

THE ARCHIVE

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THE ARCHIVE

Vol. 3 Nos. 1-2 (2022)

Jem R. Javier

Editor-in-Chief

Department of Linguistics

College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

University of the Philippines Diliman

The Archive is the official journal of the Department of Linguistics, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. The Regular Series of the journal serves as a peer-reviewed publication for original works dealing primarily but not exclusively with Philippine languages and dialects.

- full-length articles
- squibs
- linguistic data sets
- field notes and linguistic ethnographies
- interviews
- reviews and commentaries

Single, extensive works on the grammars of Philippine languages and dialects may also be published in the Special Publications Series of the journal. All submissions are subject to double-blind peer review with the exception of interviews, review articles, and commentaries.

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Editor's Notes

We are extremely delighted to release this volume of *The Archive* this 2022, coinciding with the centennial founding anniversary of its publisher, the Department of Linguistics at the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman. To curate such a volume that marks an important point in our institutional history is not an easy task, for the mandates (and corresponding research agenda) of the Department—as a unit housed in the country's premier state university—have evolved significantly since its establishment in keeping with the landscape of linguistic scholarship in the academia and the language-related needs of the nation. Ultimately, we compiled the works that echo our institution's main *raison d'être*,¹ formally set in 1977 but continues to endure amidst the changing landscape of linguistic scholarship:

1. to continue developing the Department as the primary center of studying and archiving languages and dialects in the Philippines;
 2. to contribute to general and theoretical linguistics based, first and foremost, on the study of languages and dialects in the Philippines;
- and

¹In addition to the three agenda items listed, the Department has a secondary goal to improve the teaching of the national languages of Asia in accordance with the needs of the Filipino people.

3. to provide significant, relevant, and direct support in identifying, clarifying, and ultimately solving linguistic problems in the Philippines, especially in education and national communication and integration.

This volume of *The Archive* features two research articles titled “Modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug,” written by Edward G. Estrera and Jeffrey A. Rajik; and “Assessing the Usability of the Draft Minasbate Working Orthography vis-à-vis *An Maayo na Barita Hali sa Dios* and the Actual Usage of Masbatenyó K to 3 Teachers” by Michael Wilson Rosero. Juxtaposing the Department’s one-hundred-year history with that of *The Archive*, Vincent Christopher A. Santiago writes an important essay titled “One Hundred Years of Scholarship on Philippine Linguistic Diversity: A Brief History of *The Archive*.” We also feature two sets of linguistic data gathered from fieldwork among ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines: “Babuyan Claro Toponyms,” compiled by Maria Kristina S. Gallego, Romeo Rosales, and Edgar Elvinia; and “Buhid Word List,” by Mary Ann G. Bacolod, Elsie Marie T. Or, and Atoy I. Tugas. Finally, we are excited to share with you that in this volume, we are launching a new section that aims to update our readers about recently accomplished research projects by our Department’s graduate students.

Estrera and Rajik’s article compares the ways through which the linguistic category of modality is expressed between two Philippine languages—Bagobo-Klata and Tausug. By comparing the semantic and morphosyntactic features, as well as lexical origins of modality expressions between the two languages, the paper offers insights on the typological structure of each language under study and of Philippine

languages in general. Insights gained from this comparative study of modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug are expected to enrich scholarship not only on the said linguistic category, but also on linguistic typological theories offered at present.

Rosero's paper narrates the applicability of the draft Minasbate Working Orthography (MWO) by comparing it with written literature in the language and investigating how MWO is actually being used by stakeholders. The endeavor reflected in this article is an important contribution to addressing a current language issue in the Philippines—the implementation of the Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education. It also highlights the importance of taking into account insights and experiences of sectors who are after all directly impacted by policies pertaining to language and language use.

In fulfilling its mandate to generate knowledge on Philippine languages and linguistics through research, the UP Department of Linguistics has utilized *The Archive* journal as a platform for disseminating different types of research outputs focusing on the scientific study of Philippine languages and dialects. Santiago's essay outlines the history of the journal, which in turn provides us with a glimpse of the research climate on Philippine linguistics at each period in the institutional history of the Department, as well as the history of the said discipline in the country.

The first of the two linguistic data sets featured in this volume lists down placenames in Babuyan Claro, an Ibatan-speaking island in northern Philippines. Documenting toponyms, according to authors Gallego, Rosales, and Elvinia, is important for the purpose of intergenerational transmission, as these give an account of the collective history and local

knowledge within the community. The authors also put forward the essential role of this type of research endeavor in mapping geographic space of the community's sociolinguistic contexts.

This volume also contains the Buhid word list, compiled by Bacolod, Or, and Tugas. This linguistic data set is a product of the collaborative project conducted by Bacolod and Or, faculty members at the UP Department of Linguistics, and the members of the ethnolinguistic group Buhid Mangyan, residing on the island of Mindoro, led by Tugas. As an aside, we await with great anticipation the final output of this collaboration—a community-initiated dictionary of Buhid, in hopes of archiving, promoting, and preserving this endangered language.

Aside from the articles, historical notes, and linguistic data sets, this volume of *The Archive* introduces a new section that lists the abstracts of theses and dissertations produced by the graduate students of our Department. In this issue, we feature theses and dissertations that were successfully defended and submitted by our students under the MA and PhD Linguistics programs from the beginning of Academic Year (AY) 2017–2018 (during which *The Archive* was officially re-revived) up to the end of AY 2021–2022. This section aims to give our readers an idea of the research agenda and trajectories of the Department realized through the thesis and dissertation projects conducted by our graduate students. We hope to inform researchers, educators, students, as well as other interested individuals, groups, communities, and agencies, regarding the kind, range, and diversity of Philippine linguistic scholarship that our Department, through our graduate students, has generated throughout its institutional history.

Each work published in this collection is reflective of the three agenda items listed above. The historical essay of Santiago; the Ibatan data set prepared by Gallego, Rosales, and Elvinia; the Buhid word list compiled by Bacolod, Or, and Tugas; and the list of abstracts of our graduate students' theses and dissertations account for the development of the Department as center for research on Philippine languages and dialects. Estrera and Rajik's article reflects the Department's resolve to contribute to theoretical linguistics based on a comparative analysis of Philippine languages. Rosero's paper mirrors the Department's efforts to fulfill its duty to render public service such as addressing linguistic problems in the Philippines, based on ethical and social scientific research.

On a final note, the works featured in this volume underscore the value that the contributors have given to the role of the speakers of the languages under study—they are not just stakeholders who are directly impacted by the language policies implemented; rather, they also serve the crucial role of language consultants and even research collaborators who may have a say in the direction towards which the linguistic research activity must be headed.

I would like to convey my profound gratitude to the indefatigable editorial team behind this installment of *The Archive*. Together with Divine, James, Ate Viki, and the contributors, I hope that as you read the works in this volume, you will be able to gain an insight or two which will inspire you to conduct further research on Philippine languages and dialects in the future.

Isang maligaya at makabuluhang pagdiriwang ng sentenaryo ng pagkakatatag ng UP Departamento ng Linggwistiks!

Jem R. Javier
Editor-in-Chief

Modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

Edward G. Estrera and Jeffrey A. Rajik

Abstract

In the study of Philippine languages, there is a lack of consensus among linguists on how modality, as a linguistic category, is expressed: it is often associated with aspect and tense and, hence, described as a category morphologically expressed via verbal affixation, while in some studies, modality is a subordinated topic under adverbs because of their clitic-like behavior. According to typological studies on modality, one reason why it is rather vague and difficult to characterize is that it takes different forms or expressions (e.g., affixes, verbs, and particles) and encode various seemingly unrelated meanings (e.g., ability, desire, obligation, potentiality, and wishes) (Bybee et al., 1994; Nuyts, 2016). Consequently, this study aims to examine modality in two Philippine languages—Bagobo-Klata and Tausug—to provide a unified and coherent account of modality based on a typological framework modified by

Vondiziano (2019) and primarily based on Palmer (2001) and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). Specifically, it will identify corresponding expressions and generally describe their respective semantic and morphosyntactic features; the lexical origins of these expressions will also be traced. As will be shown in this paper, the linguistic category of modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug is expressed through a mood system of non-joint-marking affixes and modal systems independent of mood—propositional and event modalities. The expressions of propositional modality are mostly modal particles, as well as modal verbs, while the ones under event modality, modal verbs and modal affixes.

1 Introduction

In the study of Philippine languages, modality (more commonly referred to as either mode or mood) is typically characterized as one of the several categories—voice, aspect, and valence—morphologically encoded in verbs. It is expressed through verbal affixes¹ and is generally divided into different types, namely: indicative or general (actualized or real events), abilitative (events performed through someone's ability), potentive (accidental or possible events), causative (events brought about by a causer and performed by a causee), reciprocal (events performed by only two or more than two participants on one other), and imperative (affirmative

¹In Blaen (Sarangani and Koronadal) and Tboli, aspect, as well as mood, is expressed lexically through a set of aspectual-marking particles (Bondoc, 2015; Forsberg, 1992; Porter, 1977).

or negative command) (Bondoc, 2015; Estioca, 2020; Manzano, 2019; Or, 2018; Robinson, 2008; Wolfenden, 1971; Zorc, 1977). Other types of mode affixes are collective (events done collectively by plural agents), distributive (plural events or those done repeatedly), repetitive (events done repetitively), and social (events performed socially with other individuals). However, there are other expressions of modality, such as modal verbs and modal particles, which are not analyzed as such, but they are often subsumed under adverbs and treated as such on account of clitic-like behavior and syntactic distribution (Antworth, 1979; Bondoc, 2015; Dita, 2007; Manzano, 2019; Or, 2018; Porter, 1977; Robinson, 2008; Villareal, 2020; Wolfenden, 1971; Zorc, 1977). Modal particles tend to cliticize to the clause-initial element and together with bound pronouns adhere to a specific order, while modal verbs which are widely known as pseudo-verbs in Philippine languages are often restricted to a sentence-initial position.

This general description reveals a significant observation: modality in Philippine languages is an incoherent linguistic category, which is evident in the studies² that focus only on one specific modality expression, i.e., a verbal affix, and overlook other forms it takes, e.g., modal particles and verbs that also carry modal meanings, and those that treat these expressions as subordinated topics—the verbal affixes being under the section of verbs and modal particles and verbs discussed under adverbs. It is also a reflection of the rather vague nature of modality, which is

²These mostly include grammatical sketches and reference grammars in Philippine languages, as well as linguistic works regarding reconstruction and subgrouping. However, Vondiziano (2019) is the first account to acknowledge the need to examine modality as a coherent linguistic category in a Philippine language, specifically in Yami, a member of the Batanic subgroup.

difficult to characterize because of the seemingly unrelated meanings it expresses, i.e., ability, assumption, certainty, command, desire, obligation, permission, potentiality, suggestion, and wish, and because of the different kinds of forms it takes, i.e., affixes, particles, and verbs (Bybee et al., 1994; Nuyts, 2016).

Consequently, this study provides a unified account of how modality is encoded in two Philippine languages, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug, to characterize it as a coherent linguistic category. To examine modality as such, this paper builds on the typology of modal categories modified by Vondiziano (2019), which is primarily based on Palmer (2001) and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). The main objectives of this study are to identify expressions of modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug according to the modified typology set out in Vondiziano (2019) and to describe the morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of such expressions in these languages. The possible origins of such expressions, in lieu of semantic maps,³ will also be traced. However, due to the limitations of this study, discourse properties of these expressions, as well as their scope relations and interactions with each other and other grammatical markers such as negation, will not be explored in this paper, which of course acknowledges the importance of contexts in elucidating modality (Bybee & Fleischman, 1995).

This paper is organized as follows. In §2, the respective typological profiles of Bagobo-Klata and Tausug will be briefly introduced. In §3, how the data for this study have been collected and analyzed and how they will be presented will be set out. In §4, the framework of modality,

³Semantic maps are provided to show the grammaticalization path of a given form, a modal verb in the case of modality (van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998).

which covers modality as a notional category and its categories from a typological perspective, will be explained. In §5, mood in Bagobo-Klata will be described, while in Sections 6 and 7, the expressions of the two main types of modal systems, propositional and event, will be discussed, focusing on their morphosyntactic and semantic features and possible lexical origins.

2 The Typological Profiles of Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

Bagobo-Klata (ISO 639-3: bgi) and Tausug (ISO 639-3: tsg) are Philippine languages both spoken in the island of Mindanao (Eberhard et al., 2022). The former, sometimes referred to as G(u)iangnan, is spoken in the eastern slopes of Mt. Apo, which approximately covers around 50 barangays scattered in five districts—namely, Baguio, Buhangin, Calinan, Talomo, and Tugbok—in Davao City, Davao del Sur, while the latter is primarily spoken in the Sulu archipelago, which includes the provinces of Basilan, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi. Regarding subgrouping, Bagobo-Klata, together with Blaan, Tboli, and Tëduray, belong to the South Mindanao subgroup, while Tausug is part of the South Bisayan axis of the Central Philippine subgroup, which also includes Butuanon and Surigaonon.

- (1) Bagobo-Klata keng tokkoli niya.
bagɔbɔ klata kɛŋ tɔkkɔli nija
bagɔbɔ klata kɛŋ=tɔ-k-kɔli=nija
Bagobo-Klata ABS=NOM-RED-word=3SG.GEN
'Bagobo-Klata ang salita niya.'
'His/her language is Bagobo-Klata.'
- (2) Hidihil ku kaymu in sin ku.
hidihil ku kajmu ?in sin ku
hi-dihil=ku kajmu ?in=sin=ku
IRR.PV-give=1SG.ERG 2SG.OBL CORE=money=1SG.GEN
'Ibibigay ko sa'yo ang pera ko.'
'I will give my money to you.'

As shown in (1) and (2), Bagobo-Klata and Tausug can be said to be agglutinating—that is, languages whose words consist of clearly segmentable morphemes, each of which carries a meaning. In (1), the Bagobo-Klata head noun *tokkoli* can be divided into the lexical nominalizer *to-* and the root *koli* 'word,' while in (2), the Tausug affixed verb *hidihil* can be segmented into the irrealis patient-voice affix *hi-* and the root *dihil* 'to give.' In addition to morphological typology, the example sentences above also show that Bagobo-Klata and Tausug are predicate-initial—that is, their clauses begin with a predicate followed by noun phrases—and that their predicate slots can be filled not only by a verb but also by non-verbal elements, such as nouns, adjectives, and prepositional phrases. Hence, clause types in these languages can be classified in terms of predicate heads—that is, verbal or nonverbal. Finally, in terms of morphosyntactic alignment, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug are both ergative-absolutive, which is overtly marked in their

referential expressions, but in Tausug, nominal markers only distinguish which arguments are core and which ones are peripheral (McFarland, 1978).

3 Methods of the Study

The data used in this study were virtually collected through Facebook Messenger from September 2021 to June 2022 in compliance with the COVID-19 protocols. On account of data availability, only two Philippine languages, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug, were sampled. The type of data collected is elicited; these language samples “accomplish communicative tasks⁴” that are hypothetical and are without context (Payne, 1997, p. 366). Because of the lack of context needed to analyze modality expressions, the language consultants⁵ of these languages were asked to recall sentences in which these forms would normally occur, to judge their contextual appropriateness, and to distinguish the differences between multiple corresponding expressions for each modal category.

Since the data collected could not be recorded because of the COVID-19 restrictions, the sentences provided by the language consultants were manually transcribed according to the symbols used in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and the respective orthographies used in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug. To ensure the accuracy of the pronunciation, these sentences were read back to them two to three times. The

⁴These tasks “fulfill a metalinguistic request on the part of the linguist” and “to accommodate the response by providing a reasonable analog to some hypothetical utterance in another language” (Payne, 1997, p. 366).

⁵Heartfelt gratitude is extended to my Bagobo-Klata—Clara B. Icdang, Christine May B. Villagrancia, and Naven F. Bato—and Tausug—Jeffrey A. Rajik, Wyrhana J. Quizon, and Nuriza P. Jalani—language consultants.

Facebook Messenger or phone calls with the language consultants could have been recorded had the internet connectivity or the mobile network been not intermittent.

An elicitation material was created to collect the various forms of modality, which cannot be captured in a traditional sentence list such as the one by UP Department of Linguistics which roughly contains 800 Tagalog sentences to be translated in a given language under study. Such forms were based on the modality expressions found by Vondiziano (2019) in Yami. This material is divided into two major sections, propositional and event, and written in Binisaya (the Cebuano variety spoken in Davao City) and Tagalog, which are the languages of wider communication used in the provinces of Davao del Sur and Tawi-Tawi, respectively.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (3) Maa ung mangga. | (1) Orthographic |
| maʔa ʔuŋ manga | (2) Phonetic |
| m-(k)aʔa=ʔu=nɛŋ=manga | (3) Morphophonological |
| IRR.AV-eat=1SG.ABS=GEN=mango | (4) Morphemic |
| ‘Kakain ako ng mangga.’ | (5) Tagalog Translation |
| ‘I will eat a mango.’ | (6) English Translation |

Regarding data presentation, the sentences are glossed in six tiers or layers, as shown in (3). The first tier provides the orthographic representation of Bagobo-Klata or Tausug sentence. The second tier provides the phonetic transcription, while the third one captures the morphophonological processes operating and employs symbols, such as hyphens and equal signs as indicators of morpheme and word boundaries. The fourth tier is the interlinear morphemic gloss, which “gives information about

the meanings and grammatical properties of individual words and parts of words” (Comrie et al., 2015). The fifth and sixth layers are free translations of the Bagobo-Klata or Tausug sentence in Tagalog and English.

4 Modality

To characterize modality as a coherent linguistic category in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug sufficiently, this paper adopts the modified typology of modal categories used in Vondiziano (2019). This framework is primarily based on Palmer (2001)’s *Mood and Modality* and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998)’s “Modality’s semantic map.” In this framework, modality is viewed as a notional category, instead of a formal one, because its formal manifestation varies cross-linguistically, making this linguistic category difficult to define and to describe.

From a typological perspective, modality is closely associated with tense and aspect, and these categories are generally labeled together as TAM. Unlike the other two, modality is not concerned with any feature of an event⁶ but “the status⁷ of the proposition” describing the event (Palmer, 2001, p. 1). Moreover, it covers a broad range of semantic nuances, i.e., speculation, deduction, obligation, necessity, desire, intention, and potentiality, that can be overlaid or supplemented to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance, namely factual

⁶The term *event* here is a cover term for a state, action, situation, or event (Palmer, 2001).

⁷In Palmer (2001)’s definition, the term *status* is unspecified, but Cheng and Sung (2015) suggest that it might be appropriately interpreted as how the speaker puts the proposition into the discourse context (Bybee, 1985, p. 165).

or declarative (Bybee & Fleischman, 1995). This definition reveals a binary distinction between what is considered modal or non-declarative and what is considered non-modal or declarative, and it can be associated with the notional contrast of factual or real and non-factual or unreal (Palmer, 2001). This contrast is taken to be “the highest-level distinction,” i.e., realis and irrealis, within the category of modality. A prototypical realis mood “strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true,” while a prototypically irrealis mood “makes no such assertion whatsoever” (Payne, 1997, p. 244). Moreover, realis refers to actualized events that are knowable via direct perception; irrealis, unactualized events that are knowable only in the mind (Palmer, 2001).

In the literature, mood and modality are terms that have been interchangeably used to refer to modality as a notional category. At this juncture, it is useful to differentiate these terms. Modality is the semantic domain pertaining to elements of meaning that languages express, while mood refers to a formally grammaticalized category of the verb which has a modal function (Bybee & Fleischman, 1995, p. 2). In other words, modality is the semantic domain, to which mood, as its inflectional or morphological expression, belongs.

In terms of the formal expression of the notional category of modality, mood and a modal system are the two ways languages deal grammatically with the overall category of modality. First, mood is a prototypically binary system in which all or most clauses are marked as either realis or irrealis. Second, a modal system is an organized expression of modality that is independent of mood. Specifically, languages like Tagalog and Cebuano may have both mood and (a) modal system(s), but one of

them is said to be more salient. In some languages like English, only one occurs (Palmer, 2001, p. 4).

Regarding the organization of modality in this study, it will be divided into two major parts: mood and modal systems. These systems will be organized according to two basic parameters: (a) propositional and event modalities; and (b) scalarity. As shown in Table 1, the first parameter refers to the largest and most basic categories of a modal system: propositional and event (Vondiziano, 2019, p. 38).

Table 1. The Modified Typology of Modal Categories

Propositional Modality		Event Modality		
Epistemic	Evidential	Participant-Internal	Participant-External	
			Deontic	Non-deontic
Speculative	Reported	Abilitative	Commands	Abilitive
Deductive	Sensory	Potentive	Demands	Potentive
Emphatic		Volative	Suggestion	Suggestion
Veridical		Desiderative	Permission	Permission
		Commissive	Obligation	Obligation
			Commissive	

Propositional modality refers to “the speaker’s attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition” (Palmer, 2001, p. 8). It is mainly divided into two—epistemic and evidential. Epistemic modality is concerned with the speaker’s judgment about the proposition’s factual status, and it has three types: speculation, the speaker’s guess at the probability of some event; deduction, the speaker’s judgment about the probability or necessity of some state of affairs based on prior knowledge; and assertion or veridical, the speaker’s active assertion of a proposition’s

truth value (Palmer, 2001; Vondiziano, 2019). Evidential modality is concerned with the evidence the speaker has for the proposition's factual status, and it can be further divided into two types: reported, evidence originating from another source; and sensory, evidence based on humans' five senses (Palmer, 2001).

Event modality, on the other hand, refers to unactualized, merely potential events and ones that are yet to happen. It can be classified into participant-internal and participant-external modalities. The demarcation primarily adopted here is that of Palmer (2001), but the main types of event modality, which are based on the enabling or compelling circumstances predicated on the event, are from van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) to avoid the problem⁸ presented by Bybee et al. (1994).

Participant-internal modality refers to enabling conditions that are internal to the participant engaged in an event and that make it possible or necessary. It includes volitive (the participant's inherent willingness to perform some action), desiderative (the participant's inherent desire or wish for some course of action), and commissive modalities (the participant's inherent commitment to some course of action). Conversely, participant-external modality refer to "circumstances that are external to the participant, if any, engaged in the state of affairs and that make this state of affairs either possible or necessary" (van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998, p. 80), and it has two subtypes: deontic and non-deontic modalities. These mainly differ in the source of the external enabling factors:

⁸Palmer (2001) considers Bybee et al. (1994)'s dichotomy of event modality, i.e., agent-oriented and speaker-oriented, slightly strange. Permission and obligation, which are subsumed under agent-oriented modality, are more speaker-oriented because the condition factors for these modal meanings are external to the agent, that is, coming from the speaker rather than the agent.

the former (speaker-driven) comes from a person, while the latter (circumstantial), environmental, circumstantial, and existential factors (van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998; Vondiziano, 2019). Additionally, both types have in common suggestion, permission, and obligation, but deontic, participant-external modality includes commands, demands, and requests, while the non-deontic one includes abilitative and potentive modalities, which it shares with participant-internal modality.

Modal expressions are semantically scalar, that is, as observed in the first parameter they are either possible (weak) or necessary (strong), but abilitative and potentive modalities are exceptions because they are binary (Nuyts, 2016; Palmer, 2001; van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998). However, this paper agrees with Vondiziano (2019) that possibility and necessary hardly represents the two extremes of the modality scale because they do not seem to capture the weakest and strongest values. So in this paper, weak and asserted occupy the two extremes of the scale, while strong is placed near asserted. It must be noted too that modal expressions occupy a range in the scale rather than a single point (de Haan, 1997).

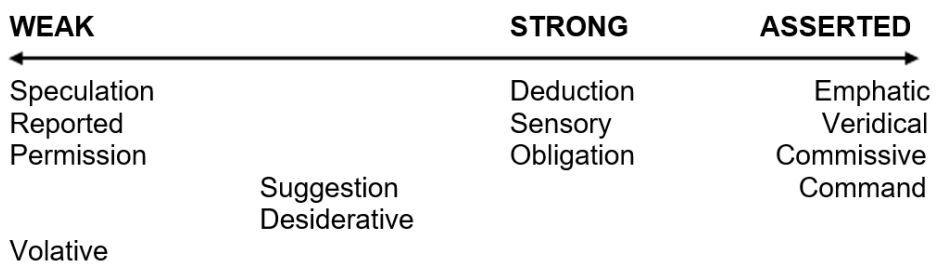


Figure 1. Scalar Model of Modal Categories (Vondiziano, 2019, p. 39)

5 Mood

Mood is one of the categories—i.e., aspect, voice, transitivity, and valency—morphologically encoded in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug verbs. The system of mood in these languages is binary, marking a verbal construction as either realis or irrealis. As shown in Tables 2 and 3, the mood systems in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug can be generally distinguished in terms of voice. In this paper, voice is defined as a system in which the formal alternation of the reflex of Proto-Austronesian (PAN) **<um>* ‘actor voice,’ on the one hand, and the reflexes of PAN **-en* ‘patient voice,’ **-an* ‘locative voice,’ and **Si-* ‘instrumental or benefactive voice’ signals a transitivity of a given clause and the semantic role of the syntactically privileged argument to which the voice affix is co-indexed (Blust & Trussel, 2020; Nolasco, 2003).

Table 2. Mood Affixes in Bagobo-Klata

	Irrealis	Realis
Actor Voice	m-*	bɔn-, n-, <ɔmm>
Patient Voice	mɛm-, -ɔ, mɔm-	bɔ-
Locative Voice	-a; tam-	bɔ-C~...-a; tamm-
Instrument Voice	pɔ-; p-	pɔ-C~; pɔnn- [†]

* In Bagobo-Klata, there are several verbs that do not take this affix, both its irrealis and realis forms, such as *ballɛŋ* ‘to come or return home,’ *ba:sa* ‘to read something,’ *bɛ:nɛ?* ‘to cry,’ *gammi* ‘to start,’ *bɔttik* ‘to rise up,’ *ga:li?* ‘to make or do something,’ and *takke?* ‘to laugh at somebody or something.’

[†] *pɔnn-* can also become *pɔll-* depending on the verbal root. The latter applies to verbs such as *?iddi* ‘to boil something’ and *?aŋŋa?* ‘child.’

The actor voice (AV) affixes in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug are discussed in §5.1, while the non-actor voice affixes in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug,

Table 3. Mood Affixes in Tausug

	Irrealis	Realis	
	Contemplative	Imperfective	Perfective
Actor Voice	<um>-m-, maN-, mag-	C<im>V-, m<ij>V-, m<in>(C)V-, naN-(C)V-, nag-CV-	<im>, m-<ij>, m-<in>, naN-, nag-
Patient Voice	-un, hi-	C<ij>V-	<ij>
Locative Voice	-an	C<ij>V-...-an	<ij>...-an
Instrument Voice	hipaN-	p<ij>aN-CV-	p<ij>aN-

which include patient voice (PV), locative voice (LV), and instrument voice (IV), in §5.2, §5.3, and §5.4, respectively.

5.1 Actor Voice⁹

Bagobo-Klata only has one AV affix that encodes irrealis mood, while Tausug has three irrealis AV affixes that compete. As shown in (4) and (5), *m-* in Bagobo-Klata is a replacive affix that nasally substitutes for nearly all base-initial sounds in roots, except for velar stops /g/, semi-vowels /j, w/, and nasals /m, n, ŋ/ (Estrera, 2021). In the Bagobo-Klata sentences in (4) and (5), the co-indexed arguments marked by the

⁹In this study, the term *actor* is defined as a semantic macrorole. It is an all-encompassing term that includes a range of a specific roles, such as a prototypical agent, an entity that acts consciously and volitionally and accomplishes an action with “a physical, visible effect;” a force, an entity that causes an action without consciousness and volition; an instrument, an entity that indirectly causes an action; and an experience, an entity neither in control nor “visibly affected by action” (Payne, 1997, pp. 49–50; Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997).

personal nominal marker *ho* are both semantically agentive, that is, both Naven and Gabriel will perform what they will do with consciousness and volition.

- (4) **Mannek** ho Naven ta bulud no Appu Sandawa.
man'nek hɔ nɛjvɛn ta bulud nɔ ʔappu sanda:waʔ
m-(p)an'nek hɔ=nɛjvɛn ta=bulud=nɔ=ʔappu=sanda:waʔ
IRR.AV-climb ABS=Naven OBL=mountain=GEN=Apo Sandawa
 'Aakyat si Naven sa Bundok Apo.'
 'Naven will climb up Mt. Apo.'
- (5) **Maa** ho Gabriel neng talum.
ma'ʔa hɔ Gabriel nɛŋ talum
m-(k)a'ʔa hɔ=Gabriel nɛŋ=talum
IRR.AV-eat ABS=Gabriel GEN=papaya
 'Kakain si Gabriel ng papaya.'
 'Gabriel will eat papaya.'

Shown in (6) and (7) are allomorphs of the Tausug AV infix *<um>*: *m-* attaches to roots, the base-initial roots of which are /p, b/ and occasionally /ʔ/, while *<um>* is inserted elsewhere. Then, in (8) and (9) are *mag-* and *maN-* affixes: *mag-* has no morphophonological requirement, while *maN-* on the other hand is a prefix that partially or fully assimilates to the base-initial sound in roots. Of the three AV affixes in Tausug, *<um>* is perhaps the most productive.

In the Tausug sentences from (6) to (9), the co-indexed arguments, mostly marked by the nominal marker *in*, are all prototypically agentive—that is, both children in (6) and (9) will consume a mango and purchase a candy with volition; the speaker in (7) is conscious that

he will walk, while the farmer in (8) will consciously and volitionally plant sweet potatoes.

- (6) **Kumaun** in bata-bata' mangga.

kumaʔun ʔin bataʔ bataʔ ma:ŋga

k<um>aʔun ʔin=bataʔ~bataʔ ø=ma:ŋga

<IRR.AV>eat ABS=child GEN=mango

‘Kakain ang bata ng mangga.’

‘The child will eat a mango.’

- (7) **Manaw** ako.

manaw ʔaku

m-(p)anaw=ʔaku

IRR.AV-walk=1SG.ABS

‘Maglalakad ako.’

‘I’ll walk.’

- (8) **Magtanum** in mag-uuma panggi.

magtanum ʔin magʔuʔuma paŋgiʔ

mag-tanum ʔin=mag-ʔu~ʔuma ø=paŋgiʔ

IRR.AV-plant ABS=NOM-RED~farm GEN=sweet potato

‘Magtatanim ang magsasaka ng kamote.’

‘The farmer will plant sweet potatoes.’

- (9) **Mami** in bata-bata kindi.

mami ʔin bata bataʔ kindi

maN-(b)i ʔin=bata~bataʔ ø=kindi

IRR.AV-buy ABS=child GEN=candy

‘Bibili ang bata ng kendi.’

‘The child will buy a candy.’

In Bagobo-Klata, there are three AV affixes that encode realis mood that seem to compete: *bɔnn-* in (10), *n-* in (11), and *<ɔmm>* in (12). The first two are more productive because they can be affixed to virtually all Bagobo-Klata verbs, while the latter selectively attaches to verbs.

- (10) **Bonnannek** hiya ta bulud no Appu Sandawa.

bɔnnannek hiya ta bulud nɔ ʔappu sanda:waʔ

bɔn-n-(m)-(p)annek=hiya

RLS-RLS-(AV)-climb=3SG.ABS

ta=bulud=nɔ=ʔappu sanda:waʔ

OBL=mountain=GEN=Appu Sandawa

‘Umakyat siya sa Bundok Apo.’

‘S/he climbed up Mt. Apo.’

- (11) **Nannek** hiya ta bulud no Appu Sandawa.

nannek hiya ta bulud nɔ ʔappu sanda:waʔ

n-(m)-(p)annek=hiya ta=bulud=nɔ=ʔappu sanda:waʔ

RLS-(AV)-climb=3SG.ABS OBL=mountain=GEN=Appu Sandawa

‘Umakyat siya sa Bundok Apo.’

‘S/he climbed up Mt. Apo.’

As will be seen in the following subsections, *bɔ*¹⁰ is the marker for realis mood in Bagobo-Klata, an innovation of PAN **<in>* ‘perfective marker.’ Although the realis AV affix *bɔnn-* evidently contains *bɔ*, the dental nasal geminate *-nn-* has a traceable origin. In this study, *bɔnn-* is argued to have been the combination of *bɔ* and *n-*, the reflex of PAN

¹⁰Although aspect is not morphologically expressed in Bagobo-Klata like in Tausug, it can be semantically encoded through co-occurrence of the realis mood marker *bɔ* and the aspectual markers *po* and *do*. If used with *po*, *bɔ* can also encode imperfective aspect, while if used with *do*, perfective aspect.

*<in> in Bagobo-Klata, unraveling why *bɔ-* is optional when inflecting AV realis verbs and that when attached back, it triggers *n-* to geminate.

- (12) **Kommaa** keng angnga neng talum.
 kɔmmaʔa keŋ ʔaŋŋaʔ neŋ talum
 <ɔmm>kaʔa keŋ=ʔaŋŋaʔ neŋ=talum
 <RLS.AV>eat ABS=child GEN=papaya
 ‘Kumain ang bata ng papaya.’
 ‘The child ate papaya.’

Furthermore, regarding <ɔmm>, it is hypothesized to have developed from the affix order PAN *<um><in>, which underwent several phonological changes. First, *i in PAN *<um><in> was deleted on account of vowel syncope. Second, *n in PAN *<umn> regressively assimilated to *m, resulting a bilabial nasal geminate. Finally, *u in *<umm> lowered, hence <ɔmm>.

Exemplified in pairs from (13) to (16) are the realis counterparts of the irrealis AV affixes in Tausug. The (a) member in each pair is the imperfective form; it consists of the reduplicated penultima of the root and the realis mood marker, which is an infix such as <im> in (13a) and <ij> in (14a) or a replacive prefix such as *n-* in (15a) and (16a). The (b) member is the perfective form, which is expressed through the realis mood marker.

- (13) a. **Kimakaun** in bata-bata' mangga.
kimaka?un ?in bata? bata? manga
k<im>a-ka?un ?in=bata?-bata? ø=manga
 <RLS.AV>IPFV~eat ABS=child GEN=mango
 'Kumakain ang bata ng mangga.'
 'The child is eating a mango.'
- b. **Kimaun na** in bata-bata' mangga.
kima?un ?in bata? bata? manga
<im>ka?un=na ?in=bata?-bata? ø=manga
 <RLS.PFV.AV>eat=PRT ABS=child GEN=mango
 'Kumain na siya ng mangga.'
 'S/he ate already a mango.'
- (14) a. **Miyamanaw** ako.
mijamanaw ?aku
m-(p)<ij>a-manaw=?aku
 <RLS>AV~IPFV-walk=1 SG.ABS
 'Naglalakad ako.'
 'I'm walking.'
- b. **Miyanaw** ako.
mijanaw ?aku
m-(p)<ij>a-naw=?aku
 <RLS.PFV>AV-walk=1 SG.ABS
 'Naglakad ako.'
 'I walked.'

Regarding the etymology of <im>, it is not as straightforward as the case of *m-<ij>*, where the verbal categories can be easily teased apart.

*<im> in this paper is assumed to have been a product of the affix order of PAN *<in><um>, in which the vowel of *<um> was syncopeated, hence *<inm>. Then, *n in *<inm> regressively assimilated to *m, and the gemination *mm was lost, ultimately resulting to the realis AV affix <im> in Tausug.

- (15) a. **Nagtatanum** in mag-uuma panggi.

nagtatanum ?in mag?u?uma paŋgi?

n-(m)ag-ta~tanum ?in=mag-?u-?uma ø=paŋgi?

RLS-(AV)-IPFV~plant ABS=NOM-RED~farm GEN=sweet potato

‘Nagtatanim ang magsasaka ng kamote.’

‘The farmer is planting sweet potatoes.’

- b. **Nagtatum** in mag-uuma panggi.

nagtatum ?in mag?u?uma paŋgi?

n-(m)ag-tatum ?in=mag-?u-?uma ø=paŋgi?

RLS.PFV-(AV)-plant ABS=NOM-RED~farm GEN=sweet potato

‘Nagtatum ang magsasaka ng kamote.’

‘The farmer planted sweet potatoes.’

- (16) a. **Namimi** in bata-bata kendi.

namimi ?in bata bata? kendi

n-(m)aN-(b)i~(b)i ?in=bata-bata? ø=kendi

RLS-(AV)-IPFV~buy ABS=child GEN=candy

‘Bumibili ang bata ng kendi.’

‘The child is buying a candy.’

b. **Nami** in bata-bata kindi.

nami ?in bata bata? kindi

n-(m)aN-(b)i ?in=bata-bata? ø=kindi

RLS.PFV-(AV)-buy ABS=child GEN=candy

‘Bumili ang bata ng kendi.’

‘The child bought a candy.’

AV constructions in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug are intransitive, requiring a single core argument. In Bagobo-Klata sentences, the core argument is marked by the personal nominal marker *ho* in (4) and (5) or the common nominal marker *keng* in (12). The privileged argument can be pronominalized such as *hiya* in (10) and (11). As for the core arguments in Tausug AV constructions are marked by the common nominal marker *in*, as exemplified in (6), (8), (9), (13), (15), and (16), or are pronominalized such as *ako* in (7) and (14).

5.2 Patient Voice¹¹

Bagobo-Klata has three irrealis patient voice (PV) affixes: *-ɔ*, *mɛm-*, and *mɔm-*. *-ɔ*, which is a reflex of PAN *-en, triggers syllable deletion, as shown in (17), where ?u, an identical syllable (or sometimes a penultimate syllable), gets deleted. However, of the three, *-ɔ* is the less productive.

¹¹A prototypical patient is an entity that “undergoes visible, physical change in state,” although entities that do not show any change in state that can be visibly seen are still considered patientive (Payne, 1997, p. 51).

- (17) **Pungo** nila neng dau neng bulig keng be lulug.
 pu:ŋɔ nila nɛŋ daʔu nɛŋ bulig kɛŋ bɛ lulug
 puʔuŋ-ɔ=nila nɛŋ=daʔu=nɛŋ=bulig kɛŋ=bɛ=lulug
 wrap-IRR.PV=3PL.ERG GEN=leaf=GEN=banana ABS=PL=rice cake
 ‘Babalutin nila ng dahon ng saging ang mga suman.’
 ‘They will wrap the steamed rice cakes with a banana leaf.’

mɛm- and *mɔm-*, on the other hand, are more productive in that they can be affixed to almost all roots. As can be seen in (18) and (19), these affixes are also replacive, that is, they nasally substitute for any word-initial sound in the root, except for stops /g/, semi-vowels /j, w/, and nasals /m, n, ŋ/.

- (18) **Memoppo** mu ro keng bonnalig nikkɔ?
 mɛmɔppɔ mu rɔ kɛŋ bɔnnalig nikkɔ
 mɛm-(t)ɔppɔ=mu=r-(d)ɔ kɛŋ=bɔnn-(ʔ)alig=nikkɔ
 IRR.PV-answer=2SG.ERG=PRT ABS=RLS.AV-court=2SG.OBL
 ‘Sasagutin mo na ba ang nanliligaw sa’yo?’
 ‘Are you going to say yes to the one courting you?’
- (19) **Mominum** niya keng tubig.
 mɔminum nija kɛŋ tubig
 mɔm-(ʔ)inum=nija kɛŋ=tubig
 IRR.PV-drink=3SG.ERG ABS=water
 ‘Inumin niya ang tubig.’
 ‘S/he will drink the water.’

In Tausug, there are two irrealis PV affixes: *-un* in (20) and *hi-* in (21). The former is an obvious reflex of PAN *-en, while the latter seems

to be a replacement innovation of PAN *Si-. These affixes differ in the semantic role of the arguments they co-index with: *-un* only takes a patient, while *hi-* requires a theme.¹² In (20), *in Bud Makiling* is a less prototypical patient, as there is no change in state that is visible and physical even after Mt. Makiling's being climbed up on. In (21), *in basura* is a theme because the action of throwing only causes it to move.

- (20) Dag**un** isab hi Majid in Bud Makiling.
 day**un** ?isab hi Madzid ?in bud maki:liŋ
 day-(g)¹³-**un**=?isab hi=Madzid ?in=bud maki:liŋ
 climb-**IRR.PV**=PRT ERG=Majid ABS=Bud Makiling
 'Aakyatin din ni Majid ang Bundok Makiling.'
 'Majid will also climb Mt. Makiling.'

¹²A theme is essentially a patient in its core. A theme is an entity that "is moved by an action" or "whose location is described," but it remains "constitutionally unchanged" (Saeed, 2016, pp. 150–151).

¹³The morphophonological process whereby a fricative or spirant is derived from some other type of articulation is called spirantization (Crystal, 2006, p. 199). In Tausug, /g/ and /b/ become [ɣ] and [β], respectively, intervocalically. From a diachronic perspective, these allophones can also be considered as products of a subphonemic change, a kind of phonetic change that does not lead to phonemic change (Crowley & Bowerman, 2010). These changes are stated below:

$$\begin{aligned}
 /*g/ &\rightarrow /g/ / \begin{cases} [\gamma] \text{ intervocalically} \\ [g] \text{ elsewhere} \end{cases} \\
 /*b/ &\rightarrow /b/ / \begin{cases} [\beta] \text{ intervocalically} \\ [b] \text{ elsewhere} \end{cases}
 \end{aligned}$$

- (21) **H**ibugit sin bata-bata' in basura.
hiβuyit sin bata bata? ?in basura
hi-β-(b)uy-(g)it sin=bata~bata? ?in=basura
IRR.PV-throw **ERG=child** **ABS=garbage**
 'Itatapon ng bata ang basura.'
 'A child will throw the garbage.'

All irrealis *pv* affixes in Bagobo-Klata have the same realis counterpart only, as shown in (22), (23), and (24). It is expressed through the prefixation of *bɔ-*, which triggers the deletion of *-ɔ* and reinstates the deleted penultima. As can be observed, the *pv* affix is phonetically null because it cannot co-occur with the realis mood marker.

- (22) **B**oppuung nila neng dau neng bulig keng be lulug.
bɔppu?uŋ nila nɛŋ da?u nɛŋ bulig kɛŋ bɛ lulug
bɔ-p-pu?uŋ-ø=nila nɛŋ=da?u=nɛŋ=bulig
RLS~wrap-PV=3PL.ERG **GEN=leaf=GEN=banana**
 kɛŋ=bɛ=lulug
ABS=PL=rice cake
 'Binalot nila ng dahon ng saging ang mga suman.'
 'They wrapped the steamed rice cakes with a banana leaf.'

- (23) **B**ottoppo mu ro keng bonnalig nikko?
bɔttɔppɔ mu rɔ kɛŋ bɔnnalig nikkɔ
bɔ-t-tɔppɔ-ø=mu=r-(d)ɔ kɛŋ=bɔnn-(?)alig=nikkɔ
RLS-answer-PV=2SG.ERG=PRT **ABS=RLS.AV-COURT=2SG.OBL**
 'Sinagot mo na ba ang nanliligaw sa'yo?'
 'Did you already say yes to the one courting you?'

- (24) **Bogginum** niya keng tubig.
bogginum nija kɛŋ tubig
bɔ-g-g-(?)inum-ø=nija kɛŋ=tubig
RLS-drink-PV=3SG.ERG ABS=water
‘Ininom niya ang tubig.’
‘S/he drank the water.’

Noticeably, in (25) and (26), the realis PV affix in Tausug is <ij>, a morphological innovation from PAN *<in>, where *n became /j/. The (a) member in each pair is the imperfective form; it consists of the partially reduplicated penultima and the realis mood marker <ij>. The (b) member, on the other hand, is the perfective form, which is expressed through <ij>.

- (25) a. **Diyarag** hi Majid in Bud Makiling.
dijarag hi Madzid ?in bud maki:liŋ
d<ij>a-r-(d)ag-ø hi=Madzid ?in=bud maki:liŋ
<RLS>IPFV~climb-PV ERG=Majid ABS=Bud Makiling
‘Inaakyat ni Majid ang Bundok Makiling.’
‘Majid is climbing Mt. Makiling.’
- b. **Diyag** hi Majid in Bud Makiling.
dijag hi Madzid ?in bud maki:liŋ
d<ij>ag-ø hi=Madzid ?in=bud maki:liŋ
<RLS.PFV>climb-PV ERG=Majid ABS=Bud Makiling
‘Inakyat ni Majid ang Bundok Makiling.’
‘Majid climbed Mt. Makiling.’

- (26) a. **Biyubugit** sin bata-bata' in basura.
bijuβuyit sin bata bata? ?in basura
b<ij>u-β-(b)uy-(g)it-∅ sin=bata~bata? ?in=basura
 <RLS>IPFV~throw-PV ERG=child ABS=garbage
 'Tinatapon ng bata ang basura.'
 'A child is throwing the garbage.'
- b. **Biyugit** sin bata-bata' in basura.
bijuyit sin bata bata? ?in basura
b<ij>uy-(g)it-∅ sin=bata~bata? ?in=basura
 <RLS.PFV>throw-PV ERG=child ABS=garbage
 'Tinapon ng bata ang basura.'
 'A child threw the garbage.'

As will also be seen in §5.3 and §5.4, NAV constructions are transitive, that is, they require two core arguments: an agent and a patient. In the Bagobo-Klata sentences in (17), (18), (19), (22), (23), and (24), the patient is marked by the common nominal marker *keng*, while the agent arguments are ergative personal pronouns such as *nila* in (17) and (22), *mu* in (18) and (23), and *ninya* in (19) and (24). In the Tausug sentences in (20), (21), (25), and (26), the patient is marked by either the ergative common nominal marker *sin* or the core personal *hi*, while the agent, by the absolutive common nominal marker *in*.

As exemplified in (29) and (30), *-an* is an LV affix in Tausug that encodes irrealis mood.

(29) Lutuan ako hi Firash piyanggang manuk.

lutu?an ?akɔ hi Firash pijangan manuk

lutu-(?)an=?akɔ hi=Firash

cook-IRR.BV=1SG.ABS ERG=Firash

∅=p<ij>angan=∅=manuk

GEN=<RLS.PFV.PV>roast on a spit=LNK=chicken

‘Ipagluluto ako ni Firash ng piyanggang manok.’

‘Firash will cook a chicken roasted on a spit for me.’

(30) Tanuman sa ini sin mag-uuma panggi’.

tanuman sa ?ini sin mag?u?uma panggi?

tanum-an sa ?ini sin=mag-?u-?uma

plant-IRR.LV ADV.certainly DEM.PROX.ABS ERG=NOM-RED~farm

∅=panggi?

GEN=sweet potato

‘Tataniman ng magsasaka ito(ng lupa) ng kamote.’

‘A farmer will certainly plant sweet potato in this land.’

In Bagobo-Klata, the realis counterparts of *-a* and *tam-* are *bɔ...-a* and *tamm-*, respectively. (31) shows that as opposed to *-ɔ*, *-a* co-occurs with *bɔ* and does not reinstate the deleted syllable in (27). To express realis mood, the coda in *tam-* geminates, as in (32).

- (31) **Bollaya** nila neng ballas keng simbalay nila.

bollaja nila nɛŋ ballas kɛŋ simbalaj nila

bɔ-l-(bɔl)lɔj-**a**=nila nɛŋ=ballas kɛŋ=simbalaj=nila

RLS-give-BV=3PL.ERG GEN=rice ABS=neighbor=3PL.GEN

‘Binigyan nila ng bigas ang kapitbahay nila.’

‘They gave their neighbor rice.’

- (32) **Tammoriya** u nila gebulli.

tammɔrija=ʔu=nila gɛbulli

tamm-(h)ɔ-r-(d)ija=ʔu=nila gɛbulli

RLS.LV-DIR-DEM.DIST.OBL=1 SG.ABS=3PL.ERG ADV.last night

‘Binisita nila ako kagabi.’

‘They paid me a visit last night.’

In Tausug, the LV affix *-an* also co-occurs with <ij> to express the perfective form of an LV-affixed verb in (33b) and (34b), while partial reduplication of the penultima is necessary for the imperfective form, as in (33a) and (34a).

- (33) a. **Liyulutuan** ako hi Firash piyanggang manuk.

lijulutuʔan ʔakɔ hi Firash pijangŋan manuk

l<ij>u-lutu-(ʔ)**an**=ʔakɔ hi=Firash

<RLS>IPFV~cook-BV=1 SG.ABS ERG=Firash

∅=p<ij>anŋan=∅=manuk

GEN=<RLS.PFV.PV>roast on a spit=LNK=chicken

‘Nilulutuan ako ni Firash ng piyanggang manok.’

‘Firash is cooking a chicken roasted on a spit for me.’

- b. **Liyutuan** ako hi Firash piyanggang manuk.
lijutu?an ?ako hi Firash pijangan manuk
 l<ij>utu-(?)an=?ako hi=Firash
 <RLS.PFV>cook-BV=1 SG.ABS ERG=Firash
 ø=p<ij>angan=ø=manuk
 GEN=<RLS.PFV.PV>roast on a spit=LNK=chicken
 ‘Nilutuan ako ni Firash ng piyanggang manok.’
 ‘Firash cooked a chicken roasted on a spit for me.’

- (34) a. **Tiyatanuman** sa ini sin mag-uuma panggi”.
tijatanuman sa ?ini sin mag?u?uma panggi?
 t<ij>a-tanum-an sa ?ini
 <RLS>IPFV~plant-LV ADV.certainly DEM.PROX.ABS
 sin=mag-?u-?uma ø=panggi?
 ERG=NOM-RED~farm GEN=sweet potato
 ‘Tinataniman ng magsasaka ito(ng lupa) ng kamote.’
 ‘A farmer is certainly planting sweet potato in this land.’
- b. **Tiyanuman** sa ini sin mag-uuma panggi”.
tijanuman sa ?ini sin mag?u?uma panggi?
 t<ij>anum-an sa ?ini
 <RLS.PFV>plant-LV ADV.certainly DEM.PROX.ABS
 sin=mag-?u-?uma ø=panggi?
 ERG=NOM-RED~farm GEN=sweet potato
 ‘Tinaniman ng magsasaka ito(ng lupa) ng kamote.’
 ‘A farmer certainly planted sweet potato in this land.’

