

P53

53

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TERNATE DIALECT
(OF CAVITE, P. I.)

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CONTENTS

I.

INTRODUCTION	Page 1
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II.

THE MARDICAS IN HISTORY	3
-------------------------------	---

III.

THE MARDICAS AT HOME	7
----------------------------	---

IV.

THE TERNATE ^{DIALECT} ~~TEXTS~~

Acquisition of Texts	14
Notes on Phonology and Orthography	16
<i>Word-lists showing medley of elements constituting the Ternate lexicon.</i> List of Old Mardicas Words	19
Texts	25

V.

THE TAGALO-SPANISH OF CAVITE, TEXT	40
--	----

VI.

CONCLUSION	42
APPENDIX by O. Scheerer, embodying information received from Dr. N. Adriani (Celebes) anent the Ternate dialect of the Moluccas	44

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TERNATE DIALECT

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the catalog of Philippine languages nobody has as yet ventured to include the speech of a certain community the ancestors of which, originally dwellers in a far distant región, came to settle in the Philippines under peculiar circumstances of which history has preserved a fairly accurate record.

Whatever may have caused the disregard of this dialect, be it the insignificant number of the speakers, the gradual disappearance of the dialect itself, or the lack of a sufficiently interested recorder willing to spend his time on the task of its exploration, it seemed a proper undertaking for a member of the class in Philippine Linguistics to make a record of whatever could be ascertained as to the present and, if possible, the former status of the dialect in question which is none other than the so-called "Ternate-dialect".

The Ternate dialect is spoken in the town of Ternate, a locality in the province of Cavite more often alluded to in the surrounding region as "Barra", a Spanish term denoting a bank at the mouth of a river. Also the word "Wawa", which is a Tagalog name for the mouth of a river on the sea-coast, is sometimes heard applied to the place.

Ternate was formerly a barrio,--a more or less detached subdivision of a pueblo or town in the Philippines - of the larger town of Maragondon, and is situated on the northeastern bank of the Maragondon River, near its debouchure on the coast of Cavite Province.

Ternate is thus located opposite the island of Corregidor which guards the entrance to Manila Bay. (See sketch). In official statistics it is given a population of 2803 souls. All of the territory surrounding Ternate, and in fact, the whole province of Cavite, speaks Tagalog, with the exception of the town of San Roque, of a part of that of Caridad, and of the provincial capital Cavite itself, where a majority of the inhabitants have in use what might be called a corrupt Spanish, locally known as "español de tienda", a jargon built up by the people in their intercourse with the Spanish soldiery that formerly garrisoned these places. I shall have occasion to refer again further on to this peculiar type of speech which was made the object of a scientific investigation by one of the foremost European linguists. For the present I wished to point out that the speech of Ternate is distinctly set off from that of the surrounding population as non-Tagalog and that the people of this town are likewise known by a distinct name which is "Mardica" or "Meridica".

II. THE MARDICAS IN HISTORY

Whoever, on hearing of the village of Ternate at the mouth of Manila Bay, were to connect this name with that of the historically well-known island of the same appellation situated on the west coast of Halmahera in the far-away Moluccas, would be fully justified in so doing: the primitive founders of the town of Ternate in the Philippines have actually come up all the way from the "Spice Islands" in the south, giving their new settlement among us the name of their former abode. The following historical data will fully bear this out.

In Pastell's edition of Colin's *Labor Evangelica* we find the following:

"The Mardicas were the Malays who had accompanied the Spaniards from Ternate where they formed a village, their name meaning "free people". (Quoted from B.R.Vol.36 p. 237).

Concepción (Juan de la), in his "Historia General de Philipinas", printed between 1788 and 1792, has the following to say in volume seven, page 102:

"Under this name (Mardicas or Merdicas) are included natives of Ternate, Tidore, and Siao; of Manados, Cauripa, Celebes, and Macasar. They were allotted a dwelling place at Maragondon, on the great bay of Manila--theirs is the island of Corregidor, from which they give warning of the ships that they descry, by signal-fires".

Concepcion adds: "They speak three languages: Spanish, Tagalog, and their own dialect (Mardicas)".

Ferrando (Juan) y Fonseca (Joaquin) in "Historia de los Padres Dominicos" printed from 1870 to 1872 say that the people of Ternate have preserved their own dialect, usages, and customs; and that up to recent times they had not intermarried with the Filipinos of neighboring villages.

Zúñiga, in his Estadismo, ed. Retana, Vol. I. p. 319, declares the following in Spanish:

dios?
"En la barra de Maragondon hay una colonia de judios que siendo cristianos en Ternate se vinieron con los Padres Jesuitas cuando se mandó desamparar aquel Presidio, por los años de 1660, siendo gobernador Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara y se les dió tierras en aquel sitio para que defendiesen de los moros aquella costa y avisasen de la llegada de los navios á estas islas; son cristianos, se han mantenido sin mezclarse con otras castas hasta ahora(1), y dependen en lo espiritual y temporal del pueblo de Maragondon".

In the 12th Philippine Reports, 227, Dec. 12, 1908 of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, a brief relation of the Ternate town and its people is given - which says in substance that after the Dutch were driven from Formosa by Kue-sing ("Koxinga") in 1662, the latter sent an ambassador to Manila demanding that the Philippines submit to his rule and become one of his tributary states. Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, the then governor and captain-general of the Islands, refused to sub-

(1) "...hasta ahora," --Joaquin Martinez de Zúñiga wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His work here cited was printed in 1803.

mit to this demand, and, fearing an invasion, ordered the Spanish soldiers to abandon Zamboanga and other ports of Mindanao as well as that of Ternate in the Moluccas,--which had been taken by the Spaniards in 1606 - and to reenforce the menaced capital, Manila. The garrison of Ternate thus transferred to Manila in 1663, and with it probably a contingent of Mardica warriors.

The 12th Phil. Reports also quotes the following from the "Historia de Filipinas. Montero, Tomo I, p. 327":

"The Mardicas (men of the sea), a race very friendly to the Spaniards, accompanied the latter to Manila, taking with them to their new country the Holy Child of Ternate, patron of their town, whose image they held in great veneration. Land was assigned to them in Maragondon, Province of Cavite, where they established the town of Ternate, the present inhabitants of which are the descendants of those loyal islanders."

In an article written on May 4, 1863 and published in the Revista de Filipinas, 1875-1876, by one signing himself E. V. who visited Ternate to inquire about the legend of the Holy Child's image, the history of the origin of the town of Ternate is further related to us. The following is a quotation of a portion of that article by E.V. translated from Spanish in the 12th Philippine Reports,--and said to be a declaration made by one of the oldest inhabitants of Ternate:

"It is true, sir, that we originally came from

a far distant country. When Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara was governor of these Islands, about the year 1654, he learned that there was being prepared a great expedition in China, consisting of many ships and thousands of men for the conquest of the Philippines. He thereupon endeavored to gather together in Manila as many fighting men as possible to resist this powerful enemy and wrote to Ternate, in the Moluccas, from whence came our forefathers, that the few Spanish soldiers that were there should come to reenforce the troops in Manila. As soon as the plight of Manila was known, vessels were prepared, and the head of the expedition asked what Mardicas wished to go to the war. Our ancestors volunteered to the number of two hundred, and came with their Spanish missionary, a Franciscan, bringing the venerated image of the Holy Child that is the patron of our church. After their arrival there was no war, but many of our ancestors served on his majesty's ships; afterwards they were assigned land to live upon, which is now known as Bagumbayan. In the middle of the last century the government had the Mardicas come here in order to protect Maragondon from the continual attacks of the Moros, and since that time our forefathers and we have been established here. That is all I know of our predecessors."

The 12th Philippine Reports remarks that altho this article lacks something of the seriousness of history, yet it agrees in the main with what appears from other sources. In a footnote to this same article in the Revista de Filipinas, page 542, the following is written:

"Otra version, que despues nos comunicaron, está conforme en lo principal con la del anciano, si bien agregando un detalle que merece ser conocido. Los mardicas formaban, en efecto, un barrio en el antiguo pueblécito de Bagumbayan, hoy hermita; pero eran tantas, y tan continuas y graves sus quimeras con los tagalos, que sé consideró oportuno alejarlos de Manila. Pensando piadosamente, suponemos que los calaberas de oficio llegan á cansar, como para que desfogasen su valentia con los moros que solian acercarse á las bocas de bahia en aquellos tiempos."

