

# From *Tortillier* to *Ingsud-Ingsud*: Creating New Understandings Concerning the Importance of Indigenous Dance Terminology in the Practice and Kinaesthetics of the Sama *Igal* Dance Tradition

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## **Abstract**

In researching Philippine dance traditions, many scholars often leave out the study of indigenous dance terminology. A notable exception is Francisca Reyes Aquino. Although mentioning quite a number of indigenous dance terms, her trail-blazing works tend to be rather general in approach to dance research and fail to interrogate the nuances and contextualized meanings of such dance terms. This paper seeks to study indigenous dance terms in the Sama *igal* dance tradition by using research approaches from linguistics and cultural studies. The study of indigenous dance terms is deemed to be important in creating understandings about the practice of the *igal* as well as the kinaesthetics embedded in it. The first part of the paper revisits the work of Francisca Reyes Aquino in terms of her compilation and use of indigenous dance terms as a major component of her development of instructional materials. It also briefly evaluates gaps in her work that help point the direction for future research. The second part relates this researcher's introduction to indigenous dance terms in the Sama *igal* tradition as a result of investigative forays in the field. It then presents a selection of dance terms that are deemed to be basic in the said tradition. The third part presents a linguistic and cultural analysis of these dance terms via movement meaning and

cognates, ecological metaphors, and relatedness to other movement terms in the maritime Southeast Asian region. The fourth part, by way of conclusion, presents a “socio-cultural linguistic model of dance terminology” as a way of redirecting approaches to dance research in the southern Philippines as well as the maritime Southeast Asian region.

Keywords: Sama-Bajau *igal* dance tradition, dance terminology, kinaesthetics, dance ethnography, maritime Southeast Asian culture

### **Introduction: Movement, dance terminology and the importance of understanding diversity within and pursuing comparisons across traditions**

A CURSORY REVIEW OF LITERATURE on dance scholarship in the Philippines reveals limitations that hinder understanding the diversity within traditions and pursuing comparisons across traditions.<sup>1</sup> First of all, most of the literature in Philippine dance tends to adopt the format of encyclopaedic enumeration of what dances can be found within the borders of the nation-state (Aquino 1946; Alejandro 1972, 1978 and 1982; and Goqingco 1980). Hardly any of these pieces of literature interrogate the diversity found within traditions that comprise their often single-item lists of dances representing certain locales. Second, even with the emergence of scholarship that have a decidedly regional focus, they still tend to be enumerative in approach and hardly devote any discussion to the relationship among movement, dance terminology, and kinaesthetics (Ines 1973; Fernando-Amilbangsa 1983; and Fajardo and Fajardo 1992). It will be shown in later sections how the study of these three variables facilitates the formation of understandings regarding diversity within traditions and the pursuit of comparisons across traditions. At this point, it may be proper to state that in dance research, movement ought to be seen as one of the most basic units of analysis, for a study of movement or dance terms helps reveal qualities of movement that are deemed to be desirable and/or proper (as implied by the terms *kinaesthetics* and *kinethics*).<sup>2</sup>

In terms of methodology, it appears that Francisca Reyes Aquino set the most basic format for descriptive dance research in the Philippines. Her method is quite straight-forward. A brief discussion of the origin of the name of the dance is presented with notes as to where the dance was observed. This discussion is followed by a “how-to” section that details basic steps, patterns and phases of the dance performance. Sometimes, indigenous dance movement terms are mentioned in this “how to” section. Finally, a notation of the music that accompanies the dance is included in her compilation.

Francisca Reyes Aquino is the Philippines’ pioneer dance researcher.<sup>3</sup> She is the first Filipino scholar to study Philippine dances systematically and the first to develop instructional materials relying mainly on detailed verbal description and diagrams (Aquino 1946; Tolentino and Ramos 1935). Her initial efforts in dance research have been noted by legendary dancer and choreographer, Ted Shawn (1929), in his book titled *Gods Who Dance*. In 1952, Aquino published *Fundamental Dance Steps and Music*. In this book, Aquino presented two categories of dance terminology. The first referred to “dance steps,” which detailed basic steps and footwork from all of the dances she observed in the country (See Table 1). The second category referred to “dance terms,” which, upon close examination, referred to the positions of dancers in the performance space, movement patterns across the dance floor, and the performer’s postures and gestures (Table 2).

In the “dance steps” category, Aquino described approximately 58 major types of steps. Of these 58 types of steps, 13 had indigenous labels (although 4 did not indicate specific provenance), 9 had Spanish-European loan-word labels, and 36 had English labels. The indigenous labels were: *bacui*, *bleking*, *chotis*, *espunti*, *haplik*, *itik-itik*, *korriti*, *kuradang*, *mudansa*, *palit-palit*, *papuri*, *piang-piang*, and *sangig*. The labels of Spanish or European origins were: *brancos con puntillas*, *brancos con vueltas*, *contragansa*, *engaño*, *habanera*, *mazurka*, *paso*, *polka*, *redoba*, *sagamantica*, *torillier*, and *waltz*. Although not indicated in her text, it appears that the English “dance steps” were either appropriated from some foreign tradition

TABLE 1: Francisca Reyes Aquino’s “Dance Steps” and Their Provenance

Provenance/Language	Dance Steps
English	<i>Change Steps, Chasing Step, Close Step, Cross Step, Cut Step, Rocking Step, Galop Step, Heel and Toe Change Step, Mincing Step, Shuffling Step, Skip Step, Slide Step, Step-Hop, Step Point, Step Swing, Step-Swing-Hop, Step-Brush-Swing-Hop, Sway Balance with a Point/Brush/Close/Hop/Waltz/Raise, Double Sway Balance, Three Steps and Point, Touch Step, Change-Step Turn, Four-Step Turn in Place, Cross-Step Turn, Cross Turn, Pivot Turn, Pivot Turn with a Point/Sarok and Point, Slide Turn, Brush-Step Turn, Three-Step Turn, Waltz Turn, Three-Step Turn in Place, Whirl Turn, Waltz (native), Waltz Balance, Cross Waltz (36)</i>
Spanish	<i>Brincos con Puntillas/Vueltas, Contra-Gansa (Grapevine), Engaño with a close/waltz, Habanera, Paso Español, Redoba (6)</i>
Visayan Region	<i>Bacui, Espunti, Haplik, Kuradang, Sañgig (5)</i>
Unknown (Not Indicated)	<i>Bleking, Chotis, Korriti Step, Korriti-Step Turn (4)</i>
Other European	<i>Mazurka, Polka (Plain, Heel and Toe, Hop, Slide) (2)</i>
Ilocos Region	<i>Mudansa Step, Sagamantica (2)</i>
Tagalog Region	<i>Papuri Step (1)</i>
Surigao	<i>Itik-Itik (1)</i>
“Non-Christian Dances”	<i>Tortillier (1)</i>

Note: This table is derived by the author from the content of Aquino (1952).

or invented by Aquino herself. The indigenous labels were apparently encountered during fieldwork, as were the labels of Spanish-European origins. Strangely enough in the case of *tortillier*, Aquino uses a French-derived label for a step of “non-Christian” origin. This step, as will be discussed in a following section of this piece, is known as “*ingsud-insud*” among several Sama groups in the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi Archipelagos.

TABLE 2: Francisca Reyes Aquino’s “Dance Steps” and Provenance

<b>Provenance/Language</b>	<b>Dance Terms</b>
English	<i>Arms in Lateral Position, Arms in Reverse “T”, Brush, Clockwise, Counter Clockwise, Crossed Arms, Cross-Over, Cut, Draw, Free Foot, Free Hand, Hands on waist, Hop, Inside Foot, Inside Hand, Jump, Leap, Outside Foot, Outside Hand, Place, Pivot, Point, Set, Slide, Stamp, Star with Right Hand, Step, Supporting Foot, Tap, Whirl</i> (30)
Spanish	<i>Abrasete, Cabeceras, Costados, Dos-A-Dos (Do-si-Do)</i> (4)
Tagalog Region	<i>Jaleo (Tagalog of Spanish Origin), Panadyak, Saludo</i> (3)
Ilocos Region	<i>Kumintang, Patay, Salok</i> (3)
Visayan Region	<i>Hayon-Hayon, Sarok(c)</i> (2)
Unknown (Not Indicated)	<i>Bilao, Hapay</i> (2)
Ibanag	<i>Masiwak</i> (1)

Note: This table is derived by the author from the content of Aquino (1952).

In the “dance terms” category, she described 45 terms with 11 indigenous labels or labels appropriated from European sources, 4 Spanish

labels, and 30 English labels. The indigenous labels were: *bilao*, *hapay*, *hayon-hayon*, *jaleo*, *kumintang*, *masiwak*, *panadyak*, *patay*, *salok*, *saludo* and *sarok*. The exact provenance of what appears to be two indigenous terms, *bilao* and *hapay*, were not indicated. The labels of Spanish or European origins were: *abrasete*, *cabeceras*, *costados*, *do-si-do* (*dos-a-dos*). Again, it seems that the English “dance terms” were either appropriated from some foreign tradition or invented by Aquino herself. The indigenous labels were likewise apparently encountered during fieldwork, as were the labels of Spanish-European origins. These observations imply that Aquino’s system of “fundamental dance steps and terms” that she used in her instructional materials is “inductively derived.” Her compilation is the first attempt in devising such “a system” for “Philippine national dances.”