As shown from (27) to (34), the co-indexed arguments are all semantically locative. *keng simbalay* ‘the neighbor’ in (27) and *ako* ‘I’ in (29)

are both beneficiaries. In (28), *u* is the goal toward which the agent *nila* moves, while in (30), *ini* is a location where sweet potatoes will be planted.

5.4 Instrument Voice

PAN *Si- ‘instrument voice’ can be said to have not been retained in Bagobo-Klata, but it compensates for the lack thereof through the causative affix *pɔ-*.¹⁵ This affix has two allomorphs *pɔ-* and *p-*, both of which encode irrealis mood. As shown in (35), *pɔ-* attaches to roots whose word-initial sound is not a voiced glottal stop, while *p-* is a replacive affix that attaches only to roots, the base-initial consonant of which is a /ʔ/.

- (35) **P**ohulat no Marlon keng lapis ku.
pɔhulat nɔ marlɔn kɛŋ lapis ku
pɔ-hulat nɔ=marlɔn kɛŋ=lapis=ku
IRR.CAUS-write **ERG**=Marlon **ABS**=pencil=1 **SG.GEN**
‘Ipapansulat ni Marlon ang lapis ko.’
‘Marlon will use my pencil to write (something).’

¹⁵This strategy is also utilized in Bagobo-Klata’s sister languages Blaan, Tboli, and Tëduray, where the causative affix compensates for the lack of an instrument voice affix. From a crosslinguistic perspective, in languages that clearly distinguish types of causatives, the affix, which is used to form productive (morphological) causatives, “may be recruited to fill gaps in the lexical domain” (Shibatani & Pardeshi, 2002).

- (36) **Pepok** no Ben neng kayyu konning badi.
 pɛpək nɔ bɛn nɛŋ kajju kɔnniŋ ba:di?
 p-(?)ɛpək nɔ=bɛn nɛŋ=kajju kɔnni=ŋɔ=ba:di?
IRR.CAUS-cut **ERG=Ben** **GEN=tree** **DEM.PROX.ABS=LNK=bolo**
 ‘Ipapamputol ni Ben ng puno itong itak.’
 ‘Ben will use this bolo to cut a tree.’

In Tausug, there are two irrealis IV affixes: *hipaN-* and *hipag-*. *hipaN-*¹⁶ is also a replacive affix that partially or fully assimilates to the base-initial sound in a root. As shown in (37), the homorganic nasal *N-* becomes an /n/ and replaces the word-initial sound if it is a voiceless alveodental fricative.

- (37) **Hipanulat** sin bata-bata’ in pinsil ko.
hipanulat sin bata? bata? ?in pinsil kɔ
hipaN-(s)ulat sin=bata?-bata? ?in=pinsil=kɔ
IRR.IV-write **ERG=child** **ABS=pencil=1 SG.GEN**
 ‘Ipapansulat ng bata ang lapis ko.’
 ‘A child will use my pencil to write (something).’

As shown in (38) and (39), there are various forms in expressing realis mood in Bagobo-Klata. In (38), *pɔ-* triggers the base-initial sibilant in *sulat* ‘to write’ to geminate to encode realis mood. *pɔnn-*,¹⁷ on the other hand, is the realis form of either *p-* or *pɔn-*.

¹⁶The instrument voice affix *hipaN-* in Tausug has three allomorphs:

$$/hipaN-/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [hipam-] / \# [C, +BILABIAL, +STOP] \\ [hipan-] / \# [C, +ALVEODENTAL, +STOP] \\ [hipaŋ-] / \# [C, +VELAR, +STOP] \end{cases}$$

¹⁷The dental nasal geminate in *pɔnn-* is the product of the affix order *pɔn-* and *-n*, the fossilized form left of the reflex of PAN *<in>.

- (38) a. **Pobosulat** no Marlon keng lapis ku.
pɔbɔsulat nɔ marlɔn kɛŋ lapis ku
pɔ-bɔ-sulat nɔ=marlɔn kɛŋ=lapis=ku
CAUS-RLS-write ERG=Marlon ABS=pencil=1SG.GEN
'Ipinansulat ni Marlon ang lapis ko.'
'Marlon used my pencil to write (something).'
- b. **Possulat** no Marlon keng lapis ku.
pɔssulat nɔ marlɔn kɛŋ lapis ku
pɔ-s~sulat nɔ=marlɔn kɛŋ=lapis=ku
CAUS-RLS~write ERG=Marlon ABS=pencil=1SG.GEN
'Ipinansulat ni Marlon ang lapis ko.'
'Marlon used my pencil to write (something).'
- (39) **Ponnepok** no Ben neng kayyu konning badi.
pɔnnɛpɔk nɔ bɛn nɛŋ kajju kɔnniŋ ba:di?
pɔ-n-n-(?)ɛpɔk nɔ=bɛn nɛŋ=kajju kɔnni=ŋɔ=ba:di?
CAUS-RLS~cut ERG=Ben GEN=tree DEM.PROX.ABS=LNK=bolo
'Ipinamputol ni Ben ng puno itong itak.'
'Ben used this bolo to cut a tree.'

In Tausug, the realis forms of the *iv*-affixed verbs both have <ij>. In (40a), the imperfective form is expressed through *paN-* and its CV reduplication, where <ij> is inserted. In (40b), the perfective form consists of *paN-* and <ij>.

- (40) a. **Piyapanulat** sin bata-bata' in pinsil ko.
pijanulat sin bata? bata? ?in pinsil kə
p<ij>a~paN-(s)ulat sin=bata?~bata? ?in=pinsil=kə
 <RLS>IPFV~IV-write ERG=child ABS=pencil=1SG.GEN
 'Ipinapansulat ng bata ang lapis ko.'
 'A child is using my pencil to write (something).'
- b. **Piyanulat** sin bata-bata' in pinsil ko.
pijanulat sin bata? bata? ?in pinsil kə
p<ij>aN-(s)ulat sin=bata?~bata? ?in=pinsil=kə
 <RLS.PFV>IV-write ERG=child ABS=pencil=1SG.GEN
 'Ipinansulat ng bata ang lapis ko.'
 'A child used my pencil to write (something).'

5.5 Summary

Mood in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug operate in terms of a binary system where realis constructions are distinguished from irrealis ones via the presence of the reflex of PAN *<in>, its innovation, or a combination of both. In both languages, mood is morphologically expressed through a set of affixes that encode voice, (aspect,) valency, and transitivity. Besides *bɔ-*, other significant syntactic innovations Bagobo-Klata did are the replacement of PAN *Si- with the causative affix *pɔ-* to express instrument voice, and gemination to encode realis mood with certain verbal affixes such as *pɔ-*.

Ultimately, the mood systems in these languages are non-joint because there is no need for them to co-occur with other grammatical markers. However, in Bagobo-Klata, the realis mood marker co-occur

with particles such as /pɔ/ and /dɔ/ to express imperfective and perfective aspects, respectively.

6 Propositional Modality

This section discusses the expressions of propositional modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug and their morphosyntactic and semantic features. It is divided into the following: speculative markers in §6.1, assumptive markers in §6.2, evidential markers in §6.3, and veridical markers in §6.4.

6.1 Speculative Markers

Speculation can be expressed through modal particles in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug. These markers are used to describe events that are probable or possible and are speculated by the speaker. In Bagobo-Klata, eight modal particles—*agô*, *haddo'k*, *monong*, *pihu*, *tabag*, *torô*, *miling*, and *gayu*—are used to encode the modal sense of speculation. As will be seen in the following example sentences, these speculative markers generally differ in terms of their syntactic distribution and scalar value.

The Bagobo-Klata modal particles *agô* in (41) and (42) and *haddo'k*¹⁸ in (43) are semantically and morphosyntactically interchangeable. Both markers occur only clause-initially and do not host any clitics.

¹⁸This modal particle is short for *haddo ko*, which literally means ‘know if’ or ‘baka kung’ in Tagalog. For ease of articulation, *ko* cliticizes to *haddo* (C. B. Icdang, personal communication, February 8, 2023).

- (41) **Agô** klommô po hiya makka.
?agô? klómmô? pɔ hiya makka
?agô? klómmô?=pɔ=hiya m-(t)akka
MOD ADV.tomorrow=PRT=3SG.ABS IRR.AV-arrive
 ‘Baka bukas pa siya dumating.’
 ‘He’ll probably arrive tomorrow.’
- (42) **Agô** anda do salapi niya.
?agô? ?anda? dɔ salapi nija
?agô? ?anda?=dɔ salapi=nija
MOD NEG.EXIST=PRT money=3SG.GEN
 ‘Baka wala silang pera.’
 ‘They probably don’t have money.’
- (43) **Haddo’k** kodummo keng angngâ.
haddɔk kɔdummɔ kɛŋ ?aŋŋa?
haddɔ=kɔ kɔ-dummɔ kɛŋ=?aŋŋa?
MOD IRR.POT-stumble ABS=child
 ‘Baka madapa ang bata.’
 ‘The child will probably stumble (on something).’

The Tausug modal particles *maray*’ in (44) and (45), *kalu-kalu* in (46), and *hatiku* in (47), on the other hand, behave like *agô* and *haddo’k*. However, *kalu-kalu* is shown below to host a (pronominal) clitic.

- (44) **Maray'** dumatung hi Jeff.
maraji? dumatun̄ hi dzɛf
ma-r-(d)aji? d<um>atun̄ hi=dzɛf
MOD <IRR.AV>arrive ABS=Jeff
 'Baka dumating si Jeff.'
 'Jeff will probably arrive.'
- (45) **Maray'** magbagay sila.
maraji? magbagay sila
ma-r-(d)aji? mag-bagay=sila
MOD REL-friend=3PL.ABS
 'Baka magkaibigan sila.'
 'They might be friends.'
- (46) **Kalu-kalu** aku makauwi' kinsum.
kalukalu ?aku maka?uwi? kinsum
kalu-kalu=?aku maka-?uwi? kinsum
MOD=1SG.ABS IRR.ABIL-come home ADV.tomorrow
 'Siguro makakauwi ako bukas.'
 'Perhaps I will be able to come home tomorrow.'
- (47) **Hatiku** wala' niya kiyaiñatan.
hatiku wala? nija kija?iñatan
hatiku wala?=nija k<ij>a-?iñat-an
MOD NEG=3SG.ERG <RLS>STEM-know-LV
 'Siguro hindi niya nalaman.'
 'Perhaps s/he did not know.'

Of the speculative markers discussed thus far, only *maray'* and *kalu-kalu* in Tausug have traceable lexical sources, i.e., *day'* 'a comparatively

short time, soon' and *kalu-kalu* 'to be uncertain of something' respectively (Hassan et al., 1994). The modal meaning expressed by *maray*' arose from the indefiniteness conveyed by the lexical use of *day'-day'* in (48), which can be distinguished from its modal counterpart because *ma-* partially grammaticalized *day'*.

- (48) **Day'-day'** dakuman maubus na in hinang ku.
daji?daji? dakuman maʔuβus na ʔin hinang ku
daji?~daji?=dakuman ma-ʔuβus=na ʔin=hinang=ku
soon=PRT POT.IRR-finish=PRT ABS=work=1 SG.GEN

'Malapit na rin matapos itong trabaho ko.'

'It will not be long, and I will finish my work.' (Hassan et al., 1994)

The source of *kalu-kalu*'s modal meaning is straightforward, as exemplified in (46). Its use is undoubtedly modal when it is the leftmost element in a clause, but when a verbal affix is attached to *kalu-kalu* as in (49), its use is lexical.

- (49) Ayaw kaw mag**kalu-kalu** bang kita' mu.
 ʔajaw kaw mag**kalukalu** ban ki:ta? mu
 ʔajaw=kaw mag-**kalu~kalu** ban ki:ta?=mu
 NEG=2SG.ABS IRR.AV-**uncertain** COND RLS.PV=2SG.ERG

'Huwag kang magdalawang-isip kung nakita mo.'

'If you saw it, do not be uncertain.' (Hassan et al., 1994)

Unlike *agô* and *haddo'k*, *pihu* and *monong* are more flexible, occurring clause-medially in (50) and (53) and clause-finally in (51) and (52). It

must be noted that in Bagobo-Klata, these two markers can be used in polar questions.

- (50) Be appat **pihu** keng angnga niya.
be ʔappat **pihu** keŋ ʔaŋŋaʔ nija
be=ʔappat=**pihu** keŋ=ʔaŋŋaʔ=niya
ADV=four=**MOD** ABS=child=3SG.GEN
‘Mga apat siguro ang anak niya.’
‘S/he probably has about four children.’
- (51) Kokkoli ung gele ro **pihu**.
kəkəkəli ʔuŋ geɛɛʔ rə **pihu**
kə-k-kəli=u=ŋə geɛɛʔ=r-(d)ə=**pihu**
POT-RLS-1SG.ABS=LNK enough=PRT=**MOD**
‘Nasabi ko na tama na siguro.’
‘I was able to say that (it was) probably enough already.’
- (52) Mula **monong**.
mula **məŋŋəŋ**
m-(ʔ)ula=**məŋŋəŋ**
IRR.AV-rain=**MOD**
‘Ulan siguro.’
‘It might rain.’
- (53) Bonnula **monong** gibulli?
bəŋŋnula **məŋŋəŋ** gibulli
bəŋŋn-(ʔ)ula=**məŋŋəŋ** gibulli
RLS.AV-rain=**MOD** ADV.last night
‘Umulan ba kagabi?’
‘Did it rain last night?’

Furthermore, *tabag*, *torô*, *miling*, and *gayu* in Bagobo-Klata and *biya'* in Tausug are also markers of speculation. The kind of speculation these markers express is based on “analogic evidence,” in which the speaker assesses or evaluates, according to some prior knowledge, the similarity between “the present state of affairs [situation X] and some previous state of affairs [situation Y]” (Vondiziano, 2019, p. 51). Hence, these markers can be both epistemic and evidential, as the judgment expressed from (54) to (61) are apparently supported by evidence, especially in (56), in which the speculation, which praises how the addressee has not aged much, is quite strong.

Morphosyntactically, *tabag*, *gayu neng*, *miling*, and *biya'* are restricted to a clause-initial position, and except for *biya'*, they cannot host any clitic.

- (54) **Gayu** neng moow hiya.
gaju nɛŋ mɔʔɔw hiya
gaju=nɛŋ m-(l)ɔʔɔw=hiya
MOD=LNK IRR.AV-walk=3SG.ABS
 ‘Parang aalis siya.’
 ‘S/he is perhaps leaving.’
- (55) **Tabag** no Edeng ke.
tabag nɔ ɛdɛŋ kɛjjɛʔ
tabag nɔ=ɛdɛŋ kɛjjɛʔ
MOD GEN=Edeng DEM.MED.ABS
 ‘Parang kay Eden iyan.’
 ‘That is probably Edeng’s.’

- (56) Duruggoy to rong indi hokkito piru **miling** indi ko bottuwo.
duruggɔj tɔ rɔŋ ʔindiʔ hɔkkit:tɔʔ piru **miling** ʔindiʔ kɔ bɔttu:wɔ
du-r-(d)uggɔj=tɔ=r-(d)ɔ=ŋɔ=ʔindiʔ hɔ-k-kit:tɔʔ piru
INTS-long=1PL.EXCL.ABS=PRT=LNK=NEG RLS.RECP-see CONJ
miling ʔindiʔ=kɔ bɔ-t-tu:wɔ
MOD NEG=2SG.ABS POT-RLS~age
‘Napakatagal na naming hindi nagkita, ngunit parang hindi siya tumanda.’
‘We haven’t seen each other for a long time, yet you seem to have not aged at all.’

- (57) **Biya**’ daindi siya kaina.
biya? daʔindi sija kaʔina
biya? daʔindi=sija kaʔina
MOD PROX.LOC=3SG.ABS ADV.earlier
‘Parang nandito siya kanina.’
‘It seems s/he was here earlier.’

- (58) **Biya**’ kaw kimayug.
biya? kaw kimajug
biya?=kaw k<im>ajug
MOD=2SG.ABS <RLS.PFV.AV>thin
‘Parang pumayat ka.’
‘It seems that you got thin.’

Among the speculative markers discussed here, *torô* is the most flexible because it occurs in all clausal positions: initial in (59), medial in (60), and final in (61). It must be noted that when used clause-initially, both *torô* and *gayu* are obligatorily followed by *neng*.

- (59) **Torô neng** mula.
tɔɔʔ nɛŋ mula
tɔɔʔ=nɛŋ=m-(ʔ)ula
MOD=LNK=IRR.AV-rain
 ‘Parang uulan.’
 ‘It seems that it will rain.’
- (60) Pongngo ro **torô** hilang kommaa.
 pɔŋŋɔ ɔ **tɔɔʔ** hilaŋ kɔmmaʔa
 pɔŋŋɔ=ɔ=**tɔɔʔ**=hila=ŋɔ k<ɔmm>aʔa
 done=PRT=**MOD**=3PL.ABS=LNK <RLS.AV>eat
 ‘Tapos na yata sila kumain.’
 ‘I think they are done eating.’
- (61) Mula **toro**.
 mula **tɔɔʔ**
 m-(ʔ)ula=**tɔɔʔ**
IRR.AV-rain=MOD
 ‘Uulan yata.’
 ‘It seems that it will rain.’

Of the four additional speculative markers, only *gayu* and *biya*’ have traceable lexical origins. Both mean “like, similar” in their respective languages, and as shown in (62) and (63), these markers are lexically used to compare similarity through visual analogy. The semantic change they have undergone to acquire modal meanings is quite straightforward, that is, extending the analogic comparison between the current state of affairs and the previous one.

- (62) **Hoggayu** niya keng boyo neng omo ole neng ino?
hɔggaju niya kɛŋ bɔjɔʔ nɛŋ ʔɔmɔ ʔɔlɛʔ nɛŋ ʔino
hɔ-g-gaju=nija kɛŋ=bɔjɔʔ=nɛŋ=ʔɔmɔ=ʔɔlɛʔ=nɛŋ=ʔino
COM-like=2SG.GEN ABS=face=GEN=father=CONJ=GEN=mother
'Kamukha ba niya ang tatay or nanay niya.'
'Does s/he look like her/his father or mother?'
- (63) **Biya'** na kaw taymanhud ku.
biyaʔ na kaw tajmanhud ku
biyaʔ=na=kaw tajmanhud=ku
ADJ=LNK=2SG.ABS sibling=1SG.GEN
'Parang kapatid na kita.'
'You are like a sibling to me.'

In terms of scalarity, speculation lacks certainty and is therefore considered to be generally weak, so *agô*, *haddok*, *pihu*, and *monong* in Bagobo-Klata and *maray'*, *kalu-kalu*, and *hatiku* in Tausug fall on the weak section of the scalar model. However, *tabag*, *torô*, *miling*, and *gayu* in Bagobo-Klata and *biya'* in Tausug occupy a position that is deemed less weak because they express a kind of speculation relying on the assessment of two situations, present [X] and prior [Y] ones.

6.2 Assumptive Markers

In Bagobo-Klata and Tausug, an assumption that is contrary to the observed reality is expressed via modal verbs *pane* and *(pang)kannal*, respectively; in other words, epistemic assumption is all about a speaker's counter-expectation. In terms of scalarity, it assumes a high probability

that an event will have happened and, hence, falls on the strong section of the scalar model.

As shown from (64) to (66), the events turned to be contrary to the speaker's expectation. For instance, in (64), Celia's wedding would not happen tomorrow, while in (65), the addressee did not arrive.

- (64) **Pane** ku klommô keng tabbad no Celia.
pa:nɛ ku klommɔʔ kɛŋ tabbad nɔ selja
pa:nɛ=ku klommɔʔ kɛŋ=tabbad=nɔ=selja
MOD=1SG.GEN ADV.tomorrow ABS=wedding=GEN=Celia
 'Akala ko bukas ang kasal ni Celia.'
 'I thought tomorrow would be Celia's wedding.'
- (65) **Pangannal** ku dumatung kaw bihayaun.
pajannal ku dumatuŋ kaw bihajaʔun
paN-kannal=ku <um>datuŋ=kaw bihajaʔun
MOD=1SG.GEN <IRR.AV>arrive=2SG.ABS ADV.today
 'Akala ko darating ka ngayon.'
 'I thought you would arrive today.'
- (66) **Kannal** ku mga naghati na kitaniyu.
kannal ku maŋa naga:ti na kitaniju
kannal=ku maŋa nag-ha:ti=na kitaniju
MOD=1SG.GEN PL RLS.AV-understand=PRT 1PL.INCL.ABS
 'Akala ko nagkakaunawaan tayo.'
 'I thought we already had an agreement/mutual understanding.'

Among the markers of epistemic modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug, *pane* and (*paN-*)*kannal* are the only modal verbs, both of which

are morphologically defective, that is, they do not take any verbal affix. As can be observed in example sentences above, they are all structurally similar in that they consist of a defective modal verb followed by a genitive personal pronoun or a genitively marked noun and a complement clause that is optionally introduced by a linker.¹⁹

Unlike *pane*, (*paN-*)*kannal* has a possible lexical source *pangannal* ‘mistaken thought or presumption’ that ultimately derives from *kannal* ‘to think seriously’ (Hassan et al., 1994). The lexical use of *kannal* is exemplified in (67).

- (67) Subaj mu **kannal**un in pag-ammal ibadat mu.
subaj mu **kannal**un ?in pag?ammal ?ibadat mu
subaj=mu **kannal**-un
MOD=2SG.ERG **think seriously**-IRR.PV
?in=pag-?ammal=∅=?ibadat=mu
ABS=NOM-practice=GEN=spiritual obligation=2SG.GEN
‘Dapat mong pag-isipan nang maigi ang iyong
buhay-espirituwal.’
‘You should think seriously of your spiritual life.’ (Hassan et al.,
1994)

6.3 Evidential Markers

In most Philippine languages, there is one evidential marker, typically a reported one, and this is also true for Bagobo-Klata and Tausug. The evidential markers in these languages are both reported, that is, the evidence for the proposition’s factual status comes from someone else.

¹⁹In Tausug, the linker is phonetically null.

As shown from (68) to (71), the evidence for these propositions is quoted from someone else's word. For instance, in (68), the Bagobo-Klata evidential marker *gâ* is used to indicate that the evidence for the proposition that the winner is a child and not a lad is from someone else, not the speaker nor the addressee. Moreover, quoting information one has not seen, heard, or known constitutes weak evidence, so in terms of scalarity, a reported evidential marker is weak.

- (68) Angnga **gâ** keng niddo, bokko huddu.
 ?aŋŋa? **ga?** keng niddo? bɔkkɔ huddu
 ?aŋŋa?=ga? keng=n-(m)-(t)iddo? bɔkkɔ=huddu
 child=**MOD** ABS=RLS-AV-stand NEG=lad
 'Bata raw ang nanalo, hindi binata.'
 'It is said that the one who've won is a child, not a lad.'
- (69) Piyag-amahan **kunû** siya sin mastal.
 pijag-?amahan **kunu?** siya sin mastal
 p<ij>ag-?ama-(h)an=**kunu?**=siya sin=mastal
 <RLS>STEM-anger-LV=**MOD**=3SG.ABS ERG=teacher
 'Sinigawan daw siya ng guro.'
 'It is said that a teacher scolded him/her.'

Moreover, in Bagobo-Klata, its evidential marker has two forms—the shorter one in (70) and the longer one in (71)—but there is no semantic or morphosyntactic difference between these forms.

- (70) Immo **gâ** keng bisita nila?
ʔimmɔ **gaʔ** kɛŋ bisita nila
ʔimmɔ=**gaʔ** kɛŋ=bisita=nila
QP.who=**MOD** ABS=visitor=3SG.GEN
‘Sino raw ang bisita nila?’
‘Who is their visitor?’
- (71) Dayt **gammâ**?
dajt **gammaʔ**
dajt=**gammaʔ**
QP.what=**MOD**
‘Ano raw?’
‘What?’

6.4 Veridical Markers

Like Yami, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug have veridical markers²⁰—*hirê* and *tuud*—that express “an increased intensity of the truth of the proposition, something like the adverbial use of *really* in English” (Payne, 1997, pp. 254–255). They are usually used to express absolute, unchallenged commitment to truth, so on the scalar model these markers fall on the asserted section.

²⁰Vondiziano (2019) added these markers to account for expressions of asserted epistemic modality, because in Palmer (2001), expressions of propositional modality are just either possible (weak) or necessary (strong). There is no modal category to explain modal markers with strong assertion such as *talaga* (Tagalog) and *gyud* (Cebuano).

For example, in (72) and (73), the speakers in both languages are undoubtedly certain that Juan is selfish that he cannot give a single coin and that the addressee is indeed slim. There is no room for challenge.

- (72) Tagaw **hirê** ho Juan agad hotung pisu ombo niyang molloy.
 tagaw **hirê?** ho Juan ?agad hotuŋ piɔ ʔombɔ nijaŋ mɔllɔj
 tagaw=**hirê?** ho=Juan ?agad hotu=ŋɔ=piɔ
 selfish=**MOD** ABS=Juan CONJ one=LNK=coin
 ʔombɔ=nija=ŋɔ=m-(b)ɔllɔj
 NEG=3SG.GEN=LNK=IRR.CONT.AV-give
 ‘Madamot talaga si Juan dahil kahit ni piso ayaw niya magbigay.’
 ‘Juan is really selfish because he does not want to give a single coin.’

- (73) Makayug kaw **tuud**.
 makajug kaw **tu?ud**
 ma-kajug=kaw=**tu?ud**
 STAT-slim=2SG.ABS=**MOD**
 ‘Mapayat ka talaga.’
 ‘You are really slim.’

Morphosyntactically, both markers behave like clitics in that they attach to the clause-initial element, but if the core argument is pronominalized, as in (73) and (74), these markers follow it.

- (74) Proud u **hirê** ngo Bagobo-Klata.
proud ?u **hirê?** ŋɔ bagɔ:bɔ klata
proud=?u=**hirê?**=ŋɔ=bagɔ:bɔ klata
proud=1SG.ABS=**MOD**=LNK=Bagobo-Klata
'Ipinagmamalaki ko talaga na Bagobo-Klata ako.'
'I am really proud (to be) Bagobo-Klata.'

However, when these markers are used in polar questions, they cast doubt. For instance, in (75), the speaker doubts Ana's beauty, while in (76), the speaker doubts whether addressee has seen the person being talked about or not.

- (75) Maligonnoy **hirê** ho Ana?
maligɔnnɔj **hirê?** hɔ Ana
mali-gɔnnɔj=**hirê?** hɔ=Ana
good-beauty=**MOD** ABS=Ana
'Maganda ba talaga si Ana?'
'Is Ana really beautiful?'
- (76) Siya **tuud** in kiyakitaan mo?
sija **tu?ud** ?in kijakita?an mɔ
sija=**tu?ud** ?in=k<ij>a-kita?-an=mɔ
3SG.ABS=**MOD** ABS=<RLS>STEM-see-BV=2SG.ERG
'Siya ba talaga ang nakita mo?'
'Is s/he really the one you saw?'

Between the two markers discussed here, only *tuud* can be used lexically. Shown in (77) and (78) are its verbal and adjectival uses. Apparently, the modal meaning of this marker arose from its adjectival meaning.

- (77) Ayaw kaw mag-ama wala ku **tiyuud**.
 ?ajaw kaw mag-?ama wala ku **tiju?ud**
 ?ajaw=kaw mag-?ama
 NEG=2SG.ABS IRR.AV-anger
 wala=ku=**t<ij>u?ud-ø**
 NEG=1SG.ERG=<RLS.PFV>**do (something) intentionally**-PV
 ‘Huwag kang magalit. Hindi ko sinadyang gawin.’
 ‘Don’t be angry, I didn’t do it intentionally.’ (Hassan et al., 1994)
- (78) Bukun **matuud** in baya’ niya kaymu.
 bukun **matu?ud** ?in baja? nija kajmu
 bukun ma-**tu?ud** ?in=baja?=nija kajmu
 NEG ADJ-**genuine** ABS=interest=3SG.GEN 2SG.OBL
 ‘Hindi tunay ang interes niya sa’yo.’
 ‘Her interest in you is not genuine.’ (Hassan et al., 1994)

6.5 Summary

In this section, the expressions of propositional modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug have been discussed. Shown in Table 4 are the forms these expressions take: speculative (both epistemic and evidential), veridical, and reported markers are all modal particles, while the assumptive ones are modal verbs that are morphologically defective. It can be noticed that for each category in both languages, the corresponding expressions are similar and that the modal sense of speculation can be both epistemic and evidential.

Regarding morphosyntax, these markers behave differently from one another. *agô*, *haddo’k*, *tabag*, *miling*, *gayu*, *maray’*, *kalu-kalu*, and *hatiku*

Table 4. Propositional Modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

	Epistemic			Evidential	
	Speculative	Assumptive	Veridical	Speculative	Reported
Bagobo-Klata	agô, haddo'k, pihu, monong, tabag, torô, miling, gayu	pane	hirê	tabag, torô, gayu	gammâ, gâ
Tausug	maray', kalu-kalu, hatiku, biya'	panannal, kannal	tuud	biya'	kunu'

are restricted clause-initially, while *pihu*, *monong*, and *torô* are more flexible in that they occur in all clause positions and cliticize to a clause-initial element, which is typically a (verbal or non-verbal) predicate. Evidential markers are also phonologically dependent on a sentence-initial element. Assumptive markers are morphologically defective verbs that require genitive arguments and a complement clause introduced by a linker.

Shown in Figure 2 are the relative positions of expressions of propositional modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug. Noticeably, the corresponding expressions of propositional modality in both languages fall on the same sections.

Unlike the previous modal categories, ability and potentiality are not scalar in nature, but binary. Moreover, these modalities are encoded by separate affixes, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Abilitative and Potentive Affixes in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

	Bagobo-Klata		Tausug		
	IRR	RLS	CONT	IPFV	PFV
Abilitative	kɔ-	kɔ-C~	maka-	naka-CV~	naka-
Potentive	kɔ-, mɔ-	kɔ-C~, bɔ-C~	ma-	na-CV~	na-

Semantically, abilitative affixes encode both participant-internal and participant-external modalities. In Bagobo-Klata, *kɔ-* encodes participant-internal modality in (79) and participant-external abilitative modality in (80). As shown in (79), Bagobo-Klata employs the partially grammaticalized modal verb *kotowû* to express inherent ability like speaking a language.

(79) **Kotowû** u koli neng Bagobo-Klata.

kɔtɔwu? ?u kɔli nɛŋ bagɔ:bɔ klata

kɔ-tɔwu?=?u kɔli nɛŋ=bagɔ:bɔ klata

IRR.ABIL-intelligent=1SG.ABS speak GEN=Bagobo-Klata

‘Marunong ako magsalita ng Bagobo-Klata.’

‘I can speak Bagobo-Klata.’

(80) exemplifies ability that is determined by external factors. For instance, the addressee’s ability to buy a new pair of shoes probably

depends on certain circumstances such as financial capacity and availability.

- (80) **Ko**bolli ko ro neng lammi ngo sapatos?
kobolli ko ro neng lammin sapatos
ko-bolli=ko=r-(d)ɔ neng=lammi=ŋɔ=sapatos
IRR.ABIL-buy=2SG.ABS=PRT GEN=new=LNK=shoes
 ‘Makakabili ka ba ng bagong pares ng sapatos?’
 ‘Can you buy a new pair of shoes?’

In Tausug, *maka-* is used to express both inherent and external abilities, as shown in (81) and (82).

- (81) **Maka**βissara hi Jeff Tausug.
makaβissara hi dʒɛf Tausug
maka-β²²-(b)issara hi=dʒɛf ø=Tausug
IRR.ABIL-speak ABS=Jeff GEN=Tausug
 ‘Marunong magsalita ng Tausug si Jeff.’
 ‘Jeff can speak Tausug.’

- (82) **Maka**kaun sila mangga ha Cebu.
makakaʔun sila manɣa ha sɛβu
maka-kaʔun=sila ø=manɣa ha=sɛβ-(b)u
IRR.ABIL-eat=3PL.ABS GEN=mango OBL=Cebu
 ‘Makakakain sila ng mangga sa Cebu.’
 ‘They can eat mangoes in Cebu.’

ko can also be used to express potentive modality. As shown in (83), it is possible to finish the work.

²²In Tausug, /b/ undergoes the morphophonological process of spirantization (i.e., change from oral stops to fricativized ones) between vowels, hence becoming [β].

- (83) **Ko**pongngo ro nila keng inang.
kɔɔŋŋɔ ɔ nila kɛŋ ʔinaŋ
kɔ-ɔŋŋɔ=r-(d)ɔ=nila kɛŋ=ʔinaŋ
IRR.POT-finish=PRT=3PL.GEN ABS=work
‘Matatapos na nila ang trabaho.’
‘They will be able to finish the work.’

To encode potentive modality, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug employ *mɔ*- and *ma*-, respectively. The events from (84) to (85) express potentiality, depending on certain factors. For instance, in (84), it is possible for the person being talked about to go hungry should there be no food, while in (85), it is possible for Pipin to get lost.

- (84) **Mowiti** ho Ben kay anda niya mokaa.
mɔwiti hɔ ben kaj ʔanda? nija mɔkaʔa
mɔ-witi hɔ=ben kaj ʔanda?=nija
IRR.POT-hungry ABS=Ben CONJ NEG.EXIST=3SG.GEN
mɔ-kaʔa
IRR.POT-eat
‘Magugutom si Ben dahil wala siyang makain.’
‘Ben will be hungry because he does not have anything to eat.’
- (85) Maray’ **malawa**’ hi Pipin.
maraji? **malawa**? hi Pipin
ma-r-(d)aji? **ma**-lawaw? hi=Pipin
MOD **IRR.POT**-lose one’s way ABS=Pipin
‘Baka maligaw si Pipin.’
‘Pipin might get lost.’

What have been discussed thus far in this subsection are the irrealis forms of abilitative and potentive affixes only. Shown in (86), (87), and (88) are the realis counterparts of such affixes in (80), (82), and (84).

(86) **Kobbolli** ko ro neng lammi ngo sapatos?

kɔbbɔlli kɔ rɔ nɛŋ lamminɔ sapatɔs

kɔ-b-bɔlli=kɔ=r-(d)ɔ nɛŋ=lammi=ŋɔ=sapatɔs

ABIL-RLS-buy=2SG.ABS=PRT GEN=new=LNK=shoes

‘Nakabili ka ba ng bagong pares ng sapatos?’

‘Were you able to buy a new pair of shoes?’

(87) **Nakakaun** sila mangga ha Cebu.

nakaka?un sila maŋga ha sɛβu

n-(m)aka-ka?un=sila ø=manga ha=sɛβ-(b)u

RLS.PFV-ABIL-eat=3PL.ABS GEN=mango OBL=Cebu

‘Nakakain sila ng mangga sa Cebu.’

‘They were able to eat mangoes in Cebu.’

(88) **Bowwiti** ho Ben kay anda niya mokaa.

bɔwwiti hɔ bɛn kaj ?anda? nija mɔka?a

bɔ-w-witi hɔ=bɛn kaj ?anda?=nija

RLS.POT-hungry ABS=Ben CONJ NEG.EXIST=3SG.GEN

mɔ-ka?a

IRR.POT-eat

‘Nagutom si Ben dahil wala siyang makain.’

‘Ben went hungry because he did not have anything to eat.’

Finally, regarding transitivity, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug abilitative affixes are generally intransitive, while the potentive ones are transitive

and can co-occur with NAV affixes. However, if used to express adversative verbs as in (88), the potentive affix is intransitive because only the privileged syntactic argument is affected.

7.2 Imperative Affixes

Imperatives are one type of directives,²³ specifically, second-person commands. It must be noted that from a terminological standpoint, they are different from first-person or third-person commands or jussives. In essence, imperatives are authoritative as they emanate “from someone in authority, which, therefore, does not expect non-compliance” (Palmer, 2001, p. 80). Hence, they are highly asserted in terms of scalarity.

Table 6. Imperative Affixes in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

Voice	Bagobo-Klata		Tausug	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Actor	∅-	?ija?...m-	∅	?ajaw...m-
Patient	-∅	?ija?...-∅	-a, -an	?ajaw...-a, ?ajaw...-an
Locative	-a	?ija?...-a	-i	?ajaw...-i
Instrumental	p(ɔ)-	?ija?...p(ɔ)-	hipaN-	?ajaw...hipaN-

Table 6 shows imperative affixes in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug. It can be noticed that these affixes also inflect for voice and that they can be affirmative and negative. Negative imperatives are also called prohibitives; in these constructions, the imperative affix obligatorily

²³According to Searle (1983), directives are one of the five basic categories of illocutionary acts, “where we try to get them do things” (p. 166).

co-occurs with a negative particle—*iya* in Bagobo-Klata and *ayaw* in Tausug.

In both affirmative and negative AV imperative constructions in Bagobo-Klata, as shown in (89) and (90), the imperative affix is phonetically null, while the participant being commanded in (89) and prohibited in (90).

(89) **Kaa** kong prutas, nata, olê vitamins.

kaʔa kɔ nɛŋ prutas na:ta ʔɔlɛʔ vartamins

∅-kaʔa=kɔ nɛŋ=prutas=na:ta=ʔɔlɛʔ=vartamins

IMP.AV-eat=2SG.ABS GEN=fruit=vegetable=CONJ=vitamins

‘Kumain ka ng prutas, gulay, at bitamina.’

‘Eat fruits, vegetables, and vitamins.’

(90) **Iyâ** ko **kaang** prutas, nata, olê vitamins.

ʔijaʔ kɔ **kaʔa** nɛŋ prutas na:ta ʔɔlɛʔ vartamins

ʔijaʔ=kɔ ∅-kaʔa=nɛŋ=prutas=na:ta=ʔɔlɛʔ=vartamins

NEG=2SG.ABS IMP.AV-eat=GEN=fruit=vegetable=CONJ=vitamins

‘Huwag kang kumain ng prutas, gulay, at bitamina.’

‘Do not eat fruits, vegetables, and vitamins.’

In affirmative AV imperative constructions in Tausug, the affix is also phonetically null. On the other hand, in (92), in negative AV constructions in Tausug, the affix is *m-*, while the participant being prohibited is not omitted in (92), as opposed to the one being commanded in (91).

- (91) **Ig** na kaw. Mabaya' na ako matug.
?ig na kaw maβaja? na ?ako matug
∅-?ig=na=kaw ma-β-(b)aja?=na=?ako
IMP.AV-leave=PRT=2SG.ABS MOD=PRT=1SG.ABS
ma-tug
IRR.POT-sleep
'Umalis ka na. Gusto ko na matulog.'
'(You) leave now (because) I want to sleep.'
- (92) **Ayaw** kaw **mig**.
?ajaw kaw **mig**
?ajaw=kaw m-(?)ig
NEG=2SG.ABS IMP.AV-leave
'Huwag kang umalis.'
'Do not leave.'

As can be observed in (93) and (94), the AV and PV imperative affixes in Bagobo-Klata are both phonologically null, but the only difference between them is that in AV imperative constructions, the agent being commanded is absolutive, while in PV ones, the agent is ergative.

- (93) **Donow** mo hila.
dɔnɔw mɔ hila
dɔnɔw-∅=mɔ=hila
wake up-IMP.PV=2SG.ERG=3PL.ABS
'Gisingin mo sila.'
'(You) wake them up.'

- (94) **Iyâ** mo **donow** hila.
?ija? mo **dɔnɔw** hila
?ija?=mo dɔnɔw-**ɔ**=hila
 NEG=2SG.ERG wake up-IMP.PV=3PL.ABS
 ‘Huwag mo silang gisingin.’
 ‘Do not wake them up.’

In both affirmative and negative PV constructions in Tausug in (95) and (96), the affix is *-a*. As will be seen in other affirmative NAV imperative constructions in Tausug—(theme,) locative, and instrument—the participant being commanded is obligatorily omitted.

- (95) **Languga** in taymanghud mo.
 laɲuga mu ?in tajmanghud mo
 laɲug-**a**=mu ?in=tajmanghud=mo
 play a joke-IMP.PV ABS=sibling=2SG.GEN
 ‘Biruin mo ang kapatid mo.’
 ‘Play a joke on your sibling.’

- (96) **Ayaw** mu languga in taymanghud mo.
?ajaw mu laɲuga ?in tajmanghud mo
?ajaw=mu laɲug-**a** ?in=tajmanghud=mo
 NEG=2SG.ERG play a joke-IMP.PV ABS=sibling=2SG.GEN
 ‘Huwag mong biruin ang kapatid mo.’
 ‘Do not play a joke on your sibling.’

Exemplified in (97) and (98) are a subtype of PV imperative constructions, theme-voice (TV), where the affix is *-an*. As discussed in §5.2, a theme “is moved by an action” and “remains constitutionally unchanged” (Saeed, 2016, pp. 150–151).

(97) Dihilan in sin mu kaku.

dihilan ?in sin mu kaku

dihil-**an** ?in=sin=mu kaku

give-**IMP.PV** ABS=money=2SG.GEN 1SG.OBL

‘Ibigay mo ang pera mo sa akin.’

‘Give your money to me.’

(98) **Ayaw** dihilan mu in sin mu kaku.

?ajaw dihilan mu ?in sin mu kaku

?ajaw dihil-**an**=mu ?in=sin=mu kaku

NEG give-**IMP.PV**=2SG.GEN ABS=money=2SG.GEN 1SG.OBL

‘Huwag mong ibigay ang pera mo sa akin.’

‘Do not give your money to me.’

Regarding LV imperative constructions, Bagobo-Klata has two LV imperative affixes: *-a* and *tam-*, as shown in (99), (100), and (101); while in Tausug, there is only one: *-i*, as shown in (102) and (103).

(99) Blaya mo ma neng tokkaa keng nagong assu.

blaja mɔ ma nɛŋ tɔkkaʔa kɛŋ naɡɔŋ ʔassu

b(ɔl)la-(ɔ)j-**a**=mɔ=ma nɛŋ=tɔ-k-kaʔa

give-**IMP.LV**=2SG.ERG=PRT GEN=NOM-eat

kɛŋ=naɡɔ=ŋɔ=ʔassu

ABS=1SG.GEN=LNK=dog

‘Bigyan mo ng pagkain ang aking aso.’

‘Give my dog something to eat.’

- (100) **Tamunga** mo hiya kongngo.
tamu:ŋa mɔ hiya kɔŋŋɔ
tam-(?)u:ŋa=mɔ=hiya kɔŋŋɔ
IMP.LV-call=2SG.ERG=3SG.ABS ADV.later
 ‘Tawagan mo siya mamaya.’
 ‘Call him/her later.’
- (101) **Iyâ** mo ma blaya neng tokkaa keng nagong assu.
?ija? mɔ ma blaja nɛŋ tɔkkaʔa kɛŋ nagɔŋ ʔassu
?ija?=mɔ=ma bɔllɔj-**a** nɛŋ=tɔ-k-kʔa
NEG=2SG.ERG=PRT give-IMP.LV GEN=NOM-eat
 kɛŋ=nagɔ=ŋɔ=ʔassu
ABS=1SG.GEN=LNK=dog
 ‘Huwag mong bigyan ng pagkain ang aking aso.’
 ‘Do not give my dog something to eat.’
- (102) Tahani in sakit. Gana-gana malawa’ na sa yan.
 tahani ʔin sakit gana gana malawaʔ na sa jan
 tahan-**i** ʔin=sakit gana-gana ma-lawaʔ na=sa
endure-IMP.LV ABS=pain soon IRR.POT-go PRT=PRT
 jan
DEM.MED.ABS
 ‘Tiisin mo ang sakit. Mawawala rin ito.’
 ‘Endure the pain. It will be really gone soon.’

- (103) **Ayaw** aku dihili damak.
?ajaw ?aku dihili damak
?ajaw=?aku dihil-**i** \emptyset =damak
 NEG=1SG.ABS give-IMP.LV GEN=gift given by a suitor
 ‘Huwag mo akong bigyan ng regalo.’
 ‘(You) do not give me a gift.’

iv imperative affixes in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug are *p(ɔ)-* and *hipaN-*, respectively. In Bagobo-Klata, *pɔ-* has two allomorphs: *p-* before a voiceless glottal stop in (104) and *pɔ-* before elsewhere in (105), while in Tausug, *hipaN-* either assimilates or replaces the word-initial sound of the root, as exemplified in (106) and (107).

- (104) **Pepok** mo neng kayju konning badi.
pɛpɔk mɔ nɛŋ kajju kɔnniŋ badi?
p-(ʔ)ɛpɔk=mɔ nɛŋ=kajju kɔnni=ŋɔ=badi?
 IMP.IV-cut=2SG.ERG GEN=tree DEM.PROX.ABS=LNK=bolo
 ‘Ipapamputul mo ng puno itong itak.’
 ‘Use this bolo to cut a tree.’

- (105) **Iyâ** mo **popuung** keng dau neng bulig ta payad.
?ija? mɔ **pɔ**puʔuŋ kɛŋ da:ʔu nɛŋ bu:lig ta pa:jad
?ija?=mɔ **pɔ**-puʔuŋ kɛŋ=da:ʔu=nɛŋ=bu:lig
 NEG=2SG.ERG IMP.IV-wrap ABS=leaf=GEN=banana
 ta=pa:jad
 OBL=dried fish
 ‘Huwag mong ipambalot ang dahon ng saging sa daing.’
 ‘Do not use the banana leaf to wrap the dried fish.’

- (106) **Hipamutos** sin byanban in lukay ini.
hipamutəs sin bijanban ?in lukaj ?ini
hipaN-(p)utəs sin=bijanban
IMP.IV-wrap GEN=steamed rice cake
 ?in=lukaj=?ini
 ABS=COCONUT leaf=DEM.PROX.ABS
 ‘Ipapambalot niya ng suman itong dahon ng niyog.’
 ‘I will use this coconut leaf to wrap steamed rice cake.’
- (107) **Ayaw** mo **hipamahid** ha lamisan in dagmaj ini.
?ajaw mɔ **hipamahid** ha lamisan ?in dagmaj ?ini
?ajaw=mɔ hipaN-(p)ahid ha=lamisan
NEG=2SG.ERG IMP.IV-wipe OBL=table
 ?in=dagmaj=?ini
 ABS=cloth=DEM.PROX.ABS
 ‘Huwag mong ipampunas sa mesa itong tela.’
 ‘Do not use this cloth to wipe the table (clean).’

7.3 Desiderative Modality

The desiderative modality is concerned with the speaker’s desire to perform some action or to cause something to happen. Because desire is internal to the participant or the agent, this category falls under participant-internal modality. It is expressed as a modal verb in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug.

As shown in (108) and (109), there are two modal verbs of desire in Bagobo-Klata: *tomma* and *mayad*. They are morphologically defective. In terms of syntax, both occur clause-initially but differ in agent case

marking. In (108), the agent *Ben* is marked by a genitive common nominal marker, while in (109) the agent *angngâ* is marked by an absolutive common nominal marker.

- (108) **Tommana** ro mipit no Ben.
tɔmmana ɾɔ mipit nɔ bɛn
tɔmmana=r-(d)ɔ m-(?)ipit nɔ=bɛn
MOD=PRT IRR.AV-sleep GEN=Ben
 ‘Gustong matulog ni Ben.’
 ‘Ben wants to sleep.’

- (109) **Mayad** mipit keng angngâ.
majad mipit kɛŋ ʔaŋŋaʔ
m-(?)ajad m-(?)ipit kɛŋ=ʔaŋŋaʔ
MOD IRR.AV-sleep ABS=child
 ‘Gustong matulog ng bata.’
 ‘The child wants to sleep.’

In Tausug, *mabaya*’ in (110) encodes desire and possesses the same morphosyntactic characteristics with *tommana* and *mayad*.

- (110) **Mabaya**’ bihan sin bata-bata in budjang kindi.
maβajaʔ bi:han sin bataʔ bataʔ ʔin budʒaŋ kindi
ma-β-(b)ajaʔ bi:han sin=bataʔ~bataʔ ʔin=budʒaŋ
MOD buy-IRR.PV ERG=child ABS=lass
 ø=kindi
 GEN=candy
 ‘Gustong bilhan ng bata ang dalaga ng kendi.’
 ‘A child wants to buy candy for the lass.’

Going back to *tommana* and *mayad*, one major difference between them, when used lexically, is the case marking of the core arguments. In (111) and (112), the experiencers are the ergative personal pronoun *niya* and the oblique personal pronoun *nago*, respectively, while the stimuli are *ho Ana* and *hiya*, which are both absolutes.

(111) **Tommana** niya ho Ana.

tɔmmana niya hɔ ʔana

tɔmmana=niya hɔ=ʔana

like=3SG.ERG ABS=Ana

‘Gusto niya si Ana.’

‘He likes Ana.’

(112) **Mayad** hiya nagô.

majad hiya nagɔʔ

m-(ʔ)ajad=hiya nagɔʔ

like=3SG.ABS 1SG.OBL

‘May gusto siya sa akin.’

‘He/she loves me.’

As shown in (113), *tommana* can be used not only as a verb but also as a noun.

(113) Dayt keng **tommana** mo?

dajt kɛŋ **tɔmmana** mo

dajt kɛŋ=**tɔmmana**=mo

QP.what ABS=**want**=2SG.GEN

‘Ano ang gusto mo?’

‘What is it that you want?’

