Terms of Religious Adaptation: The Introduction of Christianity to the Bikol Region of the Philippines

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The early religion of the Philippines was to change dramatically with the arrival of the Spanish and the Catholic missionaries. From an animist religion where worship of ancestors played a central role and where the center of religious life was often a priestess, the Philippines was to be introduced to Catholicism and many of its people converted over a relatively short period of time.

The missionaries of the Catholic religious orders in the Philippines did not preach in Spanish, nor did they expect their new converts to learn that language. The missionaries learned the local languages, albeit to varying degrees, and used these languages for religious instruction.

This paper looks at how the language of one of the regions, Bikol, was adapted to carry a Christian message. It looks at both the redefinition and extension of existing words, and the introduction of loan words from Spanish.

1. The Bikol Region

Bikol is a Philippine language spoken by approximately five million people on the island of Luzon, south of the Tagalog speaking areas around Manila. The six Bikol speaking provinces of the Philippines are Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Catanduanes and Masbate.

The Spanish first arrived in the Bikol region on the island of Masbate in 1567 sailing from Leyte. There they discovered gold mines which were to bring them back to the island two years later (Gerona 1988:38).

A subsequent expedition left from Manila, crossed overland from Laguna to the Pacific coast of Luzon near Mauban, and then traveled by boat to what is now Camarines Norte, reaching the gold mines of Paracale in 1571.

From 1572 the Spanish began to spread their rule over the Bikol provinces, setting up the first permanent settlement in the Bikol River basin in Camarines Sur at Libon in 1573, and moving on to dominate the remaining Bikol provinces of Albay, Sorsogon and Catanduanes in 1574.

In 1579, Naga in the Bikol river basin was chosen as the Spanish headquarters and renamed Ciudad de Cáceres (Nueva Cáceres).

2. Arrival of the Religious Orders

The Spanish Crown and Catholic Church were interdependent. The Church had granted to the Spanish monarchs powers over administration of Church’s revenues and
the selection of ecclesiastical personnel in the Indies. In return the Crown undertook conversion of the newly subjugated peoples to Christianity (Phelan 1959:6).

On the return to Masbate in 1569, the leader of the Spanish expedition was accompanied by an Augustinian priest, Fray Alonso Jimenez. Early conversions and baptisms were made on the islands of Masbate, Ticao and Burias, and on the adjacent mainland of Luzon in what is now Sorsogon, Albay and Camarines Sur at Nabua (Colección de documentos inéditos 1864–1884:Tomó II, 213 as cited in Gerona 1988:39; Perez 1901:109 as cited in Gerona 1988:49).

The Franciscans arrived in the region in 1577 answering a request to send more priests to the region. Subsequent evangelization of the region was turned over to the Franciscans, the Augustinians retaining the area where they did their first baptisms on Masbate, Ticao and Burias.

In 1583 a policy called reducción ‘reduction’ was begun. Bikolans, who lived in widely dispersed areas, were required to resettle in towns where their conversion to Christianity could be more closely monitored. Eleven villages were established, called doctrinas. From 1585 the development of these doctrinas began to increase as did conversions. By the end of the 16th century there were 50 Franciscan mission houses with 97 priests and 23 lay brothers (Gerona 1988:54; also Entrada 1895:10–13; Phelan 1959:46; Salazar 1588 in Blair & Robertson 1903–1909:Vol 7, 40–42; Blair & Robertson 1903–1909: Vol 10, 181 & 273).

3. The Encomienda System

The encomienda system was a system of rewards given by the Spanish Crown to the colonizers of a new area. They were given an area of newly conquered territory, along with its inhabitants. In return for the labor and tributes of these people, the encomenderos were expected to protect them from outside aggression and instruct them in the Catholic faith, that is, teach them Catholic doctrine and administer the sacraments (Phelan 1959:10). Specifically this meant preparing them for baptism by teaching them the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Credo and the Ten Commandments. This trust was often, however, violated and the priests found themselves stepping in as intermediaries to protect the people on these estates (Rada 1574 in Christianization 1965:347–349).

There were two types of encomiendas: royal, owned by the crown, and private, owned by individuals. The earliest encomiendas assigned on Luzon were in the Bikol region on the island of Masbate in February 1571. By 1593 there were 36 encomiendas in the region (Gerona 1988:60; also Loarca 1582: Chapter 4 in Blair & Robertson 1903–1909: Vol 5, 93–101). The encomienda system was abolished by the end of the 17th century.

4. Marcos de Lisboa & the Vocabulario de la lengue Bicol

Among the Franciscan friars to go to Bikol was Father Marcos de Lisboa who remained in the region from 1602 until 1611. During this time he compiled the Vocabulario de la lengua Bicol, probably the finest early dictionary of any Philippine language. The data for this paper come primarily from this dictionary.

Father Marcos de Lisboa was born in Lisbon and joined the Franciscan order in 1582 in Malacca. He was the Definidory Ministro of the Bikol town of Nabua in 1602, administrator of the town of Oas in 1605, and Vicario Provincial of the Province of Camarines from 1609 to 1611 (Platero 1880:53 as cited in Calleja-Reyes 1968:323). Lisboa remained in the Philippines until 1618 when he left for Mexico.
returned to Madrid in 1622. The date of his death is generally given as 1628. Mention is made of an unpublished work by Lisboa in an anonymous manuscript of 1649 (Entrada 1895:51). This is presumably his dictionary which remained unpublished until 1754.

Lisboa's Vocabulario was intended for use by Spanish priests. In addition to traditional meanings, we begin to see new meanings added, primarily in example sentences, to enable priests to run Christian religious services and carry out conversions.

It is unclear whether Lisboa incorporated usage in example sentences which was already evident through 35 years of missionary activity when he arrived in the Bikol region, or whether he introduced to Bikol new usage for existing terms which he felt would be helpful to priests in carrying out their mission in the region. It is likely that the Vocabulario reflects both of these possibilities.

Some priests were fluent in Philippine languages. Others made do with the basic vocabulary of confession and the celebration of the mass. Some of the same sentences included in the Lisboa dictionary may have been included for use by just such priests.

New vocabulary is generally added in three ways: by giving completely new meanings to traditional words, by extending the meaning of traditional words, and by introducing loan words from another language. Bikol shows all of these changes, although Lisboa only has loan words in example sentences, not as headwords. These, however, later become accepted as Bikol words.

New vocabulary is often introduced when an existing word which might possibly be extended is too loaded with traditional meaning to serve a new purpose. For example, traditional words for altar and god were too closely associated with early religious beliefs to be comfortably adapted to Christianity. The general policy was, in fact, to introduce new vocabulary for Christian terms to avoid any association with earlier religions considered pagan (Ricard 1933:72–75 as cited in Phelan 1959:185).

Change did not end with Lisboa. Some of the terms used in unique ways by Lisboa continue to be used in modern Bikol. Other terms which he recorded or extended with new meanings have disappeared. Still others were introduced after Lisboa, many in the subsequent publication of the Doctrina Christiana (San Agustin 1647). Examples of all of these developments may be seen in this paper.

The paper begins with a brief discussion of the religious beliefs in the region when the Spanish arrived. Examined are ancestral spirits, religious leaders, rituals, and some of the supernatural creatures which were believed to inhabit the area. The paper then goes on to the introduction of Christianity. The concepts which are discussed, along with the vocabulary for such concepts, are baptism, communion and confession, sins and sinners, heaven, hell and the devil, exorcism and salvation, God, Christ, the saints and priests, death and resurrection, prayer, homage and supplication, sermons and religious teachings, the church and mass, religious observations and celebrations, altars and religious objects, and the construction and decoration of the church.

Entries which are found only in Lisboa's Vocabulario are marked [MDL]. Entries in which the usage in Lisboa and modern usage are basically the same are marked [+MDL]. Those in which some part of the modern meaning is shared, but there is an additional component of meaning in Lisboa are also marked [+MDL:] with the additional component of meaning shown after the colon. Other abbreviations used in the dictionary entries are as follows: s/t [something], s/o [someone], o/s [oneself] and (fig-) [figurative].

Stress is shown on all modern Bikol entries, and those entries from Lisboa where stress can be determined; for example, bunyág ‘baptism’. Where stress cannot be determined, words are shown with no stress marking; for example, bubob ‘rice flour’.
5. Early Religious Beliefs

What type of religion did the Spanish find when they arrived in the Bikol region at the end of the 16th century? Firstly they would have found that the various communities they encountered had women as their religious heads. These were called the balúyán and it was to these leaders that the community turned for help and guidance during times of birth, illness or death. Assisting the balúyán was the asóg, described as effeminate males imitating women in actions and dress, and not usually marrying. There was not just one balúyán associated with a community, but as many as could claim to having religious and healing powers (Chirino 1969: Chapter 21).

The balúyán would be called on to perform particular rituals if one were ill. These included general rituals such as ulád and ulí', and more specific rituals such as bathing the ill, called tubas, fanning them with a hand fan, called paypáy, squeezing the liquid of moistened lemon or lime leaves into their eyes, called pusaw, chanting over them, tigay, or treating them by touching them on the head with a chewed betel nut mixture, hidhíd. A person lying in a coma could be restored to consciousness by performance of the ritual called sakóm. Here the balúyán called the soul which had escaped from the body and carried it back in bánay leaves (the topmost fronds of the anahaw palm) which she then shook over the body of the one who lay unconscious.

In death, all classes of society would also turn to the balúyán. She could communicate with the dead through a ritual called binangónan. The time after death could be eased by the removal of any evil harbored in the body. This was done by the balúyán using young citrus branches moistened in water to strike some article of gold removed from the body of the dead at the time of internment. Upon the death of a chief or other important person in the village, the balúyán would be called upon to offer up a sacrifice so that the aswáng would not devour the entrails of the newly deceased. A favorite slave would be killed and his entrails offered to the aswáng in a ceremony called hugót.

There were other rituals as well performed by the balúyán central to life of the early Bikolanos. A young child could be put under the care of ancestral spirits by the balúyán carrying it to various parts of the house in a ritual called yúkod. There were also general chants, called suragi, and prayers which the congregation would acknowledge with the expression ahom.

The early Bikolanos worshiped their ancestors, collectively called aníto (also see Chirino 1969: Chapters 21–22). A variety of statues, generally of wood, sometimes of stone, would be made in worship of these ancestors, such as tango, tatáwo, parangpán as well as ladáwan. A particular statue used in sacrifices by the balúyán was called lagdóng. There were other terms for these ancestral spirits as well, such as diwáta', and more specific terms such as bathála' referring to an aníto which brings good fortune to those it accompanies. These last two terms come ultimately from Sanskrit, probably through Malay or other languages to the south of the Philippines in what is now Malaysia and Indonesia.

Worship of one’s ancestors was carried out with various ceremonies. One of these, called átang, involved a ceremonial offering of food set out, most likely, on a bamboo altar called salangat, and then later consumed by those attending the ceremony. Another ceremonial feast was called gamit, generally held for someone in the family, such a child.

Ceremonies along with prayers were held in a small hut called guláng-guláng. This was a common location for ancestor worship (Chirino 1969: Chapter 21). Later sources also refer to mu’óg as a house for the worship of aníto built either in the branches of a
tree or in the open field, although to Lisboa this was simply a tree house or a platform
built in the upper reaches of a tree (Espinas 1968:186).

An aníto was generally seen as a good influence and charms comprising a bit of
shell roughly carved into the image of a particularly admired aníto, called kabal, could
serve to protect one from harm. There were, however, also aníto who were not so kind
and could be used to maintain order in a society. Women of high status in a community
or those recognized for their beauty who fell ill when visiting agricultural fields or other
specific locations, something called da’ay, were seen to have fallen under the influence
of a particular aníto.

If we look at what the early Bikolanos were afraid of we find many creatures
lurking in the imaginary environment to keep them from straying too far. There was,
and still is, the aswáng, a type of supernatural creature, modeled probably on the bat,
which attacked humans who were most vulnerable, the ill, the dying, the pregnant, the
newly born, and even the dead. These were creatures that reveled in the eating of
human flesh and the drinking of human blood. They came in many types and were
capable of a variety of different types of damage. Starting with the more innocuous we
had an aswáng which became mildly intoxicated by the bad smell of something dirty,
and sought out the same smell again, called sinasa'bán. Among the more frightening
was the andudunó, an aswáng that found delight and nourishment in inhaling the odor
and sucking the blood of a woman in labor, the sick and the dying. No less frightening
was the silagán, an aswáng that could see the entrails through the body of the living, and
proceeded to tear into the body, feeding on the entrails and liver, causing the victim to
die. There was also the aswáng called anananggál, which was capable of detaching its
upper portion from the waist, the upper portion then flying about in search of saliva to
drink and human flesh to feast on (Espinas 1968:188–189; Placencia 1589 in Blair &

But there was more than the aswáng to be afraid of. There were numerous other
creatures inhabiting the riverbanks, mountains and forests, places you would go at
great personal risk, and creatures lurking in the shadows or coming out at dusk and
moving about in the night when you had best be home and in bed.

Inhabiting the mountains was a creature with the feet and mane of a goat and the
face of a man called láki or ungló'; along the river banks was the angungulú'ol, an animal
similar to a large ape which, when coming across a person, embraced them and did not
let go until they died; and in the forest was a creature no doubt based upon stories of the
tiger, the sarimáw, described as fierce and brutal, tearing those it came across apart with
its sharp claws. There were other creatures as well, such as those whose eyes flashed
fire, called bunggó, and more innocent creatures, such as the ápó', described as small and
human-like, living in little earth mounds and possessing magical powers capable of
turning people into animals such as toads and snakes.

This was the early religious world of the Bikol region when the Spanish friars came
upon it during the last quarter of the 16th century, and which they were to change
forever with the introduction of Christianity. It was not an instant change, but change
that probably took the better part of the first 150 years of Spanish colonization. As the
new religion was gradually established, and came to be more central to the lives of the
Bikolanos, support for the older religion gradually gave way, and what was central and
important became marginal and less significant.