III. THE MARDICAS AT HOME

The foregoing data on the past of the Mardicas appeared to me - as they will probably appear also to others - interesting enough to awaken in me the desire of making the personal acquaintance of these people and to get exact information about their language as probably the best witness of their past history.

My first step in this direction was a visit to the library of the "Convento de San Agustin" in the Old City of Manila, where I hoped to inform myself in detail about a certain work said to have been written by one of the early Spanish missionaries on the dialect of Ternate in the Moluccas. I refer to a biographical note to be found on p. 47 of Padre Elvir^o Perez' "Catálogo bibliográfico de los Religiosos Agustinos (Manila, 1901)", from which I extract the following:

Barrionuevo (Ve. Fr. Roque de). Natural de Luvia, de la provincia de Soria, e hijo del convento de Ágreda, donde profesó el año de 1589, ... Administrado en 1608 el pueblo de Hagonoy, á propuesta del Gobernador de Manila, D. Pedro Bravo de Acuña, conquistador de las Molucas, y decidido bienhechor de ntra. provincia, se embarcó en compañía del citado Gral. ... para la isla de Ternate, y regresó a Manila, una vez conquistada aquella (1608), despues de haber ejercido dos años el cargo de Prior del convento allí fundado ... falleciendo en 1649. **ESCRIBÓ ARTE Y VOCABULARIO DE LA LENGUA MÁRDICA**, en que administró.

My hope to discover this work among the old prints or manuscripts of the venerable library mentioned and to

prepare myself thru its study for the intended visit to Ternate, was completely shattered by the statement of one of the Padres that the most important part of the old volumes had been transferred to Spain, and that even a search in that country was as good as hopeless, since no knowledge was had of a similar work.

Not dismayed by this initial set-back, I set out, one morning towards the end of December 1923, on my trip to Ternate, feeling, after all the strange and interesting information I had amassed concerning its inhabitants, as if I were really bound for a foreign land. From my home-town Kawit (this Tagalog word meaning "Hook", has given rise to the Spanish corruption Cavite.) I reached the town of Naik(1) by train in about an hour and a half. A kind friend here placed at my disposal his own carromata, - a light two-wheeled vehicle drawn by one pony--while another friend, Mr. Jeremias Dioscmito, son of the municipal president, not less kindly consented to accompany me on the proposed "scientific trip" to Ternate, about an hour's drive from Naik.

(1) Naik: Prefix na, denoting existence, +onomatopoeic ik or ek expressing the sound produced by the suckling of wild pigs. The town of Naik is said to have been built in a place formerly occupied by a dense forest where wild pigs abounded.

The road, though somewhat monotonous, was enlivened not only by the beautiful panoramic views which it offered at certain points, but also by being in almost its entire extent an up-hill and down-dale drive, giving us ample opportunity to stretch our tired legs by repeatedly climbing out of and back into the carromata. When in the vicinity of the town of Maragondon, whose church forms a conspicuous land-mark, we perceived groups of men and women and children busily harvesting rice in the ^{fields near the} road; of these laborers my companion told me that probably among them were to be found Ternateños who are in the habit, after fishing out at sea in the early morning, to take up field-work for the rest of the day during harvesting season. The approach to Ternate was that characteristic to most towns and villages in the Philippines: at first scattered nipa or cogon huts on both sides of the road which presently condense into regular rows interspersed with groves of bamboo or fruit trees, and ultimately close up with only hedges between the houses. The latter become more substantial towards the center of the town where they are built of stone and wood, some being covered with sheets of galvanized iron.

We came to a stop in front of the municipal building where we were met by a stately man beyond middle age, the president of the town, as we later learned. Being very

courteously received by him I showed him my letter of introduction and explained the object of our visit. With the air of a true caballero he spoke to me in good Spanish and led us to the municipal building where we got rid of our impedimenta and the dust of the road. Having accepted President Clemente Dirain's graciously offered assistance for the achievement of our purpose, we were conducted by him to the house of Capitan-pasado José de Eeon, one of the oldest inhabitants of the town, and the best able to give us the desired information.

The capitan's house, like its owner a witness of long bygone days, was in no way different from similar buildings met with in the Tagalog towns of our province, and the same is to be said of its furniture and implements. In fact, the curiosity that had been aroused in me regarding the Mardicas previous to my visit to their town, made me from the moment of my arrival an attentive and critical observer of everything, animate or inanimate, that came under my eyes; however, I hardly found anything to justify such scrutiny, the surroundings being very much of the same type to which I was accustomed from my home-town Kawit. I was thus to some extent already prepared when, during our conversation with old Capitan José, I received from him the news that he could not speak the original Mardicas dialect, and that this tongue

was practically extinct. He, however, dictated to me about half a hundred words which he stated to be original Mardicas words(1) belonging to the dialect spoken by their forefathers in Moluccas. As to their present ^sspeech, he pronounced it to be a mixture of Tagalog, Spanish and Mardicas (Cf. historical note from Concepción above). Though it contained a majority of corrupt Spanish words similar to those used in the "legua de ⁿtienda" of Cavite, he declared it to be quite different from this latter dialect. Indeed, when listening to an exchange of words between President Dirain and some old women, in which the Ternate dialect was used, it appeared to me as a dialect I had never heard before, although I confess not to be really conversant with the Cavite jargon.

My inquiry as to other characteristics of the Mardicas elicited from my hosts the reply that one was that, if a stranger on passing through the town, were to taunt one of the inhabitants, all the relatives and friends, from the youngest boy to the oldest man, would come together to fight the man who had provoked the trouble(2).

(1) See list of original Mardicas words on page 19.
(2) At present this custom is disappearing.

This fully agrees with the statement made by a former visitor to the town - cited by me under above historical notes - to the effect that: "Los mardicas ... eran tantas, y tan continuas y graves sus quimeras con los tagalos, que se consideró oportuno alejarlos de Manila".

I have already stated that in spite of my eagerness to take stock of any difference which I could possibly detect in everything surrounding me in Ternate as against the features generally observed in Tagalog towns, I was disappointed in this respect to such a degree that I come to the conclusion that adaptation to the surrounding Tagalog population had, in course of three centuries, almost wholly wiped out what the Mardicas had originally possessed of traits typically their own.⁽¹⁾ The state-

(1) With reference to this, I quote the declaration of Mr. P. Iacido Ramos, a Ternateño, as follows: "From traditions still lingering among our people we are conscious of a considerable change worked by time, by new surroundings and mixture with other peoples in the ancient customs and beliefs which our forefathers are said to have brought up with them from the Moluccas. May this change have been for better or for worse, we cannot help feeling a certain regret for the passing away of what would link us to those whom we owe our existence. Still, there is yet in existence a peculiarity that may be mentioned. Besides our dialect which, at all events in rapid speaking, makes us almost unintelligible to the other inhabitants of Cavite Province, there is among us a very strong feeling of cohesion which manifests itself especially whenever one of us is the victim of outside aggression. If any of our townmates is seen oppressed or maltreated by members of a different stock, then the Ternateños will run at once to succor their clans-man, be it even at the cost of life. This is the only typical custom still surviving."

ments reproduced from Ferrando and Zúñiga may have been more or less true at the time when they were written down - since then however, the condition of the people of Ternate has greatly changed. The towns-people have intermarried with the families of their neighboring towns and villages, to such an extent that they are no longer outwardly to be distinguished from the inhabitants of the surrounding country. The only exception I might make concerns the physical exterior of a number of old men and women who appeared to me taller and better built, of a deeper brown color, and with sharp^{er} eyes and higher noses than are typical of the Tagalog. These traits I was quite unable to find again in the younger generation of boys and girls. In this connection I might mention yet another experience. Before leaving Ternate in the Afternoon of the same day of our arrival, we set out for a peregrination around the town, accompanied again by President Dirain who kindly consented to act as our dragoman. In the hope of hunting up perhaps after all something useful to linguists in the shape of an ancient text, we visited the homes of several of the oldest

(Cont. ft.n. p. 12) "Our religion, social intercourse and other phases of community life are in no way different from those of the neighboring towns".

people, but met everywhere a marked indifference as to the use of their old speech. I received the impression that the old men and women whom we approached wondered somehow at our real purpose, and that this made them reluctant to give us the desired information. These visits, nevertheless, served to impress us with a peculiar intonation used by the people in talking with each other: a jerky up and down in the pitch of the voice, so that, if the following texts of their present speech were read out loud, it would strike the average hearer as most extraordinary.

