SOME PROBLEMS IN DETERMINING THE ORIGIN OF THE PHILIPPINE WORD 'MUTYA' OR 'MUTIA'

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ABSTRACT

Certain problems are to be encountered in determining the origin of the word 'mutya' or 'mutia' (pearl; precious stone). Although the word is believed to belong to the Austronesian super-family of languages¹, the term has also been discovered to have variants and cognates in languages of other linguistic families such as Sanskrit, Gujarat, Prakrit, Pali, Hindi, Urdu, Singhalese, Nepalese, the Dravidian languages, and Kanauri. Compounded with this is the further discovery of variant terms in Phoenician, Middle Eastern and Egyptian mythology. There are also place-names and people's names in Dubai, Turkey, Egypt and Russia with the same variant terms. The problem is that the more one follows the word and its variants in their cross-cultural settings, the more its polysemic cognitive elements turn into a family resemblance of primary, widened, and transferred references of 'mutya.' More questions are raised than answered. Why is the term and its variants widespread? Why does it exhibit conceptual traits that seemingly exhibit features of a family resemblance? Is it rally a proto-Philippine term belonging to the Austronesian family, a loan-word from other families, or a part of an inter-related complex of language families stemming from a mother-tongue? I have no definite answers yet for all these questions. However, I tentatively posit a hypothesis: that the term 'mutya' has a disyllabic rootbase 'muti' / 'moti' that demonstrates lexical and conceptual similarities with Sanskrit, Dravidian Indian and Arabic/Phoenician morphemes because it might been derived from a parent proto-Austronesian monosyllabic root-base (possibly 'mut' / 'mot' or 'mu' / 'mo') sharing some affinities with other monosyllabic language families in Asia because they all spring from a common primordial mothertongue (possibly proto-Asian) that broke up. As a result, its proto-forms either survived through differentiation into variants, cognates, derivatives and synonyms, or became extinct. However, through of migration and maritime trade, some surviving proto-forms might have re-linked and been revitalized through collective memories, re-inventions, indigenizations, or some might have readily been borrowed as loan words, for they are conceptually familiar and useful to the local people.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to introduce the Philippine word MUTYA (pearl / precious stone) and the problems involved in determining its origin. The main problem is determining whether it is really a proto-Philippine term as claimed by Henry Costenobe (1979), or a loan-word from Sanskrit, Dravidian languages, Arabic or Phoenician? Is it a term that demonstrates the notion of a 'family resemblances' of a concept developed by Ludwig Wittgenstein? If that is the case, then is it possible that the categories belonging to the concept may overlap and show family

¹ There are not only lexical, ethnographic, historical, literary and artistic data that support this from Philippine data, but there are also some variants of the term in Malaysia, Indonesia, the Hervey Islands of Polynesia and even the Southern Ryukyus just off Taiwan)

² The concept of family resemblance used here is as defined by Wittgenstein's notion of "family resemblances" of words and concepts.

resemblances even without being necessarily belonging to one genetic family?³ Since I am not a linguist and am still examining the voluminous data collected, as well as just learning the technicalities involved in analyzing them, I will not yet make definite statements about the matter, but just posit a tentative guess at the end of the paper based on the application of an imaginative reading of the ethnographic, historical and literary data gathered. The thesis of the paper is that the 'mutya' and its related terms across cultures of different language families exhibit some conceptual family resemblances demonstrated by extension of its primary meaning as well as its metaphorical and metonymic transfers of meanings. The primary meaning is hypothesized to be due to the coming of the term's protoform from a single mother tongue that branched off and differentiated into several language families, possibly developing and retaining some derivatives and cognates of the original proto-form, while losing the others or borrowing and re-inventing what one has lost.

I have divided the paper into five parts. Part 1 is the Introduction. Part 2 constitutes the Philippine data. Part 3 discusses the term in relation to its Austronesian-speaking neighbors and relatives. Part 4 presents data from other language families in relation to the word. Part 5 serves as the Conclusion.

2. The 'mutya" in the Philippines

Based on my study of the term "mutya" (literally, "precious stone" or "pearl"), I have discovered the following things about the word:

First, the word, with its variants, is found in 33 languages of the Philippines, covering Batanes to Sulu . (See Table 1 for a listing the word and its variants as I have found them in various parts of the Philippines and in my examinations of dictionaries and readings of written texts).

Second, the word is polysemic, with its meanings ranging as follow: pearl; precious term; charm stone, talisman, amulet; white, small magical stone; bezoar stone; gem or jewel; beads; a goddess; a beautiful woman or beauty queen; a guiding spirit or patron; anything rare, special, unique; alone/ singular; excellent and praiseworthy; and "beloved." The literal meaning refers to : a "pearl" or the pearllike magical white stone, any rare and precious stone, a bezoar stone, a fossilized or stone-like thing, a gem stone, beads or bead-like objects, or even flowers, bones, teeth, or grain strung together to form a necklace used as a magical, protective or charm ornament. It can also refer to the meteorite stone falling from the sky, or even the light from what others call a St. Elmo's fire or a ball of fire / light. These forms of the mutya give birth to a concept of the mutya as an unusual natural occurrence. This concept seems to spring from a collective perception of something extraordinary emerging from nature, functioning as an offspring, a child, an outgrowth and an excrescence from nature. However, though it comes as basically emergence from nature there is usually something unusual about its coming into being, something like a freakish appearance, a unique, rare and unusual phenomenon. It variously comes in the form of a round or spherical outgrowth, an excrescence, a

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³ For an elaboration of the concept of 'family resemblances' and 'language games', please see the work of Hans-Johann Glock in the References Section.

seed, a kernel, a grain, a fruit, a child, a flower, a boil, a cyst, a bezoar stone, a fragment, piece, a pulverized or powder form of a whole stone, rock, plant, tree, animal, person or thing. Sometimes, it is a fossilized form of an organic substance. Sometimes, it is a crystallization of a substance. It can refer also to an idea that is "born" from a person spontaneously like a spark of fire, a shaft or ray of light, the inspiration of an idea or a genius of a person that just emerges from within. It also comes as a mysterious secretion of a thing, like that of an oyster secreting nacre to create a pearl of great iridescence, radiating light from within. The image of the mutya as light streaming from within becomes a staring point for developing a local concept of hidden beauty. The healing aspect of the various mutya stones and gems becomes a stepping-stone towards formulating a concept of natural healing, a kind of self-healing based on the discovery of the hidden resources within. Moreover, the inherent powers and virtues of the various mutya objects can be the basis for conceptualizing on the nature of the self – that starts from discovering the innate powers and inherent virtues within and using them to transform oneself and one's society – like the transformation of the pearl from slime, mud, sand or dirt into a gem of light, beauty, healing and purity.