The balyán did not immediately disappear from society as a religious leader, but as
the new religion became more dominant, Bikolanos turned less to her for comfort and
cure during times of death and illness, and so her role in society was diminished. There
was an immediate attempt by priests to destroy the symbols of early religion in the
Philippines. Sacred groves were cut down, stone idols were smashed, and wooden idols, altars and amulets burned (Chirino 1969: Chapter 55; Phelan 1959:53–54). These were seen as symbols of a pagan past which had to be eliminated so that the new religion could flourish. The Bikol region was lucky to have had a representative of the Church such as Fr. Marcos de Lisboa who recorded without prejudicial comment both the early and changing circumstances of late 16th and early 17th century Bikol society.

6. The Introduction of Christianity

6.1 Baptism

Baptism signaled conversion to Christianity, and while this had a slow start in the Philippines, by the time Lisboa arrived in the Bikol region, baptisms throughout the Philippines numbered close to 300,000 (Phelan 1959: 56). Baptisms were not supposed to be performed on those who knew nothing of the Christian religion. Minimally, converts should have been able to recite the Pater Noster [Our Father who art in heaven ...], the Credo [I believe in God the Father Almighty ...], the Ave Maria [Hail Mary, full of grace ...] and the Ten Commandments. The encomenderos, who preceded the Spanish missionaries to the Philippines, were entrusted with the task of preparing those working on their estates with such early religious education. Some did, but others simply took advantage and used the labor of their charges while giving little in return.

Baptism and conversion to Christianity could be facilitated by particular fortuitous events, in particular recovery from disease (see Chirino 1969: Chapters 49, 55, 56 for examples). It was also advantageous to baptize a leader of the community so that the rest of the community would follow by example (Chirino 1969: Chapter 20). Where leaders were reluctant to embrace a new religion, some would allow their children to be baptized, the family thereby benefiting in case the new religion turned out to be as miraculous as promised. This would also serve as an example to the community and could draw new converts (Phelan 1959:55). Baptism, however, could also be delayed by the early Bikolanos continued adherence to certain traditional customs, such as divorce, drunkenness (see Sections 6.3, 6.14) and usury which were against the teachings of the Church (Placencia 1589 in Blair & Robertson 1903–1909: Vol 7, 180).

The term for baptism in Bikol is bunyág. Lisboa notes that this term originally meant ‘to sprinkle with water’, but also goes on to say that this meaning was no longer used in Bikol. This probably indicates that bunyág was already well established with the meaning ‘baptism’ by 1602. An additional meaning indicated by Lisboa is associated with the blessing of rice, as well as certain of the symbols associated with the mass, such as palm fronds and candles.

bunyág baptism, christening; MAG- to perform a baptism; MAG-, -AN to baptize or christen s/o: an binunyagán the baptized child; MANG- to perform baptisms; MANG-, PANG- -AN to baptize many people; MAGPA-, PA- -AN to have s/o baptized [+ MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to baptize s/o; to bless s/t (as rice to produce a bountiful crop; palms and candles, probably as part of the mass); a brief note is also given indicating that the original meaning of this word was ‘to sprinkle with water’, but that this is a meaning no longer associated with Bikol]

Baptism was gradually made more central to the lives of early Bikolanos by relating it to existing institutions. Gift-giving associated with the marriage dowry, was
extended to gifts given to those being baptized. The term for this, *dapon*, is no longer current in any of its meanings in modern Bikol.

*dapon* a contribution to a gift or offering; the share of a dowry (*púrong*) to be given to the bride contributed by relatives of the bridegroom; ⇒ a gift to one being baptized or one being given a particular honor; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to make a particular contribution to a dowry, gift or offering; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG-AN to gather such contributions on behalf of one getting married, one being baptized, or one being given a particular honor; to gather together all contributions in one place [MDL]

Just as words have fallen out of use, new words have been introduced which were not anticipated by Lisboa. The assistant to the sponsor at a baptism, one who holds the child, is now called *abit*, a word which originally referred to the carrying of child in a sash or cloth.

*abit* assistant to the sponsor at a baptism; MAG-, -ON to carry or hold the child during a baptism [MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG-ON to carry s/t or s/o, such as a child, in a sash or cloth slung in front of the body; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG-AN to cradle a child in a sash or cloth; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a sash or cloth for this purpose]

As for the implements associated with baptism, we had the saltwater shell, *tanggulong*, used for holding the water, also no longer used, and for a comment on the state of baptisms in a particular area, we have the following example sentence.

*Pisan lámang an bunyág dumán* ‘There are few who are baptized there.’

### 6.2 Confession and communion

Once accepted as Christians through baptism, instruction in the Christian faith continued with the catechism, a study of basic religious principles in summary form. The *Doctrina Christiana* was published in various of the Philippine languages, not for distribution to the general populace, but for use by the missionary priests or the secular clergy who served as intermediaries between the people and the priests. The first *Doctrina Christiana* was published in Tagalog in 1593 (Phelan 1959:57). The first *Doctrina* in Bikol was that of Fr. Andrés de San Agustin published in 1647, followed by that of Fr. Domingo Martínez, a second edition of which was published in 1708.

The *Doctrina* added to the religious knowledge expected for baptism. To the *Pater Noster*, the *Credo*, the *Ave Maria* and the Ten Commandments were added the *Salve Maria*, the 14 articles of Faith, the seven sacraments, the seven capital sins, the 14 works of mercy, the five commandments of the Church and the act of general confession (Phelan 1959:57).

Confession was not readily accepted by the early Filipinos. They would have been reluctant to convey delicate and personal information to someone who might very well use such knowledge against them, and there were particular sacraments which they did not uphold. Divorce and remarriage, for example, were quite common (Phelan 1959:61; Chirino 1969: Chapter 30).

Priests or their representatives often used question booklets called *confesionarios* which phrased similar questions in different ways in an attempt to get at the truth. These books were also useful for priests who did not have a great deal of fluency in
Philippine languages (Phelan 1959:64). The *confesionario* for Bikol was the *Tratado de Comunión y de Confesión* by P. Fr. San Juan del Espíritu Santo, probably published around the same time as the *Doctrina Christiana* by Fr. Andrés de San Agustín in 1647 (Entrada 1895:51).

In modern Bikol the popular term for confession is *buybóy*, a term which in Lisboa’s time referred to abundance of talk.

*buybóy* MAG-, I- to confess sins; to recant [MDL: MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to say s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to say s/t to s/o; MAG-, IPANG- to go around saying things; MANG-, PANG- -AN to go around saying things to people; MAKI- -ON: *makibuyboyón* a gossip, tattler; -AN: *bubuybóyan* the person receiving all the gossip]

The most common word for confession, *kumpisál*, is a loan word from Spanish, *confesar*. While this is not a headword entry for Lisboa, it is clear from example sentences associated with a variety of headword entries, that this was the word introduced for the concept of confession. The following are examples.

*Manárig ta’ nagcoconfesal akó, da’í dihán si Pádre* ‘Even though I went to confess, the priest wasn’t there.’

*Da’í ka pa nagcoconfesar?* ‘Haven’t you gone to confession yet?’

*Umag confesalon* ‘To be ready to take confession.’

*Maráy kon harintók an pagconfesál mo* ‘It’s better if you confess often.’

In certain instances, reference to confession was made almost idiomatically, as in the expression *Da’í máyo’* ‘Nothing to confess’ or ‘Nothing to repent for’. *Máyo’* is simply a negative for existential or possessive sentences.

A similar example may be seen in the full entry for *lá’om* dealing with hopes and expectations. There is nothing in the older meaning of this word which indicates that it should be associated with confession. It is simply one of the words, most likely chosen by Lisboa, although possibly reflecting the earlier usage by priests, to carry the message of confession.

*lá’om* MAG-, -AN to expect or anticipate s/t; to aspire to s/t; to hope, wish or yearn for s/t; to have the heart set on s/t; *an naglalá’om* aspirant; -ON to be expected to do s/t; PAG- hopes, expectations, aspirations; *dakúlang paglá’om* high expectations; *mawara’án kan paglá’om* to become desperate, disillusioned [+:MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to hope, wish or yearn for s/t; *Iyóng paglalámmon an pagkagادán* ‘Death comes to all of us’; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to hope for s/t from s/o; MAG- to rely on one another; MAG-, PAG- -ON to rely on another for s/t; also indicates: to prepare for confession: ⇒ *Naglá’om akó ngunyán* ‘I am now ready for confession’; *Naglá’om akó so-kaitdó* ‘I was ready for confession the other day’; *Naglá’om akó ngápít* ‘I’ll soon be ready for confession’

Also recorded or extended by Lisboa was the causative meaning of the word *tuytóy* ‘to encourage someone to cross a river or stream by bridge’. The idea of encouragement
was extended to mean ‘to encourage someone to confess or say what they have done’. Neither this, nor the extended meaning for lá’om above, exist any longer in modern Bikol.

**tuytóy** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to cross a river or stream by means of a bridge; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to cross for a particular reason or to get s/t; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t such as a plank or log as a bridge; MAGPA-, PA- -ON to encourage s/o to cross; to talk s/o across; also: ⇒ to encourage s/o to say or confess s/t they have done; MAPA-, IPA- to say s/t in encouragement so s/o will cross; -AN: a bridge; also: a go-between [MDL]

Communion was given rather infrequently. This was because there were not enough priests in the Philippines, particularly outside of the more populated areas, resulting in it being given mainly during Lent or to the dying. Another reason was that there were relatively few Filipinos who had achieved a sufficient level of understanding of Christianity to receive communion (Phelan 1959:69).

The modern Bikol word for Holy Communion is the Spanish loan, *komunión*. *Comulgar* is the term used in the *Doctrina Christiana*, but this never was really incorporated into Bikol. Communion as a rite is never referred to by Lisboa and so neither this term nor any alternative ever appears in his example sentences. That there was communion can be seen by the terms referring to communion wafers. Since there was no wheat grown in the Philippines, communion wafers were made from rice flour, *bubob*. The box for holding communion wafers was called *ka’ob* and the action of closing the box by fitting the lid over the top, *sukad*. None of these terms referred exclusively to a box for communion wafers, and none of them have survived into modern Bikol.

**bubob** rice flour, ⇒ used in making bread and communion wafers; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to grind rice into flour [MDL]

**ka’ob** ⇒ lid or cover of a chest or communion wafer box; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to close s/t with a cover or lid; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as a cover or lid for closing s/t; MAG-, PAG- -ON to close s/t by bringing two parts together (as in closing a book) [MDL]

**sukad** a tightly fitting cap, cover or lid (such as that on a container or a cut section of bamboo); MA-, -AN: *sukárán* or MAG-, PAG- -AN: *pagsukárán* to cap or cover s/t; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as a cap, lid; to place a lid on s/t; MAG-, PAG- -ON ⇒ to encase s/t; to cover one thing with another (such as a box holding communion wafers with its lid); to place one thing inside another; *magsuró-sukad* to place a number of things, one inside the other (such as links of gold (*garis*) on the chains *kamagi* and *hinapón*); (fig-) *Da’í surukad an bu’ót kaining mga táwo* ‘These people do not fit well together’ (indicating disagreement or discord) [MDL]

**6.3 Sins and sinners**

The concept of wrong, as well as crime and punishment, certainly existed in the early Bikol society. Lisboa has many entries dealing with what appears to be a rather detailed system of justice for crimes against individuals, and a system of punishment including whipping, imprisonment, and confinement in the stocks or pillory. It was
rather easy to expand the meaning of wrong to that of sin. Much newer were the concepts of avoiding the temptation to sin, including in the concept of sin everyday occurrences such as drunkenness and adultery, and involving a supreme being in the forgiveness of particular sins committed. Also new were the concepts of desecration and the cleansing of the spirit. This was not an unattractive idea to the early Filipinos, and confession of one's sins, particularly in times of illness, served to draw them closer to the church (Chirino 1969: Chapter 41).

The concept of sin is represented by sála' which is the common word for error, fault and guilt. We can see in Lisboa's Vocabulario an attempt to distinguish types of sin, with sála' reserved for sins of the flesh, although generalized to all types of sin in the confessional. Original sin was introduced with reference to the sin of Adam, as can be seen in the entry below.

sála' an error, fault, miscalculation, mistake; a flaw, blunder; Sála' mo 'It's your fault'; magta'ó nin sála' sa to accuse or condemn s/o; MAG- -ON to admonish, censure, reprimand, reprove or rebuke s/o; MAGKA- to sin; KA- -AN: kasa'lán sin; fault; guilt, offense; MAKAS- -AN: makasa'lán unholy; PAGKA- -AN: pagkasa'lán failure, mistake; may kasa'lán culpable, guilty; mdyong pagkasa'lán infallible [+ MDL: Sála' iyán 'That's wrong'; ⇒ sála' sa Diós contrary to God; sála' sa Pádre against the priests; sála' sa hukóm wrong in the eyes of the law; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to tell s/o they are wrong; MAGKA- to sin, used primarily to refer to sins of the flesh; in the confessional it is used more generally, but not outside the confessional: 

Nagkasála' akó; nalango akó 'I have sinned; I have been drunk'; Nagkasála' akó; nanha'bón akó 'I have sinned; I have been stealing'; MAGKA-, PAGKA- -ON to sin against so; to sin against God; MAGKA-, IPAGKA- to perpetrate a particular sin; PARAKA- a sinner; MANG-, PANG- -ON to blame s/o; to accuse s/o of wrongdoing; PANG- accusation; MAPANG- an accuser]

Other references to sin occur in example sentences, or are cited as figurative. The first entry below is related to a similar entry for dá'an (not shown), which refers to things done in the past, or in anticipation of an impending consequence of one’s actions.

dá'an to reflect on or ponder one's actions: Dá'an ta'wán ko 'I don't know why I gave it to him'; ⇒ Dá'an magkasála' akó 'So I might have sinned (who hasn’t?)'; Dá'an maghampák akó saíya or Dá'an paghampakón ko 'So I might have whipped her (who hasn’t)'; Dá'an man ha'bón akó 'I can’t explain why I stole it' [MDL]

The second example is more interesting in that it actually draws on a term associated with earlier religious practices, something which was generally avoided.