Aquino’s collection of dance terminology presents contemporary scholars with several problems. First of all, the annotation of her collection indicates her position as a generalist rather than a specialist. She did not collect dance terminology either as a single dance piece or a single dance tradition (for instance, the dance terms of *pandanggo arakengkeng* of the *pandanggo* traditions of the Ilocos region or the dance terms of *igal linggisan* of the *igal* dance tradition of the Sama peoples of the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi Archipelagos). She cast her net across a wide set of ethnolinguistic groups. As such, an in-depth understanding of labels and movement aesthetics (kinaesthetics) cannot be gleaned from her work. Second, she did not interrogate the etymology of dance terms. Such an interrogation would have revealed root words and cognates that could have instructed scholars about “normative” qualities of specific movements and phrases. Third, given the nature of her data, she could not offer any cross-regional (intra-Philippine) or cross-national (international or maritime Southeast Asian or Asian) comparisons of dance terms. As such, her data appeared as isolated pockets of cultural knowledge, not connected to each other in terms of shared ideas, artifacts, and cosmologies.

Aquino’s census-like approach to the study of dance could perhaps be best understood in the context of her times. With little doubt, her

undertaking was part of a greater task of cultural accounting with the purpose of nation-building “under the watchful eye” of the colonial master, America in mind. Indeed, America skilfully undertook censuses, surveys, and other studies of their colonial “possession.” The census of dances of the people paralleled the census of the colony. Like many forms of colonial accounting, Aquino’s task did not require for a development of an “in-depth” or for that matter a “critical” view. What was required was a listing of what was present where... for the sum of the parts constitute the Filipino nation (read: colony) in a place called the Philippine Islands. In such a context, internal diversities are conveniently shoved into neat ethnic categories, and the links that cross the borders of the geo-colonial entity are likewise conveniently ignored, perhaps the better to prevent and contain the birth and spread of pan-regional identities, consciousness and movements. As such, a “narrow view” is understandable given the “narrow interests” of the commissioning discourse of the colonial mind, and in such a manner, “the Philippine Islands” were delineated and detached from “the other” parts of Southeast Asia.

Gaps notwithstanding, the seminal works of Aquino point to the existence of a rich lode of dance or movement terminology for scholars to examine and to revisit across space and time. It will be shown later that Aquino’s concern for dance terminology “ironically” holds the key for Philippine dance research to move away from an initially “narrow view” and to develop a “wider perspective” of dance that can account for diversity within traditions and at the same time validate links across traditions that go beyond the borders of the Philippine nation-state.

### **Probing dance terms in the Sama *igal* dance tradition**

In 2005, this researcher received a generous grant from the Institute of Philippine Culture of the Ateneo de Manila University to conduct dance research in Tawi-Tawi, Philippines.<sup>4</sup> This grant gave this researcher the opportunity to meet dance masters based in Sitangkai and Sibutu, Tawi-Tawi Province and to observe the Sama *igal* dance tradition as

practiced in the field.<sup>5</sup> One of the dance masters that this researcher met in this initial foray in the field was Mr. Ligaya Baruk of Sitangkai. Mr. Baruk demonstrated the basic undulating movement of the arms of the igal tradition which he identified as *limbai*. The movement is supposed to mimic the swaying of palm fronds. Mr. Baruk also identified the sideward shuffling movement of the feet, which Aquino called the *tortillier*, as *ingsud-ingsud*. This encounter with Mr. Baruk started this researcher's interest in the study Sama igal dance terminology.<sup>6</sup>

Before proceeding any further, it may be most appropriate at this point to identify the position of this researcher in Philippine academe as well as his opinion on current issues confronting dance research in the Philippines. The researcher is Professor of Asian and Philippine studies at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman. He is primarily trained in political science, but has since branched out to multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches in researching cultural phenomena. He is of Tagalog and Bisayan (Davaoño) lineage. With reference to the so called "igal-pangalay debate," one of the current issues in Philippine dance research, he is of the opinion that the Sama igal dance tradition should be considered distinct from the Tausug *pangalay* dance tradition.

### *Basic Poses*

In attempting to understand the mechanics of the dance vocabulary of the Sama igal tradition, one cannot divorce movement from basic dance poses or positions. Poses or positions are connected to each other by transitional movements or gestures.<sup>7</sup> As the Sama do not appear to possess terms for basic positions, this researcher has devised the following vocabulary:<sup>8</sup>

- (1<sup>st</sup>) **First.** Palms folded in front of the chest as if in prayer.
- (2<sup>nd</sup>) **Second.** Both arms stretched to the sides at shoulder level like the wings of an eagle.
- (3<sup>rd</sup>) **Third.** One flexed palm placed in front of the chest and the other extended to the side at shoulder level.

(4<sup>th</sup>) **Fourth.** One flexed palm placed to the side of the ear and the other extended to the side at shoulder level.

**High fourth.** Raised or extended fourth position. Leading hand extended above the head at an approximately 45 degree angle to the neck and shoulders. The other arm is extended to the side at shoulder level.

**Low fourth.** One hand is extended to the side (slightly forward) at shoulder level, while the other is held at waist level with the palms in flexion.

(5<sup>th</sup>) **Fifth.** Both arms raised to the sides above the head, with bended elbows and flexed palms facing upwards with fingers pointing towards the head.

(6<sup>th</sup>) **Sixth.** One arm raised vertically in front of the shoulder bend at 90 degrees, while the other arm is placed lying down in front of the chest with the crook of the palm placed at the base or elbow of the vertically raised arm.

One usually ends a dance with a standard **first position** with hands folded at chest level, palms crossed at the wrist in flexion, one palm pointing upwards, the other downwards while joined at the wrists or with one palm placed over the other palm, in front of the body at chest level while bowing.

As mentioned earlier, movements are used as transitions from one position to another. They may also be used to “ornament” a certain position (posture) or movement phrase (pattern) within a particular dance sequence or “choreography.” The Sama traditional igal dance terms that are discussed in the following section were mainly collected from Bongao, Sitangkai, Sibutu, Simunul, and Tabawan. Recent research work via an Asian Center Research Grant using data gathered from informants from Sama diasporic communities in Batangas City, Municipality of Apalit,

Pampanga Province, and, Baranggay San Andres, Manila City confirm the use of these dance terms, albeit with some degree of variability.<sup>9</sup>

### *Hand, Arm and Upper Body Movements*

Apart from basic positions or poses, dance terms may be observed in the use of the following labels pertaining to hand, arm, upper body movements:

**Limbai** is a movement that evokes the swaying of coconut fronds. Arms are raised and lowered alternately at the sides with the elbows leading with wrists following in articulation of wave-like motion either at the hip, shoulder, head, above the head levels. The limbai may also be done forward and backward.<sup>10</sup>

**Ta'ut-Ta'ut** is the act of over-extending the elbows, thus once again evoking the motion of waves.<sup>11</sup>

**Kello'** is the act of rotating the palm at the wrist in an outward direction, fingers ending in a position pointing downwards.<sup>12</sup>

**Kollek** is the reverse of *kello'*. The palm is rotated at the wrist in an inward direction, fingers ending in a position pointing either upwards or to the sides.<sup>13</sup>

**Kello'-kollek** are observed as transitional gestures from one position to another. Five variations may be seen: *kollek* (one inward rotation), *kollek-kollek* (two inward rotations), *kello'-kollek* (one outward followed by an inward rotation), *kello'-kollek-kollek* (one outward rotation followed by two inward rotations) and, *kello'-kinolek* or *kello'-kollek pariata* (one outward rotation followed by an upward rotation to the side).

**Ebed-Ebed** is the shimmering or flicking of the fingers ornamenting the movement of the hands. Best executed with the use of ornamental nails called *sulakengkeng*, the movement brings to the mind orchid petals

quivering in the wind. The term can also be used to refer to the repeated tapping of the balls or toes of a foot with the sole held in contact with the floor.<sup>14</sup>

**Kagong-Kagong** is the mimesis of the movement of a crab's (kagong) claws. Palms are flexed towards the center of the body chest level.<sup>15</sup>

**Kamun** or **pagkamun** is the mimesis of the undulating movement of the sea mantis. Arms are flailed above the head in a forward and backward motion.<sup>16</sup>

**Kidjut-Kidjut** is the jerking movement of the shoulders which may be done alternately or in unison.<sup>17</sup>

### *Footwork*

The following dance terms for footwork or movement of the feet or legs are likewise observed in the field:

**Ingsud-Ingsud** is the lateral movement of **the** feet executed through a shuffling movement through the ball and the sole of each foot. There are two kinds of **ingsud-ingsud**.<sup>18</sup> The first is the parallel **ingsud-ingsud** where both feet move in the same direction at the same time. The second is the opposite **ingsud-ingsud** where either the ball or sole of each foot crosses or meets the other. The term is called **hengsod-hengsod** among the Sama Tabawan and **hiki-hiki** among the Sama Simunul. The movement is supposed to bring to mind the movement of the sea snail.

