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GAHUM UG GUBAT: A STUDY OF ESKAYAN TEXTS, SYMBOLIC SUBVERSION AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIVITY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
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BY

MA. CRISTINA J. MARTINEZ, [illegible]-
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APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation attached hereto entitled " Gahum ug Gubat: A Study of Eskayan Texts, Symbolic Subversion and Cultural Constructivity," prepared and submitted by Ma. Cristina J. Martinez, in partial fulfillment for the degree of DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY (COMPARATIVE LITERATURE) is hereby accepted.

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8 November 1993

PROF. ROGELIO SICAT
Dean

Through channels

Dear Dean Sicat:

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that the dissertation, "**The Text, Symbolic Violence and Subject Construction: A Study of Eskayan Postcoloniality**" written by Ph.D. Comparative Literature candidate, **CRISTINA MARTINEZ**, is now ready for assignment to Readers. In this connection, I wish to strongly recommend the appointments of Drs. Vivencio R. Jose and Corazon Villareal.

Ms. Martinez and I have been working closely on the critical strategies for her problem since she first wrote about it in my Theory class, several semesters back. I knew then, and moreso now, that her dissertation would not only be pioneering but would become a "showcase" for our department's Philippine-oriented Comparative Literature Programs.

Ms. Martinez chose as problematique a post-colonial reading of the symbolic subversions of the Eskayan "millenarian" community of Bohol against three common tropes of colonial and hegemonic Philip pine languages, religions and histories. The "letra" (symbolizing western/roman alphabets of the Castilian language and the western- influenced languages of Sugbuanon and Tagalog), the "lingganay"/ white bell and the Sto. Nino (symbolizing the Catholic religion "re-introduced" by conquistadores Magellan and Legaspi), and the "bandera" (symbolizing Spanish and Filipino maintream accounts of Bisayan, colonial and national histories) are interrogated in the Eskayan treatises, narratives, songs, flags, glyphs and other icons. She masterfully and convincingly demonstrated how the above (samples of which are appended to the dissertation), and the exis tence of what is claimed to be a pre-Spanish yet functional sylla bary and "alphabeto" in which the Eskayan writings have been preserved, constitute the Eskayan post-colonial re-reading/re-writing of hegemonic linguistic, religious and historical habitus.

I strongly feel that Dr. Jose, her M.A thesis adviser, and our expert in "folk" culture and the histories of the Spanish Colonial Period and the Philippine Revolution, as well as Dr. Corazon Villareal, our specialist in Bisayan orature, the theory and practice of Philippine regional literatures and languages, are immensely qualified to appreciate and further guide Ms. Martinez as Readers. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Priscelina Patajo-Legasto

DR. PRISCELINA PATAJO-LEGASTO
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19 November 1993

PROF. ROGELIO SICAT
Dean

through channels

Dear Dean Sicat:

I am very pleased to inform you that Drs. Vivencio R. Jose and Corazon Villareal have already endorsed the dissertation of Cristina Martinez for Oral Defense. Ms Martinez, a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. Comparative Literature, wrote "**The Text, Symbolic Violence and Subject Construction: A Study of Eskayan Post-coloniality.**" In this connection, I wish to strongly recommend the following as members of her Oral Defense panel since their areas of specialization are those from which Ms. Martinez draws her theoretical framework, critical strategies and/or data for comparative analyses.

1.) Dr. Consolacion Alaras - discourses of Philippine "ka patirans" including their concepts of "Pamathalaan" (spiritual government), "Mahal na Ina," Power;

2.) Dr. Milagros Guerrero - questioning of traditional historiography (its methods, sources and conclusions); new historical insights based on non-traditional sources and interpretative strategies;

3.) Dr. Helen Lopez - post-structuralist/post-colonial ap proaches to Philippine literary history and criticism;

4.) Dr. Angelito Santos - theory and practice of "folk" and popular cultures in ex-colonial/decolonizing societies like the Philippines;

As I explained in my previous letter where I requested for the appointments of Ms. Martinez' Readers, the problematique addressed by the dissertation includes the post-colonial inter rogations by the Eskayans of meta-narratives that inform hege- monic languages, religions and histories. It organizes its ana lyses of Eskaya texts according to their responses to/their sym

bolic subversions of three colonial and still dominant tropes: the **letra** (alphabet), the **lingganay** (white bell) and the **ban dera** (flag). Furthermore, the study attempts to foreground how the Eskayan pre-Spanish syllabary, alphabet, narratives, songs, glyphs, flags and icons including their representations of the Ai Suno (the originary Sto.Nino), Inang Yuta, Rizal with a Bi-sayan sun, alternative pre-Spanish and revolutionary Bisayan heroes have been employed in the construction of Eskayan subjectivities, history and religion; in short, in decentering the Bisayan (i.e., Cebu), national and colonial/western hegemonies and opening up spaces for alternative centers and sources of power.

I am confident that as exponents of a multidisciplinary Philippine Studies and a Cultural Studies whose axiomatics includes the relationship between discursive practices and power structures, Drs. Alaras, Guerrero, Lopez and Santos can help Ms. Martinez improve on what is already pathbreaking and exceptional work on the occluded texts of the Eskayan society of Bohol.

Sincerely,

Priscelina Patajo-Legasto

DR. PRISCELINA PATAJO-LEGASTO
Dissertation Adviser

For my dad.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to thank Dr. Legasto for believing in the study; Dr. Jose and Dr. Villareal for their support; the University of the Philippines in Cebu for the time off; Nene Gallares and Boy Amplayo for taking care of me in Bohol; my mom and dad for letting go, and Nong Bian, Nang Teria, Nong Juan, and the rest of the Eskayas, for keeping and allowing me to reconstruct a valuable cultural tradition.

ABSTRACT

This is a reading of a little-known cultural community in Bohol vis-a-vis their highly functional collective responses to the overdeterminations of Philippine colonization.

The study sets out to accomplish three things. Beginning with the archiving of Eskayan narratives, treastises, songs, glyphs and flags, and the creation of an epistemic space for their inclusion as valid objects of cultural investigation, it proceeds to make a reading of the Eskayan strategies for cultural construction. The reading will show that the Eskayan cultural text is a highly volatile "conjectural node" in its capacity to subvert the balance of asymetrical power through a mobilization of meaning.

This symbolic subversion of power is accomplished through three cultural modes: the **letra** (a claim of a "retrieved" pre-Hispanic syllabary with its attendant assertions of linguistic sufficiency/superiority over Western/Roman alphabets of the Castilian language); the **lingganay** (a claim of a pre-hispanic type of Christianity); and the **bandera** (a claim of political centrality both in the historic past and the utopic future). These three arenas of cultural meaning are posited as the sources of those which constitute the re-readings/re-writings of linguistic, religious and historical hegemonies in the Eskayan agenda of deconstructing dominant social imaginaries and the constructing/re-constructing of their own collective constructivity.

GAHUM UG GUBAT : A STUDY OF ESKAYAN TEXTS, SYMBOLIC SUBVERSION AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIVITY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Twelve years ago, the Bisaya Magazine published an article that talked of an unknown Philippine "tribe" in the hinterlands of Bohol.[1] Since then, what has become known as the **Eskaya**, has become the object of a quiet but unresolved controversy.

On one side, the claims that have been made on behalf of the "tribe" are almost incredible. Felicisimo Amparado, in his pioneering article, asserts that the Eskayas possess a Pre-Hispanic syllabary and that the people in the community actually use this previously undocumented proto-Philippine language. Two months after the article came out, Alberto Payot in another Bisaya article, continued to report about this cultural community which claims, among others, to have been using this Philippine language for over 2,000 years; to have been able to preserve a type of Christianity that ante-dates Magellan; and to have in its possession an

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[1] Felicisimo B. Amparado, "Iniskaya - Karaang Pinulongan sa Bohol," Bisaya Magazine, April 15, 1981, pp. 12ff.

entire library of written texts that recount early Philippine history, and catalog an indigenous system of numerology, chronometry and even biology.[2]

And if these were not enough, Brenda Abregana, then curator of the Bohol Provincial Museum, published several open letters that eulogized the "national treasure" that had been discovered in Bohol.[3] In an article that came out in a local newspaper, Abregana claims that the Eskayan tribe is an authentic "living fossil" of pre-Hispanic Philippine culture.[4]

In the same vein but arriving at different conclusions, Jes B. Tirol, in a series of articles, states that ancient palaeographic remains of the Eskayan script are intact in the Inambacan cave of Antequera Bohol.[5] The article recounts how he, and two American botanists from the Smithsonian Institute of America, went "crawling

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2 Alberto A. Payot Sr, "Bisayan Eskaya. Kara-ang Pinulongan sa Bohol ?" Bisaya Magazine, June 3, 1981, pp. 11, 55-57.

3 Brenda Abregana writes several glowing reports on the Eskayas, one addressed to Governor Butalid on March 12, 1985, and another to Saiome Flores, Provincial Library-in-charge. on December 18, 1980. All these are kept on file in the Public Library of Tagbilaran, Bohol.

4 Brenda Abregana, "Eskaya, the Living Fossil Language in Bohol - a Legacy from the Etruscans," Republic News, June 14, 1985. p.1.

5 Jes B. Tirol. "Bohol and Its System of Writing," University of Bohol Update, July-September, 1990, p.4.

on knees and elbows for three hours," to reach a mudbank, estimated to be 30,000 years old, which had Eskayan inscriptions , "some of which were clear, others ... covered by 13 inches [sic] high stalagmites."[6]

The same author further claims that this Eskayan script is Phoenician in origin and is so ancient that it can actually be used to solve "one of the most baffling questions in Philippine archeology." By making parallels of Ineskaya and the esoteric inscriptions on the Butuan Palaeograph in the National Museum, Tirol arrives at a transliteration and has "found irrefutable proof that the Eskaya is really very, very, old."[7]

And so, with Amparado, Abregana, Tirol, and the rest of the less grandiose articles[8] (eight so far, and none

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6 Jes B. Tirol, "Butuan Palaeograph Deciphered Using Eskaya Script," University of Bohol Update, October - December, 1990, pp. 6-8. According to Tirol, the palaeograph ought to read, " This 821 year when Liyuxie traveled, I accompanied the trip and returned the next year. I was in good condition."

7 Tirol, "Bohol and Its System of Writing," p.4.

8 The rest of the articles out of the eight are :

Jes B. Tirol, "Eskaya Profile: Traces of Hebrew Influence Paving the Way for Early Christianization of Bohol," Bohol's Pride, July 1991. See also his more recent series of seven articles in the Bohol Chronicle, from June 20 to August 1, 1993.

Perseus Echeminada, "Ancient Tribe in Bohol Draws Savants, Psychics, " Star, March 1, 1989.

Erma C. Cuizon, "Lost Library in Bohol," PIA Unpublished Manuscript, May 1989.

of them of book-length.) that have waxed euphoric over the Eskayas -- the Eskaya, as indigenous "Philippine tribe," and as "Lost Library in the quiet mountains of Bohol," has become, from one vantage point, a virtual ethnographer's paradise.

But this paradise, albeit hardly spoken of in the academe, has not remained free of incisive and many times, painful interrogations.

For almost as soon as the distance to this idyllic mountain site is traversed, the display of these strands of euphoric causes for nativism, quickly and almost inevitably begin to snag, unravel and then disintegrate into so many directions. For one thing, no one has actually been able to see or produce the palaeographic remains of the entire Eskayan syllabary. The Eskayas maintain that the syllabary was found and then hidden again, by a man named Anoy Datahan in the Tinago cave of Biabas, Guindulman. The copies that the Eskayas so painstakingly reproduce, are thus many times removed from the reproductions of Anoy.

In some valiant attempt to validate the palaeographic claim, I have fared no better. All that I have come up with regard to the syllabary, is a cloth-bound booklet reproduced from the Eskayas, an account of an ascent to the ancient cave, and finally an old man's compelling tale.

In late February, 1991, I dared into the much talked about cave in Biabas, Guindulman and insisted in continuing to look for the pre-hispanic tablets despite the

grime, the bats' dung and the mounting frustration. Eventually, the search had to end when the Eskayan guide very solemnly whispered, " you need to recite a prayer ... it will reveal an inner chamber ... the tablets are inside, along with some golden pots and candleholders." The prayer of course, was a secret. It was supposed to have died with a man named Anoy Datahan in 1947.

Ineskaya, the language that the Eskayas are said to be using, has likewise been cause for much skepticism. In several instances, linguistic field data will yield that Ineskaya does not thrive as a "natural first language." Thus, while a first language is spoken in everyday situations, or is "naturally" taught to a child by modelling, Ineskaya is instead systematically taught in specialized Eskayan schools, and is used in highly specified language situations.[9]

Glottochronologists, who have been able, in several instances to date languages, can hardly even apply their expertise on Ineskaya. Basically handed down to the succeeding generations as a written language, Ineskayan lexicon has remained static. Moreover, while other Philippine languages usually exhibit a high percentage of cognates among themselves, Ineskaya just refuses to have any affiliation with either Bisayan or Tagalog or Kiniray-a.

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[9] See Chapter III for a more detailed linguistic analysis.

In several instances, Ineskaya chooses to call the Philippines, "Palestina", or uses the hispanized word "esto" to signify the marker "ang" in Cebuano.

Furthermore, a reading of their acclaimed "texts", will show both internal and external inconsistencies, a proliferation of Hispanized words used in totally different contexts, and gross incongruities regarding names and dates. Their historical account of the origin of man for example, is shot through with the scientific assumptions of microscopy, Darwinian evolution and even Middle eastern fauna. They proudly, if not innocently, display flags that are glaringly emblazoned with KKK's, wear yellowed white robes with tattered edges, and chant the names of Pinay, a Malay folk hero, as well as those of Rizal and Dagohoy under the same breath. Their skill at cultural hybridization is incorrigible, and for all the intents and purposes of science, suspect.

In an only article that has been published which, in many ways question the claims of the Eskayas, Margarita T. Logarta's "The Eskaya Cult: Children of a Lost Language," has become a major rallying point in the Eskayan controversy.[10] Characterestically, the twelve year-old article has provoked harsh reactions both from the lowland Boholanos and from the Eskayas themselves. From the Eskayas, a note of wariness for outsiders is often traced to the fact that once a lady had come and given them "a bad reputation." Even until now they remember, without affection

"katung babayi nga gikan sa Manila" (that girl who came from Manila).

From Tagbilaran, Logarta's article has likewise engendered some adverse comments. In a reaction to the article, Brenda Abregana wrote a letter to Ms. Cielo Buenaventura, Editor of WHO Magazine, and berated her for sending "an ordinary young holder of a masters degree." Abregana was specially incensed about Logarta's assertion that the Eskaya is a "cult", and that the language is "an artificial language." Abregana ends her tirade against Logarta with a wry comment, "...the Eskaya researcher ... should be one who does not tarry with his voluminous text references, he must also be aware of what he has not read. In other words, he must be possessed with a creatively active mind. "[11]

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[10] Margarita Logarta, "The Eskaya Cult: Children of a Lost Language," Who Magazine, September 5, 1981 .

[11] The letter addressed to the editor does not seem to have been published by the magazine. A copy of the Abregana's letter is on file at the Bohol Provincial Library in Tagbilaran.

But as it is, the dilemma stands.

And as it is, the controversy remains unresolved as all the studies and critiques of the Eskayas (and there have not been many), have focused on the resolution of this dilemma, i.e., the authenticity of the "truth" claims of the Eskaya; the determination of whether the Eskayan community is a "tribe" or not; or even whether the OSCC may be justified in classifying it as an "indigenous cultural community."[12] Trapped between the confines of this limited purview, one can only either continue to eulogize the Eskaya from the vantage point of nativism, and refuse to see the untenability of the various claims that the community makes; or one can just dismiss the phenomenon entirely, and label everything as another "hoax," another possible source of academic/bureaucratic embarrassment.

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[12] As of July 7, 1993, the Manila Head Office for Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), officially declared that it has " no record ... which contains any declaration to the effect that the Agency does not consider the "Eskaya" people of Bohol as an indigenous cultural community. What is on record is that this Office is aware of the fact that ... respected anthropologists, including those of the National Museum, are not ready to officially pronounce said group as an indigenous cultural community." This being true, the ethnographic map of the Philippines, which is supposed to reflect "the tribes which are by law, under OSCC coverage," does not have the Eskayas. There are no official ethnographic monographs. Interestingly however, the Regional Office under Director Zosimo Campos, has included the Eskayas in the DEC's list of possible recipients of government scholarships for tribal minorities (the SEGEAP fund). It also lists down the Eskayas as an official "client" in its brochure. Since 1990, the cultural community has received a significant portion of the Region's annual budget.

This study will neither be an eulogy nor a dismissal. And while it may very well lay the foundations for the eventual dismissal of the whole phenomenon as "a cultural fabrication," (and most probably cut off the OSCC budget allocation), it will hope to re-read the Eskayan cultural phenomenon by problematizing the very assumptions from which the controversy of authenticity and non-authenticity proceed.

Proceeding from the presuppositions of cultural constructivism, the Eskaya as cultural text, will not be read as another piece of anthropological data that must be "authenticated." The study will instead show how the community has "imagined" itself into a collectivity through the use of highly-functional cultural tools. Read from this purview, the Eskaya becomes a powerful, if not awesome exemplification of how a marginalized collectivity has sought to subvert Philippine hegemonic discourses of Truth/Power. Thus re-read, the Eskayan phenomenon can be seen not as another probable Tasaday fiasco, but rather as a showcase of an exercise of what Homi Bhabha once identified as a prerogative of the ex-colonial: the privilege of turning back the gaze of the eye of power back unto itself.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Basic to this dissertation's theoretical paradigm is the presupposition that culture (i.e., all manifestations of shared living in a society) is a construct. It proceeds from

the assumption that any cultural phenomenon because it is socially-produced, is neither essential, final nor natural. There are no "cultures" - only definitions of them, inventions of them, reconstructions of them.

Cultural constructivism has had a minefield of theoretical precedents. Most recently, and perhaps most powerfully, the incursions of post-structuralism in the domains of literary theory, social theory, history and anthropology, have resulted in the revisions/critiques of previous approaches to cultural studies which have their foundations on **a priori** notions of scientism, objectivity, the lineal progression of time, immanent and cohesive meaning as well as the transparency of language. The interrogations of these theoretical assumptions by post-structuralist discourse has methodically foregrounded the ideological foundations of what have been deemed as "essential" truths, and have therefore shown that Truth is often the privilege of power.

In the domain of literary theory, this study has found the structuralist foundations of Ferdinand de Sausurre's A General Course on Linguistics as a significant starting point for the entire discourse on the social construction of meaning.[13]

As a discursive field, Saussurean linguistics opened up the arena of socially constructed meaning when he first

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13 Ferdinand De Saussure, "Excerpts from Course in General Linguistics, (Original French, 1916).The Structuralist from Marx to Levi-Strauss, edited by Richard De George, pp.58-79.

postulated the proper object of linguistic study : a synchronic analysis of the langue. "Langue" to Saussure, is a socially agreed upon system from which an individual element acquires meaning through a system of differentiation. Likewise, the sign (which can be an element of the "parole"), also achieves meaning not through an essentialist link between the "thing and the word", but through an associative psychological bond between the signifier (the sound-image) and the signified (an abstracted concept).

Both socially agreed upon constructions constitute the sign which can thus be no less constructed. The production of meaning through language had thus been wrested from an essentialist realm of absolutes and deposited into a system of socially constructed differentiations.

In the late 1960's, the concept of constructivity of meaning in language, and its subsequent parallelisms in the understanding of other cultural significations,[14] was further problematized by other French critics, among those useful to this study, Derrida and Macherey.

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14 Some of these areas would be those of literary criticism, as in the " Structuralist Activity" of Roland Barthes (Original French, 1964) in Contemporary Literary Criticism, pp. 301-306; the Structural Anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss (1955); and the Marxist Structuralism of Louis Althusser in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Toward an Investigation",(1971) in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, pp. 127-186.

In a series of studies in 1967,[15] Derrida accused the prevailing modes of literary discourse of logocentricism (i.e. that which assumes that "meanings of concepts are fixed prior to their articulation in language," and subsequently that which "organizes concepts into binary systems with one set representing what is considered superior, primary, prior, authentic, original as compared to the other representing what is evaluated as inferior, secondary, derived, inauthentic."[16] This post-strucuralist premise has become the theoretical basis for the rejection of the untenability of literary approaches that can only lead to essentialist literary concepts -- from the Positivism of de Stael and Taine; the "vulgar materialism" of Plehanov in its concept of literature as a social document that had to mirror social realities, as based on the premise of the transparency of language; the Russian Formalism of the Opajaz group and Shlovsky and their "defamiliarizing effect of literature; the New Criticism of

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15 Jacques Derrida. Of Grammatology, (French Original, 1967), (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974); Writing and Difference (French Original, 1967), (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

16 Priscelina Legasto, "Introduction: Discourses of World-ing and Philippine Post-colonial Studies," Essays in Language and Literature: Philippine Post-colonial Studies. edited by P. Legasto and C. Hidalgo, (Philippines : DECL and U.P. Press, 1993.)

Frye [17]; and even the Structuralism of the early Barthes.

In the same vein, Derrida accuses de Saussure of phonocentricism (i.e. the privileging of speech over writing). Based on this premise, the Eskayan penchant for the creation of meaning through inscription/objectification (cf. Chapter IV and V of this study), becomes doubly significant in its attempt to subvert the logocentric bias of a hierarchical model that valorizes speech and regards writing as a degraded form of transparent medium. The Eskaya, by foregrounding inscription, utilizes it as a creative locus from which significations have, and can be constructed.

The post-structuralist activities of Pierre Macherey, publishing almost contemporaneously with Derrida's first studies,[18] and later with Etienne Balibar,[19] is significant

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17 Several comprehensive studies on contemporary literary theory have been helpful in the making of this point. Foremost is Modern Literary Theory, A Comparative Introduction, Ann Jefferson and David Robey, eds. London, Batsford, LTd. 2nd edition. 1986. Other helpful works are A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory, by Raman Selden, The University Press of Kentucky, 1985; Terry Eagleton with Literary Theory : An Introduction, Oxford, 1983; D.W. Fokkema,et.al., in Theories of Literature in the Twentieth Century, London, 1977. For definitive individual works on these approaches, see bibliograhic entries under the specific authors.

18 Pierre Macherey, A Theory of Literary Production, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). Original French published in Paris, 1966.

to this study, because of the shift that he introduces to literary criticism -- from the premises of authorial "creation" to that of the conditions of literary "production."

Macherey in A Theory of Literary Production, posits three fallacies that underpin traditional literary categories: the empiricist fallacy that views the text as a mere object of consumption; the normative fallacy that seeks to modify a text so that it becomes a truer copy of the ideal; and the interpretative fallacy that seeks an immanent coherent meaning within the text. To Macherey, these fallacies can only result in the Critic being an accomplice of the dominant mode of literary discourse as he seeks to "process" the text, strip it of its ambiguities and incongruencies, and then present it to the percipient ready to be consumed.

The task of criticism to Macherey is not a mere repetition of the text (this time, already processed), but the explanation of how a text has transformed raw materials into an ideological construct. To Macherey, these conditions of production must be the object of literary study.

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19 Pierre Macehrey and Etienne Balibar, "On Literature as an Ideological Form," Untying the Text: Post-structuralist Reader, edited by Robert Young, (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981), pp. 79-99.

Based on the premise that literature is an ideological tool, then the literary conventions, classifications and canons established around the study of literary texts ought to be problematized. Genre classification and deviation can thus be seen as an attempt at "processing" texts by providing readers with conventions characteristic of the work at hand. When a marginalized text, like the Eskaya, deviates from the doxa/canon, then this is to be seen, not as another basis for the label of "primitive" literature, but rather as an instance of a subversive response to an otherwise hegemonic gradation of what is "fine" literature or "folk." From this post-structuralist vantage point, these literary conventions are really representations of power.

In the other domains of cultural studies, the post-structuralist interrogations of previous paradigms have resulted in many revisions/rewritings of the Canons in cultural metanarratives. With these theoretical spaces/gaps, one might be able to retrieve the Eskayan text.

In the domain of social theory, Castoriadis, Bordieu and Ricoeur have reflexively jump-started from the supposed nature of fiction (i.e, it being "creative"), and have shown how this category of cultural signification is in fact a disambulative strategy to conceal the constructivity of all other cultural/social significations.

To Castoriadis, "society" is really a product of what he calls the "social imaginary" - a system that is expressed

through systems of significations like symbols and myths.[20]

All these significations are used by a society to represent its history, create an identity and construct a collectivity which distinguishes itself from either an undifferentiated chaotic mass or from other similarly constructed collectivities.

Of special interest to this study is Castoriadis' insistence that there is no "ontological necessity " for a society not to recognize its own socio-historical institution. He posits the possibility of a society recognizing itself as a construction, or seeing itself as constructing. To Castoriadis, a society can consciously fashion and refashion itself as an "explicitly self-instituting collectivity."[21]

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[20] Cornelius Castoriadis, L'Institution imaginaire de la societe'. The translation of this passage is taken from A Studies in the Theory of Ideology, by John B. Thomson for the Polity Press, 1984. p. 23. Dick Howard gives a general introduction to Castoriadis in "Introduction to Castoriadis," in Telos, (Volume 23, 1975) pp. 117-131.

> ... this originary structuring, this central signifier-signified, source of what is each time given as indisputable and indisputed sense, support of the articulations and distinctions of what matters and of what does not, origin of the augmented being of the individual or collective objects of practical, affective and intellectual investment - this element is nothing other than the imaginary of the society or the period concerned."

[21] ibid., p. 22.

Pierre Bordieu posits similar post-structuralist assumptions in his correlations between symbolic significations and social power. From his anthropological studies of the Kabyle Society to sociological investigations of the discursive power of education to the role of language in the reproduction of society, Bordieu has formulated his concepts of "linguistic markets," the "linguitic habitus," and "symbolic violence." In this study, the two latter concepts have proven, albeit conversely, most relevant.

In Outline of a Theory of Practice, Bordieu sketches a dense definition of what he labels as the "habitus".[22]

> the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment... produce the habitus, systems of durable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures... which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules ...

This habitus, or installed systems of dispositions has been so inscribed in a society that a reproduction of practices and perceptions of that which maintains an asymetrical relationship of power becomes possible without fully conscious or deliberative acts. The linguistic habitus, for example,"imposes" a recognition of the

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22 Pierre Bordieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice, tr. Richard Nice,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), (Original French, 1972), p. 72.

legitimacy of the dominant language by maintaining the tendency towards self-correction and grammatical purism. This practice, according to Bordieu, is a misrecognition of the fact that the dominant language is in itself, an imposition -- a "cultural arbitrary." This arbitrariness stems from the presupposition that cultural practices do not grow out of some a priori principle, but is instead constructed from a system of power relations.

Through "symbolic violence," a habitus imposes this cultural arbitrary and succeeds by so constructing the imposition as unconstructed that it is misrecognized and therefore accepted as "natural." In a society, symbolic violence assumes different forms - the "autonomous" educational system, advertisement, even fashion. Violence is built into the institution itself to make possible its reproduction. In the case of the Eskayas, it is when the prerogative of this symbolic act is appropriated by the cultural community that the misrecognition embodied in the habitus of society in general, becomes insolently interrogated.[23]

Paul Ricoeur continues the post-structuralist agenda in social theory with his concept of the "la imaginaire sociale." To Ricouer, a society self-represents itself as a collectivity through its socio-history.

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[23] Parallel constructivist suppositions have been posited by Michel Pecheux in his concept of the interpellation of good/bad subjects (cf. Language, Semantics and Ideology, London, 1981).

He links ideology to an image that a group constructs for itself, and gives ideology the role of diffusing the identity "... beyond the circle of the founding fathers, so as to make it the creed of an entire group ... to perpetuate the initial energy beyond the period of effervesence."[24]

Furthermore, Ricouer, bifurcates this "social imaginary" into two types : that of ideology and utopia. To him, ideology is that which integrates the social order by mediating between the past and present; while utopia is that which subverts the social order by projecting a possible future.

In both types of the imaginary, Ricouer postulates that the imagined is not a reflection or illusion of some previously existing reality, but is a productive, constructive and creative dimension of social action - a medium through which new realities can be projected. In a deliberative sense, the creative construction of meaning as objectified in the Eskayan text here becomes an instance of the effect of doing eclipsed by the significance of what is done.

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24 Paul Ricouer, "Science and Ideology," in Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation, ed. and tr. John B. Thomson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 107.

In the domain of history, the nineteenth century debates that sought to provide unambiguous critical discourses that would definitively delineate "historicity" as an autonomous field of knowledge in the sciences, has been seriously interrogated in the twentieth century by critics who have sought to "cast serious doubts on the value of a specifically `historical consciousness,' stressed the fictive character of historical reconstructions, and challenged history's claims to a place among the sciences."[25]

In 1969, Michel Foucault published L' Archeologie du Savoir, and there investigated history's claims with regard to objectivity.[26] Later in his The Order of Things, Foucault proceeds to show that historical consciousness is a specifically Western bias, an ideological tool with which Western civilization valorizes itself in relation to the cultures that have preceded it and the cultures that are contiguous with it in time and space.[27]

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25 Hayden White, Metahistory, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 1-2.

26 Michel Foucault, An Archeology of Knowledge, translated from the French original and published in 1966.

27 Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, (London, 1970), pp. 367ff. (Translated from the Les Mots et les Choses. Paris, 1966).

In the same vein, the narrativity of history and its function as ideology is ramified in other "narrativists," the major proponents of which are W.B. Gallie and Arthur Danto.[28] Jean Pierre La Faye, taking off from this theoretical paradigm, succeeds in showing how the misrecognized narrativity of history is made to function in the service of the production of possible/acceptable meaning in the creation of the Third Reich.[29]

Particularly relevant to this study is how LaFaye recounts from Kampf um Berlin, Goebbel's strategy of historically creating the Nazi Party into a mass movement by means of a "new language." Quoting from LaFaye :[30]

> Nothing shows more clearly how speech is inscribed in an oriented space of play. How ideology is written on the surface of history by an ideo-graphy : an underlying cartography.

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28 W.B. Gallie, Philosophy and the Historical Understanding, (London : Chato and Windus, 1964).

Arthur C. Danto, Analytical Philosophy of History, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

29 As cited by John B. Thomson in "Narratives of National Socialism," in Studies in the Theory of Ideology, (Polity Press, 1984), pp. 203ff.

30 Jean Pierre LaFaye, Langages Totalitaires, as cited by Thomson in "Narratives of National Socialism," p. 223.

Benedict Anderson, in the same but more recent historiography, likewise shifts the postulates of historic constructivity to that of creativity - a deliberate mobilization of historic meaning in the production of a nation.[31] Anderson asserts that nations are really "imagined communities," and quoting Gellner says that "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it is the invention of nations where they do not exist."[32] His later critique of Gellner is significant when he points out that the drawback of Gellner's formulation is that he is "so anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences that he assimilates `invention' to `fabrication' and `falsity' rather than to `imagining' and `creation'. In this way he implies that `true' communities exist which can be advantageously juxtaposed to nations... Communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined."

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31 Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism, (London: Verso, 1983).

32 Ibid., p.15.

Similarly, Marianne Cornevin in her Apartheid Power and Historical Falsification, while many times breaking out in logocentric gaps at many places, continues the revisionist agenda in many modern histories.[33]

The final field of discourse that this study of the Eskayas has utilized is the discourse of cultural anthropology. In this field, as in the preceding ones, the post-structuralist agenda of constructivity is again traced to the ideological revolutions of the late 1960's. For a "science" long obsessed with the timeless, the objective and the fixed, the words of a leading professor of anthropology of the University of New York, seem poignantly accurate - " the church of anthropology is in trouble. The sacraments have been stolen. People have looked behind the altar and have found nothing there."[34] The growing dissatisfaction over the conventional methods and assumptions of "classical anthropology from the 1920's to the 60's, is first systematized in what has come to be known as "interpretive anthropology." Greatly influenced by the 60's developments in the fields of literary theory and philosophy, Clifford Geertz set out to revise much of

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33 Marianne Cornevin, Apartheid Power and Historical Falsification, (France: Unesco, 1980).

34 As quoted by Louis A. Sass in his article "Ferment in Anthropology," Harper's Magazine, (May, 1986), p. 23ff.

anthropological tradition by asserting that " human action cannot be properly understood, or even described, if one takes the objectivist point of view generally associated with the natural sciences."[35] He further posits that that this is so because the "facts" of social science are not "facts" at all, but are instead, the interpretations of interpretations.

Reductionism, the doctrine of "immaculate perception" and the fixing of a community in some self-contained, static historic space, have therefore been sufficiently interrogated and shown to be sufficiently wanting.

Greatly influenced by Geertzian postulates, and underpinned by higher degrees of problematization of essentialism and logocentricism, are the works of David Schneider, and Roy Wagner.

David Schneider for instance, has tried to show in a comprehensive survey of ethnographic material, that all theorists have, in some sense been "cultural factories" - they being responsible not for the reflection of but the invention of culture :[36]

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35 See Clifford Geertz's TheB Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology, (New York: Basic Books, 1983); and Works and Lives : The Anthropologist as Author, (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1988).

36 David Schneider, "Notes Toward a Theory of Culture," in Meaning in Anthropology, K. Basso and Selby, eds. (Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 1976), p.204.

> There are only cultural constructions of reality, and these cultural constructions of reality are decisive in what is perceived, what is experienced, what is understood... Reality is itself constructed by the beliefs, understandings and comprehensions entailed in cultural meanings.

Roy Wagner, clearly influenced by Schneider, has in several studies shown how culture is invented.[37] In The Invention of Culture, Wagner asserts that by creating the the illusion that some cultural knowledge is primary, self-evident and natural, convention becomes a "meaningful environment" whose elements seem to belong naturally together. These cultural illusions, however are shown to be necessary props, mostly for anthropologists. Without these conventional symbolizations, cultural invention is made impossible. Cultural theory to Wagner then, is the invention and counter-invention of inventions, all these continually re-inventing each other in order to create a recognizable world. He continues to assert that anthropologists cannot play the role of "grand inquisitor." If culture is creative, then the cultures that one studies is also creative. To theoretically deny that to a people is an ideological act.

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37 Roy Wagner, The Invention of Culture, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975).

Other anthropologists have expounded on the constructivity of culture, with highly specified referents. Allan Hanson narrates the "making" of the Maori,[38] Borofsky of the Pukapukan,[39] and Ranger on the invention of traditions in Central Africa.[40] Edward Said and Johannes Fabian further elaborate on this constructivist enterprise by delineating a common procedure : Othering. In Orientalism, Said shows how the West has created the Orient to maintain an asymetrical relationship of power.[41] Fabian does the same in his Time and the Other : How Anthropology Makes Its Object.[42]

Within the field of anthropology, the arena of ethnography - its process and its texts, have been no less spared from post-structuralist incursions. In response to

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38 Allan Hanson, "The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic," American Anthropologist,(Vol. 91 No.4 December, 1989), pp. 890-902.

39 Robert Borofsky, Making History : Pukapukan and Anthropological Constructions of Knowledge, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1987).

40 Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Central Africa," in The Invention of Tradition, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger ,eds.(London: Cambridge University Press), pp. 211-262.

41 Edward Said, Orientalism, (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

42 Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other : How Anthropology Makes Its Object, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

much of the dilemma, an upsurge of experimental ethnographies has appeared. Shifting foci, recent ethnographies have either concentrated on the field work itself or on the shaping of the anthropological "data" through prose style. In this study, James Clifford, and Jean-Paul Dumont in their interrogations of the production of meaning-inscribed-form have been highly relevant.

A more detailed theoretical paradigm is prefaced to the ethnographic material on the Eskayas (cf. Chapter II of this study).

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Proceeding from the presuppositions of cultural constructivism, this study will seek to accomplish three things [43] : a) the retrieval of the Eskayan texts b) the ethnograhic reconstruction of the Eskayan community as a cultural text c) and finally, a reading of the cultural construction of the Eskayans.

A Retrieval of the Eskayan Texts

The retrieval of the Eskayan text as an occluded, marginalized mode of cultural production has not been very easy. After much cajoling, convincing and sometimes

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43 These tasks parallel with the objectives that have been outlined by Abdul JanMohamed and David Lloyd in "Introduction - Minority Discourse, What is to be Done ? " in Cultural Critique 7 (Fall, 1987), pp. 5-17; as well as Legasto's "Introduction : Discourses of World-ing and Philippine Post-colonial Studies," (1993).

pleading, three years of persistent archiving has resulted in a significant number of gathered materials. Indexed in this study of Eskayan texts are written narratives, syllabaries, songs (with Sugbuanon and English translations) ; as well as other Eskayan cultural significations such as flags, maps and glyphs. I submit that this initial inventory (perhaps preliminary because it is pioneering) can be augmented by future scholars. Yet, even as they are now, these materials have already yielded highly potent cultural meanings.

Attendant to this first task is of course the assumption that these texts to be truly "retrieved," must be studied from the standpoint of an epistemic space which will allow a serious study of the texts. Without this reterritorialization of mainstream approaches to the study of culture, these Eskayan materials will simply be dismissed as insignificant in academic circles, or be coopted as "ethnic" curio items by culture vultures.

An Ethnograhic Reconstruction

Aside from the archiving of the written/objectified manifestations of Eskayan cultural production, this study will likewise attempt to reconstruct the Eskayan "way of living." Through ethnography, the study will seek to show how a tradition of material culture has elided/slipped into patterns of present collective behaviour. No doubt, as in the making of any ethnography, there will be generalizations made which will be too assertive, patterns

drawn which will be to restrictive. Perhaps the only reason why I dare such a task is that the Eskayas are themselves painstaking in their own construction of a collective identity. The care with which they draw their "shared behaviors" for the observer, is that which allows this study to outline the basic contours of Eskayan culture.

A Constructivist Reading

With both archived texts, and reconstructed contexts, this study will proceed to show a specific instance of a highly obviated, "deliberate" cultural construction of a collective identity. It will show how the Eskaya, by using three cultural modes, has interrogated linguistic, religious and historical hegemonies and has succeeded in foregrounding one coherent signification: the textual generation of a collectivity.

Through an articulation of Eskayan strategies of ideological subversion, this study will show how a fragmented, deracinated and marginalized people have wrested the tools for the creation of cultures from the hands of hegemony, and have set themselves to the task of constructing their own cultural collective.

This study's third and final task is in some sense both a duty and a privilege. It is both because by a systematization/articulation of the Eskayan strategies of

subversion/construction, this study will in a way fix their culture in the medium of academic vocabulary.

My only consolation is that this inscription, while fixative and even constrictive, will also be more cogent. The discourse of this little-known, almost nationally insignificant cultural community is presented to a "nation" whose culture has often been constructed for them. Without doubt, much can be learned from the Eskayas who have so carefully, and so deliberately refused, to have their constructions done, for them.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Having outlined the specific tasks that this study has set for itself, the following expositions are aimed at accomplishing them.

Chapter II is an ethnographic reconstruction of two Eskayan cultural communities - one in Taytay, Duero, and the other in Biabas Guindulman. The chapter, which is largely descriptive, will provide the contexts of the Eskayan ethos.

Chapter III is a brief survey of archived Eskayan materials. These materials are labelled as appendix #1 for linguistic compendia, #2 for narratives, #3 for expositions, #4 for Eskayan songs and #5 for material lore (i.e. flags and glyphs). The primary texts are written in Ineskaya (i.e. using Ineskaya letters and lexicon) and are translated by the Eskayas themselves into two types of texts. The first type is that which retains

the Ineskaya lexicon but uses the Roman alphabet letters. The other type is that which has been translated into Sugbuanon, either using the Ineskaya script or the Roman alphabet . The translation to Sugbuanon is done solely on the basis of one to one correspondences between Ineskaya and Sugbuanon lexicon as established by the Ineskaya "official" dictionary or " Pinulungan."

Appended Ineskaya texts are therefore made of several categories. The most complete type are those that contain the entire text written in Ineskaya (Eskayan letters and lexicon), then transcribed using Roman letters, and then translated into Sugbuanon words. Other texts just have the Ineskaya words with its corresponding Sugbuanon translation. All translations from Ineskaya to Sugbuanon have been done by Eskayan grammar school teachers. With some of the appended texts are translations into English and Filipino which have been done by the researcher.

Chapter IV is a preliminary survey of Ineskayan linguistics. A comparative analysis is made between Sugbuanon (the specifically Visayan language of Cebu, in contrast to Waray, the Visayan language of Samar, and Kiniray-a, the Visayan language of Ilo-ilo) and Ineskaya. Some conclusions are made with regard to the language as a linguistic system.

Chapter V, VI and VII all take off from the largely descriptive contexts that have been established in the

previous chapters. The three-part section, is a reading of three ideological modes (i.e, language, religion and history) in the colonialist agenda of ideological domination. The readings will first consist of how hegemony has utilized these modes for their "symbolic violences," and then proceed to show how the Eskayas have responded with their own versions of symbolic violences. Seen as strategies of subversion, the tropes in the Eskayan texts (cf. Chapter 5 for language, Chapter 6 for religion, Chapter 7 for history) are read as highly comprehensive, highly functional responses to ex-colonized Philippine contexts.

The study ends with Chapter VIII. Basically summative, the chapter is a synthesizing exposition of the Eskayas' cultural construction of collective meaning.

A REFERENCE GUIDE

The terms **Eskaya, Eskayan and Ineskaya** are to be understood as follows : the people as a collective identity, the word used as an adjective, and the language that the Eskayas use.

Because of the interlapping of four languages in this study, the following formatting technique has been used to avoid confusion.

a) Ineskaya words are in manuscript form.

b) Ineskaya words written with Roman letters are underlined.

c) Eskayan narratives and expositions are enclosed in quotation marks.

d) Sugbuanon words are boldfaced.

e) English translations are made to follow the native language and are enclosed in parenthesis.

CHAPTER II

ESKAYAN VIGNETTES
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RECONSTRUCTION

ON CONVENTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHIES

Clifford and Marcus published Writing and Culture in 1986. Since then, the writing of ethnographies has become yet another area in anthropology that would be subjected to intense theoretical "problematizing". [1] The 60's and 70's brought many academic "interrogators" of the basic epistemic assumptions of anthropology,[2] but the 80's was a particularly ripe period for anthropologists to begin to question not only the essentialist and objectivist notions that underpinned the discourse, but also how these underpinnings objectified themselves into the "writing" of anthropological monographs and ethnographies. [3] Today,

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1 James Clifford and George Marcus, Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography, (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1986).

2 cf. Chapter 1 for some of these interrogations

3 Marc Manganaro, ed. Modernist Anthropology : From Fieldwork to Text. (Princeton University Press, 1990).

the "passage from any specific ethnographic experience to its discursive representation" can no longer remain untouched by epistemic interpellations.[4] If one had already invalidated the doctrine of "immaculate perception" in one's theoretical framework, then one had to include in the revision, the formal/rhetorical devices that basically validated the doctrine, and produced the illusion that such a perception was possible.

The use of the third person point of view in an ethnographic text is a case in point. "This researcher"... (and even my occassional "this study"), is a formal device for "sourcing," in the agenda of approximating scientific objectivity and rationality. Through the use of such a device, it hopes to give the reader the comfortable feeling that the facts/conclusions being made, are dished out by a proper vending machine, and not by an individual who is both positioned and affective. "Facts" thus come out as "unbiased," and "uncolored by personal opinion," simply because there is no obviated use of the "I," in the narrative. The illusion is therefore textually generated.

Or take discursive coherence. The hodge-podge of fieldnotes, statistical data and oral histories, seem to

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[4] Jean-Paul Dumont, " Transforming Voices: Anthropological Writing," in the prologue to Visayan Vignettes: Ethnographic Traces of a Philippine Island." (Quezon : Ateneo de Manila Press, 1992), p.2.

"naturally" fall into their proper cohesive places when a conventional ethnography has been completed.

Generally introduced through a series of typical subheadings (i.e. first the community's topography/geography then material culture then social organization etc.), a "tribe" is then "represented" through a highly cohesive, chronologically arranged text that again gives the image of a cultural community that is static, inviolable and highly homogenized. Real people become caricatures by being transformed into totally comprehensible, highly consistent characters.

To quote Dumont,"... an ethnography rounds up and traps between its front and back covers an all too-bounded and defined group of people made to fit the cleavages of anthropological knowledge according to the still pervasive Western nineteenth-century categories of knowledge." [5] In effect, textual closure becomes the closure of meaning.

To carve a way out of this formal impasse, several "alternative ethnographies" have recently been coming out from the academic circles. [6] For this study, I am indebted to Jean Paul Dumont's recently published Visayan Vignettes.

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5 ibid., p. 4. See also Dumont's The Headman and I : Ambiguity and Ambivalence in the Fieldworking Experience. " (Illinois: Waveland Press, 1992).

6 A few of these would be Clarrisa Pinkola Estes. Women Who Run with the Wolves. New York. Ballantine Books, 1992. See also Dorinne K. Kondo. Crafting Selves :

As another attempt at "disciplined impressionism," the ethnographic reconstruction I make of the Eskayas, is a conscious attempt at "breaking the western discourse of otherness " by showing how that "otherness" has been constructed. In the case of the Eskayas, this "constructedness" becomes reflexive, as they construct and I re-construct. As positioned cultural phenomenon, the Eskayas make conscious efforts at collectivizing, at interpellating the western agenda of interpellation. As positioned discourse, this research will reconstruct this construction within the semantic system of the academe, and in effect show that both phenomenon and critique are generated through the text.

For its rhetorical devices then, this narrative obviates its "textual" nature by involving the process of the fieldwork through an analog. With the use of the "I," there is a deliberate attempt to speak from a positioned vantage point. Also, there is an attempt at fragmenting

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Power, gender and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace. (Chicago University Press,1990). For other insights on this same subject, see Jean Paul Dumont's " Prologue to ethnography or prolegomena to anthropology " Ethos 14(4) : 344-67. (1985). Paul Roth. " Ethnography without Tears" Current Anthropology 30 (5) :555-561. (1989), and a critique by Micheal Carrithers. " On Ethnography without Tears". Current Anthropology. 31(1) : 53-58. (1990). Herzfeld Micheal. Anthropology Through the Looking Glass : Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe Chicago University Press. 1987. Clifford Geertz. Works and Lives : The Anthropologist as Author. Palo Alto, California. Stanford University Press. (1988).

the textual structure of the narrative in order to represent, not inviolable eternal truths, but truths that are highly localized, situated, and partial. And whether this formal strategy succeeds in allowing the reader to take hold of the "thickness of ethnographic experience,"[7] or in interpellating the traditional genre of ethnographies, one cannot be sure. All I know is that my agenda has been explicitly stated.

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7 Clifford Geertz. " Thick Description : Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture " in The Interpretation of Cultures, (New York) Basic Books. 1973. pp. 3-30.

TRACES OF THE OTHER

I first knew about the Eskayas when I read a nine-year old article in Cebuano that described an "undiscovered" Philippine tribe in two mountain barangays in the hinterlands of Bohol.[8] The Eskayan tribes, were said to have settled in Biabas, Guindulman (85 kilometers east of Tagiblaran, the capital city of Bohol), and in Taytay, Duero (ten kilometers nearer the capital, but on a more elevated plane). These tribes were also said to have in their possession, a pre-Hispanic syllabary which they used for a language they called Ineskaya, and several ancient texts on Philippine pre-hispanic history. The obviously enthused writer painted a vivid picture of ethnic villages and green hills . His primitivist scenery, his mellifluous Cebuano language, and his incredible claims all seemed very tempting to a female state university student, who was steeped in contemporary cultural theory, and bent on heeding the call for a "romance with the marginal".

On February 10,1990, the romance began.

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8 Felicisimo B. Amparado. " Iniskaya, Karaang Pinulongan sa Bohol ," BISAYA Magazine. April 15, 1981, p. 12ff.

I arrived in Tagbilaran early dawn and later on proceeded to the Office for Southern Cultural Communities, at J. Torralba Street . There the regional head gave me some Eskayan census reports. The office walls were filled with two kinds of pictures, those of the sea-dwelling Badjaos and those of the Eskayas. There was nothing much that I could make out of the pictures except for a newly-constructed concrete water reservoir in the middle of a clearing, a picture of a chicken coup with a huge sign post that said "Eskayan Poultry (Broiler) Production," and some men and women, dressed quiet ordinarily, gathered together in what was captioned as the Eskayan tribal house.

Soon after, I was introduced to a guide' that the office had provided me, and so I was on my way to see everything for myself.

Taytay. The seventy-three kilometers I travelled to reach it, was not as difficult as I thought. From Tagbilaran we took a bus ride to Jagna (63.1 kilometers from the capital), then a 16-kilometer jeepney ride to Mayana. From the junction, the guide and I steadily walked up a gradually ascending path for almost an hour. The famed "vegetable garden" of Bohol did indeed look like it. We had gone up much higher than the sea-level, and the air was cool, the soil a rich brown. Beyond the trail, I had occassional glimpses of the Camiguin Islands just across the sea. By dusk, I was standing on a clearing overlooking the village.

From the spot where I stood, it seemed so natural to assume that I was on some Archimedian vantage point from which I could objectively view everything. The presupposition was exhilirating but short-lived. Soon, the world of dusk dew, the cool air, the cicadas and the descending trail that suddenly branched out into so many dark ends, forced me to tell myself that such a vantage spot was imagined. It would take a lot of overconfident mindlessness to believe that I could actually haul the entire village onto a dissecting table, analyze the raw data and then suture up all the incisions.

We reached the guide's nipa hut, and I was given some rough blankets to sleep in. I did.

At 6:30 in the morning, we walked around the place. The village seemed more defined. The houses were neatly symmetrical, descending in concentric circles towards the village square. According to the government census report, dated September 29, 1989,the village was first established in 1951, with about 30 migrants from Biabas, Guindulman.

From these pioneering migrants the total population rose to 344 in August ,1989 (190 females and 154 males).[9]

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9 From an official OSCC study submitted to Mr. Zosimo Campos, Regional Head, Legaspi St., Cebu. August, 1989.

The age-range of the community has been tabulated by the OSCC as follows :

Age in Years	Population	Frequency Distribution
00-04	65	18.89 %
05-09	48	13.95 %
10-14	40	11.63 %
15-19	37	10.76 %
20-24	28	8.14 %
25-29	34	9.88 %
30-34	16	4.65 %
35-39	21	6.10 %
40-44	13	3.78 %
45-49	15	4.36 %
50-54	7	2.03 %
55-59	7	2.03 %
60-64	7	2.03 %
65-69	4	1.16 %
70-74	3	0.87 %
75-79	3	0.87 %
80-99	0	-.-- %
100-104	1	.29 %

Chart 1. Population Report, August, 1989.

The first migrants comprised the 50-79 bracket range. Since then, three generations have been established, the fourth generation increasing in population rate growth by thirty percent.

In the same government report, the demographic count for households was 63 in 1989. A majority of the houses, looking almost "disappointingly" conventional, were made of durable materials like galvanized iron for roofs and planks of wood for walls. A fewer number of houses were of semi-light materials with dried cogon for roofs and bamboo slats for floors.

