

ARTICLE

Tracing the Provenance of Marinduque Toponyms

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ABSTRACT

This paper catalogs the provincial, municipal, and barangay-level place names—or toponyms—of the island province of Marinduque. Through close readings of primary historical sources and lexicographic texts, hypotheses on the provenance of these toponyms are forwarded. They are organized based on ten toponymic categories: physical descriptions, flora, fauna, persons, local or national events, geopolitical categories, human attributes, objects, concepts, or activities based partially on the categories in Jocano (1965), Medina (1992), Lesho and Sippola (2018), and Martynenko and Chesnokova (2019). The linguistic sources for Marinduque toponyms affirm the province's place in the Tagalog-speaking regions, but strong signals also point to contact with Bisayan and Bikol communities.

KEYWORDS

Marinduque, toponyms, placenaming, local history

Introduction

Placename studies in the Philippines presents itself as a nexus of local history, folklore, and linguistic analysis. In terms of source materials, it owes much to the “textualization” of places and localities. Textualization can be defined as a process of documentation, more so a preservation and archiving of texts. In our case here in the Philippines, as Resil B. Mojares (2006, 384) wrote, the “textualization of the country formed much of the basis for how the Philippines would be represented and counter-represented.” With the help of acculturated natives, Spanish colonial officials and missionaries devoted themselves to occasional place-writing, and later, foreign visitors also recorded their impressions about the country and its peoples. Succeeding the Spaniards, the American colonizers bound themselves to the same task, engaging not only with the acculturated elite but also with those they called the “non-Christian tribes.” Such colonial textualization led to the production of historical, geographical, lexicographic, ethnographic, and scientific works; and the formation of archives and collections that are helpful today for any student or scholar of placename studies (Medina 1992; 2005).

The postcolonial period saw the revitalization of what can be called the “textualization of the self” (Elumbre 2012, 409). This can be understood as place-writing *by* and *for* the Filipino. It can be rooted in the efforts of the acculturated elite—the *ladinos*, secular priests, *ilustrados*, *pensionados*, to name a few—who, in the face of the colonial power, identified with the general native populace and attempted to speak for themselves (Salazar 2000, 87-98). Since most of the local materials were destroyed by war, a way to rebuild the nation is to restore its archives. Different from the colonialist point of view espoused by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson’s *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* and the H. Otley Beyer Ethnographic Collection, the Historical Data Papers project initiated in 1951 through Executive Order No. 486 by President Elpidio Quirino assigned school officials and teachers to collect and compile “data on the history and culture of each barrio, town, city, and province.” The collection aimed “to serve as a source of inspiration and guidance for our future generations, as well as [a] source of materials for historians, investigators and researchers.”

Meanwhile, as some historians sought to define what “national history” is, others delved into the so-called “local history” (Agoncillo 2003; Mojares 1989-1990; Teodoro 2001; for anthologies, see McCoy and De Jesus 1982; Navarro and Orillos-Juan 2011). Through interdisciplinary approaches, local historians borrow and use concepts, methods, and materials from other disciplines such as linguistics, geography, archaeology, anthropology, economics, sociology, psychology, the natural and physical sciences, and cultural studies in order to write about the place or area. Due to scant written sources about localities, local historians would often resort to non-written sources such as archaeological evidence, material culture, folklore, spoken language description, and oral history (Lopez 2006; Kimuell-Gabriel 2011; Ubaldo 2012).

These practices in local history and place-writing can be associated with the specific field of toponymy. In F. Landa Jocano’s *Twenty-three Place-Name Legends from Antique Province* (1965), and Isagani R. Medina’s *Some Problems Confronting Place Name Research in the Philippines* (1992) and *Isang Pag-aaral ukol sa Pangalan ng mga Lugar sa Lalawigan ng Kabite* [A Study on the Names of Places in the Province of Cavite] (2001), placenames from different communities of the Philippines are cataloged. The significance of these works lies in their pioneering efforts at systematizing and forwarding analytic categories for Philippine placenames. These themes and overall direction are continued in later studies such as Marivic Lesho and Eeva Sippola’s *Toponyms in Manila and Cavite, Philippines* (2019) and Irina Martynenko and Olga Chesnokova’s *Spanish Toponymy in the Philippines: Structure and Pragmatics* (2019). Recently, a master’s thesis on placename history was written by Ruchie Mark D. Pototanon, titled *Pagsasakasaysayan ng Pagpapangalan ng mga Bayan sa Hilagang Panay* [Historicization and Naming of Towns in Northern Panay] (2017). Moreover, samples of street toponymy can be read in Luning B. Ira and Isagani R. Medina’s *Streets of Manila* (1977) and the National Historical

Institute's *Daluyan: A Historical Dictionary of the Streets of Manila* (2006).

Building on these past studies, the present paper aims to contribute to this area of inquiry by cataloging the provincial, municipal, and barangay-level placenames—or toponyms—in one province of the country: the island province of Marinduque. Under Region IV-B (MIMAROPA), Marinduque is situated in Southern Luzon. Being an island province, it is surrounded by bodies of water such as Tayabas Bay, Mompog (or Mompong) Pass, Tablas Strait, and Sibuyan Sea. Nearby localities include Quezon at the north, northeast, and east, Batangas at the northwest, Mindoro island at the west, and Romblon at the south (see Figure 1).

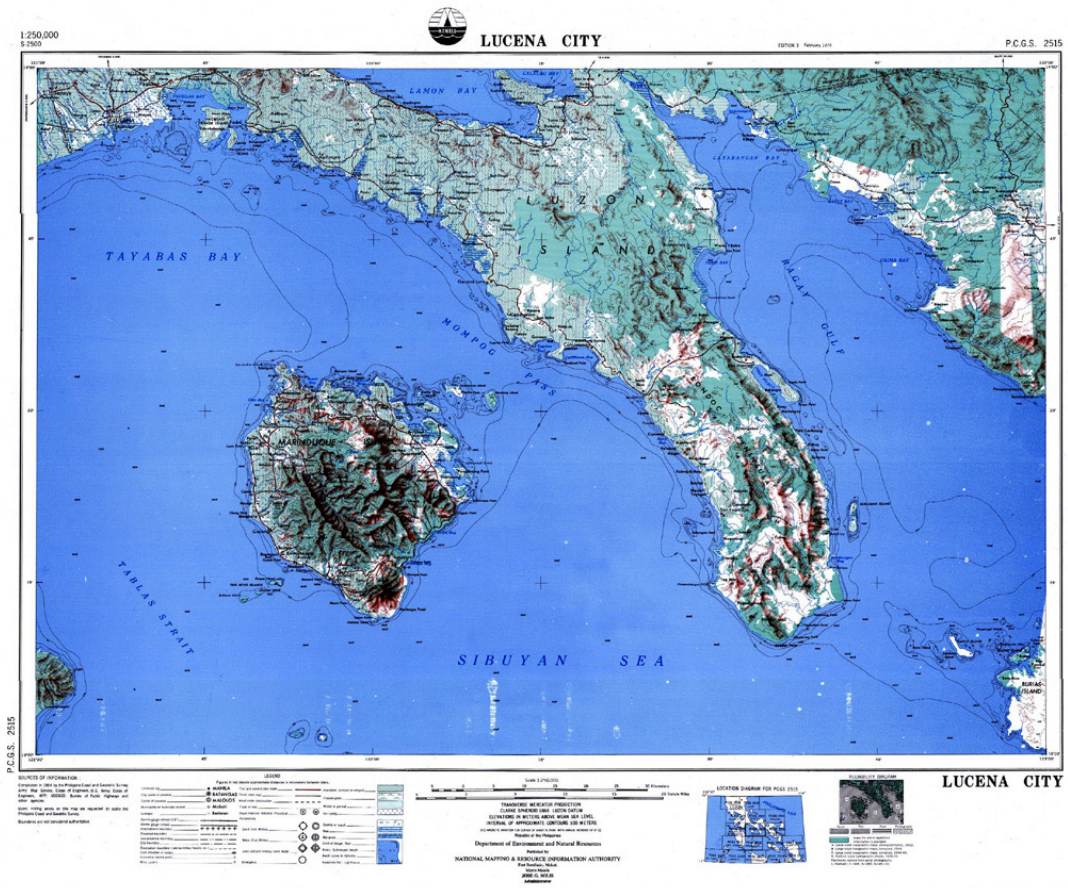


Figure 1. Topographic map of the region (scale 1:250,000) which shows Marinduque and nearby localities. Source: NAMRIA

Marinduque is composed of six towns, namely Boac (the capital), Santa Cruz, Gasan, Mogpog, Torrijos, and Buenavista. Boac has sixty-one barangays, Santa Cruz has fifty-five, Gasan has twenty-five, Mogpog has thirty-seven, Torrijos has twenty-five, and Buenavista has fifteen. The barangay names are indicated in Table 1, while Figure 2 is a map that shows the scope of each town and their respective barangays.

Table 1. Marinduque towns and their barangays

Towns	Number of Barangays	Barangays
Boac	Sixty-one	Agot, Agumaymayan, Amoingon, Apitong, Balagasan, Balaring, Balimbing, Balogo, Bamban, Bangbangalon, Bantad, Bantay, Bayuti, Binunga, Boi, Boton, Buliasnin, Bunganay, Caganhao, Canat, Catubugan, Cawit, Daig, Daypay, Duyay, Hinapulan, Ihatub, Isok I, Isok II Poblacion, Laylay, Lupac, Mahinhin, Mainit, Malbog, Maligaya, Malusak, Mansiwat, Mataas na Bayan, Maybo, Mercado, Murallon, Ogbac, Pawa, Pili, Poctoy, Poras, Puting Buhangin, Puyog, Sabong, San Miguel, Santol, Sawi, Tabi, Tabigue, Tagwak, Tambunan, Tampus, Tanza, Tugos, Tumagabok, Tumapon
Santa Cruz	Fifty-five	Alobo, Angas, Aturan, Bagong Silang Poblacion, Baguidbirin, Baliis, Balogo, Banahaw Poblacion, Bangcuangan, Banogbog, Biga, Botilao, Buyabod, Dating Bayan, Devilla, Dolores, Haguimit, Hupi, Ipil, Jolo, Kaganhao, Kalangkang, Kamandugan, Kasily, Kilo-kilo, Kiñaman, Labo, Lamesa, Landy, Lapu-lapu Poblacion, Libjo, Lipa, Lusok, Maharlika Poblacion, Makulapnit, Maniwaya, Manlibunan, Masaguisi, Masalukot, Matalaba, Mongpong, Morales, Napo, Pag-asa Poblacion, Pantayin, Polo, Pulong-Parang, Punong, San Antonio, San Isidro, Tagum, Tamayo, Tambangan, Tawiran, Taytay
Gasan	Twenty-five	Antipolo, Bachao Ibaba, Bachao Ilaya, Bacongbacong, Bahi, Bangbang, Banot, Banuyo, Barangay I, Barangay II, Barangay III, Bognuyan, Cabugao, Dawis, Dili, Libtangin, Mahunig, Mangiliol, Masiga, Matandang Gasan, Pangi, Pingan, Tabionan, Tapuyan, Tiguion
Mogpog	Thirty-seven	Anapog-Sibucao, Argao, Balanacan, Banto, Bintakay, Bocboc, Butansapa, Candahon, Capayang, Danao, Dulong Bayan, Gitnang Bayan, Guisian, Hinadharan, Hinanggayon, Ino, Janagdong, Lamesa, Laon, Magapua, Malayak, Malusak, Mampaitan, Mangyan-Mababad, Market Site, Mataas na Bayan, Mendez, Nangka I, Nangka II, Paye, Pili, Puting Buhangin, Sayao, Silangan, Sumangga, Tarug, Villa Mendez
Torrijos	Twenty-five	Bangwayin, Bayakbakin, Bolo, Bonliw, Buangan, Cabuyo, Cagpo, Dampulan, Kay Duke, Mabuhay, Makawayan, Malibago, Malinao, Maranlig, Marlangga, Matuyatuya, Nangka, Pakaskasan, Payanas, Poblacion, Poctoy, Sibuyao, Suha, Talawan, Tigwi
Buenavista	Fifteen	Bagacay, Bagtingon, Barangay I, Barangay II, Barangay III, Barangay IV, Bicas-bicas, Caigangan, Daykitin, Libas, Malbog, Sihi, Timbo, Tungib-Lipata, Yook

Through close readings of primary historical sources and lexicographic texts, hypotheses on the provenance of these toponyms are forwarded. They are organized based on ten toponymic categories based on the studies enumerated above: physical descriptions, flora, fauna, persons, local or national events, geopolitical categories, human attributes, objects, concepts, or activities. The linguistic sources for Marinduque toponyms affirm the province's place in the Tagalog-speaking regions, but strong signals also point to contact with Bisayan and Bikol communities.

Later studies have tackled the linguistic affinities, internal variation, and possible migration patterns of the Tagalog-speaking communities of Marinduque. R. David Zorc (1977) classifies Tagalog as a Central Philippine language alongside the numerous Bisayan languages, Bikol languages, and the Mansakan languages of Mindanao. It was also Zorc (1993; 2019) who proposed the hypothesis that Tagalog speakers are only recent occupants of Southern Luzon, tracing their origin somewhere in Southeastern Visayas or Northern Mindanao. The various Tagalog dialects, including Marinduque Tagalog, and their probable source Pre-Tagalog, i.e., Tagalog in its earliest form, was reconstructed by Irma U. Peneyra in her 2003 dissertation *Isang Rekonstraksyong Internal ng Tagalog Batay sa mga Piling Dayalek* [An Internal Reconstruction of Tagalog Based on Selected Dialects]. The closer structural affinities of Marinduque Tagalog with other Central Philippine language groups like Bisayan and Bikol, compared to the Tagalog (Filipino) of the Greater Manila area, is also acknowledged in Peneyra (2003) with Jason William Lobel (2002, 12) even categorizing Marinduque Tagalog as a “hybrid language.”

Thus, the paper is outlined as follows: the first two sections, (1) “Naming ‘Marinduque’” and (2) “Town formation and toponym etymology,” trace the acts and development of placenaming and provide possible meanings of the placenames used for the island province (Marinduque) and its towns (Boac, Gasan, Santa Cruz, Mogpog, Torrijos, Buenavista). Such accounts are made possible by the available historical documents and lexicographic texts. In the barangay level, however, historicizing the origin and development of placenames is more challenging. Unlike province and town names, barangay names rarely appear among Spanish colonial sources. Aside from scattered historical sources waiting to be collated, what we have for now as references for barangay etymology and history are the barangay profiles kept at the municipal offices. Thus, what we did in sections (3) “Marinduque barangay toponyms,” (4) “Toponymic categories,” (5) “Source languages,” and (6) “Toponym list,” is to lay down a procedure for how to find the meanings of barangay names and how to interpret what these meanings entail or imply in historical and linguistic aspects. Section (7) “Findings” discusses the results of the study using such procedure, followed en fin by (8) “Conclusions and recommendations.” The appendix contains a table of the important pieces of information associated with the placenames of Marinduque.

Naming “Marinduque”

So far, the earliest appearance of the placename Marinduque (spelled “Marinduc, Malindus”) in a Spanish document can be found in Fray Diego de Herrera’s *Augustinian Memoranda*, written around 1573, when the Augustinian priest sailed for Nueva España (Mexico) to inform the Spanish King and the Council of Indies about the state of affairs in the Philippine Islands. “Paint[ing] the condition of the conquest in the darkest colors, dilating on the cruelty of the Spaniards,” as the American editors Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (1906, 23)

described, the document told the story of a violent response by the Spaniards after the reported killing of an *encomendero* named Pedro de Mena:

Because the natives killed Mena and three others who asked them for tributes, in the island of Marinduc [i.e., Marinduque], Captain Luis de la Haya went by the governor's orders and that of all the Council of War and destroyed the islands of Banton and Malindus [i.e., Marinduque], and also that of Guimbar. (Herrera [1573] 1906, 277)

Such mention was followed by a report on the merits and services of Captain Bernardino de Sande on “the pacification of Cagayán, Dulag, and the island of Marinduque” (AGI 1581). A year after, in his 1582 *Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas*, Miguel de Loarca stated that the inhabitants of Marinduque were “tattooed natives” (*yndios pintados*); however they were not “under the jurisdiction” of Çubu (Cebu), Arevalo (Iloilo), and Camarines (Loarca [1582] 1903, 100-101). The report of the Dominican bishop Domingo de Salazar in 1588 also mentioned “Marinduque” along with other islands such as Luban, Mindoro, Elen, and Calamianes (Salazar [1588] 1903, 44). In a document entitled *Discussion and Conclusions of the Bishop Concerning the Matter of Tributes* dated 12 January 1591, Bishop Salazar enumerated other encomiendas characterized by their *pintado* population, such as the islands of Panay, Leite, Negros, Babao, Balon, Bohol, Catanduanes, Lagunay, Masbate, and Marinduque (“The Collection of Tributes” [1591] 1903, 270-271). The presence of so called *pintados* on the island of Marinduque could also be correlated with early contact and even dominance of Bisayan-speaking populations on the island.

With this early existence of the placename in the colonial records,³ it appears that Spaniards might have already known the island as “Marinduc,” “Malindus,” or, in most accounts, “Marinduque.” It was only in a nineteenth century Franciscan document where it was explicitly stated that “this island was formerly called Malindic” (*Esta isla, llamada antiguamente Malindic*) (Huerta 1865, 596). Malindig refers to the island's highest peak found in its southern part. Emphasizing how his fellow Spaniards “corrupted” local placenames, the Dominican friar Domingo Fernando Navarrete remarked, “The island which the natives call Minolo is named Mindoro by the Spaniards, and that of Malindic we call Marinduque” (Navarrete [1676] 1906, 47, 15f). Blair and Robertson (1909, 718) listed the following toponym variants: “Malindig,” “Malindus,” “Marinduc,” “Marinducq,” and “Marinduque.”

Moving to more contemporary sources, the linguist Cecilio Lopez explained the meaning of the word and the transition process from “Malindig” to “Marinduque” in his study of Boac Tagalog:

In old chronicles the name of the island occurs in such varying forms as Malinduc, Marinducq, Malindic, and Malindig, forms quite evidently to be analyzed into well-known “adjectival” prefix *ma-* denoting chiefly existence, and a radical word, or stem, occurring in Tagalog as *lindig*, in Bikol as *lindog* or *lindug*, the second vowel of both forms (i.e. Tag. *i*, Bik. *o* or *u*), going back, in accordance with the so-called “pepet law,” to the indistinct vowel *e*. The

change of the first sound of the stem, *l*, to *r* is likewise in consonance with a common Indonesian phonetic law, while the conversion of final *g* into the Spanish ending *que* finds an exact parallel in the case of the town of Parañaque on Manila Bay, which in Tagalog is called Palanyag [...]

The stem *lindig* occurs, according to Noceda y Sanlucar, in the now obsolete Tagalog word *maglindig*, meaning “rising up straight so as not be covered by the water,” while for the Bikol form *lindog* Marcos de Lisboa states quite clearly that it means “*monte muy alto y derecho*,” both forms embodying thus the idea of English “steep, towering.” (Lopez 1977, 4; see also Soberano 1980, 6)

Lopez’s insight on the *g>que* shift is supported by orthographic practices. Different from Herrera’s “Malindus” and “Marinduc,” Sande and Loarca both used “marinduq.” Loarca’s orthographic representation had an “e” superscript, referring to added affix -ue, while the upward tail in Sande’s “q” may also indicate such a contraction. In another page of Sande’s document, the complete form “marinduque” is already written. Adding to these, a 1594 report by the Augustinian friar Francisco de Ortega indicated a shortened form, “Marinducq” (Ortega [1594] 1904, 99). Contracting long words was a common orthographic practice during the early Spanish period in the Philippines, when handwritten documents involved the use of abbreviated forms. The misspelling “Malindus” in Herrera’s memoranda might be a written error confusing “c” with “ç,” which was used, for instance, in “Çubu” (Zubu, Cebu, or Sugbu). Overall, these sources reinforce the argument that “Malindig” is the most possible root of “Marinduque.”⁴

1280-1605] AUGUSTINIAN MEMORANDA 277

the island of Çubu, against those villages of Candaya, because a common seaman was killed; and in Bohol, because they killed a worthless fellow on account of his many exactions in the collection of the tribute. There as they did not find any people in the village where he was killed, they seized seven Indians from a village lower down which is called Baye, and hanged them because they confessed that they had known beforehand that the other villages had agreed to kill the man. *Item*: Because the natives killed Mena and three others who asked them for tributes, in the island of Marinduc [*i.e.*, Marinduc], Captain Luis de la Haya went by the governor’s orders and that of all the Council of War and destroyed the islands of Banton and Malindus [*i.e.*, Marinduc], and also that of Guimbar.²⁷ The greater portion of the land has no other peace than that some captain and soldiers have lodged

Figure 3. The 1573 Herrera document showing the spelling variants “Marinduc” and “Malindus.” (Herrera [1573] 1906, 277)

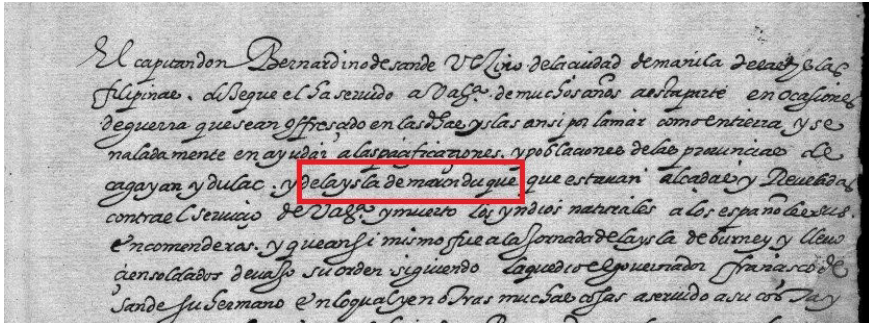
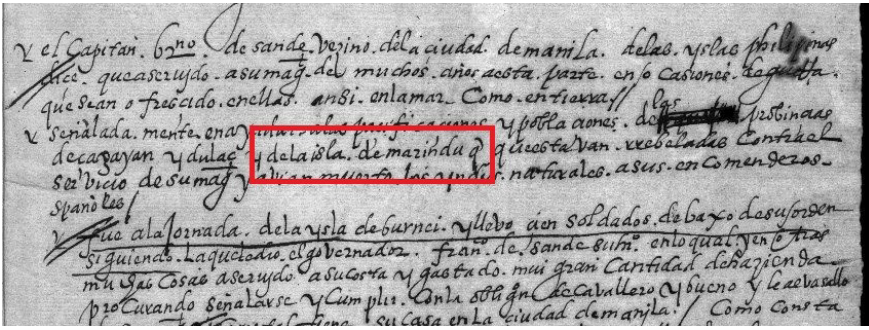


Figure 4. The 1581 Sande document showing the spelling variants “marindug,” “marindugue.” (AGI 1581)

manilla donde començamos la buelta hasta El rio de
 cagayan.]
 ysla de marindug^e. Entre la ysla de banton y la de
 luçon quatro leguas de banton y çinco de la ysla de
 luçon esta la ysla de marindug^e. que tiene como
 veynte y seys leguas de box, y oçho de ançho aura en
 ella como mill hombres capul y ella son de Vn en-
 comendero: son yndios pintados aunq^e no es juri-
 diçion de çubu, areualo ni camarines.