**Kapo-Kapo** is a movement that simulates wading into the waters. The ball of the foot is pushed forward before planting the whole foot on the ground. The other foot follows suit.<sup>19</sup>

**Engke'-Engke'** is like the kapo-kapo except that the feet are raised from the ground. The term literally means "raise-raise" or "up-up," obviously a cognate of **angat-angat** and **angkat-angkat**.<sup>20</sup>

**Kagis-Kagis** comes from the movement of a chicken scratching the earth. The cognate in Tagalog is kahig-kahig. The base of the big toe of the leading foot “scratches” the floor backward to the side, upon which it is raised and planted towards the front. The other foot follows suit.<sup>21</sup>

**Ketchek-Ketchek** is a “mini” kagis-kagis. In the ketchek-ketchek, the foot is not lifted by simply allowed to slide towards the front tracing a quarter circle figure on the floor.<sup>22</sup>

**Henggel-Henggel** is the alternate bending and extending of the knees on tip-toe as the dancer briskly walks or runs forward.<sup>23</sup>

**Hendek-Hendek** is the upward and downward movement of the body in place or while turning around using an *ingsud-ingsud* movement. The body weight is supported by the back leg while the other leg is placed in front to execute the *ingsud-ingsud* movement.<sup>24</sup>

**Suhut-Suhut** is the rapid backward movement of the feet.<sup>25</sup>

**Tendek** is an emphatic stamp of the foot.<sup>26</sup>

**Tendek-Tendek** are a series of stamps.<sup>27</sup>

**Laksu** is to jump to another position remaining down in the final moment.<sup>28</sup>

**Oyoh-Oyoh** is a trembling movement of the knee as the ball of the foot is tapped on the floor.

The supporting leg is bent, while the body is placed slightly forward.<sup>29</sup>

**Kiring-Kiring**. Finally, in modern or contemporary *igal*, the swaying movement of the hips, observed usually but not exclusively among female dancers, is called **Kiring-Kiring**.<sup>30</sup> This label is a cognate of the Tagalog *giling-giling* and *kendeng-kendeng*. This movement has spawned a contemporary form of *igal* called *igal pakiring*.

It should be noted that the groupings under the headings of “hand, arm and upper body movements” and “footwork” are groupings devised by this researcher and do not reflect an indigenous categorization by the Sama peoples. As such, the categorizations mentioned above must be seen as categories of convenience. It should also be noted that the duplicated words indicated here in the context of dance are not diminutive forms but are instead “serialized forms” or actions done in a series.

Given the variability of the Sama language group as well as the great distances across Sama communities in maritime Southeast Asia, to assume a unified indigenous system of dance terminology would most probably be a faulty or overly ambitious idea at best. However, one may compile, compare, and eventually “inductively derive” a “system” of Sama dance terminology to serve as a basis for future comparisons; to facilitate the development of a system of dance instruction that possesses some degree of emic-orientation; and to guide research in pushing the known limits of continuities in dance term use. Table 3 shows a preliminary study of the distribution of terms as observed in Sitangkai, Tabawan, Zamboanga, and Simunul.<sup>31</sup> This preliminary study indicates that even within the relatively narrow confines of the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi Archipelagos, dance terminology is not universally shared.<sup>32</sup> In this table, “1” denotes the presence of the dance term, while “0” denotes the absence of its use. However, “0” or absence does not mean that the movement itself does not exist. It simply refers to the fact that the informant cannot volunteer or recall any term used for the particular movement.<sup>33</sup> Although universality is not established, some degree of significance in terms of sharing can be observed. Six terms out of twenty, or 30 per cent of the terms, can be observed in the four localities of Sitangkai, Tabawan, Zamboanga and Simunul. These terms are *limbai(y)*, *kidjut-kidjut*, *engke'-engke'*, *tendek*, *laksu*, and *kiring-kiring*. Five terms out of twenty, or 25 per cent of the terms, can be observed in three localities. Combining the two figures, one can at least conclude that “a significant number” of the terms are shared. Perhaps, future fieldwork can expand this aspect of shared-ness using this list as a basic template for comparison. Another

aspect that future research can examine is the idea of “intelligibility.” For instance, it is possible in cases where dance terms are not shared, for informants to understand the meaning of terms used by informants belonging to other Sama groups as well as to execute the corollary movements upon hearing specific dance terms even though they may not use such particular terms in their own practice of dance.

TABLE 3: Preliminary Study of Distribution of Terms

Dance Term	Sitangkai	Tabawan	Zamboanga	Simunul	Total
<b>Limbai(y)</b>	1	1	1	1	4
<b>Ta’ut-Ta’ut</b>	1	1	1	0	3
<b>Kello’</b>	0	1	0	0	1
<b>Kollek</b>	1	1	0	1	3
<b>Ebed-Ebed</b>	0	1	1	0*	2
<b>Kagong-Kagong</b>	1	1	1	0	3
<b>Kamun</b>	1	0	0	0	1
<b>Kidjut-Kidjut</b>	1	1	1	1	4
<b>Ingsud-Ingsud</b>	1	1	1	0**	3
<b>Kapo’-Kapo’</b>	1	1	1	0	3
<b>Engke’-Engke’</b>	1	1	1	1	4
<b>Kagis-Kagis</b>	1	1	1	0	3
<b>Ketchek-Ketchek</b>	1	0	0	0	1
<b>Hengel-Hengel</b>	1	1	0	0	2
<b>Hendek-Hendek</b>	1	0	0	1	2
<b>Suhut-Suhut</b>	1	1	0	0	2
<b>Tendek</b>	1	1	1	1	4
<b>Laksu</b>	1	1	1	1	4
<b>Oyoh-Oyoh</b>	1	1	0	0***	2
<b>(Pa)kiring-kiring</b>	1	1	1	1	4
<b>Total</b>	18	17	12	8	55

Note: “1” denotes the observation of the use of the term according to certain informants, while “0” denotes the non-use of the term. \*jogjog anak tangan (literally: shaking of the fingers), \*\*hiki-hiki, \*\*\*jogjog are the equivalent terms and/or cognates observed in Simunul. This table is derived from data gathered by the researcher from interviews of informants during various instances of fieldwork.

### Meanings, aesthetic qualities and regional affinities

This section embarks upon a more detailed linguistic analysis of Sama igal dance terms in order to discover aesthetic qualities that may be gleaned from language use, particularly in metaphors, and in order to establish cognate terms found in Sama languages/dialects, Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, and in the highly specialized Central Javanese (Surakarta) dance terminology. This process of contextualizing Sama igal dance terms effectively relates the vocabulary to its cultural environment of maritime Southeast Asia, and to its physical environment of the tropics and the sea.

**Limbai(y)** is a name of a dance found among the Sama Kota Belud of northwest Sabah, Malaysia. Called *igal limbayan* among the Sama Sitangkai of Tawi-Tawi Province, Philippines, the dance is associated with female igal djin-spirit bearers (Hussin and Santamaria 2008, 39–64). Alain Martenot (1980) notes that the dance owes its name to the “slow and graceful swinging motion of the dancer’s arms.” A similar dance of the same name is found among the Sama Kubang of Semporna, Sabah Malaysia (Pugh-Kitingan, Hussin, and Baptist 2005). All of the lexicon sources available to this researcher refer to *limbai* as the motion of swinging.<sup>34</sup>

- Generic Sama: “*hayunan tangan* (swinging of the arms)”(Hinayat 2003, 159)[“Generic” is my term for Sama entries in the Hinayat glossary that is not categorized under other Sama subgroups].
- Sama Sibutu: “*Jantih limbeyhan longngon-na* (His arms have a nice swing [as he walks])”[SSD, *limbey*].
- Central Sinama: “*Da’a palimbayhun basket* (Don’t let the basket swing)”[CSED, *limbay*]
- Sama Pangutaran: “*Da’a na ka’u ngalimbay kosog ma baldi iyu sabab p’nno* (Don’t swing that bucket hard because it’s full )”[EPSD 1992].”

In Tausug, *limbay* likewise means “to swing (the arms back and forth at one’s sides).” *Ayaw limbayan in lima mu, awn tau ha ulihan mu* (Don’t swing your arms, there are people behind you)”[Hassan, Ashely, and Ashley 1994, 290]. Mohamad Said Hinayat (2003, 159), however, cites *lenggang* as a Bahasa Melayu translation of *limbai*. *Lenggang* may be translated as “to wave” or “to roll” (Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 167). It may also be translated as “to tip from side to side. *Bang banka’ dalam katigna, bo’ mbal biyaksa magbayan, maglenggang-lenggang* (When a canoe has no outriggers, and the person in it is not experienced, the boat keeps tipping from side to side)”[CSED, *lenggang-lenggang*]. *Igal* is traditionally performed on boats. **The aesthetic quality that comes to mind is, therefore, that of a dancer compensating for the tipping or pitching of a boat with the alternate raising and lowering (or swinging) of the arms.** In the Surakarta tradition of Javanese dance, *lembeyan-lembehan* refers to a specialized movement that involves “swinging the arm(s)” (Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1995, 104). Cognates include *limbey* (Sama Sibutu), *limbay* (Central Sinama), *limbay* (Tausug), and *lembey* (Javanese).