The center of the village was cleared space - made of concrete, and used for basketball games and drying rice grains. Rimming the center were several communal structures

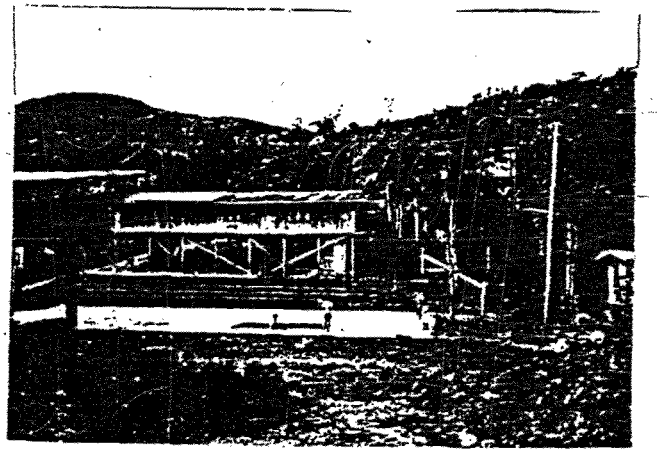

Illustration 1. The Village Center.

- a concrete stage one ordinarily meets in elementary school barrios, a wooden building that housed the broiler chickens, and several nipa huts with no particular distinguishing marks. The outlying fields, the main source of the villagers' livelihood, were patches of land planted to rice and corn and the famed Taytay vegetables. On a clearing, there was a big water reservoir made of concrete, where several women were washing t-shirts and jeans in plastic washing bins and "superwheel" laundry soap bars.

Resembling geographical stereotypes of a Philippine village lay-out, the famous " undiscovered tribe " in the hinterlands of Bohol, so suspiciously looked like an ordinary far-flung barrio in any one of the mountains in the southern Philippines. It was almost a relief when the guide

eventually led me to something that was out of the ordinary.

My first experience with the "other" was when I first saw a wooden sign on the post of a large two-storey wooden building. I could not decipher the first line - it was in Ineskaya. Translated both into Cebuano letters and Cebuano words, it read,

Eskaya ya Pilipayen

My first taste of exotic differentiation. It was almost heady to see such unusual letters, announcing such a promising notion - a school that taught a previously unrecorded Philippine language.

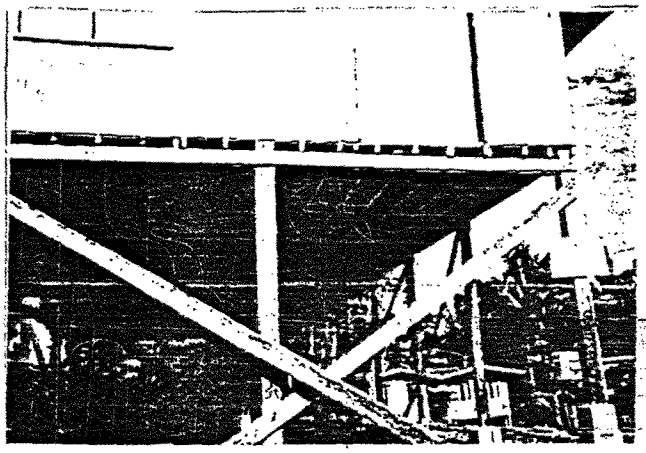

Illustration 2. The Eskayan School.

Inside what I now identified as a school building, there were several classrooms. The first floor was cleared floorspace. On the walls were several pictorial

representations of what the Eskayas called the "Tumaw" (which recounts the origins of man), and the "Unang Katawhan sa Bohol," a genealogical listing of several Boholano families (including several women).

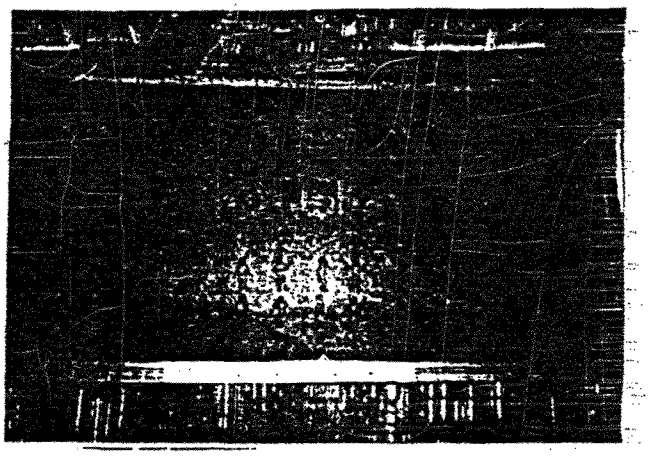

Illustration 3. The "Tumaw" tablet.

A wooden stair led to the second floor. On the landing in between was a heavy block of flatwood (1 meter x 12 inches) with inscriptions that said that the Eskayan school had received some sort of endorsement from the President of the Philippines, then Manuel Quezon, to operate the school.

The second floor had four main entrances. Three doors opened to a huge classroom without partitions (just tables arranged according to the grade levels). The fourth door opened to a single room that housed the Ineskaya texts in a glass cabinet, and an icon of what they call the dios bata (child god). The icon bore no marked difference with reproductions of the Sto. Nino in Cebu.

Not noticing the usual Roman Catholic chapel around the village square, I asked if this room was a place of assembly for a church. The guide said that the village had two chapels that lay farther off the village. I also asked if I could look at the Ineskaya texts. The guide said I had to ask Nong Bian's permission.

I was shown the two chapels before I was introduced to the man I had to ask permission from. Viewing the main chapel in a clearing beyond all the village houses, again I noticed the strange Eskayan letters on the posts. The chapel is a two-storey building, with a hall on the first level, and a narrow mezzanine on the second. Outside, a separate building housed nothing, but it had a cross perched on its rooftop . The altar inside the main building, likewise had crosses, and icons of Jesus and Mary.

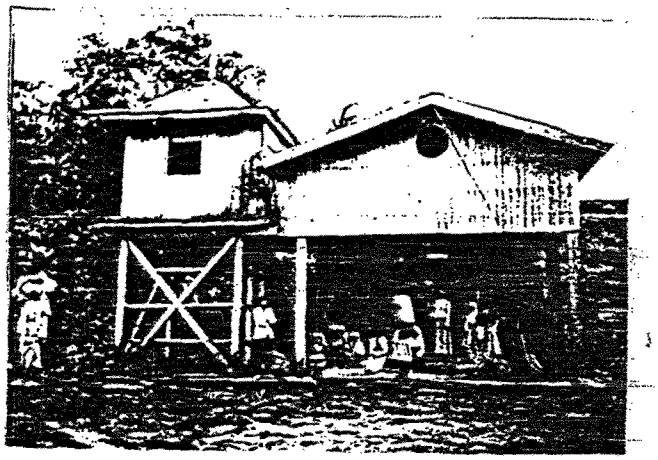

Illustration 4. The Main Eskayan Chapel.

Asked whether this was a Roman Catholic chapel or

not, the guide replied that all the people of the barrio were members of the Philippine Independent Church. There were no Roman Catholic chapels in the entire village.

Of the other chapel, I was made to ascend a steep hill just behind the first **kapilya**. After the climb, we came upon a smaller chapel on a plateau. The guide explained that it was a special chapel for the Eskayan ladies alone. There were no halls nor pews, just a small enclosure with again an icon of the **dios bata**.

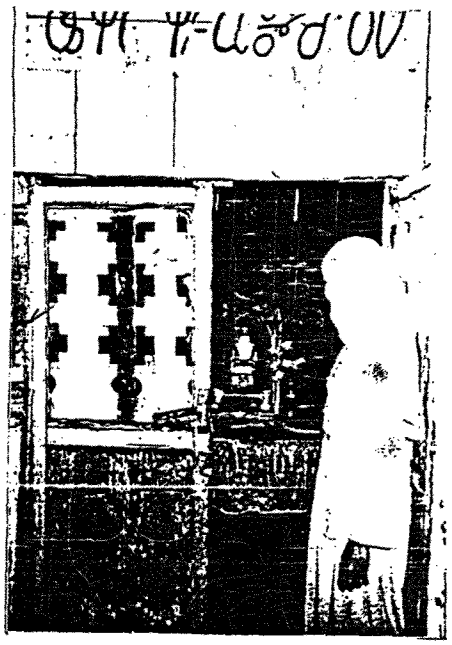

Illustration 5. The Dios Bata.

Outside the enclosure, an enlarged depiction of a hand cupping the world, topped the building. On a wooden block, "Corarang" was inscribed - taken to be a name of one of the Eskayan's female ancestors.

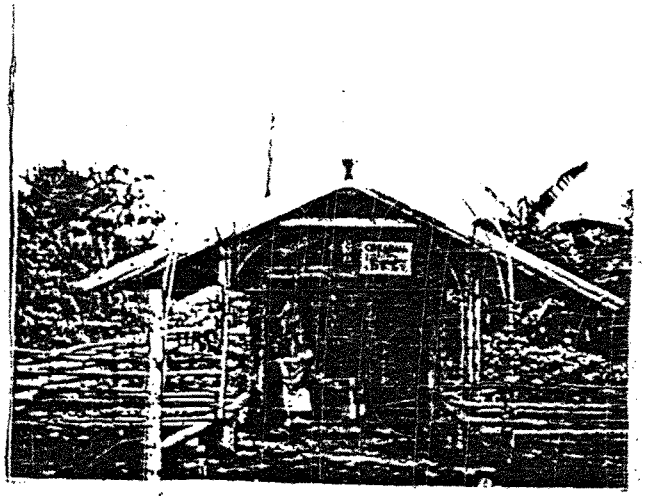

Illustration 7. The Corarang Chapel.

I was almost bursting with questions. My guide seemed wary in answering any of them, and instead led me back to the village square . There , inside what the Eskayas called their "tribal house," I was introduced to a man they called Nong Fabian.

NONG BIAN

The "tribal house" that I saw in the OSCC pictures, was really one of the inconspicuous houses by the village square. It was the house of Baja, a man the Eskayas have named as their "tribal chief". The hut had a spacious outer chamber with a logbook for guests (several foreigners had signed up plus people from the OSCC). I also noticed a box for donations. After a while, Baja came out from behind the curtains of a room.

Fabian Baja is a short stocky man with sharp eyes. He is 73 years old, and was conventionally educated up to the fourth elementary grade. He told me that he had been a leader of the Eskayas of Taytay for thirty nine years.He spoke to me in fluent Cebuano. Occassionally, he would slip in a strange word or two, but then would hastily translate it for me.

The Eskayan community in Taytay all began, he said, when as a young man born in Bohol, he once travelled to Malaybalay, Bukidnon, and there met a certain man who spoke in a strange tongue. The man's name was Tomas, and claimed that he was once a "a helper of Dr. Rizal." Curious , Baja asked questions and was adviced to go back to Bohol, and there look for a man named Mariano Datahan in Biabas, Guindulman.

Baja, after several years eventually returned to Bohol and got to meet Datahan. Baja was then introduced to Ineskaya, and Datahan is said to have shown Baja the

original copies of the Eskayan texts. Baja became a dedicated student of the language, and the entire Eskayan way of life, as presented in the ancient texts. Upon Datahan's behest at his death in 1947, Baja sought to continue the Eskayan community lifestyle in Biabas. His task was disrupted by government raids on colorums, as well as rivalry between Datahan's own sons. In 1951, with a wife, two daughters, and several young Eskayan families, Baja moved to Taytay, Duero. In the new location, the migrants established a new tribal community patterned after the one they had left in Biabas. According to Baja,

> **Nanghalwas kami sa Biabas, ug naghawan kami ug bag-ong lugar para sa tribo. Diri, wala nay makasamuk namu.**
>
> (We broke free from Biabas, and cleared a new place for the tribe. Here, no one can bother us.)

By "tribe," I hardly mean that which is conventionally considered as "peasant peoples in non-literate societies outside the influence of Western culture or only marginally influenced by it". [10] The tribe of which Baja is considered chief, has many visible traces of western

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10 Ralph Beals. An Introduction to Anthropology. New York : Macmillan,1977. p. 66.

acculturation. There are no g-strings or feather headresses and beads, but inexpensive reproductions of superman t-shirts bleaching themselves under the farmer's sun. In several homes, there are televisions and radios and an occasional video player. There are cans of sardines, and bottles of coke. They cook native chickens over match-made fires, and serve it on plastic plates with spoons and forks. They pray to an easily recognized icon, the Sto. Niño, and a majority (59.01% of the 5-24 bracket range) have gone to the elementary public school in Mayana and can read and write in Cebuano and English.

So what is Baja a tribal chief of ?

For one thing, one can go around and ask anyone of the community dwellers the question, "Kinsa man ang inyung **tribal chip**?," and they will all unswervingly answer "Si Nong Fabian". When several were asked what a **tribal chip** was, many answered that this was the designation that was given by the Office of Southern Cultural Communities, and they needed to give it to Baja so that the community could be officially recognized as one of the "cultural communities of the Philippines." Asked if Baja was recognized as leader only when the name was given, Helario Galambao, smiled almost unbelievingly and said that,

> Batan-un pa ku ug ang akung asawa, sa amung pag-panaw gikan sa Biabas adtung human na ang gira sa Hapon. Si Baja ma-u ang taw nga daku-daku, ug siya and nag-dala namu dinhi."

(My wife and I were still young when we ventured out of Biabas after the war with the Japanese. Baja was the man who was recognized as "big," and he was the one who brought us here).[11]

Daku-daku is a common Cebuano term but quite difficult to translate into English. The repetition of a root word in Cebuano is a lexical strategy that denotes either levity (as in **himu-himu**, meaning the making of something in a light-hearted way) or a collective recognition without factual basis (as in **nanay-nanay** which means not a biological mother, but a person who has taken the role, and has played it to such a sufficient degree that the person is recognized as "mother.") To the Eskayas, Fabian Baja is their **daku-daku**.

And indeed he is. As to no "factual" basis, it can be said that Baja has no biological foundation for his assumption of the role. He was only a follower of a former Eskayan leader, and in fact, the blood sons of Datahan, often question Baja's credentials.

But as to Baja's recognition in Taytay, there seems to be no question. To a sufficient degree, he has played the role of **daku-daku** quite well. He has been able to effect a physical migration - a band of family units, and has been successful in giving these units a cohesive, collective identity. Often using Eskayan written texts, the community has been made to exist and function in a differentiated /differentiating way .

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[11] From an interview with Helario Galambao, February 15, 1990, Taytay Duero.

I have on several lengthy occasions, been able to talk with Baja. One time, I sat with him in the evening, and he talked on and on about politics (he was quite well-versed even with regard to incidents that would soon lead to the Gulf war). He also raved about the Eskayas and how their village is a model community. "Here," he said, "the people are proud to be what they are.[12] Then he talked of their three basic beliefs --brotherhood, equality and peace, and had no qualms about his utopic beliefs regarding the Eskayas. According to Baja, it is only when the entire Philippines would recognize Ineskaya as its national language that the nation will finally be unified. Then Ai-Suno, the Supreme God, will come down and dwell with His people, ruling over the Philippines in a reign of justice and peace. Until then, the Eskayas are to prepetuate the language, by teaching it to the Eskayan children, and at the same time guard Ineskaya from unscrupulous people who would use it for their own vested interests. It was obvious to me that what he said was meant to include me. I have never met a more stubborn man when it came to not allowing anyone to bring copies of their texts outside Taytay. For over a year I continually tried to convince him to allow me to bring at least a reproduction of the Eskayan texts. Until this day, Baja is adamant. I tried to convince him of my good intentions - pure impartial scholarship, I would say. He would simply

Illustration 8. Manong Fabian Baja.

look at me with a disconcerting stare. I guess, more than anyone, he would be the first to say, without all my Foucaults and Machereys, that there was no such thing.

---

12 I have in my possession, several taped transcriptions of lengthy dialogues with Baja.

EDUCATING NANING

As I continued to mingle with the Eskayas, I got to know Naning better. She is the 18 year old daughter of Helario and Gining Gilambao, one of the first couples to migrate from Biabas and eke out an Eskayan community in Taytay. Naning's mother died in 1988, and Naning had, since then, been made to take care of her father and deaf brother. They have a small patch of rice and they live in one of the medium-sized houses in Taytay.

I stayed in Naning's hut for several days, and she kept on making sure that I was comfortable, or that I was enjoying my meals of red-colored rice and sardines with oolong noodles. At nights, she would give me thick blankets, the kind commonly sold in flea markets, and then would sometimes come back again to make sure I wasn't feeling very cold. One night, we both had to go outside together in order to find some enclosed space, there being no comfort rooms in the house. She mothered me as much as she mothered her deaf brother, who was almost always just sitting in front of a televsion set. The father was often out in the fields while I was around, and would hardly come to sit with us during meals.

Naning is shy but quite articulate. She speaks English haltingly, but she does it confidently. When Naning was younger, together with other Eskayan children she would go down to Barrio Bangwalog in Mayana, a three-kilometer walk from Taytay, and there have the usual

lessons in english, arithmetic and science. She graduated with honors in her primary education.

On Sundays, however, she had a different kind of education. She would dress up in a white dress with long-sleeves, put a shawl over her head and go to the PIC chapel beyond the village square. Then, with the rest of the children, similarly dressed, she would go to the **Eskayan ya Pilipayen,** and there be taught a completely new language, a non-Arabic numerical system, and a lesson on the evolution of man. Since she was 5, Naning continued to attend the Sunday classes till she graduated, (again with honors, she has several ribbons on the living room walls beside her diploma) and became an Eskayan teacher herself. Several years later, she went on to High school in Jagna and was later on hired by the OSCC as a part-time office clerk.

According to Naning, the Eskayan educational system dates back to the 1920's when, a man named Mariano Datahan used five Eskayan texts (the "Simplet," "Abedeja," "Aritmetica," "Daylinda" and "Pinay") as instructional materials in a makeshift class in Biabas. From there, many people became interested and the school grew. Years after Datahan's death and Baja's migration to Taytay, Ineskayan instruction was formalized in 1963 at Baja's house with the same Datahan texts. In 1973, the school building was built and classes have been held in it every Sunday without fail. Instruction is given free-of-charge by

selected trained instructors (who are not paid either). To date, Naning says that there are 89 enrollees, a majority from ages 7 to 18. Older men and women who have gone through the three grade levels, continue to come and sit with the students. A selected few have been made to continually reproduce the Eskayan manuscripts by hand, while others have become Ineskaya instructors. Baja supervises all educational activities.

Highly routinized, a typical Eskayan school day begins with religious rites in the chapel. The women dressed in long-sleeved, often white dresses that reach to the ground, and the men dressed in long-sleeved cotton barongs, pray and sing in the main chapel. Then the congregation walks back towards the school building, and at 9:30 a.m., begins classes with a flag ceremony.

Illustration 9. The Eskayan Flag Ceremony

With Baja in front, a hand-embroidered flag is displayed, and a young Eskaya girl gives the beat. The Eskayas, with their right hands on their breasts, sing the national anthem in Ineskaya. The tune they use is that of the Philippine National Anthem, but the words are bird-like and unusual.

The anthem finished, the students usually go up to the second floor, and there, are segregated according to 3 grade levels. I say "grade level" though in a guarded sense, for the students are accelerated unto a higher learning task only upon mastery. Thus the first batch of students are taught the "Abedeja" (The Alphabet), along with numerals and basic math operations. Once adept in the reading and writing of Ineskaya letters and numbers, the students go on to the "Simplet" (The Syllabary). Here, the letters are constructed into morphemes, and are learned by heart. After these two levels, literature is introduced - the "Daylinda" and the "Pinay". Through time, students may go on reading and transcribing several other books in the Eskayan Library (there are nine available for general reading).

The class sessions usually begin with a prayer in Ineskaya and any one of the several Eskayan songs. Then, the students are made to go to their designated tables with their instructors. Several older men and women stay in the library as they begin to take out worn -out notebooks and ledgers. They then meticulously copy and translate the Ineskaya texts, while Baja carefully goes

through the copied texts for errors. Baja likewise walks around in the classrooms and oversees the instruction of both young and older students.

After over two hours, the Eskayas usually take a break for lunch, (some students eat from leaf-wrapped lunches inside the building, while others go home.) Then, classes continue on from 1:30 till 4:00 p.m. Everyone again converges to pray silently. Then they all sing in unison one last Eskayan song as they end a typically busy Sunday.

Naning, by this time, is quite tired. Her class of 12 students, of the first grade level, have been diligent but slow. She is hopeful though . I asked her why she learned Ineskaya, and she says that "it is only proper" ("kay angay lang man"). She teaches the language for the same reason. I asked her if working in Tagbilaran has

Illustration 10. Naning Galambao

somehow changed her. She said that in some ways, it has. Sometimes, she said, she wears pants while in the city. She never does in Taytay though. Many of her friends try to convince her to look more modern by cutting bangs for her hair. But having bangs is not allowed by Baja, and Naning has not dared to go against him.

As to her future, she said that she is engaged to be married to an Eskayan. Soon, after she has had earned enough for her own family, she will have to leave the office, get married and work in her husband's fields She will also have more time for the Eskayan school. Asked if that was what she wanted, she simply smiled.

ANOY DATAHAN

It does not take even an hour's stay in Taytay before one begins to hear of a man named Anoy Datahan. "Anoy," is an appellation for the highly-revered deceased. His name, and his memory are finely etched in almost every aspect in the Eskayan way of life.

Strands of narratives regarding Datahan are many times flamboyantly told and retold by the Eskayas. Many critics find no basis for these tales, but these of course, make them no less valid for the Eskayan people.

Anoy to the Eskayas, is regarded as the most recent in the long line of Eskayan heroes that began with a man named Pinay. This line is both colorful and quite internally consistent.

According to the Eskayas, the ancient line of Datahan can best be understood by tracing it to the ancients. In one of the Eskayan narratives entitled "Ang Unang Katawhan sa Bohol," (The First People of Bohol), the first Boholanos were said to have come from Sumatra-Manselis in the seventh century A.D. A person named Dangko, with his wife and 12 children (11 boys and a single daughter), and several of his men, boarded a "lutsa" and first settled in Tambo, Talibon, Bohol. Then later on, the settlement moved to Loon, Bohol. The next generations moved further inland, and were able to establish a progressive settlement in Antequerra under the leadership of a man named Pinay - a person whom the

Eskayas consider as their first Eskayan hero. In that utopic community, the people were said to have racial pride and political sovereignty. The hero's many adventures are recounted in an Eskayan text bearing the ancient hero's name.

The coming of the Spaniards in 1521 caused great havoc. Choosing to remain true to their culture, the hinterland people, fled from the lowlands, bringing with them their indigenous system of writing and a body of ancient texts engraved on wooden tablets. These tablets were handed down through generations, always covertly, away from Spanish ire. When Spanish attacks flared up, several Eskayan texts recount the tales of ancient heroes who staunchly defended this **unang pagtulun-an sa Bisayas** (the first system of beliefs in the Bisayas), among them, an ancient native **birike** (or priest), named Tumod; Umanad, Lapu-lapu's ally in the Battle of Mactan, and even Dagohoy.

In 1841, Anoy Datahan was born, and with him, a new phase in the Eskayan task of keeping an ancient Bisayan culture extant. To Datahan is attributed the finding of the Eskayan wooden tablets, and the translation of their inscriptions into Cebuano. Based on these texts, Datahan likewise sought to re-establish a community where Eskayan language and culture would again be used to generate a collective identity as based on ancient historic tales , an ancient language, and a utopic ideal. To many of the

Eskayas, Datahan is really just another one of the transfigurations of this One great Eskayan hero that has traversed through time and space, bearing the same goal, the same agenda: the manifestation of the true glory of the real center of the world - first the Philippines, then the Bisayas, then Bohol.

To the present-day Eskayas, it is Datahan who took up the necessary strands for the continuation of the Eskayan tale.

Fabian Baja is a rich source of colorful tales on the personal life of this man named Anoy. According to Baja, Datahan had magical powers. Anoy was known to possess a "libretto" (a small folded book), on esoteric knowledge and divination. Datahan would often pray over his fields and his friends' for protection against bad elements. Then he would put up the **awog**, a talisman enclosed in a bottle and hung on fruit-bearing trees. Daring thieves would end up with nothing but terrible stomach aches from trees guarded by Anoy's magic. From the war stories, Anoy is also said to have possessed an **anting-anting**, a talisman that would protect its bearer from bullets and sword wounds. He was also known to be able to levitate, and thus disappear right before his enemies' eyes, and perhaps from his wives - for he had many.

Aside from Baja, the songs that the Eskayas sing are sometimes rich tales about Anoy. In a song entitled "Anoy Esto Langis Moy Bechden," (Anoy ang Ngalan Nailhan),

Datahan is identified as one who was a founder of many Aglipayan churches in the barios. His love for God and the nation, the song intones, has left a pleasant memory that drives the Eskayas to say "di na kami magpaulipon hangtud sa kamatayun." (we will no longer allow ourselves to be enslaved till our deaths).

In Biabas, Guindulman, the memories regarding Anoy are even more palpable. I visited Biabas after I had gone to Taytay, and there I saw Anoy's house, one of his wives and his life-size statue. Juan Datahan, one of the older sons of Anoy, acts as tribal chief of the Eskayas in Biabas. He has not been able to maintain the Eskayan school however which has stopped since 1987, and the Eskayan "Pamatasan," so conscientiously followed in Taytay, is grossly violated in many ways in Biabas.

Nevertheless, traces of the Eskaya remain. It was from Juan Datahan that this research has been able to acquire a copy of what is entitled as " Ang mga Hiyas ug Caague ni Mariano Datahan Sumatra" (The Virtues and Experiences of Mariano Datahan Sumatra), Datahan's 30-page autobiography. Said to be dictated to his secretaries while Datahan was alive, the text is written in Ineskaya but has been translated into Cebuano by the Eskayas themselves. It has been constantly reproduced by Eskayan transcribers, and the text has been made available as reading material in the Eskayan school in Taytay. A copy of the text has been appended to this study.

According to this text, Mariano Datahan was born in 1845 in Loon, Bohol, and died in 1945 (a span of 108 years). In the autobiography (which is first written in the third person and then more predominantly in the first person towards the end) recounts the many "life's tests" that first befell the young Anoy - including the several times when he actually dies, only to be made alive after several hours, sometimes days. He went intermitently goes to school and reaches the fourth grade. With the death of his mother and father, the text continues with an account of how Anoy lives with a priest, and becomes a trusted servant. After several years, he ventures out on his own, and with money he earned, buys a field and becomes a man of some means. Then the wars come - and in each case, Datahan is said to have fought in all of them. First against the "moros," then against the Spaniards, and later on the Americans. The text claims that Datahan was a member of the Katipunan, and was in fact a trusted soldier who knew Bonifacio well. After many valiant deeds, Datahan is said to have returned to Biabas and there waged his fourth war - this time, against "the religion in the whole of Bohol". Towards the end of the text, Datahan recounts his participation in what was now his fifth war - this time, against the Japanese in 1942.

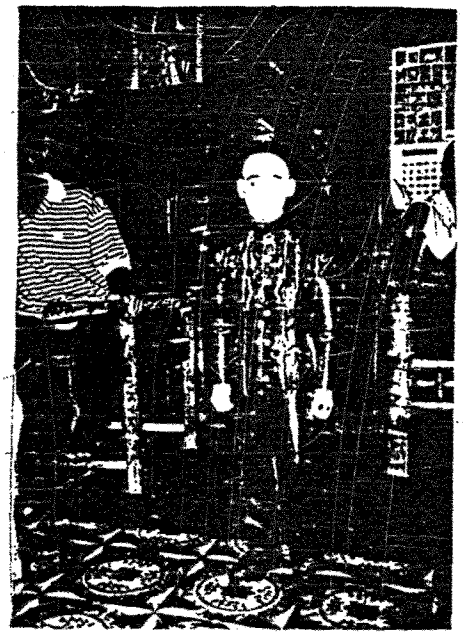

Illustration 11. Anoy Datahan's Statue.

The statue of Anoy is kept in his house, displayed atop a table with herbs in stoppered bottles. According to Garciana Datahan, Anoy's wife, now 93, the statue was made in 1946 by a commissioned sculptor. The wooden statue is dressed in some kind of military uniform, with two stars on its lapels. It looks very much like the military uniforms of the officers of the Katipunan. Thus far, this research has not however come across any official document on the Katipunan that yields his name. However, official insignias of commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Katipunan show striking similarities with Datahan's emblems on his military uniform. (cf. Chapter VII for a more detailed analysis).

The Aglipayan church in Biabas has Datahan's name under its registry. According to Datahan's life story,

Anoy served as sacristan under a Spanish friar named Vicente, but later on abandoned the Roman Catholic faith in favor of the nationalism that was highly asserted in Aglipayanism. According to the PIC parish priest, James Galera of Poblacion Candijay, Bohol, The Philippine Independent Church in Biabas was established in 1902, with Datahan as its pioneering member. Until today, Aglipayanism remains as the only religious institution in Biabas. The PIC is held even more sacrally in Baja's Taytay.

Many questions may be asked regarding the validity of all of these claims regarding Datahan. In fact, many have said their pieces regarding this man named Anoy.

To Logarta, he was a cult leader who established a mellinarian group on the hills of Bohol.

To Mario Garcia, a known occultist, residing in Cebu and and one who professes to be Datahan's former acquaintance, Anoy was a "magtatahas," a person who promises to accomplish a task in order to earn for himself supernatural powers. According to Garcia, the power Anoy worked for was the power of "ars moriende" - the ability to die and live at will, at different times. Commenting on the Eskayan letters and the language that grew out of it, Garcia says that all of these were Datahan's concoction, an esoteric attempt at achieving nationalism through indigenization. He cites Vicente Rama and Ranudo as parallels in Datahan's attempt at nationalism, and ends

all his statements with this question :[12]

"why do mystics become revolutionaries ?"

To Brenda Abregana, Datahan is a native philologist. Because of him, an ancient ur-Philippine language has been retrieved from oblivion and given its proper place.[13]

To me, Datahan is an awesome enigma. His energy, his ideological mettle, his passion for what is home-grown are all almost boundless. If the language is a pure concoction, then the concoction is even more incredible. The highly consistent lexicon, the syntax , the texts. Then the power he wields over the ethics, beliefs and ideals of a people, four generations, and growing. The pure gumption that is involved in his highly elaborate, meticulously implemented agenda.

To the Eskayas, Anoy Datahan is a folk hero.

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13 From an interview with Mario Garcia. March 15, 1991. Lilo-an, Cebu.

14 See for example, her glowing reports regarding the man in her letter to the governor of Bohol, Hon. Butalid, dated March 12, 1985. Bohol Public Library. Tagbilaran.

CONSTRUCTING COLLECTIVITIES

An anthropologist would find much data to support the assertion that the Eskayan community in Taytay, is a highly cohesive community. The Eskayas have worked hard at deliberately constructing a cultural ethos that is differentiated and highly palpable. The penchant for inscriptions, the constant reference to "tradition," the crafting of a collective memory through Eskayan texts, all result in a tightly structured cultural community.

At the outset, the political structure of Taytay is not unlike any of the other barangays under the Philippine government. There is a barangay captain and several barangay tanods under him. The Eskayas take part in local and national elections, and they are under obligation, and have thus far been cognizant with it, to follow the Philippine Constitution. On several occasions, Baja emphasizes that they are not a **colorum**, and in some sense say that they wish to be , and would not have it otherwise, under the fold of the law.

Aside from this conventional structuring however, there are incroachments of the non-typical. For one thing, the barangay captain is Baja's son-in-law. In an interview with him, he admitted that he hardly ever acts without the counsel, and go-signal of the community's daku-daku. Thus, when the OSCC proposed a poultry project for the community, the final decision inevitably rested on Baja. In the same way, expulsion matters, choices for marriage,

and the selection of official transcribers all likewise rest on Baja. In many ways, Taytay's barangay captain is exactly what he is - Baja's son-in-law.

The economic mode of production of the community is no less ambivalent, and no less effectively cohesive. For five days in a week, the villagers till their meager lands for gabi, and rice and vegetables . On Sundays, they leave their individual fields and converge for their education. On Mondays, they continue their convergence and this time go to what may be called their communal fields. There they engage in collective labor.

In one day out of five then, the Eskayas work together on various community projects. At present, the Eskayas have managed to plough enough soil to make several plots of land around the village square ready for flower culture. The proceeds of commununal projects like these are used to fund the Eskayan school, and to build community infrastructures like the school building (which is an imposing structure, and cost the community over ten thousand pesos in 1973). Other projects include the stage, and the extension made on Baja's house. The extension, which is cleared floorspace, is used as the Eskaya's "tribal house," and is sometimes used to accommodate guests. At one point in a conversation with Baja, he emphasized that he was not like other leaders of groups - he was scrupulously honest when it came to funds. Ledgers of group funds are kept up to date and ready for

inspection in the tribal house.

Eskayan social organization at first glance is highly indicative of typical kinship relationships and modes of social control in Philippine low-land rural communities. The family structure is the basic unit in the Eskayan community, and this remains autonomous and free from communal intervention. Eskayan children are made to grow up with their families, and the parents are generally allowed to decide if their children will be made to go to public schools or work outside the village.

One unusual characteristic in the social organization with regard to kinship however, is the stricture imposed on marriagable men and women. Marriages must be made between Eskayas. However, outsiders (non-Eskayas) are allowed to marry Eskayas if the former promise to be incorporated into the community, to live the Eskayan way of life and learn the Eskayan language.

Social control is formally instituted. The major basis for the Eskayan code of behaviour is an Eskayan text entitled "Pamatasan" (Ideal Character Traits). The text is a compendium of appropriate behaviour for men and women.

Under the strict implementation of Baja, this code of conduct, includes the strict segregation of the sexes. Women are to dress and wear their hair long, never have it permed or have the bangs cut. The men are to have close-cropped hair. During their assemblies, women sit on side

of the meeting place while men sit on the other side. In the classroom, the women are set apart from the men. Drunkenness is strictly prohibited in Taytay. Smoking, gambling and other common vices are discouraged. Disco dancing is taboo.

The ethical code so collectivizes the commmunity that expulsion becomes possible. Anyone who blatantly refuses to align himself with the codes is made to leave the village. Thus far, there is a standing record of six Eskayas who have been expelled from Taytay. According to Baja, **wala'y nagpugus nila pag-anhi, ug wala'y mu-pugus nila pagpabilin** (no one has forced them to come here, and no one will force them to stay).

Eskayan religious dogmas and rites are other basic foundations for the constructed collectivity of the Eskayan. All members of the Philippine Independent Church, the Eskayas of Taytay have patterned their religious affiliations to that of Biabas, Guindulman where Datahan pioneered the establishment of an Aglipayan church in 1906.

On several occassions, I have been able to observe a typical Eskayan Sunday service. Usually, at 7:30 a.m. on Sundays, the people begin to arrive in trickles as the metal bell hung by the side post of the main chapel is rung. The men dressed in their long-sleeved cotton barongs, first enter the hall, and sit on the pews at the right. The women, with their shawls over their heads, likewise enter and sit on the left side. The rites begin

at 8:00. All they do is to usually pray quietly in their seats, and then join in unison singing accompanied by a four-piece band. Their songs are sung in Ineskaya, but they carry the tune of such songs as the **Ave Maria**. No one stands before the congregation to speak. According to Baja, on some occassions, an Aglipayan priest goes up to Taytay to say an Aglipayan mass and conduct marriage rites. Otherwise, the Eskayas would usually just pray and sing songs.

The chapel on the hill for ladies has been less easy to delineate. On the occasions that I have been up there, fresh flowers usually adorn the altar . There were no dawn services, and it was only later that I found out that some of the ladies would go up to the chapel between twelve midnight to three in the morning, and there chant Ineskayan songs. One night, while in Naning's house, I woke up to hear the eerie songs in the middle of the night on a Saturday. I asked Naning about who were singing and why, and she replied that she was not allowed to reveal this. She did say that the singing was led by three trusted Eskaya women, the **Tres Marias** - two were Baja's daughters, and the third was Irene Gamot, an Eskayan instructor who was also Baja's adopted daughter. The rites, Naning added, were all written down in an Eskayan text they called "Ang Sagbut ni Marilen, Kinadak-an sa Kalibutan ug Kinagamyan" (The Weed of Marilen, the Largest in the World and the Smallest). No one, has been allowed

to read the text except Baja and the **Tres Marias**. Naning herself said she had not read it. Until this day, the text, and the women's rites remain arcane to me. All that can be said thus far is that gender roles are highly specialized and purposive. As Naning says, "there are things that only Eskayan women can do." As I read the Eskayan texts that were allowed me later, it became apparent that role specializiation was crucial to the community's collective identity.

A SPLINTERED MINORITY

After so many futile attempts, I finally traced the whereabouts of an Eskaya named Eleuteria Viscayda. She was temporarily staying at the house of a man named Rey Barrientos, a recent convert to Eskayan convictions. According to the OSCC, Nang Faustina and her husband Dalmacio, are the only two living first generation teachers of the Adult Eskayan School in Biabas, Guindulman. After Baja left Biabas, the factions among Anoy's sons (Pedro, Pelikulo and Fredo) escalated, and eventually, Nang Teria with her husband, migrated to Candijay, Bohol. Bringing with them as many of the texts that they could, they sought to establish a similar communal lifestyle in the new village. Their efforts have not been as successful as Baja's however. Classes are still held in homes, and only a minority of the dwellers of Candijay participate . The burning concern of **Timama** Teria and **Tu-ama** Masyong (appellations of respect for revered teachers) is to have their school duly registered under SEC laws. When I told them that this was easy to do, and that I could give them a list of SEC requirements, they quickly warmed up to me and displayed less inhibition.

It was from **Timama** Teria then, that I finally got original texts for photocopying. She seemed hesitant at first to allow me to bring the notebooks, but a young Eskaya named Loloy Palma (I asked of his age and he

answered 23), assured the Timama that he would accompany me. The Timama reminded us that the letters were laa (highly potent), and that they were not to be stepped on. I later on noticed that Loloy reverently gathered the xerox misprints and kept them.

Illustration 12. Timama Teria

Back to the Pook, and upon my request, the **Timama** willingly read for taping, some more Eskayan texts that I was not familiar with. The rest of the Eskayas who were in the house with her also sang songs for me, first in Ineskaya and then in Sugbuanon. Many of the songs mentioned Jose Rizal. I asked what Rizal meant to them, and they said he was a descendant of Pinay. I recorded the rest of their songs and left with a promise to send them their pictures.

CHAPTER III

ESKAYAN CULTURAL TEXTS : A SYNOPTIC SURVEY

The acquisition of these Eskayan cultural texts has been both difficult and enigmatic. For the most part, the difficulty lay in the the fact that the Eskayas especially in Taytay are in a sense, obscurantists. They can welcome you like a long lost friend, but they will certainly dissuade from bringing you into the "inner chambers" so to speak. They may speak to you in ordinary Sugbuanon, but then they lapse into chanting their almost bird-like speech, and one cannot help but feel alienated, estranged and duped by the look of obvious mirth that comes into their eyes when one starts to look baffled.

They zealously guard their texts as well. They proudly display their "Pinulungan" or their "Askormos Meneme," but they definitely do not permit any outsider to even peek into a leather-bound book they call "Ang Sagbut ni Marilen," and much less allow anyone to bring any of the manuscripts outside the village.

The following texts have been acquired through patient, sometimes fortuitous means. Beginning with taped readings of the narratives from some willing Eskayas from Taytay, the written texts were eventually acquired through Eleuteria Viscayda, an informant who had left the Eskayan community at Guindulman and now lives in a neighbouring barrio.

Various other written texts were eventually acquired through time from Eskayas living in Guindulman (like Gregoria Palma). In an interview with Juan Datahan, he says that this is just as well. According to him, the texts in Guindulman are older, and nearer their source - Mariano Datahan himself. As to whether the texts in Taytay have remained accurate as based on the older manuscripts in Guindulman, some form of validity may be gainsaid. The taped transcriptions as well as the actual texts contain no substantial difference. The various proofreading corrections made on copied texts that this research has encountered, in some way assert the meticulousness with which the Eskayas handled the transcriptions. At one time, Eleuteria Viscayda even went through the photocopies that I have made of some of the texts. She warned me not to leave any photocopy misprints in the city's stores. This would be sacriligeous, she said. **Ma gaba-an ka** (You will be cursed/receive karma).

ORIGINS

There are two diverging opinions with regard to the origins of the body of Eskayan texts. According to some written articles on the Eskayas, the texts were said to have been found in a cave by Datahan, along with the Eskayan syllabary.[1] On this premise, many believe that the texts are ancient and pre-hispanic .

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1 See for example, Brenda Abregana's assertions regarding the texts in her memoranda to Bohol Mayor E. Butalid, September 1989.

This view however, is not maintained by the Eskayas themselves. Unlike the vehemently-asserted Eskayan stand regarding the antiquity of their syllabary, the potency of the texts does not seem to hinge on age. It is therefore quite common to have disambulations from Eskayan informants regarding the texts.

When pressed for answers, Baja said that "**gikan ni Datahan ang mga sinuwat**" (the texts "came from" Datahan). In a separate interview with Eleuteria Viscayda, she did not seem to hesitate in saying that the literature written in Ineskaya was orally produced by Datahan and was written down by selected transcribers. Asked where narratives like "Daylinda" and "Pinay" came from, Viscayda says, "**gikan sa ulo ni Anoy pangadtu sa akong papel**" (from the head of Anoy to my piece of paper). She recounts how Anoy Datahan would sit through the night and narrate tales in Ineskaya, and how she, then a young lady, would copy them down. When the Eskayan school in Duero was established, the primary function of many of the designated teachers was to duplicate the texts by hand in bound notebooks. Students in the school, are not allowed to graduate without having copied for their own use, the Eskayan texts. When Baja transferred to Taytay in 1951, he brought with him his own copies of the texts,[2] and then used them to start the school and institute a community lifestyle.

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[2] In an interview, Baja identified only five which he was able to bring. He also said that he just made copies of the Eskayan flags as well as the wooden tablets.

ON LITERARY TYPOLOGIES

The body of Eskayan narratives often prove resistant to a delineation vis-a-vis genology or western/conventional literary typologies. More often than not, these Eskayan texts cut across the boundaries of what has variously been categorized as either Literature (or a fixed body of written texts with a known, highly-individualized author, largely produced and consumed by the educated urban elite, and that which keeps close to the canons of Western Literature), or as folk or popular literature.

As folk literature, the Eskayan texts immediately interrogate canonical categories. According to conventional generalized definitions, folk literature is "unauthored lore, chiefly of unlettered peoples, transmitted by word of mouth;" "traditional narratives of peasant peoples with no known author;" "oral literature in variant forms;" "the poetical, musical... activities of those strata of the population which are uneducated and not urbanized or industrialized".[3]

In the Philippine context, Philippine folkloristics has ramified these delineations with similar assertions. Arsenio Manuel, in a now classic manual for the study of

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[3] Arnold Hauser. The Sociology of Art. Mentor Publishing Company, 1982.p. 279.

Philippine folklore, quantifies what he calls as tests for "folkloricity." [4] He asserts that the folk material must be oral, and that it must pass the "five-version" and "three-generation" tests. The "five-version test" seeks to establish a minimum number of variants for a tale. This is supposed to indicate that the tale is not the product of a single individual, but of a collective aesthetic consciousness that manifests itself in varied although recognizably similar narrative forms.

To further establish folkloricity, the test for time depth has also been laid down by Manuel in his "three-generation test." The test for the "traditionality" of a tale is supposed to be indexed by the fact that a grandfather, a father and a son are all able to relate the folk tale. As Manuel says, the test has a function to fulfill in determining "authenticity ... popularity." [5]

Based on all of these definitions, folk literature as a category applicable to the Eskayan texts becomes palpably problematic on two points. First, the Eskayan texts are disqualified as folk literature because it has a specified single author. Secondly, the Eskayan texts are written down

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[4] Arsenio Manuel, Guide for the Study of Philippine Folklore, Published by the Philippine Folklore Society, p.32.

[5] ibid.

by the cultural community themselves, and do not exist as "orature" (oral literature). The Eskayan texts are definitely not amorphous bodies of oral narratives floating around in peasant villages waiting to be documented/written down by folklorists from universities.

And so because of its authorship and "written" nature, the Eskayan text cannot fulfill the strictures of "folkloricity." Folk literature, generally characterized by fluidity, variability and a resistance to fixity (hence the five-version test), cannot be congruent with the Eskayan text in its inscripted sacral form, and its standard texts and translations. On this issue of dynamism in folk forms, the Datahan texts are sharply contrastive in their almost fossilized form. No innovation nor alteration is allowed to play on these sacred texts. So meticulous is the transcription of these texts that if a single student makes a mistake, the teacher simply marks out the entire page and asks the pupil to repeat.

But the theorizing does not stop there. For if there is anything that the Eskayan texts have akin to folk literature, it is exactly on the basis of popularity, time depth and traditionality that the texts can be considered "folkloric."

As to time-depth, Manuel's "three-generation test" is easily passed. One documented Eskayan material is housed in the Carlos Garcia Museum of Tagbilaran. On one page of the document is Ineskayan material. On the opposite page is a text in Spanish. The document is dated 1885. (cf. p.91).

FR. SANTOS PAREDES DES. PEDRO AROS

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COMISARIO DE TERCERA DE FELIPINAS DE

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Manila a 26 de Julio de 1885

Fr. Santos Paredes

The oral reproduction of the tales among the Eskayas themselves range from people of Datahan's generation to his great-great grandson, and to a number of villages several kilometers away.

Traditionality, if it is to be determined by "the ability of a cultural community to preserve its characteristic form of civilization through generations with the least degree of acculturation," is as Baja puts it, **ang garbu sa mga Eskaya** (the pride of the Eskayas). The Eskayan texts have remained intact through several generations, and the collective identity generated out of these texts are so "traditional" that it has become almost inviolable.

With regard to popularity, the Eskayan texts are as "folk" as folk literature can be. What barrio or village chants a folk tale almost every Sunday? What proverb in the mountain ranges so dictate collective behaviour that marriage rites can hinge on it? What myth is so popular that when one asks 7 year old Eskayas regarding the origin of the first man, they will invariably answer that man originated from the Tumaw - a germ which according to Eskayan belief, evolved into **homo sapiens** ?

And so while it can be said that the Eskayan texts do not pass the conventional tests of authorship and orality for folk forms, it is clear from these assertions that all the other "characteristics" of folk literature (i.e. popularity, traditionality), are manifested by the texts. And what is even more intriguing is that this popularity and

traditionality is achieved not inspite of, but exactly because the texts are authored and written. Its inscription is not a deterrant to its popularity. It is in fact, the very basis for it.

These perhaps show that the metanarratives of folklore studies need to be problematized. The romantic ideas of some collective folk consciousness somehow spontaneously generating folklore will have to be shown as facile. Mariano Datahan, as an inscriber of several texts that have taken on collective dimensions/responses, is in some sense an encoder of folk preferences/aesthetics/ethics. In this sense, folklore is defined by the intertextuality of determinations and consequences of an entire arena of ideological constructs that has had a collective impact on a community. Whether Datahan out of some idiosyncratic muse spontaneously generated the narratives or else based them on folk plots and collective bits of memory, is a point that cannot be definitively answered. One thing is clear though - Datahan, along with the rest of the Eskayas, all consider the tales/myths/artifacts as authoritative and "true." They all consider the texts as "**unang Pagtulun-an sa Bisayas**" (the first Bisayan system of beliefs). And on these beliefs, they have based their very lives.

But to continue with the agenda of categorization, one goes to the domain of popular literature, and there hope that the Eskayan texts may be more responsive to categorization.

At the very outset, one must be wary of taking a highly western paradigm for a definition of popular literature. Arnold Hauser for example, defines popular literature as "the artistic or quasi-artistic production for the demand of a half-educated public, generally urban (i.e. the lower classes found in cities) and inclined to mass behavior ".[6]

As pointed out by Santos, the concept of popular literature, if it is to be non-reductionist, will have to be understood in two ways - the pop culture of industrialized countries and the pop culture of neo-colonized countries.[7] The two may be differentiated because of the peculiar socio-historical context of ex-colonized countries. As nations whose cultures have been perpetually subjected to the incursions of various colonizing powers, neo-colonized countries are often characterized by a "cultural simultaneity"[8] which inhibits neat categorizations of what is considered "artistic" or "quasi-artistic," "half-educated" or even "urban."

And it is from the overdeterminations of such a simultaneity that the Eskayan texts remain problematic. For while it produces some kind of "mass behaviorism" among its

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6 Hauser, Sociology of Art, p. 279.

7 Angelito Santos, The Development of Philippine Literary Discourse : Focus on Popular Literature. *Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City. 1988. pp.32-36.

8 Sangari, " The Politics of the Possible."

own people, its traditions are supposed to be congruent with the popular traditions of low-land, Christianized barrios in the Philippines. In which case, the Eskayan texts may be lumped together with Sharon Cuneta movies, Victor Wood songs and comic books. The proverbial huge bag has again opened itself. Perhaps it is best to leave it closed.

ON LITERARY FORMS

The range of literary forms used in the Eskayan texts are as diverse as their number. Under the generic label of **Unang pagtulun-an sa Bisayas**, the Eskayas display historic accounts, myths, love stories, arithmetic tables and dictionaries. To take the texts and categorize each under the slots of canonical/mainstream/western-oriented literary history or criticism distinctions between genres can hardly be done. The distinctions between factuality or non-factuality resulting in dichotomies such as creative/imaginative/fictive versus non-fictive or non-literary, are continually interrogated by the Eskayan texts. Neither do the classifications of genres based on Western poetics/aesthetics or on functions/purposes of the particular literary type apply.

The Eskayan texts have a rich inter-textuality, and the constant cross-over of barriers between established norms for how history should be written, or how legends may be narrated. A historic account can therefore end with direct second person exhortations, as in "Daylinda," or a biography can be so interspersed with autobiographical lines

that one cannot legitimately categorize "Ang mga Hiyas ug Caague ni Anoy Datahan" as either an objective biography or a first person, highly subjective narrative.

To categorize the texts according to conventional literary genres or according to traditional/ mutually exclusive knowledge domains, can only prove to be unfruitful. At this very basic level, the rich intertextuality and the transgression of the traditional boundaries between knowledge and literary domains in the text, can already be read as subversive attempts in the Eskayan texts' experimentations with non-mainstream aesthetic modes and formal strategies.

A call has often been made to question "... the assumptions of our literary/cultural practices."[9] Perhaps one ought to begin by questioning not only western categories, but even more basically, this very agenda of categorization. As localized/particularized responses to the entire range of hegemonic discourse, the Eskayan text as an obviated instance of such a response, can hardly be made to function as a strategy of subversion when everything else hinges on being able to assert whether it is bastardized belle lettres, a backward form of popular literature or inauthentic folk literature.

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9 Legasto, 1993. p. 49.

As of this research, the following texts have been archived from the Eskayan libraries . A rough attempt has been made at systematizing the collection into general categories that are not in any way meant to be constraining. Care is made to define these categorizations for each text by giving particularized descriptive statements.