In terms of its lexical use, *baya* ‘desire, want’ yields nuanced meanings depending on the affix. In (114), when affixed with *ka-...-an*, a discontinuous morpheme in Tausug that typically attaches on perceptive verbs, *baya* means ‘to like someone.’ In (115), on the other hand, the realis reciprocal affix *nag-* produces a meaning in which the plural agents *sila* have been in a relationship.

- (114) Kabayaan ko siya.
 kaβajaʔan kɔ sija
 ka-β-(b)ajaʔ-an=kɔ=sija
 IRR-like-BV=2SG.ERG=3SG.ABS
 ‘Gusto ko siya.’
 ‘I like him/her.’

- (115) Malugay na sila nagbabayaʔ.
 malugaj na sila nagbaβajaʔ
 ma-lugaj=na=sila n-(m)ag-ba-β-(b)ajaʔ
 STAT-duration=PRT=3PL.ABS RLS-(AV)-IPFV-love
 ‘They have been in love for a long time now.’

In addition to the modal verbs of desire, another modal expression, one that expresses the speaker’s wish, is subsumed here because wishes and desires are interrelated. When one wishes for something, they want to have something or to do something. Moreover, wishes can also be interpreted as appeals to a higher being as if you were commanding Him to grant your wishes. Technically, this marker is called optative. In Bagobo-Klata and Tausug, this marker takes the form of a modal particle. In Bagobo-Klata, the optative particle *kitû* is flexible, occurring clause-initially in (116) and clause-medially in (117) and (118).

- (116) **Kitû** kinna ro salapi ku.
kitu? kinna rɔ salapi ku
kitu? kinna=r-(d)ɔ salapi=ku
MOD EXIST=PRT money=1SG.GEN
 ‘Sana magkapera ako.’
 ‘I hope I would have money.’
- (117) Indi **kitû** mula.
 ?indi? **kitu?** mula
 ?indi?=**kitu?** m-(?)ula
NEG=MOD IRR.AV-rain
 ‘Sana hindi umulan.’
 ‘Hopefully, it won’t rain.’
- (118) Horinni **kitû** hiya dinni.
 hɔrinni **kitu?** hiya dinni
 hɔ-r-(d)inni=**kitu?**=hiya dinni
IRR.DIR-come=MOD=3SG.ABS DEM.PROX.OBL
 ‘Sana dumating siya rito.’
 ‘Hopefully, he/she would come here.’

In Tausug, the modal particle *bang ma(ya)n*²⁴ occurs only clause-initially, as shown in (119) and (120). Moreover, this particle can host pronominal clitics such as *kaw* in (119).

²⁴In addition to *bang ma(ya)n*, there are two other optative modal verbs Tausug speakers use: *kaddaw* and *mura-murahan*. These three verbs are all semantically interchangeable, but syntactically, *kaddaw* can occur in all clause-positions while *bang ma(ya)n* and *mura-murahan* are restricted to a clause-initial position (Hassan et al., 1994).

- (119) **Bang mayan** kaw maligad.
baj majan kaw maliyad
baj majan=kaw ma-li-(g)-yad
MOD=2SG.ABS POT.IRR-fall over
'Sana masubsob ka.'
'I hope you'd fall over.'
- (120) **Bang mayan** umulan kinsum.
baj majan ?umulan kinsum
baj majan=?<um>ulan kinsum
MOD=<IRR.AV>rain ADV.tomorrow
'Sana umulan bukas.'
'Hopefully, it will rain tomorrow.'

7.4 Obligation and Suggestion

In some Philippine languages like Tagalog and Cebuano, obligation and suggestion are expressed via modal verbs. As types of directives, obligation and suggestion are typically used to get something done by someone, so they both fall under deontic and non-deontic participant-external modalities. In terms of scalarity, obligation is stronger than suggestion.

In Bagobo-Klata, *kailanga*, which seems to have been loaned from Tagalog, encodes obligation in (121) and (122) and suggestion in (123) and (124). For instance, (121) has a non-deontic (circumstantial) reading because the participant is under the obligation to be present where he must be tomorrow morning as imposed by someone in authority, while

(122) has a deontic (speaker-driven) reading where the participant must slice the meat in small pieces according to the speaker's instructions.

(121) Non-Deontic (Circumstantial)

Kailanga horinni ko ro klommô neng lommô.

ka?ilaja hōrinni kō rō klōmmō? nēŋ lōmmō?

ka?ilaja hō-r-(d)inni=kō=rō

MOD IRR.DIR-come=2SG.ABS=PRT

klōmmō?=nēŋ=lōmmō?

tomorrow=GEN=morning

'Kailangan pumunta ka rito bukas ng umaga.'

'You must be here tomorrow morning.'

(122) Deontic (Speaker-Driven)

Kailanga laso no Anna neng mumutti keng lamas.

ka?ilaja la:sō nō Ana nēŋ mumutti kēŋ lamas

ka?ilaja ?ilas-ō nō=Ana nēŋ=mu~mutti kēŋ=lamas

MOD slice-IRR.PV ERG=Ana GEN=INTS~small ABS=meat

'Kailangan hiwain ni Ana nang maliliit ang karne.'

'Ana must slice the meat in small pieces.'

In (123), the suggestion given is circumstantial, emanating from a pediatrician suggesting that the participant eat more vegetables as opposed to unhealthful choices like sweets, meat, and whatnot, while in (124), the speaker suggests that the participant eat plenty probably because s/he has been observed to eat less than the usual.

(123) Non-Deontic (Circumstantial)

Kailanga maang ko neng nata.

ka?ilaja maʔaŋ kɔ nɛŋ na:ta

ka?ilaja m-(k)aʔa=ŋɔ=kɔ nɛŋ=na:ta

MOD IRR.AV-eat=LNK=2SG.ABS GEN=vegetable

‘Dapat kang kumain ng gulay.’

‘You should eat vegetable.’

(124) Deontic (Speaker-Driven)

Kailanga ko maang neng polos.

ka?ilaja kɔ maʔaŋ nɛŋ pɔləs

ka?ilaja=kɔ m-(k)aʔa ŋɔ nɛŋ=pɔləs

MOD=2SG.ABS IRR.AV-eat LNK GEN=plenty

‘Dapat kumain ka nang marami.’

‘You should eat plenty.’

Moreover, the need for a linker is optional in using *kailanga* as a modal verb, as shown in (121) and (122), and it must be noted too that this modal verb can host a pronominal clitic such as *ko* in (124).

In Tausug, obligation and suggestion are expressed by two different modal verbs, *kagunahan* and *sarang*, respectively. Morphosyntactically, *kagunahan* is a clause-initial element that can act as a host to pronominal clitics such as *ku* and *natu*. Exemplified in (125) and (126) non-deontic and deontic readings of obligation in Tausug. In (125), the participant is obliged to come to work tomorrow according to his/her signed contract, while in (126), Issa says that it is our obligation to love each other.

(125) Non-Deontic (Circumstantial)

Kagunahan ku sumud kinsum.

kayunahan ku sumud kinsum

ka-y-(g)una-(h)an=ku s<um>ud kinsum

MOD=1SG.ABS <IRR.AV>COME ADV.tomorrow

‘Kailangan kong pumasok bukas.’

‘I need to come (to work) tomorrow.’

(126) Deontic (Speaker-Driven)

Laung hi Issa, “**Kagunahan** natu magliyasahi.”

laʔuŋ hi ʔi:sa **kayunahan** natu maglijasahi

ø-laʔuŋ hi=ʔi:sa **ka-y-(g)una-(h)an**=natu

RLS.PV-say ERG=Issa MOD=1PL.INCL.GEN

mag-l<ij>asa-(h)i

IRR-<RECP>love-RECP

‘Sabi ni Issa, “Kailangan nating magmahalan.”’

‘Issa said, “We must love one another.”’

In terms of lexical origins, the modal verb *kagunahan* clearly derives from the Tausug word *guna*, which can be used either as a noun or as a verb. In (127), *guna* means ‘usefulness, utility, need,’ while in (128), ‘to use something.’ Similar to *baya*, *guna*’s modal use is distinguished by the discontinuous affix *ka-...-an*.

- (127) Bugitan na in manga kakatasan bang way na **guna**.
 buyitan na ?in maña kakatasan ban waj na **yuna**
 buy-(g)it-an=na ?in=maña=kakatasan ban
 throw-IMP.PV=PRT ABS=PL=paper COND
 waj=na **y-(g)una**
 NEG.EXIST=PRT **use**
 ‘Itapon mo na ang mga papel na wala nang silbi.’
 ‘Throw the papers already if they have no use.’ (Hassan et al.,
 1994)
- (128) **Gunahun** ta in manga dagmaj dihil katu sin mga tau.
gunahun ta ?in maña dagmaj di:hil katu sin maña ta?u
guna-(h)un=ta ?in=maña=dagmaj=ø=di:hil
use-IRR.PV=1 PL.INCL.ERG ABS=PL=rag=LNK=RLS.PV.give
 katu sin=maña=ta?u
 1 PL.INCL.OBL GEN=PL=person
 ‘Gagamitin natin ang mga basahan na ibinigay sa atin ng mga
 tao.’
 ‘We will use the clothes the people gave to us.’ (Hassan et al.,
 1994)

In Tausug, the modal verb *sarang* encodes non-deontic and deontic suggestion. Morphosyntactically, this verb is also a clause-initial element that can host clitics such as *kaw*. Shown in (129) and (130) are its non-deontic and deontic readings. In (129), it is suggested by someone in authority that the participant be here tomorrow morning, while in (130), the speaker suggests that the participant eat more than s/he should.

- (129) Non-Deontic (Circumstantial)

Sarang da?indi na kaw kinsum mahinaat.

saraŋ da?indi na kaw kinsum mahina?at

saraŋ da?indi=na=kaw kinsum

MOD DEM.PROX.OBL=PRT=2SG.ABS ADV.tomorrow

mahina?at

ADV.morning

‘Dapat nandito ka bukas ng umaga.’

‘You should be here tomorrow morning.’

- (130) Deontic (Speaker-Driven)

Sarang kaw kumaun mataud.

saraŋ kaw kuma?un mata?ud

saraŋ=kaw k<um>a?un ø=mata?ud

MOD=2SG.ABS <IRR.AV>eat GEN=many

‘Dapat kumain ka ng marami.’

‘You should eat plenty.’

This modal verb clearly derives from the Tausug verb *sarang* ‘to fit, to be enough,’ the lexical uses of which are shown in (131) and (132). Apparently, the original meaning became semantically extended in that it acquired a modal meaning in which things in this world should fit the ideals of the speaker or the external circumstances.

- (131) **Hisarang** ku in badju niya.
hisaraŋ ku ?in badzu? niya
hi-saraŋ=ku ?in=badzu?=niya
IRR.PV-**fit**=1SG.ERG ABS=shirt=3SG.GEN
'Isusukat ko ang damit niya.'
'I will try on his shirt (to see if it fits).' (Hassan et al., 1994)
- (132) Di **sumarang** in badju ku kaniya.
di? sumaraŋ ?in badzu? ku kanija
di? s<um>araŋ ?in=badzu?=ku kanija
NEG <IRR.AV>**fit** ABS=dress=1SG.GEN 3SG.OBL
'Hindi sakto ang damit ko sa kanya.'
'My dress does not fit her.' (Hassan et al., 1994)

7.5 Permission

Permission is another type of directives in which some action is allowed. In Bagobo-Klata and Tausug, permissive modality is expressed via a modal verb: *puidi* and *manjari*, respectively. Morphosyntactically, both verbs occur as clause-initial elements that can host clitics, mostly pronominal, as shown from (133) to (135). Moreover, the sentences exemplified below are deontic or speaker-driven.

The modal verb of permission in Bagobo-Klata is borrowed from the Spanish verb *puede* 'he/she/it can,' which is quite prevalent in most Philippine languages.

- (133) **Puidi** ko ro manne.
pujdi kɔ rɔ manne
pujdi=kɔ=rɔ m-(k)anne
MOD=2SG.ABS=PRT IRR.AV-leave
 ‘Puwede ka nang umalis.’
 ‘You may leave (already).’

As shown in (134) and (135), the modal verb of permission in Tausug has two forms: *makajari* and *manjari*.

- (134) **Makajari** ko mari kinsum.
makadzari sija mari kinsum
maka-dzari=sija m-(k)ari kinsum
MOD-3SG.ABS IRR.AV-come here ADV.tomorrow
 ‘Puwede kang pumunta rito bukas.’
 ‘You can come here tomorrow.’
- (135) **Manjari** ko magad kanaku patabu.
mandzari ?ako magad kanaku patabu
maN-dzari=ako m-(?)agad kaku pa-tabu
MOD=1SG.ABS IRR.AV-go 1SG.OBL DIR-market
 ‘Puwede kang sumama sa akin sa palengke.’
 ‘You can go with me to the market.’

jari is regarded as the possible lexical origin of the Tausug modal verb of permission. Shown in (136) is the lexical use of *jari*.

- (136) Bang mu **jarihun** in utak yan, daha.
bang mu **dzarihun** ?in ?utak jan daha
bang=mu **dzari**-(h)un ?in=?utak=jan
COND=2SG.ERG **use**-IRR.PV ABS=bolo=DEM.MED.ABS
da-(h)a
take-IMP.PV
'Kung gagamitin mo ang bolo, dalhin mo (ito).'

'If you will use that bolo, take (it).' (Hassan et al., 1994)

7.6 Summary

In this section, the corresponding expressions of event modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug have been discussed, as shown in Tables 7, 8, and 9. Except for the participant-internal ability in Bagobo-Klata, the expression for each category is similar in both languages: participant-internal and non-deontic participant-external ability and potentiality and deontic participant-external second-person command are expressed via modal affixes, while participant-internal desire and deontic and non-deontic participant-external permission, suggestion, and obligation are expressed via modal verbs. As discussed, optative modality (or the participant's wishes), which is subsumed under desiderative modality, is expressed as a modal verb in both languages.

In terms of morphosyntax, modal verbs under event modality, except for loaned ones such as *puidi* and *kailanga* in Bagobo-Klata, can be distinguished from their lexical sources by the affixes attached to them, as well as their clause position. Most of these verbs are restricted to a clause-initial position, and they can host clitics, pronominal or adverbial. As for modal affixes, abilitative and potentive affixes, which are generally

Table 7. Participant-Internal Modality Expressions in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

	Abilitative	Potentive	Desiderative
Bagobo-Klata Tausug	kɔ- + tɔwu? maka-	mɔ-, kɔ- ma-	tɔmmana, majad mabaja?, bang ma(yan)

Table 8. Participant-External (Speaker-Driven) Modality Expressions in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

	Command	Permission	Obligation	Suggestion
Bagobo-Klata Tausug	Imperative & Hortative	pujdi mandzari, makadzari	kayunahan	kaʔilaŋa saraŋ

Table 9. Participant-External (Circumstantial) Modality Expressions in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

	Abilitative	Potentive	Permission	Obligation	Suggestion
Bagobo-Klata Tausug	kɔ- maka-	mɔ- ma-	pujdi mandzari, makadzari	kayunahan	kaʔilaŋa saraŋ

intransitive, have both irrealis and realis forms, and potentive ones can co-occur with NAV affixes, inflecting for voice too. Moreover, modal verbs of wishes in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug both behave like clitics but differ in clause positions: *kitû* is more flexible than *bang ma(ya)n*.

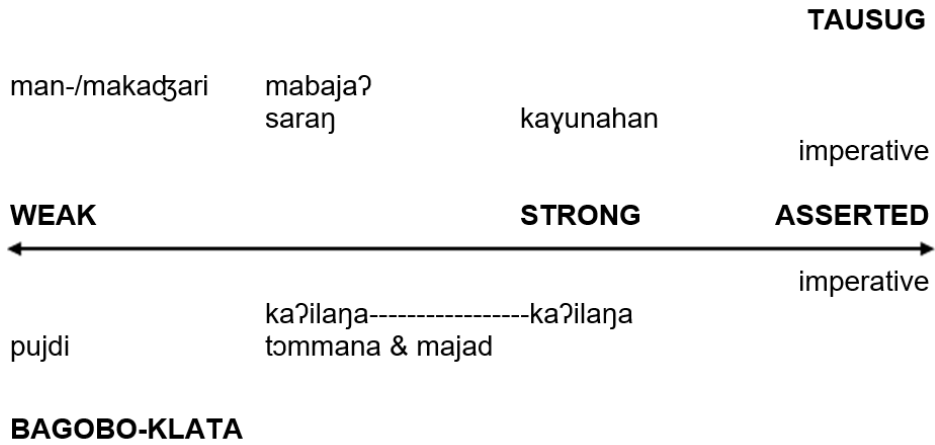


Figure 3. Scalar Model of Expressions of Event Modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug

Shown in Figure 3 are the relative positions of expressions of event modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug. Abilitative and potentive affixes are excluded because they are binary.

8 Conclusion

Although both languages are sufficiently argued to be daughter languages of Proto-Philippine, they belong to different subgroups that have been established by respective lexical and phonological innovations (Blust, 2019). However, it has been presented and discussed in this paper that from a typological perspective, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug have a lot in common concerning the linguistic category of modality. In these languages, it is expressed through mood—the morphological expression of modality—and modal system(s).

The system of mood in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug is binary and non-joint-marking. First, it is obligatory to mark verbal constructions for irrealis or realis through verbal affixation. Second, mood affixes do not co-occur with other grammatical markers to encode irrealis or reality. It can also be noticed that in these languages, the absence of the mood marker expresses irrealis mood, while the presence of such a marker indicates realis mood.

Furthermore, analogous to Yami, Bagobo-Klata and Tausug also employ “a mixed-modal system” in which typological categories of modality take various forms, i.e., modal particles, modal verbs, and modal affixes. The expressions of propositional modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug consist of speculative, veridical, and reported modal particles and assumptive modal verbs, while the expressions of event modality are comprised of modal verbs of permission, suggestion, and obligation, abilitative, potentive, and imperative affixes, and optative modal particles. In terms of morphosyntax, modal particles are more flexible than modal verbs because the latter, including some modal particles, are restricted to a clause-initial position. Ability, potentiality, and second-person commands are independent of mood despite being morphologically expressed via affixes and, except for imperative affixes, distinguishing irrealis and realis forms. Moreover, tracing an expression’s lexical source depends on how well-documented a language is. In the case of modality expressions in Tausug, most of them are traceable because there is a published dictionary. However, in Bagobo-Klata, it has been a bit of a puzzle to do so because there are no written materials available. The modality expressions in Bagobo-Klata, except for *mayad*, *tommana*, *haddo’k*, and *gayu*, cannot be used lexically.

Ultimately, by providing a coherent account of modality in Bagobo-Klata and Tausug that has laid out the expressions of modality and described their respective features from a typological framework, this paper, alongside Vondiziano (2019)'s work on modality in Yami, is yet another contribution toward "establishing a typology of modality in Philippine languages" (p. 126).

List of Abbreviations

1	first person	INCL	inclusive
2	second person	INTS	intensive
3	third person	IPFV	imperfective
ABIL	abilitative	IRR	irrealis
ABS	absolutive	IV	instrument voice
ADJ	adjective	LNK	linker
AV	actor voice	LV	locative voice
BV	benefactive voice	MED	medial
CAUS	causative	MOD	modal
COM	comitative	NEG	negation
COND	conditional	NOM	nominalizer
CONJ	conjunction	OBL	oblique
CONT	contemplative	PL	plural
CORE	core	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	POT	potentive
DIST	distal	PROX	proximal
DIR	direction	PRT	particle
ERG	ergative	PV	patient voice
EXCL	exclusive	QP	question particle
EXIST	existential	REL	relative
GEN	genitive	RECIP	reciprocal
IMP	imperative	RED	reduplication

RLS	realis
SG	singular

STAT	stative
STEM	stem

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Assessing the Usability of the Draft Minasbate Working Orthography vis-a-vis An Maayo na Barita Hali sa Dios and the Actual Usage of Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers

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Abstract

One of the challenges that Masbatenyo teachers face in the implementation of the Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) under the K to 12 Reform is the lack of standardized writing conventions that they could use in the preparation of instructional materials (Bermudo et al., 2018; Blancaver, 2015; Williams et al., 2014). To address this, a working orthography was developed in 2016

through the initiatives of Dr. Emilio B. Espinosa, Sr. Memorial State College of Agriculture and Technology (DEBESMCAT), in partnership with the local government unit of Masbate. From 2018–2019, the Schools Division Office (SDO) of Masbate Province gauged the orthographic practice of Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers before and after the orientation on the draft Minasbate Working Orthography (MWO). To contribute to the refinement of the draft MWO, this paper examines the usability of the draft MWO by comparing it with *An Maayo na Barita Hali sa Dios* (The Good News from God) and the utilization of teachers of the draft MWO. The study aims to identify the alignment and consistency of draft MWO with the written literature in the language and actual practice of the target users of the MWO. It also points out the potential areas of orthographic confusion and proposes recommendations on the revision and refinement of the draft MWO.

1 Introduction

The implementation of the K to 12 Reform in the Philippines, initiated by the passage of the Republic Act No. 10533, otherwise known as the “Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013,” provides an opportunity for more than 180 languages in the country to be utilized and developed as media of instruction and languages of literacy by their users and speakers, alongside English and Filipino.

This approach, called the Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE), allows for the utilization of more than two languages for the purpose of literacy and instruction. It starts from “where the learners are and from what they already know” (Nolasco, 2008, p. 2). The MTB-MLE program involves learning to read, write, and think in one’s first language or L1 (Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilocano, Waray, etc.), and teaching Mathematics, Science, Health and Social Studies in the said L1 (Nolasco, 2008).

Specifically, Section 4 of RA 10533 stipulates that:

Basic education shall be delivered in languages understood by the learners as the language plays a strategic role in shaping the formative years of learners.

For kindergarten and the first three (3) years of elementary education, instruction, teaching materials and assessment shall be in the regional or native language of the learners. The Department of Education (DepEd) shall formulate a mother language transition program from Grade 4 to Grade 6 so that Filipino and English shall be gradually introduced as languages of instruction until such time when these two (2) languages can become the primary languages of instruction at the secondary level.

For purposes of this Act, mother language or first Language (L1) refers to language or languages first learned by a child which he/she identifies with, is identified as a native language user of by others, which he/she knows best, or uses most. This includes Filipino sign language used by indi-

viduals with pertinent disabilities. The regional or native language refers to the traditional speech variety or variety of Filipino sign language existing in a region, area or place.

RA 10533 also encourages the production and development of “locally produced teaching materials subject to the approval of the regional and division education units.” This is in adherence to the provision of RA 10533 that requires that the curriculum be “flexible enough to enable and allow schools to localize, indigenize and enhance the same based on their respective educational and social contexts.”

The Department of Education (DepEd) issued the DepEd Order (DO) No. 16, s. 2012 to provide guidance on the implementation of the MTB-MLE program. The DO identified 12 languages which will be offered as a language learning area and language of instruction. This included Tagalog, Kapampangan, Pangasinense, Iloko, Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Tausug, Maguindanaon, Maranao, and Chavacano. It also listed the requirements that a language must fulfill to be used in the MTB-MLE implementation. Referred to as the “four minima,” the requirements are as follows:

1. orthography that is acceptable to the stakeholders, adequately representative of the language in written form, easy to learn, transfer, and reproduce;
2. officially documented vocabulary, may be in a form of glossary, dictionary, encyclopedias or thesaurus;
3. grammar book, containing the grammar structure of the language which should include spelling rules, alphabet tables and charts, dictionary section; and

4. literature, such as big books, small books, listening stories, picture stories/wordless picture books, big picture books.

Minasbate was not chosen as one of the languages of instruction identified by DepEd during the initial implementation of the MTB-MLE program. This can be attributed to the lack of research on the language and the relatively low status afforded to the language (Williams et al., 2014). Schools in Masbate have been designated to use Bicolano, the lingua franca of Region 5. This posed a challenge to Masbatenyo teachers as Bicolano is very distinct from Minasbate. Adhering to DO No. 74, s. 2009, which first institutionalized the MTB-MLE in the country, Minasbate was used as medium of instruction in Masbate (Bermudo et al., 2018; Blancaver, 2015; Williams et al., 2014). This was reinforced by DO No. 21, s. 2019, which states that:

In situations where 1) the language of the learners and the lingua franca are totally different; 2) the language of the learners is not included in any of the 19 languages; and 3) the community where the learners belong has developed its own working orthography, writing system, grammar and spelling rules and other learning materials, the school may use the language as a subject for literacy development and as MOTL [medium of teaching and learning].

However, the lack of standardized spelling conventions remains a challenge to schoolteachers in the preparation and development of their instructional materials. In the division of Masbate Province, Blancaver (2015, p. 2) reported that teachers in the province of Masbate do not have the “basis for the correct usage and spelling of the words and tend to spell based on their own interpretation.” The development of

inexpensive and culturally appropriate instructional materials, such as working orthography and books written in local languages as well as training of teachers in mother tongue instruction, is considered a vital prerequisite to the use of mother tongue.

In response to this, Dr. Emilio B. Espinosa, Sr. Memorial State College of Agriculture and Technology (DEBESMCAT) hosted the 1st Minasbate Orthography Congress held on July 15–16, 2016 at Mobo, Masbate, which involved different stakeholders, such as faculty members of the higher education institution, basic education teachers, local government executives and members, members of the religious sector, university students, and media practitioners. The participants of the Congress established the Minasbate Language Society, which developed the first draft of Minasbate Working Orthography (MWO) based on the discussions in the Congress (Rosero & Balbuena, 2016).

From June 2018 to 2019, the Schools Division Office (SDO) of Masbate Province commenced the tryout of the Minasbate Working Orthography. They investigated the orthographic practice of the K to 3 teachers before and after they were oriented on the draft Minasbate Working Orthography. The study identified issues and concerns in the utilization of the draft MWO as well as identified points for improving the orthography.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

This study investigated the existing orthographic practice in Minasbate through the examination of the set of orthographic rules used in the Masbatenyo Bible (henceforth MB) and the actual usage of K to 3 teachers. This study argues that the development and further refinement

of the draft MWO must be informed by existing literature. In Minasbate, the most important written work is the Bible, which is consistently used by the members of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, the translated Bible was crafted by trained linguists and translators, and the set of writing conventions they used may provide practical information in the refinement of the MWO.

This study also drew upon the results of the study conducted by the researchers of SDO Masbate Province as a means of triangulation. It identified areas of consistency and gaps among the three sources of data to further inform the improvement and refinement of the draft MWO.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study is significant to learner, teachers, school leaders, parents, and other stakeholders as it aims to contribute to the refinement of the draft MWO. The MWO, once finalized, will guide the teachers in teaching mother tongue and will also serve as the basis for the Learning Resource Management System (LRMDS) in quality assuring learning materials in Minasbate developed by teachers for the Masbatenyo learners (Bermudo et al., 2018). The orthography will also guide the young learners in understanding the overlooked features of Minasbate language such as the glottal stop and the stress. It could also guide other users of the language, such as church members, local government units, media, and other stakeholders for academic, scientific, literary, and other practical purposes.

The draft MWO was informed by the existing literature and local studies in the language, as well as the knowledge and experiences of the users of the language. The inclusion of the MB in the discussion

of the development of the draft MWO may further provide additional information on how to improve the existing draft. The Bible is often translated into many languages and translators have to make certain rules or decisions in translating the original text into local languages. Thus, it is beneficial to know what rules were followed by the translators of MB and determine whether the MWO are consistent with these rules.

Furthermore, it is also essential to know the baseline knowledge and practice of the target users of the MWO, among which are the K to 3 teachers. This will provide information as to what kind of challenges and issue they might encounter in the use of the MWO. Finally, the feedback obtained from them may help inform the revision of the MWO before it is fully implemented.

1.3 Scope and Limitations

This study is limited to the analysis of the following orthographic issues: (a) the use of “o” and “u”; (b) the use of “i” and “e”; (c) symbolizing the glottal stop; (d) symbolizing stress or accent; (e) the use of hyphen; (f) the use of apostrophe; and (g) writing consonant clusters, including those that result from vowel dropping.

1.4 Review of Literature

The Minasbate language (ISO 639-3: msb), also known as Masbatenyo (or Masbateño), belongs to the Bisayan subgroup of Central Philippines, which is a member of the Western Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of the Austronesian language family. It is the statutory language of Masbate

province and spoken as a first language by around 470,000 speakers and as a second language by 250,000 speakers (Simons & Fennig, 2018). It is most closely related to Capiznon (with 79% lexical similarity) and Hiligaynon (76% lexical similarity), according to Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2018). Wolfenden (2001) identified three major dialects of Masbatenyo: the western dialect centered around the town of Balud on the western coast, which is close to Capiz; the southern dialect centered about the town of Cataingan in the southeastern part of Masbate; and the northern dialect covering the whole northern half of Masbate and centered on Masbate City. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the dialects identified by Wolfenden (2001).

Brillante and Hipolito (2013) posited that there is no “native” Masbatenyo, as evidenced by the influence of the four major languages (Bicolano, Waray, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon) on the language, although a “standard” Masbatenyo can be established on the basis of the presence of common forms and the frequency of usage of particular words.

Blancaver (2015) conducted a survey of the varieties used in different municipalities of Masbate. The study utilized a survey questionnaire that contained terminologies lifted from the Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) Tagalog Learner’s Material for Grade 3. The questionnaire was distributed to selected respondents in each barangay of all the municipalities in the province of Masbate. Participants were asked to provide the equivalent of the Tagalog words in their speech varieties (Blancaver, 2015). The study identified the variety/dialect used and the level of influence of the neighboring languages, as shown in Figure 2.

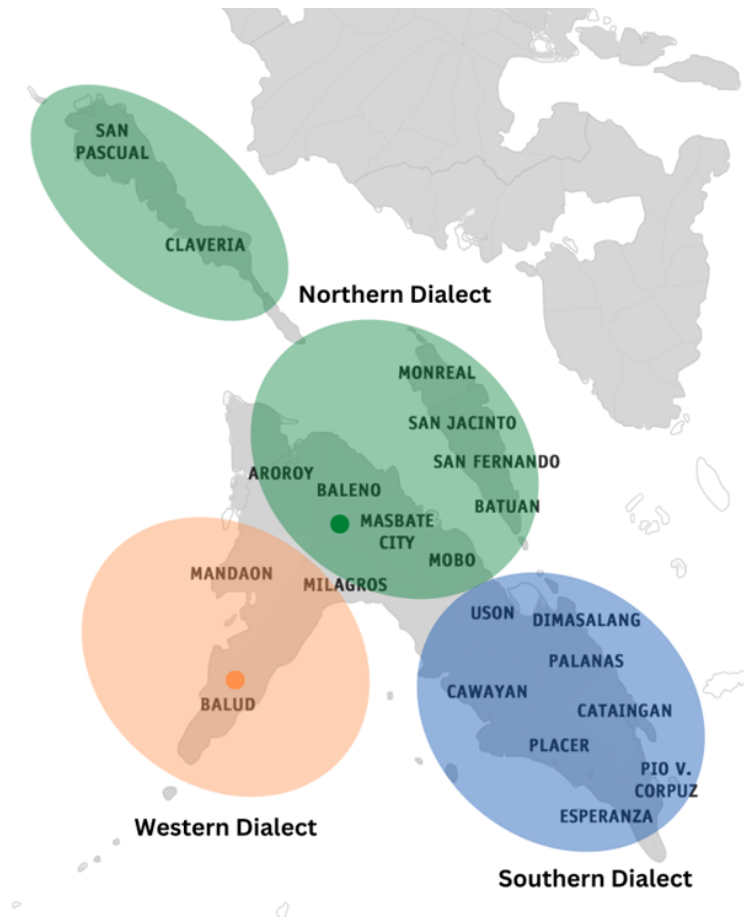


Figure 1. Major Dialects of Masbate (Wolfenden, 2001)

Figure 2 shows the varieties spoken in the municipalities of Masbate and the presence and influence of other languages in Masbate.

The findings of Blancaver (2015) supported Wolfenden (2001)'s claim. As shown in Figure 2, the speech variety spoken in the municipalities of Balud and Mandaon is highly influenced by Hiligaynon. The municipalities of the first and second congressional districts are speaking

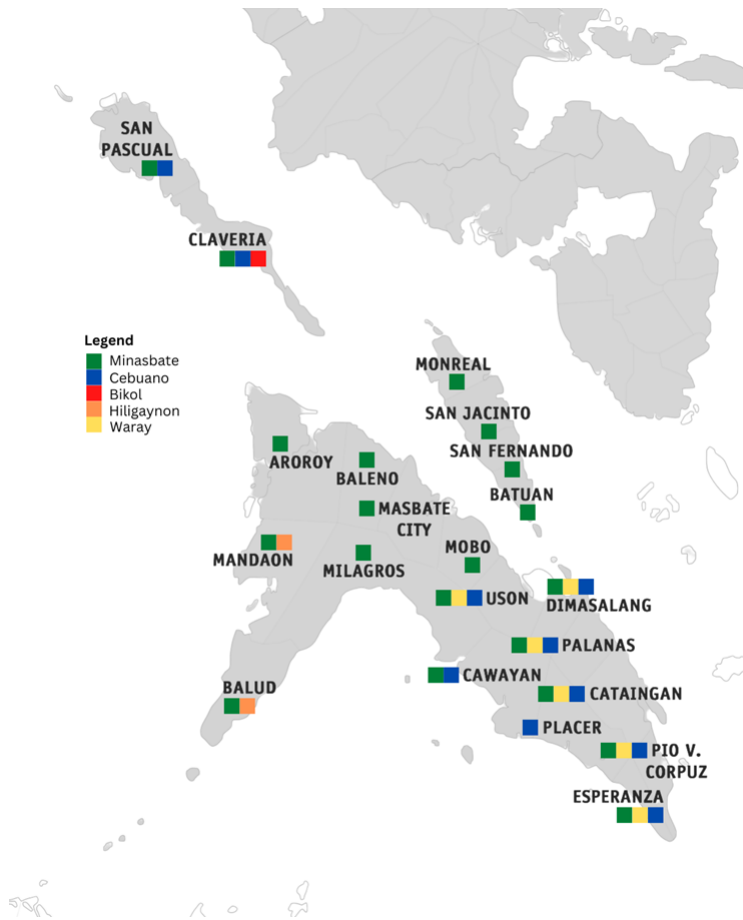


Figure 2. Speech Varieties in Masbate

Minasbate, with the exception of Claveria and San Pascual, which is influenced by Bikol. On the other hand, the variant spoken in the third congressional district is highly influenced by Waray and Cebuano.

Compared with its neighboring languages, Minasbate is not well-researched and lacks materials in its written form. Among its written literature is a translation of the New Testament of the Bible, *An Maayo*

na Barita Hali sa Dios (The New Testament in Masbatenyo) which was published by Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in 1954, 1967, 1972, and 1993. A more recent version of the Bible in the language was published by Wycliffe Translators, Inc. in 1993 (republished in 2015 and 2017) titled *An Maayo na Barita Hali sa Dios* (The Good News From God). This version of the Bible can be accessed through an application called YouVersion.

Another comprehensive work on the language is the *Masbatenyo-English Dictionary* published by Wolfenden (2001). The dictionary contains a preliminary description of the Minasbate grammar and includes a phonological sketch of Masbatenyo, which describes the 22 symbols in the practical Masbatenyo alphabet, the conventions and problems of writing consonants and vowels, vowel and consonant clusters, and loanwords. Wolfenden's sketch was used as a basis for the development of the working orthography.

Other written materials in the language include *Magbasa Kita San Masbatenyo 1-3* (1981) and *Mga Kanta sa Simbahan*.

An unpublished undergraduate thesis by Rosero (2011) described the salient points of the Minasbate grammar and was utilized to inform current works in Masbatenyo, e.g., the Minasbate Working Orthography. Rosero (2011) noted that the sound system of Minasbate shows that the language does not pose a lot of problems in establishing a working orthography. Its segmental sounds roughly correspond to what is represented in the present way of spelling using the Latin alphabet. Table 1 shows the Minasbate sounds and their orthographic representation.

In his sketch, Rosero (2011) identified the following orthographic issues in Minasbate: (a) the orthographic representation of glottal stop;

Table 1. Minasbate Sounds and Their Orthographic Representation

Phones																			
[p]	[t]	[k]	[b]	[d]	[g]	[ʔ]	[m]	[n]	[ŋ]	[l]	[r]	[s]	[h]	[ʃ]	[w]	[j]	[a]	[i]	[u]
p	b	k	b	d	g	-/`	m	n	ng	l	r	s	h	sy	w	y	a	i	u
Letters																			

(b) the sequence of “u” and “o” sounds; and (c) the case of borrowed words. Rosero (2011)’s grammatical sketch of Masbatenyo served as a guide in the development of the draft Minasbate Working Orthography.

The Minasbate language was included to represent the small language contexts in the first phase of the study of the Assessment, Curriculum and Technology Research Centre (ACTRC), through the partnership of the University of Melbourne and the University of the Philippines, in 2014. The study sought to identify the strategies that selected schools in different contexts use, as well as the challenges they face, aimed at providing advice and informing the Philippine education system through curriculum, teaching and assessment research. The ACTRC identified four language contexts in their study: (a) large language contexts, in which schools use an MT with more than 2 million speakers (excluding Tagalog), such as Cebuano, Iloko and Hiligaynon; (b) small language (SL) contexts, in which schools use an MT with fewer than 2 million speakers; (c) Tagalog contexts, in which schools use a Tagalog dialect (distinct from Filipino) as an MT; and (d) linguistically diverse (LD) contexts, where schools and community members speak a number of MTs (Williams et al., 2014).

Williams et al. (2014) found out that among the challenges faced by Masbatenyo teachers were the lack of standardization of the Mother

Tongue and the need for “school-level standardization based on spelling, pronunciation, and word choice of terms with several version.” Williams et al. (2014) also learned that there is a mismatch between pupils’ MT and the language used in learning materials. Among other issues identified in the small language contexts in the different dimensions are presented in Table 2.

Blancaver (2015), an education program supervisor of SDO Masbate Province, reported the following findings based on the collection and analysis of terminologies and their equivalents in Minasbate:

- Most of the words have their Minasbate equivalents.
- There are terminologies that do not have Minasbate equivalents. Masbatenyos preferred to use the Tagalog terms or their English equivalents.
- There are English terms that are spelled according to how they are pronounced by Masbatenyo speakers. Some of the spellings are retained.
- Terminologies with the least frequencies have many variants.
- The variants of Minasbate orthography are due to the different terms, the different affixes, the deletion of vowels, the change of vowels, the addition of suffixes, the placement of a hyphen, and use of English and Tagalog terms.

Blancaver (2015)’s study surveyed 194 speakers of Masbatenyo from the Masbate City and municipalities of Aroroy, Baleno, Milagros, and Mobo. The respondents were asked to identify the Masbatenyo equivalents of the Tagalog terms lifted from the Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education Tagalog Learner’s Material for Grade 3.

Table 2. Challenges of MTB-MLE Implementation by Dimension (Williams et al., 2014)

Language	Instruction	Materials	Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited use and value of the MT in areas outside the community • Lack of standardization of the MT • Some pupils' use of non-academic register of the MT • Preference for Filipino because of prestige or practicality • Parents' low proficiency in the MT • Perception that the MT is a less challenging language to learn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long MT words for math • Teachers' low proficiency in the MT • Parents' perception of children's difficulty in adjusting to the MT as MOI • Parents' perception that children lag behind in other languages • Pupils' perceived repetition of lessons in language classes • Parents' preference for English as MOI in math 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incomplete or late delivery of instructional materials (IMs) in MT • Limited use of technology • Time and expenses demanded by materials production • Mismatch between pupils' MT and language used in LMs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers' feeling of forced compliance with the policy • Limited program advocacy • Mismatched MOI and MT • Weak stakeholder support • Inconsistency between program policies and activities • Limited number of teachers sent to training

The study recommended the development of a standard Minabate orthography.

Balbuena and Escarlan (2016) also investigated the orthographic systems preferred by Masbatenyo Mother Tongue teachers in writing. Their study focused on the transcriptions of a Minasbate-based story entitled “Si Bayabas kag si Sapat.” Twenty-one Minasbate-speaking primary grade level teachers in Aroroy East District teaching Mother Tongue as a subject and medium of instruction were asked to transcribe a 224-word oral story in Minasbate. They identified and examined orthographic inconsistencies such as spelling, word breaks, and hyphenation. The study revealed that teachers tend to (a) use “o” and “u” and “i” and “e” interchangeably, and (b) separate the prefix and the root word using a hyphen or a space (Balbuena & Escarlan, 2016).

To address the challenges encountered by Masbatenyo teachers in teaching the Mother Tongue, particularly the absence of guidelines in spelling or representing Minasbate words, the members of the Minasbate Language Society, an organization composed of various stakeholders from Masbate established, developed a working orthography of the language.

Dekker and Young (2005, p. 193) stressed the need for a clear writing system for the development of instructional materials and literature to be successful. There is also need for collaboration among key stakeholders to develop an orthography based on “descriptive linguistic research and community input.”

Dr. Ricardo Nolasco of the UP Department of Linguistics (as cited in Hernandez, 2012) mentioned that an essential component of the Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) is the development of contextualized instructional materials. A vital prerequisite to this is a working orthography that consists of written symbols that

represent the important sound features of the language and the rules for using these symbols. Nolasco (as cited in Hernandez, 2012) also clarified that a working orthography is not the standardized version of the language but rather the embodiment of all spelling conventions actually used and decided on by the language user for official and academic purposes at a particular point in time. Furthermore, such orthography needs to be tested, revised, and retested in the “crucible of practice” (Nolasco, as cited in Hernandez, 2012) before the standardization and final decision can be made by the language community.

Meanwhile, Stone and Zamora (2010, p. 2) highlighted community involvement in the development of the orthography:

Orthography development is a participatory process. It should be designed, implemented, and managed by the language community. During the process, participants must make many decisions related to factors that affect orthography development.

As participants become more and more aware of the structures of the language, they will need to make orthography revisions. During the process of testing and revising, a developing orthography is classified according to the type of revisions it has undergone.

The following stages are proposed by Stone and Zamora (2010):

Guided by Nolasco (2013)’s “Some Writing Issues in the First Language,” the following questions were considered by the participants of the 1st Minasbate Working Orthography Congress:

- Is it easy to teach?

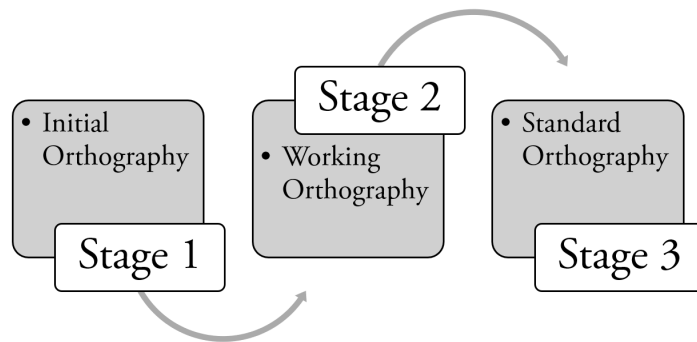


Figure 3. Stages of Orthography Development

- Is it easy to read?
- Is it easy to write?
- Can it be typed?
- Will words be too long?
- Will bridging to Tagalog be difficult?
- Do people like it?

The Congress also focused on the orthographic issues identified in the previous studies (Balbuena & Escarlan, 2016; Blancaver, 2015; Rosero, 2011), such as:

- use of “o” and “u”
- use of “i” and “e”
- symbolizing the off-glides (e.g., *sya*, *bwaya*)
- symbolizing the glottal stop and stress (– / ´ / ^ / `)
- representation of the juncture of “n” and “g” when they do not form “ng”
- readability of reduplication and the use of hyphen (e.g., *na-gakaraon*, *tag`urusad*, *buru-bugsay*)
- hyphenation

Assessing the Usability of the Draft MWO

- vowels that are dropped from words during affixation; also in fast speech, despite being normally written in full (*dakupon* > *dakpon*)
- contractions (e.g., *wara'n* vs. *waran*)
- pronoun attachment (e.g., *nagkaonako* vs. *nagkaon ako*)
- compound words

The Minasbate Language Society captured these concerns in the drafting of the Minasbate Working Orthography.

The draft Minasbate Working Orthography is an embodiment of all spelling conventions actually used and decided by language users for official and academic purposes. It includes a set of graphic symbols, as well as diacritics and punctuation marks, and describes the rule and conventions for using these symbols.

The draft MWO distinguishes between the native Minasbate orthography and the extended working orthography. The symbols used in the native Minasbate orthography are *Aa, Bb, Dd, Gg, Hh, Ii, Kk, Ll, Mm, Nn, NGng, Pp, Rr, Ss, Tt, Uu, Ww, Yy, `* (for glottal stop). To accommodate the inclusion of borrowed words in native Minasbate vocabulary, an extended orthography was also included in the MWO. The extended orthography consists of the native orthography and the borrowed letters, such as the vowels *Ee* and *Oo* and consonants *Cc, Ff, Jj, Ññ, Qq, Vv, Xx, Zz*.

The draft Minasbate Working Orthography (2016) also sets rules for the following: (a) the representation of the glottal stop; (b) symbolizing stress or accent; (c) the sequence of “u” and “o”; (d) the use of “i” and “e”; (e) the use of hyphen; (f) the representation of consonant clusters; and (g) writing borrowed words.

Cognizant of the need for the orthography to be tested, revised and retested in the “crucible of practice” (Nolasco, as cited in Hernandez, 2012), the SDO of Masbate Province investigated the actual practice of the K to 3 teachers, who are the implementers of MTB-MLE and target users of the draft MWO (Bermudo et al., 2018). The participants were tested before they were introduced to the draft MWO, and retested to investigate the effect of the MWO to the existing orthographic practice of teachers. Using a quasi-experimental research design, the researchers selected forty-nine K to 3 teachers through a quota sampling so that the areas where Minasbate dialects are used will be represented. These included the municipalities of Aroroy, Baleno, Milagros, Mobo, Dimasalang, Palanas, Cataingan, Claveria, Ticao island, and Masbate City. The researchers identified issues and concerns in the use of the draft MWO before and after they were introduced to the MWO. They also recommended points for improvement on the identified issues.

Figure 4 shows the steps that were undertaken in the development of the Minasbate Working Orthography, including the tryout in DepEd schools.

2 Research Methodology

The study employed descriptive research to see the alignment and consistency of Minasbate Working Orthography with the written literature in the language, particularly the Masbatenyo Bible *An Maayo na Barita Hali sa Dios*. Descriptive studies aim to “describe and interpret the

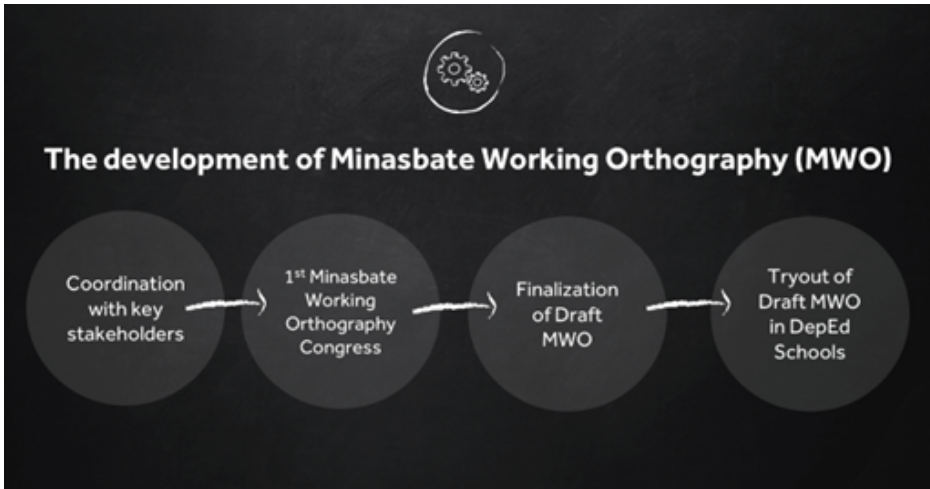


Figure 4. The Development of Minasbate Working Orthography

status of individuals, settings, conditions, or events” (Mertler, 2014, as cited in Mertler, 2016, p. 111).

This study examined the Wycliffe Translators, Inc. (1993) version, *An Maayo na Barita Hali sa Dios* (henceforth MB). The translation of the Bible is a historic milestone in the development of the written form of Minasbate. Furthermore, the Catholic Church in Masbate consistently uses Minasbate in its written form through the Bible and other religious writings. Lastly, there is a lack of written materials in the language and the Bible is one of the available texts that can be found online. This study used the version used by Wycliffe Translators, Inc. because of its availability. The Bible can be downloaded online and can also be accessed through a mobile application called YouVersion.

Specifically, the study utilized document analysis to “gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 1) on the orthographic practice in the MB. Drawing from the MB and

the actual usage of teachers, document analysis was employed to “seek convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources and methods” (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). Furthermore, the study investigated and identified the orthographic rules followed by translators in the MB in the following areas:

- use of “o” and “u”;
- use of “i” and “e”;
- symbolizing the glottal stop and stress/accent;
- use of the hyphen; and
- writing consonant clusters, including off-glides.

The study also included the results of the analysis of the actual usage of 49 Masbatenyo K to 3 teachers before and after they were introduced to the draft MWO (Bermudo et al., 2018). The study involved an experimental design where the participants were asked to write selected words, phrases, and sentences in Minasbate. A total of 49 K to 3 teachers were selected through of a purposive sampling technique employed considering the representation of all the municipalities in the entire Masbate province.

The study involved workshops which consisted of three exercises: (a) Exercise 1 included 40 items, which consists of unique root words; (b) Exercise 2 included 20 items, 10 of those were affixed forms and 10 were phrases/sentences; and (c) Exercise 3 comprised 11 sets of minimal pairs used in phrases/sentences. The spelling variants obtained from the participants were recorded and analyzed in terms of frequency. The exercises were done to identify potential areas of orthographic confusion and areas for improvement and to inform the revision of the draft Minasbate Working Orthography.