**Ta’ut** is translated in Bahasa Melayu as *hayun/ buai* (Hinayat 2003, 276), which means “to swing or to rock”(Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 55). The meaning becomes clearer in a Central Sinama lexicon entry: “To bounce something up and down, as a hanging cradle. *Ana, bang anangis na onde’ inan, magta’ut na pa’in l’lla bang d’nda inan maghinang* (I tell you, when that child is crying the man has to keep on bouncing the cradle if the woman is working)[CSED, *ta’ut*].” Cradles or *ta’utan* in Sinama are not rocked from side to side. Rather, they are bounced up and down suspended from the ceiling. **The aesthetic quality in igal is therefore that of the hyper-extended elbow of the dancer bouncing or bobbing up and down as it is stretched away from the body.** A related word may be the Sama Sibutu *tugut* which means “to extend a fishing line; also, to let out string; to give more rope. *Bang eh ninduk ma pissi nu, bohoh takissa nu paragon na deyng, tugutin, supaya tatollon-na toongan* (If the bait on your hook is already bitten, then you are able to feel a fish is now running [away],

give more line, so that it will really be able to swallow [the hook][SSB, *tugut*].” In both *ta’ut* and *tugut*, the act of extending or stretching is apparent. In Tausug, *taut* likewise, means “to move a swing cradle up and down... (Hassan, Ashley and Ashley 1994, 467).” Cognate: *taut* (Tausug). Possible cognate: *tugut* (Sama Sibutu).

**Kello’** in Bahasa Melayu is *bengkok* (Hinayat 2003, 123). *Bengkok* means “bent, curve or crooked”(Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 55). *Kello’* appears to be a cognate of the Bahasa Indonesia word *eluk*, which means “curve” in English (Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 80).

*Kello’* in Central Sinama takes on the meaning of being “bent out of shape or alignment.” *Bang bay basi’ akello’ subay tinilu* (When a wire has been bent out of shape it should be straightened)[SIL Philippines 1992, 158].” *K’llok* is “curved” or “winding” in Sama Pangutaran, as in “*Gala nu iyu ayad kellok na; tom panganggala lahing* (Your harvesting knife is good; it is curved and is sharp for harvesting coconuts)”[SIL Philippines 1992, 158]. *Kalluk* is a Sama Sibutu cognate of the word which carries the same meaning, as in “*Pakalluk ni jalom ukil-na sanduk tutu* (This ladle’s carving curves inward)”[SSD, *kalluk*] The same word, which carries the meaning of being “crooked or out of alignment,” is found in Central Sinama, “*Mbal na makabontol an’ngge, asidda na ataha’t t’bbu. Pakkakuk na pareyo’* (The sugar cane cannot stand up straight, it is too long. It bends over downwards)”[CSED, *kalluk*]. Likewise in Tausug, *kalluk* means “curved, bent. *Kalluk in bingit* (A hook is bent)”[Hassan, Ashley and Ashley 1994, 219]. **Based on this image of a heavy stalk of sugar cane, the aesthetic quality appears to be that of rotating the palms of the hands at the wrists ending at flexion with the fingers pointing downwards.** Cognates: *eluk* (Bahasa Indonesia), *k’lluk* (Sama Pangutaran), *kalluk* (Sama Sibutu and Central Sinama), and *kalluk* (Tausug).

**Kollek** is obviously the reverse form of **Kello’** or **Kellok**. In Sama Sibutu, it means “to wiggle” as in “*Bang lai na pumpum ma kaluwaan, beteh ingga lowa-na? Ngollek-ngollek* (When the sea-worm is outside [of its hole] now, how is its appearance? ([It] wiggles and wiggles)”

[SSD, *kollek*] In the same dialect, it also means “to move the arms and hands in a fluid manner as in dancing the *igal*” [SSD, *kollek*]. In Central Sinama, *kollek-kollek* means “to make random marks, as the writing of beginners” as well as “movement of a caterpillar” [CSED, *kollek-kollek*]. “*Bang aku magsulat kollek-kollekku apa mbal aku ata’u anulat* (When I write, I scribble because I don’t know how to write)” [CSED, *kollek-kollek*]. In Tausug, *kulluk* means “bent, curved, warped. *Kulluk in sanga kahuy ini* (This twig is bent)” [Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 248]. **The reference to the wiggling movement of sea-worm or a caterpillar emphasizes the aesthetic quality of the articulation of the rotating motion of the palms at the wrists.** As the reverse cognate of *kello’*, the parallel reverse motion of rotation would end in a position of the palms with the **fingers pointing upwards**. Cognates: *kello’* (Central Sinama), *eluk* (Bahasa Indonesia), *kulluk* (Tausug), *k’lluk* (Sama Pangutaran), and *kalluk* (Sama Sibutu and Central Sinama).

**Ukel** is a Central Javanese dance term which means “to turn, twist” and which “**always refers to the rotating motion of the wrist...**” (Brakel-Papenhuisen 1995, 185). The movement, which has nine variants in the Surakarta tradition, may be appreciated as a cognate of *kello’* and *kollek* via the Bahasa Indonesia *eluk*, which in turn is related to the Sama Pangutaran *likku*, meaning curved (SIL Philippines 1992, 160). The Tagalog *liko* means “to turn either to the right or the left.” *Ukel* is most obviously related to *Ukkil* (Sama Sitangkai), *Ukkil* (Tausug) [Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 506]. *Ukir* (Bahasa Indonesia), and *Okir* (Maranao-Iranun) referring to the curvilinear ornamentation in wood carving, jewelry and textile arts. Cognates: *ukkil* (Sama Sitangkai), *ukkil* (Tausug), *ukir* (Bahasa Indonesia), *okir* (Maranao-Iranun), *kollek* (Sama Sibutu) *kello’* (Central Sinama), *eluk* (Bahasa Indonesia), *k’lluk* (Sama Pangutaran), *kalluk* (Sama Sibutu and Central Sinama).

**Ebed-Ebed** refers to the “tissue-like material between the bones of the pectoral and dorsal fins. *Mat’ngnga’iting, ya katas-daing inan, ya he’ nionan ebed-ebed* (In the middle of the spines, the fish tissue, that is what is called ebed-ebed)” [CSED, *ebed-ebed*]. In Mohamad Said

Hinayat's glossary, it comes in the form of *eved-eved*, which means "to tremble" (*menggeletar kuat*) [Hinayat 2003, 106]. Interestingly, Central Sinama appears to provide another cognate in the form of *kebed-kebed* which means "to move restlessly. *Minsan bu'unta magkebed-kebed, taluwa baliyu* (Even our hair moves, hit by the wind)" [CSED, *kebed-kebed*]. The Tausug language provides an interesting cognate in the word *pidpid*, which is an adverb, meaning "tremblingly" (Hasaan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 358). Adding the above-mentioned data to that given by informants in the field, **the aesthetic quality in this movement appears to be the delicate trembling or quivering of either orchid petals or of fish membrane (!) animated by the wind**. Cognates: *eved-eved* (Generic Sama), *kebed-kebed* (Central Sinama), and *pidpid* (Tausug).

**Kagong**, meaning crab, is *kaghong* in the Mohamad Said Hinayat's glossary (Hinayat 2003, 106), *kagang* or *kagon* in Central Sinama (CSED), and *kagang* in Sama Sibutu (SSD) and Sama Pangutaran (SIL Philippines 1992, 157). The crab is likewise *kagang* in Tausug (Hassan, Ashley and Ashley 1994, 213). No aesthetic quality may be gleaned from the lexicon entries. However, it should be noted that Sama informants appear to limit the mimesis to the **shape and movement of the crab's claws**. Cognates: *kagang* (Central Sinama, Sama Sibutu, Sama Pangutaran), *kagang* (Tausug), and *kagon* (Central Sinama).

**Kamun** is the sea mantis. It is described in the Central Sinama lexicon as a "species of crustacean similar to a large shrimp, but notable for the series of retractable blade-like appendages along the underside of the tail section" (CSED, *kamun*). No aesthetic quality can be gleaned from this lone lexicon entry. It, however, appears that mimesis is largely limited to the **undulating movement of the body and the claws of the sea mantis**. No other known cognates.

**Kidjut** in the Mohamad Said Hinayat Sama glossary means "to raise the shoulders quickly (*menaikkan kedua bahu dgn cepat*)" [Hinayat 2003, 106]. In Sama Sibutu, it means "to move the shoulders up and own as in dancing; to shrug the shoulders. *Pag lling ongakah-ongakah, magtuwi*

*rub a ya ngidjut*”(SSD, *kidjut*). The movement appears to very important in dancing as the same source cites, “*Bang kow ngigal subey nipakidjut eh nu baha nu* (When you dance, you should move your shoulders).” In Central Sinama, this association with dance is repeated: “To raise the shoulders, especially as a movement in dancing”(CSED, *kidjut*). In Sama Pangutaran, the word is associated with the verb to jump, “*Kiyoblaan toad aku pakidjut manga aku, arak kahugan maglantay* (I was so startled that I jumped and I almost fell off the porch)”[SIL Philippines 1992, 158]. In Tausug, *kignut* is “an involuntary movement of muscles, a twitch”(Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 235). Another possible Tausug cognate is *kig-kig* which means “to shudder in aversion or (extreme) disgust (235).” In Bahasa Indonesia, a cognate may be found in *enjot* and *enjut*, both of which invariably mean “to move up and down”(Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 81). The term may also be related to the Javanese *kirig* (Brakel-Papenhuisen 1995, 101) and the Tagalog *kilig*. A possible cognate may be found in the Central Javanese (Surakarta) dance term of *genjot* which means “to move up and down.” **Given the above entries, it appears that the aesthetic quality is that of a sudden upward and downward movement or shrugging of the shoulders with the apparent element of surprise.** Cognates: *kig-kig* and *kignut* (Tausug), *enjot* and *enjut* (Bahasa Indonesia); *genjot* (Central Javanese), and possibly, *kirig* (Central Javanese) and *kilig* (Tagalog).