There are five categories : 10

a) **linguistic compendia** (materials on Ineskaya syntax and lexicon);

b) **narratives** (tales with characters and plot lines);

c) **expositions** (generally pertaining to outlines of ethical behaviour or systems of belief);

d) **Ineskaya songs**

e) **Material lore.**

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10 cf. Appendix for entire texts with translations into Sugbuanon as translated by the Eskayas.

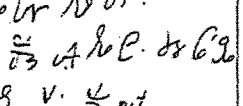
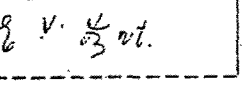
LINGUISTIC COMPENDIA

Simplet

This is a linguistic tool, usually a small, hand-sewn cloth-covered notebook, that contains the alphabet of the Ineskayan language (called the **Abedeja**), the Askormos Meneme which consists of 46 graphemes that includes the **Abedeja**, but goes beyond it; and the list of all the syllabic phonemes of Ineskaya, and the Eskayan system of numerology. (cf. Part IV for a more detailed analysis of this).

Pinulungan

This is a dictionary of Ineskaya lexical items. Two versions are available. The first, and perhaps older version, consists of three columns - first the Spanish word, with indications of whether it is a verb or a noun, then the English equivalent and then the word in Ineskaya. Some samples :

Spanish Word	English Equivalent	Ineskaya
Desvearse, v.	To deviate	
Resister, v.	To resist	
Resistencia, n.	Resistance	

The other type of "Pinulungan" consists of four columns. The first column consists of Ineskaya words; the second, Ineskaya words translated into phonetic Ineskaya using the Roman alphabet; third, their Cebuano

equivalents written with Ineskaya letters; and the fourth which consists of Cebuano words written with Roman letters:

Ineskaya	Phonetic Ineskaya	Cebuano in Ineskaya	Cebuano
	eso		kalayo
	gongo		amo'
	tinde		babaye

Grinadu

These are practice notebooks for Eskayan students. They contain all sorts of grammar exercises and mathematical calculations. Their exercises on the four basic math operations are systematically done. Their math operations are : pen bahinun (divide); as dugangan (add); bret dublihan (multiply); and ton kuhaan (minus).

Kwadra

This is another linguistic tool that the Eskayan students use. It is written with Ineskaya syllables on one column, after which a sentence, using each syllable is written beside it. From the "Kwadra," the syntactical rules of Ineskaya become less esoteric, as simple, almost elementary sentences, are written for one hundred twenty eight samples of Ineskaya syllables.

ESKAYAN NARRATIVES

Tumaw

The story traces the evolution of the human race to a male butterfly and a female egg. Their union resulted in the birth of a **tumaw** (**kagaw** or germ) which wanders on the earth looking for its parents. After a year of dwelling by the trees, the germ chances upon a lion and a lioness. The germ is given permission to feed on the fur of the male and enter the womb of the lioness because the the germ is able to give both of them a name (Lino and Leona). After several months, the lioness gives birth to a creature which looks like a **balencia** (a huge fish?), but has the face of a monkey. Additionally, it has the tail of a gibbon and the ears of a chimpanzee. It is predominantly female, but it could somehow be confusingly perceived as male. After nine years, this creature gives birth to a male monkey, a male human and a female human. The first man and woman named Adam and Edam give birth to two couples. One couple is made to inhabit the earth while the other couple disappears and is said to have peopled the non-physical realm. Towards the end of the story, Edam (the woman), cathecizes Adam about Ara - a supreme being. Then from a dream, Edam tells her husband about how Ara created the first butterfly, and "blessed" the first female egg. From the union of butterfly and egg, came forth all animate beings. The first being was a germ which became androgynous and sphinxlike. In turn, the germ produced beast, man and ghost.

Unang Tao sa Bisaya sa Bohol

This is a genealogy followed by a heroic tale. The point of view shifts within the text from third person at the beginning to first person inclusive towards the end. The lines are pithy, objective and straightforward in some portions, but turn pathetic in other parts. The transitions are rapid and unpredictable.

The narrative begins with an account of how the first Bisayans in Bohol are said to have come from Sumatra Manselis. According to the narrative, Dangku, his wife Luneta and their 11 sons and single daughter, board a **lutsa**. After passing by Lanao, they eventually settle in Tambo, Talibon, Bohol. There the siblings intermarry with the inhabitants of the land who were either dark-skinned or red. The race is later called **ang mga bintig**.

From this lineage comes two men who violently oppose the Spaniards. The first is named Tugpa. He is born in Tambo, Talibon, Bohol. The rest of his life is told in a song which has been incorporated into the story.

The song is his, a first person narrative for comrades in battle: "We are now the remnants of the last baptism, this month of April the 17th of 1777 ... We are the children of our land of birth ... let us now offer our lives' breath to our motherland" (Translation mine). Tugpa's story ends with the arrival of the Spanish soldiers, and Tugpa's entering of a cave with the rest of his men. He is never heard of again.

The narrative continues with the story of another man - the **herdo** (or as translated in the text, **kapitan matud pa sa Espanyol**). The **herdo** has a single son and a wife named Gaka. Amidst the battle, the son is made to flee to the thick forest, and after three days, eventually reaches a place called **Bulawan**. Meanwhile, Gaka is raped by the soldiers, while the **herdo** pretends to destroy the attacked village by building a huge fire by the mouth of the cave. The soldiers gleefully help, perhaps not knowing that Tugpa has fled into the cave. When the village is razed, the herdo cries out " the entire village is dead and the people in it; now I, we, will go with them in death " ... and lifting his wife, they jump into the thick fire." (Translation mine) The narrative ends with a date - April 17, 1777.

Pinay

The text begins by saying that it was written in the year 600 A.D., and that at that time, the Bisayas had its **pagtulun-an** (own system of belief), including its own god Ai Suno or **Salvador del Mundo**. This **pagtulun-an** was eventually **ginapos ug piniriso** (bound and imprisoned) by the Spanish Letter - the **Pagtuluan-an** of the Spanish. The letters of Pinay called **Askormos Meneme**, has however remained, and will continue to speak for the indigenous **kina-adman** (wisdom/knowledge) of Pre-Hispanic Philippines.

The text seems to continue to prove this assertion by then giving a rundown of various men and women, their specific places of origin and their positions "in the

service of the Bisayas" - positions which incidentally, belie a high degree of political/social organization: Amgay **bansithe** (governor), Alborang **baganhonda** (judge), Tugpa **baganering** (comammnder) Sira **bersirdas** (teacher). Pinay remains the first wise man of the Bisayas.

Day Linda

This historic-romantic tale is a chronologically plotted narrative with exhortatory portions within the text. A comparative analysis of plot will show a high degree of parallelism to a novel written by Amando Osorio entitled Daylinda: Ang Walay Palad.[12] Osorio's novel was published in 1913, and the story has for its setting, Kawayan, Dalaguet.

The Eskayan story, with a more political agenda, begins with an expostulation of the disreputable nature of the town of Opon which once had been under the leadership of a man named Humabad. According to the narrative, the shame that this leader has brought upon this land is, "**bisan magabuk ang atong bukug, mahibilin ang atong handumanan sa dautang kapalaran**" (even with the rotting of our bones, our memory of this evil fate will remain). The text then proceeds to recount what Humabad did to merit such scathing denigrations.

At the outset, Humabad is identified as one who has the illustrious dual position of being both hari na, pari pa

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12 Amando Osorio, Daylinda : Ang Walay Palad. (Cebu: Falek Printing, 1913).

(already a king, he is also a priest). He rules over his own **ventud**, which the text seem to indicate as a political unit resembling a barangay.

However, according to the narrative, Humabad casts all the honor aside when he heartily welcomes Magellan and the other foreigners, and baptizes his subjects with the "waters of the west." While the majority acquiesce, a few valiant warriors coming from their own **ventudes**, refuse to be subjugated. One of these valiant men is Umanad, the leader of a **ventud** named Cortez. He flatly refuses Spanish baptism, saying that he already had a baptism of his own. When warned of Humabad's ire, Umanad decides to ally with Lapu-lapu from Mactan, who by then was readying himself for battle against the foreign intruders. Umanad later takes leave of his wife, Daylinda, and gently castigates her when she admits that she has allowed herself to be "re-baptized."

On the night before the seige of Mactan by Magellan, Umanad already proceeds to Mactan on his **balsa**. Lapu-lapu welcomes the ally and gives him Iriwan, a personal foot soldier. Deep into the night, both warriors stealthily creep into the Spanish camp where Humabad has also stationed himself. Upon seeing their co-Boholano, they lurch and stab the collaborator a number of times. In the confusion, Magellan orders his men to attack Mactan. Humabad dies. Umanad is mortally wounded.

Iriwan contrives of a way to drag Umanad's body under the cover of the night, to finally lay it on their balsa.

Iriwan sails to Umanad's **ventud** through the Abatan-Waji, a mystical river that swells and becomes a waterway into Cortez. At daybreak, Daylinda catches sight of the **balsa**, and sits beside Umanad, watching him weakening. By three in the afternoon, his blood is cold. Many people come to mourn over Umanad, and burial rites are performed over a number of days. In the meantime, Daylinda disappears. When her absence is finally noticed, the people scour the land for her. Eventually, they find her -- dead, on the grave of her beloved. They dig a grave for her and lament. The story ends with a recapitulation:

> Humabad, the king-slave of the peole of Visayas. Umanad, one who did not give even a single drop of his sweat to slavery. He died for the land of his birth ... Those who die in their slavery are mourned by roaches and flies, creatures created from the earth. They are able to tell men apart - those who stink, and those who do not. (Translation mine.)

Ang Lingganay na Ugis

This narrative about the "White Bell" begins with a brief recapitulation of who Humabad was - a native **birike**, a leadership position which was both political as well as theological. The narrative continues with an enumeration of several other **birikes** of different areas in Bohol.

The text then switches to a list of historical dates - 607 A.D. , the coming of the Spaniards; 1777 , the battle of the entire Philippines against Spain; 1804 , the last battle between the Spanish friars and the native **birikes**. The text proceeds with a historical account of this last incident.

Ang Linagganay na Ugis was once said to be prominently displayed in Malbago. The bell hang inside its own native tower, calling together a people of an indigenous religion, who were ruled over peacefully and cohesively by a **birike** named Tumud Babaylan. Then, Padre Jose Santa Maria intrudes, and he almost, but not quite, destroys the idyllic community.

And so this friar comes, baptizes the "pagans," and then steals the Silver Bell. Having built a church of stone, he proceeds to install the bell in its new tower and then calls the people together under it. Tumud, along with a number of the natives, do not pay heed.

Then one day, in broad daylight, Tumud climbs up the tower with a piece of rope, and a giant black bird hovering behind him. He then disengages the bell, and knots together the bell loop and the bird's leg with the rope. Many people begin to gather around the tower. The padre shouts curses, using the name of his god. Tumud uses the name of Salvador Suno. The people, now divided into two factions, cheer for either the **prayle** or the **birike**.

In the midst of the din, the huge bird eventually flaps his gaint black wings and hovers above the turmoil. He begins to speak, "**Tumud, muuna na lang ko ninyo**" (Tumud, I will now just leave ahead of you). And rising on its wings, with the huge Silver bell tied to its feet, the bird goes towards the river Abatan. The bell loop soon begins to spurt out water, and the bird then drops it into the river. The people, now in unison, shout fiercely

together -- "our bell has been recovered at last! Suno has brought it with him! Let us now die for our land of birth, and for our bell that has been recovered."

Tumud then gathers his men and says that they have to go to the forests and there fight the friars to the death - a necessary death. With their deaths, Suno's promise could be fulfilled i.e., that the bell could only be retrieved from the river at the raising of the bodies of those who died for it.

The text ends with a warning and a prophecy. The warning is that any man who might wish to retrieve the bell before its appointed time, will cause a huge flood to flow out from the bell loop, and the death of thousands. The prophecy has to do with things to come, and an affirmation that Ai-Suno is the true god.

Ang Mga hiyas ug Caague ni Mariano Sumatra Datahan

At the outset, the text seems to be a biography of a man named Mariano Datahan. However, the text deviates from the conventions of biographical accounts when at certain portions of the narrative, it employs the first person point of view. Consistency is hardly maintained since later on, the narrative shifts to third and then back again to first. Furthermore, it attempts to be gravely historical - it gives, quite objectively, facts and figures and historical events. But again, it sometimes slips and includes vehement comments on the Spanish friars

or the hysterical Americans.

The narrative begins with accounts of how a seven year old boy has three narrow escapes from death. He survives mainly through the help of several surrogate fathers. The boy grows up, is made to go to school, and later on becomes a poltiro mayor for a Spanish friar named Vicente. For his labors, the friar pays him fifty pesos when he leaves the parish. Mariano buys lands in Tubigon, and becomes a man with some means. Much later, he is drafted under the Spanish regiment to ward off Moro invasions led by Datu Pakpak of Marawi, Lanao. Datahan defeats the seemingly invincible Datu. In 1867, Datahan switches sides, revolts against Spain and joins the Katipunan, as an undercover agent.

The narrative recounts, in fast-paced, highly vivid language, how Datahan, together with other disguised servants, succeeds in beheading the Spanish Governor-General in the general's own room. According to the account, the servants left an opening in the ceiling of the bedroom of the Spanish official. They then murder the Spaniard in his sleep behind locked doors. In the morning, the servants nonchalantly go about their chores and themselves call the guards when the master takes so long in his sleep. The following nights, twelve more decapitated bodies are found, icluding an archbishop and a judge. The turmoil causes havoc, and many high-Spanish officials flee to the provinces.

The story continues with Datahan appointed as head

of the KKK in the island of Malabon. Later on, he is said to have led rebel troops in Samar, and eventually to have returned to Bohol in 1899.

When the Americans come, Datahan again fights the Americans in graphically described encounters. The text then tapers off, quite quickly, with brief summative statements. The text ends by saying that the fourth war Datahan joined was a war against Rome. The fifth war was against the Japanese where Datahan is now on the side of the Americans, as he was drafted from the fifth of June to the twelfth of March, 1943. The last line of the text is ambiguous : **napolo da ca bolan cay sa dose (12) sa Marso gicoha na man aco ne Capten Norch** (This lasted for only ten months because on the 12th of March, Captain Norch had already come for me).

A caption is appended. **Mao kini ang hiyas ug caague ne Mariano Datahan Sumatra** (These are the virtues and experiences of Mariano Datahan Sumatra). Nothing follows - perhaps because, in 1945, Datahan is said to have died.

Ang Damgo ni Hurayhaber

This a prophetic text that foreshadows the things that are to come. It is told as a third person narrative about a dream of a man named Hurayhaber. He was a European born in Jerusalem, the last of the prophets to foretell events concerning the entire world. At the age of 18, this Hurayhaber, who was then a secretary to a

dictator named Dangor, retells a dream that was given to him by the angel Abra. The dream concerns the coming of a child Savior to the world who would specifically go the land at the center of the earth. This land would be inhabited by the poor and the oppresssed. This child, in all his power, would then become the "tongue" of this land, and from there save his people from their misery. The second part of the dream foretells numerous apocalyptic events, the most tragic being a huge fire, traceable to a volcanic eruption in the Pacific, that would eat up the entire world. The fire would usher in the the new heavens and earth, and a reign where all nations, the poor and the rich, the small and the powerful, would forever live together without envy and pride.

EXPOSITIONS

Ang Pagtulun-an sa Bisayas

This text is mainly expository. Given in the third person, it's theme is thrust upon the reader with something near vehemence. It begins with the premise that a **Pagtulun-an** (belief/knowledge system) cannot be created without its own language, a language which must be represented visually by its own script. A belief system without a language, and a language without a script, is simply an indication that neither of the three are truly existent -- **hangin ra man sa baba** (just air in the mouth); or that any of the three are truly a nation's own.

The text continues with illustrations of this truth as exemplified in other world languages.

However, the text continues by saying that unlike these nations, the Bisayas, has had the "misfortune" of having a colonizer. The effect was disastrous. The Spaniards destroyed their letters, and renamed their dios **bata** (child god) Ai- Suno as Senyor Santo Niño. Their re-baptism likewise transferred Bohol as the "center of the Philippines," to a misaligned designation - Sugbu (Cebu). There, Magellan established a religious center through the cross, which the people were made to believe as miraculous, because it is continually increasing in height. The icon of the Senyor Sto. Nïno, with all its healing powers, was likewise established in Cebu.

The text continues and directly addresses the inhabitants of Sugbu to carefully consider the claims of the Spaniards. Regarding Magellan's cross continually growing taller, the Eskayas ask the Sugbuanons why a child who was born at the same time the cross was established, would now be many times taller than the cross, and why the child may die and be reborn seven times and still be taller than the cross. The text then asserts that the cross is nothing but **ang marka sa kaulipnan sa Pilipinas** (the mark/symbol of an enslaved Philippines). Its establishment destroyed a Philippine system of beliefs, its own letters, its own religion. It also made the renaming of the **dios bata** possible.

The text continues to castigate the rest of the Philippines by saying that they were like just-awakened men, dazzled by Spanish brilliance. Unlike Pinay, and Tumud Babaylan, the rest of the Philippines willingly submitted to slavery. The text ends with the **lingganay**, and how it continues to lie under the waters of the Abatan. To the text, this serves as a constant reminder that the Bisayas-Philippines, continues to be enslaved.

Bisayan Declarado

This is another expository text, which begins by identifying the indigenous pre-hispanic letters as the Askormmos Meneme or **Atekeses**. It explains how the the origins of the **Atekeses** can be trace to the body of man divided into distinct parts - in effect, making the entire letter system **balasahon sa lawas sa tawo** (a text from the body of man). Two advantages are given regarding this distinctive trait of the **Atekeses**: a) its creation is not whimsical because the letters are based on unchanging body parts. b) its creation is not difficult and incohesive because it is taken from one source, (i.e. the body), and all its letter/body parts make up a whole.

These distinctions are then contrasted with the otherwise inferior Spanish letters. The k in Spanish for example, is said to be taken from the body of a monkey, while the letter **x** is taken from a pair of scissors. In the same way, the letter a is an arc for the patron

saints, and the letter c is a representation of a school of fish. According to the text, it would be simply impossible for the Spanish letters to form a cohesive whole.

The text then proceeds to castigate the other Bisayan Islands for their adoption of the Spanish letters. As center, and through its printing presses, Cebu is perceived as particularly guilty of collaborating with the oppressors.

However, the Bisayans of Bohol have retained their integrity. The text gives proof of this by enumerating archaic lexical items in the Boholano dialect that continue to be spoken in various parts of Bohol. Then it supersedes this retention by asserting that the Eskayas have even kept the Boholano language in its "purest" form (Ineskaya). It ends its discussion of the Boholano language with this note of superiority: inspite of the widespread use of Sugbu-anon, the Cebuanos cannot ever claim their language as their own.

A postscript with exhortations is attached to the text. Briefly, the incident of the lingganay is again recounted, and then an exhortation is made about reading the text constantly, this being a guide for the inhabitants of the land. This is unexpectedly followed by a poetic tirade. The next 15 lines is a highly metrical stanza that denigrates laziness and indulgence, gambling and dishonesty. It ends by saying that if diligence is made to reign over the land, then the land can be

matahum(lovely/appealing/attractive).

Ang Alphabeto sa Katsila ug sa Bisayas

This is another expository text that primarily deals with the origins of letters of the Ineskayan alphabet as contrasted with that of the Spanish. It begins by saying that although the "real" Bisayan letters have been bound and imprisoned by the letters of Spain, this is not proof of the foreign letters' superiority. This assertion of ascendancy is primarily rooted in the idea that the Eskayan letters are traced to different parts of the body of man. This parallelism between man's body parts and a language's alphabet is considered to be a highly distinguishing mark of Ineskaya - because this not only makes the letters not just **hangin gikan sa baba** (air that comes from the mouth), but it also gives cohesion to the discrete elements to the letter system.

Thus, the first letter in the Eskayan alphabet is ache - a man signalling with his thumb and his toe; the ece is taken from man's two ears, while the pre is to be the split skull of Pinae.

This unique character of the letters' derivation is sharply contrasted with the alphabet of the Spaniards, called **ang mga letra sa pag-kaulipon** (letters that have enslaved). To them, since the Spanish letters are said to have come from various non-human objects like a kettle, a monkey's tail and a candle, they are therefore without

substance and cohesiveness. The cut-up parts of a man, can be put together again and made to function coordinatedly. According to the text, the hodge-podge of kettles and tails and candles cannot be made to cohere in the same way. The narrative ends by saying that the Eskayan letters, first taught by Pinay in the year 600 A.D., can be the only basis for a **pagtulun-an** of a nation.

Askormos Meneme

This is the detailed enumeration of the parts of the body from which forty-six Ineskayan graphemes have been derived. The text consists of pictograms, and short captions that identify the letters and their corresponding body parts or body positions. The entire text is sometimes called **ang balasahon sa lawas sa tao.**

Atekeses

This is another pictogram - a series of drawn pictures with accompanying explanatory texts. A varied sampling of Ineskaya syllables use personification, and seem to "speak" in the first person as each letter gives a type of vegetation that they can plant. Interspersed with the vegetation types are lines that speak of the virtue of diligence, of hard labor and industry.

The letter atche is an example. The letter says that it wishes to plant a banana, a yam, a sweet potato and then some spring onions. Letter Be follows with garlic and De follows with rice and corn. In between these

vegetation types are further descriptions of the virtues of atche. It says for example that atche is the prime letter used to represent the virtue of industry. Atche is not a representation of dishonesty, thievery and indolence. In marked contrast, the letter efhe (the letter F) is a letter which does not know how to plant because of indolence. It is the prime representation of thievery.

The letter me has an added virtue. It can do all kinds of labor, whether on land or sea, and it can also study. Special reference is given to me's diligent study of the letters of Pinay.

The letter O, akin to the "brain,"is considered as the repository of the knowledge/wisdom of the Bisayans, and is characterized by clarity and industry. The text ends with the letter kis (the letter X). It is said to be a letter that represents all kinds of difficulty primarily caused by the burden of toil and of remembering

Pamatasan

This a text that systematically enumerates the ethical stipulations that the community is supposed to follow. It starts by identifying the letters of the community - Askormos Meneme (taken from the body of man). Then it identifies the religion that the entire community is to adopt: Iglesia Filipina Independiente - described as **.... bunga sa pangimbisog sa atong mga Bayane ug kanhi mga guinikanan.** (the fruit of the bravery of our heroes and ancestors). What follows are several **seksyones** (sections)

that enumerate the **mga prinsipyo/polisiya ug baruganan** (principles/policies and stands) of the tribo. There are several of these sections.

The first one deals with general guidelines. Translated into English from the Cebuano translations of the "Pamatasan" Texts in Ineskaya,[13] the Eskayas believe, for example, that the people are to be fair and that they must fear God; that the community is the source and end of power; that the people are to honor Sundays, and that there is to be at least one grown-up from every family present during the ceremonies/rites of the community while all the children must be present; that merrymaking is prohibited during masses and other communal activities; that gambling, dancing and watching pornographic materials are prohibited; that members should be ready to sacrifice one's life for the good of the tribe; and that any person, whether he be priest or king, once he does not comply with any of these laws, will be banished from the community.

The next section has to do with **Ang Pamilya** (The Family), and the section categorically asserts that the family has **autonomiya** (autonomy). The text also asserts that the mother is to be highly respected, and that the children are to be taught to live with the mind of God, and love for their country, partaking actively in all tribal activities.

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13 Appendix 3.5 for the Cebuano text in full.

The section that follows deals with **Mga babaye** (The Women). And here, the text says that women are prohibited from cuttinmg their hair short or having it permed. They are also not allowed **sa pagsuot sa sapot nga iya sa lalake, ilabina sa pagsondog sa biste sa mga langyaw** (wear the attire of men, especially those that imitate the clothes of foreigners).

The "Pamatasan" also identifies the tribal chieftain as the one would **maga-aprovar o tagdumala sa tanang kalihukan sa Tribo samga lomad** (approve of and over-see all the activities of the tribe of the natives); and the **damas** as specially designated women who are to take care of the church and school premises.

Monday is likewise identified as the Eskayas' communal day - a day wherein the people are made to work on some communal lands. The proceeds of communal labor are to be used for the welfare of the community as well as for any incurred expenses for visitors.

SONGS

The Eskayas have a a collection of a several songs. Seventeen songs have been recorded and transcribed from tapes. (cf. Appendix __ for the lyrics). The songs may be generally categorized into three : those sang on religious occassions, those sang as love songs, and those that are more political in theme. Even so, the songs do not limit their thrusts exclusively on only one of the three types.

The religious songs are entoned to the melody of the Ave Maria, and are addressed to the **Inahan sa Kanunaying Panabang** (the Mother of Perpetual Help), the Sto. Nino, and San Pedro Apostol.

The love songs like "Pailub lang, Pinanggga" (Be Patient my Loved One), usually have as its backdrop, a fervent waiting for freedom from oppression, in the midst of its romantic tenderness.

The more obvertly political songs include the Eskayan National Anthem, (the lyrics of which are transliterations of the Filipino version to Ineskaya); and the songs about Jose Rizal, Magellan, Anoy Datahan and even the three martyred priests, Padres Gomez, Burgos and Zamora. In these songs, love for **yutang natawhan** (land of one's birth) is often, and sometimes plaintively sung.

MATERIAL LORE

Mga Banderas

The Eskayas display several types of flags in their communal activities. Of the several flags that this researcher has encountered, the most dated ones are in the possession of Juan Datahan. According to Datahan, the brittle and yellowing paper pennants on wooden sticks, were given to his father Anoy by Andres Bonifacio himself. The flags have marked K.K.K. influences. In Taytay, these same paper flags of Guindulman have been copied and elaborately reproduced on cloth by hand

embroidery.

The Eskayan official flag is the flag they sing their anthem to. It has depictions of men representing Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, as well as Ai-Suno and Inahang Yuta. Other flags depict a man with the initials J.R., and the configurations of Aguinaldo's flag. (cf. Chapter VII for a more detailed exposition).

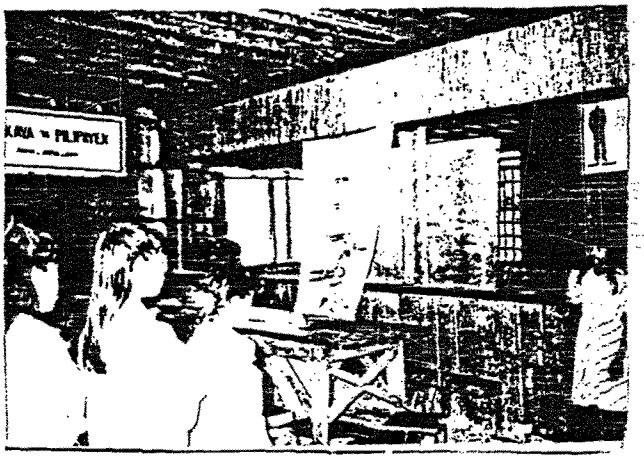

Illustration 13. The Eskayan National Flag

Wooden Tablets

These are said to be reproductions of various documents that are in the keeping of the Eskayas. In Taytay, several wooden tablets are mounted on the walls of the Eskayan school. A drawn and painted depiction of the tumaw (kagaw or germ) can be seen as well as several of the important characters in Eskayan genealogy. The pictograms of Askormos Meneme are likewise mounted together with their corresponding body parts.

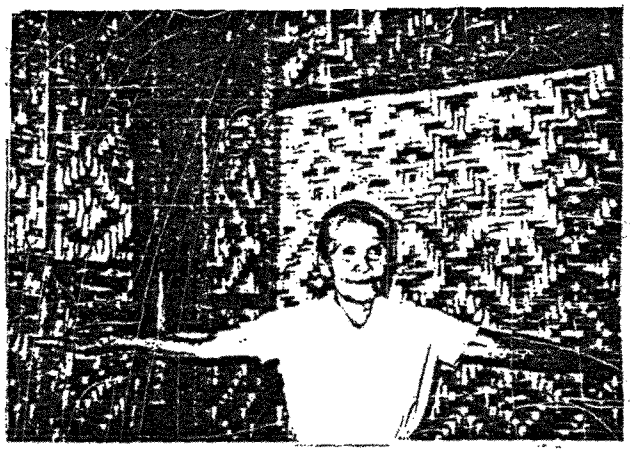

Illustration 14 . The Askormos Meneme

Another important relic in both Taytay and Guindulman, are reproductions of a letter from the Office of the President of the Philippines. The contents of the letter have been carved on a wooden block and displayed in the school building of Taytay. In Guindulman, the tablet is mounted by a waiting shed. The original letter cannot be located, but the text on the block states :

> Office of the President of the Philippines, Manila
> November 11, 1937
>
> Dear Mr. Mariano Datahan,
>
> This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th, together with a notebook containing writings in the Boholano dialect addressed to his excellency the president, and this is to inform you that your request to open night classes for adults in your barrio is being considered. Thank you very much.
>
> (Sgd.) Secretary Manuel Vargas
> Department of Education

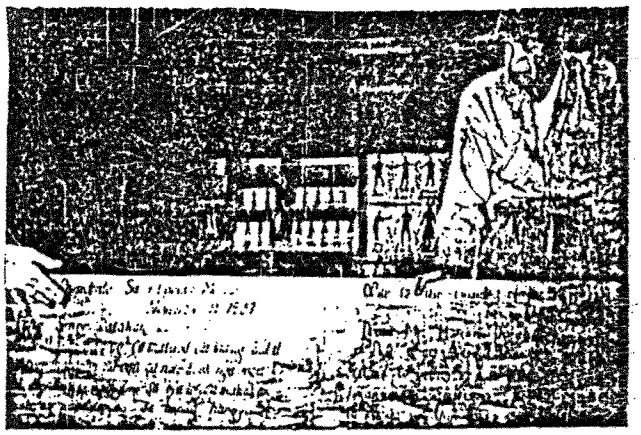

Illustration 15. The Block in Taytay.

The opposite block is the letter written in Ineskaya. According to Baja, Mariano Datahan received the letter as a reply to his request for permission to operate the Eskaya school in Biabas.

Illustration 16 . The Block in Biabas, Guindulman

From that brittle yellow paper, the Eskayas by inscription on wood, seemed to have sought to establish continuation as well as legitimacy through the "written." Needless to say, the equivocation that is expressed in the

letter, has been totally disregarded, and the woodblock has been prominently displayed as a "permit" handed through the generations, and across villages. Some effort has been made to trace the whereabouts of the supposed notebooks that were sent to the office of the President in 1937. The National Archives in Manila does not have any of these materials on file.

Icons

The most widely duplicated icon in Taytay is that of Ai-suno or the **dios bata** (the child-god). In the school building of Taytay, and in the main as well as the ladies' chapel, the **dios bata** is prominently displayed. The icon has no discernible difference from the Sto. Niño of Cebu.

In Guindulman, the Sto. Niño is likewise the Philippine Independent Church's main icon. It is also in Guindulman where a statue of Datahan is displayed. In Taytay, only a painted reproduction of this Datahan statue is mounted on the wall of the Eskayan school.

Modes of Dress

According to an account in Margarita Logarta's "The Eskayan Cult," Datahan's favorite apparel was the native **kamison** and a **bahag** (a cotton shirt and a g-string). Logarta does not cite her sources.

However, as far as this researcher is concerned, I have yet to see the Eskayas in "ethnic" wear. What they do

have is some form of a distinctive code of fashion.

On ordinary days,(i.e. all the days of the week except Sundays) the Eskayas are guided by regulative principles for their dress codes. There seems to be no stipulation against ordinary clothes other than that which forbids either the male or the female to wear "uni-sex" clothes, or wear their hair in such a way that the distinctions between male and female are "erased." The women are also asked to veer away from anything "artificial" and "foreign," by avoiding make-up, lipsticks and permed hair (cf. the "Pamatasan for a more detailed enumeration of the women's dress code).

On Sundays, more distinctive modes of dress are expected. Based on a perusal of earlier photographs in the previous write-ups on the Eskayas since 1989, there seems to be little difference with regard to maintaining the basic requirements for Sunday wear - long-sleeved clothes and covered heads for women. Color is predominantly white, but there seems to be no actual strict mandate regarding this.

According to Baja, this added distinction to Sunday wear differentiates the day from all other days. Furthermore, Baja says that this mode of dress is their way of honoring a day to be **para sa paghalad kang Ai-Suno ug sa yutang natawhan** (devoted to God and the native land).

CHAPTER IV

A PRELIMINARY LINGUISTIC SURVEY ON INESKAYAN STUDIES

There have been very few linguistic materials on the Ineskaya language. Thus far, only two full-length articles have been published that have some linguistic data. Ineskaya is given its earliest passing mention in a magazine article by Margarita Logarta. In the article, the probable origin of the language is given, as well as some samples of an Eskayan text in its own script. Logarta also cites excerpts of an interview she conducts with Dr. Ernesto Constantino of the Linguistics Department at the University of the Philippines, Diliman. In the article, the noted Philippine linguist states :[1]

> ... That it [Ineskaya] is a lost language is as good as anybody's guess. That can be proved or disproved... It might be an artificial language invented by one person or a group of persons. Like disguised speech when you don't want people to know what you're saying. Actually, you are using your own native language with some distortions or additions.

He adds that because the people have segregated themselves and are deliberately learning the language, then it can fit into the "category of a special language

1 as cited by Logarta, "Eskaya Cult: Children of a Lost Language," p. 21.

created for a special purpose. A natural language would have speakers who grew up speaking that language and nothing else."

However, counter-assertions have been made - and almost vehemently. Jess Tirol, Brenda Abregana, Salome Flores and even Amparado all wax eloquent when they begin to speak of this native indigenous language, which they trace, without much evidence, to either Phoenician, Greek or Hebrew origins. Scathing editorials have been written and re-written in attempts to exult, or else deride those who refuse to exult this "lost language" of the Philippines.

While all these are still being said and done however, it yet remains true that very little has been actually done in relation to an actual linguistic inventory of the language. Based on my actual field work, linguistic surveys and tape transcriptions of the language done over a year and a half period, in the areas of Guindulman, Cadapdapan and Taytay, what follows is my attempt at a descriptive presentation of Ineskaya as a language system. This chapter will become the basis for many of the post-colonial assertions that Chapter 5 will later on be making.

Ineskaya is a designation for the language that the Eskayas use. From interviews and linguistic surveys done in the said areas, it can be easily asserted that over 500 people use this language. However, a good number of these people scattered across this territory range do not

exhibit expertise in the use of the language. They speak haltingly, and self-consciously. Thus far, it is in Taytay, Duero that this researcher has encountered the most extensive and most frequent use of Ineskaya. Furthermore, it is to be noted that the language situations when Ineskaya has been observed to be in use are non-typical. Consistently, Ineskaya was never used as a first language. Sugbuanon (a linguistic category for the Visayan language spoken in Cebu, Bohol and Southwestern Leyte), always took precedence over Ineskaya in everyday language situations. Only three situations engendered the use of spoken Ineskaya: special communal gatherings, the attempt at exclusion of a third person percepient, and the conscious response of a speaker to display his capacity to use the language. Based on these determinations (i.e. language source and usage), conclusions may be made regarding Ineskayan linguistic history as well as structure.

TIME DEPTH

The earliest extant material of written Ineskaya can be found in the Carlos Garcia Museum of Bohol. It is a prayer notebook with Spanish and Ineskayan words. The date that it bears is 1885. Mariano Datahan was born in 1841, and is said to have found the Eskayan wooden tablets in the 1860's. He established the Eskayan school in Guindulman in 1902. The Eskayan school in Taytay was

established in the 1950's. The oldest living speaker of Ineskaya that this research has encountered is aged 103. As far as he is able to recall, he has spoken the language since he was in his early 20's (about 1913).

However, these dates are meaningless to the Eskayas. To them, Datahan simply unearthed thick tablets of wood from a cave in Bohol (most likely, although not unequivocally asserted by Baja as the Inambacan Cave of Antequera). According to the Eskayas, these tablets were engraved with a syllabary of Pre-Hispanic origin, which for hundreds of years were kept safe from rabid Spanish ire. Supposedly, Datahan made a copy of these original tablets onto wood blocks similar to the former, and then re-buried the ancient tablets in a place now unknown. Asked about the whereabouts of the duplicates, Baja says that Datahan's sons zealously guard them in Guindulman, and refuse anyone who wishes to see them. Others believe that the ancient tablets have rotted in the cave, and that a few of the duplicate copies remain. According to Logarta, a man by the name of Domingo Castañares, a school superintendent for Brgy. Mayana, last saw these duplicate wooden tablets in Guindulman in 1932.

As it is, the questions on material remains seem endless with only very few definitive answers at hand. This study chooses to delegate whatever significance these original tablets' "authenticity" have on historical linguistics or Philippine pre-Spanish history to other scholars with different problematics.

Skirting the method of dating through palaeograpghic remains, a different positivist approach may be suggested as viable in determining Ineskayan historicity. Based on these orientations, several of the well-known methods for language dating may be used to establish an empirical base in trying to determine the antiquity of a language. Glottochronology, and its exponents like Morris Swadesh claim that from a basic 100 list vocabulary core, a language can be dated by comparative analysis.[2] Starting with these one hundred words, and an equivalent list of one hundred words of another related language, similarities may be noted (sound shifts of words already taken into account) and cognates established. These cognates are then assumed to be carried over from a common ancestor or proto-language, while the words which have different forms in the two languages under consideration are assumed to differ because the original word has been lost in either one of the languages under study. The number of word pairs which are cognates becomes a measure of linguistic proximity between the two languages. Conversely, the number of pairs that are not cognates will show the extent to which words have been lost, and hence this becomes a measure of time to determine the date since the two languages separated. The average retention rate is said to be 86 percent per millennium.

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2 cf. any standard introduction to linguistic anthropology for samples.

Using these basic assumptions, including this standard retention rate, glottochronologists, would calculate that over a period of a thousand years, each of the languages would have retained 86 percent of the basic vocabulary of the common proto-language. On this basis, Spanish and Portugese, for example, may be said to have split at about A.D. 1586 or English and German in 590 A.D.

But again my interest is not in glottochronology. Besides, subjecting Ineskaya to glottochronology would result in almost incredible conclusions. According to "Unang Tao sa Bisaya sa Bohol," an Eskayan text, it was a man named Dangko from Sumatra-Manselis who first brought to Bohol what later became the basis of both Eskayan culture and language. Based on this belief, Ineskaya may be classified under the Malayo-Polynesian language types and may expectedly show high lexicostatistical correlations with Tagalog or Bisaya. However, a Swadesh List for 100 Ineskaya items and Bisaya basic core vocabulary would reveal an almost zero percent correlation. No cognates seem to exist between the two languages except for no more than 5 basic items in the basic core. To proceed from this basis, the antiquity of Ineskaya on the basis of an 89 percent retention rate will allow one to conclude that Ineskaya has been there before the 10th century. Otherwise, one will have to question the basic premise of cognate correlations and say that Ineskaya is simply not of Malayo-polynesian stock, and

like Basque exists almost independently from its neighbouring linguistic areas. However, what would be interesting to note is that, while lexically, both Ineskaya and Malayo-Polynesian languages hardly have any cognates, Ineskaya exhibits the basic syntactical patterns of this parent language stock. This of course, will establish other conclusions apart from the antiquity of the language, and will thus be treated consequently. I would rather leave these problems of the age of Ineskaya to those whose interests and theoretical paradigms necessitate addressing this matter head-on. My interest remains in making a descriptive/comparative survey of Ineskaya vis-a-vis Sugbuanon. The results of this survey are later used in the succeeding chapters, as preliminary data in a reading of Eskayan discursive practices in their subversion of the hegemonic Philippine languages.

THE LANGUAGE SYSTEM

Phonemes

The sound units of Ineskaya have basic parallelisms with Sugbuanon with a few phonetic differences. The vowel sounds of Sugbuanon are generally identified as consisting of three sound units : /i/ /a/ /u/. The phoneme /i/ has two variants but can still be categorized under the IPA sound range. The sound variant would be [i] (hard i in open non-final syllables as in **siya** or **dila**; or [i] which is softer as in closed syllables like **limbas** and in open

final syllables as in **kami**. The phoneme /u/ also has two variants: hard [u] in open non-final syllables like **buhat**; or the softer [u] in closed syllables like **luspad** and final open syllables as in **tubu**. As utterances, the Sugbuanon orthographies for **kan-un** or **kan-on** (rice) make no basic between the /u/ or the /o/, and thus do not make a differentiated phoneme.

Spoken Ineskaya likewise, makes no distinction between the /e/ vis-a-vis /i/ or the /o/ vis-a-vis /u/. The sound range produced in between the two vowel phonemes do not lexically differentiate a word. Asked to pronounce imbil, [imbil] or [embil] results in the same lexical category which means "to pray".

In terms of consonants, the basic paralellism is maintained with some startling differences. The Sugbuanon consonants as well as the Ineskaya have the same consonant inventory : /b/ /d/ /g/ /h/ /k/ /l/ /m/ /n/ /n/ /p/ /r/ /s/ /t/ and the semi consonants /w/ and /y/. In Bohol, the dialect replaces the /y/ in non-final position with a /dz/ (e.g. [**yawa**] to [**dzawa**]). Spoken Ineskaya does not borrow this feature of the Boholano dialect .

The glottal stop makes phonetic differences in both Sugbuanon and Ineskaya. Sugbuanon [**ba-sa^**(wet) and basa (to read)] may be paralleled with Ineskayan words for [ᜈᜓ] in phonetic Sugbuanon [panû which means isip, meaning to think. [nu] without the glottal stop is produced in words like [ᜋᜓᜒᜈᜓ ᜂᜐ᜔] which is [muynu-ud] in phonetic Sugbuanon. The same can be said for the following

words :

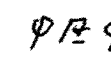
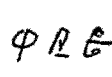
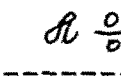
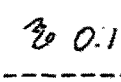
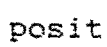
Ineskaya	Sugbuanon Phonemes	Ineskaya	Sugbuanon Phonemes
	[sali^-sali^]		[salilu]
	[baru^]		[paru]

Chart 2. Ineskaya and Sugbuanon Glottal Stops.

In terms of differentiation, some of the unusual features of Ineskaya phonemes in relation to Sugbuanon would include a preponderance of the use of consonant blends. While this may not strictly be considered as phonemes, the identification of these sound units become the basis for much of what seems unusual in Ineskayan sound production as contrasted with Sugbuanon. Some of the most common consonant blends include the [tʃd] blend in such words as chdiamentor [tʃdyamintur] or chdel [tʃdil]. Other consonant blends, which may be affixed in initial or final positions, include [bl/br] [dr/d] [tr] [pr/pl].

A sound unit which may have some Spanish acculturation would include the use of the [ñ]. While this is produced in Sugbuanon for acculturated words like niño, it is produced in Ineskaya with less than usual phonetic contexts as in [ñang] or [ñad]. The [ly] sound for Spanish [ll] is produced in Ineskaya words like [mulven].

The digragh [tʃ] is likewise produced in Ineskaya. In words like [tʃal] or  [tʃap], the ch sound may take initial position, while it may also take final

position in [mart∫]. The sound unit [n] is produced in Ineskaya words like [turon] (to study) or [guwarnan] (to invite). The word [nan] is written in Ineskaya as

Graphemes

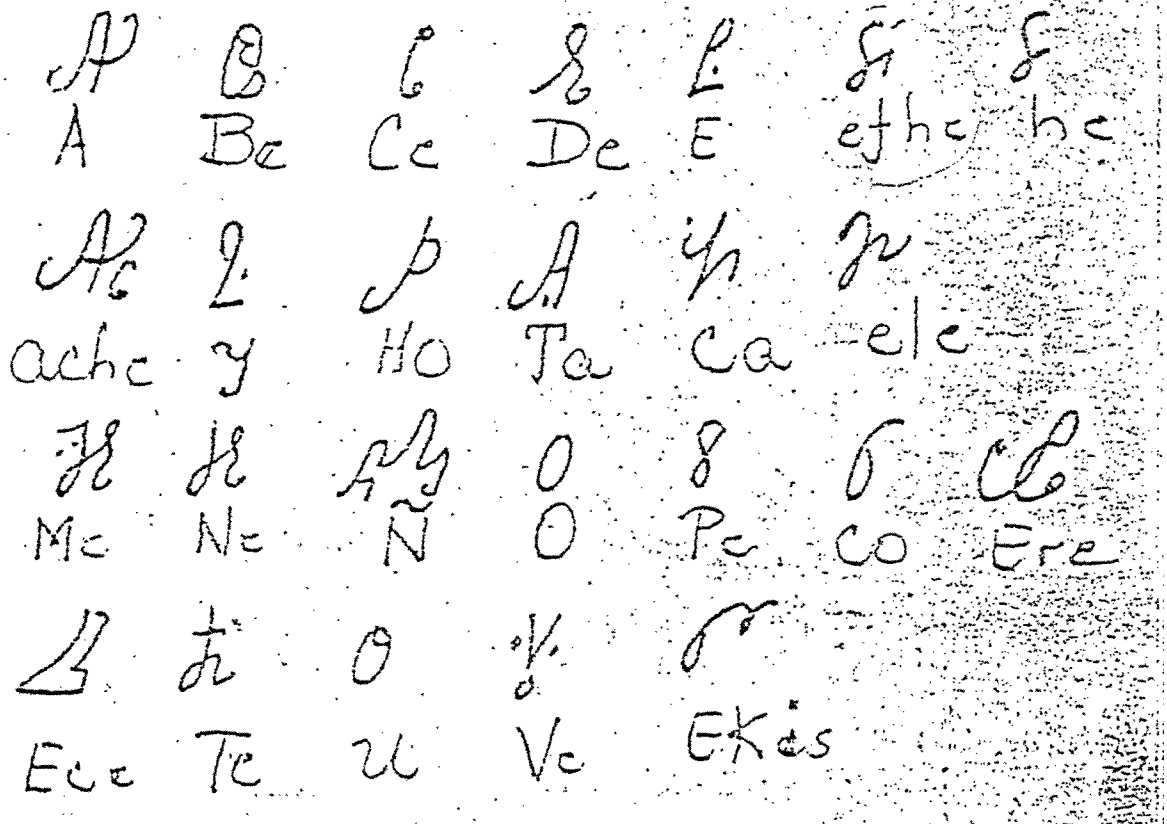
The graphemic units (the written symbols) of Ineskaya far outnumber the number of sounds that the language is supposed to represent. Among the linguistic tools of the Éskayan school, there is what they call the "Abedeja", which they themselves translate as "**ang alpabeto**" (the alphabet). The catalog has 25 characters. (cf. p. 127)

However, the alphabetic sequence would seem to exhibit some type of linguistic superfluity. As indicated for example, the Abedeja has visual symbols for five vowels in its alphabet { , , , , }, but language utterances do not use the sound of the [e] (low frontal, unrounded sound as in [bet]) and [o] (midback and rounded as in [omen]).

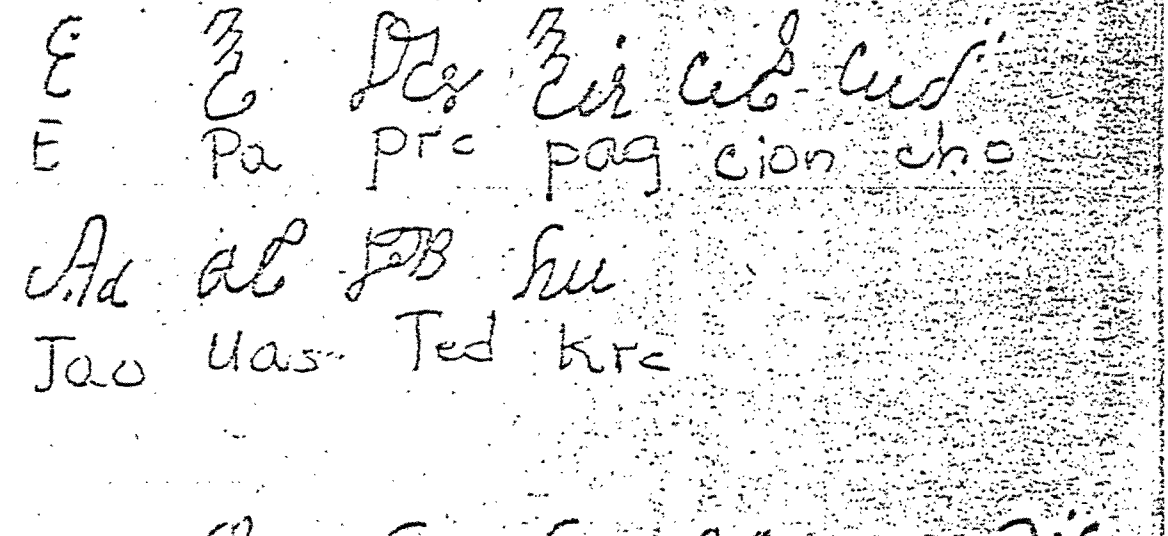
More importantly, this superfluity takes on even greater dimensions when one is introduced to another Ineskaya linguistic tool - the Askormos Meneme or the **Atekeses**. This body of graphemes extends the number of letters of the "Abedeja" from 25 to 46. The **Atekeses** is supposed to comprise all the cut-up parts of the body of man and is called the "letters of Pinay".

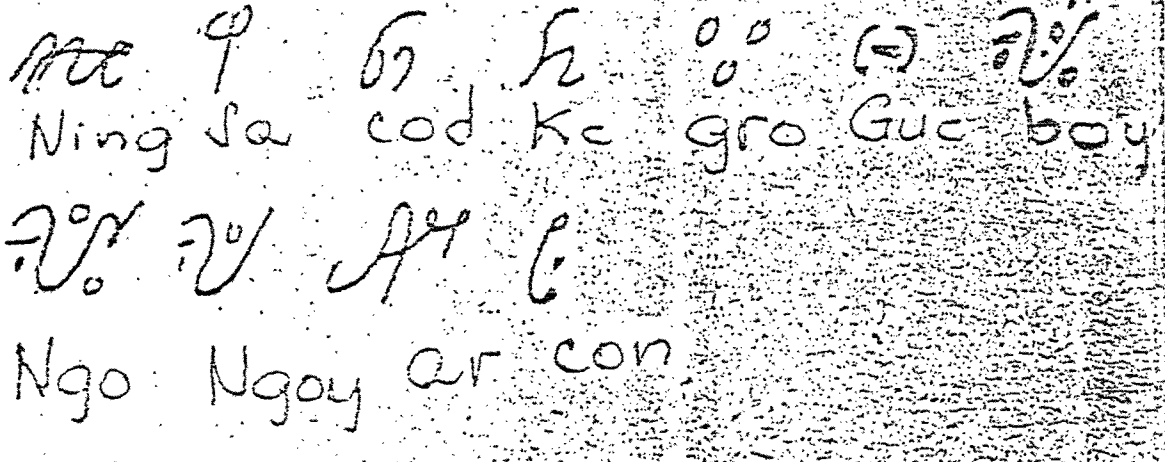
Aside from this two graphemic systems, Ineskaya also has the "Simplet" (cf. Appendix 1.1 for a copy of the

ANG ABEDEJA (Alphabeto)



Additional Graphemes to make up the ASKORMOS MENEME





entire text). The "Simplet" is really a catalog of all the Ineskaya syllables used in word construction. By comparative definition, the Ineskaya term may be validly translated as a syllabary. According to the Eskayas, it was the syllabary which Datahan found engraved on the ancient wooden tablets.