Figure 5. The 1582 Loarca document showing the spelling “marindug^e” with superscript-e. (Loarca [1582] 1903, 100-101)

Camanguian, ten leguas in circuit, and one hundred and fifty tributarios; Cubuyan, eighteen leguas in circuit, and two hundred and fifty tributarios; the island of Cabras, a like number, and is eight leguas in circuit. Vanton is about ten leguas in circumference, and has about three hundred tributarios. That of **Marinduq** is thirty leguas in circuit, and has eight hundred Indian tributarios; Romblon, eight leguas in circuit, and one hundred and fifty Indian tributarios; Tablas, eighteen leguas and two hundred and fifty tributarios. The island of Ambil is five leguas in circuit, and has one hundred and fifty Indian tributarios; Buracay, six leguas, and two hundred and fifty tributarios. That of Helin is about eight leguas

Figure 6. The 1594 Ortega document showing the spelling “Marinduq.”
(Ortega [1594] 1904, 99)

In contrast to the above mentioned account, folk etymologies propose alternative sources of the province’s name. The most popular tells the tale of the lovers Marin (or Marina) and Garduque. Datu Batumbakal, Marin’s father and the ruler of Batangan (comprising Batangas, Mindoro, Laguna, and Camarines), forbade their relationship, forcing the lovers to elope. As their captors neared the boat they were using to escape, Marin and Garduque jumped into the deep waters and drowned. After some time, an island emerged from the sea where they were last seen. Agglutinating Marin and Garduque, the island was thus named “Marinduque.”⁵

Another version, which ended with the “happy union of the young couple” Maring and Duke (Santos 1979, 142-143), includes a ship race between three suitor kings, a scenario that also appeared in a Malindig toponym story, “The Fury of Maria Malindig” (Eugenio 2001, 192-195).⁶ Other variants include the love story of “Mariin and Gat Duke” (Asuncion 2004, 44-50), “Maring and her lover, a Spanish duke (duque)” (Soberano 1980, 6), and between “a Mary and a Spanish duke” (Lopez 1977, 4).

Turning now to Chinese stories, historian William Henry Scott (1984, 75) after consulting Ming dynasty accounts, stated that the toponyms “Mao-li-wu” (猫里務 *māolìwù*) and “Ho-mao-li” (合猫里 *hémāolì*) might refer to either Mindoro or Marinduque. Provided that the hanzi characters and their pinyin transliteration are accurate, it appears that these Chinese exonyms are based on their phonetic, rather than semantic, proximity to local names. Nonetheless, artifacts suggest the existence of precolonial relations between the Marinduque people and the Chinese. These include the Marinduque celadon jar (circa thirteenth to fourteenth century, during the Yuan dynasty), and the Zhangzhou or Swatow tradewares (circa sixteenth to seventeenth century, during the Ming dynasty) excavated from a wreck site near Gaspar Island, Pingan, Gasan (Cuevas 2002, 27; NMP 2021).

Scott (1984, 75) also wrote that a Muslim envoy from Mao-li-wu, Tawnu Makaw, went to the Ming court on 17 October 1405 to present tributes.

Related to the discussion is the placename “Ma-i” (麻逸 *máyì*), with variants “Mua-iac,” “Ma-yit,” “Ba-yit,” “Ba-i,” “Bai,” “Bahi,” “Bahy,” and “Baia.” The meaning of Ma-i has been a subject of scholarly debates since the nineteenth century. It may refer to Bulacan (Emma Helen Blair, in Chao [ca. 1280] 1906, 185, 2f), Batangas (Wang 1972), Mindoro (Scott 1984), or Laguna (Go 2005). Following the argument of Zoilo Galang, the Filipino-Chinese scholar Wang Teh-Ming (1972, 27) stated that Ma-i as Batangas had “its jurisdiction extending over a vast territory including what is now Batangas, Mindoro, Marinduque, and all the land settlement of Laguna as far as Camarines.” The popular Marinduque legend parallels Wang’s interpretation: the powerful Batangan chief Batumbakal also governed over Mindoro and the areas from Laguna up to Camarines (cf. Bai kingdom folktale in Go 2005, 128-130, 134).

Local history informs us that placenaming and town formation are intertwined processes. After their establishment, localities were integrated into the administrative structure. In the case of Marinduque, the island was placed under the provincial domains of Batangas, Mindoro, and Tayabas, until it attained provincial status on 21 January 1920 through the Act No. 2880 signed by the American governor Francis Burton Harrison (SCP 2019).⁷ Through this political history of the island, towns were formed. Presently, the Province of Marinduque has six towns: Boac, Santa Cruz, Gasan, Mogpog, Torrijos, and Buenavista.

Town Formation and Toponym Etymology

It is in the Spanish sources that we would be able to trace the earliest use of Marinduque town toponyms, and conversely, the town’s foundation. The entry and rule of the Spanish colonizers in Marinduque during the sixteenth century was enabled and sustained through military pacification and missionary work. In 1579, between the military attacks of 1573 and 1581, the Franciscan missionaries arrived in Marinduque. A year later, a *pueblo* (town) was formed in what would become Boac. This town, Pueblo de Monserrat, was named after the Nuestra Señora de Monserrat, to whom the town church was dedicated. In 1609, two *visitas* (church outreach) from the Monserrat *cabecera* (parish capital) were established: the San Juan Bautista de Marinduque and the San Bernardo de Marinduque churches in today’s Santa Cruz and Gasan, respectively. Out of these *visitas*, two more *pueblos* were formed, bearing their patron saints’ names. The Franciscans left in 1614, after ceding the *visitas* to the Sagrada Mitra in 1613 (Huerta 1865, 459-460, 596-7). A secular priest temporarily took care of the community until his death (San Juan 2018, 19).

In the 1620s, Marinduque was assigned to the Jesuits. They founded Boac on 8 December 1621 as a town under the patronage of the Immaculate Concepcion,

followed by the towns of Santa Cruz de Napo and Gasan, and a *visita* in Mahanguin, located at the southern tip of the island (De la Costa 2014, 371; San Juan 2018, 20). Unlike the town-naming done by the Franciscans, this time, with the Jesuits, the native names “Boac” and “Gasan,” and a hybrid toponym “Santa Cruz de Napo” were used as pueblo names (Asuncion 2004, 184).⁸ A century later, another “separation” of Gasan parish from Boac was recorded on 26 April 1764 (Dery 2001, 125). These town “re-establishments” suggest the impermanent and shifting nature of *visita* and pueblo-formation, possibly due to the lack and loss of missionaries who provided cohesion and continuity of a colonial settlement. After the Jesuit expulsion in 1768, religious instruction and administration were given to Filipino secular priests (1772-1873) and the Augustinian Recollects (San Juan 2018, 191-192; Wendt 2016, 113).

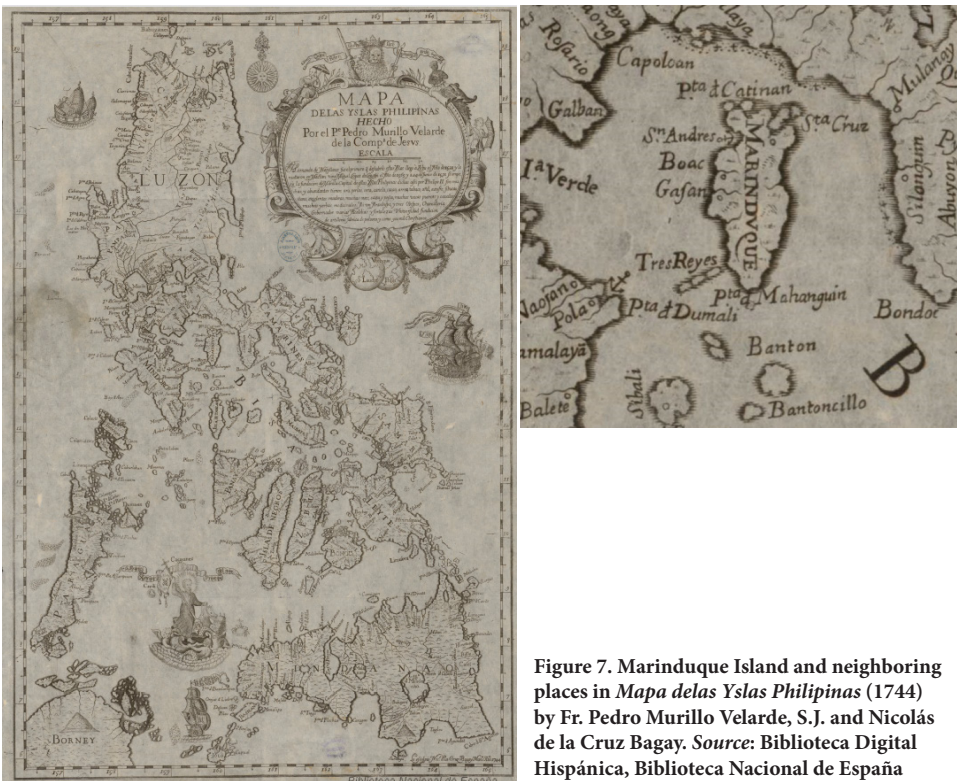


Figure 7. Marinduque Island and neighboring places in *Mapa delas Yslas Philipinas* (1744) by Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J. and Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay. Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Biblioteca Nacional de España

Until the nineteenth century, Marinduque had three towns: Boac, Gasan, and Santa Cruz de Napo (later shortened as Santa Cruz). The existence of these towns, and even the contraction of the Santa Cruz toponym, can be observed in the labels of the Murillo Velarde-Bagay map, first made in 1734, and its replications (see, as example, Figure 7): Boac, Gasan, P. d Sta. Cruz or simply Sta. Cruz (Pueblo de Santa Cruz), together with other places such as Pta. d Catinan (Punta de Catinan), Sn. Andres or Pta. d Sn. Andres (Punta de San Andres), Pta. d Mahanguin (Punta de Mahanguin), and Tres Reyes. In 1807, Mogpog, a former barrio of Boac,

became an independent town. In 1880, twelve barrios in Santa Cruz were united to form Torrijos. On 9 November 1918, about a year before Marinduque attained its provincial status under American control, the barrio Buenavista (formerly called Sabang) became a separate town out of Gasan. The naming of Boac, Gasan, and Mogpog suggests that the Spanish and Hispanized native administrators simply perpetuated the use of already existing local toponyms (Tormo Sanz and Salazar, qtd. in Lesho and Sippola 2018, 321). However, there are also erasures of native names, as observed in the cases of Santa Cruz (from Santa Cruz de Napo) and Buenavista (from Sabang).

Let us now discuss the histories and provenance of the individual town toponyms. For each town name, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcription of its pronunciation is provided.

***Boac* [bwak / bu.'wak]**

Boac, the island's first colonial center and later the provincial capital, owes its name to the term for “crack,” “split,” “crevice,” “fissure,” “cleave,” or “divide” in various Bisayan languages and dialects. The nineteenth century Tagalog dictionary of the Jesuits Juan José de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar (1832, 64) clearly posits a Bisayan source for the name: “*Boac*. pc. Un pueblo en la Isla de Marinduque, llamado asi: en Bisaya es lo mismo que Biac” (a town in the Island of Marinduque is named as such: in Bisaya it is similar to *biac*). The actual pronunciation of the town name lends credence to the hypothesis that the placename is Bisayan in origin: [bwak] or [bu.'wak]. Outsiders, such as from Manila, might be misled to pronounce it as [ˈbo:.wak] or [ˈbo:.'pak] due to the Hispanized orthography.

A question is worth asking: what has been cracked, divided, or split? A popular etymological interpretation among the locals suggests that the land has been “pierced” through by a water form, the Boac River. Espousing a terrestrial perspective, this interpretation can be read in the local government online profile:

The name BOAC was derived from the [T]agalog word “biak” which means divided. The river which ran from the eastern hinterland to the western plains down to the sea, had divided the town into two areas, the Northern Area and the Southern Area. The people used to say Ang Bayang Biak. In the course of time, by means of verbal intercourse and communication and other exchange of letter and notes between the people of Marinduque and Mindanao, the [T]agalog word biak becomes Boac, the name which has persisted up to the present. (Municipality of Boac n.d.)

However, nineteenth century sources suggest a departure from the said explanation. Rather than describing a certain geographical feature, the meaning of *boac* has been related by some dictionaries to human activities and even animal species. In a Bisayan dictionary developed based on the speech variety in Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Mindanao, and other localities, *boac* is the act of splitting or opening bamboos, coconuts, pomegranates, and oranges; at times, it refers to the act of

splitting without dividing the parts (De la Encarnación 1885, 48).⁹ In a dictionary of so called “Panay Bisayan,” *buac* refers to parts of an object being halved, or the act of splitting objects. *Buac* or *boac* also means the shell of a clam (*vaina almeja*) or oyster (*ostión*) (Méntrida 1841, 76).¹⁰ In a Samar-Leyte Bisayan dictionary, *boac* pertains to a split or cleave lengthwise (*hendedura, rajadura á lo largo*), as exemplified in the following phrase: “*Pamuacon ta inin mga cauayan*” (let us split these bamboos) (De la Rosa 1895, 33).¹¹ An entry in a twentieth century Cebuano dictionary also speaks of fruit-splitting: one meaning of *buak* is “to split coconuts to make copra” (Wolff 1972).

Gasán [ˈgaː.san]

Gasán [ˈgaː.san] is probably rooted in *gasang* [ga.ˈsan] from having the stress on the final syllable to having vowel length and stress on the second to the last syllable. The town name’s pronunciation might have changed due to the use of the Hispanized form *gazan* (Marche 1887). *Gasang* is still being used up to this day, as seen in the Gasang-Gasang Festival held every Easter Sunday.¹² Lexicographic texts from the eighteenth to twentieth century recorded several meanings of *gasang*. A network of these meanings that spans two centuries strongly indicates the semantic field of *gasang* containing meanings related to stone, coral, and water-related objects, flora, fauna, and attributes.

In an eighteenth century Bikol dictionary, the entry *gasang* refers to a kind of branch (*ramal*) which grows in the sea (Lisboa 1754, 251).¹³ In an undated *Vocabulario tagalo-español* (n.d., spread 120), it refers to a kind of clam (*un genero de almejas*), suggesting an affinity with the Bisayan *buac* or *boac* (Méntrida 1841, 76).¹⁴ By the nineteenth century, Tagalog and Bisayan dictionaries spoke of *gasang* as corals or sea stones. In Tagalog, *gasang* pertains to stones (*cascajos*), specifically small or fragmented stones, pebbles, or gravel, or the act of breaking bones akin to the sounds produced by stones or gravel. Another entry, however, speaks of *gasang* as sea current (*resaca de la mar*) (Noceda and Sanlucar 1832, 149).¹⁵ In Bisayan languages, *gasang* are sea stones or gravel (*especie de piedra de la mar*) (De la Encarnación 1885, 113). In Samar-Leyte Bisayan, *gasang* refers to white sea coral (*coral blanco de la mar*) (De la Rosa 1895, 86). Moreover, Méntrida and De la Encarnación both highlighted “roughness” or “unevenness” (*aspereza*) in the terms *gasang* and *gasang gasang*, which they related to stones (*piedra*) and reefs (*arrecife*).¹⁶ In twentieth century Cebuano, *gasang* refers to “coral, hard substance made up of the skeleton of polyps,” and *kagasangan* is a “place where corals abound” (Wolff 1972), while in Tayabas Tagalog, it is “a kind of coral stone” often described as soft yet sharp (Manuel 1971, 121).

Another meaning that appeared in nineteenth century Bisayan texts is related to ashes, trees, and salt-making, which seem to recall the Bikol *gasang* in Lisboa’s eighteenth century dictionary. In Méntrida’s dictionary (1841, 145-146), *gasang* also means ashes used to make salt (*zeniza fuerte, para hacer sal, en binalotó*).

The Bisayan dictionaries of De la Encarnación (1885, 113) and De la Rosa (1895, 86) also refer to *gasang* as ashes from trees, trunks, or wood soaked in seawater saltpeter (*salitre de la mar*) to make rock salt (*sal de piedra*).¹⁷ This possibly corresponds to the process of making *asin tibuok* (artisanal salt) in Bohol.

***Santa Cruz (de Napo)* ['san.ta krus]/['na:.puʔ]**

Later shortened to Santa Cruz, the pueblo Santa Cruz de Napo was established by the Jesuits in 1621. Such Hispanic and Christian toponyms, common all throughout the islands, can be readily attributed to the religious context of colonial town formation.¹⁸ The word *napo* can be found in nineteenth and twentieth century dictionaries. *Napo* refers to small piles of soft land and the act of planting edible root crops (De la Rosa 1895, 151).¹⁹ De la Encarnación's Bisayan dictionary (1885, 240) listed *napò* as "sandstone land" (*tierra arenisca*) and a "freshwater stone" (*pedra de agua dulce*) made from water sediments. The dictionary expounded on the latter meaning: "This kind of stone is good for making ovens and stoves, because although it is in itself earthy and soft, the fire gives it extraordinary consistency and durability."²⁰ In Cebuano, *napù* means "fertile, flat land" (Wolff 1972).

***Mogpog* [mug.'pɔg]**

It is known, at least by tradition, that Mogpog was established as a town in 1807. It is also recognized as the town where the popular rite-festival, the Moriones, originated, perhaps as early as the 1850s (see Moreno 1877, 251; Wendt 2016; Oliverio 2020, 11-12). The popular local etymology suggesting that the root of "Mogpog" is *apog* (lime) has been adopted in an official history of the municipality:

The word Mogpog was originated from the word 'maapog' meaning plenty of lime or "maapog," the making or manufacture of lime. A "calero" or lime kiln, a place where lime was manufactured existed in its vicinity during the coming of the Spaniards who adopted that name. In the late 17th and 18th centuries, the place where now stands the poblacion of Mogpog, was rimmed with forested areas. Its center was a cultivated hill now known as Mataas na Bayan was the place then called Anapog planted with rice and root crops. People residing there were the lime makers. Their houses were made of native materials—cogon roof, palm leaf walls/nipa or "sasa" bamboo floors with round timber and bamboo as framework. When they were not tending the "calero" for lime manufacture, they fished at night. Others hunted wild animals for food, while others tended their farm as means of livelihood. "Apog" or lime played a big part in Spain's effort to leave her legacy in architecture in our country. This was used in the construction of Boac Church and several public buildings in Marinduque. It was much needed and sought for in building construction as what cement is today. (Municipality of Mogpog n.d.)

This account is rather difficult to reconcile with the linguistic facts. The change from a trisyllabic "ma-a-pog," to the disyllabic "mog-pog" entails the deletion of

the penultimate syllable [ʔa] and an epenthetic [g] yielding the final form [mʊg. 'pɔg] which seems to be unmotivated.

One alternate analysis would be that the town's name came from the shortened *namumugpog* or *pamumugpog*, derived from the Tagalog *pogpog*, which refers to things “rotten or decayed at the end, as of a piece of wood, pole, or the like,” “charred one end of a firewood, cigar, or cigarette,” or the “act of trimming or snuffing off the decayed or charred portion of a thing” (Santos 2006, 519). Noceda and Sanlucar (1832, 318) also had an entry on *pogpog*: “Podirse las maderas por la punta, *Namomogpog*” (woods rotting in their tips).

Such a proposal can be supported through an intertextuality of toponyms. The act of wood pruning or trimming in “Mogpog” can be associated with Boac's wood or coconut splitting; its wood being charred can be related to Gasan's ashes through the idea of burning, which is also apparent in an interpretation of the name of Barangay Masiga in the town,²¹ possibly a place where woods and leaves are burned, and conversely, Barangay Daig, the act of extinguishing fire. Furthermore, a lot of Marinduque barangay toponyms are named after trees and bamboo, like Antipolo, Bagacay, Bahi, Banuyo, Ipil, Makawayan, and Pili, to name a few, and agricultural activities, like Masiga, Canat, and if proven, Hinadharan, which possibly comes from the Bisayan *hadhad*, “to chop down full-grown trees” (Scott 1994, 37).