**Ingsud** is *insud* in Sama Sibutu which means “to edge toward, to move gradually or hesitantly; hence, to ‘inch along.’ *Bang aku nuley painsud, magtuwi niyah sidja maka dahowh min aku* (If I try to edge forward, immediately there is always [someone] able to [get there] first before I do)”[SSD, *insud*]. *Ingsut* in Bahasa Indonesia holds the same meaning (Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 109). It is *insut* among the Sama Kota Belud, *ensod* among the Sama Kubang, and *ensot* among the Sama Beluran (Hinayat 2003, 66 and 95). In Central Sinama, it means “to move a short distance; shift position a little. *Paingsud ka min paningko’annu ilu...* (Move a bit from where you are sitting)”[CSED, *ingsud*]. In Sama Pangutaran, it means “slide v. *Ingsud* Slide the chair over here (*Paingsurun*

*iya paitu*)[SIL Philippines 1992, 156]. *Sagudsud*, a cognate found in the same dialect, means to “shuffle v. *sagudsud* Don’t shuffle your feet; you’ll stub them (*Daa na sagudsuran nu ani’ nu*)”[166]. *Ingsud* can also be found in Tausug which retains the meaning “to move (something) a little, budge (something)”[Hassan, Ashley, Ashley 1994, 197]. Another Tausug cognate may be found in *inut-inut* which means “to do something little by little, step by step, bit by bit...”[196]. The aspect of shifting or shuffling is also apparent in the Central Javanese (Surakarta) dance terms called *mingsed-ngingsed*, *gengser-kengser*, and *kesed* (Brakel-Papenhuyzen 89, 100, 119). Given the data gathered from informants and the entries above, it appears that the **aesthetic quality of ingsud-ingsud is that of a very slow and gradual movement articulated by the shuffling of the soles of the feet**; indeed, like that of the unhurried movement of a sea snail. Cognates: *engsod* or *insud* (Sama Sibutu), *ingsut* (Bahasa Indonesia), *insut* (Sama Kota Belud), *ensod* (Sama Kubang), *ensot* (Sama Beluran), *sagudsud* (Sama Pangutaran), *inut-inut* and *ingsud* (Tausug), *usog* and *isbog* (Tagalog and Bisaya) and *mingsed-ngingsed*, *gengser-kengser*, and *kesed* (Central Javanese).

**Kapo’**, according to the Mohamad Said Hinayat glossary, means “to wade into waters (*mengharung air*)”[Hinayat 2003, 116]. The same word is found in Central Sinama with the same meaning: “to wade through water. *Bay pakapo’ si Arung ni tahik, abasei lampinna* (Eldest daughter was wading in the sea, her diaper is wet)”[CSED, *kapo’*]. *Kapoh* in Sama Sibutu bears the same meaning: “*Kulindarahun dahowh sowwal nu, boho pakapoh ni tahik* (First, roll up your trousers, then wade into the sea)”[SSD, *kapoh*]. A possible cognate may be found in the Central Javanese (Surakarta) dance term, *kapang-kapang*, which means to “approach eagerly” and which is executed with the feet “placed down simultaneously, one exactly in front of the other”(Brakel-Papenhuyzen 1995, 99). This term may then be related to the Tagalog *gapang*, which means “to crawl.” Given the data gathered from informants and the preponderant reference of the entries above to “wading,” it appears that aesthetic quality of *kapo’-kapo’* is that of **slow and cautious forward steps led by the toes or**

**the ball of the feet, as if probing the waters or the bottom of the sea for obstruction.**” Cognate: *kapoh* (Sama Sibutu), possibly *kapang-kapang* (Central Javanese), and *gapang* (Tagalog).

**Engke'** means to move the feet up and down followed by a hop (*enjut*, *kengke*); its cognate, *engket*, means to lift (*angkat*); as such *engke'-engke'* is “to step forward on one foot followed by a hop” (Hinayat 2003, 66). *Hengke*, its cognate, holds the same meaning as *engke'-engke'* (86). In Sama Sibutu, *engkeh-engkeh* means “to tiptoe. *Engkeh-Engkeh ya bang luman ma kalimmian* (She tiptoes when she walks through the dirt)” [SSD, *engkeh-engkeh*]. Its second meaning is “to play a game involving jumping or hopping; hopscotch. *Mag-engkeh-engkeh kitabi* (Let’s play hopscotch)” [ibid.]. A third meaning is “to walk proudly...in an affected way. *Ngengkeh laasa kabisa abbu-na* (She is walking proudly due to extreme pride)” [ibid.]. In Central Sinama, *engke'* is likewise “to stand on tiptoe. *Subay paengke' bo' ta'nda'* (Must stand on tiptoes for it to be seen)” [CSEd, *engke'*]. *Engke'-engke'* is to “hop on one foot” [SIL, *engke'-engke'*]. In Sama Pangutaran, *engge'* is “to tiptoe. *Engge'eggeun bo' 'nsa' tumappat puul nu* (Stand on your tiptoes so that your heels do not touch)” [SIL Philippines 1992, 133]. This aspect of tiptoeing is also apparent in the Central Javanese (Surakarta) dance terminology of *engkyek-ingkyek* (Brakel-Papenhuisen 1995, 83). In Tausug, the cognate for *engke'* is likewise *angkat* which also means “to raise up or to lift” (Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 61). Interestingly, another Tausug cognate can be found in *tingki* which means “... (to walk, dance, etc.) on tiptoe” (Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 480). Given the data from informants and from the entries above, the aesthetic quality of *engke'-engke'* involves **stepping forward by hopping onto a tip toe position while simultaneously raising the opposite leg, thus giving a general “lift” to the body**. Cognates: *engket* and *angkat* (Sama dialects), *angkat* (Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu), *angat* and *angkat* (Tagalog), *angkat* and *tingki* (Tausug), *engkeh-engkeh* (Sama Dibutu), *engge'* (Sama Pangutaran), and *engkyek-ingkyek* (Central Javanese).

**Kag(h)is** means “to scratch, claw or scrape (*kais*)”[Hinayat 2003, 106]. It is *kagis* in Sama Beluran which means “to scrape or to scratch out”(107). The word is a cognate of the Bahasa Indonesia *kikis* (Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 146) and the Tagalog *kiskis*, both of which hold the same meaning “to scrape” or “to scrub.” In Central Sinama, the cognate is *kahig* which means “to scratch or rake the surface of the soil, as a chicken”(CSED, *kahig*). In Sama Pangutaran, *kagis* means to “sweep v. Kahig. You should sweep up around your house when there is trash (*Subay kahigan nu luma’ bi bang sompotan*)”[SIL Philippines 1992, 128]. In Tausug, *kagis* means “to scrape (something with a knife or similar object to clean it)”[Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 214]. Another Tausug cognate, *kahig*, holds a similar meaning to the Sama Pangutaran cognate, that is, “to scratch lightly to find (something, as of a chicken looking for food)”[215]. The entries given above support **the aesthetic quality of footwork that mimics “a chicken scratching the earth.”** Cognates: *kagis* (Sama Beluran), *kais* (Bahasa Melayu), *kikis* (Bahasa Indonesia), *kiskis* (Tagalog), *kagis* and *kahig* (Tausug), and *kahig* (Tagalog, Central Sinama, and Sama Pangutaran).

**Ketchek** is supposed to be a “mini” version of *kagis*. Available lexicon sources do not reveal cognates that are exactly the same in form, but several possibilities may be explored. The first is *kekeh* which, like *kagis*, means “to scrape or to scratch”(Hinayat 2003, 146). A similar form of the word is found in the Sama Sibitu *keke*, which holds the same meaning: “to scrape. *Kekehin na sidja-na, daa na kupasin* (Just scrape its skin, do not peel [it])”[SSD, *keke*] The same word in Central Sinama possesses the same meaning: “to remove the surface of something by scraping. *Buwa gaha’, kineke* (Scraped off, just like rust)”[CSED, *keke*]. The second possibility can be found in the Sama Kubang word *kessek*, which means “to sprinkle or to splash”(Hinayat 2003, 125). This is obviously a cognate of the Bahasa Indonesia word *percik* (Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 210), and the Tagalog words *pitik*, *wisik*, and *talsik*, which all hold the same or similar meaning. The Tausug cognates, *pigsik* and *tigsik*, both mean “to splatter, spatter, (something on something). *Ayaw*

*kaw magpigsik sin tubig malummi' yan* (Don't splatter that dirty water)"[Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 359]. In Central Sinama, *kessek* means "to shake something off by a sudden vigorous movement. *Kessekin lalipan ma tanganu ilu* (Fling off that centipede on your hand)"[CSED, *kessek*]. The third possibility may be found in the Sama Beluran word *ketik* which means "to tick"[Hinayat 2003, 126]. The word appears to be a cognate of the Bahasa Indonesia *detik* (Wojowasito and Wasito 1987, 76). and the Tagalog *pitik*, both of which likewise hold the meaning of "to tick" or "to flick." Given the data gathered from informants and the lexicon entries above, it appears that the aesthetic quality of the movement is that of lightly **tapping the floor similar to ticking or flicking it as if to produce small splashes on a puddle of water**. Cognates: *keke* (Sama Sibutu), *kessek* (Sama Kubang and Central Sinama), *ketik* (Sama Beluran), *detik* (Bahasa Indonesia), and *pigsik* and *tigsik* (Tausug).

