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Preface

In recent decades, the ravages of war and disease, and the large influx of migrants have taken their toll on the Central Tagbanwa people of northern Palawan. The sociolinguistic dynamics at play since the end of World War Two have led to a major shift in Tagbanwa language use. There is no question that this is an endangered language. If the current trend continues, the Tagbanwa language will become only a sentimental memory to the generation now being born.

There are three Tagbanwa languages spoken in Palawan: Central Tagbanwa, spoken in northern Palawan, Aborlan Tagbanwa, spoken in central Palawan (Fox 1954; S. Hussey 1965; J. Hussey 1966; Green 1979, 1983; Green and Hale 1977), and Calamian Tagbanwa, centered in the Calamian Islands off the northern tip of Palawan (Ruch 1964, 1974; R. Aguilar and Ruch 1978; T. Aguilar and Ruch 1978). These three languages are mutually unintelligible. This volume focuses on the Central Tagbanwa language and people. From here on, “Tagbanwa” refers to the Central Tagbanwa language unless indicated otherwise. Details on these three languages, and their degrees of lexical similarity and intelligibility with each other and with other languages spoken in Palawan, are outlined in Grimes (2000:613).

The purpose of this book is twofold: to chronicle the language shift that is taking place, and to document the language before it dies out completely. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the general history of the area and give a detailed study of the decline of the language. Chapters 3 and 4 describe the phonology and morphology of Tagbanwa, and give a brief overview of various grammatical features. Chapter 5 offers a sample of the Central Tagbanwa lexicon with an English index. And lastly, the appendices record three natural texts: an oral narrative, a written narrative, and an oral conversation.

The research for this volume was conducted during the two-year period between May of 1991 and May of 1993, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. My wife, Joy, and I, with our two young sons, John and Andrew (our third son, Timothy, was not yet born), took residence in Lumambong, a sitio of Binga, for a considerable portion of that time. I also gathered information from as far south as Iraan and as far north as Pancol. Mr. Roberto Lerona, a native speaker of Tagbanwa and lifelong resident of the Imuruan Bay area, acted as my primary language associate. Without his help, this volume would not be possible.

This book is dedicated to the few Tagbanwa elders who remember the sound of the language from the cradle. It is also dedicated to the many younger Tagbanwas who may never speak their grandparents’ mother tongue. May this volume leave a reminder of their heritage.
Acknowledgements

As with any publication, this volume would not be possible without the help of many friends and colleagues.

Mr. Roberto Lerona served as my primary research assistant to gather the information compiled in this volume. I am grateful for his willingness to share his knowledge of the Central Tagbanwa language and of the Binga area and history with me. I would also like to acknowledge the contributions of all of the Tagbanwa speakers in the northern Palawan area who shared their stories and who so readily talked with me about their language.

I could not have carried out my research without the hospitality of the Binga community as a whole. A special thanks goes to Barangay Captain Helen Carriedo and other barangay officials who so warmly welcomed our family into the community. I would also like to thank the Suplito family and the Ariap family for having me in their homes and helping me in many practical ways.

Among the many SIL colleagues who have been such a great support I would like to thank Dr. J. Stephen Quakenbush for his encouragement and counsel in the design of my sociolinguistic study. I would like to thank Dr. Thomas N. Headland for his insight and collaboration regarding the topic of endangered languages. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Rodolfo Barlaan and the SIL Philippines Linguistics Department for their consultation. Dr. Barlaan’s input is what brought shape to this publication. I would be remiss not to mention the years of practical support of my wife and partner in this project, Joy Scebold. For her support and the help of many others who will go unmentioned I am very grateful.
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Map of Northern Palawan
Chapter 1

Historical Background

The Central Tagbanwa people are known as the original indigenous inhabitants of northern Palawan. Historically, all three Tagbanwa ethnolinguistic populations have been semi-mobile slash-and-burn (Tagalog: *kaingin*) agriculturists (Fox 1954; Warner 1981) who have dwelt throughout northwestern Palawan: from Iraan in the south, to the northern reaches of Copoas Peninsula, and as far east as Taytay. Up until World War Two Tagbanwas lived in a fairly stable environment. Tagbanwa language and culture were predominant. Those few non-Tagbanwa Filipinos who migrated into the area had to accommodate to Tagbanwa ways to get along. Although this was the state of affairs during the Hispanic period and up to the mid-twentieth century, it does not mean Tagbanwas were isolated from outside contact. Indeed, Tagbanwas have been exposed to outside influence for centuries (Scott 1984; Junker 1999).

The Spaniards left their mark on northern Palawan in several ways during their hundreds of years of dominion. Taytay municipality was originally established by the Spaniards. A fort and cathedral still exist to this day. Binga, the central location of this study, was also established at that time as a barrio of Taytay. I have found many Spanish loan words in Tagbanwa that are not in Tagalog whereas I have not discovered any in Tagalog that are not also in Tagbanwa. This might suggest a higher incidence of Spanish borrowing in Tagbanwa than in Tagalog. Also, there is a high incidence of Spanish surnames among the Tagbanwa. Catholicism has been reported among Tagbanwas everywhere, except for a few who claim a Protestant religion. The Catholic mission active during the Spanish era would account for this. I found no trace of a unique Tagbanwa traditional religion.

The most notable influence of the American era (1898–1946) was the introduction of public schools. English was the only language of instruction in the American school system. As a result, several elderly Tagbanwas still retain some English proficiency. Schools have been, and continue to be, a major influence on language use and language choice in the area.

The Second World War was very traumatic for the people of northern Palawan. In the years prior to the War, the predominantly Tagbanwa population lived in relative peace. The only real outside threat came from seafaring Moros who occasionally landed in Palawan to raid villages and take slaves (Warren 1985; Scott 1991; Junker 1999). However, these incidents were infrequent and minor in comparison to the Japanese occupation of this area. During their occupation (1941–1945), Japanese soldiers reportedly terrorized Palawan residents. Tagbanwas spent most of this time in hiding. Many died from malnutrition and disease. Though the end of the War brought an end to the terror, Tagbanwas wore the scar of that terror for years to follow. From that time until as recently as 1970 Tagbanwas would literally run from contact with outsiders. This was especially so if they saw someone in a uniform or holding a gun. Running from outsiders became harder to do, however, with the post-war influx of migrant settlers from other parts of the Philippines.

1 Tagbanwa Catholics seem to practice their Catholicism as much as any other Catholic resident in the area: attendance at Mass during Barrio Fiesta, christening of infants, etc. There is no priest in residence, so regular religious meetings are sparsely attended by Tagbanwa and non-Tagbanwa alike.
While the main catalyst for culture change in Palawan during the American era was the public schools, it was the huge in-migration of Filipinos from other islands after World War Two that precipitated the language shift we see today. Attracted by the tillable land that could be acquired cheaply, the numbers of settlers coming to Palawan from different parts of the Visayas exploded after the War. The endemic malaria Palawan was known for had inhibited mass migration prior to the War. However, with the advent of anti-malarial drugs, the major deterrent to migration was mitigated and people came in boatloads. One Tagbanwa man recalls seeing a major influx of such people between 1950 and the early 1970s.

The total population of Palawan Island (the main island of Palawan Province) in 1903 was 6,200, almost all of whom were Tagbanwa and Palawanon. In 1948 it was 56,000 people. By 1990, one year before the present study was conducted, the Palawan Island population had grown to 400,000, and in 2000, to 600,000. (National Censuses for the Philippines 1903; 1980; 1990; 2000). The geographical area of the Central Tagbanwa people (Taytay and San Vicente Municipalities) had a population at the end of the War of only 4,050 (National Census 1948). By 1991, when we arrived, the population of San Vicente had grown to 17,795, and in the 2000 census San Vicente’s population had grown again to 21,654. If these population figures are accurate, it indicates that the Tagbanwa people are today outnumbered 20 to 1 in their own homeland by Filipinos from other islands.

When the settlers came to Palawan, they found land largely vacant and available to farm. This was due to the reduced Tagbanwa population and to Tagbanwa survivors’ reluctance in dealing with outsiders. Traditionally, Tagbanwas did not own land; rather they moved back and forth from one slash-and-burn field to the next. When a Tagbanwa would come to a portion of land he had cultivated in the past and would find it occupied by a settler, any dispute over farming rights would be negotiated by the settler for a small sum. In 1970 one could pay as little as thirty pesos (about $10 to $15 in U.S. dollars) for a hectare of land, or even trade a dog for land that Tagbanwas formerly planted on. As a result, Tagbanwas have been forced to plant their crops further into the forest, away from the flat farmlands. In-migration has been so extensive that Tagbanwas are now very much a minority on their own turf. Though Binga was known in 1992 to have the largest concentration of Tagbanwas anywhere, Tagbanwas comprised only about 20% of the barrio’s population, and a mere 5% of the population of San Vicente Municipality.

In the early 1990s, the total Central Tagbanwa population was estimated between 800 and 1000. But few were of pure Tagbanwa heredity. Tagbanwas had intermarried to such an extent that over half of Tagbanwa marriages in Binga involved a non-Tagbanwa spouse. Intermarriage with non-Tagbanwas is not a new phenomenon. It was happening as early as the 1920s. At the time of my study, 58% of Tagbanwa adults in Binga were of mixed heredity.

Contrast this with the 2000 government census, which reports that the population of Palawan in 2000 was comprised almost completely of in-migrant Filipinos, with only 8.1% of the population made up of Palawanon people, and 2.15 of Tagbanwas (including all three Tagbanwa language populations (National Census 2000).

The most notable descriptions of cultural change in Palawan since World War Two may be found in the writings of James Eder, who has been doing fieldwork in Palawan on these changes since the early 1970s (Eder 1982, 1987, 1999; Eder and Fernandez 1997).

Interethnic marriages are common throughout the rural Philippines, and have been documented for traditional groups like the Palawan Batak Negritos (Eder 1987) and the Agta of eastern Luzon (Headland 1998).
Though a few Tagbanwas continued to avoid daily contact with non-Tagbanwas by living deeper into the forest, most Tagbanwas had been on the assimilation road for decades. They do not run away from contact anymore. A glance at the map will show where most Tagbanwas lived in 1992. Very few lived inside barangay\textsuperscript{6} centers. Most lived in the outlying sitios\textsuperscript{7} of their barrio. Many Tagbanwa areas are close to roads. The most isolated areas are those north of Irawan on the coast of Imuruan Bay (Barangays Binga and New Canipo). However, even the most isolated communities are only half a day’s walk and a short boat ride from the nearest road. Daily jeepney trips travel up and down the island making travel to larger commercial centers available to most people. Very few Tagbanwas have not traveled outside of their areas. With the exception of several elderly women, most Tagbanwas from Binga had at least been to Taytay or San Vicente by the time we had arrived in the area.

Most Tagbanwas have access to the public school system within their barrio. Tagbanwa parents generally want their children to attend school. For some, this is their motivation for teaching their children Tagalog as a mother tongue. In fact there was a drive some thirty years ago for parents to teach their preschool children Tagalog before putting them in school.\textsuperscript{8} In 1992, almost three-fourths of all adult Tagbanwas had had at least three years of public education; one-third had completed the sixth grade.\textsuperscript{9}

Communities in which Tagbanwas live are far from homogeneous. In 1992, the sitio where Tagbanwas were most concentrated was Gi where they comprised 82\% of the population. Other sitios had far less concentrations. Lumambong had the next highest concentration of Tagbanwa residents where they comprised 38\% of the population.

Concentration of numbers does not necessarily mean stability for language maintenance. Mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers have become very proficient in languages of wider communication and have been teaching these to their children for decades. This has led to substantial language shift. In Kemdeng and Maulid, for example, Tagbanwas have preferred the Cuyunon language to Tagbanwa for years. One Tagbanwa speaker from Binga said he remembered visiting Kemdeng in the early 1970s. He said that although it was a fairly pure Tagbanwa community, Cuyunon was the language they used with him. On one visit to Maulid, I interviewed an elderly patriarch with seven grown sons. He reported that he and his wife taught their sons to speak Cuyunon as their first language. When asked if they could also speak Tagbanwa he said they could understand it but could not speak it. This seemed to be the norm for Kemdeng and Maulid. It also appeared to be true for Baong and Alacalian. Reports from within and without these communities had said young people there did not speak Tagbanwa anymore, only Cuyunon. My observations in these areas matched these reports. In 1992, only 40\% of the adult Tagbanwa population claimed Tagbanwa as their mother tongue. Twenty-eight percent of Tagbanwa adults had little or no Tagbanwa proficiency at all.

The decimation of the Tagbanwa population during the War along with the large in-migration of non-Tagbanwa settlers and the ubiquitous use of the national language in

\textsuperscript{6} A barangay is a political subdivision of a municipality. They are also known as barrios from Spaniard times. Barangay and barrio are used interchangeably in this book.

\textsuperscript{7} A sitio is a political subdivision of a barangay or barrio.

\textsuperscript{8} Tagbanwas were not the only ones to whom this drive was directed. In fact, very few migrants are mother-tongue Tagalog speakers. Warays, Ilonggos, Cebuanos, and Cuyunons alike were encouraged to do this. Language shift in Palawan is not strictly a Tagbanwa phenomenon. It appears that second and third generation offspring from migrant families are also adopting Tagalog or Cuyunon for use in more domains than their forebears did. This would be an interesting topic for another study.

\textsuperscript{9} These figures were for Binga Barangay where I conducted my study. I infer that they were also a good approximation for other Tagbanwa areas since most have access to schools.
schools, media, and government all combined to create a tremendous pressure for change in this traditionally Tagbanwa territory. Language and culture shifts are the natural results, resulting in Central Tagbanwa clearly fitting into the category today of what linguists have recently been calling an endangered language. We will look at this process in depth in the next chapter.
Chapter 2

Sociolinguistic Dynamics

The Central Tagbanwa language is at risk as an endangered language. Evidence shows that language shift has been in progress for the past fifty or sixty years. Of the eight hundred to one thousand remaining Central Tagbanwas there are perhaps only two hundred who speak Central Tagbanwa as their mother tongue. The majority of these mother-tongue speakers are older people. Most young people now speak Cuyunon or Tagalog as their mother tongue. However, in areas where Tagbanwa use is the healthiest, Tagbanwa is being maintained by some young people as a second language.

2.1. Central Tagbanwa as an Endangered Language

The fourteenth edition of the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000) lists 6,809 languages spoken in the world today. Half of these languages have less than 6,000 speakers each; a quarter (28%) have less than 1,000 speakers; 500 languages have less than 100 speakers; and 200 languages have less than 10 speakers. Conservative estimates are that the world’s languages are currently dying at the rate of at least 2 languages a month, and linguists predict that most of today’s languages will die out in the next 100 years. Most specialists argue that at least half will die in the next 100 years (Crystal 2000:19; Wurm 1996:1; Nettle and Romaine 2000:7; Gibbs 2002), while still others predict half will die in just 50 years (David Harrison, cited in Cook 2000; the Foundation for Endangered Languages in the UK in 1995, cited in Crystal 2000:viii). Some estimates forecast that as many as 90% will die out in the twenty-first century (Krauss 1992:7; Crawford 2000:52; Maffi 2001; Cook 2000; Gugliotta 1999). Barbara Grimes (2001:45) has documented 450 languages spoken today “that are so small that they are in the last stages of becoming extinct, with only a few elderly speakers left in each one.” In the Philippines, there are between 100 and 150 languages. Most of these Philippine languages are endangered and will probably disappear in the present century (Headland 2002).

This chapter puts in plain words how this is happening to the Central Tagbanwa language. Before we explore further the sociolinguistic dynamics of the Tagbanwa area, however, we need to ask what an endangered language is.

2.1.1. What is an Endangered Language?

The topic of Endangered Languages has become popular among linguists in recent years, ever since Michael Krauss brought it to the forefront with his article in *Language* in 1992. An endangered language is defined simply as a language that “is in fairly imminent danger of dying out” (Cahill 1999). There are three ways to recognize when a language is endangered. One is when the children in the community are not speaking the language of their parents, another is when there are only a small number of people left in the

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1 The time reference for this chapter is the ethnographic present. Unless otherwise noted, present tense propositions about Central Tagbanwa language and behavior actually refer to the time I conducted my research in 1991 through 1993.
ethnolinguistic community. And a third reason is in cases where the speakers of the language in a community become overwhelmed by in-migrants from elsewhere who speak a dominant language. As we shall see in this chapter, all three of these conditions were salient by the time we arrived in the Tagbanwa area in 1991. In fact, the Central Tagbanwa language was not only endangered, but moribund, defined by linguists as meaning that it is no longer being learned by children as their mother tongue (Wurm 1998:192).

Sometimes, Cahill reminds us, revitalization of endangered languages does happen, where small language groups on the very verge of biological extinction have recovered, along with their languages, at the very last minute. Cahill reviews five such refreshing instances of this in his 1999 paper, four in the Amazon and one in Papua New Guinea. All five of these groups had suffered drastic population declines in the early twentieth century, from thousands of members in each group to less than a hundred. All five groups today have experienced encouraging turnarounds in population growths and language rescues as the result of help from missionaries, NGOs, and government agencies such as FUNAI. The awakening self-determination revival movement among many indigenous peoples has also been a contributing factor in such turnarounds (Bodley 1999:145–169; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Grimes (2001) reviews eight more cases of language revival, with four of these being the result of SIL programs. And a booklet edited by Richard Pittman (1998) reviews sixteen cases where SIL played a role in not only rescuing moribund languages, but in saving the peoples themselves from tribal extinction. In the Philippines, SIL members have worked for decades, not only to record and save in written form the minority languages of the country, but to help the people themselves keep their languages alive. But keeping endangered languages alive in the Philippines must be done in cooperation with the people themselves. In the case of the Central Tagbanwa (in 1992 as we are about to see below) the people themselves prefer to see their children learn the dominant languages of Palawan, especially Cuyunon, the popular trade language, and Tagalog, the national language of the nation.

2.2. Initial Language Surveys in Northern Palawan

The Central Tagbanwa language was originally discovered in 1979 when SIL linguists Peter Green and Thomas Nickell (1979) were conducting a survey in northern Palawan to determine how far north the Aborlan Tagbanwa language was spoken. As they proceeded farther north they discovered more and more differences between the speech of the Tagbanwa speakers in Aborlan and the local dialects of that language. Finally they reached the barangay of Kemdeng where the local Tagbanwa speech was unintelligible to Aborlan speakers. At that point the survey was terminated and a second survey was recommended to test whether the people of Kemdeng truly spoke a unique Tagbanwa language, different and unintelligible to the two other known Tagbanwa languages of Palawan (Aborlan Tagbanwa and Calamian Tagbanwa). It was thought at the time (incorrectly, as it turned out) that the dialect in Kemdeng and regions north might be a mutually intelligible dialect of the Tagbanwa language spoken in the Calamian Islands.

In October of 1981 Green and Teodoro Abadiano (1981) returned to the area to conduct the proposed second survey. Using the Casad method of dialect intelligibility

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2 SIL members have worked in 54 preliterate indigenous language groups that now appear to have fewer than 200 speakers. Eighteen of these 54 languages have 100 to 200 speakers, 32 have 1 to 99 speakers, and 4 are now extinct. (Personal email from Barbara F. Grimes to Thomas Headland, April 9, 2001.)
testing (Casad 1974), they determined that the Kemdeng dialect of Tagbanwa is indeed distinct from the Aborlan Tagbanwa speech spoken in the south and also from the Tagbanwa spoken much farther north in the Calamian Islands; thus the designated name of this newly discovered language in the Kemdeng area: Central Tagbanwa.

The survey team had difficulty finding Tagbanwas in numbers. This was due to the process of decline they observed in Tagbanwa distinctiveness:

In the past, even as recently as twenty-five or thirty years ago, there were many more communities of Central Tagbanwa speakers. Now there are fewer communities of people who can be identified as ‘pure’ Central Tagbanwa, that is, where there is not a high degree of intermarriage with non-Tagbanwa people and where the Central Tagbanwa language and culture are being adhered to. The main reason for this decline seems to stem from the steady influx over the years of people from other parts of the Philippines to seek land and livelihood in the areas previously occupied by Central Tagbanwa speakers, as well as in all parts of Palawan. It seems that over the years many Tagbanwas have been ‘swallowed up’ in the waves of immigrant settlers by the process of intermarriage, so that they are no longer distinctly Tagbanwa, the language and culture of the non-Tagbanwa partner replacing all that was formerly Tagbanwa. (Green and Abadiano 1981)

Though the language and culture were found to be in decline, Green and Abadiano did find concentrated pockets of Tagbanwas who still used the Tagbanwa language. These resided mostly in Binga, a barrio of San Vicente.

From previous survey information it is well established that language shift is in progress, and that the Central Tagbanwa language is endangered. In fact, as we shall see, it is moribund. The aim of this chapter is to establish how far it has shifted and in which direction it is shifting. More specifically, we will examine current (in the early 1990s) language behaviors of Central Tagbanwas including language inventories and domains of language use. We will also examine the demographics of language use and language propagation between generations.

2.3. Population

In Binga, the location where I conducted the bulk of this study, the barangay-wide Tagbanwa census reached 226 people of all ages who were at least one-fourth Tagbanwa descent.3 They resided in 62 households. The figures below are estimates based on what I found in Binga. As I traveled to each location I asked local Tagbanwa residents to estimate how many Tagbanwa households were present in their area.4 I then multiplied the number of Tagbanwa households reported by 3.6, the average number of Tagbanwas per Tagbanwa household in Binga. Based on these figures I estimated the total Tagbanwa population to be between 800 and 1000. (One older Tagbanwa man from Binga estimated fewer than this.)

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3 For the purpose of this study I defined Tagbanwa as any person who is of at least one-fourth Central Tagbanwa decent. In 1992, only 47 of the 112 Tagbanwa adults in Binga aged 18 and over claimed pure Tagbanwa heritage.

4 The definition of a Tagbanwa household here is a dwelling in which at least one person is of at least one-fourth Tagbanwa decent. By this definition, it is possible for a Tagbanwa household of six, for example, to have only one Tagbanwa residing there.
Table 1. Central Tagbanwa population estimate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location (Barangay, Municipality)</th>
<th>Number of Central Tagbanwa people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Binga, San Vicente</td>
<td>226 (actual census)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alimanguan, San Vicente</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraan, Roxas</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Canipo, San Vicente</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alacalian, Taytay</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancol, Taytay</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baong, Taytay</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kemdeng, San Vicente</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total estimate</td>
<td>872</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About 50% of the Tagbanwa population in Binga are adults, adult being defined here as ages 18 and over. Extrapolating this rate over the whole estimate would make the number of Tagbanwa adults between 400 and 500 individuals.

2.4. Location

I chose Binga as the location for this study based on anecdotal evidence and previous survey information. The local consensus among Tagbanwas and non-Tagbanwas alike was that Binga had the largest Tagbanwa population. Binga was also known as the place where Tagbanwa was spoken the most and was one of the more isolated barrios to choose from. With all these factors in mind, Binga was predicted to have the highest Tagbanwa language sentiment and maintenance.

Binga was originally established by the Spaniards as a barrio of Taytay. In 1969 it became a barangay of San Vicente (a relatively new municipality, founded in 1969, compared to Taytay) and the population is diverse. Tagbanwas comprised only 20% of the Binga population (1,130) in 1992. Most residents are settlers from Samar, Cebu, or some other Visayan island. Some are from Luzon as well. In conversations on this topic people in general describe themselves as sari sari na ‘a mixed assortment’.

The overall lingua franca in Binga is Tagalog. It is a neutral language in that it is no one’s mother tongue. It is used in church, school, and government affairs. When one meets a new acquaintance, one initially uses Tagalog. Many people also speak Cuyunon, a very dominant language in northern Palawan. Those who are adept at language learning may also speak the mother tongues of their neighbors. I met one young woman who learned Waray, Ilonggo, Cebuano, and Cuyunon as a child from her friends.

Of the 226 Tagbanwas living in Binga in 1992, 112 were adults. Table 2 shows the distribution of these adults by age, gender, and sitio of residence. Age categories are defined as: young, ages 18 to 30; middle aged, ages 31 to 45; and older, ages 46 and above.
Table 2. Distribution of Tagbanwa adults in Barangay Binga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age/Gender</th>
<th>Buding</th>
<th>Binga Proper</th>
<th>Gi</th>
<th>Lumambong</th>
<th>Cauban</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Aged Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Aged Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 indicates what percentage of each sitio’s general population was comprised of Tagbanwas in 1992. One can see from table 3 that Gi and Lumambong had the greatest concentrations of Tagbanwas percentage-wise. Table 2 shows that they also had the greatest numbers of Tagbanwas overall.

Table 3. Concentrations of Tagbanwas by sitio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Portion of Population Who Are Tagbanwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buding</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binga Proper</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gi</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumambong</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cauban</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Buding and Binga Proper are situated next to each other and are similar in that houses are close to each other and close to the beach. The typical livelihoods in these locations are fishing and farming. People live in their neighborhoods, but if they farm they walk some distance away to work their fields. Tagbanwas farm more than they fish.

Gi and Lumambong are farther away from Binga Proper than Buding. One has to walk thirty minutes to one hour to reach them. They are farther inland as well. Homes are scattered across the countryside as people have built their dwellings next to their fields. Fishing plays a minor role in the livelihoods of people in these sitios.

Cauban is farther still from Binga Proper, about an hour and a half hike. However, it is similar to Buding and Binga Proper in that homes are also built close together and near the beach. Fishing comprises a significant part of people’s livelihoods in Cauban.

5 Binga Proper refers to the barangay center, the main sitio where barangay government is carried out. It is also the most developed sitio where public education, church, and commerce are established.
Because of the similarities between Buding and Binga Proper, and between Gi and Lumambong, I have combined these into pairs for the rest of this study. From this point forward we will divide Binga into three areas:

(1) Buding-Binga Proper, a centralized community and the location of barangay government and school, also the location of major religious fellowships and general goods stores.

(2) Gi-Lumambong, a rural spread-out community isolated to some extent from Binga Proper.

(3) Cauban, a centralized community fairly remote from Binga Proper.

Of the 112 Tagbanwa adults in Binga, 23 were single, 79 were married, and 10 were widowed. As mentioned before, intermarriage with non-Tagbanwas is very common. Of the 54 Tagbanwa marriages in Binga in 1992, 29 involved non-Tagbanwa spouses.\(^6\) The proportion of mixed marriages was higher in Cauban and Buding-Binga Proper than in Gi-Lumambong. This might be expected considering the difference in Tagbanwa concentrations between these areas. It is interesting to note that intermarriage appears to be on the increase. While only one-fourth of marriages among older Tagbanwas involved marrying outside the group, one-third of middle-aged married couples and one-half of young married couples included non-Tagbanwa spouses. It is important to note that the Tagbanwa spouse in such marriages was more often of mixed parentage than of pure Tagbanwa descent. Only 7 of the 29 mixed marriages involved 1 pure-heredity Tagbanwa spouse.

### Table 4. Distribution of marriages by ethnic background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego's Ethnic Background</th>
<th>Spouse's Ethnic Background</th>
<th>Pure</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Non-Tagbanwa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pure</td>
<td>Pure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious that from such a degree of intermarriage there is a high incidence of ethnic blending. Only 42% of the adult Tagbanwa population in Binga claimed pure Tagbanwa heritage in 1992. The rest had at least 1 mixed or non-Tagbanwa parent; 9% were only one-fourth heredity Tagbanwa. Approximately 33% of Tagbanwas in Cauban and Buding-Binga Proper were of pure descent whereas 47% of those in Gi-Lumambong were full-heredity Tagbanwa. As one might expect from the increasing rate of intermarriage, the proportion of mixed heredity Tagbanwas is on the rise. Among the older generation only 31% were of half-heredity descent. The proportion of mixed parentage Tagbanwas for middle-aged and young adults was 59% and 75% respectively. Only 3 marriages of the 39 who would bear the next generation were between 2 pure Tagbanwa spouses. We could project that less than 10% of the next generation and

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\(^6\) Tagbanwa marriage is defined here as a married couple comprised of at least one Tagbanwa spouse who is of at least one-fourth Tagbanwa descent.
perhaps none of the generation following will be of pure Tagbanwa heritage. The main point here is that the Tagbanwa language has to compete for space in the hearts of children from multiethnic families.

Though education is valued among Tagbanwas, the primary grades seem to be the highest level that Tagbanwas can realistically reach. During our tenure, the barangay school only offered grades one through six. The cost of boarding a student near a secondary school is often prohibitive. (Although I did note one case where a family living in a remote sitio sent their school-aged daughter to live with her grandfather so she could be closer to school.) In 1992, almost three-fourths of Tagbanwa adults had completed the third grade and over one-third had gone on to complete sixth grade. Two individuals had even gone as far as the second year of high school. The proportions stated above were roughly the same for men and women, and for all three geographic areas in Binga. One’s gender or residence did not seem to have much bearing on educational achievement. However, more young people had completed higher grade levels than older people. It is interesting to note that 44% of older people never attended school at all. Table 5 shows how educational achievement has increased with each succeeding generation.

Table 5. Grade level attainment by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Percentage of Age Group Who Attained:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third Grade</td>
<td>Sixth Grade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, we have shown that Binga was the best place to conduct this study in that it had the highest concentrations and numbers of Tagbanwas in the remotest places. But we have also seen that Tagbanwas in Binga have been far from untouched by the outside. Indeed this Tagbanwa area has been thoroughly inundated by outside influence. We have also seen a drastic change in the demography of Tagbanwas over the last three generations. Tagbanwas today are both more ethnically diverse and better educated than their grandparents were.

Now it is time to turn our attention to actual sociolinguistic behavior. In the next section I describe the methods I used to acquire my data. Then I will present the results before finally discussing conclusions.

2.5. Methodology and Data

2.5.1. Interview and Observation

This study rests solely on interview and observation data. By nature these are long term, personnel-intensive methods. However, the population was small enough that a significant portion could be studied in depth by one researcher. I was able to personally interview and observe 94 of the 112 adults in Binga. (Data for the rest was acquired from relatives or lifelong acquaintances of these individuals.)
I conducted interviews with the aid of my Tagbanwa research assistant, Mr. Roberto Lerona. Not being a speaker of Tagbanwa or Cuyunon, I conducted interviews using Tagalog. In most cases this was an adequate means of communication. However, when Tagalog was not adequate for communication, Mr. Lerona acted as an interpreter, using Cuyunon or Tagbanwa.

I used a standard interview schedule printed on forms for each interview. Each interview was numbered uniquely and dated. Questions covered basic genealogical information as well as language use patterns and attitudes. Besides recording answers to the printed questions I also took note of the speech setting of each interview. This typically included the geographic area, the specific location (usually someone’s home), a note on others present, and anything else that seemed pertinent. I also noted any other speech activity such as children playing or parents addressing their children. I was particularly interested in the languages used in such events and noted them down on each form.

Mr. Lerona acted as my guide throughout this study. A lifetime resident of the area, Mr. Lerona knew each Tagbanwa individual personally. He was able to lead me to each home and introduce me as well as describe our purpose. Before each interview I noted which language Mr. Lerona used with the respondent. During the interview Mr. Lerona acted as an extra pair of ears observing speech acts going on around us. After each interview, I asked Mr. Lerona about his own perception of the respondent’s language practices and proficiencies. I recorded these observations in the margins of each interview form.

Specific questions regarding language use covered the following communication situations: with spouse, with offspring, with relatives, with other Tagbanwas, with non-Tagbanwa neighbors, in Binga Proper, and in the municipality—either San Vicente or Taytay. I also asked which languages are used in religious services and for prayer. The responses for the latter two questions were given with some hesitation. I asked Mr. Lerona about this. He said that people do not regularly attend religious services nor do they pray except for the occasional recitation of the rosary, thus the confusion in how to respond. Nevertheless, the responses to these questions were almost invariably Tagalog or Cuyunon.

To gain insight on intergenerational language transmission I asked specific questions regarding the language each interviewee used with parents and siblings as a child as well as what language(s) the interviewee used with his or her own children. I also asked parents to assess their offspring’s ability in Tagbanwa; specifically, “Do your children understand Tagbanwa? Can they speak it? How well?” If applicable I also asked for the same assessment of the interviewee’s grandchildren.

I tried to get a feel for language sentiment by asking respondents if they thought their future progeny would learn or use Tagbanwa. The answers to this question were hard to gauge. There were some who were positive that their descendants would learn Tagbanwa and others who were sure they would not. Some said yes but then qualified it with certain conditions. Then there were those who were very shy about answering, who would finally say yes as a concession—a sort of noncommittal, “Sure, I suppose so” answer. A question not included on the form but which I asked on occasion when the

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7 I studied Tagalog in language school for nine months in 1986–1987, and later for another month in 1991. With this and the experience of living in the Philippines for a total of three years prior to this study I was able to communicate in Tagalog at an FSI level of 2+ (level 0 = zero ability, level 5 = mother-tongue ability).

8 I did meet one Tagbanwa man who said he prayed in Cuyunon but wished he could in Tagbanwa. He is a mother-tongue speaker of Tagbanwa but does not know how to go about praying in his own language.
respondent was sure his progeny would learn Tagbanwa was, “What will be their tunay na salita ‘real first language’?” Except for one respondent who said Tagbanwa, all others said either Cuyunon or Tagalog.

By the time I finished the interview phase of this study I had a language use profile on each Tagbanwa adult in Binga. Each profile was composed of the person’s interview responses, my own observations, and the observations of others about the person such as those from parents, spouse, or lifelong acquaintances. From this body of information I organized several case histories and a database.

2.5.2. Data Tabulation

To facilitate tabulation, a database was created. Each respondent and their profile comprised one record. Most of the fields for each record were filled directly from the interview form such as name, age, gender, residence, etc. Language choice for various domains was also easily tabulated. However, the fields for language proficiency and practice were difficult to tabulate because there was no single question or source of information to provide discrete categories. For the purpose of this study I defined five categories to describe an individual’s practice and/or proficiency in a given language. Self reports and the observations of others were used to determine which of the five categories a person fit into.

The five categories I define here are analogous to the five levels of individual bilingualism described in other literature. They are MOTHER TONGUE, CONCOMITANT, SOMETIMES, INFREQUENT, and NONE. These are defined in detail below.

Mother Tongue. The mother tongue category is fairly straightforward. It is reserved for the language that a person learned and used at home with parents and siblings. People in this category use this language daily in significant domains.

Concomitant. The concomitant category of bilingualism is usually referred to as COORDINATE BILINGUALISM, referring to people who can speak the second language as fluently as his or her mother tongue. Because this study does not employ bilingualism testing per se, I am hesitant to borrow this term straight across the board. However, if people that I categorized as concomitant in a given language were tested for bilingualism, I would guess they would score very high. People were designated as concomitant in a language if they grew up speaking the second language side by side with the mother tongue or if they have had significant long-term exposure to the language and use it often. Examples of people who are concomitant in a second language are:

- A person who grew up speaking the second language in the home, for example Cuyunon as well as Tagbanwa.
- A person for whom a significant relationship involves second language use, for example a Tagbanwa using Cuyunon with a Cuyunon spouse.
- A person who has had significant exposure to a second language, for example six years of school in Tagalog with ongoing use of Tagalog.
- A person who is reported to speak the second language very well and who uses it in several significant domains.

The levels referred to are: Mother Tongue, Coordinate, Subordinate, Incipient, and None.
Sometimes. The sometimes category is probably a close match to **subordinate bilingualism**. I use this to describe people who can and do use a second language out of positive sentiment or need but are limited in their ability. Examples of people who are categorized as sometimes speakers of a second language are:

- A person who reports some Tagbanwa ability and use, but admits limitations. (Others may confirm this. This is usually the case for a young person who wants to use Tagbanwa with a significant other, such as a grandparent, but has had very little exposure or practice.)

- An older person who cannot understand or speak Tagalog well but still uses it on a basic level when necessary.

**Infrequent.** The infrequent category is used for people who either have very little ability in the second language or who use the second language very infrequently regardless of their ability. Whereas bilingualism testing of people in the concomitant and sometimes categories would probably show them to be coordinate and subordinate bilingual respectively, testing people I categorized as infrequent speakers of a second language may or may not show them to be **incipient bilingual**. Examples of people who are categorized as infrequent speakers of a second language are:

- Children just learning the second language, for example a child learning Tagbanwa from some Tagbanwa relatives.

- Adults who may understand some or all of what is said to them in the second language but they hardly ever use it themselves. (This usually indicates a lack of interest in acquiring or maintaining the second language. An example is a person who grew up in a Tagbanwa home but only used Cuyunon with parents and others. He has had enough exposure to Tagbanwa to understand to some degree but never bothered to make Tagbanwa part of his speech repertoire.)

**None.** The none category is for people who deny any knowledge of the language in question. This person never uses the language regardless of their true ability. An example is a person who is Tagbanwa by ethnic background, but who is in effect completely abandoning Tagbanwa identity.

Although many languages are reportedly used in northern Palawan, I have focused on only three in this study, as they are by far the most significant. They are Tagbanwa, Cuyunon, and Tagalog. Each individual is therefore categorized as mother tongue, concomitant, sometimes, infrequent, or none in each of these three languages. I also categorized each individual's offspring according to their proficiency/use of Tagbanwa. To better separate this latter group they are divided into Adult Offspring and Child Offspring.

Besides language proficiency and use there was one other field in the database that required some subjectivity. That was the response to the question whether the respondent's progeny will speak Tagbanwa when they become adults. I limited the categories to three: **YES**, **MAYBE**, and **NO**.

**Yes.** The yes category was used to record if he or she said yes and explained why. This person usually indicated a definite intention to teach Tagbanwa to their children though another language was being taught as a first language. In some cases the children's Tagbanwa ability was proof of this intention.

**Maybe.** The maybe category was for people who answered, “Yes, but only if...,” and then listed the conditions. The conditions were usually dependent on whether their own
offspring marry other Tagbanwas or teach their children. I also put a person in this
category if they said yes only after a long awkward hesitation. I took this to indicate that
the person either didn’t want to say no or they really didn’t know what to say.10

No. The no category was reserved for those who flatly did not think Tagbanwa
would be propagated among their descendants.

Tabulated data is very useful in that a sample population can be examined from
many different angles. However, there is no room for nuance or peripheral
information in a data table. For this reason I will also present the data in the form of
several case histories.

We are particularly interested in knowing which languages have been handed down
through the past few generations. Therefore, the case histories were organized along
genealogical lines. They were constructed by compiling all the interview information
from within an extended family unit. Responses were compared between spouses,
between parents and offspring, and among siblings for consistency. When all was put
together, a composite whole emerged to create a bigger picture. We will move on now to
present some of the more illustrative cases.

2.6. Study Findings

2.6.1. Case Histories

2.6.1.1. The Aguero Family

Early in the 1930s a man named Franco Aguero married a Tagbanwa spouse and
raised a family in Alimanguan. They had eight children, five of whom have survived to
this day. (Only four have been interviewed for this study.) During the war years, Franco
moved his family from Alimanguan to Binga. Eventually they settled in the sitio of Gi
where most of Franco’s offspring still live today. Tagbanwa was very much the language
of the home for them. All of Franco’s offspring speak Tagbanwa as their mother tongue.
They are also proficient in Cuyunon and Tagalog. Franco’s children are all adults now;
some even have grandchildren of their own. Franco has long since been deceased.

Andres, aged sixty, is the eldest of Franco’s offspring. He married a Tagbanwa
woman sometime around 1955. They produced seven children, two of whom have
survived into adulthood. Tagbanwa was the language of their home. Andres still uses
Tagbanwa with his children (Alex and Sophia) and even with his grandchildren. Alex and
Sophia are in their later twenties and early thirties. They both speak Tagbanwa as their
mother tongue, both have Tagbanwa spouses, and both are speaking Tagbanwa and
Cuyunon to their own offspring. As a result, Andres reports that his grandchildren,
though still young, do very well in these languages. Of all the people I have interviewed I
would say that Andres is the greatest advocate of Tagbanwa use and maintenance. He and
his son are sure that their future progeny will speak Tagbanwa. They actively teach it to
their offspring now.

Regina, aged fifty, is the next oldest of Franco’s children. She married a man who is
half Cuyunon and half Tagbanwa. Though her husband speaks Cuyunon as his mother
tongue they use Tagbanwa between themselves. They spoke Cuyunon, Tagalog, and some

10 I am sure they understood the question. Mr. Lerona would interpret for me in Cuyunon or
Tagbanwa if they didn’t seem to understand my question in Tagalog.
11 Pseudonyms have been used to preserve the anonymity of all involved. All case histories are
reported in the ethnographic present which is 1992.
Tagbanwa to their eight offspring as children. All eight speak Cuyunon as their mother tongue. Their two older sons, in their early twenties, also speak Tagbanwa. Though Regina says they can all understand Tagbanwa to some degree, most of them do not speak it. Some even deny any proficiency at all in Tagbanwa. Regina and her offspring all believe that future progeny will probably not learn much Tagbanwa if any at all. Cuyunon will be their mother tongue.