Torrijos [tu.'rr:.hus]

Two archival documents dated 1880 indicate the creation of the *pueblo civil* (civil town) of Torrijos, separating it from its mother town Santa Cruz de Napo: a report (*informe*) from the Consejo de Filipinas and a general directive (*dirección general*) from the Administracion Civil (AHN 1880a; 1880b). The informe stated the specific barrios being united for the erection of Torrijos as a separate town: Napo, Matogatoya (Matuyatuya), Baulio, Buangan, Marlanga (Marlangga), Mabucao, Pascarcasan (Pakaskasan), Maranlig, Poctoy, Cabuyo, Tigui (Tigwi), and Malibago (AHN 1880b). The name Torrijos was probably derived from the town of the same name in Toledo, Spain, making it a “migrant toponym” (Martyntenko and Chesnokova 2019, 180-181). This explanation can easily disprove the claimed agglutination of “torre y hijos” (torre + hijos) as speculated by the locals. Torrijos is derived from the Latin *turris* (tower).

Buenavista (formerly Sabang) [bwɛ.na.'bis.ta] / ['sa:.ban]

The naming of Buenavista is attributed to Father Clemente San Ignacio, a native priest that served in Gasan from 1846 to 1888. Around 1880, Father San Ignacio renamed the place Sabang as “Sto. Niño de Buenavista,” because the first chapel in this area was placed under the guidance of Poong Santo Niño. Back then, Sabang or Sto. Niño de Buenavista was within the political and religious jurisdiction of Gasan (Asuncion 2004, 140).²² Shortened to “Buenavista,” it separated from Gasan

in 1918 to become a new town. A common “descriptive toponym” (Martynenko and Chesnokova 2019, 181-182), Buenavista literally means “good view” (cf. Jocano 1965, 37), which might be associated with the scenery at the foot of Mount Malindig.²³



Figure 8. A zoomed-in topographic map of Buenavista (scale 1:50,000), showing the Sabang River, along with other rivers like Caigangan and Sakaan. *Source:* NAMRIA

As seen on the map (Figure 8), the former town name Sabang is probably derived from the name of the river. Moreover, the proto-form²⁴ **saban* refers either to a tree (*Erythrina* spp.) or to an “estuary, shore near the mouth of a river” (Blust and Trussel 2020).²⁵ Isagani R. Medina (2001, 26) noted that the Tagalog *sabáng* means crossroads, intersection, junction, or crossing. In Bikol, Mintz and Britanico (1985, 458) noted the shift in meaning from an aquatic environment to a terrestrial one, which may also be observed in other languages: “the mouth of a river... the modern meaning has been widened to include: conjunction (as of two rivers), crossing, crossroads, fork, intersection, junction (of railroad tracks, streets, rivers).” However, E. Arsenio Manuel (1971, 303) provided a clarification on the use of *sabángan* in Tayabas Tagalog: while it refers to “piece of juncture of two streams, [the] word has no reference to ‘branching of road,’ in which *sambát* is used.” *Sabang* also pertains to “mouth of river... place where the river joins the sea,” thus there are “a number of places [which] have *sabáng* for a name.”

These accounts on town etymology and history are only based on the available references. In contrast, the barangay names, however, are scantily textualized

among historical sources, making a straightforward barangay history difficult to achieve. Thus, as an alternative, the following sections attempt to “historicize” the barangay names—and conversely, the barangays themselves—by looking at their possible meanings, toponymic categories, and language sources.

Marinduque Barangay Toponyms

There are 218 barangays within the six Marinduque municipalities, with the following distribution: Boac (sixty-one), Santa Cruz (fifty-five), Mogpog (thirty-seven), Gasan (twenty-five), Torrijos (twenty-five), and Buenavista (twenty-five). The present study catalogs the pronunciation, etymology, meaning, source language, and toponymic category of the barangays whose placenames are considered distinct. Removed from the list are the barangay names that contain the common words “Barangay” and “Poblacion,” Spanish numerals (e.g., Uno, Dos, Tres, Kuwatro), and self-explanatory English placenames (e.g., Market Site - Poblacion in Mogpog). Thus, there are sixty-one distinct barangay placenames in Boac, fifty-five in Santa Cruz, thirty-six in Mogpog, twenty-two in Gasan, twenty-four in Torrijos, and eleven in Buenavista, with a total of 209.

The words *poblacion*, *barangay*, and *bayan* usually refer to town centers. In Marinduque, town centers are common sites for what Marivic Lesho and Eeva Sippola (2018, 326-327) called “hybrid toponyms,” which combine autochthonous, Spanish, and English words. In Boac, the poblacion is made up of the barangays Isok I, Isok II (Kalamias), Malusak, Mataas na Bayan, Mercado, Murallon, San Miguel and Tampus; while in Santa Cruz the barangays Maharlika (1st Zone), Bagong Silang (2nd Zone), Banahaw (3rd Zone), Pag-asa (4th Zone), and Lapu-Lapu (5th Zone) constitute the poblacion. In Gasan and Buenavista, poblacion barangays are merely distinguished through Spanish numerals (shortened to Roman numerals I, II, III, IV), as seen in Barangays Uno, Dos, Tres, and Kuwatro in Buenavista, and Barangays Uno, Dos, and Tres in Gasan. Centers are not only in the sense political, but also economic, as observed in market placenames such as Mercado (Poblacion) in Boac, and Market Site (Poblacion) in Mogpog.

In terms of former centers replaced by the poblacion, we can see examples in Matandang Gasan (lit. ‘old Gasan’) in Gasan and Dating Bayan (lit. ‘former town center’) in Santa Cruz.²⁶ The appearance of such words among barangay names necessitates a brief discussion on *barangay*, *bayan*, and *poblacion*.

The word *barangay* (proto-forms: PWMP **barangay*, PPh **barañay*) refers to a “communal boat” or “large boat” (Blust 2005, 58; Smith 2017, 466; Blust and Trussel 2020),²⁷ and also a “community of families; local branch or lodge of a society or fraternity” (Tagalog *baláñay*), “section of a municipality or barrio” (Ilokano *barangáy*), “division of a municipality, hamlet” (Bikol *baráñay*), “barrio, the smallest unit of self-government” (Cebuano *baláñay*), or “club, group, organization” (Aklanon *baráñay*) (Blust and Trussel 2020). On the latter meaning

of *barangay*, Blust and Trussel (2020) state that “references to a residential unit or to a unit of social organization are confined to the Tagalic languages, and the Ilokano doublet, and so may be historically secondary” (see also Scott 1994, 4-6; cf. Woods 2017, 117-153).

The Spanish *población* [pɔb.la.'θjɔn] refers to the “action or effect of populating,” “a set of people that inhabits a place,” and “a set of buildings and spaces in a city” (RAE 2022). In the Philippine context, *poblacion* [pɔb.las.'juɔn] pertains to political or economic centers. Historian John Leddy Phelan (1959, 47-48) asserted that “the modern *población* grew out of the early *cabeceras*.” The latter refers to “the capital of the parish and was designed to be the location of a compact village,” which was associated with the *visita*, an outreach chapel to be visited by the *cabecera* priest. Perhaps an earlier term that refers to town centers, as observed in Mataas na Bayan, Dulong Bayan, and Gitnang Bayan, is *bayan* (see Salazar 1999; Woods 2017; cf. Blust 2004; Blust and Trussel 2020).

Toponymic Categories

The *barangay* placenames are labeled according to the following ten toponymic categories based partially on the toponym studies of Jocano (1965), Medina (1992), Lesho and Sippola (2018), and Martynenko and Chesnokova (2019).

Table 2. Toponymic Categories and their Descriptions

Toponymic Category	Description
Physical Description	Placenames which describe the “geographic features” (Lesho and Sippola 2018, 325) of the area or locality, including “directional systems” (Gallego 2018)
Flora	Placenames referring to various plants (Jocano 1965, 20-24; Medina 1992, 54; Lesho and Sippola 2018, 325)
Fauna	Placenames referring to various animals (Jocano 1965, 20-24; Medina 1992, 54)
Person	Places named after “persons both mythical, legendary, or historical,” also known as “anthropotonyms” (Jocano 1965, 26-36; Medina 1992, 54; Martynenko and Chesnokova 2019, 174, 177-180)
Local or National Event	Places named after significant events or commemorations (Medina 1992, 54)
Geo-Political Category	Units of government or settlement
Human Attribute	Placenames referring to qualities or traits of human beings, including kinship terms and “emotionally-colored nominations” (Martynenko and Chesnokova 2019, 181-182)
Object	Placenames referring to tools, implements, or products known in the area (Lesho and Sippola 2018, 325)
Concept	Places named after abstract notions or values
Activity	Placenames referring to human activities typically carried out in the locality

Source Languages

The following are the steps we took in determining the potential linguistic provenance of the placenames.

1. Since Marinduque is incontrovertibly part of the Tagalog-speaking provinces (Lopez 1977; Soberano 1977; 1980; Aldave-Yap 2009),²⁸ we started with Tagalog lexicographic texts. This is the first level of assumptions we made since it would entail that these names were given by the time Marinduque was populated by Tagalog-speaking communities.
2. Once we had exhausted all the possibilities for Tagalog provenance, we turned to the immediate neighboring Central Philippine microgroups such as the Bisayan complex and the Bikol macrolanguage. It is shown below and in the data appendix that there is a considerable number of placenames of Bisayan and Bikol origin. For tokens which showed up in all three language groups (Tagalog, Bisayan, and Bikol), a possible ancestral form at the level of proto-Central Philippines (PCP) is proposed.
3. Outside these language groups, if our sources cite provenance from languages such as any of the Tagbanwa and Palawan varieties or the Manobo languages, the prospect that these forms are traceable up to proto-Greater Central Philippine (PGCP) is explored.
4. When placenames are cited as coming from languages outside the GCP group—languages such as Ilokano and Pangasinan (Northern Luzon), “Bagobo” (Klata), Sambal (Central Luzon)—the prospect that these terms come from proto-Philippines (PPh) is explored. Higher levels of reconstruction may occur in the following series: PWMP (Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian), PMP (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian), and PAn (Proto-Austronesian). Although, it is important to flag that the existence of a protolanguage ancestral to all the Western Malayo-Polynesian and Philippine microgroups has been disputed (Reid 1982; Reid 2017; Smith 2017).
5. Anthropotonyms, places named after people, were labeled as “Spanish (*spa*)” since even though these mostly belonged to Filipinos, these names are still of colonial origin.

Language names are abbreviated according to the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) 639-3 three-letter codes (Table 2). However, there are occasions when the accurate language names cannot be identified. Some old dictionaries and plant lists used individual “languages” based on geographic locations and ethnolinguistic groups that are either outdated in the current scholarship, or that actually refer to a *group* of languages (cf. Medina 2005; Planta 2017). To address these issues, we devised a set of abbreviations that are “source-based”—meaning, we adopted those that are already used by the references we cited, with additional notes on their scope.

Table 3. Languages in Marinduque Toponymy and their Corresponding ISO 639-3 Code and Micro-Groups

ISO 639-3 Code	Language	Micro-group
akl	Aklanon	Greater Central Philippines (GCP) > Central Philippines (CP) > Bisayan (Bs)
bik	Bikol	GCP
bkd	Binukid (Bukidnon)	GCP > Manobo
bnc	Bontok	Northern Luzon > Meso-Cordilleran > South-Central Cordilleran > Central Cordilleran
btw	Butuanon	GCP > CP > Bs
cbk	Chavacano	(Spanish-based Creole)
ceb	Cebuano	GCP > CP > Bs
cyo	Cuyonon	GCP > CP > Bs
dgc	Casiguran Dumagat Agta	Northern Luzon, Northern Cordilleran, Northeastern Luzon, Northern
hil	Hiligaynon	GCP > CP > Bs
hnn	Hanunoo	GCP > South Mangyan
ibg	Ibanag	Northern Luzon > Northern Cordilleran
ilo	Ilocano	Northern Luzon
isd	Isnag	Northern Luzon > Northern Cordilleran
itv	Itawit	Northern Luzon > Northern Cordilleran
ivv	Ivatan	Batanic
mbb	Western Bukidnon Manobo	GCP > Manobo
mdh	Maguindanaon	GCP > Danaw
mno	Manobo languages	GCP
mrw	Maranao	GCP > Danaw
msk	Mansaka	GCP > CP
pag	Pangasinan	Northern Luzon > Meso-Cordilleran > South-Central Cordilleran > Southern Cordilleran > West Southern Cordilleran
pam	Kapampangan	Central Luzon
sbl	Botolan Sambal	Central Luzon > Sambalic
sjm	Mapun	Greater Barito > Sama-Bajaw > Sulu-Borneo, Borneo Coast Bajaw
spa	Castilian, Spanish	Indo-European > Romance
tbl	Tboli	Bilic
tgl	Tagalog	GCP > CP
tsg	Tausug	GCP > CP > Bs
twb	Western Tawbuid	GCP > South Mangyan > Buhid-Tawbuid
war	Waray	GCP > CP > Bs
xsb	Sambal	Central Luzon > Sambalic

Table 4. Source-based abbreviation

Source-based Abbreviation	Language/ Language Group	Sources	Micro-group /s
Bgb	Bagobo languages	Madulid 2001 [Bgb]; Stuart 2022 [Bag.]	Bagobo-Klata (Zorc 2019); GCP > Manobo
Bis	Bisayan languages	De la Encarnacion 1885 ["las Islas de Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Mindanao y otras... la lengua bisaya"]; Scott 1994; Madulid 2001 [Bis]; Stuart 2022 [Bis.]	GCP > CP
BisPn	Bisayan Varieties on the Island of Panay	Mentrida 1841 ["la lengua Bisaya, Hiligueina (Hiligaynon) y Haraya (Kinaray-a, Karay-a) de las Isla de Panay"]; Madulid 2001 [BisPn]; Stuart 2022 [P. Bis.]	CP > Bs
BisSL	Samar-Leyte Bisaya	De la Rosa 1895 ["el dialecto bisaya de Samar y de Leyte"]; Madulid 2001 [BisSL]; Stuart 2022 [S.L. Bis.]	CP > Bs
Dgt	Dumagat languages	Madulid 2001 [Dgt]	Central Luzon (Remontado "Dumagat"); Northern Luzon (Casiguran "Dumagat", Ditaylin "Dumagat"; Dicomay "Dumagat"); GCP (Umiray "Dumagat")
Ifg	Ifugao languages	UPDF 2001 [Ifu] (see Mayoyao Ifugao: ifu (ISO 639-3))	Northern Luzon
Itb	Itbayaten	Madulid 2001 [Itb]; Blust & Trussel 2020	Batanic
Kal	Kalagan languages	Madulid 2001 [Kal]; Blust & Trussel 2020	GCP > CP > Mansakan
Kla	Kalinga languages	Madulid 2001 [Kla]	Northern Luzon
Myn	Mangyan languages	Madulid 2001 [Myn]; Planta 2017	North Mangyan; GCP > South Mangyan
Pal	Palawan languages (except agn, cyo, Tbw)	Madulid 2001 [Pal]	GCP
Sub	Subanen languages	Madulid 2001 [Sub]; Stuart 2022	GCP
TBt	Taaw't Bato	Madulid 2001 [TBt]	GCP > Palawan
Tbw	Tagbanwa languages	Madulid 2001 [Tbw]	Palawan; Kalamianic

Toponym List

The “Marinduque barangay toponym list” appears in the appendix. For an overview, the first column lists the 209 barangays, categorized according to the towns they belong to. The second column informs us of the way these placenames are pronounced with a corresponding International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcription. The third column supplies the contemporary meaning and possible etymology of each barangay’s name. The fourth column indicates the linguistic provenance of each toponym, i.e., the potential source language. The fifth column indicates the possible level of reconstruction. The sixth column lists the toponymic

category each toponym belongs to. The seventh column lists the references we used and some additional information. The eighth and last column, “Other Remarks,” provides information about similar toponyms, and in cases of unidentified words, the possible morphological boundaries, meanings, and speculations.

Findings

As mentioned, “non-distinct and repetitive” barangay placenames are removed from the list, reducing the number from 218 to 209. Out of 209 placenames, 156 have traceable and identified meanings, source languages, and toponymic categories. Thus, the following summaries of data only correspond to the 156 barangay placenames. For the fifty-three placenames which meanings are yet to be traced and identified, we provided the possible morphological boundaries, meanings, and speculations.

Toponymic Category: Data Summary and Insights

The following table summarizes the number of placenames that fall under the toponymic categories.

Table 5. Toponymic categories of Marinduque placenames

Flora	75	Object	10
Physical Description	30	Fauna	9
Activity	22	Person	9
Human Attribute	14	Concept	8
Geo-Political Category	10	National/Local Event	0

Plant names in Marinduque toponymy may indicate either their prevalence or significance in a place and its people. Otherwise, as we have observed in the “folk forgetting” that brings forth folk etymologies (see Nobleza 2021, 90-122), some flora toponyms might be “migrant toponyms” (Martyntenko and Chesnokova 2019, 180-181).

Placenames like Mataas na Bayan, Gitnang Bayan, and Dulong Bayan, are considered both physical descriptions and geo-political categories, since they simultaneously refer to the community and its geographical location. Height (*mataas*) and position (*gitna*, *dulo*) can also be observed in other physical description placenames like Bachao Ilaya, Bachao Ibaba, Punong, Silangan, and Tampus. These toponyms partly constitute the Marinduque “directional system” (Gallego 2018).

Physical description toponyms can be further grouped to either “terrestrial” or “aquatic.” The former sub-grouping includes Lamesa (plateau), Libjo (hole, pit, a clearing), Napo (fertile, flat land), Punong (possibly highland), Balaring (land

humps), Mataas na Bayan (high town center), and Tampus (end of the forest). The latter includes Danao (lake), Dawis (seashore, sandbank), Libtangan (deep part of stream or river), Polo (island), Pulong-Parang (island-field), Puting Buhangin (white sand), and Tabi (shore). The aquatic geographical features can be coupled with marine fauna, such as *balanak* fish (Balanacan), *talaba* or oyster (Matalaba), a kind of fish called *bantay* (Bantay), *sihi*, which is either a fish or a nerite snail (Sihi), and *kasili*, which refers either to an eel or a cormorant (nicknamed “sea-raven” or “corvus marinus”). Also suggestive of marine environment are some activity toponyms like Tumapon (tending or throwing fishing nets) and Landy (playing with water), and object toponyms like Anapog (limestone, shale, coral rock), Tanza (fishing line), and Cawit (hook).

Attached with locative suffix *-an*, some of the activity toponyms suggest a kind of work that happens in a particular place. Pakaskasan can thus be a place for grain husking or bark removal, Tawiran a crossing, Tambangan a place where waylayings or ambushes often occur or where the traps are being laid, and Manlibunan, with the Bikol *libon*, a place or road frequented by banditry. There are also suffixes that indicate command, such as the Tagalog *-in* (Pantayin), and the Bikol and Bisayan *-on* (Bagtingon). Two placenames, Matuyatuya and Masiga, have the stative prefix *ma-*. Aside from these prefixes and suffixes, there are also infixes *<um>* in verbs to indicate past action, as seen in Tumapon and Sumangga. The remaining activity toponyms are verbs in their root form: Agot, Angas, Bantay, Banto, Canat, Daig, Landy, Lupac, Lusok, Sabong, Sayao, and Taytay. These activities may reflect either “the everyday” or “the event,” the qualification of which should be validated by historical and ethnographic accounts.

As exemplified earlier in the case of Mogpog, toponymic intertextualities may imply social life and pattern of local activities. Bantay, the act of guarding lands or shores from either raiders or bandits, can be paired with Tambangan and Manlibunan, sites of ambushes, traps, and robbery, and Murallon, a defense wall. Tambangan, also a place where someone often keeps his gamecock’s cord tied to a peg, is closely related to Sabong, or cockfight. Like Sabang, Tawiran and Taytay refer to crossing. The object toponym Pingan, or plate, can be related to Lupac, the act of pounding, especially if it refers to the preparation of a local delicacy called *nilupak* or *niyubak* (Manuel 1971, 418).

Most of the human attribute toponyms can be considered “emotionally-colored nominations” (Martynenko and Chesnokova 2019, 181-182), including Dolores, Mabuhay, Maligaya, Mahinhin, and Sawi. This nature of placenames allows the folk to construct toponym legends (e.g., the Sawi legend in Santos 1979, 128-129). Agot, Angas, Bagong Silang, and Bantay indicate human characteristics, condition, and action. Maharlika and Kay Duke may hint notions of social class. Alobo, which means “hijada” or female godchild, is the only toponym that reflects kinship, and Devilla, if not an anthropotoponym, would simply refer to a person “from a village.”

There are no toponyms under the “local or national event” category. This suggests that the placenames for the province, municipalities, and barangays have long preceded the occurrence and remembering of historical events, and are not subjected to any renaming according to such. However, this category can be observed among street toponyms, such as the 10 de Octubre and 1 de Nobyembre streets in Boac. These streets memorialize the two revolutionary attacks in the Casa Real of Boac in 1897 (Labay n.d., 2-3). The person placenames or anthropotoponyms provide a glimpse to historical events such as Lapu-Lapu Poblacion, which pertains to the Mactan leader Lapu-Lapu, and Mendez and Villa Mendez, which honor the Marinduque revolutionaries Basilio and Victoria Mendez. San Antonio, San Isidro, and San Miguel are migrant anthropotoponyms from Spanish Christian toponymy that have been localized. Other placenames that are probably based on common surnames, such as Tamayo, Devilla, and Morales, are yet to be traced.

Source Languages: Data Summary and Insights

Table 6 shows the number of placenames that have particular source languages and the number of other source languages one overlaps with. Since there are placenames that can be traced to more than one source language—thus the overlap of source languages—Table 7 summarizes these overlaps through an adjacency matrix. Figure 9 visualizes the interconnections of source languages through a network graph. It is clear that the connections saturate among the three language groups of Tagalog (*tgl*), Cebuano (*ceb*), and Bikol Sentral (*bik*).