To recapitulate, as a polysemic word, its literal meanings grow by metaphorical and metonymical extensions. Its primary and literal designation as 'pearl', 'precious stone', 'magical stone', a bezoar stone or fossilized object taken from parts of plants, trees, animals, birds, etc. appearing as an unusual pebble – are perceived to be 'living' and possessed with sacred potency or magical virtues. Hence, various kinds of 'mutya' are used as healing stones, talismanic stones and even as gem stones for protective purposes. Later on, certain attributes were given to it by society, basically all revolving around the concept of something being 'precious and dear', ' greatly beloved', 'unique', 'one and only' or 'one of a kind'. Therefore, it is treated as rare and something to be protected and greatly loved. The manifestations of this in society are: a sole child; a rare and beautiful gem; a beautiful and virtuous woman; a beauty queen; a loved mother, father or child; a great ancestral god / goddess / hero as well as the guardian spirit of a person, a clan or a nation, etc. The term appears to expand in meaning by dint of the people's usage of its poetic and figurative associations. From the primary term designating 'pearl' and 'precious stone', it extends to refer to amulet, talisman, jewel, and beads. Then it indicates a spirit guide that extends to ancestral figure, inspiring muse, goddess, patron, beauty queen and a unique, rare and special person or object that is treasured. Symbolically, it refers to love and devotion, quality, excellence, rank, virtues, power, light and devotion. Metonymically, it is also associated with seeds, kernels, grain, sprouts, springs; being hidden or lost, isolated and alone; sprouting, cutting or plucking, pulverizing, dying, darkness, disease, venom and healing; with small bits and pieces; with boils, protuberances, warts, welts, pimples and excrescence; also with dirt, sand, and garbage. The over-all concept here is that of being something 'precious' through some innate or inherent traits and properties; thorough its capacity to mirror in its minute or small state (microcosm of a seed) the bigger picture or image (macrocosm of the world); or through a 'magical' process of transformation from something low, mean or dirty to something high, noble and beautiful.

Below is a table summarizing the term in its primary and extended primary meanings, based on dictionary sources.

Table 1: The Word as Found in Dictionaries and Some Texts

Group	Term	Meaning
Proto – Philippine	muti`a`	"pearl, gem" (Costenoble, p. 193)
Aklanon	mútya'	"pearl; a thing of (great) value,
		treasure; to produce pearls"
		(Reyes et al., 1969), p. 265
Bikol	Mutya	"piedra preciosa; mutyaan, el
		animal donde se halla, o el que la
		tiene" (Lisboa, p. 248)
	mutyá'	"pearl, jewel, gem; precious
		stone; anything one holds dear;
		something beloved" (Mintz, p.
		395)
	mutyá	"pearl, gem" (Francisco, "Indian
		Influences," p. 15)
	mutyâ	"pearl; talisman, charm, amulet"
		(Panganiban, Diksyunaryo-
		Tesauro, p. 718)
	muting	"bilig, katarata" (Silverio, New
		Bicolano-Pilipino-Englsih
Binukid	Manakina	Dictionary, p.76)
Біпикіц	Muntiyà	"good luck charm; stone used as a fetish or charm (believed to have
		supernatural power)" (Otanes, p.
		105)
Cuyonon	Moya	light of sparkling stone; shining
Cuyonon	Woya	stone owned by a 'kapre'
		(Ramos, Phil. Demonological, p.
		14)
Dumagat (Casiguran)	'motya	"charm (something found inside
		of a fish or pig, which is carried
		as a charm; usually it is a little
		white stone)" (Headland, p. 101)
Hiligaynon, Ilongo	mútya'	"pearl" (Motus, p.187)
	mútia / mutia	"pearl, something precious,
		valuable, excellent, a gem, a
		jewel, or the like" ("A Glossary
		of Spanish and Philippine Words
		in the Robertson Translations of
		the Pavon Manuscripts", p. 56)
	mutia / mútia	"What they call the 'mutia' is I
		believe, the diamond itself.
		Whoever carries it with him
		always will be kept from all
		malignamt spirits." (The
		Robertson Translations of the
		Pavon Manuscripts, Part III,
	mutua / mutua / mutua	Book II, p. 44)
	mutyâ / mutyá / mutyà	"pearl; the one and only; bugtong: hinigugma; pinalangga;
		talisman, charm, amulet"
		tansman, charm, amulet

		(Panganiban. Diksyunaryo-		
		Tesauro, p. 718)		
Ilokano	Mutiá	"amulet, talisman, charm; will-o-		
Hokuno	iviatia	the wisp; gem; goddess; young		
		lady, beautiful girl; muse, beauty		
		queen (mutya)" (Laconsay, p.		
		327)		
	mutiá	"amulet, talisman, charm, will-o-		
	muta	the-wisp, bezoar; gem,		
		serpentine; goddess; young lady,		
		muse, beauty queen" (Gelade, p.		
		412)		
	mutia	"an object with magical powers,		
	muua			
		,		
		(Constantino, p. 343)		
	mutiá	"piedra preciosa, la piedra		
		serpentine, la piedra bezar,		
		amuleto" (Carro, 1793)		
	mutiá	"gem; serpentine stone; bezoar;		
		amulet; talisman; charm"(Carro		
		reported by Vanoverbergh, p.197)		
	mutiá	"pearl, charm, precious stone,		
		amulet" (Francisco, "Indian		
		Influences," p. 15)		
Itbayat (Batanes)	Motiñ	"beads (blue color). It is precious		
		as gold and multicolored when		
		lighted at night. They are found at		
		several places (fields and farms)		
		in Itbayat like Karovooban and		
		Riposed. The fishermen in		
		valugan on Batan Island throw		
		them in the sea when the fishing		
		season starts. The Yami people in		
		Formosa value them highly"		
		(Yamada, p. 181)		
Ivatan (Batanes)	Mutin	"isang uri ng butil may kulay		
		bughaw na dinadala ng mga		
		mangingisda para swertihin;		
		precious bead, blue in color,		
		brought along by fishermen for		
		good luck" (Hidalgo, p. 381)		
	mutin	"green or blue beads used in		
		making necklaces. It is also		
		prized as a ritual bead used by		
		fishermen as offering to the		
		spirits of the sea to obtain good		
		luck" (Hornedo,p. 90)		
Ibatan	Mutin	"abalorio azul" (Vocabulario		
	1.246111	Ibatan-Espanol, p. 135)		
Jaman Mapun	Muntja	"pearl; gem" (Collins, p. 364)		
varian mapan	mutsa	"pearl; gem" (Collins, p. 365)		
Kapampangan /Pampango	Mutya			
Kapanipangan / Fampango	witiya	"tangi, bukud-tangi, galing, anting-anting – the only one,		
		pearl, talisman, charm, amulet"		
	mutvo	(Silverio, p. 52) "pearl" (M. Mercado, p. 258)		
	mutya	pearr (w. wiercado, p. 230)		