Beto, the next of Franco’s children, is forty-five years old. He married a Tagbanwa spouse around 1965. Both being mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers, they use Tagbanwa among themselves in their home. However, they spoke a combination of Tagbanwa and Cuyunon with their two children as they grew up. Their eldest, a twenty-one-year-old daughter, now only uses Cuyunon even with her parents. She is married to her first cousin, Pedrito, Regina’s son. Pedrito also speaks no Tagbanwa. Beto’s son, eighteen years old, maintains Tagbanwa as his mother tongue. He is still single. He uses Tagbanwa with Tagbanwa speaking elders and with his friends who share the same sentiment toward Tagbanwa. Though this is the case, Beto does not think Tagbanwa will live on among his future descendents, especially not those descending from his daughter.

Timoteo is the youngest of Franco’s children, at thirty-nine years of age. He married a woman of mixed parentage: half Tagbanwa and half Cuyunon. Her mother tongue is Cuyunon. Though she also knows Tagbanwa as a second language she hardly ever uses it even with her husband. Their five offspring all speak Cuyunon as their first language. Timoteo uses some Tagbanwa with their children and thinks his future grandchildren will also speak Tagbanwa. However, none of his offspring speak much Tagbanwa, not even the eldest who is eighteen years old.

In this case history we see within one family both successful and unsuccessful Tagbanwa propagation. Andres and his offspring are avid users and teachers of Tagbanwa whereas his sister Regina and brothers Beto and Timoteo, though current users of Tagbanwa, have seen Tagbanwa fall into disuse among their own offspring.

2.6.1.2. The Rizal Family

Miguel Rizal grew up in the early 1900s in the Guinlo area. He is of pure Tagbanwa descent and speaks Tagbanwa as his mother tongue. He is also proficient in Cuyunon and Tagalog. As a child he was able to attend two years of school around 1923. English was the medium of instruction then. He can still use some English. In 1940 Miguel married an Ilocano woman whose family migrated from Luzon. From then on Cuyunon became the language of his home. He and his wife used Cuyunon with each other and with their six children. During World War Two, Miguel served as part of an auxiliary force called the Bolo Battalion. His service carried him far and wide through the Visayas as a courier and supplier. Sometime after the War, Miguel and his family settled in Buding.

Given Miguel’s exposure to the wider world, his marriage outside the group, his use of Cuyunon with his children, and his move to a sitio that had no other Tagbanwa residents, one would think that Tagbanwa propagation to his offspring would be hopeless. Surprisingly this has not been the case.

Marcos is the eldest of Miguel’s offspring at age forty-eight. He recalls growing up speaking Tagbanwa as well as Cuyunon in the home. While young he remembers using Cuyunon most of the time with his siblings. Now he uses Tagbanwa with the older ones most of the time. Marcos married a Tagbanwa woman in 1984. She speaks Tagbanwa as her mother tongue and therefore Tagbanwa is the language she and Marcos use with each other. They speak Cuyunon and Tagbanwa to their children and they fully expect them to become fluent in both. At this point their children use Cuyunon and Tagalog most of the time and very little Tagbanwa. However, they are still fairly young.
Preciosa is the next oldest of Miguel’s children at age thirty-eight. Like Marcos, she also remembers speaking both Tagbanwa and Cuyunon while growing up. Now as an adult she uses Tagbanwa most of the time with her father and older siblings. Preciosa married a Tagbanwa man around 1969. He is of pure Tagbanwa descent and is a mother-tongue speaker of Tagbanwa. As a result, Tagbanwa is the primary language of their home: Tagbanwa between spouses and a combination of Tagbanwa and Cuyunon with their children. Both Preciosa and her husband think their future descendents will learn how to speak Tagbanwa. Indeed, their children already do know how; however, they primarily use Cuyunon among themselves. The younger offspring reserve Tagbanwa for use with Tagbanwa speaking elders. They do not speak it well. However, their older offspring do speak Tagbanwa well and use it more often. Their oldest, Jose, a twenty-one-year-old single, speaks Tagbanwa as a concomitant second language. (He recalls using only Cuyunon with parents and siblings as a child.) He also speaks a variety of other languages from neighboring Visayan migrants. Jose fully expects to pass Tagbanwa on to his future progeny.

Miguel’s third child is Junior, a thirty-five-year-old single man. Junior grew up speaking Cuyunon primarily but now also speaks Tagbanwa concomitantly. He uses Tagbanwa with his father and older siblings as well as with other Tagbanwa speakers. Junior is the last of Miguel’s offspring who actively maintain Tagbanwa.

Two of Miguel’s younger children, Elisa, thirty-one, and Eroldo, twenty-nine, grew up primarily using Cuyunon, though they do know Tagbanwa to some degree. Both married non-Tagbanwas. Neither of them actively propagates Tagbanwa to the next generation. Elisa and her Bicolano husband use Cuyunon in their home while Eroldo and his Visayan spouse use Tagalog. None of their offspring know any Tagbanwa at all. Though Eroldo rarely uses Tagbanwa himself, he still expects to teach his children some Tagbanwa eventually.

The youngest sibling among Miguel’s offspring is Berding, a twenty-three-year-old single man. Like Elisa and Eroldo, he grew up primarily speaking Cuyunon. If he uses Tagbanwa at all, it is with Tagbanwa speaking elders. He is uncertain whether or not his future offspring will eventually learn Tagbanwa themselves.

Miguel and his extended family account for all the Tagbanwas who live in Buding. Their houses are all close together. As such they form a small pocket of Tagbanwa maintenance. However, that maintenance only extends as far as the older of Miguel’s progeny—especially those who have Tagbanwa speaking spouses.

2.6.1.3. The Valdez Family

Ronoldo Valdez was born and raised in Lumambong of pure Tagbanwa heritage. Tagbanwa was very much the language of home and community while he grew up. Around 1940 he married a Tagbanwa woman of like background and together they made a Tagbanwa home. They had six children and all speak Tagbanwa as their mother tongue. Ronoldo is still living and has observed his grandchildren grow. Though some of his grandchildren speak Tagbanwa well, he doesn’t think Tagbanwa will be handed down much to the next generation.

I was only able to interview four of Ronoldo’s offspring. All still use Tagbanwa with their father and with each other. They are also all proficient in Cuyunon and Tagalog.

Ronoldo’s oldest child is Lila who is forty-eight years old. Lila married a man who is half Tagbanwa and half Bicolano. Though he is a mother-tongue Cuyunon speaker he also speaks Tagbanwa concomitantly. Tagbanwa is the language they use together as spouses. Although Tagalog is the primary language they use with their children they also actively teach them Tagbanwa. As a result, seven of their eight children, (one is still a toddler), do very well in Tagbanwa. Their two eldest, both in their mid to later twenties, speak
Tagbanwa concomitantly with their mother tongue, Tagalog. The younger of the two is married to a non-Tagbanwa speaker (ethnically one-fourth Tagbanwa), yet believes his future children will learn Tagbanwa. The older, however, doesn’t hold much hope for his future progeny learning Tagbanwa. Though he is not yet married, he is sure his children will be mother-tongue Tagalog speakers and not much else.

Roberta is the next eldest of Ronoldo’s offspring at forty-seven years of age. She married the brother of Lila’s husband. He also is a concomitant Tagbanwa speaker. They use Tagbanwa with each other and used Tagbanwa with their first child, Marlita, who is now twenty-seven and married with a family of her own. While Marlita was still young and other offspring came along, Roberta and her spouse switched to using Cuyunon and Tagalog primarily with their children. That became their practice with the next five children. As a result, Marlita is the only Tagbanwa speaker among their offspring. Though she is married to a Bicolano she still uses Tagbanwa with all other Tagbanwa speakers. Her siblings may understand Tagbanwa but they never speak it themselves.

Ronoldo’s daughter, Francisca, is forty-three years old. She married a Visayan around 1970, bore five children, and is now widowed. From the beginning, their household was Tagalog speaking. Though Francisca still uses Tagbanwa with her family and other Tagbanwa speakers, her children cannot speak a word of it, not even her eldest who is now twenty years old.

Lila, Roberta, and Francisca are all neighbors in Cauban. Their younger sister, Ramona, however lives in Binga Proper. Ramona is thirty-one years old and is married to a Visayan man. They have four children ranging in age from three months to fourteen years old. Tagalog is very much the language of their home. Ramona thinks some of her children can understand a bit of Tagbanwa but none can speak it. Both Francisca and Ramona think there is a possibility that their progeny will learn some Tagbanwa but doubt they will learn much.

2.6.1.4. Summary

As we can see in these case studies, there is a wide range of language behavior even within a single extended family. As we look closely it appears that the major breakdown of intergenerational Tagbanwa transmission has been occurring over the past five decades. Prior to the large in-migrations of the 1950s and certainly prior to the War, Tagbanwa homes produced mother-tongue Tagbanwa progeny. Even when Tagbanwas married out of the group, often it was the non-Tagbanwa spouse who accommodated and learned Tagbanwa. The children still learned Tagbanwa as their first language. However, since the massive influx of migrants began, the break in Tagbanwa propagation has become more the norm. It seems to occur most often within mixed marriages and among young adults who have little motivation to maintain a Tagbanwa identity in the midst of the wider society as a whole.

The best examples of Tagbanwa maintenance to be found in Binga have been presented within these case studies. There are other cases like these, which I will not present here. There are also a number of situations where the intergenerational transmission of Tagbanwa failed much earlier in the family’s history. From this picture alone it is easy to tell that the Tagbanwa language is in rapid decline. Any Tagbanwa maintenance among young people now is most often as a second language rather than as a mother tongue. But what do the numbers say? How many Tagbanwa speakers are there? How many of them are young and intend to pass Tagbanwa on? We will address these and other questions in the next section.
2.6.2. Language Use

First let us consider the speech repertoire among Tagbanwas. We have already seen in the case histories that not every Tagbanwa is a Tagbanwa speaker. Table 6 shows the distribution of Tagbanwa use by age.

Table 6. Distribution of adults by age and Tagbanwa use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tagbanwa Use</th>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Concomitant</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Infrequent</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that 66% of the adult population in 1992 were either mother-tongue or concomitant Tagbanwa speakers while only 28% were in the infrequent or none categories. At first glance this might be of some encouragement—that there were any Tagbanwa speakers at all. However, a closer look will reveal that the number of Tagbanwa speakers is declining with each succeeding generation. While almost 100% of older Tagbanwas were either mother-tongue or concomitant in Tagbanwa, only 76% of middle-aged and 40% of younger Tagbanwas fit into these categories. Conversely, 48% of the younger Tagbanwas were either infrequent or non-users of Tagbanwa while 23% of middle-aged and 3% of older Tagbanwas fit this description. Six of the seven people who were sometimes users of Tagbanwa were younger adults. None of the older people fit into this category. Note that among young and middle-aged Tagbanwas who maintained Tagbanwa, roughly half were mother-tongue speakers and half were concomitant speakers of Tagbanwa as a second language. Among older Tagbanwa speakers, however, mother-tongue speakers outnumbered concomitant speakers by almost 5 to 1.

Gender and residence did not appear to correlate to Tagbanwa use in the same way. Among mother-tongue speakers, 53% were men and 47% were women. This was very close to the proportion of men to women in the Tagbanwa census: 56% to 44%. This was also roughly the proportion of men to women among those who were infrequent or non-users: 55% to 45%. This parallel distribution was also seen in the distribution of Tagbanwa use by residence. Among mother-tongue speakers, 20% lived in Cauban, 67% lived in Lumambong–Gi, and 13% lived in Buding–Binga Proper. This paralleled the census distribution of Tagbanwas: 19% lived in Cauban, 66% in Lumambong–Gi, and 15% in Buding–Binga Proper. The proportions among those who were infrequent or non-users were close to this: 22%, 68%, and 10% respectively.

The distribution of Tagbanwa use by parentage was a bit more complex. As we have already shown, purity of heritage was related to age just as Tagbanwa use was. As one would then expect, there were more pure Tagbanwas than mixed among those who maintained Tagbanwa at least as a concomitant language (57% to 43% to be precise). There were also more mixed heredity Tagbanwas than full heredity Tagbanwas among those who were infrequent or non-users of Tagbanwa (90% to 10%). Rather than hypothesize about cause and effect here I will simply summarize the trend that seems to
be in progress: younger generations have less Tagbanwa heredity and fewer Tagbanwa speakers than older generations.

If the Central Tagbanwa language is not being propagated, then what is taking its place? The answer is either Cuyunon or Tagalog. The language shift that has been taking place is not only seen in the decline of propagation, but also in day to day domains of use. Of all the Tagbanwas in Binga, not a single one was an infrequent or non-user of Cuyunon or Tagalog. I found only one person, an older woman, who was a sometimes user of Cuyunon. However, her mother tongue was Tagalog. There were nine sometimes users of Tagalog, eight of whom were older people and one who was younger. The eight older people were all mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers and all eight were concomitant in Cuyunon. The younger person was a mother-tongue Cuyunon speaker who had never gone to school and had led a fairly isolated life. The point here is that Tagalog and Cuyunon play a very big role among Tagbanwas today, just as they do among other people groups in northern Palawan—native and migrant alike. As a result, there are no Tagbanwas who are not at least concomitant in Cuyunon, Tagalog, or both. Indeed, many are mother-tongue speakers of these languages.

Cuyunon is the language that most often takes the place of Tagbanwa as a mother tongue. In 1992, 48% of the adult population had grown up speaking Cuyunon as their mother tongue whereas 51% used it concomitantly with either Tagbanwa or Tagalog. Cuyunon use was, not surprisingly, related to age. Seventy-one percent of young adults spoke Cuyunon as a mother tongue whereas 47% of middle-aged and 16% of older adults fit this description.

Tagalog as a mother tongue was far less frequent than Cuyunon among Tagbanwas. Only 10% of the adult population spoke Tagalog as a mother tongue whereas 82% used it concomitantly. The age correspondence seems to follow that of Cuyunon. More younger people spoke Tagalog as a mother tongue than older people. (Thirteen percent of younger adults, 9% of middle-aged and 6% of older adults used Tagalog as their mother tongue.) Table 7 summarizes the distribution of Tagbanwas by mother-tongue and concomitant languages.

Table 7. Mother-tongue and concomitant languages by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Concomitant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tagbanwa</td>
<td>Cuyunon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multilingualism is a fact of life in northern Palawan. Language choice for each situation is governed by a set of unspoken rules. We have already mentioned Tagalog’s function in official and formal domains so I will not elaborate on that here. We are more concerned with the day-to-day-life domains. It is obvious that people who are not mother-tongue or concomitant speakers of Tagbanwa will use Cuyunon or Tagalog in almost all domains of everyday life. We are more interested in when Tagbanwa speakers use Tagbanwa. For Tagbanwa speakers, each interaction seems to be governed by the following guidelines:

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If the interlocutor is a long-standing friend or relation, one uses the language that has always been used with that person.\textsuperscript{12}

If the interlocutor is a casual acquaintances or an unknown person and they initiate the exchange, one responds in the language in which one is addressed, assuming one can speak the language.

If one must initiate the exchange with an unknown person, one uses Tagalog.

If one is in the midst of other Tagbanwa speakers, one uses Tagbanwa unless the first guideline supersedes.

Tagbanwa speakers generally accommodate to the interlocutor. If speaking to a non-Tagbanwa speaking spouse or relative (regardless of their ethnic heritage) they will use the language that has become standard for that relationship, usually Cuyunon or Tagalog. However, when speaking to another Tagbanwa speaker be it spouse, friend, or relative, Tagbanwa is readily used.

For Tagbanwas, the language of the home is largely determined by one’s spouse’s first language and the language of choice for the children. Of the fifty-four Tagbanwa marriages in Binga, Tagbanwa was spoken between spouses in only thirteen. (Two were among younger married couples, four among middle-aged married couples, and seven among older married couples.) In all others either Cuyunon or Tagalog was used. One would think that the language between spouses would also be the language used with their offspring, but this was not always so. Of the eighty adults who had offspring, only twelve spoke Tagbanwa to their children while they were growing up. Four of these parents were older with no children at home. The rest were middle aged with children ranging between toddlerhood and teenage years. There were no younger Tagbanwa parents who were speaking Tagbanwa to their children. It is no surprise that of the seventy-one parents who had more than one child, only four reported that their children used Tagbanwa among themselves.

Just because parents do not speak Tagbanwa as the primary language to their children does not mean children will not eventually learn Tagbanwa. The actual rate of Tagbanwa transmission is higher than the above paragraph might suggest, but not much higher. Of the thirty-seven Tagbanwa-speaking parents who had adult offspring, fourteen had adult offspring who were at least concomitant speakers of Tagbanwa. However, of these fourteen parents, only four actually spoke Tagbanwa to their children as they grew up. (Four spoke Cuyunon, four spoke Tagalog, and two spoke a combination of Tagalog and Cuyunon to their children.) Also, of these fourteen parents, only seven reported that they used Tagbanwa with their spouses. Therefore, it appears that some young people are learning Tagbanwa outside of the nuclear family. I asked some people about this curious occurrence. These young people who would pick up Tagbanwa on the side, as it were, usually did so in the context of a significant relationship such as with a grandparent or close friend. They also tended to be proficient language learners in general, knowing other languages as well.

Though most parents are not speaking Tagbanwa to their children, it doesn’t mean they do not expect them to learn Tagbanwa eventually. Of the ninety people who responded to my question, “Will your future grandchildren speak Tagbanwa when they become adults?” forty-two said definitely “yes”, twenty-seven said “maybe”, and twenty-one said “no”. Table 8 shows the distribution of responses by the

\textsuperscript{12} A case in point: There are two brothers, both mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers, born and raised by a Tagbanwa mother and Tagalog father. These brothers have always used Tagalog with each other, yet always use Tagbanwa with other Tagbanwa speakers.
respondent’s own Tagbanwa use. Notice that most of those who said yes were proficient Tagbanwa users. Not all mother-tongue or concomitant Tagbanwa speakers felt this way though. Some even responded negatively.

Table 8. Study question response by respondent’s Tagbanwa use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego’s Tagbanwa Use</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Maybe</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother Tongue or Concomitant</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrequent or None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 shows the distribution of responses to this question by age. The difference in response between young and old is not what one might guess from data previously cited. Thirty-nine percent of young adults believe their progeny will learn Tagbanwa. This is roughly the same percentage of young adults who speak Tagbanwa either concomitantly or as a mother tongue. However, though 97% of older Tagbanwas are either concomitant or mother-tongue speakers of Tagbanwa, only 50% believe their descendents will learn Tagbanwa. This suggests that young Tagbanwa speakers are more optimistic about the survival of Tagbanwa than their elder counterparts.

Table 9. Study question response by respondent’s age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego’s Age</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Maybe</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several questions remain, however: To what degree do people expect their progeny to use Tagbanwa if they do indeed expect they will learn it? Who will teach them if they, the parents do not? To what extent have good intentions actually born fruit?

The answer to the first question was not directly addressed by this study. However, I have heard people express two extremes: from expecting offspring to be fully proficient in Tagbanwa, to merely expecting offspring to “experience” Tagbanwa—that is, to just get a taste. As I mentioned earlier in this paper, most of the people who expect their children to learn Tagbanwa also expect them to learn either Cuyunon or Tagalog as their mother tongue first; thus the practice of speaking these languages to them from infancy.
As for who will teach them, most who responded positively said they would personally do the teaching. But how effectively is this being done? Of the thirty-six respondents who now have adult progeny, sixteen responded positively to the above question. Of those sixteen, ten have offspring who are either mother-tongue or concomitant speakers of Tagbanwa. One out of twelve maybe respondants and two out of eight no respondants have offspring in these categories. It is important to note that ten of the thirteen parents above who have Tagbanwa speaking offspring are themselves older mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers. However, only three of them reported speaking Tagbanwa to their offspring as children.

Clearly, most parents who expect their children to learn Tagbanwa are expecting them to pick it up along the way while they grow up. Though some young people have learned in this fashion, many parents’ expectations for language propagation are not being fulfilled. What are the prospects of this continuing? The successes of the past happened in the context of an older mother-tongue Tagbanwa-speaking generation that grew up in prewar and pre-in-migration days. Most younger parents speak Tagbanwa only concomitantly at best. It is difficult to make hard and fast predictions, but with the shift of the entire ethnolinguistic base toward languages of wider communication it is hard to see how Tagbanwa propagation can continue on indefinitely.

2.7. Summary and Conclusion

I believe the best case one will find of Tagbanwa maintenance is found in Binga. Assimilation to other languages is more the trend in other Tagbanwa communities like those in Baong and Kemdeng. However, if we extrapolate the results found in Binga across the whole Tagbanwa population we can estimate an upper limit for total numbers of Tagbanwa speakers. Let’s say there were a total of 450 Tagbanwa adults in 1992. If this were the case we can estimate the total Tagbanwa population distribution by age and ethnic heredity at the time of this study.

Table 10. Estimated distribution of Tagbanwa adults by age and heredity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnic Tagbanwa Heritage</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pure Tagbanwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a like manner we can extrapolate an estimate for the distribution of Tagbanwa adults by Tagbanwa language use. Notice that, according to the 1992 figures, the total estimate of mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers was only 181 and that 100 of them were of the older generation. I think it is safe to say that there were probably less than 300 adults who competently spoke Tagbanwa in 1992, one-third of whom have probably passed away since then.
Table 11. Estimated distribution of Tagbanwa adults by Tagbanwa use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tagbanwa Use</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother Tongue</td>
<td>Concomitant</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Infrequent</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Aged</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of all the events in past history, the most devastating to Tagbanwa language and culture seem to have been the decimation brought on by the War, and the subsequent massive influx of non-Tagbanwas. I believe what we are seeing now is the fallout of these two factors. The incidence of Tagbanwas marrying outside the group is on the increase. Since the early 1950s, Tagbanwas in increasing numbers have switched from speaking Tagbanwa to their children to speaking Tagalog or Cuyunon—the languages of power and opportunity. As a result, younger generations are ethnically more diverse and linguistically less proficient in Tagbanwa than prior generations. They are also more attuned to the wider world through more education and modern media.

With diversity of background, many young people have a choice as to which heritage to gravitate towards: Tagbanwa or the other side of the family. Some develop a strong sentiment toward maintaining a Tagbanwa identity. These young people often learn Tagbanwa despite the lack of it in their own homes. One can see their pride when they converse with others who share this same sentiment. Those who use Tagbanwa against the flow of assimilation seem to wear it as a badge of identity. They don’t need to speak Tagbanwa to communicate with anyone, especially not each other. But they do use it with each other, young person to young person, even if both learned Tagbanwa as a second language. Many others gravitate more towards the Cuyunon or Visayan side of the family. As a result they often neglect learning any Tagbanwa. Some even deny knowing one word of it, pushing Tagbanwa heritage firmly aside and embracing Cuyunon or Tagalog.\(^\text{13}\)

Sad though it may be, people are assimilating to the wider culture and are doing so successfully. There seem to be no racial, social, or political barriers to this process. Interethnic marriage will continue to be a trend simply because there are fewer and fewer pure Tagbanwa singles. Therefore, future generations will have to continue to work out their identity just as this present generation has. Young people who wish to, readily adopt the ways and language of the non-Tagbanwa side of the family. If the current pattern continues, those who hold on to Tagbanwa identity and language will dwindle; most will abandon Tagbanwa speech in favor of Cuyunon or Tagalog.

In summary, the traditional Tagbanwa heartland has become a melting pot of merging Filipino peoples. Of all the languages these people speak, Cuyunon and Tagalog have surfaced as dominant. Interethnic marriage is increasingly common and children are learning the dominant languages from early childhood within their homes. Schools,

\(^{13}\) Actually, I haven’t met anyone in Binga who denies being Tagbanwa. That would be pointless since everyone knows each other too well. Most mixed heredity Tagbanwas maintain some sense of Tagbanwa roots. This may or may not include Tagbanwa use.
local government, and mass media have helped to absorb northern Palawan into the greater nationhood of the Republic of the Philippines. Within this context, the Tagbanwa language is now more than ever in danger of becoming a fading memory rather than a living medium of identity and social contact.
Chapter 3

Phonology

3.1. Syllable and Word Structure

The syllable formula for Central Tagbanwa is (C)V(C).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>[ipit]</td>
<td>‘cockroach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>[pikoy]</td>
<td>‘parrot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>[alaid]</td>
<td>‘far away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>[buklod]</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most words are comprised of two or three syllables. The longest root found with no syllable reduplication has five syllables: [ka.ram.la.ga.nin] ‘morning star’. Many words with more than three syllables are derived forms exhibiting affixation or reduplication: [ma.li.na.ro.on] ‘sickly’; [tu.li.tu.li] ‘ear wax’.

3.2. Stress

Stress has been difficult to analyze because of the variation encountered. Stress may vary between the first and second utterances of the same word spoken in succession, both in live and recorded data. The following example illustrates this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utterance 1</th>
<th>Utterance 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ludyák]</td>
<td>[lúd yak]</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas the first utterance is spoken at normal speed, the second is drawn out and carries a tonal quality. Notice the vowel length and tone markings on the second utterance. The first syllable is longer than the second and carries the higher pitch. A difference between live and recorded utterances of the same word is also common among the data. When there is a difference, stress is most commonly placed on the penultimate syllable in live utterances and on the ultimate in recorded utterances. However, the opposite also happens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utterance 1</th>
<th>Utterance 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[dayámdam]</td>
<td>[dayamdám]</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kúdlap]</td>
<td>[kudláp]</td>
<td>‘lightning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mimín]</td>
<td>[mímín]</td>
<td>‘kitten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free variation has also been observed between the first and second utterances on tape-recorded data:

---

1 Spanish and English loan words have expanded the syllable type inventory to include CCV and CCVC. [timprano] ‘early’; [tráŋkaso] ‘flu’. Though Spanish loan words have been thoroughly incorporated into the Tagbanwa lexicon, they will be excluded from this portion of the analysis.
I suspect that intonation patterns and other factors affect basic word stress a great deal. However, I have not been able to determine any phonological processes from the current data. If stress is contrastive, I believe it is only weakly so. Further analysis of stress is beyond the scope of this study. For the purpose of this monograph stress will not be written.

### 3.3. Interpretation of Ambivalent Segments

#### 3.3.1. High Front and High Back Vocoids

High front and high back vocoids are interpreted as vowels when they occur between a consonant and a vowel.² When following a vowel in the word-final position, these vocoids are interpreted according to the following criteria: If the word exhibits glottal stop as word closure, the vocoid is interpreted as a vowel. If there is no word-final glottal stop, the vocoid is interpreted as a glide which itself acts as word closure.

#### 3.3.2. Lengthened Vocoids

Lengthened vocoids, as in [biit] ‘bring’, are interpreted as geminate vowel clusters, as in [biit].

#### 3.3.3. Affricate

In native Tagbanwa words there are no unambiguous CCV syllable patterns. Therefore, the voiceless alveopalatal affricate [tʃ] is interpreted as a single phone rather than a contoid cluster.

#### 3.3.4. Aspiration

Aspiration is interpreted as a feature of the segment being aspirated. It can be accounted for by a phonological process.

#### 3.3.5. Glottal Stop

As is observed in many Filipino languages, glottal stop often occurs utterance-initially when the utterance begins with a vowel, or utterance-finally when the utterance ends with a vowel. However, glottal stop also occurs at syllable boundaries within words. When it occurs within a word, \(?\) is interpreted as a consonant.

² The exception to this is seen in Spanish loan words where palatalized alveolar consonants are represented as ‘dy’, ‘sy’, and ‘ny’.
3.4. Phonemes

The phonemes of Central Tagbanwa are summarized in the following chart.

**Table 12. Chart of phonemes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop, voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop, voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>ẓ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ı</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.1. Stops

Stops contrast at three points of articulation (not including glottal stop) and by voicing. Note the following contrasts.

(5) (a) [p] | [jyw] | ‘animal’
(b) [laŋ̃b] | ‘scab’
(c) [t] | [duhi] | ‘thorn’
(d) [tukod] | ‘stump’
(e) [k] | [karin] | ‘mole’
(f) [g] | [gajo] | ‘dust’

All voiceless stops contrast with their voiced counterparts in all environments.
The voiceless alveolar stop has an affricate allophone that occurs before high front vowels. The following data illustrates this.

(6) (a) [tukod] | ‘stump’
(b) [talan] | ‘rib’
(c) [tirit] | ‘crush lice’
(d) [t̪ilab] | ‘belch’
Although palatalization preceding a high front vowel seems to be the norm for this phoneme, there is one contrast I have found to date: [kalapati] ‘dove’; [latʃi] ‘gum’. There is a high awareness of the distinction between [t] and [ʃ] among Tagbanwa speakers, and they prefer to represent them distinctly in writing. Indeed, these two phones do contrast in foreign loan words. (See section 3.6.2. for further discussion.)

The voiceless velar stop /k/ tends to be slightly farther back than the normal velar position. This is especially noticeable when /k/ is next to or surrounded by the low central vowel /a/. When this happens the low central vowel shifts toward the low back position [o] and /k/ shifts to the back velar position [q]. Note the following examples:

(7) (a) [maanik] ‘snore’
(b) [namok] ‘mosquito’
(c) [ariikik] ‘tick’
(d) [laweq] ‘spider’

This tendency also applies to the velar nasal /ŋ/: [NDND] ‘mouth’; [LANDW] ‘fly’. This process is not always observed, however.

3.4.2. Glottal Stop

The contrast between the occurrence and nonoccurrence of glottal stop is only manifested at word-medial syllable boundaries.

(8) (a) [paʔla] ‘wildcat’
 [pala] ‘surprise’
(b) [kiʔlog] ‘egg’
 [kilos] ‘movement’

When a word root begins with a phonemic glottal stop, it becomes apparent at the morpheme boundary when a prefix is added to the root. Note the following contrast between the occurrence and nonoccurrence of root-initial glottal stop.

(9) root-initial /ʔ/: [mag]+[ʔim] → [magʔim] ‘to soak’
root-initial V: [mag]+[ʔinisil] → [maginisil] ‘to repent’

3.4.3. Fricatives

There is trace evidence for the existence of a voiced bilabial fricative phoneme. Note the contrast: [mabuso] ‘weak’; [aluʔan] ‘head cold’. Other than this and a few other contrasts, however, the data suggest the process of /b/ being realized as the continuant [β] in a nonlabial continuant environment.

(10) (a) [biβig] ‘lower lip’
(b) [uβan] ‘gray hair’
(c) [bulbol] ‘body air’
(d) [kaliβanβan] ‘butterfly’
(e) [ambon] ‘fog’
(f) [kumba] ‘lung’

Nevertheless, mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers are very aware of the distinction between the voiced stop and its fricative counterpart and they prefer to write them as distinct sounds when spelling words. For the purpose of this study I will interpret /β/ as a phoneme.
There are two other fricative phonemes in Central Tagbanwa: the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and the glottal fricative /h/. The phoneme /s/ is fairly evenly distributed over all consonant positions in words and syllables, whereas /h/ only occurs in the syllable-initial position.  

### 3.4.4. Nasals

The three nasals of Central Tagbanwa contrast at bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation.

(11)  
(a) [manon] ‘older brother’  
(b) [namok] ‘mosquito’  
(c) [nalan] ‘name’  

However, this contrast seems to be neutralized preceding stops and the alveolar fricative. In this environment the nasal assimilates to the same point of articulation as the following consonant.

(12)  
(a) /liNtak/ [lintak] ‘leech’  
(b) /iNdad/ [indad] ‘first’  
(c) /gaNs/ [gansa] ‘goose’  
(d) /koNpal/ [kompal] ‘accumulate’  
(e) /laNbg/ [lambg] ‘fall’  
(f) /iNkina/ [inkina] ‘later’  
(g) /raNg/ [ranga] ‘ruin’  

This assimilation does not occur at reduplication boundaries where a syllable of a word is reduplicated.

(13)  
(a) /ginimgim/ [ginimgim] ‘fist’  
(b) /tamtam/ [tamtam] ‘taste’  
(c) /dayamdam/ [dayamdam] ‘bird’  
(d) /daNdan/ [danadan] ‘heat’  

Neither does it occur at the morpheme boundary between the prefix /paŋ/ and the root word.

(14)  
(a) /paŋ/+/tulu/ → [paŋtulo] ‘third’  
(b) /paŋ/+/dua/ → [paŋdua] ‘second’  

Nasals generally occur in all consonant positions in words and syllables. The phoneme /n/ occurs more frequently in syllable codas than in onsets whereas the opposite is true of /m/. The phoneme /ŋ/ is fairly evenly distributed between these two positions.

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3 In a number of Philippine languages [h] occurs as an allophone of /s/ (some dialects of Bontoc and Kalinga, for example) (Reid 1973). However, they contrast in Central Tagbanwa:  
[bahan] ‘molar’  
[asaŋ] ‘gills’
3.4.5. Lateral Liquid

The lateral /l/ contrasts with the flap /r/ and with the nasal /n/ in the following data.

(15) (a) [kulit] ‘skin’
(b) [kurit] ‘pinch’
(c) [binik] ‘seed’

/l/ occurs in all word and syllable consonant positions, most frequently in syllable onsets. It also occurs intervocalically more often than as part of a consonant sequence.

3.4.6. Flap

The following data are evidence of contrast between /r/ and /d/:

(16) (a) [ramag] ‘mold’
[damog] ‘dew’
(b) [apros] ‘rub’
[apdo] ‘bile’
(c) [mabusor] ‘healthy’
[tumbod] ‘well’

This contrast is weak in the word-medial position. In most cases, /r/ appears to be in complementary distribution with /d/ in intervocalic and consonant cluster positions. Aside from a few exceptions, one could posit an archiphoneme /D/ which is manifested as /d/ in consonant clusters and as /r/ intervocalically. It makes sense that the stronger phoneme, the full stop /d/, would appear in a consonant strengthening environment such as a consonant cluster. Likewise it is logical for the weaker alveolar consonant, the flap /r/, to appear in the intervocalic position, a consonant weakening environment.

The case for the above phonological feature can be strengthened by comparing the distribution of /d/ to that of its voiceless counterpart /t/ in words that are unambiguously Tagbanwa. Their proportionate distributions within words are roughly the same except for intervocally. This is contrary to the bilabial and velar stops where distributions of voiced and voiceless pairs are the same in every environment without exception. However, if we posit the above archiphoneme, the resulting distribution of /d/ (and /r/) is expanded. The distribution of /d/ becomes parallel with that of /t/ intervocally, and the overall symmetry of the analysis is enhanced.

3.4.7. Glides

The glides /w/ and /y/ occur more frequently in word-final position than in word-initial position. However, they are evenly distributed between syllable onsets and codas.

3.4.8. Vowels

There are four vowels native to Central Tagbanwa: /i,i,u,a/. It is not surprising to find a four-vowel system that includes high front, high central, high back, and low central vowels. This is common to most if not all other Palawan languages. Not only are the vowels the same but their phonetic ranges are very similar to what I have found as well.

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\[4\] The vowel /e/ was introduced by Spanish borrowings and is discussed in section 3.6.
Indeed, Thiessen’s reconstruction of Proto Palawan includes these same four vowels (Thiessen 1981). In the following paragraphs I will discuss the vowels one by one.

/i/ is the high front vowel. It is predominantly articulated in the high front close position. However, it does rarely show up in the data as the high front open vocoid. When it does it is usually in free variation with its close counterpart.

(17) [bukid] ~ [bukid] ‘mountain’

/i/ is the high central vowel. This vowel shows the greatest phonetic range of all the vowels. It is most frequently manifested as the high central close unrounded vocoid [i]. However, it can range from this to the high back position [u] or down to the mid central position [a]. I have very little data for the latter extreme. When these variants occur (which isn’t often) they are commonly in free variation with the high central vocoid.

(18) (a) [laib] ~ [laub] ‘bruise’
(b) [langib] ~ [langub] ‘scab’
(c) [bujit] ~ [bujat] ‘mustache’

/u/ is the high back vowel. It varies phonetically from the high back close rounded position [u] to the mid back close rounded position [o]. In general [o] is manifested in word-final syllables and [u] in nonfinal syllables. However there are exceptions to this rule. When [u] occurs in word-final syllables which is very rare (never without a coda in this position) it is in free variation with [o]. The same is true for [o] when it occurs in nonfinal syllables, particularly the penultimate syllable.5 When [o] occurs in nonfinal syllables, it is almost always in the penultimate position.

(19) (a) [paksul] ~ [paksol] ‘trench’
(b) [tondan] ~ [tundan] ‘knife’
(c) [komay] ~ [kumay] ‘godmother’

The high back vowel is also manifested as [o] when two high back vowels are adjacent to one another in a word.

(20) (a) [doon] ‘over there’
(b) [look] ‘tears’
(c) [tood] ‘true’

This pattern for the occurrence of [o] and [u] applies to roots and affixes and is not changed after affixation or reduplication. Note the following examples.

(21) affix: [moko] ~ [muko] ‘potentiality aspect’
inflected root: [mokosaraan] ~ [mukosaraan] ‘happen to become enclosed’
affix: [pog] ~ [pug] ‘incompletive aspect’
inflected root: [pogtakay] ~ [pugtakay] ‘riding transportation’
root base: [bulalo]
reduplicated base: [bulalobulalo] ‘kneecap’
root base: [kaʃayo]
reduplicated base: [kaʃayokaʃayo] ‘coral’

5 This manifestation of /u/ is very similar to that reported by Tweddell (1958) on Iraya of Mindoro.
Though [o] and [u] are in free variation in prefixes that have high back vowels, usually one of these manifestations appears more commonly than the other. For example, /pu/ normally occurs as [pu], whereas /mu/ normally occurs as [mo] and /pug/ normally occurs as [pog].

The following minimal pair is evidence of the contrast between /u/ and /i/.

(22) (a) [itoq] ‘thigh’
    (b) [utoq] ‘brain’

/a/ is the low central vowel. It phonetically ranges from its normal low central position to the low back position when it is adjacent to a velar consonant. This tendency was discussed earlier in the section on velar stops. The contrast between /a/ and /i/ is supported by the following:

(23) (a) [iyim] ‘search’
    (b) [layan] ‘that one’

Geminate vowel clusters tend to be manifested as lengthened or single vowels, especially in word-final syllables. This is not always the case as sometimes both vowels are given their full value. This can be seen most clearly at morpheme boundaries.

(24) (a) /tama/+ /-an/ ~ [tama:n] ~ [tamaan] ‘be correct’
    (b) /kita/+ /ma-/ /-an/ ~ [makita:n] ~ [makitaan] ‘see something’

Any vowel may occur in any syllable pattern or word position. Vowels may follow one another in any order within a word. This is true even in words with vowel clusters. There is one noteworthy exception to this, however. Whenever /i/ occurs in a root, all following syllable peaks are also filled with /i/ except for the ultima which may be filled with /i/ or /a/. Note the following examples:

(25) (a) /tani/ ‘land’
    (b) /ginimigim/ ‘fist’
    (c) /mimirikan/ ‘eyelash’
    (d) /putibilin/ ‘constipation’
    (e) /bibinlan/ ‘cheek’
    (f) /bhat/ ‘husked rice’
    (g) /kagitiyan/ ‘small intestine’

### 3.5. Morphophonemics

#### 3.5.1. Consonant Weakening

We have already seen how the contrast between /d/ and /r/ seems to be neutralized word medially, where the alveolar archiphoneme /D/ is strengthened in consonant clusters and weakened intervocalically. This process is further illustrated at morpheme boundaries between roots ending in /d/ and suffixes beginning in vowels. In the process

---

6 In a survey of 459 words, 1,113 vowels were counted. Of these /a/ accounted for 47%; /u/ 27%; /i/ 16%; and /i/ 10%. This is similar to the vowel distribution of another Palawan language, Batak. Rodda (1961) reported a distribution of /a/ 60%; /u/ 20%; /i/ 15%; and /i/ 5%. 
of affixation, /d/ is surrounded by vowels and is weakened from being a full stop to becoming a flap. This process is illustrated by the following example.

(26) (a) /tkid/ + /an/ → /tikiDan/ [tikiran] ‘tie something up’
(b) /bayad/ + /an/ → /bayaDan/ [bayaran] ‘pay for something’
(c) /atid/ + /in/ → /atiDin/ [atirin] ‘transport something’

3.5.2. Nasal Assimilation

The generality aspect prefix /maN/ and associated prefixes /paN/, /naN/, and /puN/ incorporate the archiphoneme /N/ which assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the root.

(27) (a) /maN/+/liri/ → /manliri/ ‘plant a garden’
(b) /maN/+/dawal/ → /mandawal/ ‘look around’
(c) /maN/+/gait/ → /mangait/ ‘shave’

3.5.3. Nasal Assimilation With Consonant Deletion

When the first consonant of the root is a voiceless stop or fricative, the consonant is also deleted in the process.