**Hengel-Hengel** means to simultaneously go up on tip toe on both feet (Hinayat 2003, 86). A cognate may be found in the Central Sinama verb *henggol* which means "to loosen something; to make something shaky by moving. *Da'a henggolun lam ilu ko da'a ahug pareyo'. Abila' saminna* (Don't shake that lamp lest it fall down)"[CSED, *henggol*]. In Tausug, the cognate is *hingu'* or *hingngu'* (Tausug Gimbahanun) which means "to loosen, shake or wobble (something)"[Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 179]. Given the data gathered from informants and the lexicon entries above, it appears that the aesthetic quality of the movement is that **of making a series of vertically shaky steps by alternately going up and down on tip-toe**. Cognate: *henggol* (Central Sinama), *hingu'*, and *hingngu'* (Tausug).

**Hendek** is a Sama Sitangkai word that has several cognates in the region. One is *hendik* which means "to throb or pulsate, or to pound" (Hinayat 2003, 86). Another cognate is the Central Sinama word *hantuk* which means "to move a lure with a gentle up and down motion, as when fishing for squid"(CSED, *hantuk*). Yet another Central Sinama cognate is *handok* which means "to bounce vigorously up and down; to stamp the feet. *Bang angamu'-amu' si Indil ni ina'na bo' mbal kabuwanan,*

*maghandok* (When Indil asks anything from her mother and isn't given it, she stamps her feet). *Paghandok pelang buwatte', agtuy apong batangan* (When the canoe bounces like that, the outrigger boom will break right away)"[*ibid.*]. In Sama Pangutaran, *handok* is simply defined as a "bump"(SIL Philippines 1992, 154). In Sama Sibutu, *hendek-hendek* is defined as an "ungainly stride; clompy walk," and is further explained that "in this ungraceful way of walking, the whole foot is placed down at one time giving one a jerky, heavy walk. *Hendek-hendek eh na luman danda naan. ...That woman's walking is ungainly*"[CSED, *hendek-hendek*]. In Tausug, *handuk* means "to pound (something), thrust (something) onto or into (something else...)"[Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 164]. Given the data gathered from informants and the lexicon entries above, it appears that **the aesthetic quality of the movement is that of making a series of bumpy up and down motion of the body while stamping or pounding one's foot on the floor.** Cognates: *hendik* (Sama Sitangkai), *hantuk* and *handok* (Central Sinama), and *handuk* (Tausug).

**Suhut** in Sama Sibutu means "to move back; to scoot back. *Suhutin gih, mbal gih dabattah* (Please move back [it] is not yet in place...). *Eh na masuhut siya-na ni bulian toongan...* (He scooted his chair to the very back)"[SSD, *suhut*]. In Central Sinama, *suhut* is likewise defined as "to draw back; to retreat. *Gibang bo' sinong, kowan bo' sinuhut* (left for putting forward, the right for pulling back)"[CSED, *suhut*]. In Sama Kubang, *suut* means "to go back, to back up or to give way" (Hinayat 2003, 276). In Sama Pangutaran, *sigput* means "jump back v. *sigput* A cuttle fish jumps back to the rear if it is speared from the front (*Kulabutan pasigput ni damuwihan bang tiyagbak min dahuban*)"[SIL Philippines 1992, 72]. In a similar manner, in Tausug *sigput* means "to jump back (to safety)"[Hassan, Ashley and Ashley 1994, 411]. Given the data gathered from informants and the lexicon entries above, it appears that **the aesthetic quality of the movement is that of moving rapidly backward in a jerky manner as if surprised.** Cognates: *suhut* (Central Sinama), *suut* (Sama Kubang), *sigput* (Sama Pangutaran), and *sigput* (Tausug).

**Tendek** is “to stamp the feet, as in dancing or as a childish gesture of frustration”(CSED, *tendek*). In Sama Sibutu, it is alternately as *tendek* or *tandak* which is a “gesture to stamp the feet. *Bang kow mbal hungun nisohoh daa kow subey magtendek* (If you dislike to be asked to do something, don’t stamp your feet)”[SSD, *tendek* or *tandak*]. Among the Sama Kota Belud and Sama Beluran, it is spelled as *tindak* which means “to stamp, to tread or to trample”(Hinayat 2003, 299). In Tausug, *tandak* means “to stamp one’s feet” (Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 458). **The aesthetic quality of an emphatic stamping of the foot is supported** by both the data gathered from informants and lexicon entries. Cognates: *tandak* (Sama Sibutu), *tindak* (Sama Kota Belud and Sama Beluran), and *tandak* (Tausug).

**Laksu** means “to jump to a different location. *Palaksu ampan* (The grasshopper jumped)”[CSED, *laksu*]. It is also used as a label for the mudskipper in Central Sinama (ibid.). In Sama Sibutu, it possesses the same meaning: “to jump from one place to another. *Palaksu kow ni tahik* ( You jump into the sea)”[SSD, *laksu*]. In Sama Pangutaran, it means to “jump down v. laksu Let’s jump down off the fence (*Palaksu kita min pagal*)”[SIL Philippines 1992, 72]. In Tausug, *laksu* means “to jump, jump over (something)”[Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 265]. Given the data gathered from informants and the lexicon entries above, it appears that **the aesthetic quality of the movement is that of jumping downward to another place or position**. Cognates: *lukso* (Tagalog and Visayan languages) and *laksu* (Tausug).

**Oyoh-Oyoh**, *oyo’-oyo’* or *oyok-oyok* in Central Sinama means “to shake”(CSED, *oyo’-oyo’*). *Koyok*, its cognate in Sama Sibutu, is defined as “to shake; to rattle something. *Koyokan nu aku pakowan naan* (Shake that package for me)”[SSD, *koyok*]. In Sama Pangutaran, it comes in several forms: “shake v. *hodjog* Don’t shake the pier; I almost fell because it’s not secure (*Daa kau maghedjog ma jambatan iyu; hug aku agan sabab ‘nsa’ kahogot.*) *Jogjog* (When there is a typhoon the house shakes). *Bang niya’ badju jogjog na luma’*. *Tugtug* (Don’t shake there; she has a stomach ache). *Daa kau magtugtug maiyu; p’ddi b’ttong na*. *Jagjag* (Don’t shake it from its wrapping, it’ll be scattered). *Daa na jagjagun min putusan na*,

*kanat meen...*”(SIL Philippines 1992, 114). In Tausug, *jugjug* means “to shake something,”(Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 208) while *uyug* means “(for something) to rock or shake (as if about to fall), be unsteady, totter”(520). In the Central Javanese (Surakarta) dance tradition, *hoyog-oyog* is a dance term with the same meaning as “to shake” (Brakel-Papenhuisen 1995, 90;145). The lexicon entries above support the observation of **the aesthetic quality of strongly shaking a certain body part**. Cognates: *oyo'-oyo'* and *oyok-oyok* (Central Sinama), *koyok* (Sama Sibutu), *hodjog*, *jogjog*, *tugtug*, and *jagjag* (Sama Pangutaran), *uyug* and *yugyug* (Tagalog), *jugjug* and *uyug* (Tausug), and *hoyog-oyog* (Central Javanese).

**Pakiring** as a term has very interesting origins. In Sama Sibutu, *pakiring* originally refers to a specific “body posture,” that is “to lie on the side. *Angey kow pakiring sidja ni kanan bang kow tuli? ...*(Why do you always lie on your right side when you sleep?)”[SSD, *pakiring*] It can also refer to a boat that lists: “*Hangkan na ley pakiring lansa basa mbal salih heka min dambilah maka min dambilah...* (The reason the boat listed because its cargos were not balanced)”[*ibid.*]. It can also mean “to tip to the side; to fall to the side; to place on its side. *Bang kow mattanah anu tutu, daa pakiringun* (When you put [this] away, do not put it on [its] side)”[*ibid.*]. It can also mean for something “to be tipped to the side. *Nikiring eh na boggoh* (The canoe is being tipped to the side by him)”[*ibid.*] In Tausug, *giling* means “to crank (something), keep (something) revolving or turning”(Hassan, Ashley, and Ashley 1994, 149). Another Tausug word, *linggang* (obviously a cognate of the previously discussed *lenggang*), means “to rock or sway (something), roll (something) back and forth.” The root of *pakiring* is *kid* which refers to “the side of the body; the side of the waist. *Piddih kid ku* (The side of my waist hurts)”[SSD, *kid*]. With almost all entries referring to “the side,” **pakiring’s aesthetic quality is without doubt that of a gentle side to side swaying of the hips**. *Pakiring* or *igal pakiring* is a contemporary form of *igal* that is characterized by the liberal swaying of the hips. Cognates: possibly *giling*, *gulong* and *kendeng* (Tagalog), *giling* and *linggang* (Tausug), and *guling* (Bahasa Indonesia).

