *beginning* or of *first* things: *either* of a *new life* or of a *new condition* in life. For instance, Nos. 1, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 are directly or indirectly concerned with *birth* or *new human life*; Nos. 6, 7, 9, 13, 14 and 21 are concerned with *new conditions* of human life: marriage (6 and 7), or starting student life (9 and 12), or building and occupying a

new house (13, 14 and 21), or human activities concerned with new life or new conditions of life for either animals and plants (8 and 10); for plants: planting and harvesting (2, 4 and 15); the remaining numbers are concerned with human behavior or non-behavior on special days like *Semana Santa* (4) or observances connected with household objects which concern human livelihood (5). There is only one number (11) which does not seem to be connected with the beginning of either human life or a new condition of human life. Although it might easily be fitted under concern against getting into the condition of baldness.

IV. *Tigal-i* or *patig-ali*

The *tigal-i*, also called *patig-ali*, consists of an object used, or an act or gesture done with the expressed intention of achieving a desired end. For instance, a belief under the heading "Agriculture," and the subheading: "Firecrackers for the Palay" explains that

Farmers use firecrackers for their palay as soon as it bears fruits, so that it will grow better and produce more.²³

Another admonishes that

When you plant rice, after preparing the field, put a cross in the middle of the field and before starting to scatter the seed pour some wine or tuba on the ground as an offering to the *apo*; then you may start planting.²⁴

V. The *Tigal-i* as *Sumpà*

Tigal-i, when it is used to avoid some evil effect may be either of two things: *sumpà*, the *tigal-i* that breaks the spell or power of superhuman beings; or *sagang* or *panagang*, a protective or apotropaic object, by which one wards off evil spirits, etc. In Romblon Province for example,

²³Manlomay, Maram-ag, Bukidnon, 1967.

²⁴Cagayan de Oro City, San Pablo City, 1966.

In order to lessen the grief and loneliness of the relatives of a deceased person, they are made to jump or to walk over his grave after the burial (1936).

It is also said that

Sickness is most often caused by evil spirits. To make the sick well, you need to appease the evil spirits by entertaining them with tuba, tobacco, one or two cooked eggs, white or black chicken, etc., after verbally supplicating them (Romblon Province, 1936).

To cure a cry-baby it is suggested that:

The family have the baby undergo a queer rite of being "smoked" over a mixture of burning ingredients of incense, bones of *guisao* [a kind of fish], dry seaweeds, and live charcoal, all of which are placed inside a coconut shell. The performer (*baylan* or *mananambal*) chants unintelligible words in "Latin" as the baby is passed over the smoke. Incredible as it may seem, the cry-baby is transformed after this is done three successive times. The rite is usually done at twilight (Romblon Province, 1936).

Under the heading of *sumpà* should fall most of the practices of folk medicine to cure sicknesses caused by superhuman beings.

The *sagang* or *panagang* is, as I have pointed out, an apotropaic or preventive means of shooing away spirits. The following are among the more interesting examples:

1. When a baby is first bathed in the river, place a knife or bolo under the child to drive away evil spirits (Malaybalay, Bukidnon, 1967).

2. If you want to live long, make it a practice to bathe only on Good Friday. However, you should rub vinegar in the form of a cross on your wrists, on your ankles and kneecaps if you are to bathe on a Friday. The rubbing of the vinegar prevents

the evil effects of bathing (Cagayan de Oro, Cebu City and Ormoc City, 1966, 1967) .

In general, then, the *sumpà* seems to presuppose the spirits' spell over a person. It is designed to break that spell, or at least to render it less virulent. The *sagang* or *panagang* is designed precisely to keep the spirits and their evil powers at bay. All the beliefs and practices of apotropaic or preventive magic fall under this category. It seems safe to conclude that all types of talisman fall under the heading of *sumpà*, and all kinds of amulets, under the heading of *panagang*.²⁵

A belief is sometimes a simple statement of what the folk ordinarily do or do not do. Often the reason for the belief or custom is left unstated. This is clear, for instance, in the following:

Youngsters walk to the left of their elders [Positive].
People do not point their finger at the rainbow [Negative]
[Romblon Province, 1938].

Beliefs of this type are plain statements of behavior based on beliefs implicitly denotated.

Beliefs that are of the *tilimad-on-pangasa* type are generally cast in a condition-conclusion or hypothesis-apodosis pattern. In the following statements, for example, the first parts, whether they be temporal clauses or conditional clauses, have the same structure.

1. When you hear the *amimispis* singing (an insect or small bird which emits a sound like that made by coins being rattled together in the pocket or like that of

²⁵ It is well to emphasize that the analysis here being attempted is not one of content. Before analysis of this sort may be tried, it will be useful first of all to study the folk beliefs according to their manner of expression, that is, according to their structure. There seems to be a correlation between the structure of the beliefs and their content. Structural analysis has been at least adumbrated by Alan Dundes in an article published a couple of years ago, in his book *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 213 ff. In this study of the structural typology of the North American Indian folklores, Dundes tries to show the parallel structure obtained in the folktale as well as in the superstitions or folk beliefs.

scissor blades grinding against each other), a close relative of yours has died or is dying (Cagayan de Oro City, 1938).