Table 6. Source languages, placenames, and overlaps

Source Language	Placenames	Source Languages Overlapped With
tgl	107	45
bik	43	41
ceb	43	38
BisSL	26	25
BisPn	25	30
spa	19	2
ilo	19	33
pam	17	26
ibg	16	28
hil	12	23
hnn	12	31
mrw	12	30
Bis	11	24
tsg	11	26
pag	9	20

mdh	8	30
mno	8	19
Pal	8	22
msk	6	23
Tbw	6	21
war	6	16
akl	5	29
bkd	4	16
bnc	3	14
btw	3	18
itv	3	4
cyo	2	8
isd	2	15
mbb	2	8
Myn	2	11
sbl	2	5
sjm	2	14
Sub	2	6
tiy	2	16
xsb	2	8
Bgb	1	5
cbk	1	3
dgc	1	5
Dgt	1	4
Ifg	1	15
Itb	1	15
ivv	1	4
Kal	1	10
Kla	1	10
tbl	1	6
TBt	1	4
twb	1	1

pronunciation of toponyms, as done here and in Nobleza 2021) also helps in tracing and establishing a word's plausible provenance. The study benefited heavily from the primary sources made available by online repositories, the multidisciplinary studies made by researchers both local and international, and the engagements with Marinduque scholars and informants.

To recapitulate our main points and arguments:

1. In Marinduque placenaming, there is no tendency toward monolingualism. Rather, the source languages are multiple, or at least, the words used as toponyms can also be observed in other languages and localities. This claim is also affirmed by linguistic studies on Marinduque Tagalog (Soberano 1977 and 1980). Since words either cross or co-exist in different languages, alternative meanings can be proposed.
2. Toponymic categories initially formed using other localities' data (Jocano 1965; Medina 1992; Lesho and Sippola 2018; Martynenko and Chesnokova 2019) can also be applied to Marinduque toponymy. These categories, though, need to be "localized" or to be seen in local terms, history, and practices, in order to be plausible.
3. Folk etymologies, defined by Ferdinand de Saussure (1959, 173) as "crude attempts to explain refractory words by relating them to something known," and sometimes called "fakelore,"²⁹ serve as temporary explanations due to the lack of access to historical sources and linguistic studies (Medina 1992, 50, 55). Therefore, even if proven wrong, folk etymologies should not be entirely dismissed, since they speak not solely of etymological concerns but also of linguistic, cultural, and social phenomena and practices. A good example would be *Tanza*, a Spanish word for fishing line. According to some locals, however, it refers to *tasa* (cup), which later transformed to *tanza*. Perhaps, the folk "forgot" the actual meaning of the Spanish word since they are using the Tagalog *pambis*, and in response, created an explanation out of words they were familiar with.
4. Essentialist claims which uncritically conflate ethnicity and language (e.g., "Marinduque people are purely Tagalog or purely Bisayan") are difficult to justify in terms of the data from placenaming. With this, we may be reminded of what Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963, 79) wrote on the connection of language and culture: that there is "some kind of correlation [that] exists between certain things on certain levels, and our main task is to determine what these things are and what these levels are." Rather than seeing Marinduque in its linguistic and cultural "purity," we are encouraged to see these aspects in relation with those of the other localities.

Given the above summary, we are also pointing out the following recommendations that may guide or help future studies.

First, there is a need to rethink methods on tracing the meanings and languages of placenames. This includes (1) re-examination of sources (i.e. dictionaries, word lists, accounts and studies by locals and non-locals), particularly on their authorship,

methods, production, and sources used; (2) re-assessment of methodological aims and practices towards “truth” (i.e. the justification of legitimacy or plausibility of the proposed etymologies; the falsification of etymological conjectures through historical positivism; among others); and (3) emphasizing the development, rather than solely the origins, of meanings.

Second, we must rethink ethnicity and language of/in a place through placename studies. This can be through (1) revisiting issues on essentialist claims, antiquarian obsessions, and ultra-localism; (2) emphasizing the complex realities of contact and interaction among groups; and (3) reconsidering oral sources and speech information in establishing similarities and differences.

Third, folk etymology has to be critically assessed, rather than dismissed. We may (1) understand folk etymology in relation to placenaming practices, nature of oral narratives, and local thought, sensibilities, experiences, and values; (2) historicize folk etymology and oral narratives; and (3) engage with local scholarship.

Fourth and lastly, we may opt to work on comparative toponymy. This can be done by (1) locating Marinduque toponymy within the regional (Southern Tagalog, Central Philippine, and Greater Central Philippine), national, and international toponymies; (2) comparing the elements, structures, and functions of folk etymologies; and (3) examining exonyms and foreign toponymic practices.

Endnotes

- 1 For individual efforts, see Curtis Shepard’s website, *Ulong Beach*, which houses scanned copies of primary and secondary sources. The institutional counterpart would be the cultural mapping projects done by the municipal local government.
- 2 The Beyer Collection includes the writings of Asunción M. Arriola, Nieves Hidalgo, Eduardo E. Palma, Serapio Rolloqui, Cornelio C. Restar, Isidro C. Buñag, Josefa Roque, and Miguel M. Manguerra. Eugenio’s collection has Marinduque folklore sourced from Pedro M. Leon. Santos’s collection includes the following storytellers: Lilia Hidalgo-Laurel, Elizabeth S. Nieva, Eufrocina Manguera, and Priscila K. Alabado.
- 3 Most of the early colonial sources we consulted are from *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Due to the absence of—if not the lack of access to—the actual original manuscripts, scholars may use this collection of historical sources in the meantime. Careful reading has to be done as we engage these sources, because they may show “evidence of mistranslation and distortion” (Cano 2008a; 2008b).
- 4 There is also another reference to Malindig from Tayabas (Quezon) area: in his *A Lexicographic Study of Tayabas Tagalog*, E. Arsenio Manuel listed *malandíg* as “wind blowing from the island of Marinduque northeastward where Mt. Malindig is located; south or southwest wind” (1971, 245).
- 5 Titled either as “Ang Alamat ng Marinduque” or “Ang Pinagmulan ng Marinduque,” the story has been republished in different websites and even retold through video clips. See, for example, “Ang Alamat ng Marinduque” published by *Marinduque News* (2013). The provenance of the story is yet to be historicized. Another version titled “The Legend of Mariin and Gat Duke” appeared in *Asuncion* (2004, 44-50).

- 6 The Marinduque legend featuring Maring and Duke was narrated by Eufrocina Manguera, as told to her by Aling Idad, her grandmother. It first appeared in the *Sunday Times Magazine* on 18 October 1953, and reprinted in *Philippine Prose and Poetry*, vol. 1 (1959) (Santos 1979, 142-143). "The Fury of Maria Malindig" was authored by Pedro M. Leon. It first appeared in *Panorama* in February 1958 (Eugenio 2001, 192). Cf. a different story, "The Legend of Mt. Malindig," told by Elizabeth S. Nieva (Santos 1979, 134-136).
- 7 There are times when the domains of these "provinces" were overlapping, perhaps depending on the extent of colonial control. For the regional history of Southern Tagalog in which Marinduque can be situated, see Lopez's Mindoro study (1974), and the essays on Mindoro and Southern Luzon by Corazon Morilla and Regino P. Paular in Calairo et al. (2009). For a Marinduque local history written from a "non-colonial," Filipino Muslim standpoint, see Dery's "Sama-Sama: Moro Communities in Luzon and the Visayas" (2001, 101-112).
- 8 Local historian Dindo L. Asuncion would read this renaming as "restoration of ancient names." "The Jesuits had an inclination to adapt to the local setting as far as practicable into their missionary toil. They started by restoring the three towns to their ancient names. Thus, *Monserrat de Marinduque* was restored to Boac, *San Bernardo de Marinduque* to Gasan, and renamed *San Juan de Marinduque* to Sta. Cruz de Napo, names by which we call these towns today" (2004, 184). However, the existence of Boac, Gasan, and Napo as ancient names (i.e. precolonial) is yet to be proven by historical documents.
- 9 De la Encarnación (1885, 48): BOÁC. Hender, abrir á lo largo caña, palo, &c. * Es tambien abrir cualquiera cosa como coco, granada, naranja, &c. * Rajar, hender sin dividir las partes. * Babaying binóac ó binoácan.= Muger conocida ya de baron; palabra sucia é indecente diciendose á mujeres.
- 10 Métrida (1841, 76): [1] *Buac*. l. *Boac*. Vana [*sic*] almeja, ó ostion: *nabuac*, estarlo. p.c. [2] *Buac*. p.a. La mitad de cosa hendida por medio: *naga buac*. F. 2. Hendir por medio, aunque sea la mitad, dividiendola, haciendo dos pedazos á palo, caña: *na buac nabo-ang*, abrirse por medio la cosa: *bucan sa balatong*, cascara bana del *balaton*, abierto: *dao binocan nga balatong ang sacayan niño*. Exajeracion de baroto pequeño.
- 11 De la Rosa (1895, 33): BOAC. s. Hendedura, rajadura á lo largo. —v. Rajar á lo largo. —*adj.* Hendido, rajado á lo largo. —Pamuacon ta inin mga cauayan. Rajemos estas cañas.
- 12 Gasang-gasang Festival is held during Easter Sunday every year in Gasan, Marinduque. It features dance performances from different barangay clusters. The performance combines Christian elements (e.g., a "reyna" or queen who dances while holding a saint figure) and local color (e.g., agricultural and maritime objects and activities as design and imitative dance movements, respectively).
- 13 Lisboa (1754, 251): *Gasang*. pp. Unos ramales a modo de arbolillos, que nacen en los bajos de la mar, y se suelen poner a los pies de las cruces por calvario, o piedras asperas, y de corre.
- 14 *Vocabulario tagalo-español* (n.d., spread 120): *Gasang*. pp. Un Genero deal mejas. p.a. hazez [hacer?] Cal.
- 15 Noceda and Sanlucar (1832, 149): *Gasang*. [1] pc. Cascajo de piedrecillas. *Gasang nabato*. [2] pc. Resaca de la mar. *Um*, resacar la mar. *Pag-an*, donde. [3] pp. Quebrar huesos haciendo ruido a modo del cascajo. *Um*, los huesos. *Pag-an*, lugar. *Gasanggasangan ca*, se dice del viejo que ya le suenan los huesos.
- 16 Métrida (1841, 145-146): *Gasang*. et *Asang*. p.a Zeniza fuerte, para hacer sal, en *binalotó*. *Gasang gasang*. U.a. Aspereza en piedra, como las de arrecifes, o mucos de fragua. &c. *Nagagasang gasang ang bato sa Dagat*, l. *sa nangca*, estar asperas al modo dicho.

- 17 De la Encarnación (1885, 113): GASANG. Ceniza de árboles, troncos y maderas impregnadas de salitre de la mar, para hacer sal. * Legia de la tal ceniza. * Especie de piedra de la mar. * Aspereza y como excrecencias de las piedras, de los mocos de fragua y semejantes. De la Rosa (1895, 86): GASANG. s. Ceniza de árboles, troncos y maderas impregnadas de salitre de la mar, para hacer sal de piedra. —Legia de dicha ceniza. —Coral blanco de la mar.
- 18 Currently, there are 194 barangays and six municipalities in the Philippines with the “Santa Cruz” toponym (GADM n.d.).
- 19 De la Rosa (1895, 151): [1] NAPO. s. Montón pequeño de tierra blanda. —v. Formarse montones pequeños de tierra blanda. —Canapóan. s. Montones pequeños de tierra blanda. [2] NAPO. s. Plantio de raíces comestibles.
- 20 De la Encarnación (1885, 240): NAPÒ. Tierra arenisca. * Piedra de agua dulce, que se forme del sedimento de las aguas, mas ó menos tenáz segun la materia que la compone. * Esta clase de piedra es buena para fabricar hornos y hacer fogones, porque aunque es tierra y blanda de por sí, el calor del fuego la dá una consistencia y dureza extraordinaria.
- 21 However, Masiga is pronounced [ma.'sɪr.ga?], not [ma.sɪ.'ga?] (with stress on the ultimate syllable), the latter being the proper pronunciation for a place frequented by wood or leaf burning.
- 22 This narrative is based on ongoing research by Fr. Christian San Juan. See also Asuncion (2004, 140).
- 23 Currently, there are 115 barangays and five municipalities in the Philippines that have “Buenavista” toponym (GADM n.d.).
- 24 Proto-forms are hypothetical word forms proposed based on words in the genetically-related “daughter” languages that have a similar phonetic form and meaning, called cognates. Put another way, proto-forms are reconstructions of what words might have looked like in earlier, ancestral languages such as Proto-Malayo-Polynesian [PMP] or Proto-Austronesian [PAN]. Proto-forms are marked with an asterisk (*) at the beginning.
- 25 The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary or ACD (Blust & Trussel 2020) lists the following proto-forms and their cognates in multiple Philippine and Southeast Asian languages: PMP *sabaŋ (“estuary, shore near the mouth of a river”): *sabáŋ-an* [Ilokano], “mouth (of a river); harbor, port, haven”; *hábaŋ* [Ifugaw], “said of a person who arrives at the bank of a river and goes across; also said of a tributary of a large river that flows into it and thereby enlarges it”; *habáŋ-an* [Ifugaw], “place where a tributary flows into the main river”; *sabeŋ* [Casiguran Dumagat], “area of beach which is within the vicinity of the mouth of a river or a mangrove swamp”; *sabáŋ* [Pangasinan], “mouth of a river”; *sabaŋ* [Cebuano], “area on or near the mouth of a river”; *sabaŋ* [Maranao], “shore, mouth of a river”; *sabaŋ* [Binukid], “for a smaller body of water to flow into a larger body of water”; *savaŋ* [Manobo (Western Bukidnon)], “of a small creek, to run into a larger creek or river”; *sabaŋ* [Mansaka], “confluence of two rivers”; *sawaŋ* [Malay], “the light-colored water near the shore (Klinckert)”; *sah* [Selaru], “lower course of a river.” Note: Dempwolff (1934-38) compared Malay *sawaŋ* with, for example, Fijian *matā-sawa* ‘landing place on a beach, where canoes are drawn up.’ We assume that he confused two cognate sets, distinguished here under the reconstructions *sabaŋ and *sawaq (q.v.). Cf. Zorc (n.d.) PPh *sabaŋ ‘pond’. Proto-Philippine [PPh] *sabaŋ (“a tree: *Erythrina* spp.”): *savaŋ* [Itbayaten], “a bush with purplish, pink and violet flowers and green fruit, found in woods and grasslands, *Melastoma*”; *sabaŋ* [Ivatan], “a tree: *Erythrina subumbrans* (Hassk.) Merr., *Fabaceae* (Madulid 2001)”; *sabaŋ* [Bontok], “a tree: *Erythrina variegata* L. *Fabaceae*” (see also Madulid 2001, 618; Planta 2017, 173).
- 26 This can be compared with “Bayang Luma” [Old Town] (Naic) and “Cavite Viejo” (Kawit) in Cavite toponymy (Medina 2001, 38).

- 27 Robert Blust (2005) speculated that *baraṅgay and *baraṅay, being a doublet, might have coexisted. Alexander D. Smith (2017), however, argued that *baraṅgay is “probably a loan,” as it violates the second principle of innovation, “the innovation should be robustly attested both in number of individual languages (justifying their reconstruction to a protolanguage within the Philippine group)” (2017, 464).
- 28 Apart from linguistic studies, some historical and ethnographic sources identified the language/s being spoken in Marinduque. Governor General Fernando Valdes Tamon’s 1739 report on the Jurisdiction of Mindoro differentiated the Tagalog-speaking people of Marinduque and Luban (now Lubang Island, Occidental Mindoro) from the Visayans and the Mangyans (Valdes Tamon [1739] 1995, 175). The 1903 Census (1905, 762) showed the dominance of Tagalog speakers in the island: Out of 10,840 civilized male population of “Brown Filipinos,” there are 10,797 Tagalog, thirty-four Visayan, five Bicol, three Ilocano, and one Pampangan. In his *The Christian Peoples of the Philippines*, the anthropologist Marcelo Tangco (1951, 56) stated that along with the “popularly known as true Tagalog provinces” such as Tayabas (Quezon), Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Rizal, Manila, Bataan, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija, “the Island of Marinduque is wholly Tagalog.”
- 29 Mellie Leandicho Lopez derives the definition of “fakelore” from Richard Dorson, referring to it as “imitation folklore attributed to a group that never possessed it” (2006, 52). An example would be on folk songs: “[S]ome Filipino composers deliberately compose art songs and erroneously pass them off as ‘folk songs’” (Lopez 2006, 31). Thus, a “toponymic fakelore” can be defined as an invented explanation of placename origin without pertinent historical basis.

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APPENDIX: MARINDUQUE BARANGAY TOPONYM LIST

For an overview, the first column lists the 209 barangays of the Province of Marinduque, categorized according to the towns they belong to. The second column contains the actual pronunciations of these placenames using corresponding International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcriptions. The third column supplies the contemporary meaning and possible etymology of each barangay's name. The fourth column indicates the linguistic provenance of each toponym, i.e., the potential source languages. The fifth column indicates the possible level of reconstruction, i.e., the most plausible ancestral language that served as the toponym's source. It must be noted that reconstructions may be "elevated", i.e., ascribed to proto-languages higher up the Austronesian family tree should additional cognates be discovered from languages outside the scope of this paper. The sixth column lists the toponymic category of each barangay name. The seventh column lists the references we used and some additional information. The eighth and last column, "Other Remarks," provides information about similar toponyms, and in cases of unidentified words, the possible morphological boundaries, meanings, and speculations.

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
MOGPOG							
Anapog-Sibucayo, Mogpog	[ʔa.na.ˈpug.sɪ.ˈbu.kaw]	Anapog: limestone, shale, or coral rock. Sibucayo: sappan wood (<i>Caesalpinia sappan</i> Linn.); sibukaw (<i>Caesalpinia pulcherrima</i> (L.) Sw.; <i>Leucaena leucocephala</i> (Lam.) de Wit).	tgl, tsg, ceb, BisPh, BisSL, Bis	PCP	Flora, Object	Anapog: "Anapog [n] puti nga bato nga himoonon nga semento; limestone" (Ortega 2014, 12). "Anapog [n] 1. k.o. soft shale. 2. soft coral rock. -an, place where there is shale or coral rock. -un, a full of shale, coral rock" (Wolff 1972). Sibucayo, sibukaw. De la Rosa 1895, 218; Madulid 2001, 654; Stuart 2022.	
Argao, Mogpog	[ʔar.ˈgaw]	Argaw (<i>Premna obtusifolia</i> R. Br.); alagaw (<i>Premna odorato</i> Blanco); fragrant premna (<i>Premna vesifita</i> Schauer).	BisPh	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 59; Stuart 2022	
Balanacan, Mogpog	[ba.ˈla.na.ˈkan]	Balanak (<i>Parsonia cumingiana</i> A.DC.); a kind of sea or river fish (mullet, eel); plant fiber. Balanac -an [locative suffix]	tgl, blk, pam, BisSL, Dgt	PPh	Flora, Fauna	Madulid 2001, 87. "Balanac. pp. Lisas pequeñas del mar; Balanacan. pp. Cazoncillo Cuando recién nacido es Pipipi. Algo crecido, Hinautin. Mayor, Balanacan. Mas grande, Bilingbiling. Tiboron grande, Pating" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 32); "Balának. Fish (sp. found in rivers); -AN eel (sp. with a white underbelly). Balának, plant fiber (tp- thin, used in the making of fishing nets)" (Mintz & Britanico 1985, 238); "Balanac. (pp.) Lisa, pez (Bergano 1860, 38); "Balanac. s. Pez bastante regular, de cuerpo blanco y escamoso. Cuando es ya grande se llama Aguas, y el que es de mucho vientre, tiene el cuerpo cilindrico, sala muy alto, y se llama Buntis" (De la Rosa 1895, 305).	Sometimes written as Banacalan or Banalacan: "Puerto de San Andres o de Banacalan" (Atrana 1879, 327); "Plano del puerto de Banalacán ó de S. Andrés. Levantado en 1864 por la Comisión hidrográfica al mando del Capitán de Fragata D. Claudio Montero" [map] (Montero 1892); "Puerto de Banacalan ó de San Andrés" (<i>El Archipiélago Filipino</i> 1900, 462); "San Andres, or Banacalan; on the NW coast, surrounded by a high wooded country; affords shelter in all weather at 10 and 12 fms. The inner harbor entrance, 1 cable (720 ft.) wide, with an islet in the middle, is 3/4 m. in extent and has 51 to 8 fms. A vessel inside is not only sheltered, but completely hidden from the sea. Vessels drawing 5 ft. or more should keep outside the small island off W. projection" (<i>A Pronouncing Gazetteer</i> 1902, 644). "San Andrés, or Banalacan (sahn ahn-drays', bah-nah-lah'-cahn), Sp.; port of Marinduque I., off SW. coast of Tayabas, Luzon, on extreme NW. end, affording sheltered anchorage with good depth. Large vessel inside is completely hidden from view" (<i>A Pronouncing Gazetteer</i> 1902, 806).