It was thus after all the dialect of Ternate which set off the people of that town in strong relief from the surrounding population.

The
IV. TERNATE ~~TEXTS~~ DIALECT.

Acquisition of Texts

The only records made by me at the time of my visit to Ternate were a copy of the list of old Mardicas words furnished me by Capitán de Leon, and a version of the well-known tale of "The Monkey and the Turtle" dictated to me by President Dirain. Not satisfied with these rather hurriedly made notes, and anxious to supplement them with texts giving a broader basis for future more detailed study of the dialect as now spoken, I had the

good fortune to make, upon my return to Manila, the acquaintance of a number of young men from Ternate, at present studying in the "Liceo de Manila", whom I found very willing to sacrifice some of their much-needed time in order to further my studies of their dialect. I am in this respect especially thankful for the kindness and patience shown me by Messrs. Benjamin Velasco, Placido Ramos, and Bernardo Katalasan, from whom I secured the following stories in Ternate dialect:

1. Huang y Nang; Huang and Nang.
2. Ballenti-ballenti Peru Medrosu;
Ostensibly Brave But Coward.
3. Embihtida Kung Manga Morus;
Fight Against The Moros.
4. Saká Una Bolbé Dush; Take one, Return two.
5. Inkantáu; Enchanter.

The written originals handed me by these friends were carefully gone over by me with their authors, the pronunciation attentively studied and the orthography subjected to some changes so as to bring it more in accord with the actual phonology of the dialect. In the series of conferences which I had with the students named, and in which we were joined by some other Ternateños who took great interest in our discussions, an English translation of all the stories was prepared and some points of

grammar gone into. There were moreover among my informants some who had sufficient information on the older form of Ternate speech to be able to employ a number of Capitan José de Leon's old words in sentences so as to better show their use.

In order to allow the reader to judge of the relation existing between that form of Tagalo-Spanish which is here called the Ternate dialect and that other form generally known as Cavite Spanish, I had another friend, Mr. Quirino del Rosario, reputed as well-versed in the latter dialect, write out in his tongue the same fable of the Monkey and the Turtle which President Clemente Dirain had given me and which was slightly altered to this end by my instructors in Manila above mentioned.

All the material thus brought together will be found on the following pages, accompanied by some foot-notes giving further specific explanation.

Notes on Phonology and Orthography

The following notes are in no way designed to enter into the matter of Ternate phonology in a systematic manner. They are limited to such observations as occurred to me during my occupation with the following texts. Wherever the necessity of greater clarity made the employ-

ment of special symbols desirable, I had recourse to those of the international Phonetic Association.

1. The laryngeal continuant. This sound appears in each of the three elements of which the Ternate dialect is clearly a mixture. It shows itself in such words from the Tagalog as hagad, to persecute; halus, almost. It is also found in such words as hanggoti, dipper; hoting, prostitute, which, not belonging to Tagalog, are reputed old Mardicas words. And it finally occurs in words from the Spanish, which require a more detailed treatment.

Generally speaking, Spanish h is a letter, not a sound; it is written but not pronounced, except in certain provinces, such as Andalusia and Estremadura, where vulgar pronunciation gives it, especially before the diphthongs ie and ue, a value which makes it approach the Spanish velar g (or j). The mute Spanish h, now, such as found in hablar, becomes sometimes audible in Ternate where local orthography represents it in such cases by i, as for instance in the Ternate equivalent of hablar which is jablá but which I write in the texts hablá in order to bring my writing of such words in accord with hagad, hoting, etc., above quoted. Ternate appears, however, to be not at all consistent in its treatment of the mute Spanish h and against hablá just mentioned we have in the text such words as asé, irbi, noadi in which an original Spanish h is as mute as in the Spanish words corresponding with these forms: hacer, hervir, no ha de.

Another origin for Ternate h is Spanish j in such words as ohu, from Spanish ojó, and huga, from Spanish jugar, while yet another cause for the employment of the symbol h became for me the peculiar treatment given in Ternate to Spanish s.

Spanish s is found unaltered in such words as sali (SP. salir), kosa (Sp. cosa), kasa (Sp. casa), and others, but it is very often, especially before consonants, slurred over so as to be only half audible, or it is left out

entirely. In cases of slurred pronunciation I indicate this by placing an h behind the s slightly above the line; so in mash^h (Sp. Mas), di lo^h (Sp. de los), dus^h pesu (Sp. dos pe-
sos), as also, for the same reason, in native words as f.i. kaluhkus^h (a slight noise). In case of complete elision of s I noticed a slight aspiration taking its place and then represented this by h: e.g. ahta (Sp. hasta), eh^hti (Sp. este), krahkah (Sp. cascaras). Occasionally even this aspiration disappeared and only a slight hiatus is left, marked by me with a hyphen: ri-ponde (Spanish responde).

An isolated case of conversion of the mute Spanish h into the voiced velar stop is in the texts Ternate agora from Spanish ahora.

The Spanish pronoun of the second person plural vos, which is the typical form of address in the Tagalo-Spanish of Cavite (e.g. Subi vos, English Come up), becomes in Ternate boh (e.g. Subi boh).

2. Affricates. Among the Ternate vocables of native origin a couple of affricates (stops+related continuant) are found which, as alien to Tagalog, characterize the words containing them as very probably belonging to the stock of old Mardicas words. Examples: djoli (d3oli), sea-moss, djomu (d3omu), slightly pushing with the elbow. Another affricate, formed with the voiceless hushing sound, is found in churu-churu (tj uru-tj uru), murmur.
3. Ternate e is often very broad and open and I then use for it the symbol __, e.g. p__pu, to strike hard, t ru__, stuttering.
4. Ternate o, at the end of Spanish words sounds often, rather more as u and I thus write pue__lu (Sp. pueblo), otru (Sp. otro); this u occurs also in medial position: dus^h (Spanish dos).
5. Hiatus. The correct pronunciation of certain Ternate words makes necessary the interposition between two syllables of a slight but distinct hiatus. Besides the case of elided s in above ri-ponde, this hiatus occurs in mo-n__u, stupid.

6. Accent: glottal check. The weight of the pronunciation of most native Ternate words falls on the penultima. Words stressed on the ultima are given by me an acute accent; if followed by the glottal check, such words are given also a grave accent forming with the acute a circumflex: e.g. angâ, looking on from idle curiosity; sabararâ, slattern.

Word-lists showing medley of elements constituting the Ternate lexicon.

LIST OF OLD MARDICA WORDS.

<u>anga</u>	looking on from curiosity
<u>angsing</u>	putrid odor
<u>babang</u>	old man
<u>bang</u>	old
<u>bebu-bebu</u>	swelling
<u>binching</u>	worried
buli-buli <u>bung</u>	very
<u>chapi-chapi</u>	moving walking slowly
<u>chinina</u> Tag. <u>barong tagalog</u> , Tagalog shirt	
<u>ching-ching</u> [§] <u>vinkaru</u> , Tag. <u>timbabalak</u> small lizard	
<u>chiri-chiri</u>	the slow issuing of a soft mass from small aperture
<u>chubi</u>	tapping a person with the finger to call his attention
<u>churu-churu</u>	murmur
<u>dokoki</u>	bubo, Tag. <u>kulani</u>
<u>djoli</u>	sea-moss
<u>djomu</u>	slightly pushing with the elbow
<u>erung-erung</u>	flickering of the light

<u>gantung</u>	very long (in time)
<u>ging-ging</u>	very small, only a ^{little} dot
<u>holi</u>	groin, Tag. <u>singit</u>
<u>hoting</u>	prostitute
<u>honggoti</u>	dipper made of a coconut-shell, Tag <u>tabo</u>
<u>humasang</u>	plenty, numerous
<u>halpok</u>	rotten fish
<u>kachang-kachang</u>	step by step
<u>kangga-kangga</u>	lower jaw
ⁱ <u>kirkiri-kamaturi</u>	various kinds of fish
<u>kiroso</u>	small rat; Tag. <u>dagang gililan</u>
<u>kokomu</u>	kind of white crab on mud flats
<u>lentang-lentang</u>	dirty and flabby (as a long worn shirt)
<u>liching-liching</u>	stout, fat, flabby
<u>malikeki</u>	hysterical in laughter
<u>mo-ngu</u>	stupid
<u>paltók</u>	tobacco
<u>peki-peki</u>	sticky
<u>pēpu</u>	to strike hard
<u>piching</u>	penis
<u>pinining</u>	very small
<u>prrkuriu</u>	very dirty
<u>sabararâ</u>	slattern; negligent of neatness
<u>seng</u>	money
<u>siru-siru</u>	very ill with fever (unvoiced but soft 's')

<u>sopu</u>	glipped in the hole
<u>taherang</u>	back and forth
<u>taming</u>	shield
<u>t^εerul</u>	stuttering
<u>turari</u>	to face
<u>ucha-ucha</u>	very wet
<u>ungku</u>	chin
<u>yai</u>	aunt
<u>yangki</u>	riding together, Tag. <u>angkas</u>

The foregoing list ^(comprises as well those old words that were) was furnished me at Ternate by Capitán José de Leon from a note-book kept by him in order to save these words from oblivion. ^(as a number of similar old words collected from the following list) Some more old words may be discovered in the stories given further on. Having subsequently shown the list in Manila to some students from Ternate, I obtained from them the following sentences illustrating the use of a number of those old words. Besides an English translation, I have added to the sentences the original Spanish words from which the corresponding Ternate corruptions were derived.