		(1 1 1 1 1	
	mutyâ	"pearl; solu; darling, irog, giliw,	
		hirang, tangi, sinta, mahal;	
		talisman, charm, amulet	
		(Panganiban, Diksyunaryo-	
		Tesauro, p. 718)	
Maguindanao	Muntia	"perla" (Juanmarti, p. 114)	
	mutiá	"pearl, charm, precious stone,	
		amulet" (Francisco, "Indian	
		Influences," p. 15)	
	muntiyá	"precious stone" (Sullivan, p.	
		364)	
	muntiá	"an amulet, usually pebbles or	
		stones, that cause a good	
		enchanting effect for the owner"	
		(Sullivan, p. 240)	
	muntyá / muntiyá	"pearl" (Sullivan, p. 477)	
Mangyan:		pour (surryan, p. 177)	
South Mangyan (Hanuno'o,	mutya	"bezoar stone, amulet"	
Búkid)	inacya	(Francisco, "Indian Inluences," p.	
Dukiu)		(Francisco, findian infuences, p. 15)	
Hanunóo	mutuó	"bezoar stone amulet" (Conklin,	
паниноо	mutyá		
Inches Determine House		p. 195)	
Iraya, Batangan, Hanunoo,	mutyâ	"charm stones" (Barbian, 19)	
Ratagnon		(
Manobo	'mutjà	"a gem" (Gelacio, p. 74)	
	muntiya'	"an object such as a stone or a	
		pig's tusk which is considered to	
		have supernatural power and is	
		kept as a fetish or charm" (Elkins,	
		p. 125)	
Mansaka	Motyà	"gem; pearl" (Svelmoe, p. 303)	
Maranao	montiya'	"jewel, gem" (McKaughan,	
		p.206)	
	montiya'an (from "montiya")	"bejeweled person; diamond	
		mine" (McKaughan, p. 206)	
	Montiya'an (from "montiya")	"a town in eastern Lanao"	
	(= 0== ===0.000,000)	(McKaughan, p. 206)	
	montia	"jewel, gem" (Francisco, "Indian	
		Influences," p. 15)	
	montia	"jewel, gem" (Macaraya, , Sorat,	
		p.51)	
Negrito/Aeta/ Zambales	mutva	"charm stone" (Interview with	
Trogrito/Acta/ Zailluales	mutya	`	
		some male adult Negrito from Zambales of the "Ina Poon Bato"	
D-1		area)	
Palawan	mutya, mutia	"charm stone" (Interview from	
		the folklore teachers of the	
		College, Palawan State	
		University, Puerto Princesa City)	
Panay Bisaya	Mutiá	"diamond" (Pavon, Robertson	
		Translations, Part III, Book II, p.	
		44)	
Pangasinense/ Panggalatok	Musya	"pearl; gem" (Zulueta, p. 260)	

Sama (Pangaturan)	mussa'	"pearl" (Walton, p. 93)
Samar-Leyte (Waray)	Mútya	"magic white stone; pearl"
		(Arens, "Folk Practices," p. 141)
	mutya	"a precious gem of supernatural
		power" (Arens, "The Use of
		Amulets," p. 122)
	mutyà	"anting-anting; galing"
		(Panganiban, Diksyunaryo-
	(011.0.1	Tesauro, p. 718)
Sugbuhanon/Cebuano	mutiara / muttiara (Old Cebuano)	" pearl; mother – of – pearl"
		(Pigafetta, 1521 - pls. see
		Levesque, p. 68,)
	mutyâ / mutyà	"pearl; the one and only; darling, pinalangga; talisman, amulet,
		charm" (Panganiban,
		Diksyunaryo-Tesauro, p. 718)
	mutyà	"precious gem with magical
	matya	properties; anything precious or
		valued highly, treasured, most
		valued" (Wolff, p. 695)
Sulu [Samal]	Mucha	"pearl" (Francisco, "Indian
	1720	Influences," p. 15)
Tagabili ([Manobo]	Mutia	"charm stone" (Francisco,
		"Indian Influences," p. 15
Tagalog	Mutia	"piedra preciosa" (San
		Buenaventura, p. 677)
	mutica	"piedra" (San Buenaventura,
		[1613] p. 677)
	mutyâ	"piedra preciosa" (San Antonio,
		[1624], p. 176)
	mutiá	"piedra preciosa" (Noceda /
	4:3 / 4 - 4	Sanlucar, [1753/1860], p. 578)
	mutià / mot-yâ	"piedrecillas que se crian en los cocos, limones o cosas
		cocos, limones o cosas semejantes y tambien se
		encuentra en la cabeza de algunas
		aves y se tienen por preciosas"
		(Noceda / Sanlucar, p. 578)
	motya	"piedrecilla de estima como la
		bezal y otras asi, que se crian en
		los cocos, limones, u cosas
		semejantes. 'Magmotya',
		adquirirla de Nuevo dicen que se
		encuentra tambien en la cabeza
		de algunas aves" (Noceda /
		Sanlucar, p. 397)
	mutya	"unas veces es la bezar, o la que
		ellos llaman 'mutya' " (Noceda/
	mutica	Sanlucar, p. 366)
	mutica	"lo mismo que <i>Mut-ya</i> " (Noceda /
	mutvâ	Sanlucar, p. 204) "predileccion, carino o
	mutyâ	minumutya, predilecto, estimado,
		amado, <i>giliw, irog;</i> amuleto,
		bezar.f. hist. nat. No solamente lo
		que procede de animals, sino
		que procede de diffinais, sino