sakóm an ancient rite performed by the balyán on one who lies in a coma; she calls the soul which has escaped from the body and carries it back in bánay leaves which she then shakes over the body of the one who lies ill; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to call the escaped soul; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to recite particular incantations as part of this ritual; (fig-) Sakóm na táwo si kuyán sa pananáwon 'That person is very attentive to guests'; ⇒ Nanakóm ka nang kasa'lán kaining gáwi’ mo ‘You have committed many sins with your actions’ [MDL]

There are also references warning people to watch out for the temptation to commit sin (also see Section 6.4).
sikwál MAG-, I- to sweep things aside with the hand; to drive or chase s/t away; to disown, ostracize, renounce or shun s/o [+MDL: MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to brush s/t aside; to brush s/t away; (fig-) ⇒ to resist temptation: *Isikwál mo títulos kon pasabngán kang mard'ot* 'Immediately cast it aside (turn away) if you find yourself being tempted by evil thoughts']

Those who have committed sins are encouraged to turn over a new leaf, perhaps starting anew with a Christian life, or to confess and have such sins absolved.

talikód MAG- to turn around; to about-face; MAG-, -AN to turn the back on s/o or s/t; (fig-) to waive s/t (as one's rights); to jilt s/o [+MDL: MA-, -AN to turn the back on s/o or s/t; MA-, I- to turn the back; MAG- to stand back-to-back (two people); MAG-, PAG- -AN to turn the back on s/o or s/t; MAG-, PAG- -ON to turn two things back to back; MAG-, IPAG- to turn the backs to one another; ⇒ *Talikodán mo na si mga kasa'lán mo* 'Turn your back on your sins' (Meaning: Turn over a new leaf)

nonóho' MA- to come to pass; MA- -AN: ⇒ *manonohó'an* to come to see the evil of one's ways; IKA- to see the evil of one's ways; KA- -AN: *Kanonohó'an ka lugód* 'May you come to see the evil of your ways' [MDL]

There are also specific references to the Christian practice of absolving one's sins through confession and repentance, and the subsequent cleansing of the spirit.

pára' MAG-, -ON to erase s/t; MAG-, -AN to erase s/t from; MAKA-, MA- to get erased; PANG-: *pamára'* eraser [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to erase s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to erase s/t from; ⇒ also means: to be forgiven for one's sins: *Pinapára' nin Dió an kasa'lán nin táwo kon ikinaconfesal* 'A person's sins will be forgiven by God if he confesses']

Na doy dimina'í ‘To be absolved of one’s sins’

línig MA- clean; MA- -ON immaculate; MAG-, -AN to clean s/t; to purify s/t [+MDL: MA- smooth, clean; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON / MAHING-, HING- -ON or MAGHING-, PAGHING- -ON: to smooth s/t out; to clean s/t; *Abong línig kainí* ‘How clean this is’; ⇒ *Pakalinígon nindó an saindóng bu'ót* ‘Cleanse your spirit’]

There are many instances in Lisboa of punishment meted out for various crimes, generally by whipping. The two examples below refer specifically to punishment for sins. The second relates to punishment for confessed sins, and came into use after Lisboa.

**húli’: húli’ kan, húli’ sa or húli’ ta’** because, because of; over; **nin húli’ ta’** because of, owing to, due to, for that reason [+MDL: *Hinampák akó húli’ saísimo* ‘I was whipped because of you’; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to assign blame for s/t that happens; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to blame s/o for causing s/t which has occurred; MA- ⇒ to suffer the blame for particular sins or excesses]
sílot MAG-, -AN ⇒ to punish s/o (as for a sin); to exact retribution from s/o (as after a confession); to make s/o bear the consequences of their actions; to penalize s/o (as after losing a game); PAG- consequence, punishment, retribution [+MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to make s/o bear a particular punishment for a sin or wrongdoing; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to impose a particular fine or punishment; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to undergo a particular punishment for a sin or crime]

6.4 Heaven, hell and the devil

Related to the concept of sin are the concepts of hell and the devil. There was no concept of heaven or hell in early Bikol. As for the devil, Bikolanos had enough of their own frightening creatures to keep them in check and hardly needed another to be added to this pantheon (also see Morga 1971:278–279). Nevertheless, while there seems to be an attempt in Lisboa to identify the devil with one of the creatures existing in Bikol mythology, it was really through a Spanish loan that this concept came to be recognized.

The term lángit, ‘sky’, came to be used as well for heaven, and it is this term which appears in all prayers and religious references. The abstract idea of heaven as a place of solace and contentment is adapted from the term muráway which embraced these sentiments in an earthly life. These particular uses all still exist in modern Bikol.

lángit sky, heavens; KA- -AN the heavens; -NON: langitnón heavenly, celestial [+MDL: tagá lángit celestial]

Kamó da’í mapapalángit kon da’í kamó tumubód sa Diós ‘You won’t go to heaven if you don’t believe in God.’

muráway MA- blissful, contented, peaceful; PAGKA- peace, glory; KA- -AN peace, glory, bliss, contentment; ⇒ the heavens; also murá’way [+MDL: murá’way MA- to be contented, blissful; to be in heaven; MA- -AN to comfort, calm; KA- -AN heaven; syn- mayang]

The concept of hell was also introduced with Christianity, and with it the Spanish term, infierno. There must have been some attempt to find an equivalent term from Bikol mythology, and reference is made in Espinas to gagambán as the traditional hell (Espinas 1968:185). Based on the meaning for gangób ‘forge’, this whole concept of hell associated with brimstone and fire is very Christian, and it is likely that the term was a later creation. Lisboa makes no reference to this, and it is the Spanish loan which is used in old and modern reference.

gangób MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to purify or refine gold by heating it in a forge; to expose other materials to the heat of a forge; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to remove dross or slag in this process; -AN: gagangbán forge; crucible; also see gagambán [MDL]

gagambán hell [BIK MYT]; see gangób

Hell was associated with the traditional warning against misbehaving and Lisboa has a number of example sentences in which this is made explicit.
Da’i buhi’ na da’i mapaimpiérno an parakasála’ ‘The sinful will not escape from going to hell.’

Ngápit kon magadán kamó, iihuñúlog kamó sa impiérno ‘Then, when you die you will be dropped into hell.’

Pagpeniténcia kamó ngáni’; da’i kamó ngáni’ mapainfierno ‘You had better do your penance so that you won’t go to hell.’

Also introduced was the concept of the world coming to an end, with its implied consequences for both sinners and nonsinners.

No-ánoy kon matápos iníng kina’bán … ‘In the future when this world comes to an end …’

The only reference to the devil using a native Bikol word is ungló’. It is speculation, but there is a possibility that this reference in Lisboa is to an association made by earlier priests to the region. All example sentences in Lisboa’s Vocabulario in which the devil is referred to, use the Spanish loan, demónio. This, along with another Spanish loan, diáblo, are used in Modern Bikol.

The full entry for ungló’ is presented below. The far more detailed entry, labeled Bikol Mythology [BIK MYT], is from Espinas (1968: 182) and must have had a source different from Lisboa.

ungló’ a supernatural creature with the hoofs and mane of a horse and the face of a repulsive man with wide protruding lips which completely cover its face when it laughs; brushing against the invisible ungló’ or simply being near it, especially in the early morning, could produce rashes curable by whipping the affected part with the long strand of a woman’s hair; same as láki [BIK MYT] [MDL: ⇒ black men, large and ugly like savages; now used to refer to the devil]

As would be expected from a Christian perspective, the devil was described as a frightening tempter who should be avoided at all costs.

Makagiram-giram na an demónio ‘The devil is terrifying.’

Mahuróp sa pagsugót an demónio sa táwo ‘The devil is good at tempting humans.’

Sinulang ko túlos idtóng sugót nin demónio ‘I immediately put a stop to the temptations of the devil.’

Dapít sa demóniong gáwi ‘Regarding the work of the devil.’

Reference to Adam and Eve and their encounter with the serpent in the Garden of Eden was no doubt intended with the following entry.

máliw MA- or MAG- to change in color; to change in external appearance (as a chicken when it matures and its feathers change in color); to transform o/s; I(PAG)- to change to a new color; (fig-) ⇒ Nagmáliw an demónio na nanibálas
'The devil turned itself into a serpent'; PAG- change in color; transformation; syn- *mali* [MDL]

There are also other entries where the devil is described as a trickster who confuses people, causing them to lose their way. The extension to the meaning for *ribong* would have reminded Bikolanos at some point in time of the mischief of the *tambaluslós*. This is not an entry in Lisboa, although it is known and referred to in modern Bikol.

*ribong* MA- bewildering, confounding, confusing, disorienting, perplexing; complex, complicated, intricate; MAG-, -ON to baffle, bewilder, confound, confuse, disorient, fluster, muddle or perplex s/o; MAKA-, MA- to become confused, perplexed; to panic; PAGKA- chaos, confusion, turmoil, pandemonium [+MDL: MA-, MA- -AN to be confused or bewildered about s/t; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to trick or deceive s/o (as with figures or accounts during a transaction); ⇒ to lead s/o astray (as the devil who blinds people when traveling, causing them to take the wrong trail and end up in the forest)]

*tambaluslós* a small, mythological forest creature said to lead people astray; when it laughs, its lips open to cover its whole face

6.5 Exorcism and salvation

There are two terms which refer to exorcism, and one to saving one from evil. All three terms are used in modern Bikol. None of these were used in Lisboa’s time with these meanings, although it is clear from where these terms originate. Why did these terms become current after Lisboa’s time in the Philippines? We can only speculate. Perhaps for a population that was just being converted to Christianity, entry into that religion through baptism was what was required to bring about salvation. The early priests recorded cases where people recovered from illness through baptism (see Section 6.1). Exorcism would have come about later in the Philippines when it was necessary to treat people who were already Christians.

The origin of the first term, *basbás*, is clearly from one of the rituals performed by the *balyán*. The full entry is presented below, including that from Espinas (1968:185) shown in the section [BIK MYT].

*basbás* MAG-, -AN to exorcize s/o; MAGPA-, PA- -ON to have oneself exorcized by a *parabáwi*, see *báwi* [BIK MYT: a rite performed by the *balyán* in which the body of the dead is washed with the water-softened leaves of the *lukbán* as part of a purification rite; MAG-, -AN to perform this ritual on s/o] [MDL an ancient rite in which the *balyán* uses young citrus branches moistened in water to strike some article of gold removed from the body of the dead at the time of internment in an attempt to remove any evil which might be harbored in the body; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to remove harbored evil in this way; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to strike an article of gold for this purpose]

The second term was developed from the basic meaning of ‘to take back’ or ‘to retrieve’. This is the only meaning it had in Lisboa’s *Vocabulario* and it is by far the dominant meaning in modern Bikol as well.

*báwi*’ MAG-, -ON to take back what you give or go back on what you say; to abrogate, annul, countermand, recall, reclaim, repeal, rescind, retract, retrieve,
revoke, void; to reverse (as a decision): Da’ī ka magbáwi’ kan sinábi mo ‘Don’t go back on your word’ (lit: Don’t take back what you said); MAG-, -AN to dispossess s/o; to take s/t back from s/o; MAKA-, MA- to recoup, regain, recover: Da’ī ka makakabáwi’ kan ginastó mo ‘You won’t be able to recover what you spent’; (fig-) -AN to die: Binawi’an siyá kan búhay ‘She died’ (lit: Life was taken back from her); PAG- repeal, retraction, revocation [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to take back s/t which has been lent or stolen; to take back what has been said: Bawi’on mo idtóng pagtarám mong da’ī totó’o ‘Take back the untruths that you said’; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to take s/t back from s/o]

báwi’ MAG-, -ON to exorcize s/o; to drive evil spirits out of s/o; MAGPA-, PA- -ON to go to s/o to be exorcized; PARA- exorcist, referring to anyone who drives evil spirits out of the body so that the good spirits may return

The final term, ágaw, is used in modern Bikol in the religious sense of ‘to deliver someone from evil’. The two entries presented below are a single entry in Lisboa. The basic meaning presented in the first entry is ‘to snatch away or to jostle’. In the second entry is the more figurative meaning from old Bikol, ‘to cure someone of a disease’.

ágaw MAG- to snatch things from one another; MAG-, -ON to snatch s/t; MAG-, -AN to snatch s/t from s/o; MANG- to go around snatching things; MAKI- to jostle; to push your way ahead; to scramble for s/t; MA+KA- to push your way ahead of s/o [+MDL: MAG- to grab things away from one another; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to snatch s/t; to grab s/t away; to save s/o from danger; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to grab s/t away from s/o; to save s/o from a particular danger; (fig-) MAG- to take advantage of a particular occasion: Agáwa iníng linaw ‘Take advantage of the good weather’; Nagarágaw an giginhawáhon to be unable to catch one’s breath; Nagarágaw na an giginhawáhon kaining naghihílang ‘This sick person is drawing his last breath’; nagágaw naaagíhan to degenerate into a quarrel]

ágaw MAG-, -ON to deliver s/o (as from evil); MAG-, -AN to deliver s/o from evil; magágaw an bu’ót to have one’s soul in turmoil [+MDL: MAG-, PAG- -ON to cure a person of a disease; MAG-, IPAG- to cure a disease with a particular treatment]

6.6 God

We now come to the concept of a unitary God, and in the sections following this to Christ, the saints and priests. While concepts central to Christianity, such as a unitary God, were to be kept in the original Spanish there are a number of Philippine languages, both major and minor, in which the term batála’ or bathála’ was used to mean God due to its possible interpretation as a Supreme Being. The term comes originally from Sanskrit, and while it was probably not far enough removed from other terms for ancestor worship to make its adoption acceptable to the missionary priests, in many regions of the Philippines this was the term applied to the new Christian God (Anonymous 1572 in Christianization 1965:363; Chirino 1969: Chapter 21; Placencia 1589 in Blair & Robertson 1903–1909: Vol 7, 186). This was not the case in Bikol. Bathála’ was clearly a type of aníto, a representation of one’s ancestors, and therefore
not acceptable. This term has disappeared from modern Bikol, and familiarity with it would most likely be due to a person’s familiarity with Tagalog or Cebuano.