1. Di hambaría yo boh kangga-kangga. I shall strike your (lower) jaw. (di, particle denoting future, probably the 'de' of Sp. 'He de pegar'; boh from Sp. vos)
2. No mash angâ baka keda tardá. Do not loiter any more lest you be late. (keda tardá from Sp. quedar tarde)

3. Nuay bagá el babang di mihotru ayi? Is our grandfather not there? (nuay, Sp. no hay; di mihotru ayi Sp. de nosotros ahí)
4. Ta bisá ya yo kung boh ki di yegá bang Tonggi. I have told you already that old Tonggi is coming. (ta probably from Sp. está; bisá, Sp. avisar; ki, Sp. que; yegá, Sp. llegar.)
5. Bung buenu tamieng kehti mi bai. My uncle is very good. (buenu tamieng, Sp. bueno tambien; kehti, Sp. aqueste?)
6. Bung bebu el hirida di mi yai. The wound of my aunt is swelling much. (el hirida, Sp. la herida)
7. No binching boh kung migu porki di matá yo kung boh. Do not worry me lest I kill you. (kung migu, Sp. conmigo; porki, Sp. porque; matá, Sp. matar)
8. Ta bughá mihotru chapi-chapi para no keda kansau. We are paddling very slowly so as not to get tired. (bughá, probably Sp. bogar; kansau, Sp. cansado)
9. Inkalsa boh kel chinina kung migu. Hand me that shirt. (*contains no old word* inkalsa, Sp. alcanzar; kel, Sp. aquel)
10. Ya mirá bagá boh kel chingching-vingkaru ayer? Did you see that small lizard yesterday? (mirá, Sp. mirar)
11. Chubi boh kung eli y di sigi eli kung boh. Touch him and he will follow you. (eli, Sp. él; sigi, Sp. seguir)
12. No uhtedi churu-churu ayi para no mihotru hugá matá. Do not murmur there, so that we may not kill each other. (uhtedi, Sp. Ustedes; hugá, Sp. jugar; this seems to play in Ternate the role of a modal auxiliary denoting competitive action.)
13. Tenenduh boh dokoki di ^{Keda}deká-boh kalinturáu. Having bubo you will become feverish, or get fever. (tenenduh, Sp. teniendo; kalinturáu, Sp. calenturado)

14. Kung mi diomu dumá, di bulá ya boh. ^{By} ~~With~~ my elbowing you only, you will fly away, or be thrown over. (dumá, perhaps Sp. no mas; bulá, Sp. volar)
15. No se gantung kel seng di otru. Do not keep for a long time the money of others. (se, perhaps Sp. hacer)
16. Bagay mata kung todú el manga hoting. Better kill all those prostitutes. (todú, Sp. todo)
17. Ichá agua boh na honggoti. Put water into the dipper. (icha, Sp. echar)
18. Bughá dumá kachang-kachang. Paddle only very slowly.
19. Dali kung migu ung ging-ging di pang. Give me a bit of bread. (dali, Sp. dale; ung, Sp. un; pang, Sp. pan; note the predilection for the velar nasal)
20. Bung korri el kiroso. The small rat runs very fast. (korri, Sp. correr)
21. Kieri boh kami kokomu? Do you like (or wish) to eat white crab? (kieri, Sp. quiere; komí, Sp. comer)
22. Liching-liching el mi puerku. My pig is very fat. (puerku, Sp. puerco)
23. Mo-ngu tamieng boh. You are also very stupid.
24. Noadi eli biní ma. ^{contains no old word} He will not come any more. Sp. El no ha de venir más)
25. Saka boh kel paltók para mi. Get that tobacco for me. (saka Sp. sacar)
26. Peki-peki buh ungu por el sudor. Your chin is sticky because of the sweat.
27. Pépu boh su kabesa. Strike his head. (kabesa, Sp. cabega)
28. Mira boh su chinina y bung pirkuriu. Look at his shirt and it is very dirty.

29. Sabarará kel muher kel. That woman is ~~st~~attern.
30. Ya dali kung migu siru-siru di kalintura. I was attacked by a strong fever. (dali, Sp. dar, dale)
31. Paka boh sopu ayi. You might slip there.
32. Ta t^erul ya eli. He is stuttering already.
33. Turari baga ki turari na kuwentu kayá nung sabi nada. You are always listening with staring eyes to the story of others, that is why you do not know anything. (kuwentu, Sp. cuento)
34. Ucha-ucha eli por kel aguaseru. He is drenched with the rain. (aguaseru, Sp. aguacero)
35. Yai, di andá ya yo. Aunt, I shall now go.
36. Se yangki huntú boh kung migu. You make me ride with you. (Se, perhaps from Sp. hace; huntú, Sp. junto)

T E X T S

HUANG Y NANG(1)
(Huang and Nang)

- Sp. oscura*
Huañg - Nañg, esku~~r~~ru-kuru pa (Nañg, very early in the morn-
disé mihotru tabas, ing to-morrow we will clean my
kél mi kaiñgin. kaiñgin)
Muchu hénti dindá (Many people will go, so Nañg,
kanya kosé, Nañg, mu- cook much rice soup)
chu tótuñg.
Nañg - Si, ihu; dáh-lobu. (Yes, son; let me take care of i
Huañg - Nañg, bung kallenti (Nañg, the sun is very hot, and
sol, y di kemá el ka-
besa di kél mañga hen- it burns the head of those peo-
ti. ple)
Kumpra, Nañg, muchu (So Nañg, please buy many
sombreru. hats)
El Nañg ya kumprá som- (The mother bought many hats,
breru y ki yasé Huañg and what Huang did was to get
ya saká el mañga som- all the hats and put them on the
breru ya ichá na inci- top of the pointed bamboos)
ma di kél mañga tólus.

(1) Text obtained from Mr. P. Ramos. Huang from Sp. Juan; Nang probably from Tag. inang, mother. Kaiñgin wood-land cleared for planting by burning down trees and bushes; yasé perhaps from ya-asé; buli-buli, stomach excessively filled with food.

Nañg - Kuantu katiñgañg baga (How many big jars of rice
di tótuñg disé? soup did you say?)
Huañg - Se, Nañg, dus katin- (You cook, Nang, two big jars)
gañg.
(Yasé el Nañg tótung y (Nang cooked two big jars of
kuandu kusiu ya, ya yubá totuñg, and Huang brought
Huañg na kaiñgin y ya ko- them to the kaiñgin and ate
mí ahta ki ya dali buli- them all until he could not
buli.) stand nor breathe because of
his filled stomach)

Ballenti-ballenti Peru Medrosu⁽¹⁾
(Ostensibly Brave But Coward)

Ayá na Barra tieni dush ma- (There in Barra there lived a
ridu muher tá kedá na ung married couple in a shack ^{not bigger than} like
kubu alagay komu chikeru nu a ~~big~~ pig-pen)
másh di grandi. El nombri (The name of the woman was
dél muher, Itay, y dél maridu Itay, and the man was Intuy)
Intuy. Lotru dush tardá ya (During their long married
kasáu ya guardá lotru muchu life they succeeded in saving
señg. much money)

(1) Text obtained from Mr. B. Velasco. Nu or no used indis-
criminately, i.e. 'nu sabi' 'nu máh' 'no kieri', I wrote
them according to what I heard.