	tambien lo que se encuentra en
	frutas, como coco, limon, etc. y
	en la cabeza de la saves. Sinon.
	de <i>agimat</i> , <i>anting-anting</i> ,
	sambulanay" (Serrano-Laktaw, p.
	840)
mutyâ	"paraluman, diwata; perlas" (Del
	Valle, p. 117)
(mutyâ) – mutyáng-mutyâ	"nag-iisa, bugtong na bugtong,
()	iisang-iisa" (Del Valle, p. 117)
mutyâ	"ang matigas na bilugan ang
matya	hugis, kulay putting may
	bahagyang pagkaabuhin na
	nakukuha sa loob ng malalaking
	kabibi sa ilalim ng dagat at
	ginagawang hiyas" (Ignacio, p. 130)
mutyâ	"fig, pinakamamahal" (Ignacio, p.
	130)
mutyâ	"pearl (perlas); alone, single,
	(iisa, tangi); darling (irog, giliw,
	hirang, tangi); [be ext. fig. : sole
	desire, only wish. Cf. tanging
	hangad, tanging pangarap]"
	(Panganiban, Talahulganan, p.
	193)
mutyâ	"(mut-yâ) darling, sweetheart
	(giliw, sinta, irog, mahal); amulet,
	charm, talisman (galling, anting-
	anting); dear, beloved (mahal,
	minamahal); alone, only one,
	single (solo, nag-iisa)" (Vito
	Santos, p. 1297)
mutya	"pearl" (A. Bonifacio, p. 269)
mutya	magic fire ball; magic stone
	derived from plants and animals;
	banana flower jewel; nightjar
	jewel (Maximo Ramos,
	Creatures of Midnight, p. 12)
mutya	"Ang isang maihahanay nating
	kaurian ng anting-anting ay ang
	tinatawag na <i>mutya</i> . Ang 'mutya'
	ay isang uri ng bato (karaniwang
	maliit na puting bato) na
	ginagamit na pang-akit sa babae o
	lalaki manAng mutya ay
	nakakaakit ng di kailangan ng
	pilit o lakas ng isang debosyon
	para mapasaiyo ang iyong
	hinahangad. Ito ang pagkakaiba
	ng mutya sa gayuma" (Virgilio G.
	Enriquez et al., p. 49)
mutyá, :	"pearl" (Francisco, "Indian
	Influences," p. 15)
(mutiká) as variant	"precious stone" (Francisco,
	"Indian Influences," p. 15)
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	T :	Li an n e e e
	mutin	butil ng manik na may virtud
		(ayon sa isang matandang
		"karagatan" mula sa Bay,
		Laguna, sa ulat ng isang
		mananaliksik na tinipon sa "Pasig
		Papers Collection" ni E.Arsenio
		Manuel
Tagbanua	Mutia	"charm stone" (Francisco, Indian
		Culture," p. 12)
	mútya	"charms"; "magical" and
		"personal esoteric objects"
		(Robert Fox, "Religion and
		Society,",p. 257
	mutya	"charms" (Robert Fox,
	-	"Tagbanwa Heaven,", p. 382
Tausug	mussa' (gim. Mucha')	"pearl"; (Hassan, p.327)
	mussa'	"a feminine name" (Hassan, p.
		327)
Tina Sambal	motyâ, pirlas	"pearl" (Elgincolin, p. 111)
Tiruray	Muntiya	"diamond" (Martin-Roquero, p.
		141)
	tipay	"pearl" (Martin-Roquero, p. 141)
	muntia	"pearl; charm stone; precious
		gem" (Moendeg, p.284)
	moto	"an eye" (Schlegel, p. 159)
	muntus	highly praiseworthy (Schlegel, p.
	mantas	160)
Visayan (Ilongo and Hiniraya,	mútia / mútya	"pearl; something precious,
Kaufmann)	mata / matya	valuable, excellent, a gem, a
124411141111)		jewel, or the like (mútya)"
		(Kaufmann, p. 596)
	mutyáan	"mother of pearl; full of pearls;
	matyaan	wizard, sorcerer, one supposed to
		practice the black art and to be in
		league with the devil"
		(Kaufmann, p. 596)
		(13.00111011111, p. 570)
Visayan (general)	mutia	"miraculous stone" (Isabelo de
Tibuyun (Bonorun)	manu	los Reyes, p. 437)
Visayan (general)	mutyà	"pearl" (Makabenta, p. 117)
Visayan (general)	mútyà	"bato nga panghiyas"; "pearl;
visayan (general)	mutya	
		gem (perlas, mutya)" (Hermosisima, p. 351)
Bisaya (generic)	motva	"pearl, jewel" (Francisco, "Indian
Disaya (generic)	motya	Influences,", p. 15)
Volcon	musso!	
Yakan	mussa'	"pearl" (Behrens, p. 254)
71	mutsa	"pearl" (Behrens, p. 254)
Zambal	mutya	moving ball of light that that is
		said to belong to the 'kapre',
		(Maximo Ramos, "Development
		and Demonology," p. 360, 361)

Based on Table 1, it can be seen that the word can be found in 33 languages in the Philipppines (the list is not even exhaustive) comprising the following groups:

Aklanon (mutya), pearl, gem Bikol (mutya), pearl, precious stone, gem, charm stone Binukid (muntiva), charm stone, good luck charm Cuyonon (moya), shining stone owned by a "kapre" Dumagat [Casiguran] ('motya), charm stone Hiligaynon [Ilongo] (mutya, mutia), pearl, gem, diamond, charm stone Ilokano (mutia), charm stone, jewel Itbayat [Batanes] (motiñ), precious and magical beads o butil-manik na ginagamit sa ritwal ng pangingisda o alay sa mga espiritu ng karagatan Ivatan [Batanes] (mutin), green or blue beads used as ritual beads in fishing Jaman Mapun (muntja, mutsa), pearl, gem Kapampangan/Pampango (mutya), pearl, charm stone Maguindanaon (muntia, mutia, muntiya, muntya), pearl, charm stone Mangyan [Hanunuo, Bukid, Iraya, Batangan, Ratagnon] (mutya), charm stone Manobo (mutja, muntiya), gem, charm stone Mansaka (motya), pearl, gem Maranao (montiya, montia), gem, jewel Negrito/Aeta/Zambales (mutya), charm stone Palawan (mutya, mutia), charm stone Panay Bisaya (mutia), "diamond" (Pavon) Pangasinense/Panggalatok (musya), pearl, gem Sama [Pangaturan] (mussa), pearl Samar-Leyte [Waray] (mutya), pearl, magic white stone Sugbuhanon [Cebuano] (mutiara, muttiara, mutya, mutia), pearl, mother-of-pearl, Precious gem. charm stone Sulu [Samal] (mucha), pearl Tagabili [Manobo] (mutia), charm stone Tagalog (mutia, mutica, mutika, mutya, mot-ya, motya, mutin), "piedra", "piedra preciosa", perlas, hiyas, agimat, anting-anting, charm stone, butil ng manik, paraluman, diwata, minamahal, patnubay ng kasiyahan, nag-iisa, excellence praiseworthy Tagbanua (mutia, mutya), charm stone Tausug (mussa, mucha), pearl Tina Sambal (motya, pirlas), pearl Tiruray (muntiya, muntia), pearl, gem, diamond, charm stone Visayan [Hiniraya-Ilongo] (mutia, mutya, mutyaan), pearl, mother-of-pearl, jewel, charm stone, wizard Visayan [generic] (motya), pearl, jewel (Francisco)

Third, the word has the following forms and variants: 'mutia'; 'motya'; 'motiya'; 'mut-ya'; 'mutsa'; 'mutja'; 'mutha'; 'mucha'; 'musya'; 'mussa'; 'moya'; 'mutica' or 'mutika'; 'mutin'; 'motiñ'; 'muntia'; 'montia'; 'muntya'; 'muntiya'; 'mutiara'; and 'muttiara.' All these cover about 21 variant forms.