With the syllabary, there seems to be no linguistic function for the Abedeja nor the **Atekeses**. Ineskaya does not take one letter and hitch it on to another letter to form a word. Unlike the Roman alphabet, Ineskaya has a long list of graphemic equivalents for syllables, not letters. Based on this, one will have to conclude that the alphabetic sequence has functions that go beyond the language system to justify its existence.

The "Simplet" lists down a total of 1,102 autonomous graphemes. These syllables are arranged in this syllabary according to the following range of consonant-verb patterns:

CV Pattern	Ineskaya syllables		Sugbuanon Syllables	
CV			ba	be
VC			ar	ag
VV			ao	ua
CVV		(-)	nao	gue
VVC			ual	uam
CCV			bla	bra
CCVC			blang	blad

Chart 3. A Sampling of Ineskayan Syllabic Constructions

Provision is made within this range for the presence of syllables pronounced with a glottal stop. Stressed and unstressed syllables take on different visual representations :

Sugbuanon Syllables	Unstressed Ineskaya	Stressed Ineskaya
re		
he		
le		
ce		

Chart 4. Ineskaya Glottal Stops

On the matter of a structural system underpinning the formulation of these syllables, very little can be said. Except for the fairly consistent first character of each of the Ineskaya syllables, (bal is and bam is while sal is and sam is) no pattern is discernible in the construction of the rest of the sounds represented within the syllable. For example, bal ( ), gal ( ), and ral are written without any consistent representation for the sound of [l].[3]

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[3] There are a few exceptions to this. One is the first character in syllables like cal and cam. Here there is no pattern for the representation of the sound of the letter "c."

To further illustrate, note the grid :

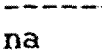
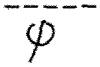
Sugbuanon Syllables	Ineskaya Syllables	[__]	[l]	[p]	[m]
ma					
na					
sa					
ba					

Chart 5. Ineskayan Syllabic Constructions.

Therefore, unlike stenography, Ineskaya does not merely affix one consistent representation of a sound to another but rather, it takes entirely new symbols for each of the syllables.

This feature of Ineskaya does not parallel a feature of typical Filipino pre-Hispanic scripts whose consonant and vowel patterns can easily be established all throughout the entire syllabary. The presence of dots below or above a consistent character like , will always indicate the vowel sounds of either [o-u] for the former, and [e-i] for the latter. The pattern holds true for where is [he-hi] and is [ho-hu]. This Ineskayan lack for linguistic economy results in a complex network of unrelated words, and logically, a greater number of graphemes for the language.

Morphemes

A survey of morphemes, or the smallest lexically meaningful units, either as Ineskaya base words or affixes would prove to be highly consistent for the affixes but

often incredibly variegated for base words.

With regard to affixes and affixation, some morphemic units are easily discernible. One example is the use of the word ᓕᓭ chden which may be translated into the Sugbuanon affix **ning**. This prefix acts as an indicator of action already done as in the words ᓕᓭᐱᓇ chdenllamon (ate). The same may be said for other affixes like ᒧᓭ moy which, may be translated as the verb affix **mi** to indicate action already done as in ᒧᓭ ᐱᔆ moysedamte which is **milansar** in Sugbuanon (to have launched a campaign). The word sedamte, simply means **lansar**. The affix ᒧᓭ is also seen in words like ᒧᓭᐟᓂ moytep which is **midukut**, in contrast to the use of the word tep , which again simply means **dukut** or (to stick). But while there is a use of affixation,it will be important to note that Ineskaya does not exhibit a highly consistent system of deriving meaning through affixes. [4]

In the construction of base words, the Eskayan syllabary is used to construct a relatively dense vocabulary (cf. Appendix 1.2 for the complete text of the "Pinulungan" (The Ineskaya Dictionary). A particular syllable is linked with another to form words in Ineskaya. The word bolbing for example, is the phonetic eqivalent of the Eskayan word ᐅᐧᓭᐣᐠ . The word is made up of two phonemes bol ᐅᐧ + bing ᓭᐣᐠ = ᐅᐧᓭᐣᐠ , which in

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[4] See the section on syntax for further examples of affixes.

English means (fur). ᜉᜉ ᜐᜒᜎ , phonetically analyzed is pay + pay ᜉ + pling ᜐᜒᜎ , which means "butterfly". This word figures prominently in an Eskayan narrative entitled the "Tumaw."

Following a sampler word list showing lexical differences between Ineskaya and Sugbuanon, there seems to be no significant ratio of cognates between the two languages (cf. p. 133 for a comparative word list between Ineskaya and Sugbuanon).

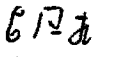
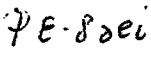
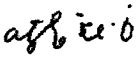
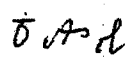
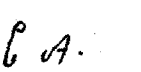
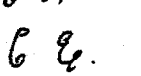
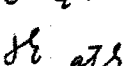
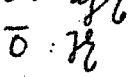
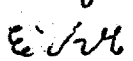
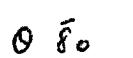
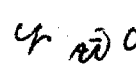
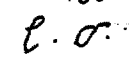
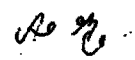
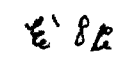
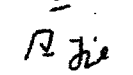
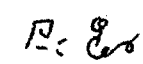
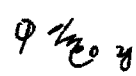
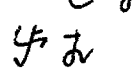
Regarding lexical construction, a note may be made on the proportionally few examples of Ineskaya binomials in relation to other Philippine languages. Otherwise, not much can be said regarding patterns for word formation, except for the presence of a few cases of duplicated roots like mate-mate meaning town; and interesting instances of logical affixation of compound nouns to form an entirely new lexical item. This , for example, is seen in the noun root llamon (eat) and krop (night). Put together, llamonkrop in Ineskaya means "supper."

As to semantic derivation, it becomes fairly obvious at the outset that there is a preponderance of many acculturated phonetic words. There are instances of Hispanized words (like esto or kon), and one word is specially glaring in its incongruity : the word for Philippines in Ineskaya is ᜉᜎᜒᜐᜆᜒᜈ , palistina.

Other cases of semantic acculturation are even graver in the sense that a direct loan word simply signifies an entirely different thing. Kristal for example

A COMPARATIVE WORD LIST

Ineskaya, Phonetic Ineskaya Sugbuanon, English

	INESKAYA	PHONETIC INESKAYA	SUGBUANON	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
1.		siliti	silhig	walis	broom
2.		sampris	papil	papil	paper
3.		liir	tinta	tinta	ink
4.		manto	panyu	panyu	hanky
5.		bohay	singsing	singsing	ring
6.		atchel	siya	siya	he/she
7.		chdian	sila	sila	they
8.		nima	inahan	nanay	mother
9.		bome	itlog	itlog	egg
10.		chdiamenter	ilung	ilung	nose
11.		pen	isda	isda	fish
12.		kabrom	kabaw	kalabaw	carabao
13.		eso	kalayu	kalayu	fire
14.		dapame	kamut	kamay	hand
15.		chdiopen	kabus	mahihirap	the poor
16.		mon	karon	ngayon	now
17.		letre	letra	letra	letter
18.		lendel	leyon	leyon	lion
19.		sapaw	medias	medias	socks
20.		kalti	ulo	ulo	head

has etymological roots in Spanish. However, in Ineskaya, this nowhere means "glass" or at least "clear." Rather, it is the word used for "owner". Plano , likewise, is not a plan but an inheritance. Using Sugbuanon etymology, the same can be said with words like sila, which in Ineskaya means "father". How a language can contain such etymological chaos and yet remain consistent throughout all its literary as well as spoken texts is almost amazing.

Syntax

While there is a wide range of difference between Ineskaya and Sugbuanon semantics, there is great evidence of an almost one-to-one correspondence between structural functions of lexical items in both languages.

Name-words

Ineskaya exhibits the same characteristics as the Sugbuanon noun, here defined as a lexical category which gives proper and common names of people, objects, places and concepts. The Ineskaya noun exhibits two syntactical features :

i) Uninflected Number - As indicated in sample 1, the plural form of nouns is indicated without -s/-es inflections.

Ineskaya :	ᜒᜎᜓᜒ	ᜀ.	ᜐᜓᜊᜒᜀᜈ	ᜐ᜔᜶	ᜒᜎᜄᜒ
Phonetic :	Gowalgo	ya	persiyan	remoy	gowago.
Sugbuanon:	Nanguli	sa	ilang	mga	sakayan.
Filipino :	Umuwi	sa	kanilang	mga	baroto.
English :	Left	on	their	many	boats.

Chart 6. Noun Inflections for Plurality

Like a majority of other Philippine languages, the plural is indicated by the particle **mga** placed before the nominal. In Ineskaya, the functional equivalent for this is remoy. Gram is also sometimes used in the same category.

ii) Noun Markers - Like the Sugbuanon **ang** and **si** for nouns in subject position, and **ni** and sometimes **ug** to indicate object position, **kang** for indirect object and **sa** for locative object; Ineskaya nouns are likewise identified as well as given functional position through the use of particles:

Sugnuanon Particles	Ineskayan Equivalents
ang	esto
sa	ya
si	vi
ug	e
ni	kon
kang	pov

Chart 7. Sugbuanon-Ineskaya Particles.

Sentence samples:

Phonetic Ineskaya : Chdendeyom esto lindel poy Leona.

Sugbuanon : Ningtubag ang lalaki kang Leona.

Filipino : Sumagot ang lalaki kay Leona.

Phonetic Ineskaya : Yi Leona van samo.

Sugbuanon : Si Leona di-ay ikaw.

Filipino : Si Leona pala ikaw.

Phonetic Ineskaya : Esto brel kon Leonsa

Sugbuanon : Ang kabayo ni Leonsa

Filipino : Ang kabayo ni Leonsa

Phonetic Ineskaya : Chdenbeling va persiyan gowago.

Sugbuanon : Ningbalik sa ilang sakayan.

Filipino : Bumalik sa kanilang baroto.

Noun Substitutes

Like Sugbuanon, some Ineskaya words are used as nominal substitutes for place-words, names and objects. Although there is no apparent trace of cognates, the functions of the range of Sugbuanon pronouns are all paralleled by Ineskaya words. Note the chart of phonetically transliterated Ineskaya pronouns :

Person	Singular Nominative / Objective	Plural Nominative / Objective
First	narin tompoy	nistro chdikto arhetika gochderen
Second	samo gochde	redellan
Third	atchel menenos	chdian merinos

Chart 8. Ineskayan Pronouns.

The parallel items with Sugbuanon are all-inclusive, as illustrated below :

Person	Singular Nominative/Objective	Plural Nominative/Objective
First	aku / kanaku	kami /kanamu kita /kanatu
Second	ikaw / kanimu	kaninyu
Third	siya / kaniya	sila /kanila

Chart 10. Sugbuanon Pronouns.

Verb Forms

Like many Philippine languages, Ineskaya does not have a direct equivalent for state-of-being verbs. The linking function of these verbs is carried by particles like **si** and **ang** as in **Maestra si Maria** (Teacher - {Particle} - Maria) or **Abogado ang iyang amahan.** (Lawyer - {Particle} - his father).

The expression of identification or existence is similarly expressed in Ineskaya. In the sentence sample, note how **ang** links the noun with its complement :

Phonetic : Esto sila va Noko pavpavpling.
Sugbuanon: **Ang amahan ni Noko Alibangbang.**
English : (The father of Noko- butterfly.)

Ineskaya words that express action are conjugated and function like Sugbuanon action verbs. On the most frequent verbal position, Ineskaya sentences parallel that of Sugbuanon: Verb + Marker + Noun.

Some samples :

Phonetic : Chdendevoma esto Noko
Sugbuanon: **Ningtubag ang kagaw**

Phonetic : Chdenklabo vi Leonsa
Sugbuanon : **Ningtingug si Leonsa**

Verbal Aspects are clearly defined in Ineskaya. Root words like reda or **panaw**; and devoma or **tubag** are affixed with different kinds of inflections to form tense classes, moods and voices. There is a consistent use of the infinitve form of the verb, which is then transformed according to the varying levels of verb tense, mood and voice.

sutina (Sugbuanon **luwas** English (to save)

sutinahon - **luwasa** (command to save)
kunsutina - **muluwas** (willingness to save)
sutinado - **luwason** (intention to save)
resutina - **pagluwas** (act of saving)

reda (Sugbuanon **panaw** English (to travel without direction)

moyreda	-	**mulakaw**	(intention to walk)
areda	-	**nilakaw**	(walked)
chdinreda	-	**ninglakaw**	(have walked)

Nouns may even be transformed in order to signify verbal functions :

brel (Sugbuanon **kabayo** English (horse)

brel	-	**kabayo**	(used as noun)
rekonbrel	-	**pakabayo**	(allow someone to ride)
moybrel	-	**mukabayo**	(intention to ride)

It can be noted however , that while the infinitives remain constant, and while Ineskaya has words to represent the entire range of Sugbuanon aspects of the verb (including cases of intentionality (**gi-kuha**) or non-intentionality (**na-kuha**); there seems to be no indication of a highly consistent system that would include all verbal inflections to indicate only one verbal aspect. Like Sugbuanon therefore, there is free use and exchange of any of the affixes that are in the use of Ineskaya.

Modifiers

Words that function as descriptives, intensifiers, and possessives are all likewise apparent in Ineskaya. Lexical items function like adjectives (dellentes (small), karde (tall); adverbs (kide (not), gevo. (right away), estohopo (on top of); ordinals (aba (first), raha (third) ;and possessives like (gona which is Sugbuanon imong, and

chdel (iyang).

Within this system of modification, there is an indication of the presence of a syntactical difference between Sugbuanon and Ineskaya. Adjectival positions in Sugbuanon are either (Adjective + {nga} + Noun) or (Noun + {nga} + Adjective). There is a a marked contrast in Ineskaya structure in the following sentences :

Phonetic :	de-al	gowago
Sugbuanon:	dako	sakayan

Phonetic :	esto	lindel	tinde
Sugbuanon:	ang	leon	babaye

Phonetic :	ya	karde	murol
Sugbuanon:	sa	taas	kahoy

Based on their lexicon, one can point to re as the lexical equivalent of nga in Sugbuanon. The use of re as a particle to identify an adjective is generally not used in Ineskaya. Apparently, a pre-nominal position is enough to point to a noun modifier, paralleling some Bahasa-Malayu adjectival structures. This syntactic difference with Sugbanon is specially jarring because it is only so persistently used in Eskayan translations of their own literary texts. However, when some speakers were asked to transliterate from Sugbuanon to Ineskaya, there was a tendency to use the "nga" in adjectival phrases. The older Eskayas who were more textually adept, did not seem to have any problem about confusing both structures. Here in a sense, here is a case of the written rest within a language system.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

1. As a system, Ineskaya cannot be as neatly categorized as other languages. It consists of an amalgam of different conventional language characteristics.

The metanarratives of an anthropology of language, generally classify languages according to several evolutionary stages.[5] According to these general texts, the first step towards the development of writing was that of drawing pictures to convey ideas. Eventually, logographic writing emerged. A basic group of pictographs were combined in numerous ways to provide thousands of distinctive symbols, each visually representative of the idea conveyed.

The syllabic system was the next step. Here, fixed symbols were attached to recurring syllables of spoken words, thus requiring far less signaling units. Also sometimes known as phonetic writing, here, each element corresponds to a specific sound in the language represented. In syllabic systems, the symbols ceased being self-interpreting pictures since no shape is to have existed between the shape of the symbol and the sound.

The final, and considered the most efficient of all language script types was the alphabetic. A small number of written signs called letters, were combined to form any of the sounds represented in spoken words. Below is a

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5 The Encyclopedia Americana. International Edition. Volume 1. (New York: Grolier, 1991), p. 618ff.

chronology of the "evolution" of the world's script systems :

Pictographic

Ideographic

Syllabic/Phonetic

Alphabetic

A study of Ineskaya will however make apparent that a language may traverse three planes in one stride.

Ineskaya has an alphabet, and at the same time, a syllabary. It also configures 46 random letters from its syllabary and calls it the **Askormos Meneme**, and say that each grapheme is a self-interpreting representation of a body part. This makes Ineskaya partly ideographic, syllabic and alphabetic. The unique blend of these three linguistic features all contribute to the abnormal yet potent character of the language. Since most "natural" languages are highly economical, and will most likely shed off unecessary linguistic features through time, one can, on this contrastive basis, very well justify the dismissal of Ineskaya as "fabricated".

To do so will answer many of the questions that one can ask regarding the Eskayan alphabet: the presence of Hispanic influences; the ominous parallelism it exhibits with Sugbuanon lexical items despite its unusual script; the convenience an alphabet gives to students learning a second language, and the linguistic superfluity of the entire alphabetic sequence. To stop at this allegation

however, will not answer why such a phenomenon exists. And as the Eskayan literary texts will later show, the exhibition of linguistic function for an alphabet taken from the cut up pieces of a man's body, is the least of the Eskayas' concerns.

2. The implications arising from the comparative differences between Ineskaya script and other typical languages, may cut both ways. On one hand, questions can be raised regarding unnatural linguistic economy and Ineskaya's lack of congruence with established pre-Hispanic syllabaries. On the other hand, the complexity produced by such an elaborate system of Ineskaya syllables; the persistence of a memory needed to master the characters; and the scrupulous attention needed to discern between one syllable from the other on the mere basis of a longer curved line or an additional twist; all point to the fact that Ineskaya is not a mere linguistic triviality. To the people who pore over , transcribe, copy and re-copy the Abedeja and the Simplet Sunday after Sunday, Ineskaya is serious business. Furthermore, these painstaking efforts to master the language is made even more baffling by the very fact that the Eskayas do not use the language as a necessary tool for communication. Apparently, the Eskayas use the language for purposes other than that which Sugbuanon or a native dialect is used for. As the following chapter will show, the language is used as a form of ideological subversion.

3. Ineskaya is a highly functional yet amorphous

linguistic deviant. With hardly any lexical cognates with Sugbuanon, or any other major Philippine language, it yet exhibits their syntactical characteristics, and proceeds to structure its lexicon into a system of signification.

It will thus not be farfetched to assert that Ineskaya may be some form of speech disguise. In several studies, Harold Conklin has noted that the phenomenon existed quite prevalently during the Second World War. In his "Tagalog Speech Disguise," Conklin outlines several of the methods for the production of "hog-latin speech" which he terms as "baliktad". [6] The material on which the paper was based were recordings from Tagalog speakers in California and in the Philippines (Luzon and Mindoro). Of note is the observation that guerillas in the war often used such speech disguises to conceal plans/strategies.

In "Linguistic Play in its Cultural Context," Conklin uses material from the Hanunoo and proceeds to again outline the "methods of modifying the normal patterns of speech for the purposes of entertainment and concealment." [7] He gives six types of linguistic play : a) rearrangement of the phonetic content of polysyllabic words as in **balaynun** to **nulayban**. b) substitution of a particular consonant phoneme for the final consonant

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6 Harold Conklin, "Tagalog Speech Disguise," Language. (Volume 32 No.1), pp.136 ff.

7 Harold Conklin, "Linguistic Play in its Cultural Context," Language. (Volume 35, No. 4 ,1959), pp.631 ff.

phoneme of each pollysyllabic word (as in barang may bungang asang sa kantang katagbung) c) affixation with partials d) reduplicative suffixation e) discontinuous substitution. Conklin further on gives the contexts for Hanunoo linguistic play, the most prominent being those of courting youths, who must be able to perform their roles successfully before any marriage is to take place. One of these roles would be "to master the art of facile, rapid conversation, in which the highest value is placed on the most indirect method of statement". [8]

Based on these instances of linguistic play in Philippine languages, it may be said that Ineskaya would have some degree of possibility of it being akin to "pig-latin".

However, an assessment of the syllabary and the Ineskayan lexicon would seriously interrogate this assertion. The hispanized etymology of some words, the sheer variability of word construction, the usage of some consistent affixes in verbs, and the total absence of any trace of phonetic manipulation in words like esto to mean, all point to the fact that Ineskaya is definitely more than linguistic "play."

Furthermore, Ineskaya has some semblance to bahasa-malayu adjectival structures. And whether this indicates some ancient copied text or just some spur of the moment linguistic creativity, one cannot be sure. The only

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8 Ibid.

conclusion this research will make is that Ineskaya is a highly acculturated linguistic phenomenon, probably overdetermined by an ideology of a single person, probable traces of some linguistic data that may have pre-hispanic origins, and a communal response to a post-colonial situation. [9]

But the probabilities are endless. One thing is sure though - the language works, and works well.

4. "Natural languages" usually begin with the spoken phenomenon. This, in time, becomes "encoded" and thus visually represented. Ineskaya in a real sense, subverts this sequence. In the beginning was the word. From the "word", an entire complex language system has been generated. The undifferentiated terrain of the spoken which a natural language is supposed to contain, is just not historically there. This linguistic deviation has several implications.

First, that there need be no a priori "spoken" reality for the generation of an encoded medium. One in a real sense, can begin with the medium and construct a reality from it.

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9 See Chapter 5 for a reading of Ineskaya as subversive text.

Second, that this deviation has restrained linguistic change. The ascendance of the word over linguistic usage has contained the language system, and has, rather than express a transcendent ever-changing reality, produced and ordered it.

Third, that there is no such thing as a purely linguistic function for a language. On this premise, there can therfore be no iron-clad rules regarding a natural process for a linguistic evolution towards economy nor clarity.

CHAPTER V

ANG GAHUM SA LETRA : CONSTRUCTIVITY AND THE ESKAYAN LANGUAGE

A community (i.e., a nation, tribe, federation) is "imagined" principally because it does not exist. It is constructed out of cultural tools, ideologies, histories. People who may not know each other, may not even meet each other, are bonded into a collective identity because of some homogenized commonality - a common ancestry, a common history, or a common language.

Language, perhaps more than any other cultural mode, has the greatest capacity to generate social imaginaries. As medium and as form-in-itself, certain characteristics of language are peculiarly powerful in the task of constructing collectivities. The Eskayas, in their agenda of subverting colonial/dominant powers, look at colonization not only as a military/political conquest, but also, and even more importantly, as linguistic. The colonizers, through acts of "symbolic violences" have imposed their cultural arbitraries on the colonials, and have succeeded in making them believe that the colonizers are essentially and necessarily better/more sophisticated/more civilized.

But the Eskayas refuse to be interpellated. To the colonizers' imposition of a "superior language" which they have so graciously brought with them to help "civilize" the

indios, the Eskayas interrogate/utilize/contrast the habitus with their own subversive responses to linguistic domination. By working with the same tools that hegemony has utilized, Ineskaya uses the power of the written word, and parades the complexity of their language. In doing so, the Eskayas in so many ways succeed in delegitimizing the social imaginaries of Power.

THE POWER OF THE WRITTEN

An un-inscripted collectivity is scarcely "imaginable." Collectivities that remain "oral," are deemed volatile, inchoate and tenuous. Orality is often the mark of "sub-cultures," and it is not unusual for people to seek to raise the status of their collective identity by seeking to "break into print" or make their culture a reading/writing (i.e., literate) culture. Latin or Chinese were supposed to have collectivized empires and dynasties across vast geographic spaces through language - and not just language per se, but language which had achieved the status of text.

But what is in the written word that wields so much collectivizing power ?

The written creates and fixes cultural realities. The written gives form to reality and so transforms its spectral state to that which is permanent and stable. The written, because it fixes fugitive images of reality, allows reality to become "real." It allows one to build the image of tradition and antiquity because the temporal has been allowed to enter into the realm of the material. The written

allows infinite reproduction. The written, more than the oral, is more effective at generating cohesive meaning where there was none.

Through the written, people are also made to exercise the very faculties needed for the imagining of a collectivity. When one reads or writes, there is an entering into a realm of abstraction. There is a suspension of time, and the cutting across of geographic spaces. The non-material affinities between two people writing/reading the same text parallel the non-material affinities of citizens of nations, or members of a club.

Given these powers, and given the entire parade of culturally sophisticated "nations" with their rich tradition of venerable, written languages it becomes almost mandatory for enterprising "sub-cultures" to break into the the realm of the written if it is to change its subordinate, inchoate status. The Eskayas, faced with an erased pre-Hispanic Visayan script, and the colossal edifices of Spain's written culture, simply wrest the power of the written from an ambiguous pre-Hispanic past and a towering colonial presence, and then contruct a linguistic system for their own use.

The Enigmatic Visayan Script

If the existence of a written language is any measure of cultural sophistication, then the Philippines, especially the Visayas, has some problems. That the Philippines had its own systems of encoding its many languages/dialects is of

course, a "historic fact" that seems to go uncontested by many Philippine scholars. But while the existence of writing systems seem indubitable, many questions may be raised on the issues of the extent of their usage and their antiquity. This is especially true vis-a-vis Visayan scripts. Not only are there no palaeographic remains, but the Spanish records that talk about Visayan scripts remain highly ambiguous, if not contradictory.

The earliest Spanish document that has some relation to Philippine scripts is Pigafetta's chronicle of the expedition of Magellan in 1521. Pigafetta gives a list of Cebuano nouns but does not mention any system of writing that existed in Cebu.[1] In an incident mentioned in the same text, chief Colambu along with the natives of Limasawa, were asked by the Spaniards for the local names of different objects. These local names were said to have been written down by Pigafetta and when the words were read aloud, the natives "were all amazed." [2] It would seem from this incident, that the concept of a script was probably something new to the natives of Limasawa in 1525.

In 1582, Loarca's Relacion de las Islas Filipinas was published. The document, written by "one of the earliest conquistadores and settlers" of the Philippines, is particularly relevant to this study because of its mention of the Visayan script. Having settled in an encomienda in

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1 Antonio Pigafetta, First Voyage Around the World. (Manila: Filipina Book Guild. 1969), pp. 48-52.

2 ibid.

Iloilo, Loarca proceeded to rectify what he considered a neglect - "neither ecclesiastics nor laymen have undertaken to relate what occurred in this land at the time of conquest." Regarding a Philippine script in the Visayas, Loarca is unequivocal [3]

> Since these natives [the Visayans] lack the art of writing, they preserve their ancient tradition through their songs, which they are wont to sing while rowing, being island people, they sing them in a very pleasing manner. During their drinking feasts they have singers, also of good voice who chant the exploits of old times, and thus they always have a knowledge of the past.

Oral tradition seemed to be the chief means for preserving communal lore. According to Loarca, Visayan religions, legends and historic accounts were not inscripted.

Further on, Loarca reaffirms his observations regarding the absence of a Philippine syllabary in non-Muslim parts of the Philippines :

> Thus the principal chief made the laws that he deemed necessary, because these Moros had the art of writing, which all the other natives of the island did not have.

In contrast to the linguistic conditions recorded by Loarca in the Visayas, Chirino, in a publication appearing twenty years after Loarca's Relacion, writes

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3 Miguel de Loarca, " Relacion de las Islas Filipinas". Iloilo, June 1582, translated and annotated in Blair and Robertson, Volume 5, pp. 34-187.

of conditions in the Luzon areas in the 1600's. [4]

> So given are all these island people to writing and reading, that there is scarcely a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in the characters used in Manila... They write on bamboos and palm leaves, using the an iron point for a pen. At present. they write not only their letters, but also ours, with a very well cut pen and on paper, like ourselves. They have learned our language and pronunciation and write it as well as we do, even better, because they are so clever that they learn anything with the greatest ease.

On the Visayan islands, Chirino specifically writes that the Visayans "are most unaffected and simple, because their language is crude and less developed. They do not have so many words of refinement, because they did not have the art of writing, having adopted it from the Tagalogs only a few years back ." [5]

This account is of course congruent to Loarca's observation, Chirino having written down his observation in the 1600's. However, it may be valid to ask how a people could have adopted a writing system in a matter of less than 20 years. Interestingly, Morga in his Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, published in 1609, says that the people of Panay and Cebu had one and the same language, which they wrote down with "letters and characters of their own which they possess. These resemble those of the

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4 Pedro Chirino, Relacion de las Filipinas, Rome, 1604. Ed. with English Translation. Ramon Echevarria, (Manila : Historical Conservation Society, 1969), p.45.

5 Ibid.

Arabs. The common manner of writing among the natives is on the leaves of trees and bamboo bark." [6]

He parallels this with his observation regarding the people of Luzon, and the characteristics he gives of the script system in both the Bisayas and Luzon areas are similar [7]

> the natives throughout the islands write very well, in characters that are almost like the Greek or Arabic ... the method of writing was on bamboo, and now on paper, the lines running from the right to the left, in the Arabic manner. Almost all the natives, both men and women, write in this language, and there are few who do not write it well and correctly.

In Los Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos, published in 1895, Cipriano Marcilla y Martin outlines the controversy that had been spawned regarding the existence of a Visayan script which was indigenous to the islands.[8] He quotes from Delgado's Historia sacro-profana .[9]

> El P. Delgado en su Historia sacro-profana nos dice : que " casi todos en Visayas saben escribir en sus caracteres, y estos los gravan en un cañuto grueso de caña verde, comenzando de arriba para abajo; empieza el primer renglon desde la mano

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6 Antonio de Morga, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas. Ed. Jose Rizal. (Paris: Garnier, 1890). First Published in Mexico City, 1609. .ls2

7 ibid.

8 Cipriano P. Marcilla, Estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos. (Malabon : Asilo de Huerfanos, 1895), 44ff.

9 As quoted by Marcilla from P. Delgado. Historia sacro-profana. (Manila, 1892),p. 331.

> izquierda acabando a la mano derecha el ultimo. Tambien escriben en palmas u hojas de platanos y otros arboles con mucha curiosidad y pulidez, sirviendoles de pluma un cuchillo grande o pequeno llamado sipol por los visayas; y este modo de escribir en hojas fue el natural y primitivo.

Marcilla contrasts Delgado's assertion with Chirino's which says that the Visayans "como ni tenian letras... " Then Marcilla concludes the controversy by quoting Colin: " los visayas tomaron sus letras de los tagalos. Resulta de lo dicho que no hay alfabeto visaya distinto del tagalo. " [10,11]

Perhaps the exposition of this debate should stop here. The equivocation seems irreconcilable, and the presence of so much of it somehow creates the notion that the matter is simply of no consequence. And whether Chirino or Morga or Delgado are right in their assertions regarding the Visayan script system, the issue does not seem to be anywhere near settled. To many, there seems to be not much need to.

10 As quoted by Marcilla from the prologue of P. Colin's Labor Evangelica. Madrid, 1663.

11 Of the more recent studies, Filipino scholars like .O.D. Corpuz in his Roots of the Filipino Nation.Quezon City, Aklahi Foundation, 1989. p.36. makes the following conclusions regarding the Visayan syllabary:

> ... the existence of the art of writing in the archipelago before the Spanish era is evidenced by the obviously pre-Spanish syllabaries and Loarca's indisputable testimony... Writing developed among the Visayans with the use of the Tagalog script, before 1600 but after 1565.

Ineskaya and Linguistic Dogma

If there has been equivocation, and sometimes the imputation of irrelevance over the question of whether the Visayans had a script or not, these do not seem to have in any way affected the Eskayas. Their texts clearly, and resolutely assert that there was a distinct pre-Hispanic Visayan script, and that the script was used extensively in the islands.

The Eskayan texts deliberately and incisively deal with the post-Hispanic linguistic habitus, and hold an unequivocal stance against the oppressiveness of the Castilian language. They are clear-headed over how Spanish hegemony perpetuated asymetrical power relationships through the **letra**.

According to several Eskayan texts (i.e., among them the "Bisayan Declarado" and the "Pagtulun-an sa Bisayas"), Spanish colonization was not only a physical/military conquest. It was also ideological. Based on the assumption that the presence of a writing system is often an index for cultural sophistication, the marginalization of the indigenous native language - its script and the texts that were written in it, was seen as a mode of ideological subordination .

When the Spaniards came, they were said to have deliberately set out to wrest cultural ascendancy in two ways -- they destroyed/razed the indigenous script and/or they so marginalized the Philippine languages

that they were de-valorized and ultimately became extinct. Though not totally destroyed, Ineskaya was similarly occluded, and forced into hiding (in caves or dense forests), and denigrated as "primitive" and "pagan." Its material and ideological destruction as a dominant language, a fate shared by other pre-Hispanic syllabaries, has resulted in the development of a western-based linguistic habitus that served to maintain the domination of the destroyer.

In the perception of the Eskayas, Sugbu (Cebu) is specially castigated for its ready acquiescence to Spanish domination. In "Bisayan Declarado," Cebu is loathed for its treachery - i.e., for allowing the marginalization of the indigenous script and for adopting the Spanish letters which are perceived as the letters of enslavement. Cebu is imagined as not only a willing subordinate, but also a collaborator. With the printing press, Cebu helped spread the teachings of Spain and further drove the Visayan utopia into hiding. Thus the linguistic habitus of the Bisayas is represented as a dim picture of treachery and collaboration. Those who have allowed the Spanish **letra** to become ideologically dominant, are caricatured as senseless dupes, unable to see the real implications of adopting the Spanish letters. To the Eskayas, to accept and use the Spanish script means to accept the letters of enslavement. To write using the Spanish script is tantamount to denying the ascendancy of indigenous Visayan culture, and to admitting Spanish cultural

superiority. To anyone trying to subvert Spanish domination, the Eskayas believe that the battle had already been lost even at the very outset on the basis of "form."

The retrieval of inscribed Ineskaya from a cave is thus pregnant with cultural meaning. First, it is incontrovertible proof of cultural ascendancy. A culture with its own "written" language is not a something to be trifled with. Through this significant "act," Spanish justifications for benevolent colonization are questioned and ultimately found unsubstantial. In this deliberate act of "disidentification", there is, in the juxtaposition of Eskayan and Spanish letters, a refusal to be a willing linguistic "subject".

THE POWER OF LINGUISTIC COMPLEXITY

The Eskayans continue to use the power of language in their construction of a collective by not only foregrounding a language which has textual status but also that which has highly complex linguistic features. These linguistic features, and its attendant capacity to "express" anything do not only invalidate the Spanish claims of a need to supplant whatever extant scripts were in use at the time of colonization, it also showcased the linguistic range that the Eskayas were capable of using.

The Pre-Hispanic Syllabary: A Descriptive Analysis

Based on Ezguerra's Arte de la Lengua Bisaya. and and Mentrida's Arte de la Lengua Bisaya Hiliguaina de la Isla de Panay documentations of Visayan scripts, (cf.p. for a comparative analysis as given by Marcilla, pp. 10ff.), the following generalizations may be made regarding Visayan writing systems. 12

a) there are three graphemes for vowels :

a e-i o-u

b) That from the accounts of Spanish chroniclers, there were 13-15 consonant syllable signs, which according to Fox, varied "according to the phonological needs of the particular language written."

These consonants were :

b d g h k l m n ng p s t w y

c) These consonants with no **korlets** or **kurdits**, were pronounced with the vowel "a." Thus, the consonants were read out as :

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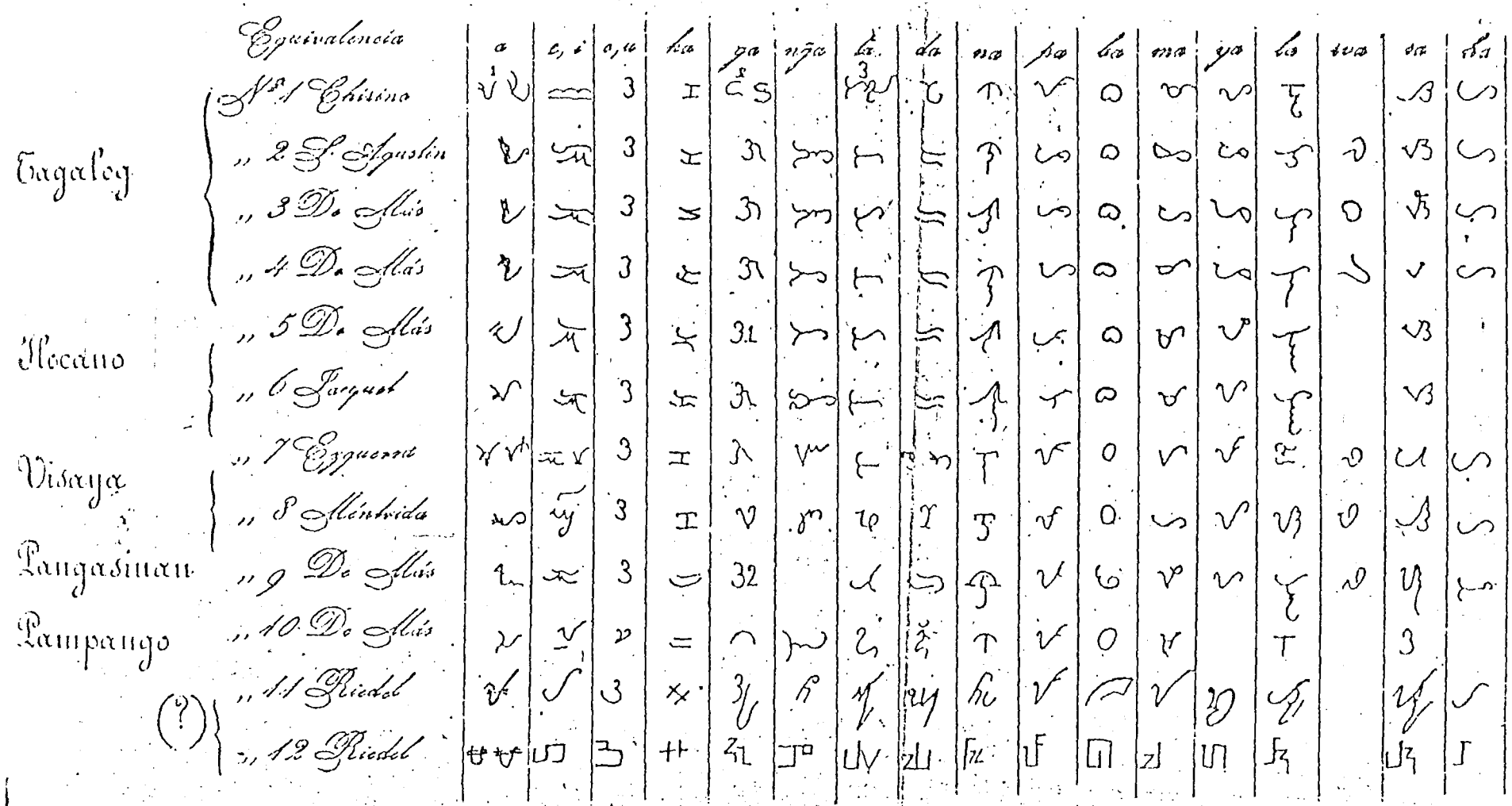
12 F. Landa Jocano makes a comparative analysis of at least sixteen types of scripts based on existing documents. He concludes that in spite of variations, the scripts share common features : Jocano, Philippine Prehistory, pp. 193 ff.

Núm. 6.

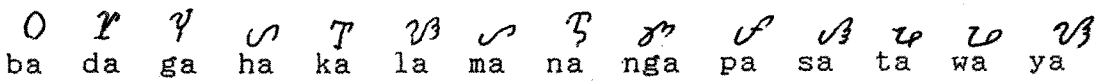
Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos



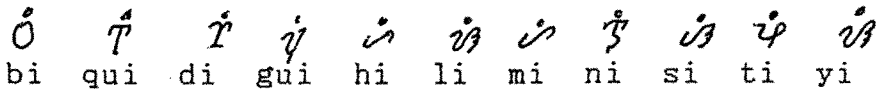
1, 2, 3, letras dadas por Thévenot de los de Chirino.

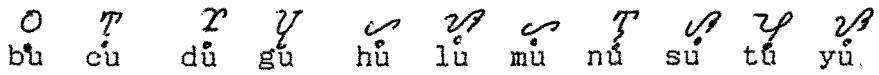
Pardo de Tavera.

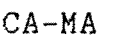
159-A

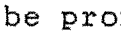
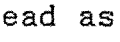

ba da ga ha ka la ma na nga pa sa ta wa ya

A **korlet** above the consonant meant that the letter should be read with the vowel i-e, while a **korlet** below meant pronouncing the letters with the vowels o-u.


bi qui di gui hi li mi ni si ti yi


bu cu du gu hu lu mu nu su tu yu

d) To construct a word, the syllables would be joined together as in  CA-MA or BU-CU.

e) Because they could not be graphemically represented, final consonants for syllables were "assumed".  could thus be pronounced as either **cantar** or **captas.**  was read as **barba.**

The Spaniards Assess

Based on these characteristics, the pre-Hispanic syllabaries, were often seen as "inadequate" or "insufficient" by the Spanish colonizers during the conquest. From a hierarchical comparison, the Philippine letters were seen as inferior. This inferiority is traced to two sources: a)the lack of graphemes to represent the i-e and o-u sound distinctions, as well as some consonantal phonemes b) the slippage of meaning that

resulted from the constant "guessing" that resulted from the non-representation of final consonants. Of the former "lack," various Spanish linguists have made denigrating remarks. Totanes in Arte de la Lengua tagala tagala published in 1745, states: [13]

> There are only three vowels : because E and I are commonly mistaken for each other and are used almost indifferently, now one, now the other, especially in writing... At the beginning of the sentence, there is no need to look for E, owing to the barbarity of the Tagalogs. The same occurs with O and U...E and O they call "malata", i.e. soft [blanda]. I and U they call "matigas", i.e. hard [dura]. Such is the explanation of the indios for violating our five vowels.

On consonants, Totanes continues, [14]

> They have no F but they supplement it with a P so that to say confesar, they say compisal. Nor LL to say cavallo, they say cabayo, because they substitute for it a Y. Nor do they have X or Z, or J, substituting for them S... Neither do they have a strong R, so that to say ramo, they say damo, because they supplement it with a D... Neither do they have a Ce or Ci...

The other "lack", and in many cases to the Spanish, a more glaring indication of the "barbarity" of the syllabary, was its inability to express final consonant sounds. This was deemed deficient because it resulted in so much confusion. The ladino (a bilingual native), was

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[13] Sebastian Totanes, Arte de la lengua tagala manual para la administracionde los Santos Sacramentos. (Manila: Convento de Nuestra Senora de Loreto, 1745), p.1 (As quoted by Rafael in Contracting Colonialism, Ateneo de Manila Press, p.52.

[14] Ibid., p. 52

even said to have difficulties in reading a text written in the Philippine script. [15]

> ... la escritura ... que de suyo es tan manca, y tan confusa (por no tener hasta agora modo como escribir las consonantes suspensas, digo las que no hieren vocal); que al mas ladino le hace detenerse, y le da bien en que pensar en muchas palabras para venir a darles la pronunciacion que pretendio el que escribio .

In an almost scornful opposition to Morga's 1603 statement in Sucesos which praises the Philippine script in its ability, with only points and commas (**puntillos y comas**) to fully express all that one can want to express using the Spanish alphabet, Marcilla quotes a series of Spanish scholars who beg to disagree, (among them Gaspar de San Agustin and Tomas), and concludes by saying - [16]

> Luego es un absurdo decir que con unos puntillos y comas combinan y significan todo lo que se quire escribir, `tan copiosa y facilmente, como se hace en nuestro alfabeto espanol.´

Generally, the Spanish scholars thought that the Philippine script could not be anything less than confusing, deficient and lacking. The notion of using the Philippine syllabary to express such noble concepts as the **virgen** or **confesar** was simply "absurd". The Philippine writing system had to be superseded by the Castilian alphabet. With these legitimations provided by Spanish scholars, the linguistic conquest was swift and sure.

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15 Francisco Lopez , Belarmino, 1621 as quoted by Marcilla in Los Alfabetos .(1895), p.69.

16 Ibid.

And it is significant to note that while only ten percent of the entire Philippine population could actually understand Castilian, [17] the use of the Castilian alphabet in the writing of Philippine native languages literally spread like wildfire. Thus, while the Spanish language remained inaccessible, the use of Spanish letters became so widespread that there are hardly any extant documents today that have been written in any of the Philippine syllabaries. The few exceptions are the inscriptions on the Batangas pottery, and, according to Scott, some specimens of native signatures in the archives of the University of Sto. Tomas.[18] Of a syllabary in current usage, only two contemporary ethnic minority groups, the Tagbanwas of Palawan and the Hanunoo of Mindoro are said to have retained their traditional script.[19] This shift to Castilian letters in the writing of the vernacular languages was so fast-paced that by 1604 Chirino says that the people "... have learned our language, pronouncing and writing it as well as we,

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17 Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903, 3 Volumes. (Washington,D.C. : U.S. Government Printing Office, 1905). Vol.3 p. 594 ff.

18 As cited by Corpuz, Roots of the Filipino Nation. p. 24.

19 Jocano, Philippine Prehistory, p.200.

and even better..."[20] And while Colin complained in 1663 that the people "cling fondly to their own method of writing and reading. There is scarcely a man, and still less a woman, who does not know and practice that method, even those who are already Christian in matters of devotion,[21] Totanes in The Tagalog Alphabet in our Castilian Characters, published in 1745 could say that it was a rare indio who would still know how to read the Pre-Hispanic syllabary. "All of them read and write our Castilian letters now."[22]

As these indicate, the conquest of Castilian, which began at the centers, was extensive and enduring. And this conquest, more than anything, was a conquest not so much through the Castilian language, but, more specially, through the Castilian letters. From that time one, there was a new script with which to re-inscribe Philippine culture.

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20 Chirino, p. 45.

21 Francisco Colin, "Native Races and their Customs," in Blair and Robertson, Philippine Islands, vol XL, pp. 37-98.

22 Totanes, p. 1.

Ineskaya and Linguistic Subversion

Into this dominant linguistic habitus, the Eskayan script stands in stark opposition. Inspite of these pre-set dispositions towards the Spanish language, the Eskayas refused to conform. Through Ineskaya they subverted and still persist in undermining this symbolic western habitus in two ways: first by "retrieving" an occluded language, and secondly, by asserting the pre-eminence of this language over its hegemonic "other".

In terms of the first move, the Eskayas began with a delineation of the post-Hispanic linguistic habitus, and then proceeded to subvert it. In terms of the second, the Eskayas did an almost step-by-step linguistic subversion of everything that the Spanish letters seemed to have taken as bases for the categorization of Philippine syllabaries as "lacking" or "insufficient." These two moves will be explained in the succeeding sections respectively.

From this linguistic space cleared through Eskayan interrogations of various axiomatics of the Spanish colonial metanarrative, Ineskaya continues its symbolic subversion. Through a series of linguistic launches (i.e., the **Abedeja** the **Atekeses** and the **Simplet**), Ineskaya tries to prove that the Spanish suppression of Philippine syllabaries (especially Ineskaya), was unjustified.

Based on the metanarratives of language evolution, the final, and considered the most efficient (i.e.

linguistically economical) script type is that of the alphabetic system. A small number of written signs called letters, are combined to form any of the individual sounds represented in the spoken word. In a sense then, what was a whole chaotic network of one signifier corresponding to one signified, had been reduced, by the alphabetic system, to autonomous arbitrary units that yield almost an infinite number of combinations. For example, the Roman alphabet consisting of 26 letters is often categorized as more linguistically sophisticated as compared with other major languages like Chinese which has thousands of characters standing for individual words. Through time, other languages, seeing the linguistic viability of the alphabetic system, have consciously adopted or constructed an alphabetic system. The cyrilic alphabet was constructed by Cyril and Methodius in 861, in order to simplify the languages of the Slavs that they had converted to Christianity. The Cyrpriotes of the island of Cyprus have likewise developed an alphabet of their own. Starting with an unknown word-syllable system, they worked out an alphabet of 56 signs, each corresponding to an initial consonant with a different vowel.

Within this context, it becomes significant that the Eskayas likewise proudly display on woodblocks on the walls of their schools their **Abedeja**. As a linguistic system, the letters exhibit some intriguing characteristics that both subverts the supposed language

development paradigm with its attendant hierarchy as well as supersedes it.

The Abedeja consists of 25 characters, each character taken from the Eskayan syllabary. As a letter sequence, it is linguistically superfluous. It is in some sense only a "visual" alphabet , in as much as it does not exhibit the working principles which an alphabet uses. Ineskaya morphemes are constructed from a syllabic system, not alphabetic.

A consistent pattern can be discerned in the choice of the graphemes that consist the alphabetic sequence - they approximate the Roman letters when orally produced. This may be significant because the usual alphabetic sequences constructed out of pre-Hispanic syllabaries, would usually use the graphemes for A, BA, KA, DA. Ineskaya's alphabet handpicks from its syllabary, not , which is the BA equivalent, but which is BE. In the same way, it uses the graphemes for "see" (the letter C), or "dee" , for the letter D, or "tee" for the letter T. As orally produced, the **Abedeja** seems to show that all the sounds of the Spanish alphabet can be easily inscribed in the Eskayan script.

On the one hand, this attempt at alphabetic parallelism may be seen as an incipient valorization of the linguistically dominant Other. After all, imitation is the highest form of praise. On the other hand, the sequence may also be seen as a a form of linguistic

subversion. Theoretically, this construction of an alphabet out of a syllabary can be seen as a clever straddling across the hierarchies of language systems. Ineskaya traverses the planes of ideographic, syllabic and alphabetic systems in one stride. If anyone, for a minute would think that Ineskaya was not linguistically sophisticated, or that the incriptions were somehow insufficient as a system of signifiers, then they would have to think again. After all, Ineskaya could represent quite adequately - and even more.

To carry the subversion further, Ineskaya expands its alphabetic system from a basic core of 25 letters to 46. The Atekeses consists of 21 more graphemes that together with the **Abedeja,** functions by wresting linguistic pre-eminence from Sugbuanon or Castilian letters.

This subversion is clearly expounded in several Eskayan texts. The Askormos Meneme, for example, relates the basics of Ineskaya letter derivation. A contrast is often made between the Spanish letters, **ang mga letra sa kaulipnon** (letters of enslavement) and the Eskayan alphabet. The latter, although imprisoned by the Spanish letters, is shown to be actually pre-eminent.

The basic reason for this assertion rests on their idea that the entire Atekeses is a corporeal, organic and cohesive system. Eskayan texts show that each letter in the Atekeses is a representation of a portion, or a specific position of the human body. Putting the letters

together will result in a biological system whose parts are neither expedient nor extraneous. The Atekeses is **ang balasahon sa lawas sa tao**(a text of the body of man). To cut up and then to put back. The parts can do nothing less but "live".

In contrast, the Spanish letters are shown to be discrete, fragmented, and mere inorganic/non-human representations of various kinds of objects: a pair of scissors, a school of fish, or a monkey's tail. The Eskayans mock the anarchic arbitrariness with which the Spanish letters are constructed. The Eskayas also scorn its inorganicity. To them these constructed characteristics of the Spanish letters are unacceptable, (re: if anyone constructs, they better construct well) and so imply that the Spanish letters are inferior. The use of such letters can only result in texts that will only be **hangin ra sa baba** (air in the mouth). Likewise, those who adopt such a linguistic system can be no better than its script : fragmented, non-collective and amorphous.