Di muchu tiempo lotru tá maká- (For a long time in their good
sundu ya tieni tamieng bueng condition they were happy)
ihtadu. Agora kuandu Intuy (Now when Intuy reached old
tá mediu biehu ya no kieri age he refused to work, and
másh^h trabahá, el ki tá asé what he only did was to s^lleep
nu mash^h dormi-dormí. Ya kabá and sleep) (So they consumed
ring el bienes ahta ki nuay all their wealth until they
mash^h ki komí. El ki ya asé had nothing left for their
paraang Itay para nu muri di subsistance) (What Itay did
hambri ya andá asé tienda- in order not to die of hunger
tienda na otru pueblu, y bue- was to do a little selling in
nu tamieng tieni tá ganá ung the near village, and thanks
pokiting-pukiting páng asé li- to this she got money with
pas hambri. Komu-komu na asé which to buy their food) (Thru
ki asé tienda ya ganá bung a good method of selling Itay
muchu Itay. Aha! kuandu ya e^larned much money) (Aha! when
s abí Intuy ki muchu seng Intuy knew that Itay had much
ya lotru ya robá na kahón money he stole the box of Itay
di Itay y el seng kabá ya where the money was kept, and
asé todú perdí na monte. gambled them to disappearance)
Bung reganáu agora Itay. Eli (Now Itay was very angry) (She
ya hablá ya nu mash^h ki di an- said she would drown herself
dá asé sumí su kuerpu na rio in the river)
para malunud, ó muri di na
besh.

Intuy tamieng no tá asé kaso. (Intuy did not mind her)

Agora, ya kamina ya Itay, y (Now, Itay went to the river,
^{Kuwarda}~~sa~~ yegá~~x~~ na urilla di pang- but on coming to its bank she
pang ya kubihá na kél kubli hid herself in a closed place)
lugar. Ehti pala tamieng (Itay did not know that Intuy
Itay nu sabi ki Intuy tá asé was watching her)
subug kung eli. Komu tardá ya (Intuy lost his patience in
kubiháu Itay tá mainíp ya ehti awaiting Itay in her hiding
Intuy el ki ya asé eli ya re- place, so what he did was to
má ung pokiting, y ya asé approach the hiding place and
bulagá kung Itay. Kabá ya then surprised Itay) (Intuy
hablá pa, "Akala di mi ber- spoke, "I thought you will
dadi boh di asé malunud buh really drown yourself, why do
kuerpu y untu komu tayi pa you yet move your bowel?")
boh?" El ki ya ri-pondé Itay, (Itay replied, "Wait, I am just
"Ehpera boh tá kagá nu máh moving my bowel, really I will
yo, talagang di magpakamatay ~~will myself~~")
ya." "Basta di alasiega boh ("Stop, I will whip you, come
bini ya." Ya bibi huntú lo- now.") (Again they live toge-
tru trabés^h. Kuliríng-kuli- ther)
ráu kuwenta kabáu. (End)

EMBIHTIDA KUNG MANGA MORUS
(Fight Against the Moros)

Kél tiempo kuandu ta bini-
bini mañga Morus na Filipinas
tá asé muchu gulú, tá destro-
sá todú ki tá puedi mirá, tá
saká otrú para asé kriansa,
ahá robá todú el mañga ballen-
ti y mañga bueng hombri y ya
trayí aki na Filipinas para
hugá embihti kung mañga Morus.

Kél mañga hénti kél di ayá,
na pueblu riñg di Ternate na
Molucas, Kuandu lotru ya
biní aki ehti añu di 1663. El
gobiernu español kuandu kél,
ya yubá kuñg lotru ayá na
kél uñg lugar na Cavite, ki
tá yemá Barra y ayi ya mandá
kedá todú pati mañga familia y
ahá gora tayá lotru nuay ki
yá kedá lotru.

Kuandu bagu lotru yá ye-
gá no yá tardá y tieni yá ye-
gá mañga Morus ki kieri saltá

During that time when the
Moros were causing much trou-
ble in the Philippines, kill-
ing people, destroying all th-
they saw, and getting all th-
they found, even the proper-
ties of the church, the Spa-
nish government took some peo-
ple from Ternate, Moluccas;
people who were considered
brave and good men who were
brought to the Philippines to
fight against the Moros. It
was in the year 1663 when they
arrived here. The Spanish
government brought them to a
place in Cavite, called Barra
and here they settled permanen-
tly where their descendants
still live.

Not long after the time of
their arrival, the Moros who
wanted to attack all that they

kung todú ki mirá. Kél pue-
blu dondi ihta kél mañga
Mardicas ehti buñg klaru tá
mirá na la mar. El mañga
Morus yá bahá ya di kél
pañgku di lotru yá andá na
playa y ta bailá-bailá kung
todu su tamíng y kampiláng,
komu tá asé hamung kung el
mañga hépnti na pueblu. Ha-
lus no puedi mirá kung el
mañga Morus na baila por el
harena ki tá bolá. Otru di
mañga Morus kieri intrá ya
sakía na pueblu. Kuandu el
mañga biehu na pueblu yá
mirá kung el mañga Morus, ya
embarká ensigida na bañgka y
yá andá huga⁽¹⁾ embihti.

El mañga Mardicas bung bue-
nu-buenú y tá habla ki no tá

saw, appeared. The place where
the Mardicas were, could very
well see the Moros on the sea.
The Moros landed on the shore
from their war-boat, and danced
with their shields and big bo-
los, an indication of a cha-
llenge to the people of the town.
The Moros were almost not to be
seen because of the whirling
of the sand they produced by
their dancing. Some of the
Moros were about to begin the
assault, but they hesitated
because they saw the town with
many people. When the old men
of the town saw the Moros they
got their boats to fight the
Moros. The Mardicas were very
brave, and it was said that
they were invulnerable; there

(1) hugá is a kind of modal auxiliary denoting the existence
of a contest: e.g. Hugá come muchu - Let us have a contest in
eating.
Hugá bringka mihotru dush - Let us jump
together.

taláb; piru bung grandi la-
bang ya tené. Aya yá mirá
el pagka ballenti⁽¹⁾ di lotru
Bang Klang, Bang Totóy, Bang
Káling, Bang Tonggi, Bang
Huang y otru mañga biehu;
kanya no yá tardá y el mañga
Morus yá hugá korri muchu ya
kedá muertu.

Impesá di kél nu mas^h ya
andá el mañga Morus ayá na
Barra. (2)

was a dreadful fighting. There,
was shown the bravery of the
leaders, Bang Klang, Bang Totóy,
Bang Kaling, Bang Tonggi, Bang
Huang, and the other old men; so
it was not long before the Moros
fled, leaving many dead compa-
nions.

Since then, the Moros ceased
to visit that place.

SAKA UNA, BOLBÉ DUS^h
(Take one and Return two)

Kuandu kél tieni ung hen-
ti al nombri Kulás. Akél
hénti kél tieni mañga tubi-
gang y bung muchu seng. Si
tá kedá nuay seng el mañga

Once there lived a man whose
name was Kulas. This man had
many rice fields, and had much
money. Whenever money was
scarce, the people went to Ku-

(1) ballenti, from Sp. valiente (brave); also kallenti, from Sp. caliente (hot) the double-l is pronounced like the double-l of the Sp. silla (chair). But the Sp. verb llorar becomes yorá; callar, kayá; llevar, yubá; llover, yubé; llamar, yemá; etc.