Yakan (mussa, mutsa), pearl

Zambal (mutya), ball of light owned by a "kapre" (Ramos)

Fourth, the word is used generally as a noun ('Mutya ng Silangan'; 'Mutya ng Pasig'), adjective ('mutyang ina'), an adverb ('mutyang mutyang anak') and verb ('minumutya kita'; 'pinakamumutya kita'). However, the verb use can only be constructed by the affixes – *in* (mutyain, minumutya, minutya), and not by -*um*. At first glance, it appears that other words beginning with "m" like "mahal" and "mata" cannot likewise be affixed by "-*um*". It is suggested that studies along this line be further made.

Fifth, the earliest record of the word is found in Pigafetta's 1521 account of his first trip to the island of Cebu with a group of explorers headed by Ferdinand Magellan. In his account, he mentions a variant of the word in his listing of Cebuano terms as 'mutiara' or 'muttiara', designating 'pearl.' (Levesque 1980). Moreover, the word 'mutia' appears in the first Tagalog-Spanish Dictionary, the *Vocabularia de la Lengua Tagala* published in 1606/1613) – with the word referring to 'piedra preciosa' or 'precious stone.' (San Buenaventura 1606/1613). This information brings the discussion to the next section, showing the word 'mutiara' and its variants and derivatives in the other Austronesian-speaking regions.

3. The Term in the Context of its Austronesian-Speaking Neighbors and Relatives

In Indonesia and Malaysia, the word 'mutya' has several variants as can be seen in the next table :

Table 2: The Mutya Variants in Indonesia and Malaysia

	BAHASA MALAYSIA.		
	mutiara, mutya	pearl	(Jose Llanes)
ı	mutivo	noorl	mother of nea

mutiya pearl, mother-of-pearl (Francisco)

mutiara pearl (Francisco)

mute pearl-shell; beads (Wilkinson) muti pearl-shell; beads (Wilkinson)

Muti Allah "in whom God is well-pleased" (Wilkinson)

mutia pearl shell (Wilinson)
mutiara pearl (Wilkinson)
indong mutiara pearl-oyster (Wilkinson)
mutu pearl; gem (Wilkinson)

ratna mutu manikam precious stones of all sorts (Wilkinson)

muthumanikam "the light that comes from the stone held in the mouth of a

cobra"(interview with a Malaysian professor)

muti, mutya pearl (Balfour)
mutiyara lulu pearl (Balfour)
mutya pearl (Panganiban)
mutia pearl (Windstedt)

mutiara pearl, mother-of-pearl (Winstedt)

mustika, mestika amulet (Balfour)

muntika Talismanic bezoar (Wilkinson)

mutiara pearl (Raffles) mutiara, mutiya, mutia pearl (Francisco)

BAHASA INDONESIA

mutiara pearl (Echols)
mutu pearls (Echols)
mutu quality, grade (Echols)
mutu carat (Echols)

mutu quality, excellence (Echols)
mote beads (for necklaces) {Echols}
mutisala colored beads (Maramba)
mulia sublime, noble, lofty (Echols)
mulus flawless and pure (Echols)
indung mutigara mother-of-pearl (Wilkinson)

ratna mutu manikam "all kinds of precious stones" (Echols)

Muntumuntu "God of the Sun and the Law-giver" (Guide to gods, p. 114)

JAVANESE

mutijârâ pearl (Horne)
muntijâra pearl (Horne)
mutyârâ pearl (Horne)
mote coral bead (Horne)
monté coral bead (Horne)

OLD JAVANESE

munté coral bead (Horne)

mut "something one holds in the mouth or sucks or nibbles on"

(Horne)

muntil small tight knot, esp. in a Javanese-style hairdo (Horne)

muntjar sparkling, glittering (Horme)

Muntumuntu God of the Sun and the Law-Giver (Guide to the Gods, p. 114)

mulad to blaze, to glow (Horne) retna diamond, precious gem (Horne)

retna mustika a large jewel (Horne)

mutyara pearl (Franscisco, Schneider)

mutiara pearl (Raffles)

(Jawan, Basa, Krama, Sunda)

OLD MADURESE:

mutyara pearl (Francisco, Schneider)

MADURA, SUMENAP, BALI:

mutiara pearl (Raffles)

OLD SUNDANESE:

mutiara pearl (Franscisco)

BUGINESE:

mutiara pearl (Francisco, Scheneider)

FLORES:

muti pearl (Francis, 251)

MAKASSAR:

mutiara pearl (Franciso, Schneider)

TIMOR:

mutisalah heirloom beads; "false pearls" (Francis, p. 15) mutiraja opaque orange red Chinese coil bead (Francis) mutitanah opaque red beads worn by commoners (Francis)

mutibata orange opaque beads (Francis)

BATAK:

mutiha pearl (from a Batak informant taking his doctoral studies at the

Asian Social Institute, Nov. 25, 2005)

In the context of its Polynesian relatives, the term for 'pearl' in Hawaiian is 'momi' (Pukui 1971). However, in the Hervey Group of Islands (near New Zealand), the word 'motia' is used to refer to the 'center' as in 'Rangi-Motia' or 'the Center of the Heavens' (Andersen 1969). Furthermore, the epithet for *Hina* or *Ina*, the Moon Goddess is 'Ina-Motea', referring to 'the brightness of the moon.' (Andersen 1969)

In the Southern Ryukyus near Taiwan, the word 'mutu' is used to refer to 'the house of the stem family', and implies origin, center, foundation; it also means 'sacred grove or shrine' (Mabuchi 1976).

Based on the above data, what can be said about the term and its concept? In Indonesia and Malaysia, similar terms 'mutya', 'mutiya' and 'mutia' occur. The words 'mutiara', 'mutijara', 'mutijara', and 'muntijara' are related to the 'mutiara' reported to have existed in Cebu in 1521 by Pigafetta. Where does the additional "ra" come from in the word 'mutiara'?