3 The Applicability of Minasbate Working Orthography

This section presents the rules set in the draft Minasbate Working Orthography and compared them with the orthographic practice in the Masbatenyo Bible and Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers before and after they were introduced to the draft MWO.

The Bible translated in Minasbate may provide additional information as to what set of orthographic rules were followed by the translators and whether these rules are consistent with the draft MWO that is supposed to be used by teachers, writers, and other stakeholders. It is important that the working orthography captures the existing orthographic practice of the users and speakers of the language.

Furthermore, the identified potential areas of orthographic confusion may inform the refinement of the MWO to make it applicable for educational, scientific, literary, and other purposes.

3.1 The Use of “o” and “u”

With regard to the use of “o” and “u”, the draft MWO states that:

- (a) If the word has only one back vowel sound that occurs in the ultimate position, “o” is used, e.g., *pitó* ‘seven,’ *lisód* ‘difficulty,’ *li`og* ‘neck,’ *didto* ‘there,’ *`amó* ‘anaphoric pronoun,’ *itóm* ‘black,’ *nano* ‘what,’ *ka`aralo* ‘shameful.’
- (b) If the word has more than two back vowels, “u” is used in the second or third to the last syllable and o is used in the final syllable, e.g., *kudkód* ‘grate,’ *bukbók* ‘weevil,’ *gu`ól* ‘fatigue,’ *pumuluyo`*

‘citizen, resident,’ *burubaruto* ‘toy boat,’ *uru`adlaw* ‘every day,’
alu`alo ‘shy,’ *tudló* ‘finger,’ *katuninungan* ‘tranquility.’

- (c) “o” is retained in writing in borrowed words, e.g., *ospital* ‘hospital,’
obra ‘work,’ *oro* ‘gold.’

Table 3 shows the comparative usage of “o” and “u” in the Masbatenyo Bible (Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc., 1993). Overall, “o” occurred more frequently than “u” with a ratio of 1:0.60.

Table 3. Comparison of Usage of “o” and “u” in the Masbatenyo Bible

Position	Use of o		Use of u		Ratio (o:u)
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Initial	711	1.34	1,336	31.30	1:1.88
Medial	33,405	58.31	32,929	96.09	1:0.99
Final	23,172	40.44	4	0.11	1:0.00
Total	57,288	100.00	34,269	100.00	1:0.60

As shown in Table 3, “o” occurred more in the final position (40.44%), compared to merely 1.34% in the initial position. This indicates that “o” is most likely to occur in the final position may suggest consistency with the MWO rules (a) and (b) that prescribes the use of “o” in the ultimate position or syllable.

When it occurred in the initial position, the “o” was used in borrowed words, e.g., *oportunidad* ‘opportunity,’ *opisyales* ‘officials,’ *otro* ‘again,’ *otoridad* ‘authority,’ *oras* ‘time; hour,’ which is consistent with MWO rule (c).

The “u”, on the other hand, occurred more in the initial position (31.30%) compared with the final position (0.11%). The “u” was

used scarcely in the final position (0.11%), and two instances of which involved proper names.

Looking into the sequence of “o” and “u”, there are 2,646 instances (7.72%) that “u” was written before “o” while “o” was only written before “u” once, i.e., *Talita koum*. This indicates that the MB is consistent with the draft MWO rule (a) on the use of “o” and “u”. In reduplicated words, the MB also followed the “u-o” sequence, e.g., *damu-damo* ‘many,’ *himu-himo* ‘made up,’ *bu-bo* ‘to pour,’ *luku-luko* ‘crazy.’

There were also 691 instances (2.01%) that “o” appeared consecutively in words such as *Ginoo* ‘Lord’ and *oo* ‘yes.’

This is also supported by the results of the pretest and posttest on the utilization of the draft MWO, as shown in Table 4. The highlighted terms are the MWO-prescribed spelling.

Table 4 shows pretest and posttest performance of K to 3 teachers in the utilization of the draft MWO. It can be observed that they improved after they were oriented on the draft MWO as evidenced by the fewer number of variants and high percentage of the MWO-prescribed spelling in terms of rule (a). For instance, in the pretest, *lisod* had 3 variants and 84% of teachers got it correct, *didto* had two variants with 96% correct responses, and *nano* had two variants with 80% correct responses. In the posttest, *biko* and *liko* had only two variants with both yielding 97% correct responses, while *li`og* yielded 100% correct responses.

In the case of rule (b), the test items had multiple variants and the percentage of the correct response is not that high. For instance, *kudkod* had 4 variants, *gu`ol* had 6, *burubaruto* had 14, and *alu`alo* had 7. This improved in the posttest as seen in the fewer number of variants, e.g.,

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
(b) If the word has more than two back vowels, “u” is used in the second or third to the last syllable and o is used in the final syllable, e.g., <i>kudkód</i> ‘grate,’ <i>bukbók</i> ‘weevil,’ <i>gu’ól</i> ‘fatigue,’ <i>pumuluyo</i> ‘citizen, resident,’ <i>burubaruto</i> ‘toy boat,’ <i>’uru’adlaw</i> ‘every day,’ <i>alu’alo</i> ‘shy,’ <i>tudló</i> ‘finger,’ <i>katuninungan</i> ‘tranquility.’	<i>kudkod</i> ‘grate’	kudkod	33	67	<i>kusmod</i> ‘frown’	kusmod	39	100
		kodkod	1	2				
		kud-kud	1	2				
		kudkud	14	29				
	<i>guol</i> ‘fatigue’	guol	41	84	<i>bukbok</i> ‘weevil’	bukbok	32	82
		gool	3	6		bokbok	5	13
		guul	2	4		bukbuk	2	5
		go-ol	1	2				
		goul	1	2				
		gu-ol	1	2				
	<i>burubaruto</i> ‘toy boat’	burubaruto	9	18	<i>natultulan</i> ‘found’	natultulan	33	85
		burubaroto	3	6		natultolan	6	15
		burobaroto	3	6				
		buru-baruto	8	16				
buru baruto		1	2					
buro baruto		1	2					
buro-baruto		2	4					

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		burobaruto	12	24				
		borobaroto	3	6				
		buru-baroto	1	2				
		boru baroto	1	2				
		buro-baruto	3	6				
		buro-baruto	1	2				
		burobaroto	1	2				
	<i>alualo</i>	alualo	0	0	<i>damu-damo</i>	damu`-damo	29	74
	'shy'	alo-alo	29	59	'many'	damo`-damo`	7	18
		alu-alu	3	6		damu-damu	3	8
		alo-alu	1	2				
		alu-alo	11	22				
		alu alo	1	2				
		alo alo	4	8				

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
(c) “o” is retained in writing in borrowed words, e.g., <i>ospital</i> ‘hospital,’ <i>obra</i> ‘work,’ <i>oro</i> ‘gold.’	<i>ospital</i>	ospital	49	100	<i>’obra</i>	obra	37	95
	‘hospital’				‘work’	ubra	2	5
	<i>oro</i>	oro	43	88	<i>’orgulyo</i>	orgulyo	22	56
	‘gold’	uro	4	8	‘pride’	urgolyo	7	18
						orgolyo	6	15
						urgulyo	4	10

kusmod with only 1, *bukbok* with 3, *natultulan* with 2, and *damu damo* with 3. The percentage of correct responses also increased.

Inconsistencies were observed in rule (c), where posttest results yielded lower scores compared with the pretest, as in the case of *orgulyo* with 4 variants and 56% correct responses.

3.2 The Use of “i” and “e”

In writing “i” and “e”, the draft MWO states that:

All Minasbate words with an “i” sound will be written as “i”, e.g., *kilmi* ‘dent,’ *di’in* ‘where,’ *didi* ‘here,’ *silhig* ‘broomstick,’ *ikog* ‘tail,’ *tindog* ‘stand,’ *ini* ‘this,’ *sin* ‘nominal marker.’ The “i” will also be used to represent the front vowel that is added in the original form of borrowed words, e.g., *istorya* for ‘storia,’ *isponsor* for ‘sponsor,’ *ismagol* for ‘smuggle.’ On the other hand, “e” will be retained in writing, e.g., *eroplano* ‘airplane,’ *ahente* ‘agent,’ *karné* ‘meat,’ *onse* ‘eleven,’ *dose* ‘twelve,’ *nwebe* ‘nine,’ *kwento* ‘story.’

Table 5. Comparison of Usage of “i” and “e” in the Masbatenyo Bible

Position	Use of i		Use of e		Ratio (i:e)
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Initial	10,571	13.54	633	5.87	1:0.06
Medial	51,877	66.42	9,113	84.56	1:0.17
Final	15,651	20.04	1,031	9.57	1:0.07
Total	78,099	100.00	10,777	100.00	1:0.14

The data shows that “i” was used overwhelmingly over “e” in the Masbatenyo Bible, with a ratio of 1:0.14. This may suggest that “i” is the most preferred letter to represent the “i” sound, which is consistent with MWO rule (a). Moreover, the occurrence of “e” is limited only to borrowed words. This indicates that the MB is consistent with the MWO-prescribed use of “e”, particularly rule (b).

The “e” occurred in a total of 10,777 instances, which were all borrowed words, e.g., *mensabe* ‘message,’ *espírito* ‘spirit,’ *gyera* ‘war,’ *karne* ‘meat,’ *pwede* ‘can,’ *pobre* ‘poor,’ *pirme* ‘always.’ This is consistent with MWO-prescribed use of “e”, particularly rule (b).

Furthermore, in borrowed words where a front vowel is inserted, “i” was used, e.g., *istorya*, *iristoryahan*. The “i” was also used in some borrowed words that begin in “e”, such as *ispada* ‘espada’, *insigida* ‘enseguida’, *istar* ‘estar’. This is consistent with MWO rule (c).

Table 6 shows the usage of “i” and “e” by Masbatenyo K to 3 teachers.

In the posttest, the K to 3 teachers showed improvement on their knowledge and understanding of the rules of the draft MWO on the use of “i” and “e”, specifically rule (a), as shown in the higher percentage of correct spelling and fewer number of variants. With the exception of *ipali*, which had two variants, there seems to be no confusion on the use of “i” to represent the “i” sound.

In the case of rule (b) however, some inconsistencies were found in spelling of the borrowed words with “e”. The use of “i” to represent the front vowel added to the original form of the borrowed, as in rule (c), still remains an area of confusion for teachers as they used “e” instead of “i”.

Table 6. Usage of “i” and “e” by Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers (Bermudo et al., 2018)

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total		
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%	
(a) All Minasbate words with an “i” sound will be written as “i”, e.g., <i>kilmi`</i> ‘dent,’ <i>di`in`</i> ‘where,’ <i>didi`</i> ‘here,’ <i>silhig`</i> ‘broomstick,’ <i>ikog`</i> ‘tail,’ <i>tindog`</i> ‘stand,’ <i>ini`</i> ‘this,’ <i>sin`</i> ‘nominal marker.’	<i>kilmi`</i>	kilmi	30	61	<i>ikid`</i>	ikid	39	100	
		kilme	16	33	<i>tiptoep`</i>				
		kil-me	1	2					
		kelmi	1	2					
		<i>silhig`</i>	silhig	49	100	<i>ligid`</i>	ligid	39	100
		‘broomstick’				‘roll over’			
		<i>tindog`</i>	tindog	49	100	<i>nagtiriwi`</i>	nagtiriwi`	39	100
		‘stand’				‘distorted’			
		<i>sin`</i>	sin	46	94	<i>ipali`</i>	ipali`	37	95
		‘nominal marker’	sen	3	6	‘turn the page over’	epali`	2	5

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
(b) “e” will be retained in writing of borrowed words, e.g., <i>eroplano</i> ‘airplane,’ <i>ahente</i> ‘agent,’ <i>karné</i> ‘meat,’ <i>onse</i> ‘eleven,’ <i>dose</i> ‘twelve,’ <i>nwebe</i> ‘nine,’ <i>kwento</i> ‘story.’	<i>ahente</i> ‘agent’	ahente	49	100	<i>ahente</i> ‘agent’	ahente	35	90
						ahinte	3	8
						ahenti	1	2
	<i>onse</i> ‘eleven’	onse	45	92	<i>onse</i> ‘eleven’	onse	38	97
		onsi	2	4		onsi	1	3
		unse	1	2				
	<i>nwebe</i> ‘nine’	nwebe	7	14	<i>dose</i> ‘twelve’	dose	39	100
		nuwebe	14	29				
		nuebe	19	39				
		nieve	1	2				
	nueve	4	8					
	nweve	1	2					
	nowebe	1	2					
	noybi	1	2					
	nuybe	2	4					

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
<i>espeho</i> 'mirror'	espeho		5	10	<i>karne</i>	karne	37	95
	espejo		3	6	'meat'	karni	2	5
	ispiho		11	22				
	speho		1	2				
	spiho		3	6				
	ispeho		3	6				
	espihu		1	2				
	espijo		1	2				
	espiho		21	43				
<i>ehemplo</i> 'example'	ehemplo		39	80	<i>ehemplo</i>	ehemplo	28	72
	ejemplo		1	2	'example'	ehimplo	4	10
	ehimplo		5	10		ihemplo	3	8
	ihemplo		4	8		ihimplo	4	10

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total		
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%	
(c) The “i” will also be used to represent the front vowel that is added in the original form of borrowed words, e.g., <i>istorya</i> for ‘storia’, <i>isponsor</i> for ‘sponsor’, <i>ismagol</i> for ‘smuggle’.	<i>istorya</i>	istorya	25	51	<i>ispat</i>	ispat	32	82	
	‘story’	esturya	3	6	‘spot’	espat	7	18	
		storya	1	2					
		estorya	20	41					
		<i>ismagol</i>	ismagol	22	45	<i>isponsor</i>	isponsor	22	56
	‘smuggle’	ismagul	2	4	‘sponsor’	esponsor	14	36	
		esmagol	18	37		sponsor	3	8	
		esmagul	2	4					
		smagol	1	2					
		smugol	1	2					
		smugol	1	2					
		smugle	1	2					
		smuggle	2	4					

3.3 Symbolizing the Glottal Stop

The MWO identified the glottal stop as a distinct consonant sound in Minasbate and part of its alphabet. The Congress adopted the grave accent (`) to represent the glottal stop.

- (a) The glottal stop may occur between a C and V, e.g., *pus`on* ‘abdomen,’ *bag`o* ‘new.’
- (b) It may also occur in the final position of the word, e.g., *túro`* ‘leak,’ *pakó`* ‘wing.’
- (c) The glottal may also occur between two V, e.g., *ti`il* ‘feet,’ *di`in* ‘where,’ *gu`ol* ‘fatigue.’
- (d) The glottal stop is also the obligatory onset of the written syllable that begins with a vowel. It will be symbolized when the word begins with a vowel, e.g., *`adlaw* ‘sun; day,’ *`ako* ‘I,’ *`amó* ‘monkey.’

The Masbatenyo Bible used the hyphen (-) to symbolize the glottal stop when it is found in the middle of words, particularly between a consonant and a vowel, as shown in the examples below:

gab-i ‘night,’ *naghaw-as* ‘come up out of,’ *pan-o* ‘how,’ *malaw-ay* ‘lewd,’ *gintin-o* ‘took notice of,’ *kamut-an* ‘to cherish,’ *bag-o* ‘new,’ *namumut-an* ‘cherish someone/something,’ *ginasul-ot* ‘wearing,’ *kaluy-i* ‘show mercy,’ *makasal-anon* ‘sinner,’ *sin-o* ‘who,’ *maluluy-on* ‘merciful,’ *pagakaluy-an* ‘be merciful of,’ *maghiram-os* ‘to wash the face,’ *kasal-an* ‘sin,’ *kasan-o* ‘when,’ *makit-an* ‘be seen,’ *kapaw-an* ‘clarity,’ *mawar-an* ‘lose something.’

The hyphen was also used when a prefix is attached to vowel-initial words. The following examples illustrate this:

gin-anak ‘to be given birth by someone,’ *pag-ako* ‘take responsibility,’ *pag-alang-alang* ‘hesitating,’ *nag-anak* ‘gave birth,’ *nag-arabot* ‘arrived,’ *nag-udong* ‘stopped,’ *nag-abot* ‘arrived,’ *nag-uli* ‘went home,’ *gin-agihan* ‘passed by,’ *gin-upod* ‘included,’ *mag-udong* ‘to stop,’ *nag-istar* ‘resided,’ *pag-abot* ‘arrival,’ *gin-uritan* ‘got scolded by someone,’ *nag-ayuno* ‘fasted,’ *mag-ataman* ‘took care of a pet/animal,’ *nag-arapiki* ‘approached,’ *ma-ingkod* ‘will sit,’ *nag-arapiki* ‘is/was approaching,’ *ma-asawa* ‘will get married,’ *pag-ato* ‘fighting,’ *pag-irog* ‘copying,’ *mag-ayuno* ‘fasting,’ *gin-unat* ‘straightened,’ *gin-ayo* ‘fixed,’ *gin-umaw* ‘praised,’ *tag-iya* ‘owner.’

On the other hand, the glottal stop is not represented when it occurs in the initial and final positions.

Initial: *ama* ‘father,’ *iya* ‘his/her,’ *iloy* ‘mother,’ *asawa* ‘spouse,’ *aram* ‘known,’ *ini* ‘this,’ *idto* ‘that,’ *agihan* ‘pathway,’ *agod* ‘so that,’ *igadabok* ‘firewood; fuel’

Middle: *nagkaigwa* ‘obtained something,’ *naaraman* ‘learned/knew something,’ *paagi* ‘way; means,’ *maraot* ‘ugly,’ *himuon* ‘do something,’ *sugua* ‘ask someone to do something’

Final: *dili* ‘no,’ *kalahi* ‘descendant,’ *hali* ‘from,’ *pakabati* ‘the way something was heard,’ *hadi* ‘kind,’ *nagabakho* ‘sobbing’

Overall, the orthographic practice in the MB is not consistent with the draft MWO. The draft MWO advocates for symbolizing of the glottal stop and introduces the use of a symbol that does not overlap with other symbols so that young learners will be able to grasp its concept properly. The glottal stop has always been overlooked in the past and considered a suprasegmental feature of a vowel. The presence of many symbols used to represent the glottal stop attests to this.

Table 7 shows the usage of the K to 3 teachers in the field in relation to the representation of the glottal stop.

Compared with the MWO-prescribed rule, the pretest results indicated that K to 3 teachers preferred not to symbolize the glottal stop, as evidenced by the higher percentage of spelling variants without glottal stop in all test items:

- *gisi* (59%) vs. *gisi`* (14%) for ‘torn’
- *gin-agihan* (80%) vs. *gin`agihan* (0%) for ‘passed by someone’
- *gintahi* (43%) vs. *gintahi`* (2%) for ‘sewed’
- *nagtiriwi* (76%) vs. *nagtiriwi`* (2%) for ‘distorted’
- *pagakadtuon* (55%) vs. *pagakadtu`on* (55%) for ‘will be visited’
- *tiil* (90%) vs. *ti`il* (0%) for ‘foot/feet’
- *diin* (57%) vs. *di`in* (0%) for ‘where’
- *ibubo* (43%) vs. *ibubo`* (0%) for ‘pour into something’

They also used different symbols, such as the hyphen and the apostrophe.

However, the posttest results showed improvement in the knowledge and use of glottal stop as more than 50% of the participants were able to use the proposed symbol, the grave accent, in most of the test items. It can also be observed that teachers were still confused with

Table 7. Usage of the Glottal Stop by Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers (Bermudo et al., 2018)

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
(a) The glottal stop may occur between a C and V, e.g., <i>pus'on</i> 'abdomen,' <i>bag'o</i> 'new.'	<i>gin`agihan</i>	gin`agihan	0	0	<i>sin`o</i>	sin`o	28	72
	'passed by someone'	gin-agihan	39	80	'who'	sin-o	6	15
		gin agihan	7	14		sin'o	4	10
		guin-agihan	1	2				
(b) The glottal stop may also occur in the final position of the word, e.g., <i>túro`</i> 'leak,' <i>pakó`</i> 'wing.'	<i>gisi`</i>	gisi`	7	14	<i>la`</i>	la`	23	59
	'torn'	gisi	29	59	'only'	la	11	28
		gisi	3	6		lá	4	10
		gise	3	6		`la	1	3
		gisi	3	6				
	<i>gintahi`</i>	gintahi`	1	2	<i>nadusmo`</i>	nadusmo`	24	62
	'sewed'	gin-tahi	16	33	'tripped on something'	nadusmò	4	10
		gintahi	3	6		nadusmó	2	5
		gintahi	21	43		nadúsmo	3	8

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest			Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		ginhatí	1	2		nadus'mo	1	3
		gintahe	1	2		na'dusmo	1	3
		guin-tahi	1	2				
		gìntahi	1	2				
		gin tahi	1	2				
		gintàhi	1	2				
		gin'tahi	1	2				
	<i>nagtiriwi`</i> 'distorted'	nagtiriwi`	1	2	<i>nagturo`</i> 'leaked'	nagturo`	29	74
		nagtiriwi	37	76		nagturo`	5	13
		nagteriwe	2	4		nagturu`	2	5
		nagtiriwî	1	2		nagtu'ro	2	5
		nag-tiriwi	5	10		nag`turo	1	3
		nagtiriwi	1	2				
		nag tiriwi	1	2				

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total		
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%	
(c) The glottal may also occur between two V, e.g., <i>ti`il</i> ‘feet,’ <i>di`in</i> ‘where,’ <i>gu`ol</i> ‘fatigue.’	<i>pagakadtu`on</i> ‘will be visited’	pagakadtu`on	1	2	<i>ma`isog</i>	ma`isog	17	44	
		pagakadtuon	27	55	‘brave’	ma`isog	3	8	
		pagakadtoon	4	8		maisug	2	5	
		paga-kadtuon	5	10		ma`isug	3	8	
		paga kadtoon	1	2		maisog	11	28	
		paga kadtuon	2	4		maisog`	1	3	
		pagakadtu-on	2	4		maiso`g	2	5	
		paga-kadtu-on	2	4					
		pagakadto-on	1	2					
	pagakadtuôn	1	2						
	<i>masakit`an`iya</i> <i>ti`il</i> ‘his foot is aching’	masakit`an`iya	0	0	<i>himu`a</i>	himu`a	20	51	
		ti`il			‘do this’	himua`	1	3	
		masakit an iya	44	90					
		tiil				himo`a	3	8	
masakit an iya tiil		1	2						

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		masakit an iya ti-il	2	4		himua	5	13
		masakit an iya teil	1	2		himua` himo`a himu-a	3 2 1	8 5 3
		<i>di`in banda may kilmi`?</i>	0	0	<i>pagaka`unon</i> 'will be eaten'	pagaka`unon	17	44
	'which part has a dent?'	di`in banda may kilmi?	3	6		pagaka`unon	1	3
		diin banda may kelmi?	1	2		pagakaonon	5	13
		diin banda may kilmi`?	2	4		pagakaunon	12	31
		diin banda may kilmi?	28	57		pagakaon`on	1	3

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		diin banda may kilmî?	3	6		pagaka`onon	3	8
		diin banda may kilme?	10	20				
		diin banda an kilmî?	1	2				
(d) The glottal stop is also the obligatory onset of the written syllable that begins with a vowel. It will be symbolized when the word begins with a vowel, e.g., `adlaw 'sun; day,' `ako 'I,' 'amó` 'monkey.'	`ibubo` 'pour into something'	`ibubo` ibubo ibubò ibùbo ibûbo ibu-bo ibobu ibubò ibobo i-bubo ibubu	0 21 3 2 2 4 3 2 1 1 6	0 43 6 4 4 8 6 4 2 2 12	`amo` 'monkey'	`amo` amu` amò `amu` amó amo` a`mo`	19 4 4 4 1 8 1	44 9 9 9 3 19 2

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest			Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		ibu bu	1	2				
		ibu'bu	1	2				
		ibûbô	1	2				

the orthographic rules involving the glottal stop as evidenced by the number of spelling variants and use of varying symbols.

The results of the posttest showed promise that given proper orientation and sufficient time to get used to the MWO rules on the glottal stop, K to 3 teachers would be able to follow the draft MWO rules. The participants of the Congress agreed that teachers should represent it first so that the learners would be able to grasp the concept of the glottal stop. The teacher can then gradually make it optional until it is no longer needed to be symbolized.

The Congress adopted the proposal of Rosero (2011) to use the grave accent (`) to represent the glottal stop in Minasbate. The preference to use the grave accent over other traditional symbols such as the circumflex (^) and the hyphen (–) solves certain problems: (a) the hyphen is used in other instances, e.g., reduplication, compound words, time expressions, among others; and (b) aesthetic concerns. This, however, might be a problem for teachers as the data has shown that they do not recognize the usage of such symbol. The apostrophe (') symbol may also be used as an alternative.

3.4 Symbolizing Stress or Accent

In the MWO, stress or accent is represented by the acute accent (´) above the vowel (V), e.g., *buháy* ‘alive’, *dakó* ‘big’, *ribók* ‘noise’.

- (a) A stressed non-final syllable is usually lengthened. For example, in the case of *búhay* ‘life’ versus *buháy* ‘alive’, the syllable *bú* in ‘life’ is longer than the syllable *bu* in ‘alive’.
- (b) It is possible to have more than one stress in a word, e.g., *hámbáw* ‘shallow,’ *ámamáknit* ‘weaver ant.’

- (c) The stress is symbolized by the acute accent (´) if it falls on the last syllable, e.g., *hubág* ‘swollen,’ *sulód* ‘inside.’ The stress may not be symbolized if it falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *gab`i* ‘night’, *kiray* ‘eyebrow’.

The MWO suggests that the stress be marked “in all the necessary places to assist the learners/users in learning the language.” The Masbatenyo Bible, however, did not represent stress or accent.

Table 8 shows some illustrative examples from the questionnaire regarding the practice of K to 3 teachers.

K to 3 teachers had difficulty in symbolizing stress in both the pretest and posttest. For instance, for the first rule, teachers came up with 12 versions of the spelling of *punó* ‘full’ in the pretest, 9 versions of *latá* ‘mushy’ and 13 versions of *paká* ‘frog’. Only 36% got the MWO-prescribed spelling of *punó* ‘full’ and *latá* ‘mushy,’ while only 28% got *paká* ‘frog’ correctly. In the posttest, although the number of variants in each item decreased, the percentage that got the MWO-prescribed version correctly also decreased. Only 26% got *sunóg* ‘burned’ and 28% got *lutó* ‘cooked’ in accordance with the MWO rule. The results also showed that teachers did not symbolize the concurrence of glottal stop and the stress, as seen in the words *lutó* ‘cooked,’ *paká* ‘frog,’ and *salá* ‘sin.’

In the pretest of orthographic practice of K to 3 teachers, majority of them preferred not to symbolize the stress that falls on the penultimate syllable, as seen in *puno* (45%), *lata* (60%), and *nagpaka* (26%). This somehow still follows the MWO rule as it does not strictly prescribe the symbol for stress on the penultimate syllable. After the orientation on the draft MWO, the percentage of teachers who were able to represent

Table 8. Representation of Stress by Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers (Bermudo et al., 2018)

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest			Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
The stress is symbolized by the acute accent (´) if it falls on the last syllable, e.g., <i>hubág</i> , <i>sulód</i> .	<i>punó` na `an</i>	punó	17	36	<i>`an sinapna`</i>	sunóg	10	26
	<i>balde</i>	punu`	1	2	<i>sunóg na</i>	sunòg	10	26
	‘the bucket is	puno	6	13	‘the rice is	sunog	7	18
	full’	puno’	1	2	already burnt’	súnog	7	18
		poño	1	2		sunog`	1	3
		puño	2	4		sùnóg	1	3
		pùno	2	4		su`nog	2	5
		punù	1	2				
		punô	6	13				
		punò	2	4				
		puño	3	6				
		punô	6	13				
		<i>latá` `an luto</i>	latá	17	36	<i>lutó` na `an surâ</i>	luto`	19
‘the rice is	lata	8	17	‘the viand is	luto	2	5	
mushy’	latâ	8	17	already cooked’	lutó	11	28	

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		lata'	1	2		lutò	3	8
		láta	2	4		lùtò	2	5
		latà	5	11		lúto	1	3
		lata	1	2		lùto	1	3
		latâ	5	11				
		laŕa	2	4				
	<i>nakakita` san</i>	paká	13	28	<i>wara`n kwarta</i>	salá	14	36
	<i>paká`</i>	paka	7	15	<i>kay may salá`</i>	salà	5	13
	'I saw a frog'	paka'	1	2	'he has no	sala`	15	38
		paŕa	4	9	money because	sála`	1	3
		páka	3	6	he made a	sàla	1	3
		paká	3	6	mistake'	sala	2	5
		pàka	1	2				
		pakâ	10	21				
		pakà	3	6				
		páka	1	2				
		pakâ	1	2				

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		paĶa	1	2				
		pa'ka	1	2				
The stress may not be symbolized if it falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g., <i>gab`i</i> ‘night’, <i>kiray</i> ‘eyebrow’.	<i>`an púno san sirigwelas</i> ‘the sirigwelas tree’	púno	8	17	<i>may súnog sa luyo</i>	súnog	14	36
		punó	5	11		sunog	14	36
		pûno	5	11	‘there’s a fire on the other side’	sùnog	6	15
		puno	21	45		sunóg	1	3
		pu'no	1	2		sunòg	1	3
		punò	4	9		sùnóg	1	3
		þuno	2	4		su'nog	1	3
		pùno	3	6				
	<i>may luto sa láta</i> ‘there’s cooked food in the can’	latá	7	15	<i>lutô na `an lúto</i>	lúto	17	44
		lata	30	64	‘the rice is already cooked’	luto	7	18
		la'ta	1	2		lùto	5	13
		lotó	1	2		lùto`	1	3
		láta	3	6		lutò	5	13
		latà	1	2		lutó	2	5
látà		1	2		lùtó	1	3	

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		láta	1	2		lutò	1	3
		lâta	2	4				
		làta	1	2				
		la'ta	1	2				
	<i>nagpáka an</i>	nagpáka	4	9	<i>damo'n kwarto</i>	sála	14	36
	<i>magmanghod</i>	nagpáka	6	13	<i>kag may sala</i>	sala	16	41
	'the siblings	nag paka	3	6	'there are many	sàla	6	15
	arm-wrestled'	nagpaka	12	26	rooms and a	salà	2	5
		nagpa'ka	2	4	living room'	salá	2	5
		nagpakà	2	4				
		nag-páka	1	2				
		nagpáka	2	4				
		nag-paka	2	4				
		nag paká	1	2				
		nagpaká	3	6				
		nag-þaka	0	0				
		nagpakâ	1	2				

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest			Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
				nagpàka			2	4
	nagpakā	1	2					
	nagpàka	2	4					
	nag-pakà	1	2					
	nag pakâ	1	2					
	nag paKa	1	2					
	nag paka	1	2					

the stress increased significantly. This is evident in *púno* (17%) versus *súnog* (36%), *láta* (2%) versus *lúto* (44%), and *nagpáka* (13%) versus *sála* (36%).

The results also showed that the teachers used different symbols to represent stress, such as ` , ' , and ^, which they put above the vowels and even consonants. Examples of these are *latà*, *nagpá'ka*, and *sàla*. Some also used uppercase letters to indicate stress as evident in the transcribed words, e.g., *paKá*, *laTá*.

3.5 The Use of Hyphen

The draft MWO proposed that the hyphen should be used in the following instances:

- reduplication of full words, e.g., *tawu-tawo* 'toy', *balay-balay* 'little house', *kalan-kalan* 'improvised stove';
- compound words, e.g., *tagúm-matá* 'conjunctivitis', *supa`-tulon* 'very easy', *atras-abante* 'indecisive';
- affixation of borrowed words that are proper names, e.g., *pa-LBC* 'will be sent via LBC,' *pa-Manila* 'going to Manila;'
- time expressions, e.g., *`alas-dose* 'twelve o'clock,' *`ala-una* 'one o'clock,' *`alas-diyes* 'ten o'clock; and
- expressions derived from Spanish that use *de-* affix which denotes 'through' or 'made through the process', e.g., *de-kolór* 'with color,' *de-kalidad* 'of quality.'

On the other hand, the hyphen may not be used in:

- partial reduplication of the word, e.g., *burubaruto* 'small boat', not **buru-baruto*; *burubugsay* 'small paddle', not **buru-bugsay*;

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- affixation of native root words, e.g., *ginaka`on* ‘being eaten’, not **gina-kaun*; *ginsusog* ‘adhered to’, not **gin-susog*;
- affixation of borrowed verbs and nouns, e.g., *magtext* ‘to text’, not **mag-text*; *pamerkado* ‘to the market’, not **pamerkado*; and
- linkers, e.g., *duha ka bilog* ‘two pieces’, not **duha ka-bilog*.

In the Masbatenyo Bible, the hyphen is used for the following instances:

- representation of the glottal stop, e.g., *gab-i* ‘night’, *kinab-an* ‘world’, *kasal-an* ‘sin’;
- reduplication, e.g., *manlain-lain* ‘different’, *pag-alang-alang* ‘hesitation’, *daku-dako* ‘very big’;
- affixation of borrowed words that are proper names, e.g., *taga-Galilea* ‘from Galilea’, *taga-Judea* ‘from Judea’, *dili-Judio* ‘non-Jew’, *Jesu-Cristo* ‘Jesus Christ’, *pa-Ehipto* ‘to Egypt’;
- word formation/affixation, e.g., *gin-giyahan* ‘guided’, *nag-arabot* ‘arrived’, *nag-upod* ‘went together’; and
- compound words, e.g., *pakita`n-tawo* ‘pretension’.

Table 9 shows the comparison between the draft MWO rules and the orthographic rules in the MB on the use of hyphen. As shown, the Masbatenyo Bible is consistent with the draft MWO on the use of items in almost all cases, except in the case of affixation of root words that begin with consonant, and time expressions.

Table 9. Comparison of the Orthographic Rules Between the Draft MWO and the MB (Bermudo et al., 2018)

	Draft MWO	Masbatenyo Bible	Remarks
Reduplication of full words	<i>tawu-tawo</i> ‘toy’ <i>balay-balay</i> ‘little house’ <i>kalan-kalan</i> ‘improvised stove’	<i>balay-balay</i> ‘every house’ <i>sinda-sinda</i> ‘them’ <i>daku-dako</i> ‘very big’	Consistent
Compound words	<i>tagúm-matá</i> ‘conjunctivitis’ <i>supá</i> - <i>tulon</i> ‘very easy’ <i>atras-abante</i> ‘indecisive’	<i>pakita’n-tawo</i> ‘pretention’	Consistent
Affixation of borrowed words that are proper names	<i>pa-LBC</i> ‘going to LBC’ <i>pa-Manila</i> ‘going to Manila’	<i>taga-Ehipto</i> ‘from Egypt’ <i>pa-Jerusalem</i> ‘going to Jerusalem’	Consistent
Time expressions	<i>’alas-dose</i> ‘twelve o’clock’ <i>’ala-una</i> ‘one o’clock’	<i>alas dose</i> ‘twelve o’clock’ <i>ala una</i> ‘one o’clock’	Inconsistent
Expressions derived from Spanish that use <i>de-</i> affix	<i>de-kolór</i> ‘with color’ <i>de-kalidad</i> ‘of quality’	—	Not applicable

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	Draft MWO	Masbatenyo Bible	Remarks
Partial reduplication of the word	<i>burubaruto</i> , not <i>*buru-baruto</i> ‘small boat’ <i>burubugsay</i> , not <i>*buru-bugsay</i> ‘small paddle’	<i>burubaryo</i> ‘every barrio’ <i>lurulungsod</i> ‘every city’	Consistent
Affixation of native root words that begin with consonant	<i>ginaka’on</i> , not <i>*gina-kaun</i> ‘being eaten’ <i>ginsusog</i> , not <i>*gin-susog</i> ‘adhered to’	<i>ginakaon</i> ‘being eaten’ <i>ginasabi</i> ‘being told’ <i>gin-galangan</i> ‘respected’ <i>gin-giyahan</i> ‘guided’	Inconsistent
Linkers	<i>duha ka bilog</i> , not <i>*duha ka-bilog</i> ‘two pieces’	<i>duha ka bilog</i> ‘two pieces’	Consistent

Before they were oriented on the draft MWO, teachers performed poorly on the use of hyphen, as shown in the low percentage of teachers who got the MWO-prescribed spelling correctly and the presence of multiple spelling variants. For instance, *tagum-mata* ‘conjunctivitis’ had eight versions and only 35% got it correctly. The other rules also yielded low percentage, such as *alas-dyis* ‘ten o’clock’ (2%), *de-kalidad* ‘of quality,’ (20%), *pa-Masbate* ‘going to Masbate’ (38%). The teacher’s performance increased after they were oriented on the draft MWO. More than 60% of teachers got the correct use of hyphen in all the rules, except for the expressions that use *de-* ‘made of’ affix. In both pretest and posttest results, teachers preferred not to use the hyphen.

Table 10. Usage of Hyphen by Masbateno K to 3 Teachers (Bermudo et al., 2018)

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest			Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
Compound words	<i>tagum-mata</i> 'conjunctivitis'	tagum-mata	17	35	<i>supa`-tulon</i>	supa-tulon	26	67
		tagum mata	1	2	'very easy'	supa tulon	11	28
		tagumata	16	33		sopa-tulon	2	5
		tagu-mata	8	16				
		tago-mata	2	4				
		tagom mata	1	2				
		tagu mata	1	2				
		tagomata	3	6				
Time expressions	<i>alas-dose</i> 'twelve o'clock'	alas-dose	24	49	<i>alas-tres</i>	alas-tres	32	82
		alas dose	25	51	'three o'clock'	alas tres	6	15
					alastres	1	3	
	<i>alas-dyis</i> 'ten o'clock'	alas-dyis	1	2	<i>alas-otso</i>	alas-otso	30	77
		alas dyes	17	35	'eight o'clock'	alas otso	5	12
		alas-dyes	9	18		alaso	1	3

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
		alas-diyes	6	12		alas-utso	2	5
		alas diyes	4	8		alas otsò	1	3
		alas dyis	2	4				
		alas dies	9	18				
Expressions derived from Spanish that use <i>de-</i> affix	<i>de-kalidad</i> 'of quality'	de-kalidad	10	20	<i>de-kalidad</i> 'of quality'	de-kalidad	16	41
		di-kalidad	1	2		dekalidad	18	46
		de kalidad	6	12		di-kalidad	1	3
		de kaledad	1	2		dikalidad	3	8
		dekalidad	24	49		de kalidad	1	3
		dikalidad	7	14				
Affixation of borrowed words that are proper names	<i>pa-Masbate siya</i> 'he is going to Masbate'	pa-Masbate s'ya	15	38	<i>pa-Gaisano</i> 'going to Gaisano'	pa-Gaisano	27	69
		pa Masbate siya	11	28		pa-Gaizano	1	3
		paMasbate sya	9	23		pa Gaisano	5	13
		pamasbate sya	4	10		paGaisano	3	8
						pa-gaisano	1	3

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest			Posttest				
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
					PaGa`isano	1	3	
					pa`gaisano	1	3	
Affixation of native root words	<i>gintahi`</i> 'sewed'	gintahi`	1	2	<i>ginpilit</i> 'stick something on something'	ginpilit	28	72
		gin-tahi	16	33		ginpilit	1	3
		gintahi	3	6		gin pilit	2	5
		gintahi	21	43		ginpilit`	1	3
		ginhatî	1	2		gin`pilit	6	15
		gintahe	1	2		ginpilit	1	3
		guin-tahi	1	2		ginpilit	1	3
		gintahi	1	2				
		gin tahi	1	2				
		gintàhi	1	2				
		gin'tahi	1	2				
	<i>gin`agihan</i> 'passed by'	gin`agihan	0	0	<i>pabukid</i> 'to the field'	pabukid	32	82
		gin-agihan	39	80		pa-bukid	6	15
		gin agihan	7	14		pa bukid	1	3
		guin-agihan	1	2				

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest				Posttest			
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total		Minasbate Term	Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%			<i>n</i>	%
'the dog is barking'	<i>nagausig`an`ido</i>	nagausig`an`ido	0	0	<i>nagturutalibod</i>	nagturutalibod	29	74
		naga-usig an ido	27	55	'went round and round'	nagturo talibod	1	3
		naga osig an ido	3	6		nagturu-talibod	1	3
		naga-usig an idò	3	6		nagturo`talibod	3	8
		nagausig an ido	7	14		nagturotalibod	1	3
		naga-usig an idò	1	2		nagturotalibod	3	8
		naga usig an ido	4	8		nagturutalibud	1	3
		naga usig an `ido	1	2				
		naga usig an idu	1	2				
		daga usig an ido	1	2				
Affixation of borrowed verbs and nouns	<i>magtext ka</i>	magtext ka	19	39	<i>magreply</i>	magreply	25	64
	'text me'	mag-teks ka	2	4	'to reply'	mag-reply	4	10
		magtxt ka	2	4		mag`reply	3	8
		mag-text ka	9	18		magreplay	4	10
		mag text ka	8	16		magre`ply	1	3
		mag teks ka	5	10		mag reply	2	5
		magtex ka	1	2				

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Pretest			Posttest		
	Minasbate Term	Response	Total	Minasbate Term	Response	Total
			<i>n</i> %			<i>n</i> %
		magteks ka	1	2		
		mag tex ka	1	2		

The results also showed that in the pretest, the teachers used the hyphen to separate the prefix and the root or stem, as shown in *gin-tahi* ‘sewed’ (33%), *gin-agihan* ‘passed by someone’ (80%), *naga-usig* ‘barking’ (55%). After the orientation on the draft MWO, the teachers did not use the hyphen in the affixation of Masbatenyo root words, as shown in *ginpilit* ‘stuck something on something’ (72%), *pabukid* ‘to the field’ (82%) and *nagturutalibod* ‘went round and round’ (74%). There was also an increase in the correct use, i.e., non-use, of the hyphen in the affixation of borrowed words, following the rules in the draft MWO.

3.6 The Use of Apostrophe

In the Masbatenyo Bible, the apostrophe symbol (’) is used in contracted words, e.g., *pakita’n-tawo* ‘pretentious,’ *baga’n* ‘like something’ (*baga* + *an*), *wara’n pulos* ‘nonsense’ (*wara* + *sin* + *pulos*).

In the MWO, it is specified that the apostrophe symbol (’) should be used in contracted words. In such cases, the particles *san* and *sin* are often contracted to the immediately preceding word if it ends in either a glottal or vowel sound. The unstressed vowel is also deleted in fast speech.

<i>wara`sin tawo</i>	>	<i>wara’n tawo</i>
‘no people’		
<i>darahán</i>	>	<i>dar’hán</i>
‘bring someone something’		
<i>nano man</i>	>	<i>na’mán</i>
‘whatever’		

K to 3 teachers, however, do not use apostrophe in writing contraction of words, as shown in Table 11. Teachers preferred not to use the apostrophe in the contracted form of *waran* (92%). The posttest, however, did not include the use of the apostrophe in contracted words so there was no data about how teachers' practice changed after the draft MWO was introduced to them.

Table 11. Usage of Apostrophe by Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers (Bermudo et al., 2018)

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Minasbate Term	Pretest		
		Response	Total	
			<i>n</i>	%
The apostrophe symbol (') should be used in contracted words.	<i>wará'n tawo</i>	wará'n tawo	1	2
	'no people'	waran tawo	45	92
		waran tawò	1	2
		waran tawu	1	2

3.7 Writing Borrowed Words

In writing borrowed words, it is proposed that equivalent sounds in the native Minasbate will be used to represent the borrowed sounds in common nouns. Table 12 lists the symbols to be used to represent the borrowed sounds.

The letters used in the Masbatenyo Bible are consistent with the draft MWO. Table 13 shows how the foreign letters were represented in both MWO and MB.

The testing of the draft Minasbate Working Orthography did not include the use of borrowed words.

Table 12. Proposed Minasbate Equivalentents of Foreign Letters (Rosero & Balbuena, 2016)

Foreign Letter	Minasbate Equivalent	Example
<i>c</i> , if followed by <i>o</i> , <i>u</i> , or <i>a</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kwarto</i> (for <i>cuarto</i>) <i>kwarta</i> (for <i>cuarta</i>)
<i>c</i> , if followed by <i>i</i> or <i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sentimo</i> (for <i>centimo</i>)
<i>ch</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tsokolate</i> (for <i>chocolate</i>)
<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>pyesta</i> (for <i>fiesta</i>)
<i>j</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Hulyo</i> (for <i>Julio</i>)
<i>ll</i>	<i>y</i> or <i>ly</i>	<i>lyabe</i> (for <i>llave</i>)
<i>ñ</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>Hunyo</i> (for <i>Juño</i>)
<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kwestyon</i> (for <i>question</i>)
<i>v</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>lyabe</i> (for <i>llave</i>)
<i>x</i>	<i>ks</i>	<i>taksi</i> (for <i>taxi</i>)
<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sigsag</i> (for <i>zigzag</i>)

3.8 Writing Consonant Clusters

The following clusters of consonants exist in both native and borrowed Minasbate words:

As shown in Table 14, a type of consonant cluster involves glides or semivowels. The so-called off-glides are formed when the vowel is dropped, forming a cluster of a consonant and a semivowel (*w/y*). Examples of this are *pw* (*pwerta*), *tw* (*twerka*), *by* (*Byernes*), and *sw* (*swerte*). The draft MWO adopts these consonant clusters without the vowel.

On the other hand, the consonant clusters used in the Masbatenyo Bible are listed in Table 15.

Consonant clusters consist of glides or semivowels are also found in the Masbatenyo Bible. The so-called off-glides are formed when the vowel is dropped, forming a cluster of a consonant and a semivowel

Table 13. Representation of Foreign Letters in MWO and MB

Foreign Letter	MWO	Example	MB	Example
<i>c</i> , if followed by <i>o</i> , <i>u</i> , or <i>a</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kwarto</i> (for <i>cuarto</i>) <i>kwarta</i> (for <i>cuarta</i>)	<i>k</i>	<i>kwarto</i> (for <i>cuarto</i>) <i>kwarta</i> (for <i>cuarta</i>)
<i>c</i> , if followed by <i>i</i> or <i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sentimo</i> (for <i>centimo</i>)	<i>s</i>	<i>sentimo</i> (for <i>centimo</i>)
<i>ch</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tsokolate</i> (for <i>chocolate</i>)	<i>ts</i>	<i>diretso</i> (for <i>derecho</i>) <i>kapritso</i> (for <i>capricho</i>)
<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>pyesta</i> (for <i>fiesta</i>)	<i>p</i>	<i>pamilya</i> (for <i>familia</i>)
<i>j</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Hulyo</i> (for <i>Julio</i>)	<i>h</i>	<i>huwes</i> (for <i>juez</i>)
<i>ll</i>	<i>y</i> or <i>ly</i>	<i>lyabe</i> (for <i>llave</i>)	<i>y</i> or <i>ly</i>	<i>lyabi</i> (for <i>llave</i>) <i>milyon</i> (for <i>millon</i>)
<i>ñ</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>Hunyo</i> (for <i>Juño</i>)	<i>ny</i>	<i>demonyo</i> (for <i>demonio</i>)
<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kwestyon</i> (for <i>question</i>)	<i>k</i>	no example found
<i>v</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>lyabe</i> (for <i>llave</i>)	<i>b</i>	<i>lyabi</i> (for <i>llave</i>)
<i>x</i>	<i>ks</i>	<i>taksi</i> (for <i>taxi</i>)	<i>ks</i>	<i>boksingero</i> (for <i>boxer</i>)
<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sigsag</i> (for <i>zigzag</i>)	<i>s</i>	<i>kasal</i> (for <i>cazar</i>)

Table 14. Consonant Clusters in the Draft MWO

Consonant Cluster	Example	Consonant Cluster	Example
pl	<i>plato</i> 'plate'	bw	<i>bweno</i> 'well'
pr	<i>prito</i> 'fried'	by	<i>Byernes</i> 'Friday'
pw	<i>pwerta</i> 'door'	dr	<i>drama</i> 'drama'
py	<i>pyano</i> 'piano'	dw	<i>dwende</i> 'dwarf'
tr	<i>trapo</i> 'rag'	dy	<i>dyis</i> 'ten'
tw	<i>twerka</i> 'screw'	gl	<i>glorya</i> 'glory'
ty	<i>tyan</i> 'stomach'	gr	<i>grasya</i> 'grace'
kl	<i>klaro</i> 'clear'	gw	<i>gwapo</i> 'handsome'
kr	<i>krus</i> 'cross'	my	<i>myintrás</i> 'while'
kw	<i>kwento</i> 'story'	sw	<i>swerte</i> 'luck'
bl	<i>blangko</i> 'blank'	sy	<i>sya</i> 'him/her'
br	<i>braso</i> 'arm'	hw	<i>Hwebes</i> 'Thursday'

Table 15. Consonant Clusters in the Masbatenyo Bible

Consonant Cluster	Examples
pl	<i>templo</i> 'temple,' <i>plata</i> 'silver'
pr	<i>syimpre</i> 'of course,' <i>pinapriso</i> 'jailed,' <i>properta</i> 'in haste'
tr	<i>traynta</i> 'thirty,' <i>maestro</i> 'teacher,' <i>trabahador</i> 'worker'
kl	<i>klase</i> 'class,' <i>reklamo</i> 'complaint,' <i>klarado</i> 'cleared,'
kr	<i>sikreto</i> 'secret,' <i>Kristyano</i> 'Christian'
bl	<i>obligasyon</i> 'obligation,' <i>dyablo</i> 'devil'
br	<i>libre</i> 'free,' <i>sobra</i> 'excess,' <i>libro</i> 'book'
dr	<i>Pedro, Andres, Cedron</i>
gl	<i>gloryoso</i> 'glorious,' <i>glorya</i> 'glory'
gr	<i>grasya</i> 'grace,' <i>peligro</i> 'danger,' <i>grabe</i> 'severe'

Table 16. Occurrence of Consonant Clusters with Semivowels in the Masbatenyo Bible

Consonant Cluster	Without Vowel			With Vowel			Total	
	Examples	<i>n</i>	%	Examples	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
p-w	<i>kapwa</i> ‘other people’	284	100.00	no data	0	0.00	284	100
p-y	<i>impyerno</i> ‘hell’	67	93.06	<i>ispiya</i> ‘spy’	5	6.94	72	100
	<i>pyista</i> ‘festival’			<i>piyar</i> ‘entrust’				
t-w	<i>twalya</i> ‘towel’	5	100.00	no data	0	0.00	5	100
	<i>istatwa</i> ‘statue’							
t-y	<i>patyon</i> ‘to be killed’	55	77.46	<i>tiyan</i> ‘stomach’	16	22.54	71	100
	<i>pantyon</i> ‘tomb’							
	<i>intyindiha</i>							
	‘understand’							
	<i>Kristyano</i> ‘Christian’							
k-w	<i>kwarto</i> ‘room’	165	100.00	no data	0	0.00	165	100
	<i>kwarta</i> ‘money’							
	<i>kweba</i> ‘cave’							
	<i>Paskwa</i> ‘Passover’							
b-w	no data	0	0.00	<i>buwis</i> ‘tax’	147	0.00	147	100
				<i>buwa</i> ‘lie’				

Consonant Cluster	Without Vowel			With Vowel			Total	
	Examples	<i>n</i>	%	Examples	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
b-y	no data	0	0.00	<i>biyo</i> ‘separate’ <i>biyuda</i> ‘widow’ <i>biyabe</i> ‘travel’	113	100.00	113	100
d-y	<i>guardya</i> ‘guard’ <i>dyutay</i> ‘small’ <i>dyablo</i> ‘devil’ <i>pangadyi</i> ‘prayer’	287	100.00	no data	0	0.00	287	100
g-w	<i>guardya</i> ‘guard’ <i>lenggwahi</i> ‘language’	44	100.00	no data	0	0.00	44	100
m-y	<i>myintras</i> ‘while’ <i>myimbro</i> ‘member’ <i>mamyista</i> ‘will go to the festival’	192	100.00	no data	0	0.00	192	100
s-w	<i>swerte</i> ‘luck; lucky’ <i>sweldo</i> ‘salary’	8	100.00	no data	0	0.00	8	100
s-y	<i>disyerto</i> ‘desert’ <i>nasyon</i> ‘nation’ <i>probinsya</i> ‘province’	675	22.28	<i>siya</i> ‘his/her’	2,354	77.72	3,029	100
h-w	no data	0	0.00	<i>huwes</i> ‘judge’	12	100.00	12	100

(*w/y*). It can be written in two ways: (a) with a vowel in between consonants; or (b) without a vowel.