2. If you dream of riding a boat over clear water which suddenly turns murky, someone close to you will die (Romblon Province, 1938).

3. If a dog digs in the yard, it is a sign that its master will die (Romblon Province, 1938).

In each of the three cases, the first two of which are *pangasa* and the third *tilimad-on*, the structure of the first part states either a condition or the circumstance of time:

When you hear the *amimispis* singing....

If you dream of riding a boat....

If a dog digs in the yard....

They seem to be interchangeable; one may substitute "when" for "if" or vice versa, without affecting the general meaning of the belief. In either case circumstances describing the events in the second part are given.

In all of these beliefs (*tilimad-on* or *pangasa*) the inner nexus between the first and the second parts, between the temporal clause and the main clause, between the hypothesis and the apodosis, between the "omen" and the thing or event which is "augured" is generally not clear. There appears on the surface, however, a semblance of a cause and effect relationship between, say, hearing the *amimispis* singing and the death of one's relative. The only connection seems to be one of mere temporal precedence. To the logical mind, this kind of a nexus may be easily set aside as false, being based on the fallacy of "cause for non-cause," or that other, "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*." One thing happens *after* another has happened; the first is therefore the cause of the second. "The lights during our dance were turned off and on three times without someone doing it; this was at nine in the evening, the time my auntie died. Therefore it was my auntie's spirit telling us about her death." This statement was of course made from hindsight, after the dancers had been told the following day about the death of their relative in Cebu.

As stated, one may perhaps deny outright the validity of linking the behavior of the lights to the death of the auntie. But perhaps one may be rash in doing so. For the facts are there: the lights did go off and on three consecutive times. It was plain to everyone on the dancefloor. The fact too is that the auntie died, and that she died at about the same time, and that this fact had not been known to the dancers. Knowing the relationship between the dancers and the auntie, the closeness of the ties that bound them together, the concern they would naturally have had over her dying, the emotional bonds that united them over the seas and the mountains, is it really reasonable to say that there was no possibility of bridging the distance between the two places: a Cebu hospital and Cagayan de Oro? What actually caused the lights to go off and on might have been something mechanical merely. But is it irrational to maintain that perhaps that mechanical phenomenon may have been influenced precisely by the strength of the auntie's psychic activity: her thought and emotions reaching out toward her relatives living in a far place at the momentous time of her departure from the land of the living? While keeping much reserve in easy generalizations in this regard, one might admit the possibility of contact between peoples separated by great distances and this, on suprasensory grounds, mental telepathy.

The possibility of mental telepathy between peoples who are emotionally close either through blood relationship or friendship has been evidenced by the experience of many people. It may also be supported by the fact of synaesthesia, the phenomenon of affecting one of the senses with stimulus proper to another, the eyes, for example, tasting the sweetness of certain tunes, or the ears feeling the softness of linen, or the scent being stunned by the brightness of colors. This is not only a figure of speech. It is a fact that happens to poets for instance and to mystics. In other words, the transcendence of proper objects seems well within the range of human experience. One condition however seems necessary. The person or persons concerned must be very sensitive and must have a feel for color, sound, softness and hardness, scent and taste. It is possible only when a certain perfection has been achieved

by the various senses apropos their proper intentionalities or formal objects. Then, too, there is what is traditionally called connatural knowledge. The minds and hearts of people who are very close to each other seem to naturally adapt to the slightest stimulus from one to the other. At the particularly intensely emotional hour of death, when one is about to leave the world and his loved ones, it seems quite possible that certain unknown forces of the spirit may actually be activated to bring about communication between the dying person and those to whom he is very close. Of course, even this is also partly conditioned by culture. Where there is general belief in suprasensory communications, there it seems to occur more frequently. It seems especially true, for instance, among less sophisticated people, among the more or less unspoiled in archaic societies.

It is enough to postulate that it is the spirit of the dying person contacting the spirits of others through a concrete object well within their ken. In a place without electricity, for example, the petromax lamp certainly is the most important object at night, though there may have been some slight mechanical imperfections in the lamp to cause it to go off and on. The possibility remains that the dying person, though physically absent from the dance hall may through his spirit use the lamp to convey his message of concern and care. But why does the spirit not convey its message directly to the spirits of the dancers? A disembodied spirit ordinarily may do so; the feeling of restlessness and malaise of which people sometimes complain at about the moment when, at first unknown to them, a near relative or some one close dies may be an instance of a spirit directly communicating with the spirit, or at least with the sensibilities of another. These feelings of restlessness and bodily annoyance are ordinarily called *malisya* or *pangasa*. In the case of the *amimispis* singing, it may be that the *amimispis* itself is the incarnation of the spirit. No doubt many people think so (Cf. E715.3—separable soul in insect; E734—soul in form of insect; also ghost singing E402.1.4; and huldra singing E460.2.13). It may also be that the human spirit, within a particular cultural milieu, say the Bisayan, has become something to which the *amimispis* readily responds in

certain situations, the death of someone especially close for example. The insect, sensing the presence of the spirit reaching out over great distances to contact those to whom it is tied by intimate bonds of love and affection, begins to sing. This is pure hypothesis to be sure. More factual evidence must be found to take us beyond hypothesis. The possibility, however, of never apodictically proving this phenomenon scientifically, remains.