(28) (a) /paN/+/kabut/ → /pañabut/ ‘arrival’
(b) /maN/+/taŋid/ → /manaŋid/ ‘believe’
(c) /maN/+/pantag/ → /mamantag/ ‘visit’
(d) /maN/+/sarig/ → /manarig/ ‘trust’

Though it is voiced, this same assimilation and deletion process occurs when the first phoneme in a root is /b/.

(29) (a) /maN/+/bati/ → /mamati/ ‘hear’
(b) /maN/+/baril/ → /mamaril/ ‘shoot a gun’

3.5.4. Vowel Harmony

Inflectional prefixes with high back vowels influence derivational prefixes that follow them in the following manner: /a/ → /u/ within the derivational prefix.

(30) (a) derivation /pa/ + /tabas/ → /patabas/ ‘to have pruned’
inflection /pug/ + /patabas/ → /pugputabas/ ‘having pruned’
(b) derivation /paŋ/ + /aral/ → /pañaral/ ‘to lecture’
inflection /pu/ /an/ + /paŋaral/ → /pupuŋaralan/ ‘lecturing someone’

However, this process does not go beyond the word root boundary as can be seen in the same examples.

The infix /-Vr-/ collective aspect, also exhibits vowel harmony in that the vowel /V/ is articulated as the same vowel that occurs in the syllable in which the infix is inserted.
3.6. Coexistent Phonological Features Carried by Spanish Loan Words

Up to this point, we have considered data that is Austronesian in origin. However, many Spanish loan words have been incorporated in the Tagbanwa lexicon for hundreds of years. One can find loan words in almost every lexical category: nouns such as [urno] ‘oven’, verbs such as [gulpi] ‘hit’, and modifiers such as [aβurido] ‘anxious’. There are also many common functors that are borrowed from Spanish such as [kumo] ‘since’, [piro] ‘however’, and [disti] ‘from’.

On close examination one can see several differences between the phonology of Spanish loan words and the phonology of words of Austronesian origin. Rather than try to unify these phonological patterns in a single phonological statement, it seems more prudent to view Tagbanwa as a language in which two coexisting phonologies are at work. Charles Fries and Kenneth Pike observed this phenomenon in Mazateco data.

The speech of monolingual natives of some languages is comprised of more than one phonemic system; the simultaneously existing systems operate partly in harmony and partly in conflict. No rigidly descriptive statement of the facts about such a language accounts for all the pertinent structural data without leading to apparent contradictions. These are caused by the conflict of statements about one phonemic system with statements about another system or part of a system present in the speech of the same individual. (Fries and Pike, 1949)

Fe Yap also observed this in her study of Tagalog phonology (Yap, 1970).

The following is a discussion of these coexistent features. As Fries and Pike noted, there is some harmony and some conflict observed between the two systems.

3.6.1. Syllable Patterns

Spanish loan words introduce two new syllable patterns to the Tagbanwa syllable inventory: CCV as in [grupo] ‘group’ and CCVC as in [bronce] ‘bronze’.

3.6.2. Coexistent Contrasts

Whereas [o] and [u] are in allophonic variation in native Tagbanwa words, they are contrastive in Spanish loan words.

(33) (a) [espiritu] ‘spirit’
     [sikrito] ‘whisper’
(b) [asul] ‘blue’
     [rason] ‘reason’
However, the pattern between [o] and [u] found in indigenous Tagbanwa words tends to be exerted on loan words as they are incorporated into the Tagbanwa lexicon. Namely, one can see the shift from the Spanish phoneme /o/ to /u/ in penultimate syllables in some words.

(34) Original Spanish Tagbanwa Gloss
[bolsa] [bulsa] 'pocket'
[golpe] [gulpi] 'hit'
[dejoto] [dijuto] 'devotion'

Whereas [t] and [tʃ] are both allophones of /t/ in indigenous Tagbanwa data, they are contrastive in Spanish loan words as can be seen in the following examples.

(35) (a) [diriʃo] 'directly'
[distrito] 'district'
(b) [plantʃa] 'clothes iron'
[aguwanta] 'established'
(c) [kutʃon] 'mattress'
[butones] 'buttons'

The contrast between /d/ and /r/ is strengthened when one incorporates Spanish loan words into the data. Contrasts between the stop and flap become apparent in the intervocalic position.

(36) [poglaro] 'sick'
[agunisado] 'dying'

3.6.3. Coexistent Phoneme

The phoneme /e/ (manifested by its allophones [e] in open syllables and [ɛ] in closed syllables) is introduced by Spanish loan words as is shown by the following contrasts.

(37) [e] [i] [bahi] 'infected boil'
[putahe] 'food'
[e] [i] [sentsensiya] 'prison sentence'
[sintaʦos] 'cents'

It appears that the phoneme /e/ tended to shift to /i/ in open syllables of loan words when they became incorporated into the Tagbanwa lexicon.

(38) Original Spanish Tagbanwa Gloss
[deriʃo] [diriʃo] 'directly'
[golpe] [gulpi] 'hit'
[resulta] [risulta] 'result'

However, this is not the case for all loan words.

3.7. Orthography

The following is the orthography used for the lexicon and written discourse of Central Tagbanwa:
Table 13 Orthographic character set

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme Represented</th>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Phonetic Manifestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>[p] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t] everywhere except before high front vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʈ] before high front vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>[ʈ] in loan words where the affricate is phonemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>[k] in some foreign loan words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>[b] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>[ɡ] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/β/</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>[β] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>[ŋ] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>[ɭ] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>[ɾ] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>[w] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>[y] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>[ʔ] word-medial, not at morpheme boundaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[ʔ] at morpheme boundaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɨ/</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[ɪ] in all environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>[e] in open syllables of loan words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ɛ] in closed syllables of loan words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>[u] in non-final syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>[o] in word-final syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>[a] in all environments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.7.1. Other orthography notes

- The alphabetical order of characters is as follows: a, b, c, ch, d, e, i, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, ng, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y.

- Stress is not written.

- Glottal stop is not written word-initial or word-final.

- Spellings in the texts and dictionary generally follow the distribution pattern for u and o as shown on the chart, but not without exception. Where spellings diverge from this pattern, the intuitive spelling of mother-tongue Tagbanwa speakers was used.

- Spellings of loan words may or may not reflect the correct spellings in the original languages. Current spellings are based on mother-tongue Tagbanwa perceptions and preferences and on current pronunciation.
Chapter 4

Grammar

The description that follows should not be considered a full treatment of Central Tagbanwa grammar. The aim of this chapter is to give a simple overview of the essential grammatical patterns in the language.

4.1. Morphology

As is common among Filipino languages, Central Tagbanwa has a complex morphology. Affixation plays both inflectional and derivational roles, especially with verbs. Prefixes, infixes, suffixes, reduplication, and combinations of these are used extensively throughout the language.

Prefixes and suffixes are attached to roots and stems in the usual way. Infixes are inserted between the first consonant and vowel of the first syllable of a root or stem.

(39) (a) kuran + -um- → kumuran ‘it rained’
(b) sipit + -in- → sinipit ‘it was consumed’
(c) laha + -in- → linaha ‘it was steamed’

Note that for roots or stems that begin with glottal stops, which are not written, an infix is inserted between the initial glottal stop and the first vowel.

(40) (a) intrīha + -in- → inintrīha ‘it was entrusted to someone’
(b) aglay + -um- → umaglay ‘shouted’

In the case where -in- is affixed to a root that begins in l followed by a high front or central vowel, n and l undergo metathesis.

(41) (a) livot + -in- → linivot → nilivot ‘patrolled’

Several compound affixes are common in verbal inflection. When a compound affix is composed of a prefix and a suffix, they are attached to roots and stems in a straightforward fashion. The same is true when it is composed of an infix and a suffix.

(42) (a) kita + na- -an → nakitaan ‘saw’
(b) kawat + pu- -in → pukawatin ‘is saying’
(c) sindi + -in- -an → sinindian ‘ignited a torch’

One compound affix i- pu- is composed of two prefixes. They are invariably attached in the order shown below.

(43) (a) sayod + i- pu- → ipusayod ‘is informing’
(b) lohod + i- pu- → ipulohod ‘is putting’

Another compound affix i- -in- is composed of a prefix and an infix. Normally the infix is attached first, then the prefix is attached.

(44) (a) diklara + i- -in- → idiniklara ‘declared’
(b) livin + i- -in- → iniliving ‘had a funeral’
However, when the root begins with a bilabial consonant, the bilabial consonant and \( n \), from the infix -in-, undergo metathesis before the prefix \( i- \) is attached.

(45) (a) \( \text{pa'\text{dul}} + i- \cdot \text{in}- \rightarrow \text{inipa'\text{dul}} \) ‘gave’
(b) \( \text{bitang} + i- \cdot \text{in}- \rightarrow \text{inibitang} \) ‘appointed’

When a combination of derivation and inflection is applied to a root, derivation is usually applied first. The resulting stem is then inflected according to the affixation rules outlined above.

(46) (a) Derivation \( \text{gamot} + \text{pa}- \rightarrow \text{pagamot} \) ‘to have medical treatment’
Inflection \( \text{pagamot} + i- \rightarrow \text{ipagamot} \) ‘will have treated’
(b) Derivation \( \text{tabas} + \text{pa}- \rightarrow \text{patabas} \) ‘to have a field cleared’
Inflection \( \text{patabas} + -\text{in}-\cdot \text{an} \rightarrow \text{pinatabasan} \) ‘had a field cleared’
(c) Derivation \( \text{bahat} + \cdot \text{Vr}- \rightarrow \text{barahat} \) ‘to encounter one another’
Inflection \( \text{barahat} + \text{nag}- \rightarrow \text{nagbarahat} \) ‘encountered one another’

Partial or complete reduplication may occur on roots or stems. With partial reduplication it is usually the first syllable of the root that is reduplicated as in \( \text{kaina} \) ‘earlier’ \( \rightarrow \text{kakaina} \) ‘just recently’. The following are examples of complete reduplication.

(47) (a) \( \text{duro} \) ‘many’ \( \text{duroduro} \) ‘very many’
(b) \( \text{tibay} \) ‘sturdy’ \( \text{matibaytibay} \) ‘very sturdy’
(c) \( \text{nakatohod} \) ‘in the forest’ \( \text{nakatohodnakatohod} \) ‘deep in the forest’

4.2. Lexical Categories

The following discussion is a brief treatment of three major lexical categories found in Tagbanwa: nominals, modifiers, and verbs. As is true in many Filipino languages, derivation is a very active process in Central Tagbanwa. As such, it is not always clear to which major category a root belongs. Many roots may be derived into more than one category depending on the affixation.

(48) Nominal \( \text{uriyan} \) ‘back end’, ‘stern’
Modifier \( \text{uri} \) ‘last’, ‘behind’
Verb \( \text{magpauri} \) ‘to go last’
\( \text{ditit} \) ‘wind’
\( \text{modiit} \) ‘windy’
\( \text{dumitit} \) ‘wind blows’
\( \text{iya} \) ‘shame’
\( \text{iniyain} \) ‘bashful’
\( \text{iyain} \) ‘to embarrass’

Therefore the distinction between these categories is not purely lexical with a strict root-to-word-class relationship. Syntax and morphology play large roles in determining which category a word form belongs to.

4.2.1. Nominals

Nominals typically function in various participant roles such as agent, object, and goal. They are usually marked for their grammatical function in predications. Common nouns and derived nouns are marked by noun marking particles. There are two sets of noun marking particles: PERSONAL for the names of people, and NONPERSONAL for all other
common and derived nouns. Pronouns are marked in their own form and thus do not take noun marking particles to indicate their grammatical function.

### 4.2.1.1. Noun Marking Particles

**Table 14. Noun marking particles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonpersonal</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominative noun markers are used to mark the participants in focus in verbal clauses, and to mark topics in nonverbal clauses.

(49) Ti Andres ay ipagamot niya ka doctor.  
\[\text{ti Andres COP NB.NAF=CAUS=medicine 3SG O doctor}\]  
‘He will have Andrew treated by a doctor.’

(50) Doon ka Malaya ti Beto.  
\[\text{doon ka Malaya N Beto}\]  
‘Beto is over there in Malaya.’

(51) Ka Puerto napadong ya barko.  
\[\text{ka Puerto POT.CMP.AF=dock N ship}\]  
‘The ship docked in Puerto.’

Genitive noun markers are used to mark nonfocused participants in verbal clauses and to mark the possessor of the noun in a possessive noun phrase.

(52) Idiniklara ni Presidente Marcos ya martyalaw.  
\[\text{i-=in-=diklara G President Marcos N martial.law}\]  
‘Martial Law was declared by President Marcos.’

(53) Luak ni Narding aliti.  
\[\text{luak ni Narding LK-D3N}\]  
‘That is Narding’s farmland.’

(54) biyat ka avo  
\[\text{biyat ka avo}\]  
‘weight of the ash’
Oblique noun markers are used to mark nonfocused goal participants in verbal clauses and to mark possession. They are also used to expand verbal predications by adding time, location, instrument, cause, referent, measure, or beneficiary. (See section 4.4.2. for more detail.)

(55) Ya luak kakþn doon, inintriha ko ki Pedring.
yâ luak kakân doon -in-=intriha ko ki Pedring
N farm.land 1SO D3O CMP.NAF=entrust 1SG O Pedring

‘The land at my place over there, I entrusted it to Pedring.’

(56) Ki Narding ya luak aliti.
ki Narding ya luak aliti
O Narding N farmland LK-D3N

‘That farmland over there is Narding’s.’

(57) Iatþd mo ako doon ka karsada.
i=atþd mo ako doon ka karsada
NAF.NB=escort 2SG 1SN D3O O street

‘Escort me over there, to the street.’

4.2.1.2. Common and Derived Nouns

Whereas common nouns are nominals in their basic morphological form, many derived nouns are derived from non-nominal roots. The following chart summarizes such derivational morphology found in the data.

Table 15. Derivation of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derivational Affix</th>
<th>Semantic and/or Syntactic Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td>derives the verb or noun root into a location associated with the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td>derives the root into an abstraction of the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- -an, ka-</td>
<td>derives the root into an abstraction of the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>derives the verb or noun root into an abstraction of the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag. -Vr-</td>
<td>adds collective aspect to noun roots, ‘all of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manig-</td>
<td>derives the verb root into one who uses or does the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pag-</td>
<td>derives verb roots into nominalized form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paN-</td>
<td>derives verb roots into nominalized form and adds generality aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pang-</td>
<td>derives the root into an abstraction of the root</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following are examples that illustrate the above derivational affixes.

(58)  
-\(an\) (location)  
\hspace{1cm} tadtad \hspace{0.5cm} ‘chop’ \hspace{0.5cm} tadtaran \hspace{0.5cm} ‘chopping block’  
\hspace{1cm} ulo \hspace{0.5cm} ‘head’ \hspace{0.5cm} uloan \hspace{0.5cm} ‘pillow’  
\hspace{1cm} -an (abstraction)  
\hspace{1cm} lipak \hspace{0.5cm} ‘explode’ \hspace{0.5cm} lipakan \hspace{0.5cm} ‘explosion’  
\hspace{1cm} sulat \hspace{0.5cm} ‘write’ \hspace{0.5cm} sulatan \hspace{0.5cm} ‘something to be written’  
\hspace{1cm} ka- \hspace{0.5cm} patay \hspace{0.5cm} ‘die’ \hspace{0.5cm} kapatayan \hspace{0.5cm} ‘death’  
\hspace{1cm} -in  
\hspace{1cm} pangan \hspace{0.5cm} ‘eat’ \hspace{0.5cm} panganin \hspace{0.5cm} ‘food’  
\hspace{1cm} bayvay \hspace{0.5cm} ‘sand’ \hspace{0.5cm} bayvayin \hspace{0.5cm} ‘shore’  
\hspace{1cm} mag- \hspace{0.5cm} anak \hspace{0.5cm} ‘child’ \hspace{0.5cm} magaranak \hspace{0.5cm} ‘all of one’s children’  
\hspace{1cm} putol \hspace{0.5cm} ‘sibling’ \hspace{0.5cm} magpurutol \hspace{0.5cm} ‘all of one’s siblings’  
\hspace{1cm} manig- \hspace{0.5cm} tuko \hspace{0.5cm} ‘collect’ \hspace{0.5cm} manigtukot \hspace{0.5cm} ‘collector’  
\hspace{1cm} pag- \hspace{0.5cm} arado \hspace{0.5cm} ‘plow’ \hspace{0.5cm} manigarado \hspace{0.5cm} ‘plowman’  
\hspace{1cm} lipak \hspace{0.5cm} ‘erupt’ \hspace{0.5cm} paglipak \hspace{0.5cm} ‘erupting’  
\hspace{1cm} tavo \hspace{0.5cm} ‘draw water’ \hspace{0.5cm} pagtavo \hspace{0.5cm} ‘drawing of water’  
\hspace{1cm} liway \hspace{0.5cm} ‘clean’ \hspace{0.5cm} pagliway \hspace{0.5cm} ‘cleaning’  
\hspace{1cm} paN- \hspace{0.5cm} attid \hspace{0.5cm} ‘transport’ \hspace{0.5cm} pangattid \hspace{0.5cm} ‘transporting of things’  
\hspace{1cm} pang- (abstraction) \hspace{0.5cm} langit \hspace{0.5cm} ‘sky’ \hspace{0.5cm} panglangit \hspace{0.5cm} ‘things of heaven’

4.2.1.3. Personal Pronouns

There are three sets of personal pronouns described as follows.

Table 16. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Singular</td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kakan, kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Singular</td>
<td>kawa, ka</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>kanimo, nimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Singular</td>
<td>kanya</td>
<td>niya, ya</td>
<td>kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Plural, Inclusive</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>katin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Plural, Exclusive</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>kamin</td>
<td>kamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Plural</td>
<td>kamo</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>kanimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Plural</td>
<td>tila</td>
<td>nila</td>
<td>kanila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominative pronouns are used as topics in nonverbal clauses and as focused participants in verbal clauses.

(59) Mahain a tao tila.  
\hspace{1cm} ma-=hain a tao tila  
\hspace{1cm} AJR=nice LK people 3PN  
‘They are nice people.’

(60) Nagtinir ako doon ka subra ka dua linggo.  
\hspace{1cm} nag-=tinir ako doon ka subra ka dua linggo  
\hspace{1cm} CMP.AF=stay 1SN D3O O exceed O two week  
‘I stayed there for more than two weeks.’
Genitive pronouns are used as nonfocused participants in verbal clauses, and as possessive pronouns in possessive noun phrases where the pronoun follows the possessed noun.

(61) Putikiran nila ya bavoy nila.
pu=-tikid=-an nila ya bavoy nila
INC.NAF=tie=_ 3PG N pig 3PG

‘They tie up their pig.’

(62) kamalay kamin
kamalay kamin
neighbor 1PEXG

‘our neighbor’

Oblique pronouns are used as nonfocused goal participants in verbal clauses, and as possessive pronouns in place of the possessed noun.

(63) Kawat ya kakin ay ya trabaho kamin dakil.
kawat ya kakin ay ya trabaho kamin dakil
say 3SG 1SO COP N work 1PEXG many

‘He said to me that we have a lot of work.’

(64) Layan luak doon, kanimo layan?
layan luak doon kanimo layan
D2N farm.land D3O 2SO D2N

‘That farmland over there, is it yours?’

4.2.1.4. Demonstrative Pronouns

Table 17. Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximation</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near speaker</td>
<td>lito</td>
<td>kalito</td>
<td>kaito, kito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near hearer</td>
<td>layan</td>
<td>kalayan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far away</td>
<td>liti</td>
<td>kaliti</td>
<td>atan, doon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominative demonstrative pronouns are used to denote the focused participant in verbal clauses and used as specifiers of focused nominals. (‘this’, ‘that next to you’, and ‘that over there’.)

(65) lito ilog ko
lito ilog ko
D1N cousin 1SG

‘this cousin of mine’
(66) Timayan, ya bato a layan ay bulawan pala!
timayan ya bato a layan ay bulawan pala
SEQ N rock LK D2N COP gold SURP

‘Now, that rock turned out to be gold!’

(67) Liti mokotandaan ko na.
liti moko-=tanda=-an ko na
D3N POT.INC.NAF=remember=_ 1SG now

‘That is what I can remember now.’

Genitive demonstratives are used to denote nonfocused participants in verbal clauses. (‘this’, ‘that next to you’, and ‘that over there’.)

(68) Dumawal ka kalayan.
-dum-=dawal ka kalayan
NB.AF=look 2SN D2G

‘Look at that (next to you).’

The demonstrative *kalayan* is also used to express the notion ‘like that’, referring to a prior statement. It may act by itself or in the phrase *kawat kalayan*.

(69) Ya palay kamin kawat kalayan, kompay.
y a palay kamin kawat kalayan kompay
N rice.field 1PEXG like D2G compadre

‘Our rice field was like that, compadre.’

The demonstrative *kaliti* is used to express distant past ‘back then’.

(70) Impisa kaliti, nakaisip kami na a pauhad ka Binga.
-impisa kaliti naka-=isip kami na a pauhad ka Binga
begin D3G ABL.CMP.AF=think 1PEXN now LK move.residence O Binga

‘Beginning back then, we thought we would move to Binga.’

Oblique demonstrative pronouns are used to indicate proximity of location. (‘here’ and ‘over there, far away’.)

(71) Kito ka Pilipinas
kito ka Pilipinas
D1O O Philippines

‘here in the Philippines’

(72) Kita kaito kawawa.
kita kaito kawawa
1PINN D1O poor

‘We here are poor.’
4.2.2. Modifiers

Modifiers are used to modify nominals and predicates. They are often formed by adding the prefix *ma-* to a modifier root.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buay</td>
<td>mabuay</td>
<td>‘long duration’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dasig</td>
<td>madasig</td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altim</td>
<td>maaltim</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, this is not always the case. Some modifiers are used in their basic root form without affixation. This is especially true of Spanish loan words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dakulay</td>
<td>‘large’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duro</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asul</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some modifiers are derived from nonmodifier roots by adding the prefix *ma-*.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nonmodifier Root</th>
<th>Derived Modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanda</td>
<td>matanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyat</td>
<td>mabiyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bao</td>
<td>mabao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarim</td>
<td>matarim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with nominals, derivation is very common among modifiers. The following chart summarizes some of the derivational morphology found in the data.
### Table 18. Derivation of modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derivational Affix</th>
<th>Semantic and/or Syntactic Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ka-</em> -an</td>
<td>derives the modifier root into an abstraction of the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naka-</em></td>
<td>derives the noun or verb root into a state or location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pang-</em></td>
<td>derives numerals into ordinals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication (DUP) of first syllable</td>
<td>limits or diminishes the root, ‘just’, ‘only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication of the whole root</td>
<td>intensifies the root, ‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication of the whole root</td>
<td>adds distributive meaning to the root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication of the final two syllables of the root</td>
<td>derives the root into an abstraction of the root</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are examples that illustrate the above derivational affixes.

(78) *ka-* -an  
   *dak†l* ‘many’  
   *kadak†lan* ‘mostly’  

   *naka-*  
   *atawa* ‘spouse’  
   *nakaatawa* ‘married’  

   *tohod* ‘forest’  
   *nakatohod* ‘in the forest’  

   *pang-*  
   *dua* ‘two’  
   *pangdua* ‘second’  

   DUP (limiting)  
   *kaina* ‘earlier’  
   *kakaina* ‘just recently’  

   DUP (intensity)  
   *duro* ‘many’  
   *duroduro* ‘very many’  

   *tibay* ‘strong’  
   *matibay†tibay* ‘very strong’  

   DUP (distributive)  
   *pariho* ‘same’  
   *parihopariho* ‘all the same’  

   *parti* ‘to share’  
   *partiparti* ‘all divided out’  

   *pila* ‘to cue’  
   *pilapila* ‘all standing in line’  

   DUP (abstraction)  
   *tambilog* ‘one’  
   *tambilog†bilog* ‘alone’  

**4.2.3. Verbs**

Verbs are usually inflected for aspect and focus. Though many verbs are formed by inflecting verb roots, there are a large number of verbs that are derived from nominals and modifiers as well.

When nouns are inflected as verbs the resulting verb is usually associated with the original noun, the noun becoming the instrument or goal of the activity described by the verb.

(79) (a) *liri* ‘vegetable garden’  
     *mantiri* ‘plant vegetables’  

(b) *tuldo* ‘finger’  
     *iutuldo* ‘give directions’  

(c) *ikan* ‘fish’  
     *mangikan* ‘go fishing’  

(d) *tira* ‘viand’  
     *magitira* ‘use as viand’

When modifier roots are verbalized, each resulting verb semantically takes on the quality described by the modifier.
4.2.3.1. Basic Verbal Inflection

Tagbanwa verbal affixes primarily inflect for TEMPORAL ASPECT and focused participant in the clause.

Table 19. Basic verbal inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
<th>Completive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent Focus</td>
<td>mag-</td>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>nag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>-um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mang-</td>
<td>pong-</td>
<td>nang-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-agent Focus</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i- pu-</td>
<td>i- -in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>pu- -in</td>
<td>-in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>pu- -an</td>
<td>-in- -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i- -ay</td>
<td>pu- -ay</td>
<td>-ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3.1.1. Temporal Aspect

Not-Begun Aspect. The not-begun aspect is used as the infinitive and command form of the verb. It also indicates future, contemplated, or hypothetical events. It may also denote that point in time just prior to an event, or the inception of an event.

(81) Kita kuno magistoryan kaya paglþpak ka Pinatubo.

kita kuno mag-=istorya=-an kaya pag-=-pak ka Pinatubo
1PINN RS NB.AF=story=AB PR CRNT=explode G Pinatubo

‘He says we are to tell about the past eruption of Mt. Pinatubo.’

Incomplete Aspect. The incomplete aspect indicates that an action is presently in progress, or regularly takes place. It is also used to denote an action in the past that does not have a specified beginning or ending, such as a general activity done over time.

(82) Ya ki Danilo atan tino maka ya pogprodukto?

ya ki Danilo atan tino maka ya pog-=produkto
N O Danilo D3O who ADD N INC.AF=yield

‘That of Danilo over there, who else is it that harvests it?’

Compleative Aspect. The compleative aspect indicates that the event has already happened.
4.2.3.1.2. Focus

Focus. Focus is a feature by which verbal affixes assign semantic roles to marked nominals. There are basically two categories of focus in Tagbanwa clauses, AGENT FOCUS (AF) and NON-AGENT FOCUS (NAF). Agent focus affixes assign agent or doer or experiencer roles to nominals marked as nominative. The main verbs in the three examples above are all inflected for agent focus. Non-agent focus affixes assign all other participant roles to nominals marked as nominative. For example, in a transitive action clause, an NAF affix assigns the goal role to the nominative nominal of the clause.

(84) Putikiran nila ya bavoy nila.
pu-=tikid=-an nila ya bavoy nila
INC.NAF=tie=NAF 3PG N pig 3PG

‘They tie-up their pig.’

In clauses depicting communication, cognition, or perception, NAF affixes focus on the content of what was said, thought, or perceived.

(85) Lungawan niya doon ka wai ya midyo aldaw a musinag.
lungaw=an niya doon ka wai ya midyo aldaw a mo-=sinag
look=NAF 3SG D3O O water N similar sun LK INC.AF=shine

‘He looked there in the water at something shining like the sun.’

NAF affixes are used to focus on the direction, destination, location, or goal of verbs that depict movement or imply a location.

(86) Nilivot ko lito Palawan.
in-=livot ko lito Palawan
CMP.NAF=patrol 1SG D1N Palawan

‘I patrolled here in Palawan.’

They are also used to focus on the addressee of a communication event.

(87) Pupuri=in kamin ya Diyos porki matabo talaha.
pu-=puri=an kamin ya Diyos porki ma-=tabo talaha
INC.NAF=praise=1 PEXG N God because POT.NB.AF=befall VER

‘We praise God because it will surely take place.’

(88) Pupungaralan kamin ya tao a data pa
pu-=pangaral=an kamin ya tao a data pa
INC.NAF=lecture=1 PEXG N people LK NEG still
mokointindi.
moko- = intindi
ABL.INC.AF = understand

‘We lecture the people who still are not able to understand.’

NAF affixes are used to focus on the participant caused to do something in causative clauses.

(89) Pupuatinatapran ako ka mga gamit atan ka Panay.
pu-=pa-=atid=-DUP=-in ako ka mga gamit atan ka Panay
INC.NAF=CAUS=transport=CONT=_ 1SN G PL thing D3O O Panay

‘They had me continually transporting things over there in Panay.’

Though there are multiple basic affix sets for both AF and NAF categories (each set being comprised of affixes for the three aspects in table 19), there are no semantic or grammatical categories that would predict the occurrence of any particular set. The mag-, -um-, and mang- AF sets may occur on verbs of various transivities and of various semantic categories. The same is true of i-, -in, -an, and i- -ay NAF sets. With few exceptions, each verb root will be associated with only one basic AF set, and only one basic NAF set. Also, it seems there is no strict pairing of AF and NAF sets. The occurrence of a particular AF set with a verb does not predict which NAF set the same verb will take.

Table 20. Distribution sample of AF and NAF affixes on selected verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Agent Focus</th>
<th>Non-agent Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angkin ‘control’</td>
<td>mag=angkin</td>
<td>angkin=in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapa ‘dry’</td>
<td>mag=tapa</td>
<td>tapa=in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitang ‘put’</td>
<td>mag=bitang</td>
<td>i=bitang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lungaw ‘look’</td>
<td>-um-=lungaw</td>
<td>lungaw=in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawal ‘look’</td>
<td>-um-=dawal</td>
<td>dawal=in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alang ‘buy’</td>
<td>mang=alang</td>
<td>alang=in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3.2. Other Aspectual Inflections

Aside from the basic affix sets illustrated above, there are other affix sets that carry further aspectual components of meaning.
Table 21. Other verbal inflection¹.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not Begun</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
<th>Completive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abilitative, Agent Focus</td>
<td>maka-</td>
<td>moko-</td>
<td>naka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentiality, Agent Focus</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>moko-</td>
<td>na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentiality, Non-agent Focus</td>
<td>ma- -an</td>
<td>moko -an</td>
<td>na- -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generality, Agent Focus ²</td>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>poN-</td>
<td>naN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participatory, Agent Focus</td>
<td>mamag-</td>
<td>pumog-</td>
<td>namag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participatory/Generality, Agent Focus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity, Agent Focus</td>
<td>makapag-</td>
<td>nakapag-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary, Agent Focus</td>
<td>magka-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3.2.1. Abilitative Aspect

 ABILITATIVE ASPECT denotes the physical ability to do the verb. In completive form it indicates that the agent was able to do or experience the verb and it actually happened.

(90) Pupungaralan kamin ya tao a data pa mokointindi.  
pu-=pangaral=-an kamin ya tao a data pa moko-=intindi  
INC.NAF=lecture=_ 1PEXG N people LK NEG still ABL.INC.AF=understand  
‘We lecture the people who still are not able to understand.’

(91) Kami ni tatay nakatavang atan ka Irawan.  
kami ni tatay naka-=tavang atan ka Irawan  
1PEXN G father ABL.CMP.AF=go D3O O Irawan  
‘My father and I were able to go there to Irawan.’

4.2.3.2.2. Potentiality Aspect

 In not-begun form, POTENTIALITY AF ASPECT indicates something that may happen or has the potential to happen but has not yet happened.

(92) (a) mapatay ‘might die’
(b) malambig ‘might fall’
(c) mapanaw ‘ready to go’ (literally ‘ready to walk’)

In incompletive form, potentiality NAF aspect indicates the current happen-chance ability to do the verb.

¹ Empty cells in this table reflect gaps in the data. With further research I would expect to find affixes to fill these cells.
² The nasal archiphoneme /N/ takes the point of articulation of the first consonant of the stem to which the prefix is attached. If the stem begins in a vowel or y, /N/ is realized as ng.
(93) (a) *mokotawan*  ‘happen to be able to know something’
(b) *mokobatian*  ‘happen to be able to hear something’

In compleactive form, potentiality AF aspect denotes that the verb happened to happen.

(94) (a) *natinir*  ‘happened to stay some place’
(b) *nalambig*  ‘happened to fall’
(c) *naipit*  ‘happened to pin down’

The potentiality aspect prefix *na-* is sometimes used to derive and inflect non-verb roots as stative verbs. The derived meaning takes on the quality of the original root.

(95) (a) *sawag*  ‘spread out’  *nasawag*  ‘became spread out’
(b) *buay*  ‘long time’  *nabuay*  ‘took a long time’
(c) *rangga*  ‘ruined’  *narangga*  ‘became ruined’

4.2.3.2.3. **Generality Aspect**

GENERALITY ASPECT denotes a general action affecting a general group of objects over time. This is in contrast to a specific action affecting a specific object at a specific time.

(96) Mokawat ako dako na manluak kaito ka patag.
mo-=kawat ako dako na maN-=luak kaito ka patag
INC.AF=say 1SN NEG-1SN now GENR.NB.AF=farm D1O O plain

‘As for me, I don’t generally farm here in the flat land anymore.’

(97) Kasalananan ya mamatay ka tao.
kasalananan ya maN-=patay ka tao
transgress N GENR.NB.AF=die G person

‘It is wrong to kill people.’

(98) Nangali tila ka kamoti.
aN-=kali tila ka kamoti
GENR.CMP.AF=dig 3PN G kamote

‘They went kamote digging.’

Generality aspect is often used to inflect for time-of-day events.

(99) (a) *nandiklim*  ‘it got dark’ (nightfall)
(b) *nanliway*  ‘it got light’ (daybreak)

4.2.3.2.4. **Participatory Aspect**

PARTICIPATORY ASPECT denotes that the action is done together with others.

(100) Namaglapot ti ina may ti manang.
namag-=lapot ti ina may ti manang
PART.CMP.AF=go.out N mother CO N elder.sister

‘Mother and sister went out of the house together.’
Participatory and generality aspects may be combined to denote a generalized group doing or experiencing something together.

(102) Ya mga iva kamin doon namanakot.

‘Our neighbors were all afraid together.’

4.2.3.2.5. Opportunity Aspect

OPPORTUNITY ASPECT denotes the unexpected opportunity to do the action of the verb.

(103) (a) makapagbalik ‘have the opportunity to return’
(b) nakapagkoliktor ‘had the opportunity to be Collector’ (tax collector)

4.2.3.2.6. Involuntary Aspect

IN Voluntary Aspect denotes that the action is involuntary or unexpected.

(104) (a) magkapay ‘die unexpectedly’
(b) magkasala ‘fall into transgression’

4.2.3.2.7. Collective Aspect

The infix -Vr- indicates that the verb is done together as a whole group. Unlike other affix sets discussed so far, -Vr- does not carry temporal aspect. It may, however, be combined with another inflectional affix which will add temporal aspect to the verb.

(105) (a) magka=-Vr-=patay (magkarapatay) ‘all die together’
(b) mag=-Vr-=bhat (magbarahat) ‘all encounter each other’
(c) nag=-Vr-=intul=an (nag-irintulan) ‘all saw each other’
(d) -Vr-nonot (nurunot) ‘all accompany each other’

4.2.3.2.8. Continuous Action

Reduplication of the verb root indicates CONTINUOUS ACTION. Like the collective aspect infix, reduplication does not carry focus or temporal aspect in its meaning. Further temporal and focus inflection is applied after reduplication.

(106) Pupuatdatirin ako.

‘They kept having me transport things.’
4.2.3.3. Other Verbal Aspects and Moods

Other aspects and moods can be expressed when inflected verbs are combined with various particles, adverbs, and pseudo verbs.

4.2.3.3.1. Imperative or Hortatory Mood

Imperative mood is denoted by the not-begun aspect of the verb with a second person nominative or genitive pronoun. The example below illustrates a direct instruction to do something.

(108) Iatid mo ako doon ka karsada.

`Escort me to the street.`

4.2.3.3.2. Recently Completed Aspect

Recently completed action is denoted by the completive aspect of the verb with the particle `na` ‘already’. The example below illustrates the expression of a recently completed action.

(109) Nakaalang kami na ka tikit.

`We had just bought a ticket.`

4.2.3.3.3. Immediate Future Aspect

Immediate future action is denoted by the not-begun aspect of the verb with the particle `na` ‘now’. The example below illustrates the expression of an action about to be done.

(110) Mangawat ako na ka pier.

`I am about to go to the pier now.`

4.2.3.3.4. Customary or Habitual Aspect

Customary or habitual action may be inferred by the context of the discourse using the incompletive aspect of the verb. It is made more explicit by using time adverb phrases such as `aldawaldaw` ‘every day’, or `kada linggo` ‘each week’.
4.2.3.3.5. Continuous or Repetitive Aspect

In addition to reduplication of the verb root, continuous action may be denoted by repeating the inflected verb a second time after inserting the linker a.

(112) tumumpok a tumumpok alayan.
CMP.AF=pile.up LK CMP.AF=pile.up LK-D2N

‘It kept piling up and piling up.’

It may also be denoted by using the particle sigi ‘continue’, or the reduplicated verb root dayon ‘to continue’.

(113) Ya lþpakan sigisigi.
N explode=AB continue=CONT

‘The gunfire kept on going and going.’

(114) Nanlakto kanya dayondayon ka bakwitan kamþn.
GENR.CMP.AF=run 3SN continue=CONT O refuge 1PEXG

‘He ran nonstop to our refuge.’

4.2.3.3.6. Inceptive Aspect

Inceptive action is denoted by the verb impisa ‘to begin’, linked with the not-begun aspect of the verb that is about to be done.

(115) Inimpisaan nila a ilohod ya mga talava doon ka baloto.
CMP.NAF=beginning= _ 3PG LK NB.NAF=put N PL shellfish D3O O boat

‘They began to put the shellfish into the boat.’

An action that is just starting to happen may also be denoted by the incompletive aspect of the verb with the particle na ‘now’.

(116) Mogit na ya barko.
INC.AF=depart now N ship

‘The ship is starting to depart.’
4.2.3.7. Optative Mood

The notion that something should happen is expressed by *dapat* ‘should’ in conjunction with the not-begun aspect of the action that ought to happen. The word *dapat* is linked to the relative clause by the linker *a*.

(117) Dapat kanya a tumunod ing putuvohan ka ina niya.

dapat kanya a -um-=tunod ing pu-=tuvo=-an ka ina niya.

*He should follow what his mother commands.*

Wanting or needing something to happen is denoted by *kilyag* ‘to desire’ or *kaministiran* ‘to need’, linked to the not-begun aspect of the action desired.

(118) Mokokilyag ako a mangawat ka baryo.

moko-=kilyag ako a mang-=awat ka baryo

‘I want to go to the barrio.’

(119) Kaministiran ko a mangawat ka baryo.

kaministiran ko a mang-=awat ka baryo

‘I need to go to the barrio.’

Using the abstract noun *kakilyahan* ‘desire’ in an equative clause can also denote wanting something to happen.

(120) Ya kakilyahan ko maka ay tahumonan kita maka ka
goberno.

ya ka-=kilyag=-an ko maka ay tahumon=-an kita maka ka
goberno.
goberno
government

‘What I really want is that the government would also help us.’

4.2.3.4. Causative Voice

The prefix *pa-* when attached to a verb root, adds another participant to the action described by the verb. Rather than doing the action indicated by the verb, an instigator causes someone else to do the activity. Note the difference in meaning in the following examples.

(121) (a) aksa ‘rent’ paaks paaks ‘lease’ (rent-out)
(b) tabas ‘prune’ patabas patabas ‘have someone prune’
(c) pangan ‘eat’ papangan papangan ‘feed’
(d) kavot ‘reach’ pakavot pakavot ‘send’
(e) sapo ‘be aware’ pasapo pasapo ‘make known’

Note that *pa-* increases the transitivity of the verb. For example, if the root is a simple transitive verb, involving an agent and a goal, adding *pa-* will make it ditransitive, involving an instigator (causer), an agent (causee), and a goal. Since *pa-* does not inflect
for other functions, the resulting stem is normally inflected like any other verb. The following examples further illustrate the contrast between simple roots and their derived causative counterparts.

(122)

(a) **Simple Root sapo ‘be aware’**

Nasapuan kamín a ya lalaki dana.
na-=sapo=-an kamín a ya lalaki dana
POT.CMP.NAF=aware=_ 1PEXG LK N boy NEG-now

‘We were aware that the boy was already gone.’

(b) **Causative Stem pasapo ‘make aware’**

Nagpasapo kamín a ya lalaki dana.
nag-=pasapo kamín a ya lalaki dana
CMP.AF=make.aware 1PEXO LK N boy NEG-now

‘She made known to us that the boy was already gone.’