As shown in Table 16, clusters involving semivowels are generally written without a vowel between consonants. However, there are a few exceptions, such as *p-y*, *t-y*, *b-w*, *b-y*, *s-y* and *h-w* clusters where vowels are written between consonants.

Table 17. Usage of Consonant Clusters Without Semivowels by Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers (Bermudo et al., 2018)

Pretest			
Minasbate Term	Response	Frequency	Percentage
<i>plato</i> 'plate'	<i>plato</i>	49	100
<i>trapo</i> 'rag'	<i>trapo</i>	48	98
	<i>trapu</i>	1	2
<i>krus</i> 'cross'	<i>krus</i>	49	100
<i>blangko</i> 'blank'	<i>blangko</i>	29	59
	<i>blanko</i>	20	41
<i>drama</i> 'drama'	<i>drama</i>	49	100
<i>grasya</i> 'grace'	<i>grasya</i>	49	100

The teachers have no issues in writing consonant clusters that do not involve semivowels, even before they were introduced to the draft MWO, as shown in Table 17.

However, the confusion seems to have stemmed from clusters that have semivowels, as evident in several spelling variants that they have written.

The teachers still preferred to use the original version of the words that involved off-glides, as shown in the higher percentage of *bueno* (61%), *mientras* (51%), and *siya* (45%).

Table 18. Usage of Consonant Clusters With Semivowels by Masbatenyo K to 3 Teachers (Bermudo et al., 2018)

Pretest			
Minasbate Term	Response	Frequency	Percentage
<i>pwerta</i> 'door'	<i>pwerta</i>	29	59
	<i>puwerta</i>	7	14
	<i>pwuerta</i>	1	2
	<i>puerta</i>	8	16
<i>bweno</i> 'ten'	<i>bweno</i>	12	24
	<i>buweno</i>	6	12
	<i>vueno</i>	1	2
<i>dyis</i> 'ten'	<i>bueno</i>	30	61
	<i>dyis</i>	2	4
	<i>diyes</i>	10	20
	<i>dyes</i>	26	53
<i>myintras</i> 'while'	<i>dies</i>	11	22
	<i>myintras</i>	0	0
	<i>myentras</i>	11	22
	<i>mientras</i>	25	51
	<i>mintras</i>	2	4
	<i>mentras</i>	1	2
<i>sya</i> 'his/her'	<i>meintras</i>	1	2
	<i>miyentras</i>	9	18
	<i>sya</i>	20	41
	<i>s'ya</i>	4	8
	<i>sia</i>	1	2
	<i>sha</i>	1	2
	<i>siya</i>	22	45

The posttest conducted by Bermudo et al. (2018) did not include the writing of consonant clusters so there was no data on how teachers' practice changed after the draft MWO was introduced to them.

4 Summary of Findings

Table 19 shows the summary of findings of this study. As shown, the rules set in the draft MWO are found consistent with the writing conventions in the Masbatenyo Bible and the actual usage of teachers, in the following areas:

- use of “o” and “u” rules (a), (b), and (c);
- use of “i” and “e” rules (a), (b), and (c);
- use of the hyphen, specifically in reduplication, affixation of borrowed words, and compound words;
- use of apostrophe in contracted words;
- writing borrowed words using equivalent sounds to represent borrowed sounds; and
- writing consonant clusters.

On the other hand, in the following areas, the draft MWO rules are inconsistent with the Masbatenyo Bible and the actual usage of teachers:

- use of “o” and “u” rule (b), specifically in the case of reduplicated words;
- symbolizing the glottal stop;
- use of hyphen, specifically in the case of time expressions and affixation; and
- writing consonant clusters involving off-glides.

Compared with the actual practice of teachers after they were introduced to the draft MWO, the following remain areas of confusion, which may be revisited in the refinement of the draft MWO:

- use of “o” and “u” in reduplicated words or more than two syllables;
- use of “i” and “e” in borrowed words;

Table 19. Summary of Findings

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Comparison with MB	Comparison with Teachers' Actual Usage	Possible Areas of Confusion
The use of “o” and “u”			
(a) If the word has only one back vowel sound that occurs in the ultimate position, “o” is used, e.g., <i>pitó, lisód, li`og, didto, `amó, itóm, nano, ka`aralo</i> .	Consistent	Fairly consistent	Inconsistencies were still observed in: rule (b), specifically in the case of reduplicated words; and rule (c), especially when it involved a less frequently used word.
(b) If the word has more than two back vowels, “u” is used in the second or third to the last syllable and “o” is used in the final syllable, e.g., <i>kudkód, bukbók, gu`ól, pumuluyo`, burubaruto, `uru`adlaw, alu`alo, tudló`, katuninungan</i> .	Consistent	Consistent	
(c) “o” is retained in writing in borrowed words, e.g., <i>ospital, obra, oro</i> .	Consistent	Fairly consistent	

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Comparison with MB	Comparison with Teachers' Actual Usage	Possible Areas of Confusion
The use of “i” and “e”			
(a) All Minasbaté words with an “i” sound will be written as “i”, e.g., <i>kilmi</i> , <i>di`in</i> , <i>didi</i> , <i>silbig</i> , <i>ikog</i> , <i>tindog</i> , <i>ini</i> , <i>sin</i> .	Consistent	Consistent	Some teachers used “i” and “e” interchangeably; they used “i” in writing borrowed words that involved “e” (rule b) and used “e” in place of “i” in borrowed words where the front vowel is added to the beginning.
(b) “e” will be retained in writing of borrowed words, e.g., <i>eroplano</i> , <i>ahente</i> , <i>karné</i> , <i>onse</i> , <i>dose</i> , <i>nwebe</i> , <i>kwento</i> .	Consistent	Fairly consistent	
(c) The “i” will also be used to represent the front vowel that is added in the original form of borrowed words, e.g., <i>istorya</i> for ‘storia’, <i>isponsor</i> for ‘sponsor’, <i>ismagol</i> for ‘smuggle’.	Consistent	Fairly consistent	
Symbolizing the glottal stop			
(a) The glottal stop may occur between a C and V, e.g., <i>pus`on</i> , <i>bag`o</i> .	Consistent (but use the hyphen)	Fairly consistent	K to 3 teachers preferred not to symbolize the glottal stop and still used different symbols to represent it.
(b) It may also occur in the final position of the word, e.g., <i>túro`</i> , <i>pakó`</i> .	Inconsistent	Fairly consistent	

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Comparison with MB	Comparison with Teachers' Actual Usage	Possible Areas of Confusion
(c) The glottal may also occur between two V, e.g., <i>ti`il, di`in, gu`ol</i> .	Inconsistent	Inconsistent	
(d) The glottal stop is also the obligatory onset of the written syllable that begins with a vowel. It will be symbolized when the word begins with a vowel, e.g., <i>`adlaw, `ako, `amó`</i>	Inconsistent	Inconsistent	
Symbolizing stress or accent			
In the MWO, stress or accent is represented by the acute accent (´) above the vowel V, e.g., <i>buháy</i> 'alive', <i>dakó</i> 'big', <i>ribók</i> 'noise'.	Inconsistent	Inconsistent	Teachers represented the stress differently. They used various symbols to indicate stress, which included use of ` , ´ , and ^ , use of capital letters (e.g., <i>paĶa, laĴa</i>), and use of apostrophe before or after the stressed syllable.

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Comparison with MB	Comparison with Teachers' Actual Usage	Possible Areas of Confusion
The stress is symbolized by the acute accent (´) if it falls on the last syllable, e.g., <i>hubág</i> , <i>sulód</i> . The stress may not be symbolized if it falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g., <i>gab`i</i> 'night', <i>kiray</i> 'eyebrow'.	Inconsistent	Inconsistent	Majority of K to 3 teachers preferred not to symbolize the stress that falls on the penultimate syllable.
The use of hyphen			
Reduplication of full words	Consistent	Fairly consistent	Teachers still used the hyphen to indicate the glottal stop and to separate the root word/stem from the prefix.
Compound words	Consistent	Consistent	
Affixation of borrowed words that are proper names	Consistent	Fairly consistent	
Time expressions	Inconsistent	Consistent	
Expressions derived from Spanish that use <i>de-</i> affix	Not applicable	Fairly consistent	
Partial reduplication of the word	Consistent	Inconsistent	
Affixation of native root words that begin with consonant	Inconsistent	Fairly consistent	

Minasbate Working Orthographic Rules	Comparison with MB	Comparison with Teachers' Actual Usage	Possible Areas of Confusion
Linkers	Consistent	Not included in the study	
The use of apostrophe			
In the MWO, it is specified that the apostrophe symbol (') be used in the contracted words.	Consistent	Inconsistent	Teachers preferred not to use the apostrophe in contracted words.
Writing borrowed words			
In writing borrowed words, it is proposed that equivalent sounds in the native Minasbaté will be used to represent the borrowed sounds	Consistent	Not included in the study	The pretesting of the draft Minasbate Working Orthography did not include the use of borrowed words.
Writing consonant clusters			
Consonant clusters involving off-glides are without the vowel.	Consistent	Inconsistent	Teachers were not very consistent in writing off-glides, as evident in the number of spelling variants that they have written.

- symbolizing the glottal stop;
- symbolizing stress or accent;
- use of hyphen in affixation; and
- writing off-glides.

The use of apostrophe in writing contracted words should also be further discussed and tested as the pretesting only had one item in the questionnaire. There is also a need to include the writing of borrowed words and correspondences between foreign letters and native Minasbate words.

It can be inferred from the results of the pretest and posttest on the utilization of the draft MWO that teachers were able to follow the rules after the orientation. This study concurs with the researchers of SDO Masbate Province that teachers should be given time to familiarize themselves with the draft MWO and to use it in teaching. Over time, the teachers will be able to demonstrate understanding and knowledge on the use of the draft MWO.

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

As shown in this study, the draft Minasbate Working Orthography is generally consistent with the Masbatenyo Bible. It is recommended that other literature as well as discourse media in the language be also examined to obtain “a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility” (Eisner, 1991, p. 110, as cited in Bowen, 2009). In 2021, the DepEd Region 5 received learning resources donated by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for students from K to 3. Over 44,000 supplementary materials, including 67 Minasbate language de-

codable and leveled reader books, were developed in an adaptation project that involved Masbatenyo teachers, writers, illustrators, and quality evaluators. These materials should also be included in further studies to examine the orthographic practice of teachers.

The Division of Masbate Province should be commended for their initiatives on the development and refinement of the draft Minasbate Working Orthography. It is recommended that in the subsequent try-outs and workshops, various key stakeholders, e.g., writers, government officials, should be involved and tested for their orthographic practice. The utilization of learners of the MWO, including the feasibility of learning and symbolizing the concepts of glottal stop and stress, should also be considered.

Further, it is recommended that the MWO be also tested in terms of its speech community's access to typographical and/or word-processing technologies. The speech community should be able to produce instructional materials in the language using the technology available to them, e.g., digital or print. The introduction of the grave accent (`) as a symbol for the glottal stop might be a challenge.

There is a need to determine the influence of the neighboring languages and how the MWO corresponds to the existing orthographies of these languages, e.g., Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray and Bikol. The transfer back and forth between Minasbate and these languages should be made possible when using the MWO.

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One Hundred Years of Scholarship on Philippine Linguistic Diversity: A Brief History of The Archive¹

Vincent Christopher A. Santiago

1 Introduction

The Archive: A Journal Dedicated to the Study of Philippine Languages and Dialects is the official publication of the Department of Linguistics, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. Under this current title, it was conceptualized as the main platform for research generated by the Diliman Linguistics Circle (Reid, 1981)—later known as the Philippine Linguistics Circle—spearheaded by three prominent Filipino linguists: the late professors Ernesto A. Constantino (1930–2016), Ernesto H. Cubar (1929–2021), and Consuelo J. Paz (1933–2022). These three scholars also served as

¹An earlier version of this essay was read by then interim editor Aldrin P. Lee at *The Archive* relaunch held on 25 August 2018, Saturday at the 2nd Floor Lobby, Palma Hall, University of the Philippines Diliman.

members of the editorial committee of the journal through the 1970s up to the 1990s.

What follows are some milestones in the history and development of the journal.

2 Volume 1 (New Series), No. 1 (June 1970), Edited by Ernesto A. Constantino, Ernesto H. Cubar, and Consuelo J. Paz

This volume was dedicated to the memory of Otto Johns Scheerer (1858–1938), one of the founders and heads of the Department of Linguistics (then named the Department of Oriental Languages) in the University of the Philippines. The dedication page indicates that Scheerer was “Founder and First Editor of This Journal”, suggesting that the 1970s *Archive* was already a revival in itself.

The Foreword to this first volume of the “New Series,” written by Cecilio Lopez, lists some of the papers they had in their files; papers that were salvaged from the destruction wrought by the Second World War. They are given below, as they were cited in the text:

- Consuelo Jimenez. 1924. On the influence of English on the Tagalog language. Paper No. 3. 13 p.
- Otto Scheerer and Eusebio Pablo. 1925–1926. The Use of *ti* and *iti* in Iloko Compared with Tagalog and Pangasinan Equivalents. Paper No. 4. 28 p.
- Felizberto B. Viray. 1926–1927. The Sounds and Sound Symbols of the Pangasinan Language. Paper No. 5. 20 p.

- Carlos O. Brandes and Otto Scheerer. 1927–1928. On Sandhi in the Ibanag Language. Paper No. 6. 42 p.
- Felizberto B. Viray and Otto Scheerer. 1929. The Sambali Dialect of Bolinao. Paper No. 7. 34 p.

On the basis of recoverable and extant documents, we can trace the journal's roots to as early as the 1920s. With the original title *The Archive: A Collection of Papers Pertaining to Philippine Linguistics*, the “Old Series” consisted of papers written by the students of Scheerer considered worthy of wider dissemination. These were put out in pamphlet form with the twin motivations of incentivizing good research among his students and fostering scholarship on the Philippine languages within the wider “Indonesian” languages.²

It is also in this volume that we have the article by Cecilio Lopez *Some New Morphemes in Philippine Languages*, appearing for the first time, and an article by Videa de Guzman *Syntactic Comparison of Tagalog, Maori, and Chamorro*.

3 Volume 2, No. 1 (1971), Edited by Ernesto A. Constantino, Ernesto H. Cubar, and Consuelo J. Paz

This volume of the journal featured contributions by linguists from outside the country: Nicole Revel Macdonald's *Étude préliminaire de quelques aspects de syntaxe iraya* [Preliminary Study of Some Aspects of

²The name *Austronesian* would only be introduced by Wilhelm Schmidt in 1899 to refer to the wider language family.

the Syntax of Iraya] and J. T. Lyman's *Hierarchical Phonological Features of Cotabato Manobo*.

It also featured a book review from Cecilio Lopez on Otto Karow and Irene Hilgers-Hesse's *Indonesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Kamus Bahasa Indonesia Djerman) [Indonesian-German Dictionary].

4 Publication Ten (1994)

This volume of the journal features some classics in Philippine dialectology written by Prof. Consuelo J. Paz. *Isang Preliminaryong Pag-aaral ng Tagalog sa Rizal* [A Preliminary Study of Tagalog in Rizal] and *Ay Hao: Ang Dayalek ng Tagalog sa Rizal* [Ay Hao: The Dialect of Tagalog in Rizal] are considered important works because not only do they study the varieties of Tagalog spoken east of Metro Manila but also, in general, they are pioneering applications of the methods of dialectology in the context of the Philippines, by a Filipina linguist.

5 Special Issues

Landmark studies in Philippine linguistics—theses and dissertations of members of the Department of Linguistics—were published as special issues of *The Archive*.

5.1 Publication One (January 1977): Selected Writings of Cecilio Lopez in Philippine Linguistics, Edited by Ernesto Constantino

This volume of *The Archive* is a compilation and bibliography of the works of Professor Emeritus Cecilio F. Lopez (1898–1979), recognized as the first Filipino linguist (Reid, 1981, p. 5; Rubrico, 2015). Important pioneering publications on Tagalog dialectology (*On the Boak Tagalog of the Island of Marinduque*) and morphosyntax (*Preliminary Study of the Affixes in Tagalog*; *The Tagalog Language: An Outline of Its Psychomorphological Analysis*) are contained herein. Comparative and diachronic studies on other Philippine languages (*Studies on Sugbuanon Affixes*; *Classifiers in Philippine Languages*; *Some New Morphemes in Philippine Languages*) and Malayo-Polynesian languages (*Non-productive Infixes in Indonesian*; *Medial Nasal Clusters in Indonesian*) written by Prof. Lopez, who was first and foremost a historical linguist, also appear in this compilation.

5.2 Grammatical Sketches and Studies on Individual Philippine Languages

Studies focusing on individual Philippine languages were also published under *The Archive*. For example, Prof. Irma U. Peneyra's *A Grammatical Sketch of the Tausog Language* (1992). The journal also put out Prof. Emilita L. Cruz's *A Subcategorization of Tagalog Verbs* (1975) and Anicia H. del Corro's *Kapampangan Morphophonemics* (1980).

5.3 Diachronic and Comparative Studies

Cecilio Lopez's *A Handbook in Comparative Austronesian* (1978) and the three parts of *A Comparative Philippine Word-list* (1974, 1976a, 1976b) were also published and released as special issues of *The Archive*.

Consuelo J. Paz's dissertation, the seminal *A Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Phonemes and Morphemes*, was published in 1981 as a special issue of the journal as well.

5.4 Lexicographic Works

A Comparative Dictionary of Tagalog written by the German linguist Franz Karl Alter was translated from the German by Marlies Spiecker-Salazar and published in 1981. This translated dictionary was edited by Ernesto A. Constantino.

Ernesto A. Constantino's own *An English-Filipino Dictionary* was also published in 1997 under *The Archive*.

5.5 Proceedings of Conferences

The most recent publication under *The Archive* before its latest hiatus was entitled *Wika at Pagpapalaya* [Language and Liberation] (1998), a collection of papers presented during the 8th Philippine Linguistics Congress held from December 15–17, 1997 at the University of the Philippines Diliman. The members of the editorial committee that finalized the studies to be included were Ernesto A. Constantino, Consuelo J. Paz, Emilita L. Cruz, Irma U. Peneyra, Viveca V. Hernandez, and Ricardo Ma. Nolasco.

6 Conclusion

The history of Philippine linguistics is inextricably linked to the history of *The Archive*. Classic works on the languages of the Philippines written by luminaries of Philippine linguistics were first published in the journal.

However, the picture presented here is incomplete. There are gaps and discontinuities in the publication history mainly due to the lack of available copies of the journal. It is our intention that this also serve as an invitation to the reader and to whoever was part of *The Archive's* history at one time or another to further flesh out our journal's history.

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Babuyan Claro Toponyms

**Maria Kristina S. Gallego, Romeo Rosales, and
Edgar Elvinia**

1 Ibatan and Babuyan Claro

Ibatan is a language mainly spoken by about 2,500 to 3,000 people on the island of Babuyan Claro, Cagayan (Gallego, 2020, p. 89). Genetically, Ibatan belongs to the Batanic subgroup of Philippine languages, along with Ivatan, Itbayat, and Tao (Moriguchi, 1983; Tsuchida et al., 1987, 1989). Administratively, the island of Babuyan Claro belongs to the municipality of Calayan in the province of Cagayan, and so, the people are also proficient in Ilokano, the regional lingua franca of northern Luzon.

According to the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), Ibatan is rated as 6b (Threatened), which means that there is a declining number of people learning the language (Eberhard et al., 2023). At present, Ibatan is still used in various domains of community life such as the home, the school, the church, and other public domains, but its existence alongside more privileged languages—namely, Ilokano and Filipino—contributes to its endangerment.

The endangerment of the language can be observed in the domain of toponyms, in which younger generations are becoming less aware of the different place names in Babuyan Claro. Toponyms can be indicative of the group's history and local knowledge, and it is thus important to document it for it to be passed down to succeeding generations. The documentation of Babuyan Claro toponyms is also supplemented by mapping the precise locations of the places on the island, which is a good contribution to the community as it is the first effort to accurately map Babuyan Claro's local place names. This will inform future studies on language use in Babuyan Claro, such as mapping the geographic space of the sociolinguistic contexts (i.e., the interaction between social networks) of the community.

2 Babuyan Claro Toponyms

Toponyms, or place names, are indicative of the topographic and social landscape of a community. The island of Babuyan Claro administratively belongs to the Babuyan group of islands along with Camiguin, Dalupiri, Fuga, and the municipal center of Calayan (Figure 1). The name Babuyan, used to refer to both Babuyan Claro and the whole region, is said to be derived from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian word **buya* 'to look at, watch (as a performance)' (Blust & Trussel, 2020; Gallego, 2022, p. 39). According to Alonso (1966, pp. 85–87), the current form Babuyan is likely to be a mispronunciation of the derived form *ma-buya* 'to see, view, visible.' This is supported by R. Maree (1982, pp. 16–17), citing that Babuyan Claro's most prominent volcano can be seen from any point in the archipelago.

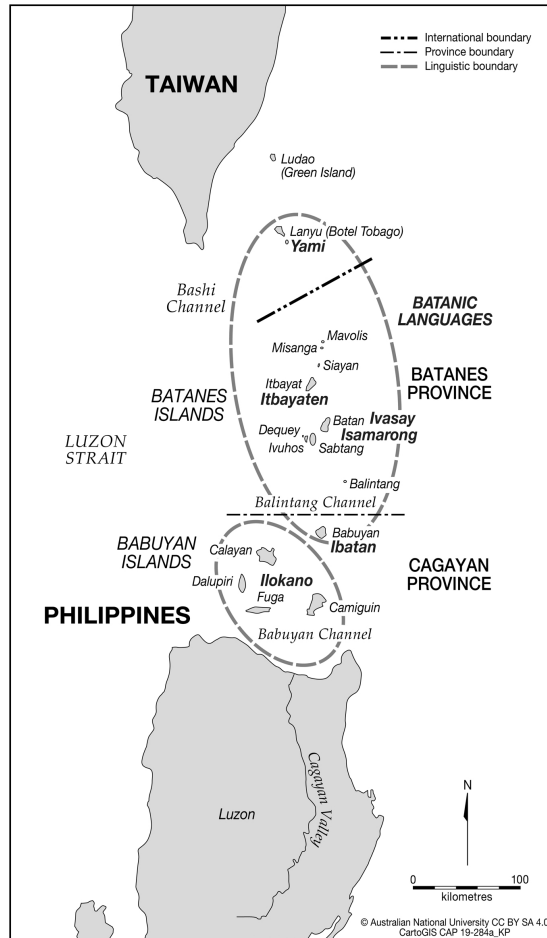


Figure 1. Location of Babuyan Claro

Locally, the island of Babuyan Claro is known as Kurug, or Kurug a Babuyan. While the Ibatans are not aware of its meaning, it is likely that the word came from a northern Luzon language, Ibanag, in which the word means ‘true’ (Fernandez, 1867). Older Spanish documents also refer to the island as Verdadero Babuyan ‘true Babuyan,’ which conforms with the Ibanag meaning of *kurug* (Alonso, 1966, p. 86).

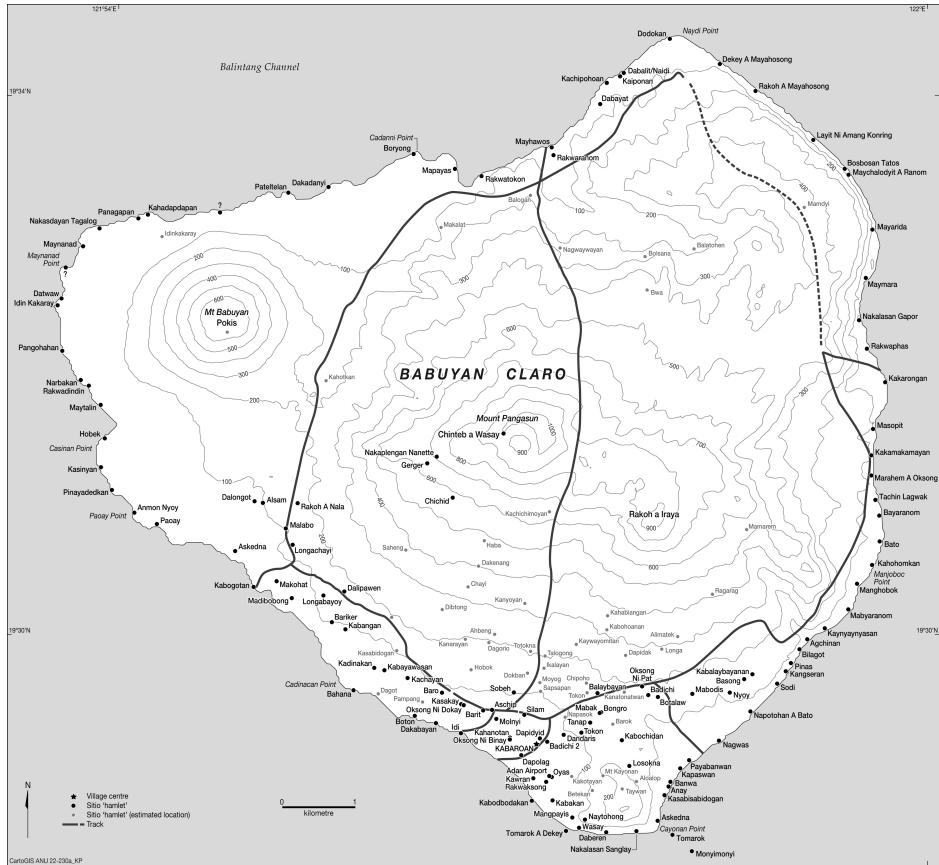


Figure 2. Map of Babuyan Claro with Confirmed and Estimated Locations

The etymology of the toponyms of Babuyan Claro can be traced to various sources, such as floral and faunal terms, among others. The locations of these places are detailed in Figure 2. The methods for identifying and mapping the place names are discussed in §2.1, and the details of the annotated data are given in §2.2 to §2.4.

2.1 Methodology

Table 1. Primary Consultants for the Project

Name	Occupation	First Language
Edgar Elvinia	Farmer	Ibatan
Franklin Simon	Fisherman	Ibatan
Loreto Simon	Farmer	Ibatan
Romeo Rosales	Farmer	Ibatan

In identifying the toponyms of Babuyan Claro, several consultations with speakers (Table 1) who have considerable knowledge in the domain were done during two trips to the island in 2018 and 2022. In 2018, the consultants enumerated the toponyms and estimated their rough locations on a map. Upon returning to Babuyan Claro in 2022, several trips around the island were done in order to precisely determine the location of the places using a handheld GPS device. The GPS information was used to create a detailed map of Babuyan Claro. The estimated and confirmed locations of the place names are shown in Figure 2. In determining the etymology of the toponyms, consultations with speakers were also done, supplemented by dictionary work (R. Maree et al., 2012) and historical data (Blust & Trussel, 2020).

2.2 Presentation

The list of toponyms and preliminary analyses on their etymological development is presented in §2.4. This includes (a) the argued component morphemes of the toponym, in addition to their glosses according to R. Maree et al. (2012), (b) notes on the toponym, typically their

location on Babuyan Claro, according to R. Maree et al. (2012), (c) the derivational structure of the toponym, (d) the etymological category under which the toponym can be classified, and (e) some annotations on the toponym based on elicitation with the key consultants for the project.

For the etymological category, the toponyms are classified based on how they have likely developed from an original source form. For example, the name *Agchinan*, which is a place on the east side of Babuyan Claro with steep cliff going to Rakwaphas, is argued to be derived from the verb *agchin* ‘to come down, get off from some place’ and the locative suffix *-an*. The toponym is then categorized as being derived from a particular verb or activity. Table 2 lists all the etymological categories and provides an explanation for each.

2.3 Consent, Use, and Attribution of Data

The project, which falls under the larger project entitled “Consequences of Contact: Documenting Ibatan Within the Multilingual Landscape of Babuyan Claro,” is approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Australian National University with protocol number 2017/931. The project also underwent consultation and approval from the Babuyan Claro community, led by the Kakpekpeh no Mangalkem (KAKMA) or Council of Elders. Individuals were also asked for their consent to participate in the project. The outputs from the project are archived with the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) (Gallego, ongoing). The

Table 2. Explanations for the Etymological Categories Listed in the Data Set

Etymological Category	Explanation
activity	refers to a particular verb or activity associated with the place
descriptive	refers to a particular characteristic or attribute of the place
event	refers to a significant event that happened in the place
fauna	refers to a specific fauna that might have been abundant in the place
flora	refers to a specific flora that was either found or abundant in the place
geographical feature	refers to a particular geographic feature that can be found in the place
geographical location	refers to where the place is located in relation to the island
place	although not as etymologically transparent as the other categories, this refers to places which have been significant locations in the community, in that they carried specific functions in the past
possessive	refers to a person associated with the place
uncertain	uncertain etymological source because of lack of data

use of this particular data set from the project should be accompanied by a written consent from the authors. ¹

¹Researchers who wish to use the data set should send an email to the lead author, Maria Kristina S. Gallego, at msgallego@up.edu.ph.

2.4 List of Toponyms

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words According to R. Maree et al. (2012)	Notes on the Toponym From R. Maree et al. (2012)	Derivational Structure (X = Stem)	Etymological Category	Annotations
1.	Adan a irport	[adan] old [irport] airport		ADJ a X	place	place in Kabakan where the former airport (used by the SIL) is located
2.	Agchinan	[agchin] come down, get down/off from someplace	a place on the east side of Babuyan Claro with steep cliff going to Rakwaphas	X-an	activity	the area beside Kangseran where people come down to get to that side of the island
3.	Ahbeng	[ahbeng] a stagnant pool, a hollow where water stays		X	geographical feature	with pool
4.	Alimatek	[alimatek] a leech	a place near Longa	X	fauna	
5.	Aloalop	[alop] blow on something		RDP-X	descriptive	a place with a huge hole on the ground where cold wind blows; named by Orlando Tomas; <i>aalop/alooalop</i> also means the blow tube used for blowing a fire

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
6.	Alsam	unrecorded		X	flora	said to be named after a kind of tree, which is uncommon in Babuyan Claro now
7.	Anay	[anay] sand, gravel		X	geographical feature	located in Banwa, named after the sand in the area
8.	Anmon Nyoy	[anmo] aligned [nyoy] coconut		ADJ=n X	flora	named after the coconuts lined in the area
9.	Aschip	[aschip] cave, cavern		X	geographical feature	name of a river in <i>laod</i> 'west,' because of a cave that can be found under the river
10.	Asked	[asked] the far end, far corner of something		X	geographical location	corner of mountain; in <i>daya</i> 'east'
11.	Askedna	[asked] the far end, far corner of something	a place on the southwest shore of Babuyan Claro	X=na	geographical location	also corner; in <i>laod</i> 'west'
12.	Babuyan	[boya] see, watch			activity	name of the island
13.	Badyichi	[badyichi] a kind of balete tree or a strangler fig tree (var. <i>badichi</i>)	a place on the southeastern side of Babuyan Claro	X	flora	two different places called Badyichi/Badichi, both with a <i>badyichi</i> tree

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
14.	Bahana	[bahana] a cove		X	geographical feature	
15.	Balatohen	unrecorded		X	flora	a kind of tree
16.	Balaybayan	[balaybayan] a kind of softwood tree with purple flowers	a place on the southeastern slopes of Babuyan Claro	X	flora	
17.	Balogan	unrecorded	Naydi, a place on the northeast tip of Babuyan Claro	X-an	activity	old name of Rakwaranom, according to Loreto and Franklin Simon; obscure etymology; reconstructible up to Proto-Batanic, meaning 'place where the sun rises' (Gallego, 2018, pp. 89–90)

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
18.	Banwa	[banwa] a seaport, a landing place for a boat	a place on the far east coast of Babuyan Claro; young coral <i>kalawangan</i> are found along the shore with strong currents offshore; in the vicinity are burial sites and urns <i>atoy no angang</i> of the first inhabitants	X	place	place where boats dock in <i>daya</i> 'east'
19.	Bariker	unrecorded		X	geographical location	in Ilokano, 'hillside, base of mountain' (Rubino, 2000)
20.	Barit	[barit] a kind of slender rattan	a place just west of Kabaroan on Babuyan Claro	X	flora	lots of <i>barit</i> in the past
21.	Baro	[baro] a kind of feather palm tree (used for flooring)	a place on the south slope of Babuyan Claro	X	flora	

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
22.	Barok	[barok] a kind of hardwood tree (Batanic <i>varuk</i> , the cotton-like sponge extracted from the roots are used as a sealant between planks of a boat)	a place on the southeast side of Babuyan Claro above the former airstrip	X	flora	
23.	Basong	unrecorded		X	flora	a kind of tree
24.	Bato	[bato] rock, stone		X	geographical feature	rock formation
25.	Bayaranom	[baya] red [ranom] water	a place on the far east side of Babuyan Claro	ADJ X	geographical feature	a place with red rocks so that the water that flows along the river looks reddish
26.	Betekan	[betekan] a kind of orange wasp		X	fauna	lots of <i>betekan</i> in the past
27.	Bilagot	unrecorded		X	flora	in Ilokano, 'a kind of marsh herb with blue flowers and edible leaves, <i>Monochoria vaginalis</i> ' (Rubino, 2000)
28.	Bolsana	[bolsa] a pocket		X=na	geographical location	enclosed area with a single entrance

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
29.	Bongro	[bongro] a thicket of trees or bushes with no other trees around		X	flora	a group of trees/bush in the middle of a plain; generic name for such a place
30.	Boryong	unrecorded		X	possessive	named after a person called Boryong
31.	Bosbosan Tatos	[bosbos] go down to the sea [tatos] a coconut crab		V-an X	fauna	place where coconut crabs go down to the sea
32.	Botalaw	[botalaw] an Alexandrian laurel tree, palo maria tree	a place on the east side of Babuyan Claro near Banwa	X	flora	
33.	Boton	[boton] a kind of softwood tree that grows near the shore	a place on the south shore of Babuyan Claro south of Kachayan	X	flora	
34.	Bwa	[bwa] areca palm, betel palm tree or nut		X	flora	
35.	Chayi	[chayi] a kind of tree with edible fruit similar to a lychee	a place on the south central side of Babuyan Claro	X	flora	
36.	Chichid	[chichid] unhusk grains using the fingers	a place between Chinteb a Wasay and Gerger	X	descriptive	the place looks like such because of the lack of trees

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
37.	Chinteb a Wasay	[akteb] cut off a section of something long [wasay] axe	Mount Pangasun or Babuyan Claro Volcano	V a X	descriptive	the mountain looks like the edge has been cut by an axe
38.	Chipoho	[chipoho] mulberry, a kind of breadfruit tree		X	flora	
39.	Dabalit	unrecorded		3P X	possessive	<i>balit</i> 'a kind of rattan;' seems to follow the structure 3P + X
40.	Dabayat	[bayat] go to meet someone		3P X	possessive	said to be a meeting place; seems to follow the structure 3P + X
41.	Daberen	unrecorded		3P X	possessive	a rock formation; unknown etymology; seems to follow the structure 3P + X
42.	Dagoriyo	unrecorded	a place on the southwest central side of Babuyan Claro near Ahbeng	3P X	possessive	probably named after a person called Goriyo
43.	Dagot	unrecorded		X	uncertain	cliff/rock that protrudes at the edge of the sea; see <i>padagot</i> 'an animal runs away in fear'

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
44.	Dakabayan	[kabayan] yolk of an egg		3P X	possessive	unknown etymology; probably came from <i>kabaya</i> 'redness' or <i>kabayan</i> 'egg yolk' because of the supposed color of the soil in the area
45.	Dakadanyi	unrecorded	a place on the northwest shore of Babuyan Claro near Pokis	3P X	possessive	unknown etymology; see <i>katanyi</i> 'solitary;' seems to follow the structure 3P + X
46.	Dakenang	unrecorded		3P X	possessive	unknown etymology
47.	Dalipawen	[dalipawen] a kind of tree with a bitter tasting bark (the wood is not suitable for lumber; the leaves can be boiled to treat unexplained ailments)		X	flora	
48.	Dalongot	unrecorded		3P X	possessive	unknown etymology; probably name of tree; seems to follow the structure 3P + X

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
49.	Dandaris	unrecorded		3P X	possessive	named after Andres (of the first families who came to Babuyan Claro) (cf. J. Maree, 2005)
50.	Dapidak	unrecorded	a place on the southeast slopes of Babuyan Claro	3P X	possessive	possibly named after a person called Pidak
51.	Dapidyid	[pidyid] joint of the body, especially the ankle or wrist or a branch where it joins tree trunk	a place on the southeastern side of Babuyan Claro	3P X	possessive	named after Fidel (of the first families who came to Babuyan Claro), who was said to be buried alive in the area (cf. J. Maree, 2005; R. Maree, 1982); the place came to be known as <i>pidyid</i> , because it was said that Fidel's <i>pidyid</i> (which came to be his nickname) was seen in the area after he was buried there

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
52.	Dapolag	unrecorded	a place on the southeastern shore of Babuyan Claro between Rakwaksong and Kahanotan	3P X	possessive	possibly named after a person called Polag
53.	Datwaw	unrecorded	a place on the shores of Smith Volcano (Pokis) between Narbakan and Maynanad	3P X	possessive	said to be named after the cry of a bird that sounded like twaw
54.	Dekey a mayahosong	[dekey] little, few in amount or time [hosong] a wooden mortar used for pounding unhusked rice, corn, and cooked rootcrops		ADJ a (ak)may X	descriptive	rock formation that looks like such
55.	Dibtong	unrecorded	a place on the south central part of Babuyan Claro, north of Kasakay	X	geographical feature	opaque etymology, but reconstructible under PPh/PMP *lib(e)tuŋ 'deep place in the river; pool of water when a steam dries up' (Blust & Trussel, 2020)

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
56.	Dodokan	[dodok] light something with fire; or [dodog] stumble, trip over something	a place on the northeast tip of Babuyan Claro near Naydi	X-an	activity	said to be named as such because the place appears very close for ships to bump into it as they approach the area
57.	Dokban	[dokban] a pomelo tree or fruit	a place on the southeast side of Babuyan Claro slightly northeast of Silam	X	flora	
58.	Gerger	[gerger] a groove, notch around a piece of wood, etc. to prevent a rope from slipping	the mountain on Babuyan Claro between Mt. Pokis and Chinteb a Wasay, named because of a notch-like shape around the base of the mountain where no plants grow	X	descriptive	named as such because it was said that the heat dried off the trees in the area, making it appear notched
59.	Gokgok	a kind of owl (makes the sound <i>gokgok</i>)		X	fauna	
60.	Haba	unrecorded	unknown etymology	X	uncertain	

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
61.	Hobek	unrecorded	a place on the shores of Smith Volcano between Paway and Rakwadindin	X	geographical feature	two places named Hobek; R. Maree et al. (2012) note Ivatan <i>buwek</i> 'a bay, cove'
62.	Hobok	[hobok] the center or middle of something or someplace		X	geographical location	
63.	Idi	[idi] the town center, or the municipality	a place on the south shore where the cemetery and Catholic chapel are located (prior to the 1980s, it was the center for religious activities)	X	place	
64.	Idinkakaray	[idi] the town center, or the municipality [kakaray] a kind of wasp		N=n X	fauna	<i>kakaray</i> also refers to a kind of fish
65.	Ikalayan	unrecorded		i-X	possessive	possibly refers to immigrants from Calayan, indicated by the locative <i>i-</i>
66.	Kabahogwan	[bahogo] bewitch		ka-X-an	descriptive	protected area where people are not allowed to enter/hunt/cut trees

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
67.	Kabakan	[baka] cattle, cow	a place on the southeast shore of Babuyan Claro, below Mangpays for free-ranging cows	ka-X-an	fauna	formerly used for grazing cattles
68.	Kabalaybalayanan	[balaybayan] a kind of softwood tree with purple flowers	a place on the eastern slopes of Babuyan Claro	ka-X-an	flora	
69.	Kabangan	[abang] a dugout canoe with or without outriggers	a place on the south central shore of Babuyan Claro	ka-X-an	descriptive	lots of <i>abang</i> in the past
70.	Kabaroan	[baro] a kind of feather palm tree (used for flooring)	a place on the southeastern side of Babuyan Claro where the elementary school and clinic are located, became the town center around the late 1980s	ka-X-an	flora	lots of <i>baro</i>
71.	Kabayawasan	[bayawas] a guava tree or fruit		ka-X-an	flora	
72.	Kabochidan	[bochid] cogon grass		ka-X-an	flora	lots of <i>bochid</i>
73.	Kabodbodakan	[bodak] a kind of pandanus plant that grows near the seashore		ka-RDP-X-an	flora	lots of <i>bodak</i>

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
74.	Kabogotan	[bogot] a kind of cowry shell		ka-X-an	fauna	sea in front that has lots of <i>bogot</i>
75.	Kabohwanan	[bohwan] a kind of tree	a place on the southeastern slope on Babuyan Claro	ka-X-an	flora	
76.	Kachayan	[chayi] a kind of tree with edible fruit similar to a lychee	a place on the south side of Babuyan Claro, just west of Barit	ka-X-an	flora	lots of <i>chayi</i>
77.	Kachichimoyan	[chichimoy] type of fern	a place near Kahabyangan	ka-X-an	flora	
78.	Kachipohoan	[chipoho] mulberry, a kind of breadfruit tree		ka-X-an	flora	lots of <i>chipobo</i>
79.	Kadahapdapan	unrecorded		ka-X-an	uncertain	something about <i>dahapdap</i> , but uncertain as of writing
80.	Kadinakan	[dinak] the sea is calm	a place on the southwest side of Babuyan Claro where the sea is generally calm	ka-X-an	descriptive	the sea in the area is said to be constantly calm
81.	Kahabyangan	[habyang] a kind of tree	a place on the southeastern slope on Babuyan Claro	ka-X-an	flora	

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
82.	Kahanotan	[hanot] a kind of tree used for posts	a place on the southeast shore of Babuyan Claro just west of Dapolag	ka-X-an	flora	lots of <i>hanot</i>
83.	Kahohomkan	[homek] made of fine, smooth particles		ka-RDP-X-an	geographical feature	named after the small rocks found in the area
84.	Kahotkan	[hotek] soil is miry with sticky mud	a place on the west side of Babuyan Claro between Mt. Pokis and Gerger	ka-X-an	descriptive	
85.	Kaiponan	[ipon] shrimp, or lobster		ka-X-an	fauna	lots of <i>ipon</i>
86.	Kakamakamayan	[kamaya] mabolo or velvet apple tree or fruit, related to the ebony tree	the place on the far east side of Babuyan Claro, between Bayaranom and Rakwaphas	ka-RDP-X-an	flora	lots of <i>kamaya</i>
87.	Kakarongan	[karong] a kind of large limpet, a conical shell		ka-X-an	fauna	lots of <i>karong</i>
88.	Kakotayan	[kotay] a tangerine tree or fruit		ka-X-an	flora	
89.	Kanarayan	[anaray] a kind of tall grass with white-like hairs that cause itchiness	a place on the south central part of Babuyan Claro west of Dibtong	ka-X-an	flora	

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
90.	Kanatonatwan	[nato] a kind of softwood tree with oblong green edible fruit		ka-RDP-X-an	flora	
91.	Kangseran	unrecorded		UNC	uncertain	uncertain etymology, looks like ka-X-an
92.	Kanyoyan	[nyoy] a coconut palm tree or fruit	a place on the southeast slopes of Babuyan Claro	ka-X-an	flora	
93.	Kapaswan	[paso] roast something over hot coals		ka-X-an	activity	place where fishermen roast the fish they caught
94.	Kasabidogan	[sabidog] a kind of almond or pagoda tree with edible nuts	a place on the south central side of Babuyan Claro below Kachayan near Boton	ka-X-an	flora	lots of <i>sabidog</i>
95.	Kasakay	[sakay] someone comes up into a house, gets on an animal, or boards a vehicle or vessel	a place on the south central part of Babuyan Claro, high off the beach between Idi and Kachayan	ka-X	activity	unknown etymology, but speakers would describe the area as elevated, coming up from the river
96.	Kasinyan	[asin] salt		ka-X-an	geographical feature	a place where one can gather lots of salt

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
97.	Kawran	[kawod] someone paddles, rows a canoe	a place on the southeast shore of Babuyan Claro near Rakwaksong	X-an	activity	unknown etymology, but likely from <i>kawod</i> 'paddle' since the area is near the sea
98.	Kaynyaynyasan	[aynyas] a kind of softwood tree with edible fruit and with sap that causes an extreme allergy		ka-RDP-X-an	flora	lots of <i>aynyas</i>
99.	Kayonan	[ayon] to become crisp, crispy, crunchy	Mt. Cayonan range on the southeast side of Babuyan Claro	ka-X-an	descriptive	unknown etymology; probably from <i>ayon</i> 'to become crisp' because of the heat
100.	Kaywayomitan	[ayomit] a kind of softwood weeping tree with clusters of fruit that are used for imitative magic	a place on the northeast central side of Babuyan Claro near Kahabyangan	ka-RDP-X-an	flora	R. Maree et al. (2012) analyze this as a compounding of <i>kayo</i> 'tree' + <i>ayomit</i> 'a kind of tree' but the derivational structure suggests otherwise, i.e., ka-RDP-X-an, which indicates pluralization of <i>ayomit</i>

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
101.	Kurug	unrecorded		X		Ibanag <i>kurug</i> ‘true;’ local name of Babuyan Claro
102.	Layit ni Amang Konring	[layit] a large basalt rock under the ground or sea		N ni X	possessive	rock formation; named after Konring’s father (Amang Konring)
103.	Longa	[longa] a hollow in a tree that is still standing	a place on the mountain slope of Rakoh a Iraya	X	flora	
104.	Longabayoy	[longa] a hollow in a tree that is still standing [bayoy] a kind of tree with bark that can be stripped and used for straps of an <i>alat</i> ‘basket’ or for tying rice bundles	a place on the southwest side of Babuyan Claro, named from a large <i>bayoy</i> tree with withered limbs	N X	flora	a <i>bayoy</i> tree with a hollow was seen in the area in the past
105.	Longachayi	[longa] a hollow in a tree that is still standing [chayi] a kind of tree with edible fruit similar to a lychee		N X	flora	a <i>chayi</i> tree with a hollow was seen in the area in the past
106.	Losokna	[losok] the bottom, deepest, or lowest part of a container or boat, etc.		X=na	geographical location	

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
107.	Mabak	[abak] the amount of something in a container is decreased, less	a place on the southeast side of Babuyan Claro near Tanap	ma-X	descriptive	
108.	Mabodis	[bodis] someone or something is short, something is low	a place on the east side of Babuyan Claro below Nyoy	ma-X	geographical feature	said to be named after a short coconut that was found in the area in the past
109.	Mabyaranom	[byay] life [ranom] water		ma-Adj X	geographical feature	the river is said to be constantly flowing, so the water is said to be “alive”
110.	Madibobong	unrecorded		UNC	uncertain	unknown etymology
111.	Makalat	[makalat] a kind of softwood tree easily infested by termites; fruit ripens in April and must be boiled, taste is like cooked apples	a place on the north side of Babuyan Claro near Dakadanyi	X	flora	
112.	Makohat	[kohat] the temperature of something is hot	a place on the southwest shore of Babuyan Claro	ma-X	descriptive	named after the hot springs in the area