If the **Abedeja** and the Atekeses have a primarily interpellative function, the Simplet continues the agenda of linguistic subversion by seeking to match, and even surpass the linguistic features supposedly characteristic of dominant Philippine languages. The 1,102 characters in the Eskayan syllabary is a more than sufficient pool of graphemes for the phonemic and morphemic inscriptions of words in Spanish, Cebuano and even English. It has

graphemes for five vowels (even if spoken Ineskaya does not use it), graphemes for the NG sound of Visayan words, the LL and Ñ of Spanish, and even consonant blends like BR or FL of English. Moreover, its syllabic system does not exhibit the "barbaric" characteristic of pre-Hispanic syllabaries which had no system for recording final consonant sounds. Almost mockingly, there are Eskayan graphemes for three consecutive final consonants like chrch.

The Eskayan syllabary even has an added distinction of having different characters for syllables with or without the glottal stops. The Visayan words that distinguish between **basa** (which is either "wet" or "to read") is rendered fixed and unequivocal with the Eskayan distinctions between sa and sa^.

And even going beyond this basic sufficiency, Ineskaya goes further by having graphemes for phonemes that are not used in Spanish or Cebuano words. The [chd] is a phoneme used in many Ineskaya words.

Therefore, the Eskayan "letra" as systematized in the **Abedeja** the Atekeses and the **Simplet**, is a rich panoply of linguistic and non-linguistic significations that are highly subversive in nature. On the basis of its comprehensiveness, cohesiveness, and basic sufficiency, the writing system not only has tried to approximate the characteristics of the dominant language, more than anything, it also has attempted to subvert it. Ineskaya as a highly significant cultural objectification, can be

seen as an icon that interpellates the hegemonic habitus with a type of subversion that can only come from symbols.

Through these twin modes of linguistic reterritorialization as well as linguistic "glorification," the Eskaya as a cultural community has defined its own linguistic habitus for itself. Through symbolic subversion, it has retrieved a pre-eminent cultural identity (i.e. a non-material configuration of distinctive cultural modes), and then used it to create a "cultural arbitrary" that will function to their advantage. And this task is not some kind of linguistic game for them. Young children, old men and women, people starting out with new families, all take this task of ideological subversion quite seriously. Ironically, it seems that these "unlettered folk" from the margins of the margins, exhibit a degree of theoretical /political militance higher than most of the "educated" who have been interpellated by hegemonic culture. To the Eskayas, the educated are the dupes of domination.

CHAPTER VI

ANG GAHUM SA LINGGANAY : CONSTRUCTIVITY AND THE ESKAYAN RELIGION

Like the **letra,** religious belief is often and unequivocally identified in the Eskayan texts as a mode of ideological domination. Faced with a hegemonic religious habitus, the Eskayas use their religion as a potent signifier of symbolic subversion. Eskayan religion, by seeking to expose the overdeterminations that have underpinned dominant religious structures, has shown that religion can neither be neutral, autonomous nor politically disinterested. The Eskayas for example assert that the cross of Magellan is **ang marka sa kaulipnan sa Pilipinas,** (the mark which represents that the Philippines is enslaved) and that the Philippines is **gidaog-daog sa pagtulun-ang langyaw** (oppressed by foreign systems of belief).

But the function of Eskayan religion does not end with subversion. Religion, is likewise used to delineate an autonomy, a de-limited collectivity that is not co-terminus with dominant collective identities. The Eskayas accomplish this by inventing their own religious habitus in three ways : the construction a Christianity that ante-dates Magellan; the delegitimization of Spain as necessary mediator between Christianity and the natives; and co-optation of Aglipayanism through an Eskayan re-creation of an already "subversive" religion.

REPOSSESSING THE LINGGANAY

The metaphor of the **lingganay na ugis** (white bell) appears again and again in a whole range of Eskayan narratives, treatises and songs. **Lingganay** is a native term for a church bell (the Spanish term "campana" approximates the term). According to Wolff, **Ugis** is a word usually applied to a chicken whose feathers are completely white. It can also mean "to be of fair complexion," people belonging to the white race," "an albino." [1] Applied to a bell, the term may signify a white metallic bell in contrast to the dark-colored ones made of cast iron. This may indicate that the bell could probably be made of silver or aluminum.

In the Eskayan narrative entitled "Ang Lingganay na Ugis," the story of an ancient Bisayan religion is narrated by the Eskayans. Based primarily on this tale and on other Eskayan texts, the following is a reconstruction of the Eskayan religious habitus.

As far as the Eskayas are concerned, the Visayas already had a widespread, highly cohesive form of religion before the coming of the Spaniards. This religion was not polytheistic: it had one supreme god they called Ai-Suno. It also had its own baptismal, marriage and death rites.

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1 John Wolff. A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan. The Linguistic Society of the Pilippines. 1971.

Furthermore, it even had an ecclesiastical polity for religious governance.

The **Lingganay** is presented as evidence of this evidently structured religious realm. The bell is said to have been installed in its own native church tower. In some sense, it reigned over the Bisayans as it rang and called them under its religous sphere. Many Spanish texts talk of the classic "bajo la campana" (to be under the church bell). To many, to be within hearing distance of the tolling of the church bell signified that one "was under the realm of." The bell was a graphic way of representing a center that drew in the fragmented and the unsubjugated. To be under this pre-Hispanic bell (i.e., religious realm), therefore meant that the Bisayans were collectivized into a cohesive, purposive identity.

Then the Spanish friars arrived, and with this intrusion, a paradise was lost. The **lingganay** tale begins by accusing a friar named Padre Santa Maria Vicente of stealing (**ang nagkawat**) the **lingganay** from its rightful place. Bringing the bell down its native tower, the friar proceeded to install the bell in a Spanish **convento**. From that vantage point, the lingganay was made to call the people under its new , and alien religious sphere. As the text indicates, a majority of the Bisayans, figuratively went "bajo la campana" and willingly subordinated themselves under the Spanish religion. Many instances are given to exemplify the Visayans' willing, if not foolish assent to

Spanish ecclesiastical domination. The Eskayans make no equivocation about how they feel about these acts of treachery.

One example is found in "Daylinda." In the text, a vehement denigration is made against the chief of Opon, Bohol. This man named Humabad, who at the outset is identified as both king and priest, is said to have debased himself by accepting the waters of Spanish baptism, even if he already had a "first baptism." Other chiefs from different **ventudes** follow his example and are likewise scorned in "Daylinda."

In contrast, to all these willing acts of subjugation, the hero Umanad flatly refuses to be baptized by Spaniards. Asserting that he already had been baptized, Umanad then castigates his wife Daylinda for allowing herself to be tricked into a re-baptism by the Spanish friars. After Daylinda admits her mistake, Umanad stages an attack and kills Humabad. Umanad dies in battle as well. The story ends with a contrast - the grave of Humabad can only be mourned by roaches and flies, while the grave of Umanad is a symbol of heroism and honor.

Similarly, the people of Cebu or the Sugbuanons, are scorned and mocked for allowing themselves to be deceived by the Spaniards. The ascendancy of Cebu in the Visayan region is both geographical and historical. Like Manila in the north, it became the center of trade , government and education in the South. Cebu gained prominence most specially on the basis of its being the religious center

among the Visayan islands ever since the cross of Magellan was installed there, and the Senor Sto. Nino was housed in its cathedral (one of the oldest in the Philippines).

However, in "Pagtulun-an sa Bisayas," such claims to pre-eminence are seriously interrogated. For one, it was the Sugbuanon who allowed Magellan to install the Spanish cross on their soil. And while this event is a cause for revelry and much celebration among Sugbuanons, the text asserts that Magellan's cross is nothing but a mark that represented the enslavement of the Philippines. For Cebu to revel under the power of the cross is nothing but gross muddleheadedness. The Eskayas specially scorn the myths that have evolved around the cross.

The Sugbuanons believe that the veracity of the religious claims of the friars is attributed to the "fact" that the cross is "growing taller." From the time Magellan installed it, it has supposedly increased, and still is, increasing in height. The Eskayans mock this revered tradition. In "Ang Pagtulun-an sa Bisayas," the Eskayas say that this is pure stupidity. Famed to be miraculous because it is imperceptibly growing, the text asserts that angay **atimanon sa pumupuyong sugbu-anon** (it is proper that a native-born Cebuano should consider), why a child can be born at the same time the cross was installed, and has grown, died and resurrected seven times over and yet the cross has never reached a height beyond the child at any point in time. The Eskayas wax incredulous over the

Bisayans' supposed gullibility, for having allowed such a tale to deceive them. Regarding such a tall tale, the Eskayas can only be cynical.

Still another display of Cebuano "density" is their inability to recognize that the Sto. Nino, with all its miraculous/healing powers, is not an "import." The friars did not transport this god in good will from their land for the benefit of the natives. According to the "Pagtulun-an," the icon is really Ai-suno renamed.

> gi-ilog man sa Katsilang tao, ang gahum sa dios bata nga ginganlan Salvador Suno .. nakita sa kaloan sa Bohol, Sebu, Mactan, ...ug gibunyagan sa mga Katsilang tao ug Salvador del Mundo .. gitawag Senyor Sto. Nino, gisaulug ang ngalan sa bunyag sa mga Katsilán sa Mactan, Sebu.
>
> (The Spaniards wrested the power of the child-god called Salvador Suno, found in the settlements of Bohol, Cebu and Mactan .. and was baptized by the Spaniards as Salvador del Mundo .. called the Senyor Sto. Nino, now celebrated all over under the name of this Spanish baptism in Mactan, Cebu.)

The Spaniards supposedly stole the icon from the natives around the Visayan islands, dressed it up differently, gave it a Spanish name, installed it in the convento of Cebu. In effect, the natives were awed by the power, goodwill and benevolence of the **prayles**. The Eskayans were not deceived. To them, the icon is a pre-Hispanic diety and all its powers attributed to Sto. Niño were already inherent in Ai-Suno. Like everything else, all the prayles did was to steal and rename. The icon, now installed in a dominant religious center, is, like the **lingganay**, just another tropic masterpiece of a common

Spanish strategy for colonization.

Within this context of a deterritorialized pre-Hispanic religion, and a renamed/appropriated indigenous diety, Eskayan religious subversion logically begins with reposession/recuperation. Eskayan texts go beyond mere laments over their paradise lost.

At the very outset, and as an act of defiance, the Eskayas refuse to call the icon (a split image of the Sto. Niño) by its Spanish name. To the Eskayas, the icon always was and still is, Ai-Suno or **dios-bata**. [2]

In the same vein, the tragic tale of the stolen **lingganay** continues. Tumud Babaylan, a native **birike**, (literally, a highly articulate person), enters the site of willing subjugation, deception and muddleheadedness. He climbs the tower of the Spanish **convento** and is said to have simply taken back (**gikuha^ ug balik**) what rightfully belonged to the Bisayans. When Tumud finishes disengaging the bell from its false space, he then ties it with a piece of string unto the leg of a huge bird called a **bakoko**. The bird (which is identified as Ai-Suno himself when he speaks while hovering over the people), flies away with the **lingganay**, hovers above the river Abatan, and then amidst the exuberant shouts of the natives, drops it into the water. The river swallows up the bell, and the tale ends by saying that bell is to remain submerged

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2 Interestingly, the Tagalog name for their supreme diety is Bathala, said to be etymologically analyzed as bata + ala (child god).

beneath the Abatan until Ai-suno comes back. Fishing out the bell prematurely would result in a catastrophic deluge. In his time, Ai-suno will himself reclaim the **lingganay**, and then the true religion of the Bisayas would be restored to its rightful, original space.

From this narrative, the white bell undergoes a series of alternating significations. First it was a signifier of a pre-Hispanic Bisayan Christianity. Through colonization, the white bell became an illegitimate signifier of Spanish catholicism. At present, the present-day Eskayas, look to the **lingganay** as a silent but potent/eloquent signifier of a reclaimed religion which is still waiting to be re-installed in its own native tower. To the Eskayas, the very least that the people should realize is that the bell was theirs first, and that a time will come when it will be wholly theirs once again. Meanwhile, the bell rests beneath the river. The Eskayas say that one can sometimes catch a glimpse of the silver bell shimmering under the emerald waters of the Abatan Waji whenever the moon is out.

ESKAYAN AGLIPAYANISM

Through an "erasure" of the "essential" link between Christianity and Spain, (i.e., "Christianity was here before you came") the Eskayas proceed to re-construct their religious beliefs without the benefits of a Spanish brand of Christianity.

Spanish colonization has intricately enmeshed within

its own ideological system, an eccleciastical dimension. More often than not, the latter was conflated with political domination. Thus, those who were "christianized," were in many instances, colonized. Baptism was an overt symbol of theological as well as political subjugation. The Muslims who remained outside its sphere likewise remained outside the reach of Spanish political dominion.

In light of the above, Mariano Datahan's biography becomes a graphic representation of the Eskayan mode of addressing religious ideological domination. After he is said to have engaged in several military combats, Datahan likewise waged war against **ang mga pagtulun-an** of Rome during the Philippine Revolution against Spain. To Datahan, tne Spanish had to be militarily as well as ideologically defeated.

This ideological war takes on a historic context in the Eskayas' adoption of Aglipayanism. Datahan's biography, his Katipunan flags and his uniforms plainly show that he was connected to /influenced by the KKK movement. Historical accounts show that the KKK movement did not solely aim at overthrowing the political domination of Spain, but also the socio-political ascendancy of the friars. Mabini for example called for a "national religion," while the issue of the Filipinization of the clerics was a hotly contended issue at the Spanish Cortez.

When nothing seemed to have come out of the efforts

to give more powers to the Filipino clergy, Gregorio Aglipay (himself a a katipunero) and Isabelo de los Reyes spearheaded the the most direct assault against Spanish Roman Catholicism.

The First Manifesto of Aglipay dated October 21, 1898, addresses the Filipino clergy and tells them that since the Revolution is about to [3]

> emancipate us from the political domination of Spain, we must also endeavor to throw off the yoke with which the Spanish clergy is still trying to enslave us. In this way, we shall become worthy followers of those Filipino priests who immolated themselves in defense of our clear rights, which have been usurped high-handedly by the friars who have made themselves masters of our dear land.

However, this direct assault was primarily directed at the church organization and not at Christian beliefs. The thousands of Filipinos who joined the movement did not do so because they wanted to do away with the mass or the rites. At the onset of the schism from the Roman catholic church, there were still official church assertions that Aglipayanism was still basically christian in dogma.[4]

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3 Gregorio Aglipay, "The First Manifesto," translated from Spanish by Bernad and Achutegui. Religious Revolution in the Philippines Ateneo Press (1960) Vol. I p.52.

4 Bernad and Achutegui in their book Religious Revolution in the Philippines, give a lucid account of the later deviation from Christian dogma with the introduction of Isabelo de los Reyes' publications into the list of PIC's official books. "On paper", the PIC church now does not believe in the Trinity, in the afterlife , that Mary is the mother of god, and that Christ is divine. (cf. Volume I pp.256-310). Other studies of Aglipayanism however tend to disagree with Bernad's assertion. (cf. Manuel Vano. A History of the Religious Revolution in the Philippines : 1860-1940) Unpublished typescript, 1990.

What pushed the thousands of Filipinos to join the religious revolution was that in Aglipayanism there was a promise of a freedom from foreign domination even in local ecclesiastical matters. The assault really consisted of the Filipino's refusal to acknowledge the infallibility of the Roman Pope, and the perceived inexpediency of the mediation of the Spanish friars between the people and their Christian god. Thus, while the Philippine Independent Church remained palpably Christian, it highlighted the claims of autonomy from the Spanish Catholic Church.

In 1902, Aglipayanism in the vicinities of Guindulman was said to have been established, primarily through the efforts of Datahan. Licinio Ruiz, in Sinopsis historica published in 1925, notes that Bohol remained predominantly Catholic "except for the town of Candihay where Aglipayanism appears to have taken deep root." [5] (cf. a map of Bohol in Appendix 6).

According to the Aglipayan priest residing in Guindulman, Datahan's efforts had apparently taken such effective root in the villages that inspite of the steady decline of Aglipayanism throughout the rest of the Philippines, the Philippine Independent Church in these vicinities remains as the dominant church denomination.

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[5] As cited by Bernad et.al.,in Religious Revolution in the Philippines. p. 214.

This is even more true in the village of Taytay, Duero. Baja, who has a stronger hold on the Eskayas in the village, says that every single villager in Taytay is a member of the PIC. There are no Roman Caholic chapels in the village, and all the rites of baptism, marriage and death are performed by a PIC priest who occasionally goes up to Taytay to administer the rites. Eskayan marriages have to be solemnized by an Aglipayan priest. When asked why they were members of the PIC, Baja simply answered that it was **kay angay lang** (only right/suitable/becoming). In one of the Eskayan songs entitled **Maghogpong**, this suitability is made clear:

Gitokod ang Pilipinong simbahan
Established was the Filipino church

Aron kitang tanan dunay kagawasan
So that all of us can have freedom

Sa mga kamot sa Catsilang caparian
From the hands of the Spanish priests

Nga naghatag kanato ug kasakitan
Who have given us much pain.

.....

Cagawasan ang bogtong catoyoan
Freedom is its sole purpose

Busa ang atong katungod atong labanan
And so for our rights, let us fight

Sa mga langyaw dili ta magpaulipon
Under the aliens, let us not be enslaved

Aron nga magpuyo kita nga gawasnon.
So that we can live in freedom.

In another song, entitled "Pacleon" (to turn the page), the rest of the Philippines is said to be **gidaog-daog sa pagtulun-ang langyaw**(oppressed by foreign systems of belief). As a result of their mindlessness, their inability to see clearly (**wala nila isipa**); their actions are likened to that of monkeys.

Into this whole ethos of unthinking subordination, the Filipino clergy are said to be no longer able to "bear" (**wala caan-tus**) this religious oppression. Trying to find a way out of the bondage," Mon Sineor de los Reyes" is said to have established the PIC on August 3, 1902. On October 26, the first mass was said by Mon. Sr. Aglipay. The song ends by mocking the frantic spanish curates who at the sight of this rebellion, are described:

" wala macatolog, sila nanglimbasog
they could not sleep, they frantically kept on

pagsiminar sa katilingban
giving sermons to the land

wala nila tagda, kakapoy ug kalaay
they did not mind weariness and tedium

tungod sa paglaban sa atong simbahan.
all because of the rebellion of our church.

Another Eskayan song, translated into Cebuano as "Simbahang Pilipinhon," likewise makes clear that the foreigners resented (**gikayugtan**) the PIC because they wished to retain their ideological enslavement of the Philippines. The rest of the Filipinos are said to be still enslaved. Apparently, thetime frame of the song is after the Philippine Revolution because the song says,

ilang gipasulabi ang simbahang bahandianon (they have honored the official religion more). Since most Filipinos remained within the fold of a foreign religious ideology, the visible expulsion of the foreigners from Philippine soil, was simply superficial to the Eskayas. True freedom involved more than the "visible." By adopting Aglipayanism, the Eskayas flesh out their sensitivity to the ideological underpinnings of oppression.

SUBVERTING AGLIPAYANISM

Strictly speaking, the Eskayas are not exactly orthodox PIC members. While the Eskayan cultural communities maintain the basic structures, and the basic subversive modes that Aglipayanism has used against Spanish Catholicism, the Eskayas have adopted their own brand of Aglipayanism. Basically because of their texts, three basic undercurrents have come to overdetermine the significant differences that may be seen between Eskayan religion and orthodox Aglipayanism. These differences may be read as an attempt at interpellating an already subversive mode, as the Eskayas interrogate the "rationalist" many times "Euro-centric " tendencies that the religious movement later on espoused through the influence of Isabelo de los Reyes.[6] By adapting

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[5] Bernad and Achutegui characterize Aglipyan doctrines as that which is rationalist and naturalist. "...science and reason are the only sources of truth. Faith is to believe what we can understand with our reason". cf. Pedro Achutegui and Miguel Bernad. Religious Revolution in the Philippines. Ateneo de Manila. 1960, p.307.

Aglipayanism, the Eskayas subvert the theological habitus even further.

Folk Roots

Eskayan Aglipayanism is to a great extent, influenced/shaped by folk history and beliefs. This characteristic gives the Eskayan religion a higher sense of traditionality and indigenization, and allows it to utilize folk beliefs, folk preferences, and collective memories.

Animism is a typical example. Eskayan Aglipayanism makes no qualms about "owning" folk christianity. The belief that Anoy Datahan was a person who possessed supernatural powers is typical of animistic religion. According to his biography, and to Eskayan oral history, Datahan had amulets and **anting-antings**. He could disappear at will, prove invincible to bullets, and could even levitate. He also had the power of "ars moriende" - to die and live again at one's volition. His being held in high respect because of, and not inspite, of all his animistic powers indicates that the Eskayans hardly consider his magical powers as dissonant with their Christian beliefs.

The belief regarding the origins of man is another manifestation of the folk foundations of Eskayan Aglipayanism. As inscribed in their "official books," orthodox Aglipayanism believes in a mixture of creationism and evolutionism. "Transformism" is a theory "

based on incontestable scientific demonstration." [7]

Following the same vein, the Eskayan version, has embellished their creation myth further with certain distinctive marks. The "Tumaw" claims that man evolved from a germ, into a monkey and then into men and women. What is specially intriguing in this origin myth is the fact that two sets of children were born to the first parents. The first set came to inhabit the physical, "seen" world while the other set, was made to populate the world of the invisible - the other dimension. Thus both the material world and the non-material world "propagated" through the first parents.

With such a textually generated concept, it is not surprising that the Eskayans consider the realm of spirits as real, and as "natural" as the world of materiality. To them, the material always has a non-material parallel. It is at this juncture between the supernatural and the "natural" that the Eskayas exhibit their deviation from orthodox Aglipayanism. To orthodox Aglpiyanistas, "until now nothing has been found except the natural."[8]

Given this legitimized origin myth, the Eskaya

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7 Catecismo de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente. (Manila, 1905), pp.18-19.

8 Catequesis de la Iglesia de la Filipina Independiente. ed. by Isabelo de los Reyes. Manila, 1911. p. 36, question 119.

would thus see no incongruence between appeasing/respecting the spirits and at the same time believing in their "orthodox" religion. In fact, they have such a penchant for hybridizing their religion with dashes of orthodox and Eskayan lore that even the "Tumaw" ends by saying that the original biological matter that spawned the original germ was created by a Supreme diety.

The same indigenizing tendency that underpins Eskayan Aglipayanism can be seen in their use of folk history. Here the Eskayan religion displays a rich bedrock of countless men and women who have become cultural heroes/heroines in their propagation of religious native beliefs. And while Aglipayanism shows a similar tendency of having its own list of hero-saints (i.e., Jose Rizal is considered a saint in the Aglipayan church), Eskayan Aglipayanism goes even further by creating a line-up of hero-saints who are contemporary, who are from the Propaganda Movement, and the early 1600's and 1700's. It goes even further by taking its collective memory right back to the pre-Hispanic times.

In the text "Pinay," said to be written in 600 A.D., the hero is identified as the first **sabyo** (wise man). He is said to have propagated the first belief system of the Bisayas. With colonization, an identification with the belief system became a venue for heroism. Umanad in "Daylinda" literally sheds his blood as he refuses Spanish baptism. Tugpa, in the text " Unang Tao Sa Bisaya sa Bohol," exclaims, with his people, that as remnants of

the "last baptism," they were to offer their lives' breath to the motherland. Even the babaylan called Tumud, in "Lingganay na Ugis," after successfully assisting Ai-Suno in taking back the lingganay, leads the people as they shout "our bell has been recovered at last ! Suno has brought it with him...let us now die for our land of birth, and for our bell that has been recovered." Then Tumud and his men run into the forests and there ready themselves for a necessary death.

In the Eskayan songs, the heroes that are honored, primarily for their religious perspicacity more than their military skill, begin to take on more contemporary contexts. In a song entitled Anoy Esto Langis moy Bechden" "Anoy and Ngalan Nailhan" (Anoy, the Name that is Known), Mariano Datahan is identified as the founder of many of the Aglipayan churches in the barrios of Bohol. The song says that -

> busa nia kami karon sa simbahang Pilipinhon
> di na kami magpaulipon hangtod sa kamatayon
>
> (because of him, we are now in the Philippine church, we will never allow ourselves to be enslaved until our deaths)

The song continues with Jose Rizal, and a quotation supposedly from the Noli me Tangere : ang matag butang langyaw lansang sa ka ulipnan (each and every foreign object/concept, nails us to enslavement). The song ends by citing those who were martyred becuase they died protesting against " things foreign." These martyrs are

Gomez, Burgos, Zamora, Rizal and even Aglipay.

Textual Ethics

Most religious systems adopt not only a body of beliefs (i.e., the attributes of deities, eschatologies), but also a body of behavioural codes (i.e., prohibited practices like not eating pork). The Eskayan religion is distinctive for its characteristic of having an extra-canonical system of ethics. Highly influenced by an autonomous body of do's and don'ts inscribed in an Eskayan text they call the "Pamatasan," the Eskayan religion imposes a code that transcends the ethics of both Aglipayanism and Roman Catholicism, not only in its specificity but also in the stringency of its implementation.

In the "Pamatasan", there is a strict delineation of sex roles which undergirds all Eskayan religious rites. No woman is permitted to sit with an Eskayan man during the mass, for instance. Or no woman is allowed to speak in front of a congregational assembly.

Yet these strong gender roles have given the woman the prime and secret responsibility of performing the rites in the Corarang chapel. According to the damas, there are things that "only a woman can do." The chanting at certain times in the night, or the early dawn services are thus exclusive for initiated Eskayan women. Further research will hopefully be able to document what these rituals signify. But it may be sufficient to say at the

moment that the significance of these rites is determined by the "Pamatasan" which quite clearly asserts that ang **lalaki dili babayi, ug ang babayi dili lalaki** (a man is not a woman and the woman is not a man).

Aside from gender roles, the "Pamatasan," is behaviour-specific regarding common Filipino vices - gambling, laziness and drunkeness. While these stipulations are considered reprehensible by the Roman church, it does not strictly prohibit the practice. The Eskayan collectivity both prohibits and punishes those who practice them. And while the PIC does not go as far as excommunicating its members on the basis of non-adherence to a specified behavioural ethic, this is, and has been a ground for termination of association that an Eskayan may have with the community.

Most religious systems become highly obviated because of its ability to collectivize people through mass behavior. As based on their texts, the ethical code of the Eskayan religion, and its strict implementation achieves this collectivizing effect and allows the Eskayan people to act in a differentiated way. The amorphous sometimes flaccid ethical stipulations of either Roman Catholicism or Aglipayanism takes away a highly potent source for constructing a collectivity/unity. The coordination of social organization, ethical behavior and religious belief in the Eskaya has produced exactly what it took to make -- a collective unity.

Co-opting Millennarianism

The Eskayan religion exhibits an obviated form of millenarianism that has been shown to be highly characteristic of the Philippine "little tradition ."[9] These manifestations are clear in the Eskayan adoption of a tradition held by a number of Philippine cultural communities who hold a concept of a spiritual government that will eventually unite the disparate fragments of the ex-colonized Philippine nation. These "spiritual brotherhoods," are supposed to be the repositories of the **tipan** - the source of revelation which will become the root of all hopes for a meaningful/holy unification of the entire nation. Common tropes in the tradition would be the use of the numeral three in parallelisms like the trinity, the three geographic divisions of the Philippines, the triangle; Rizal as canonized religious folk-hero; the **Ina** as metaphor for the Bayan; the wearing of religious apparel, usually white robes; the going on sacrificial journeys, and the purification of the **loob**.

A cursory glance at the Eskayan religious system will readily yield congruences with many of these millennarian tropes. Because of this cultural strain in the rich fabric of the Eskayan cultural text, there is a palimsest of folk significations, colorumism, KKK religio-political

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9 See chapter 7 of this study for a more detailed exposition of the tradition as a body of religio-political beliefs, and not just as contrastive element in Eskayan Aglipayanism.

influences and even the influence of the "robe-wearing cultists" that continue to be highly visible in contemporary Philippine society. As a thickly-textured religio-cultural phenomenon, the Eskayans subvert the hegemonies of orthodoxy and dogmatism in "rationalist" religious systems. The Eskayans have definitely not turned to orthodox Aglipayanism for inspiration on this subversive strategy.

If the Eskayans were to base their religion entirely on official Aglipayan eschatology, the manifestly millenarian characteristic in Eskayan Aglipayanism would not have been justified. In the PIC's official dogma, little is said about a millennarian utopia that would unite the entire Philippines. In fact, official Aglipayan doctrine does not adopt the doctrines of the Trinity [10], the diety of Christ [11], and the mother of god as image of te Inang Bayan.[12]. Without these fundamental christian

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10 see for example official PIC texts like the Catecismo which says that the trinity is "an enormous absurdity" (p. 829).See also Catequesis, pp. 13-14. In a letter addressed to Robertson, (dated May 3, 1908), Isabelo de los Reyes says that the trinity was a belief in "three imaginay gods and one true absurdity".

Aglipay, in a letter to Msgr. Piani, dated February 9, 1932, and published in El Pueblo, Iloilo, February 24, 1932, says that he has left the catholic church because it had become "idolatrous and was worshipping "three gods."

truths, much of what undergirds typical mellinarian traditions in the Philippines would lose much of their theological basis for a theocratic utopia. The Eskayans have obviously chosen to transform an already transformed religious orthodoxy to that which was particularly suited for their purposes. Marginalized by several degrees, the Eskayans believe in their Ai-Suno, and wait for him, with their prayers, and chants, their white robes and purifications of the inner selves, their study of the laa Eskayan letras. Ai-suno will indeed come and establish his promised "holy nation."

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11 In a sermon delivered by Aglipay (and later published under Catedra de la IFI , ed. by Isabelo de los Reyes, Manila, 1932, p..17, and Sensacionales Discursos, (pp. 10-13), on December 24, 1924, he said that it was Christ's admirers who deified him. In Reglas Constitucionales de la IFI published in Manila, in 1919, the church officials admit that Christ's divinity was a doctrine which was only accepted at the beginning out of compulsion. (Capitulo 1, seccion 10).

12 " Dios no tiene madre porque de tenerla no seria eterno" (Oficio Divino de la Iglesia Filipina Independiente. Ed. Isabelo de los Reyes. Barcelona, 1906. p.26, 149).

CHAPTER VII

ANG GAHUM SA BANDERA : CONSTRUCTIVITY AND THE ESKAYAN "NATION"

As an "imagined community," a nation is made out of, and continues to exist on the basis of collectivizing constructs that seek to create the illusion of a homogenized "people".[1] A "nation" inscribes and re-inscribes itself time and again, in terms of objectified symbols in order to assert its collective identity. A national flower, a national hero, and a national language. Similarly, a piece of "flexible cloth hoisted on a pole" has come to symbolize a nation. The flag, as sign and even as fetish (the reverent behaviour required in a citizen's treatment of it with the accompanying rites of folding and safe-keeping, and the singing of songs) serves the nation in its capacity to mobilize meaning in the production of a "nation."

The Eskayans display their own flag. They sing an Eskayan anthem to it. The inscriptions on it have graphic significations. Through the trope of the flag (first as the flag itself and second as a Ricoeurean representation of an ideology grounded on a collective past and projected

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1 Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.(London : Verso Editions,1983).

collective future)[2] the Eskayas have attempted to subvert the dominant ideologies in Philippine politics and history.

THE FLAG AS CONSTRUCT

Vexillologists in their reconstruction of the flag as a national symbol would trace the earliest flags to banners used in 4,000 B.C. Egypt. In those times, the pole that was used was normally the scepter of royalty, making the upright pole with the kingdom's emblem at its tip as an assertion of political sovereignty. The strips of cloth were varied and replaceable, generally used as magical devices intended to win the favor of any of the gods it represented.

The first use of what may be considered as standardized national flags is placed by flag historians only after the 16th century. With the Europeans' trading and colonizing ventures beyond their continent, there was a need for ready identification. National colors and emblems were chosen, and these combinations soon represented the entire nation. The Dutch struggle against Spanish rule (1568-1645), and the French and American Revolutions already used national flags.

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Paul Ricouer, " Science and Ideology" in Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences : Essays on Language action and Interpretation, ed. and tr. John B. Thomson. (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 107.

texts indicate, each ventud was a political unit with its own specific territorial boundaries, hierarchy of authorities, and sophisticated culture as indicated by the presence of a script. In "Pinay" this pre-Hispanic political milieu consisted of a complex political structure, which in many ways transcended the kinship-related barangays that were said to have existed in the Philippines at the time of the Spanish conquest.

According to the text, Pinay's **ventud** had a bansithe (governor) named of Amgay; a bagahonda(judge) named Alborang; baganering (a military commander) named Tugpa, and a bersirdas (teacher) named Sira. The leader or chief is described as one who was a generally theocratic leader. Humabad in "Daylinda," is described to be both king and priest (**hari na, pari pa**). The Eskayan word for **hari** is sotbagane.

Economically, the **ventud** tended towards egalitarianism. Driven by the **Pamatasan's** strict codes of industry and labor, each member of the community was to strive to toil for both the family as well as the communal unit. The ventud had a position for "treasurer" called dorsede. The after-effects of calamities that affected the entire ventud were ameliorized through communal funds. As hamlets of nationalism, the **ventudes** that were scattered across the entire Bisayan archipelago were seen as sovereign collectivities.

Although not as easy to reconstruct, inter-ventud relations can be understood through the Eskayan lexicon. Wergan is the Ineskaya equivalent to the Cebuano word for **nasud** (nation). However to translate wergan into the English word "nation" may not be very accurate. As "Daylinda" shows, the **ventudes** were apparently distinct from each other, as was the **ventud** of Humabad, from that of Umanad. There was no single leader that ruled over the autonomous political units.

Yet the existence of the word wergan in Ineskaya does point to the idea that the concept at least exists. This abstraction seems to rest on the belief that the entire Bisayas-Pilipin had a common **pagtulun-an**, a belief system that collectivized the many **ventudes**. Composed of texts that recorded Bisayan history, law and cultural and religious traditions, this **pagtulun-an** named the many **ventudes** as the Bisayas-Pilipin. Before the coming of the colonizers then, one belief system collectivized the various **ventudes** into a wergan perhaps more than kinship or political might.

It is not a surprise then that Pinay, said to be the first Eskayan **sabyo** (wise man), is also said to have been one **nga nagabandera sa pagtulun-an sa Bisayas** (who hoisted the flag of the Bisayan system of beliefs). Here, the relatively autonomous **ventudes** existed, with their respective leaders and flags under the banner of a uniform belief system articulating/representing a collective unit called the wergan.

With colonization, the picture changed. In "Daylinda" Umanad, the legendary hero of the Abatan, is said to have kissed the flag of his ventud before leaving for Mactan to kill the treacherous Humabad. In much the same way, "Ang Unang Tao" talks of the herdo who flings the flag of the ventud into the fire , and then plunges in to follow it.

But nothing came out of the attempts to defend the flags and eventually, Spain's single flag was unfurled throughout the land. The military conquest was successful.

In time, the ideological conquest was just as successful. The Eskayas point to the trope of the wergan flag when it says in the "Bisayan Declarado" that **gihimung banderang letra ang letra sa Katsila** (the Spanish letters were "bannered " or made the "official" system of writing). To the Eskayans, the Spaniards had not only hoisted a flag that represented a political system but also a **pagtulun-an** (belief system) as well. And because the Bisayan system of belief had been betrayed, marginalized and re-named, the wergan had become fragmented. The Bisayas-Pilipin had been ideologically deterritorialized, and had become Filipinas - a Spanish construct.

It is thus with morphological parallelism that **nagbandera** and **banderang** is to the Eskayan a means of showing political/cultural hegemony. In a real sense, the coming of the Spaniards left the Eskayans with a piece of cloth, without the political/cultural power to hoist it. Unlike their first hero Pinay, the Eskayas could no longer **bandera** (wave the flag) of their collective identity.

Especially in the early 1900's, this waving of the flag as "significant cultural act," became a "criminal" act. Fabian Baja recounts how colorum raids were instigated by the government, against "unregistered groups" that had sought political sovereignty. The passing of the Anti-Flag law in 1907 by the Philippine Commision was used as a measure against proliferating groups that sought to establish independent political units. Thus, Act 1696 prohibited the display of all kinds of flags, banners and symbols of the Philippine nation. According to accounts, the Americans were piqued when KKK flags were "bannered," and relegated the American flag to the background during the victory parade of the Nacionalitas in 1907. Apparently, the hand of power took swift care of the matter. It was only twelve years later that the law was repealed. [3]

But the repeal of the flag law did not undermine the power of the new colonizers. To date, the Eskayas continue to wait, first through Spanish, then American then "urban" colonization, for the time when **ang pagtulun-an sa Bisayas magbandera na sad sa Pilipinas.**

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[3] Teodoro Agoncillo, The History of the Filipino People, (Manila, 1976).

The Flag as Objectified Message

The graphic representations on the official Eskayan "piece of cloth" is significant. Against the context of the long "evolution" of the Philippine flag (i.e., from regional/local flags to one unifying symbol), one notes that the graphic elements in the Eskayan flag remains a persistent assertion of Visayan centrality in an envisioned united Pilipinas.

The earliest Philippine flags were representations of a particular region's fervor in gaining political autonomy. In early Philippine revolts, there are indications of the use of flags by particular regions in their largely localized revolts. [4] Not much is said though about what the symbols on the flags were.

Available descriptions of the symbols on regional flags are extant only towards the end of the 17th century.[5] The KKK flag used at Pugadlawin on August 23, 1896 is sometimes called Bonifacio's flag. It did not have extensive geographic use. The other chapters of

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4 An example of the use of a flag by native rebels is recorded by Fray Diego Aduarte in Blair and Robertson's The Philippine Islands, (Volume 31 , p. 31) which says that the native rebels - " sounding warlike music and waving banners, ... began to burn houses and kill people..."

5 See Emmanuel A. Baja. Our Country's Flag and Anthem. Manila, 1928. pp. 17-68. Also, Pura Villanueva Kalaw. A Brief History of the Filipino Flag. Manila, 1947.

the KKK used several versions of Bonifacio's flag with Tagalog scripts, sunbursts and the all-seeing eye (as in the Malibai chapter flag). Mariano Llanera's Bungo ni Llanera" was the flag of the KKK Nueva Ecija chapter, and is said to have been designed after the elements in the Katipunan initiation rites. The Katipuneros of Cavite also had their Magdiwang Flag. It had a sunburst in the middle with eight sunrays and the ancient Tagalog script for K (kalayaan). At the time, there was no single official flag that was a symbol for the entire Philippine nation.

On June 12, 1898, the first "truly" Philippine national flag was hoisted at Kawit, Cavite. To set the standard size of the Independence Day flag, Manuel L. Quezon issued an Executive Order on March 25, 1936. The order had constructed a national symbol for posterity.

As a national symbol, care had been taken to make the Philippine flag an emblem of regional egalitarianism. Unlike the previous, more localized flags, it sought to represent not only the Tagalog region, but also the two other geographical divisions of the Philippines. Thus, the white triangle at the left side with its three five-pointed stars at each equilateral tip represented Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. The upper blue stripe was to stood for peace, justice and truth. The bottom red stripe signified valor and patriotism.

However, the sunburst in the middle of the equilateral triangle however, remains peculiarly regionalistic. From

the first prototypes of the KKK flags to the present Philippine flag, the eight rays of the sun has always stood for the first eight provinces that revolted against Spain (i.e. Manila, Laguna, Pampanga, Cavite, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Batangas and Tarlac) which are all in the Tagalog region . The countless other local revolts in the peripheries of the entire archipelago remain unrepresented. And so, inspite of the rhetoric of regional equality, the sun figure ultimately deconstructs the entire national symbol and shows that Luzon has always been politically, economically and culturally valorized. The Eskayas, in their depiction of the Bisayas as a focal point in their "national" flag, destabilizes the representation of symmetrically spaced stars . In effect, the Eskayans subvert the specious egalitarian construct and substitute it with their own.

The "official" (i.e., the one they sing the anthem to) Eskayan flag has five prominent figures: a man identified as Luzon ( ) carrying a five-pointed star; Visayas, carrying the sun, and Mindanao, carrying the moon. In the middle of the flag is Salvador del Mundo (Dios Bata sa Sugbo). To his upper left is a map of the three geographic divisions of the Philippines. To the extreme left of the flag is Inahang Yuta. The flag then has some Ineskayan inscriptions. The text reads:

Pre plen Philippinas inahan yuta

(All about ?) Philippinas, the Mother of the land

Prensi sa inahan sa mga nasud

The prime mother among the nations

Kompleto bandera Pilipina no tao han 2.3

A complete/whole Philippine flag (?)

Mulupyo tag-iya

The natives are the owners

The three figures called the man comonidad, are arranged in linear succession. As indicated by the objects carried in each hand, the Visayas is not only central to the three, but also primal - he carries the sun, the sunburst with its eight rays, so pervasive in other Philippine flag types. In an interview, Fabian Baja likewise asserts that the sun acts as the core/the source. To the Eskayas, the stars and the moon merely derive their light from the sun.

The central figure of Salvador del Mundo carries the entire earth in its palm. To the Eskayans, this represents what the world will become in the future - unified and obedient to the Supreme deity.

The Inahan yuta carries the Philippines on the tips of her fingers. The map configuration is a highly re-oriented version of the Philippine map as represented in the Eskayan flag:

As in previous Eskayan constructs, Bohol is central. Doubly marginalized, the Eskayas locate Bohol at the center. Similar to the meaning communicated by their **man comonidad**, the flag foregrounds Bohol as the fountainhead of all that the Philippines has lost with colonization. Radiating from this center, will be the impulse needed to draw the entire nation from their ideological paucity and to finally return to its origins.

Aside from this official flag, the Eskayas in Guindulman have a number of other flags in their keeping. While these are not publicly displayed during ceremonies, Juan Datahan says that these were the **kabilin** (things inherited from the dead) of Anoy Datahan.

It is interesting to note that two of these banners look quite dated. One is a flag with KKK symbols on it. On the edges, someone has noted down that in a particular battle with Spain, there were 300 native soldiers and 36 women. The identity of the flag as a Katipunan banner may be validated by the fact that like the KKK flags of Aguinaldo, the red stripe (for patriotism and valor) is located at the upper portion, while the blue stripe is at the bottom.

The second flag again has "Ang Katipunan" markings. It says that **madugay ug madali, may nasud ang katipunan... ma nasud ang katipunan** (sooner or later, the katipunan will have a nation .. it will be a nation).

The last of the less displayed official flags again indicates the Eskayan penchant for regional de-marginalization. This flag has a human figure with the

initials J.R. at the bottom. Directly above its head is a star. On its right hand, and at a lower angle, is the moon. On the left hand, raised to eye-level, the J.R. carries the sun.

This graphic depiction of Jose Rizal, makes the folk hero, almost like Eskayan property. Through his collaboration with the Eskayas' future vision, Rizal is made to de-marginalize Luzon-centric history/politics. The Visayas will eventually become what it always already was : the center.

Once the Eskayan flag is unfurled and hoisted in the air, the Philippines with its center in Bohol, will become a graphic representation of what the flag depicts -- territorially, politically as well as culturally ascendant.

HISTORICAL RETERRITORIALIZATION

To have a flag, albeit unhoisted, without corresponding collective histories to prop up the "social imaginary" will result in the flag being merely a token symbol. Hence, the Eskaya has put much care in the representation of itself as a collectivity through its socio-history. Through these Eskayan representations, the ideological habitus made for the Philippines by colonialists, is interrogated. Through two subversive strategies (i.e., a construction of a collective past and the projection of a utopic vision for the future) there is an attempt in Eskayan narratives/songs/expository texts at re-possessing/recuperating historic and political space,

and at wresting the prerogative of cultural invention from the hands of the dominant.

A Collective Past

The Eskayans make much ado of their history - their collective memory. This history to the Eskayans is specially prized because it is not only written down, it is most specially inscribed in its own script - an objectification of the Eskayan perception of cultural ascendancy and sophistication. Orality and flaccidity are given no place in Eskayan tradition.

Through these written down texts, a twin-mode of subversion may be noted in the Eskayan agenda of historical reterritorialization: that of inclusion and reconstruction, or that of naming and re-naming.

The strategy of historical naming may be seen as directed against the canonical/mainstream narratives of Philippine history. The Eskayan texts introduce to Philippine history, men, women and events that have been by-passed or have remained simply unspoken of by virtue of their peripheral positions. Marginalized to the nth degree, the Eskaya s give names, dates and places in an articulation of what can only be seen as histories' silent gaps.

Reconstructing/rewriting history is another mode for subversion. To the Eskayas, many events in the Filipinas, have often been glorified or taken at face value. The Eskayas refuse to do either. On every historical point

touching the Visayas after colonization, the Eskayas either inscribe previously absent names, or else interrogate the prevailing habitus that has been overdetermined by these "historical facts". In so doing, the Eskayas clear ideological spaces where representations that assert their political identity can be inserted.

The Discovery of the Philippines[5]

Discourses on the "Discovery of the Philippines," is the first case in point. According to accounts, while en route to the Spice Lands, Magellan sighted an island on which there were lofty mountains on the 16th of March, 1521. Afterwards, Magellan learned that the island was called Zamal (now Samar). The following day, Magellan's fleet landed on an island named Homonhon, and there had two huts built for the sick among his men. This island was not inhabited but some natives from the island of Suluan went aboard a sailing vessel and met the Spaniards. The former were said to be the first Filipinos seen by the Spaniards. After about eight days, Magellan is said to have left the island and set sail for Limasawa, a small island south of Leyte. At Limasawa, he found Filipino villages

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5 For general accounts on this, see Pigafetta, First Voyage Around the World, pp.2 ff.

villages which were cultivating rice and breadfruit. Two chieftains, Rajah Colambu and Rajah Siagu ruled the island. They were friendly towards the Spaniards, and were highly amazed when Magellan's chronicler began writing down the names of local objects. Magellan erected a cross and he had the first mass celebrated during the feast day of St. Lazarus. He named the island the Archipelago of Saint Lazarus. From the people of Limasawa, Magellan learned of the rich settlement in Cebu, and with one of the chiefs as guide, he set sail.

Rajah Humabon was the powerful chieftain of Cebu. There were two thousand warriors under him. He also had eight subordinate chiefs under him, making him akin to a "king." The town had trading relations with China and the Molukkas. Several days before Magellan arrived in Cebu, a junk from Siam had anchored at port.

When Magellan arrived, Humabon tried to make him pay tribute - as was the custom of other traders. Magellan refused. Eventually, Humabon became friendly and trading began - Spanish bells, mirrors, glass beads for native rice, fowl and goat. Another mass was celebrated, and another cross erected. Eight hundred Cebuanos were baptized, including the Rajah. The queen was also baptized, and is said to have received an image of the Child Jesus as a gift.

The inhabitants of the island of Mactan were not as friendly. The prosperous island had several chieftains. One was named Zula. He was an enemy of Lapulapu, a chieftain of another village. This Zula sent his son to ask

for Magellan's help in fighting Lapulapu. Magellan lent aid to his new ally by going to Mactan with three boatloads of Spaniards and twenty boatloads of Cebuanos. At dawn, Magellan attacked. Lapulapu routed the invaders and killed Magellan.

The Pigafetta account ends with Magellan's death when the remaining one hundred and fifteen men left from the expedition resumed their search for the Spice Islands.

Philippine history continues with another highwater mark in the history of Spanish colonization - Legaspi's expedition of 1565. Previous expeditions of Saavedra in 1527 (he only stopped at Mindanao for food supplies), and of Villalobos in 1543, did not result in the establishment of Spanish settlements in the Philippines. Villalobos, specifically tasked to make settlements along the seacoasts, failed because of the hostility of the natives. He was only able to do one thing - rename the island of Leyte. The island, which was called Tandaya by the natives, then St. Lazarus by Magellan, was called "Felipina" in honor of the Spanish crown prince, Don Felipe. This island name eventually replaced the general name of "The Western Islands" which was used in Spain for many years to refer to the Philippines. From then on, the highly fragmented islands were given one designation - "Las Felipinas".

Legaspi with his chronicler Urdaneta voyaged across the Pacific and arrived in Cebu on February 13, 1565 where he found the natives hostile. Then he sailed from Leyte to

Mazagua to Camiguin in search of food, but the natives were likewise hostile. He set to sail for Mindanao but, because of bad weather, he could go no farther than Bohol. There he stayed for a while, finding the natives friendly. Sikatuna, chief of Bohol, performed with Legaspi, the ancient Filipino rite called a blood compact. In this ritual, each of the chiefs entering into a compact wounded himself slightly on the arm and extracted a few drops of blood which was mixed with wine and water. Then each chief drank the blood of the other, pledging perpetual friendship.

With this blood compact between Sikatuna and Legaspi, the discovery and settlement of the Philippines, ends.

The Tale Retold

In "Daylinda" , one finds a graphic instance of the re-narrativization of mainstream Philippine history. In the Eskayan tale, one is introduced to Bohol's role in the historic text which is otherwise silent about it.

"Daylinda" says that aside from Limasawa or Cebu or Mactan, another island that Magellan visited was Bohol. Upon the arrival of Magellan in Bohol, a chieftain named Humabad welcomed him, and allowed his people to be baptized, and performed the blood compact **nagsinupsupay sila sa ilang dugo** (they sucked each other's blood), with Magellan. Then Humabad went with Magellan, to attack the Mactan island with the Spaniards. Umanad, a Boholano, kills Humabad. From readings of Philippine history, it can be said that in this Eskayan text, there is a clear conflation of the

historical characters of the Rajah Sikatuna of Bohol and Rajah Humabon of Cebu, both of whom were said to have accepted Spanish domination. Thus, both are contemptuously pictured as traitors. Interestingly, the blood compact in Philippine history was done, not with Magellan but with Legaspi. Yet both conquerors are likewise conflated in this Eskayan re-narrativization of history as it reworks historical facts in its agendum of carving out a reterritorialized historical space that would tell their story.

And so while nothing definitive is said in mainstream history about what became of Sikatuna or Humabon, this folk text inscribes what could have happened (and in a sense, has happened in the collective memory of the Eskayas). Furthermore, while mainstream culture celebrates the festive "Sandugo" by a city-wide annual celebration in Tagbilaran, complete with floats and processions every February the same event is clearly scorned in "Daylinda." To the Eskayas, the entire event was a sell-out. And in many ways it was. What kind of pact of friendship was it that made Legazpi, right after the blood compact, take his sword and thrust it to the ground, plant a cross and then declare " In the name of the Royal Highness of Spain, I lay claim to this place and this district and all the people and subjects as belonging to the King of Spain." ? [6]

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6 Document 38 Ultramar de Filipinas. pp.268ff.

Aside from the reconfiguration of the Rajahs, the Eskayas introduce Umanad to the narrative and then append a violent sequel to the story.[7] Umanad, a leader of the ventud Cortez, flatly refuses the Spanish baptism. Warned of impending dire consequences from his refusal, he allies himself with the valiant Lapu-lapu of Mactan. Together with his trusted foot-soldier, Iriwan, Umanad succeeds in stabbing Humabad, the treacherous Boholano leader, to death. Umanad's heroism is paid with his own blood, blood which according to the text, is sweet, Umanad never having given up "a drop of sweat" to slavery.

In this act of historical renarrativization, the Eskayas insert the valiant character of Umanad. Mactan was not the only source of valiant heroes that fought against colonization. And while Bohol had some traitors, it also had its share of heroes.