To answer this, it might be good to derive first the root stem of the word 'mutya.' To start off, Henry Costenoble considers the word 'muti'a' as a Proto-Philippine term, designating it as a 'pearl' or 'gem' (1979). The question is, from where is the Proto-Philippine form 'muti'a' derived? It appears that that word "mutya" is a contraction of a composite word: the disyllabic root-stem 'muti' and other disyllabic root-words such as 'aya' ('muti' + 'aya' = 'mutiya' or 'motiya'); 'ara' or 'yara' ('muti' = 'ara' / 'yara' = 'mutiara'; 'mutiyara'); 'ara' or 'jara' ('muti' + 'ara' = 'mutiara'; 'mutijara'); 'munti' + 'ara' or 'jara' 'muntijara'); 'ala' ('Muti' + 'Ala / Allah' – 'in whom God is well-pleased' [Wilkinson 1957] or 'The Pearl of God'; the 'Pearl of Allah'; the Precious Gem-Stone of God or connotatively, the 'Beloved of God.'). The Batak word 'mutiha' can be a contraction of 'muti' + 'hala' ('mutiha') which might be the cognate of 'yala' (ala – muti ala; muti allah) , 'yara' (ara - mutiara) and hala (mutihala/ mutiha' / mutihara/ mutiara).

In the Utmatjera tribe of Australia, Eliade (1964) cites Spencer and Gillen referring to 'atnongara' stones which are 'small crystalline structures which every medicine man is supposed to be able to produce at will from his body, through which it is believed that they are distributed. In fact it is the possession of these stones which gives his virtue to the medicine man'. This information makes it easy to believe that the term 'ara' refers to a stone-spirit or a spirit residing in the stone, guarding the stone or giving powers to the stone for healing or protection. This stone-spirit may be an ancestral figure, a nature spirit or a deity. There is a counterpart of this in the Philippines in the hidden small stone kept in great secrecy by the 'busalian' (pre-Hispanic men and women of great power and wisdom) of Antique which they call 'Santo Ara' or 'Santuara'.

Among the Sea Dyaks of Indonesia, the name 'Ara' refers to the primeval creator spirit that had created the heavens and was in the form of a bird. He created humankind from clay. (Leach 1992).

In the concept of 'motia' as 'center of the universe' in the form of a island-mound arising from the sea (Rangi-Motia), there seems to be a similarity in the Southern Ryukyus concept of 'mutu' as stem, origin, foundation and center. The idea of a sacred grove is similar to the central tree of life - a variation of the image of central mountain, central island or mound occupying the "center of the world' as a divine pillar of the sky or axis mundi, where creation and life start.

⁴ According to my informant, Eric de la Vegaof the Social Science Department, PD Montfort College, Dumangas, Iloilo. This stone is held to have sacred and mysterious powers. In tamil. 'arai' means 'rock, ledge, grinding stone', 'aralali' refers to 'stone broken for raods' and 'ari' to 'pebbles or gems of metal punt into women's anklets to make them tinkle'; in Koda and Toda, 'ar' means 'flat rock'; in Kannada, 'are' is stone, rock, slab,'; and in telegu, 'rayi' means 'stone, rock,' with the stem identified as 'ra' designating 'small stone' (as in 'rappa') – as reported by Burrow and Emeneau (1984).

4. The Term in the Context of Other Language Families

In Thai "muk" refers to "pearl" or "mother-of-pearl oyster" Furthermore, there. appears to be a cognate in the word "khot" - a kind of talismanic stones found in certain animals, birds, fishes, crabs and trees like teak and bamboo. This talismanic stones are part of the general term for charms and amulets in Thai called *khawng-khlang* which means 'sacred potent objects.' It is classified into four major classes. *Khot* is only a subclass belonging to the first class called *Khrüang-rang*.

This is a material substance transformed from its natural and normal state mostly into stone or copper. Such a thing is supposed to be imbued inherently with magical power. If held in the mouth or carried or worn on the body of a person, it will provide him or her with invulnerability and protection against dangers or misfortunes. 'Guns will not explode, sharp things will not wound if fired at or struck at the wearer' who has such a magical object with him or her. The khrüang -rang is sub-divided into two subclasses namely: (a) 'khot'. A certain kind of stones found in termite hills, stone eggs, certain kinds of ores and lek-lai (a miraculous iron characterized by its quality to become soft if held over fire) and a kind of stone called 'khot akat', literally the 'khot of the sky'. Probably it is a meteoric stone or fragment. There are many kinds of 'khots', more than enumerated here, and no text books relating to the subject as far as I know are in printed form. Some khots I have seen resembled in material substance black stone or oxidized copper. Whether, perhaps they were artificial, I am unable to verify (probably the 'khot' and the Burmese 'amadé' are one and the same thing) (b) Unclassified. Included in this sb-class are certain seeds found in jack fruit, tamarind....With the exception of the jackfruit tree, all the above trees and vines are 'leguminosae' in species, and are found more or less as indigenous growths in Southern Thailand, the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. Any seed or pod from the aforesaid species of trees if found unusually in its natural state to be copper, it is deemed a miraculous object which commands awe and trust, and can be utilized for its supposed inherent vital force as khrüangrang...Sometimes, I am told, for lack of such rare magical things as enumerated above, people will resort to artificial ones by fashioning them in copper as representations of the aforesaid natural ones. Khrüang-rang both sub-class (a) and (b) may be set, mounted or encased with precious metals and strung to a gold chain to be worn as a necklace. Sometimes they are enmeshed with fine wire strung to a piece of thread to be hung around the neck, or wrapped with a narrow piece of white cloth, then rolled and twisted to be worn as a charm or an amulet. If a natural one is sizable, in particular the 'khot' stone, it may be broken in smaller pieces for convenience of wearing. Include too in subclass (b) are adamant in cat's-eye and rat's eye, solid boar's tusk, canine tooth of tiger or 'sang' (...an old tiger which can transform itself into a man, or vice-versa a magician who can turn himself into a tiger...), a boar's or elephant's tusk broken and lodged in a tree...Also included in this sub-class (b) are buffalo's and bull's horns which flash with a radiant light in darkness as if in flames. Any object of this class, (or part of it if it is a big one) may be ornamented with precious metal or worn by the owner as a protection against any danger. (Phya Anuman Rajadhin, Essay on Thai Folklore, Bangkok: Editions Duang Kamal, 1968, pp. 269-271)

In Modern Mon the term 'mòt' refers to 'eye, precious stone, cutting edge' (Shroto 1962). In Myan Mar (Burma) the terms 'mot' or 'mok' refers to 'mother-of-pearl.'5

⁵ From an interview with a Myan Mar Ph.D. graduate student. The paper upon which his name is written has been misplaced.