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Banto, Mogpog	[ban.'tuʔ]	To put cold water into something hot.	tgl	tgl	Activity	"Bantó, p.c. Echar agua fría en la caliente. Mag. mezclar. Y. con que. An. á lo que. B. in. M. El. que mezcla en muchos vasos. Bantoan, el vaso en que. Bantó, p.c. Templar el vino cuando es fuerte, con los juegos del antecedente" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832: 47). Madulid 2001, 146	
Bintakay, Mogpog	[bm.'ta:.kaj]	Bintakay (<i>Cox lacryma-jobi</i> L.)	hnn	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 156-157	
Bohoc, Mogpog	[buk.'buk]	Bokbok (<i>Xanthophyllum</i> sp.; <i>Xanthophyllum flavescens</i> Roxb.; <i>Phoebe sterculioides</i> (Elm.) Merr.; <i>Syzygium cinnamomeum</i> (Vid.) Merr.; <i>Xylocarpus moluccensis</i> (Lam.) Roem.; <i>Drypetes littoralis</i> (C.B. Rob.) Pax & K. Hoffm.; <i>Dysoxylum gaudichianum</i> (A. Juss.) Miq.; <i>D. oppositifolium</i> Ev. Muell.; <i>Drypetes longifolia</i> (Bl.) Pax & K. Hoffm.; <i>Lophopetalum javanicum</i> (Zoll.) Turcz.; <i>Pouteria ductitan</i> (Blcco.) Baehmi; <i>Xanthophyllum vitellinum</i> (Bl.) Dietr.; <i>Dimocarpus foveolatus</i> (Radlik.) Leenh.).	tgl, pam, bilk, ceb, ibg, BisPn, Tbw, Myn, Pal	PPh	Flora		
Butansapa, Mogpog	[bu.'ian.'sa:.paʔ]						Possible morphological boundaries: butan[igʔ] - sapa. "Butang. Act of beating or hitting a person mercilessly, as by a thug" (Santos 1978: 213); <i>butang-butang</i> [xsb], <i>Merremia tidénata</i> (L.) Hall. f. subsp. <i>hastata</i> Ooststr. (Madulid 2001, 185); "Sapa. A small brook or rivulet that usually dries up during the long dry season" (Santos 1978: 2250).
Candahon, Mogpog	[kan.'da:.hun]						Possible morphological boundaries: kan - dahon, kan - da - hon.

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Capayang, Mognog	[kaːpaːjan]	Papaya, kapaya, or kapayas (<i>Carica papaya</i> L.).	tgl, bik, ibg, pam, ceb, hil, btw, BisSL	loanword	Flora	Madulid 2001, 353. "The papaya is not native to Southeast Asia, but was introduced from the New World during the Age of Exploration. Wilkinson (1959) suggests a derivation from the Arabic word for 'watermelon', borrowed into Portuguese as <i>pateca</i> , and then applied to the papaya. Minangkabau buah ketela (Castilian fruit) suggests a Spanish introduction, a not unlikely possibility given the clearly Spanish origin of the word in most Philippine languages (papayas, kapayas, etc.)" (Blust & Trussel 2020); "Papaya: papaya, pawpaw" (<i>Carica papaya</i>) > Bik. kapáyas, papaya, tapayas, Ceb. kapáyas, papaya, II. papaya, Kap. kapáya, kapáyag, papayaq; Pang. apoyas, Tag. papaya." (Albalá 2003, 136); "Capayan. s. Arbol de hojas estrechas y largas" (De la Rosa 1895, 59).	
Danao, Mognog	[daːnaw]	Lake, lagoon, pond, puddle.	tgl, ilo, bik, hmn, akl, war, ceb, bkd, msk, sjm, Kal	PAN	Physical Description	PAN proto-form: *danaw. Root: *-naw ("enclosed body of water"). "Ranaw [lib], sea lagoon; dánaw [ilo], lake, pond; darráw [ilo], lake, pond; dánaw [tgl], lagoon; pond; lanaw [tgl], pool, small lake, lagoon; dánaw [bik], lake; lagoon; dánaw [hmn], lake, pond; danáw [akl], lake, pond; bacanáw [akl], puddle (of water); danáw [war], lake; lagoon; dánaw [ceb], pool of water; mag-dánaw [ceb], form a pool in, flood; ranaw [mrw], lake; danaw [bkd], lake; ranew [mbb], lake of a supernatural, to flood an area turning it into a lake as a punishment for misbehavior; danaw [msk], lake; ranaw [ty], lake; danaw [Kal], lake; danaw [sjm], lake; lanaw [tbl], lake. Although PAN *danaw apparently meant 'lake', the exact meaning of this term would have depended upon the region of Taiwan that was occupied while Proto-Austronesian remained a single language, since lakes are found in some parts of the island but not in others. .	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Dulong Bayan (Poblacion), Mogpog	[ˈduː.lɔŋ ˈbaː.jan]	Town center (farthest).	tgl, spa	tgl, loanword	Geo-Political Category, Physical Description	The wide but rather scattered distribution of reflexes elsewhere can probably be attributed to the absence of lakes or significant large bodies of fresh water in many of the environments in which Austronesian speakers settled after leaving Taiwan. In some areas a reflex of *danaw came to apply to lagoons (salt water), ponds (permanent but small collections of fresh water), or just puddles (temporary collections of fresh water after rain)" (Blust & Trussel 2020)	
Gitnang Bayan (Poblacion), Mogpog	[ɡɪt.ˈnaŋ ˈbaː.jan]	Town center (middle).	tgl, spa	tgl, loanword	Geo-Political Category, Physical Description		
Guisian, Mogpog	[ɡɪ.sɪ.ˈʔan]	Kolis or ironweed tree (<i>Memecylon parviflorum</i> Blanco); gisian (<i>Stroea contorta</i> Vrd.; <i>Koeya paniculata</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Memecylon ovatum</i> Sm.).	tgl, bik	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 268; Stuart 2022. "Gisihan. pp. Un árbol de palo colorado y duro" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 155).	
Himadharan, Mogpog	[hi.nad.ˈha.ˈran]						Possible morphological boundaries: h <in [past tense infix] > adha(r) - an [locative suffix]. Place where act(s) of "hadhad" happen(ed). "Hadhad [Bis] was to chop down full-grown trees" (Scott 1994, 37). "Hadhad [bik]. MAG-, -AN to clean or hollow out a reed or other tube-like structure so that it may be used as a siphon, etc: MAG-, -ON to clean the reed of" (Mintz & Britanico 1985, 300). "Hadhad. A rubbing or scraping off, as of skim, against a rough surface or edge... an abraded spot or area; abrasion; scratch... scraped or rubbed off; abraded" (Santos 1978, 582; see also Manuel 1971, 1.30). Possible morphological boundaries: himanggay - on [suffix suggestive of Bikol or Bisayan provenance]
Hinanggayon, Mogpog	[hi.naŋ.ˈgaː.jon]						

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Ino, Mogpog	[ʔn̩.noʔ]						
Janagdong, Mogpog	[ha.naŋ.ɔŋ]	Hanagdong (<i>Alphitonia philippinensis</i> Braid; <i>Parasponia rugosa</i> Bl.; <i>Colona serratifolia</i> Cav.; <i>Trema orientalis</i> (L.) Bl.; <i>T. tomentosa</i> (Roxb.) Hara). Plateau.	tgl, ceb, Bis, Pal	PGCP	Flora	Maclulid 2001, 289	
Lamesa, Mogpog	[la.mɛ.sa]		spa	loanword	Physical Description		Similar toponym: Lamesa, Santa Cruz. Since the two similarly-named barangays are adjacent to each other, it appears that they became two separate barangays due to geo-political divisions of municipalities (i.e. Santa Cruz and Mogpog). Also called Mesangbato. "Del monte Mesangbató, situado en la prolongacion N. de la cordillera principal que termina en el San Antonio" (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17).
Laon, Mogpog	[la.ʔun]	La-on (<i>Saccharum spontaneum</i> L.); old, referring to rice, wine, or tobacco.	tgl	tgl	Flora, Concept	Maclulid 2001, 412. "Laon. pc. Viejo, añejo, como arroz, vino, tabaco. Mag, guardarlo asi. In, lo que. mag, tambien dejar descansar la sementera" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 212)	
Magapua, Mogpog	[ma.ɡa.pu:wa]						Possible morphological boundaries: maga [Marinduque Tagalog future tense prefix] - pu [related to pupuwa plant and/ or pupuwa-bearing tradition?]
Malayak, Mogpog	[ma.la.jak]	Fallen dried leaves. Ma- [stative prefix] - layak.	tgl	tgl	Object	"Layac, pc. Hojarascas secas que caen del árbol. Itong Ilog ay ualang Layac, está este rio sin hojarascas" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1852, 217). "Losac, pp. Lodo, cieno. Um, ir haciéndose. Mag, pp. Enlodar. Al que, An, Mag, pc. Revolvearse en él. Donde, Pag-an. pc." (N&S 238)	
Malusak, Mogpog	[ma.lu.sak]	Muddy, silty. Ma- [stative prefix] - lusak.	tgl	tgl	Physical Description		
Mampaitan, Mogpog	[mam.pa.ʔn̩.tan]						Possible morphological boundaries: maN- [distributive prefix] - pait - an [locative suffix]. "Pait. pp. Amargo. Mápait. Napaitan ca. te amargó. Pait. pe El escoplo. Mag, trabajar con el, In, 1. An, lo que Y, el escoplo. Papagpaitin, la persona, Papaitan, la cosa. Paitan, pe. Un pez grande sin escamas. Paitan, pp. Una enredadera como, verdolagas" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 276); "Pait. pp. Las tripas gruesas del animal. Pait. pc. Vide Paet." (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 278). Also called Mapaitán (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17).

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Mangyan-Mababab, Mogpog	[maŋ.ʲaŋ ma.ba.ʲab]						
Mataas na Bayan, Mogpog	[ma.ta.ʲas na ʲba.jaŋ]	High town center.	tgl	tgl	Geo-Political Category, Physical Description		Possibly referring to Mangyan ethnolinguistic group.
Mendez, Mogpog	[mɛn.ʲdes]	Basilio and Victoria Mendez, Mogpog revolutionary leaders.	spa	loanword	Person	Labay n.d., 2	
Nangka I, Mogpog	[naŋ.ʲkaʔ ʲu:nu]	Jackfruit (<i>Artocarpus maximus</i> Blanco); nangka/nangka (<i>Artocarpus</i> sp.; <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> Lamk.)	tgl, ibg, itv, bik, ceb	PPH, loanword	Flora	Madulid 2001, 523; Stuart 2022	Similar toponym: Nangka, Torrijos.
Nangka II, Mogpog	[naŋ.ʲkaʔ dʊs]	Jackfruit (<i>Artocarpus maximus</i> Blanco); nangka/nangka (<i>Artocarpus</i> sp.; <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> Lamk.)	tgl, ibg, itv, bik, ceb	PPH, loanword	Flora	Madulid 2001, 523; Stuart 2022	Similar toponym: Nangka, Torrijos.
Paye, Mogpog	[pa:je]						
Pili, Mogpog	[ʲpi.li]	Pili (<i>Canarium melioides</i> Elm.; <i>Canarium ovatum</i> Engl.; <i>Ficus guyeri</i> Elm.; <i>Canarium asperum</i> Benth.; <i>Evodia semecarpifolia</i> Merr.; <i>Canarium luzonicum</i> (Bl.) A. Gray; <i>Ficus albitacea</i> Bl.; <i>F. odorata</i> (Blco.) Merr.).	tgl, ibg, bik, ceb, mmo, tsg BisSL	PPH	Flora	Madulid 2001, 590; Stuart 2022; Manuel 1971, 287	Similar toponym: Pili, Boac.
Puting Buhangin, Mogpog	[pu.ʲtɯŋ bu.ʲha:ŋɪn]	White sand	tgl	tgl	Physical Description		
Sayao, Mogpog	[sa.ʲaw]	Dance.	tgl, ilo, bnc, bik, ceb, mrw, mbb	PWMP/PPMP	Activity		Similar toponym: Puting Buhangin, Boac.

PWMP proto-form: *sayaw ('jump, leap, dance'), "Sáyaw [ilo], martial dance: mayaw [bnc], a type of dance; to perform this dance, sayaw [tgl], dance, sayaw [bik], dance; sayaw [ceb], dance; sayaw [mrw], jump, dance, leap; sayaw [mbb], dance. Mills (1975: 820) gives Proto-South Sulawesi *sayo 'move, dance', PAN (Zorc) *sayaw, but cites no evidence for the latter reconstruction" (Blust & Trussel 2020).

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Silangan, Mogsog	[sɪ.la.ŋan]	East.	tgl, ceb, isd	PWMP/PMMP	Physical Description, Concept	PWMP proto-form: *siran ('to rise, of celestial bodies'), *Silán [isd], moonlight; na-silán [isd], bright, brilliant, luminous; silán-an [tgl], east; the direction of the sunrise; siran [bik], rays or beams of light; mag-siran [bik], to shine (the stars, sun, a candle); to rise (of the sun); siran [hnn], day, but not sun; siran [ceb], for heavenly bodies to rise; to appear, become known with fame and honor; siran [mbb], of the sun or some bright light, to blind one's eyes" (Blust & Trussel 2020). Silang - an [locative suffix].	
Sumangga, Mogsog	[su.man.ɡaʔ]	To resist, lengthen, repair; hinder, or stop the blow.	tgl	tgl	Activity	"Sangga. pc. Resistir; alargar, reparar, estorbar, detener el golpe, Um. lo estorbado, Hin. Donde topó, Quinasanggahan. Ma. topar acaso. Nasangga sa haligui, topó en el harigue. Pananga, rodela. Nananangga, escudarse con ella" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 352), S<um [past tense infix]> angga.	
Tarug, Mogsog	[ta.ʔug]	Shaky and unstable stance due to weak or weakened foundation or budge.	ceb	PCP	Concept	"Tarog [n]. shaky and unstable stance due to weak or weakened foundation/ budge" (Ortega 2014, 291).	
Villa Mendez (Poblacion), Mogsog	[bi.lja mm.ɔes]	Basilio and Victoria Mendez, Mogsog revolutionary leaders.	spa	loanword	Person	Labay n.d., 2	
SANTA CRUZ							
Alobo, Santa Cruz	[ʔa.ʔu:bu]	Female godchild	tgl	tgl	Human Attribute	"Alobo. pp. Hijada" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 11).	
Angas, Santa Cruz	[ʔa.ŋas]	Swagger in one's step.	tgl	tgl	Human Attribute, Activity	"Angas. pp. Soberbio en el andar. Vm. El que. In, A quien" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 15).	Possibly related to <i>angasin</i> [bik], <i>Tristalaria australastae</i> A. Rich (Madulid 2001, 41).
Aturan, Santa Cruz	[ʔa.ʔu:ran]						Possible morphological boundaries: atu(d)r - an
Bagong Silang Poblacion (2nd Zone), Santa Cruz	[ba:ɡuŋ su:lan pub. las.ʔuŋ]	Newborn, town center.	tgl, spa	tgl, loanword	Human Attribute, Geo-Political Category		