**batála’** special gods or **aníto** who watch over a particular family or settlement [Bik MYT] [MDL: **bathála’** ⇒ an **aníto** which brings good fortune to those it accompanies; **-AN** a man of good fortune believed to be accompanied by such an **aníto**; **Kabathalá’an mo doy; da’i ka máyo’ na iígó’** ‘How lucky you are; everything thrown at you misses’]

In Bikol the only alternative was to introduce the Spanish term **Diós** for this meaning. There are numerous references to **Diós** in the example sentences which accompany other entries in the dictionary. It doesn’t take much imagination to see how many of these utterances could have been used in a sermon accompanying mass, or in the confessional.

**Latap an hírak nin Diós sa mga táwo gabós** ‘God’s mercy is spread among all the people.’

**Áwot pang mungmóng napaggurumdóm sa Diós** ‘Who cannot fail to be fulfilled with thoughts of God.’

**Udók an pagtubód sa Diós** ‘To have a deep faith in God.’

**An tinutugmarán nin totó’ong pagkaká Cristiano iní nang gáyod an marigon na pagtubód sa Kagurangnán tang Diós** ‘The basis of true Christianity is a strong belief in the Lord our God.’

**Nakakatanong an da’í tíba’ad digdí sa dagá’ kan paggurumdóm ta sa Diós** ‘The transitory things of earth stand in the way of our thoughts of God.’

**Da’í mo pasibógon an saímong pagtubód sa Diós, mínsan pagaanhón ka man** ‘Do not waver from you belief in God, even though from time to time you may be tested.’

**Hapaw an pagtubód nindó sa Diós** ‘You are remiss in your faith in God.’

**Maláya an pagtubód nindó sa Diós** ‘Your belief in God is weak.’

**Tugák na gáyod an bu’ót nindó sa Diós** ‘Your belief in God is very weak.’

The concept of divinity could easily be expressed using the grammatical resources available in Bikol.

**An dapít sa Diós** ‘with regard to God; divine, Godly’

**An pagkaDiós** ‘divine, Godly’

The concept of God may have been brought closer to the lives of the early Bikolanos by associating certain references to popular beliefs. An extension of the word **bagsik** would remind Bikolanos of the abilities conveyed by particular charms and
amulets, and a particular fortunate discovery, as of gold, might also remind them of the beneficial spirits inhabiting their pre-Christian world.

**bagsík** MA- swift; strong, powerful, mighty; healthy, invigorated; MAG- to grow strong, powerful; to become invigorated, healthy; to become swift; MAKA- to strengthen, invigorate; MA- to feel strengthened, invigorated, healthy, strong; KA- -AN swiftness; strength, power, might; authority; vitality; **buháy bagsík** health [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to become stronger, swifter; MAPAKA-, PAKA- -ON to have s/o do s/t briskly or with agility; to empower s/o; ⇒ to give s/o the power to do s/t (as empowering a god); MAPAKA-, IPAKA- to have s/t done with speed, agility]

**tugá** MA- or MAG- to appear suddenly and unexpectedly; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to present s/t that is unexpected; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to appear unexpectedly before s/o; to appear suddenly at a particular location; ⇒ **Itinugá sakó** nin Diós ining buláwan ‘God has presented me with this gold’; -AN tugáhan lucky, fortunate; referring to s/o who always has what they need when they need it; var- tungá [MDL]

Reference to God as the Lord or the Almighty is based on the root **guráng** ‘old’. The term **kagurangnán** ‘the Lord’ is modern, and we can see in Lisboa that it once served as the title Mr or Mrs. While Lisboa does not specifically give the meaning of ‘the Lord’ to this entry, it is clear from subsequent entries where it is used (see Section 6.7) that this was one of its intended meanings.

**guráng** old (humans, animals); aged, elderly: **Guráng na akó** ‘I’m already old’; MAG- to grow old; **an mga magúrang** parents; **sagugúrang** conservative, traditional; out of date; also used to refer to the stories told by old people; KA- -AN old age; KA- -NAN: ⇒ **kagurangnán** the Lord; the Almighty [+MDL: MA- old; MA- -ON very old; MA- or MAG- to grow old; MAKA- to cause s/t to age; to cause s/t to endure; MAGKA- to be long-lasting; to last forever, endure; magkaguráng man forever; MAGKA-, PAGKA- -ON to persist or persevere in doing s/t; PAGKA- age; KA- -NAN: **kagurangnán** Mr, Mrs; MAGKA- -NANAN: magkagurangnánan to call s/o Mr or Mrs; MAG- -NAN, PANG- -NANAN: mangagurangnánan, pangagurangnánan to serve a particular master as a servant or slave]

Reference to God’s creation of the world is based on the term **laláng** which in Lisboa’s time simply had the meaning of creative. In modern Bikol the term has only a religious reference.

**laláng** MAG-, -ON to create the world and its creatures (God); PAG- the creation of the world; **an linaláng** creatures (as in ‘All God’s Creatures’) [MDL: MA- creative, inventive; one who is good at planning and carrying things out; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to plan s/t; to design a plan or system; also see **dahan**]

6.7 Christ and the Apostles

If the concept of a unitary God was difficult for early Bikolanos to understand, the concept of a human representative of God in the form of Christ should have been even more so. Lisboa has either used or recorded earlier use of particular grammatical
devices in Bikol to try to convey this concept. We have, using the verbal affix *mani-* just such an attempt which must have been successful since it is still used in modern Bikol.

*mani-* verbal affix, infinitive-command form meaning ‘to be’ or ‘to become’; a possible combination of the prefixes *mang-* and *ání*:: BASE *táwo* man, woman, human; INFINITIVE-COMMAND *manitáwo* to become human; PAST *nanitáwo*; PROGRESSIVE *naninitáwo*; FUTURE *naninitáwo*; ⇒ *Si Krísto nanitáwo* ‘Christ took human form’ [+MDL: ⇒ *Naniniháwak nin táwo* ‘taking human form’ (a God in Christ)]; *Naninisúka* an árak ‘The wine turned to vinegar’; *Naniniutak si iniros* ‘From steel we get a knife’; *Kon ibá an maniagóm mo, da’í taká tatagtagán* ‘If you change husbands (implying divorce and remarriage), I will disinherit you’; *Maninináno daw si kuyán kaiyán paghílang niyá* ‘I don’t know what’s happening to that person because of her illness’; the causative forms are: *mapakani-* and *pakani-*: *Napakakaniutak akó kaining iniros* ‘I’m making a knife from this steel’; *Pinakakaniutak an iniros* ‘The steel is being used to make a knife’

Christ as the protector was introduced using a particularly interesting extension of *langán* ‘sandals’, an extension which did not survive into modern Bikol. Christ as the Redeemer or Savior, however, has a modern Bikol reference which was developed after Lisboa’s time based on the root, *tubós*, which was used in financial transactions or for the exchange of prisoners.

*langán* sandals; MAG- to wear sandals [+MDL: sandals (typ- worn when on a hunt to protect the feet from thorns)]; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to cover s/t in order to protect it; to protect s/t with a covering; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as an outer covering for protection; PAG- ⇒ protection; and by extension: to protect, save: *Si Jesucrísto, Kagurángnan ta, nagadán langán satúya*’ ‘Jesus Christ, our Lord, died for us’

*tubós* MAG-, -ON to redeem s/t; to ransom s/o; MAG-, -AN to ransom or redeem s/t from s/o; MAG-, I- to pay s/t as a ransom; PARA- ⇒ redeemer, savior [+MDL: MA-, -ON to recover one’s bond or what one has left for surety; to ransom s/o; MA-, -AN to recover one’s bond from s/o; to ransom s/o from s/o; MA-, I- to make a particular payment to recover one’s bond or surety; to pay a particular ransom; MAG- to exchange captives, prisoners; MAG-, IPAG- to exchange one captive for another; MAG-, PAG- -AN to ransom one captive with the exchange of another]

The Lisboa *Vocabulario* also has a number of references to Christ’s teachings in example sentences (see Section 6.9).

... *kon si Jesucristo, Kagurángnan ta* ... ‘as said by Jesus Christ, our Lord.’

*An úlay ni Jesucristo, Kagurángnan ta: An makuyóg ngayá kan túgon ni amá’, iyó kon iná’, iyó kon tágang iyán ....* ‘Jesus Christ, our Lord, said: Those who honor their father, their mother and their fellow humans ....’

*Sumálá’ pa idtóng úlay ni Jesucristo, Kagurángnán ta* ‘And the words of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, will come to pass.’
Reference to the Apostles in Lisboa is made in an entry showing how information may be passed by word of mouth from generation to generation. The Apostle’s Creed is a modern Bikol adaptation based on the term, tubód ‘to have faith’.

litó MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to pass s/t from person to person (information, things); to hand s/t down from generation to generation; MA-, -AN: litwán or MAG-, PAG- AN: paglitwán to eventually be passed on to s/o (after a chain of intermediaries); ⇒ An húlit ni Jesucrísto, Kagurangan tá, ilimitó’ sató’ nin mga Apóstoles ‘The teachings of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, have come down to us via the Apostles’; also see turon [MDL]

tubód MAG-, -ON to believe in or have faith in s/o; to follow s/o’s wishes; to heed or obey s/o; to regard s/t (as advice); MAGPA-, PA-ON to convince or persuade s/o; to win s/o over; MAKA- credible, cogent, compelling, convincing; DA’Í MAKA- incredible, inconceivable; PA- superstition; PAG- belief, faith; da’ing pagtubód doubting, dubious, unbelieving; ⇒ An Minatubód The Apostle’s Creed, a statement of belief in the basic doctrines of Christianity, said to have been composed by the Twelve Apostles, which begins: ‘I believe in God the Father Almighty’ [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to believe in s/t; to have faith in or trust s/o; tutubdón to test s/o’s faith in s/t; MANG- to have too much faith in s/o; to trust s/o too easily (as in giving credit); PAG- belief, faith; trust; an pagtubód an act of faith; Harayo’ an pagtubód ko saímò ‘I’ll never trust you’; Tubód mo doy ‘How quickly you trust s/o; How easily you are taken in’; -AN / -ON + -NON: turubdánon or turubdánon trusted, well-respected; one who is obeyed due to fear, respect or the ability to help others]

6.8 Death and resurrection

Along with a belief in Christ we also have the concept of death and resurrection which did not exist in early Bikol society. Also introduced into the death ritual was the priest, perhaps in an attempt to usurp the traditional position of the balyán, and the more Christian concepts of the human body returning to the dust from which it came, and the liberation of the soul.

The concept of resurrection was exemplified using words for ‘again’, liwát in both old and modern Bikol and ótro in modern Bikol alone, or words for ‘return’, balik or uli’. Examples are found associated with a number of headword entries.

liwát again; re-: ⇒ liwát na pagkabúhay rebirth, reincarnation, resurrection; MAG-, -ON to redo s/t; to do s/t again; to repeat s/t; to iterate or reiterate s/t; PAG- repetition, recurrence [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to redo or repeat s/t; to come back to change s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to return to add s/t; MAPAKA-, PAKA-ON to repair or refurbish s/t; to improve on s/t; (fig-) Pakaliwatón mo an bu’ót mong mard’ot ‘Improve your unacceptable behavior’]

táwo man or woman; an individual, a person, human being; people; a creature (human); an mga táwo mankind, humanity, folk; the populace, population; MA- crowded; heavily populated, populous; sadíring táwo immediate family; MAGMA-, MA- -ON to sustain s/o’s life; to not be involved in the killing of s/o; garó táwo man-like, humanoid; pagkanítáwo manhood,
humankind; ⇒ ótrong pagkanitáwo reincarnation, resurrection; -AN a tenant; (sl-) bodyguard; tumátáwo a caretaker; ⇒ táwong alpóg (lit-) men of this world (lit: men of dust); táwong lipód a general term for invisible mythological creatures including giants and elves [+MDL: duwá katáwo two people; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to spare the life of s/o or s/t; MAKA- to be able to sustain life: Túbig lámang nakakatáwo sakó’ ‘Only water is keeping me alive’; (fig-) da’í nakakatáwo nin kaláyo to be unable to light a fire; MA- to be alive; to live, germinate; to light (a fire): Natáwo na si tinanóm ko ‘My plants have germinated’; ⇒ natáwo nagbalík to be resurrected; to live again; IKA- to sustain life (as food); (fig-) ikatáwo fresh, vibrant; MA- -AN to be carrying a child, off-spring; PAGKA- humanity; the ability to revive, grow s/t; MAMA-, MA- -ON or MAGMA-, PAGMA- -ON to sustain the life of s/o or s/t; to not kill an animal; MAMA-, MA- or MAGMA-, IPAGMA- to give food as sustenance to keep s/o or s/t alive; ⇒ an pagkatáwó liwát resurrection; An pagkatáwó liwát nin mga táwo gabós ‘The resurrection of all of us’

mündág born; mundág na gadán stillborn; MAG-, I- to give birth to a child; MA- to be born; MA- -AN to be born in a particular place; dagáng namundágan birthplace, homeland; PAGKA- birth; ⇒ pagkamundág ulí’ or liwát na pagkamundág reincarnation, rebirth, resurrection [+MDL]

The reference to humans as táwong alpóg (see the example in táwó above) referring to the transitory nature of life was not in Lisboa, but is used in modern Bikol. Lisboa, however, does have references to the human body returning to the dust of the earth, and to the soul being separated from the body upon death.

kabo-kabo dust; MAG- to be dusty; to be covered with dust; Nagkabo-kabo na iníng bádo’ mo ‘Those clothes of yours are very dusty’; MANI- ⇒ to become dust; Maninikabo-kabo an háwak nin táwo ‘The human body turns to dust’ [MDL]

dagá’ soil, earth; ground, land, terrain; property, premises; puéde sa túbig, puéde sa dagá’ amphibious; MAG-, -AN to cover s/t with soil; MAG-, I- to dig up soil; MAGPA- PA- -AN to fill s/t in with earth; NASA ashore; dagáng panugá’ promised land [+MDL: MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to throw soil on s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to cover s/t with soil; MAMG- or MANI- ⇒ to return to the soil; to become dust; -ON: dinágá’ a dirt road; -IMIN- to fall to the ground: Diminagá’ na iníng guayáyas ‘Many guavas have fallen to the ground’; Garó na iníng dagá’ iníng uuránon ‘This cloud is like the earth’ (Said when there is a dark cloud in the sky); sangdagá’ very numerous (numerous as the grains of soil)

utás MAG-, -ON to detach, remove or separate s/t; MAG-, -AN to detach or separate s/t from s/t else; MAKA-, MA- to come off; to become detached; MAKA-, MA- -AN to come off from s/t; to become detached or come off from s/t [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to cut s/t completely off; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to cut s/t completely off from where it is attached; MA- to come completely apart; to become completely detached; ⇒ to separate from one’s body (the soul); to end (one’s life); MA- -AN to die (to be
separated from one’s life): **Nautsán na** ‘She’s dead’; PAGKA-: **an pagkautsí** way of dying.