(123)

(a) **Simple Root kita ‘see’**

Nakitaan niya ya bulawan.
na-=kita=-an niya ya bulawan
POT.CMP.NAF=see=_ 3SG N gold

‘He saw the gold.’

(b) **Causative Stem pakita ‘show’**

Ya bulawan inipakita niya ka mga tao.
ya bulawan i-=in-=pakita niya ka mga tao
N gold _=-CMP.NAF=show 3SG O PL person

‘He showed the gold to some people.’

The causee takes the oblique case when not in focus. (When not in focus the causer, or instigator, and the direct object take the genitive case.)

(124) Nagpatuldo ako pa ki kapatid Punso ing uno ya
nag-=patuldo ako pa ki kapatid Punso ing uno ya
CMP.AF=have.guide 1SN still O brother Punso HYP what N

isulat ko.
i-=sulat ko
NAF=write 1SG

‘I still had to have brother Punso show me what to write.’
4.3. Noun Phrase

Most noun phrases are fairly simple, being composed of a nucleus plus one or two modifiers. More complex noun phrases are possible, however. The nucleus of a noun phrase may be a noun, embedded noun phrase, or nominalized verb. Nominative demonstrative pronouns may be used as determiners in noun phrases and may occur before or after the head noun. Modifiers and possessors may also occur before or after the head noun. Possessors that occur before the head noun may either be personal nouns marked for the oblique case or oblique personal pronouns. Possessors (personal nouns or pronouns) that follow the head noun must be in the genitive case. The plural particle *manga* (abbreviated as *mga*) may only occur immediately before the nucleus. The following formula summarizes the relationships between the head noun and its modifiers in a noun phrase.

\[
\text{Noun Phrase} = \begin{cases} 
\text{Modifier} + a \text{ } + \text{ } \text{Oblique possessor} + a \\
\text{Nominative demonstrative} \end{cases} \begin{cases} 
\pm \{\text{plural}\} + \text{headnoun} \pm \\
\text{genitive possessor} \end{cases} \begin{cases} 
\text{a + modifier} \\
\text{a + nominative demonstrative} \end{cases}
\]

The following are examples of noun phrases.

### 4.3.1. Possessive Noun Phrase

(125) bavoy nila

bavoy nila

pig 3PG

‘their pig’

(126) bavoy ni Danilo

bavoy ni Danilo

pig G Danilo

‘Danilo’s pig’

(127) hula ka Biblia

hula ka Biblia

prophecy G Bible

‘prophecy of the Bible’

(128) kanimi a bavoy

kanimi a bavoy

2PO LK pig

‘your pig’

The minimal possessive noun phrase is composed of a single oblique pronoun such as *kakin* ‘mine’, which is the possessor. In such cases, the possessed noun is implied from the immediate context.
4.3.2. Demonstrative Noun Phrase

(129) litó punti
    litó punti
    D1N banana.plant

‘this banana plant’

(130) layán mga punti
    layán mga punti
    D2N PL banana.plant

‘those banana plants’

(131) aldaw a layán
    aldaw a layán
day LK D2N

‘that day’

(132) kakín a layán
    kakín a layán
    1SO LK D2N

‘that one of mine’

In natural speech, the linker *a* is a clitic. So, in the former examples ‘*a layán*’ is actually spoken as ‘*alayan*’.

4.3.3. Descriptive Noun Phrase

(133) duro a liíd
    duro a liíd
    many LK footprint

‘many footprints’

(134) tulo a aldaw
    tulo a aldaw
    three LK day

‘three days’

(135) tudos a barayaran
    tudos a barayaran
    all LK payment

‘all payments’

(136) pangupat na aldaw
    pangupat na aldaw
    fourth LK day

‘fourth day’
4.3.4. Appositional Noun Phrase

Two nominals with the same referent may occur side by side. The first nominal is more general whereas the second, which modifies the first, is more specific.

(140) anak niya ti Berning
       anak niya ti Berning
       child 3SG N Berning

       ‘his child, Berning’

(141) lito baryo Binga
       lito baryo Binga
       D1N barrio Binga

       ‘this barrio, Binga’

4.3.5. Embedded Noun Phrase

The following examples show more complex noun phrases with embedding. Brackets show levels of embedding.

(142) [luak ko] alayan
       [luak ko] alayan
       [farm 1SG] LK-D2N

       ‘that farm of mine’

(143) [paglayog ka iroplano] a yava
       [pag-=layog ka iroplano] a yava
       [NR=fly G airplane] LK low

       ‘low flight of an airplane’
4.4. Predications

4.4.1. Nonverbal Clauses

Most nonverbal clauses in Central Tagbanwa follow the **COMMENT-TOPIC** pattern found also in Tagalog. Semantically, the topic is the thing being described, identified, classified, etc. The comment is the description, identification, classification, etc. Topics may be simple nouns, nominative pronouns, noun phrases, or nominalized relative clauses. Topics are marked by nominative case markers: **ya** for nonpersonal topics, and **ti** for personal topics. (When the topic is a nominative pronoun, no case marker is necessary since pronouns already carry case in their meanings.) Comments may be nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, or even relative clauses.

Note that nonverbal clauses are not marked for temporal aspect. For the most part, the temporal aspect of the clause is determined by the larger context of the discourse. The temporal aspect of a relative clause embedded in either topic or comment positions may help determine the temporal aspect of the clause as a whole.\(^3\)

Normally, the comment precedes the topic in a comment-topic clause. This order may be inverted, however. When inverted, the copula **ay** is usually (but not always) inserted between the topic and comment.

**Standard form**

(146) Ugbot ya tira kamin.

ugbot ya tira kamin

kamote.leaves N viand 1PEXG

‘kamote tops were our viand.’

**Inverted form**

(147) Ya tira kamin ay ugot.

ya tira kamin ay ugot

N viand 1PEXG COP kamote.leaves

‘Our viand was kamote tops.’

The following examples illustrate how **DESCRIPTION, CLASSIFICATION, IDENTIFICATION**, etc. are expressed using the comment-topic paradigm.

\(^3\) The discourse context of each example in this section helped determine the verb tense used in free translation.
4.4.1.1. Existence and Possession—Use of *may* and *data* in Nonverbal Clauses

The particles *may* and *data* are used in the comment-topic structure to encode the notions of possession and existence. The particle *may* is the existential particle that
encodes either the existence of something or the possession of something. The particle 
data\ is the negation particle that encodes the nonexistence or nonpossession of something. (It is also used to negate verbal predications. See section 4.4.3.)

4.4.1.1.1. Use of \textit{may} and \textit{data} to Express Existence and Nonexistence

The existence of something is denoted simply by a nominal preceded by the particle \textit{may}.

(155) May napatay.
may na-=patay
EXT POT.CMP.AF=die

‘There are those who died.’

(156) May banua a data kinavot ya avo.
may banua a data -in-=kavot ya avo
EXT country LK NEG CMP.NAF=arrive N ash

‘There are countries where the ash did not reach.’

(157) May bagyo a kumavot.
may bagyo a -um-=kavot
EXT typhoon LK NB.AF=arrive

‘There is a typhoon coming.’

(158) May surulatan pa.
may -Vr-=sulat=-an pa
EXT COLL=write=AB still

‘There is still something for us to write down together.’

(159) May Tagbanwa a punlivit ka putsukan doon ka lugar
may Tagbanwa a poN-=livit ka putsukan doon ka lugar
EXT Tagbanwa LK GENR.INC.AF=hunt G honey D3O O place

ilha ka Tohod.
ila ka Tohod
3PG O Tohod

‘There was a Tagbanwa who was hunting for honey over there at his place in Tohod.’

To express the nonexistence of something, the nominal is preceded by the contraction of the particles \textit{data} and \textit{ay}, or \textit{datay}.

(160) Datay napatay.
datay na-=patay
NEG POT.CMP.AF=die

‘There was no one who died.’

(161) Datay damangin a mangyari.
datay damangin a mang-=yari
NEG bad LK NB.AF=happen

‘There is nothing bad that will happen.’
As a single word expression, *datay* can be glossed as ‘nothing’, or ‘nowhere’, or ‘no one’, or ‘no means’. When combined with various particles and used in phrases, further components of meaning are added to the notion ‘nothing’. The following table summarizes these.

Table 22. Uses of *data* and other particles to express nonexistence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>particle</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>datay X</em></td>
<td>[data ay] ‘none of X’ Prior existence of the referent is not implied. If no complement is stated, <em>datay</em> could be glossed as ‘no one’, ‘nowhere’, ‘no means’, or ‘nothing’. (<em>datay kuarta</em> ‘no money’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>danay X</em></td>
<td>[data na ay] ‘no more of X’ Prior existence of the referent is implied. (<em>danay kuarta</em> ‘no more money’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>datamakay X</em></td>
<td>[data maka ay] ‘nothing at all of X’ If no complement is stated it could be glossed as ‘nothing at all’. (<em>datamakay kuarta</em> ‘no money at all’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>danamakay X</em></td>
<td>[data na maka ay] ‘no more at all of X’ Prior existence of the referent is implied. (<em>danamakay kuarta</em> ‘no more money at all’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>data a matanday</em></td>
<td>[data a matanda ay] ‘truly none’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.1.1.2. Use of *may* and *data* to Express Possession and Nonpossession

To express the possession of something, the comment-topic structure is used. The possessor is the topic and is denoted by a nominative pronoun or noun phrase. The thing possessed is the comment and is denoted by a nominal preceded by the particle *may*.

(162) May trabaho kanya.  
may trabaho kanya  
EXT work 3SN  
‘He has work.’

(163) May istorya ako.  
may istorya ako  
EXT story 1SN  
‘I have a story to tell.’

(164) Kada baryo ay may guardia.  
kada baryo ay may guardia  
each barrio COP EXT guard  
‘Each barrio had a guard.’

To express the nonpossession of something, one uses the same structure above with the substitution of *datay* for *may*. One also uses genitive pronouns instead of nominative pronouns as possessors.

(165) Datay luak nila.  
datay luak nila  
NEG farmland 3PG  
‘They have no farmland.’
4.4.2. Verbal Clauses

Basic verbal clauses are composed of inflected verbs and their required complements. Clause formulas and rules for constituent ordering are beyond the scope of this presentation. However, I include a number of examples below that illustrate clauses of various transitivities.

Stative Clause - no complements required

(168) Kumuran.
-um-=kuran
CMP.AF=rain

‘It rained.’

Intransitive Clause - agent or experiencer required

(169) Kami nanlakto.
kami naN-=lakto
1PEXN GENR.CMP.AF=run

‘We ran.’

Transitive Clause - agent and object required

(170) Kinomit niya ya bato.
in-=komit niya ya bato
CMP.NAF=pick 3SG N rock

‘He picked up the rock.’

Ditransitive Clause - agent, object, and goal required

(171) Inipakita niya ya bato ka mga tao.
in-=pakita niya ya bato ka mga tao
CMP.NAF=show 3SG N rock O PL person

‘He showed the rock to some people.’

4.4.2.1. Expansion of Verbal Predications

Verbal predications may be expanded to include non-core arguments such as MANNER, TIME, LOCATION, BENEFICIARY, etc. In this section we will illustrate some of these arguments.
4.4.2.1.1. Manner

Manner adverbs (which may or may not be linked to the clause by the linker a) may express a sense of duration, direction, ease, or difficulty. Note that in the first example the adverb is actually inflected as a verb itself.

(172) Ako nabuay a nakaalang ka tikit.
ako na-=buay a naka-=alang ka tikit
1SN POT.CMP.AF=long.time LK ABL.CMP.AF=buy G ticket

'I was a long time in buying a ticket.'

Payava kami, pugtakay ka baloto.
pa-=yava kami pog-=takay ka baloto
toward=down 1PEXN INC.AF=ride O boat

'We were going downstream riding in a boat.'

Kami nakapauhad madali ka Binga.
kami naka-=pauhad madali ka Binga
1PEXN ABL.CMP.AF=move.residence readily O Binga

'We readily moved to Binga.'

Antimano nagpayag ako.
antimano nag-=payag ako
immediately CMP.AF=agree 1SN

'I agreed right away.'

Nagirap kami a masyado.
nag-=irap kami a masyado
CMP.AF=difficult 1PEXN LK excessive

'We had a very difficult time.'

Pirmi a pabalikbalik kanya.
pirmi a pa-=balik=-DUP kanya
always LK toward=return=CONT 3SN

'He is always going back.'

4.4.2.1.2. Time

The time of an event can be expressed by adding a time adverb or a time phrase to the clause.
If the event is in the past, the particle kaya plus a time phrase is used.

(178) Ako kavataan pa kaya timpo aliti.
ako kavataan pa kaya timpo aliti
1SN young.man still PR time LK-D3N

'I was still a young man back at that time.'

May istorya ako mokotingid ka balita a nangavot kakin kaya
may istorya ako mokotingid ka balita a nang-=kavot kakin kaya
EXT story 1SN about O news LK CMP.AF=arrive 1SO PR

C:\Jobs\Tagbanwa Grammar\VP\Tagbanwa Grammar.vp
Tuesday, December 08, 2009 2:45:37 PM
‘I have a story about news that came to me last week.’

(180) Layan ya napasaran ko a katindanan kaya timpo
layan ya na=-pasar=-an ko a katindanan kaya timpo
D2N N POT.CMP.NAF=pass.to= 1SG LK responsibility PR time

aliti a ako barangay kapitan.
aliti a ako barangay kapitan
LK-D3N LK 1SN barrio captain

‘Those are the responsibilities given to me back at that time when I was barrio captain.’

The particle kaya may also link a past event with the event described by the verb in the main clause. The verb of the linked event is nominalized by the prefix pag-.

(181) Nabuay kami nagbarahat kaya pagralaktuan kamyn.
nabuay kami nag=-Vr=-bahat kaya pag=-Vr=-lakto=-an kamyn
long.time 3PEXN CMP.AF=COLL=encounter PR NR=COLL=run=LOC 3PEXG

‘We were a long time before we encountered each other back when we all fled.’

Present time can be expressed by adding the time adverb timanyan ‘now’ or ‘current’ to the clause. It may occur alone, or it may be followed by the linker a and another more general time word that it modifies.

(182) Ya kaknin alayan moburak timanyan.
yakaknin alayan mo-=burak timanyan
N 1SO LK-D2N INC.AF=blossom now

‘Those of mine over there are blossoming now.’

(183) Liwayan mo timanyan a taon.
liway=-an mo timanyan a taon
clear=NB.NAF 2SG current LK year

‘Clear (the field for planting) this year.’

Time can be further modified by adding a time adverb. In the following example, the main clause already indicates immediate future action. The adverb timprano ‘early’ places the action early in the day.

(184) Tila magbilag na ka timprano.
tila mag=-bilag na ka timprano
3PN NB.AF=part now O early

‘They are about to part ways early (in the morning).’

Time can be pinpointed by indicating a calendar day or an event.

(185) Ya aldaw ka Birnis timprano mokat ako ka putol ko a
ya aldaw ka Birnis timprano mo-=kawat ako ka putol ko a
N day G Friday early INC.AF=say 1SN O sibling 1SG LK
Early on Friday morning, I said to my brother, Punso, “I am about to go now.”

When it became light early in the morning, we heard something like rain.

4.4.2.1.3. Location

A noun phrase marked by the oblique noun marker or an oblique demonstrative pronoun may be added to a clause to indicate the location of the event. These may also be chained to express the degree of specificity of the location.

We are not able to go far from down here.

There is a Tagbanwa who went hunting for honey over there at their place in Tohod.

Just write here on my back.

The houses there near the eruption collapsed.

4.4.2.1.4. Beneficiary

A beneficiary, one for whose benefit an action is performed, is added to the clause by marking the personal noun or pronoun for the oblique case and preceding it with the particle para ‘for’.
Grammar

(191) Punalpo ti Floring kada linggo para ki Eli.
poN-=talpo ti Floring kada linggo para ki Eli
GENR.INC.AF=launder N Floring each week for O Eli

‘Floring does laundry for Eli every week.’

(192) Manavo ti Rodilyo indamal para kanimi.
maN-=tavo ti Rodilyo indamal para kanimi
GENR.NB.AF=draw.water N Rodilyo tomorrow for 2PO

‘Rodilyo will draw water for you tomorrow.’

4.4.2.1.5. Instrument

The instrument used to do an action is added to the clause by marking it with the oblique case.

(193) Ginþrþt yana ka tondang.
-in-=gþrþt yana ka tondang
CMP.NAF=cut 3SG-now O knife

‘He cut it with a knife.’

4.4.2.1.6. Cause

The cause of an action may be added to the clause by marking it for the oblique case. The word mokotþngþd ‘due to’ may also precede the cause.

(194) Duro ya napatay mokotþngþd ka kairapan asta mga laro.
duro ya na-=patay mokotþngþd ka kairapan asta mga laro
many N POT.CMP.AF=die due.to O difficulty until PL sickness

‘Many died due to difficulties as well as illnesses.’

(195) Ya bavay mopataypatay na ka tangit komo ya nobyo dana.
ya bavay mo-=patay=-DUP na ka tangit komo ya nobyo dana
N girl INC.AF=die=CONT already O grief since N fiancé no.more

‘The girl was already dying of grief since her fiancé was no more.’

4.4.2.1.7. Reference

Reference to what something is about is added to the clause in the same manner as adding cause. Here mokotingid is glossed ‘about’.

(196) May istorya ako mokotingid ka balita a nangavot kakin
may istorya ako mokotingid ka balita a nang-=kavot kakin
EXT story 1SN about O news LK CMP.AF=arrive 1SO

kaya tatalinggo.
kaya tatalinggo
PR last.week

‘I have a story about news that came to me last week.’
4.4.2.1.8. Measurement

A noun phrase marked for the oblique case which indicates a quantity or measurement of something related to the verb may be added to the clause.

(197) Binayaran ka sitinta mil pesos ya bulawan niya.
-CMP.NAF=pay O seventy thousand pesos N gold 3SG

‘They paid seventy thousand pesos for his gold.’

(198) Ipaalang mo ya baloto ka walo a gatot.
-i-=paalang mo ya baloto ka walo a gatot
-NB.NAF=sell 2SG N boat O eight LK hundred

‘Sell the boat for eight hundred.’

4.4.2.2. Quotation

4.4.2.2.1. Direct Quotation

A direct quote is composed of a speech clause (the quote margin) and an independent clause (the quoted material). (Note that the inflected form of kawat, mokawat, is often contracted to mokat.)

(199) Mokat ako ka putol ko a Punso, “Ako mapanaw na.”
-mo-=kawat ako ka putol ko a Punso ako ma-=panaw na
-INC.AF=say 1SN O sibling 1SG LK Punso 1SN POT.NB.AF=walk now

‘I said to my brother, Punso, “I am ready to go now.”’

(200) Moogtol ya iva ko kakăn, “Nakitaan ka mga tao ya kuarta mo.”
-mo-=ogtol ya iva ko kakăn na-=kita=-an ka mga tao ya kuarta mo
-INC.AF=warn N companion 1SG 1SO POT.CMP.NAF=see=G PL

‘My companion warned me, “The people saw your money.”’

(201) Mokat ako, “Liwayan mo timanyan a taon, pruduktoan mo, kanimo na inta.”
-mo-=kawat ako liway=-an mo timanyan a taon prudukto=-an
-INC.AF=say 1SN clear=NB.NAF 2SG now LK year produce=NB.NAF

mo, 2SG 2SO LK just

‘I said, “Clear (the field for planting) this year, harvest its produce, it will just be yours.”’

4.4.2.2.2. Indirect Quotes

Indirect quotes are normally expressed by using the particle ing to introduce the quoted material, which normally occurs following the quote margin.
4.4.2.3. Other Embedded Content Clauses

The content of a cognition or perception event such as becoming aware, hearing, thinking, etc. is expressed by an embedded clause, which is linked to the main clause by the linker \( a \).

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4.4.2.4. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are used to modify the nouns that precede them and are linked to them by the linker a. In the examples below, a can be translated as ‘which’ or ‘that’.

(209) ya oras a nangyari
    ya oras a nang-=yari
N hour LK CMP.AF=happen

‘the time that it happened’

(210) Midyo ka apog a data mokotunaw layan.
    midyo ka apog a data moko-=tunaw layan
similar O lime LK NEG ABL.INC.AF=dissolve D2N

‘That is like lime that doesn’t dissolve.’

(211) ya lalaki a inivit ka bungot
    ya lalaki a -in-=vوت ka bungot
N boy LK CMP.NAF=get G crocodile

‘the boy that was nabbed by a crocodile’

(212) Binutuanan maka nila ya panganin a naka lamesa.
    -in-=butuan=-an maka nila ya panganin a naka lamesa
CMP.NAF=abandon=_ ADD 3PG N food LK LOC table

‘They also abandoned the food that was on the table.’

(213) Ono layan basakar, bato a gihiyi a may laok a tani inay?
    ono layan basakar bato a gihiyi a may laok a tani inay
what D2N gravel rock LK small LK EXT mixture LK soil sand

‘What is that gravel, small rocks that have a mixture of sandy soil?’

(214) May Tagbanwa a punlivit ka bulawan.
    may Tagbanwa a poN-=livit ka bulawan
EXT Tagbanwa LK GENR.INC.AF=search G gold

‘There is a Tagbanwa who is searching for gold.’

(215) ya mga tao a data pa mokointindi
    ya mga tao a data pa moko-=intindi
N PL people LK NEG still ABL.INC.AF=understand

‘the people that still can not understand’

(216) ya balita a nangavot kakin kaya tatalinggo
    ya balita a nang-=kavot kakin kaya tatalinggo
N news LK CMP.AF=arrive 1SO PR last.week

‘the news that came to me last week’

(217) ya bayaw ko a nasakipan ka bala doon, ti Juan
    ya bayaw ko a na-=sakip=-an ka bala doon ti Juan
N bro.in.law 1SG LK POT.CMP.NAF=hit=_ G bullet D3O N Juan

‘my brother-in-law who was hit by a bullet there, Juan’
4.4.2.5. Questions

4.4.2.5.1. Yes/No

The particle va is used to indicate a question requiring a “yes” or “no” response.

(218) Maintìndìan mo va layan?
ma-ìntìndì=an mo va layan
POT.NB.NAF=understand= 2SG Q D2N

‘Do you understand that?’

4.4.2.5.2. Identity

A question asking the identity of someone or something is expressed using a comment-topic clause. The comment is a question word such as tìno ‘who’ or ono ‘what’. The topic is the identifying component of the question.

(219) Tìno ya nabahat kanya doon ka ilog?
tìno ya na-=bahat kanya doon ka ilog
who N POT.CMP.AF=encounter 3SN D3O O river

‘Who did he encounter there at the river?’

(220) Ono ya inìmpìsan nila a buatin?
ono ya -in-=impìsa=-an nila a buat=-in
what N CMP.NAF=begin= 3PG LK do=NB.NAF

‘What did they begin to do?’

(221) Ono ya natabo ka lalaki?
ono ya na-=tabo ka lalaki
what N POT.CMP.AF=befall O boy

‘What befell the boy?’

4.4.2.5.3. Possession

A comment-topic clause is also used to express a question of possession. The comment is the question word kitìno ‘whose’ or ‘in whose possession’. The word kitìno may be modified by naming the type of possession in question and using the linker a. The topic is the specific thing possessed.

(222) Kitìno a balay liti?
kitìno a balay liti
whose LK house D3N

‘Whose house is that over there?’

(223) kitìno ya libro ko?
kitìno ya libro ko
in.whose.possession N book 1SG

‘Who has my book?’
Possession may also be asked by using the question word *tino* as the comment and an embedded possession phrase as the topic.

(224) Tino ya may libro?

Who N EXT book

‘Who has a book?’

### 4.4.2.5.4. Place

The question word *kali* ‘where’ is used to inquire about location. Note that *kali* can occur at the head of the sentence or after the nominal in question. Fronting the nominal may be a way of highlighting it.

(225) Kali kamo mangawat?

Where 2PN NB.AF=go

‘Where are you going?’

(226) Kamo kali kaya pagkuran ka avo?

Where PR CRNT=rain G ash

‘Where were you back when the ash (volcanic) rained down?’ or ‘How about you; where were you back when the ash rained down?’

### 4.4.2.5.5. Time

The question word *intano* ‘when’ is used to inquire about time.

(227) Intano kamo mangawat doon?

When 2PN NB.AF=go D3O

‘When will you go there?’

### 4.4.2.5.6. Means

The question word *tamokuno* ‘how’ is used to inquire about what is done to achieve a desired result.

(228) Tamokuno mo a binuat lito?

How 2SG LK CMP.NAF=do D1N

‘How did you do this?’

One may also use the simple question “What did he do?” modified by a nominalized verb phrase, as is bolded in the example below.
4.4.2.5.7. Reason

The question word ayka ‘why’ is used to inquire about the cause of an unintended event.

(230) Ayka bilaging matinlo ya pagkabitang nila doon?
ayka bilaging matinlo ya pagkabitang nila doon
why not good N circumstances 3PG D3O

‘Why were their circumstances not good?’

(231) Ayka kawat na kaito?
ayka kawat na kaito
why say now D1O

‘Why is it like this?’

Or, one may ask, “What is the cause of X?” using the question word ono.

(232) Ono ya nadikanan ka tirok?
ono ya nadikanan ka tirok
what N cause G fire

‘What is the cause of the fire?’

4.4.2.5.8. Purpose

The same structure that is used to inquire about the cause of an unintentional event can also be used to ask about the purpose, or desired outcome, of an intentional action.

(233) Ayka mangawat kanya ka lansangan?
ayka mang-=awat kanya ka lansangan
why NB.AF=go 3SN O town

‘Why is he going to town?’

(234) Ayka kaway na napauhad ti Pastor Adad ka Alimanguan?
ayka kaway na=pauhad ti Pastor Adad ka Alimanguan
why wonder POT.CMP.AF=move.residence N Pastor Adad O Alimanguan

‘Why, I wonder, did Pastor Adad move to Alimanguan?’

4.4.2.5.9. Extent

To ask “How much?” one uses the question word tanguno followed by the attribute in question. The attribute is marked by the prefix ag-. This construction may function as manner in a verbal clause, or as the comment of a comment-topic clause. In the latter case, the topic is the thing that has the attribute asked about.
4.4.2.5.10. State

To inquire about the state of something, the comment-topic clause is used. The question word *kumusta* ‘how is’ is the comment while the topic is the entity inquired about.

(238) Kumusta ya ina mo?
    kumusta ya ina mo
    how.is N mother 2SG
    ‘How is your mother?’

(239) Kumusta ya pubuatín mo a baloto?
    kumusta ya pu-=buat=-in mo a baloto
    how.is N INC.NAF=make=_ 2SG LK boat
    ‘How is your boat construction going?’

4.4.2.5.11. Amount

The comment-topic clause is used to ask about amount. The comment is the question word *pila* ‘how much/many’. The word *pila* may occur alone or may be modified by linking a measurement parameter to it with the linker *a*. The topic is the entity being asked about.

(240) Pila ya mokoprodukto nila?
    pila ya moko-=produkt=0 nila
    how.much N ABL.INC.AF=produce 3SG
    ‘How much are they able to produce?’
(241) Pila a piraso ya kïlyag mo?
pila a piraso ya kïlyag mo
how.many LK piece N desire 2SG

‘How many pieces do you want?’

(242) Pila a kilo ya ikan a natinggap mo?
pila a kilo ya ikan a na-=tinggap mo
how.many LK kilo N fish LK POT.CMP.NAF=catch 2SG

‘How many kilos of fish did you happen to catch?’

4.4.2.5.12. Quality

The comment-topic clause is used to ask about an attribute of something. The comment is the question word ono ‘what’. The topic is an attribute word such as klase ‘type’ followed by the genitive case marker and the entity inquired about.

(243) Ono ya takïs ka balay mo?
ono ya takïs ka balay mo
what N size G house 2SG

‘What size is your house?’

(244) Ono ya klase ka ikan ya nabiit mo?
ono ya klase ka ikan ya na-=biit mo
what N type G fish N POT.CMP.NAF=bring 2SG

‘What kind of fish did you bring?’

4.4.2.5.13. Alternatives

The comment-topic clause is used to ask which of several possibilities is the referent in question. The comment is the question word kali ‘which’. It may appear alone, or it may be linked to the noun in question with the linker a.

(245) Kali a baloto ya alangan mo?
kali a baloto ya alang=-an mo
which LK boat N buy=NB.NAF 2SG

‘Which boat are you buying?’

(246) Kali ya tinelas mo?
kali ya tinelas mo
which N sandals 2SG

‘Which are your sandals?’

4.4.2.6. Nominalization

A clause may be nominalized simply by preceding it with the nominative case marker ya. Nominalized clauses are commonly used as topics in comment-topic clauses. When this is the case, the verb of the nominalized clause is in a focus relationship with the comment. For example, if the comment is the agent of the verb, the verb will be inflected for agent focus. Nominalized clauses are bolded in the following examples.
(247) ya makavot ko ka pagliway
ya ma-=kavot ko ka pagliway
N POT.NB.NAF=reach 1SG O clearing

‘that which I happen to reach in clearing’

(248) Tino maka ya pugprodukto?
tino maka ya pog-=produkto
who ADD N INC.AF=produce

‘Who is it also who harvests the produce?’

(249) Pila maka ya mokoprodukto nila?
pila maka ya moko-=produkto nila
how.much INS N POT.INC.NAF=produce 3PG

‘How much is it, actually, that they are able to yield?’

(250) Duro talaga ya midyo nagtakot.
duro talaga ya midyo nag-=takot
many truly N similar CMP.AF=afraid

‘Many, truly, were those who seemed afraid.’

(251) Pitromax ya sinindian nila.
pitromax ya -in-=sindi=-an nila
gas.lantern N CMP.NAF=ignite=_ 3PG

‘Gas lanterns were what they lit.’

(252) Dakil a banua ya kinavot ka avo ka Pinatubo.
dakil a banua ya -in-=kavot ka avo ka Pinatubo
many LK country N CMP.NAF=reach O ash G Pinatubo

‘Many countries are those that were reached by the ash of Mt. Pinatubo.’

4.4.3. Negation

4.4.3.1. Negation of Verbal Clauses

The negation particle *data* is used in combination with other particles to negate verbal clauses. The following table summarizes this.
Table 23. Uses of *data* to negate verbal clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>data</em></th>
<th>The verbal compliment is not happening or will not happen. If no complement is stated it simply means ‘no’.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>data pa</em></td>
<td>The verbal compliment has not yet happened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dana</em></td>
<td>[ <em>data na</em> ] The verbal compliment will no longer happen. If no complement is stated, <em>dana</em> could be glossed as ‘no more’ or ‘no longer’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>data maka</em></td>
<td>The verbal compliment will not even happen, or will not happen at all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dana maka</em></td>
<td>The verbal compliment will no longer happen at all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>data a matanda</em></td>
<td>The verbal compliment will not, for a fact, happen. ‘truly not’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When *data* is followed by the pronoun *ako* the two are contracted into *dako*.\(^4\) Negatives normally attract pronouns. So, when a combination of *data* and another particle is followed by *ako* or another pronoun, the pronoun is moved to immediately follow the negative. Thus *dana ako* becomes *dako na*. The following examples illustrate negation in more detail.

(253) Dako na manluak kaito ka patag.

\[\text{NEG-1SN now GENR.NB.AF=farm D1O O plain}\]

‘I no longer farm here in the plain.’

(254) Dakami nagtarîng.

\[\text{NEG-1PEXN CMP.AF=converse}\]

‘We didn’t converse.’

(255) Data pa poglaro ya ama ko; ihinin pa.

\[\text{NEG still INC.AF=sick N father 1SG alive still}\]

‘My father was not sick yet; he was still alive.’

(256) Data maka nagîva ka biyat ka avo.

\[\text{NEG INS POT.CMP.AF=collapse O weight G ash}\]

‘It didn’t even collapse from the weight of the ash.’

(257) Data a matanda pogpaltos ya mga bitala ka Diyos ka Bibliia.

\[\text{NEG LK true INC.AF=mistake N PL word G God O Bible}\]

‘The words of God in the Bible truly do not make mistakes.’

\[^4\] This contraction process is also observed for the pronouns *ka*, *kami*, and *kamin*. It may hold true for any pronoun beginning in *k*, although I have not encountered any other examples in the data.
4.4.3.2. Negation of Nonverbal Clauses

The negation word-form *bilaging* (or *bilahing*) is used to negate a comment that identifies or describes a topic. It is placed before the comment in comment-topic clauses.

(258) Bilahing ugbot ya tira kamin.
    bilahing ugbot ya tira kamin
    not kamote.leaves N viand 1PEXG

‘Kamote tops were not our viand.’

(259) Ya tira kamin ay bilahing ugbot.
    ya tira kamin ay bilahing ugbot
    N viand 1PEXG COP not kamote.leaves

‘Our viand was not kamote tops.’

The word *bilaging* is actually the combination of the words *bilag* and *ing*. (When *ing* follows the word *bilag*, it behaves like a clitic and attaches itself to *bilag* to form *bilaging*.) The precise meaning of *bilag* isn’t clear. But it seems to mean ‘different from’ or ‘not’. When inflected as a verb it means ‘to part ways’ or ‘to separate from’ or ‘to cancel’. It appears in a number of particle combinations as shown below.

Table 24. Use of *bilag* in particle combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combination</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bilaging X</em></td>
<td>[bilag ing] ‘not X’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bilag na ing X</em></td>
<td>‘no longer X’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ing bilaging X</em></td>
<td>[ing bilag ing] ‘if not for X’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ing bilag inta ing X</em></td>
<td>‘if only it were not for X’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples further illustrate the use of *bilag*.

(260) Bilag na ing bato, bulawan na.
    bilag na ing bato bulawan na
    not now HYP rock gold now

‘It was no longer a rock, it was gold.’

(261) Bilag ako na ing kapitan.
    bilag ako na ing kapitan
    not 1SN now HYP captain

‘I was no longer captain.’

(262) Ing bilahing tila, kita data nagkaroon ka Biblia a Tahalog.
    ing bilahing tila kita data nag-=karoon ka Biblia a Tahalog
    HYP not 3PN 1PINN NEG CMP.AF=occur G Bible LK Tagalog

‘If not for them, we would not have the Tagalog Bible.’

(263) Ing bilag inta ing ya kamalay kamin alayan, dakami na
    ing bilag inta ing ya kamalay kamin alayan dakami na
    HYP not only HYP N neighbor 1PEXG LK-D2N NEG-1PEXN now
maka manluak kaito.
maka maN=luak kaito
ADD GENR.NB.AF=farm D1O

‘If only it were not for our neighbors there, we also would not farm here any longer.’

4.5. Semantic Relations

4.5.1. Conjunction/Addition

The notion of conjunction is expressed by conjunction words such as may ‘and’ and asta ‘including’.

(264) Marunong kanya may guapo.
marunong kanya may guapo
intelligent 3SN and handsome

‘He is intelligent and handsome.’

(265) Kanya baala a magpulang ka kayo asta ya
kanya baala a mag=pulang ka kayo asta ya
3SN responsible LK NB.AF=chop G wood including N
magpaguyod.
mag.=pa=guyod
NB.AF=CAUS=haul

‘He is responsible for chopping the wood as well as having it hauled.’

4.5.2. Disjunction/Alternation

Alternation is expressed by the conjunction o ‘or’. It can also be expressed by listing the alternate referents using the particle ing before each referent.

(266) Muli kamo va, o kito kamo mihip?
muli kamo va o kito kamo mo=ilip
go.home 2PN Q ALT D1O 2PN INC.AF=sleep

‘Will you be going home, or will you spend the night here?’

(267) Baala ka ing ono ya alangin mo, ing tinapay ing bihat.
baala ka ing ono ya alang=in mo ing tinapay ing bihat
responsible 2SN HYP what N buy=NB.NAF 2SG HYP bread HYP rice

‘It is up to you what you buy, whether bread or whether rice.’
4.5.3. Contrast

Contrast between two propositions is expressed by the conjunction pero ‘but’.

(268) Kanya manggarin pero ya putol niya povri.
3SN wealthy but N sibling 3SG poor

‘He is wealthy but his sibling is poor.’

(269) Ya panganan kamin panganin, pero ka Pinablanca, mait.
N staple 1PEXG rice but O Pinablanca corn

‘Our staple food is rice, but in Pinablanca it is corn.’

Contrast can also be expressed by stating the negative followed by the positive.

(270) Ka Pinablanca ya pamangan nila bilahing pamangin, mait.
O Pinablanca N staple 3PG not rice corn

‘In Pinablanca their staple is not rice, it is corn.’

4.5.4. Temporal Relations

4.5.4.1. Sequence

Propositions can be sequenced in time by joining them with the word bayo ‘before’.

(271) Bayo ka pa pogampo ay nangyari na.
before 2SN yet INC.AF=pray INV CMP.AF=happen now

‘Before you even pray it has already happened.’

(272) Magbaw indad bayo mag-aral.
NB.AF=eat.breakfast first before NB.AF=study

‘Eat breakfast first before studying.’

(273) Kinavot kami ka imim a oras ya layog kamin bayo
CMP.NAF=reach 1PEXN O six LK hours N flight 1PEXG before
kami kumavot ka Bagabag.
1PEXN NB.AF=arrive O Bagabag

‘We were six hours in flight before we reached Bagabag.’

(274) Natinir ako doon ka subra ka dua linggo bayo nangawat
POT.CMP.AF=stay 1SN D3O O exceed O two week before CMP.AF=go
kami ka Maynila.
1PEXN O Manila

‘I stayed there for over two weeks before we went to Manila.’

Temporal sequence can also be indicated by juxtaposing clauses with the first clause expressing the first event, which is then followed by the event realized by the second clause.

(275) Kumavot kami ka San Vicente, diricho kami ka landingan
-CMP.AF=arrive 1PEXN O San Vicente direct 1PEXN O airstrip
ka iroplano.
ka iroplano
G airplane

‘(When) we arrived in San Vicente, we went directly to the airstrip.’

4.5.4.2. Simultaneity

Simultaneity may be expressed by connecting two propositions with the word mintras ‘while’.

(276) Mintras pog-aral ta, pogtuldo ti Eli ki Nining.
mintras INC.AF=study 1PING INC.AF=teach N Eli O Nining

‘While we are studying, Eli is teaching Nining.’

To express the simultaneous occurrence of two punctiliar events, the clitic pag-'concurrent' is attached to the verb that locates the second event in time.

(277) Pagtindal kanya ka tingay na, lungawan niya ya wai.
pag-=tindal 3SN O creek now look=NB.NAF 3SG N water

‘Just as he crossed the creek, he looked at the water.’

4.5.4.3. Co-occurrence

The particle ing is used to convey the notion of ‘whenever’.

(278) Ing lumongaw ako ka tani, dako na makitan ya
ing HYP NB.AF=look 1SN O ground NEG-1SN now POT.NB.NAF=see= N
tani.
tani
ground

‘When I would look at the ground (from a plane flight), I couldn’t see the ground any more.’
The word *kada* ‘every’ may be used to express ‘every time X happens, Y happens’.

\[(279)\] kada avahat magbagyo; kada magboo maglipak.
\[\text{each monsoon NB.AF=typhoon each NB.AF=downpour NB.AF=erupt}\]

‘Every monsoon season there is a typhoon; whenever it pours there is a volcanic eruption.’

### 4.5.4.4. Span-Included

The nominative noun marker *ya* preceding an incompletive verbal clause indicates an ongoing event that is happening when something else of shorter duration happens.

\[(280)\] ya pogpanaw na kanya pagtindal kanya ka tingay na,
\[\text{N INC.AF=walk now 3SN CRNT=cross 3SN O creek now}\]

lungawan niya ya wai.

‘As he was walking, right when he crossed the creek, he looked at the water.’

### 4.5.4.5. Beginning-Postspan

The word *impisa* ‘beginning’ indicates an event that marks the beginning of another event. The main verb of the postspan event is inflected for incompletive aspect. Note that in the following examples the referent for the beginning event is a demonstrative pronoun.

\[(281)\] Impisa kaliti ya Pinatubo ay sigi a poglipak.
\[\text{begin D3G N Pinatubo COP continue LK INC.AF=erupt}\]

‘Beginning back then Pinatubo continues to erupt.’

\[(282)\] Impisa kaliti asta timanyan data mokawat kanya.
\[\text{begin D3G until now NEG INC.AF=say 3SN}\]

‘Beginning back then until now he isn’t speaking.’

### 4.5.4.6. Prespan-End

The word *asta* ‘until’ indicates the event that marks the end of another event. Note that the second example below combines beginning-postspan and prespan-end relations.

\[(283)\] mokosaraan ka panganod asta nangavot kami ka
\[\text{POT.INC.NAF=enclose= G cloud until CMP.AF=arrive 1PEXN O}\]

Nueva Vizcaya.
Nueva Vizcaya
Nueva Vizcaya

‘We were surrounded by clouds until we arrived in Nueva Vizcaya.’
4.5.5. Result-Reason

Three words that mark reason in a RESULT-REASON relation are sanlit ‘since’, komo ‘because’, and porki ‘because’. The word sanlit is used when reason precedes result. The words komo and porki are used when reason follows result.