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
113.	Makolad	[kolad] a skin ulcer, infected wound or a scab		ma-X	descriptive	unknown etymology, but consider <i>kolad</i> 'a skin ulcer, infected wound or a scab'
114.	Malabo	unrecorded		X	possessive	said to be named after a surveyor from Calayan whose surname was Malabo, who wanted to take over the land
115.	Mamarem	[marem] a green tree viper or Asian pit viper		ma-X	fauna	lots of <i>marem</i>
116.	Mamdyi	[apdyi] a kind of yellow-orange hairy caterpillar or the fine hairs on caterpillars or plants that cause itching		mang-X	fauna	
117.	Manghobok	[hobok] the center or middle of something or someplace		mang-X	geographical location	

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
118.	Mangpayis	[payis] the border, edge, rim of something	the southeast slop of Kayonan on the southeastern coast (location of Naytohong a Bato)	mang-X	geographical location	mountain on the corner
119.	Mapayas	[payas] the surface of something is coarse, rough	a place with lava flows on the west side of Babuyan Claro on Mt. Pokis	ma-X	descriptive	rough/sharp sand because of the lava flows in the area
120.	Marahem a oksong	[rahem] deep [oksong] river		ma-Adj a X	geographical feature	named after a mountain with a deep river
121.	Masopit	[sopit] a clip, a device with two hinged arms; someone compresses, pinches, or squeezes tightly something	the place between Kakamakamayan and Rakwaphas where there is a high cliff	ma-X	descriptive	named after a narrow river in the area
122.	Mayarida	[rida] tongue of a person or animal		(ak)may X	descriptive	a rock formation that looks like such when looking down from Rakwaphas
123.	Maychalodyit a ranom	[lodyit] hang down, suspend [ranom] water		may-cha-V a X	geographical feature	refers to the waterfalls in the area

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
124.	Mayhawos	[hawos] go through to the other side of a hole		(ak)may X	activity	a passage that was dug up to get to the area
125.	Maymara	[imara] skirt		(ak)may X	descriptive	a rock formation that looks like such
126.	Maynanad	[nanad] two people or animals do something side by side	a place on the shores of Smith Volcano (Pokis) near Datwaw and Narbakan	may-X	descriptive	a passage which seems unending, that is, it seems to stretch along as you pass through
127.	Maytalin	[talin] sit, stand beside, next to someone or something		may-X	descriptive	rock formations that can be found next to each other
128.	Molnyi	[molnyi] a kind of hardwood tree used for mortars and posts	place above Kabarosan	X	flora	
129.	Monyimonyi	[monyimonyi] a chicken's anus opens and closes repeatedly	the coral reef off Banwa with many whirlpools	X	descriptive	the whirlpool in the area resembles the verb <i>monyimonyi</i>
130.	Moyog	[oyog] water, blood, etc. flows from someplace		m-X	descriptive	refers to the river that flows in the area

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
131.	Nagwas	unrecorded		UNC	uncertain	unknown etymology; in Ilokano, <i>aguas</i> refers to 'a kind of freshwater fish, large-scaled mullet' (Rubino, 2000)
132.	Nagwaywayan	[wayway] someone lets out rope tied to an animal or a boat		nag-X-an	activity	also consider <i>waway</i> 'kind of plant used for making <i>alat</i> '
133.	Nakalasan Gapor	[lasa] wreck something made of wood [gapor] a large boat or ship		naka-V=n X	event	named so because of a Japanese ship that broke down in the area after World War II
134.	Nakalasan Sanglay	[lasa] wreck something made of wood [sanglay] Taiwanese		naka-V=n X	event	named so because of a Taiwanese ship that broke down in the area
135.	Nakaplengan Nanette	[apleng] stun someone or an animal		naka-V=n X	event	newly named area because of what happened to a person named Nanette who almost fainted in the area

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
136.	Nakasdayan Tagalog	[asday] drop		naka-V=n X	event	named after an Ilokano (but mistakenly identified as Tagalog) who reached the area after a long time overseas, who then jumped to the sea out of his eagerness to go home, only to drown and die in the sea
137.	Napasok	[pasok] a stake in the ground (for tying the rope of an animal so it can graze)		na-X	activity	also consider <i>pasok</i> ‘fleshing out onas (sugarcane)’
138.	Napotohan a bato	[potoh] behead [bato] rock, stone		na-V-an a X	geographical feature	rock formation
139.	Narbakan	unrecorded	a place on the shore of Smith Volcano (Pokis) between Rakwadindin and Datwaw; the Americans built a dock near a shipwreck after World War II; Ilk. <i>narba</i> ‘a shipwreck’	na-X-an	event	possibly Ilokano <i>narba</i> ‘destroyed, demolished’ (Rubino, 2000), referring to a shipwreck in the area; place name can also be observed in other Ilokano-speaking areas such as Narvacan, Ilocos Sur

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
140.	Naydi	[idi] the town center, or the municipality	a place on the northeast tip of Babuyan Claro	na=X	place	said to be the first village center in Babuyan Claro (predated Idi)
141.	Naytohong	[tohong] the lid of a container, jar, cooking pot, etc.	Naytohong a Bato the name of a jutting rock on the slope of Mangpays on the southeastern coast of Babuyan Claro (a smaller rock balanced on the jutting rock appears like a <i>tohong</i> 'lid' of a container)	nay-X	descriptive	a rock can be found in the area which looks like it has been topped with a lid
142.	Nyoy	a coconut palm tree or fruit	a place on the east side of Bauyan Claro near Mabodis	X	flora	
143.	Oksong ni Binay	[oksong] a river/riverbed		X ni N	possessive	named after a person called Binay, who used to go to this river to take a bath

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
144.	Oksong ni Dokay	[oksong] a river/riverbed [dokay] a kind of yam		X ni N	possessive	named after a Japanese soldier who fell on the river as he was asking for <i>dokay</i> out of extreme hunger; likely to have actually happened, as speakers accurately quote the Japanese phrase <i>dokay nai ka</i> ‘do you have <i>dokay</i> ’
145.	Oksong ni Gokgok	[oksong] a river/riverbed [gokgok] a kind of owl		X ni N	possessive	
146.	Oksong ni Pat	[oksong] a river/riverbed		X ni N	possessive	named after an American called Pat, who slipped into the river
147.	Oyas	[oyas] a kind of softwood tree		X	possessive	
148.	Panagapan	unrecorded	place on Smith Volcano near Maynanad	UNC	uncertain	unknown etymology
149.	Pangohahan	[ohah] a kind of sea snake that can come onto land		pang-X-an	fauna	area where one can harvest <i>ohah</i>

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
150.	Pangpang	[pangpang] cliff	a place on the south central shore of Babuyan Claro near Kasakay	X	geographical feature	
151.	Pateltelan	[teltel] back of the neck, nape		pa-X-an	uncertain	something about <i>teltel</i> in which the place came to be known as such, but uncertain as of writing
152.	Paway	unrecorded	a place on the shores of Smith Volcano (Pokis) next to Hobek	X	flora	in Ilokano, <i>paway</i> means 'to go out of the town, alone, solitary' (Rubino, 2000); likely to be related to Ivatan 'a weed with very firm roots that grows in pastures' (R. Maree et al., 2012)
153.	Payabanwan	[banwa] a seaport, a landing place for a boat		pay-a-X-an	activity	same as Banwa, where boats can dock; possibly from <i>pay</i> (a contraction of <i>pangay</i>) 'put something'
154.	Pinas	[pinas] lava rocks are smooth		X	descriptive	smooth rocks can be found in the area

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
155.	Pinayadedkan	unrecorded		UNC	uncertain	unknown etymology, but consider <i>badede</i> ‘roll over/down something’
156.	Pokis	unrecorded	Smith Volcano or Mount Babuyan on the west side of Babuyan Claro	X	descriptive	in Ilokano, <i>pukis</i> means ‘a haircut’ (Rubino, 2000)
157.	Ragarag	[ragarag] a kind of fern tree		X	flora	
158.	Rakoh a Iraya	[rakoh] big [araya] the seashore (in reference to someone or something offshore moving towards the shore)		ADJ a X	geographical location	etymology likely similar to Mt. Iraya in Batanes; historically derived from <i>i-daya</i> ‘upstream’ (cf. Gallego, 2018, pp. 70–77); Chinteb a Wasay was also called <i>Dekey a Iraya</i> in the past
159.	Rakoh a Mayahosong	[rakoh] big [hosong] a wooden mortar used for pounding unhusked rice, corn, and cooked rootcrops		ADJ a (ak)may a X	descriptive	rock formation that looks like such

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
160.	Rakoh a Nala	[rakoh] big [nala] narra tree		Adj a X	geographical feature	not a place name, but this is where one of the biggest <i>narra</i> tree in Babuyan Claro can be found
161.	Rakwadindin	[rakoh] big [dindin] a wall or a partition of a house, room, etc.	a place on the shore of Smith Volcano (Pokis) between Hobek and Narbakan that looks like a giant wall	Adj a X	geographical feature	
162.	Rakwaksong	[rakoh] big [oksong] river	a place on the southeast shore of Babuyan Claro near Kawran	Adj a X	geographical feature	
163.	Rakwaphas	[rakoh] big [aphas] the remaining portion of a cliff where a landslide occurred	a place on the northeast side of Babuyan Claro just south of Naydi	Adj a X	geographical feature	
164.	Rakwaranom	[rakoh] big [ranom] water	a place on the far north side of Babuyan Claro	Adj a X	geographical feature	
165.	Rakwatokon	[rakoh] big [tokon] hill, mountain		Adj a X	geographical feature	

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
166.	Saheng	[saheng] a kind of tree used to start fires, because it easily flames	a place on the southwest side of Babuyan Claro	X	flora	pine tree
167.	Sapsapan	[sapsap] (1) someone scoops out or splashes out water; (2) someone cuts overgrown grass/weeds with a long bolo	a place on the path by the river near Silam	X-an	activity	
168.	Silam	unrecorded	a place on the southeast side of Babuyan Claro near Kabarwan	X	flora	unknown etymology; in Ibanag and Itbayat, <i>silam</i> means 'vinegar,' indicating that the ingredient used to make vinegar was abundant in the area
169.	Sobeh	unrecorded	a place on the southern slopes of Babuyan Claro above Silam	X	uncertain	unknown etymology
170.	Sodi	[sodi] a kind of taro		X	flora	named after <i>sodi</i> which were planted beside the sea

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
171.	Tachin Lagwak	[tachi] excrement [lagwak] a kind of egret		N=n X	descriptive	a place with white rocks that look like bird excrement
172.	Talogong	[talogong] curled down/up	a place near Sobeh on the upper southeastern slope of Babuyan Claro	X	descriptive	
173.	Tanap	[tanap] grassland	the grassland on the southeast slope of Babuyan Claro between Rakoh a Iraya and Kayonan	X	geographical feature	
174.	Taywan	[tayo] hides oneself	the area on the backside of Mangpayis on the southeast coast of Babuyan Claro	X-an	activity	
175.	Tokon	[tokon] hill, mountain	a place on the southeast side of Babuyan Claro above Badyichi	X	geographical feature	
176.	Tomarok	[tarok] a stake, post in the ground		<om>X	descriptive	a rock formation that looks like a stake sticking out of the sea

	Toponym	Gloss of Component Words	Notes on the Toponym	Derivational Structure	Etymological Category	Annotations
177.	Tomarok a dekey	[tarok] a stake, post in the ground [dekey] a little, few in amount or time		<om>X a ADJ	descriptive	a smaller rock formation that looks like Tomarok
178.	Totokna	[totok] the top of a hill, mountain, tree or head		X=na	geographical location	peak of mountain
179.	Wasay	[wasay] axe		X	descriptive	a rock formation that looks like a <i>wasay</i>

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Buhid Word List

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1 Introduksyon

Ang Wikang Buhid (ISO code: bku) ay isa sa mga wikang nabibilang sa grupo ng South Mangyan (Zorc, 1974) na sinasalita sa MIMAROPA region, partikular sa mga bayan ng Bansud, Bongabong, at ilang parte ng Roxas at Mansalay sa Oriental Mindoro, at sa mga bayan ng San Jose at Rizal sa Occidental Mindoro (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino, 2021). Itinuturing ng may humigit-kumulang 12,700 na katao ang kanilang sarili bilang miyembro ng Buhid Mangyan (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2010).

Bagama't nabibilang sa mga katutubong etnolinggwistikong grupo sa Mindoro na tinatawag na “Mangyan,” ang pangalan na ito ay mas madalas na gamitin ng mga Buhid na pantawag sa mga miyembro ng isa pang etnolinggwistikong grupo na kilala bilang “Hanunoo” (Lopez-Gonzaga, 1982). Kilala rin ang mga Buhid sa tawag na “Bukid” at “Bukil” (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino, 2021).

2 Kaligiran ng Proyekto at Metodolohiya

Nagbunsod ang pagsisimula ng proyektong paggawa ng Buhid na diksyunaryo sa kahilingan ng komunidad ng mga Buhid na matulungan sila ng Departamento ng Linggwistiks sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP Lingg) na makagawa ng sariling diksyunaryo sa layuning maidokumento at mapreserba ang kanilang wika. Pinangangambahan ng mga taal na mananalita ng wika na patuloy na umuunti ang bilang ng mga mananalita, nakakaalam, at gumagamit ng Wikang Buhid, lalo na sa mga kabataan, kung kaya nagkaroon ng inisyatibo na gumawa ng diksyunaryo upang mas maipaalam pa, maipalaganap, at maitala ang wika para sa mga kasalukuyan at susunod na henerasyon ng mga mananalita ng Wikang Buhid.

Nagsimula ang pagpapalano hinggil sa pagbuo ng diksyunaryo noong taong 2017. Kasama ang mga elders at mga pinuno ng Sadik Habanan Buhid (ang opisyal na Indigenous Political Organization na kumakatawan sa mga Buhid sa Oriental Mindoro), ipinaliwanag at inihain ang mga layunin ng nasabing proyekto sa naganap na pulong noong ika-15 ng Agosto 2017. Makaraan ang isang buwan, pinagbotohan ng mga pinuno ng organisasyon at binigyang permiso ang pagsasagawa ng proyekto ayon sa kasunduang pinirmahan ng mga pinuno ng Sadik Habanan Buhid at mga kasapi ng proyekto.

Ang paggawa, pagpapalano, pagsasaayos, pag-edit, at paglapat ng istruktura ng diksyunaryo ay isinagawa sa tulong ng mga kaguruan mula sa Departamento ng Linggwistiks na sina Dr. Mary Ann G. Bacolod at Elsie Marie T. Or, sa suporta at tulong ng Opisina ng Koordinasyon sa Ekstensiyon sa ilalim ng Opisina ng Bise Tsanselor para sa Pananaliksik at Pagpapaunlad ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman. Ilan sa mga

metodolohiyang isinagawa para sa naturang proyekto ay ang pagsasagawa ng palihan sa pagpapalano at pagsusulat ng diksyunaryo kasama ang mga taal na mananalita, pangangalap ng mga salita sa pamamagitan ng pagsasalin gamit ang 600-word list, at pakikipanayam, beripikasyon, at editing kasama ang mga taal na mananalita.

Ang uri o barayti ng Buhid na naging tuon ng proyektong ito ay ang Wikang Buhid Batangan na sinasalita sa Bongabong, Oriental Mindoro. Ito rin ang barayti na siyang pinili at napagpasiyahang idokumento ng mga taal na mananalita ng Wikang Buhid na naging bahagi ng palihan hinggil sa proseso ng pagpapalano at paggawa ng diksyunaryo, na isinagawa noong ika-20–21 ng Enero 2018. Kabilang sa walong kasapi ng palihan ay dalawang elders na sina Leticia Ihit at Dante R. Sawanay, at anim na mga guro na mga taal na mananalita ng Buhid na itinalaga ng mga pinuno ng kanilang komunidad na maging bahagi ng pagbuo ng diksyunaryo ng Buhid Mangyan. Sila ay sina Atoy I. Tugas (na nagsilbing Buhid Dictionary Core Team Leader), Elsie L. Caring, Darwin A. Onday, Juana N. Espiritu, Mayette E. Sagangasang, at Roy L. Kanay.

Bukod sa pagpili ng barayti ng Wikang Buhid na magiging tuon ng proyekto, kasama rin sa mga napagpasyahan ng mga kasapi sa palihan ang mga sumusunod: (a) uri ng diksyunaryo na makakatugon sa pangangailangan ng komunidad (glossary, vocabulary list, komprehensibong diksyonaryo), (b) (mga) bilang at uri ng wikang gagamitin sa diksyunaryo (bilingual, trilingual, Tagalog, English), at (c) mga titik na gagamitin sa paglalahad ng mga tunog sa kanilang wika (ortograpiya).

Nagkaroon din ng proseso ng pagsasalin ng 600 na mga salita gamit ang word list na dinebelop ng Departamento ng Linggwistiks. Sa proseso ng pakikipanayam sa mga mananalita, may mga nakalap na dagdag na mga salita na may kaugnayan sa kultura, pamumuhay, at mga paniniwala ng mga taal na mananalita ng Buhid. Ilan sa mga halimbawa ay ang salitang *amlang* na tumutukoy sa isang uri ng paggagamot para sa sakit na pinaniniwalaang dulot ng masamang espiritu, ang salitang *gigit* na ginagamit na termino sa panghuhuli ng mga paniki sa pamamagitan ng pagkiskis ng dalawang kahoy para gumawa ng tunog, at ang salitang *bahod* na tumutukoy sa isang tradisyunal na paraan ng panghuhuli ng isda.

Matapos ang palihan, higit pang pinalawak at iwinasto ang word list sa tulong ng proponent na si G. Tugas. Nagkaroon ng muling pagpupulong noong ika-27 ng Oktubre 2018 para sa pagberipika at pagtatama ng mga depinisyon na isinulat para sa ilang mga salita sa nabuong word list. Kasama sa nasabing pulong na ito ang tatlong pangunahing proponent ng proyekto at mga taal na mananalita ng Buhid na sina Atoy I. Tugas, Yumelyn A. Tugas, at Gloreddie L. Aragon. Isinagawa ang pagsasapinal ng mga salitang nakalap at inilapat sa napagkasunduang pormat ng diksyunaryong bubuuhin. Ang mga nakalap at nabuong listahan ng mga salita, kahulugan, at iba pang impormasyon ang siyang inilalahad dito bilang word list ng Wikang Buhid.

3 Paglalahad ng mga Salita o Entri

Wala pang opisyal na pamantayan para sa ortograpiya ng Wikang Buhid sa panahon ng pagkalap ng word list.¹ Ang mga salitang isinama sa word list ay isinulat ayon sa napagkasunduang ortograpiya ng mga kasapi ng palihang ginanap, na kapwa mga taal na mananalita ng Buhid, na ibinatay sa mga nakasanayang pagbabaybay ng mga naturang mananalita ng wika.

Ang wikang Buhid Batangan ay may dalawpu't dalawang (22) ponemikong simbolo na binubuo ng labimpitong (17) katinig (p, b, m, f, t, d, n, l, r, k, g, ng, s, h, w, y, –) at limang (5) patinig (a, e, i, u, o). Ang mga letrang ginamit upang kumatawan sa mga katinig na tunog ay katulad ng mga letrang kumakatawan sa mga katinig sa Filipino. Gayon din sa mga patinig na <a, i, u> at <o>. Ang letrang <e> naman ay sumisimbolo sa schwa /ə/ na tunog sa Wikang Buhid.

Ang gitling <–>, tulad rin sa Filipino, ay sumisimbolo sa glottal stop sa pagitan ng isang katinig at isang patinig (hal., *tig-ab* ‘dighay,’ *il-ilong* ‘iling’). Ginagamit rin ito sa ilang mga tambalang salita (hal., *ulad-mata* ‘pilikmata,’ *anak-dararag* ‘sanggol’) at sa mga umuulit na salita (hal., *anak-anak* ‘maliit na maliit; pinakamaliit;’ *fagaba-fagaba* ‘palagi’). Walang makikitang representasyon ng glottal stop na nasa unahan ng salita (hal., *aba* ‘mhaba,’ *udok* ‘baboy’), sa pagitan ng dalawang patinig (hal., *daanon* ‘luma,’ *faangay* ‘sang-ayon’) at sa dulo ng salita (hal., *wala* ‘kaliwa,’ *baga* ‘maga’).

¹Sa huli naming pagkakaalam, mayroon nang binubuo ang DepEd MIMAROPA bilang parte ng mga programang Indigenous People’s Education at Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE), at ilang miyembro ng UP Lingg ang tumatayong mga kasanguni para rito.

Ginamit naman ang tuldik na <'> upang ipakita ang mga pagkakaiba sa bigkas ng mga salita, na makikita sa mga homographs o mga salitang magkatulad ang pagbabaybay ngunit magkaiba ang bigkas at kahulugan (hal., *àbang* 'langoy' at *abàng* 'usog;' *dàyo* 'ayaw' at *dayò* 'tabi, katabi'). Ang mga homographs na ito ay inilahad bilang hiwalay na entri sa word list. Tanging ang mga salitang ito lamang ang pansamantalang nilagyan ng tuldik upang maipakita ang kaibahan sa kahulugan ayon sa bigkas. Itinuring naman na hiwalay na entri ang mga salitang magkatulad ang pagbabaybay o porma at pagbigkas at nilagyan ng superscript na numero (hal., *ayok*¹ 'amoy' at *ayok*² 'halik;' *tukmo*¹ 'tahol' at *tukmo*² 'isang uri ng ibon na kamukha ng kalapati').

Ang mga alternatibong pagbabaybay para sa ilang mga salita na nakalap mula sa mga taal na mananalita ay pansamantalang isinama sa word list (na may markang *var.* para sa 'varyant'). Ilang halimbawa nito ay *faktaw* at *fagtaw* para sa 'sino,' at *falayfayon* at *farayfayon* para sa 'mahangin.' Inaasahang magkakaroon sa hinaharap ng mas masaklaw na mga pag-aaral sa ponolohiya at sa iba't ibang mga dayalekto ng Wikang Buhid nang sa gayon ay maipaliwanag ang mga baryasyon na ginagamit ng mga mananalita.

Isinama rin sa word list ang ilang mga nakalap na nilapiang porma ng mga salitang Buhid na magkaiba ang kahulugan sa payak na porma nito. Ang mga naderayb o na-inflek na mga salita ay inilista kasunod ng payak na porma/salitang-ugat nito. Gumamit ng indensiyon upang ipakita ang mga nasabing anyo ng salita sa word list. Ang gramatikal na kategorya naman ng mga salita ay inilahad at isinulat sa loob ng panaklong. Ang mga sumusunod na daglat ay ginamit sa pagmamarka

ng bahagi ng pananalita (parts of speech o POS) ng mga entri sa word list:

Filipino		Ingles	
esp.	ekspresyon	exp.	expression
pgt.	pangatnig	conj.	conjunction
pkl.	pang-ukol	prep.	preposition
pml.	pamilang	num.	numeral
pna.	pangatnig	conj.	conjunction
pnb.	pang-abay	adv.	adverb
pnd.	pandiwa	v.	verb
png.	pangngalan	n.	noun
pnh.	panghalip	pro.	pronoun
pnk.	pangkayarian	fw.	function word
pnl.	panlapi	aff.	affix
pnn.	pananong	int.	interrogative
pnu.	pang-uri	adj.	adjective

4 Limitasyon

Ang word list na ito ay nagsisilbing preliminaryong datos para sa mas malawak at mas malalim na pag-aaral sa wika at kultura ng mga Buhid. Sa proseso ng pagkalap ng datos, binigyang tuon ang mga salitang Buhid Batangan. Ang ibang mga barayti o salita na halaw sa ibang kalapit na wika ay hindi isinama sa naturang word list.

May ilang mga salita rin na kasama sa word list na ito na tumutukoy sa espesipikong uri ng mga halaman, hayop, bagay sa kalikasan, kasangkapan sa pagluluto, o mga katutubong kaalaman ng mga Buhid na binigyan lamang ng pangkalahatan at malawak na depinisyon sa

Tagalog at Ingles dahil sa limitadong datos. Ilang halimbawa ang sumusunod:

Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
baglaw	(png.) isang uri ng isda na maliit at madulas at madalas nakikita sa ilog	(n.) a type of freshwater fish that is small and slippery, and commonly seen in the river
bahod	(pnd.) isang paraan ng panghuhuli ng isda na kadalasang ginagawa kapag tag-araw; gumagamit ng dahon ng saging para rito	(v.) a method used in fishing that is usually done during the dry season wherein a banana leaf is used to catch fish
linaw	(png.) malalim na parte ng ilog kung saan hindi umaagos ang tubig	(n.) deep, still part of a river
omo	(png.) dilaw na produkto ng mga bubuyog na mapait-pait ang lasa	(n.) a bee product that is yellow in color and slightly bitter in taste
tawan	(png.) isang uri ng puno na pinagkukunan ng madikit na dagta na ginagamit sa panghuhuli ng ibon	(n.) a type of tree from which has a sticky sap that is used to catch birds

Inirerekomenda ang muling pagsangguni sa mga elders ng komunidad at muling pagsasagawa ng fieldwork para sa mas masusing dokumentasyon at obserbasyon gamit ang pagkuha ng litrato at video recording, nang sa gayon ay mabigyan ng mas detalyadong depinisyon ang mga salitang ito.

5 Ang Buhid Word List

Ang mga sumusunod ay ang naidokumentong listahan ng mga salita sa Wikang Buhid Batangan na binubuo ng 1,182 na mga salitang may kinalaman sa kultura, gawi, paniniwala, bagay, at mga ekspresyon na pangkaraniwang ginagamit sa pang-araw-araw na pamumuhay ng mga taal na mananalita ng nasabing wika.

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
1	aba	(pnu.) mahaba	(adj.) long
2	abagat	(png.) habagat	(n.) southwest wind
3	àbang	(pnd.) langoy	(v.) to swim
4	abàng	(pnd.; png.) usog	(v.; n.) similar to giving an “evil eye,” but without the malicious intent usually associated with the concept of the “evil eye” hex; this is believed by some to affect infants or toddlers in particular, who are greeted by visitors or strangers, and manifests in symptoms such as a fever
5	abàng-abàng	(exp.) puwera usog	(exp.) an expression used to ward off accidentally giving somebody the “evil eye”
6	abasad	(pnu.) malalim	(adj.) deep
7	abol	(png.) tapis	(n.) a rectangular piece of cloth wrapped around the body as clothing
8	abuhay	(pnu.) puti	(adj.) white
9	abwat	(pnu.) matangkad	(adj.) tall
10	abyanon	(png.) ahas	(n.) snake
11	afali	(pnd.) paso	(v.) to scald
12	afo ¹	(png.) laman (ng prutas)	(n.) flesh (of fruits)
13	afo ²	(png.) may-ari	(n.) owner
14	afo daga	(png.) bathala	(n.) god
15	afon	(pnd.) dapo	(v.) to alight (as birds do)
16	afonan	(png.) dapuan	(n.) roost; perch

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
17	afoy	(png.) apoy	(n.) fire
18	afugan	(png.) lalagyan ng nganga	(n.) container for betel nuts
19	afuyo	(png.) duyan	(n.) cradle
20	agdan	(png.) hagdan	(n.) ladder; stairs
21	agod	(pnu.) maiksi	(adj.) short (length)
22	agwanta	(pnd.) tiis	(v.) to endure; to bear
23	ahak ¹	(png.) uwak	(n.) crow
24	ahak ²	(pnd.) tighim; ehem	(v.) to clear one's throat
25	aham	(esp.) ehem; tunog na dating ginagawa na isang tao para ipaalam ang presensiya niya sa iba	(exp.) ehem; a sound that used to be made by a person to let others know of his/her presence
26	ahan	(png.) nakatatandang kapatid	(n.) older sibling
27	ahi-ama	(png.) bayaw	(n.) brother-in-law
28	ahi-ina	(png.) hipag	(n.) sister-in-law
29	aho	(pnh.) ako	(pro.) I, me
30	akbang	(pnd., pnu.) lapit	(v.) to go near; to approach (adj.) near, nearby
31	aktom	(png.) lahok	(v.) to join; to participate
32	akwa	(pnd.) mayroon	(v.) to have
33	ala	(esp.) oo	(exp.) yes
34	alad	(png.) bakod	(n.) fence
35	albuto	(png.) maliit na insekto na kamukha ng kulay itim na langgam na may matalas na nakausli sa puwitan	(n.) a small insect that looks like a black ant and has a sharp protrusion at the end of its abdomen
36	alfangos	(png.) musang	(n.) palm civet
37	alfasang	(png.) isang uri ng ibon na maliit at maitim ang balahibo	(n.) a type of small, black bird
38	alfiyag	(png.) halaman na may malapad na dahon na pwedeng gamiting pambalot sa mga nahuhuling isda o alimango na nahuhuli sa ilog; ginagamit rin bilang baso na pang-inom	(n.) a type of plant that has wide leaves that can be used to catch fish or crabs caught by a river; may also be used as a drinking vessel
39	alfutong	(png.) panggatong	(n.) fuel (e.g firewood, coal) for fire
40	alfuyo	(png.) ulo	(n.) head
41	alibaga	(png.) alakdan	(n.) scorpion

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
42	almayay	(png.) isang uri ng insekto na gumagawa ng malakas na tunog	(n.) a type of insect that creates a loud sound
43	alunat	(png.) igat	(n.) eel
44	alunat dagat	(png.) palos	(n.) saltwater eel
45	alunat safa	(png.) igat	(n.) freshwater eel
46	alungang	(png.) maliit na bilog at pula na bunga ng isang uri ng halaman; ito ay madalas na ginagamit bilang bala ng sumpit na ginagawang laruan ng mga bata	(n.) a small, round, red fruit of a type of plant; it is often used as a bullet for blowgun that children use for play
47	ama	(png.) (1) lalaki; (2) tatay; itay	(n.) (1) man; male; (2) father
48	aman	(png.) lalaki na hayop	(n.) male animal
49	ambahan	(pnd.) kanta	(v.) to sing
50	amihan	(png.) amihan	(n.) northeast wind
51	amiraw	(pnd.) awit	(v.) to sing
52	amlang	(png.) isang uri ng panggagamot kung saan hinihilat ang maysakit upang mawala ang kanyang sakit na maaaring dulot ng isang masamang espiritu	(n.) a method for healing wherein the sick person is massaged so that his/her sickness, which may have been caused by a bad spirit, may be cured
53	amlong	(png.) baging na manipis ang tangkay na pwedeng gamitin bilang lubid na pantali	(n.) a vine that has a thin stem which can be used as a rope to tie objects
54	amurit	(pnd.) kulam	(v.) to place a curse (on someone)
55	anagyong	(png.) isang uri ng puno	(n.) a type of tree
56	anahan	(png.) binata	(n.) young man
57	anak	(png.) anak; bata (pnd.) anak; silang	(n.) child; offspring (v.) to give birth; to be born
58	anak-ama	(png.) (1) anak na lalaki; (2) batang lalaki	(n.) (1) son; (2) boy; young male
59	anak-anak	(pnu.) maliit	(adj.) small
60	anak-ina	(png.) (1) anak na babae; (2) batang babae	(n.) (1) daughter; (2) girl; young female
61	anak-dararag	(png.) sanggol	(n.) baby
62	anak-bangan	(pnu.) katamtaman ang laki	(adj.) medium
63	anak manok	(png.) sisiw	(n.) chick
64	anay	(png.) anay	(n.) termite
65	andagaw	(pnd.) malas	(v.) to have something bad happen to a person; karma

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
66	andam	(pnd.) alis	(v.) to leave; to depart
67	angas	(png.) noo	(n.) forehead
68	angbo	(png.) daga	(n.) rat
69	anglit	(png.) palayok	(n.) pot
70	ani	(png; pnd) ani	(n.) harvest (v.) to harvest
71	anino	(png.) anino	(n.) shadow
72	anit	(png.) balat ng tao o hayop	(n.) skin of human or animal
73	anitay	(png; pnd.) ambon	(n.) drizzle; light rain shower (v.) to drizzle
74	ano	(png.; pnd.) alaga	(n.) ward; an entity that one takes care of (v.) to take care of (a child)
75	ano-anak	(png.) ampon	(n.) orphan
76	anos	(png.) usok	(n.) smoke
77	anufol	(png.) isang uri ng baging na may taglay na tubig sa loob na maaaring inumin; ang talbos nito ay maaaring kainin at ginagamt rin ito bilang tradisyunal na gamot; tinatawag rin itong “miracle vine”	(n.) a type of vine that contains water that may be drunk; its leaves may be eaten and are also used in traditional medicine; it is also known as the “miracle vine”
78	anya	(png.) nakakain na dilaw na produkto ng mga bubuyog na medyo mapait at matamis ang lasa	(n.) a golden, edible bee product that is slightly bittersweet in taste; honeycomb
79	anyamo	(png.) tambo	(n.) a type of reed that is usually used for making brooms
80	apa	(pnu.) pipi	(adj.) mute
81	apdo	(png.) apdo	(n.) bile
82	apka ¹	(png.) maliit na lalagyan na gawa sa nito na maaaring itali sa baywang at lagyan ng mga maliliit na gamit tulad ng nganga o pera	(n.) a small pouch made out of nito that may be tied around the waist and may be used to carry small objects such as betel nuts or money
83	apka ²	(png.) dahon na ginagamit bilang pambalot sa “sahing” (dagta mula sa isang uri ng kahoy na ginagamit na pampasiklab ng apoy)	(n.) leaf that is used to wrap around the “sahing” (a type of sap from a particular species of tree that is used as fuel for fire)
84	aramtanan	(pnd.) sama; pagsamahin	(v.) to join together

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
85	araw	(pnb.) mamaya	(adv.) later
86	arihidan	(png.) halaman na may mga tinik ang sanga; karaniwang ginagamit bilang pangkudkod ng pagkain	(n.) a plant that has thorns; often used as a grater for food
87	aryahod	(pnd.; png.) ubo	(v.) to cough (n.) cough
88	asik	(pnd.) talsik	(v.) to splash
89	asin	(png.) asin	(n.) salt
90	ataga	(png.; pnd) taga	(n.) slash; gash (v.) to slash
91	atangon	(pnd.) asiwa; pakiramdaman ng isang tao na siya ang pinag-uusapan	(v.) to feel uneasy; feeling that one is being talked about
92	ato	(pnd.; png.) puna	(v.) to criticize or negatively comment on someone or something (n.) criticism; comment
93	atop	(png.) bubong	(n.) roof
94	atoy	(png.) buto (ng halaman)	(n.) seed
95	ayayo	(pnu.) malayo	(adj.) far
96	ayok ¹	(pnd.; png.) amoy	(v.) to smell (n.) smell
97	ayok ²	(pnd.; png.) halik	(v.) to kiss (n.) kiss
98	aywan	(pnu.) marami	(adj.) many; a lot
99	baba	(pnk.) nasa	(prep.) to be in, on, at
100	baba liyog	(png.) batok	(n.) nape
101	babaw	(pnu.) ibabaw	(adj.) over; on top
102	babay	(png.) asawang babae	(n.) wife
103	babayàn	(pnd.) asawahin ang babae	(v.) to marry a woman
104	babàyan	(png.) duyan	(n.) cradle
105	baboy	(png.) baboy	(n.) pig
106	bàga	(png.) baga	(n.) ember; hot coal
107	bagà	(pnd.; pnu.) maga	(v.) to swell; to get inflamed (adj.) to be swollen
108	bagang	(png.) bagang	(n.) molar teeth
109	baglaw	(png.) isang uri ng isda na maliit at madulas at madalas nakikita sa ilog	(n.) a type of freshwater fish that is small and slippery and commonly seen in the river

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
110	bago	(pnu.) bago; sariwa	(adj.) new; fresh
111	bago marom	(pnb.) bukas ng umaga	(adv.) tomorrow
112	bagwalo	(png.) isang uri ng isda na makikita sa ilog	(n.) a type of freshwater fish
113	bagyo ¹	(png.) bagyo	(n.) typhoon
114	bagyo ²	(png.) hangin	(n.) wind
115	baha	(png.; pnd.) baha	(n.) flood (v.) to flood
116	bahang	(png.) kulungan ng manok na yari sa uway o dahon ng buri	(n.) a cage for chickens that is made out of rattan strips or the leaves of the buri palm tree
117	bahod	(pnd.) isang paraan ng panghuhuli ng isda na kadalasang ginagawa kapag tag-araw; ginagamitan ito ng dahon ng saging	(v.) a method used in fishing that is usually done during the dry season in which a banana leaf is used to catch fish
118	bakbak ¹	(pnd.) palo	(v.) to beat; to strike
119	bakbak ²	(pnd.) paraan ng paglalaba kung saan inilalagay ang basang labahan sa ibabaw ng bato at ipinapalo ang mga ito gamit ang isang palu-palong yari sa kahoy	(v.) a method for washing clothes where the wet laundry is placed on top of a rock and is repeatedly beaten with a wooden paddle
120	baksan <i>var.</i> bagsan	(png.) sugpo	(n.) prawn
121	baksunan	(pnd.) bahing	(v.) to sneeze
122	baladaw	(png.) parte ng puno ng niyog	(n.) a part of a coconut tree
123	balangaw	(png.) bahaghari	(n.) rainbow
124	balangbang	(png.) hita	(v.) thigh
125	balantak	(png.) gamit na yari sa uway na panghuli sa mga lamang tubig-tabang tulad ng isda, alunat, at iba	(n.) a tool used to catch freshwater fish, eels, etc. that is made out of rattan strips
126	balatik	(png.) bitag	(n.) snare; trap
127	balaw	(pnb.) huwag	(adv.) do not
128	balay	(png.) bahay	(n.) house
129	balay-balay	(esp.) “mabuti ka pa”	(exp.) “good for you”
130	balay lawa	(png.) bahay ng gagamba	(n.) spider web
131	balsig	(pnd.) biyak (karaniwan sa kahoy o kawayan)	(v.) to split; to break; to crack (usually in wood or bamboo)

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
132	balukas	(png.) damit na pantaas	(n.) upper clothing
133	balunas	(png.) basahan	(n.) rags
134	baluto	(png.) bangka	(n.) boat; outrigger canoe
135	bangkaw	(png.) sibat	(n.) spear
136	banglo	(pnu.) mabango	(adj.) fragrant
137	bangon	(pnd.) bangon	(v.) to get up; to rise up
138	banig	(png.) banig	(n.) mat
139	banog	(png.) paniki	(n.) bat
140	banon	(png.) uban	(n.) white hair
141	bantay	(pnd.) tingin	(v.) to look; to watch
142	banwa	(png.) langit, himpapawid	(n.) sky; heavens
143	banwanan	(png.) lugar	(n.) place
144	bapa	(png.) (1) tiyo, tito; (2) tawag ng isang lalaki sa kanyang pamangkin	(n.) (1) uncle; (2) a term used by a man to refer to his nephew or niece
145	baras	(png.) buhangin	(n.) sand
146	baribid	(pnu.) tabingi	(adj.) uneven; lopsided
147	barikos	(pnd.) pulupot	(v.) to coil around
148	barikwang	(pnu.) baluktot; baliko	(adj.) bent; crooked
149	barot	(png.) bao	(n.) coconut shell
150	barot alfuyo	(png.) bungo	(n.) skull
151	barukong ¹	(pnu.) kuba	(adj.) hunchbacked
152	barukong ²	(png.) isang piraso ng kahoy na ginagamit bilang sangkap sa paggawa ng patibong (singkahulugan ng: buwag ¹)	(n.) a piece of wood used as a part for making a snare (synonym: buwag ¹)
153	baryuan	(png.) lugar	(n.) place
154	basad	(png.) loob	(n.) inside
155	baston	(esp.) grabe ka!	(exp.) you're too much!
156	basungaw	(pnu.) amoy utot	(adj.) to smell like a fart
157	bati	(pnn.) bakit	(int.) why; how come
158	bato	(png.) bato	(n.) rock; stone
159	baw	(pnu.) mabaho	(adj.) foul-smelling; stinky
160	bawang	(png.) bawang	(n.) garlic
161	bay	(png.) (1) tiya, tita; (2) tawag ng babae sa kanyang pamangkin	(n.) (1) aunt; (2) term used by a woman to refer to her nephew or niece
162	bayan	(png.) usa	(n.) deer
163	bay-ong	(png.) bayong	(n.) a woven bag

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
164	bibig	(png.) (1) bibig; (2) labi	(n.) (1) mouth; (2) lip
165	bilang	(pnd.) bilang	(v.) to count
166	bilis	(png.) pantuhog	(n.) skewer
167	bilog ¹	(png.) katawan	(n.) body
168	bilog ²	(png.) tabi; katabi	(n.) side; beside
169	bilog ³	(pnd.) ubos	(v.) to finish; to empty
170	bilòg	(pnu.) bilog	(adj.) round
171	binagaw	(png.) itak	(n.) bolo knife
172	bingaw	(png.) alitaptap	(n.) firefly
173	binugas	(png.) bigas	(n.) rice grain
174	bitbit	(pnd.) dala	(v.) to bring
175	bitik	(png.) patibong na ginagamit sa paghuli ng ibon; ito ay ginagawa o inilalagay sa taas ng puno	(n.) a trap for catching birds which is made or placed on top of a tree
176	bitis	(png.) paa	(n.) foot
177	biyat <i>var. byat</i>	(pnu.; png.) bigat	(adj.) heavy (n.) weight
178	biyuhò	(png.) isang uri ng suso	(n.) a type of snail
179	bok	(png.) buhok	(n.) hair
180	bok tungod mata	(png.) kilay	(n.) eyelash
181	boknga	(png.) gitna	(n.) middle; center
182	bol	(pnd.) kuha	(v.) to take, get
183	buaya	(png.) buwaya	(n.) crocodile
184	buga	(png.) balat o pambalot ng pagkain o bagay	(n.) peel or the wrapper of a food or object
185	buhad	(png.) bunga	(n.) fruit; (plant) produce
186	buhagon	(pnu.) sinungaling	(adj.) liar
187	buhon	(pnb.) hindi	(adv.) no; not
188	buklas	(pnd.) bukas	(v.) to open
189	buklid	(pnd.) pasan, buhat (sa likod)	(v.) to carry on one's back; to piggyback
190	buknga ¹	(png.) kalahati; gitna	(n.) half; middle
191	buknga sirang	(pnb.) tanghali	(adv.) noon; midday
192	buknga yabi	(pnb.) hating gabi	(adv.) midnight
193	buknga ²	(pnd.) nandoon	(v.) to be (located) over there
194	bukod	(pnu.) iba	(adj.) other; different
195	bulan	(png.) itlog	(n.) egg
196	bulan bunga	(png.) bayag	(n.) testicle
197	bulawan ¹	(png.) ginto	(n.) gold

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
198	bulawan ²	(png.) isang maliit at kulay puti na suso	(n.) a type of small, white snail
199	bulbugan	(png.) bukal (ng tubig)	(n.) spring (of fresh water)
200	bulhog	(png.) butlig (png.) butil	(n.) small bumps; wen (n.) bead or grain (like mung beans)
201	bulong	(png.) gamot	(n.) medicine
202	famulong	(pnd.) gamot	(v.) to cure; to treat one's sickness
203	famulungan	(png.) manggagamot	(n.) healer; doctor
204	bulos	(pnd.) agos	(v.) to flow
205	bunang	(png.) sinulid	(n.) thread
206	bunga	(png.) ari ng lalaki, titi, utin	(n.) penis
207	bunggo	(pnd.) bali; putol	(v.) to break; to snap
208	bungkok	(pnu.) bingi	(adj.) deaf
209	bungol	(pnd.) laro	(v.) to play
210	bungulan	(png.) isang uri ng saging	(n.) a kind of banana
211	bunwan	(pnb.) hindi	(adv.) no; not
212	bura	(png.) bula	(n.) foam
213	burakan	(png.) bulaklak	(n.) flower
214	buribong	(pnd.) hilo	(v.) to get dizzy
215	burol	(png.) sipon	(n.) nasal mucus
216	busni	(pnd.) pisa	(v.) to squish
217	buta	(pnu.) bulag	(adj.) blind
218	butiting	(pnu.) busog na busog	(adj.) satiated; extremely full (after eating)
219	butol ¹	(png.) butil	(n.) grain; bead; kernel
220	butol ²	(png.) buto; tinik	(n.) bone
221	butol taw	(png.) buto ng tao	(n.) human bone
222	butol uyang	(png.) tinik ng isda	(n.) fish bone
223	butot	(png.) isang uri ng maliit na hipon	(n.) a type of very small shrimp
224	buwag ¹	(png.) isang piraso ng kahoy na ginagamit bilang sangkap sa paggawa ng patibong (singkahulagan ng: barukong ²)	(n.) a piece of wood used as a part for making a snare (synonym: barukong ²)
225	buwag ²	(png.) itlog na hindi napisa	(n.) egg that did not get squished or cracked
226	buyag	(pnd.; png) buhay	(v.) to be alive (n.) life

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
227	buyboy	(png.) kapok	(n.) kapok tree
228	buyog	(png.) basket	(n.) basket
229	buyok	(pnu.) sira; bulok	(adj.) rotten; spoiled
230	buyon	(pnu.) pipi	(adj.) mute
231	daanon	(pnu.) luma	(adj.) old
232	dafang ¹	(png.) (1) dipa; (2) dangkal	(n.) (1) the length of both arms stretched out; (2) a unit of measure from tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger when the hand is spread out
233	dafang ²	(png.) sasamba; samba-samba (uri ng insekto)	(n.) praying mantis
234	dafog	(png.) abo	(n.) ash; ashes
235	dagà ¹	(png.) lupa	(n.) ground; earth; soil
236	dagà ²	(png.) ilalim	(n.) under; underneath
237	daga bibig	(png.) baba	(n.) chin
238	dàga	(png.) (1) tawag sa pag-aalay sa mga diwata, laman lupa, o kay Bathala; (2) pagpatay o pagpapatulo ng dugo ng puting manok o baboy sa lugar na pag-aalayan upang palayasin o matuwa ang mga lamang-lupa o diwata	(n.) (1) ritual of giving an offering to fairies, spirits, a god, or other supernatural beings; (2) a ritual in which a white chicken or a pig is killed and its blood is spilled on the ground to either cast out or to please fairies, spirits, or other supernatural beings
239	dagat	(png.) dagat	(n.) sea; ocean
240	dagdag	(pnd.) hulog; laglag	(v.) to fall; to drop
241	dagom	(png.) karayom	(n.) needle
242	dahi	(pnd.) dikit	(v.) to stick on; to fasten on; to attach to; to make close together
243	madahi	(pnu.) madikit	(adj.) sticky
244	dahoday	(pnn.) magkano	(int.) how much (money)
245	dahol	(pnu.) (1) malaki; (2) malawak; (3) maluwag (pnd.) laki	(adj.) (1) big; large; (2) wide; (3) spacious (v.) to become big
246	dala	(pnd.) takot	(v.) to fear; to be afraid
247	madala	(pnu.) nakakatakot	(adj.) scary; frightful
248	dalan	(png.) daan	(n.) road; way; path
249	dalandan	(pnd.) takbo	(v.) to run
250	dali	(pnu.) bilis	(adj.) fast

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
251	dalid	(png.) ugat ng halaman	(n.) root of a plant
252	dalugdog	(png.) kulog	(n.) thunder
253	daluhap	(png.) palad	(n.) palm of the hand
254	damit	(pnd.) tahi	(v.) to sew
255	damol	(pnu.; png.) kapal	(adj.) thick (n.) thickness
256	damloy	(pnd.; pnu.) dulas	(v.) to slide; to slip (adj.) slippery
257	danawan	(png.) lubluban ng mga kalabaw o baboy	(n.) puddle where pigs and cows swim
258	dangap	(esp.) naku!	(exp.) oh my! yikes!
259	dangaw	(png.) dipa	(n.) the length of both arms stretched out
260	danom	(png.) tubig	(n.) water
261	darag	(png.) tuyong dahon	(n.) dried leaf/leaves
262	dararag	(pnu.) pula	(adj.) red
263	dasdas	(pnd.) pag-alis ng balat ng kahoy	(v.) to strip off the bark of a wood
264	dasog ¹	(pnd.) dating	(v.) to come
265	dasog ²	(pnd.) abot	(v.) (1) to hand something over; (2) to reach
266	dayaga	(png.) dalaga	(n.) young unmarried woman
267	dàyo	(pnb.) ayaw	(adv.) to not want
268	dayò	(png.) tabi; katabi	(n.) beside
269	dayo marom	(pnb.) umaga	(adv.) daytime
270	di	(pnb.) (1) din/rin; (2) lang; lamang	(adv.) (1) too; also; (2) only
271	didi	(png.) nanay; ina; inay	(n.) mother
272	dihot	(png.) patpat	(n.) stick of wood
273	dila	(png.) dila	(n.) tongue
274	dilaw	(pnu.) dilaw	(adj.) yellow
275	disag	(pnd.) bigay	(v.) to give
276	ditag	(png.) bitag	(n.) a snare or trap
277	diya	(pnd.) dala	(v.) to bring; to carry
278	diyahot <i>var.</i> dyahot	(png.) pulut-pukyutan	(n.) honey
279	dubdob	(png.) dibdib	(n.) chest
280	dog ¹	(pnd.) tikim	(v.) to taste
281	fandog	(png.) lasa	(n.) taste