The Spanish priests may have felt a need to emphasize this return to the earth of the physical body since in the pre-Christian tradition the dead were shrouded and often left in specially built huts to decompose, or in the case of the rich, in their own homes which were then abandoned. Subsequent rituals of bone washing and storage would then also take place in certain regions of the Philippines (see Chirino 1969: Chapter 33).

There is no time in this paper to go into detail regarding the death rituals found in Lisboa’s *Vocabulario*. The few entries below should give the reader some idea of the differences between pre-Christian funerals, and the burials introduced by the priests.

**biray** the house or residence of a leading member of the community which serves as a place of confinement after death; the house with the coffin and body is then left to decay or collapse; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to confine the dead in such a way; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to confine the dead to such a house; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a house for such a purpose; (fig-) **Nagsulóm na ining biray** ‘This house is very dark’ (Said when annoyed or angry) [MDL]

**kalang** a small hut or shelter in which the caskets of influential people of a town are placed; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to place the dead in such a hut or shelter; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN / MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a hut or shelter for such a purpose [MDL]

**haya’** (arc-) MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to place the bodies of the dead in a seated position near one another, as if they were still alive, so that they may be viewed or eulogized; -AN: **hahaha’an** a place where such viewing or eulogizing takes place; (fig-) **Anó ta’ pinagahaya’ iní digdí ho?** ‘Why is this left where everyone can see it?’ (Said in annoyance about s/t that should have been put away) [MDL]

**hutang** MAPA-, PA- -ON to arrange the body of the dead, laying it out in the middle of a room; MAPA-, PA- -AN to lay out the dead in the middle of a room [MDL]

**badyó’** cloth (typ- woven with colors and figures, used only for covering the bodies of the dead); also see **bulos** [MDL]

**babayógan** bier for carrying the dead; see **bayóg** [MDL]

There was some adaptation of pre-Christian practices to the Christian burial. A eulogy for the dead was a somewhat minor extension of the traditional term for mourners or criers, and the thud of something falling from a height was taken as the sounding of a toll for the dead.

**aráng** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to eulogize the dead; to cry in grief over the dead; (arc-) PARA- mourners, criers [MDL]

**rukat** thud, thump; the sound of s/t falling from high up; also ⇒ the sound of the toll for the dead which is rung on Good Friday to mark the hour of Christ’s
death; MA- or MAG- to make this sound; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to sound the toll for the dead; Nagruk na ‘What a thud’ [MDL]

In modern Bikol we have a further adaptation of a traditional word for the role of priests in escorting the dead to a place of burial. There is a festive note to this adaptation which might very well have been intended, although it is not clear when this term comes into modern Bikol and how extant the original meaning was at the time.

dápit MAG-, -ON ⇒ to escort the dead (priests) [MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to call on s/o for the purpose of inviting them to the house for a meal, a drink or discussion; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to announce an invitation by passing through an area playing a musical instrument, such as the kudyapi’ or subing, or striking the sticks called kalótan; to invite those who live out of town (resident there due to unacceptable social or criminal behavior); -ON: an darapítan one invited many times or by many people; Garó na ing dápit ‘She’s decked out like an invited guest’ (Said when one is very dressed up, as when going to a wedding)]

6.9 Sermons and teachings

The modern word for bible is the Spanish loan biblía. The word for testament, as in the New Testament and Old Testament, is típan. Lisboa does not make use of the word biblía in his Vocabulario, nor is típan used in a religious sense.

típan covenant, testament; Ba’góng Típan New Testament; Dá’an na Típan Old Testament [MDL: a vow or pledge; MA-, I- to make a vow or promise to do s/t; to pledge s/t; to take an oath; MA-, -AN to make a vow or promise to s/o; to form a covenant with s/o; MAG- to take a vow (a number of people); MAG-, PAG- -AN to take a vow about s/t; to make a pledge to many people; MAG-, IPAG- to utter a particular vow]

Lisboa clearly uses the word húlit to convey the more immediate concept of ‘religious teachings’, compared to the written word of the bible, and there are numerous references to this. The underlying meaning of húlit must have been ‘to teach someone how to behave’ as can be seen in the example below, but the dominant meaning in Lisboa, either reflecting earlier usage or presaging later usage, was religious.

húlit homily, doctrine, teaching; sermon; MAG-, I- to preach about s/t; to give particular instructions on how to behave; MAG-, -AN to preach to s/o; to deliver a sermon to s/o; PARA- preacher; da’ing húlit spoiled, undisciplined [+MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to teach s/o; to indoctrinate s/o; to scold s/o who has done wrong; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to teach a particular lesson or doctrine; to teach the correct way to behave; (fig-) Masuháy na gáyo si kuyán; maraháy kon húlit ‘That person is very disobedient; it would be good to teach him how to behave’ (Implying: By giving him a good whipping)]

Paa’anóng maghúlit kaiyán na naniraw-niraw na lámang an táwo sa simbáhan ‘How can one give a sermon to the handful of people remaining in church?’

Gíkan sa Diós ining húlit ‘This teaching comes from God.’
Rimposá nindó iní ng hulit sa bu’ót nindó ‘Keep these teachings close to your heart.’

Tungkosá nindó sa bu’ót an húlit nin Diós ‘Remember God’s teachings.’

Ta’ daw ta’ da’i tinatadmán nin húlit an saímong bu’ót? ‘Why is it that the teachings have no effect on you?’

Dai máyo’ akó nakakasapód kaining ipinaghuhúlit sakó’ ‘I don’t quite understand what is being taught to me.’

There is no specific reference to the Ten Commandments in Lisboa, but modern usage draws on the word túgon for the concept of ‘commandment’ and it is likely that Lisboa would have used it in this way. The Doctrina Christiana of 1708 by Domingo Martínez, uses túgon for ‘commandment’, and it is probable that an earlier version, a translation into Bikol by Fr. Andrés de San Agustin in 1647 of the Belarmino Doctrina Christiana, used this as well. While I have not seen a copy of this Doctrina, Fr. San Agustin uses túgon in this way in his Arte de la lengua Bicol, also published in 1647.

túgon a request to get s/t; MAG-, -ON to request s/o get s/t; MAG-, I- to request s/t be gotten; KA- -AN a request, wish; ⇒ commandment [MDL: order, command; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to order s/o to do s/t; to instruct s/o according to one’s wishes; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to give a particular instruction or order; tugón-túgon MANG- to go around giving orders]

6.10 Prayer

The common word for prayer was and is adyí’. This is a loanword from Malay, coming originally from Arabic, and it was an acceptable term for use in a Christian context since it possibly had few if any connotations with the traditional religious life of the early Bikolanos. The variant affixation possibilities may indicate that there was some uncertainty in adapting this term to the Bikol sound system. Lisboa gave adyí’ a very specific reference to Christian doctrine, as can be seen in the entry which follows.

adyí’ MANG- to pray; MANG-, IPANG- or MAGPANG-, IPAGPANG- to pray for s/t; MANG-, PANG- -AN or MAGPANG-, PAGPANG- -AN to pray to s/o; MANG-, PANG- -ON or MAGPANG-, PAGPANG- -ON to recite particular prayers; PANG- or PAGPANG- praying; PARAPANG- one who prays; PANG- -ON prayer; PANG- -AN prayer book [+MDL: MANG-, PANG- -AN ⇒ to recite the Benedictus - Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel / Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord; to recite the rosary; to pray to a particular saint; PARAPANG- those who come to pray on the Sabbath] [MALAY kaji to learn to recite the Koran, from ARABIC]

Pisan lámgan an tata’óng mangadyí’ ‘It’s rare to find s/o who knows how to pray.’

Lisboa includes example sentences related to praying in the definitions for a number of entries.

tábi’ please: Atrás tábi’ ‘Please move back’; MAKI- to excuse o/s (as when moving through a crowd of people); MAGPA-, PA- -ON to pardon or excuse s/o (by
letting them pass); **tabí’-tábi’** MAG- to excuse o/s when passing among people [+MDL: please, with permission; ⇒ to place the hands together, as when praying; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to say thank you for s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to thank s/o; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to say s/t in appreciation or thanks; syn- **salámat**]

**súno’** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON ⇒ to repeat exactly s/t one has heard to another (as a prayer one has memorized); to follow, stepping in the footsteps of the one walking in front) [MDL]

**laktás** MA- describing s/t which contains many omissions; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN ⇒ to miss, omit, skip over, leave s/t out (as when reciting prayers when one omits a number of verses)

**kimót-kimót** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON ⇒ to move the lips (as when reading to o/s or saying one’s prayers) [MDL]

For the closing of a prayer, Lisboa presents a word based on the concept of wishing or hoping that something will come about, **áwot pa**. An equivalent term used in ceremonies by the *balyán*, ahom, was avoided.

**áwot pa** ⇒ amen; may it be: **Áwot pang iligtás kita** ‘May we be saved!’ [MDL: ⇒ God grant, amen; an expression equivalent to the English ‘Oh if’ or ‘Oh that’, as used in the following contexts: **Áwot pa naggugúhit na lugód akó na iyó iyán** ‘Oh if only I were writing that now’; **Áwot pa maggúhit lugónd akó na iyó iyán** ‘Oh if I could only write that now’; **Áwot pa si maggúhit na iyó iyán** ‘Oh if only someone were to write that’; **Áwot pa maraháy na lugód** ‘Oh that it may all turn out for the best’; **Áwot pang buláwan** ‘If only it were gold’]

**ahom** expression of affirmation spoken by the congregation to the *balyán* as she recites her prayers; MA- or MAG- to utter this expression; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to assent to s/t; to express acceptance of s/t with such an expression; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to respond to the *balyán* in such a way [MDL]

The Lord’s Prayer, the *Pater Noster* or *Our Father*, was given a literal translation in Bikol as it was in other Philippine languages.

**amá’** father; MAG- father and child; MAG-, -ON to call s/o father (a natural father or a guardian); **makó-amá’** nephew; **pakó-amá’ón** uncle; ⇒ **Amá’ Niámo’** The Lord’s Prayer (lit: Our Father) [+MDL: the variation between amá and amá’ is found in different towns; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to call s/o father (a natural father or guardian)]

Reference is also made in Lisboa to the time for reciting of the *Ave Maria* and to the *brebiário*, a book listing the prayers suitable for reciting at particular times of the day which is still used in modern Bikol.

**sinárom** twilight; dusk; ⇒ a time shortly after reciting the evening’s *Ave Maria* MAG- to fall (the night); to begin to grow dark (the day)
kapót MAG-, -AN: kapotán or kaptán to hold s/t in the hand; MANG-, PANG- -AN to clasp, clutch, grasp or grip s/t; to cling to s/t; to latch on to s/t; to get a hold of s/t; -AN: kakkaptán handle [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to hold s/t in the hands; ⇒ Kapít mo na iníng Breviario ‘Hold this breviary’; Garó na ing da’i kinaptán ‘It looks as if this is untouched’ (Said when s/t is very clean, such as s/t one has sewn)]

brebiário breviary, a book containing the hymns, offices, and prayers for the canonical hours (special prayers recited at specified times during the day) [SP-breviario]

6.11 Homage and supplication

Related to prayer are expressions of homage, praise and supplication. Included in this section are those expressions in which certain requests are made of God.

There are some interesting comparisons to be made between the present and the past. Lisboa had already selected quite a number of words and extended their meaning to include the above ideas. Modern Bikol, however, has gone further and it is interesting to see the origin of these later adaptations.

The central meaning of the first example, mi’bi’, was ‘to implore or to entreat’. We have this term given a religious meaning in Lisboa which is still used in modern Bikol.

mi’bi’ MANG-, PANG- -ON to pray for s/t; to supplicate; PANG-: pami’bi’ prayer; supplication, entreaty [+MDL: mibí’ MANG-, PANG- -AN or MAGPANG-, PAGPANG- -AN ⇒ to pray to God or the saints; to implore, entreat or beseech s/o; MAG-, PANG- -ON or MAGPANG-, PAGPANG- -ON to pray for s/t]

Other terms for beseeching or imploring which were used in Lisboa’s time and are still current are ngayó’-ngáyo’ and agaghá’.

ngayó’-ngáyo’ MAG-, -AN ⇒ to beseech or implore s/o; MAG-, -ON to plead or beg for s/o [+MDL: ma-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to plead for s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to beseech or implore s/o]

agaghá’ (lit-) wail; supplication; MAG- to wail; ⇒ to beseech, implore; MAG-, -AN to wail over s/o; to ask for s/t in supplication [+MDL: agaghá MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to wail over s/t; to lament s/t]

Modern usage has given aráng a more religious sense than in the past.

aráng MAG-, -ON to pray to s/t; MAG-, I ⇒ to pray for s/t; to aspire to or hope for s/t; PAG- hope [MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to ask for help, assistance or aid from s/o; to implore s/o]

Lisboa has two further interesting entries dealing with the idea of praying for something. While the Tagalog cognate of darangin (dalángin) is used in that language to mean ‘to pray’, darangin in Bikol is no longer used. Perhaps its contradictory interpretation of both good and bad left it too ambiguous to deliver a clear positive message. Karoy is an interesting attempt to move a word associated with a general benefit gained from one’s actions to religion, but that too did not survive.
**darangin** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN ⇒ to pray for s/o’s well being; to curse s/o; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to praise or curse s/o by saying s/t; for example: Sawá’ ka di’ ka gagadán ‘May you be struck down’; ⇒ Pakarāháyon ka lugód nin Diós ‘May God bring you well-being’; MANG-, PANG- -AN to pray to God or the saints; MANG-, IPANG- to pray for s/t; also see sawa’ [MDL]

**karoy** benefit or gain which one hopes to achieve by carrying out particular actions; ⇒ a return on an investment of time, prayer (such as when s/o goes to church to pray for a reward or remuneration they hope to receive); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to do s/t so that a later benefit or return will be realized; to consider how s/t can be used to further one’s aims: Anóng karoy mo kaiyán? ‘What do you hope to gain by that?’; Anóng kinakaroy mo sakúya’ na urípon? ‘What do you hope to get from me, a slave?’ [MDL]

We can also see in Lisboa how other words were used to convey the sense of protection that could be available if one were only to pray.