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Baguidbirin, Santa Cruz	[ba.gɔd.'bi.rɪn]						Possible morphological boundaries: baguidbi[dʒɪ] - in. Possibly related to <i>bagid-bagid</i> [ceb], <i>Villebruncea rubescens</i> (Bl.) Bl. (Madulid 2001, 75).
Baliis, Santa Cruz	[ba.'li:.ʔis]	Baliis (<i>Hypolytrum nemorum</i> (Vahl) Spreng. var. <i>nemorum</i>)	tgl	tgl	Flora	Madulid 2001, 93	
Balogo, Santa Cruz	[ba.'lu:.gɔ]	Balogo (<i>Anacardium occidentale</i> L.; <i>Citrus limonia</i> Osb.; <i>Albizia saponaria</i> (Lour.) Benth. ex Miq. var. <i>saponaria</i> ; <i>Illigera megapiera</i> Merr; <i>Polyalthia obliqua</i> Hook. f. & Thoms.; <i>Entada phaseoloides</i> (L.) Merr.; <i>Diplodiscus paniculatus</i> Turcz.); cashew (<i>Acajuba occidentalis</i> (L.) Gaertn.).	ilo, mrw, mmo, pag, Pal	PWMP/PMP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 99; Stuart 2022. PWMP proto-form *baluʔu (a vine: <i>Entada scandens</i>). **Vaxoyo [ʔib], a species of plant; balugu [hnn], large reddish, woody, tendril-bearing vine; <i>Entada scandens</i> Benth.; the bark is used as soap; balogo [mrw], orange used for blackening teeth" (Blust & Trussel 2020)	
Banahaw Poblacion (3rd Zone), Santa Cruz	[ba.'na:haw]						Possibly related to or derived from <i>ban-ao</i> [tgl], sight from a high place, or from <i>afar</i> ; or <i>banahaun</i> [BisPn], a snake. "Ban-ao, pc. Ver de alto, ó de lejos" (Noceña & Santlucar 1832, 42); "Banahaun. s. Culebra asi llamada" (De la Rosa 1895, 21). Also called Bangcoangan (Iordana y Morera 1885, 17).
Bangcuangan, Santa Cruz	[baŋ.'kwa:ŋan]	Bangkuwang (<i>Scirpus grossus</i> L.); giant bulrush (<i>Scirpus aemulans</i> Steud.). Bangcuang - an [locative suffix]	bik	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 110; Stuart 2022	
Banogbog, Santa Cruz	[ba.nug.'bug]						Possibly <i>banokbok</i> [tgl], <i>Pouteria luzonensis</i> (Merr.) Baehmi var. <i>luzonensis</i> (Madulid 2001, 114); or <i>banogbog</i> [tgl], highland. "Balugbog. highland; any high place in a plain or lowland. Syn. bakolod, bakoor, gulod" (Santos 1978, 126). Also called Banugbug (Iordana y Morera 1885, 17).
Biga, Santa Cruz	[bi.'gaʔ]	Biga (<i>Alocasia macrorrhiza</i> (L.) Schott; <i>Paratocarpus woodii</i> (Merr.) Merr.); elephant ear (<i>Alocasia montana</i> (Roxb.) Schott).	tgl, ilo, ceb, pam, BisSL, Bis	PPH	Flora	Madulid 2001, 140; Stuart 2022	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Botilao, Santa Cruz	[buː.tɪː.law]						Possibly related to <i>butalaw</i> [tgl, ceb, mmo, BisSL], <i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i> L.; <i>C. venulosum</i> Miq. var. <i>venulosum</i> (Madulid 2001, 185); or <i>barilao</i> [tgl], to be half dry what has been put to dry. "Batilao. pp. Estar medió seco lo que se pone á secar. Mag. ponerse tal la semilla. In. searle asi. An7 la olla. Ba-tlavan mo ylong- palayoc. Y. la persona para quien. Ma., estarlo. B. in. M. 1. Mag." (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 50). Possibly <i>butalabod</i> [Sub], ash-colored fleabane. "Bulabod (<i>Cyanopsis erigeroides</i> DC.)" (Stuart 2022).
Buyabod, Santa Cruz	[buː.jaː.bud]						
Dating Bayan, Santa Cruz	[ˈdaː.tɪm ˈbaː.jan]	Old town center.	tgl	tgl	Geo-Political Category		
Devilla, Santa Cruz	[diː.βiː.lja]	From a town or village; possibly an anthropotonym.	spa	loanword	Person, Human Attribute		
Dolores, Santa Cruz	[duː.ˈlɔː.ɾɐs]	Pain, grief, distress.	spa	loanword	Human Attribute		
Haguimit, Santa Cruz	[haː.ɡɪː.mɪt]	Cluster fig tree (<i>Ficus minalhaasae</i> (Teijsm. & Vriese) Miq.).	tgl, ceb	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 284; Stuart 2022	
Hupi, Santa Cruz	[ˈhuː.pɪ]	Hupi (<i>Colocasia esculenta</i> (L.) Schott & Endl.)	tgl	tgl	Flora	Madulid 2001, 301	
Ipil, Santa Cruz	[ˈɪː.pɪl]	Ipil (<i>Pongamia pinnata</i> (L.) Merr.; <i>Intsia</i> sp.; <i>Azelia rhomboides</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Leucaena leucocephala</i> (Lam.) de Wit; <i>Intsia bijuga</i> (Colebr.) Kuntze); ironwood (<i>Azelia bijuga</i> A.Gray).	ibg, ilo, isd, tgl, pam, bik, hnn, mdt, mrw, ceb, akI, pag, Itb Bis, Kla, Ifg	PMP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 309; Stuart 2022. PMP proto-form *qipil ("a hardwood tree: <i>Intsia bijuga</i> , <i>Alzelia bijuga</i>). *ipil [ltb], tree sp.; ipil [ilo], <i>Intsia bijuga</i> (Colebr.) O. Kuntze. A leguminous tree which yields a very valuable building timber: ipil [isd], <i>Intsia bijuga</i> (Colebr.) O. Kuntze. A leguminous tree which yields a very valuable building timber; ipil [tgl], a leguminous tree that yields red, hard timber, very valuable for building purposes. <i>Intsia bijuga</i> (Colebr.); ipil [pag], shrubby variety of acacia; ipil [tgl], hardwood tree used in house construction; ipil [bik], tall tree producing high quality timber used for posts and beams: <i>Intsia bijuga</i> ; ?ipil [hnn], tree sp.; ipil [akl], a tree: <i>Intsia bijuga</i> ; kipil [ltbk], hardwood tree used for houseposts; ipil [ceb], large hardwood tree of the primary or secondary forest, furnishing yellowish lumber and a dye from the bark: <i>Intsia bijuga</i> ; ipil [mrw], a tree: <i>Intsia bijuga</i> (Colebr.) O. Ktze." (Blust & Trussel 2020).	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Jolo, Santa Cruz	[hu.ˈluʔ]						Possibly derived from the protoform: PMP *qulu ('head; top part; leader; chief; headwaters; handle of a bladed implement; prow of a boat; first, first-born'). Also Tagalog hulo 'source of a stream; that part of a town (usually higher) which is near a mountain or a hill', Nias ulu 'origin, source of a river', Mussau uru 'head'. The reconstruction of final *h in this form has resulted from comments received from Laurent Sagart. Although only the meaning 'head' can be assigned to PAn *quluh, PMP *qulu clearly had a number of meanings in addition to its primary use as a body-part label. Physical extensions of this primary sense include applications to the tops of trees, mountains and the like, and to the handles of bladed implements such as knives and axes' (Blust & Trussel 2020). Similar toponym: Caganhao, Boac.
Kaganhao, Santa Cruz	[ka.ɡən.ˈhəw]	Schefflera or galamaino (<i>Hepiopleurum insularum</i> Seem.;	BisPn	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 329; Stuart 2022	
Kalangang, Santa Cruz	[ka.laŋ.ˈkaŋ]	<i>Schefflera odorata</i> Merr.; <i>Codiaeum ciliatum</i> Merr.; Euphorbiaceae; <i>Macklinaya celebica</i> (Harms) Philipson; <i>Schefflera insularum</i> (von Seem.) Harms)					
Kamandugan, Santa Cruz	[ka.ˈma.n.do.ɡən]	Kamandog (<i>Artocarpus cumingianus</i> Trec.).	ibg	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 342	
Kasily, Santa Cruz	[ka.sɪ.ˈli]	Kamand[o]lig - an [locative suffix] Kasili (<i>Dicymantles caufflora</i> (Merr.) Danser); Oriental darter (<i>Anhinga melanogaster</i>); cormorant (family Phalacrocoracidae), also known as "marine raven" or "sea-raven,"	tgl, bik, bkd, ceb, Bis, BisPn, BisSL	PGCP	Flora, Fauna	Madulid 2001, 360. "Casili, pp. Anguila, peze concido ay las muy grandes en las lagunas, y rios. Y por metaphora dicen: Aquin an casili, patin an banug tamagguquita" (Lisboa 1754, 170). "Casili, pp. Cuervo marino" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 104). "Casili, Anguila de rio: vid. Sili. Casili. Anunurip, p.p. Cuervo marino" (Mentrida 1841, 98). "Casili, Anguila. * Pájaro,	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
		<i>cornus marinus</i>); eel such as giant mottled eel (<i>Anguilla marmorata</i>); lamprey (order Petromyzontiformes)				Lamprea* (De la Encarnacion 1885, 77). "Casili. s. Anguila de agua dulce" (De la Rosa 1895, 61). "Kasili 1 = Bais n.k.o. large, edible fresh-water eel of brown color; growing to 4' and more: Anguilla sp. Kasili 2 n.k.o. darter: Anhinga melanogaster" (Wolff 1972)	
Kilo-kilo, Santa Cruz	[kɪ.lu.ˈkɪ.lo]	Crooked, bent.	tgl	tgl	Concept	"Qilo, pc. Tuerto, torcido, Quilong cahoy; palo tuerto. Quilong loob, corazon torcido. Caquilooan. pc. Tortura, Sinónimo. Bociof" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 327).	
Kiñaman, Santa Cruz	[kɪ.naːˈma.n]						Possible morphological boundaries: Kiñam - an [locative suffix].
Labo, Santa Cruz	[la.ˈbuʔ]	Labo or wild yam (<i>Dioscorea hispida</i> Dennst.); a kind of banana. Plateau.	bik, tgl, mrw	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 397. "Labo, pp. Un género de plátanos" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 198).	
Lamesa, Santa Cruz	[la.ˈmeː.sa]		spa	loanword	Physical Description		Similar toponym: Lamesa, Mogpog. Since the two similarly-named barangays are adjacent to each other, it appears that they became two separate barangays due to geo-political divisions of municipalities (i.e. Santa Cruz and Mogpog). Also called Mesanghato. "Del monte Mesanghato, situado en la prolongacion N. de la cordillera principal que termina en el San Antonio" (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17).
Landy, Santa Cruz	[lan.ˈdiʔ]	Joke; jest; to play or dabble with water; dye solution or mixture.	tgl	tgl	Human Attribute, Activity	"Paglalandi," "Malandi" (Lopez 1977, 15). "Maglalandi" (maglalandi) (Soberano 1980, 138, 210). "Landi" (Manuel 1971, 217).	
Lapu-lapu Poblacion (5th Zone), Santa Cruz	[la.pu.ˈlaː.pu.pob.ˈlas.ˌjuːn]	Lapu-lapu, Mactan leader; town center.	ceb, spa	PCR, loanword	Person, Category		
Libjo, Santa Cruz	[lib.ˈho]	Hole, pit; a clearing or kaingin in the wilderness; a homestead or cultivated field far away from neighbors.	tgl, BisSL	PCP	Physical Description	"Libho. s. Hoyo, fosa" (De la Rosa 1895, 130). "Libho" (Manuel 1971, 224). Also called Libgohó (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17).	
Lipa, Santa Cruz	[li.ˈpa]	Lipa (<i>Laportea mindanaensis</i> Warb.; <i>Dendrocnide luzonensis</i> (Wedd.) Chew var. <i>luzonensis</i> , <i>D. meyeniana</i> (Walp.) Chew forma <i>meyeniana</i>)	tgl	tgl	Flora	Madulid 2001, 429; Stuart 2022. "Lipá, pc. Hortigas. Um, azotar con ellas. A quien, Lipahin. Herisse de ellas, Na. Donde, cahann" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 228).	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Lusok, Santa Cruz	[ˈlu.sok]	To have one's feet sink into the earth; to remove the rind [of patani, bataw, etc].	tgl	tgl	Activity	"Losoc, pc. Hundirse el pie en la tierra, Na. La causa, Ica. Dónde, Ca-an. Linosoc ang quinooha, se desapareció. Man., quitar la cáscara á los patanes, habas, &c. Lo que, In. A quien se quita, An. Sinónimo. Labnos" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 238). Also called Lusog (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17).	
Maharlika Poblacion (1st Zone), Santa Cruz	[ma.ˈhar.li.ka pob.las.ˈjon]	Lower aristocracy; town center.	tgl, spa	tgl, loanword	Human Attribute, Geo-Political Category	From Sanskrit <i>maharājāhika</i> , a man of wealth, wisdom, and competence (Scott 1994, 222-224).	
Makulapnit, Santa Cruz	[ma.ko.lap.ˈnit]	A place known for or full of kulapnit, a small bat. Ma- [stative prefix] - kulapnit.	tgl	tgl	Fauna	"Colapnit, pc. Murciélago pequeño" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 111; see also Soberano 1980, 134).	
Maniwaya, Santa Cruz	[ma.ni.ˈwaːja]						Possible morphological boundaries: maN - (s/t) iwaya
Maanlibunan, Santa Cruz	[man.li.ˈbuːnan]	A place where a highwayman could kill on the road or steal livestock. MaN - lib[ɔ/ɯ]n - an [locative suffix]	bik	PCP	Activity	"Libon [bik]. For a highwayman to kill on the road, or steal livestock" (Scott 1995, 187).	
Masagutisi, Santa Cruz	[mas.a.gi.ˈsi]	Sagisi (<i>Heterospathe elata</i> Scheff.; <i>Pinnanga urdanetana</i> Becc.; <i>Cenchrus echinatus</i> L.; <i>Digitaria setigera</i> Roxb. var. <i>setigera</i> ; <i>Rottboellia exaltata</i> L.f.). Ma- [stative prefix] - sagutisi.	tgl, bik, bkd, ilo, BisSL	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 623. "Saguisi, s. Palma silvestre asi llamada, su cogollo se usa como verdura (De la Rosa 1895, 205, 300). PPh proto-form *sagisi ('wild palm tree with fruit similar to areca nut; Heterospathe elata'). *Sagisi [ilo], species of slender, wild palm: Heterospathe elata; sagisi [bik], fruit of the anahaw (fan palm); sagisi [ceb], tall, slender, ornamental palm with pinnate leaves, the fruit of which are similar to the Areca and may also be chewed: Heterospathe elata" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	
Masalukot, Santa Cruz	[masa.ilo.ˈkɔt]	A place known for or full of salukot (salukot), Ma- (stative prefix) - salukot.	tgl	tgl	Object	"Salocot, pc. Vide Salacot" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 346).	
Matalaba, Santa Cruz	[ma.ta.la.ba]	A place known for or full of oyster. Ma- (stative prefix) - talaba. Mongpong (<i>Teijsmanniodendron aethnium</i> (Merr.) Bakh.)	tgl, bik, ilo, paum, pag, ceb, war	PPh	Fauna	UPDF 2001, 863	
Mongpong, Santa Cruz	[moŋ.ˈpoŋ]		BisSL	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 515	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Morales, Santa Cruz	[mu.'ra:.les]	Surname	spa	loanword	Person	Wolff 1972	
Napo, Santa Cruz	[na.'poʔ]	Fertile, flat land.	ceb	PCP	Physical Description		
Pag-asa Poblacion (4th Zone), Santa Cruz	[paɡ.'ʔa:.sa pɔb.las.'juŋ]	Hope, town center.	tgl, spa	tgl, loanword	Concept, Geo-Political Category	Población (RAE 2021)	
Pantayin, Santa Cruz	[paŋ.'ta:.jɪn]	To make a surface flat. Pantay - adjectival suffix with meaning 'prone to, given to being'	tgl	tgl	Physical Description, Activity		
Polo, Santa Cruz	[po.'loʔ]	Island.	tgl, hil, sbl, mrw	PPh	Physical Description	PPh proto-form: *pujuq ('island'). "Puro [ilo], island; pug-puxó [isd], island; fugú [iv], island in river; pogo [pag], islet; póloʔ [sbl], island; pulóʔ [tɡl], island; puroʔ [bik], island; pueóʔ [akl], island; poro [agn], island; púluʔ [hil], island; pŕʔ [tsg], island; polo [mrw], island" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	
Pulong-Parang, Santa Cruz	[po.'luŋ 'pa:.raŋ]	Island-field.	tgl, sbl, hil, mrw, dgc, tsg	PPh, PWMP/ PMP	Physical Description	"Puro [ilo], island; pug-puxó [isd], island; fugú [iv], island in river; pogo [pag], islet; poloʔ [sbl], island; pulóʔ [tɡl], island; puroʔ [bik], island; pueóʔ [akl], island; poro [agn], island; púluʔ [hil], island; pŕʔ [tsg], island; polo [mrw], island" (Blust & Trussel 2020). Parang: PWMP proto-form: *padan ('uncultivated field, open grassland; field covered with sword grass (Imperata cylindrica)'). "Paraj [dgc], meadow, open field, usually covered with cogon grass (Imperata cylindrica); páraj [tɡl], meadow, prairie; a large piece of level or rolling land with grass but not trees; field; uncultivated land; pádaŋ [hnn], a short, small-leaved cogon grass (Imperata sp.); paraŋ [tsg], grass; ka-paraŋ-an [tsg], ground covered with grass, pastureland" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	
Punong, Santa Cruz	[pu.'nuŋ]	Punong (<i>Kleinivoria hospita</i> L. var. <i>hospita</i>); height or the highest.	ibg, BisSL	PPh	Flora, Physical Description	Madulid 2001, 603. "Ponong, v. altura ó lo más alto" (De la Rosa 1895, 188).	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
San Antonio, Santa Cruz	[san ʔan. ʔum. ʔo]	Saint name.	spa	loanword	Person	Similar toponym: San Antonio mountain. "El San Antonio es menos elevado, y entre uno y otro se encuentran los montes de Banugbug, Masalacot, Humagabú, Sibuyao, Mambaán y otros" (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17); "A mountain range, which traverses the island in a general north and south direction, constitutes the core of the island and divides it into two nearly equal parts. It is fairly uniform in altitude and approximates 1,600 feet above the level of the sea, although a few of the peaks, such as Marlanga, Gazan, and San Antonio, rise about 500 to 700 feet above the general profile" (Smith 1924, 148).	
San Isidro, Santa Cruz	[san ʔi. sɪd. ro]	Saint name.	spa	loanword	Person		
Tagum, Santa Cruz	[ʔa. gum]	Tagum (<i>Randia</i> sp.; <i>Indigofera tinctoria</i> L.; <i>Indigofera suffruticosa</i> Mill.; <i>Tephrosia vestita</i> Vog.; <i>Indigofera hauer</i> Forsk.). Surname	ceb, hmn, hil, BisPn	PGCP	Flora	Maclulid 2001, 689; Stuart 2022	
Tamayo, Santa Cruz	[ta. maɪ. ju]	Surname			Person		
Tambangan, Santa Cruz	[tam. ba. ran]	A fortification; a place where waylayings or ambushes often occurred; a place where someone often keeps his gamecock's cord tied to a peg; a place strategically located for setting up traps and snares. Tambang - an [locative suffix].	tgl, Bis	PCP	Physical Description, Object, Activity	"Any fortification was called tambangan [Bis], but the Malay word kota seems only have been applied to more permanent forts built by Moros" (Scott 1994, 156). "Tambangan" (Santos 1978, 2448). "Tambang. An ambushing; ambush; ambuscade; waylaying" (Santos 1978, 2448). "Tambang. A wooden, bamboo, or metal peg to which a cord tied to cock is fastened to keep it within a certain bound. Act of keeping a cock within a certain bound by tying its cord to a peg stuck to the ground. A trap or snare placed or set strategically to catch a person or an animal" (Santos 1978, 2448).	
Tawiran, Santa Cruz	[ta. wir. ran]	Crossing.	tgl	tgl	Physical Description, Activity	"Tawiran. The part of a river, canal, etc. where people pass in crossing to the other side. A pedestrian lane used by people in crossing a street. Syn. Bâgtasan. A bridge, footbridge, overpass, or underpass where people can pass through in crossing a place. Simultaneous crossing or passing across a street, etc. by a number of persons, animals, or vehicles" (Santos 2006, 614).	

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Taytay, Santa Cruz	[təj. 'təj]	Bridge; to cross as on a bridge of bamboo; to bring something in such manner.	tgl, ceb	PCP	Physical Description, Activity	"Taytay, pp. Pasar como por puente de una caña, Vn. Llevar algo asi, Mag. Namanaytay" (Noceida & Sanlucar 1832, 416).	Similar name: <i>taytay</i> [gbk], <i>Pseudotrophis mindanaensis</i> Warb. (Madulid 2001, 718).
TORRIJOS							
Bangwayin, Torrijos	[baŋ. 'wa:jin]						
Bayakbakin, Torrijos	[ba.jak. 'ba:km]	Bayakbak (<i>Sygium subrotundifolium</i> (C.B. Rob.) Merr.; <i>Senna timoricensis</i> (DC.) Irwin & Barneby; <i>Cleistanthus myrianthus</i> (Hassk.) Kurz subsp. <i>myrianthus</i> ; <i>Sygium bordenii</i> (Merr.) Merr.; <i>S. costulatum</i> (C.B. Rob.) Merr.; <i>Cleistanthus myrianthus</i> (Hassk.) Kurz subsp. <i>cupreus</i> (Vid.) Jabl.), Bayakbak - in.	tgl, ibg, pam, pag	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 131	Possible morphological boundaries: bangway - in.
Bolo, Torrijos	[bo. 'loʔ]	Bolo (<i>Diplodiscus paniculatus</i> Turcz.; <i>Schizostachyum lumampao</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Gigantochloa levis</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Acalypha angatenis</i> Blco.; <i>Schizostachyum fenixii</i> Gamble; <i>S. Irima</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Gigantochloa aspera</i> Kurz).	tgl, bik, ibg, ilo, pag, BisPh	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 158	
Bonliw, Torrijos	[bon. 'liw]	Bongliw (<i>Dysoxylum gaudichianum</i> (A. Juss.) Miq.)	bik, BisSL	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 159. "Bonglio. s. Árbol grande, de hojas pequeñas y madera floja. Dao nabulucasan nga bonglio. Se dice del que ha quedado pobre y desarrapado" (De la Rosa 1895, 43).	
Buangan, Torrijos	['bwa:ŋan]						Possibly related to or derived from <i>bu'anan</i> [hnn], coconut tree (<i>Cocos nucifera</i> L.) (Madulid 2001, 165); <i>buang</i> [tgl. ceb] - an, crazy (Noceida & Sanlucar 1832, 64; UPDF 2001, 135); <i>buwang</i> [sml] - an [locative suffix]: "To fish by throwing hook and line out from a position on shore" (Kauman Sama Online n.d.).

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Cabuyo, Torrijos	[ka. bu. 'jɔʔ]	Wild orange or lemon tree (<i>Citrus hystrix</i>)	pam, tgl	PPh	Flora	"Cabuyo. Wild orange or lemon tree (<i>Citrus hystrix</i>). Vt. cacabuyo, kebuyo, cabuyon, to press them to extract juice as substitute for vinegar. P.3 Kibauyaan, the food cooked in juice of the cabuyo" (Samson 2011, 152). Related to <i>athuyao</i> [vowel coalescence]. Kabuyaw [tgl]; <i>Citrus hystrix</i> DC. (Madulid 2001, 320). "Cabuyao. pp. Naranjas silvestres. Nagcacabuyao, comer los Aetas del pellejo dela cabeza" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 87).	
Cagpo, Torrijos	[kag. 'pɔʔ]						
Dampulan, Torrijos	[dam. 'pu:lan]	Dampul (<i>Azela rhomboides</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Glochidion lanceifolium</i> C.B. Rob.); dampol (<i>Bischofia javanica</i> Bl.; <i>Antidesma ghaesembilla</i> Gaertn. var. <i>ghaeseimbilla</i> ; <i>Glochidion ghaeseimbilla</i> (Cav.) C.B. Rob.; <i>G. rubrum</i> Bl.; <i>G. triandrum</i> (Blco.) C.B. Rob.; <i>Prunus martsupialis</i> Kalkm.); tree bark used for dyeing nets. Dampul/dampol - an [locative suffix]	tgl, ilo, pam, cyo	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 213. "Dampol. pe Corteza de árbol para teñir redes, Mag. In, la red. Itt. Vm. 1. Mag. ponerse del color del Dampol. Dumarampol ang mata, 1. Naguiguidumpol nang gallit, se ponen colorados los ojos, de cólera" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 127).	
Kay Duke, Torrijos	[ka] 'du:kr]	Of the duke	tgl, spa	tgl, loanword	Human Attribute		Possibly related to a Marinduque folk etymology (Maring and the Spanish duke) (Soberano 1980, 7).
Mabuhay, Torrijos	[ma. 'bu:haɟ]	To live	tgl	tgl	Human Attribute		
Makawayan, Torrijos	[ma.ka. 'wa:jan]	Kawayan (<i>Bambusa blumeana</i> J.A. & J.H. Schult; <i>B. spp.</i> ; <i>Dendrocalamus</i> spp.; <i>Gigantochloa</i> sp.). Ma- [stative prefix] - kawayan	tgl	tgl	Human Attribute Flora	Madulid 2001, 368	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Malibago, Torrijos	[ma.li.'ba:ɡu]	Bayur or bayog (<i>Pterospermum acerifolium</i> Willd.); malbago (<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> L. subsp. <i>tiliaceus</i> ; <i>Kleinohovia hospita</i> L. var. <i>hospita</i>); malibagu (<i>Wikstroemia polyantha</i> Merr.); malubago (<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> L. subsp. <i>tiliaceus</i> ; <i>Kleinohovia hospita</i> L. var. <i>hospita</i> ; <i>Hibiscus campylosiphon</i> Turcz. var. <i>glabrescens</i> (Warb. ex Perk.) Bors.)	tgl, bik, hnn, mdh, tsg, BisSL, BisPn, Pal, Tbw	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 483, 485; Stuart 2022; Planta 2017, 183. "Malobago. s. Arbol de tronco grueso pero no muy alto, su hoja es ancha, aovada y con puntas, su flor es grande y amarilla. Del tronco de dicho árbol se hace carbón y polvora, mezclando azufre y salitre; y de corteza se hacen cordeles" (De la Rosa 1895, 295, see also 144).	
Malinao, Torrijos	[ma.'li:naw]	Clear. Ma- [stative prefix] -lnaw.	tgl	tgl	Concept, Physical Description	Malinao is a common Marinduque surname. Possibly related also to <i>malinaw</i> [Sub], <i>Ocimum tenuiflorum</i> L. (Madulid 2001, 484). Possible morphological boundaries: ma- [stative prefix] - [r/d]anig [intervocalic-allophony]. Danlig [bik, mrw, mbo, tgl, BisPn], <i>Shorea palosapis</i> (Blco.), Merr.; <i>Shorea contorta</i> Vid.; <i>Parashorea malaanonan</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Shorea asamica</i> Dyer subsp. <i>philippinensis</i> (Brandis) Sym. (Madulid 2001, 215). Also called Maranlit (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17).	
Maranlig, Torrijos	[ma.ran.'lig]					Similar toponym: Marlanga Bay, Torrijos. For a time, Mount Malinidig was also called Mount Marlanga and/or Tablazo, due to its proximity to Marlanga Bay ('ensenada/fondeadero de Marlanga' or Marlanga cove/anchorage). Marlanga Bay curves into the barangays of Makawayan, Tigwi, and Cabuyo, Torrijos, which are several barangays away from Marlanga. "El monte Marlanga, en que termina por el S. la isla de Marinduque, cuyas vertientes forman las puntas do Marlanga y la de Suban, es tambien conocido con el nombre de Tablazo, y su faldá NO. es la marca del principio del fondeadero de Marlanga" (Arama 1879, 332);	
Marlangga, Torrijos	[mar.'lan.'ga]						