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
282	dog ²	(pnd.) kinig	(v.) to hear; to listen
283	fadog	(pnd.) (1) iparinig; (2) idaing	(v.) (1) to let someone hear; (2) to complain about something to someone
284	dugang	(pnd.) dagdag	(v.) to add
285	dugay	(pnb.) matagal	(adv.) long in time
286	dugi	(png.) tinik ng halaman	(n.) thorn on a plant
287	dukson ¹	(pnd.; png.) labas	(v.) to exit; to go out (n.) outside
288	dukson ²	(pnd.) baba	(v.) to go down
289	dulom	(pnu.; png.) dilim	(adj.) dark (n.) darkness
290	dungdungan	(png.) kubo na nagsisilbing pansamantalang pahingahan o silungan mula sa init o ulan	(n.) a hut used as a temporary shelter for resting or to get away from the rain or heat of the sun
291	dungfaw	(pnu.) kalbo	(adj.) bald
292	dutdot	(pnd.) siksik	(v.) to pack tightly or to squeeze something into another thing
293	duwa	(pnu.) dalawa	(adj.) two
294	duwa di	(pnu.) dadalawa	(adj.) two only
295	duwa-duwa	(pnb.) daladalawa	(adv.) by twos; two at a time
296	duwa ginan	(pnb.) dalawang beses	(adv.) twice
297	duwak-daan	(pnu.) dalawang daan	(adj.) two hundred
298	duwak-safulo	(pnu.) dalawampu	(adj.) twenty
299	faduwa	(pnu.) pangalawa; ikalawa	(adj.) second
300	tig-duwa	(pnb.) tig-dalawa	(adv.) two each
301	duwakwa <i>var.</i> dakwa	(pnb.) wala	(adv.) none; to not have
302	duwat ¹ <i>var.</i> dwat	(pnu.) masama	(adj.) bad
303	igduwatan <i>var.</i> igdwatan	(pnd.) magwala	(v.) to throw a tantrum
304	duwat ² <i>var.</i> dwat	(pnd.) sira; giba	(v.) to break; to demolish
305	faakwa	(pnu.) wala	(adj.) none
306	faangay	(pnd.) sang-ayon	(pnd.) to agree
307	fadi fadi	(esp.) salamat (ito ay maaaring galing sa ibang wika)	(exp.) thank you (this might have been adopted from other languages)

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
308	faduwasay	(png.) kapatid	(n.) sibling
309	fafa	(png.) kanin; halamang-ugat (katulad ng kamote, gabi, at ube)	(n.) cooked rice; root crops (such as sweet potato, taro, and yam)
310	fafa mariyang	(png.) bahaw	(n.) leftover cooked rice
311	fafon	(pnb.) kahapon	(adv.) yesterday
312	fagaba	(pnb.) lagi; madalas	(adv.) often
313	fagaba-fagaba	(pnb.) lagi-lagi	(adv.) always
314	fagaw	(pnu.) paos	(adj.) hoarse
315	fagawayon	(png.) alila; alipin	(n.) slave; servant
316	fagayo	(pnu.) lahat	(adj.) all
317	fagfag	(pnd.) laglag	(v.) to fall
318	fagtahinan	(png.) pinuno	(n.) leader; chief
319	fagyahos	(png.) bigkis; sinturon	(n.) belt
320	fakdat	(png.) peklat	(n.) scar
321	fakfak	(png.) pakpak	(n.) wing
322	fakfo	(pnd.) tumba	(v.) to fall down
323	faknol	(png.) laman ng hayop	(n.) meat or flesh of an animal
324	faktaw	(pnn.) sino	(int.) who
	<i>var. fagtaw</i>		
325	falad	(png.) kaluluwa	(n.) spirit; soul
326	falayfayon	(pnu.) mahangin	(adj.) windy
	<i>var. farayfayon</i>		
327	falfal	(png.) uri ng baging; ito ay dinidikdik para makuha ang dagta nito na ginagamit na pampahilo ng mga isda para mas madali itong mahuli	(n.) a type of vine; it is pounded to get its sap, which is used to make fish dizzy to make them easier to catch
328	falingo	(pnd.) loko; daya	(v.) to fool or cheat someone
329	falo	(pnd.) tulong	(v.) to help
330	famaguan	(png.) isang pagdiriwang na isinasagawa bilang pasasalamat sa Amang May Likha sa masaganang ani	(n.) a celebration done to give thanks to the Creator god for a bountiful harvest
331	famaklay	(png.) bisita	(n.) visitor
332	famalo	(png.) manggagawa	(n.) worker; laborer
333	famaris ¹	(png.) walis tingting (pnd.) walis	(n.) a broom made of the ribs of palm leaves (v.) to sweep (the floor/ground)

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
334	famaris ²	(png.) basahan	(n.) rags used for wiping or cleaning
335	famataw	(pnd.) iwan	(v.) to leave behind
336	igfamataw	(png.) tagabantay	(n.) watchman; guard
337	famgas	(pnd.) tanim	(v.) to plant
338	famo	(pnd.) arte (pnu.) maarte	(v.) to act out (adj.) snobby; melodramatic
339	fana	(png.) pana	(n.) arrow
340	fanalinga	(png.) hikaw	(n.) earrings
341	fananom	(png.) binhi (pnd.) tanim	(n.) seed for planting (v.) to plant
342	fanaya	(pnd.) hintay	(v.) to wait
343	fandahit	(png.) pampakapit	(n.) glue or other materials used for sticking or attaching something to another
344	fandong	(png.) pandong	(n.) a piece of cloth used to cover one's head
345	fangahan	(png.) panganay	(n.) firstborn; eldest child
346	fanganon	(png.) pagkain	(n.) food
347	fangaraw	(png.) taon	(n.) year
348	fanggasan	(png.) bituin	(n.) star
349	fangi	(png.) ihi	(n.) urine
350	fangil	(png.) pangil	(n.) fang
351	fangta	(pnd.) pitas	(v.) to pluck
352	faniring	(pnd.) gaya; tularan	(v.) to imitate
353	fanlufok	(png.) bukung-bukong	(n.) ankle
354	fantaw	(png.) papag sa may harapan ng bahay kung saan tumatanggap ng bisita; sala	(n.) reception area for guests; living room
355	fanuludan	(png.) lahat ng uri ng espesyal na okasyon na may handaan (hal. kasal; pagkalibing ng patay)	(n.) any kind of celebration or special event where food is served (e.g., wedding; burial)
356	fanyak	(pnd.) akyat	(v.) to climb
357	faramnag	(pnd.) ilaw	(v.) to light up
358	faringfing	(png.) pisngi	(n.) cheek
359	farom	(pnd.) sara	(v.) to close; to shut
360	faros	(pnd.) anggi	(v.) the entry of rain through an open window or door
361	faruhot	(pnu.) kulot	(adj.) curly

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
362	faryang	(pnd.) palamigin	(v.) to make something cold; to cool something down
363	fasan	(pnd.) pasan; buhat sa likod (kapag kagamitan at hindi tao ang binubuhat)	(v.) to carry something upon one's shoulder
364	fasarirong	(pnd.) silong	(v.) to take shelter from the rain or sun
365	fasyanit	(png.) isang uri ng insekto na sa tag-araw lang nabubuhay	(n.) a type of insect that only lives during the dry season
366	fatuga	(pnd.) mag-imbento ng kwento	(v.) to make up a story
367	fauo	(png.) pagong	(n.) turtle
368	faw	(pnu.) panis	(adj.) stale; spoiled
369	fawan	(pnb.) hindi na	(adv.) not anymore
370	fayag	(pnd.) nilipad	(v.) blown away
371	fayay	(png.) palay	(n.) rice plant
372	fayok	(pnd.) pagpunas ng puwit	(v.) to wipe one's butt
373	fayong	(pnd.) sabi	(v.) to say
374	fidfid	(pnd.) duyan; pagyakap, kadalasan ng bata para ito'y makatulog	(v.) to cradle; to hold (usually a child) in one's arms; to cuddle (usually a child to lull them to sleep)
375	fidis	(pnd.) piga (ng basang damit or tela)	(v.) to wring (wet clothing or fabric)
376	figa	(png.) alipunga	(n.) athlete's foot
377	fihaw	(png.) palaka	(n.) frog
378	fika	(pnd.) tanggal, kadalasan ng hawakan ng itak o gulok	(v.) to fall off (referring to when the handle of a bolo knife falls off)
379	fikit	(pnd.) pikit	(v.) to close one's eyes
380	filay	(pnu.) pilay	(adj.) limp; lame
381	fili ¹	(pnd.) pili	(v.) to choose
382	fili ²	(png.) puno ng pili; bunga ng pili	(n.) pili tree; pili nut
383	fisang	(pnd.) hati (png.) kalahati	(v.) to divide (n.) half
384	fisik	(pnd.) tapon	(v.) to throw away
385	fisnga	(pnd.) bitak	(v.) to break; to crack
386	fito	(pnu.) pito	(adj.) seven
387	fitok-daan	(pnu.) pitong daan	(adj.) seven hundred
388	fitok-safulo	(pnu.) pitompu	(adj.) seventy
389	fafito	(pnu.) pampito	(adj.) seventh

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
390	fiya	(pnu.) (1) mabuti; (2) tama; (3) maganda; (4) magaling (ang pakiramdam o karamdaman)	(adj.) (1) good; (2) right; (3) beautiful; (4) well (in terms of health)
391	fiyanan	(pnd.) ayos	(v.) to make good or better; to put in order
392	fiyaon	(pnu.) masarap	(adj.) delicious
393	fafiyaan	(pnd.) pagalingin	(v.) to do better
394	fiyad	(pnd.) pahid	(v.) to wipe
395	fiyat	(png.) isang uri ng maliit na isda na makikita sa ilog	(n.) a type of small freshwater fish
396	fod	(pnd.) bali (sa katawan ng tao)	(v.) to break (a part of a person's body)
397	fufu ina	(png.) lola	(n.) grandmother
398	fufu ama	(png.) lolo	(n.) grandfather
399	fon ¹ (hayo)	(png.) puno	(n.) tree
400	fon ²	(png.) may-ari	(n.) owner
401	fon ³	(pnu.) katabi	(adj.) adjacent; beside
402	fugad	(png.) pugad	(n.) bird's nest
403	fugfog	(pnd.) palo (sa likod; madalas gamit ng isang kahoy); pukpok	(v.) to hit (on the back; usually with a wooden paddle); to hammer
404	fugis ¹	(png.) (1) abo; (2) alikabok	(n.) (1) ash; (2) dust
405	fugis ²	(pnu.) puro	(adj.) pure
406	fugis ³	(pnu.; png.) sobra	(adj.) excessive (n.) surplus; excess
407	fugong	(png.) puyod (png.) tali sa buhok	(n.) topknot (n.) hair tie
408	fuhot <i>var.</i> fulhot	(pnd.) pulupot	(v.) to coil around
409	fulaw	(pnd.) gising	(v.) to be awake; to wake up
410	fulid	(pnd.) gulong	(v.) to roll
411	fulingan	(png.) isang uri ng isda na makikita sa ilog	(n.) a type of freshwater fish
412	fulot	(png.) dugo	(n.) blood
413	funa	(png.) bituka; laman-loob	(n.) guts; entrails; innards
414	fungso ¹	(png.) bundok	(n.) mountain
415	fungso ²	(png.) punso	(n.) mound of dirt
416	furo hayo	(png.) gubat, kagubatan; kakahuyan	(n.) woods; forest

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
417	furong	(png.) bulbol	(n.) pubic hair
418	furos	(pnd.) hilik	(v.) to snore
419	furusan	(pnd.) mahimbing na pagkatulog	(v.) to sleep soundly
420	fuso	(png.) puso	(n.) heart
421	fusod	(png.) pusod	(n.) navel
422	futak	(png.) putak	(n.) cackle (of chickens)
423	futik	(pnd.) pikit	(v.) to close one's eyes
424	mafutik	(pnd.) pungay (pnu.) inaantok	(v.) to open and close one's eyes sleepily (adj.) sleepy
425	futol	(pnd.) itak	(n.) axe
426	fuwali <i>var. fwali</i>	(pnd.) balik	(v.) to return
427	fuwalid <i>var.</i>	(pnd.) lagay	(v.) to put
428	fuwanan <i>var. fwanan</i>	(pnd.) (1) bigay; (2) ipakain	(v.) (1) to give; (2) to feed
429	fuwayong <i>var. fwayong</i>	(pnd.) sabi; salita	(v.) to say; to speak
430	fuyfoy ¹	(pnd.) paglaro sa putikan	(v.) to play in the mud
431	fuyfoy ²	(pnd.) lublob	(v.) to immerse (in a type of liquid)
432	fuyfoy ³	(png.) insekto na gumagawa ng parang ipu-ipo na marka sa buhangin o malabuhangin na lupa na siyang palatandaan na may umiiral o nakatirang "fuyfoy" sa lugar	(n.) an insect that creates spiral patterns on sand or on loose, fine soil which mark the presence of this animal in the area
433	fuyo	(png.) grupo	(n.) group
434	fuyò ¹	(pnu.) purol	(adj.) blunt; dull
435	fuyò ²	(png.) nakababatang kapatid	(n.) younger sibling
436	fuyò-fuyò	(png.) bunso	(n.) youngest child
437	fuyo dagat	(png.) pulo	(n.) island
438	fuyos	(pnd.) ipit	(v.) to squeeze; to pin down
439	gabagat	(pnb.) lalo	(adv.) more
440	gafas ¹	(png.) bulak	(n.) cotton
441	gafas ²	(pnd.) ani; pagputol ng damo o palay	(v.) to harvest; to cut grass or rice plant
442	gafos	(pnd.) gapos	(v.) to tie up

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
443	gaha	(png.) bintana	(n.) window
444	gaham	(pnd.) hikab	(v.) to yawn
445	gahap	(pnd.) haplos	(v.) to caress
446	galad	(png.) bakod	(n.) fence
447	galang	(png.) lata	(n.) tin can
448	galbok	(png.) alikabok	(n.) dust
449	galingaw	(pnd.) hanap	(v.) to find
450	galwad	(pnd.; pnu.) mangulila	(v.) to be orphaned; to bereave (adj.) bereft
451	galwasi	(pnd.) ibig; mahal	(v.) love; desire
452	gamat ¹	(png.) kamay	(n.) hand
453	gamat ²	(pnd.) hawak	(v.) to hold
454	gamat ³	(pnd.) huli; dakip	(v.) to catch
455	gamrot	(pnd.) dakip	(v.) to capture
456	gamtanan	(pnd.) ipagsama	(v.) to put together
457	ganga	(pnd.; png.) pagtatago ng isang bagay, na maaaring kinuha mula sa isang parte ng katawan ng tao, sa isang puno sa loob ng gubat na pinaniniwalaang pinagmumulan ng sakit o malas ng isang tao; ang isang tao na nakasagi o nakahawak sa puno kung saan may nakatagong ganga ay maaaring magkaroon ng sakit o malas kung kaya't hindi pumupunta sa mga lugar kung saan alam nila ay mayroong mga punong ginagamit para rito	(v.; n.) to hide an object, which may also be a part of person's body, in a tree deep inside the forest to drive away sickness or bad luck that it is believed to be the cause of; a person who touches or bumps against a tree where a ganga is hidden might in turn get the same sickness or bad luck, which is why people do not like to venture deep into the woods where they know such trees are used for this purpose
458	gango	(pnu.) tuyoy	(adj.) dry
459	ganit	(pnu.) tigas	(adj.) hard
460	gara	(pnd.) pag-alis ng mga dahon mula sa nakatumbang kahoy	(v.) to remove leaves from a fallen tree
461	garang	(pnu.) lutong	(adj.) brittle; crunchy
462	gata	(png.) gata	(n.) coconut milk
463	gatas	(png.) gatas	(n.) milk
464	gatol	(pnd.; pnu.) kati	(v.) itch (adj.) itchy

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
465	gawadan	(png.) lalagyan ng tubig na yari sa kawayan	(n.) a bamboo container for water
466	gaway	(pnd; png.) away	(v.) to fight; to argue (n.) fight; argument; battle
467	gayamon	(png.) pawis	(n.) sweat
468	magayamon	(pnu.) maalinsangan	(adj.) humid
469	gayangas	(pnd.) hapo; hingal	(v.) to pant; to be winded
470	gayfan	(pnd.) (1) isip; (2) akala	(v.) (1) to think; (2) to assume
471	gayos	(pnd.) (1) kamot; (2) kalmot	(v.) to scratch
472	gayan	(pnd.) halika	(v.) come over here
473	gaywan	(pnd.) pilit na makuha o mahuli ang isang bagay	(v.) to strain to catch or get something
474	gibgib	(png.) uri ng baging na matigas; maaaring gamitin bilang pantali	(n.) a type of vine that has a hard stem; may be used as a rope
475	gigit	(pnd.) pagkiskis ng dalawang kahoy para gumawa ng tunog; ito ay ginagawa sa paghuhuli ng mga paniki	(v.) to rub together two pieces of wood to make a sound; this is done in catching bats
476	ginahin	(pnn.) kailan	(int.) when
477	ginan	(pnd.) alis; lisan	(v.) to leave; to depart
478	ginanan ¹	(pnu.) panghuli	(adj.) last
479	ginanan ²	(png.) pinanggalingan	(n.) place of origin
480	ginas	(pnd.) bulong	(v.) to whisper
481	gindahod	(pnd.) ahon	(v.) to go up
482	ginom	(pnd.) inom	(v.) to drink
483	gipsaw	(pnd.) hika	(v.) to be short of breath; to suffer asthma
484	gitas	(pnd.) punit	(v.) to tear; to rip
485	gubang	(png.) baybayin; pampang	(n.) shore
486	gubok	(pnd.) lapit	(v.) to approach
487	gubon	(png.) bukal (ng tubig)	(n.) spring (of freshwater)
488	gubyab	(pnd.) antok	(v.) to be sleepy
489	guho	(png.) kuko	(n.) fingernail or toenail
490	guho bitis	(png.) kuko sa paa	(n.) toenail
491	guho gamat	(png.) kuko sa kamay	(n.) fingernail
492	guhom	(pnu.) dilim	(adj.) dark
493	guli	(pnu.) kasya	(adj.) fit well; sufficient
494	gulong	(png.) gulong	(n.) wheel

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
495	gulyaw	(pnd.) pagsigaw para ipabatid na may tao	(v.) to shout to announce one's presence
496	gumgom	(pnd.) kapit; kuyom	(v.) to grasp; to clench
497	guna	(pnu.) una	(adj.) first
498	gunaw	(pnd.) hugas	(v.) to wash
499	gunggong	(png.) isang uri ng suso na kadalasan ay makikita lamang sa gubat	(n.) a type of snail that is usually only found in the forest
500	gurang	(pnu.) matanda	(adj.) old
501	gurangon ¹	(png.) (1) nakatatanda; (2) pinuno	(n.) (1) elder; (2) leader
502	gurangon ²	(pnu.) malaki	(adj.) big
503	guron	(pnd.) higop	(v.) to sip; to slurp
504	guyan	(pnd.) sunod (pnu.) huli	(v.) to follow (adj.) last; to be late
505	guyod	(pnd.) (1) hila; (2) kaladkad	(v.) (1) to pull; (2) to drag
506	guyok	(pnd.) kurot	(v.) pinch
507	guyoy	(png.) likod (pnd.) talikod	(n.) back (v.) to turn one's back
508	gwab	(pnd.) proseso ng pagkuha ng pulot mula sa mga insektong gumagawa nito	(v.) process of getting honey from honey-producing insects
509	habàn	(png.) kaban	(n.) chest; trunk
510	hàban	(png.) grupo	(n.) group
511	habayo	(png.) kabayo	(n.) horse
512	habot	(png.) puwit	(n.) buttocks
513	habutan	(pnd.) maganda ang puwit	(adj.) to have nice-looking buttocks
514	hadayo	(png.) rambutan	(n.) rambutan
515	hagang	(png.) alimango	(n.) crab
516	hagat	(pnd.) kagat	(v.) to bite
517	hagaw	(pnd.) agaw	(v.) to snatch; to grab from someone
518	halagyas	(png.) isang uri ng suso	(n.) a type of snail
519	halayan	(png.) hipon	(n.) shrimp
520	halayawan	(png.) langit; himpapawid	(n.) sky; horizon
521	halyawan	(png.) isang uri ng ibon	(n.) a type of bird
522	halig	(pnd.) gawa	(v.) to do
523	haluhuban	(png.) suksukan or lagayan ng itak	(n.) sheathe; scabbard

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
524	ham	(pnh.) kayo	(pro.) you (plural)
525	hambing	(png.) kambing	(n.) goat
526	hami	(pnh.) kami	(pro.) we; us (exclusive)
527	hampang	(pnd.; png.) salita	(v.) to say; to speak (n.) speech; saying
528	hampay	(pkl.) para	(prep.) for
529	hanggan	(pgr.) at	(conj.) and
530	hangin	(png.) isang uri ng saging	(n.) a kind of banana
531	hanya ¹	(pnh.) ikaw	(pro.) you
532	hanya ²	(pnd.) (1) punta; (2) lapit	(v.) (1) to go; (2) to approach
533	hanyawan <i>var.</i> hawan	(pnh.) doon	(pro.) over there
534	hapkap	(pnd.) dukot	(v.) to draw out or pull out
535	hapkos	(png.) isang uri ng lalagyan ng maliliit na bagay tulad ng nganga na itinatali sa baywang	(n.) a pouch usually used to carry small items betel nuts and is tied around the waist
536	hapsa	(pnd.) patay (ang ilaw, apoy, o makina)	(v.) to turn off; to extinguish (fire)
537	hapsog	(pnd.; pnu.) busog	(v.) to be full (after eating) (adj.) full (after eating); satiated
538	harabaw	(png.) kalabaw	(n.) water buffalo
539	haraw	(pnb.) kanina	(adv.) a while ago; earlier
540	harukog	(pnd.) nginig	(v.) to shake, shiver
541	has	(pkl.) papunta sa	(prep.) to; towards
542	has daga <i>var.</i> ham daga	pababa	downward
543	has tungod <i>var.</i> ham tungad	pataas	upward
544	hasang	(png.) hasang	(n.) gills
545	hasawan	(pnh.) doon	(pro.) over there
546	hasay	(pnd.) tawa	(v.) to laugh
547	hasnog	(png.) tunog; tinig	(n.) sound; voice
548	haw	(pnh.) ikaw	(pro.) you
549	hawali	(png.) kawali	(n.) pan; wok (for cooking)
550	hawayan	(png.) kawayan	(n.) bamboo
551	hay nabi	(esp.) ano'ng nangyari?	(exp.) what happened?

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
552	haya	(png.; pnd.) hiya	(n.) shame; embarrassment (v.) to be ashamed; to be embarrassed
553	hàyo	(png.) kahoy	(n.) wood
554	hayò	(pnh.) inyo	(pro.) yours (plural)
555	hayop	(png.) hayop	(n.) animal
556	hilar	(png.) kidlat	(n.) lightning
557	hiling	(png.) isang uri ng kawayan na may mga tinik	(n.) a type of bamboo with thorns
558	hinol	(pnd.; pnu.) gular; gitla	(v.) to surprise (adj.) surprised; shocked
559	hiyagos <i>var.</i> hyagos	(pnd.) ligo	(v.) to bathe
560	hudkod	(pnd.) hukay	(v.) to dig
561	hugod	(pnu.; png.) sipag	(adj.) industrious (n.) industriousness
562	hulok	(pnd.) kulo	(v.) to boil
563	humi	(png.) (1) bigote; (2) balbas	(n.) (1) mustache; (2) beard
564	humot	(png.) kumot	(n.) blanket
565	hunas	(png.) kati	(n.) low tide
566	huri ¹	(pnd.; pnu.) galit	(v.) to be angry (adj.) angry
567	huri ²	(pnu.; png.) hirap	(adj.) difficult; poor (n.) difficulty
568	mahuri	(pnu.) mahirap	(adj.) to be difficult; to be poor
569	huskos	(pnd.) kuskos	(v.) to rub
570	huto	(png.) kuto	(n.) louse
571	huway ¹	(png.; pnu.) bait	(n.) kindness (adj.) kind
572	huway ²	(pnd.) pahinga	(v.) to rest
573	hyabi <i>var.</i> yabi	(pnb.) noong unang panahon	(adv.) a long time ago
574	ibulon	(pnd.) gawa	(v.) to make; to do
575	ido	(png.) aso	(n.) dog
576	gido	(pnd.) aso	(v.) to hunt
577	idwan	(pnb.) hindi	(adv.) no; not
578	idwan fiya <i>var.</i> du fiya, dwan fiya	(pnu.) (1) masama; (2) pangit	(adj.) (1) bad; (2) ugly

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
579	ifos	(png.) pigma	(n.) boil; skin abscess
580	igang	(png.) apoy	(n.) fire
581	igit ¹	(pnd.) talo	(v.) to lose
582	igit ²	(pnd.) wasiwas	(v.) to wave; to brandish
583	iglis	(png.; pnu.) asim	(n.) sourness (adj.) sour
584	igsido	(pnd.) dighay	(v.) to belch
585	igyan	(pnd.) higa	(v.) to lie down
586	igyay	(pnd.) pahingi	(v.) to ask for something
587	ihog	(png.) buntot	(n.) tail
588	iktan	(pnd.) huli	(v.) to catch; to capture
589	il-ilong	(pnd.) iling	(v.) to shake one's head
590	iloy	(png.) laway	(n.) saliva
591	ina	(png.) (1) babae; (2) nanay; ina	(n.) (1) female; woman; (2) mother
592	inan	(png.) (1) babaeng hayop; (2) nanay na kuto	(n.) (1) female animal; (2) queen termite
593	inang	(png.) lola	(n.) grandmother
594	inandang <i>var.</i> inangdang	(png.) atay	(n.) liver
595	indugan	(png.) asawang lalaki	(n.) husband
596	inok	(pnd.) tigil; hinto	(v.) to stop
597	insan	(png.) pinsan	(n.) cousin
598	intaw	(pnd.) tanong	(n.) to ask
599	ipsaw	(png.) hinga	(n.) breath
600	irog	(pnd.) sunog	(v.) to burn
601	isnahi	(png.) pabango	(n.) perfume
602	isnyamo	(pnh.) diyan	(pro.) there
603	isog	(pnd.; pnu.) galit	(v.) to be angry (adj.) angry
604	istay	(pnh.) dito	(pro.) here
605	iyab	(pnd.) kaingin	(v.) the act of clearing land for planting by burning out trees, shrubby, and weeds
606	kabayan	(pnu.) kaunti	(adj.) few
607	kabayong	(pnd.; pnu.) selos	(v.) to be jealous (adj.) jealous
608	kadala	(png.; pnd.) takot	(n.) fear (v.) to fear; to be afraid

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
609	kadkad	(pnd.) kalkal; halukay	(v.) to dig around; to rummage through
610	kaka	(png.) nakakatandang kapatid	(n.) older sibling
611	kalaban	(png.) kaaway	(n.) enemy
612	kalfot	(pnd.) putok	(v.) to explode; to pop
613	kalig	(pnd.) gawa	(v.) to do; to make; to construct
614	kaling	(png.) tunog	(n.) sound
615	kalto	(pnd.) putok	(v.) to explode; to pop
616	kana	(pnh.) ano	(pnh.) what
617	kambang	(pnu.) lungkot	(adj.) sad
618	kandiro	(png.) kaldero	(n.) cauldron; pot (for cooking)
619	kandol	(pnd.) uhaw	(v.) to be thirsty
620	kapkap	(pnd.) dukot	(v.) to pull out
621	karas	(pnd.; png.) kaluskos	(v.) to rustle (n.) rustling sound
622	karot	(pnd.) ngumalot	(v.) to crunch; to chew noisily
623	karukudan	(png.) kudkuran	(n.) coconut grater
624	kasaya	(png.) gusto; nais; ibig	(n.) love; desire
625	kasngi	(png.; pnd.) bitak	(n.) crack (v.) to crack
626	kati	(pnb.) ngayon	(adv.) now
627	katik	(png.) tunog mula sa pagbali ng kahoy dahil sa pagkatapak nito ng tao o hayop	(n.) sound of sticks or branches breaking from being stepped on by a person or animal
628	kayap	(pnd.) kiliti	(v.) to tickle
629	kayuday <i>var.</i> kayday	(pnh.) ilan	(pro.) how many; how much
630	kilo	(pnu.) kuba	(adj.) to be hunchbacked
631	kinday	(pnh.) paano	(pro.) how
632	kimot	(pnd.) galaw	(v.) to move
633	kitonya	(pnh.) ganoon; ganun	(pro.) that
634	kitos	(pnu.) tulad	(adj.) like; as; similar
635	kuwan <i>var.</i> kwan	(pnd.) kain	(v.) to eat
636	kurang	(pnu.) kulang	(adj.) insufficient; inadequate; to lack
637	laban	(pnd.) laban	(v.) to fight

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
638	labang	(png.) isang uri ng masamang espiritu na nagbibigay ng sakit sa tao	(n.) spirit; a malevolent spirit that brings sickness to people
639	labang taw	(png.) kaluluwa ng tao	(n.) spirit or soul of a person
640	labay	(png.) balikat	(n.) shoulder
641	labi	(pnu.) sobra	(adj.) excess; surplus
642	labong	(png.) dahon	(n.) leaf
643	lafos ¹	(pnd.) pagpapalit ng balat ng ahas	(v.) to molt; to shed skin (for snakes)
644	lafos ²	(pnd.) pigtas o pagkatanggal ng tali	(v.) to break off or untie a rope
645	lafos ³	(pnu.) kapos; bitin	(adj.) insufficient; inadequate; to fall short
646	lag	(pnd.) kita	(v.) to see; to find
647	lagyo	(pnd.) takbo	(v.) to run
648	lahaw ¹	(pnd.) lakad	(v.) to walk
649	lahaw ²	(png.) bakas	(n.) imprint; a mark left on something
650	lahi ¹	(png.) gamu-gamo	(n.) moth
651	lahi ³	(png.) uri ng panggagamot na ginagamitan ng rituwal na pagkanta	(n.) a method of healing wherein a ritual chant is sung by the healer
652	lakatan	(png.) isang uri ng saging	(n.) a kind of banana
653	laktog	(pnu.) taba (pnu.) lusog	(adj.) fat (adj.) healthy
654	laki	(png.) lolo	(n.) grandfather
655	laklak	(png.) bayag	(n.) testicle
656	lamay	(pnd.) pagkalat ng apoy	(v.) the spreading of fire
657	lambong	(png.) lilim; silong	(n.) shade
658	lamnon	(png.) damo	(n.) grass
659	lanay	(pnd.) pagsunog ng buhok o balahibo (pnu.) amoy ng sunog na buhok o balahibo	(v.) to burn the hair or fur (adj.) smell of burnt hair or fur
660	langaw	(png.) langaw	(n.) fly (insect)
661	langbod	(png.) dulo	(n.) end; tip
662	langgam	(png.) alupihan	(n.) centipede
663	langgang	(pnu.) tuyo; naiga	(adj.) dry
664	lanit	(pnd.) hila	(v.) to pull

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
665	lanoy	(pnu.) lambot	(adj.) soft
666	lapak	(png.) tsinelas	(n.) slippers
667	lapsag	(png.) sanggol	(n.) baby; infant
668	lapso	(pnd.) tanggal	(v.) to remove; to break off
669	lasing ¹	(pnd.) bali	(v.) to break
670	lasing ²	(pnd.) tanggal	(v.) to remove
671	latoy	(pnu.) hilaw	(adj.) unripe; raw; uncooked
672	lawa	(png.) gagamba	(n.) spider
673	laya	(pnb.) siguro; baka	(adv.) maybe; probably
674	layog	(pnd.) lipad	(v.) to fly
675	layong	(pnu.) tuyo	(adj.) dry
676	libaba	(pnu.) mababa	(adj.) short (in height)
677	libabaw	(pnu.) mababaw	(adj.) shallow
678	libangbang	(png.) paruparo	(n.) butterfly
679	libit	(pnd.) ipit	(v.) to squeeze; to press something under or inbetween something
680	libutan <i>var.</i> lidlibutan	(png.) puyo	(n.) cowlick; a whirl; a vortex
681	lid	(png.) yapak; bakas ng pagkaapak ng paa (pnd.) apak	(n.) footprint (v.) to step on
682	lifay	(pnd.; pnu.) hilo	(v.) to get dizzy (adj.) dizzy
683	lifong	(pnd.) putol; bali	(v.) to break; to cut off
684	lifudok	(pnu.) mataba-taba (pnu.) malasog	(adj.) chubby (adj.) healthy
685	lifugfog	(pnu.) mataba (pnu.) matipuno	(adj.) fat (adj.) robust; burly
686	ligaw	(pnd.) hanap	(v.) to search
687	ligong	(pnd.; pnu.) hilo	(v.) to get dizzy (adj.) dizzy
688	liho	(pnd.) liko	(v.) to turn; to curve
689	likbog	(pnu.) labo	(adj.) unclear; hazy
690	liklihi	(png.) kilikili	(n.) armpit
691	lima	(pnu.) lima	(adj.) five
692	lima-ginan	(pnb.) makalima	(adv.) five times
693	lima-lima	(pnb.) (1) lilima; (2) lima-lima	(adv.) (1) five only; (2) by fives
694	limak-daan	(pnu.) limang daan	(adj.) five hundred
695	limak-safulo	(pnu.) limampu	(adj.) fifty

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
696	limos	(pnd.) lunod (pnd.) anod	(v.) to drown (v.) to get carried away by the current of water
697	linagmon	(png.) isang uri ng kasuotang pang-itaas ng mga babae	(n.) a kind of upper clothing worn by women
698	linaw	(png.) malalim na parte ng ilog kung saan hindi umaagos ang tubig	(n.) deep, still part of a river
699	linay	(pnd.) paglinis ng lote ng lupa (pnu.) linis	(v.) to clear a plot of land (adj.) clean; clear of clutter
700	lindog	(pnd.) tayo	(v.) to stand
701	lingo	(pnd.) api; daya	(v.) to bully; to cheat
702	lingob	(png.) dingding	(n.) ceiling
703	linog	(png.) lindol	(n.) earthquake
704	linyabo	(png.) ulap	(n.) cloud
705	lipto	(pnd.) (1) gulat; (2) natakot	(v.) (1) to be surprised; (2) to be afraid
706	lisbay	(png.) kwentong bayan kung saan ang mga tauhan ay kadalasang nagtataglay ng kakaibang kapangyarihan	(n.) folklore where characters usually possess supernatural powers
707	litis	(pnu.; png.) kinis	(adj.) smooth (n.) smoothness
708	litlit	(png.) dahon na ginagawang nganga	(n.) betel leaf
709	liugan	(png.) isang uri ng manok na walang balahibo sa leeg	(n.) a type of chicken that does not have feathers around its throat
710	liya	(png.) luya	(n.) ginger
711	liyam	(pnd.) mawala	(v.) to lose something; to get lost
712	liyog	(png.) leeg	(n.) neck
713	liyong	(png.) tipaklong	(n.) grasshopper
714	liyos	(png.) lisa	(n.) louse
715	los	(pnd.) piga (ng tubo)	(v.) to squeeze (sugarcane)
716	lubas	(pnd.) hubad	(v.) to undress; to take off clothes; to be nude
717	lubay	(pnd.) himatay	(v.) to faint
718	lubgob	(pnd.) baon; libing	(v.) to bury

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
719	lubok	(png.) pandikdik na ginagamit sa pagbabayo (pnd.) bayo; dikdik	(n.) pestle (v.) to pound; to grind; to pulverize
720	lufas	(png.) pambabaeng kasuotan na isinusuot para takpan ang kanilang dibdib; kadalasang gawa sa nito	(n.) a bandeau worn by women to cover their breasts usually made from the nito plant
721	lufis	(pnd.) balatan	(v.) to peel the skin off
722	lugak	(pnu.; png.) luwag	(adj.) spacious; loose (n.) spaciousness
723	lugos	(pnd.) agaw	(v.) to snatch (from somebody)
724	luhob ¹	(png.) balat ng kahoy	(n.) tree bark
725	luhob ²	(pnd.) dapa	(v.) to lie on one's stomach
726	luhob ³	(png.) anit	(n.) scalp
727	luhob ⁴	(pnd.) paglimlim ng inahing manok	(v.) the act of a hen sitting on her eggs to incubate them
728	luhot	(pnd.) tiklop	(v.) to fold
729	luhutan	(png.) isang uri ng insekto na gumagawa ng pulot	(n.) a type of insect that creates honey
730	luka	(png.) lalagyan na yari sa kawayan; dito kadalasang inilalagay ang mga kasangkapan para sa paggawa ng nganga, at ginagamit din bilang lalagyan ng maliliit na bagay tulad ng pera	(n.) a small container made out of bamboo; usually used to keep ingredients for making betel nut chew; can also be used to keep small items such as money
731	lukfaw	(pnd.) lapnos	(v.) to burn one's skin off
732	luknan	(png.) binti	(n.) leg
733	lukso	(pnd.) talon	(v.) to jump
734	luktanon	(png.) tagalabas na tao; hindi miyembro ng komunidad; hindi katutubo o Mangyan na tao	(n.) an outsider; a person who is not part of the community; a non-indigenous person
735	lumak	(pnu.) malambot	(adj.) soft
736	lumay	(png.) gayuma	(n.) love potion; magical charm
737	lumbay	(pnu.) (1) mahina; (2) malungkot	(adj.) (1) weak; (2) sad
738	lumot	(png.) lumot	(n.) moss
739	lunang	(png.) bunga ng nganga	(n.) betel nut or areca nut
740	lunat	(pnd.; pnu.) unat; banat	(v.) to straighten; to stretch out (adj.) straight; stretched out

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
741	lungaw	(png.) uri ng bubuyog na namumugad sa kahoy na may mga butas; gumagawa ito ng pulot at hindi masyadong agresibo	(n.) a type of bee that nests in wood with holes; it makes honey and is not very aggressive
742	lunggas	(pnd.) gasgas	(v.) to scratch
743	lunos	(pnd.) gutom	(v.) to be hungry
744	lusong	(png.) almires; bayuhan	(n.) mortar
745	luto	(pnu.) hinog	(adj.) ripe
746	lutò	(pnd.) pagpapaputunog ng daliri	(v.) to pop one's fingers; to crack one's knuckles
747	lutok	(png.) putik	(n.) mud
748	luwa	(png.) luha	(n.) tear; teardrop
749	luwang	(pnd.) sabi; salita	(v.) to say; to speak
750	luwati	(png.) bulate	(n.) worm
751	luway ¹ <i>var.</i> lway	(pnd.) mintis; pagkasablay sa paghuli o pagtama ng target	(v.) to miss a target; to be unable to catch a prey
752	luway ² <i>var.</i> lway	(pnu.) hilaw; hindi lubos na luto na sinaing (pnd.) hindi lubos na pagluto sa karne para hindi ito madaling masira	(adj.) half-cooked rice (v.) to slightly cook, parboil meat so that it will not quickly go bad
753	liyadlag <i>var.</i> lyadlag	(pnd.) piglas	(v.) to struggle to get free from being bound
754	maagmoy	(pnu.) (1) basa; (2) madulas	(adj.) (1) wet; (2) slippery
755	maangay	(pnu.) (1) mabuti; maganda sa paningin; (2) bagay	(adj.) (1) good; pleasing to one's eyes; (2) to suit someone
756	madulaw	(pnu.) nakakapagtaka; nakakapanibago	(adj.) curious; strange
757	mafang	(pnu.) tamad	(adj.) lazy
758	magan	(pnu.) magaan	(adj.) light
759	magdanon	(png.) buwan	(n.) (1) moon; (2) month
760	magnaw	(pnu.) (1) maginaw; (2) malamig	(adj.) (1) cold (weather); (2) cold (object)
761	mama ¹ <i>var.</i> ama	(png.) tatay	(n.) father
762	mama ²	(png.) nganga	(n.) betel nut chew/quid
763	mam-in	(png.) nganga	(n.) betel quid
764	mandog	(pnd.) subok	(v.) to try

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
765	mandol	(pnd.; pnu.) uhaw	(v.) to be thirsty (adj.) thirsty
766	mangan	(png.) isang uri ng aswang na kumakain ng tao	(n.) a type of monster that eats people
767	mangkanon	(png.) tao; makalumang salita na ginagamit sa mga kwentong bayan pantukoy sa tao na kinakain ng isang uri ng aswang na tinatawag na mangan	(n.) human; person; an archaic form used in folklores to refer to people eaten by monsters called mangan
768	maniwang	(pnu.) payat	(adj.) slim, thin
769	manok ¹	(png.) ibon	(n.) bird
770	manok ²	(png.) manok	(n.) chicken
771	manok talon	(png.) isang uri ng manok na maliit	(n.) a type of small chicken
772	marabong	(pnu.) mayabong	(n.) having thick branches and many leaves; verdant
773	marang	(pnu.) maanghang	(adj.) spicy
774	marayaw	(pnu.) maliwanag	(adj.) bright
775	marigon ¹	(pnu.) malakas	(adj.) strong
776	marigon ²	(pnu.) mabilis	(adj.) fast
777	marom ¹	(pnb.) bukas	(adv.) tomorrow
778	marom ²	(pnu.) madilim	(adj.) dark
779	marsahot	(png.) isang uri ng halaman	(n.) a type of plant
780	marugot	(pnu.) masikip	(adj.) tight
781	maryang	(pnu.) malamig	(adj.) cold
782	masding	(png.) itim	(n.) black
783	maskin	(pnn.) bakit	(int.) why
784	maslong	(pnu.) (1) tuwid; (2) tama	(adj.) (1) straight; righteous; (2) right; correct
785	mata	(png.) mata	(n.) eye
786	matudtud	(pnu.; pnd.) kimi; hindi nakikisama sa iba	(adj.) timid (v.) to keep to one's self
787	mayà	(pnu.) tuyoy; iga	(adj.) dry
788	màya	(png.) isang uri ng ibon	(n.) a type of bird
789	mayahap	(png.) nakakakiliti	(n.) ticklish
790	mayan	(pnu.) mabagal	(adj.) slow
791	mayanit	(png.) araw	(n.) sun
	<i>var.</i> myanit	(pnu.) mainit	(adj.) hot
792	mayangfis	(pnu.) manipis	(adj.) thin

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
793	mayat ¹	(png.) apdo	(n.) bile
794	mayat ²	(pnu.) (1) maalat; (2) mapait	(adj.) (1) salty; (2) bitter
795	mayawa	(pnu.) maliwanag	(adj.) bright
796	mayon	(pnb.) siguro; baka	(adv.) maybe; probably
797	miyabog <i>var.</i> myabog	(pnu.) hirap (sa buhay na tao)	(adj.) poor, unfortunate (person)
798	murado	(png.) isang uri ng saging na kulay pula at malaki	(n.) a type of banana that is violet-reddish in color and big in size
799	muta	(png.) muta	(n.) dirt in the eye
800	muwayan <i>var.</i> mwayan; mayan	(png.; pnd.) ulan	(n.) rain (v.) to rain
801	muyod	(png.) bundok	(n.) mountain
802	myasa	(pk.) tig-	(fw.) per
803	nabi	(esp.) ano na? (sinasabi kapag kinukumusta ang resulta ng isang pangyayari)	(exp.) an expression uttered when asking about the result of something or of some event
804	nahaw	(pnd.) nakaw	(v.) to steal
805	namay	(png.) kaingin	(n.) preparation of land for planting by burning out trees and weeds
806	namin	(pnd.; pnu.) ubos	(v.) to consume (adj.) consumed
807	namnam	(pnd.) nguya	(v.) to chew
808	namog	(png.) hamog	(n.) dew; moisture
809	namok	(png.) lamok	(n.) mosquito
810	nana	(png.) nana	(n.) pus
811	nandayo	(pnb.) siguro; baka	(adv.) maybe; probably
812	nangos	(pnb.) sana	(adv.) hopefully
813	napno	(pnu.) puno	(adj.) full
814	natay <i>var.</i> hatay	(pnd.; pnu.) patay	(v.) (1) to die; (2) to kill (adj.) dead
815	ngalay	(pnb.) sandali	(adv.) moment, short period of time
816	ngatay	(pnb.) siguro; baka	(adv.) maybe; probably
817	ngaway	(png.) tubo	(n.) sugar cane
818	ngayan	(png.) pangalan	(n.) name
819	ngifon	(png.) ngipin	(n.) tooth

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
820	ngirit	(pnd.; png.) ngiti	(v.) to smile (n.) smile
821	ngusngos	(pnd.) singa	(v.) to blow (the nose)
822	nigo	(png.) bilao	(n.) a circular, shallow tray made from weaved split bamboo; winnowing basket
823	nini	(pnu.; png.) hapdi	(adj.; n.) sharp, stinging pain
824	nipkas	(pnd.) pagpilantik ng sanga ng puno matapos itong ibaluktot	(v.) the movement of a tree branch that rebounds or springs back after being bent or held back
825	niyog	(png.) niyog	(n.) coconut
826	nugang	(png.) manugang	(n.) daughter-in-law or son-in-law
827	nom sirang	(png.) pagsikat ng araw; bukung-liwayway	(n.) sunrise
828	nom yabi	(png.) paglubog ng araw; dapit-hapon	(n.) sunset
829	numarom <i>var.</i> marom	(png.) bukas	(n.) tomorrow
830	numtuon	(pnb.) minsan; madalang	(adv.) sometimes; seldom
831	ogbot	(pnu.) maliit	(adj.) small
832	omo	(png.) dilaw na produkto ng mga bubuyog na mapait-pait ang lasa	(n.) a bee product that is yellow in color and slightly bitter in taste
833	omang <i>var.</i> umang	(png.) isang uri ng malaking suso	(n.) a type of big snail
834	ongot <i>var.</i> ungot	(png.) baso	(n.) cup
835	owing	(png.; pnu.) dumi	(n.) dirt (adj.) dirty
836	paong	(pnu.) baliw; luko-loko	(adj.) crazy; foolish
837	pinto	(pnd.) hula	(v.) to guess
838	ragyang	(pnd.; pnu.) punit	(v.) to tear (adj.) torn
839	ranas	(png.) pinatuyong dahon ng saging	(n.) dried banana leaf
840	rawing	(png.) dumi	(n.) dirt
841	rikrato	(png.) larawan	(n.) picture; image
842	rikrik	(pnd.; png.) hagikhik	(v.) to laugh loudly (n.) laughter

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
843	ringgit	(pnd.; png.) sigaw	(v.) to shout; to scream (n.) shout; scream
844	rirok	(pnd.; png.) (1) sulat; (2) guhit	(v.) (1) to write; (2) to draw; to sketch (n.) (1) writing; (2) drawing; illustration
845	rugrog	(pnd.; pnu.) durog	(v.) to crush (adj.) crushed or broken to pieces
846	ruhom	(pnd.; png.) ungol	(v.) to growl; to moan; to howl (n.) growl; moan; howl
847	rukrok	(png.) (1) kusot; (2) mumo	(n.) (1) sawdust; (2) crumbs
848	rukyaw	(png.) sigaw; hiyaw	(n.) a loud cry; scream
849	rutay	(png.) baro; damit	(n.) clothes
850	ruyong	(pnd.) hila; hatak (kalimitang ginagamit sa pagtukoy sa paghihila ng sanga o bunga ng puno)	(v.) to pull; to tug (usually used to refer to pulling or tugging down a branch or a fruit from a tree)
851	sabibi	(pnd.) pagkarga sa loob ng bag (kadalasan isang sanggol o maliit na bata ang kinakarga) na nakasabit sa harap ng katawan	(v.) to carry (usually a baby or a small child) in a bag that rests on the front torso
852	sadi	(pml.) isa	(num.) one
853	sadi-sadi ¹	(pml.) iisa	(num.) only one
854	sadi-sadi ²	(pml.) isa-isa	(num.) one at a time, one by one
855	sadig sadi	(pml.) bawat isa; isa-isa	(num.) each, one by one
856	sadik-daan	(pml.) isang daan	(num.) one hundred
857	sadik-daan libo	(pml.) isandaang libo	(num.) one hundred thousand
858	sadik libo	(pml.) isang libo	(num.) one thousand
859	sadik milyon	(pml.) isang milyon	(num.) one million
860	safa	(png.) sapa; ilog	(n.) river; stream
861	sàfat	(png.) uod	(n.) worm
862	safât	(pnd.) buhat	(v.) to lift
863	safot	(png.) (1) balot; (2) sapot	(n.) (1) cover; wrap; (2) web
864	safulo	(pml.) sampu	(num.) ten
865	safulo di	(pml.) sasampu	(num.) just ten
866	safulo ginan	(pml.) makasampu	(num.) ten times
867	safulu-safulo	(pml.) sampu sampu	(num.) by ten
868	safulok libo	(pml.) sampung libo	(num.) ten thousand