(2) According to Mr. Ramos, from whom the text was obtained, this story was handed down to them by their ancestors from generation to generation.

hénti ayá ta imprehtá kung
kél Kulás. Si kung bagá
mang yá imprehtá mihotru. dush
pesu, di pagá tamieng kuation
pesu. Dobli kí dobli el pagu.
Marsh tá tardá ya kedá bung
riku el Kulás, y kuandu bung
biehu ya yá murí. Di losh
paka ruing y mal bisiu bung
muchu hénti regañáu kung eli.
Kél moy muri kél, no kieri
ricibí kung eli Dios na sie-
lu porki bung muchu kulpa, ka-
yá el kastigu ki ya dali kung
eli Dios yá manda kamina to-
dol(1)nochi na pueblu; maráu
kadena na pies, y di gritá,
"Palillu, saká una bolbé dus".
Kél primer nochi kuandu yá
kaminá, muchu mañga hénti ta-
yá na kalli tá hugá platicá,
y tá hugá ase daldál. Kuandu

las. If a man borrowed two
pesos the payment for the re-
turn payment. As time went on
Kulas became very rich, and
when he was already very old,
he died. Because of his self-
ishness and vicious custom ma-
men hated him. God did not
accept his soul in heaven be-
cause he was sinful. So the
punishment given him was to
walk every night with a chain
tied to his feet, and to shout
the words, "Palillu, take one
and return two". It happened
that the first night of his pu-
nishment many people were goss-
ping in the street; so the mo-
ment they heard the clanging
of the chain they all ran away.
Before darkness came, the peo-
ple went to bed at six o'clock

(1) todól, corrupted from the Sp. ~~toda el~~ † toda la (noche).

ya uyí lotru el higing dél
kadena yá hugá korrí di losh
paka miedu. Impesá kél no-
chi kél, si tá durmí el
mañga hénti alash^h sei pa di
la tardi. Tieni tamieng
ung hénti na kél pueblu kél
bung ballenti. El ki asé
manding kél henti kel ya im-
barká na kaballu kél ung no-
chi, y yá andá na pantiong.
Bagu pa eli tá yegá tá uyí
yá el kaluhkus^h dél pies y
el higing di kadena. Al ki
yá ~~xxxxxx~~ asé yá bahá di
kaballu y yá kaminá. Luegu-
luegung pukiting ya mirá eli
kél mañga hénti kél. Ya pri-
guntá eli, "Kieng boh^h?" Ya
ri-ponde, "Yo el alma ki tá
pená; si boh no kieri ki yo
pená bini boh^h aki na mi hun-
tu." Kuandu tayá na huntu
yá, ya hugá garrá manu lotru
dus^h, y ya habla kél alma,

in the afternoon. It happened
that in that town there lived a
brave man. He decided to put an
end to this frightful happening
So he mounted a horse one night
and went to the cemetery. No
sooner had he gone near the plac
than he heard the tapping of the
feet and the clanging of the
chain. His horse refused to walk
What he did was to get down from
the horse and then walk. A mo-
ment later he saw the said man.
He asked, "Who are you?" "I am
the tormented soul," was the re-
ply. "If you wish that I will
be tormented no longer, come
near me." When the brave man
was already near, they sho^{RK}
hands, and the soul spoke again,
"Go to my house and tell my
daughter to dig the ground under
my house-ladder and there she will
find ^{three tinajas and two oi} ~~five cans~~ of money. Tell
her to return the money (to those

"Anda bo^h kung mihotru, habla
kung kél mi iha ki gribatá
ayá na imprenti dí kél tresh^h
tinaha y dush^h oy di seng.
Manda ribolbé el seng, asé
ung misa para mi". Todu kél
mañga inkárgu kél yá asé akél.
hénti ballenti. Impesá kél
nochi nu máh ya anda-anda kél-
(1) Kulás na pueblu. Kuliring-
koleráu kuwentu kabáu. (Text
obtained from Mr. B. Katala-
san)

people from whom I have taken
them by means of interest) and
tell her also to have a mass
celebrated for me". All these
requests of the tormented soul
were obeyed by the brave man.
The next night Kulas did not
appear in that town. End.

INKANTÁU(2)
(Enchanter)

Pedro - Ayi ráu na Tangga-
rang(3) tieni tá salí in-
kantáu.

It is said that in Tanggarang
there appears an enchanter.

Huang - Kieng tá habla?

Who said so?

-
- (1) Kel or akel seems to be indiscriminately used by the Ternateños to refer to objects already known.
(2) Text obtained from Mr. P. Ramos.
(3) Tanggarang, a certain district of the town of Ternate.

Pedro - Bay Tolome el ki tá
hablá; ya mirá ráu eli ano-
chi, tá salí-salí fuegu na
boka, y bung grandi el mañga
ohus; ta ^{im} ~~mb~~barkáu pā na kaba-
llu y pasia-pasía na urilla di
posu.

Huang - Para mi, no inkantáu
akél. Porki el inkantáu no
sabi asé miedu; al mirá hen-
ti tá yemá y tieni bés tá
dali seng ó sinu tá yubá na
su kasa para kedá inkantáu
ring. Siguru akél ung hénti
nu mash ki kieri asé miedu
kung kél mañga hénti ki tá
pasā-pasá.

Pedro - Kosa no inkantáu tá
hablá bo^h? Antinochi tá
asé kampai ráu kung Onung, y
kieri dali seng. Piru
Onung bung miedu ya korrí
y yá grita-gritá; y agora
tayá tá siru-siru di kalin-
tura.

Uncle Tolome said so. He
said that last night he saw
fire coming out from the mouth,
and the eyes were very big;
that the enchanter was linge-
ring around the well, on horse
back.

As for mi that is not an en-
chanter, because the enchanter
does not frighten people; on
seeing the people he calls
them, and sometimes ~~xxxxxxx~~
gives them money or takes them
to his house in order to make
them enchanter. Perhaps it
is only a man who wants to cow
the passers-by.

What, you say it is not an en-
chanter? The night before last
he was beckoning Onung to ap-
proach him ^{wanting} ~~as~~ to give Onung
~~the~~ money. But Onung was very
much frightened, he ran away
shouting, and now he is very
ill with fever.

Huang - Verdadi ñga bagá? Piru komu tamieng ta sali fuegu na boka y bung grandi el maña ohus? El maña inkan-táu si bo^h di mirá, bung blangku-blangu komu maña español, manari tá supí ki lotru el alma di maña español muer-tu.

Pedro - Siguru paltók kél na boka, y antiparra kél taná ohus. Y komu māta-māta el ohus y miña-miña el boka kanya komu tá mirá bo^h sali-salí fuegu na boka y grandi el ohus.

Huang - Buenu di ehti, ^{mangá} ~~maná~~ mihotru luego la nochi ayá para sabi kel rayu kel si kieng.

Pedro - Para binchíng tamieng bo^h; no kieri pa bo^h kré kung-migu. Pamihu di miedu bo^h al mira Kré bo^h mahki ung puki-ting.

Is that really true? But why does fire come out of his mouth and why are his eyes big? The enchanters, if you happen to see them, are very white like the Spaniards, because it is supposed that they are the spirits of the dead Spaniards.

Perhaps it is tobacco that is in his mouth, and eye-glasses on his eyes; and because the eyes are moving and the mouth constantly opening, so you could see that apparently fire is coming from his mouth, and the eyes are big.

So much the better, let us go there to-night to know who that damned is.

You are worrying me; still you do not believe me; surely you are afraid to see the enchanter. Believe in me, at least a little.

Huang - Ah! noadi yo kré kung boh mahki ung gíng-gíng. Mahki pepu-pepu boh mi kabesa, noadi, noadi yo kré kung boh. Bini mañgda ehti nochi. Sa bagay tá uchang-uchang mi kasa, piru mahki yá, mangda mihotru dush.

Pedro - Ay Hesús, no kieri yo, andá ya boh solu, nohadi yo puedi andá.

Huang - Boh malditu boh, si kósa-kósa yéri-yéri boh(1) tasé pa, bini boh mangda, ó sinu hambaría yo kung boh ehti honggoti.

Pedro - Si biní, mangda ehti nochi. Alash nuebi pa hé!

Huang - Si.

Yá andá lotrus^h dush^h komu alash^h nuebi. Luegu-luegu takí el inkantáu. El ki yá asé Huang ya sigí hagad kung rabuy pagi. El inkantáu ya gritá-gritá, y ya bisá kieng eli, eli palá bay Kaloy.

Ah! I do not believe ~~in~~ you even a bit. Although you strike my head I will not believe ~~in~~ you. Let us go to-night. In fact the roof of my house is destroyed, even then let us go together.

Oh Jesus! I ^{do not want to.} ~~cannot go~~. You go alone, *I shall not be able to walk.*

You accursed, you still hesitate, let us go, or else I will strike you with this dipper.

Yes, let us go to-night at nine o'clock eh!

Yes.

The two went together at nine o'clock. By and by came the enchanter. What Huang did was to chase the enchanter with the tail of the sting-ray. The enchanter shouted, and it was found out who he was, that was

(1) tasé from ta + asé make

Inkantáu - Bung muchu medrosu
agora ki kung mihotru, para
ya chubí dumá yo kung kél
Onung tayá siru-siru di ka-
lintura yá. Masiáu bung mo-
ngu hénti kél.