(285) Sanlit aksidente, antimanu nagpayag ako.

‘Since it was an accident, I agreed at once.’

(286) Dakami na manluak kaito ka patag komo masyado

‘We do not farm here in the plain anymore because of the excessive damage done by animals.’

(287) Ako nabuay a nakaalang porki data

‘I was a long time in buying because they didn’t make change for my money.’

The word that marks result in a result-reason relation is puriso ‘therefore’. It only occurs when result follows reason. Otherwise it is unmarked.

(288) Alaid ya puaran, puriso ya mga Tagbanwa data maka-aral.

‘The school is far away, so Tagbanwas are not able to study.’

(289) Nagkuray, puriso dakita nakagiit ka balay.

‘It rained, therefore we could not leave the house.’

When result and reason are both unmarked, the relative ordering of the two propositions is result-reason.
4.5.6. Means-Purpose

In a MEANS-PURPOSE relation, purpose normally follows means and is marked by the word para ‘in order to’.

(291) Magbila ako ka pusit para may pangiyim.
    magbila ako ka pusit para may pangiyim
    NB.AF=fish.hook 1SN G squid PUR EXT sustenance

‘I fish for squid in order to have sustenance.’

(292) Pogtavang kami ka kavavalayan para magpaliwanag.
    pogtavang kami ka kavavalayan para magpaliwanag
    INC.AF=go 1PEXN O houses PUR NB.AF=explain

‘We go from house to house in order to explain.’

4.5.7. Condition-Consequence

The particle ing marks the clause that states the CONDITION that must be true for the CONSEQUENCE to take place. Consequence is never marked regardless of the relative ordering of the two propositions.

4.5.7.1. Potential

Not-begun aspect is used when proposing a hypothetical future condition for something to take place.

(293) Ing malinaw ya taib ingkina, maglaod kita.
    ing malinaw ya taib ingkina maglaod kita
    HYP calm N high.tide later NB.AF=go.to.sea 1PINN

‘If high tide is calm later, we will go out to sea.’

(294) Muli kami ka Bagabag ing matinlo ya kalivutan.
    muli kami ka Bagabag ing matinlo ya kalivutan
    go.home 1PEXN O Bagabag HYP good N weather

‘We will go home to Bagabag if the weather is good.’

4.5.7.2. Contrafactual

Completive aspect is used when stating what would have happened if a prior condition had been met.

(295) Ing binayaran tila ka binuad nila, may nakabayad
    ing -in=bayad=-an tila ka -in=buat nila may naka=bayad
    HYP CMP.NAF=pay=_ 3PN O CMP.NAF=do 3PG EXT ABL.CMP.AF=pay
nila ka utang nila.
ila ka utang nila
3PG G debt 3PG

‘If they had been paid for what they did, they would have something to be able to pay their debts.’

4.5.8. Concession-Contraexpectation

The relators maski or man ‘even though’ mark the clause that states the CONCESSION. The clause that follows states what is contrary to expectation. To emphasize CONTRAEXPECTATION the particle string pa maka ‘still surely’ occurs in the clause.

(296) Maski alaid ya mauhulang kamin, gusto kamin pa maka kaito.
maski alaid ya mauhulang kamin gusto kamin pa maka kaito
even.though far.away N parents IPEXG like IPEXG still INS D1O

‘Even though our parents are far away, we still like it here.’

(297) Alaid man ya mauhulang kamin, gusto kamin pa maka kaito.
alaid man ya mauhulang kamin gusto kamin pa maka kaito
far.away even.though N parents IPEXG like IPEXG still INS D1O

‘Even though our parents are far away, we still like it here.’

The contrastive conjunction pero ‘however’ may also relate concession and contraexpectation. The concession precedes pero and the contraexpectation follows.

(298) Ya ama ko Bisaya pero kito na maka iyanakay ka Palawan.
ya ama ko Bisaya pero kito na maka i-=anak-=ay ka Palawan
N father 1SG Bisaya but D1O LK INS CMP.NAF=born=_ O Palawan

‘My father is Visayan but he was actually born here in Palawan.’

Condition-consequence may be combined with concession-contraexpectation. The not-begun aspect is used to express a potential condition as a concession. The consequence, inflected for not-begun aspect, also serves as the related contraexpectation.

(299) Maski mangavot kanya kaito, dako magpapa’lid kanya.
maski mang-=kavot kanya kaito dako mag-=pa-=pa’lid kanya
even.though NB.AF=arrive 3SN D1O NEG-1SN NB.AF=CAUS=enter 3SO

‘Even if he comes here, I will not let him come in.’

In the following example, there is no relator joining the conditional concession and the contraexpected consequence. The contraexpectation simply follows the concession; this is the unmarked ordering of the propositions. The particle phrase pa maka is used to emphasize what is unexpected.

(300) Mandiho ako a mandiho, makinit pa maka.
man-=diho ako a man-=diho makinit pa maka
GENR.NB.AF=bathe 1SN LK GENR.NB.AF=bathe hot still INS

‘Even if I bathe and bathe, I still feel hot.’
Completive aspect is used to express a contrafactual condition as a concession. Not-begun aspect is used to state the contraexpected consequence.

(301) Maski nangavot kanya, dako magpapa’ilid kanya.
maski nang= kavot kanya dako mag=pa’-ilid kanya
even.though CMP.AF= arrive 3SN NEG-1SN NB.AF= CAUS= enter 3SO

‘Even if he had come, I would not have let him come in.’

4.5.9. Comparison of Equality

The comparator pareho ‘same’ is used to express equality. In the following examples, COMPARISON is expressed using the comment-topic clause. The topic is the thing being compared and the comment is the comparison.

(302) Pareho a mabakid ya dua alito.
pareho a mabakid ya dua alito
same LK sturdy N two LK-D1N

‘Both of these are equally sturdy.’

(303) Pareho agdibuat ni Ben ti Boy.
pareho agdibuat ni Ben ti Boy
same height G Ben N boy

‘Boy is the same height as Ben.’

4.5.10. Comparison of Inequality

The notion of inequality is expressed by the comparators mas X ‘more X’, minos X ‘less X’, and iba ‘different’ where X is the attribute of comparison. The thing being compared takes the nominative case, whereas the thing being compared to takes the oblique case and is preceded by kisa ‘than’.

(304) Ya tao talaha ka Maynila iba kisa ka Palawan.
y a tao talaha ka Maynila iba kisa ka Palawan
N people truly O Manila different than O Palawan

‘The people of Manila are truly different from the people of Palawan.’

(305) Mas mapirsa ti Ben kisa ki Boy.
mas mapirsa ti Ben kisa ki Boy
more strong N Ben than O Boy

‘Ben is stronger than Boy.’

The comparator kisa may be omitted in expressing the comparison of inequality as long as the thing compared remains in the nominative case and the thing being compared to remains in the oblique case. The attribute of comparison precedes the entities being compared.

(306) Dibuat kanya kakin.
dibuat kanya kakin
tall 3SN 1SO

‘He is taller than me.’
‘Ben is stronger than Boy.’

A superlative comparison may be made by prefixing pinaka- to the attribute of comparison.

‘Denny is the most handsome of all.’

Note that a comparison of equality may be negated and thus changed to an inequality by preceding pareho with bilahing ‘not the same’.

‘Their height is not the same.’

4.5.11. Verbal Simile

To state a verbal comparison, the image is marked for the oblique case, preceded by the word midyo ‘similar’.

‘People were only eating fruit off of trees like monkeys.’

4.5.12. Verbal Comparison

Verbal comparison follows the pattern for comparison of inequality. The action being compared is preceded by the nominative marker ya and the action compared to is preceded by the oblique marker ka which is also preceded by kisa ‘than’. Both actions are stated in the not-begun aspect.

‘It is better to ride than to walk.’
This concludes this overview of Central Tagbanwa Grammar. Although one could go more in depth on many topics, the aim of this chapter has simply been to give a snapshot of Tagbanwa morphology, lexical categories, and clause structure.
Chapter 5

A Brief Lexicon

The pages that follow contain only a small portion of the Central Tagbanwa lexicon. Entries were gathered from natural texts and word list data. Many entries contain only a head word, its part of speech, and an English gloss. Others contain a more detailed definition and other information gleaned from text analysis.

For the most part, each head word is listed in its basic root form. Where known, the not-begun aspect of each verb is listed as part of the entry—whether agent focus or non-agent focus as indicated. Derived forms of head words appear as subentries. Other information that may appear in an entry such as a variant form, an example sentence, or the source of borrowing should be self explanatory.

Central Tagbanwa—English Dictionary

A — a

a 1 conj. linker which links a modifier to the modified word, phrase, or clause duro a ayþp many animals Nabuay kami a nag-irintulan. We were a long time in finding each other.
2 conj. linker which links coordinated phrases Duro talaga ya midyo nagtakot a midyo kinþlvan a midyo nagspanihago ya kaisipan nila. Truly there were many who felt fairly afraid, fairly nervous, as if going out of their minds.
3 conj. linker which subordinates an embedded content clause to an information or cognition clause. It also links a relative clause to the word or phrase the clause modifies. It also subordinates a relative clause to an optative or desired action clause. Pagkinawat mo a magtþkþd ay putþkþran nila ya bavoy. When you tell them to tie it up, they tie up the pig.

paabuwatay (der.) aj. oblong
achara From Sp. n. pickles
mag-achara (der.) v. to preserve by pickling
adlimit 1 av. underneath Lungawan niya ka adlimit ka wai. He looked at something that was under the water.
2 av. down deep
idalin (der.) av. down at the bottom
adyos, adios From Sp. intj. interjection, Wouldn’t you know!
ag- clitic. derives adjectives or adverbs by adding the semantic component of questioning the modifier’s limit, how x? Used with tanguno in a how x question Tanguo aghnun kamo nagbarahat? How long was it before you encountered each other again?

agdan n. stairs, ladder
aglay v. AF umaglay to holler out, to shout
Agosto From Sp. pn. August
agunisado From Sp. aj. dying, on the verge of death
ahuwanta From Sp. aj. Infl. maahuwanta established
ahaw v. NAF ahawin to rob someone, to snatch
ahid n. bite or sting
ahila From Sp. n. eagle
ahinsya From Sp. n. agency, department of government
ahong n. gong
aiy n. leg and foot of a person
akad v. to dig
akban

akban n. pomelo
ako pro. first person singular pronoun, nominative, used as topic in nonverbal clauses and as focused participant in verbal clauses, I
aksa v. to rent land from someone
paaksa (derv.) v. AF magpaaksa to lease land to someone
aksidente From Sp. n. accident
akuwatt v. NAF akuwatin to carry, to transport
ala inj. interjection denoting some surprise
alag av. Infl. maalag infrequent, seldom
alagad n. follower, disciple
alahas n. jewelery
alaid av. far, far away, long distance
pa-alaid (derv.) av. moving toward a far off location
alak-alak n. ant
alam v. to know something
alang v. to buy something
mangalang (derv.) v. to shop around for things
alangan v. to waver or vacillate
alanganin aj. faulty, insufficient
alap aj. sleepy
alas From Sp. ptl. signals the giving of time by the clock pug alas estilo na when it was about seven o’clock
alay ptl. immediately
albularyo n. traditional healer
alaw n. sun
2 n. day
aladawladaw (comp.) av. every day
ali n. younger sibling, youngest child
alkalik n. fin
alkikovok n. dust, house dust
afina n. hand
alimbawa ptl. example, for example
altim aj. Infl. maaltim sour
aluvang 1 n. nasal mucus
2 n. flu, head cold
ama n. father
ambi n. rodent
ambling aj. Infl. maambling happy
ambog v. AF maambog to boast
ambon n. fog, mist
amik n. floor mat
amiy n. uncle
amin ptl. end of a prayer, Amen
amian 1 n. east northeast wind
2 n. dry season Amihan is the season of the year when winds typically come from the east of Palawan and cross the hills over to BINGA. It is a dry time of year, usually around the months of January and February.
amihan (derv.) av. north
amlad v. to dry something in the sun
ampo v. AF magampo to pray, to beseech, beseech God to turn away a calamity
ampuan (derv.) n. lord, master
ampol n. rain cloud
pangampol (derv.) n. dark overcast sky with rain clouds
-an 1 vaff. non-agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]
2 daff. derives root to add the component of meaning: location or direction araduan cultivated land (from: arado, plow)
3 daff. derives the root into an abstraction of the original meaning. Often used in conjunction with ka- (ka = root = an) kayawan judgment (from: taw, know)
anak n. son or daughter
ikan (derv.) v. to be born
muhan (derv.) v. NAF anakin to give birth, to bear offspring Pauanakan pa tila ka Dios. They are still considered to be God’s children.
anay n. ternate
unik v. AF maanik to sneeze
anlag v. AF mananlag to fry or toast in a skillet
anod n. white cloud
panganod (derv.) n. sky with white clouds
anod v. NAF lyanod to drift or be carried by a current
anting n. body odor
antimo From Sp. av. at once Antimano nakatakay ako alay a minulti kaito. At once I was able to ride immediately to come home here.
anos From Sp. n. years
ang nm. nonpersonal noun phrase marker, nominative. This is the Tagalog marker which is occasionally interchanged with yu, the Tagbanua equivalent.
angkapan n. sheath for bolo
angkin v. AF mangangkin NAF angkinin to control, to have power over
angkla From Sp. n. anchor
apdo n. gall bladder, gall, bile
apiktado From Sp. aj. affected
aplit v. to strike with a stick, club, or whip
apo n. grandfather/grandchild
apo ka tood (idiom) n. great-grandparents/grandchildren
apo ka raparapa (idiom) n. great-great-grandparents/grandchildren
kaapuapan (derv.) n. great-great-grandparents/grandchildren
apog n. mineral lime
apon av. afternoon
mahapon (derv.) av. all day
apoy n. fire
apros v. to gently massage
apura From Sp. v. AF mag-apura to hurry
ara From Sp. n. plow
araduang (derv.) n. farmland
aral v. AF mag-aral to study
pangaral (derv.) n. lecture, sermon, teaching material
pangaralan (derv.) v. to lecture or preach to someone Pumpanaran kamin ya ta o data pa mokointindi. We preach to the people who do not yet understand.
ar n. king
mag-ari (derv.) v. to rule, to govern
imariyan (derv.) n. kingdom
arikik n. blood sucking tick
arill n. post, pillar
aritis n. earring
arok n. gas pain
aroy intj. interjection, Wow!
aruk n. kiss
asang n. gills
askaso From Sp. n. responsibility
asinso n. progress, headway, improvement
aspirit From Sp. n. straightpin
asta From Sp. av. up to and including something specified. When used regarding time it indicates a condition present until a specified time. When used in coordination, it indicates up to and including the specified entity.
asukar From Sp. n. sugar
asul From Sp. aj. blue
atat dem. delictic location far away, over there
atawa n. spouse
atid 1 v. to carry, to transport from one place to another
2 v. to escort someone or lead someone somewhere
atig n. vagina
atip 1 n. nipa palm leaves
2 n. nipa thatched roof

B — b

baag n. loincloth
badbad v. AF magbadbad to untie
bagis n. shark
bago aj. new
magbago (derv.) v. to repent, change one's ways for the better
magpanibago (derv.) v. to replace, renew
bagyo n. typhoon, storm
magbagyo (derv.) v. for a typhoon or tropical storm to occur
baha n. ember
bahang n. molar tooth
bahangan n. coconut boring beetle

bahat v. AF magbahat to encounter someone along the way
bahi n. skin infection, boil
bai n. grandmother
bail n. callus
baka From Sp. n. cow
bakit n. monkey
bakoko n. land turtle
bakta n. meal to carry on a trip
bakunawa n. scorpion
bakwitan From Eng. n. place of evacuation, hiding place
bala n. bullet
balahin

balahin n. vegetable producing vine
balakin n. plans, intentions
balalato n. woodpecker
balang n. locust
balawawan n. abdomen, belly
balay n. house, home
balay, n. parent of one’s son-in-law or daughter-in-law, co-parent-in-law
baling aj. intoxicated with alcohol
magbaling (deriv.) v. to become drunk with alcohol
balis n. revenge
magbalis (deriv.) v. to get revenge
bali n. value, consequence Datay bali, ing datay.
pamitikya ko maski mapatay ako. It’s of no consequence (or value, no matter), if I have no family I may as well die.
balibali (comp.) aj. good, excellent
balik v. AF magbalik to return
balita n. news broadcast in the media
balitakang n. hips
baltinaw n. a dark hardwood tree
balkon n. porch, veranda
balo n. widow, widower
balong, balong balong n. small temporary shelter in one’s fields
balot n. coconut shell
baloto n. small outrigger with no engine, easily paddled up and down mangroves and rivers
balsa From Sp. n. raft
balvus n. beard
banakal n. fruit rind
banava n. species of a tree
bandaw v. AF bumandaw NAF bandawan to look at something in the distance
bandyado From Sp. n. platter
banog n. hawk
bantay v. to stand watch, guard closely
bantog aj. famous
banua, banuwa, banwa n. country, nation
banyera From Sp. n. wash tub
banyo From Sp. n. bathroom
banga n. water jar
bangat v. to sharpen
banggilid n. valley
bangkaw n. carving
bangkito From Sp. n. stool
bangko From Sp. n. bench
banglo aj. Infl. mabanglo fragrant
bangon v. AF humanong to get up
bangus n. milkfish
bao n. odor
mabao (deriv.) aj. odorous
bapor From Sp. n. ship
baraha n. playing cards

berde

barahal aj. rough in texture
barangay n. subdivision of a town
baratol aj. inexpensive
barik v. to fracture
baril From Sp. n. gun
mamaril (deriv.) v. to shoot a gun
barina From Sp. 1 n. drill used for boring holes
2 v. to engrave
barko From Sp. n. ship
baryado aj. crazy
baryo From Sp. n. subdivision of a town
basa v. AF magbasa to read
basakar n. gravel
bason From Sp. n. drinking glass
basta From Sp. av. up to a limit or just above capacity, indicates a limit of action or condition is about to be specified: enough and just a bit more, up until, even including x
bastaawing n. Infl. buhay ang basta unggaw. You would have had to pack if it hadn’t rained; the crops and carabaos would have died.
batak v. NAF batakin to pull towards one’s self
bati v. to wash Magbatik ka bua mo. Wash your hair.
bati v. to hear
mabait (deriv.) v. to hear something unintentionally
mamati (deriv.) v. to listen to something intentionally
pamati (deriv.) n. sense of hearing
bato 1 n. rock
2 n. large rock formation or area of rocks
baul From Sp. n. trunk
bava n. NAF bavain to carry on one’s back
bavay n. female, woman, girl
bavyo n. domesticated pig
baw 1 n. breakfast
2 n. cooked rice kept from the prior night’s supper and used for breakfast
bawal pfl. forbidden
pubawal (deriv.) v. to forbid something
bawas v. AF magbawas to subtract, to reduce something
bayad n. payment
magbayad (deriv.) v. to make payment
bayavas n. guava
bayaw n. brother-in-law
bayaw koko n. snail
bayo 1 aj. new, newly bayo a nakatawa newly married.
2 av. before something in time
bayugan n. rafter of the roof
bayvay, bayvayin n. beach, seashore
berde From Sp. aj. green
bii inf. interjection, Oh, goodness!
bigkit v. AF magbigkit to tie in bundles
bigsay v. AF magbigsay to paddle a small boat
bihat n. hulled uncooked rice
bikin n. other, other ones
bilag (comp.) ptl. not
  bilaging (comp.) ptl. not something, not some
  attribute, separate from, outside of Kamin
  bilaging kavat kalayan. We are not like that.
  Alito sanhituday alito bilahing ka kagaiman ka
  Divos. This world’s ways are separate from
  God’s intentions.
  bilahing tama (comp.) av. incorrect, not right
  mabilag (deriv.) aj. different
  magkabilag (deriv.) v. to go separate ways
  Nagbilag kami na ka tumprano. We already
  parted early in the morning.
  bilahan (deriv.) n. separation from something
  bilabilag (comp.) av. distantly separated
bingil n. coconut meat that is between the young
  soft stage and the mature hard stage
bingit aj. deaf
bingit n. mustache
biring v. to be astonished Nabiring kanya ing ono
  ya pogdiyal. He was astonished, wondering
  what shone with such luster.
  makabiring (deriv.) aj. miraculous, supernatural,
  otherworldly
bitang 1 v. AF magbitang NAF ibitant to put or
  place
  2 v. to appoint someone to a position Inibitang
  ako a tisurro ka barangay. I was appointed
  treasurer of the barangay.
biting 1 n. young bud of a flower or branch
  2 n. young coconut with soft meat and lots of
  water
biting; v. NAF bitingin to haul something by
  dragging
biyik n. piglet
bigla av. sudden, unexpected
biit v. AF magbit NAF biit to get or take
bila n. fish hook
bilang 1 aj. counted as, included
  2 aj. ascribed to be something
  magbilang (deriv.) v. to count
bi’ling v. AF magbi’ling to carry with hand
bilog aj. round, circular
binid aj. Infl. mabinid numb
binik n. seed
binit, kabinit n. side, edge, margin, border of
  something
  pabinit (deriv.) v. to step aside
bintana From Sp. n. window
bintik n. rice bran
bulan 1 n. moon
   2 n. month
bulanaw n. gold
buli 1 n. buttocks
   2 n. back end of something
kabuli (derv.) n. stern of a boat
bul'i aj. false, not true
   bul'iin (derv.) v. to tell a lie
bulig n. bunch, cluster, as in a bunch of bananas or clanzores
bulkan n. volcano
bulkot n. bow for shooting an arrow
bulsa From Sp. n. pocket
bululuntong n. rainbow
bulvol 1 n. feather
   2 n. body hair
bullaw v. NAF bullawan to rinse with water
bunot n. coconut husk
   magbunot (derv.) v. to polish a floor by skating it with a coconut husk
buntok v. AF mabuntok to break under tension, to snap a binding like a string
bunyahan n. christening
bungaw n. sadness
bungon v. to wrap something with a wrapper
bungot n. crocodile
buvo aj. entire, whole, all of

D — d

daig av. surpassed, defeated, or beaten by something Ya mga pusil timanyan daig ka garan. Guns today are surpassed by the big machine guns (from WWII).
daigin (derv.) v. to be dominated or intimidated, to be outdone or surpassed by someone, to be beaten by an opponent Mumotakot ka mga Bisaya. padatagdahain inta tila. They were afraid of the Visayans, they were intimidated by them.
   mandaig (derv.) v. to win, to beat an opponent
dailan n. the reason or cause of some event
daing n. dried fish
dañil aj. many, much
kadakilan (derv.) av. for the most part
dakulay aj. big, large
   modakulay (derv.) v. to grow in size
   padakulayin (derv.) v. to enlarge, to make grow
dalag n. mudfish
dalaha n. unmarried woman
dalahita n. teenage girl
dalami n. rice straw
dalan n. path, trail, road
dali 1 av. Infl. madali easily
   2 av. quickly
dalit n. venom
dalnat aj. Infl. madalnat slippery, slimy
dalugiad aj. slanted, tilted, on a slant
damangñ 1 aj. bad Damangñ ya kalivutan. The weather is bad.
   2 aj. ugly
   3 aj. immoral
   magdamangñ (derv.) v. to become bad
damil aj. Infl. madamil thick in depth or thickness
damin n. feeling, emotion
damog n. dew
damot v. AF mandamot to wash face
dano ptl. possibility, might possibly, could have Dilikado kita rano ka huldap porki duro a tao. We may have been in danger of being robbed because there were a lot of people.
dangaw n. handspan, about eight inches
dangdag n. heat from a cooking fire
dangian n. friend
daon n. leaf
dapa v. AF dumapa to lie on one’s stomach
dapat ptl. optative, should, must
dapaw n. something suspended and dangling
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dasal</th>
<th>dilim</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v. AF magdasal to pray</td>
<td>aj. dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dasig</td>
<td>dilimin (deriv.) av. night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>av. Infl. madasig</td>
<td>paningtingain ka dinliman (comp.) av.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fast motion, quickly</td>
<td>midnight, middle of the night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padashian (deriv.) n. foot race</td>
<td>dilit n. blowing wind</td>
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<tr>
<td>dason</td>
<td>dumilit (deriv.) (var. dimilit) v. for the wind to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. to follow in succession, to be next</td>
<td>blow Kumpay dumilit calayan pag alas siyiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primero</td>
<td>na! Friend, the wind blew like that even up till</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka Capari naumid ya Baguio idason ya</td>
<td>seven o’clock!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindanao. First to Capari, next was Baguio,</td>
<td>madilit (deriv.) aj. windy, as in windy weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindanao followed after.</td>
<td>dimdim v. to reflect on something, to remember, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>data ptl. no, not</td>
<td>bring to mind Mokodmdiman ko ya kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dana (comp.) ptl. used with verbs and adverbs to</td>
<td>magbiliag na ka timprano. I was reflecting on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indicate that the action or quality is no longer</td>
<td>the fact that we would already part ways in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happening, used alone to indicate no more or none</td>
<td>morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left, data + na Dana mangiti ya kamoti siguro.</td>
<td>dimin aj. Infl. madimin quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The kamote will probably not grow any more.</td>
<td>dimit v. AF magdimit to betray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datay (comp.) ptl. used with nouns to indicate</td>
<td>dingan v. to coincide with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none in quantity, used alone to indicate nothing</td>
<td>dinglat n. wink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or no one, data + ay Datay kuarta. No money.</td>
<td>magdinglat (deriv.) v. to wink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danay (comp.) ptl. used with nouns to indicate no</td>
<td>dipa n. armspan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more of something that existed before, data +</td>
<td>ditay n. waterfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na + ay Danay kuarta. No more money left.</td>
<td>diablo From Sp. n. devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datamakay (comp.) ptl. nothing at all,</td>
<td>dibuut 1 n. height of a person or thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutely none of something, data + maka +</td>
<td>2 av. high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay Datamakay kuarta. Absolutely no money.</td>
<td>3 aj. tall as in tall person or thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danamakay (comp.) ptl. absolutely no more left</td>
<td>padibuat (deriv.) av. upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of something, data + na + maka + ay</td>
<td>ipadibuat (deriv.) av. up above, upstairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danamakay kuarta. Absolutely no more money</td>
<td>dibuto From Sp. n. prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left.</td>
<td>madibuto (deriv.) v. to pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datag n. floor of a house</td>
<td>dignit n. rice bird, sparrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datil n. support wedged under something to make it</td>
<td>digpi n. slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firm</td>
<td>diho v. AF magdiho to bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idatilay (deriv.) v. to use something to support</td>
<td>diklara From Sp. v. to declare something, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something else Idatilay mo ya baklod ko ka</td>
<td>proclaim something with authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pagasulat. Use my back to write against.</td>
<td>diklim aj. Infl. madiklim dark as relates to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dati aj. former, the one prior</td>
<td>daylight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawal v. AF dumawai NAF dawalin to look at</td>
<td>dikmil aj. Infl. madikmil blurred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something</td>
<td>dila n. tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pandawal (deriv.) n. sense of sight</td>
<td>dilikado From Sp. aj. unsafe, dangerous, need to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawarawa n. light rain, mist, drizzle</td>
<td>careful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daya v. to cheat</td>
<td>dimanda From Sp. v. AF magdimanda to file a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dayamdam n. bird</td>
<td>lawsuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dayim n. needle</td>
<td>dimodo From Sp. conj. logical sequence relator,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dayon v. to keep on one’s way traveling or doing</td>
<td>and so, so you see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something, to proceed Ipadayon ko ya istoria</td>
<td>dipot aj. short in size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukoingid ka biyahe ko ka Maynila. I will</td>
<td>diricho From Sp. av. directly without delay or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continue my story about my trip to Manila.</td>
<td>sidetracking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonyo From Sp. n. demon</td>
<td>dirikson From Sp. 1 n. direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deposito From Sp. n. deposit</td>
<td>2 n. line of thinking, mental focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibidi n. chest</td>
<td>dirivongan n. roof of a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dikal v. to shine with luster Nabiring kanya ing ono</td>
<td>disisyon From Sp. v. AF magdisisyon to decide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya pogdikal. He was astonished wondering what</td>
<td>diskarga From Sp. v. AF magdiskarga to unload</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shape with such luster.</td>
<td>dispus From Sp. conj. logical or time sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dikit aj. sticky</td>
<td>relator, and then, and so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
disti From Sp. *conj.* beginning from, relates one statement to the time of another event

**distidisti** (comp.) *av.* from back then until, ever since

**distrito** From Sp. *n.* political division of government

**distroso** From Sp. *n.* damage, destruction

Dakami na maka manluak kaito ka patag, komo masyado a distroso ka ayip. We do not farm here on the plain anymore at all because there is too much damage from loose animals.

**Disyembre** From Sp. *pn.* December

**disyerto** From Sp. *n.* desert

**diva** *ptl.* verification, Isn’t that right?

**divali** *av.* the other side of, across from

**tandivali** *(derv.)* *aj.* opposite, other
tandivali a braso niya his other arm

**diyakono** From Sp. *n.* deacon

**Diyos** From Sp. *pn.* God

**diyusdyusan** (comp.) *n.* false gods

**doble** From Sp. *aj.* double

**dong** *n.* ship

**padong** *(deriv.)* *v.* to bring ship to a dock

**durungan** *(derv.)* *n.* dock

doon *dem.* deictic location far away, over there

dosea From Sp. *n.* dozen

dosi From Sp. *aj.* twelve

dua *aj.* two

duampulak *aj.* twenty

duhang *v.* AF *magduhang* to add to something, to increase

duhig 1 *n.* thorn

2 *n.* duhi ka itan fish bone

duhot *aj.* Infl. maduhot sticky, not easily wiped off or brushed away Mamipipipi ako ka avo, abaw maduhot! I kept wiping and wiping the ash off of myself, goodness it was sticky!

dukol *n.* poisonous snake

**dukot** *v.* AF *magdukot* NAF *dukutan* to warn

dula *n.* spittle

dulaw *aj.* yellow

duldog *n.* thunder

dulong *n.* bow of a ship

dumalaha *n.* pullet

dumog 1 *v.* to wrestle, to scuffle

2 *v.* to mob, to crowd around and grab Layan punti, isip mo ing pinagdumog, listlo yu mga daon. As for the banana plants, you might think they had been mobbed; the leaves were all broken down.

dunguwat *v.* AF *magdunguwat* to nod head up and down

duro *aj.* many

durukuan *n.* palate, throat

duyan *n.* hammock

dyip From Eng. *n.* jeepney, public transport common in the Philippines

E — e

**edad** From Sp. *n.* age

**moedad** *(derv.)* *v.* to be a certain age Moedad ako ka dosi anyos. I am twelve years old.

**Enero** From Sp. *pn.* January

**espiritu** From Sp. *n.* spirit

**estar** From Sp. *v.* to live somewhere Ka Guinlo kami moestar. We live in Guinlo.

I — i

**ii** *ptl.* affirmation, yes

**igdat** *n.* worm

**ihin** *v.* to live Tsila inihi maka ka Diyos. They truly live with God.

**ihinin** *(deriv.)* *aj.* alive, healthy, unripe

**ilat** *v.* AF *mag-ilat* to wait

**im** *v.* AF *mag-im* to soak anything in water

**imit** *n.* face, a person’s face

*-in* 1 *vaff.* non-agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

2 *daff.* derives roots into abstractions of their original meanings *pangan* food (from: *pangan*, eat)

**inay** *n.* sand

**inim** *aj.* six

**init** *v.* AF *imit* to dive head first

**ipa** *n.* rice husk, chaff

**ipid** *n.* something leftover, leftover food

**ivak** *v.* to have a miscarriage

**ivit** *v.* NAF *inivit* to get something

**iya** *n.* shame

**makaIya** *(deriv.)* *aj.* ashamed

**iyain** *(deriv.)* *v.* to embarrass someone

**iniyain** *(deriv.)* *aj.* bashful

**mainiyain** *(deriv.)* *v.* to be shy or bashful

**iyat** *n.* fruit seed or pit
iyim v. AF umiyim to hunt something, look, search

pangiyim (deriv.) n. activity one does such as hunting, fishing, or farming in order to seek sustenance. Maghila ako ka pusit para may pangiyim. I fish for squid in order to make a living.

iyip v. AF imiyip to blow with one’s mouth

G — g

gaim v. NAF magaiman to take control over, to defeat, to overpower. Ya Pilipinas nagaiman ka Aponis. The Japanese defeated the Philippines.
gait v. AF manganit to hunt game
gamit n. thing, unnamed object
gamot n. medicine

manggamot (deriv.) v. to treat someone’s illness with medicine
ganap v. NAF ganapin to complete, accomplish, fulfill
ganap v. AF manganap to hunt game
gansa From Sp. n. goose
goad n. paddle, oar

maggao (deriv.) v. to row or paddle with an oar
gapas n. tool for husking coconuts
gapuson v. to bind, tie up by the arms
garit n. ringworm
gasgas n. scrape on the skin
gata n. coconut milk

gatot aj. hundred
gavok 1 aj. little
2 aj. few

gatod n. dust

2 n. dusty remains of decomposed wood
gawarin v. to redeem, to buy back
ghi v. to carry in one’s arms maggithi ka ananak to carry a child. githi ubanin to carry on one’s hip supported by one’s arm

ghihiy aj. small

gipat n. trap, snare

grit v. NAF gritin to cut, slice

grit ka palad (comp.) n. lines in the palm of the hand

gingis 1 aj. little
2 aj. few

3 aj. young in age. Used to describe both animal and human development. Talipaka a gingis tadpole. Ako gingis pa. I am still young (a child).
giva v. POT. AF magiva to cave in or collapse
giit v. AF maggit to leave
giling v. AF maggiling to grind
ginimgin n. fist
ging v. AF maging to become. Naging katahumon ako nila. I became their helper.
gisa v. AF maggisa to sauté
gismil From Sp. aj. ten thousand

git, giit v. AF maggit to leave, to depart

gobernador From Sp. n. governor of a province
goberno, gobirno From Sp. n. government

guapo aj. kind, hospitable

H — h

hadlang v. NAF hadlangan to hinder or obstruct an action

hain 1 aj. Infl. mahain good
2 aj. recovered from illness, of sound health

mahain nakim sound mind

3 aj. morally good

4 aj. kind, hospitable. Ya mga kamalay kamin alayan mahain. Our neighbors over there are decent.

hip n. a loud sipping noise

ihip (deriv.) v. to sip something

huis From Sp. n. judge

huisgado From Sp. n. judicial court

hula n. Bible prophecy
huldap

huldap From Eng. n. armed robbery
Hulyo From Sp. pn. June
Huwehes From Sp. pn. Thursday

i — i

i- vaff. non-agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]
iba conj. different from something
ibig v. to love
igson n. child of one’s godparent
igtirilad n. tool for taking coconut meat from the shell
igya v. AF umigya to lie down
ibit n. belt
ity n. urine
ikan n. fish
mangingikan (derv.) v. to go fishing
ikid n. cough
ikoy n. tail
ilab n. stinging pain
maialab (derv.) v. to sting with pain
itamunon n. weed, grass
mag-ilamon (derv.) v. to pull out weeds
ildaw v. AF maildaw to show compassion
ilisyas From Sp. n. propeller
ilo f. dizzy
ilo n. orphan
mailo (derv.) v. to become orphaned, bereaved
ilog, n. river
ilog, n. cousin
ilot v. AF magilot to set a fracture
imala I n. omen
2 n. guess, forecast
iman v. to encounter or cross paths with someone
Dakami na nag-irimanan. We didn’t cross paths with each other anymore. Dua aldaw bayo kami nag-irimanan. It was two days before we encountered each other.
imara v. AF mangimara to change clothes
imatay v. AF mainmatay to faint
imbahador From Sp. n. messenger, courier
impisa From Sp. n. the beginning of something in time
magimpisa (derv.) v. NAF inimpisa to begin something
-in- vaff. completive aspect, non-agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]
ina, nay, nanay n. mother
inaan n. hen
inaanak n. godchild
inaim v. to not understand, as in not comprehending a foreign language

inang n. body sweat
inapoon n. descendant
inawa v. AF manginawa to breathe
inay putl. particle that indicates not knowing. Used in the construction inay ing x where x is the thing that is not known inay ing pila. I don’t know how many.
inbistigarin From Sp. v. to try a case in court
indad aj. first
indamal av. tomorrow
indarakil n. middle finger
indi putl. negative, no
mangindi (derv.) v. to decline or refuse
inim v. AF manginim to drink
irinimin (derv.) n. wine, alcoholic beverage
inisil v. AF maginisil to repent
iniy n. aunt
init aj. hot, describing weather
makinit (derv.) v. for the weather to be hot
inlaw n. fever
inlayin n. forehead
inlong n. shade
inlukon n. eyebrow
inot aj. completely depleted, used up, all gone
inta putl. limit, only, just
intanan aj. all, everything
intano int. question word, when
intindi From Sp. v. to understand
intrio From Sp. aj. whole, complete
intrihia From Sp. v. to give someone charge over one’s property Ya luak kakin doon ka Nagtamba, intrihia ko ki Peping. As for my farm over in Nagtamba, I put Peping in charge of it.
intul v. to see Nабuая kami a nag-irintulan. It was a long time before we saw one another.
ing 1 conj. hypothetical, if or whenever
2 putl. links a cognition verb to the content of the cognition Data matawanan ing may kuarta pa. No one knew if he still had money. Inaying pila. I don’t know how many.
3 putl. links bilag to its complement Bilaging bato ya mosinag. The shining thing was different from a rock.
4 putl. possibility, speculation, perhaps. Expresses an unconfirmed possibility in the mind of the speaker Ing pinatay nila. They were
ingkina

probably killed. *Ing makatakay ako ka taxi.* Perhaps I can catch a taxi.

**ing puwede** (comp.) *ptl.* polite request, please

**isp mo ing, mokat ka ing** (comp.) *ptl.* indicates something that appears to be true but isn’t; you might think, you might say *Ya alayan mga punti mokat ka ing pudumuion ka bakit pero lisits ka biyat ka awo.* As for those banana plants, you might say they were mobbed by monkeys, but they are all broken down from the weight of the ash.

**ing bilaging** (comp.) *ptl.* indicates a hinderance to something, if not for *Ing bilaging ya Pinatubo data magkaroon ka kawat kalayan.* If it were not for Pinatubo, things would not have happened like that.

**ing ka vahay** (comp.) *ptl.* in that matter *Ako ing ka vahay alam ko na talaha ya hula ka Bibliya.* As for me in that matter, I know that Bible prophecy is true.

**ingkina av.** later on in the day

**ipag n.** sister-in-law

**ipit n.** cockroach

**ipil n.** hardwood tree used for house building

**ipit v.** to pin down *Naipit ta na ka giva a diririgan.* We were pinned down by the fallen roof.

**iwpot-iwpot n.** flying ant

**irap aj. Infl.** mairap difficult

**irig v.** AF *magirig* to join a group, give allegiance to a group

**irinsya n.** race, nationality, ethnic group

**isp v.** AF *magisp* to think

**isipan (derv.) n.** thoughts

**istambay From Eng. v.** to stay somewhere temporarily

**istantane From Sp. n.** shelf

**istorya, isturya From Sp. n.** recounting of an event

**istoryan (derv.) v.** to recount an historical event

*Kita kuno magistoryan kay sa pagpapak ka Pinatubo.* He says you are to tell about what happened back when Pinatubo erupted.

**itak n.** thigh

**irit 1 v.** AF *maitig* to be assertive

2 v. to be angry

**iti n.** flesh, substance of a body

**mangiti (derv.) v.** to grow as in fruit and vegetable growth *Dana mangiti ya kamo na siguro.* The kamote will probably not grow any more.

**iva n.** companion in travel or activity

**iwanan av.** right hand direction

**iyaw v.** AF *mangiyaw* to broil

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**K — k**

**ka-** *daffi* derives a root into a noun whose meaning is an abstraction of the original word *(ka-)* sometimes works in conjunction with *-an* for this same function *kamalay* neighbor (from: *balay*, house)

**ka, kawa pro.** second person singular pronoun, nominative, used as topic in nonverbal clauses and as focused participant in verbal clauses, you

**ka, 1 nm.** nonpersonal noun phrase marker, genitive case. Specifies a nonfocused referent in verbal clauses. It is also used to link a possessed entity to its possessor in possessive phrases.

**ka, 2 nm.** nonpersonal noun phrase marker, oblique case. Specifies location or direction of an action. Also used to expand verbal predications by adding time, location, instrument, cause, referent, measure, or beneficiary

**kaaapon av.** yesterday

**kaat n.** lamp, lantern, torch

**makaatan (derv.) v.** to illuminate something, to light one’s way *Makaatan kamin-payaya.* We illuminated our way heading down.