In India and in other parts of Asia, the term and its variants can be studies in the following tables:

Table 3: The Term in Other Language Families

SANSKRIT

kriza (Vedic times) pearl (Williams/Burro, Emeneau)

mukta pearl (Burrow, Emeneau) "pearl, as loosened or set

free from the pearl-oyster shell; the spirit released from corporeal existence; loosened, set free"

(Williams, p. 782)

mauktika pearl (Burrow, Emeneau) muktika pearl (Franscisco)

mutya pearl (Williams, Francisco)

DRAVIDIAN

Tamil: muttu "pearl, tear, castor-bean, oil-seed, succulent seed of

pomegranate, a goldsmith's weight, seeds or shells, etc., used in games, that which is excellent or praiseworthy"

(Burrow and Emeneau)

muttu "pearl" (Balfour, p. 168) mutu manikam "pearls and gems" (Winstedt)

muti "to adorn, decorate" (Burrow and Emeneau) mutiya "unto the end, finally" (Burrow and Emenau)

mutiyal "all, whole" (Burrow and Emeneau)

mutiyal "elderly woman, woman possessed by a spirit, goddess" (Burrow and

Emeneau)

mutiyan, mutiyavan "aged man, elder, senior, Brahma" (Burrow and Emeneau)

Mutial-Amma "Pearl-Mother – village deity; village mother of the Tamils" (Balfour,

p. 92)

muttai "egg, ovum, world as a globe" (Burrow and Emeneau)

muttam "pearl, castor-bean, a superior quality of emerald" (Burrow, Emeneau)

muruntu "pearl" (Burrow and Emeneau)

Malayalam: muttu "pearl kernel, cf. muru, oyster" (Burrow and Emeneau)

Kota: mut "woman's ear-ring" (Burrow and Emeneau)

Toda: mut "pearl" (Burrow and Emeneau)

muty "egg, ovum, world as globe" (Burrow & Emeneau)

Kannada: muttu, mutya "pearl" (Burrow & Emeneau)

motte "egg, ovum, world as globe" (Burrow & Emeneau)

Kodagu: mutti "pearl" (Burrow & Emeneau)
Koda: mutte "egg, testis" (Burrow & Emeneau)
Tulu: muttu "pearl, a drop" (Burrow & Emeneau)

motte "egg, ovum, world as sphere" (Burrow & Emeneau)

Telegu: muttiyamu,

muttemu,

mutyamu "pearl" (Burrow & Emeneau) mutiamu "pearl" (Balfour, p. 168)

GUJARAT:

mutti "pearl" (Balfour, p. 168) munniara "beads" (Balfour, p. 303) HINDI:

moti, motī (dialec.) pearl (Balfour 168) motin pearls (Platts)

URDU:

moti (dialec.) pearl (Platts)

motiya (rustic, dialec.) 'bright as a pearl, pearl-coloured; pearl-shaped; pearl-like;

pearl' (Platts)

PALI:

mutta pearl (Burrow & Emeneau)

PRAKRIT:

moti (rustic, dialec.) pearl (Platts)

motiya (rustic, dialec.) bright as a pearl, pearl-coloured; pearl-shaped; pearl-like;

pearl" (Platts)

mutta pearl (Burrow & Emeneau)

muth "the cloased hand, fist; handful; handle; hilt; a kind of spell

or sorcery; to cast a spell over, to charm; to catch or grasp on

the fist" (Platts)

NEPALESE:

muthu pearl (Interview with Nepalese monk)

SINGHALESE:

mootoo, mutu, pearl (Platts, Burrow & Emeneau)

Table 4: Names of Gods and Goddesses

INDIA:

Muthiya Deo "a stone god who is the guardian of the village crossroads"

(Ann/Imel)

Motho "deity of the garins, vetch and pilse (Goddesses of the

World, p. 286.

Mutyalamma "the goddess of chicken pox, smallpox, and cholera

Mathyalammawho is worshipped to avert illness (Mudiraj(Telangana, Koyi, Kondaand Thurston as quoted in Guide to the Gods, p.

Dora, Koya) 460.)

Mutyalamma "Village Mother: disease goddess who causes smallpox

and cholera and is invoked to avert these

(Telangana, Koyi, Konda, illnesses; also said to be a goddess in eastern India. Alternate form: Alternate Form: Mathyalamma (Ann, Leach)

Mathyalamma

[math=root-word, manth = to dwell, inhabit; to grind; to go],

{Williams}

Mutyallamma "Village Pearl Mother Goddess [Grama Devata] a disease

(Andhra Pradesh) deity who is worshipped under a thakkali tree. "To

transform the ferocity of the wild mother, the *gramsuttalu yantram*, a talisman, is buried under her image. This

magical talisman is the tool that transforms the violent, ferocious nature of the goddess' energy into a protective energy. She can then become the guardian of the village." (Jayakar, p. 162)

Mutteyalamma (Central Indian villages)

"one of the manifestations of the goddess Kali as a disease-causing Destroyer" (Walker)

Muttalamman / Mutyalamma Dravidian (Tamil), Southern India "Pearl-Mother" (plague goddess, especially identified with smallpox), Jordan, p. 201.

Mutial-Amma (Tamil villages)

"Pearl-Mother" (village mother goddesses represented by a stone), Balfour, p. 92

Moti Mata

"Pearl Mother" (stones which are worshipped when cholera appears; also known as *Lalbai* or *Phulbai*), Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 120)

Moti Mata

"Pearl Mother" (a stone worshipped during cholera epidemics), Crooke, quoted by Ann/Imel

Moti Mata

"Pearl Mother" (she is manifested in a stone that is worshipped during cholera epidemics), <u>Goddesses of the World</u>, p. 286.

Mata Chawar Motin

one of the Pearl-Goddesses (Jayakar, p. 84)

Mata Dia-Motin

"The Goddess Who Shines Like a Pearl" (Jayakar, p. 84)

Mukta Devi (Bengal) "A wife of Dharma Thakuli invoked for fertility" (Ann / Imel); fertility deity worshipped in the state of Bengal; wife of Dharma Thakur, a fertility, prosperity, and healing god" (Goddesses of the World, p. 286)

Mukhambika

(Kerala, Malabar Coast)

"Mouth Mother" (she has a shrine in northern Cannanore on the Malabar coast in the estate of Kerala (quoted from Stutley and Stutley in Goddesses of the World, p. 286.