**sulóm** MAG- to be dark, obscure (as a house without lights); PAG- darkness, obscurity; Nagsulóm na iníng hárong ‘This house is dark’; Nagsulóm na kitá; pagsuló daw kamó ‘We are in the dark; let’s have some light’; ⇒ Si makuríng pagsulóm ta iní kainíng pagkada’íng salong ‘We are surrounded by darkness because we have no torch’ (Implying: Protect us Lord in our hour of darkness) [MDL]

The next group of words look at terms for praise. Modern usage for úmaw is as it was during Lisboa’s time. Sambá́ had already been adapted by Lisboa, but its original meaning was ‘to take an oath or to swear allegiance’. Rukyáw is interesting for its modern usage has come quite a way from its original use in battle. The final entry, arak, did not survive into modern Bikol even though its original meaning seemed particularly well suited to religious adaptation.

**úmaw** MAG-, -ON to acclaim, esteem, extol, honor, laud, praise or venerate s/o; to dignify s/t; to commemorate s/t; MAG-, I- to praise or honor s/o for s/t; umáwón da’íng lí’at eternal praise; everlasting praise [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to praise, extol or exalt s/o; Magkasi naguúmaw ‘Both are worthy of praise’]

**sambá** MAG-, -ON to venerate or worship s/t; to adore s/o (religious context); -AN place of worship [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to adore or worship s/o or s/t]

**rukyáw** homage, praise, tribute; MAG-, -ON to praise or pay homage to s/o; to extol s/o [MDL: cry of victory; MA- or MAG- to shout in victory; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to shout in victory over those who have been defeated (the victor)]

**arak** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to praise or admire s/t (for its beauty, excellent quality or large quantity); to marvel at s/t; to be in awe of s/t; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to say s/t in praise of s/t or s/o; MAKI- -ON describing one who marvels at or is in awe of s/t; awestruck; -IMIN- to be in praise of s/t; Da’i máyong da’i
**iminarak** ‘There is nothing that person doesn’t admire’; MAHING- -AN to be carried away or be overcome in praise of s/t; MAKAHING- to be worthy of high praise or admiration; IKAHING- to be praised to the highest or to the extreme; **Súkat ta ikahihingarak an pagkakurí nin Diós** ‘We should extol the greatness of the Lord’ [MDL.]

The next set of words are terms for compassion, pity and grace. The most common of these is **hírak** which has changed little over the centuries. With its central meaning of compassion, it was not difficult to add the concept of God to this. The same is true for **úgay.** The meaning of compassion attributed to **máyo** did not reach modern Bikol.

**hírak** compassion, pity, woe; mercy, clemency; **hírak sa** difficult for; hard on; MAKA- pitiful, pitiable, touching; MA-...SA to pity; to take pity on s/o; to feel sorry for s/o; MA- -AN to be pithed; MAKI+MA- to ask for mercy; to supplicate o/s; MA- -ON: mahihírákon pitiful, pathetic, wretched; PAGKA- mercy, pity; da’îng pagkahírákon merciless, pitiless; unfeeling, hard-hearted; PAKI+MA- supplication; KA- I: kahiráki ⇒ an expression equivalent to the English, ‘God have mercy’; hírák-hírákon mercy, pity; MAKA- abject; da’îng hírák-hírákon merciless, pitiless, unfeeling, hard-hearted [+MDL: MA-, MA- -AN to pity s/o; to feel sorry for s/o; MA-, IKA- to feel sorry for s/o for a particular reason; MAGMA-, PAGMA- -ON to show outward signs of compassion toward s/o (as by saying Hírak kaiyán ‘How pitiful!’); MAKIMA-, PAKIMA- -ON to ask for pity, compassion; MAKIMA-, PAKIMA- -AN to ask for pity or compassion from s/o; MAKIMA-, IPAKIMA- to ask for pity or compassion for a particular reason; hírák-hírákon MAKA-: Makahírákon na ‘What a terrible pity’ or ‘What a shame’; syn- máyo’ only when affixed with MAKIMA-, PAKIMA-]

**úgay** (lit-) compassion; grace; MA- compassionate; ⇒ full of grace [+MDL: MA- or MA- -ON compassionate; ⇒ pious, godly; PAGKA- compassion; piety, godliness; KA- friend, servant; úgay ko what a pity, how sad; an expression of sympathy or compassion: Úgay ko iká ‘Poor you’; Úgay ko siyá ‘Poor her’; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to show outward signs of compassion toward s/t; to feel pain or compassion for s/o (as s/o affected by a death); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to voice an expression of sympathy or compassion out loud]

**máyo** ‘there is not; without, devoid of; to not have or possess; naught, nil, no, none: Máyong lápis diyán ‘There is no pencil there’; Máyo’ siyáng probléma ‘He doesn’t have a problem’; [+MDL: always used with da’î: Da’î máyo’ ‘Nothing to confess, nothing to repent for’; Da’î máyong tâwo ‘No one is here’; Da’î na máyong tâwo’ ‘There is no more’; MAKI-: ⇒ makimáyo’ to ask for pity, compassion; syn- hírákon]

The modern usage of grace and blessing come from Bikol words dealing with generosity or sharing. These did not have a religious meaning in Lisboa’s Vocabulario.

**biyáya** grace, blessing [MDL: MA- generous; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to show generosity toward s/o; to give gifts to guests or visitors; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to give s/t as a gift or as a sign of generosity; syn- tawala’, yagayag]
wáras grace, pity (used in prayers); MAG-, -AN to shower s/o with grace or pity

[+ MDL: MA-, -AN to divide s/t; to give s/o a share of s/t; MA-, I- to allot or give s/t as a share; MAG-, PAG- -ON to divide s/t in two; MAG-, PAG- -AN to share s/t among yourselves; KA- s/t which is divided and shared]

The bowing action when showing reverence to God when praying was associated with words with similar meaning in Bikol. Súkol is only given a religious meaning in Lisboa, an attempt no doubt to give this more general action a very specific association which exists today in modern Bikol.

dukó’ MAG- to bend over; to bow, lean over, stoop; to crouch, hunch; to double-over; to duck; to cover oneself so as to avoid boxing blows [+ MDL: MA- or MAG- to bow the head, as when praying; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON ⇒ to bow the head in homage or prayer; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to bow the head to s/o]

sukól MAG- to bow the head; MAG-, -ON to bow the head in prayer, homage; MAG-, -AN to bow the head to s/o [+ MDL: MA- or MAG- ⇒ to bow the head, as when reciting the Gloria Patri ‘Glory to the Father’; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to bow the head in homage or prayer; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to bow the head to s/o]

6.12 Saints, spirits and priests

The ancestor worship in practice when the Spanish arrived in the Philippines had to be eliminated for the new religion to gain dominance. Also to be eliminated were all associations with such worship, including the female religious leaders, the balyán. With the introduction of Christianity, we have the introduction of a series of saints with their images, which must have in some ways reminded Bikolanos of the worship of their ancestors in the form of an aníto. We have a number of references to the saints and sainthood in example sentences.

Sinanglíta an pagkasánto ‘Sainthood is exalted.’

... kon si San Páblo ... ‘as said by Saint Paul.’

Pintakasíhon mo si Sánta María ‘Ask Saint Mary to intercede on your behalf.’

Quite conveniently, the Christian saints were also represented by images. Unusually, the term chosen for images of the saints was ladáwan which was associated with the image of an aníto. This is the term still used in modern Bikol. The term for dressing oneself up was also applied to the decoration of saintly images. This term is not used in modern Bikol in any of its meanings.

ladáwan image at a church altar; icon; MAG-, -AN to make an image or carve an idol of s/o or s/t; MAG-, I- to describe or portray s/t; to visualize s/t [BIK MYT: idols or images of the aníto, usually made of stone or wood] [MDL: image; MA- or MAG- to make an image; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN ⇒ to represent a particular saint with an image; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to make an image of a particular saint]
sayong MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to dress s/o up in their finest; to adorn a person, image or effigy; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- ⇒ to adorn s/o with fine clothes or jewelry [MDL]

Early Bikolanos were certainly familiar with the concept of guardian spirits for they either carried an image of a particularly beneficial aníto around with them (see Section 5), or they wore charms or amulets that served to protect them from harm. The term for guardian spirit was apparently falling into disuse during Lisboa’s time, as can be seen in the entry for alagad.

alagad MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to be in the constant company of s/o; to serve s/o; PARA- constant companion; servant (the meaning of ‘servant’ developed subsequent to the traditional meaning of ‘companion’); ⇒ also once signified a household or guardian spirit: Sí kuyán may paraalagad ‘That person has a guardian spirit’ [MDL]

For the same concept, modern Bikol uses a different term, also based on the concept of close association. These earlier meanings have disappeared in modern usage.

tambáy KA- guardian, spirits who watch over an individual; MÁGIN KA- to become a guardian spirit; ⇒ anghél na katambáy guardian angel; also see var-tangbáy

tangbáy MAG- to do s/t together; to arrive at the same time; to be born on the same day; MAG-, PAG- -ON to make a matching pair; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to make one thing match another; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to match one thing with another; Katangbáy ko si Juán ‘Juan is the same age as me or Juan arrived at the same time as me’; (fig-) Tangbáy an bu’ót kaining áki’ or Tinatangbayán nin bu’ót iníng áki’ ‘This child has always shown common sense’; tangbáy na úlay a basic tenet (an opinion which one has always held); also see var- tambáy [MDL]

We also have the introduction of the leaders of the new religion, priests. There are numerous references to priests. Some introductory references are presented below. Further examples appear in subsequent sections.

Mála’ ngápí kundi’ taká ibubuybóy sa Pádre ‘Do what you want but I’ll tell the priest.’

Sa pädeng úlay ‘The priest’s words.’

In answer to a new convert’s question about the role of the balyán in Christianity, it is possible to imagine the following answer being given:

Su’ánoy asó da’i pang pádre ‘It was before there were priests.’

There are few examples which give some insight into the personalities of the priests. A priest, for example, could be too strict. Such a priest could find himself rejected by the community. He could find himself imbibing from a poisoned well, or he could wake up in the morning to find that he is suddenly alone, his converts having
abandoned him for the mountains (Phelan 1959:54). To converts who once encountered such a priest we might get the utterance in the entry below spoken in reassurance.

\[ \text{túrot} \] MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to allow slack in a line; to loosen (a tie, knot); (fig-) -IMIN- to give in or yield after repeated requests; to soften one’s attitude or stand: \( \Rightarrow \text{Timinúrot na an bu’ó̂t nin pádre} \) ‘The priest has softened his attitude to things’; also see \[ \text{tíros} \] [MDL]

The early priests were fully dependent upon the goodwill of the people to feed them, and they would go through the community asking for such support. In modern Bikol the Spanish loan \[ \text{alabado} \] ‘praised’ has come to mean \[ \text{beggar} \] no doubt because of these particular actions.

\[ \text{alabáðo} \] beggar, mendicant; MAGIN to become a beggar; MANG- to beg; [SP- \[ \text{alabado} \] praised, the word probably came to mean beggar by association with priests asking for alms for the church]

6.13 The church and mass

Going to church and the celebration of the mass were often equated. The most general term for this was and is \[ \text{símba} \]. While we might assume that a very early meaning of \[ \text{símba} \], no longer extant when Lisboa was writing his Vocabulario, was ‘to pray to one’s ancestors’, and an early meaning of the locative form, \[ \text{simbáhan} \], the location of such prayers, there is no record of this for Bikol. These are, however, the early meanings attributed to such a term for Tagalog (Placencia 1589 in Blair and Robertson 1903–1909: Vol 7, 185).

\[ \text{símba} \] MAG- to worship; MAG-, -AN to go to church; to attend mass or religious services; MAG-, -ON to attend church for a particular reason; MAG-, I- to take s/t to church; -AN church, synagogue, temple [+MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to go to church; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to go to church to hear mass or for another reason]

The various example sentences which Lisboa uses in his Vocabulario give some idea of the challenge which the early priests must have faced in getting people to church. The more neutral examples are presented first, followed by those representing various difficulties or excuses for not attending.

\[ \text{Nagsisimbá pa siyá} \] ‘She’s still in church.’

\[ \text{Masímba pa akó} \] ‘I’ll still go to church or I’ve yet to go to church.’

\[ \text{Magsímba kitá} \] ‘Let’s go to church.’

\[ \text{Ta’ daw ta’ da’i ka siminimbá? - Ta’ daw ta’?} \] ‘Why aren’t you going to mass? - Why, is it now?’

\[ \text{Ta’ daw ta’ da’i ka simimbá - Da’i rugáring} \] ‘How come you didn’t go to church? - It wasn’t possible.’
Dihán simimbá si kuyán, dihán da’í ‘Sometimes that person goes to church, sometimes not.’

Da’í nang gayód kitá makakasímba an naghihilang ‘It is improbable that we who are sick will be able to go to church.’

Ta’wí akóng gúhit. Darahón ko sa Pádre mi. Gi’ana da’í akó simimbá ‘Give me a letter. I’ll take it to our priest. He’ll think I haven’t been going to church.’

Sa lúba’ ko iníng pagsímba nindó pírit lámang, ngáning sabáli’ ‘Except for some of you, I think your going to church is because you are forced to.’

Ngutumpáng hinampák ka ta’ da’í ka palán simimbá ‘The reason why you were whipped was because you don’t go to church.’