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Matuyatuya, Torrijos	[ma.tu.ja.'tu:ja]	An act of rocking or swaying.	ceb	PCP	Activity	"tuyá v [AB234; c16] sway, move in a rocking-like motion. Mga balud nga mutuyá sa sakayan, Waves that rock the boat. Kusug mutuyá ang sakayan ug way karga. An empty boat rocks a lot. n swaying. tuyátuyá v [AB46; c1] rock, sway. Nagtuyátuyá ang dahun nga natágak. The leaves are waving back and forth as they fall" (Wolff 1972).	"Marinduque mâtüre par la renommée de ses grottes funéraires. C'est une île madréporique et volcanique dont la plus haute montagne, le Marlanga, s'élève à 500 mètres environ" (Marche 1887, 219-220); "Sus montes mas notables son los de Marlanga ó Tablazo, Catalá, Gasán y los picos de Tápian y Pagún" (<i>El Archipiélago Filipino</i> 1900, 431, also 86, 462, 464-465); "A mountain range, which traverses the island in a general north and south direction, constitutes the core of the island and divides it into two nearly equal parts. It is fairly uniform in altitude and approximates 1,600 feet above the level of the sea, although a few of the peaks, such as Marlanga, Gazan, and San Antonio, rise about 500 to 700 feet above the general profile" (Smith 1924, 148).
Nangka, Torrijos	[nan.'kaʔ]	Jackfruit (<i>Artocarpus maximus</i> Blanco); nangka/nangka (<i>Artocarpus</i> sp.; <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> Lamk.)	ceb, tgl, itv, ibg, bik	PPH	Flora	Maclulid 2001, 523; Stuart 2022	Similar toponym: Nangka I and II, Mogpog.
Pakaskasan, Torrijos	[pa.'ka.san]	A place where to husk [grain], to remove bark, or to rub something. Pa-kaskas - an [locative suffix]	tgl	tgl	Activity Physical Description	"Cascas, pc. Repilar, quitar la corteza, rozar. Vm. Con que T. A que, An. Mag, quitar la cascara, ó repilar. Ipag, con que, Pag-an, cosa y lugar. Nacascasan na nang dumaraan, se quitó la superficie por los que pasaron, y de aqui. Mañeas as, resquebrársela tierra con el sol. Namamalicascas ang lupa" (Noceña & Santucar 1832, 104).	
Payamas, Torrijos	[pa.'ja.mas]						
Poctoy, Torrijos	[pok.'tuʃ]	A bird without tail.	BisSL	PCP	Fauna		Similar toponym: Poctoy, Boac
Sibuyao, Torrijos	[si.'bu:jaʷ]						

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Suha, Torrijos	[ˈsuː.haʔ]	Pomelo (<i>Citrus pomelinos</i> Risso); suha (<i>Citrus grandis</i> (L.) Osb.).	tgl, ilo, pam, bik, ivv	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 670; Stuart 2022, PPh *suháq, a fruit tree, the pomelo; <i>Citrus decumana</i> . <i>Sua</i> [ilo] pomelo, used in native medicine against fever; <i>Citrus decumana</i> ; suaʔ ~ swáʔ [pam], pomelo; suhaʔ [tgl], a species of grapefruit or pomelo; suháʔ ~ suwáʔ [bik] citrus fruit; mag-suháʔ [bik], to squeeze the juice of citrus fruits on something. Possibly a loan distribution from Tagalog, although this seems unlikely in view of the dissimilar stress pattern in Tagalog as against all other witnesses. The pomelo is native to Southeast Asia, so there is no necessary reason why the word for it should be borrowed" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	
Talawan, Torrijos	[ta.ˈlaː.wan]	Talawan (<i>Conelina elliptica</i> Sm.); to mark a sport actually or from such token location by triangulation.	tgl, BisPn	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 696. "Tálaw. Mark (either actual as a pole, or mental as the meeting of two imaginary lines from two headlands or tall trees) to indicate location of fishing trap or device set or to be set under the sea. Cf. balisa, tuos. Taláwan, to mark a sport actually or from such token location by triangulation." (Manuel 1971, 359).	Possibly related to Talao-Talao Cave, Gasan.
Tigwi, Torrijos	[tɪg.ˈwiʔ]						Possibly <i>tikwi</i> [tɪg], a kind of bird. "Tikwi. n. (Ornith.) a bird similar to a falcon. Cf. lawin, ágilá" (Santos 1978, 2487).
BUENAVISTA							
Bagacay, Buenavista		Bagacay (<i>Schizostachyum lima</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Schizostachyum</i> spp.; <i>Schizostachyum lamampao</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Acrostichum aureum</i> L.).	hil, bik, ceb, msk, BisPn	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 72. "Bagacay. p.c. cañas delgadas, de que hacen dardos" (Méntrida 1841, 38)	
Bagtinson, Buenavista	[bag.ˈtuː.nɔn]	To ring a bell. Bagting - on	bik	PCP	Activity	Mintz & Britanico 1985, 236	
Bicas-bicas, Buenavista	[bi.ˌkas.ˈbi.ˌkas]	Akapulko or ringworm bush (<i>Senma alata</i> (L.) Roxb.)	tgl	tgl	Flora	Madulid 2001, 142; Stuart 2022; Planta 2017, 156.	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Caigaigan, Buenavista	[ka.ʔi. ɣa.ɾan]						Possibly ka - <i>igang</i> [bik] - an [locative suffix], a place where to dry salt (Mintz & Britanico 1985: 315); <i>kaingagan</i> (BiSL), <i>Shorea falciferoides</i> Foxw. subsp. <i>falciferoides</i> (Madulid 2001, 324). Possible morphological boundaries: daykit - in.
Daykitin, Buenavista	[daɣ. ki.ɾin]						
Libas, Buenavista	[li. bas]	Libas (<i>Endospermum petatum</i> Merr.; <i>Semecarpus longifolius</i> Bl.; <i>Spondias pinnata</i> (L. f.) Kurz; <i>Semecarpus cuneiformis</i> Blco.; <i>Momordica cochinchinensis</i> (Lour.) Spreng.; <i>Garruga floribunda</i> Decne. var. <i>floribunda</i> Leenh.; <i>Ocoteles sumatrana</i> Miq.; <i>Salix tetrasperma</i> Roxb.); common hog plum (<i>Mangifera pinnata</i> L. f.).	tgl, bik, ceb, bkd, msk, mdh, tsg, bnc, ilo, sjm, BisPh	PWMP/PMP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 421; Stuart 2022. "Libas. u.a. Una arbol assi llamado de hojas agrías buenas de comer" (Métrida 1841: 234). PWMP proto-form: *libas; ("kind of sour edible fruit, possibly fruit of rataan"). livas [lɪb], kind of vine with green fruit that grows along creeks or near shore: <i>Pongamia pinnata</i> L.; libas [ilo], kind of vine with white flowers and edible shoots: <i>Momordica oata</i> ; libas [ceb], wild tree with sour leaves and fruits; <i>Spondias pinnata</i> ; the leaves and fruits are used in stews, and the leaves have medicinal uses; libas [bkd], sour fruit of rataan; livas [mbb], generic for citrus fruits and rattan fruits; libas [msk], sour food; libos [tɪy], a tree bearing edible fruit, known in the Philippines as the 'Spanish plum', <i>Spondias purpurea</i> Linn.; libas [sjm], (for fruit to be) characterized as having lost some of its flavor due to being overripe; for a woman's beauty to become less or to fade (due to her makeup running, her hair getting messed up, clothes getting wrinkled, etc.) (Blust & Trussel 2020). Madulid 2001, 482; Stuart 2022	
Malbog, Buenavista	[mal. bog]	Malbog (<i>Mycetia javanica</i> (Bl.) Reinw. ex Korth.; <i>Nauclaea robinsonii</i> Merr.; <i>Nauclaea orientalis</i> (L.) L.; Leighardt tree (<i>Nauclaea glaberrima</i> Bartl. ex DC.). A kind of fish; a nerite snail; a small bivalve, or its edible contents	mno, BisSL	PGCP	Flora		Similar toponym: Malbog, Boac.
Sihí, Buenavista	[si. hiʔ]		tgl, ceb	PCP	Fauna	"Sihí. pp. una especie de pescado conocido" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 363); "Sihí, sihi. n nerite snails" (Wolff 1972, 892). "Sihí. 1. Small bivalve, or its edible contents. 2. Movable base, as one used in the game of tanga on which coins are piled" (Mamuel 1971, 328). Madulid 2001, 727	
Timbo (Sanggulong), Buenavista	[tim. boʔ]	Timbo (<i>Phragmites australis</i> (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.)	pam	PPh	Flora		

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Tungib-Lipata, Buenavista	[tu.ɫɪb ɫ.pa.ˈtaʔ]	Lipata: Buta-buta or blinding tree (<i>Excoecaria agallocha</i> Linn.); barabai or sea mango (<i>Tabernaemontana obtusifolia</i> Poir.); lipata (<i>Excoecaria agallocha</i> L.; <i>Kapsia fruticosa</i> (Ker-Gawl.) DC.; <i>Cerbera manghas</i> L.)	bik, ceb, tgl, tbl, BisSL, TBw, Bis	PWMP/PMP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 429; Stuart 2022; Planta 2017, 162. "Lipata. s. Árbol playero así llamado, su jugo, zumo, savia y resina es muy perjudicial a la vista, y ciega al que se frote ó unte los ojos con dicha resina. Dicen los bisayas que queda ciego el que se pone ó acuesta debajo de dicho árbol" (De la Rosa 1895, 133, see also 293-294)	
Yook, Buenavista	[ju.ʔok]						Possibly related to <i>yukyók</i> [tgl, pam]. "Yukyók. A squatting or crouching position, as of an animal cowering in fear. Gradual fall or sinking, as of loose pile of soil, garbage, etc. Syn. ukók, pag-ukók. The sunken condition of a loose pile of soil, garbage, etc. Syn. pagkukok, kawkukan" (Santos 2006, 656). "Yocycoc. Variant: yucyuc. Vt and its infinitive, iyocycoc, mangyocycoc, to incline, to overburden, to tilt downwards, like the tree or a branch. P1, past, inocycoc, or icyuc, that which. Maca, become inclined or bent. Like the banana overcome by weight of its bunch of fruits, because it is also a neutral verb" (Samson 2011, 829).
GASAN							
Antipolo, Gasan	[ʔan.tɫ.ˈpo.ɫɔ]	Antipolo or Tipolo tree (<i>Artocarpus altalis</i> (Park.) Fosb.; <i>Artocarpus blancoi</i> (Elm.) Merr.; <i>Artocarpus pinnatisectus</i> Merr.; <i>Artocarpus</i> sp.; <i>Artocarpus treculianus</i>).	tgl, pam, bik, ceb, Pal	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 48; Stuart 2022; Manuel 1971, 34.	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Bachao Ihaba, Gasan	[bakˈhaw ʔi.baˈbaʔ]	Bachao: bakhaw (<i>Rhizophora mucronata</i> Lam.; <i>Bruguiera</i> sp.; <i>Rhizophora apiculata</i> Bl.). Ihaba: below, lowland.	tgl, bik, ceb, aki, hil, hnn, mdh, tsg, mmo, mrw, msk, ty, bw, BisPn, BisSL, Pal, Tbw	PWMP/PMP	Flora, Physical Description	Madulid 2001, 83; Manuel 1971, 50-51. "Bachao, p.a. Arbol conocido del manglar: binachauan; cosa en que se ha hechado corteza del Bachao" (Méntrida 1841, 37). PWMP proto-form: *bakehaw ("mangrove"). "Békaw [dɔç], species of uncultivated mangrove tree, genus <i>Rhizophora</i> ; bakaw-an [bik], mangrove tree, having stilt-like roots and stems forming dense thickets along tidal shores; <i>Rhizophora</i> ; bakhâw [hnn], type of mangrove tree; <i>Rhizophora</i> sp.; bakâw-an [akl], tree that is good for firewood; <i>Rhizophora mucronata</i> ; bakhaw [hil], mangrove; bakhâw [ceb], mangrove tree; <i>Rhizophora</i> spp.; bakaw [mrw], mangrove, <i>Rhizophora</i> sp.; bakaw [msk], kind of hardwood tree (grows along shore); bakaw [ty], a mangrove tree found in virgin swamps, <i>Rhizophora candellaria</i> DC, <i>Rhizophora mucronata</i> Lam.; bakhaw [sjm], mangrove tree; mangrove swamp; bakaw [tsg], <i>Rhizophora</i> spp., mangrove" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	
Bachao Ilaya, Gasan	[bakˈhaw ʔiːlaːja]	Bachao: bakhaw (<i>Rhizophora mucronata</i> Lam.; <i>Bruguiera</i> sp.; <i>Rhizophora apiculata</i> Bl.). Ilaya: highland, interior.	tgl, bik, ceb, aki, hil, hnn, mdh, tsg, mmo, mrw, msk, ty, bw, BisPn, BisSL, Pal, Tbw	PWMP/PMP	Flora, Physical Description	Madulid 2001, 83; Manuel 1971, 50-51. "Bachao, p.a. Arbol conocido del manglar: binachauan; cosa en que se ha hechado corteza del Bachao" (Méntrida 1841, 37). PWMP proto-form: *bakehaw ("mangrove"). "Békaw [dɔç], species of uncultivated mangrove tree, genus <i>Rhizophora</i> ; bakaw-an [bik], mangrove tree, having stilt-like roots and stems forming dense thickets along tidal shores; <i>Rhizophora</i> ; bakhâw [hnn], type of mangrove tree; <i>Rhizophora</i> sp.; bakaw-an [akl], tree that is good for firewood; <i>Rhizophora mucronata</i> ; bakhaw [hil], mangrove; bakhâw [ceb], mangrove tree; <i>Rhizophora</i> spp.; bakaw [mrw], mangrove, <i>Rhizophora</i> sp.; bakaw [msk], kind of hardwood tree (grows along shore); bakaw [ty], a mangrove tree found in virgin swamps, <i>Rhizophora candellaria</i> DC, <i>Rhizophora mucronata</i> Lam.; bakhaw [sjm], mangrove tree; mangrove swamp; bakaw [tsg], <i>Rhizophora</i> spp., mangrove" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Bacongbacong, Gasan	[ba.koŋ.ba.ˈkoŋ]	Spider lily; cardwell lily, red-stirped crinum, poison bulb (<i>Crinum anamatum</i>); bakong (<i>Proiphys amboinensis</i> (L.) Herb; <i>Crinum asiaticum</i> L.; <i>Pandanus dubius</i> Spreng.; <i>Proiphys amboinensis</i> (L.) Herbert); a kind of white mosquito.	tgl, ilo, xsb, BisPh, Myn, Bgb	PAn	Flora, Fauna	Madulid 2001, 84; Stuart 2022; Plania 2017, 154, 158. "Bacung. P.p. azucenas de pencas grandes, cabacongan; plural su raíz es contrayerba; bacong bacong. Unas matillas pequeñas á modo de bacong. u.a. Mosquitos blancos, chicos, como tacnac" (Menrída 1841, 37-38). PAn proto-form: *bakun, ("a lily-like plant; Crinum asiaticum L."). "Vakoj [lɪb]. Crinum asiaticum L., a plant similar to the lily with white flower and purple fruit. It is fragrant and said to repel mosquitoes; bakoj [ilo]. Crinum asiaticum L. A stout, amaryllidaceous plant with large, fragrant white flowers, much cultivated for ornamental purposes; bakon [tɕl]. spider lily, Crinum asiaticum L.; bakun [hnn], small upland plant with large white flowers and large round leaves; bákun [ceb], kind of ornamental bulb; the spider lily; Crinum asiaticum; bakoj [mrw], Crinum asiaticum L., a plant with white flower, used to treat stomach ache" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	
Bahi, Gasan	[ˈbaː.hiʔ]	Bahi (<i>Livistona rotundifolia</i> (Lam.) Mart. var. <i>luzonensis</i> Becc.; <i>Caryota cumingii</i> Loodd. ex Mart.); the hard outer wood of a palm trunk, used in making bow; the hard woody part of trunks of palm trees (buri or magiláy palm, for instance), sometimes used as timber or lumber and for other purposes as canes, etc.	hnn, akl, ceb, Bis, BisPh	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 80; Plania 2017, 154, PPH proto-form: *báhiq ("the hard outer wood of a palm trunk, used in making bows"). "Báhi [ilo], bow; bowlike device used for fluffing cotton; bái [abp], bow; báhiʔ [hnn], hard outer wood of a palm bole, that part of certain types of palm wood which is of greatest economic value as bow wood, for spear shafts, arrow points, etc.; báhiʔ [akl], hard stick; báʔi [bya], type of wood used to make hunting bow; bəʔi [bya], hunting bow; báhiʔ [ceb], the hard portion of a palm trunk; cane or club made of palm trunk; báʔi [msk], kind of palm tree (inner part is soft, but outer part is hard)" (Blust & Trussel 2020). "Bahí, p.a: Lo duro de algunas palmitas, de que hazen arcos, la corteza dá cañas viejas, porque es dura. Bahian, p.p. Palma, o caña que tiene bahi" (Menrída 1637, 65). "Báhi. The hard woody part of trunks of palm trees (buri or magiláy palm, for instance), sometimes used as timber or lumber and for other purposes as canes, etc." (Manuel 1971, 49).	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Bangbang, Gasan	[baŋ.ˈbaŋ]	Nicker tree (<i>Bonduc mitus</i> Medik.); lead wort (<i>Mohibia scandens</i> (L.) Raf.); bangbang (<i>Caesalpinia bonduc</i> (L.) Roxb.; <i>Plumbago zeylanica</i> L.); ditch for draining water.	tgl, ceb, ilo	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 108; Stuart 2022. "Bangbang, Ditch for draining water" (Manuel 1971, 63).	
Banot, Gasan	[ˈba.not]	Banot (<i>Tylophora ramosii</i> Schltr.; <i>Bauhinia alterniana</i> Perfk. var. <i>alterniana</i> ; <i>B. integrifolia</i> Roxb. subsp. <i>cumingiana</i> (Benth.) K. & S.S. Larsen; <i>Phanera lingua</i> (DC.) Miq.)	tgl, ilo	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 114. "Banot. pp. Un género de baguing con que atan" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 46). "Banot. Vine used as rope, cord or twine of bows" (Manuel 1971, 67).	
Banuyo, Gasan	[ˈba.nu.ˈju]	Banuyo (<i>Wallacodendron celebicum</i> Koord.; <i>Ormosia calanensis</i> Azaola ex Blco.; <i>Trigostemon longipes</i> (Merr.) Merr.; <i>Albizia acle</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Crypteronia paniculata</i> Bl. var. <i>paniculata</i> ; <i>Dehaasia incrassata</i> (Jack) Kosterm.; <i>Guttoa koelreuteria</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Phoebe sterculioides</i> (Ehm.) Merr.; <i>Intsia bijuga</i> (Colebr.) Kuntze).	tgl, bik, BisPn, BisSL	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 116	
Bognuyan, Gasan	[ˈbu.ˈnu.ˈjan]	A place where a kind of coconut fruit has fallen on the ground, such that it was not picked directly from the tree; where an immature fruit which falls to the ground; where coconuts fall from tree while still young. Bognoy - an [locative suffix]	tgl	tgl	Flora	"Bognoy. pc. Coco caído de la palma sin derribarlo, Na. El lugar ó la palma, Phamognoyan. Tambien Mag. el viento. In. el coco" (Noceda & Sanlucar. 1832, 66). "Bognóy. 1. Immature fruit which falls to the ground. 2. Usually used in reference to coconuts which fall from tree while still young. This nut has a small percentage of oil, and does not grow" (Manuel 1971, 85).	
Cabugao, Gasan	[ka.ˈbu.ˈgaw]	Suba, lukban, or pomelo (<i>Aurantium decumanum</i> (L.) Mill.); kafir lime or kabugaw (<i>Citrus hystrix</i> DC.); kabugaw (<i>Citrus grandis</i> (L.) Osb.)	hil, tgl, Tbw	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 319; Stuart 2022	

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Dawis, Gasan	[da.wis]	Entrance at sea, sandbank, landbank.	BisPn	PCP	Physical Description	"Daus. p.a. Nadauis, dimmadauis sa laur ang pasil, i. ang catarman. Entrar el mar adentro derecho, banco de arena o banco de tierra: nadauisan, i. cadauisan, lo largo del banco ó punta" (Mentrída 1841, 128).	
Dili, Gasan	[di.liʔ]						
Libtangin, Gasan	[lihta.ŋin]						
Mahunig, Gasan	[ma.ɦu:ng]						
Mangliol, Gasan	[ma.ŋi.li:ʔol]						
Masiga, Gasan	[ma.si:gaʔ]	Siga (<i>Xanthostemon bracteatus</i> Merr.); to burn. Ma- (stative prefix) + siga. Old Gasan.	tgl, BisPn	PCP	Flora, Activity	Maddulid 2001, 655: "Sigá. Fire made by burning garbaje, weeds, etc.; bonfire" (Santos 2006, 568).	Possibly <i>librong</i> [PPh; ilo, tgl bik, hmn, aki, msk] - in. PPh proto-form: *lib(e)ŋun ("deep place in river; pool of water left when a stream dries up") (Blust & Trussel 2020).
Matandang Gasan, Gasan	[ma.tan.ɔan ˈga.san]		tgl	tgl	Geo-Political Category		Possibly ma- (stative prefix) - <i>hunit</i> [BisPn]; Hardwood. "Hunit. p.a. Mahunit, palo, o arbol correoso" (Mentrída 1841, 194).
Pangi, Gasan	[pa.ŋiʔ]	Pangi (<i>Parartocarpus woodii</i> (Merr.) Merr.; <i>Mangifera monandra</i> Merr.); Football fruit (<i>Pangium edule</i> Reinw. ex Bl.).	bik, msk, BisPn, BisSL, TBT	PGCP	Flora	Maddulid 2001, 568; Stuart 2022. "Pangi. s. Arbol de tronco grueso y alto, de hoja ancha y gruesa; su fruta es pequeña y algo larga, envenena á las gallinas y otras aves si la comen y al hombre le vuelve loco y dá muchos alardos" (De la Rosa 1895, 298)	Siga [tgl] as activity is possibly related to kaingin farming (Scott 1994, 199).
Pingan, Gasan	[pin.ɔan]	Pingan (<i>Cynometra simplicifolia</i> Harms); pinggan-pinggan (<i>Gonocaryum calleryanum</i> (Baill.) Becc.; <i>Vavaea amicornum</i> Benth.); a plate.	tgl, pam, ibg, ilo, bik, hil, ceb, war, mrw	PPh	Object	Maddulid 2001, 591; UPDF 2001, 682	<i>Pingan</i> as plate possibly functions as grave furniture and vessels for offering to anitos (see Medina 2005, 110)
Tabionan, Gasan	[tab.ju:nan]						Possibly <i>tabiyo</i> [tgl] - nan. "Tabiyo. pp. Recodo de río, ó su profundidad" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 385). "Tabyo png: kurbado ng ilog na karaniwang nagiging malalim" (UPDF 2001, 856).