**kaatan (derv.) v.** to use something as a torch or lamp, such as burning a stick for the light it emits *Kinaatan kamin na bolo na biniviit kamin.* We used the bamboo we were carrying as a torch.

**kabuluharn n.** value, worth, importance

**kada From Sp. aj.** each, every

**kadyos n.** pigeon pea

**kaita av.** last year

**kagayiman n.** peace

**kahil n.** an orange

**kabulangan n.** forest, jungle

**kaikadua av.** day after tomorrow

**kaina av.** earlier, not long ago

**kainabo aj.** incidental, by chance

**magkainabo (derv.) v.** to happen by accident

**kaito deitic location of speaker, here**

**kakin pro.** first person singular pronoun, oblique, used as nonfocused goal participant in verbal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kalag</th>
<th>kapipislin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clauses, also used as a possessive pronoun in place of the possessed noun, mine, my place</td>
<td>kami pro. first person plural exclusive pronoun, nominative, used as topic in nonverbal clauses and as focused participant in verbal clauses, we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalag n. soul</td>
<td>kaministiran From Sp. 1 n. thing that is needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalakala v. to boil</td>
<td>2 v. a pseudo verb indicating a need for something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalalangan n. will, volition</td>
<td>kamisdentro From Sp. n. shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalamadd From Sp. n. calamity</td>
<td>kamison n. chemise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalantuay n. grasshopper or praying mantis</td>
<td>kamo pro. second person plural pronoun, nominative, used as topic in nonverbal clauses and as focused participant in verbal clauses, you all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalapati n. dove</td>
<td>kamoti n. yam Dioscorea esculenta, sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalawasan n. spine, backbone</td>
<td>kamoti a kayo (comp.) n. cassava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalayan dem. deictic near hearer, genitive, that one next to you</td>
<td>kanestro From Sp. n. deep widemouthed basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaldero From Sp. n. kettle, cauldron</td>
<td>kandado From Sp. n. lock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalig aj. startled, frightened</td>
<td>kandat n. liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magkalig (deriv.) v. to startle</td>
<td>kandila From Sp. n. candle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaliran av. inside</td>
<td>kanila pro. third person plural pronoun, oblique, used as nonfocused goal participant in verbal clauses, also used as a possessive pronoun in place of the possessed noun, theirs, their place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali int. question word, where</td>
<td>kanime pro. second person plural pronoun, oblique, used as nonfocused goal participant in verbal clauses, also used as a possessive pronoun in place of the possessed noun, all of yours, your place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali, v. to dig in order to harvest tubers from the ground</td>
<td>kanimo pro. second person singular pronoun, oblique, used as nonfocused goal participant in verbal clauses, also used as a possessive pronoun in place of the possessed noun, yours, your place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalihan n. service, labor</td>
<td>kanino n. shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalimango n. crab</td>
<td>kanta n. song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali dem. deictic far from both speaker and hearer, genitive, that one over there. Also refers to distant past time, back then</td>
<td>magkanta (deriv.) v. to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalito dem. deictic near speaker, genitive, this one</td>
<td>kantidad n. total, sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalivangvang n. butterfly</td>
<td>kanto n. corner of a street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalivutan, 1 n. time of day, time of year</td>
<td>kanunuldo n. index finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 n. weather</td>
<td>kanya 1 pro. third person singular pronoun, nominative, used as topic in nonverbal clauses and as focused participant in verbal clauses, he/she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalivutan, 1 (var. kalivotan) n. world, earth Gusto na ba Diyos a ya kalivotan tunawun. God now wants to bring the world to an end.</td>
<td>2 pro. third person singular pronoun, oblique, used as nonfocused goal participant in verbal clauses, also used as a possessive pronoun in place of the possessed noun, his/hers, his/her place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 n. archipelago</td>
<td>kangit aj. Infl. makangit rancid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalmot n. deep scratch</td>
<td>kapa'li v. to represent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalunggo n. wart</td>
<td>kapatid 1 n. brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaluvanga n. shell of an egg or shellfish</td>
<td>2 n. fellow believer in Christian association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaluvay n. gourd</td>
<td>kapayat n. papaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalyag n. mistress</td>
<td>kapi From Sp. n. coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamanakin n. nephew</td>
<td>kapipislin n. kidney stone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kapitan

**kapitan** From Sp. *n.* captain, an elected official on the barangay level

**kapitulo** From Sp. *n.* chapter

**kapkap** v. to touch

**kapusan n.** extreme end of something, outer limit

**karamlagan n.** morning star

**karanasan n.** an experience, something experienced

**karavao n.** carabao

**karing n.** skin mole

**karga From Sp. n. cargo**

**magkarga (deriv.) v.** to load cargo

**karira From Sp. n. speed race**

**karit n.** knife on long pole for harvesting

**kariton n.** sledge, platform on skids that is usually drawn by a carabao

**karne From Sp. n. meat**

**karo1 n.** ladle

**karo2 From Sp. n.** push cart, cart drawn by a carabao or cow

**karong v. AF kumaron to sit down**

**karoon v. AF magkaroon** to occur, to happen, to come about

**karsada From Sp. n. street**

**kasal From Sp. v. to be married**

**kasangkapan n.** house furnishings

**kasilyas From Sp. n. toilet**

**kasoy n.** cashew fruit, nut, or tree

**kasiigo From Sp. 1 n.** punishment

2 v. to punish

**katawan 1 n.** physical body of a person

2 n. person, as in ethnicity or number of people

**Pila inta a katawan ya Bisaya.** Only a few people were Visayan.

**katil aj.** Infl. makatil rich

**katin pro.** first person plural inclusive pronoun, oblique, used as nonfocused goal participant in verbal clauses, also used as a possessive pronoun in place of the possessed noun, all of ours, our place

**katinanan n.** responsibilities, duties

*Katinanan a Kapitan* Duties of Captain

**katig n.** outrigger portion of a small boat

**katin n.** salt

**katri From Sp. n. bed, couch**

**katumbal n.** red pepper

**katutuvo n.** indigenous person

**katuvohan n.** servant

**kaubungan n.** meaning of something

**kavatan n.** unmarried young man

**kavayo From Sp. n. horse**

**kavyokavyo n.** coral

**kavilaw n.** large fruit bat

**kavot 1 v.** to reach something with one’s hand or foot

*Ya makavot ko ka pagliway ay yana inta.*

Whatever I can reach to prune away, that is all I can do.

2 v. reach somewhere in one's travels

*Asta Cu yon nakakavot ako na.* I have traveled as far as Cu yon already.

3 v. to endure or last a span of time

*Kinavot kami ka inim a oras ya layog kamin ka ipiplano.* Our flight lasted (endured) six hours.

4 v. to arrive, to reach a place, to come. That which arrives may be inanimate: a storm, calamity, news, a specific time or event; or it may be a person arriving at a destination.

*Dakil a bama ya kinavot ka ayo ka Pinatubo.* Many countries were reached by the ashfall of Pinatubo. *May mangavot a karisguan, bagyo!* A calamity is coming (will arrive here), a typhoon! *Nangavot kami ka Nueva Vizcaya.* We arrived at Nueva Vizcaya.

**kavotkavotan (deriv.) n.** places of arrival or destination, places reached

**pakavot (deriv.) v.** to send something, to cause something to reach someone or somewhere

*Datamakay kakin a pinakavot.* Nothing at all was sent to me.

**kawali n.** frying pan, wok

**kawat 1 v. AF magkawat, mokawat, mokat NAF**

*kawatin to say, tell* *Mokawat ka mga isaan niya, “Mamuer to ako.”* He said to his neighbors, “I am going to Puerto.”

2 v. to call something a name or label

*Kada barya may guarda mokawat “Bolo batayon”.* Each barrio had a guard they called the “Bolo Battalion”.

3 n. content of what is said, or what something is called

*Ya kawat niya kakin ay ya trabaho kamin dakil.* What he said to me was that we had a lot of work to do.

**kawat kalayan conj.** like that, similar to that

**kawat kalito conj.** like this, similar to this

**kawawa aj.** poor, having very little money

**kawayan n.** a species of bamboo

**kaya, prol.** particle that denotes ability or capability (means, power) to perform the associated action

*Danay kaya ko ka paghiway.* I am not able to prune any longer.

**kaya, prol.** denotes prior time, back when

*x occurred, last x (year, week...) Kaya paglipak ka Pinatubo.* Back when Pinatubo erupted.

**kayamad n.** young hair lose

**kayan prol.** indicates ponderment, I wonder

*Ono kayan, layan.* I wonder what that was.

**kayitkit n.** scabies

**kayo 1 n.** wood used for construction or firewood.

Refers to logs rather than lumber when used for construction
kibkib

2 n. living tree
kibkib v. AF kumibkib to lie on one’s stomach
kikub v. hug, embrace
kikiban (deriv.) v. to hug or embrace someone
kilil v. AF manggil to shiver
kilyan v. NAF pukilyan to feel nervous
kilyag v. NAF makilyag to want something, to wish something to happen
kakilyahan (deriv.) n. that which is desired
kipkip v. NAF kikipipan to carry under one’s arm
kiring n. dog
 kita v. to laugh Duro ya pogkita kamin porikami a dua labatoba na. Many were laughing at us because we both looked silly.
ki mm. personal noun phrase marker, oblique case. Marks the proper noun as the goal of the verb. It also marks personal possession.
kikitan n. arm pit
kilala v. to be acquainted with someone or some information
kito From Sp. n. kilogram
k'log n. egg, chicken egg
kilometro From Sp. n. kilometer
kilos n. motion, movement
kinauhalian n. customs
kindaraki n. thumb, big toe
kindariting n. little finger, pinky
kinurti n. fabric, cloth
kipot aj. Infl. makipot narrow
kisa conj. comparison, as in more than Mas may kantidad kisa bulawan. It has more value than gold.
kisani n. ceiling
kita, pro. first person plural inclusive pronoun, nominative, used as topic in nonverbal clauses and as focused participant in verbal clauses, we all
kita, v. to see
makakita (deriv.) v. to be able to see Puput’imin kanya ka bulawan, pero danamaka makakita. He was having him look for gold, but he couldn’t see anything at all.
makitaan (deriv.) v. to happen to see something Doon maka adlim ka wai ya lalaki; dana nakitaan. The man was underneath the water; she didn’t see him anymore.
kitino int. the question word asking about possession, whose Kito na balay liti? Whose house is that?
klaro From Sp. aj. clear, transparent
ko pro. first person singular pronoun, genitive, used as nonfocused participant in verbal clauses, also used as possessive pronoun in possessive noun phrases where the pronoun follows the possessed noun, my
kobra From Sp. n. cobra
koche From Sp. n. car
ekodt o av. midday
kolliktor From Eng. n. collector of fees and taxes
komay n. godmother of one’s child, mother of one’s godchild
komit v. AF magkomit to gather or pick, as in gathering clams
komo, kumo From Sp. conj. indicates rationale for a stated action or opinion, because, since Dakami na maka manluak kaito ka patag, komo masyado a distresya ka ayp. We don’t farm here on the plain anymore because a lot is ruined by loose animals. Komo ako nabuay kama, ipusayod ko a matanda. Since I was with them for a long time, I am recounting to you accurately.
kompal v. to accumulate, build-up as in dust piling up
kompay 1 (var. kumpay) n. godfather of one’s child, father of one’s godchild
2 n. reference used toward a friend when speaking to him
komporome From Sp. pl. whatever, whichever, that which conforms to x
konsimisyon From Sp. v. to feel sad
konggresman From Eng. n. congressman
kopras n. dried coconut meat
korte From Sp. n. judicial court
Kristiano From Sp. n. Christian
kuadrado From Sp. n. square
kuarisma From Sp. n. hottest season of the year, typically March, April, and May
kuarta From Sp. n. cash, money, currency
kuarte From Sp. n. room, bedroom
kuaw aj. Infl. makuaw thirsty
kuay n. rattan
kuayanan n. rice stem
kubertos From Sp. n. silverware, cutlery
kubo, kubo n. makeshift shelter made from whatever is at hand
kuchara From Sp. n. spoon
kucharita From Sp. n. small spoon, teaspoon
kuchon From Sp. n. mattress
kudkod v. AF magkudkod to scrape, grate
kudlap n. lightning
kuenta From Sp. n. worth, value
kuento From Sp. n. story
magkuwentuan (deriv.) v. to relate an account of something, to tell a story
kueva, From Sp. n. cave
kueva, From Sp. n. gravestone
kuhita n. octopus
kuintas From Sp. n. necklace
kuko n. toenails, fingernails

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kula

kula v. NAF kulain to bleach
kulalan′n it n. bat
kulambo n. mosquito net
kulang aj. too few, not enough
kulangan n. pig pen
kulit, aj. Infl. makulit white
kulit 1 n. skin of a person
2 n. bark of a tree
kulon n. blanket
kulot aj. curly
kulultbar From Sp. v. AF magkulultbar to cultivate land
kumb a. lung
kumpil From Sp. n. Catholic confirmation
kundongkundong n. dragonfly
kuno p'tl. reported speech, they say, he said

kuntinto From Sp. aj. content, satisfied
kupit v. AF magkupit to pilfer
kural From Sp. n. fence
kurang v. AF magkurang to rain
pakuwuran (der.) n. rainy season, generally September through December
kuravo aj. gray
kuring 1 n. soot
2 n. charcoal
kurit n. pinch on the skin
kusina From Sp. n. kitchen
kutap v. to chew
kuto n. body/head louse
kuvi n. Dioscorea alata, a purple yam, also called ube (Tagalog)
kyuatingan n. nipple, teat

——-
lababo n. sink for washing
labolabo aj. foolish, silly
ladi n. wild pigeon
lab n. contusion, bruise
lagkit v. AF maglagkit to tie, fasten, or bind with a rope
lagpak aj. fallen over
lagpit v. to strike or flog with a whip or stick
lah a v. AF maglah a to boil or cook in water
manalah a (der.) v. to steam rice
lahar n. mixture of volcanic ash and water that flows when saturated
lahari n. toothed cutting tool, saw
laharin (der.) v. to cut with a saw Linagari ya tuyo a connection ka Corregidor magit ka Maynil a. They cut (sawed) the pipe connecting Corregidor from Manila.
lahim aj. Infl. malahim black
lahihabo aj. old
lakob n. cover for a container like a jar
lakon n. wave
lakto v. to run

manakah a (der.) v. to flee Nalakto kami dayon aya ka bakwita n. We fled all the way to the hiding place.
laktuan (der.) n. foot race
lala aj. Infl. malala spicy hot
talaguan From Sp. n. lake
talaki n. male, man, boy
talo n. pestle
lambig v. AF malambig to fall from something
lambong n. clothes
lamesa From Sp. n. table
lamig aj. Infl. lamamig cold as in cold weather

lampas conj. greater than, bigger than Ya bikin lampas kakin ya dibuhat. The others are beyond me in height.
lampin n. diaper
lampod v. to get down, to get off of a vehicle
palampod (der.) av. downward
lana n. vegetable or coconut oil
lanaw n. honey
landing From Eng. n. airstrip, place for an airplane to land
lansa From Sp. n. small motorized boat
lansita From Sp. n. carving knife
lanti aj. Infl. malant i fishy smelling
langaw n. fly
langib n. scab
langin n. raised earthen surface in the house for a cooking fire
langis n. oil
langit 1 n. sky
2 n. heaven
langka n. jackfruit
lango 1 aj. dry, parched
2 aj. describing mature coconut which is ripe and dry inside
palangoo (der.) v. to air dry something
laod n. deep sea
lapad aj. Infl. malapad wide
lapaw v. to overflow a boundary
lapis From Sp. n. pencil
lapog aj. Infl. malapog thick with green foliage
lapot v. AF lumapot to go out from somewhere
palapot (der.) v. to send someone or something out from somewhere
laptop n. rash, smallpox
lapuan v. to scald something with boiling water
lara v. AF manlara to weave fabric or other materials
laro v. AF maglaro to be sick
malinaroon (deriv.) aj. sickly
laso From Sp. n. ribbon
lasuna n. garlic
latil n. egg yolk
lati n. gum of the teeth
lato n. burn wound on the skin
lauk, laok n. mixture, as in a mixture of sand and gravel
malauk (deriv.) v. to stir
lawaan n. species of tree
lawak n. large spider
laway n. saliva
layag n. sail
layan dem. deictic near hearer, nominative, that one next to you
layi From Sp. n. law
layog v. AF lumayog to fly
libih n. wall
ligdang v. AF maligdang to sink down, as in water
limik aj. Infl. malimik soft
limit v. to drown
linga n. sesame
lipak v. to explode, to erupt paglipak ka Pinatubo erupting of Mt. Pinatubo
lipakan (deriv.) n. explosion, gunshot duro na lipakan ka pusil many gunshots
palipak (deriv.) v. AF magpalipak to set off an explosion, to shoot a gun
lisis aj. broken or bent down Lisis ya mga daon. The leaves were all broken (or bent) down
litat v. AF maglitat to wean
livat v. to rise as in sunrise paglivat ka aldaw rising of the sun
livik v. to pound in order to crush manlivik ka palay to pound rice in order to remove hulls
living n. wake and funeral
magliving (deriv.) v. to inter the remains of a deceased person
livit v. to search for, look for, hunt for May lalaki a punliti ka puisukan doon ka lugar nita. There was a man who was hunting for honey over there at his place.
libre From Sp. aj. free, loose, not caught
maglibre (deriv.) v. to save, rescue
libirayson (deriv.) n. liberation from a foe
tagali bribery (deriv.) n. savior, one who liberates.
Used as the title for Christ in a Christian context
libro From Sp. n. book
lichon From Sp. v. AF maglichon to roast over open coals
liid n. footprint
liig n. throat, neck
ligna aj. Infl. maligna dirty
ligtas v. to save, rescue
liha aj. tired
likit n. loose egg, nit
likot aj. Infl. malikot thorny
likosyog From Sp. n. lesson
liintaw n. pupil of the eye
lima aj. five
limatik n. leech found on dry land
liminataw v. to float
limos From Sp. n. contribution, offering
limpyo From Sp. aj. Infl. malimpyo clean
linang aj. Infl. malinang smooth
linapot v. to pierce
linaw n. cooking pot
linaw, aj. Infl. malinaw calm weather, absence of wind on the ocean
linog n. earthquake
linok aj. Infl. malinok fat, stout
lintak n. river or swamp leech
Linggo From Sp. 1 pn. Sunday
2 n. week
lipat 1 v. AF malipat NAF malipatan to go away avo a mokolipat ash that was blowing away
2 v. to forget or lose something
lipay aj. pleased
libi n. hillside produce garden, swidden
manlibi (deriv.) v. to farm
manilibi (deriv.) n. farming as a livelihood
kaililiran (deriv.) n. cleared land for farming
lisang aj. noisy
lisinsya From Sp. v. to take one’s leave
liiti dem. deictic far from both speaker and hearer, nominative, that one over there
liito dem. deictic near speaker, nominative, this one
livak v. AF maglivak to jeer
livat aj. cross-eyed
livot v. to patrol, to rove around
liway 1 n. visible light, brightness liway ka aldaw light of the sun
malibway (deriv.) aj. bright
manlibway (deriv.) v. to become light as in daybreak
panlibway (deriv.) av. daybreak, early in the morning
liway 2 v. to clear away something as in clearing ground for planting Liwayan mo ya luakin ko timanyan ka taon. Clearmy farm land this year.
liyab From Sp. n. key
liyid v. NAF liyiran to step over something
liholod v. to put something into something Ipulohod ya mga talawa doon ka baloto. They put the shellfish into the boat.
loob av. inside of something
look n. tears from weeping  

lumook (der.) v. to weep  

luak n. food producing plant  

manluak (der.) v. to plant something  

luakin (der.) n. farm, planted area for food production  

luat aj. naked  

lu'to v. AF lumu'bo to jump in place, to jump from a high place  

ludlod v. to scrub the skin to remove dirt  

ludyak n. mud  

lugar From Sp. n. place  

lui n. financial loss  

luka n. wound, open cut in the skin  

luko v. to deceive, trick, make a fool of someone  

lukos n. squid  

luksa v. AF magluksa to mourn  

 lulod n. shin  

luloy n. intestinal worm  

lumot n. moss  

lunday n. small boat moved by paddling  

Lunes From Sp. pn. Monday  

lunod v. AF lumuod to kneel down  

lungaw v. AF lumongaw NAF lungawan to look through a window or through something transparent  

lupok n. blister  

lupon n. committee  

luyaw aj. liquid in form  

luto, aj. ripe  

luto, v. AF magluto to cook  

lutong n. mortar  

luvay 1 aj. Inf. maluway weak in body  

2 aj. slow, slowly  

luvid n. rope  

luvot n. hole dug in the ground, excavation  

luya n. ginger  

luyod n. flood  

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M — m  

ma- 1 daff. derives root into an adjective mabiyat heavy (from: biyat, weight)  

2 vaff. potentiality aspect, not begun, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]  

3 vaff. potentiality aspect, not begun, non-agent focus when used in conjunction with the suffix -an  

maaga av. early in the day or early relative to some time  

madre From Sp. n. nun  

mag-1 vaff. not-begun aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]  

2 daff. adds a collective aspect to the root’s original meaning when used in combination with the infix -FV- magaranak all of one’s offspring collectively (from: anak, offspring). magpunotol all of one’s siblings (from: putol, sibling)  

magka-vaff. indicates involuntary or unexpected occurrence of the verb, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]  

mahulang n. elder person  

mait From Sp. n. corn  

maka 1 conj. addition, also, as well Tsino maka ya pugproduko? Who else also harvests?  

2 ptt. used to intensify a verb or adjective, really. Also used to emphasize the reality of the matter, actually or in actuality Ya ama ko Bisaya pero kito na maka iyanakay ka  

Palawan. My father was Visayan but he was actually born here in Palawan.  

maka-vaff. ablative aspect, not begun, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]  

makaman ptt. indicates surprise or emotion over something Kumavot kami doon na makaman ya iropano. When we arrived the plane was actually already there.  

makapag-vaff. to have the opportunity to do the verb, not-begun aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]  

makibahay n. neighborhood, good relations  

malas From Sp. aj. unfortunate, unlucky  

mali av. incorrect, wrong  

maliwanagan v. to be enlightened, to gain understanding  

magpaliwanag (derv.) v. to explain, make clear, help to understand  

malumunon n. swamp, marsh  

mamaal aj. expensive  

mamag-vaff. participatory aspect, not begun, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]  

mamakin n. betel nut, areca nut  

mamalong n. shelter from rain, sun, or other elements  

maN-vaff. generality aspect, not begun, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]
man

**man** ptl. adds emphasis *Talaha man*. Very true, that is exactly right.

**manag** n. elder sister. Also used as an honorific for women older than ego

**mani** n. peanut

**manig-daff**. one who does *manignikot* one who collects debts, taxes, etc. (from: *tukot*, collect).

**manigarado** farmer (from: *arado*, plow)

**maningal** n. toothpick

**manipis** aj. thin in depth or thickness

**manok** n. chicken

**manong** n. older brother. Also used as an honorific for men older than ego

**mang-vaff**. not-begun aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

**mangati** n. bait

**mangga** n. mango

**mangod** n. young coconut without meat yet

**marimin** n. rain cloud

**marguso** n. bitter melon

**Marso From Sp. pn. March**

**Martes From Sp. pn. Tuesday**

**martyibo** From Sp. n. hammer

**marunong** aj. smart, wise

**mas From Sp. conj. mere**

**masahi** From Sp. v. to rub, massage

**maski** conj. concession, even though, even if

**maski kali** (comp.) ptl. everywhere, no matter where

**masnan** av. especially

**masyado** From Sp. av. intensifies the adjective or adverb it is linked to, too much *masyado a mabiyat* too heavy

**mata** n. eye

**mamataan** (derv.) v. to see something

**matiryal** From Sp. aj. material or physical existence, natural, of this world

**matong** aj. pregnant

**matris** From Sp. n. uterus, womb

**mahuhang** n. parent

**mahuhang ka nagtivag** (comp.) n. ancestor, literally parent that has gone before

**mauno** int. question word, how much, to what extent

**mayy, conj. coordinating particle, and**

**mayy** ptl. existential, there is

**Mayo From Sp. pn. May**

**mayor** From Sp. n. leader

**medyas** From Sp. n. socks

**merbyos** From Sp. aj. nervous

**metro** From Sp. n. meter, unit of measure

**milip** v. to sleep

**milip** (derv.) aj. asleep

**mga** ptl. contraction of *manga*, approximately; indicates an estimate

**mga** ptl. contraction of *manga*, a particle indicating that the following noun is plural

**mi** pro. second person plural pronoun, genitive, used as nonfocused participant in verbal clauses, also used as possessive pronoun in possessive noun phrases where the pronoun follows the possessed noun, all of your

**midyo From av. similar to, somewhat like**

**mil From Sp. aj. thousand**

**milimetro From Sp. n. millimeter**

**milyon From Sp. n. million**

**milyonaryo From Sp. n. millionaire, wealthy person**

**mimbro From Sp. n. member of a group or committee**

**mining** n. kitten

**minirikin** n. cyclash

**minihad** n. son-in-law, daughter-in-law

**minos From Sp. conj. less**

**minta av. once, one time**

**minta bisis** (comp.) av. occasional, infrequent

**mintras From Sp. conj. concurrent in time, while**

**minuto From Sp. n. minute**

**misar From Sp. n. Catholic mass**

**mispis** n. sideburns

**Miyerkoles From Sp. pn. Wednesday**

**mo** pro. second person singular pronoun, genitive, used as nonfocused participant in verbal clauses, also used as possessive pronoun in possessive noun phrases where the pronoun follows the possessed noun, your

**mo-, mu-vaff**. incompletive aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

**moko-1 vaff.** ablative aspect, incompleted action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

2 vaff. potentiality aspect, incomompleted action, agent focus

3 vaff. potentiality aspect, incompleted action, non-agent focus when used in conjunction with the suffix *-an*

**mokotingid 1 conj.** to ascribe blame or credit, due to, because of *Inot ya kuarta ta mokotingid ka Pinatubo*. Our money is all gone because of the Pinatubo eruption.

2 conj. marks the topic of conversation, about, regarding, referring to *May istoria ako mokotingid ka balita a nangavot kinik* I have a story about some news that came to me.

**montiro From Sp. n. having to do with the forest as in Forestry Department**

**motorsiklo From Sp. n. motorcycle**
mukmok

mukmok n. woodboring insect
muli v. NAF muliín to go or return home
mulmol v. AF magmulmol to gargle
mulot v. NAF mulotín to flow

multa From Sp. n. fine, monetary penalty
mumok n. crumb
munisipyo From Sp. n. town, municipality
munggos n. mung beans

**N — n**

na 1 ptl. used with verbs to indicate recently completed action (completive aspect + na) and immediate future action (not-begun aspect + na), now, already
2 ptl. links maka or inta to the word it modifies

na- 1 vaff. potentiality aspect, completed action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]
2 vaff. potentiality aspect, completed action, non-agent focus when used in conjunction with -an

nag- vaff. completive aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

naka ptl. signals location or position, at doon naka ilog there at the river

naka-1 daff. adds the semantic component of state or location to the root nakaatawa married (from: atawa, spouse)
2 vaff. abilitative aspect, completed action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

nakapag- vaff. to have had the unexpected opportunity to do the verb in the past, agent focus. (See makapag-.) [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

nakim n. thought, state of mind

namag- vaff. participatory aspect, completed action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

namaN- vaff. participatory, generality aspect, completed action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

namok n. mosquito

namonomono n. officials, elected officers

naN- vaff. generality aspect, completed action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

nanak n. pus

nang- vaff. completive aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]
nara n. Pterocarpus indicus, a hard redwood tree used for furniture
naumid aj. the next in succession
nikniik n. gnat
ni nm. personal noun phrase marker, genitive case. Marks the proper noun as a nonfocused participant in the clause. Also marks possession

nigusyo From Sp. n. business
niho n. winnowing basket, basket for shaking and cleaning rice
nila pro. third person plural pronoun, genitive, used as nonfocused participant in verbal clauses, also used as possesive pronoun in possessive noun phrases where the pronoun follows the possessed noun, their

niwang aj. Infl. maniwang slim as in slim person

niya pro. third person singular pronoun, genitive, used as nonfocused participant in verbal clauses, also used as possesive pronoun in possessive noun phrases where the pronoun follows the possessed noun, his/her

niyog n. coconut

Novibmri From Sp. pn. November
nohiba From Sp. n. fiancée
nohoyo From Sp. n. fiancé

magnobyonyoba (derv.) v. to become engaged to be married
nonot, nunut, nunot v. to accompany, travel with Niminoton ako kanya. I accompanied him.

ngalan n. person’s name

ingalan (derv.) v. to name someone

ngalngal n. pain

mangalngal (derv.) aj. painful

ngani ptl. certainly

nganga n. chin, mouth

ngiti n. tooth
O — o

Oktubre From Sp. pn. October
ono, onanin int. question word, what
oras From Sp. 1 (var. uras) n. hour
2 n. time
orog intj. attention, imagine this. Used in an idiom
that highlights an interesting or unusual aspect

O — o

pa — Still, yet
pa-talaff derives verbs to add causative voice. [See
grammar for further description of verb
morphology.] patabasan to have someone
clear a field (from: tabas, clear a field)
apa- , napa- clitic. denotes motion toward the
attached root pa'alaid moving toward a far off
location (from: alaid, far away). napabayo
theaded toward the barrio (from baryo, barrio)
paayag v. to agree to do something
padiwang av. left hand direction
pa'dul v. AF mama'dul to give someone
something
pain n. fish bait
pag- , clitic. concurrent, when x is done, or upon
doing x Pagkinawat mo a magligad ay
putikiran nila ya bavoy nila. They only tie up
their pig when you tell them to tie it.
pag- , palaff derives verbs into nominal form. [See
grammar for further description of verb
morphology.] pagliway the act of cleaning
(from: liway, clean)
pagigma n. self-esteem, self-worth, self-respect
pagka- clitic. sequence, after, upon Pagkapundo
nila kaya baloto... After they anchored the
boat...
pahi n. rayfish, stingray
pahod aj. lame
painding n. puppy
pairan v. to spread, to smear
payaran (derivative) n. rag for wiping something
pakinawang n. benefit, profit
pakit aj. Infl. mapakit bitter tasting
pako n. fern
pakpa v. AF makapakpa to fall face down
paksum 1 (var. pakso) n. bomb crater
2 n. trench or hole dug for hiding in. Used to
describe the trenches guerrillas fought from
during WWII

P — p

pala, ptl. particle indicating surprise Layan pala
dilimn pa nagkuran ya avo. To our surprise,
the ash rained down during the night.
pala, aj. Infll. mapala salty
pala, From Sp. n. shovel
pala'a n. Philippine wildcat
palaad n. palm of the hand
palaag v. to go far afield from, to break away from
Kami data makapalag kaito ka yaya. We
cannot go very far away from here in the
lowland.
pa'llang n. pulpy leaf of a banana plant
palay n. unhusked rice
palay v. AF mama'lay to shoot something with an
arrow
palayasa v. to eject or expel someone out from
somewhere
paldna n. shoulder
palengke n. market
pala'id v. AF puma'lid to enter, to go in
paltos From Sp. v. AF magpaltos to err, to make a
mistake
palual n. help, financial aid
palwa n. frond of a coconut tree
pama'la n. administrator
pamalvakin n. sneeze
paman conj. additional information, moreover
Kami paman may trabaho atin kanya.
Furthermore, we have work over at his place.
pambot From Eng. n. outrigger boat powered by a
gasoline engine
paminagbinaw av. dawn
pamiliya From Sp. n. family
paN- vaff. generality aspect, nominalizes verb
roots. [See grammar for further description of
verb morphology.]
panalangin n. prayer
panaw v. AF mapanaw to set out on a trek, to walk
pandak aj. short in stature as in a short person
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tagalog Word</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paniid</td>
<td>n. close, careful observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panlamin</td>
<td>av. dusk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantag</td>
<td>v. AF mamantag NAF pantagín to visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantog</td>
<td>n. urinary bladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantyon</td>
<td>From Sp. n. grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pang-1</td>
<td>daff. derives ordinals from numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangdulo</td>
<td>third (from: tulo, three)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 daff.</td>
<td>derives a root into an abstraction of its original meaning panglangit things of heaven (from: langit, sky or cloud)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panganyá</td>
<td>n. eldest child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manganyay</td>
<td>(deriv.) v. to give birth for the first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangko</td>
<td>n. single-masted sailing ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangpang</td>
<td>n. riverbank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paod</td>
<td>n. thatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papel</td>
<td>From Sp. n. paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para,</td>
<td>From Sp. conj. purpose, in order to, for the purpose of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para,</td>
<td>From Sp. v. to stop as in stopping one’s vehicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parada</td>
<td>From Sp. v. AF magparada to park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parakol</td>
<td>n. axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parakulon</td>
<td>(deriv.) v. to chop or cut with an axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paraw</td>
<td>n. two-masted sailing ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pari</td>
<td>From Sp. n. Catholic priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paríhão, Kaparehí</td>
<td>From Sp. conj. same, equal in situation or quality Paríhão kamin. The same with us. The same situation applies to us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partí</td>
<td>From Sp. 1 n. portion of a divided resource, fraction, share Pila partí? How many shares?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 n.</td>
<td>subdivision of a group partí ka aná father’s side of the family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magparíti</td>
<td>(deriv.) v. to divide something into shares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paruladó</td>
<td>From Sp. n. parole from prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasampong</td>
<td>v. to go up, raise up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasar</td>
<td>From Sp. v. to pass something over to someone else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasíkand</td>
<td>n. the commencement of something, a beginning as in the start of a family or career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastor</td>
<td>From Sp. n. pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasungab</td>
<td>av. upstream, uphill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasyal</td>
<td>From Sp. v. to casually stroll about visiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patag</td>
<td>n. plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patak</td>
<td>v. to drop, for a small thing to drop like a water droplet or raindrop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patavaun</td>
<td>n. bumblebee, wasp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patawad</td>
<td>v. AF magpatawad to forgive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patay</td>
<td>n. deceased person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapatay</td>
<td>(deriv.) v. to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magpatay</td>
<td>(deriv.) v. NAF ipatay POT.NAF mapatayan to kill. Implies a specific killing event Bawal ka a magpatay ka tao. You are forbidden to kill someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamatay</td>
<td>(deriv.) v. NAF imatay to kill. Implies nonspecific multiple killing as in soldiers killing others in general Kasalanan ya mamatay ka tao. It is a sin to kill people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patí</td>
<td>conj. along with, together with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patik</td>
<td>v. NAF patikin to beat, tap, or strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patís</td>
<td>n. fish sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pató,</td>
<td>n. duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pató,</td>
<td>av. in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patroya</td>
<td>From Sp. v. to patrol an area as a soldier or defender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pauhad</td>
<td>v. to move, to transfer residence to another location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paus</td>
<td>aj. hoarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pavaya</td>
<td>v. to neglect those under one’s care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payong</td>
<td>n. umbrella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paypayan</td>
<td>v. to wave one’s hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payra</td>
<td>n. boló, machete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payukan</td>
<td>n. sea turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pebrero</td>
<td>From Sp. pn. February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permi, pirmi</td>
<td>From Sp. av. always, often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pero</td>
<td>From Sp. conj. however, but, contrasts what follows with what precedes. Also relates contraexpectation to concession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peso</td>
<td>From Sp. n. peso, the monetary unit of the Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pigpig</td>
<td>aj. full, filled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píha</td>
<td>v. AF magpiha to wring, to squeeze in one’s hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pila</td>
<td>n. low tide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilang</td>
<td>v. AF magsilang NAF pilangín to split something by cutting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilidit</td>
<td>v. NAF pilditín to spank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirsá</td>
<td>Infl. mapirsá strong, forceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píti</td>
<td>aj. shattered, broken in pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyí</td>
<td>n. hermit crab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piying</td>
<td>v. to close one’s eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>picha</td>
<td>From Sp. n. date on the calendar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pítt</td>
<td>av. Infl. mapítt adjacent, next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitan</td>
<td>(deriv.) av. touching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pígil</td>
<td>v. to stop something from happening, to arrest something in its tracks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piko</td>
<td>From Sp. n. pickaxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pikoy</td>
<td>n. parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilía</td>
<td>1 int. question word, how many Pila beses? How many times/days?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 aj. few</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilá,</td>
<td>From Sp. n. queue, line of people waiting for a service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilak</td>
<td>n. silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilap</td>
<td>From Eng. v. to fill out a form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pilat

pilat n. scar

pilyay v. to sprain a muscle, hurt a limb

pili v. AF magpili to choose

pinaka- daff. superlative degree of an attribute
Pinakagwapo ni Juan ka tudos. Juan is the most handsome of all.

pinilip n. roasted green rice

pinitinsya From Sp. n. trials, tribulations

pino From Sp. aj. fine, not course

pintal From Sp. n. safety pin

pintatan v. AF mapintanan to bewitch

mamintat (derv.) n. witch

pinya From Sp. n. pineapple

pínggan n. dish, plate

pípí v. to wipe or brush off

pírníso From Sp. n. permit, official permission for something

písta From Sp. n. fiesta, a Catholic holiday of feasting in honor of the local patron saint

píto aj. seven

pítrómax n. pressure gas lantern, Petromax

pítsel From Eng. n. water pitcher

piyak n. chick

piyánsa From Sp. n. bail, finances for getting someone out of jail

piye From Sp. n. foot, unit of measure

plancha From Sp. n. flat iron for ironing clothes

plasa From Sp. n. area surrounding one’s house

plátito From Sp. n. saucer

póg, pug- vaff. incomplete aspect, agent focus.
[See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

pompiyang n. cymbal

poN-, puN- vaff. generality aspect, incompleted action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.

pong- vaff. incomplete aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.

porki From Sp. conj. indicates rationale for a previously stated action or opinion, because

presidente From Sp. n. president

presyo From Sp. n. price

primero From Sp. aj. first

príparar From Sp. v. AF magpríparar to preserve something as in food

prisuan From Sp. n. jail, prison

prito From Sp. v. AF magprito to fry

probinssya From Sp. I n. province, a political division within the country of the Philippines

2 n. rural areas of the Philippines as opposed to metropolitan areas

problíma From Sp. n. problem

produktó From Sp. v. to yield a harvest Tsino maka ya pugproduktó? Who is it, by the way, that harvests?

proíba From Sp. n. proof, evidence that proves a point

prosesyon From Sp. n. parade

pu-, po- vaff. incomplete aspect, non-agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

püder From Sp. v. to invest with power

puede From Sp. pil. polite request

puga From Sp. v. AF magpuga to escape from confinement, as from prison

puganti (derv.) n. fugitive

puhílvatán av. east

púira av. outside

pukit 1 v. AF magpikít NAF púkitín to sever, to cut off

2 v. to break a relationship Ya tao napúkit ya rilasyon ka Diyos. People broke their relationship with God.

tangpúkit (derv.) aj. severed, cut off

pulawán n. wake, night vigil for the dead

puling n. dust speck or dirt in one’s eye

pulot n. sticky glutinous rice

pulta n. door

pultaan (derv.) n. doorway

punog- vaff. participatory aspect, incompleted action, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]

punás v. to take a sponge bath

punay n. young pigeon

punada From Sp. n. pillowcase

punírdar From Sp. v. to establish an entity as in founding a town

pundúan From Sp. n. place to beach a boat

pundúsaní (derv.) v. to beach a boat Pímindúan ya na ya baloto komo avavaw na ya wai. He had already beached the boat because the water had already become shallow.

punír From Sp. v. to suppose, guess, or estimate

puntí n. banana plant

punyang n. father-in-law, mother-in-law

punagw v. AF mapungaw to miss someone, to feel lonely

pungíram n. conception

pupol aj. stupid

purgada From Sp. n. inch, unit of measure

puri v. to praise as in praising God

puríso conj. relates the result of a circumstance to the circumstance, so, therefore

puro, pulos From Sp. av. completely, entirely, purely

mapuruan (derv.) v. to fill or cover to capacity

Ya balay, ing mapuruan gíva ya biyat ka awo.