The folk and, generally speaking, peoples who have not yet passed the threshold of what is known as civilization, seem to have a keener eye, ear and feel for these objective-subjective aspects of human and cosmic life. It seems that sophisticated man loses much of the ability to thrill at the sight of a star-studded sky, or be transported by the glory of the rainbow or the sunset, or be frightened at the roar of the thunder and the lightning-flash. Is it that when man "grows up" he pays a price for this growth; that he becomes sometimes impervious to another side of reality which appeals most to children, the highly sensitive and the highly emotional people? Is it that man's gradual acclimatization to the things of the natural world through advances in science and technology and philosophic reasoning has sometimes made him incapable of seeing beyond the end of the microscope or the slide rule or realizing the profound mystery of human existence?

In the remaining pages a very rough analysis of folk belief is attempted, and, in the Appendix (to be published in the following issue of this journal) which will comprise a listing of folk beliefs, the classification as made by at least three representatives of the folk in the region of Oriental Misamis will be added.

The various categories of folk beliefs to be analysed are the following:

1. Plain statements of behavior based on belief which is implicitly denoted, or plain statements of beliefs which may be either *tuó-tuó* or *tinuho-an*.

2. *Tilimad-on* or beliefs or actions with ominal content.

3. *Panglihi* or *Lihi* (i.e., taboos or negative injunctions).

4. *Tigal-i* or positively enjoined behavior.

5. *Tigal-i* as *Panagang* or *Sagang*, i.e., apotropaic.

6. *Tigal-i* as *Sunpà*, i.e., culturally determined behavior for the breaking or dispelling of charms that are harmful.

Only a sampling of folk beliefs has been analyzed. The method is quite easy, as will be clear to the reader. The reader may make his own structural analysis as he reads through the items herein collected.

TUO-TUO (TINUHOAN): LIHI — TIGAL-I
(Negative-Positive Injunction Pattern)

<i>Time</i>	<i>Place and Other Attend. Circumstances</i>	<i>Negative-Positive Injunction</i>	<i>Reason</i>
Immediately after sleep		Don't bathe	You'll have difficulty in the night
At noontime		Don't take a bath	Cataos (mermaids) come out
During holidays		Don't bathe	Fairies (<i>engkantos</i>) also take a bath then
At end of the year		Take a bath	To rid yourself of "goat-like quality" (<i>abilidad nga candiong</i>)
Upon rising in morning	Before counting money	Take a bath	To avoid skin disease
In the morning		Bathe yourself	To rid yourself of 7 sicknesses
After delivery	When strong enough	Mothers bathe. Prepare special meal to ancestors or anitos	In thanksgiving for their gift of the baby
In morning	Mothers weaning child	Should bathe and pray to spirits.	To preserve baby

Times of drought		People bathe Sto. Niño	To induce rain
Philippine peoples		Bathe goat or cat	To induce rain and cause thunder and lightning
Coming home from visiting the sick or from cemetery or a wake		Don't go upstairs — first bathe or sprinkle yourself with ashes	Sick in house will get worse
Baby's first bath	In river	Place knife under him	To drive away evil spirits
Good Friday	Only on this day of year	People bathe	For long life
Good Friday	People who wound themselves	Should bathe	To get healed
Friday	Having rubbed vinegar on wrists in form of cross	People bathe	To prevent evil effects
Easter Sunday at midnight	In sea or river	Take a bath	
	Even if people should tempt you	Don't look back on your way to the sea	
	Without looking back or speaking	Leave the sea; you may speak next day	
In the afternoon		Don't bathe	7 diseases are said to enter your body or at least blood is lessened
In the morning		Don't bathe	One cup of blood is drained from your body

TUO-TUO (TINUHO-AN)

[Condition-Effect (Conclusion) Pattern]

<i>Time</i>	<i>Place and Other Attend. Circumstances</i>	<i>Condition</i>	<i>Effect</i>	<i>Reason</i>
When Rainbow shines		If you bathe	You'll get sick	Fairies bathe
At noontime	You can't see spirits	If you bathe	You might die	Spirits are esp. touchy; you might harm them
At new moon	As marked exactly in calendar	If you bathe	You will die	
Riding in a boat over clear waters which sud- denly become dark		If you dream thus	Someone close to you will die	