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A possible parallel to Umanad may be Si Gala, said to be another Boholano chieftain who first refused to be baptized by the Spaniards. A co-equal with Si Katuna, nothing much is said of him, except that later Legazpi seems to have counted him as a subject when he says that " although Cicatuna and Cigala made friendship with me, we should put no confidence in them" (Esteban Rodriguez, The Colonization and Conquest of the Philippines, Filipiniana Book Guild, Vol VI,1965. p. 38.

The Tamblot Rebellion

There are several Spanish accounts of the famous "Tamblot rebellion". [8] In 1621, a little over 50 years after the founding of the Legazpi settlements,a babaylan named Tamblot, influenced the inhabitants of Bohol to rise against the Jesuits. About 1,500 Boholanos joined the revolt which was launched when the majority of the priests went to Cebu to celebrate the feast of the beatification of St. Francis Javier. On New Years Day, 1622, the alcalde mayor of Cebu, Don Alcarazo, led an expedition of fifty Spaniards and a thousand Pampangos and Cebuanos of Carcar, Cebu. They landed at Loboc, Bohol and waged a series of counter-attacks. Tamblot was defeated, but retreated with his followers "to the summit of a rugged and lofty hill, difficult of access. " After six months, another army landed in Bohol and was successful in taking the stone fortress. Tamblot was assasinated by natives from Loboc who pretended to be Jesuit dissenters.

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8 The most accessible accounts would be Juan de Medina, "Historia," Blair and Robertson, Philippine Islands, Vol. 24, pp. 116-119; "Insurrection by Filipinos in the 17th Century," Blair and Robertson, Philippine Islands, Vol.38, pp. 87-94; Pedro Paterno, " Historia de Filipinas," Tomo III, pp. 276-281. Teresita Roble Rosales also gives an account of the rebellion in her " El Colegio Jesuitas de Bohol". Unpublished Masters Thesis. Universidad de Madrid, Spain,1989.

Into this narrative of a defeated babaylan, the Eskayan text entitled "Ang Lingganay nga Ugis" inserts obviated symbols, and a utopic hope.

Tamblot now renamed Tumud babaylan, flees to the forest after he has wrested the bell from the friar. The Spaniards are in hot pursuit, and apparently, the plot line stops there. However, as the natives are fleeing Tamblot/Tumud prophesizes certain death for him and his men, since, according to the Babaylan, the bell could only be retrieved from the river if the bodies who died for it, would already be raised by Ai Suno.

The above provides a different perspective with which to understand the many cases of almost frantic willingness to die among religious native rebels as recorded in many Spanish texts In this text, the Eskayas see it as a conscious act of prophecy fulfillment rather than as the failure of amulets to deliver their promised invincibility for wearers.

The Dagohoy Republic

In 1879, after the Tamblot rebellion, an Agustinian Recollect described the famous Dagohoy rebellion of 1744-1827 as a continuation of "the rebel voice in the mountains of Bohol." Often called the "longest revolt against Spain," the rebellion of Francisco Dagohoy is given much space in Philippine History.[9] Indeed, it was a rarity to have a Christianized pueblo ruled by an indio for over 80 years, and existing independently of Spanish sovereignty.

The Eskayan contribution to the re-writing of the history of the famed rebel leader concerns not Dagohoy himself, but rather of his brother. Little is said about this next of kin, but the Eskayan text " Unang Tao sa Bisaya," names him as an important force behind the success of the rebellion.

Sotero Nunez Misa asserts that according to the oral tradition of many Boholanos, it was Dagohoy's brother who carried on the sovereignty of the Boholano pueblo after Dagohoy's death in 1825. [10] Maximino, also known as Tugpa, took over the reins of the Dagohoy government for almost three years.

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9 See Francisco Leandro de Viana, " Viana's Memorial of 1765," Blair and Robertson. The Philippine Islands Vol. 48, pp. 202ff; See also "Events in Filipinas, 1739-1762," Blair and Robertson. The Philippine Islands Volume 48, p.147ff. Other B and R volumes that would recount the intermittent contacts with the Dagohoy "republic" would be Volume 28 p. 328, and Volume 51 p. 51. Ricafort writing in December 1829, gives an account of the final subjugation of the rebel forces in his Reduccion de Bohol,(Manila, December 1829).For a comprehensive treatment see Gregorio F. Zaide's Dagohoy : Champion of Filipino Freedom (Manila : Enriquez Aldaya and Co., 1941).

10 Sotero Nunez Misa," The Life and Struggle of Francisco Dagohoy : A Historical and Cultural Heritage to the Filipino People", Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Bohol, 1970.

In 1825, General Mariano Ricafort organized two divisions of Spanish-Filipino troops (one under Don Jose Lazaro Cairo, **alcalde-mayor** of Cebu, and the other under Capitan Pedro Cabinlet). The Spaniards were not able to crush the rebel group who had fled to the mountains. In 1828, Captain Manuel Sanz with 6,034 Cebuanos and Boholanos attacked Tugpa at Caylagan. In May, 1829, the Spaniards blockaded the Caylagan Cave were Tugpa and his men were holding out. Because of near starvation, Tugpa and his men forced a suicidal break-out. With many casualties, Tugpa and his men again entered another cave, the Inaghuban cave. Obeying Tugpa's challenge, the Spaniards build a bonfire at the mouth of the cave, this being, according to Tugpa, the only way the Spaniards could kill them. Tugpa and his five hundred men died of suffocation. On August 31, 1829, 19, 420 Boholano patriots surrendered. Ricafort pardoned the rebels and settled them in the new villages of Bautanan, Balilihan, Pilar and Cabulao.

Paralleling this graphic oral narrative, are two Eskayan narratives that talk of two Eskayan heroes: Tugpa and a **herdo**. Both characters are greatly similar to the characters present in the oral histories of Bohol.

Tugpa's story is told in a song incorporated in "Ang Unang Tao." Although the event is dated as April 17, 1777, the narrative does clearly indicate that the person Tugpa and the **herdo** are among those who entered the caves, got suffocated by the bonfire and died as a result. These valiant men are given names and are included by the Eskayas

as worthy contributions to the illustrious lineage of Eskayan heroes and heroines that the people possess.

The KKK Revolution

The Eskayas do not stop at creating historical spaces for themselves in the Visayas. In "Ang mga Hiyas ug Caague ni Mariano Datahan," an attempt is made to insert a Boholano patriot's name into the chronicles of the Katipunan.

Datahan is said to have been a KKK rebel leader in various places - Malabon, Samar and Bohol. In the text, Datahan holds conversations with Bonifacio, and Rizal. He also becomes the prime perpetrator of KKK assassinations that caused much havoc among the Spanish officials. It was Datahan, for example, who is said to have killed the Spanish governor-general in Manila. The official is not named, but a Boholano's action is given the historic spotlight.

After the fall of the Spanish strongholds in Manila (due, acording to the texts, to the assassinations by these disguised servants), Datahan is deployed to the provinces and there leads the rebel forces in successful skirmishes with the remaining Spanish strongholds.

With the coming of the Americans, Datahan allies with Muslims in their attacks/ ambushes of American troops. The text records a variety of incidents where Americans either flee or are beheaded.

A considerable amount of effort has been made by this research to come up with documents to prove any of Datahan's

asserted involvement in the KKK revolutions. The Philippine Insurgent Records in the National Archives, do not yield any information, nor any of the roster of members in KKK documents. The more palpable evidences that have so far surfaced are the KKK banners in the Eskaya's possession, and Datahan's military uniform. As depicted in his statue, there are striking resemblances with pictures of uniformed KKK officials.(See appendix for comparative illustrations).

But whether these empirically validate the claims of the Datahan text however, is a question that the Eskayas do not seem to even ask. To them, Datahan was another Eskayan hero in a long history of native resistance against any and all foreign forces that sought to take away the political sovereignty of the Bisayas-Pilipin.

An Imagined Utopia

As a collectivizing construct that subverts the social order by projecting a possible future, the Eskayas have again created social and political spaces for themselves. The utopia that they envision is underpinned by a rich tradition of Philippine millenarianism. The Eskayan propensity towards creating de-marginalized versions of the already marginalized is marshalled to buttress this utopic vision.

Millenarianism has been variously defined as nativistic movements,[12] messianic and [13],revitalization movements [14], and modern messianic cults. [15] In a Philippine-specific context, the tradition has also become associated with

"colorumism." The word "colorum," is traceable to a corruption of the latin phrase " Per omnia saecula saeculorum" with which prayers were ended. Specially during the American Regime, a "colorum" signified "unregistered" religious sects that were often suspected of armed subversion. [16]

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12 Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, XLV (1943). pp 230-240.

13 Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium : Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe and its Bearing on Modern Totalitarian Movements, (London, 1962).

14 Anthony Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, LVIII (1956). pp. 264-281.

15 Vittorio Lanternari, The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults. Trans. Liza Sergio. (New York, 1963).

16 M.C. Guerrero, " The Colorum Uprisings, 1924-1931," Asian Studies, Vol. V (1967), pp. 67-78.

Alaras in Pamathalaan, characterizes the millennarian tradition as that which is held by a number of Philippine cultural communities which have a concept of a spiritual government that will eventually unite the disparate fragments of the ex-colonized Philippine nation.[17] These "spiritual brotherhoods," or better yet, groups made up of the "kapatiran" (sibling-hood), are supposed to be the guardians/ repositories of the "tipan" - the revelatory discourse which will become the root of all hopes for a meaningful/holy unification of the entire nation.

In order to acquire this spiritual government, Philippine millenarian history may be seen to exhibit two strategies, with one mode often sliding into the other : that of armed subversion in an effort to establish highly cohesive religio-political units. and that of persevering/unarmed/ritualistic commitment to the cause.

Of the first category, not a few chiliastic groups have run a marked course through Philippine History. The 17th century records several religious revolts in the southern Philippines. The revolts exhibit socio-political patterns that have taken deep roots in Philippine millennarian tradition, and have emerged again and again

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17 Consolacion Alaras, Pamathalaan : Ang Pagbubukas sa Tipan ng Mahal na Ina, (Alemanya at Universidad ng Pilipinas, 1988).

again through the centuries. These patterns , although not restrictive, are very common[18] : a) revolts are led by redeemers with miraculous powers b) supernatural "pseudo-communities" are established c) there are apocalyptic announcements with assurances of collective invulnerability d) there are highly syncretistic religious elements d) village violence usually provokes metropolitan vengeance.

Tamblot's rebellion is perhaps one of the earliest cases in point. In 1622, this native priest from Bohol, led a mass anti-friar movement against the Jesuits. The revolt had obviated supernaturalistic themes in its nativistic yearnings and its promised land of plenty in upland retreats. When Alcarazo overun Tamblot's fortified retreat, he gave the following description : " ... an abandoned village with more than a thousand houses, in the midst of which was the temple ... found much food, various jewels of silver and gold and many bells of the sort natives use- all of which were given to the Cebuanos and Pampangos".

Bancao of Leyte, with his native priest Pankil, likewise showed nativisitic-yearnings in his revival of Pre-Spanish religion that undergirded his rebellion of 1622.

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18 for more detailed characterizations, see David Sturtevant, Popular Uprisings 1840-1940.

Bancao, chief of Limasawa, Leyte was said to have been a Christian who apostatized. In Carigara, Leyte, he erected a temple sacred to diwatas, and persuaded the inhabitants of six neighbouring villages to return to their old religion. Some communities were set up but were abrogated when the alcade mayor of Cebu sent an expedition of 40 vessels to Leyte. [19]

Forty years after both Tamblot and Bancao, Tapar of Panay exhibited the same religio-political subversion against the Spanish regime. In 1663, and with highly syncretistic religious elements (like having bishops, and a lady-figure called Maria Santisima), Tapar persuaded his followers to attack mission compounds. Cebuano contingents again came to overwhelm the insurgents, and public executions followed. According to accounts, Tapar, who had proclaimed himself God Almighty was fed to the crocodiles while Maria Santisima was beheaded.[20]

Between the period of 1620-1820, Sturtevant outlines other militant mass movements that had secular origins, but which later "took on a religious character." [21]

In 1841, and parallelling Bancao's inter-regional revolt, the mass spread of revolts beyond those staged in hamlets of religious militarism began again and

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19 Blair and Robertson, "Insurrection by Filipinos in the 17th Century" in Philipppine Islands, Volume XXXVIII, pp. 87-94.

20 Sturtevant, Popular Uprisings, pp. 80-81.

21 Ibid., pp. 82 ff.

became a coordinated effort among three big South Manilan provinces. The Cofradia de San Jose, with Brother Puli (Apolinario de la Cruz) continued to embellish the rich cultural fabric of mellinnarianism .In 1872, the Guardia de Honor phenomenon draw adherents in the Ilocos region and resulted in the institution of an island government of the **los agraviados** in the renamed island of Cabaruan (renewal). The island was said to have been ruled as a pure theocracy.

The religio-political tradition continued across the 16th and the 17th century and exhibited extraordinary regenerative powers in the upsurge of **colorums, pulahanes, colorados, cazadores** and **hermanos** in the early 1900's.

One recorded instance of colorumism spanned the years between 1910-1920 in the islands of Surigao and Bucas Grande. In these places, mass conversions to Aglipayanism occurred. By 1917, the the entire island of Bucas Grande was 90% Aglipayan. By 1918, **halens** (or colorum immigrants) from Bohol, Leyte, Samar and Cebu began to arrive . . . Sturtevant gives descriptive accounts of the commune's activities .[22]

> Organized for devotions to the "Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Heart of MAry," the cult subjected converts to rigid discipline. Initiates were required to rid themselves of personal property and were urged to settle in tightly organized villages.On Bucas Grande, for example, the barrios of Socorro and Pamosaingan became self sufficient Colorum settlements. Spiritual leaders assembled residents for compulsory prayers at 4:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. Between morning and evening devotions, inhabitants labored a assigned tasks - primarily farming, fishing and lumbering. Yields from the communal enterprises were divided equally amon villagers. One month out of each year, moreover, was set aside for mutual-assistance projects such as house construction. In every way, the hamlets added up to intriguing examples of peasant utopianism.

Aside from these activities, this Visayan colorum had prohibitions developed against smoking, drinking, and gambling. There was a marked segregation between the sexes. The colorum was guided by intricate creeds derived either directly or indirectly from the confused legacies of Apolinario de la Cruz. There was an elevation of Philippine patriots like Jose Rizal and Bonifacio to the status of the divine. Rizal's "second coming" would usher in a final victorious struggle that would finally produce social equity.[23]

Post-pacific war Philipppines witnessed less militant messianic groups. The armed tradition of Tamblot and the Cofradias became muted (but with some sporadic uprisings here and there), and has surfaced in present-day Philippines as vibrant "Kapatiran" groups found across the entire archipelago. These groups continue the utopic vision of a holy nation, but have chosen to adopt (although and no one knows for how long), the use of syncretistic religious rites as their mode of arriving at their projected future.

Several cultural "motifs" are highly obviated in many of these "kapatiran" groups.[24]

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22 Ibid., p. 143 ff.

23 Ibid.

In cultural communities in Bundok Banahaw like the Tres Person Solo de Dios, the Ciudad Mistica de Dios, the Inang Santisima, or the Maryang Sinukuan at Bundok Arayat,the BROMOKI with its different chapters all over Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, and the Watawat ng Lahi in Laguna -- there may be discerned in them these following recurring tropes : the use of the numeral three - in parallelisms like the trinity, the three geographic divisions of the Philippines, the triangle; Rizal as canonized religious folk-hero; the Ina as metaphor for the Bayan; the cave or the forest as hide-out as well as source for "potensiya" (magical potency/power); the emphasis on the "kaloob" (the inner self), the "patotoo" (a proof of commitment to the small and the weak), and the pamumuwesto (the sacrificial journey) as the primary means of arriving at a Holy Philippines.

These tropes, although more highly obviated in the later manifestations of mellinarianism in contemporary Philippines, have characterized the long Philippine tradition towards "messiahnic utopianism," and have become highly volatile and potent forces for mass mobilizations.

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24 A number of studies have been made on the specifically post-war to contemporary context of this cultural tradition. See Foronda, Marcelino. Cults Honoring Rizal. Manila, 1961. David Sturtevant in Solidarity Volume I (1966, pp.11-21; Volume III (1968), pp.10-18. Prospero Covar in " The Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi : A Sociological Study of a Social Movement ," M.A. Thesis U.P. (1961). Portions in Pasyon and Revolution, Reynaldo Ileto. Ateneo de Manila Press (1979). Consolacion Alaras.Pamathalaan : Ang Pagbubukas sa Tipan ng Mahal na Ina. 1988.

An assessment of the Eskayan religious system will readily yield congruences with many of these mellinnarian tropes, both of the militant as well as the more ritualistic. However, Eskayan mellinnarianism exhibits a more culturally-specific version, highly congruent to their other ideological modes of subversion. Based on this highly comprehensive interpellation of all the arenas of cultural production, the Eskayan **pagtulun-an** is a rich amalgamation of folk, religious and socio-historical significations.

The discovery of the Eskayan "letra" in the cave, for example, becomes highly meaningful in the context of Eskayan utopianism and typologies of Philippine millennarianism. Because the "letras" were found in an Eskayan cave, it will be from there that the renewal of Philippine cultural ascendancy will spring. It would be interesting to note that the original **letras** are said to be still hidden in the cave, no doubt increasing its **potensiya** to an even greater degree. Both as "letra" and as a system of beliefs, the Eskayan trope is a unique version of the millennarian **tipan**.

The trope of the **lingganay** is likewise a uniquely comprehensive attempt at creating a specifically Eskayan form of millennarianism. The function of a pre-Hispanic Christianity allows the Eskayas to trace their religion to pre-colonial times, and allow them to take their "christianity" without having qualms about it being an

ideological tool of the colonizers. The Eskayas, in this sense, have been able to re-situate the context of pre-hispanic religion to their advantage.

The admission of Rizal and other Manila-centric heroes into a roster that includes divine and semi-divine folk heroes, is again precluded by the fact that these heroes have become regional properties. Rizal therefore is made to uphold the Visayan sun, and thus is made to acknowledge that it will be from this region that the radiance of a holy sovereign nation will emanate. The Inahang yuta which figures prominently in other millennarian sects, is likewise given a peculiarly Eskayan identity and role - she upholds the Philippine lands, now re-configured with Bohol as center.

In this envisioned utopia, the Eskayans have used the tools of hegemony (i.e. history, language and religion), as the community appropppriates for itself a political space. Overwriting much of what is deemed as treachery, the Eskayas have re-written Philippine mainstream narratives and have produced not only a series of revisions in history, but have in fact engaged themselves in an epistemologic battle. Interpellated, the Eskayas in turn, interpellate. Named, they in turn, name. Living out a political reality tnat they have constructed for themselves, the Eskayas have become spontaneous post-colonial theorists as they simply wrest the Word from the hegemony, clear their own territory and there create, their own collective identity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ESKAYA AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIVITY

> "...the Eskaya researcher ... should be one who does not tarry with his voluminous references, he must also be aware of what he has not read. In other words, he must be possessed with a creatively active mind. "
>
> - Brenda Abregana (a quaint old lady who has devoted almost an entire lifetime curating for a museum which contains artifacts with no "national museum value."

This reading has sought to articulate the distinctive functional responses made by a highly cohesive cultural community to the overdeterminations of Philippine colonization.It has not been exhaustive, but it has I trust, been "creative". Fortunately, (or unfortunately) "creativity" can hardly be such a benign term anymore.

This study set out to accomplish three things. Beginning with the retrieval of the Eskaya as cultural text, and the creation of an epistemic space for its inclusion as a valid object of cultural investigation, it proceeded to make a reading of the Eskayan strategies for cultural construction. The reading has shown that the Eskaya as cultural text, is a highly volatile "conjectural node" in its capacity to subvert the balance of asymetrical power

through a mobilization of meaning. What follows is an articulation of how this meaning has been so deliberately and so comprehensively mobilized.

Epistemic Groundwork

"... a society can fashion and refashion itself as an explicitly self-instituting collectivity.'"

- Castoriadis in L'Institution Imaginaire de la Societe

The Eskayan response to the incursions of colonial/hegemonic powers in the Philippines is distinctive because it proceeds from epistemic interrogations of power.

Taking off from the post-structuralist assumptions of the "constructivity" of culture, the Eskayan agenda of appropriating the hegemonic tools for cultural construction may be seen as a highly potent mode of ideological subversion. In its deliberate construction of a collective identity,the Eskayan cultural text effectively deconstructs the "cultural arbitraries" of Power, and shows that there is nothing essential or a priori in hegemonic "imaginaries." It also shows that a people can choose to fashion/re-fashion themselves into a "people" of their choice. Subject construction has often been seen as the sole privilege of Power. As a self-instituting collectivity, the Eskaya becomes a highly instructive cultural text that can be read as an instance of a people who have wrested this prerogative from the hands of the dominant and have "re-written" themselves for themselves.

Symbolic Subversion

"... ang ikaupat nga gubat, gubat sa pagtulun-an..."

- Anoy Datahan

When Anoy Datahan said that "the fourth war was a war against knowledge/belief systems," he said it in the context of a long biographical line of brute antagonism against foreign forces. His sliding from/into battles with swords and battles with **pagtulun-an** show that to him, ideological struggles were as crucial as "actual" battles. The battles against symbolic structures, semantic meanings, ideologies, and beliefs were as important and as necessary.

Revolving around this agenda, the Eskayas wage their symbolic subversions against three cultural tools often used for the construction of a collective. Responding to the habitus that the colonizers instituted in their agenda of domination, the Eskayas overwrite/re-write the Canons of power as they reconstruct their own "social imaginaries" vis-a-vis language, religion and history.

The Eskayan **letra** stands as a highly potent subversion of the post-Hispanic linguistic habitus. The "retrieval" of an occluded pre-Hispanic syllabary, and an assertion of its linguistic sufficiency/superiority in relation to Castilian, become to the Eskayans, an index of cultural cohesion and ascendancy.

In the same vein, the Eskayan **lingganay** or bell, subverts hegemonic religious structures. By positing the "fact" that Christianity ante-dated Spanish colonization,

the Eskayas create a semantic space from which they can interrogate the religious symbols/icons/rituals which Power has used to marginalize Bohol. Asserting that the Sto. Nino is a re-named indigenous deity, or that they have been baptized with "the first baptism," the Eskayas are able to retain their crucifixes and **kampanas**, yet strip orthodox religion of its highly political albeit unobviated determinations.

The Eskayan **bandera** is another trope for symbolic subversion. In their ideological battle against Philippine politics and history, the Eskayas create historic and political space by over-writing/re-writing the canonical narratives of Philippine history. By naming and re-naming mainstream historical events and characters, the Eskayan texts re-fashion Philippine history and make it particularly functional in their construction of their own "imagined community."

The Power of Objectification

" ... ang pagtulun-an nga walay letra, murag hangin gikan sa baba..."

- from " Ang Aphabeto sa Katsila ug Bisayas"

Phonocentricism, or the privileging of speech over the written, has been seen, in the last 30 years, as another essentialist attempt at masking the constructivity of realities. By positing the idea that the spoken is nearer to "fact" (presence) than the graphic representation of it,

phonocentrists assume, the transparency of the verbal sign. The written word is twice removed from reality, from fact, from the presence of the speaker or source.

Seen from post-structuralist perspectives however, the sign is seen as something that does not reflect, nor mediate between realities. A sign, fabricates and constructs. Logically, the more stable the sign (i.e. the more objectified either materially or culturally), the higher its capacity to construct and create realities. The spoken word is thus not nearer to reality, but only seems so. The written word is not nearer to reality either. It produces it.

Based on the above assertions, one can view the significance of the Eskayan employment of the "written." By making it foundational in its ideology, the Eskayan written texts, their flags and their glyphs all act as objectified instances of highly "repeatable signs" that contribute towards the construction of a collective identity, a collective memory and a projected future. The Eskayans make much ado about their history being written, or their having a national "symbol." They trace their political potency to the fact that they have in their possession, the **letra** of the Bisayas, or the **lingganay** of a pre-Hispanic Christianity or the **bandera** of the **unang pagtulun-an sa Bisayas**. Through these objectifications, the Eskayas have wrested the power of the "written" and have used it to their benefit.

Centering

"... kay ang Bohol man ang tunga sa Kalibutan."
- Fabian Baja

The construction of "centers" in colonies is highly expedient in the domination of a nameless, fragmented terrain. This was particularly true in the Philippines , where the colonizers found a highly discreet archipelago with pockets of autonomous collectivities all over the islands. There had to be consolidation -- and this was achieved not primarily through direct or coercive subjugation (although this had its place), but through the establishment of political, historical and religious centers of power (e.g poblaciones, cabezas de barangay, parochias which were "bajo de la campana"). These centers became reproductions of imperial power, and the peripheries had become doubly-dominated. This was Power in its infinite capacity to apotheosize in almost symphonic concentricism.

Into this ideological arena, the Eskayas , marginalized many times over, consciously decenter hegemonic structures by using the very tools that the dominant have used to perpetuate itself in power. Working from within the same concentric circles of domination, the Eskayas interrogate the Center, and its sattelites as it spirals out its subversion from Bohol centers to Visayan centers, to Philippine centers and then to the world.

And so the decentering begins within the island of Bohol. Cortez, Talibon, and Dauis are silent geographical

spaces in the Philippine Historical texts. Opon, is not. It is said to be the old name for the town of Maribojoc, the seat of power for the sultanate of Sikatuna. Every year, mainstream culture celebrates the festive **Sandugo**, in commemoration of the first "international treaty" done in the Philippines. The Eskayas cut the festivities short by asserting that the treaty was a sell-out. Maribojoc, as cultural/historical center is " to the very rotting of our bones, a memory of evil shame." Contraposed are the silent spaces of Cortez (the ventud of Umanad), or Talibon (the ventud of Dangko) - lands of heroes' births. By interpellating a center with a written history, the Eskayan texts "re-write" Opon and names it an illegitimate cultural center and a rendezvous for treachery and muddleheadedness.

In decentering Cebu, the Eskayas denigrate the religious center by allegations of credulousness and the inability to see through the schemes of Spanish Christianity.

The subversion continues with Luzon. When the royal cedula dated November 15, 1595, was signed by Philip II, it had decreed that Manila be called and instituted as "mas principal ciudad de las dichas Islas Filipinas," Metropolitan Manila was (and would be after three centuries), centered, being and becoming the seat of government, power and historicity. Manila would become from then on, the center of "articulatedness."

Bohol circumvents this by its own articulations. By naming its own heroes in the Philippine revolution for example, it seeks to reterritorialize space for itself in the map of political ascendancy.It appropriates Rizal, and makes him hold up the Bisayan sun. It reconfigures history from the vantage point of a Boholano narrative. Furtermore, through its utopic vision, the Eskaya seeks to project a unified Philippines, a result of the powerful emanations radiating from the real center of the Philippines, and even of the of the world.

With the fall of all of the marginalizing reproductions of hegemonic power, the Philippines is envisioned to once again have the capacity to "banner" real sovereignty. To the Eskayas, while the dominant centers remain, they can do nothing but perpetuate the powers of those who instituted them. Only when the marginalized have been set up as proper centers can there be any hope of decentering the subtle forces of imperialism that continue to underpin neo-colonized Philippines.

Orchestrated Subversion

" ... ang balasahon sa lawas sa tao."
- from "Askormos Meneme"

Perhaps the last thing that can be said about Eskayan post-coloniality is that it is a highly comprehensive, highly organized form of subversion. The slippage in meaning in the word "orchestration" is meant to be significant. On one hand, to orchestrate means to scheme or plan, on another level, it also means to work harmoniously, to effect a

highly coordinated plan of action. The Eskayan response to the ex-colonized contexts of Philippine society is no doubt, exactly that. Like Eskayan characterizations of their **letra**, where the cut-up portions of the body are made to "come together" to make up a vigorously animated "body," each aspect in the entire Eskayan agenda of hegemonic subversion is representative of "parts" that are seamlessly woven into another, all functioning under one coordinated purpose.

And it is perhaps because of this conscious orchestration of epistemology, language, religion ,history, politics, economics and ethics that the Eskaya differentiates itself from the fragments of unarticulated pockets of little nations and little sovereignties in the Philippines.

Through an unmitigated subversion of all the ramifications of the dominant, the Eskayas have addressed the issue of a collective identity with thoroughgoing vehemence. Refusing subjectivity , they themselves weild the tools that make subject construction possible by appropriating for themselves all the collectivizing constructs that have been used to create nations, create national identities. The Eskayas know, and are in a sense telling us, that if a people do not construct, Someone else will construct for them.