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
869	sagaba	(png.) bandeha o trey na gawa sa kawayan (kadalasang nilalagyan ng prutas o halamang-ugat)	(n.) a tray made out of weaved split bamboo (usually placed with fruits or root crops)
870	sagad	(pnd.) hingi	(v.) to ask for something
871	sagaya ¹	(png.) anak (pnd.) manganak; silang	(n.) child (v.) to bear a child; to give birth
872	sagaya ²	(pnd.) lagpas	(v.) to go over; to go past
873	sagib	(pnd.) dagit	(v.) to snatch; to seize
874	sagit	(png.; pnu.) sakit	(n.) pain; ache; disease; illness (adj.) painful
875	sagmak	(png.) sapin na inilalatag para gawing higaan	(n.) something spread on a surface where one will sleep
876	sagob	(pnd.) igib	(v.) to draw or fetch water from a well or spring
877	sahayan	(png.) sasakyan	(n.) vehicle
878	sak	(pnd.) sali (pakikisali na walang imbitasyon; paminsan ay ginagamit na may negatibong konotasyon)	(v.) to join (without invitation; this is sometimes used with a negative connotation)
879	sakbaw	(pnd.) pasok	(v.) to enter
880	sakbawan	(png.) pinto	(n.) door; entrance
881	sakbit	(pnd.) sabit; bitin	(v.) to hang; to suspend
882	salakbaw	(pnd.) ahon	(v.) to go up; to rise
883	salawid	(pnu.) pilipit (pnd.) pulupot; nakaikot (kadalasan sa baywang)	(adj.) awry; twisted (v.) to coil or wrap around (usually around the waist)
884	salbod	(png.) uri ng bubuyog na gumagawa ng kanilang pugad sa sanga ng malalaking kahoy; gumagawa ito ng pulot at mas agresibo kaysa sa ibang uri ng bubuyog	(n.) a type of bee that makes its hive on branches of big trees; it produces honey and is more aggressive compared to other types of bees
885	sali	(pnd.) bili	(v.) to buy
886	salifit	(pnd.) (1) ikot; pulupot; (2) ipit	(v.) (1) to wrap around; (2) to squeeze in; to tuck in; to insert
887	salingsing	(pnd.) usbong	(v.) to bloom
888	salod	(pnd.) sahod	(v.) to collect water or catch water by letting it flow into a receptacle
889	salog ¹	(png.) sahiq	(n.) floor

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
890	salog ²	(png.) sikat (ng araw)	(n.) sun rays; sunlight; sunshine
891	salong	(png.) (1) gamit na pansindi ng apoy na galing sa dagta ng isang uri ng puno; (2) sulo	(n.) (1) fuel for fire that usually comes from the sap of certain type of tree; (2) torch
892	salwal	(png.) salawal	(n.) trousers
893	samad	(pnd.) huli (ng ibon o isda)	(v.) to catch (fish or bird)
894	samsam	(pnd.) paglunok ng pagkain na walang pagnguya	(v.) to swallow without chewing; to gobble
895	sandok	(png.) sandok	(n.) ladle
896	sanga	(png.) sanga	(n.) branch
897	sangat	(pnd.) sabit	(v.) to get caught or stuck on something
898	sapya	(pnd.) salang	(v.) to put over the fire
899	saruwatan <i>var.</i> sarwatan	(pnd.; pnu.) hiwalay	(v.) to separate (adj.) separated
900	sas	(pkl.) sa	(prep.) in; at; on
901	sawad	(png.) tira	(n.) something that has been left-over
902	sayab	(pnd.) pagluluto (kadalasan ng saging o halamang-ugat na may balat pa) sa itaas ng apoy	(v.) to roast (usually bananas or root crops) over a fire
903	sayak	(pnd.) hanap	(v.) to look; to search
904	sayang	(pnd.) sabit	(v.) to hang
905	sayangwan	(png.) harap (ng tao); dibdib (pnd.) patong o lapat sa dibdib	(n.) front torso (v.) to lay on top of one's chest
906	sayaw	(png.; pnd.) sayaw	(n.) dance (v.) to dance
907	sayok	(pnu.) kaunti	(adj.) few
908	sibi	(pnd.) iyak	(v.) to cry
909	siday	(pnn.) saan	(int.) where
910	sihad	(pnd.; png) sipa	(v.) to kick (n.) kick
911	sihil	(png.) sakong	(n.) heel
912	siho	(png.) siko	(n.) elbow
913	sihon	(png.) kanan	(n.) right

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
914	sigang	(png.) (1) mga batong nakaayos nang patatsulok sa taas ng apoy para paglutuan; (2) kagamitan na ginagamit bilang pampatong ng lutuan sa itaas ng apoy	(n.) (1) rocks arranged in a triangle around a fire to hold a pot or pan for cooking; (2) a metal cooking tripod
915	sigong	(pnd.) ikot	(v.) to turn
916	siksik	(png.) kaliskis	(n.) scales (of a fish)
917	simbak	(pnd.) sibak (ng kahoy o kawayan)	(v.) to chop (wood or bamboo)
918	singa	(pnd.) singa	(v.) to blow one's nose
919	singan	(png.) kambal	(n.) twin
920	singaw	(pnu.) purol	(adj.) blunt; dull
921	sinod	(pnd.; png.) talik	(v.) to have sexual intercourse (n.) sexual intercourse
922	sinay	(pnu.) makintab	(adj.) shiny
923	sinya	(png.) doon	(n.) over there
924	sipngat ¹	(png.) tunog na ginagawa ng mga hayop	(n.) sound that animals make
925	sipngat ²	(pnd.) dakmal	(v.) to pounce
926	sipsip	(pnd.; png.) huni; siyap (ng sisiw)	(v.) to chirp (n.) chirp; tweet
927	sirang	(png.) araw	(n.) sun; day
928	siwayang	(png.) kuwintas	(n.) necklace
929	siyam	(pml.) siyam	(num.) nine
930	siyam ik daan	(pml.) siyam na raan	(num.) nine hundred
931	siyam ik safulo	(pml.) siyam na pu	(num.) ninety
932	siyaw	(png.) itak; kutsilyo	(n.) bolo knife; knife
933	siyok	(png.; pnd.) tali	(n.) string, cord (v.) to tie
934	subang	(png.; pnd.) tahol	(n.) bark (of a dog) (v.) to bark
935	sufa	(png.) pagkain na nginuya na (para ipakain sa batang wala pang ngipin) (pnd.) pagpapakain ng nginuya nang pagkain sa bata	(n.) food that has been chewed (to be fed to a child who does not have fully developed teeth) (v.) to feed a child with masticated food
936	sufut	(png.) talbos	(n.) sprout; shoot; very young leaf
937	sugba	(pnd.) ihaw	(v.) to grill

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
938	suha	(png.; pnd.) suka	(n.) vomit (v.) to vomit
939	suhad	(png.) laman; bagay na nasa loob ng isang sisidlan o sasakyan	(n.) contents of a vessel or vehicle
940	suglat	(pnd.) lagay; haluan	(v.) to put; to mix in
941	sugo	(pnd.; png.) utos	(v.) to command; to order (n.) command; order
942	suguan	(png.) katulong; utusan	(n.) helper
943	sukayan	(png.) labas	(n.) outside
944	sukfon ¹	(pnu.) tulad; gaya	(adj.) like; similar
945	sukfon ²	(png.; pnd.) dugtong	(n.) splice, joining or junction (v.) to connect; to add
946	sùlang	(pnd.) (1) salubong; (2) sundo	(1) to welcome; to fetch another from a certain place; (2) to fetch
947	sulàng	(png.) panga	(n.) jaw
948	sulat	(png.; pnd.) butas (na maliit)	(n.) a small hole (v.) to make a hole
949	suli	(png.) saging	(n.) banana
950	sùlong	(pnu.; png.) saya	(adj.) happy (n.) happiness
951	sulòng	(pnd.) suot (ng damit o sapatos)	(v.) to wear (clothes or shoes)
952	suloy	(pnd.) tuhog	(v.) to string things together
953	sunan	(png.) pantuhog	(n.) skewer
954	sungaw ¹	(png.; pnd.) singaw	(n.) steam; fume; waft (v.) to emit vapor or air
955	sungaw ²	(png.) (kadalasang masamang) amoy galing sa katawan ng tao	(n.) body odor
956	sunggo	(pnd.) akyat	(v.) to climb
957	sunggoy	(pnd.) pasan, buhat sa balikat (kadalasan ay tao ang binubuhat)	(v.) to carry on one's shoulders (usually it is a person that is carried)
958	sungi	(png.) isang uri ng damo na may matalas na dahon	(n.) a type of grass that has sharp blades
959	sungo	(png.) antena ng insekto	(n.) antenna of an insect
960	sungon	(pnd.) tampo	(v.) to sulk
961	sunog	(png.; pnd.) sunog	(n.) fire (v.) to burn
962	sup SOP	(pnd.) sipsip	(v.) to sip

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
963	surod	(png.; pnd.) suklay	(n.) comb (v.) to comb
964	surarom	(png.) (1) tigdas; (2) bulutong-tubig	(n.) (1) measles; (2) chicken pox
965	surat	(pnd.) sulat	(v.) to write
966	suso	(png.) suso	(n.) breast
967	suway	(png.) isang uri ng panghuli ng hayop o patibong	(n.) snare or trap used for catching small animals
968	suwit	(pnd.) sungkit; pagkuha ng isang bagay gamit ang patpat o maliit na bagay	(v.) to get something using a stick or another small object
969	tabag	(png.) tandang	(n.) rooster
970	tabibitan	(png.) tangkay ng prutas	(n.) stalk; the part of a fruit that joins it to the plant or tree
971	tabo	(pnd.) tapos na	(v.) to be finished
972	tabyang	(pnd.) tulungan sa pagbubuhat	(v.) to help someone carry something
973	taga	(pnd.) (1) huli; (2) abot (png.) taya (sa laro)	(v.) (1) catch; (2) reach (n.) the “it” in a kid’s game
974	tagaan	(pnd.) habol	(v.) to chase
975	tagak	(pnu.) alisto	(adj.) alert
976	tagan	(png.) itlugan ng manok	(n.) place where chickens lay their eggs
977	tagbo	(pnd.) salubong; tagpo	(v.) to meet coming from opposite directions
978	tagbong	(pnd.) sabit; bitin	(v.) to hang; to suspend
979	tagimfan	(png.) panaginip	(n.) dream
980	taguban	(png.) karne	(n.) meat
981	tagyangan	(png.) tadyang	(n.) rib
982	tahang	(pnd.) pag-akyat ng puno sa pamamagitan ng pagyakap sa puno	(v.) to climb up a tree by wrapping one’s arms and legs around the tree
983	tahin	(pnd.) sama	(v.) to follow
984	tahinan	(png.) pinuno; lider	(n.) head; leader
985	tahòd	(png.) tali	(n.) rope
986	tàhod	(pnd.) abot	(v.) to reach
987	tahop	(pnd.) sara (ng bintana o pinto)	(v.) to close (a window or door)
988	tahos	(pnd; png.) yakap	(v.) to hug (n.) hug

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
989	takba	(png.) lalagyan ng barya	(n.) coin purse
990	taklayong	(png.) kulangot	(n.) booger
991	takyay	(png.) braso	(n.) arm
992	talalahan	(png.) pamilya	(n.) family
993	talanyang	(pnu.) matangkad na payat	(adj.) tall and slim
994	talgob	(pnd.; pnu.) lubog	(v.) to submerge; to sink (adj.) submerged; sunken
995	talin	(pnd.) paglipat ng bagay mula sa isang lalagyan patungo sa isa pang lalagyan	(v.) to transfer something from one container to another
996	talinga	(png.) tainga	(n.) ear
997	talingà	(pnd.) kinig; rinig	(v.) to listen; to hear
998	talon	(png.) gubat	(n.) forest
999	talsak	(pnd.) saksak	(v.) to stab
1000	talsawa	(png.) mag-asawa	(n.) husband and wife
1001	talungaw	(pnd.) (1) dungaw; (2) silip	(v.) (1) to look out the window; (2) to peek
1002	tam	(pnh.) tayo	(pro.) us; we
1003	tamis	(pnu.; png.) tamis	(adj.) sweet (n.) sweetness
1004	tandol	(pnu.) pakiramdam na hindi komportable dahil may nakaumbok sa sinasandalan o hinihigaan	(adj.) uncomfortable feeling when one leans back or lies down on a lumpy surface or a surface where something is protruding
1005	tangag	(pnd.) kagat-kagat; pagbitbit gamit ang bibig (katulad sa ginagawa ng ilang mga hayop)	(v.) to carry an object in one's mouth (as some animals do)
1006	tangbo	(pnd.) uminom (mula sa galon o malalaking lalagyan)	(v.) to drink or chug (from a large container)
1007	tanguna	(pnb.) ngayon	(adv.) now
1008	tangwa	(pnu.) tawag sa tao na nakalabas o nakausli ang dalawang ngipin	(adj.) used to describe a person with two teeth jutting out
1009	tangyawan	(png.) unan	(n.) pillow
1010	tanod	(png.) tagabantay	(n.) guard; watcher
1011	tanom	(pnd.; png.) tanim	(v.) to plant (n.) plant
1012	tanuman	(png.) halamanan; taniman	(n.) garden; orchard
1013	tansak	(pnd.) tusok	(v.) to stab; to pierce
1014	tarabing	(pnd.) tali	(v.) to tie

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
1015	taraok	(png.; pnd.) tilaok	(n.) crow; crowing of a rooster (v.) to crow
1016	tarindok	(png.) tinggil	(n.) clitoris
1017	tarubong	(pnd.) talon; lukso	(v.) to jump
1018	tarungbawan	(pnd.) patong	(v.) to place on top of something
1019	taw ¹	(png.) tao	(n.) person; human
1020	taw ²	(pnh.) sila	(pro.) they; them
1021	tawag	(pnd.) tawag	(v.) to call
1022	tawan	(png.) isang uri ng puno na pinagkukunan ng madikit na dagta na ginagamit sa panghuhuli ng ibon	(n.) a type of tree from which has a sticky sap that is used to catch birds
1023	tawid	(pnd.) (1) hawak; (2) kapit	(v.) (1) to hold; (2) to grasp; hand-hold
1024	taya	(png.) plato	(n.) plate
1025	tayok	(png.) sayaw	(n.) dance
1026	tayom	(pnd.) sisid	(v.) dive
1027	tayòm	(png.) (1) talim; (2) talas (pnu.) talas	(n.) (1) blade; (2) sharpness (adj.) sharp
1028	tayubo	(png.) kabute	(n.) mushroom
1029	tiba	(pnu.) iba	(adj.) other; different
1030	tifig	(pnd.) tiklop	(v.) to fold
1031	tifon	(pnd.) tipon	(v.) to gather or collect together
1032	tig-	(pnl.) tig-	(aff.) used to form distributive numerals (e.g., <i>tig-tulo</i> 'three each')
1033	tig-ab	(png.) dighay	(n.) burp
1034	tigasaw	(png.) langgam	(n.) ants
1035	tigip	(png.) isang uri ng puno na pinagkukunan ng dagta na ginagamit bilang pandikit	(n.) a type of tree from which sap that can be used as glue is collected
1036	tiktik	(pnd.) tulo	(v.) to drip; drop
1037	timuyo	(png.) daliri	(n.) finger
1038	timuyo bitis	(png.) daliri sa paa	(n.) toes
1039	tindas	(pnd.) sipa	(v.) to kick
1040	tindok	(png.; pnd.) tuka	(n.) beak (v.) to peck
1041	tingtingan	(png.) bell; kampana	(n.) bell

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
1042	tingtingàn	(pnd.) (1) pagpukpok sa isda gamit ang itak; (2) pagpapatunog ng kampana; (3) kutos; pagpukpok ng ulo ng isang tao	(v.) (1) to hit a fish with an axe (to kill it); (2) to ring a bell; (3) to hit someone's head using one's knuckles
1043	tipakong	(png.) ipis	(n.) cockroach
1044	tipko	(pnd.) pagputol ng mga sanga ng puno	(v.) cutting of tree branches
1045	tiwan	(png.) talon	(n.) waterfalls
1046	tiyan	(png.) tiyan	(n.) stomach
1047	tiyanan	(png.) bilbil	(n.) lower abdominal fat
1048	tod ¹	(png.) tuhod	(n.) knee
1049	tod ²	(png.) tuod	(n.) tree stump
1050	tom	(pnd.; png.) balot (gamit ang dahon; para lamang sa isda o mga suso na nahuli)	(v.) to wrap using leaf (n.) wrapper; cover (only for fish or snails)
1051	toy	(pnh.) ito	(pro.) this
1052	tsa	(pnh.) iyon	(pro.) that
1053	tsamo	(pnh.) iyan	(pro.) that over there
1054	tubuan	(png.) binhi ng niyog	(n.) seedling of a coconut
1055	tubwang	(pnd.) buwal; tumba	(v.) to topple down; to fall down
1056	tubok	(pnd.) tusok	(v.) to pierce; to poke
1057	tubong	(pnd.) tuwad	(v.) to bend over with head low and the buttocks raised higher than the head
1058	tufay	(pnd.) dura	(v.) to spit
1059	tugbong	(png.; pnd.) tulong	(n.) help; assistance (v.) to help
1060	katugbong	(png.) katulong	(n.) helper; assistant
1061	tugda	(pnd.) pagtanim sa pamamagitan ng paggawa ng maliit na butas sa lupa gamit ang isang stick kung saan itatanim ang buto ng halaman	(v.) to plant by making a hole in the ground using a stick and planting the seed inside
1062	tugo	(pnd.; png.) bali	(v.) to bend; to break (n.) break; fracture
1063	tugunan	(png.) kasunduan; usapan	(n.) agreement
1064	tuho	(pnd.) tahi	(v.) to sew
1065	tuhod	(pnd.) alaala	(v.) to remember
1066	tuhog	(pnd.) tuhog	(v.) to string things together

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
1067	tukaw	(pnd.) upo	(v.) to sit
1068	tukba	(pnd.) dikit	(v.) to paste; to glue
1069	tuklos	(pnd.; pnd.) tuklaw	(v.) to bite (by a snake) (n.) snake bite
1070	tukmo ¹	(png.) tahol	(n.) bark of a dog
1071	tukmo ²	(png.) uri ng ibon na kamukha ng kalapati	(n.) a type of bird that looks like a dove
1072	tukob	(pnd.; png.) patong	(v.) to put on top of something (n.) layer
1073	tukong	(png.) uri ng manok na walang buntot	(n.) a type of chicken without tail
1074	tulag	(pnd.) giba	(v.) to destroy
1075	tulfik ¹	(pnu.) malambot	(adj.) soft
1076	tulfik ²	(pnd.; png.) yupi	(v.) to dent (n.) dent
1077	tulo	(pml.) tatlo	(num.) three
1078	tulo ginan	(pnb.) makatatlo	(pnb.) three times
1079	tulu-tulo	(pnb.) tatatlo	(adv.) only three
1080	tulok daan	(pml.) tatlong daan	(num.) three hundred
1081	tulok-safulo	(pml.) tatlumpu	(num.) thirty
1082	tulod	(pnd.) tulak	(v.) to push
1083	tulon	(pnd.) lunok	(v.) to swallow
1084	tulunan	(png.) lalamunan	(n.) throat
1085	tulsok	(pnd.) tusok	(v.) to pierce
1086	tunaw	(pnd.) tunaw	(v.) to melt
1087	tunga	(pnu.) tuyoy	(adj.) dry
1088	tungka	(pnd.; pnu.) antok	(v.) to be sleepy (adj.) sleepy
1089	tungod ¹	(pnu.; png.) taas	(adj.) high; tall (n.) height
1090	tungod ²	(pnd.) kaya	(v.) can; able
1091	turang	(png.) hakbang	(n.) step
1092	turis	(pnd.) pisil; tiris	(v.) to squeeze with one's fingers
1093	turit	(png.) isang uri ng isda na maliit at madulas na makikita sa ilog	(n.) a type of small and slippery fish that can be seen in the river
1094	turok	(png.) haligi	(n.) post
1095	turos	(pnd.) tigil	(v.) to stop
1096	turusan	(png.) tigilan; pahingahan	(n.) rest stop; resting place
1097	tuyog	(pnd.) tulog	(v.) to sleep

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
1098	tuyugan	(png.) tulugan	(n.) place where one sleeps
1099	tuwang	(pnd.) tumba; taob	(v.) to trip over; to be overturned
1100	tuwa <i>var. twa</i>	(pnd.) alam	(v.) to know
1101	tya	(pnh.) siya	(pron.) he/she
1102	uban	(png.) (1) tali o strap ng bag o basket; (2) isang uri ng maliit na puno kung saan galing ang ginagawang pantali o strap ng bag o basket	(n.) (1) handle or strap of a bag or basket; (2) a type of small tree from which material for making the handle or strap of a bag or basket can be sourced
1103	ube	(png.) ube	(n.) edible, climbing plant from fleshy root stock
1104	ubon	(pnd.) iwan	(v.) to leave behind
1105	udok	(png.) baboy	(n.) pig
1106	ufa	(png.) inahin na manok	(n.) hen
1107	ufat	(pnu.) apat	(adj.) four
1108	ufat ginan	(pnu.) makaapat	(adj.) four times
1109	ufat ik daan	(pnu.) apat na raan	(adj.) four hundred
1110	ufat ik safulo	(pnu.) apat na pu	(adj.) forty
1111	ufat-ufat	(pnb.) (1) aapat; (2) apat-apat	(adv.) (1) only four; (2) four by four
1112	ufi	(png.) ulam	(n.) viand
1113	ufod	(png.) kaibigan; kasama	(n.) friend; companion
1114	ugas	(pnd.) hugas	(v.) to wash
1115	ugat	(png.) ugat	(n.) root
1116	ugbot	(pnu.) maliit	(adj.) small
1117	ugsong	(png.) pulseras	(n.) bracelet
1118	ugwan	(pnd.) patong	(v.) to place on top or over something
1119	ugyong	(png.) palaso	(n.) bow (for an arrow)
1120	uhang	(png.) malaking butas; hukay	(n.) a big hole
1121	ukas	(pnd.) hagnosis	(v.) to throw
1122	ulad	(png.) balahibo	(n.) fur; feather
1123	uladan	(pnd.) tanggalin ang balahibo	(v.) to remove the fur (or feathers) of an animal
1124	ulan	(pnd.) tapon	(v.) to throw
1125	ulay	(png.) tae	(n.) poop, feces, stool
1126	ulay talinga	(png.) tutuli	(n.) earwax

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
1127	ulbos	(pnd.) salit	(v.) to alternate; to intersperse
1128	ulbusan	(pnd.) salitan	(v.) to take turns
1129	uli	(pnd.) uwi	(v.) to return; to go back
1130	ulila	(png.) ulila	(n.) orphan
1131	ùling	(png.) uling	(n.) charcoal
1132	uling	(png.) isang uri ng ibon na mukhang walang balahibo sa ulo	(n.) a type of bird that looks bald-headed
1133	ulod	(png.) uod	(n.) worm
1134	ulyan	(pnd.) tira	(v.) to live in; to reside
1135	ulyanan ¹	(png.) tahanan	(n.) home; house
1136	ulyanan ²	(png.) higaan	(n.) bed
1137	ùnay	(pnd.) pag-ubos ng pagkain nang mag-isa	(n.) to finish food by one's self
1138	unày	(png.) buhangin	(n.) sand
1139	uni	(pnd.; png.) huni	(v.) to tweet; to chirp (n.) tweet; chirp
1140	uno	(png.) kuwintas	(n.) necklace
1141	unom	(pnu.) anim	(adj.) six
1142	unom ik daan	(pnu.) anim na daan	(adj.) six hundred
1143	unom ik safulo	(pnu.) anim na pu	(adj.) sixty
1144	uprang	(pnd.) talon; lukso	(v.) to jump
1145	uraw	(pnd.) iyak	(v.) to cry
1146	uron	(pnd.) higop	(v.) to suck; to sip
1147	urongan	(pnu.) totoo	(adj.) true; real
1148	utang	(png.) utang	(n.) debt
1149	utin	(png.) ari ng babae; puke	(n.) vagina
1150	utok	(png.) utak	(n.) brain
1151	utot	(png., pnd.) utot	(n.) flatulence (v.) to fart
1152	uwing	(png.; pnu.) dumi	(n.) dirt (adj.) dirty
1153	uyahon	(png.) mukha	(n.) face
1154	uyam	(pnd.) hiram	(v.) to borrow
1155	uyan	(pnd.) sunod	(v.) to follow
1156	uyang	(png.) isda	(n.) fish
1157	uyong	(png.) ilong	(n.) nose
1158	uyop	(pnd.) ihip	(v.) to blow

Buhid Word List

	Buhid	Tagalog	Ingles
1159	wa <i>hal.</i> is wa; ka wa	(pnh.) kuwan <i>hal.</i> si kuwan, ang kwan	(pron.) indefinite proform used when the speaker does not want to or cannot mention the exact name or word
1160	wala	(png.) kaliwa	(n.) left
1161	walo	(pml.) walo	(num.) eight
1162	walok daan	(pml.) walong daan	(num.) eight hundred
1163	walok safulo	(pml.) walom pu	(num.) eighty
1164	walong	(png.) mukha	(n.) face
1165	wan	(pnb.) na	(adv.) already
1166	yabi	(png.) gabi	(n.) night
1167	kayabi	(png.) hapon	(n.) afternoon
1168	yabi	(pnb.) dati	(adv.) in the past
1169	yadi ¹	(pnb.) din; rin	(adv.) also; too
1170	yadi ²	(pnb.) naman	(adv.) instead; adverbial clitic that implies change of some sort, and sometimes used for emphasis, to reproach someone, or to express frustration
1171	yakana <i>var.</i> kana	(pnn.) bakit	(int.) why
1172	yamad	(png.) lisa	(n.) louse
1173	yambo	(png.) makopa	(n.) mountain apple
1174	yambong	(pnu.) init	(adj.) hot
1175	yámos	(pnd.) hilamos	(v.) to wash one's face
1176	yamós	(pnd.; pnu.) basa	(v.) to make wet (adj.) wet
1177	yapdi	(pnb.) pa	(adv.) still; yet
1178	yafyafa	(png.) talampakan	(n.) sole
1179	yaya	(pnu.; png.) pagod	(adj.) tiring (n.) tiredness
1180	yukfo	(pnd.) talon pababa (kalimitan sa mga manok)	(v.) to leap or jump down (usually limited to chickens)
1181	yoyong	(png.) maliit na piraso ng kahoy na natitira matapos mamatay ang apoy	(n.) cinder; burned pieces of wood left after a fire has stopped burning
1182	yoyong baga	(png.) uling	(n.) charcoal

Pasasalamat

Bukod sa mga taal na mananalita ng Buhid na naging bahagi ng proyektong ito, lubos na pinasasalamatan ng mga may-akda sina Kat. Prop. Ria P. Rafael at Kat. Prop. Jem R. Javier ng UP Lingg na nagsilbing resource speakers sa palihan hinggil sa paggawa ng diksyunaryo na isinagawa noong Enero 2018. Lubos na pinasasalamatan din ng mga may-akda si Bb. Teresita “Teray” Julao Bunglay ng Mangyan Mission na nagsilbing tulay at naging katuwang namin sa pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga Buhid sa Oriental Mindoro. Sa kasamaang palad ay yumao na si Bb. Teray noong 2017 at hindi na nasaksihan ang pagtatapos ng proyektong ito. Panghuli, lubos ding pinasasalamatan ng mga may-akda ang Opisina ng Tsanselor ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas at ang Opisina ng Bise Tsanselor para sa Pananaliksik at Pagpapaunlad para sa UP Diliman Extension Grant na kanilang iginawad upang maisagawa at maisakatuparan ang Buhid Dictionary Project.

Mga Sanggunian

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Thesis & Dissertation Abstracts

Ang Referens Gramar ng Kolibugan

Danilyn T. Abingosa

Pangunahing layunin ng pag-aaral na ito na makasulat ng referens gramar ng wikang Kolibugan. Nilalayon nitong mailarawan ang fonolojikal, morfolojikal, at sintaktikal na katangian ng Kolibugan batay sa aktwal na sinasalitang wika. Bilang isang referens gramar, ginamit sa pag-aaral na ito ang deskriptibong pamamaraan sa linggwistiks sa pagdodokumento ng wika. Ginamit bilang batayan sa pagbuo ng analisis ang typologically informed framework ni Aikhenvald (2015). May humigit kumulang 2,000 sentens at 1,000 na mga salita sa wikang Kolibugan ang ginamit bilang datos ng pag-aaral na ito. Ang mga datos na ginamit ay mga primary data na nalikom mula sa mga isinagawang fieldwork sa Tungawan, Zamboanga Sibugay.

Binubuo ang disertasyong ito ng limang (5) tsapter. Makikita sa Tsapter 1 ang paglalahad sa layunin at kahalagahan ng pag-aaral, pagtalakay tungkol sa Kalibugan at wikang Kolibugan gayundin sa lugar ng pag-aaral, metodolohiyang ginamit sa pagsasagawa ng pag-aaral, at

freymwork na ginamit bilang batayan sa pag-aaral na ito. Makikita rin sa tsapter na ito ang pagtalakay sa mga babasahin at pag-aaral na nakitang may kaugnayan sa kasalukuyang pag-aaral. Makikita sa Tsapter 2 ang pagtalakay sa fonoloji ng Kolibugan. Inilalahad dito ang mga segmental fonim at suprasegmental na bumubuo sa wikang ito. Sa Tsapter 3, makikita ang pagtalakay sa morfoloji ng Kolibugan. Tinalakay rito ang iba't ibang leksikal kategori na makikita sa wikang ito gayundin ang paraan ng pagbubuo ng mga salita. Makikita sa Tsapter 4 ang pagtalakay sa sintaks ng Kolibugan. Tinalakay sa bahaging ito ang mga preys at uri ng sentens sa Kolibugan gayundinmang proseso ng pagpapalawak sa mga ito. Sa Tsapter 5, inilalahad ang samari at rekomendesyon ng pag-aaral.

Batay sa resulta ng pag-aaral, ang mga pangunahing fityur ng Kolibugan ay ang mga sumusunod: 1) binubuo ang wikang Kolibugan ng limang (5) vawel fonim at labimpitong (17) konsonant fonim; 2) ang mga salita sa wikang ito ay maigugrupo sa dalawa—ang open klas at klows klas; 3) mauuri sa dalawa ang aspek ng verb sa Kolibugan—realis at irrealis; 4) predikeyt inisyal ang mga verbal at di-verbal klos sa Kolibugan at nagsisilbing subjek ng sentens ang *og*-phrase sa wikang ito; 5) ang mga beysik sentens ay maaaring mapalawak pa sa pamamagitan ng koordinasyon at subordinatesyon.

Sa kabuuan, naobserbahan na bilang isa sa mga wika sa Pilipinas, marami sa mga fityur ng Kolibugan ang may pagkakapareho sa iba pang mga wika sa bansa na kabilang sa tinatawag na Philippine-type na mga wika. Batay sa leksikon, naobserbahan na ang wikang ito ay

naiimpluwensyahan ng mga wikang sinasalita sa Zamboanga Peninsula sa pamamagitan ng tinatawag na language contact.

Abingosa, Danilyn T. (2021). *Ang referens grammar ng Kolibugan* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Ang mga Dayalekto ng Tagalog sa Batangas at Oriental Mindoro

Precious Sarah A. Año

Ang pag-aaral na ito ay naglalarawan ng mga karaniwan at kakaibang katangian ng mga dayalekto ng Tagalog sa Batangas at Oriental Mindoro (OrMdo) batay sa mga salita, mga tunog, at ilang morpolohikal na anyo. Tinutukoy rin dito kung saan sinasalita ang mga nasabing dayalekto at ipinaliliwanag ang mga salik na maaaring nakaapekto sa pagkakaroon nito ng mga karaniwan at kakaibang katangian. Ang mga datos ay mula sa tigdadalawang informant ng magkaibang barangay sa lahat ng bayan at lungsod sa Batangas at OrMdo. Lumabas sa pagsusuri ang apat na dayalektong sinasalita sa (1) bayan ng Tingloy sa Batangas, (2) kalakhang Batangas kasama ang ilang bayan sa OrMdo, (3) grupo ng mga bayan sa gitnang OrMdo, at (4) bayan ng Roxas sa OrMdo. Ang pagbubukod sa mga ito ay dala ng mga naiibang salita, gayundin ng ilang mga naiibang morpolohikal na anyo. Ipinapakita sa pag-aaral na ito na ang distribusyon ng mga katangian ay maaaring

naapektuhan ng mga sumusunod na salik: (1) kasaysayan, partikular na ang dating komposisyon at pagkakahati ng mga lalawigan at bayan, (2) ilang heyograpikal na katangian, kabilang ang mga nakapalibot na anyong tubig, mga kalapit na bayan o lalawigan, at mga pasilidad ng transportasyon, at (3) aktibong ugnayan ng mga tao at kanilang dayalekto sa mga itinuturing na sentro ng lalawigan. Maaaring palawakin ang datos sa mga dayalektong nabanggit, o ikumpara ang mga ito sa mga dayalektong sinasalita sa ibang lalawigan. Ang mga pamamaraang ginamit sa pag-aaral na ito ay maaari ring ilapat sa iba pang mga wika bukod sa Tagalog.

Añoso, Precious Sarah A. (2018). *Ang mga dayalekto ng Tagalog sa Batangas at Oriental Mindoro* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Semantik na Gramar ng Filipino

Jem R. Javier

Nilalayon ng pag-aaral na ito na ilahad ang gramar ng Filipino na may partikular na tuon sa kahulugan, sa palagay na ang kahulugan ng mga salitang bumubuo sa pangungusap ay may malaking kinalaman sa sintaktik na gawi ng mga ito at sa kahihinatnang anyo ng konstruksiyon. Inaasahang makapag-ambag ito sa pangkalahatang kabatiran ukol sa pagsusuri ng gramar ng wika ng Pilipinas, at maging sa mga larangang

hindi pa gaanong nagagalugad sa konteksto ng Pilipinas gaya ng pormal na semantiks, aralin sa metapora, at linggwistiks ng wikang Filipino.

Ang unang kabanata ay naglalatag ng mga rekisito ng pananaliksik gaya ng paglalahad ng paksa, kaligiran at layunin ng pag-aaral, sakop at limitasyon, at metodolohiyang ginamit. Ang datos ay iniahon sa at ginagabayan ng Filipino Language Corpus, isang komponent ng kasalukuyang tumatakbong kolaboratibong pananaliksik sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman, na may layuning ilarawan ang grammar at buuin ang monolingwal na diksyunaryong Filipino ayon sa kasalukuyang gamit ng naturang wika. Ito rin ang gagamiting pangunahing depinisyong ng konsepto/terminong “wikang Filipino” sa pananaliksik, bukod sa depinisyong ibinigay ng Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino.

Ang ikalawang kabanata ay naglalatag ng teoretikal na balangkas na ginamit sa pagsusuri at paglalarawan sa grammar ng Filipino gamit ang semantik na lapit. Ang balangkas ay hinango sa limang pag-aaral sa semantiks at grammar: Dixon (2005) para sa pagsusuri ng mga semantic type; Jackson (1990) para sa pagtukoy ng mga situation type; Malicsi (2013) para sa paglalarawan sa grammar ng Filipino; Conceptual Metaphor Theory na isinulong nina Lakoff at Johnson (1980); at Javier (2013) para sa mga pagpapalagay at pagbibigay-interpretasyon sa mga inilatag na situation type at semantic type.

Ang ikatlong kabanata naman ay naglalahad ng mga naunang pag-aaral ukol sa pagsusuri sa grammar ng Filipino, mga usapin sa pagitan ng Tagalog at Filipino, at teoretikal na palagay na bubuo sa balangkas ng pagbuo at pagsusuri sa semantik na grammar ng Filipino. Mula sa rebyu ng mga naunang pag-aaral, nakatukoy ng ilang mahahalagang siwang sa iskolarsyip kung saan maaaring makapag-

ambag ang kasalukuyang pananaliksik. Ang mga ito ay may kinalaman sa pangangailangan sa: pagbuo ng kumpletong grammar ng Filipino mula sa lente ng semantiks; higit na masinsing pagpapangkat-pangkat ng mga ugat sa Filipino na nakabatay kapwa sa kahulugan at sintaktik na gawi; pagpapangkat-pangkat ng mga ekspresyon sa Filipino ayon sa estado, pangyayari, o aksiyon na inilalarawan nito; paggamit ng konstruksiyong metaporikal upang masinop at makita ang regularidad sa mga konstruksiyong orihinal na panlunan sa Filipino; at paggamit ng korpus ng aktuwal na gamit ng Filipino bilang gabay sa pagbuo ng grammar nito.

Ang ikaapat na kabanata ay ay naglalahad ng iba't ibang situation type sa wikang Filipino ayon sa pangyayari o aksiyon na inilalarawan ng mga konstruksiyon. Kabilang din dito ang mga semantic role ng mga kalahok sa pangungusap na siyang kumukumpleto sa kahulugang hinihingi ng predicate at sa semantiks ng pangungusap sa kabuuan.

Ang ikalima at ikaanim na kabanata ay naglalatag ng semantic type na kinabibilangan ng mga noun, adjective, at verb, ang tatlong gramatikal na kategorya na tuon ng pagsusuri sa pag-aaral na ito. Inilalahad din sa mga kabanata na ito ang mga gramatikal na katangian ng bawat kategorya at ang mga tungkuling ginagampanan ng mga ito sa pagpapakahulugan at pagbibigay-interpretasyon sa pangungusap. Ang mga verb ay binibigyan ng natatanging pansin dahil sa kahalagahan nito sa pangungusap, na nagbubunsod sa pagpapangkat ng mga konstruksiyon ayon sa situation type na inilalarawan ng pangungusap, na siyang pagtutuunan naman ng pansin sa ikaanim na kabanata. Dahil sa kalikasan ng Filipino bilang wikang Philippine-type, ang paglalarawan sa sintaktik na gawi ng bawat semantic type at subtype ay

nakatutok sa mga panlaping karaniwang ikinakabit dito, bukod sa mga semantic role na hinihingi ng verb.

Ang ikapitong kabanata ay nagpapanukala sa pagtingin sa lunan bilang isang conceptual metaphor sa wikang Filipino, batay sa malaganap na paggamit ng mga gramatikal na mekanismong nagpapahayag ng lunan, partikular ang panlaping *-an* at ang marker na *sa*.

Ang ikawalong kabanata ay naglalatag ng buod at kongklusyon ng pag-aaral na ito. Ilalagay din ang ilang mungkahi para sa susunod pang pag-aaral upang mapalalim pa ang paglalarawan sa semantik na grammar ng Filipino at mapalawak pa ang ganitong lapit sa iba pang mga wika ng Pilipinas.

Inaasahan na ang semantik na lapit sa pagsusuring ito sa grammar ng Filipino ay magsilbing huwaran ng pag-aaral ng iba pang mga wika sa Pilipinas at makapagbigay rin ng iba pang pamamaraan sa pagtuturo at pagkatuto ng wika para sa mga nag-aaral nito bilang pangalawang wika, banyagang wika, o hiwalay na larangan.

Javier, Jem R. (2022). *Semantik na grammar ng Filipino* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



A Grammar Sketch of Inati

Diane A. Manzano

Inati is an understudied language spoken by the Ati indigenous group in Numancia, Aklan. The study aims to provide a grammar sketch of Inati spoken in Numancia, Aklan. It specifically aims to describe and analyze its linguistic properties such as its phonemes and the phonological processes, morphemes and morphological processes and the language's syntactic structure.

In terms of phonology, this study was able to describe the five phonemic vowels in Inati's vowel inventory. These vowels are /i, ɪ, ʊ, ε, a/. Also prominent in the language is vowel harmony where the vowel of the affix assimilates to the vowel of the root so most affixes which has an /a/ vowel changes to /ε/.

Based on the data presented in this study, Inati's morphology shows difference between non-personal and personal nouns. The marker for Inati nouns in the genitive case (*ki*) is the same marker used for nouns in the oblique case (*ki*). Interestingly, personal nouns in the nominative and genitive case have similar markers (*i*) while the oblique is marked differently (*ki*). Nine types of nominal derivational affixes were seen: *igpaN-*, *tag-*, *<Vr> + -in/-*, *paN-*, *pag-*, *ka-*, *-in*, *ta-*, and *ma-*. There are two types of adjectives discussed in this study: simple and *ma-* adjectives. Inati is different from most of Bisayan languages in that Bisayan languages use *-on* verbal suffix while Inati uses *-in*. There are two main types of Inati verbs seen in the data: stative and dynamic. Under dynamic verbs there are two subtypes: transitive and intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs can be marked with affixes such as *ig-*, *mag-*,

nag-, and *nang-* while transitive verbs are those marked with the affixes *gin-*, *-in*, *-an*, and *i-*.

These affixes are tied to two main clausal types seen in the language and those are transitive and intransitive clauses. An intransitive clause would expect at least one argument (whose syntactic function is an S) while a transitive clause would expect two arguments (whose syntactic functions are A and O). One of the observations specifically in terms of syntax is how word order determines syntactic function of arguments in a clausal construction where two arguments are marked similarly.

This study mainly focuses on describing the synchronic aspect of Inati language in Numancia and aims to help in the documentation and preservation of the language.

Manzano, Diane A. (2019). *A grammar sketch of Inati* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Butuanon Reference Grammar

Maridette E. Molina[†]

This dissertation is a reference grammar of Butuanon. It aims to comprehensively describe the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Butuanon language. The data used in this study include Butuanon translations of more than 1,000 Tagalog and Cebuano sentences and a

vocabulary consisting of 350 words. Short stories written in Butuanon likewise form part of the data of this study.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the vitality status of Butuanon and its cultural and historical background. Chapter 2 deals with the segmental and suprasegmental features of the language. Chapter 3 focuses on word classes which can be open or closed. Open classes include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs while closed classes consist of nominal markers, pronouns, numerals, negators, existential, coordinators, and subordinators. Chapter 4 discusses the basic clause structure in Butuanon, headed by verbal and non-verbal predicates. Other types of clauses such as negative and interrogative clauses are also presented in this chapter, including coordination and subordination. Chapter 5 summarizes the prominent and distinctive features the Butuanon language exhibits.

Based on the results of this study, the Butuanon language shares majority of its features with other Philippine-type languages. Butuanon has an inventory of three vowel phonemes and 16 consonant phonemes. Its words can be categorized into two groups—the open and the closed classes. The open classes which consist of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs may appear affixed or unaffixed. Nouns in Butuanon do not have inherent inflectional affixes. The affixes that mark nouns for gender and diminutive are all borrowed from Spanish. Verbs in Butuanon are generally inflected for focus, aspect, and mood. As a predicate-initial language, Butuanon has a basic clause structure consisting of a predicate and a focus argument that serves as a subject of the clause and is marked

by *ang* or *si*. The basic clause can be further expanded primarily through coordination and subordination.

Molina, Maridette E. (2021). *Butuanon reference grammar* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



A Grammar of Iraya

Elsie Marie T. Or

The Iraya Mangyans form one of the eight indigenous ethnolinguistic groups on the island of Mindoro, which is located off the southwestern coast of Luzon. This thesis presents a description of the grammar of the language spoken by the Iraya Mangyans, particularly in the northwestern part of Oriental Mindoro.

There have been few studies on the Iraya Mangyan language, and most of the linguistic studies which do include this language deal with its genetic relationship with other Mangyan languages and other Philippine languages (Zorc, 1974; Barbian, 1977; and Reid, 2017). To date, the most extensive description of the language was made by Tweddell (1958), however, it is only limited to the description of Iraya phonology and morphology.

This study seeks to present a more comprehensive grammar of the language by revisiting the phonological and morphological structure of the language, and by describing the syntactic patterns and operations

in Iraya. Some of the noteworthy features of the language include the lack of case markers, the lack of distinction between dual and plural personal pronouns in terms of case, the use of grammaticalized gender markers, and the limited productivity of aspectual marking on verbs through affixation. There is also no overt relativizing morpheme in the language, and the relative clause is simply juxtaposed to the head noun that it modifies.

As with most Philippine languages, Iraya is a primarily predicate-initial language. However, in cases where the actor is encoded as a personal pronoun, there is a strong preference for it to appear in the pre-verbal position.

Word order is relatively strict in this language. The grammatical relations of arguments can be discerned from the semantic roles they play within the sentence, their position within the sentence, and the focus affix attached to the verb. The strict word order in the language is hypothesized to be due to the lack of differentiation in the case marking of core arguments within the sentence.

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the language and provides an overview of the language situation of the Iraya Mangyans of Oriental Mindoro. Chapter 2 provides a review of previous studies on this language, with particular attention paid to Tweddell's description of Iraya phonology and morphology. Chapter 3 introduces the phonemic inventory of the language and the morphophonological processes that occur in the language. Chapter 4 presents the categorization of morphemes and the various word formation processes in Iraya. Specific grammatical categories such as the case, number, and gender of nouns, as well as aspect, focus, and modality of verbs are discussed in this

Chapter as well. Chapter 5 presents the phrasal and clausal structures in Iraya. Syntactic operations such as coordination and subordination are also discussed. Finally, Chapter 6 presents a summary and implications of the current findings, as well as recommendations for future studies on the language.

Or, Elsie Marie T. (2018). *A grammar of Iraya* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Ang Bumaruon ng mga Ilubu: Isang Etnolinggwistikong Pag-aaral

Daryl Q. Pasion

Noon pa man ay nahaharap na ang mga katutubo ng Kalinga sa tunggalian sa pagitan ng batas ng estado at ng kanilang katutubong pamamaraan ng pagsasaayos ng alitan na tinatawag na *bodong*. Mariing tinututulan ng mga katutubo ang paghihikayat ng kapulisan na itaas ang mga kaso ng alitan sa pambansang husgado dahil mas pinapaboran ng mga katutubo ang pagsasaayos gamit ang katutubong pamamaraan. Malinaw ang inihahayag ng mga pag-aaral, mga panitikan, at mga pahayagan patungkol sa dahilan ng kanilang pagtutol: hindi nakakamit ng mga katutubo ang 'hustisya' sa kaparaanan ng modernong batas. Sa etnolinggwistikong pag-aaral na ito ay sinuri ang konsepto ng "hustisya" ng isang pangkat sa Kalinga, ang mga Ilubu. Ginalugad rin at sinuri

ang semantika ng mga salitang may kaugnayan rito. Batay sa nakalap na datos, ang konseptong ito ay naipapahayag ng mga Ilubu sa salitang *bumaruon*, mula sa salitang-ugat na *baru* na ang ibig-sabihin ay ‘ganda.’

Pasion, Daryl Q. (2018). *Ang Bumaruon ng mga Ilubu: Isang etnolinggwistikong pag-aaral* [Unpublished master’s thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Compound and Complex Sentences in Surigaonon

Ava A. Villareal

A comprehensive grammar description includes the formations and processes of compound and complex sentences. A thorough understanding of the rules and constraints that govern these complex structures ensures better understanding and communication among speakers and aids pedagogy.

This study aims to describe how compound and complex sentences are formed in Surigaonon. Specifically, it aims to identify the different types of compound and complex sentences in the language, along with the different types of Surigaonon conjunctions, their functions, semantics, and grammatical restrictions.

In Surigaonon, a compound sentence is formed by joining together two or more related sentences using a conjunction—a morpheme that shows the relationship of the conjoined sentences. These sentences have various relationships (e.g., addition, sequence, contrast, etc.), with

corresponding effects on the truthfulness of the sentence propositions. Compound sentences are formed by the processes of coordination, subordination, or through the use of conjunctive adverbs.

A complex sentence in Surigaonon is composed of two or more sentences or clauses where one functions as the matrix sentence and the others as insert sentences. The process of inserting sentences is called embedding. The embedding processes involved in the formation of Surigaonon complex sentences discussed in this study are nominalization, relativization, attribution, sentences with modal verbs, and sentences with higher predicates.

The descriptions of compound and complex sentences presented in this study together with the previous studies done on Surigaonon grammar may serve as sources for the creation of a Surigaonon reference grammar which will provide a comprehensive description of the language.

Villareal, Ava A. (2021). *Compound and complex sentences in Surigaonon* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



A Grammar of Bolinao

John Venson P. Villareal

The present study aimed to describe the phonological and morphosyntactic properties of Bolinao, a Sambalic language spoken in Pangasinan.

The description of phonology followed the traditional approach to Philippine sound systems, while the description of morphosyntax followed a typological and construction-based approach. A typologically-informed approach to linguistic structure highlights a language's characteristics in terms of its similarities and differences with other languages. A construction-based approach accounts for the flexibility of a word's functions and meanings.

Bolinao shares a lot of characteristics with many Philippine languages, but it also displays differences in terms of the uses of deictic elements, distinction between word classes, marking of arguments, and modality. The findings of the present study can 1) be used for language research; 2) help in the preservation and appreciation of the language; 3) provide insights on how Philippine languages work; and 4) supplement to the materials used for instruction in the language.

Villareal, John Venson P. (2020). *A grammar of Bolinao* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Bikol Daet: Context, Variation, and Outlook

Louward Allen M. Zubiri

This study revisits the integrity and position of Bikol Daet as a member of the Bikol macrolanguage via an investigation of its relationships within

the linguistic ecology of Camarines Norte, its potential shibboleths, and its diachronies.

In Chapter II, two of the Philippines' most dominant languages, Tagalog and the Bikol macrolanguage, in addition to an indigenous language Manide, were discussed as the three key players in the ecology of languages in Camarines Norte. Both the Southern Tagalog dialects (e.g., Tagalog Quezon and Batangan Tagalog) and Bikol Naga are identified as primary influencers of Bikol Daet.

In Chapter III, diatopic variation across the towns of Camarines Norte and nearby areas were presented. In particular, phonetic and lexical variance were mapped, and isoglosses were determined. Distinct areas such as the TAGALOG block and the BIKOL block based on Isogloss 1Y, and the BIKOL-minus-RAGAY block based on Isogloss 1J and 2J were identified. From the data, the town of Vinzons is with the TAGALOG block instead of being in the BIKOL block as it is currently identified *de jure*. In addition, three different visualization methods were used to depict diatopic variation. Of the methods used, the Voronoi Method is considered to be the most appropriate as it extends beyond administrative borders, and it also resolves spatial discontinuity.

In Chapter IV, theories on observed changes in Bikol Daet were presented. Evidence especially on the grammaticalization of the question marker WHY in Bikol Daet suggests that contact influences from Tagalog extend beyond minimal lexical borrowing.

Finally, it has been argued and reinforced that Bikol Daet is a distinct and a separate variety of Bikol. Nonetheless, it remains as the least described Bikol variety and the weakest in terms of language status as reflected in Bikol language planning and policy. Questions on its vitality

and prospects remain even though the Bikol macrolanguage is one of the most vigorous languages in the Philippines.

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