It should be noted that most of the terms cited from lexical sources in this section do not appear to be dance terms. Most of them constitute part of the quotidian vocabulary of the cultures from which they are sourced. Quotidian nature notwithstanding, it can be seen in the discussion presented above that they provide clues as to how the Sama select and create terms for dance. They also contain valuable data on metaphors that give us ideas about the visual or aesthetic qualities of the movements. However, two terms (*kollek* and *kidjut*) are cited in lexical sources as terms that are specifically associated with dance. Other literature in the area of dance and music would include five other terms or their cognates (*limbai*, *ingsud-ingsud*, *kapo-kapo*, *engke'-engke'*, and *oyoh-oyoh*) as specific dance terms. As earlier noted, Martenot mentions *limbai* as a dance or movement term in passing (Martenot 1980). Brakel-Papenhuisen (1995) mentions cognates of *kollek* (*ukel*), *kidjut-kidjut* (*genjot*), *ingsud-ingsud* (*mingsed-ngingsed* and *genser-jenser*), *kapo-kapo* (*kapang-kapang*), *engke'-engke'* (*engkyek-ingkyek*), and *oyoh-oyoh* (*hoyog-oyog*) as dance terms in the Surakartan tradition of Central Javanese dance. This researcher will return to the significance of these apparent overlaps or continuities in the concluding section of this piece.

### **Conclusion: towards a sociocultural model of dance movement and terminology**

The examination of Sama *igal* dance terms via a linguistic interrogation of their respective origins has revealed clues as to how actual movement ought to be executed. This “ought to” perspective is captured in the aesthetic qualities summarized in each of the entries that were discussed in the preceding section of this paper. Aesthetic quality essentially captures how “movement units” (specific kinema or kineme) “ought to” or “how they are desirably ought to” be executed (specific aesthetic). As such, dance terms reveal in this linguistic exercise reveal kinaesthetics (kineme + aesthetics) of the movement vocabulary of this particular dance tradition.

This linguistic understanding is further enriched by the accompanying visual imagery gleaned from the usage of each term either as a “dance term” or as a term describing more quotidian forms of movement. Table 4 shows that the Sama *igal* dance terms in this particular compilation or sampling hold much metaphorical association with flora, fauna, or other natural phenomena (15 counts). This category is followed by cultural artifacts and occupational or cultural activities (8 counts each). In this sociocultural context, movement acquires both meaning and nuanced expression. This can most probably be understood by citing an example from western classical ballet. In this tradition, there is a step called *pique*. The word means “to prick.” The dancer therefore is expected not only to execute a series of turns, but also to execute the series of turns “as if pricking the floor with her foot like a needle.” In this example, meaning is not only understood... movement is also given expressive nuance. This same process of giving meaning and nuance to movement may also be applied to the Sama *igal* dance tradition. *Kagis-Kagis*, should not just be a movement corresponding to alternately picking up the feet through the sides; it should be understood as alternately picking up the feet through the sides by first “scraping the floor with the balls” of the feet and must be executed with the accompanying expressive nuance “of a chicken scratching the earth.” This combination of meaning and nuance does not only make for better understanding(s) of the dance, but also performance(s) of the dance.

The linguistic interrogation of Sama *igal* dance terms has also served to recontextualize the dance tradition in at least three geographical, if not “imagined” cultural spaces. Table 5 illustrates this observation. First of all, the presence of multiple Sama cognates (48 for the entire sample) reaffirms the observation of inherent diversity in the Sama or Sinama sub-family of languages found within or in the vicinity of the Philippines. It should also be noted that the Tausug language shares a significant number of terms (18 out of 20 in the sampling of Sama terms) that are used as dance or movement terms in the Sama languages. This perhaps indicates to some degree the closeness of the Tausug *pangalay* and the Sama *igal* dance traditions which with very little doubt must have

TABLE 4: Dance Terms, Metaphors and Usages

<b><i>Igal</i> Dance Term</b>	<b>Flora, Fauna or Natural Phenomena</b>	<b>Cultural Artifact</b>	<b>Occupational/Cultural Activity</b>
Limbai	Palm Fronds, Leaves		Dance (arms)
Ta'ut		Cradle	To extend a fishing Line
Kello'	Sugar Cane	Knife (Blade), Carving	
Kollek	Sea worm, caterpillar		Dance (arms), Scribbling
Ebed-Ebed	Flowers, Fish Membrane, Hair		
Kagong	Crab		
Kamun	Sea Mantis		
Kidjut			Dance (shoulders)
Ingsud	Sea Snail		
Kapo'			To wade into the sea
Engke'			Game (hopscotch)
Kag(h)is	Chicken		
Ketchek	Splash of water		
Hengel			To make go up and down
Hendek		Fishing Lure, Boat	
Suhut	Cuttle Fish		
Laksu	Mudskipper		
Oyoh-Oyoh		Pier/walkway, house	
Pakiring		Boat	Dance style, Dance (hips)
Number	15	8	8

Note: This table is based on data gathered by the researcher from various lexicon entries, dance literature as well as interviews of informants during various instances of fieldwork.

developed together for a protracted period of time in the geosocial/political space of the Sulu Sultanate (ca. 1405–1915). This almost one-to-one correspondence in terms of cognates opens new avenues in dance research. That Tausug is most closely related to Butuanon, a northeastern Mindanao language, is already a well-established linguistic fact (Pallesen 1985, 15–16). If the cognates are not significantly present in Butuanon either as ordinary movement terms or as dance terms, then the direction of language convergence in dance can be hypothesized.<sup>35</sup> The direction of appropriation of dance can also be hypothesized.<sup>36</sup> Second, the diversity of the Sama languages can perhaps be appreciated even more with an expansion of the sampling for a study of dance terms that goes beyond the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi Archipelagos. The Sama or Sinama-speaking peoples are known to inhabit other spaces in maritime Southeast Asia. For instance, it would be interesting to study continuities or discontinuities in the use of dance terms in the extreme edges of the Sama world such as Roti Island to the south of Timor, Bajau Islands in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago near the Malayan Peninsula, and Kajoa in Moluccas Island in eastern Indonesia.<sup>37</sup> Third, places or “re-sites” both the dance and the language in between the Philippines and the greater or more expanded region of maritime Southeast Asia (20 cognates observed for each space). It should be well-noted that possibly seven (7) out of twenty (20) Sama dance term cognates in this study can be observed in Surakarta tradition of Central Javanese dance. This existence of shared dance terms can either imply a “shared movement concept,” that is most probably based on common environmental features of place or “cultural contact,” that is most probably indirect in nature but nevertheless constituting a “chain-link” of cultural practices that may have been engendered by trade, migration, or conquest.<sup>38</sup> Again, these pieces of insight open new avenues for future research to tread. This act of “re-siting” speaks eloquently of continuities that are apparent in (West) Austronesian cultures. The repeated interrogation of this phenomenon of rich diversity within a narrative of continuity can only benefit scholars of Sama cultures (or Sulu studies), Philippine studies and Southeast Asian studies... each autonomous field of knowledge production enrich each other.

Table 5: Dance Terms and Cognates

<b><i>Igal</i> Dance Term</b>	<b>Sama Cognates</b>	<b>Tausug Cognates</b>	<b>Other Philippine Cognates</b>	<b>Southeast Asian Cognates</b>
Limbai	Limbey, Limbay	Limbay		Lembey*
Ta'ut	Tugut	Taut		
Kello'	K'lluk, Kalluk, Kollek	Kalluk	Okir, Ukkil, Liku	Eluk, Ukel*
Kollek	Kello', K'lluk, Kalluk	Kulluk	Okir, Ukkil, Liku	Eluk, Ukel*
Ebed-Ebed	Eved-Eved, Kebed-Kebed	Pidpid		
Kagong	Kagon, Kagang	Kagang		
Kamun	Kamun			
Kidjut	Kidjut	Kig-Kig, Kignut		Enjot, Enjut, Kirig*, Genjot*
Ingsud	Engsod, Insut, Ensod, Ensot, Sagudsud	Inut-Inut, Ingsud	Isbug, Usog	Mingsed-Ngingsed*, Gengser-kenser*, Kesed
Kapo'	Kapoh			Kapang-Kapang*
Engke'	Engkeh, Engket, Engge', Angkat	Angkat, Tingki		Angkat, Angat Angkat, Engkyek-Ingkyek*
Kag(h)is	Kagis, Kahig	Kagis, Kahig, Kahig, Kiskis, Kais, Kikis		
Ketchek	Keke, Kessek, Ketik	Pigsik, Tigsik, Detik, Pitik, Wisik		
Hengel	Henggol	Hingu', Hingngu'		
Hendek	Hendik, Hantuk, Handok	Handuk		

<b><i>Igal</i> Dance Term</b>	<b>Sama Cognates</b>	<b>Tausug Cognates</b>	<b>Other Philippine Cognates</b>	<b>Southeast Asian Cognates</b>
Suhut	Suut, Sigput	Sigput		
Tendek	Tandak, Tindak	Tandak	Padyak	Pjak
Laksu	Laksu	Laksu	Lukso	
Oyoh- Oyoh	Oyo'-Oyo', Oyok-Oyok, Koyok, Hodjog, Jogjog, Tugtug, Jagjag	Jugjug, Uyug	Uyog, Yugyug	Hoyog-Oyog*, Oyog
(Pa)kiring	(Pa)kiring	Giling, Linggang	Giling, Kendeng	Guling
Number	48	27	20	20

Note: This table is based on data gathered by the researcher from lexicon entries, dance literature as well as interviews of informants during various instances of fieldwork. Dance terms that are observed in the Surakartan tradition of Javanese Dance.

Finally, one must ask the question: what implications does this study have for Philippine dance scholarship?