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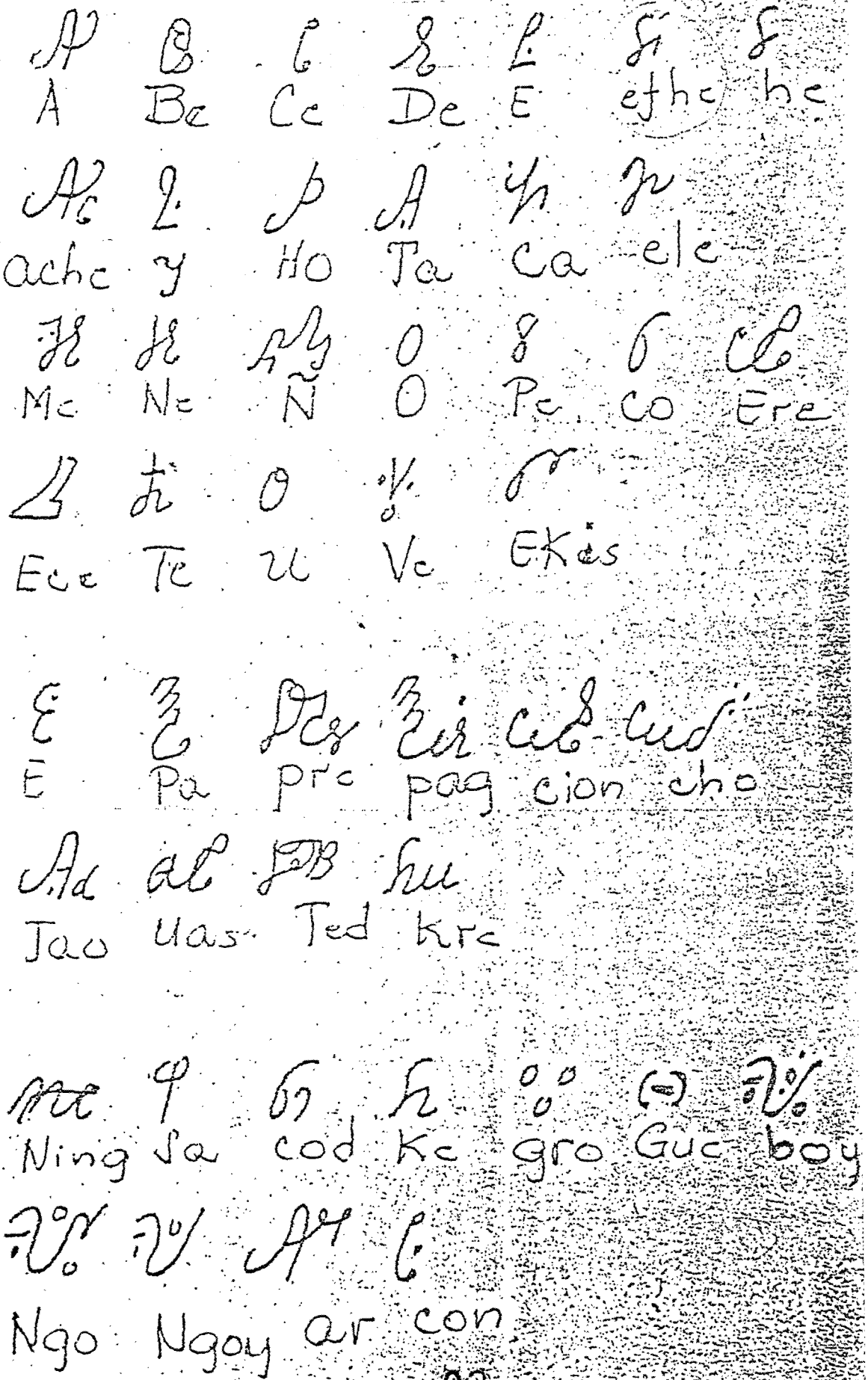
1.1 Simplet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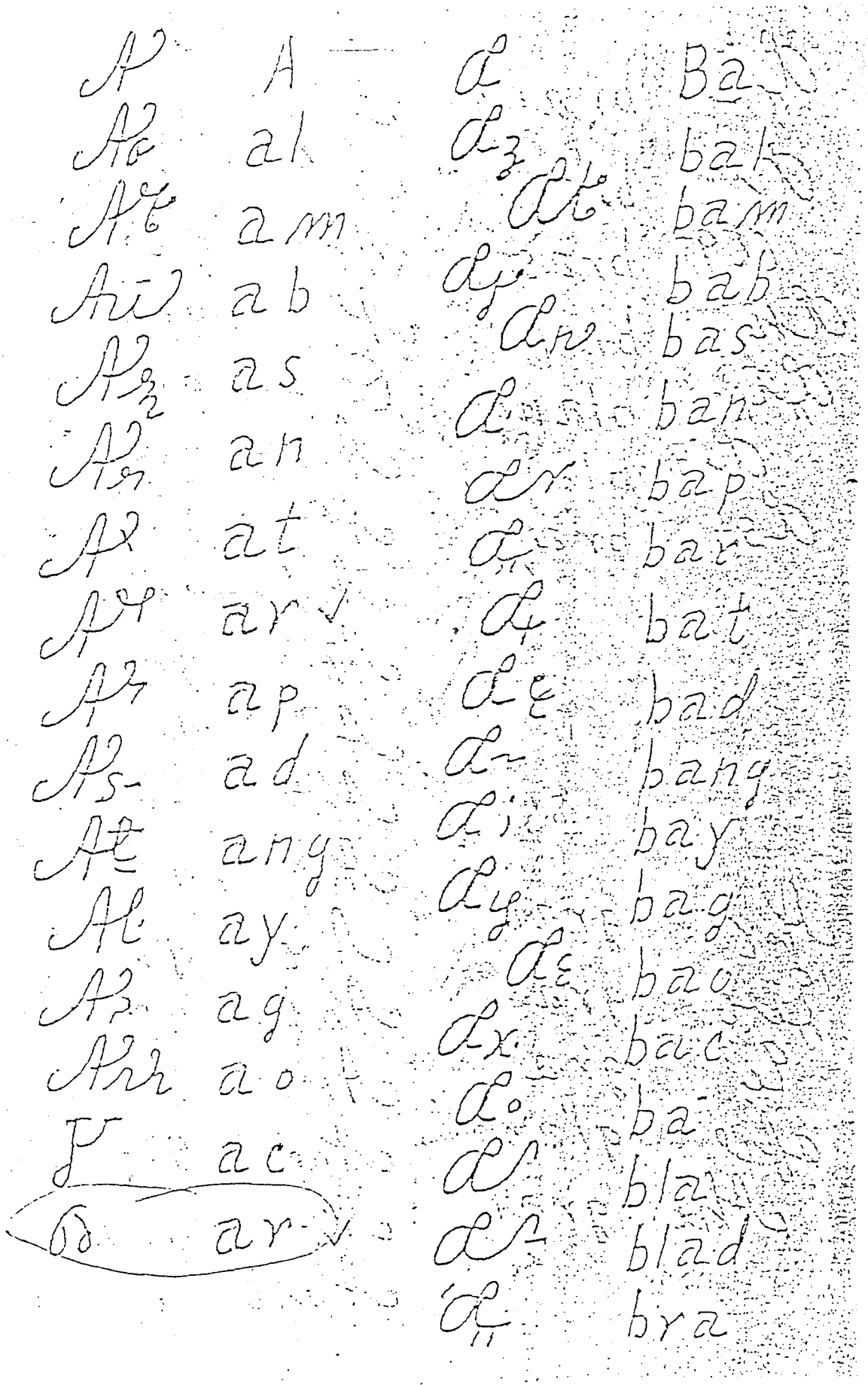
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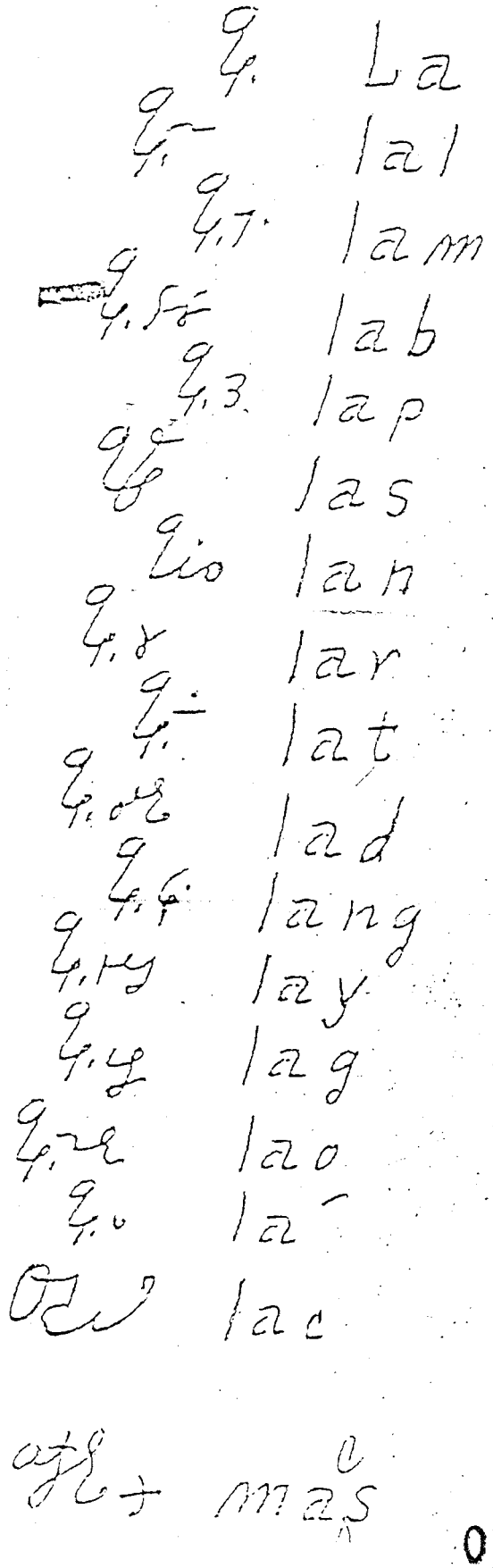
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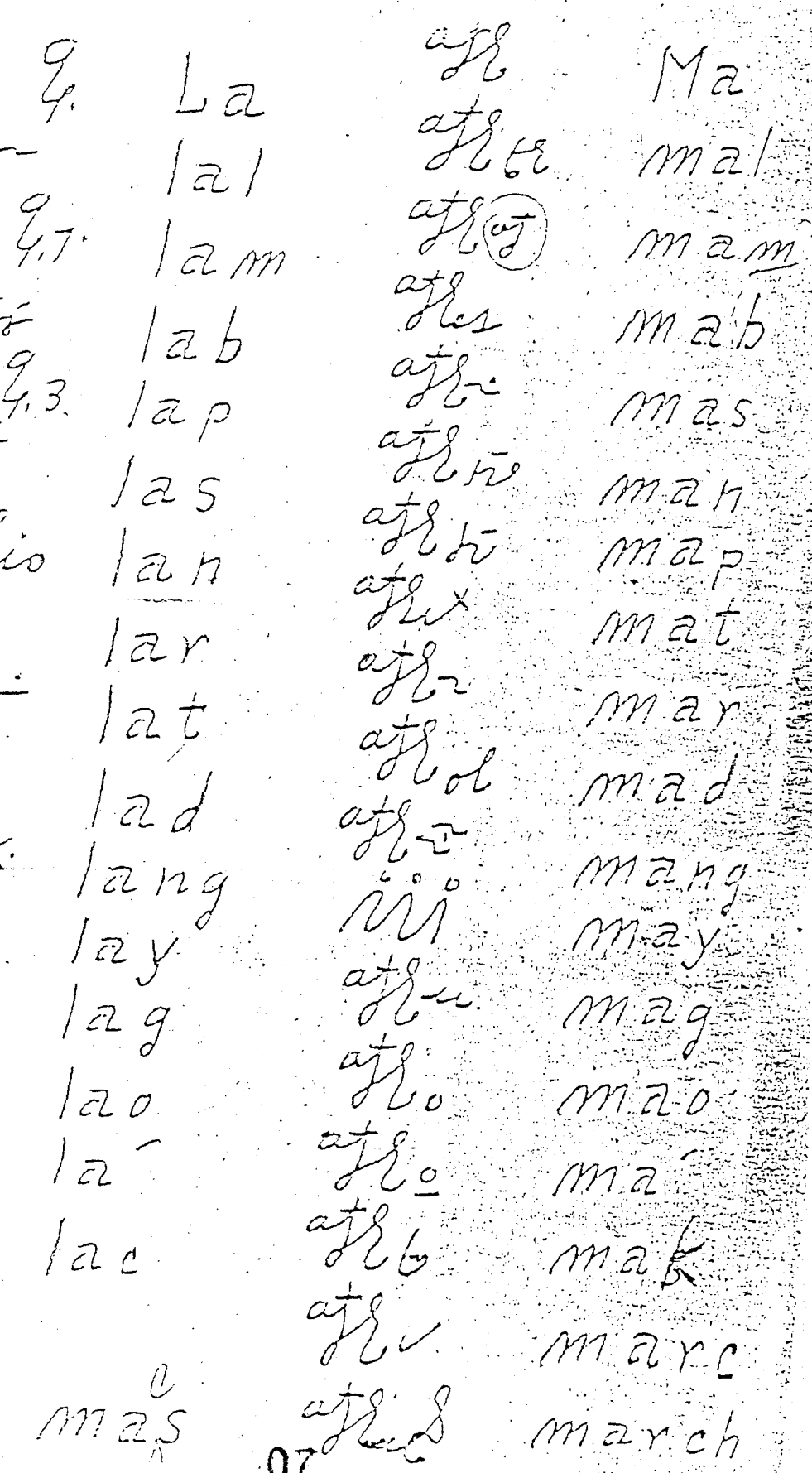
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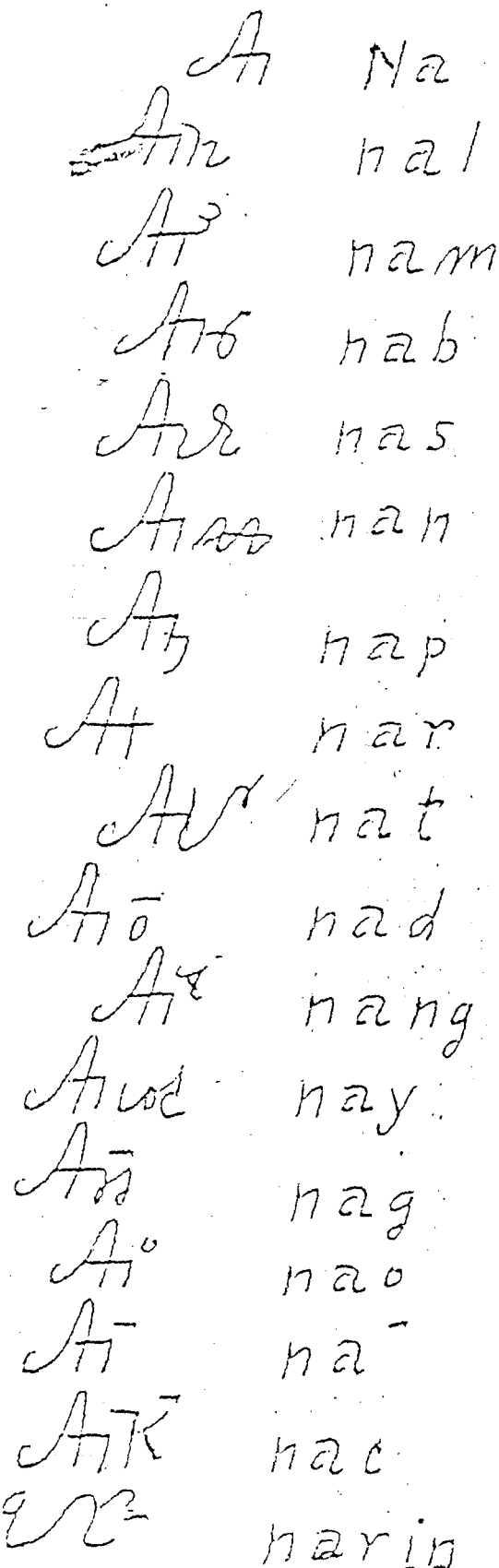
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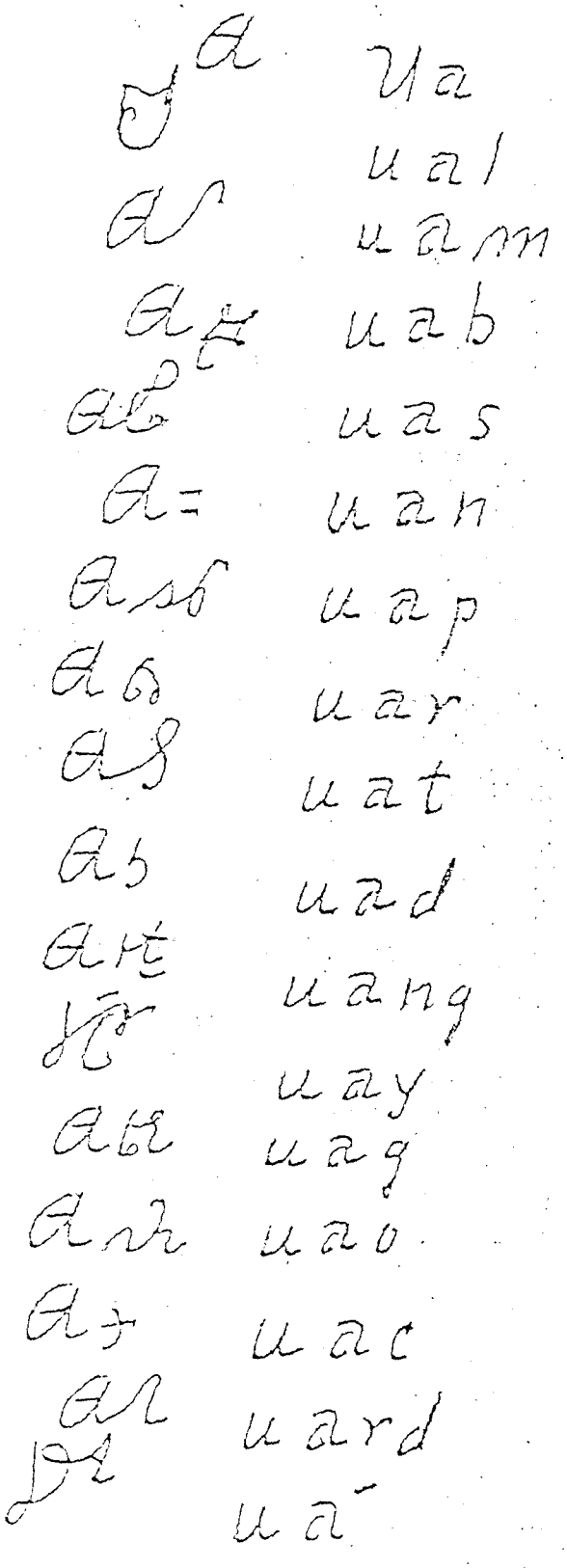
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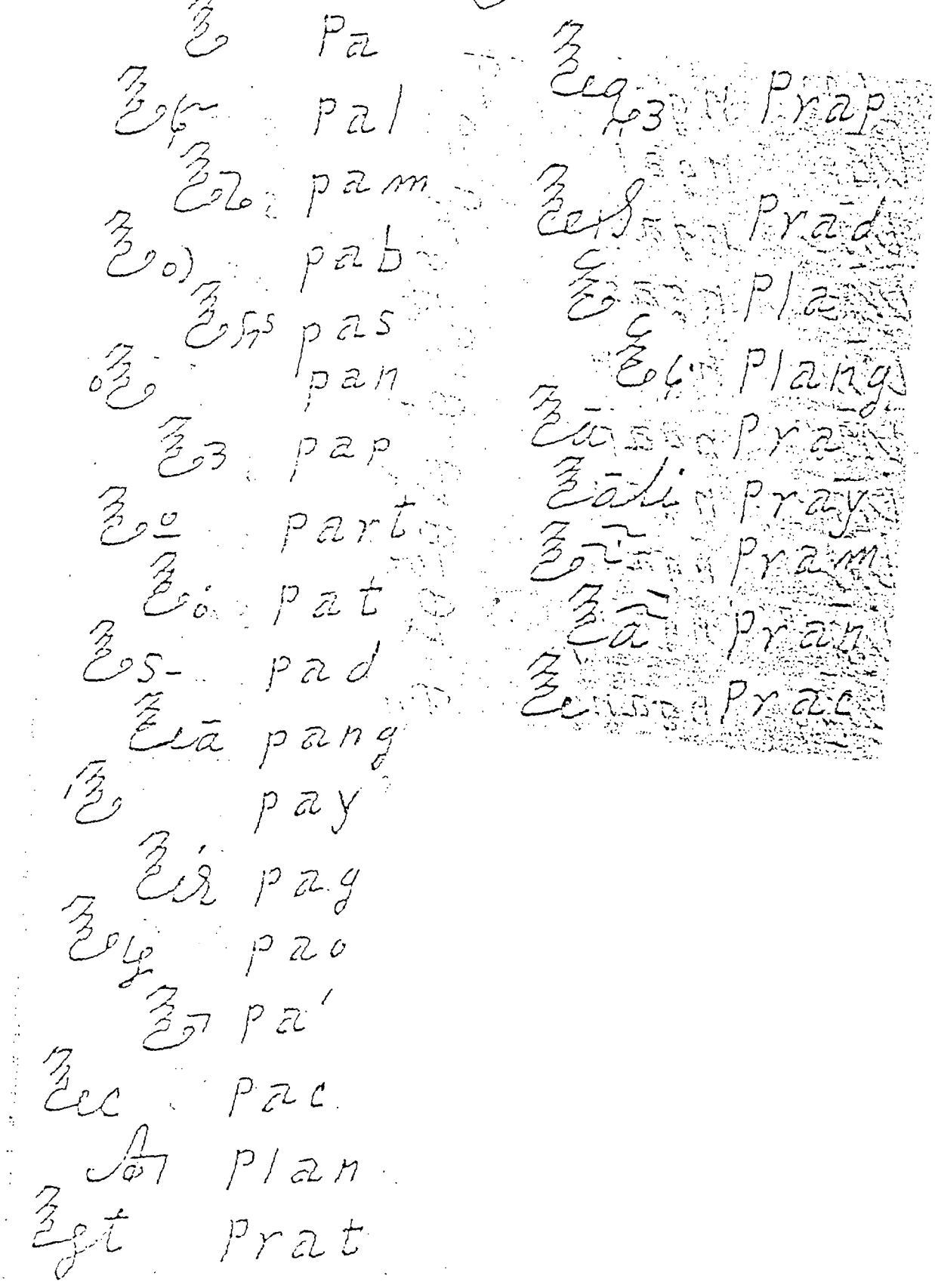
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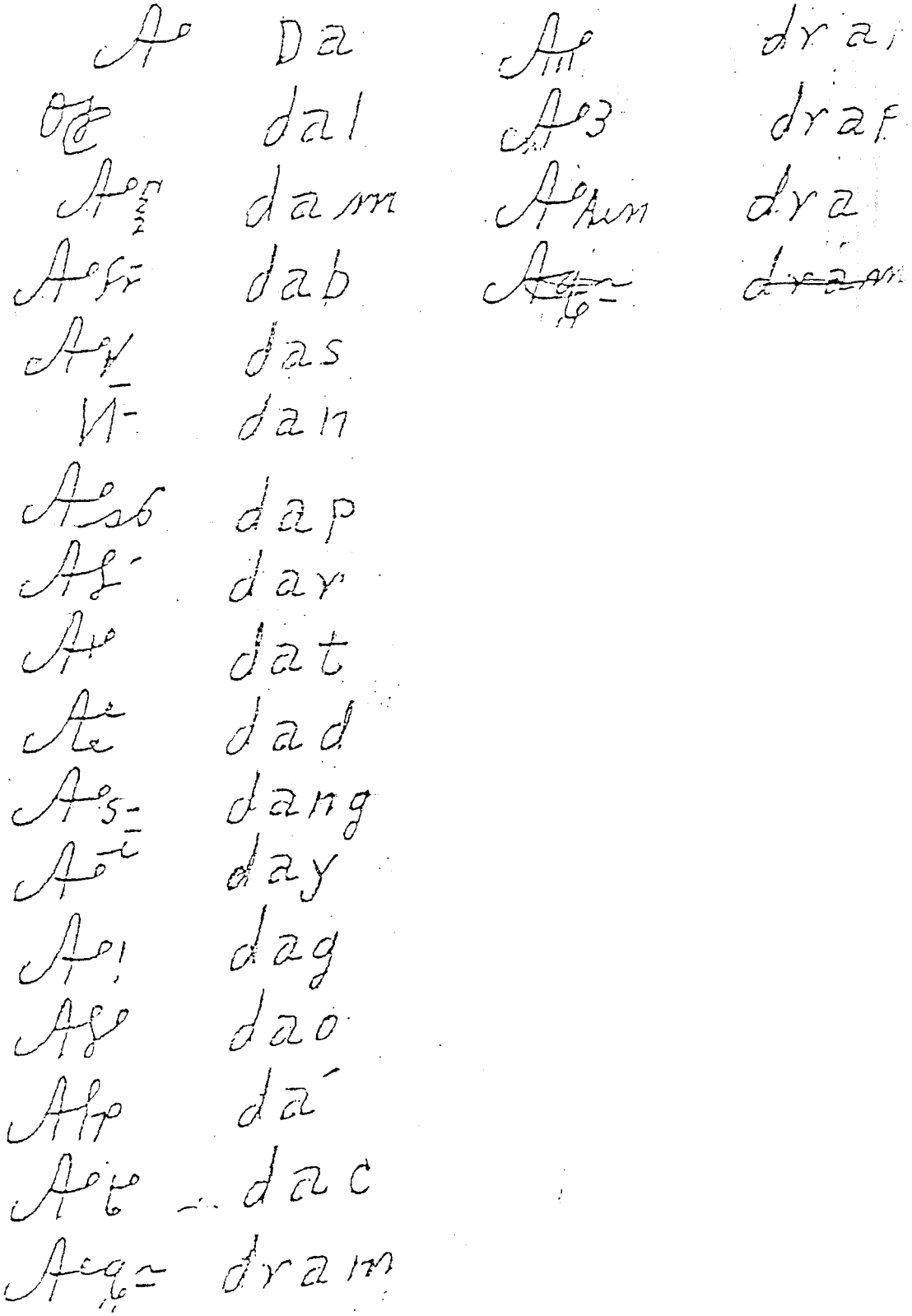
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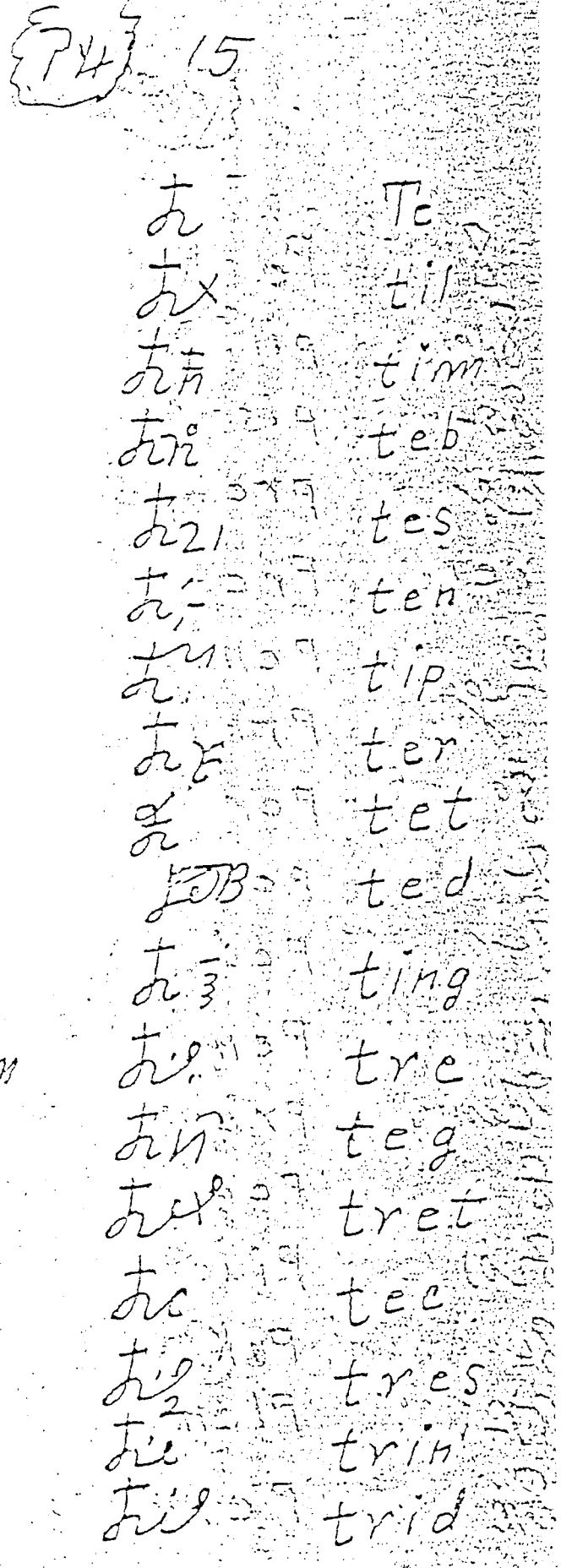
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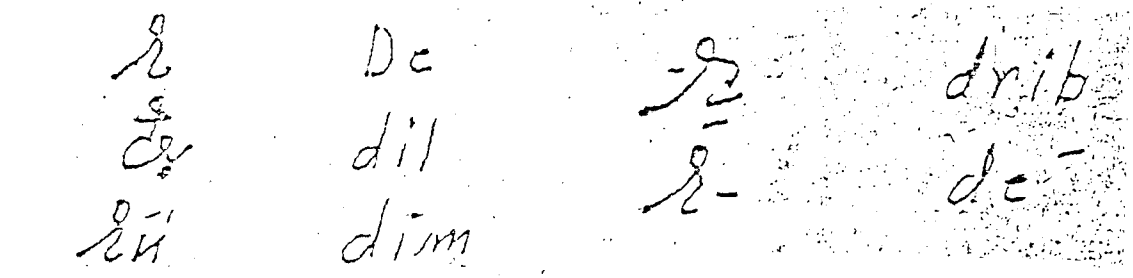
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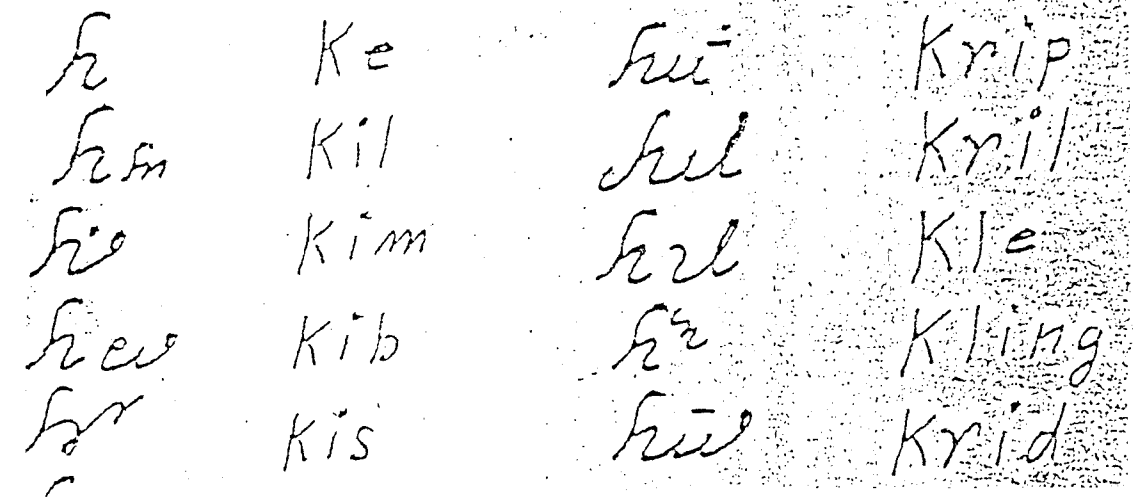
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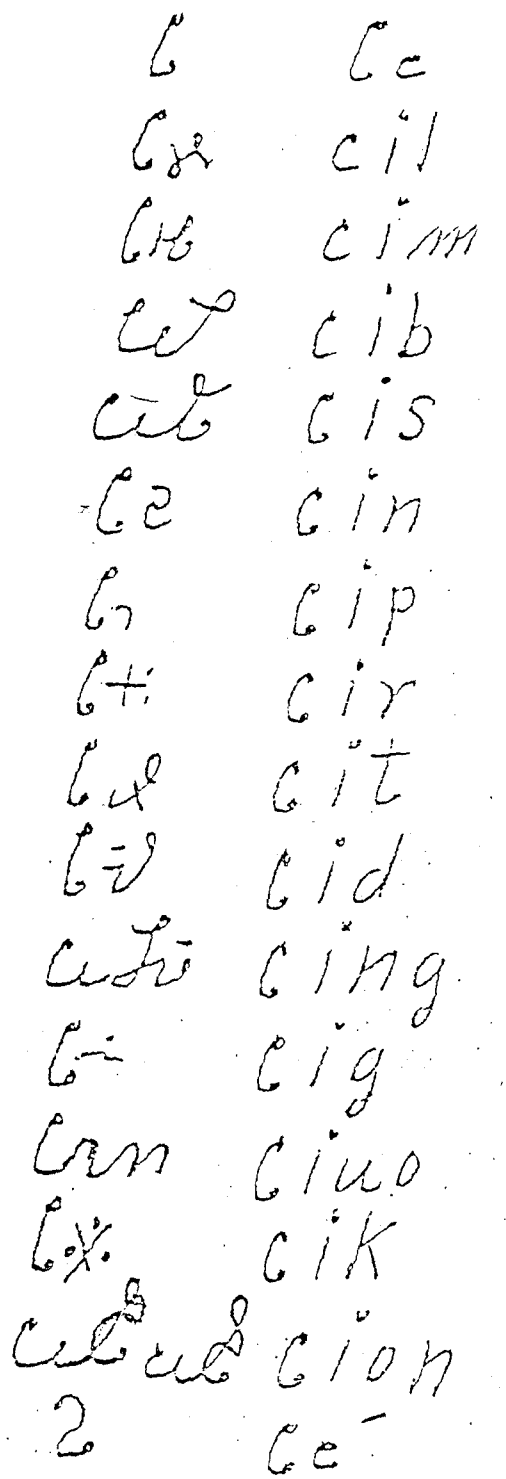
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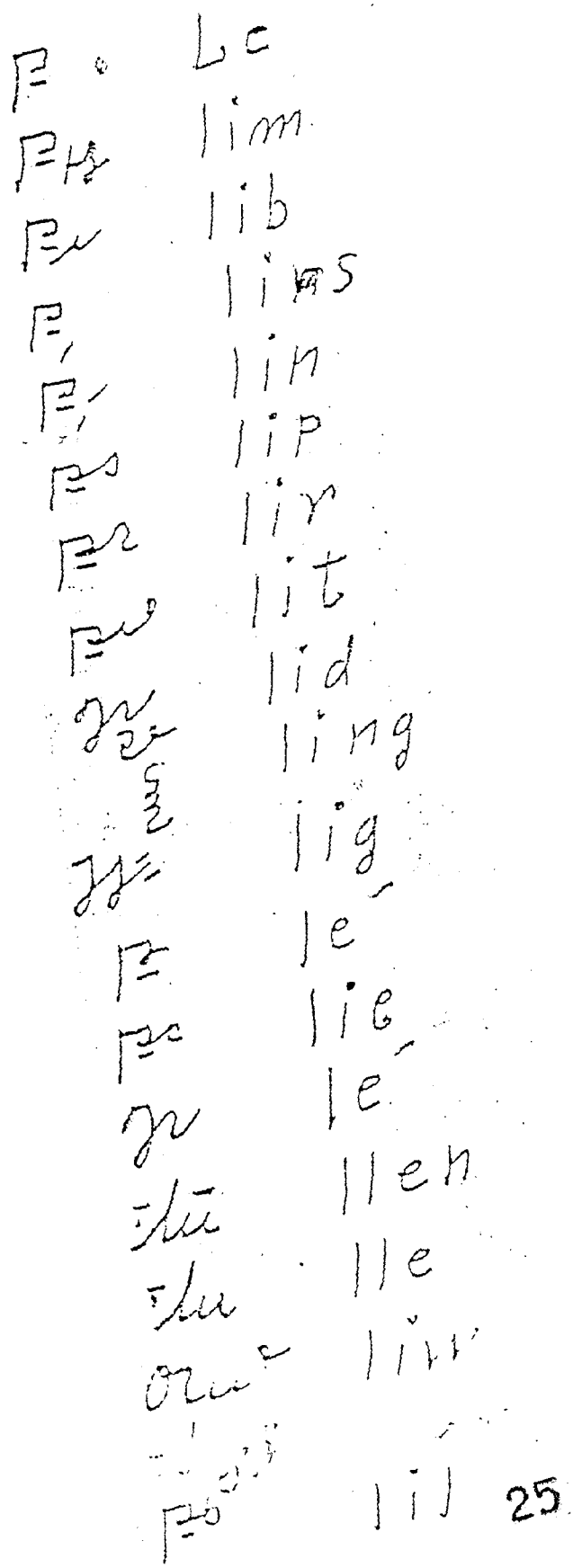
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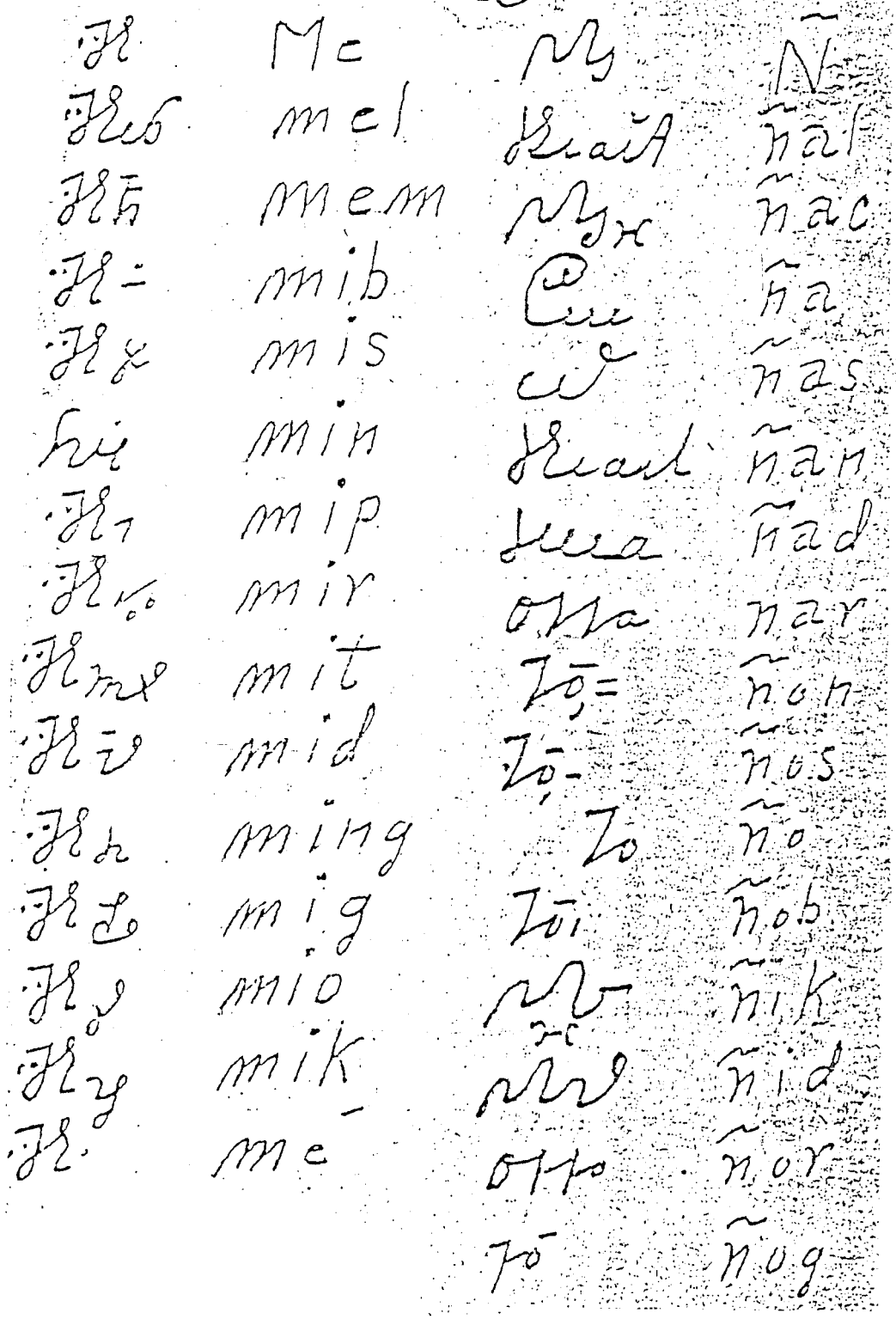
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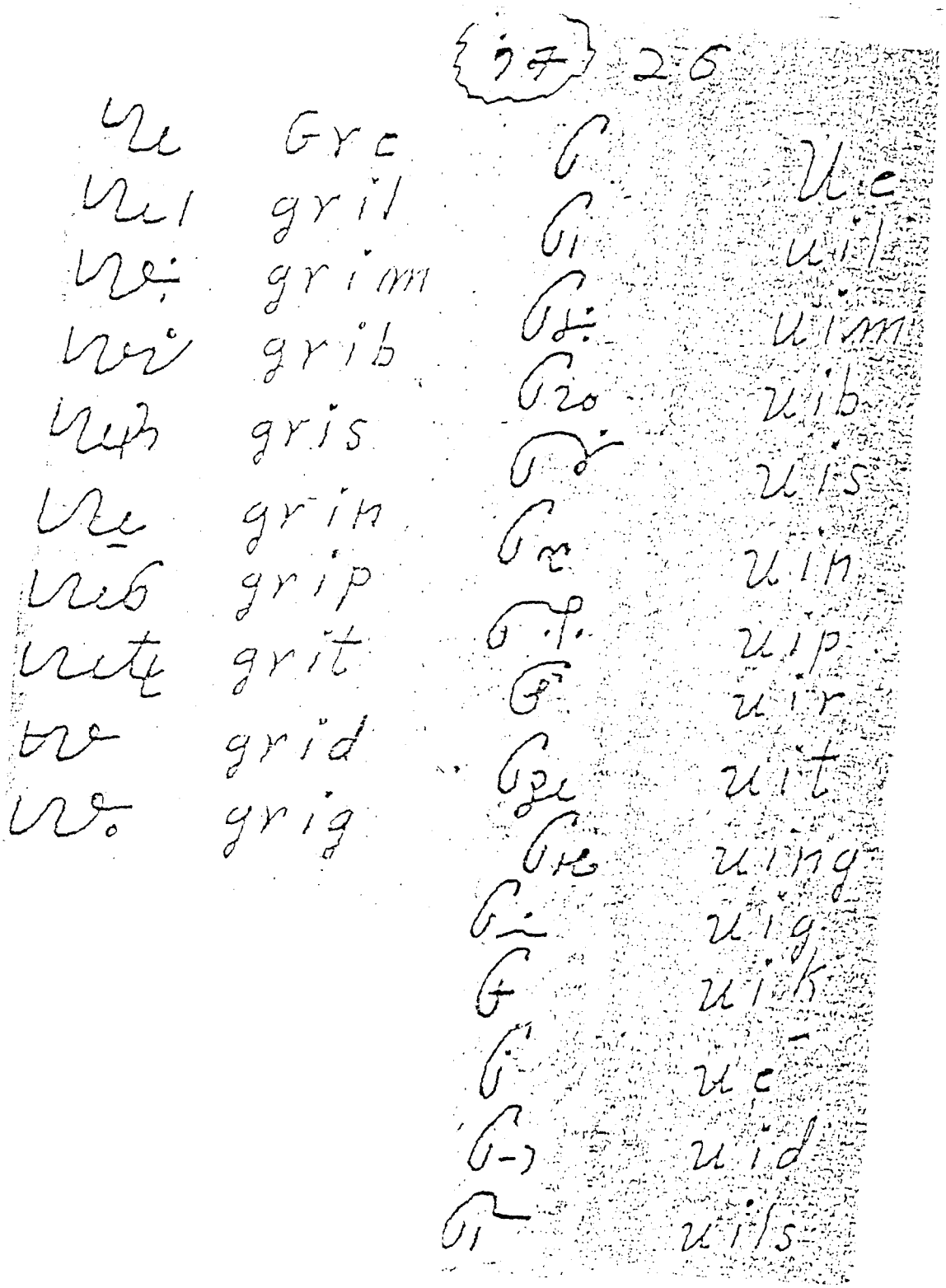
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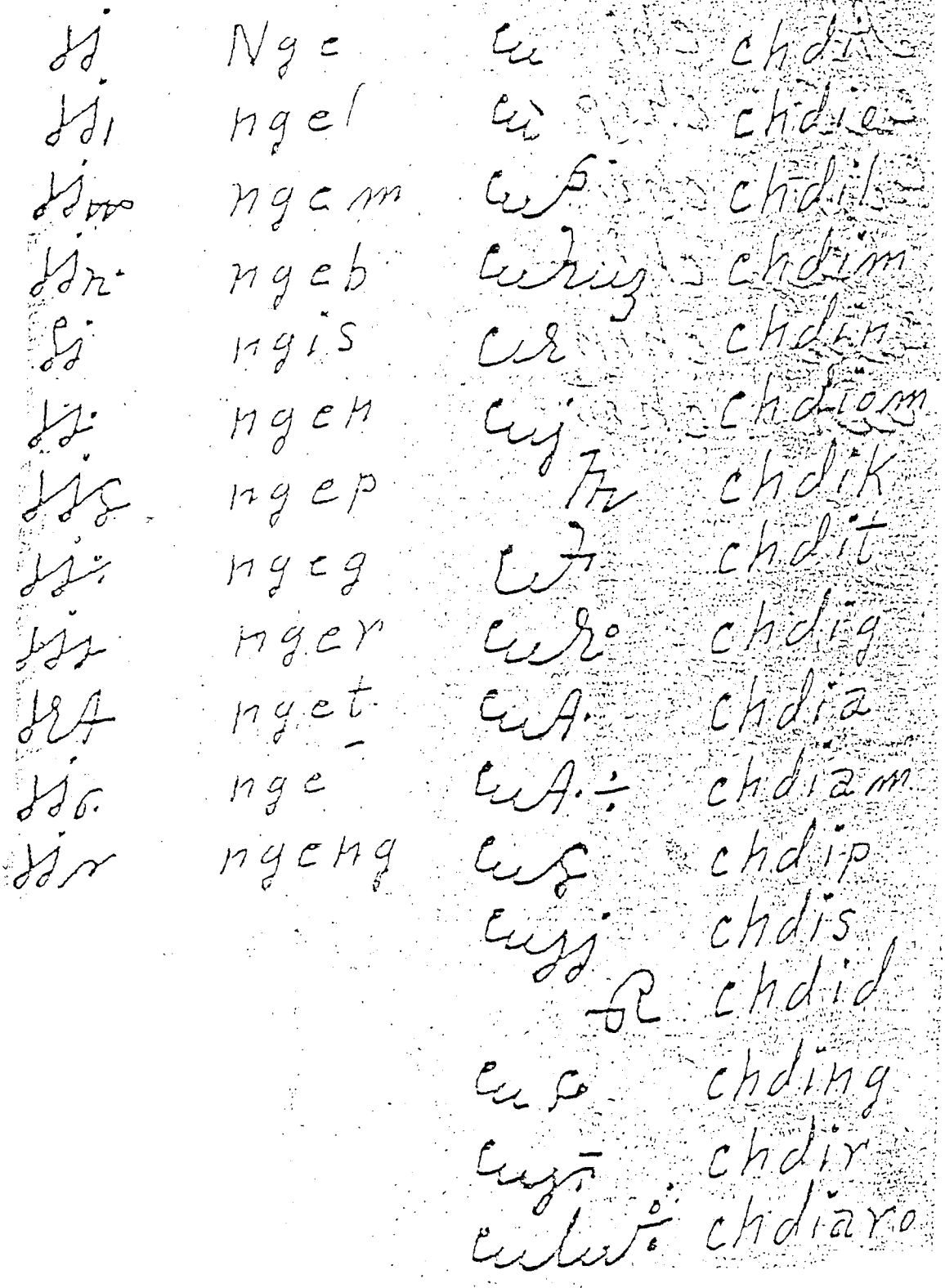
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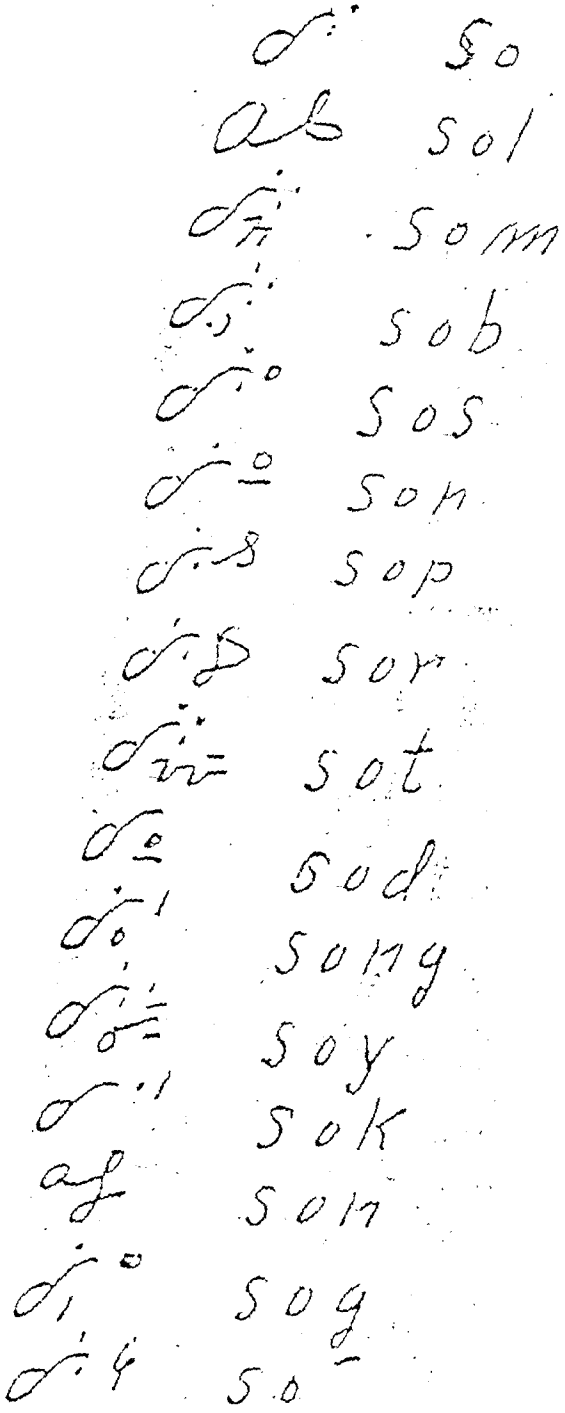
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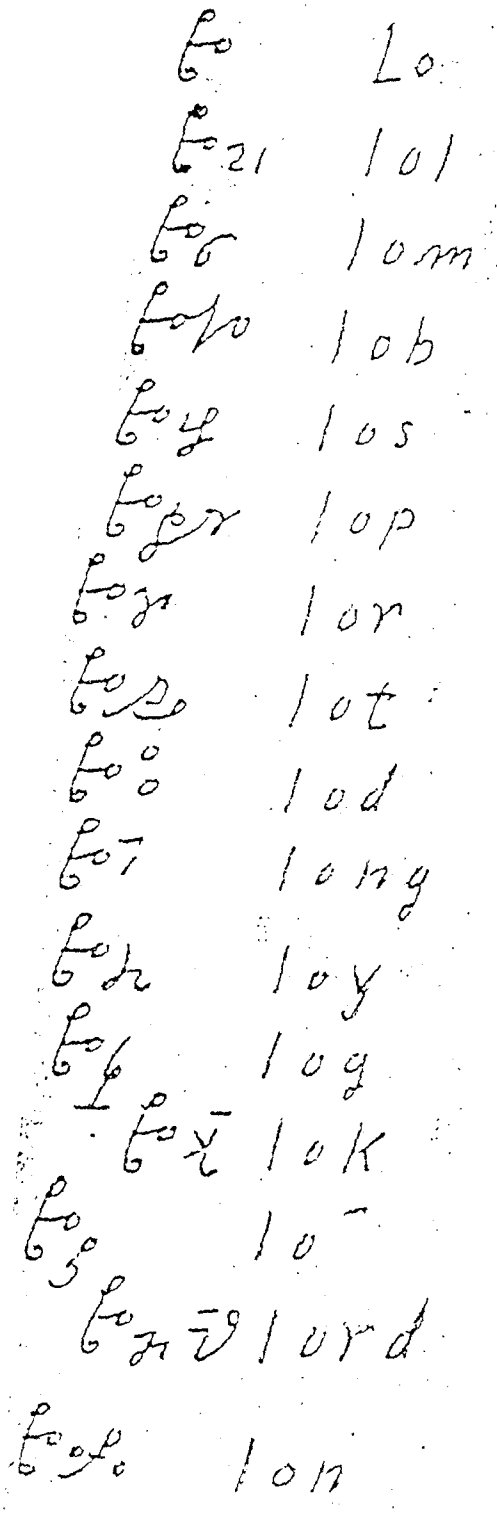
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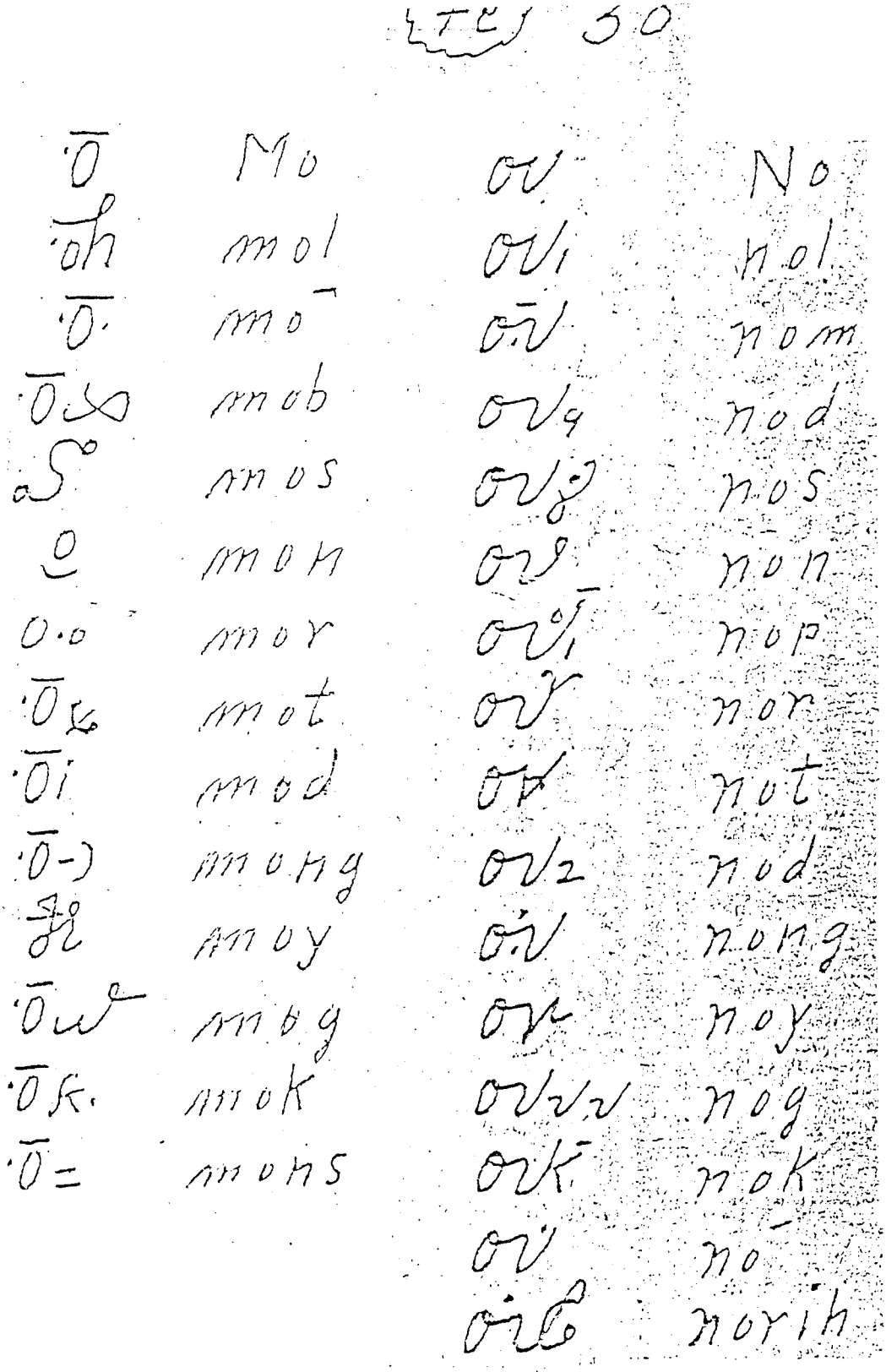
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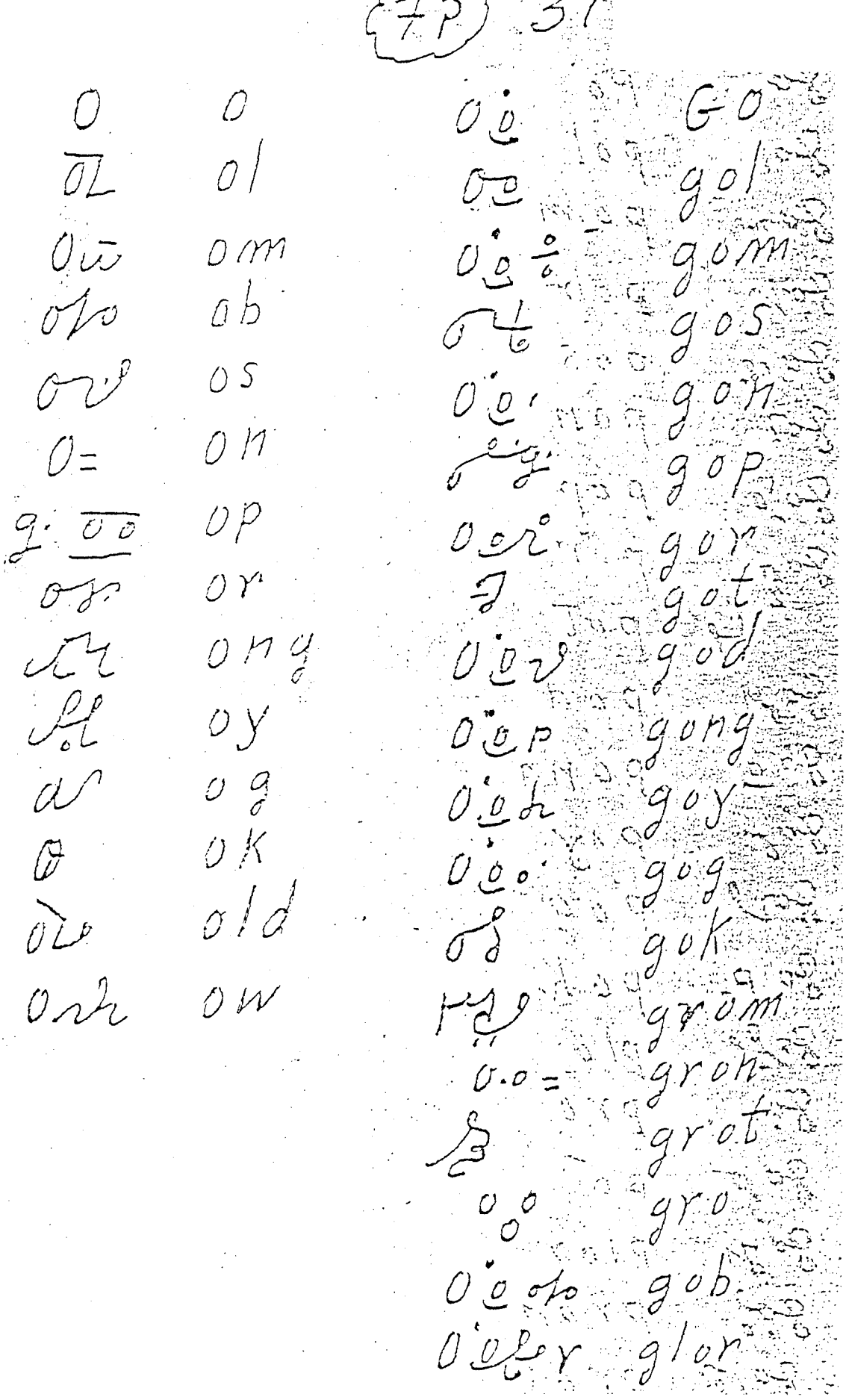
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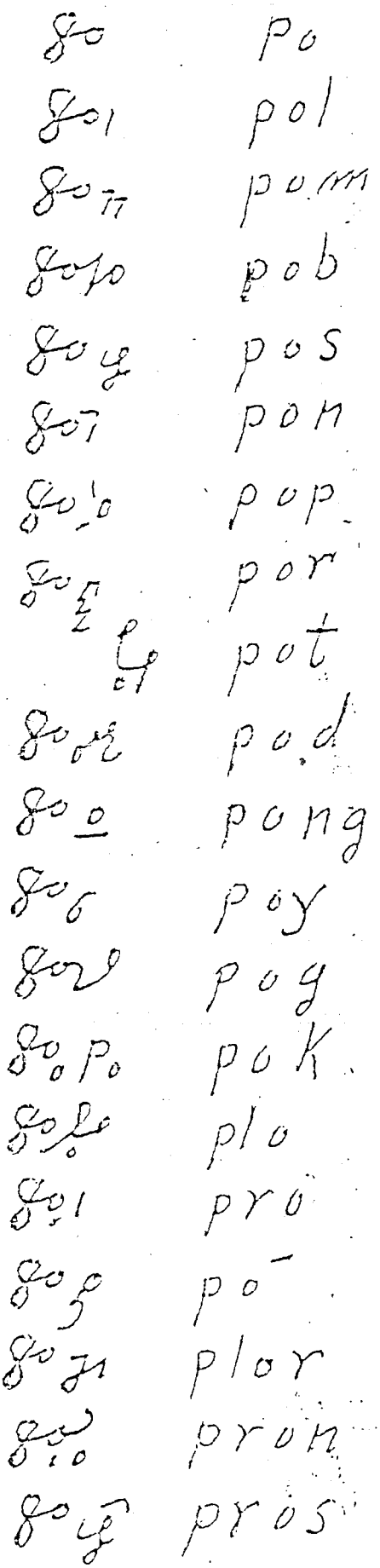
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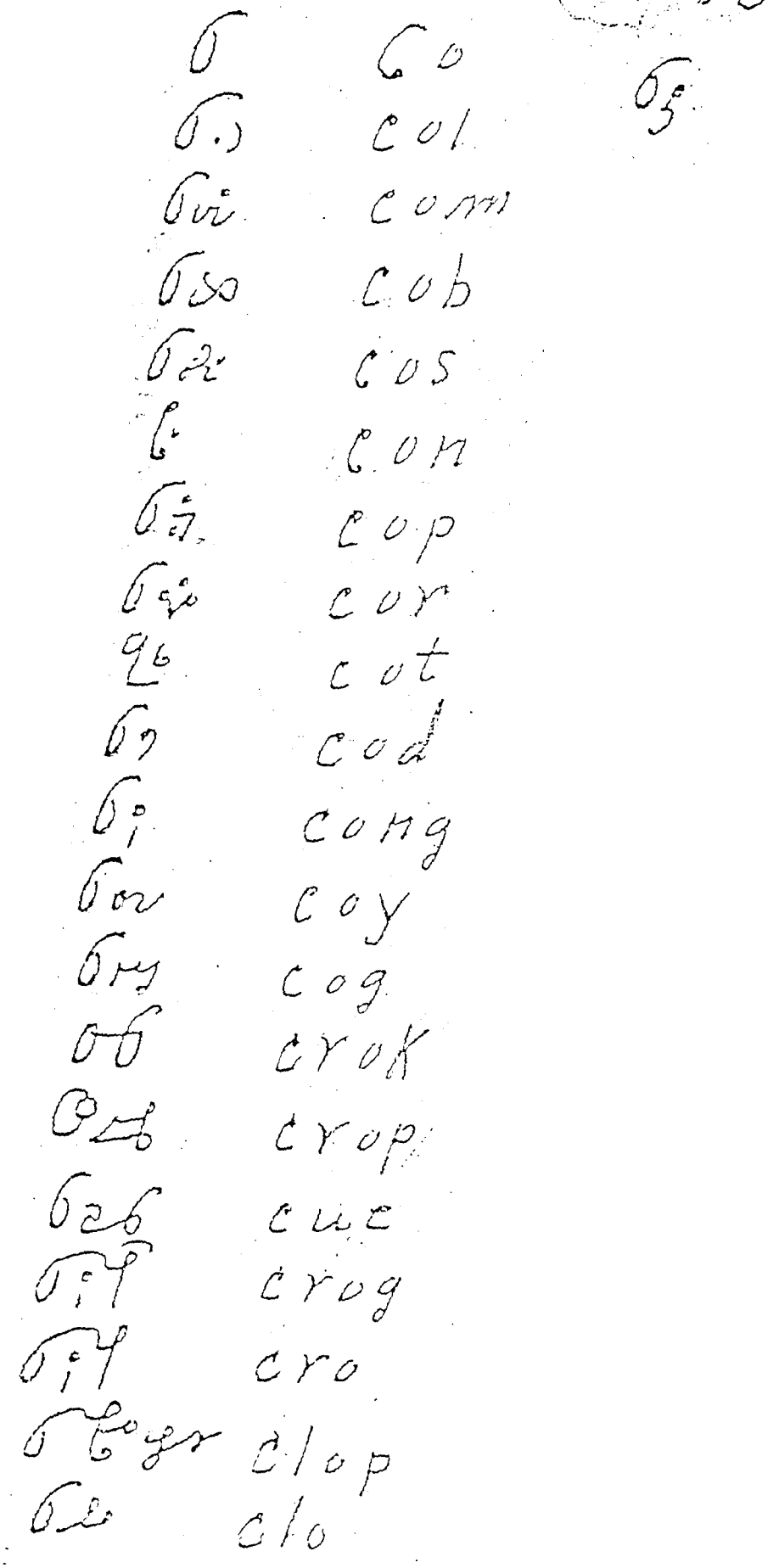
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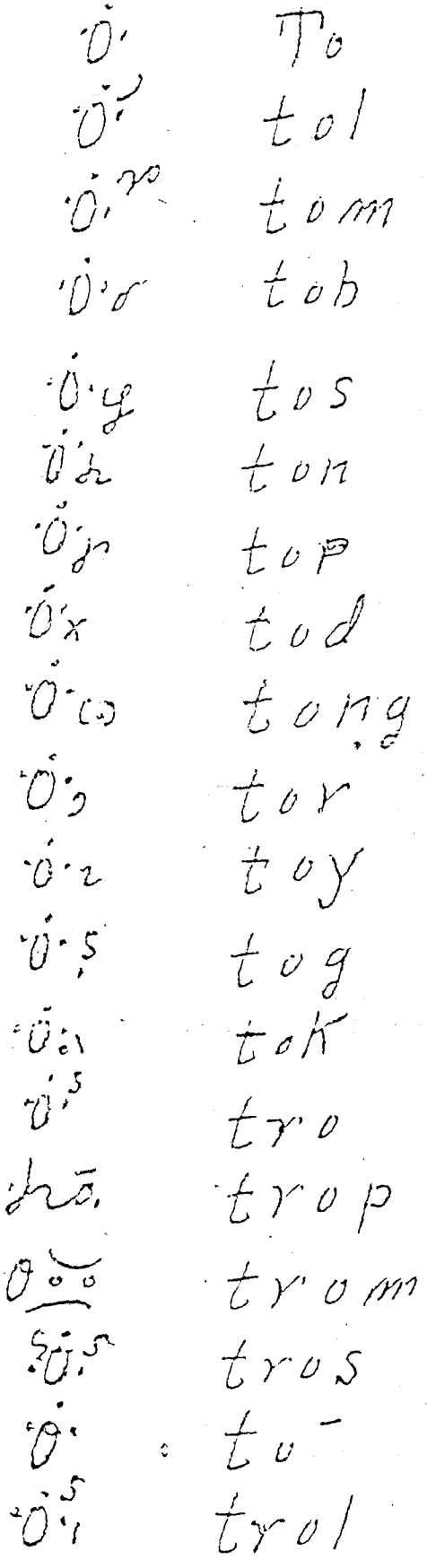
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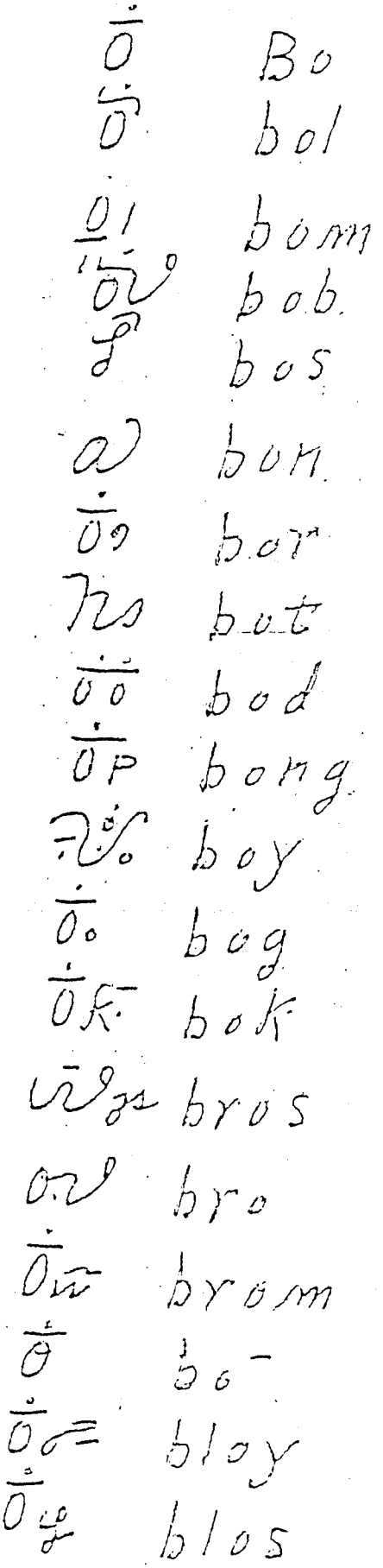
(77) 56


Bo
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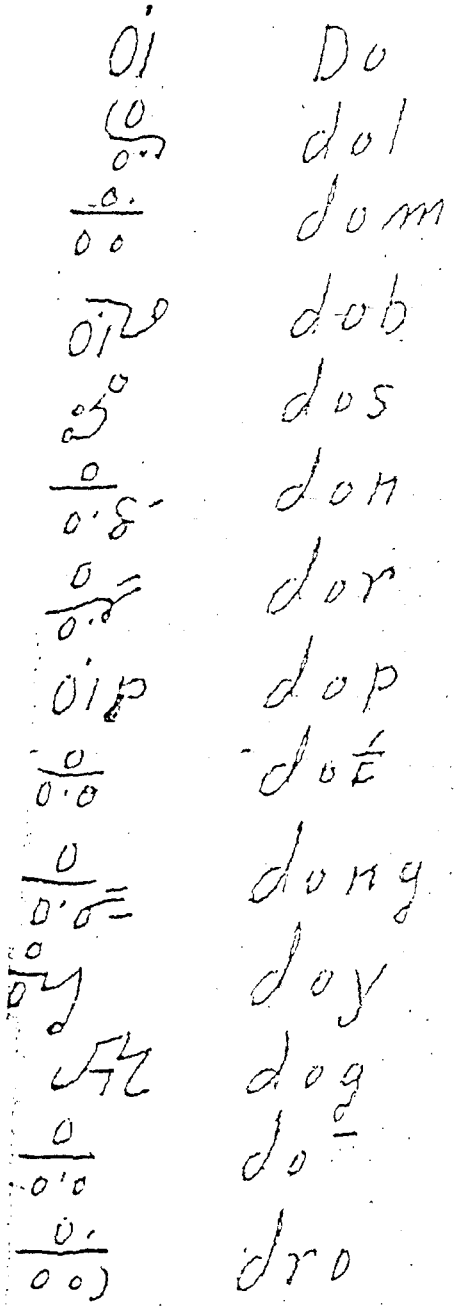
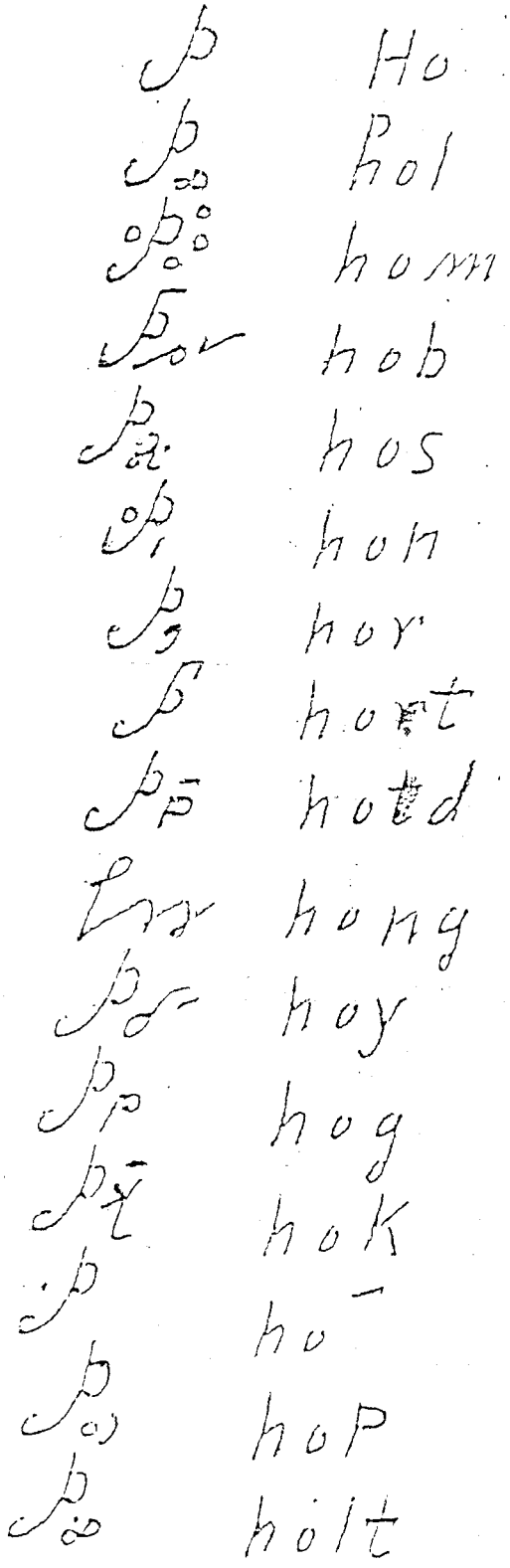
(ZH) 37