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purop₂

If the house becomes completely covered with ash it will collapse from the weight.

purop₂ n. island
pursesas From Sp. n. bracelet
pusil n. gun
pusta From Sp. v. AF magsusta NAF pustain to toast bread
putahe n. courses of food

putod n. navel
putok n. heart
putol n. sibling
putsukan n. honeybee
puyad n. animal or bird nest

R — r

rabak n. sound of rain or tapping or rapid gunfire, ratatat
radyo From Eng. n. radio
ramag n. mold, mildew
rangga v. to ruin, destroy
marangga (deriv.) v. to become broken or ruined
Maluhin ina ya balay data marangga. It is good that the house was not destroyed.
raparapa n. sole of the foot
rarong n. basket carried on the back or hips
raskal af. Infl. maraskal impolite, vulgar
raon From Sp. n. reason, nominalized relator stating why something is the way it is
rasunon (deriv.) v. AF marasunon to be understandable or reasonable
rehinta From Sp. v. to crack something

rahalo From Sp. n. gift
rektangulo From Sp. n. rectangle
relo From Sp. n. clock, watch
repolyo From Sp. n. cabbage
ribo aj. thousand
riklamo From Sp. n. a charge against someone
magriklamo (deriv.) v. to complain or accuse someone
rilasyon From Sp. n. relationship
rimbas n. file, a tool for filing
risgo From Sp. n. dangerous situation, risk May mangavot a kariguan, bagyo. There is a dangerous calamity approaching, a typhoon.
risibi From Sp. v. AF rumisibi NAF risibiyin to receive, accept
risulta From Sp. n. result, outcome of an event

S — s

Sabado From Sp. pn. Saturday
sabit v. to hang something on a peg
sabong n. cockfight
sadili n. one’s self
2 n. personal property
sakop 1 (var. sakáp) v. to ambush, to overtake by surprise
2 v. to suddenly surround or engulf Ing sakipin kami ka panganod pondiklim ya kalivo tan. When we were suddenly engulfed by clouds it became dark.
3 v. to hit (overtake) by means of a flying object like a bullet Tsi Juan, sinakip maka ka braso niya ba bala. As for Juan, he was actually hit in the arm by a bullet.
4 v. to have control of, to have jurisdiction over Bina mokusokpan ka Municipio a San Vicente, Palawan. Bina is under the jurisdiction of the municipality of San Vicente, Palawan.
sakripisy o From Sp. v. AF magsakripisy o to offer religious sacrifices

saksak v. NAF saksakin to stab
sala n. fault, error, mistake
kasalanan (deriv.) n. sin, transgression of a moral code
salamangka n. magic
salamat n. thanks
magpasalamat (deriv.) v. to give thanks
salas From Sp. n. living room
samba v. AF magsamba to worship
samog v. to scatter as in sawdust scattering on the floor Duro na ya mosamog a avo ka vulcan kita. There has already been a lot of volcanic ash scattered here.
sanlibutan n. world
sanlit conj. indicates rationale for a stated action or opinion, because, since
sanggit n. a sickle-shaped knife used in tuba gathering
sanggulon n. cock’s comb
sapa n. spring, water source
sapatos From Sp. n. shoes
sapo v. to be aware Dakami nakasapo kaya dilimín na pugkuran. We had not become aware that it had rained that night.

pasapo (derv.) v. NAF ipasapo to inform, to make aware

sapyo n. hand plane, carpenter’s tool for smoothing wood

sari v. various and sundry, mixture of a variety of things

sarig v. AF magsarig NAF masarigan to believe in, to depend on, to trust

mananarig (derv.) n. one who believes, believer

sarsa From Sp. n. gravy, sauce

savor From Sp. aj. Infl. masavor delicious

saya n. skirt

sayansi n. cooking utensil used for turning food in a pan

sayod v. to inform, to relate information Layan a matanda ya nasayuran ko ka mga tao. That really is what the people told me.

segundo From Sp. aj. second

sentensya From Sp. n. prison sentence

Septiembre From Sp. pn. September

serbisyo From Sp. n. civic service

sipsip v. AF magsipsip to suck

sivik aj. close as in close relative

sigi From Sp. ptl. proceed continuously

siguro From Sp. ptl. probably

sikrito From Sp. v. AF sumikrito to whisper

sikakan aj. crowded together

silig n. broom

silinuyo From Sp. aj. quiet, still, calm

silya From Sp. n. chair

simba v. AF magsimba to attend a church service

simbaan (derv.) n. church building

siminar From Sp. n. seminar

simintiro From Sp. n. cemetery

siminto From Sp. n. cement or concrete as is used in construction

simpan v. AF magsimpan to serve food on the table

simpon n. food prepared for an occasion

simpri From Sp. ptl. certainty, of course

sinag v. to shine brightly Lungawan niya doon ka wai ya midyo aldaw a musinag. He looked down there through the water at something that shown like the sun.

sindi v. to ignite something with fire Nagsindi tila ka kaat. They lit a lantern.

sinilas n. rubber thongs

sinskiyo From Sp. v. to make change for currency

sinsuro n. fish net

sintavos From Sp. n. centavo, one hundredth of a peso

sinti v. NAF masintiyan to feel with emotions

pagsinti (derv.) n. the act of feeling

sintido From Sp. n. temple of the head

sinulid n. thread

singgat v. to blaze brightly as in a flash of lightning

singuton n. sniff

sipain v. to drag

sipag aj. Infl. masipag industrious

sipit v. to completely consume

sirado From Sp. aj. closed

sirbato n. car horn or whistle

magsirbato (derv.) v. to whistle or blow a horn

sisit n. hissing sound made to call one’s attention

sitasyon From Sp. n. subpoena

sitaw n. string beans

sitinta From Sp. aj. seventy

situasyon From Sp. n. circumstances, situation

siyam aj. nine

siyiti From Sp. aj. seven

siyudad From Sp. n. city

sol n. rent, fare

suay v. AF magsuay to oppose, fight, quarrel

subasta From Sp. n. auction

subaybay v. to observe carefully, keep abreast of

subra From Sp. 1 v. AF magsubra to be greater than something Ya makhýag niya magsubra kanya ka Diyos. What he wants is to be greater than God.

2 av. better than, greater than, more than subra pa better yet

pasubran (derv.) v. to exaggerate

masubran (derv.) v. to overdo something nasubran ka lawya overcooked

sugkay n. fine comb

suhal n. gambling

sukat n. measurement, size

sulat n. AF magSulat to write

sumbing n. harelip

sundalo From Sp. n. soldier

sungaw n. vapor, steam

supisinti n. means of sustainance, means of living, support

suporta From Sp. v. to support, to keep supplied

Ipusurportar kamin ka mga sundalo. We supplied the needs of the soldiers.

suram n. AF suramin to hate, loathe

surot n. bedbug

surtirito n. young teenage boy

suweldo From Sp. n. wages for work

suwerté From Sp. n. luck, good fortune

masuwerte (derv.) aj. lucky, fortunate

suyod n. harrow
ta₂ | ta₃
---|---
**ta** | *ppl.* emphasis, marks a peak or an abrupt transition in a discourse
**ta₂** | *pro.* first person plural inclusive pronoun, genitive, used as nonfocused participant in verbal clauses, also used as possessive pronoun in possessive noun phrases where the pronoun follows the possessed noun, all of our
**ta₃** | *NAF* "taan" to hold
**tabas** | *v.* to prune, to mow, to cut down excess growth
**tablalay** | *v.* to hang something over a fence or rope in order to air dry
**tabo** | *v.* to befall someone, to happen to someone
   *Ono ya natabo kaya lalaki?* What was it that happened to that man? *Matabo katin talaga.* It will come upon us for sure.
**tabol** | *AF* "maga'bol" to splash
**tadtaid, tidtid** | *v.* NAF "tidtarin" to divide or sever by chopping
**tadtairan** | *(deriv.*) *n.* chopping block
**taib** | *n.* high tide
**taip** | *v.* AF "maga'tip" to winnow
**tagapamayapa** | *n.* one who mediates grievances
**tagbing** | *adj.* sunken, buried, submerged
**ta'gi** | *n.* arrow
**tagpaw** | *av.* on top, over
**tagtag** | *v.* to drift or float down to the ground, as in dust shaken from above
**taha** | *ppl.* denotes one’s place of origin *Ako ti Pedro Vicente a taha Binga.* I am Pedro Vicente from Binga.
**tahas** | *n.* fasting, going without food
**tahik** | *1.* *n.* sap
   *2.* *n.* blood
**tahiyawat** | *n.* pimple
**tahumon** | *n.* help
   *tumahumon** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to help
   *magpatahumon** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to call for help
   *panahumunin** | *(deriv.*) *n.* defending or speaking for someone
**tarahumon** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to work together in cooperation
**taik** | *1.* *v.* AF "maga'ik", *manaik* to sew
   *2.* *v.* to weave fabric
**tairaikan** | *(deriv.*) *n.* loom for weaving
**taiy** | *n.* excrement
**mantaik** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to defecate
**takaw** | *v.* AF "manakaw" to steal
**takay** | *v.* to ride on some form of transportation
**takot** | *n.* fear
**mutakot** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to be afraid

**takuwal** | *v.* AF "tumakuwal" to climb up, as a tree or stairs
**talado** | *n.* kingfisher
**talaha** | *ppl.* verification, truly
**talamaw** | *v.* to swim
**talang** | *n.* rib
**katalang** | *(deriv.*) *av.* at the side
**talata** | *n.* verse as in a Bible verse
**talava** | *n.* oyster
**talding** | *adj.* infl. *matalding* straight
**talitbit** | *n.* the end, conclusion of a story
**talik** | *n.* dance
**taliktik** | *n.* small house gecko
**talit** | *n.* taro root
**talib** | *v.* AF "tumalib" to pass by somewhere
   *magtalib** | *(deriv.*) *v.* the passing of a time or event
   *ya nagtalib a bulan* the past month.
   *ya taon a nagtalib* the year that just passed
**talikod** | *v.* to turn one’s back toward someone, to face away *Tsimalikod kanya kakin.* He turned his back toward me.
**talin** | *n.* cockrel
**talinga** | *n.* ear
**talingi** | *v.* AF "maga'lingi" to shake one’s head sideways
**talipaka** | *n.* frog
**talpo** | *av.* wet from water
   *maga'talpo** | *(deriv.*) *v.* intentionally wet something
   *matalpo** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to unintentionally get wet
   *manalpo** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to wash clothes
**talatilin** | *n.* iron, metallic iron
**talukutkon** | *n.* beak
**talungaan** | *av.* in the front part
**talwal** | *n.* trousers, pants
**talyang** | *n.* comb
   *manalyang** | *(deriv.*) *v.* to comb one’s hair
**tam-clitic** | quantifies root by one *tambulan* one month
**tama** | *1.* *v.* to be correct
   *2.* *v.* to hit the target *Atan ka puro putargtay pero data putamaan.* They were aiming at theland but they were not hitting it.
**tamad** | *adj.* lazy
**tamad** | *tamaran* *n.* ring finger
**tamantaman** | *n.* large, red, poisonous ant
**tambak** | *v.* to pile up as in heaping up sand into a pile
**tambilog** | *aj.* one
**tambilogbilog** | *(comp.*) *aj.* alone, by one’s self in an activity or travel
**tambor** | From Sp. *n.* drum, a percussion instrument
tamburi

tamoddayag av. lying in state

tamokuno int. how Tamokuno mo a binuat lito?
   How did you do this?

tampil v. to slap

tamping v. to punch with a closed fist

tampil 1 v. AF magtampil NAF itampil to throw
   something
   2 v. to discard something

tampilak aj. ten

tatam n. taste

tanamantam (derv.) v. to taste something

tanda n. fact

matanda (derv.) aj. true

matandaan (derv.) v. to remember or recall a
   factual event. Liti mokotandaan ko na. That is
   what I can recollect on the matter.

tandang n. rooster, cock

tandig v. AF tumanidig to lean against

tani 1 n. land, earth, soil
   2 n. building lot

tangga 1 n. branch of a tree
   2 n. fork in the road

tangid v. AF manangid to believe something to be
   true

tanggong n. AF magtanggong to carry on one's
   shoulder

tangil n. canine tooth

tangit n. grief, weeping, crying

Ya bavai
   mopataypatay na ka tangit komo ya nobyo
tanño dana. The girl was dying of grief because her
   fiancé was no more.

tumangit (derv.) v. to weep or cry

tangoni 1 n. physical body of a person
   2 n. body of an airplane, fuselage

tanguno int. question word, how much x. Used in
   the construction tanguno ag- + adjective
   Tanguno agbuboy kamo nagbarahat? How long
   was it before you encountered each other
   again?

tao n. person, human being

taon n. year katonod a taon next year.

tapa v. AF magatapa NAF tapaan to preserve food
   by drying

tapok v. AF makapatapok to stumble

tapong av. toward, in the direction of

tapos v. to finish

pagkatapos (derv.) av. afterwards

katapusen (derv.) n. the end of a time period or
   event

taraw n. cliff

tarim n. sharp cutting tool

matarim (derv.) aj. sharp

taring v. AF makipagtaring to converse with one
   another

pagtaringan (derv.) v. to discuss a topic

makigtaring (derv.) v. to request something

tarok v. to scoop up something manarok ka ikan to
   scoop up fish

Tarong n. eggplant

tasa From Sp. n. cup

tata- clitic. attached to a time adverb to indicate
   time just prior to the present tatalinggo last
   week. tatana aldaw just yesterday

tatay n. father

tauvan n. shellfish, clam

tavang v. to go somewhere Puriso kami pugtavang
   ka kavavalayan para magpaliwanag. So, we
   are going house to house to explain things.

tawav n. soup, broth

tavi av. near in space or time, beside Tavi na ya
   mga hula ka Biblia. The prophecies of the
   Bible are near (to being fulfilled) already.

patavi (derv.) v. to approach, to draw near

tavo v. AF manavo to draw water from a spring or
   well

taravoan (derv.) n. public water well

tavok n. smoke

tavuyen v. to drive away as in driving out an
   animal

taw v. NAF matawanan to know something, to
   understand Dana matawanan ing ono ya
   binuat niya ka kuarta niya. No one knows what
   he did with his money.

makataw (derv.) v. to learn how to do something

kinatawanan (derv.) n. judgement, intelligence

tawad v. to bargain

tawag v. AF tumawag to call someone

taway v. AF magtaway to ridicule

tay n. uncle

taynip n. dream

tayo v. to hide, conceal

tatyay n. diarrhea

magtatay (derv.) v. to have diarrhea

haytayyan n. bridge

tayvay intj. interjection, you aren’t kidding!

tema From Sp. n. theme

tiang n. jaw

tigpa v. to fall to the ground

that aj. Infl. matihat packed hard

thid n. betel leaf

likid 1 n. string, rope
   2 v. to tie, bind, or restrain with rope or string
   Putikiran nila ya bavoy nila. They tie up their
   pig.

tirikiran (derv.) n. place to keep livestock
   confined, stable

likil v. to hit someone on the nape of the neck

likin n. pole for propelling a boat in shallow water

tilim n. smile
tilin

tilin v. to swallow
timid aj. Infl. matimid sweet tasting
magmatimid (deriv.) v. to sweeten with sugar
timis v. to accumulate, build up, in dust collecting on a shelf Mokotimis maka ya avo.
The ashes really pile up.
tinga aj. one half
magtinga (deriv.) v. NAF tingain to divide, to come between Nagtinga na ya baloto nila. The boat had come between them (divided them from each other).
tingatinga (comp.) av. between katingatinga (deriv.) n. midpoint, center location
tipad av. beside magtipad (deriv.) v. to be situated next to each other Nagtipad ta ka balay doon. Our houses were beside each other there.
tira n. food eaten with rice
tirip av. west
tiriripan (deriv.) n. western location pagtirip ka aldaw (comp.) n. sunset
tirit v. to crush between fingernails
tivag v. AF magtivag to lead, to go ahead pativag (deriv.) v. AF magpativag to go first
tivang aj. first
tivilin n. constipation putivilin (deriv.) v. to be constipated
tiyib v. AF timiyib to revolve
	i1, si nn. personal noun phrase marker, nominative case. Marks the proper noun as the referent in focus
ti2 pll. indicates a very short span of time, imminent action in the future. When used to describe the past it indicates hardly any time at all between events. Ya bilag ako na ing kapitan, otro nakamimbro ako ti ka lunop tagapamayapa. When I left the office of Barrio Captain, I soon after became another member of the conciliation committee.
ti inta (comp.) pll. immediate, right away, as soon as... Natambakan ti inta, matihat pa atay. As soon as it gets buried it hardens right away.
tibay aj. Infl. matibay strong, durable, sturdy
ti'di n. hicough
tighak v. to hit someone on the back
tihih 1 n. wood carving 2 n. chisel	
tik n. rip, tear itik (deriv.) v. to rip tika v. to stick out, protrude tikad v. AF tukad NAF tikaran to chase tikip n. wing
tiki n. tree gecko
tiko n. elbow	
tiktik n. fish scales
tirutiruan

tira, sila pro. third person plural pronoun, nominative, used as topic in nonverbal clauses and as focused participant in verbal clauses, they. Sila is the Tagalog equivalent of tira. They are sometimes interchanged in conversation.
tilab n. belch, burp
tiidi aj. slanted, inclined to one side, tilted matilid (deriv.) v. to be tilted or inclined Ing sakipin kami ka panganod ya iro plano motilitilid. If we were engulfed by clouds, the airplane would tilt back and forth.
tima n. vane or fleeting of an arrow
timanyan 1 av. presently 2 av. today 3 av. nowadays 4 conj. discourse marker to chain a sequence of events in a narrative discourse
timba n. bucket
timban v. to kick something
timbang n. quantity of weight
timlid v. to lie on one's side
timon n. rudder
timping aj. swollen
timotaping (deriv.) v. to swell
timpan av. time, period of time kaya timpo gira back at the time of the war
timpano From Sp. 1 av. morning 2 av. early
tinapay n. bread
tinada From Sp. v. AF magtinda to run a store tinadaan (deriv.) n. store
tindal v. to cross over something Nagtindal kanya ka tingay. He crossed the stream.
tindig v. AF tumindig to stand up
tindor From Sp. n. fork
tini From Sp. v. to dwell, live in a location 2 v. to stay overnight in some accommodation
tinlo aj. Infl. matinlo pretty 2 aj. good
tino int. question word, who
tinuan n. superstition
tinga n. particles of food stuck between teeth
tingay 1 n. fresh water spring 2 n. creek, shallow stream
tinggap v. to capture as in apprehending a criminal
tinggi aj. Infl. matinggi red
tingi v. NAF tingin to sell in small quantities
tingko'y n. nape, back of the neck
tingko'y n. sound of a whistle
tipan v. to offer
tipano n. flute
tirak v. AF magtirak to delouse
tirok v. to burn with fire

tirutiruan n. stomach
tisuriro

**tisuriro** From Sp. *n. treasurer

*titing* *n.* ring for wearing on a finger

*tiying* *v.* NAF tivingin to carry on one’s head

*tiyak* *v.* AF magtiyak to split or chop firewood

*tiyam* *n.* abdomen, belly

*tohad* *n.* interior forest area, upriver from the beach

*tohand* *n.* return, return of

*tood* *aj.* infl. matood true

*toot* *v.* AF magoot to wear

*trabaho* From Sp. *n.* work

*trangkaso* From Sp. *n.* flu, influenza

*trapo* From Sp. *n.* implement used to remove dust, dust rag

*trapuan (deriv.)* *v.* to remove dust

*trayangulo* From Sp. *n.* triangle

*traysikel* From Eng. *n.* motorbike with a sidecar used for public transport

*tubli* *v.* AF manubli to borrow

*patubli (deriv.)* *v.* AF magpatubli to lend

*tudong* *n.* hat

*tudos* From Sp. *aj.* all of something

*tugtug* *v.* AF magtugtug to play music, as in playing the guitar

*tuhot* *n.* permission

*tuka* *n.* vomit

*tukap* *v.* to trim, as in trimming fingernails

*pantukap (deriv.)* *n.* tool for clipping or trimming pantukap ka kuko fingernail clipper

*tukli* *v.* AF tumukli to turn aside, to curve away in one’s course

*tukod* *n.* stump

*tukot* *v.* to collect something from someone

*Manigatukot ako ka tudus a barayaran ka mga tao ka gobernong. I was the one to collect all the payments to the government from the people.*

*tukso* *v.* AF magtukso to tempt, entice

*matukso (deriv.)* *v.* to be tempted

*tulag* *v.* AF matulag to awaken from sleep

*tularukan* *n.* mast of a boat

*tuldo* *n.* finger or toe

*ituldo (deriv.)* *v.* to point out something or show something

*magtuldo (deriv.)* *v.* to teach

*pagtuldo (deriv.)* *n.* lesson, teaching

*tulituli* *n.* ear wax

*tulo* *aj.* three

*ukap* *n.*

**ukap**

*ukap* *n.*

*uhas* *n.* crow

*ugbot* *n.* leaf

*uhad* *v.* NAF uharin to repeat what one said

*ukap* *n.* vegetable or fruit peel

*ukapan (deriv.)* *v.* to peel something
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ukob</th>
<th>yamot</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukob n. eyelid</td>
<td>yamot n. root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utal 1 n. vein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 n. tendon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulipan n. centipede</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ulipin n. slave</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ulo n. head</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ulunan (der.) n. pillow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pangulo (der.) n. leader or head of an organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>-um- 1 vaff. completive aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 vaff. not-begun aspect, agent focus. [See grammar for further description of verb morphology.] The only way to distinguish whether -um- denotes not begun or completive aspect is by the semantic or grammatical context of the verb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unot v. AF umunot to stretch oneself or to stretch out one’s hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>upat, ipat aj. four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upol aj. acrid or tart in taste</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>urag n. honeymoon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uri 1 aj. last</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 av. behind, to the rear</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uriyana (der.) n. the back end of something, as in the stern of a boat</td>
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<tr>
<td>pauri (der.) v. AF magpauri to go last</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>urno From Sp. n. oven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magurno (der.) v. to bake</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>urong aj. Infl. maurom cloudy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>urong sulong n. ebb, flow out as the tide</td>
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<tr>
<td>uros n. floor joist</td>
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<tr>
<td>usa n. deer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>usay aj. Infl. mausay skilled, good at something</td>
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<tr>
<td>uspital From Sp. n. hospital</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>utak n. brain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>utal v. AF mag-utal to stammer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>utang n. debt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uti n. cat</td>
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<td>utot n. flatulence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uval aj. nearly ripe</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uvan n. gray or white hair</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uvod n. branch from which tuba wine is collected</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uyab n. yawn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V — v

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>va 1 ptl. advisory, by the way... Kanya va kaito napabaryo. By the way, he was here on his way to the barrio.</th>
<th>2 ptl. signals questions, particularly yes-no questions Indi va nagtitipad ta ka balay? Were not our houses next to one another?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vahay n. thing, unnamed object</td>
<td>violog n. unit, piece</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

W — w

| wai n. water | wasag v. to spread out, scatter Nawasag kami na atan ka kabubukiran. We were already scattered throughout the hills. |
| wakas v. to terminate, finish | |
| walo aj. eight | |

Y — y

<p>| ya nm. nonpersonal noun phrase marker, nominative case. Marks the topic in nonverbal clauses and marks the participant focused on by the verb in verbal clauses | yaman ptl. refers to a specific previously mentioned referent, that’s the one, that’s it, you got it right Ya pinakakuarta ka Bolobatalyon, eskrip a Maynila paper; yaman ya kuarta aliti! The currency given the Bolo Battalion was scrip made from Manila paper; that is what the money was! |
| yaan aj. Infl. mayaan light in weight | |
| yabao n. sense of smell | yamot n. root |
| yagta v. AF yumagta to lie on one’s back | |
| yakid n. back of the knee | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>yana</strong></th>
<th><strong>yava</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yana <em>ptl.</em> refers to a proposition previously stated, that one, that’s it</td>
<td>yatat <em>n.</em> milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yana inta (comp.) <em>ptl.</em> limiter, that is all, that is the extent of it Komporme ya makavot ko ka pagliway ay yana inta. Whatever I can reach in clearing ground, that is all I can do.</td>
<td>yava <em>av.</em> low in relative position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarda <em>n.</em> yard, unit of measure</td>
<td>payava <em>(derivative)</em> <em>av.</em> downward direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yari <em>v.</em> AF mangyari to occur, to happen</td>
<td>ipayava <em>(derivative)</em> <em>av.</em> location down below, downstairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
English–Central Tagbanwa Index

A — a

abaca avaka
abandon butuan
abdomen balavawan; tiyan
able kayay
above dibuat 3 ipadibuat
abuse abuso
accident aksidente; kainabo magkainabo
accompany nonot
accumulate kompal; timis
acrid upol
add duhang
adhere dikit idikit
adjacent piit
administrator pama’la
advance atraaka
adze bingkong
affected apihtado
afraid takot mutakot
after pagka-
afternoon apoon
afterwards tapos pagkatapos
age edad; edad moedad
agency ahinsya
agree panayag
aid palual
airstrip landing
alive ihin ihinin
all intanan; tudos
all day apoon mahapon
alone tambilog tambilogbilog
already na 1
also maka 1
always permi
ambush sakop 1
amen amin
ancestor mauhulang mauhulang ka nagtivag
anchor angkla

and may1
and so dimodo
and then dispus
angry itig 2
animal ayip
ankle burubuko
answer tuvay
ant alak-alak; ipot-ipot; tamantaman
anxious aburido
appoint bitang 2
approach tavi patavi
approximate nga1
April Abril
aquaint kilala
arbitrator tagapamayapa
archipelago kalivutan, 2
arm braso
armpit kikiyan
armspan dipa
arrive kavot 4
arrow butoy; ta’gi
arrow fin tima
ascribed bilang 2
ash avo
ashamed iya makaiya
ask tu’ma magtu’ma
asleep milip milip
astonish biring
at naka
at time alas
auction subasta
August Agosto
aunt iniy
awake tulag
aware sapo
axe parakol

B — b

bachelor kavatan
back atras; buklod 1
back end uri 2 uriyan
back when kaya,
bad damangin 1; damangin 3 magdamangin
baul piyansa

bait mangati
bake urno magurno
bamboo bolo; kawayan
banana punti
barangay barangay
bargain tawad
bark

bark kulit, 2
bario baryo
bashful iya iniyan; iya mainiyain
basket bistay; kanastro; niho; rarong
bat kavilaw; kulala’ait
bathe dilho; punas
bathroom banyo
battalion guardia 2
beach bayvay
bead tuyok
beak talutukon
bean munggos; sitaw
beard balvas
because komo; porki
become ging
bed katri
bedbug surot
bedroom kuarto
beetle bahangan
befill tabo
before bayo 2
begin impisa magimpisa
beginning impisa
behind buklod 2; uri 2
belch tilab
believe tangid
believer sarig mananarig
belt itit
bench bangko
benefit pakinavang
beside tipad; tipad magiripad
betel nut mumakim
betray dimit
betroth nobyo magnobyonoby
between tinga tingatinga
bewitch pintatan
bind gapuson
bird dayamdam
birth anak iyanak; panganay manganay
bite ahid
bitter pakit
bitter melon marguso
black lahim
bladder pantog
blade tarim
blanket ku’lon
blaspheme aas pangaasan
blaze singgat
bleach kula
blind buray 1; buray 2
blister lupok
blood tahik 2

blossom burak 2 moburak
blow dilit dumilit; iyip
blue asul
blurred dikmil
boast ambog
boat baloto
boat landing punduan
body katawan 1; tangoni 1; tangoni 2
boil hahi; kalakala; laha
bold aas pangaas
bolo payra
Bolo Battalion Bolobatayon
bomb bomba,
bombing bomba, pagbomba
bone duhi 2
book libro
borrow tubli
bow bulket; dulong
bracelet purselas
brain utak
bran bintik
branch tanga 1; tanga 2; uvod
bread tinapay
break up pukit 2
breakfast baw 1
breast tuto
breathe inawa
bridge taytayan
brief tuyon magtuyon
bright liway, malway
bring bivit
broil iyaw
broken lisils; rangga marangga
bronze bronze
broom silig
brother kapatid 1; kapatid 2
brother-in-law bayaw
brown brawn
bruise laib
bucket timba
bud biting, 1
buddy kompay 2
bullet bala
bunch bulig
bundle bigkit
burn lato; tirok
business niguysyo
butterfly kalivangyang
buttocks buli 1
button butones
buy alang
Cabbage
cabbage repolyo
cage awla
calamity kalamidad
calf bitit
call kawat 2; tawag
callus bail
calm linaw

candle kandila
cane tuyo 2
cano red day

canvas kambas
captain kapitan
capture tinggap
car koche
carabao karavao; turiti
cards baraha
cargo karga
carry akuwat; bava; biling; gihi; kipkip;
tanggong; tiving; tuwang
cart karo
carving bangkaw; tihib 1
cashew kasoy
cassava kamoti kamoti a kayo
cat uti
cave kueva
ceiling kisami
cement siminto
cemetery simintiryo
centavo santavos
centipede ulipan
certainly ngani
caff ipa
chair silya
change clothes imara
change money sinsilayo
chapter kapitulo
charcoal kuring 2
charge riklamo; riklamo magriklamo
chase rikad
cheap baruto
cheat daya
cheek biviulan
chemise kamison
chest dibidib
chew kutap
chick piyak
chicken manok
chisel tihib 2
choose pilì
chop parakol parakulon; tadtdad; tiyak
shopping block tadtdad tadaralan
christening bunyahan

Christian Kristiano

control
church simba simbaan
city siyudad
clean limpyo
clear klaro; liway 2
cliff taraw
climb takuwal
clipper tukap pantukap
clock relo
close dikit idikitidikit
close eyes piying
closed sirado
closely related sivik
cloth kimnfuri
clothes lambong
cloud ampol; anod 1; marimim
cloudy anod 1 panganod; urum
cobra kobra
cockerel talin
cockfighting sabong
cockroach ipit
cock's comb sanggulon
coconut binghì; biting; 2; kopras; mangod;
niyog; palwa
coconut milk gata
coconut tool ightingalad
coffee kapi
coincide dingan
cold lamig
collapse giva
collect tukot
collector kolktor
comb sugkay; talyang; talyang manalyang
command tuvog; tuvog magtuvog
committee lupon
commotion gulo
companion iva
compassion ildaw
complete puro 1 mapuruan
completely puro 1
conceal tayo
conception pungiram
confirmation kumpil
congressman konggresman
conjoining particle ay 1
constipated tivilin putivilin
constipation tivilin
consume sipit
consumed inot
container tuvihan
continue dayon
continuously sigi
contribution limos
control angkin; sakop 4
### Converse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<td>cook lutó</td>
<td>crater paksul 1</td>
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<td>cooperate tahumón tahumón</td>
<td>crawl kambang</td>
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<td>crow uhak</td>
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<td>cough ikid</td>
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<td>count bilang 2 magbilang</td>
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<td>curly kultot</td>
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<td>cut girit; tabas</td>
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<td>crab kalimango; piyí</td>
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### D — d

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<td>desire gusto 1; kilyag; kilyag kakilyahan</td>
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<td>danger risgo</td>
<td>destination kavó 4 kavotkavotan</td>
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<td>devastation gulpi 2</td>
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<td>dare aas</td>
<td>devil diablo</td>
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<td>dark dilim; diklim</td>
<td>dew damog</td>
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<td>date picha</td>
<td>diaper lampin</td>
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<td>dawn paminagbinag</td>
<td>diarrheá taytay; taytay magtaytay</td>
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<td>die patay mapatay</td>
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<td>day after tomorrow kaikadua</td>
<td>different bilág mabilág; bilág magkabilág; iba</td>
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<td>daybreak liway, patliway</td>
<td>difficult irap</td>
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<td>deacon diyakono</td>
<td>dig akad; kali;</td>
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<td>deaf bingilí</td>
<td>direction dirikson 1; dirikson 2</td>
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<td>debt utang</td>
<td>directly diricho</td>
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<td>deceive luko</td>
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<td>disarray gulo kagulo</td>
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<td>dive init</td>
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<td>defense tahumón panahumunin</td>
<td>divide parti 2 magpartí; tinga magtinga</td>
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<td>delicious savor</td>
<td>dizzy iló,</td>
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<td>delouse tirak</td>
<td>do buat</td>
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<td>demon demonyo</td>
<td>dock dong durungan; dong padong</td>
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<tr>
<td>depart git</td>
<td>doer maníg-</td>
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<td>deposit deposito</td>
<td>dog kiring</td>
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<td>door</td>
<td>eyelid</td>
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<td>drizzle dawarawa</td>
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<td>drum tambor</td>
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<td>downstairs yava ipayava</td>
<td>dry amlad; lango 1, lango 2 palangoon; tapa</td>
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<td>downward lampod palampod; yava payava</td>
<td>dry season amiyon 2</td>
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<td>dozen dosena</td>
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<td>drag biting; sipain</td>
<td>due to mokotingid 1</td>
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<td>draw water tavo</td>
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<td>dream taynip</td>
<td>dust alikavok; gavok 1; trapo trapuan</td>
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<td>drift anod_; tagtag</td>
<td>duster trapo</td>
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<td>drill barina 1</td>
<td>duty katindanan</td>
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<td>drink inim</td>
<td>dwell estar; tinir 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>drive tavuyon</td>
<td>dying agunisado</td>
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E — e

| each kada                | enlarge dakulay padakulayin |
| eague ahiia              | enter pa’lid                |
| ear talinga              | entire buo                  |
| earlier kaina            | entrust intriha             |
| early maaga; timprano 2  | error sala                  |
| earring aritis           | escape puga                 |
| earthquake linog         | escort atid 2               |
| ear wax tulituli         | especially masman           |
| easily dali 1            | establish pundar            |
| east puhilavan           | established aguwanta        |
| eat pangan               | esteem pagigma              |
| ebb urong sulong         | even if maski               |
| ebony balitinaw          | eventually buay mabuay madali |
| egg k’log                | every day aldaw 2 aldawaldaw |
| egg yolk latil           | everywhere maski maski kali |
| eggplant tarong          | exaggerate subra 2 pasubran |
| eight walo               | example alimbawa            |
| eject pahayasia          | exceed subra 1              |
| elbow tiko               | excellent bali balibali     |
| elder mahutang           | excessive masyado           |
| elder brother manong     | excrement taiy              |
| elder sister manang      | exist may_1                |
| eldest panganay          | expensive maaal             |
| embarrass iya iyain      | experience karanasan        |
| ember ba ha              | explain maliwanagan magpaliwanag |
| embrace kikip; kikip kikipan | explode lipak            |
| emerge tika              | explosion lipak lipakan     |
| emphasis particle makaman; man; ta_ | extract ilamunon mag-ilamon |
| enable puder             | extremity kapusan           |
| encounter bahat; iman    | eye mata                    |
| end talibih; tapos katapusan | eyelash intulkon         |
| endure kavot 3           | eyeplash mimirikin         |
| engrave barina 2         | eyelid ukob                 |
face

F — f

face imit
fact tanda
faint imatay
fall lambig; pakpa; tigpa; tumba
fallen lagpak
false bu'li
family pamilya
famous bantog
far alaid; alaid pa-alaid; bilag bilagbilag
fear sol
farm arado anaduan; liri manliri; luak luakin
farmland liri kaliliitan
farming liri maniliiri
fast dasig
fasting tahas
fat linok
father ama
faulty alanganin
fear takot
feather bulvol
February Pebrero
feed pangan pangan
feel sini
feeling damin; sini pagsinti
female bavya
fence kural
fern pako
fever inlaw
few gitasing 2; pila 2
fiancé nobyo
fiancée nobya
fiesta pista
file rimbas
fill in pilap
fin alikalik
fine multa; pino
finger indaraki; kanunuldo; tamad tamaran;
tuldo
fingernails kuko
finish tapos
fire apoy
fire place langina
first indad; primero; tivang
fish daing; ikan; ikan mangingikan
fish bait pain
fishy lanti
fist gininggin
five lima

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### G — g

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<td>guess imala 2</td>
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<td>gum lati</td>
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<td>gun baril; pusil</td>
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### H — h

| Hair bua; bulvol 2; uvan | Healer abularyo |
| Half tinga | Healthy busor; hain 2 |
| Hammer martilyo | Hear bati; bat miabatayan |
| Hammock duyan | Hearing batì pamati |
| Hand alma | Heart putok |
| Handspan dangaw | Heat dangdang |
| Hang sabit; tablay | Heaven langit 2 |
| Hanging buyot | Heavy biyat mabiyat |
| Happen yari | Heel bool |
| Happy ambing | Height dibuat 1 |
| Hard thaf | Help tahumon; tahumon magpatahumon; |
| Harelip sumbing | Tahumon tumahumon |
| Harrow suyod | Hen inaan |
| Harvest ayig | Here kaito |
| Hat tudong | Hey orog |
| Hate suram | Hiccough t’di |
| Hawk banog | High dibuat 2 |
| He/she kanya 1 | High tide taib |
| Head ulo | Hills bukid |
### hinder

hinder hadlang
hips balitakang
his/her niya
his/hers kanya 2
hissing sisis
hit gulpi 1; sakop 3; tikil; tama 2; tigbak
hoarse paus
hold taan
hole luvot
honey lanaw
honeybee putsukan
honeymoon urag
hook bila
horn sirbato; tungay
hornbill tunggakan
horse kavayo

### June

hospital uspital
hot init makinit
hot weather init
hour oras 1
house balay 1
how ag-; tamokuno; tunguno
how many pilak 1
how much mau
however pero
hundred gatot
hungry tuvok
hunt ganop; livit
hurry apura
husk bunot
husker gapas

### I — i

I ako
if ing 1
if not for ing 4 ing bilaging
ignite sindi
illuminate kaat makaatan
immediate ti ti inta
immediately alay; antimanou
immoral damangin 3
improvement asinso
inch purgada
incidental kainabo
incline tilid matilid
inclined tilid
included bilang 1
incorrect bilag bilahing tama
indigestion arok

### industrious sipag
inform sapo pasapo; sayod
informatory particle va 1
initiation pasikad
in-law balay 2; biras; minihad; punyangan
inside kaliran; loob
instructions tuyon
intention balakin
inter living magliving
interest tuvo 3
intestine bituwa
intoxicate baling magbaling
intoxicated baling
iron plancha; tallatilin
island puro2
itchy katil

### J — j

jackfruit langka
January Enero
jar banga
jaw tiang
jealous tungon; tungon pugtungon
jeep dyip
jeer livak
jellyfish bukya

### jewelry alahas
join irig
joist uros
judge huis
judgement taw kinatawan
July Hulyo
jump lu’bo
June Hunyo
K — k

kettle kaldero
key liyabi
kick timban
kidney stone kapipislin
kill patay magpatay; patay mamatay
kilo kilo
kilometer kilometro
kind hain 4
king ari
kingdom ari inariyan

K — k

kingfisher talado
kiss aruk
kitchen kusina
kitten miming
knee tood2; yakid
kneecap bulalobulalo
kneel lundod
knife karit; lansita; tondang
know alam; taw

L — l

lack kulang
ladle kar01
lahar lahar
lake laguna
lame pahod
lamp kaat; kaat kaatan
lantern pitromax
large dakulay
last uri 1; uri 2 pauri
last year kaita
later buay mabuayvuyay; ingkina
laugh kita
launch lansa
law layi
lawsuit dimanda
lazy tanad
lead guyuron; tivag
leader mayor; ulo pangulo
leaf daon; pa’lang; tihid; ugbot
lean tandig
learn taw makataw
lease aksa paaka
leave gii; lisinsya
lecture aral pangaral; aral pangaralan
leech limatik; lintak
left padivang
leftover ipid
leftovers baw 2
lend tubli patubli
less minos
lesson liksyon
liberation libre libirasyon
lie bu’li bu’lim; tamodayag
lie down dapa; igya; kibkib; timilid; yagta

L — l

light liway1; liway1 manliway; yaan
lightning kudlap
lime apog
linking particle a 1; ay2 1; ing 2; ing 3; na 2
lip bivig; tungad
liquid lusyaw
listen bati mumati
little gitsing 1
live ihin
livelihood iyim pangiyim
liver kandat
load karga magkarga
lock kandado
locust balang
loincloth baag
long abuwatay
long time buay
look bandaw; dawal; lungaw
loom taik 2 taraikan
lord ampo ampuan
lose daig daigin; lipat 2
less luhi
lot tani 2
louse kayamad; kuto
love ibig
low yava
low tide pila
luck suwerte
lucky suwerte masuwerte
lung kumba
luster dikal
M — m

magic salamangka
male animal turo
male person lalaki
malodorous buyo
mango mangga
many dakil; duro
March Marso
market palengke
mass misa
massage masahi
must tularukan
nat amik
material matiryal
mattress kuchon
mature lango 2
May Mayo
meaning kaulugan
measure sukut
meat karne
medicate gamot manggamot
medicinc gamot
member mimbro
messenger imbahador
meter metro
midday kodto
middle tinga katinganga
midnight dilim paningtingain ka dinliman
milk yatat
milkfish bangus
millimeter milimetro
million milyon
millionaire milyonaryo
mine kakin
minute minuto
miscarriage ivak
miss pungaw

mistake paltos
mistress kalyag
mixture lauk
mob dumog 2
molar bahang
mold ramag
mele karing
Monday Lunes
monkey bakit
monsoon avahat 1
monsoon season avahat 2
month bulan 2
moon bulan 1
moral hain 3
more mas
moreover paman
morning timprano 1
morning star karamlaganin
mortar lutong
mosquito namok
moss lumot
mostly dakil kadakilan
mother ina
motion kilos
motorcycle motorsiklo
mourn luksa
mouth nganga
move lipat 1; pauhad
mucus aluvang 1
mud ludyak
mudfish dalag
municipality munisipyo
music tugto
mustache bingit
mute buyong
my ko