First of all, the diversity apparent in Sama dance terms alludes to and supports the idea of the diversity found in Sama *igal* dance traditions. Sama *igal* dance is not one dance tradition but a compilation of many.<sup>39</sup> Philippine dance is likewise a compilation of diverse traditions defined to a large extent by scholarly decisions. Diversity most probably prompted Francisca Reyes Aquino to title her first book “Philippine National Dances” and not “Philippine Dance.” The plural form coheres beautifully with the complex reality of the Philippines. Second, as there is a need for generalists who study a vast number of diverse dances in a given geographical space, there is also a need for specialists who study singular traditions across national frontiers. Specialization in the study of one particular dance tradition of one particular ethnolinguistic group is still a relatively rare phenomenon in dance publication in the

Philippines. Third, as there is a need to study dance terminologies of particular traditions, there is also a need to compile comparative data across traditions. This comparative approach can only deepen our collective understanding of Philippine dance traditions in terms of embedded meanings and nuanced expressions. Perhaps, this step towards comparison can even help answer the very basic question of what in dance makes a Filipino...“Filipino.”

In terms of “nationalist labels and categories,” *igal* is problematic as it can be found in at least three Southeast Asian nation-states: Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. This “problem” perhaps offers opportunities in “re-siting” Philippine dance scholarship in the greater context of studies in maritime Southeast Asian cultures. The “problem” is undoubtedly conceptual and contextual. In this day and age of “regional integration,” colonial discourses of “othering” via rigid distinctions ought to give way to postcolonial discourses of “linking” via fluid (re)constructions of identities. As in Aquino’s time, the nation and the scholar must be (re) conceptualized and (re)contextualized. In so doing, a heuristic overlap is made apparent in the perspective of seeing “the Philippines in Asia, and Asia in the Philippines.” In such a manner, scholarly lineages are not disrupted, but are instead creatively transformed.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this article was published in Hanafi Hussin and others, eds., *Southeast Asia Rising: Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Malaya, 2013), pp. 358–376.
- <sup>2</sup> “Kinethics” is a word coined by this researcher. See MCM Santamaria, “Expanding Knowledge, Extending Ties: Exploring Contexts and Forces that Shape the Sama Dilaut Igal Dance Tradition,” in Birgit Abels with Hanafi Hussin and Matthew Santamaria, eds., *Oceans of Sound: Sama Dilaut Performing Arts*, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012), p. 81.
- <sup>3</sup> The writing of this draft manuscript was made possible by the Asian Center Research and Special Projects Grant (2012-2013).
- <sup>4</sup> The Institute of Philippine Culture regularly bestows the Merit Research Award (MRA) to full-time and part-time faculty of the Loyola Schools, Ateneo de Manila University. This researcher submitted a proposal titled “Capturing Pangalay.” During the course of

the research, this researcher was enlightened by informants in the field about the difference between the Tausug pangalay tradition and the Sama igan tradition. From then on, this researcher has decided to refer to Sama traditional dances as belonging to the igan tradition.

- <sup>5</sup> The fieldwork in Bongao, Sitangkai and Sibutu, was done from 20 to 29 April 2005 together with Dr. Cynthia Neri Zayas, Dr. Amparo Adelina Umali III, and Ms. Marta Lovina Prieto. Interpretation and local assistance were given by Mr. Hamka Malabong, Hadji Yusuf Malabong and Hadji Musa Malabong of Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province.
- <sup>6</sup> It may be argued that there are many igan traditions among the Sama as each island or even each community located in an island may consider their dance tradition distinct from each other. The Sama Sitangkai and the Sama Tabawan, for instance, view their respective traditions as distinct from each other. Differences may be observed in the music(s), costumes, properties and variations in the employment of movement vocabulary. Interestingly, dance terminology as in many other aspects of the Sama language(s) appear to be mutually intelligible among groups. The degree(s) of intelligibility will eventually have to be ascertained by future research.
- <sup>7</sup> Poses or postures and gestures have been well in several tomes on Southeast Asian dance traditions. Notable examples are found in Clara Brakel-Papenhuisen, *Classical Javanese Dance: The Surakarta Tradition and its Terminology*, (Leiden: KITL Press, 1995) and Toni Samantha Phim and Ashley Thompsom, *Dance in Cambodia*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- <sup>8</sup> A keen observer will note that this researcher's devised vocabulary hews closely to that of western ballet terminology. The parallelism is intentional and proves to be quite useful as a mnemonic device.
- <sup>9</sup> Fieldwork schedules are as follows: (Badjawan), Baranggay Malitam and (Born Again Badjao Church), Baranggay Libjo Batangas City, 28 to 30 December 2012; (God' Love for Indigent Minorities compound), Municipality of Apalit, Pampanga Province, 2 to 4 January 2013; (Visit of informants from San Andres Manila), Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City, 6 February 2013; and (Interview of Artists from Bongao, Tawi-Tawi), GT-Toyota Asian Center Auditorium, 27 February 2013.
- <sup>10</sup> Interview with Mr. Ligaya Baruk, 22 April 2005, Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province.
- <sup>11</sup> Interview with Mr. Ligaya Baruk and Hadji Yusuf Malabong, 23 April 2005, Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province.
- <sup>12</sup> Interview with Calsum Telso and Al-Shadat A. Mohammad, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>13</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> Interview with Abdul Said Hailaya, 7 December 2012, Hardin ng Rosas, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Dalino and Nur Perong, 15 May 2012, Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City.
- <sup>16</sup> Interview with Calsum Telso and Al-Shadat A. Mohammad, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.

- <sup>17</sup> Interview with Hadji Musa Malabong, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>18</sup> Interview with Mr. Ligaya Baruk, 22 April 2005, Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province.
- <sup>19</sup> Interview with Calsum Telso, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>20</sup> Interview with Mr. Ligaya Baruk, 22 April 2005, Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province.
- <sup>21</sup> Interview with Abdul Said Hailaya, 7 December 2012, Hardin ng Rosas, UP Diliman, Quezon City
- <sup>22</sup> Interview with Al-Shadat A. Mohammad, February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City
- <sup>23</sup> Interview with Hadji Musa Malabong, 17 January 2012, Hotel Rachel, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> Interview with Calsum Telso, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>26</sup> Interview with Calsum Telso and Al-Shadat A. Mohammad, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Observed among members of the Born Again Badjao Church, Baranggay Libjo, Batangas City, 30 December 2012.
- <sup>29</sup> Interview with Calsum Telso and Al-Shadat A. Mohammad, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>30</sup> Interview with Hadji Musa Malabong, 21 February 2013, Asian Center, UP Diliman, Quezon City.
- <sup>31</sup> This researcher interviewed Hadja Washela Kalbit (aka Buwangkan Kalbit) of Simunul in her residence in Simunul in 19 October 2007 for the Sama Simunul dance terminology and Radzmina Tanjili, a Sama Dilaut of Zamboanga origin at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines in 13 March 2014 for the Sama Dilaut Samboangan dance terminology.
- <sup>32</sup> This researcher admits that the limited number of informants interviewed may very well have affected the results of this preliminary study. Casting the net over a bigger sampling may actually yield a very different result. Still, the results indicate some patterns which may help point the direction for future research.
- <sup>33</sup> Variability of dance term use among informants as well as their ability to remember dance terms provide special challenges in dance research in the field. This only underscores the importance of expanding the number of informants to be interviewed as well as the importance of multiple visits to the field. In the experience of this research some dance terms are only “discovered” after the second or third visits. This indicates the non-universality or non-rigorous nature of use of dance terms.
- <sup>34</sup> The lexicon sources are (Hinayat 2003) for Sama languages in the Southern Philippines and Sabah, Malaysia; (SSD) for Sama Sibu <http://www-01.sil.org/asia/Philippines/prog/ssb/dic/index.html> (accessed on 24 July 2013); (CSED) for Sama Central or Central Sinama; and (SIL Philippines) for Sama Pangutaran. (SSD and CSED were all

accessed on 24 July 2013. SSD stands for Sama Sibutu Dictionary [<http://www-01.sil.org/asia/Philippines/prog/sml/dict/lexicon/index.htm>] while CSED means Central Sinama English Dictionary [<http://www-01.sil.org/asia/Philippines/prog/sml/dict/lexicon/index.htm>]. (The links to each other are all the same, so to avoid repetitions and de-clutter the paper, the editors modified the Chicago format for citing online dictionaries. The modified citation gives the acronym of the dictionary, SSD or SSED, plus the dictionary entry to help in the location of a word—Editor.)

- <sup>35</sup> That is, Tausug converging towards Sama or Sama-Sibuguey.
- <sup>36</sup> That is, in this case... the Tausug *pangalay* appropriating from the Sama iganal.
- <sup>37</sup> The same may be said of continuities and discontinuities in the music repertoires of the kulintang ensemble that usually accompanies the Sama iganal.
- <sup>38</sup> I owe these particular pieces of insight to Dr. Ricardo Trimillos III who graciously shared with me his ideas regarding this draft. Errors in this piece are, of course, only mine.
- <sup>39</sup> This may also be applied to Sama kulintang ensemble traditions. As one expands the sampling of study for Sama dances and music(s), one realizes that each island or even village community is unique from the rest in holding their respective repertoires of dance(s) with a close one-to-one correspondence with music(s). The “compilation” is synonymous to “aggrupation” wherein the scholar makes a choice of convenience.

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## Discography

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