While going to church and hearing mass were usually equated, we do get the introduction of the Spanish loan word misa into Bikol specifically for this meaning.

Nagmimísa na ‘(I’m) about to say mass.’

Nagmimísa pa ‘(He’s) still saying mass.’

Nagmimísa pa saná ‘(He’s) just started saying mass.’

Da’í ko nakíta idtóng Pádre na nagmimísa / naghuhúlit ‘I didn’t see the Priest who was saying mass / preaching.’

Ta’on-ta’onón ko na rugáring an Mísa ‘I’m just in time for the mass.’

We have in modern Bikol a term for the Consecration Mass which came after Lisboa’s time. The Vocabulario only defines this term as ‘to lift or raise something high up’. The raising of the Host during mass was associated with another term, tú’on, which did not survive into modern Bikol.

Báyaw ⇒ Consecration Mass; MAG- to conduct such a mass [MDL: báyaw MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to raise or lift s/t high up; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to lift s/t up onto s/t else]

tú’on MAG-, I- to lift or raise s/t up; to elevate s/t; to boost s/t [+MDL: MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- ⇒ to raise or lift s/t up, and then lower it again (as the Host during mass); to hand s/t to one who is above you; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to hand or give s/t to s/o]

The use of chanting and singing in the church service was said to be very successful (Phelan 1959:75). This was probably due to the widespread use of singing, both in the religious life and ordinary working life of the early Bikolanos. Presented below are some examples of these songs.

nganan MANG- or MAGPANG- ⇒ to lead responsive singing (as when rowing, praying in a church); PANG- -AN or PAGPANG- -AN to respond in responsive
singing; IPANG-, IPAGPANG- to sing s/t responsively; PARAPANG- the leader of responsive singing [MDL]

dagaw MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to respond in verse to one who is singing [MDL]

hal-lia a ritual held on the nights of the full moon in honor of the gugúrang; bamboo or hollowed tree trunks are beaten to scare away the bakunáwa who would otherwise swallow the moon [BIK MYT] [MDL: a pastime of women who chant responsively on the nights of the full moon, one group saying hal-lia, and the other responding in the same way]

uhuya a way of singing in which the refrain uhuya is repeated many times; MAG- to sing in such a way; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to sing s/t in such a way; to lull a child to sleep by such singing; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use the voice in such a way [MDL]

ambáhan song (typ- sung as a lullaby, during times of leisure or when rowing); MA- or MAG- to sing an ambáhan; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to sing an ambáhan to s/o [MDL]

hila' a work song sung when pulling or hauling s/t, or when rowing; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to pull or haul s/t, or row while singing [MDL]

hulo song (typ- sung when rowing, or when pulling or hauling s/t); MA- or MAG- to sing this type of song; also see humulo [MDL]

humulo song (typ- sung when setting out to sea or when hauling s/t heavy); MA- or MAG- to sing in this way; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to sing a particular song when working in this way; also see hulo [MDL]

daniw MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to sing verses, as when drinking, not raising the voice; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to sing verses in this way to s/o [MDL]

guya' MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to sing couplets; to sing a ballad; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to sing couplets or ballads to s/o [MDL]

6.14 Religious observations and celebrations

Along with the introduction of a new religion came the introduction of new religious celebrations. Many of these were associated with Easter and its spectacle of crucifixion and flagellation, although there is some reference as well to other celebrations which are discussed in this section.

Specific reference to Christian teachings, observances and practices came with publication of the Doctrina Christiana in Bikol by San Agustin and Martínez after Lisboa’s departure from the region. These Doctrina were translations of the standard Belarmino version and used Spanish for all of significant religious references so that these new concepts would not be tainted by those of an earlier religion. The Spanish references to religious observations which are not in Lisboa’s Vocabulario but are part of modern Bikol, come from citations in the Doctrina. Not all of these references, however, did become part of Bikol. Many remain strictly ecclesiastical with little use outside of
the religious community. The focus in this paper is primarily words for religious concepts which appear first in the Lisboa Vocabulario.

On a general level, we have the concept of church offerings which comes originally from the serving of food by laying it out on a table. The adaptation in Lisboa is still used in modern Bikol, although more generally to cover the concept of donation.

*dúlot* gift, donation; MAG-, IPAG- to donate, offer or impart s/t; PAG- donation; KAG- donor [MDL: MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to serve or place food on a table; ⇒ to take food to church as an offering; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to set a table with food; to make an offering of food to s/o; PARA- servers, those who take food to a table]

The concept of religious abstinence was associated in Lisboa with a general term. This is no longer used. Used in modern Bikol is the Spanish loan *abstinénsia*.

*lihi’* MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to abstain from s/t (not eating s/t or not doing s/t); PAG- abstinence; also ⇒ a day of abstinence [MDL]

*abstinénsia* abstinence; MAG- to abstain; MAG-, -AN to abstain from (usually from eating meat) [SP- abstinencia]

There is no direct reference to Christmas in Lisboa. There are many references to Easter, Lent, the crucifixion and to the Resurrection (see Section 6.8). The concept of flagellation coincided with the main instrument of punishment in early Bikol society and seemed, at least at first, to be readily accepted.

For reference to Lent, we only have the Spanish loan introduced by Lisboa in one of the example sentences in his Vocabulario, *Cuaresma*, and this remains the term in modern Bikol as well.

*Da’i pa akó nagoconfesal kaining Cuaresta* ’I have not yet gone to confession for Lent.’

*Kuarésma* Lent, the forty days preceding Easter, beginning on Ash Wednesday, seen as a time of penitence [SP- Cuaresma]

For Ash Wednesday, there is no reference in Lisboa. Modern Bikol uses either of two phrases borrowed directly from Spanish.

*Miérkoles* Wednesday; *muró-Mierkoles* or *káda Miérkoles* every Wednesday; *kon Miérkoles* on Wednesday; ⇒ *Miérkoles de Sinísa* Ash Wednesday [SP- miércoles Wednesday; ceniza ash]

*kurús* MAG-, -AN to draw a cross on; MANG- or MAGPANG- to cross oneself; to make the sign of the cross; PANG-: ⇒ *Pangúrus* Ash Wednesday [SP- cruz]; also see krus

There are, however, references to the spectacle of Lent with Lisboa recording a term for the marking of revelers with ash, a term no longer used in that way in modern Bikol.
**burning** referring to any animal with grayish stripes [**MDL**: ⇒ ground charcoal, soot, or mud used by revelers to mark themselves during the three carnival days preceding Lent; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to mark s/o with charcoal; **burning-burning** MAG- to walk around marking one another in this way]

As with Ash Wednesday, Lisboa had no formal reference to Holy or Maundy Thursday which is in modern Bikol a direct loan from Spanish. He does, however, have a reference to one of the rituals of that holy day.

**Huébes** Thursday; **káda Huébes** or **huró-Huébes** every Thursday; **kon Huébes** on Thursdays; ⇒ **Huébes Sánto** Holy Thursday, Maundy Thursday; the Thursday before Easter, commemorating the Last Supper [SP- **jueves**]

**busog** MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to pour water or another liquid from one container into another; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to fill one container with water poured from another; ⇒ used on Holy Thursday as part of the Maundy Thursday Mass [**MDL**]

Also occurring on the three days before Easter, beginning with Maundy Thursday, is the ritual of flagellation. Whipping was the common form of punishment in early Bikol society. The idea of whipping yourself as self-punishment was new, but it is a concept that did catch on in the Philippines and is very much in existence today. Phelan (1959:74) indicates that flagellation was at first embraced because of its novelty, but was not readily practiced. The set of four entries below exemplify the rite of flagellation.

**hampák** MAG-, -ON to lash or whip s/o; to flagellate; -AN the rite on Holy Thursday when penitents lash or whip themselves; PAG-: **paghahampák** flagellation; PARA- flagellant [**MDL**: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to whip s/o; MAG- -AN ⇒ to flagellate o/s (as on Holy Thursday); IPAG- -AN the rite of flagellation]

**líbod** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN ⇒ to walk around town (as when in procession or when following behind and flagellating s/o); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to walk through the streets with s/o (as one you are flagellating); also see **líbot** [**MDL**]

**lisag** the sound of whipping or lashing; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON ⇒ to make this sound when whipping s/o (as during tenebrae, the last three days of Holy Week); (PAG-)-AN to emanate from a particular place (such a sound); (fig-) **Muda pa ining pinaglisag na kitá panlapdosá** ‘What a sound of whipping when we lash one another’ [**MDL**]

**tunók** a thorn, barb, prickle; MA- thorny, prickly, barbed; MAG-, -ON to stick s/o with a thorn; MAG-, -AN to stick a thorn in a particular part of the body; MAKA-, MA- to get stuck with a thorn (a person); MAKA-, MA- -AN to get stuck with a thorn (a particular part of the body) [+**MDL**: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON ⇒ to place thorns or barbs on a whip; KA- -AN: **katunokán** or **katungkán** an area of thorns; the wound caused when one is stuck by a thorn]
There is no formal term included by Lisboa in his *Vocabulario* for Easter. In the *Doctrina Christiana* of Martínez, Easter is referred to as *Pascua*, short for *Pasco de la Resurrección*. This term never did become popular in Bikol with reference to Easter, but became quite fixed with reference to Christmas. In modern Bikol the reference to Easter is based on the word *mahál* ‘love’.

**Paskó** Christmas; Easter; MAG- or MANG- to celebrate Christmas [SP- *pasco*]

*mahál* a loved one; dear; *mahál kong* my dear (used as a heading in a letter); MAG-, -ON to adore, cherish, love or revere s/o; MAKAPA-, MAPA- to endear o/s; KA- -AN adoration, love, reverence; majesty; *An Saindóng Kamahálan* Your Highness, Your Majesty; ⇒ *Aldáw nin Kamahálan* Easter [MDL: loved, cherished; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to esteem or cherish s/o; *Mahál na gáyo* ‘Wonderful’]

While the crucifixion is not formally referred to in Lisboa, there is reference to the carrying of the cross during Easter, and to the crowing of the rooster with reference to the Passion.

*gásang* a jagged stone; broken bits of stone or shell chips [+MDL: ⇒ coral (typ-branching, growing like small trees from the seabed, pieces of which are usually placed under the feet of those carrying the cross during Easter); also refers to rough or sharp stones]

*babaló’* sound of a rooster crowing; MAG- to crow [+MDL: ⇒ used in the Gospels when recited in the *Pasióñ*; in common use is *tukturá’ok*]

**Pasión** Passion, a chanted hymn narrating the life of Christ from the Last Supper up to and including the Crucifixion, usually sung during Easter week with sections commonly acted out by the community; MAG- to sing or chant the Passion [SP-]

The modern Bikol terms for crucifixion and the removal of Christ from the cross, as well as the image of the dead Christ, are presented below. These are not references made by Lisboa, although they may very well have been used in light of the performance of the Passion indicated in the entries above.

*páko’* a nail (carpentry); MAG-, I- to drive in a nail; to hit a nail; MAG-, -AN to drive a nail into s/t; to nail s/t; ⇒ *ipáko’ sa krus* to crucify s/o; *an pagpáko’ sa krus* crucifixion [+MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to nail s/t; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to drive in a nail]

*tanggál* MAG-, -ON to detach or disconnect s/t; to pull s/t out (as a plug from the wall, a nail from a board); MAKÀ-, MA- to come off or come out; to become detached; PAG-: ⇒ *an pagtanggál* the ceremony of removing Jesus Christ from the cross, celebrated on Good Friday; also the second part of the *Pasión* depicting the crucifixion [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to pull s/t out; to detach s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to pull s/t out or detach s/t from somewhere]
**húlid** MAG-, I- to lie s/o down to sleep (as a child); MAG-, -ON to lie down beside s/o; ⇒ *An Hinúlid* image of the dead Christ [MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to lay a child in one’s lap, in a cradle; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to lay a child down on s/t or in s/t, such as a cradle]

Early Filipinos lived near their fields, and the attempt to bring them into denser communities where they could be more easily proselytized, was not always successful. The attraction of the fiesta would draw Filipinos to the town. There were three main fiestas through the year: Easter, Corpus Christi, and the celebration of the town’s patron saint (Phelan 1959:74). Lisboa makes references to the fiesta, introducing this word which is very much part of the modern vocabulary.

*Rimóng-rimóng na an bagtingón sa Nága; nagfiésta gayód* ‘The sound of the bells is resonating from Naga; it must be fiesta.’

*Pinauswág iníng fiesta* ‘The fiesta was postponed.’

**piésta** fiesta, feast, festival; holiday; a festival or holiday celebrated in honor of a particular saint; MANG-, MAKI- or MAKIPANG- to attend a fiesta; KA- -AN fiesta day; *Piésta de Presépto* Day of Obligation (religious) [SP- fiesta]

The association of food with religious ritual would not have been new to the early Bikolanos. There are a number of examples where food was used initially as a religious offering, later to be consumed by those attending the ceremony (see Placencia 1589 in Blair & Robertson 1903–1909: Vol 7, 186 & 190 for examples for the Tagalog region). Some of the terms, such as *húmay*, are still current.

**átang** a sacrifice offered to the *gugúrang* as a sign of thanksgiving consisting of one-tenth of the harvest, later eaten by the participants in the ritual [BIK MYT] [MDL: (arc-) ⇒ ceremonial offering of food to the *aníto*, later consumed by those attending the ceremony; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to offer food as part of such a ceremony; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to make a ceremonial offering to an *aníto*]

**sukob** (arc-) an ancient ritual or ceremony in which a pig is killed, and after being cut up and cooked, is distributed in a large bowl to be eaten by those present; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to divide up and distribute a pig in this way [MDL]

**bagit** a pig, fattened from the time a child is born into the owner’s family, and then killed when the child is grown; the butchered pig is then eaten at a feast called *karinga*; MA- or MAG- to grow and mature (this type of pig); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to celebrate the growth of a child with the slaughter of this type of pig [MDL]

**gamit** (arc-) ceremonial feast in honor of the *aníto*; MA- or MAG- to organize such a feast; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to serve particular foods at such a feast; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to hold such a feast for a child; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to hold such a feast for a particular reason [MDL]
**húmay** MAG-, -ON to prepare a dish eaten on festive occasions in which seasoned fish or meat and rice are placed into segments of bamboo, left to age and then cooked; -ON: *hinúmay* the dish prepared in this way [\+ MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to prepare *hinuhúmay*; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to fill segments of bamboo with the ingredients for this dish; -ON: *hinuhúmay* the dish prepared in this way]

The festival in honor of all of the saints in modern Bikol is a direct borrowing from Spanish, but the celebration on the eve of that day, Halloween, is based on a native Bikol word, *kalág*, adopted quite freely for the meaning of soul or spirit and used in the *Doctrina*. These do not appear in Lisboa.