Mutua Deo

(The Korku, Central Provinces)

'....is represented by a heap of stones within the village and receives a pig for a sacrifice, besides special oblations when disease and sickness are prevalent' (quoted from Russell in Guide to the Gods, p. 361)

Kotma Ma

(India, Baiga)

'Creator of Life. Creator deity. Mother of the Pandwa brothers. Kotma took the grain of the earth that was stolen from the lower world and churned it with water. It increased so much that that she could cover the middle world and make it fertile.' (Leach 1992)

Kottavei (Kotari, Kotavi)

(India, Tamil)

War; Evil. Guardian. War goddess and powerful demon who was later identified as *Durga*. Mother of Bana. Said to correspond to *Kali* as a naked woman and mystical deity and one who feeds on the carnage of war. (Stutley and Stutley 1984)

Table 5: Indian Caste/ Sub-Caste

Muchi, Mochi

Mudi

Muthuvan, Muthuwan, Mudukkan, Muduga

Muhial

Muka Dora, Konda Dora, Mukha Dora (ST)

Mukeri

Mukkava

Mukkuvan

Mukri

Muni

Munnur

Muriari

Muthrasi, Mutrasi, Mutracha, Mut-Raj, Mutrasa, Mutratcha, Muttaracha, Muttarasan, Muttirajulu, Muttiriyan

Muttan

Muttatu, Ambalavasi, Mussad (Malayalam)

MUTYALAMMAVANDLU BC-A

Peddammavandlu BC-A

Yellammavandlu BC-A

Bukka BC-D

Mudirai BC-D

Mutrasi BC-D

Mukhi (Assamese)

MOTI i SC-A

Muchi SC-B

KOTIA ST

KUTTIYA KONDHS ST

Khutto Savaras ST

Table 6: Myan Mar Cultural Community

Moken Sea nomads of the Andaman; Selung/Moken (Encyclopedia of World Cultures Index)

Table 6: Phoenician / Canaanite Term Parallel

PHOENICIAN:

Motva

variants: Mothia, Mozia, Mothya 'name of an ancient Phoenician trading post (ca.) in the eastern

Mediterranean Sea, a few miles off Sicily, near Carthage; a trading post administered by Carthage; one interpretation of the name of the place is that it is supposed to come from the name of a nymph who resides in the waters of the island'

Mot the 'slime' or 'mud' that gave birth to the cosmic egg

(Phoenician creation story, Philo of Byblius))

CANAANITE:

Mot God of Death; 'beloved Son of El'; likened to the grain that is

Winnowed; a death and resurrection pattern of the agricultural cycle (Ugarithic Texts)

Table 7: Egyptian Parallel

EGYPT Mut

"Literally, the name means 'Mother' – a term used to call the

Mother-Goddess in the Theban Trinity-Godship (*Amun* the father, *Mut* the Mother, and *Khonsu* the Son-Moon); wears the Double-Crown of the Upper and Lower Egypt as symbol of her rulership; known as the 'Eye of Ra', the Vulture-Goddess, the Cat Goddess, and the Lion-Goddess; known as early as 1,500 B.C. in Egypt; in her *Mut Temple* in Thebes, a crescent-shaped sacred lake, was the scene of many fluvial parades in her honor; the lake is named *Isheru*, a name suggestive of the sacred groves of *Asheru*, *Ishtar*, or *Astarte*"

Mût

A place-name in Egypt (Philip's Great World Atlas)

Table 8: The Term in Place-Names

TURKEY

Mut A place-name in Turkey (Philip's Great World Atlas)

AUSTRALIA

Muttaburra A place-name in Australia (Philip's Great World Atlas)

INDONESIA

Muting A place-name in Indonesia

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the word is apparently conceptually integral in its Austronesian examples. And so does it appear to be in its other contexts outside of the Austronesian languages. Regarding the term in its Philippine context, this is what I can say: the word "muti" is a disyllabic root-word as can be seen in the word "palamuti" ("decoration" / "ornament") as in the prefix "pala" + muti". The existence of the word "muti" is present in the Old Tagalog "mutin" (talismanic beads) and "mutica" or "mutika" (stone; precious stone) and the Ivatan "mutin" (green or blue beads used as ritual beads in fishing). Reduced to its monosyllabic root- stem, it could be 'mut' / 'mot' or 'mu' / 'mo.' When reduplicated, the words 'mutmut' / 'motmot' and 'mumu' / 'momo' make sense as the spirit of the feminine which is represented as both the microcosmic and macrocosmic images of the universe. She is the seed of life, the growth, the fruition and flowering, the death and the resurrection of life. She is the mother of life and death. She is disease and health, darkness and light, the zero, the one and the fullness. She is the water and the fire, the snake and the bird. She is the void and the All. She is the pearl that is beaded and turned into talismanic jewelry. She is the pearl-goddess and the

guardian of kings, leaders, healers and those chosen or fights to be a warrior-hero and achiever.

However, this coherence is only as far as the concept is concerned. The conceptual contour appears to point to a single language family, with overlapping similarities and commonalities in meaning and observing a more or less similar language game. Determining the origin of the term is still problematical without the grammatical basis

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Least Reached Hindu Peoples. (Mutrasi)

List of Sub Castes. (Mutrasi)

SELECTED INTERVIEWS

- Ampatuan, Zamzamin. (Maguindanaon, Office of Muslim Affairs)
- Batak Sumatran Catholic priest as PH.D. student in Manila
- Castillo, Crescencia. 'Aling Kresing.' Old woman caretaker of the original Sta. Marta figure from Pateros.
- Chacko, Joy. CMI, Ph.D. Mass Comm student from U.P., foreign student from South India
- De la Vega, Eric. Faculty. Social Science Department, PD Montfort College, Dumangas, Iloilo, Visayas Region.
- East Timor Ph.D. graduate student in U.P. Diliman
- Humarang, Gemalyn A., Instructor of the Spanish Language, U.P. Manila
- Manuel E. ARsenio. Anthropologist and Folklorist. (Deceased, 2004)
- Merillo, Maria donna. Kindergarten teacher from Ticao Island, Bikol region
- Myan Mar Ph.D. graduate student in U.P. Diliman
- Nepalese monk visiting Manila.
- Santiago, Luciano P.R. Psychiatrist and historian from Pasig City.
- Saway, Victorino. Malandig chief. Bukidnon, Mindanao.
- Thai embassy in Manila interview with the Cultural Officer

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