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Tapuyan, Gasan	[ta.ˈpuː.jan]						Possibly <i>tapuy</i> [ilo, bnc, fig] - an [locative suffix], rice wine (UPDF 2001, 876); or <i>tapuy</i> [ceb] - an, to finger chords (Wolff 1972, 992). Possibly related to <i>igri</i> [bik], "Tigi, fish (sp-similar to sardine)" (Mintz & Britanico 1985, 522)
Tigtuton, Gasan	[tig.ˈjuŋ]						
BOAC							
Agot, Boac	[ˈaː.got]	To faint due either to lack of blood or much bleedings; simple-minded; slow; stunted in growth; gritty.	ceb, BisPn	PCP	Activity; Human attribute	"Agot. Desmayarse por falta de sangre, ó cuando en una sangría sale mas de lo regular, ó de alguna herida. * V. Aglot" (De la Encarnacion 1885, 7); "Agut a 1 simple-minded. Dalí muttu ang agut, The simple-minded fool believes anything you tell him. 2 slow, stunted in growth. Agut ka man. Hilabwan na man lang ka sa imung manghuhud, You are stunted. Your little brother is taller than you are. v 1 [B; a] be ignorant, simple-minded. Makaagut man diay ning mag-istar ug bukid, Staying in the mountains makes you simple-minded. 2 be stunted in growth, - un a of a stunted or simple-minded sort. Agutun mig kalitwat, We are a family of short people. Agut a gritty. Agut ang ghanam sa bás, The fish paste is gritty with sand. v [B; b] become gritty" (Wolff 1972).	
Agumaymayan, Boac [ʔa.gu.maj.ˈmaː.jan]							
Amoingon, Boac [ʔa.ˈmi.ŋun]							
Apitong, Boac	[ʔa.ˈpiː.tuŋ]	Apitong (<i>Dipterocarpus orbicularis</i> Foxw.; <i>Dipterocarpus kunsileri</i> King; <i>Dipterocarpus caudatus</i> Foxw. subsp. <i>caudatus</i> ; <i>Dipterocarpus</i> sp.; <i>Dipterocarpus gracilis</i> Bl.; <i>Dipterocarpus grandiflorus</i> Blco.; <i>Dipterocarpus eurychus</i> Miq.; <i>Shorea guiso</i> (Blco.) Bl.; <i>Dipterocarpus kerrii</i> King).	tgl, bik, BisPn, BisSL, Sub	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 53	

Barangsy/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Balagasan, Boac	[ba.la.ʔas.san]						Possible morphological boundaries: balagas - an [locative suffix].
Balaring, Boac	[ba.ʔa.rɪŋ]	A kind of <i>abi</i> (yam); land humps.	tgl	tgl	Flora, Physical Description	"Balarin. pp. Un género de ubi: turumbones en la tierra" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 33).	
Balimbing, Boac	[ba.lɪm.ʔɪŋ]	Star fruit (<i>Averrhoa carambola</i> Linn.).	ceb, bik, tsg, tgl, xsb	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 94; Stuart 2022	
Balogo, Boac	[ba.ʔu.ʔu]	Balogo (<i>Atacardium occidentale</i> L.; <i>Citrus limonia</i> Osb.; <i>Albizia saponaria</i> (Lour.) Benth. ex Miq. var. <i>saponaria</i> ; <i>Illigera megaptera</i> Merr.; <i>Polyalthia obliqua</i> Hook. f. & Thoms.; <i>Entada phaseoloides</i> (L.) Merr.; <i>Diplodiscus paniculatus</i> Turcz.); kasuy or cashew (<i>Acajuba occidentalis</i> (L.) Gaertn.).	ilo, pag, hnn, mrw, mmo, Pal	PWMP/PMP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 99; Stuart 2022. PWMP proto-form: *baluRu ("a vine: Entada scandens"). "Vaxoyo [lɪb]a species of plant; baluʔu [hnn], large reddish, woody, tendril-bearing vine; Entada scandens Benth.; the bark is used as soap; balogo [mrw], orange used for blackening teeth" (Blust & Trussel 2020).	
Bamban, Boac	[bam.ʔan]	Bamban (<i>Pandanus exaltatus</i> Blco.; <i>Donax cannaefornis</i> (Forst. f.) K. Schum.; <i>Phacelophrynum interruptum</i> (warb.) K. Schum.); common donax (<i>Arundostrum berthamianum</i> Kuntze).	tgl, bik, ilo, ibg, tsg, mbb	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 102; Stuart 2022	
Bangbangan, Boac	[ban.ba.ŋa.ʔan]						Possibly related to <i>bangbang</i> (<i>Caesalpinia bonduc</i> (L.) Roxb.; <i>Plumbago zeylanica</i> L.); also lead wort (<i>Molubda scandens</i> (L.) Raf.), or nicker tree (<i>Bonduac minus</i> Medik.) (Madulid 2001, 108; Stuart 2022), or <i>bangbang</i> [tʃɪ], ditch for draining water (Manual 1971, 65).
Bantad, Boac	[ban.ʔad]	Bantad (<i>Sorghum vulgare</i> Pers.)	mrw	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 114	
Bantay, Boac	[ban.ʔaj]	Watchman; a bird-catching lasso; a kind of fish.	tgl, ilo, pag, bik, ceb, hil, war, mdl, mrw	PPh	Human Attribute, Activity, Object, Fauna	UPDF 2001, 99. "Bantay. pc. Lazo con una cañita, que se dispara para coger pajaros" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 46). "Bantaybantay — sa balutbut, talikud: various species of colorful fish that lurk in the reefs and snap at prey; e.g. <i>Diploprrium bifasciatum</i> " (Wolff 1972).	

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Bayutí, Boac	[ba.ˈjuː.tiʔ]						
Binunga, Boac	[bi.ˈnuŋ.a.ja]	Binunga (<i>Macaranga tanarius</i> (L.) Muell.-Arg.; <i>Macaranga</i> sp.; <i>Melochia umbellata</i> (Houtt.) Stapf; <i>Kleinhovia hospita</i> L. var. <i>hospita</i> ; <i>Macaranga bicolor</i> Muell.-Arg.); elephant's ear; parasol leaf tree.	tgl, cyo, pam, ibg, hnn, ceb, bik, ibg, BisPn	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 147; Stuart 2022; Planta 2017, 170, 183	Possibly <i>bayati</i> [tgl], <i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) W. & A. (Madulid 2001, 132). "Bayati. p.c. O mejor baiyti, una yerva como beguing con que emborrachan á los peces" (Noceña & Sanlucar 1832, 53)
Boi, Boac	[bu.ʔi]						Possibly <i>boyboy</i> [BisPn], <i>Ceiba pentandra</i> (L.) Gaertn.; <i>boyboy</i> [ilo], <i>Phragmites australis</i> (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.; <i>boyboy</i> [hnn], <i>Ceiba pentandra</i> (L.) Gaertn. (Madulid 2001, 163; Planta 2017, 154); <i>boi-boi</i> [akl], <i>Bombax inerme</i> Schumacher; <i>buboi</i> [tgl], <i>Bombax mompoxense</i> Kuntze; <i>kapok</i> or white silk cotton tree (<i>Ceiba pentandra</i> (L.) Gaertn) (Stuart 2022).
Boton, Boac	[bu.ˈtuŋ]	Boton (<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> (L.) Kurz; <i>Adenostemma lavenia</i> (L.) Kuntze var. <i>parviflorum</i> (Hook.) Hochr.); Sticky daisy (<i>Adenostemma lavenia</i> var. <i>typicum</i> J.Kost.).	tgl, bik, cbk, Bis	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 162; Stuart 2022	
Buliasnin, Boac	[bu.ɭ.ˈʔas.nn]						Possible morphological boundaries: <i>bolias</i> - nin. Possibly related to <i>bulias</i> [tgl], "early morning light, dawn, crepusculence, aurora" (Manuel 1971, 89); or <i>bolias</i> [tgl], a red piglet, "Bolias. p.c. Lechoncillo bermejo" (Noceña & Sanlucar 1832, 69).
Bunganay, Boac	[bu.ˈpaː.naj]						Possibly related to <i>bongani</i> [tgl], <i>Crypteronia paniculata</i> Bl. var. <i>paniculata</i> ; <i>Elaeocarpus calamala</i> (Blcco.) Merr. (Madulid 2001, 159). Similar toponym: Kaganhao, Santa Cruz.
Caganhao, Boac	[ka.ˈgan.ˈhaw]						

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Canat, Boac	[kan.ˈʔat]	A process of clearing lands or fields.	ceb, BisSL	PCP	Activity	"Kanat [Bis]. A process of clearing off the undergrowth for secondary farming" (Scott 1994, 37). "Canat. v. Limpiar sementera" (De la Rosa 1895, 57). Madulid 2001, 742; Stuart 2022; Planta 2017, 35; Wolff 1972	
Catubugan, Boac	[ka.tu.ˈbu.ɡan]	Tubug, tubig, or sacking tree (<i>Ficus nota</i> (Blco.) Merr.; <i>Ficus benguetensis</i> Merr.). Ca - tubug - an [locative suffix]	ceb, BisSL	PCP	Flora		
Cawit, Boac	[ˈkaː.wit]	Hook.	tgl, ilo, pam, mdh, pag, bik, BisPn	PPh	Object	UPDF 2001, 440. "Cawit. pp. Ponerse en forma de garabato" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 107); "Cawit. I. Caoit. p.a. Garabato, gancho, garfio, presilla, corchete" (Mentrída 1841, 100); "Kawit. A hook; also describing s/t shaped like a hook" (Mintz & Britanico 1985, 337).	
Daig, Boac	[da.ˈʔig]	To extinguish fire using ashes.	tgl	tgl	Activity	"Daig. pp. Cubrir el fuego con ceniza para que no se apague. Mag, estar preso el fuego, ó aplicar con que conservarlo. An, el calan. Magpa, ayumentar el animal con fuego. Magdaigan, poner tizon al fuego. Ildaigan, lo que. Ipag- an, con que, Dongmarraig na acó sa dilang otos mo sa aquin, estoy siempre pronto á tus órdenes. Metaf." (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 122)	
Daypay, Boac	[da.j.ˈpaɪ]						Possibly <i>daypay</i> [tɢl], a small lobster. "Dayopay. pp. Langosta pequena cuando empieza á volar" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 133).
Duyay, Boac	[ˈduː.jaj]	Duyay (<i>Salagnella</i> sp.)	hnn	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 239. See also <i>duyay tagabas</i> [hnn], <i>Lycopodium cernuum</i> L.	
Hinapulan, Boac	[hi.na.pu.ˈlan]						Possible morpheme boundaries: h<in [past tense infix]>apol-an, h<in [past tense infix]> <i>apola</i> -(a)n. "Hapola. pp. Lo mismo que Apola: este es el usado" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 168); "Apola. pp. Aderezar, remendar embarcación, quitar gotera. Hindi maapola ylong tubig. Avolain mo ang tubig. No se puede quitar esta gotera, quita esa gotera" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 118). Possibly related to <i>atub</i> [Bis], deadfall traps for large animals (Scott 1994, 44). Possibly related to <i>isog</i> [Bgb], <i>Celtis philippinensis</i> Blco. var. <i>philippinensis</i> (Madulid 2001, 311).
Ihatub, Boac	[ʔi.haː.tub]						
Isok I (Poblacion), Boac	[ʔiː.sok]						

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Isok II Poblacon (Kalamias), Boac	[ʔiːsuk ka.lam.ˈjas]	Kalamias; kalamyas (<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i> L.)	tgl, twb	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 328; Manuel 1971, 179	Isok; possibly related to <i>isog</i> (Bgb), <i>Celtis philippinensis</i> Blco. var. <i>philippinensis</i> (Madulid 2001, 311).
Laylay, Boac	[aj.ˈlaj]	Drooping or hanging loosely.	tgl, pag, bik, hil, ceb, war	PPh	Concept	UPDF 2001, 499	
Lupac, Boac	[ʔlɔː.pak]	To pound.	tgl	tgl	Activity	UPDF 2001, 527. "Lupák. Act of pounding rice in a wooden mortar until fully husked. Syn. luba, pagluba. Act of pounding boiled green bananas (sabá species) into a mash called nilupák" (Santos 2006, 246). UPDF 2001, 335. "Hinhin. State or quality of being modest or decent in one's act or manners" (Santos 2006, 182). UPDF 2001, 371; Soberano 1980, 208.	Also known in Marinduque as <i>yitbak</i> , <i>niritbak</i> .
Mahimhin, Boac	[ma.hin.ˈhin]	Modest. Ma- [stative prefix] - hinhin.	tgl	tgl	Human Attribute		
Mainit, Boac	[ma.ˈʔiːnit]	Hot. Ma- [stative prefix] - init.	tgl, bik, hil, ceb	PCP	Physical Description		
Malbog, Boac	[mal.ˈbog]	Leichhardt tree (<i>Nauclaea glaberrima</i> Bartl. ex DC.); malbog (<i>Mycetia javanica</i> (Bl.) Reinw. ex Korth.; <i>Nauclaea robinsonii</i> Merr.; <i>Nauclaea orientalis</i> (L.) L.)	mno, BisSL	PGCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 482; Stuart 2022	Similar toponym: Malbog, Buenavista.
Malgaya, Boac	[ma.li.ˈgaj.ja]	Happy. Ma- [stative prefix] - ligaya.	tgl, pam	PPh	Human Attribute	UPDF 2001, 506; Santos 2006, 232	
Malusak (Poblacion), Boac	[ma.ˈluː.sak]	Muddy, silty. Ma- [stative prefix] - lusak.	tgl, pam	PPh	Physical Description	UPDF 2001, 527. "Losac. pp. Lodo, cieno, Um, ir haciéndose. Mag. pp. Enlodar. Al que. An. Mag. pc. Revolcarse en él. Donde. Pag-an. pc." (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 238); "Lusak. deppy sticky mud; wet soggy earth; slush" (Santos 2006, 247).	
Maniswat, Boac	[man.ˈsɪr.wat]						Possible morphological boundaries: maN- siwat. Siwat [tɕj], zigzag.
Mataas na Bayan (Poblacion), Boac	[ma.ta.ˈʔas na ˈbaː.jan]	High town center.	tgl	tgl	Physical Description, Geo-Political Category		
Maybo, Boac	[maj.ˈbu]						Possible morphological boundaries: ma- [stative prefix] - ibo [tɕj], ma<y>-bo. "Ibò. (Prov.) slight movement of motion of anything without necessarily changing position. Syn. galaw, kilos" (Santos 2006, 192)

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Mercado (Poblacion), Boac	[mer.'ka:.du]	Market.	spa	loanword	Object	"Palengke 'market', plaza, palingki, merkaado" (Soberano 1980, 202); "Sitio público destinado permanentemente, o en días señalados, para vender, comprar o permutar bienes o servicios" (RAE 2022). "Muro robusto" (RAE 2022).	
Murallon (Poblacion), Boac	[mu.'ra:l.'ju:n]	Robust wall.	spa	loanword	Object		Possibly related to or derived from <i>ogpao</i> [BisPn], a piece of medrinaque textile used to remove luster or shine from a metal or stone; <i>ogpoc</i> [BisSL], to nail a peg for tying a rooster; <i>ugpao</i> [BisSL], to throw something angrily. "Ogpao p.c. Alibi cobal: Manta de medrinaque por brunir" (Mentrida 1841, 274); "Ogbooc. v. Clavar en tierra la estaquilla con el cordel, para amarrar el gallo, etc." (De la Rosa 1895, 157); "Ugmac. v. Arrojar una cosa con furia. - Aporrear, dar porrazo. - Saltar como el ratón" (De la Rosa 1895, 158).
Pawa, Boac	[pa.'waʔ]	Pawa (<i>Bambusa blumeana</i> J.A. & J.H. Schult.; <i>Flageellaria indica</i> L.; <i>Schizostachyum fenixii</i> Gamble; <i>Smilax verruculosa</i> Merr.; <i>Pinanga</i> sp.)	bnc, hnn, BisPn, Bis	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 582	
Pili, Boac	[ˈpi:lɪ]	Pili (<i>Canarium melioides</i> Elm.; <i>Canarium ovatum</i> Engl.; <i>Ficus guyeri</i> Elm.; <i>Canarium asperum</i> Benth.; <i>Evodia semecarpifolia</i> Merr.; <i>Canarium luzonicum</i> (Bl.) A. Gray; <i>Ficus alluataea</i> Bl.; <i>F. odorata</i> (Blco.) Merr.). A bird without tail.	tgl, ibg, bik, ceb, mmo, tsg BisSL	PPh	Flora	Madulid 2001, 590; Stuart 2022; Manuel 1971, 287	Similar toponym: Pili, Mogpog.
Poctoy, Boac	[puk.'toj]	Star gooseberry (<i>Phyllanthus ciccā</i> Müell. Merr.)	BisSL	PCP	Fauna	"Poctoy: adj. Ave sin cola" (De la Rosa 1895, 185) Madulid 2001, 598; Stuart 2022	Similar toponym: Poctoy, Torrijos.
Poras, Boac	[po.'ras]	White sand	ceb, Bis	PCP	Flora		
Putting Buhangin, Boac	[pu.'tuŋ bu.'ha:.ŋu:n]	White sand	tgl	tgl	Physical Description		Similar toponym: Putting Buhangin, Mogpog.

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Puyog, Boac	[pu.ʝug]	Drenched; to drench, to wet the skin	tgl	tgl	Concept	"Puyog (pu-yog), n. act of drenching or wetting thoroughly. Syn. pagpigigá, pagbasáng mabuti", puyóg (pu-yog), i. adj. wet all over; thoroughly wet; drenched. Syn. pigigá; basáng-basá. --II. n. state or condition of being drenched or thoroughly wet. Syn. pagkapigigá; pagkabasang-basá" (Santos 1978, 2168); "Puyog, to drench, to wet the skin" (Mamuel 1971, 300). UPDF 2001, 765	Possibly referring to Boac River or Paadjaio Falls?
Sabong, Boac	[sa.ʝon]	Cockfighting	tgl, bik, ceb, war	PCP	Activity		
San Miguel (Poblacion), Boac Santol, Boac	[san mi.ʝel] [san.ʝul]	Saint name Lolly fruit (<i>Azadirach edule</i> Noronha; <i>Sandoricum koefjape</i> (Burm. f.) Merr.) Lost, dead.	spa tgl	loanword tgl	Person Flora	Madulid 2011, 644; Stuart 2022	
Sawi, Boac	[sa.ʝwɪʔ]	Shore.	tgl	tgl	Human Attribute	UPDF 2001, 787	
Tabi, Boac	[ta.ʝi]	Shore.	tgl	tgl	Physical Description		
Tabigue, Boac	[ta.ʝi.ʝg]	Tabigi (<i>Platea excelsa</i> Bl. var. <i>borneensis</i> ; <i>Xylocarpus moluccensis</i> (Lam.) Roem.; <i>Xylocarpus rumphii</i> (Kostel.) Mabb.); piyagaw or puzzlenut tree (Xylocarpus granatum J.Koenig); tabige (<i>Xylocarpus moluccensis</i> (Lam.) Roem.).	tgl, bik, ceb, mdh, BisSL, Sub	PCCP	Flora	"Tabi, pc. Orilla, estreñidad, cabo ó canto de alguna cosa" (Noceña & Sanlucar 1832, 385). Madulid 2001, 678; Planta 2017, 164; Manuel 1971, 350. "Tabigi. pp. Un género de nuceas medicinales. (Noceña & Sanlucar 1832, 385); "Tabigui, s. Xilocarpo como granado" (Dela Rosa 1895, 302).	Also <i>tabihan</i> in Marinduque Tagalog.
Tagwak, Boac	[tag.ʝwak]						

Barangay/Town	Pronunciation (IPA)	Meaning	Source Language (ISO 639-3 or source-based abbreviation)	Possible Level of Reconstruction	Toponymic Category	References	Other Remarks
Tambunan, Boac	[tam.'bu.'nan]	Tambon, banaro, or beach gardenia (<i>Guetzarda spectosa</i> Linn.); tambon (<i>Ficus cassidyana</i> Elm. var. <i>cassidyana</i>); tambon-tambon (Tag) <i>Mallotus mollissimus</i> (Geisel.) Airy Shaw; <i>Parinari glaberrima</i> Hassk., <i>Gonystylus macrophyllus</i> (Miq.) Airy Shaw). Tambon - an [locative suffix]. End of forest.	tgl, tsq, BisPn	PCP	Flora	Madulid 2001, 703-704; Stuart 2022	
Tampus (Poblacion), Boac	[ˈtam.pus]		tgl	tgl	Physical Description	"Tampus, p.c. Maldición. Al punto mueras. También fin de algún bosque" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 403). "Sedal de la caña de pescar" (RAE 2022)	
Tanza, Boac	[tan.'sa]	Fishing rod line.	spa	loanword	Object		
Tugos, Boac	[tu.'gos]	Amomum.	tgl	tgl	Flora	"Tugus, p.c. Planta llamada amomo" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 438)	
Tumagabok, Boac	[tu.ma.ga.'bok]						Possible morphological boundaries: t<um [past tense infix]>agabok, t<um [past tense infix]>a-gabok [tgl, bik]. "Gabók. Dust; fine, dry earth. Syn. alikabok. Ash. Syn. Abo" (Santos 2006, 144); "Gabók. Roiten (wood); MAG- to decay, rot; var- gabók" (Mintz & Britanico, 1985, 288). Also called Humagabú (Jordana y Morera 1885, 17)
Tumapon, Boac	[tu.ma.'pon]	To tend or throw a net. T<um [past tense infix]>apon.	tgl	tgl	Activity	"Tapón. pp. Tender la red el pescador. Vn. Arrojar algo. Mag. Lo que arroja. Y. Ninsang y tapan naholi co yaring ysda, lo cogí de un lance" (Noceda & Sanlucar 1832, 410).	

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