Huang - Ansina ring ehti ra-
yu Pedro, tá miña-miña inanti
el búku-búku na miedu. Sinu
pa yá asé di hambaría yo kung
honggoti noadi biní pá.

uncle Kaloy.

There are many cowards now
with us, I just tapped Onung,
then he fell ill with fever.

He is ^avery stupid ~~man~~ *person*.

That is also the same case with
Pedro, this morning his knees
were trembling. Had I not threa-
tened him ^{with} ~~of~~ striking his head
with a dipper, he would not have
come here.

MACHÍNG Y PAGONG⁽¹⁾
(Monkey and Turtle).

Tieni ung machíng y ung pa-
gong, kamina-kamina na uri-
lla'y playa; ya inkuntrá ung

There was a monkey and a tur-
tle who were walking along the
shore; they ^{met} ~~found~~ a banana

(1) Text obtained from President Dirain of Ternate, with some
posterior alterations by the Ternate students.

ponu di platanu madúrong-ma-
dúru. Hablá el machíng kél pag
góng, "Subi boh, pari". Ya ri-
pondé kél pagóng kung kél
machíng, "Subia boh." Habla
el machíng, "Boh yá". Kosa
yá asé ya subí na ponu di pla-
tanu el machíng. Habla el
pagóng kung kél machíng,
"Dali unu, pari." Ya ri-
pondé el machíng, "Kas^h dusi
el krahhah para boh". Ya
kelentá el pagóng, ya indá
saká nga yagít. Ya ichá na
ponu di platanu. Ya sendé.
Agora el machíng no puedi sa-
bé kí laya di asé. Ya bring-
ká el machíng. El pagóng yá
korré. Ya inkuntrá ung báo.
Tieni tamieng ung karabáo tá
kaminá na urilla'y playa. Ya
trampesá akél bao; ya yá mi-
rá el machíng, ya garrá kung
kél pagóng. Habla el machíng,
"Agora si boh di matá yo kung

plant with ripe fruit. The
"Climb up the tree" The turtle
answered the monkey, "You climb^{yourself!}"
The monkey spoke, "^{rather}You climb"
What the monkey did then was to
climb the tree.
The turtle spoke to the monkey,
"Give me one, sir" The mon-
key replied, "The peel is much
sweeter ^{for} to you. The turtle got
angry, so he went to gather dry
sticks. He put the dry sticks
around the banana tree and then
set it on fire. Now the monkey
did not know what ~~to~~ do. The
monkey jumped. The turtle ran
away and found a coconut shell
There was a carabao walking
along the shore. It trampled
and overturned the coconut shell.
The monkey saw the turtle and
held him up. The monkey spoke,
"Now I will kill you" "Do not
sir, I ^{would} ~~will~~ die" "I will throw

boh."--"No pari, di murí yo." you into the ^{hot boiling} water ~~which is~~
"Di butá yo na agua kallenti ~~boiling~~" "No", answered the
tá irbí."--"No", ya ri-pondé el turtle, "no sir, I ^{would} ~~will~~ die".
pagóng, "no pari, di murí yo." "I will pound you in the mortar
"Di machuká yo na pilong kung "No sir, I ^{would} ~~will~~ die" Then the
boh."--"No pari, di murí yo". monkey threw the turtle into th
El ki asé kung el pagóng, ya water. The turtle exclaimed,
tirá na agua. Ya habló el pa- "Yehoy! yehoy! this is my house
góng, "Yehoy! yehoy! aki mi this is my house".
kasa! aki mi kasa!"

V. THE TAGALO-SPANISH OF CAVITE.

Chonggo y Pagóñg(1)
(Monkey and Turtle)

Tiene un choñggo y un pagóñg ta camina na orilla
de playa, ya encontrá un pono de plátano con fruta ma-
ruduñg marudu(2). Ya respondé el choñggo: "Vos ya que
subi". Habla el pagóñg: "Vos ya". El que ya hace ya

(1) This text in the Tagalo-Spanish of Cavite was ob-
tained from Mr. Quirino del Rosario and is added here
to afford an opportunity for comparing this dialect
with that of Ternate. The contents of the story is
very much the same as that of the preceding one.

(2) 'very ripe', from Sp. maduro.

tripa na pono de platano el choñggo. Habla el pagóñg con el choñggo: "Dali conmigo uno". Ya responde el choñggo: "Masiao dulsi de mio muna".--"Dale un pidasitiñg, de morde yo tan chiquitiñg."--"Di dale yo con vos el pellejo más dulsi que el laman". Ya calintá el pagóñg y ya andá sacá mga espinas y ya poní na pono de plátano, yáya sé ardí. Y ahora el choñggo no puede sabé que modo de hacé. Ya brincá el choñggo. El pagóñg ya corré. Ya encontrá un chireta, ya entrá adentro dél chireta.

Tiene tambien un carabáo que ta camina na orilla de playa. Ya trampezá el chireta; ya boyá el pagóñg, ya mirá el choñggo, y ya garrá con el pagóñg. Habla el choñggo con el pagóñg, "Agarra vos conmigo, de matá yo con vos". Habla el pagóñg con el choñggo, "No, de murí yo".--"De machuka yo na pilón con vos."--"No, de murí yo". El que hacé el choñggo ya butá na agua. Ya habló el pagóñg, "Yehoy! yehoy! aquí mi casa, aquí mi casa!"

VI. CONCLUSION

Having carried out in the foregoing my object of recording, by a number of texts, the present form of the Ternate dialect, as well as, by historical data and a list of ancient words, everything I could reach regarding its origin, I now end my task by briefly reviewing the chief results obtained.

The original speech of the Mardicas, which may have been uniformly that of the island of Ternate or ^a may have included, according to Juan de la Concepcion's statement quoted above, the tongues of some others of the Spice Islands, fell, at some time after their arrival in the Philippines, under the influence of people of different speech. Of places where such contact may have taken place, the sources quoted by me mention the following: Life on board Spanish men-of-war, the suburb of Manila formerly called Bagumbayan, now Ermita, the coast near Maragondon in Cavite with the settlement Ternate as a center and the island of Corregidor as a sort of garrison shared, perhaps, with Spanish soldiery. Of dates, we have the early sixties of the 17th century for arrival of the Mardicas in Manila, and the middle of the 18th century for their removal to the Cavite coast.

As indicative of the forces at work to transform their original speech, we have Concepcion's remark,

around 1790,: "They speak three languages: Spanish, Tagalog, and their own dialect (Mardicas)", a statement which is, partially at least, confirmed by Ferrando and Fonseca who, writing the former before, the latter after the middle of the 19th century, say of them that they had preserved their own dialect.

As spoken at present, the dialect of Ternate in Cavite shows itself already by its vocabulary as belonging to that class of mixed dialects--or jargons as one may call them on account of their jumbling together quite heterogeneous elements--which has been called 'Tagalo-Spanish'. In the case of the Ternate dialect the mixture has been complicated by the presence in it of ancient words that are foreign both to the Philippine speech-group and to Spanish, and are taken to have survived from the original language of the Mardicas. An additional noteworthy feature of the dialect is that its Spanish element presents itself in a form which points, for a source, not to pure Castilian but to such provincial Spanish as is heard in Andalucia, Galicia and Estremadura. For the equally remarkable conversion into the velar nasal of final n in words of both Tagalog and Spanish origin e.g. Tag. kūn, rin become kung, ring; Sp. un, pan become ung, pang. I have no explanation to offer; it presents itself as a distinctive feature of the dialect. All

these peculiarities, together with the characteristic intonation in which the dialect is spoken, render it almost unintelligible to outsiders at first hearing and make it appear a local development of the Ternate people themselves among whom, at least in our days, it is exclusively found in use.

A P P E N D I X

By O. Scheerer, embodying information received from Dr. N. Adriani of Central Celebes, anent the Ternate dialect of the Moluccas.

Whatever may have been the degree of disappoint^{ment}/experienced by the author of the preceding paper upon encountering, at the end of his journey of discovery to the town of Ternate, not an outlandish tongue from the far Moluccas but a sister-dialect of the one spoken in the very capital of his province, he may after all be well satisfied with having enriched our knowledge of the dialectic variations of Spanish in the Philippines by a sufficiently comprehensive collection of texts from a hitherto unexplored member of this class.

The other variations, of which so far more or less details have been recorded, are the Tagalo-Spanish dialects of Manila (chief among them that of the suburb

Ermita), and those of Cavite and Zamboanga. Of these, the Ermita dialect has attained a certain literary development thanks to such productions as the charming little novel "Na maldita arena" by Jesús Balmori, published in the "Philippine Review" for April 1917.