N — n

naked luat
name ngalan; ngalan ingalanan
nape tingkoy
narrow kipot
native katutovo
navel putod
near tavi
necklace kuintas
need kaministiran 1; kaministiran 2
needle dayim
neglect pavaya
neighborly makibahay

nephew kamanakin
nervous kilvan; merbyos
nest puyad
net kulambo; sinsuro
new bago; bayo 1
news balita
next naumid
night dilim dilimin
nine siyam
nipa atip 1; atip 2
ripple kuyafingan
nit likit
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<td>parent mauhuling</td>
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peppery
pepper ylala
perhaps ing 4
permission tuhot
permit pirmiso
person katawan 2; tao
peso peso
pizzle lalo
pickaxe piko
pickle aclara mag-achara
pickles aclara
pierce faipot
pig bavoy
pigeon ladi; punay
pigeon peas kadyos
piggery kulangan
piglet biyik
pile tambak
pilfer kupit
pillow ule ulunan
pillocase punda
pimple tahiyawat
pin ipit; pintal
pinch kurit
pineapple pinya
pink kindariting
pipe tuvo;
pitcher pittsel
place lugar
plain patag
plane sapyo
plant luak; luak manluak
plaque tinga
platter bandyado
play aym
please ing 4 ing puwede
pleased lipay
plow arado
plural particle mga2
pocket bulsa
point tuldo ituldo
polc tikin
pomelo akban

ponder dimdim
ponderment particle kayan
poor kawawa
porch balkon
possibly dano
post arili; busok
pot linaw
pound livik
praise puri
pray ampo; dasal; dibuto magdibuto
prayer dibuto; panalangin
pregnant matong
preparations simpon
preservative buay pangmabuay
preserve huroon; priparar
president presidente
pretty tino 1
price presyo
priest pari
prior tata-
prison prisuan
probably siguro
problem problema
proceed tuloy
proof proiba
propeller ilisya
property sadili 2
prophecy hula
province probinsya 1; probinsya 2
provisions bakta
pull batak
pullet dumalaha
pump bomba
punch tampiling; tuntok
punish kastigo 2
punishment kastigo 1
pupil lilitaw
puppy painting
pus nanak
push tulod; tulod itulod
put bitang 1; lohod

quarrel suay
question tu'ma
question particle va 2
queue pila2

quickly dali 2
quiet dimin; siliisyo
quote kawat 3
race
dasig padasihan; irinsya; karira; lakto
laktuan
radio radyo
rafler bayungon
rag pairan payuran
rain boo; kuran
rainbow buluhantong
rainy season kuran pakukuran
rancid hangit
rash laptop
ratatat rabak
rattan kuay
reach kavot 1; kavot 2
read basa
really maka 2
rear buli 2
reason dailan; rason
reasonable rason rasunon
recall tanda matandaan
receive risibi
rectangle rekanggulo
red tinggi
redeem gawarin
refuge bakwitan
refuse indi mangindi
regarding that ing 4 ing ka vahay
relationship rilasyon
renew bago magpanibago
rent aksa
repeat uhad
repent bago magbago; inisil
represent kapa’li
request pude; taring makigtaring
rescue libre maglibre; ligtus
responsibility asi kaso
result risulta
return balik

r — r

revenge balis; balis magbalis
revolve tiyib
rib talang
ribbon laso
rice bihat; palay; pangan panganin; pinilpin;
pulot
ride takay
ridicule taway
right iwanan
rind banakal
ring titing
ringworm garit
rinse bunlaw
rip tik; tik tik
ripe luto1; uval
rise bangon; livat
river tlog1
riverbank pangpang
roast licion
rob ahaw
robbery huldup
rock bato 1; bato 2
rodent ami
roof dirivongan
room salas
rooster tandang
root yamot
rope luvid
rot gavok 2
rotten buro
rough barahal
round bilog
row good maggaod
rub apros
rudder timon
ruin rangga
run lakto

s — s

sacrifice sakripisyo
sad konsumisyon
sadness bungaw
sail layag
saliva laway
salt katia
salty pala1
same pahiho
sand inay

sap tahik 1
satiated busog
satisfied kuinto
Saturday Sabado
saucy patis
saucer platito
sauté bisa
savior libre tagalibri
saw lahari; lahari laharin
**smooth**

smooth linang  
snail bayaw koko  
snake dukol  
snap buntok  
sneeze pamlawkin  
niff singuton  
snore anik  
soak im  
soap avon; avon manavon  
socks medyas  
soft limik  
soil tani 1  
soldier sundalo  
sole raparapa  
song kanta  
sound ti 2  
soot kuring 1  
soul kalag  
sound tunog  
soup tavaw  
sour altim  
south avahat 2 avahatan  
spank pidlit  
sparrow dignit  
sperm buras  
spider lawak  
spine kalawasan  
spirit espiritut  
spit dua  
slash ta'bol  
split pilang  
spoon kuchara  
spouse atawa  
spain pilay  
spread pairan; wasag  
spring sapa; tingay 1  
square kuadrado  
squat tuwad  
squid lukos  
sack saksak  
stable tikid 2 tirikiran  
stairs agdan  
stake buguk  
stermer utal  
stand tindig  
star bitukon  
startle kalig magkalig  
startled kalig  
stay istambay; tinir 2  
steal takaw  
steam laha manlaha; sungaw  
stem kuayanam; tututukan  
step binit pabinid; liyid  
sterm buli 2 kabuli

**swollen**

sticky dikit; duhot  
still pa  
sting ilab mailab  
stringray pahi  
stir lauk malauk  
stomach tirutiruan  
stool bangkito  
stop para 2; pigil  
store tinda tindaan  
story istorya; kuento  
storytell kuento magkuwentuan  
staight talding  
straightpin aspiril  
straw dalami  
street karsada  
stretch unot  
strike patik  
string tikid 1  
stroll pasyal  
strong pirsa; tibay  
study aral  
stumble tapdok  
stump tukod  
stupid pupol  
subdivision parti 2  
subordinating particle a 3  
suppena sitasyon  
subtract bawas  
suck sipsip  
submit bigla  
sugar asukar  
sum kantidad  
summer kuarisma  
sun aldaw 1  
Sunday Linggo 1  
sunken tagbing  
sunset tirip pagtirip ka aldaw  
superlative pinaka-  
supernatural biring makabibiring  
superstition tinuan  
support supisi; suporta; tungkod  
suppose punir  
surprise particle pala,  
surround sakop 2  
surrounding plasa  
swallow tilin  
swamp malumunon  
sweet inang  
sweet timid  
swecten timid magmatimid  
sweet potato kamoti  
swell timping manimping  
swim talamaw  
swollen timping
**T — t**

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<td>typhoon bagyo; bagyo magbagyo</td>
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ugly

ugly damangin 2
umbrella payong
uncle amy; tay
under adlim 2 idalim
underneath adlim 1
understand intindi; maliwanagan
unfortunate malas
unit vilog
unlike ayaw
unload diskarga

unmarried woman dalaha
unie badbad
until asta; basta
up pasampong
upstream pasangab
upward dibuat 3 padibuat
urine iy
use gamit gumamit
uterus matris
utter bitala magbitala

vagina atig
valley banggild
value ball; kabuluhuan
variety sari
vegetable gulay
vein ulat 1
venom dalit
verification particle diva
verse talata

viand tira
vine balahin
visit pantag
visitor bisita
voice bases
volcano bulkan
volition kalalangan
vomit tuka
vulgar raskal

wages suweldo
waist awak
wait ilat
wakc pulawan
walk panaw
wall liblib
want gusto 2
war guerra
warn dukot; ogtol
wart kalunggo
wash bati; damot; talpo manalpo; ugas
wasp patavaun
water wai
waterfall ditay
wave lakon; paypayan
waver alangan
we kamii; kita1
weak luvay 1
wean litar
wear toot
weather kalivutan, 2
weave lara; taik 2
wed kasal

wedge datil; datil idatilay
Wednesday Miyerkoles
week Linggo 2
weep look lumock; tangit tumangit
weight biyat; timbang
well bombera; bumban; tavo taravoan; tumbod
west tirip; tirip tiriripan
wet talpo; talpo magtalpo; talpo matalpo
what ono
whatever komporme
when intano; pag-1
where kali,
while mintras
whirlwind huawi
whisper sikrito
whistle sirbato magsirbato; tingkoy,
white kulit1
who tino
whole buhos; intiro
whose kitino
why ayka
wide lapad
widow balo
wildcat

wildcat pa'la
win daig mandaig
wind amiyan 1; dilit
window bintana
windy dilit madlit
wine inim irimin; tuva
wing tikip
wink dinglat; dinglat magdinglat
winnow taip
wipe pipi
wise marunong
witch pintatan mamimintat
with pati
wood kayo 1
woodborer mukmok

woodpecker balalato
word bitala
work trabaho
world kalivutan 1; sanlibutan
worm igdat; luloy
worship samba; simba
worth kuentu
wound luka
wow abaw; adyos; ala; aroy; bi; tayvay
wrap bungon
wrestle dumog 1
wring pihá
write sulat
wrong mali

Y — y

yam kuvi
yard yarda
yawn uyab
year taon
years anyos
yellow dulaw
yes ii
yesterday kaapon
yield produkto

you ka;
you all kamo
you might think ing 4 isip mo ing, mokat ka ing
young gitsing 3
youngest ali
your mi; mo
yours kanimi; kanimo
Appendices

To the Reader

I am very pleased to have this collection of texts published in the Tagbanwa language of the Binga area of San Vicente, Palawan. The language of our people is not spoken very widely these days, so it is even more important to have these written samples for generations to come. These texts will show the reader something about how our language works, and something about what our lives have been like.

I am grateful to the Summer Institute of Linguistics for making this publication possible, and counting our language worthy of study, appreciation, and preservation.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

February, 2000
Appendix A: The Tagbanwa Man Who Found Gold

This is a written narrative about a Tagbanwa man who found gold in a stream. It was written by Roberto Lerona in Lumambong on April 7, 1993.

1. May istoria ako mokotingid ka balita a nangavot
   may istoria ako mokotingid ka balita a naN-=kavot
   EXT story 1SN topic O news SUB GENR.CMP.AF=reach

   kakin kaya tatalinggo.
   kakin kaya tata-linggo
   1SO PR prior-week

   I have a story regarding news that reached me last week.

2. May Tagbanwa a punlivit ka putsukan doon
   may Tagbanwa a poN-=livit ka putsukan doon
   EXT Tagbanwa SUB GENR.INC.AF=hunt G honey D3O

   ka lugar nila ka Tohod; ya ngalan niya ti Bobot Castillo.
   ka lugar nila ka Tohod ya ngalan niya ti Bobot Castillo
   O place 3PG O Tohod N name 3SG N Bobot Castillo

   There was a Tagbanwa man who was hunting for honey over there at their place in Tohod; his name is Bobot Castillo.

3. Ya pogpanaw na kanya ka kahulangan, pagtindal
   ya pog-=panaw na kanya ka kahulangan pag-=tindal
   N INC.AF=walk already 3SN O forest CRNT=cross

   kanya ka tingay na, lungawan niya doon ka wai ya
   kanya ka tingay na lungaw=-an niya doon ka wai ya
   3SN O creek already look=-NAF 3SG D3O O water N

   midyo aldaw a musinag ka adilim ka wai.
   midyo aldaw a mo-=sinag ka adilim ka wai
   fairly sun LK INC.AF=shine O underneath O water

   As he was walking through the forest, just when he crossed a stream, he looked down through the water at something that shone like the sun under the water.

4. Nabiring kanya ing ono ya pogdikal.
   na-=biring kanya ing ono ya pog-=dikal
   POT.CMP.AF=astonish 3SN HYP what N INC.AF=luster

   He was astonished wondering what was shining with such luster.

5. Timanyan, kinomit niya ya pogsinag alayan; layan
   timanyan in-=komit niya ya pog-=sinag alayan layan
   SEQ CMP.NAF=gather 3SG N INC.AF=shine LK-D2N D2N

1 Proper names in this story have been changed to protect the anonymity of all involved.
pala bato.
SURP rock

Now, he picked up that shining thing; to his surprise it was a rock.

first.digit foot GENR.NR=large

It was about as big as one's big toe in size.

7. Ya bato alayan ay musinag makaman.
N rock LK-D2N COP INC.AF=shine EMPH

That rock really shone indeed.

8. Binivit niya ya bato a minuli ka balay.
CMP.NAF=bring 3SG N rock LK CMP.NAF=go.home O house

He took the rock home to his house.

9. Pagkavot kanya ka balay mokawat ka mga iva niya,
CRNT=reach 3SN O house INC.AF=say O PL companion 3SG

“Mamuerto ako.”

When he reached his house he said to his companions, “I am going to Puerto.”

10. Ya bato ay binivit niya a nangawat ka Puerto.
CMP.NAF=bring 3SG N rock LK CMP.AF=go.to O Puerto

He took the rock and went to Puerto.

11. Pangavot niya doon ka municipio, ya bato
GENR.NR=reach 3SG D3O O town N rock

inipakita niya ka mga tao.
CMP.NAF=_CAUS=see 3SG O PL person

On his arrival there in the city, he showed the rock to some people.

12. Timanyan, ya bato alayan ay bulawan pala!
SEQ N rock LK-D2N COP gold SURP

Now, that rock turned out to be gold!
13. Inalang ya bato alayan; binayaran ka sitinta mil
CMP.NAF=buy N rock LK-D2N CMP.NAF=pay=_ O seventy thousand
pesos ya bulawan niya.
pesos ya bulawan niya
pesos N gold 3SG

That rock was bought; 70,000 pesos was paid for his gold.  

bilag na ing bato
NEG already HYP rock

It wasn't just a rock anymore.

bulawan na
gold already

It was gold!

16. Timanyan, may kuarta na kanya a dakulay.
timanyan may kuarta na kanya a dakulay
SEQ EXT currency already 3SN LK large

Now, he had lots of money.

17. Dana matawanan ing ono ya binuat niya
data-na ma-=taw=-an ing ono ya -in-=buat niya
NEG-already POT.NB.NAF=know=_ HYP what N CMP.NAF=do 3SG

ka kuarta niya.
ka kuarta niya
O currency 3SG

There is no knowing what he did with his money.

18. Tambulan ya istambay niya ka municipio bayo makaungi.
tambulan ya istambay niya ka municipio bayo maka-=muli
one.month N stay 3SG O town before ABL.NB.AF=go.home

ka lugar niya ka Tohod.
ka lugar niya ka Tohod
O place 3SG O Tohod

He stayed in the city one month before he made it home to his place in Tohod.

19. Timanyan, data matawanan ing may kuarta pa kanya
timanyan data ma-=taw=-an ing may kuarta pa kanya
SEQ NEG POT.NB.NAF=know=_ HYP EXT currency still 3SN

2 In 1993 P70,000 was about $2,700 in U.S. dollars. Considering that the average annual cash income for a Tagbanwa family was between P3,000 to P6,000, this was quite a windfall. One 40 kilo sack of rice cost about P500.
Now, it is not known if he still has money or if it is all gone, because he was a long time in the city before he made it home.

20. Layan pala, pupuỳym ti kanya ka bulawan; layan pala pu=-pa=-iyim ti kanya ka bulawan
D2N SURP INC.NAF=CAUS=search.for soon 3SN O gold
ya pogpuỳym ya buyer ka bulawan.
ya pog=-pa=-iyim ya buyer ka bulawan
N INC.AF=CAUS=search.for N buyer G gold

However, he is now being sent back to look for yet more gold; the one who sent him to look was the gold buyer.

21. Timanyan, pupuỳymìn ti kanya doon ka timanyan pu=-pa=-iyim=-ìn ti kanya doon ka
SEQ INC.NAF=CAUS=seek=_ soon 3SN D3O O
nabiitan niya primero ka wai.
na=-biit=-an niya primero ka wai
POT.CMP.NAF=get=_ 3SG first O water

Now, he is again sent to look for it over there where he first got it in the stream.

22. Danamakay makitaan niya; siguro danamakay bikin.
data-na-maka-ay ma=-kita=-an niya siguro data-na-maka-ay bikin
NEG-already-INS-LK POT.NB.NAF=see=_ 3SG PROB NEG-already-INS-LK other

He has not been able to see any more at all; there probably isn’t any more at all.

23. Asta timanyan, pirmì a pabalìkbalìk kanya; danamaka
asta timanyan pirmì a pa=-balik=-DUP kanya data-na-maka
LIM now always LK toward=return=CONT 3SN NEG-already-INS
makakita.
maka=-kita
ABL.NB.AF=see

Until now, he continually goes back; he is no longer able to see any more at all.

24. Layan ya risulta ki Bobot a manlìivit ka putsukan.
layan ya risulta ki Bobot a maN=DUP.=-livit ka putsukan
D2N N result O Bobot SUB GENR.NB.AF=LIM=hunt O honey

That is what became of Bobot as he was out only hunting for honey.
Appendix B: The Boy That Was Gotten by a Crocodile

This is an oral narrative about a man who was killed by a crocodile. Mr. Maximino Talibed recounted this story in Binga in November, 1981. It was recorded and transcribed by Peter Green.

1. Timanyan, may ogtolahn.
   timanyan may ogtol=-an=-in
   SEQ EXT warn=AB=NAF

Now, I have a story to tell.

   aliti doon 1932 kami nag-=git doon ka lansangan
   LK-D3N D3O 1932 1PEXN CMP.AF=depart D3O O town

Back about 1932, we left from town over there.

3. Ya paggit kamñn doon ka lansangan, doon kami naka ilog, nabahat ko ya ilog ko.
   ya pag-=git kamñn doon ka lansangan doon kami naka ilog na-=bahat ko ya ilog ko
   N CRNT=depart 1PEXG D3O O town D3O 1PEXN LOC

Upon our coming from town there, we were there at the river, I encountered my cousin.

4. Ya pogtakay tila ka baloto naggit doon ka tohod.
   ya pog-=takay tila ka baloto nag-=git doon ka tohod
   N INC.AF=ride 3PN O boat CMP.AF=depart D3O O forest

They were riding in a boat coming from the deep forest.

5. Pongyiim ka pagtira.
   poN-=yim ka pag-=tira
   GENR.INC.AF=search.for G NR=viand

They were hunting around for something to use for viands.

6. Timanyan, pagbarahat kamin doon ka ilog, lito ilog
   timanyan pag-=Vr-=bahat kamin doon ka ilog lito ilog
   SEQ CRNT=COLL =encounter 1PEXG D3O O river D1N cousin

They were hunting around for something to use for viands.

   ko, pinunduan niya na ya baloto komo
   ko -in-=pundo=- an niya na ya baloto komo
   1sg CMP.NAF=boat.landing=_ 3SG already N boat because
avavaw na.
avavaw na
shallow already

Now, when we encountered each other there at the river, this cousin of mine, he had just beached the boat because it was shallow already.3

7. Timanyan, ay avavaw na layan ilog, nagkomit
   timanyan ay avavaw na layan ilog nag=-komit
   SEQ INJ shallow already D2N river CMP.AF=gather
   na tila ka mga talava ipulohod doon ka baloto.
   na tila ka mga talava i=pu=lohod doon ka baloto
   already 3PN G PL oyster INC.NAF=_=put D3O O boat

   Now, the river was already shallow, they had just gathered oysters putting them there in the boat.

8. Timanyan, doon na ka baloto, ya nagtinga na ya
   timanyan doon na ka baloto ya nag=tinga na ya
   SEQ D3O already O boat N CMP.AF=divide already N
   baloto nila dana nasapuan ka bavay ay komo
   baloto nila data-na na=-sapo=-an ka bavay ay komo
   boat 3PG NEG-already POT.CMP.NAF=aware=_ G girl INJ because
   ya bavay tumatalikod.
   ya bavay -um-=DUP-=talikod
   N girl INC.AF=_=turn.away

   Now, there already at the boat, the boat had just come between them and the girl had not noticed what happened because she was facing away.4

9. Dana nasapuan niya alayan inivit na
    data-na na=-sapo=-an niya a-layan -i=-ivit na
    NEG-already POT.CMP.NAF=aware=_ 3SG LK-D2N CMP.NAF=get already
    ka bongot doon ka buli.
    ka bongot doon ka buli
    G crocodile D3O O stern

   She did not notice that he had just been nabbed by a crocodile there at the back of the boat.

10. Makasapo lito bavay a ya lalaki dana.
    maka=-sapo lito bavay a ya lalaki data-na
    ABL.NB.AF=aware D1N girl SUB N boy NEG-already

   This young woman became aware that the young man was gone.

3 This river was typical of the rivers that flow out to the sea along the coast of Palawan. They are slow moving, marshy waterways through mangrove swamps. The water level rises and falls with the tide. This was a brief encounter as Mr. Talibed and his companions continued on their way into the forest. The incident with the crocodile happened after Mr. Talibed and friends were gone.

4 The boat that had been beached was between a young woman and a young man who were involved in gathering oysters. The young woman was turned away from the young man and didn’t notice when something happened to him.
11. Layan pala bavay ya nobya ka lalaki, bilang magnobyonobya tila.

It just so happens that girl was the boy’s fiancée, they were engaged.

12. Timanyan, ya doon naka adłim ya lalaki; dana

Now, the boy was there under the water; he could no longer be seen.


The girl headed toward the forest.


She paddled the boat there to the forest.

15. Nagpasapo kamín a ya lalaki dana.

She made us aware that the young man was missing.

16. Ya binuat ka mga tao doon ka tohod, ala,

What the people there in the forest did was, hey, we headed down river by boat.

17. Bivit ka bolo lokay.

We took along some bamboo.

18. Kinaatan kamin layan, makaatan kamin

Appendix B: The Boy That Was Gotten by a Crocodile
payava  pathohod.
pa-=yava  pa-=tohod
toward=below  toward=forest

We used it as a torch; we illuminated our way down the river into the forest.

19. Tulo a aldaw ya iyim kamin.
tulo a aldaw ya iyim kamin
three LK day N search.for 1PEXG

Our search lasted three days.

20. Tulo a aldaw tulo a dilim ya iyim kamin.
tulo a aldaw tulo a dilim ya iyim kamin
three LK day three LK night N search.for 1PEXG

Our search lasted three days and three nights.

data-kamin na-=kita=-an
NEG-1PEXG POT.CMP.NAF=see=_

We did not see him.

22. Ya pangupat na aldaw, nakitan kamin doon ka
ya pang-=upat na aldaw na-=kita=-an kamin doon ka
N ORD=four LK day POT.CMP.NAF=see=_ 1PEXG D3O O
yava ka ilog, tangpukit na inta ya ulo niya.
yava ka ilog tangpukit na inta ya ulo niya
below O river severed LK LIM N head 3SG

On the fourth day, we saw down there at the river, only his severed head.

23. Timanyan, ya ulo niya alayan binivit kamin;
timanyan ya ulo niya a-layan -in-=bivit kamin
SEQ N head 3SG LK-D2N CMP.NAF=bring 1PEXG

iniliving kamin ka simintiryo.
in-=i-=living kamin ka simintiryo
CMP.NAF=_=funeral 1PEXG O cemetary

Now, we took his head; we gave him a funeral at the cemetery.

24. Ta, ya bavay timanyan mopataypatay na ka tangit
ta ya bavay timanyan mo-=patay=DUP na ka tangit
EMPH N girl SEQ INC.AF=die=CONT already O grief

komo ya lalaki, ya nobyo, dana.
komo ya lalaki ya nobyo data-na
because N boy N fiancé NEG-already

Well, the girl was now dying and dying of grief because the boy, her fiancé, was no more.
   na-=patay na
   POT.CMP.AF=die already
   
   He was dead now.

    ya -in-=buat ka bavay kanya napakigongongan na
    N CMP.NAF=do G girl 3SN commit.suicide already
    
    What that girl did was she committed suicide.

27. Ginirit niya ya liig niya para kanya mapatay na maka.
    -in-=girit niya ya liig niya para kanya ma-=patay na maka
    CMP.NAF=cut 3SG N throat 3SG PUR 3SN POT.NB.AF=die LK ADD
    
    She cut her throat so that she would die as well.

    -in-=girit yana ka tondang
    CMP.NAF=cut that.one O knife
    
    She cut it with a knife.

29. Ta, layan atan na inta talibtib.
    ta layan atan na inta talibtib
    EMPH D2N D3O LK LIM end
    
    Well, that there is the end of the story.
Appendix C: Conversation about the Ashfall from Mt. Pinatubo

This is a conversation between Mr. Roberto Lerona (Rubing) and Mr. Agripino Martinez (Agri) in Gi, Binga, Palawan on October 1, 1992. They talked about people's impressions of the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo and the resulting ash that fell on northern Palawan.

**Rubing:**

1. Kita kuno magisturian kaya paglipak ka Pinatubo; kita kuno mag=istoria=-an kaya pag-=lipak ka Pinatubo

   ay ya gusto niya matawanan ing ono ya
   INJ N want 3SG POT.NB.NAF=know=_ HYP what N
damdamin o isipan ka mga tao kaya pagtigpa ka avo.
   DUP-=damin o isip=-an ka mga tao kaya pag-=tigpa ka avo

   He says we are to tell about the past eruption of Mt. Pinatubo; he wants to know what the feelings or thoughts of the people were back when the ash fell.5

   **Agri:**

   2. Isus! ay aburido ya mga tao ay disti liti maka

   Wow! People were anxious about it from the very time it happened.

   **Rubing:**

   3. Ako ing ka vahay, alam ko na talaha ya hula ka Biblia.

   As for me in this matter, I know that the prophecy of the Bible is true.

   4. Pero, simpri, datay karanasan kita; duro talaha ya

   Mt. Pinatubo erupted in Luzon June 14 and 15, 1991. The eruption sent ash high into the atmosphere where it was carried many miles before it fell back to the ground. Ash fell as far away as Viet Nam. In Palawan it fell like snow pellets. Its consistency was like very fine sand, gray in color. About one-fourth to one-half inch accumulated in Puerto Princesa. More fell in Binga which is about 100 miles north. Because of its abrasive nature, air travel was discontinued for several weeks until the ash settled and wasn't billowing in the wind anymore.
But, of course, we hadn’t experienced it; truly there were many who felt fairly afraid, fairly nervous, fairly going out of their heads.

Agri:

5. Talaha! duro talaha ya!
   VER many VER ??
   That is for sure! Many really were!

6. Aroy! ay bastain mo ing data nagkuran ya mga luak patay
   EXCL INJ pack 2SG HYP CMP.AF=rain N PL farm die
   mga karavao.
   PL carabao

   Wow! Hey, you would have had to pack (and move) if it hadn’t rained, crops and carabaos would have died.

Rubing:

7. Orogorog mo ya layan punti isip mo ing
   attention 2SG N D2N banana think 2SG HYP
   pinagdumog, lislis ya mga daon.
   -in-= pag-=dumog lislis ya mga daon
   CMP.NAF=NR=mob broken N PL leaf

   Hey, listen: You would think that banana plant was mobbed, the leaves were all broken down.6

Agri:

8. Basta dana.
   basta data-na
   LI M NEG-already

   Until nothing is left.

---

6 The weight of the ash accumulating on the banana leaves caused them to buckle at the stem and break down. In another conversation, Mr. Lerona said it had looked like the banana plants had been mobbed by monkeys.
Rubing:

9. Layan ngani, kuno ya balay ing mapuruan,
   layan ngani kuno ya balay ing ma-puro-an
   D2N CERT RS N house HYP POT.NB.NAF=completely=
   giva ya biyat ka avo.
   giva ya biyat ka avo
   collapse N weight G ash
   That is for sure, they say that if your house gets completely covered, it will collapse from the weight of the ash.

Agri:

10. Ya balita ka radyo, Isus! dana!
   ya balita ka radyo Isus data-na
   N news O radio EXCL NEG-already
   The news on the radio, Wow! No more!

Rubing:

11. Ay ka Puerto kuno ngani may napatay kaya oras
   ay ka Puerto kuno ngani may na-patay kaya oras
   INJ O Puerto RS CERT EXT POT.CMP.AF=die PR time
   alayan; siguro va ya bikin merbyos.
   alayan siguro va ya bikin merbyos
   LK-D2N PROB ADVIS N other nervous
   Hey, they said in Puerto there were those that actually died back then; I might add others were probably nervous.

Agri:

12. Ya merbyos may ya takot na maka.
   ya merbyos may ya takot na maka
   N nervous CO N fear LK INS
   Nervous and fearful for sure.

Rubing:

   basta duro ya na-balita=an ko atan ya bikin na uspital
   LIM many N POT.CMP.NAF=news=_ 1SG D3O N other LK hospital
   The numbers reached quite a few, according to the news I heard there, who were in the hospital.
Agri:

14. Gulpi talaha; ay nakaradyo na ya balita.

Gulpi talaha ay naka=radyo na ya balita
hit VER INJ LOC=radio already N news

It was quite a blow; the news was already on the radio.

Rubing:

15. ri, nakaradyo liti; nagano paman va, nagdiklim.

ri naka=radyo liti nag=-ono paman va nag=-diklim
yes LOC=radio D3N CMP.AF=what ADD ADVIS CMP.AF=dark

Yes, that was on the radio; moreover I might add, it ...what-you-call-it,...it got dark.7


ya bikin ngani nag=-sindi ka kaat
N other CERT CMP.AF=ignite G lamp

Certainly others lit lamps.

17. Ya mga kamalay kamin ngani nagsindi.

ya mga ka=-balay kamin ngani nag=-sindi
N PL AB=-house 1PEXG CERT CMP.AF=ignite

Our neighbors certainly lit lamps.8

18. Ya ka Kapalpalan ngani kuno pitromax ya sinindian.

ya ka Kapalpalan ngani kuno pitromax ya -in=-sindi=-an
N O Kapalpalan CERT RS Petromax N CMP.NAF=ignite=_

They say those in Kapalpalan definitely lit Petromax9 lanterns.

19. Inay kaito kanimi ing mauno ya diklim.

inay kaito kanimi ing mauno ya diklim
don’t know D1O 2PO HYP how.much N dark

I don’t know how dark it got here at your place.

Agri:

20. Data.

data
NEG

It didn’t (get dark).

---

7 In the area surrounding the volcano it was as dark as midnight at 10:00 in the morning. In Palawan the ashfall was very much like a gray overcast day with snowfall.
8 A typical lamp is a narrow necked glass bottle filled with kerosene or diesel fuel and a long thin rag used as a wick.
9 Petromax is a brand name of kerosene pressure lantern used widely in the Philippines.
Appendix C: Conversation about the Ashfall from Mt. Pinatubo

Rubing:

    doon kamín minos maka ya diklim
    D3O 1PEXO less ADD N dark

    There at our place it also didn’t get very dark.

Agri:

22. Mokat ako, “Ta, datay balí ing datay pamílya
    mo-=kawat ako ta data-ay balí ing data-ay pamílya
    INC.AF=say 1SN EMPH NEG-LK value HYP NEG-LK family

    ko maski mapatay ako.”
    ko maski ma-=patay ako
    1SG CONC POT.NB.AF=die 1SN

    I said (to myself), “Ha, if I have no family it doesn’t matter even if I die.”

Rubing:

23. Basta ya mga iva kamín doon masigtavangan ka
    basta ya mga iva kamín doon masig-=tavang=-an ka
    LIM N PL companion 1PEXG D3O COLL=go=LOC O

    balay ing ono nay nangyari.
    balay ing ono na-ay naN-=yari
    house HYP what already-COP GENR.CMP.AF=happen

    Even our companions there all went over to the house to find out what happened.

Agri:

    ay kakín ya maka
    INJ 1SO ?? ADD

    Yeah, the same with me.

    bisita ako ay ka kawat na kaito dawal-=in ya mga
    visitor 1SN INJ O say already D1O look=NB.NAF N PL

    kayo; puro na makulit.”
    kayo puro na ma-=kulit
    wood completely LK AJR=white

    I was a visitor (I was saying,) “Hey, what now is this here? Look at the wood; it is completely white (with ash).”

Rubing:

26. Layan va manliway ya kalivutan, dakami
    layan va maN-=liway ya kalivutan data-kami
    D2N ADVIS GENR.NB.AF=light N season NEG-1PEXN
nakasapo kaya dilimin na pogkuran.
naka=sapo kaya dilimin na pogs=kuran
ABL.CMP.AF=aware PR night LK INC.AF=rain

I might add that when it was morning time, we had not become aware that it rained ash\(^{10}\) the night before.

27. Layan pala dilimin pa nagkuran; manliway nangulit
layan pala dilimin pa nag=kuran man=liway nan=kulit
D2N SURP night still CMP.AF=rain GENR.NB.AF=light GENR.CMP.AF=white

na basta ya datag, a kawat kaito; ay palid ya avo.
na basta ya datag a kawat kaito ay palid ya avo
already LIM N floor LK say D1O INJ inside N ash

What a surprise that during the night it rained ash; by daybreak everything was white, even the floor, like this; the ash had come inside.

28. Mokat ako, “Isus!”
mo=kawat ako Isus
INC.AF=say 1SN EXCL

I said, “Wow!”

29. Ay magsapo kita inta pala, naipit kita na
ay mag=sapo kita inta pala na=ipit kita na
INJ NB.AF=aware 1PINN LIM SURP POT.CMP.AF=pin 1PINN already

ka dirivongan.
ka dirivongan
G roof

Right when we became aware of this, we pinned down the roof right away!

30. Layan pala masyado a mabiyat!
layan pala masyado a ma=biyat
D2N SURP excessive LK AJR=weight

It was surprisingly heavy!

Agri:

31. Tayvay! tambak a tambak magsapo kita.
tayvay tambak a tambak mag=sapo kita
EXCL pile LK pile NB.AF=aware 1PINN

Wow, you aren’t kidding! It piled up and piled up by the time we were aware of it.

Rubing:

32. Ing bandawan mo paman midyo ka dawarawa inta ayaw
ing bandaw=an mo paman midyo ka dawarawa inta ayaw
HYP look=NAF 2SG ADD similar O drizzle LIM not.like

---

\(^{10}\) The verb *kuran* ‘to rain’ is used here to refer to the falling of the ash.
Moreover, when you look at it, it was as if only a drizzle, but it wasn’t after all.

**Agri:**

33. Ay mokotimis maka.
   ay moko-=timis maka
   INJ ABL.INC.AF=accumulate INS

It really accumulates too.

**Rubing:**

34. Asta timanyan atan ka taravoan.
   asta timanyan atan ka taravoan
   LIM now D3O O public.well

Even until now it is there where we all draw water.\(^{11}\)

**Agri:**

35. Ay Isus, atan talaha, siguro mga kawat kalayan.
   ay Isus atan talaha siguro mga kawat kalayan
   INJ EXCL D3O VER PROB PL say D2G

Hey, wow, there for sure, probably like that.

**Rubing:**

36. Midyo ka apog a data mokotunaw layan atan
    midyo ka apog a data moko-=tunaw layan atan
    similar O lime SUB NEG ABL.INC.AF=dissolve D2N D3O

maka data mokolipat.
maka data moko-=lipat
ADD NEG ABL.INC.AF=move

That there is similar to lime that isn’t able to dissolve or go away.

**Agri:**

37. Tayvay, atan ka pubugsukan ko alayan.
    tayvay atan ka pu-=bugsuk=-an ko alayan
    EXCL D3O O INC.NAF=stake=_ 1SG LK-D2N

Hey, over there where I am putting in stakes.\(^{12}\)

---

\(^{11}\) The ash fell into public open water wells and sank to the bottom.

\(^{12}\) By the time this conversation took place, the ash had filtered down into the soil and could be seen as a layer when one dug about an inch in depth. Mr. Martinez discovered this when he was digging post holes.
Rubing:

38. Layan paman, maski ka mga ilog, ka mga wai, data layan paman maski ka mga ilog ka mga wai data
D2N ADD CONC O PL river O PL water NEG

mokolipat atan alay.
moko-=lipat atan alay
ABL.INC.AF=move D3O IMM

And moreover, even in the rivers, in the waters, it isn’t able to go away immediately.

midyo ka siminto a alanganin maka
similar O cement SUB faulty INS

It is really like faulty cement.

Agri:

40. Alanganin talaha ka siminto, porki ya siminto ay alanganin talaha ka siminto porki ya siminto ay
faulty VER O cement because N cement COP

magkaparihopariho, ay moligdang.
magka-=pariho=-DUP ay mo-=igdang
INV.AF=same=INS INJ INC.AF=sink

Truly faulty cement, because cement is very much the same; it sinks down (in water and stays there).

41. Basta ako va; mandawaldawal ako, mokat ako, basta ako va maN-=dawal=-DUP ako mo-=kawat ako
LIM 1SN ADVIS GENR.NB.AF=look=CONT 1SN INC.AF=say 1SN

“Dana. Patay kami magaranak.”
data-na patay kami mag-=Vr-=anak
NEG-already die 1PEXN AB=COLL=offspring

I will have you know, even me; I kept looking and looking (upon all that ash falling), I said to myself, “No more (it is all over). We will die, we and all our children.”

Rubing:

42. Mokat ako talaha tavi na ya mga hula ka Biblia. mokat ako talaha tavi na ya mga hula ka Biblia
INC.AF=say 1SN VER near already N PL prophecy O Bible

I said to myself that the prophecies of the Bible are truly near (to being fulfilled) already.

---

13 The ash was heavy and did not dissolve in water or blow away, so in this way it was like cement. But it didn’t harden like true cement would.
Appendix C: Conversation about the Ashfall from Mt. Pinatubo

Agri:

43. Ay talaha matod talaha.
INJ VER true VER

True, very true.

44. Ay timanyan na inta; kaita may supisinti pa ya tao ka
INJ now LK LiM last.year EXT livelihood still N person O
pamangan.
GENR.NR=eat

Hey, right now indeed; last year people still had a means of eating.

45. Timanyan, kagulo pa talaha.

Now, things are still really mixed up.

Rubing:

46. Layan ya Pinatubo a layan ya pugpukilala ka tao
layan ya Pinatubo a layan ya pog-=pa-=kilala ka tao
D2N N Pinatubo LK D2N N INC.AF=CAUS=aquaint O person
a dapat magbago na.
SUB should NB.AF=new already

That whole Pinatubo crisis was to let people know that they should repent right now.

47. Mokotingid layan; yana ya impisa ka kairapin.
mokotingid layan yana ya impisa ka ka-=irap-=in
reason D2N that.one N beginning G AB=difficult=AB

That is why it happened; that very thing was the beginning of the hardships.

48. Ta, pila na lipak?
ta pila na lipak
EMPH how.many already explode

Hey, how many times has (Pinatubo) erupted?

49. Ya pangtulo na kaya tatana aldaw.
yan pang-=tulo na kaya tatana aldaw
N ORD=three already PR prior day

It was the third time already just yesterday.

50. Timanyan, kada magkuran apiktado ya buo na Luzon; timanyan,
timanyan yang mag-=kurang apiktado ya buo na Luzon timanyan
now each NB.AF=rain affected N all LK Luzon now
Since Pinatubo erupted, heavy rains from typhoons would mix with tons of ash on the mountainside creating lahar, a slurry of mud that would flow down from the volcano. It was so voluminous it would fill riverbeds and bury villages and towns. Mr. Lerona claimed that even though the lahar didn’t threaten Palawan, they still felt the effect monetarily in aid they did not receive.
Appendix C: Conversation about the Ashfall from Mt. Pinatubo

58. Kita kaito kawawa.
kita kaito kawawa
1PINN D1O poor

We here are poor.

59. Layan ya problima katîn.
layan ya problima katîn
D2N N problem 1PINO

That is our problem.

60. Ya mga namomono ka gobernô dana masarigan ta.
    ya mga namomono ka gobernô data-na ma-=sarig=-an ta
N PL officials G government NEG-already POT.NB.NAF=depend=_ 1PING

We cannot depend on the officials in the government any more.

Agri:

61. Dana talaha.
data-na talaha
    NEG-already VER

Not any more, for sure.

62. Doon na talaha.
doon na talaha
D3O already VER

That is it, for sure.

63. Porki ing pavayan maka liti, ay mairap na maka.
porki ing pavaya=-an maka liti ay ma-=irap na maka
because HYP neglect=NB.NAF ADD D3N INJ AJR=difficult LK INS

Because if they also abandon those (Pinatubo victims), it will be very hard indeed.

64. Duro na ya mapatay.
duro na ya ma-=patay
many already N POT.NB.AF=die

There are already many who may yet die.
References Cited