**Tódos los Sántos** All Saint’s Day; the festival on November 1st in honor of all the saints [SP-]

**kalág** soul, spirit; apparition, ghost, specter; MAG-, -ON to haunt s/o; MAKA-, MA- or MAKA-, MA- -AN to be haunted; MANG-, PANG- -ON to go around for ‘trick or treat’; to take things on Halloween; *máyong kalág* inconsiderate; ⇒ *Piésta nin mga Kalág* Halloween; *Pagpirumdóm sa mga Kalág* All Souls’ Day; a day of prayer on November 2nd for the souls of those in Purgatory [MDL: the spirit or soul which gives us life]

Biblical references appear from time to time in Lisboa’s example sentences.

**baliw** -ON to be converted or changed into s/t else: ⇒ *Binabaliw idtóng agóm ni Loth nanigapóng asín* ‘Lot’s wife was changed into a pillar of salt’; MA-, MA- -AN to change (a person, from speaking a familiar language to speaking one that is foreign; the odor originally emanating from a cooking pot to another odor); MAKÁ- to cause or bring about such a change [MDL]

**sapak** a grouping of a large number or great variety of different species, ⇒ such as the animals on Noah’s ark, gold of different carats or qualities, people from different towns or regions; MA- -AN to be gathered in a particular place (a great variety or number of people, animals, things); *Sapak an mga táwo sa Manila* ‘There are many different types of people in Manila’; *Sapak iníng buláwan, iyó kagugutang* ‘This gold is of very many different types, and because of that will split if worked’ [MDL]

The celebration of marriage, one of the sacraments of Christianity, is also mentioned by Lisboa in association with the church. Marriage was a more transitory concept in early Bikol, and divorce and remarriage was common, as was adultery (Legazpi 1569 in Blair & Robertson 1903–1909: Vol 3, 61). Presented below are just a few of the entries in Lisboa’s *Vocabulario* which deal with divorce and extramarital affairs.

**ado’** referring to a man who takes the wife of another; MAG-, PAG- -AN ⇒ to take or marry a woman already married to another man; MAG- two men who have been married to the same woman, one having taken her from the other; two women living with or married to the same man; *Garó na kamó magado* ‘It is as
if you two have once been married to the same wife’ (Said when two men are always arguing) [MDL]

ánab MA- usurper, describing s/o who always wants more of s/t: maánab-ánab na táwo a usurper; one who wants to take everything; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to usurp s/t; to take all of s/t for o/s; to always want more of s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG -AN to usurp or take s/t from s/o; (fig-) ⇒ Naánab ka pa namán sa ibáng babáyi ‘You have a wife, and yet you still go with other women’ [MDL]

angag MAG- or MAGKA- ⇒ to argue or quarrel over a woman (two men, both of whom have a relationship with her); MAGKA-, PAGKA- -AN to quarrel over a particular woman [MDL]

dakóp MAG-, -ON to apprehend, catch or capture s/o; to collar s/o; to arrest or take s/o into custody; MAKA-, MA- to get caught [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to seize or grasp s/t; to capture s/o; MA-, -AN: dakpán or MAG-, PAG- -AN: pagdakpán to seize s/t from s/o; to capture s/o from a particular place or remove him from a particular family; MAKA-, MA- to be able to capture s/o; ⇒ to catch another man with your wife; MAKA-, MA- -AN to catch one’s wife with another man]

darayhát inconsistent, changeable; MA- or MAG- to be inconsistent; MA-, -AN or MAG-, -ON to be inconsistent or changeable with regard to things, first liking one thing, then another; (PAG-)-AN to be unable to make up one’s mind regarding a choice between various items: Dinadarayhatán ka kaining dakól na babakalón ‘You are overwhelmed by all the things that are available for sale, and you can’t make up your mind’; -ON one who is inconsistent, uncertain; also: ⇒ a woman with many lovers [MDL]

ayáw MAG- ⇒ to divorce one another; MAG-, IPAG- or MAG-, PAG- -AN to get divorced for a particular reason; MAKI-, PAKI(PAG)- -AN to divorce s/o [MDL]

It was important to the missionary priests that Bikolanos marry only once, and stay married to one person. By bringing marriage into the church and associating it with the life of a practicing Christian, the priests hoped to achieve just such an aim. They were, for the most part, quite successful, even though in the short term the lack of divorce led to an increase in requests for religious annulments (Phelan 1959:61–63).

táwag MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to give notice in church of an intended marriage; to publish the banns of marriage; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to announce in church or notify the public of an impending marriage [MDL]

In the second example we also have the concept of extending the family through the concept of Godparents. In the Philippines, with its kin based system of association, such an extension of the family through marriage, as well as through baptism, was welcomed and quickly accepted (Phelan 1959:77–78).

tá’id MAGPA-, PAGPA- -ON to accompany the bride and groom, sitting next to them and drinking with them as part of the celebrations (see tágay); AN MAGPA- ⇒ those who accompany the couple at their wedding celebration,
being seated with them and drinking with them; the modern equivalent would be Godparents; syn- langláng [MDL]

6.15 Construction and decoration of the church

It was the intention of the Spanish friars to make the church the center of village life in the areas of the Philippines converted to Christianity. The resettlement of the early populace into larger communities within earshot of the church bells was referred to as the Reduction.

We can see by the substantial number of example sentences in Lisboa referring to the construction of churches that this must have been given some priority. The following is just one example.

Anó na an simbahán nindó? - Da’í pa dúgay ‘How’s the construction of your church coming along? - It’s still a long way off.’

There is also some attempt to adapt the vocabulary of traditional architecture to the architecture of the church.

sibay ⇒ nave of a church; covered walkway added along the outside of a house; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to add a nave to a church, a covered walkway to a house; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to make such an addition [MDL]

Lisboa makes many references to the decoration of the church with native plants and flowers. A notation is added in his Vocabulario to those plants which are suitable for such decoration. These are presented below along with some of the verb forms to show how they are to be used.

gara’dat small tree (typ- possessing flowers are ⇒ used to decorate churches) [MDL]

palango’ plant (typ- growing in the forest, very fragrant; ⇒ used in decorating churches); MANG- to collect this plant [MDL]

daragangan shrub (typ- with stiff leaves ⇒ used to decorate churches) [MDL]

hágol palm tree (typ- found in the mountains, producing a wood good for use in making ducts or guttering, and flooring for houses) [+MDL: ⇒ the fronds are used to decorate churches during fiestas]

ungkarip fruiting stem of the betel palm (búnga); ⇒ the bunches of flowers hanging from this stem are commonly hung in churches during fiesta [MDL]

sagipi’ a type of trinket or decoration made from palm leaves woven together into a lattice-like square; ⇒ used in decorating churches; MAG-, to weave such lattice-like squares [MDL]

sagaksák MAG-, -ON to cut the leaves of palm fronds ⇒ (to be scattered about in church); MAG-, -AN to cut the leaves from palm fronds [MDL]
6.16 The altar and religious objects

As for the contents of a church, and the various implements associated with Christianity, a number of terms were introduced and others were adapted from Bikol words with essentially different meanings.

For altar the Spanish term was used. Any native term (see Section 5) would have had too close an association with worship of the aníto. For the canopy of the altar, Lisboa uses the same word as for ‘the white of an egg’. The image is probably that of the cooked white of an egg cut in half.

Atúbang kamó sa altár ‘Face the altar.’

Sa man altár ‘near the altar’

langít-lángit white of an egg; ⇒ canopy of a bed or altar [MDL]

There were occasions when converts were denounced in front of the congregation. This might be, for example, for excessive drinking, something which the priests were eager to stamp out due to its association with pre-Christian religious practices associated with marriage, funerals, and a host of other occasions (Phelan 1959:76; also see Chirino 1969: Chapter 34). An angry priest might have occasion to strike the pulpit, and this is also referred to by Lisboa.

karandól bumping sound; MAG- to make this type of sound [MDL: ⇒ deep, hollow sound such as that made by the thud of a boat, the striking of a pulpit; MA- or MAG- to make this sound; Karandól na ‘What a deep, hollow sound’]
As for other religious objects, Lisboa has a number of references: to the painting of an altar piece, an embroidered covering for the chalice, and a shell for the holding of holy water.

**daran** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN ⇒ to paint s/t in color (such as an altar piece); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use particular colors; to add color to particular figures, designs; -AN: dinadaranan s/t painted in color; dinaranan plate (typ-painted in color); **daran na** painted [MDL]

**bugták** embroidery (typ- sewn along the edges and in the middle of a piece of cloth), ⇒ similar to that found on cloth used to cover the chalice during religious services; sometimes used as a head covering (**pudóng**); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to embroider such cloth; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to embroider cloth with a particular thread; -AN: **bugtakán** cloth with such embroidery [MDL]

**tilang** clam (typ- saltwater; ⇒ the shell is used in some areas for holding holy water in the church) [MDL]

There are also references to particular actions carried out with these objects, each being the extension of a native Bikol word. Only the last is still used in modern Bikol.

**diwdíw** MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- ⇒ to moisten the fingertips (as when dipping them in holy water); to moisten the whip used to discipline s/o; syn- **dawdáw** [MDL]

**wirík** MAG- to shake dry (as a dog); MAG-, I- to sprinkle water; MAG-, -AN to sprinkle water on s/t [MDL: MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- ⇒ to sprinkle water with the hand or an aspergill (a container for holy water); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to sprinkle s/t with water]

**láhid** MAG-, I- to spread s/t (as butter on bread); to coat with s/t; to anoint with s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to spread s/t on s/t else, to coat s/t; to cover s/t with a thin layer; ⇒ to anoint; to rub s/o with oil, ointment; -AN: **an linahídan** the anointed ones [+MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to rub s/o with oil, balm, an ointment]

### 7. Conclusion

The dominant religion in the Bikol region, as it was in most of the Philippines and Southeast Asia outside the influence of Islam, was animist. Bikolanos worshiped their ancestors and carved statues to represent those they wished to venerate. Their religious leaders were women, and these women retained their power through the ability to heal the sick, comfort the dying, and ensure the survival of the young. The arrival of the Spanish and with them priests and Christianity was to challenge this established order. The priests brought with them another set of beliefs which was to prove more enduring and powerful.

The spread of Christianity was forceful and relentless. Eventually the lure of the Church and the benefits it provided, propelled by coercion and the destruction of the visual images of animist worship, allowed Christianity to dominate and spread throughout the region. There were still places to run to if one wanted to avoid the Church and the rule of the Spanish, but these places became more distant and
increasingly more isolated from the changing mainstream of society. Those who fled would eventually return to the towns and the inevitable domination of the Church.

This paper has examined some of the early linguistic changes which took place in the Bikol language to accommodate the introduction of Christianity. Many of these changes involved extending the meaning of an existing word to accommodate a Christian message. Other changes involved the introduction of Spanish loan words to represent new religious concepts.

Change did not begin nor end with Lisboa. Lisboa undoubtedly recorded usage which was introduced by the Franciscan priests who came before him. He must have also extended the meaning of words to serve as a model for priests who were to come after him. Change also continued long after Lisboa. Modern Bikol has both added and adapted words, as well as leaving words to fall into disuse and eventually disappear.

In some cases the original meaning of words was completely replaced. Bunyág ‘baptism’, for example, once meant ‘to sprinkle with water’, a meaning which ceased to exist. Sínba, which probably meant ‘to pray to one’s ancestors’, came to mean exclusively, ‘to go to church’.

In other cases words underwent only minor change with the addition of small nuances of meaning. To sála’ ‘fault, error’, was added the concept of sin, and to titles of address, such as kagurangnán ‘Mr, Mrs’ we get the addition of the Lord when used to address God.

We also get new meanings added to words which exist along with traditional meanings. Bawi’, for example, still means ‘to take back what is given’ in addition to its new meaning, ‘to exorcize’. Tanggál ‘to detach, to remove’, now carries the additional meaning ‘the removal of Christ from the cross’ in the nominal form of an pagtanggál.

Loan words were added to introduce new concepts which did not exist in early Bikol society. Hell and the devil were introduced with Christianity along with the Spanish loan words, impiérno and demónio. For confession, kumpisál was introduced, and for saints and priests, sánto and pádi’.

Loan words were also introduced to replace native words which were considered to be too closely associated with early religious practices. For altar, for example, we get altár and not the native salángat associated with worship of the aníto, and for God we get Diós and not bathála’ which was also tainted by its association with ancestor worship.

Not all of the new religious vocabulary was successfully integrated into Bikol. There are numerous examples where an attempt to adapt traditional vocabulary to the new religion was unsuccessful. Pára’ ‘to erase’, for example, was given the additional meaning ‘to forgive one for their sins’, and karoy, related to a particular benefit or gain one would receive from one’s deeds, was associated with prayer. Neither of these survive in modern Bikol.

In like manner, not all of the Spanish loan words were accepted into Bikol in spite of their clear dominance in a religious context. The Doctrina Christiana of 1708 is filled with Spanish loan words for Christian concepts such as baptismo ‘baptism’, comulgar ‘communion’, and Pasco ‘Easter’ which were never to become part of the Bikol language.

In many areas of Spanish colonization, Spanish became the principal language of communication. Local languages were gradually overwhelmed, losing speakers and dominance. This was not the case in the Philippines where Spanish was primarily the language of government and spoken by the upper classes of society. At no time did Spanish speakers number more than 10 percent of the population. As a result it was the local Philippine languages that had to adapt to carry the message of a new regime and a new religion. This paper has examined some of the changes in Bikol. Other Philippine languages would have come under similar pressures and undergone similar changes.
References


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