The value which the study of this class of mixed languages has not only with regard to local linguistic problems but for the science of language in general, may be gathered from the following passage in a recent work by Otto Jespersen, Professor in the University of Copenhagen, entitled "Language, its nature, development, and origin (New York, 1923, page 191):

"While some earlier scholars denied categorically the existence of mixed languages, recent investigators have attached a very great importance to mixtures of languages, and have studied actually occurring mixtures of various degrees and characters with the greatest accuracy: I mention here only one name, that of Hugo Schuchardt, who combines profundity and width of knowledge with a truly philosophical spirit, though the form of his numerous scattered writings makes it difficult to gather a just idea of his views on many questions.--Many scholars have recently attached great importance to the subtler and more hidden influence exerted by one language on another in those cases in which a population abandons its original language, and adopts that of another race, generally in consequence of military conquest. In these cases the theory is that people keep many of their speech-habits, especially with regard to articulation and accent, even while using the vocabulary, etc., of the new language, which thus to a large extent is tinged by the old language. There is thus created what is now generally termed a substratum underlying the new language. As the original substratum modifying a language, which gradually spreads over a large area, varies according to the character of the tribes subjugated in

different districts, this would account for many of those splittings up of languages which we witness everywhere."

The writings of Schuchardt mentioned in the foregoing quotation are to be found, for a good part, in the reports of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna corresponding to the years 1882-1888 under the serial title "Kreolische Studien". They were published, in the words of Jespersen, "with the avowed intention of throwing light on the origin of the Romanic languages from a contact between Latin and the languages previously spoken in the countries colonized by the Romans." One of the most important papers of this series, the one not expressly quoted by Jespersen, is entitled "Ueber das Malayo-spanische der Philippinen", in which the author, after acknowledging the valuable help received for his work from Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera, and after giving the scanty and not in all cases reliable material taken from other sources, proceeds to uncover principally the grammatical and syntactical Tagalog--we might call it Indonesian--substratum underlying the--lexically almost entirely Spanish--'lengua de tienda' or Kitchen-Spanish of Manila. A few of the most important points made by Schuchardt in this connection are the following:

- 1) the formation of tenses with the help of particles instead of inflection:
ta escribi a general present tense adapted from the Sp. durative está escribiendo;

ya escribí a preterite representing a theoretical Tag. na sumulat;
de escribí a general future adapted from Sp. ha de escribir;

2) the indiscriminate use of impersonal Sp. hay (there is) and the possessive Sp. tiene (has) as a consequence of both meanings being represented by Tag. may.

3) the neglect of the gender, a category unknown to the Indonesian; thus
Sp. el, la, lo become Tag.-Sp. el (Tag. añg);
Sp. un, uno, una become Tag.-Sp. un (Tag. isá);
Sp. bueno, buena become Tag.-Span. buen (Tag. mabuti);
Sp. aquel, aquella become Tag.-Sp. aquel;
Examples: Sp. la mujer=Tag.-Sp. el muher
Sp. una palabra=Tag.-Sp. un palabra
Sp. aquella buena mujer=Tag.-Sp. aquel buen muher

4) the neglect of concord in 'numerus':
Sp. todas las chinelas†Tag.-Sp. todo el chinelas
Sp. chinelas bordadas=Tag.-Sp. chinelas bordado
Sp. sus pilladas=Tag.-Sp. su pilladas
Sp. los borracheros=Tag.-Sp. el mana borrachero
(Tag. maña = Tag.-Sp. mana)

5) the absence of personal endings as unknown to Tagalog; this absence is either left to be compensated by the following noun or pronoun, or the Sp. third person singular supplies all others:
Sp. yo tengo = Tag.-Sp. tiene yo
Sp. ellos, ellas mandan=Tag.-Sp. ta mandá ellos

6) the adherence of Taglo-Spanish to the Tag. word-order^a which favors the anteposition of the predicate to the (logical) subject:
Sp. yo no le tengo miedo = Tag.-Sp. No ta tené yo miedo con ele.

These few hastily chosen examples may suffice to show the interest which the paper in question has for those interested in the phenomena accruing from the encounter of such widely divergent speech-habits as have found, and

are finding, a meeting place in these islands. They will show at the same time, the striking similarity existing between the Tagalo-Spanish of Manila, and that of Ternate, for the latter of which dialects they will even be found to serve as a veritable key.

To take up the question of the Mardika element discovered by Mr. Tirona in the dialect of Ternate. The class in Philippine Linguistics of the University of the Philippines is lucky to count among the friendly promoters of its aims an authority like Dr. N. Adriani of Central-Celebes. Cognizant of Mr. Tirona's endeavors to trace the origin of our Mardikas back to their ancient home in the Moluccas, Dr. Adriani has been good enough to express himself on a short list of Mr. Tirona's Mardika words sent to him in advance, in a letter from which I translate the following:

"The language of the island of Ternate is, as you know, related to the tongues spoken in the northern half of Halmahera. It is not known if there exist yet other relatives of these North Halmahera languages, the Ternatean may be taken, however, as the most degenerate member of this group. Once upon a time the Ternatean made its influence felt in the bay of Tomini and on the east coast of Central Celebes, tho that influence has ceased long ago. At the small harbor-town of Ternate, where naturally all sorts of foreigners have settled, a Malay speech has come into existence which is interlarded with a number of Ternate words. This kind of Malay has been imported also into the region of northern Celebes known as the Minahassa, tho here the native dialects are still much in vogue, while in the public schools, and in preaching the evangelics, the literary Malay

Ternate
is made use of to all possible extent. Thus it comes that in the Malay of the Minahassa there occur some Malay vocables, as you will see from subjoined list. The languages of Ternate and North Halmahera are vocalic, that is, all syllables are open. They are besides peculiar in that they possess no pre-nasalized sounds. A word like lentang-lentang can thus not possibly belong, in this form, to one of those languages.

The word marāika is derived from Sanscrit ma-harddhika and has been corrupted to Dutch mardyker. It denoted men who had certain privileges on account of their having adopted the Christian faith. The Ternate men who left in company of their priests received this title without doubt from the Spaniards for having become Catholics, and it is not improbable that they were afraid not to be maintained in their privileges by the protestant Netherlanders.--Now follows the list.

babañg old man, must be Ternate baba father;

bañg old, perhaps a shortened form of the foregoing;

bai uncle, is the same as Moluccan Malay pai father;

binchiñg worried, is Mal. bentji unwilling, cross;

chapi-chapi walking slowly, is Jav. tjape tired, which has passed into Malay;

chiñg-chiñg vinkaru small lizard, compare Mal. beñgkarung, a large lizard;

chiri-chiri the slow issuing of a soft mass from a small aperture, comp. Tern. tjiri dropping (of fruits);

chubi tapping a person with the finger to call his attention, Mal. tjubit to pinch with thumb and digit;

churu-churu murmur, Tern. tjuru to whisper

dokoki bubo, appears to be the same as Tobelo

dekekeru. Galela degeke, groin (North Halmahera words)

gantuñg very long (in time), I can see in this nothing else but Mal. gantuñg to hang, to be suspended, of which the form tergantuñg is also used for something still 'pending' so that a decision may yet take a long time.

kirikiri kamaturi various kinds of fish, appears to contain Mal. kirip a species of shell-fish;

lentañg-lentañg dirty and flabby, as a long worn shirt, seems to be Mal. lentang lying backward;

lichiñg-lichiñg fat, flabby, Mal. litjin smooth,
slippery;
mo-ñgu stupid, Tern. moñgo forgetful;
paltok tobacco, Tern. poroto, Tobelo porótoko to
bite, with the meaning to chew tobacco;
peki-peki sticky, Tobelo peki rotten;
siru-siru very ill with fever, Tern. siru-siru to
jump, to jump up;
turari to face, Tern. torari fronting, facing;
uñgku chin, Tern. oko chin;
yai aunt, probably the Mal. mai mother;
Mal. mai.

I am sorry this should be all I can offer at present, tho, if you will give me some time, I shall try to find some more correspondencies. Anyhow, the above is sufficient to show that in the speech of the descendants of the emigrated Ternateans there are indeed present words from the Ternate, the Malay, and the Moluccan Malay, besides some words from the Tobelo of northern Halmahera.

I sincerely hope that Mr. Tirona will make good progress in his studies and wish him every success."