{77} 38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7P.139

Lo	yo
Lol	yol
Lom	yom
Lob	yob
Los	yos
Lon	yon
Lor	yor
Lop	yop
Lot	yot
Lod	yod
Loy	yoy
Lok	yok
Log	yog
Lork	york
Lo-	yo-
Long	yong

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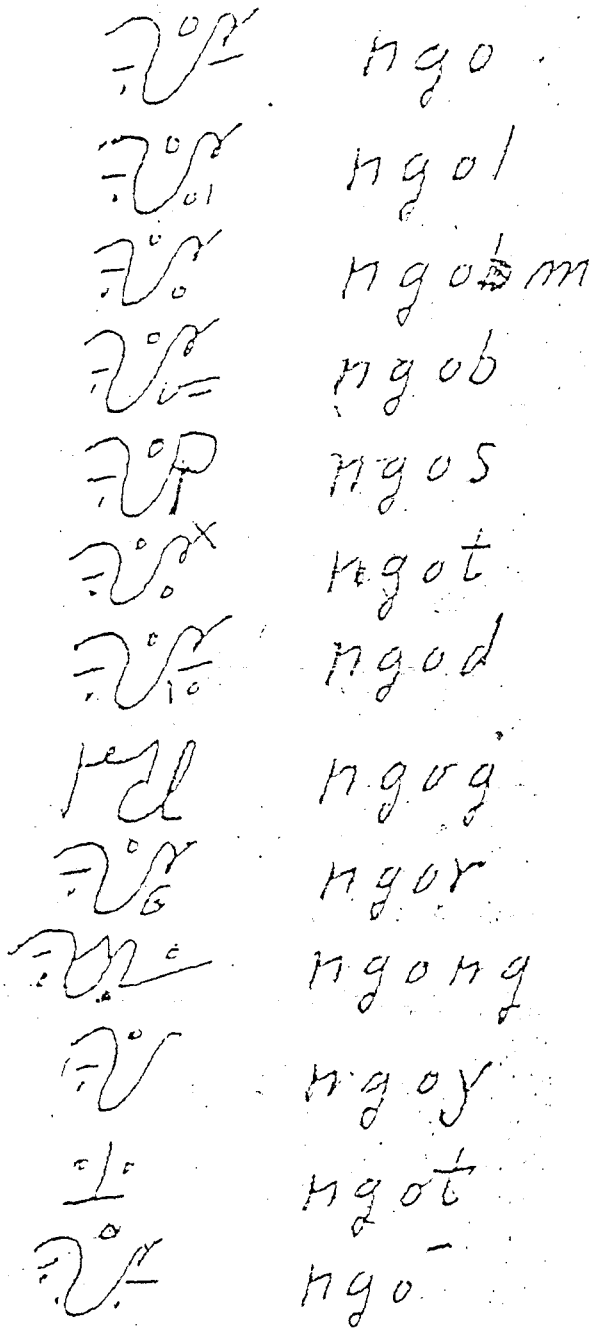
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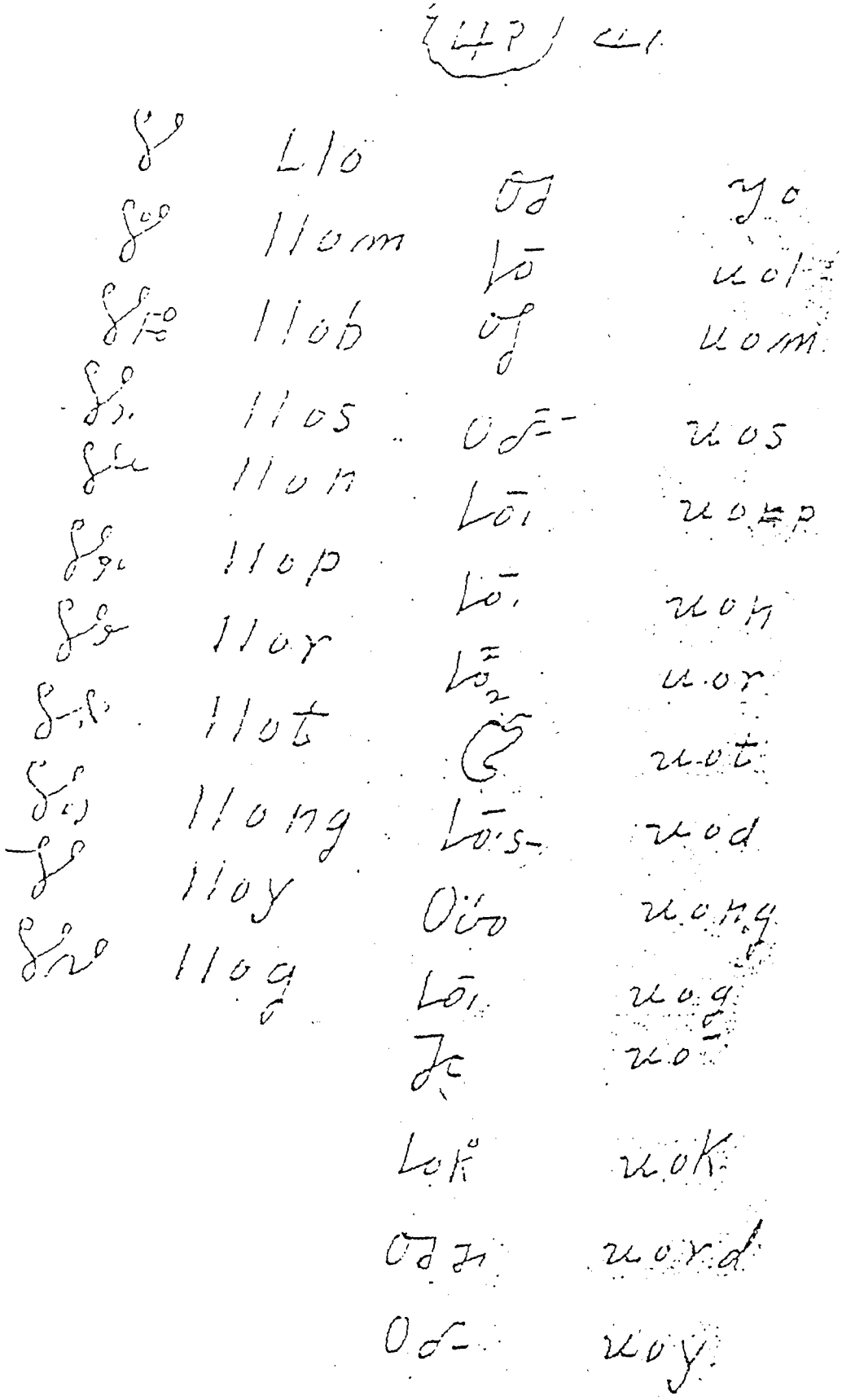
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ཆོལ	chol
ཆོལ་	chol
ཆོམ	chom
ཆོན	chon
ཆོཡ	choy
ཆོག	chog
ཆོཀ	chok
ཆོབ	chob
ཆོད	chod
ཆོ	cho
ཆོཀ	chok
ཆོག	chog
ཆོལ	chol
ཆོན	chon
ཆོར	chor
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ཆོཅ	chrch

NUMBERING SYSTEM:

P	1	Ll	oy
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7	3	bon	eoy
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4		cuti	cing
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22	20
32	30
42	40
52	50
62	60
72	70
82	80
92	90
122	100
222	200
322	300
422	400
522	500
622	600
722	700
822	800
922	900
1,222	10,000
	1,000

[illegible]	pon
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[illegible] oi	cyaton
[illegible] oi	paton
[illegible] oi	cington
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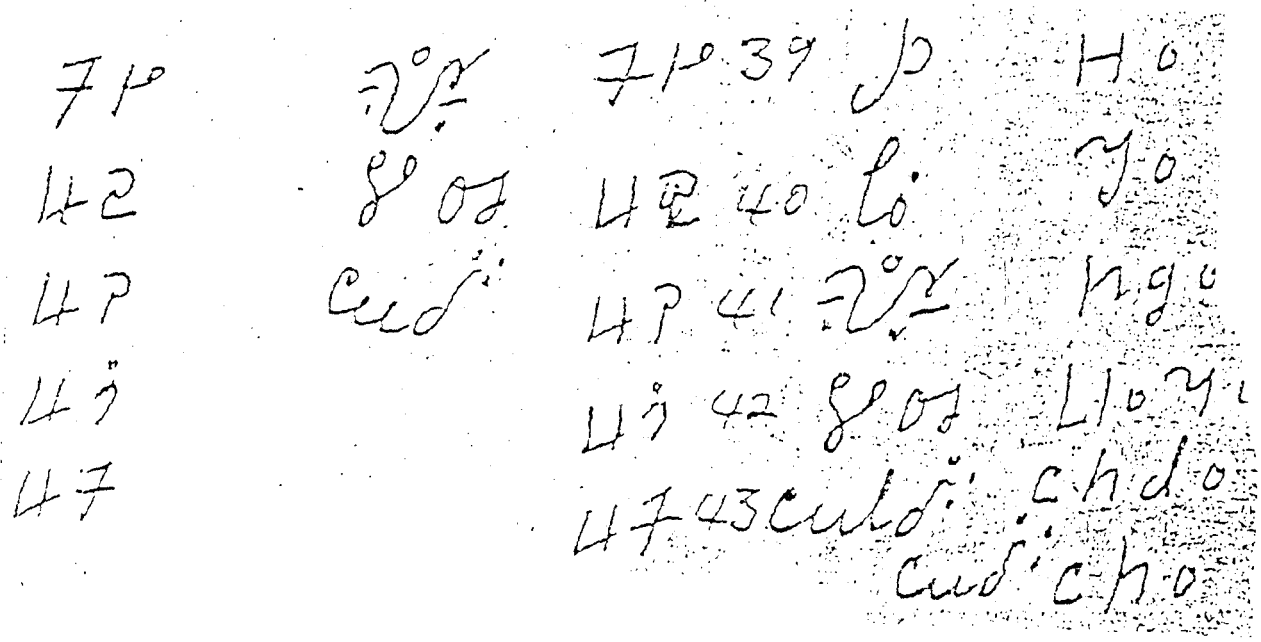
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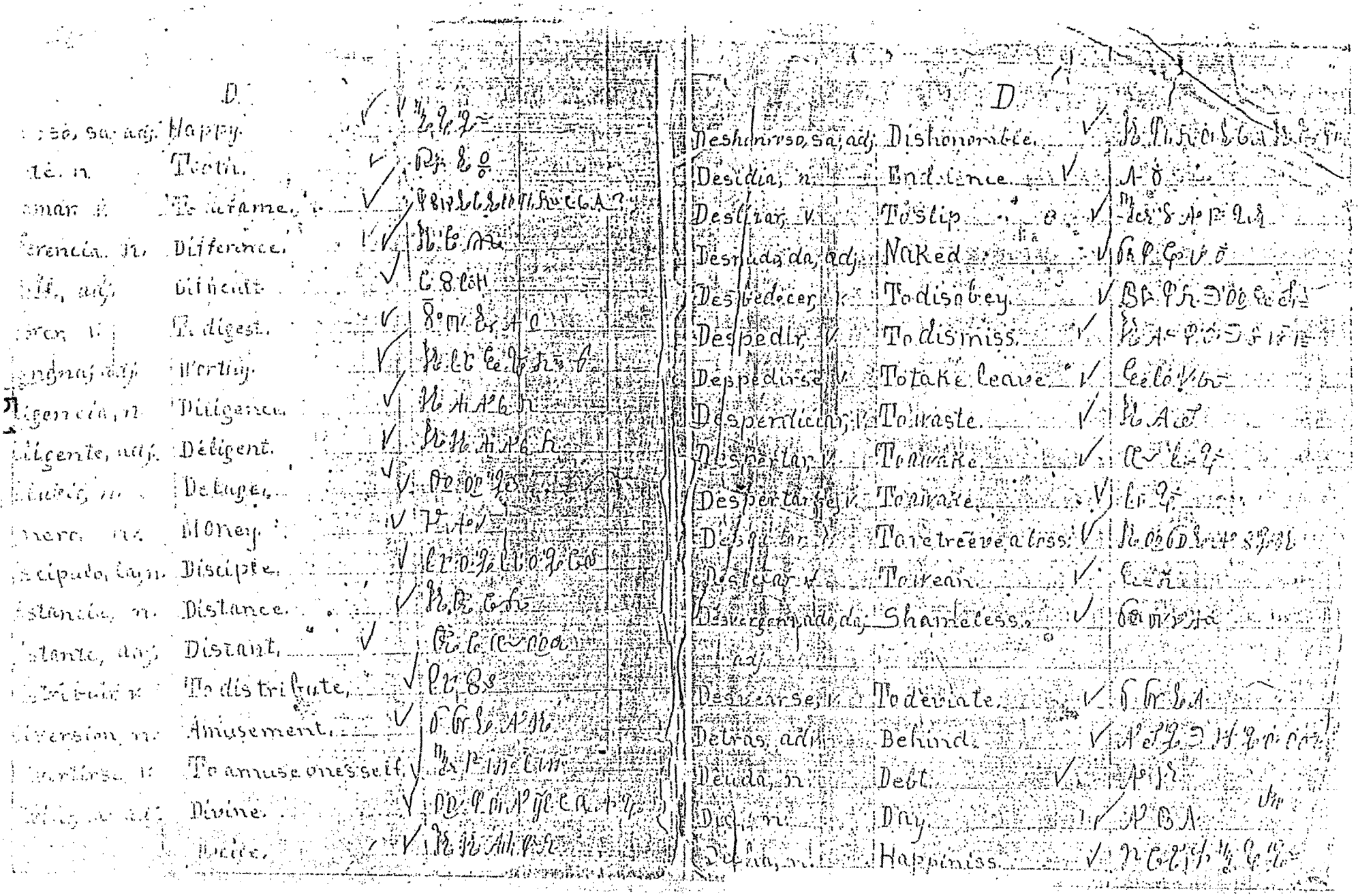
1.2 Pinulungan

a. Spanish/English/Ineskaya



Dechado n.	Pattern.	✓	
Dedo n.	Finger.	✓	
Defender n.	To defend.	✓	
Degollar v.	To behead.	✓	
Dejar v.	To leave.	✓	
Delirar v.	To rave.	✓	
Delirio, n.	Delirium.	✓	
Descansar v.	To rest.	✓	
descarado, da adj.	Saucy.	✓	
descargar v.	To unload.	✓	
descaro n.	Sauciness.	✓	
descolorido, da adj.	Pale.	✓	
descontiado, da part.	Distrustful.	✓	
desconfiar v.	To distrust.	✓	
descubrir v.	To uncover.	✓	
desde prep.	From.	✓	
desear v.	To desire.	✓	
deshonesto, ta adj.	unchaste.	✓	
desleal v.	Disloyal.	✓	

Dolencia, n.	Disease.	✓	
Dolor n.	Sorrow.	✓	
Doloroso, sa adj.	Sorrowful.	✓	
Dormir v.	To sleep.	✓	
Duda, n.	Doubt.	✓	
Dudar v.	To doubt.	✓	
Dudoso, sa adj.	Doubtful.	✓	
Dueño, ña n.	Owner.	✓	
Dulce adj.	Sweet.	✓	
Dulzura, n.	Sweetness.	✓	
Dureza f. n.	Hardness.	✓	
Duro, ra adj.	Hard.	✓	

E

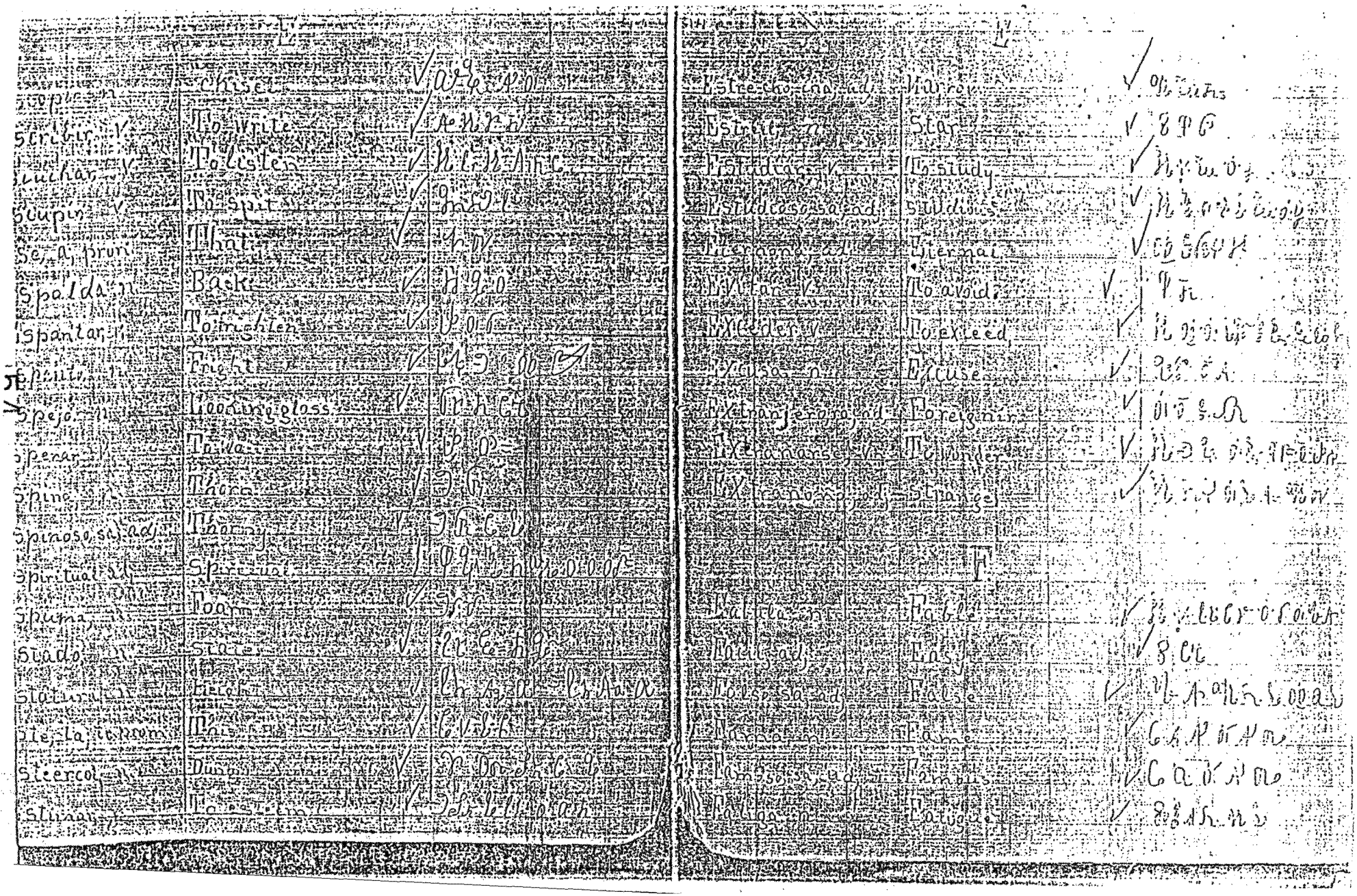
Eco n.	Echo.	✓	
El, ella, pron.	He, she.	✓	
Embarazada, m.	Pregnant.	✓	
Embargar v.	To seize.	✓	
Embauca	To deceive.	✓	

E

...ridad, adj.	Sickly.	✓
...rmo, adj.	sick	✓
...rente, adv.	Opposite.	✓
...rrar, v.	To err.	✓
...ñar, v.	To deceive.	✓
...ño, n.	Deceit	✓
...ñoso, adj.	Deceitful.	✓
...rdar, v.	To flatten.	✓
...ño, n.	Anger	✓
...joso, adj.	Offensive.	✓
...dar, v.	To entangle.	✓
...ngrentado, adj.	stained with blood.	✓
...ar, v.	To sink	✓
...ñar, v.	To teach.	✓
...ender, v.	To understand.	✓
...endimiento, n.	Understanding.	✓
...rar, v.	To inform.	✓
...rarse, v.	To informoneself.	✓
...ro, adj.	Whole	✓

E

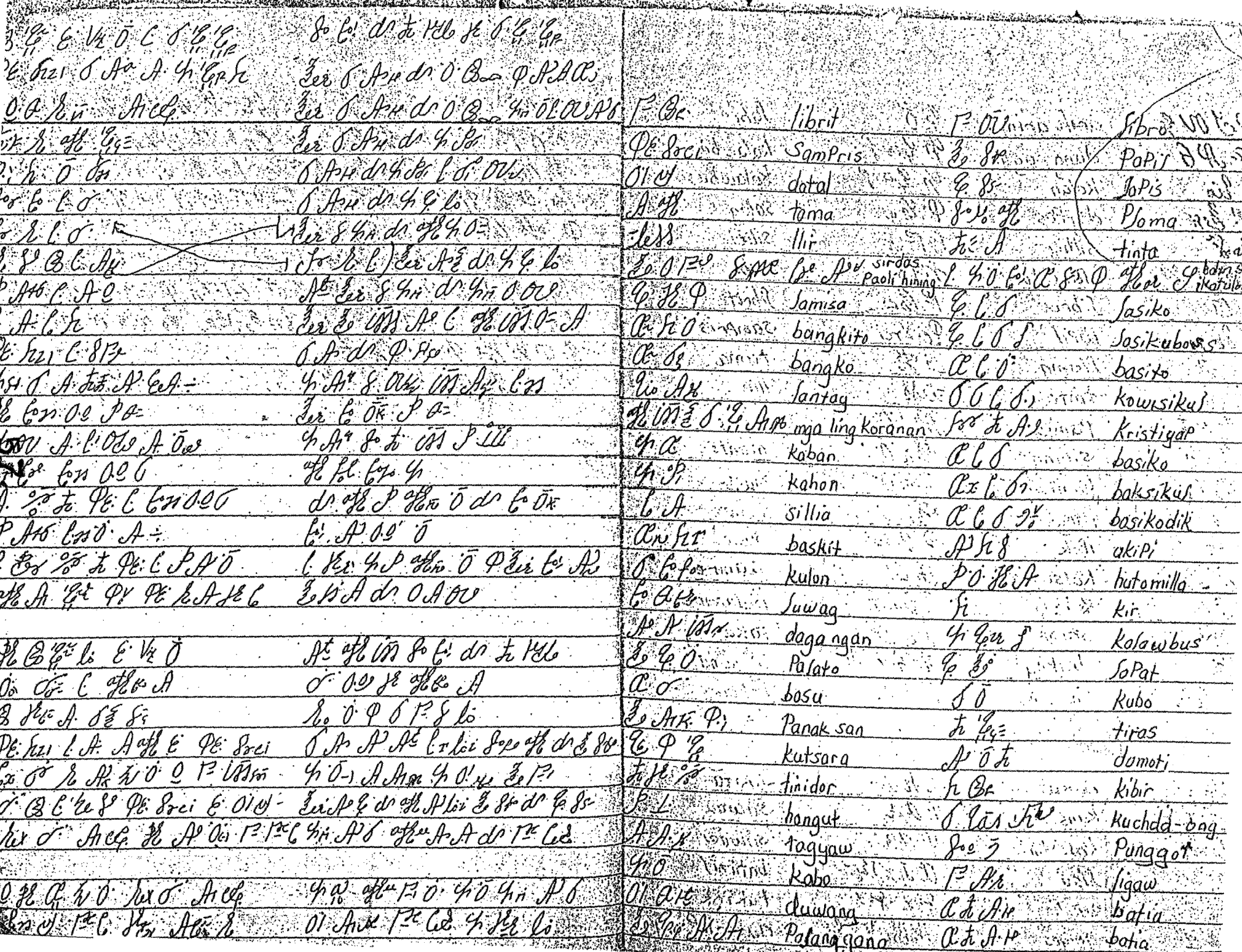
Enterrar, v.	To bury.	✓
Entrar, v.	To enter.	✓
Enviar, v.	To send.	✓
Envidia, n.	Envy.	✓
Envidioso, sa, adj.	Envious;	✓
Envoltorio, m.	Bundle.	✓
Envolver, v.	To wrap in,	✓
Envuelto, ta, adj.	Wrapped in,	✓
Equivocacion, n.	Mistake	✓
Eructar, v.	To belch.	✓
Escalera, n.	Ladder.	✓
Escaso, sa, adj.	scarce.	✓
Esclavo, va, n.	Slave.	✓
Escoba, n.	Broom	✓
Escoger, v.	To select.	✓
Escogido, da, adj.	choosen.	✓
Esconder, v.	To hide.	✓
Escondite, n.	A hiding place, hide and seek.	✓

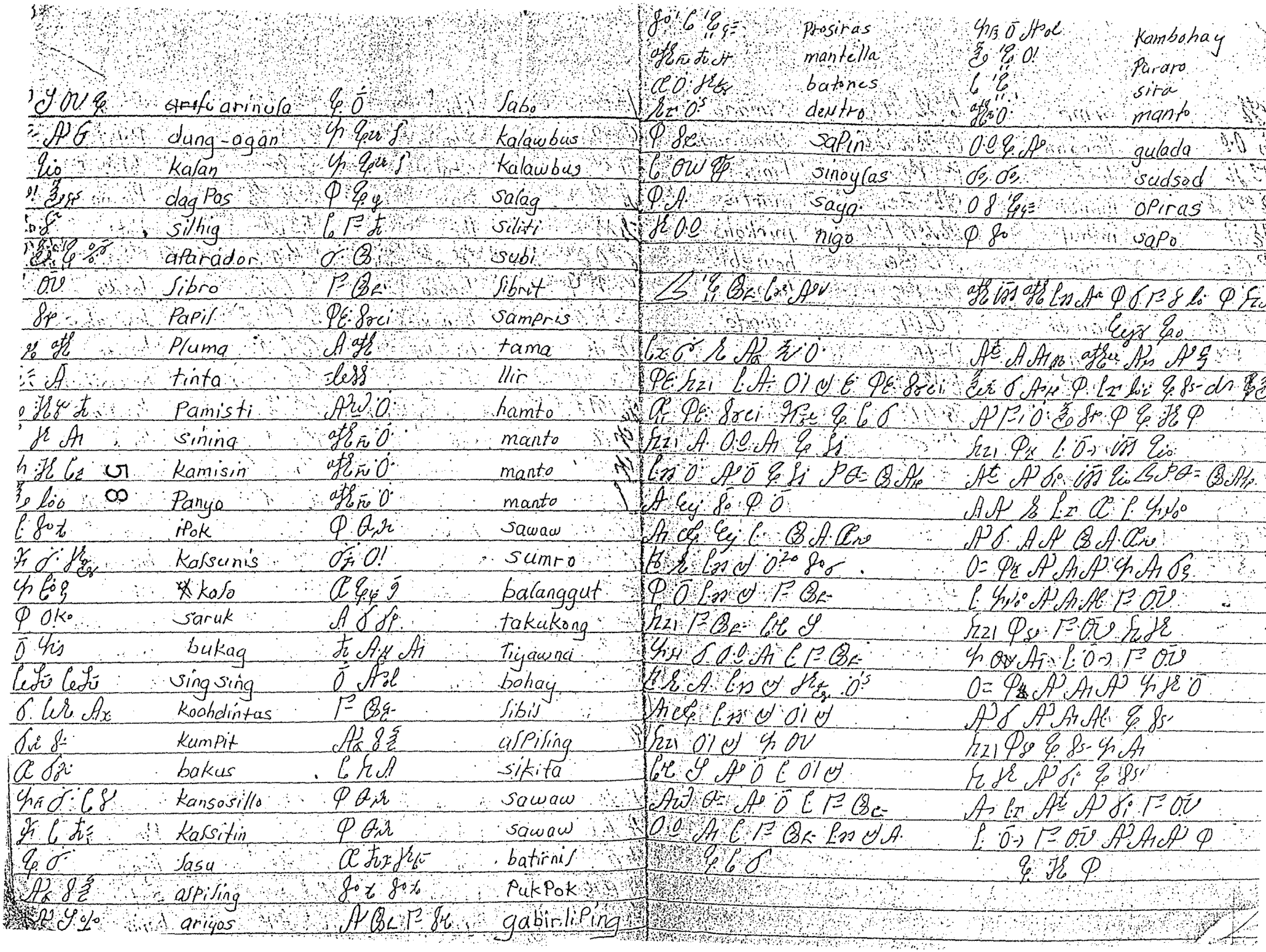


	Faith	√	
	Ugliness	√	
	Happiness	√	
	Ugly	√	
	End	√	
	Fire	√	
	Thin	√	
	To grow feeble	√	
	Flower	√	
	To float	√	
	Serious	√	
	To strengthen	√	
	To frequent	√	
	Forehead	√	
	Coldness	√	
	Leafy	√	
	Fruit	√	
	Fire	√	
	Fountain	√	

Fuerte adj	strong	√	
Fuerza n	strength	√	
Fumar v.t.	To smoke	√	
Furor n.m.	Fury	√	
Futuro adj	future	√	
	G		
Galapago n	tortoise	√	
Gallina n	Hen	√	
Gallo n	Cock	√	
Ganado n	cattle	√	
Ganancia n	Gain	√	
Ganar v.t.	To gain	√	
		√	
Garantia n	Guarantee	√	
Gatear	To crawl	√	
Gemelo	Twin	√	
Gemido	Sigh	√	
Gemir v.	To sigh	√	

b. Ineskaya/Sugbuanon



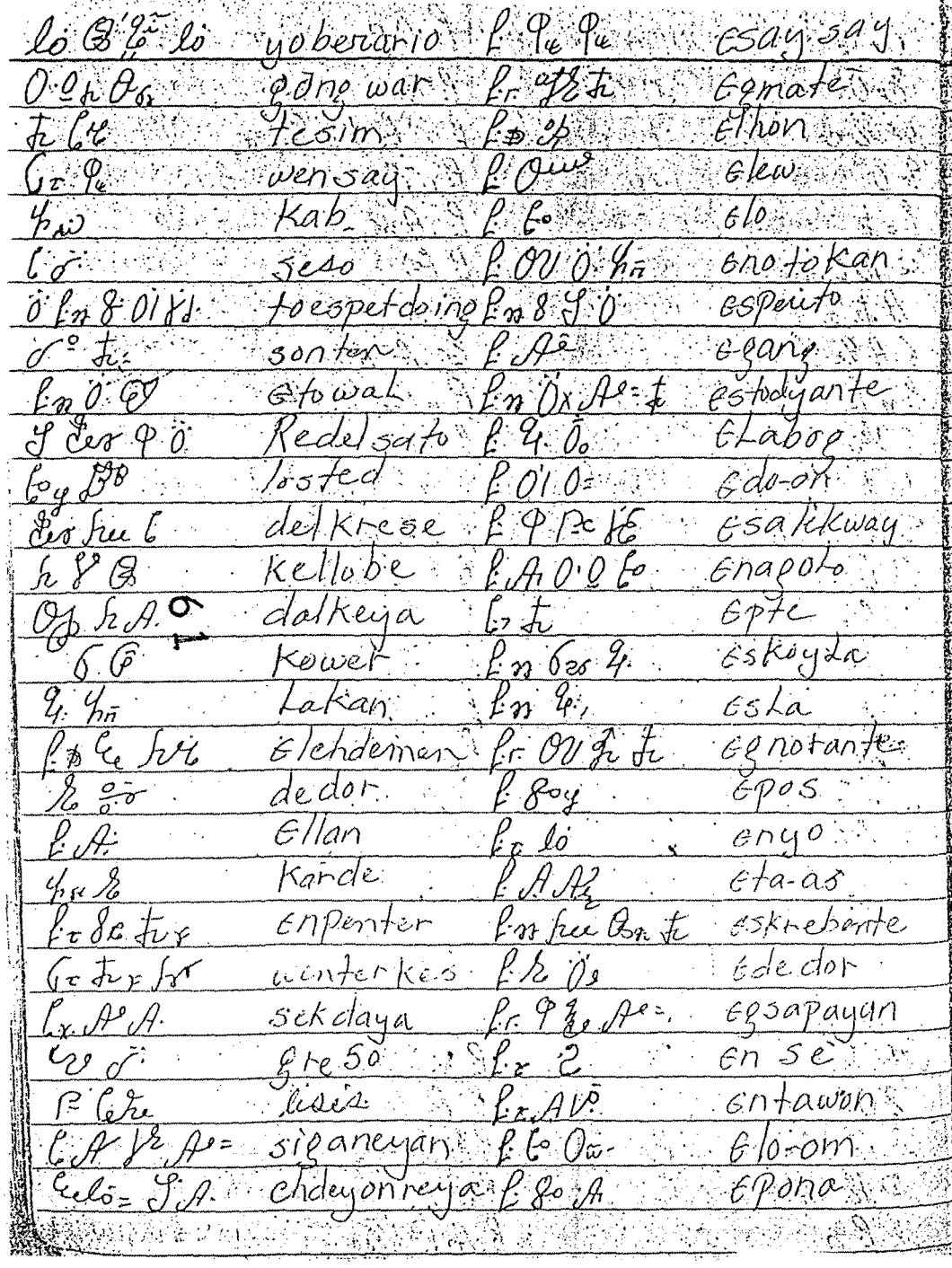


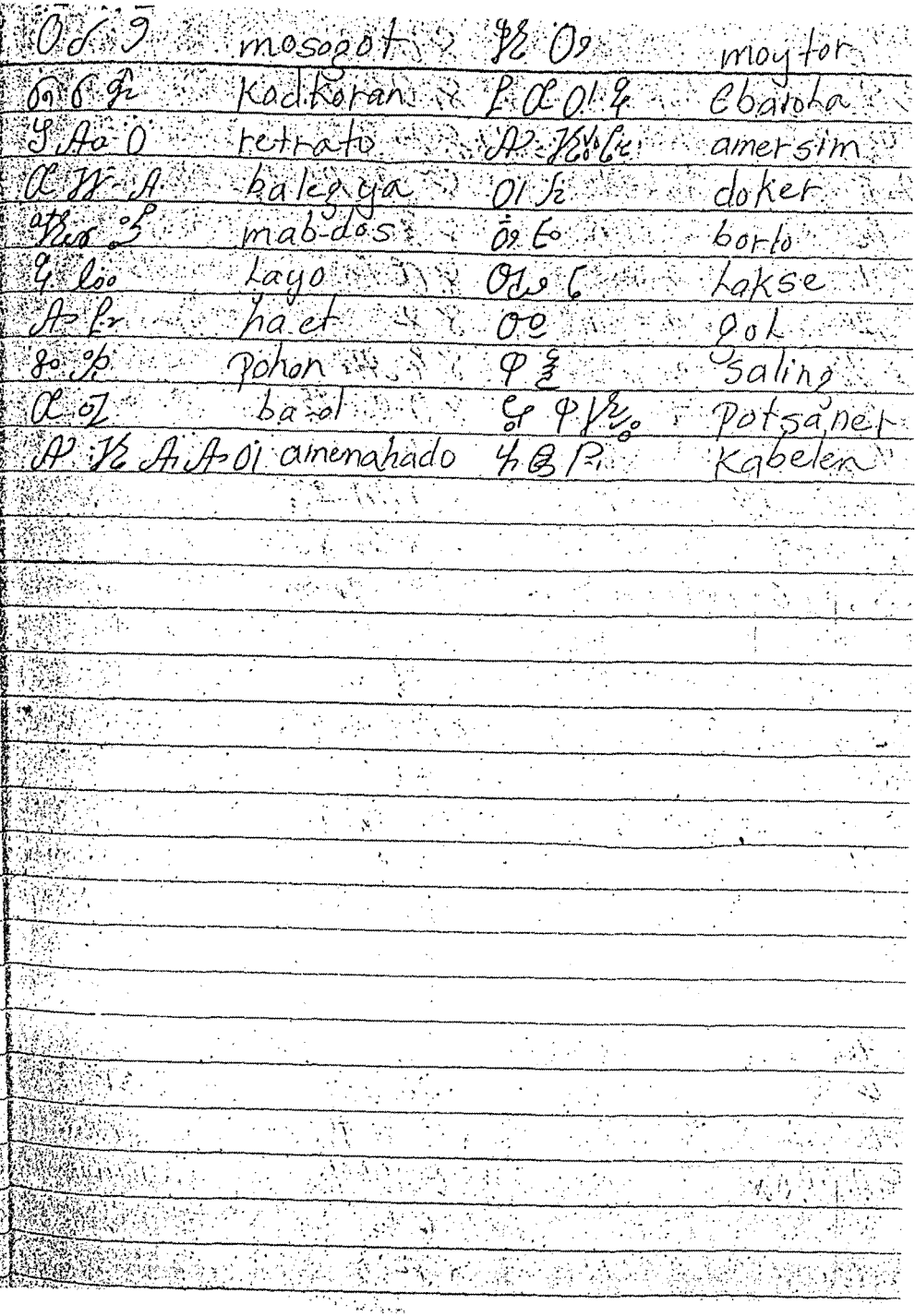
matematə	matematə	siyadad	siyadad
demyo	demyo	sigoro	sigoro
apenaste	apenaste	silbeche	silbeche
ensay	ensay	singuit	singuit
dellen	dellen	sinsdyo	sinsdyo
yakoldamime	yakoldamime	sinako-an	sinako-an
apinas	apinas	silbe	silbe
septibe	septibe	sitemre	sitemre
kore	kore	sigui	sigui
sima	sima	simana	simana
atchel	atchel	siya	siya
hobyos	hobyos	sip-on	sip-on
korit	korit	sista	sista
bagate	bagate	sebel	sebel
sidor	sidor	sikretario	sikretario
chdialbo	chdialbo	sidlakan	sidlakan
sando	sando	silong	silong
sebset	sebset	sinungot	sinungot
Rotsap	Rotsap	sinta	sinta
chdian	chdian	sila	sila
gadyos	gadyos	sinador	sinador

benel	benel	dedto	dedto
dinang	dinang	deha	deha
kedeuvarma	kedeuvarma	dilimapapa	dilimapapa
kedemollenos kanto	kedemollenos kanto	dilimatarong	dilimatarong
nabogola	nabogola	dinali-an	dinali-an
nowestobiral	nowestobiral	dilichkaasa	dilichkaasa
deil	deil	dinhe	dinhe
golota	golota	diha	diha
dyke	dyke	dilikochaka	dilikochaka
saldas	saldas	diktahan	diktahan
dinaneta	dinaneta	deha deha	deha deha
dellentes	dellentes	diyotay	diyotay
rotoyLop	rotoyLop	diadto	diadto
gorago	gorago	dienba	dienba
kedemoymeta	kedemoymeta	dilimasabot	dilimasabot
olomo	olomo	diwata	diwata
akedeloma	akedeloma	dilimawag	dilimawag
chdetodelare	chdetodelare	dilimo-anhe	dilimo-anhe
kedetengsel	kedetengsel	dilitakos	dilitakos
sabbo	sabbo	dinatop	dinatop
yer	yer	di d	di d
gowarned	gowarned	dina	dina
yan	yan	di-ay	di-ay
dilyodo	dilyodo	diha deha	diha deha
yoke egresya	yoke egresya	dilimabo	dilimabo
serdo	serdo	dirukstor	dirukstor
dinalde	dinalde	dila-ab	dila-ab
morder	morder	dibo ho	dibo ho

Apolore	edad	
sular	enet	
erosgraban	egsaonngalak	
hon-ong	ebabaw	
Lingean	elipante	
merādas	enanak	
nima	enahan	
nimarada	enaena	
nigaba	ekog	
ochdire	elimanon babaye	
tendegraban	egsaonng a	
bome	eflog	
Lak	etec	
Plodo	ero	
Rode	elok	
tag do	enagos	
gdlas	ehalas	
dakareda	esangot	
damo	ekaw	
Lana	emo	
Law	ebed	
Pantujan	ela	
estores	etorong	
amaminо	engnoi	
dil chdet	etorong	
Sowardit	eksamunesyon	
Chdil	eya	
berya	ehanan	

Quim	ebotang	
Paro	ebog	
Kedame dilomek	esalodsalo	
Ramo	esog	
Erteo	ehap	
Chdiamenter	etong	
tatesi	ehe	
koyagraban	egagaw	
eskreta	eskoylahar	
Konet	etong	
yotendalkesim	enasaeman	
madraye	eskandalo	
beckken	elaeka	
dosim	edle	
Lanatka	ebowad	
yapor	etongtong	
Per	esda	
baklit	enayran	
Pano	esep	
wayel	ewakle	
yasaldo	esombong	
suler	ekalam	
madarel	ebayang	
dalke	epet	
Peul	esiq	
debalte	epakoha	
amenahado	ebeleu	
de-eso	enakesngau	


yoberdario esay say
gang war emate
tesim ethon
wensay elew
kab elo
seso enotokan
toespetdoing espeito
sonter egang
etowak estodyante
Redelsato elaboq
losted edo-on
delkrese esakkway
kellobe enagolo
dalkeya epte
kowet eskoyla
Lakan esla
elehdeman egnotante
dedor epos
Ellan enyo
Karde eta-as
enpenter eskrebante
winterkes ededor
sekdaya egsapayun
gre so en se
lisis entawon
siganeyan elo-om
chdeyonreya epona


mosgot moytor
kadkoran ebatola
retrato amersim
kalegya doker
mab-dos borlo
Layo lakse
ha et gol
pohon saling
bazol potsanet
amenahado kabelen

golso	ginggoanon	hingo-anon
barbertowar	gagoofanan	hegoofanan
elementosesabli	gagoq	hegoba
hakede	gagapagan	hegadu-anan
kesim	gagig	hiking
baro	gagalo	hekalo
dosyan	gagag	hingpet
parme	gagamar	helanat
parong	gagoomga	higugma
lakama	gago	helo
nagallcted	gagonganan	himonga-an
foreyama	gagamgapon	hinalangpon
grechdoldo	gagonganon	hinonodanon
chdiodo	gagog	hekog
lotesima	gagamaya	himaya
redelparong	gagoomga	hinegugma
gad	gagamat	hina-at
redenal	gagamkalinte	hingkalinte
trake	gagamay	henay
debet	gagigan	hendi-an
sechdo	gagonganoo	hinokoo
gokol	gagamkawan	hikawan
tawas	gagelang	helang
yogachdiom	gagonganon	henoodan
dewasdatong	gagoomgaanon	hugugmaanon
rechdiagokos	gagonganoman	henamdoman
set	gagoomgan	hidong-an
dechebet	gagigat	hinetad
Romal	gagog	hinlo
masiganiyan	gagelom	helom
dilepiname	gagapetkaay	hingpetkaay
yokolde	gagekawan	hinekawan
loske	gagaw	hendaw
hupokonre-ay	gagamaan	hikataw-an
dilekay	gagaqui-e	hiaqui-e
saleke	gagonchao	hinoonchao
mora	gagotan	hilotan
serbasim	gagap	helwaso
sintamano	gagagtai	hingsagtai
tagso	gagaw	hetaw
esyap	gagabahan	helabahan
gok	gaga	hegaka
grechdiago	gagomdong	henomdong
sendo	gagonguilon	hinoguilon
bue	gagalo	higayon
gachdoba	gagog	hingon
seling	gagaan	hukit-an
redetaye	gagomlang	hingtong dan
bahabz	gagamok	hinanok
tarlitas	gagap	himasa
boleyat	gagati	higante
kera	gagomlang	hinongdan
gronagar	gagoomgo	henokbo
tekay	gagaan	hiaquian
serba	gagab	hilwat
bobaser	gaga	hipe
bat-bet	gagag	hisgot
reyome	gagaw	hetaw

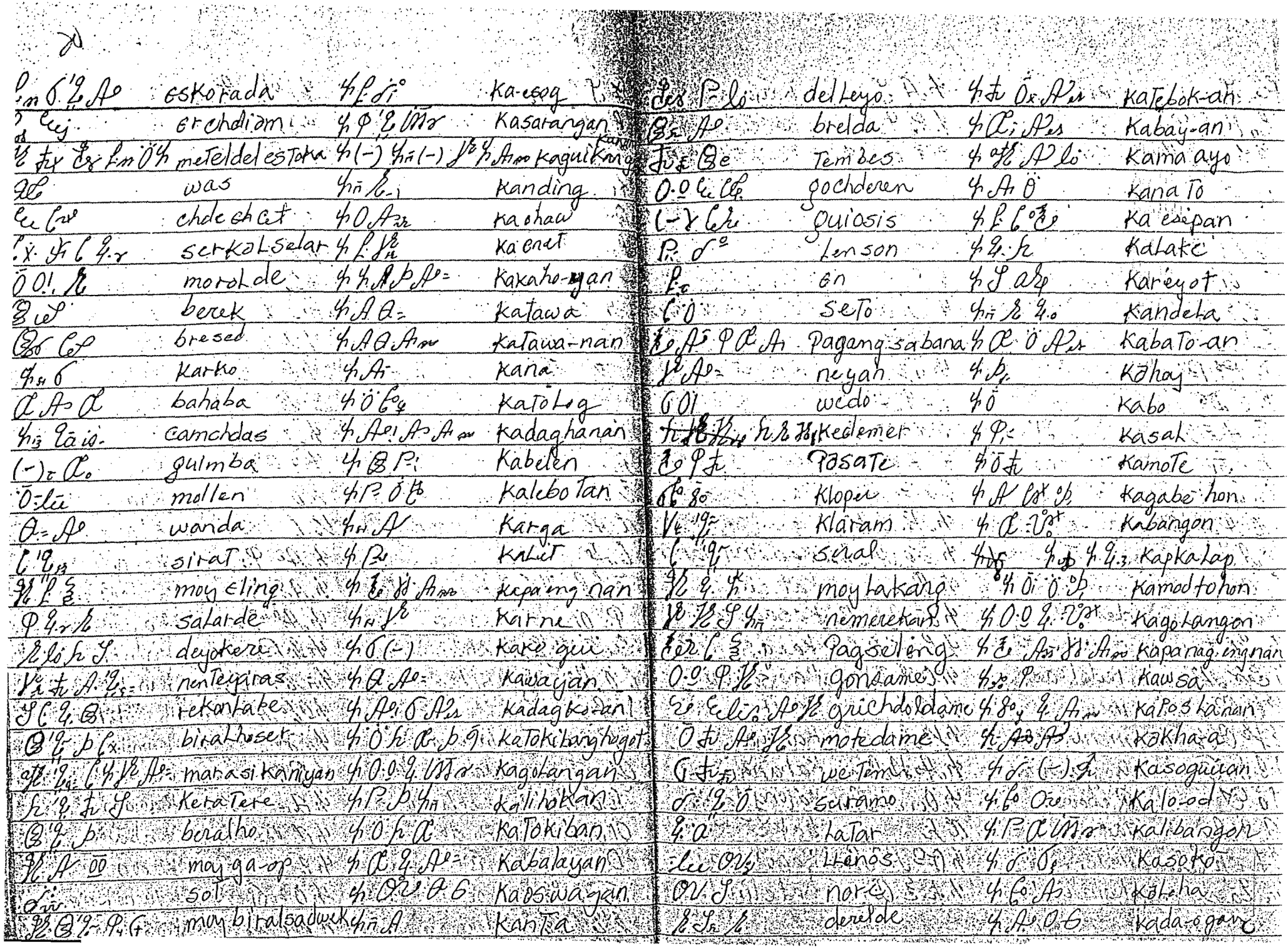
17

Honton		hohat
Ropoya		hoyohoy
gallopa		hobaton
wosnanpanodlo		horana
Rolda		howad
belbolo		hostona
Pordel		hopog
gamer		hogaw
bonay		hobag
dorte		homana
golga		hongaw
etoyo		horog
taykow		hastlo
tatada		holma
atnake		hokma
ganos		hopang
chdempe		hog na
sonkestas		homana bonyag
horentes		hoyzap
troper		hogat
kopeya		halgaer
kopo		holgo
kedis		hadyata
sibar		Hosay
a na		hakom
padtas		hogodeto
sadlos		homat
kesintot		hanengan

Lipē	hongetan	
bora	hogar	
anake	hokmanan	
bagarhonda	hower	
hobe-on	holyo	
hobe	honyo	
hamyaso	honboy	
anchde aro	kaaway	
obelake	kamosta	
arong	kasingkasing	
teke	katawa	
bichdim	kaeta	
sonrato	kaogding	
kabroms	kabaw	
sinrayel	kaogalingan	
dildido	kabobatan	
degonanlo	kalibotan	
kalambiyah	kasamoka	
Legaw	kabo	
melyam	kalamon	
Perame	kalpay	
dameroka	kapalaran	
	kdlayo	
hop	kalo	
morocayas	kalisay	
delyero	kasilag	
balangeat	kalo	

boooy	kaliwatan	
soledada	kaolagan	
sam tang	kalotoy	
dapame	kamot	
gorame	kasobo	
dowarde	kamatayon	
paroya	kasindi	
Lasing	kahemot	
Lamera	kagoal	
Labye	katahaip	
luwas	kagahapon	
lorepema	kangel-ad	
long oasay	kabanagan	
moro	kahoy	
merikan	karaan	
malakan	kasina	
kar na	kalag	
anchde	morokaaway	
nabel-an	kagamena	
	kaminyoti	
lameske	kadaghanan	
morgon	kapopodan	
Lakeh	kapatagai	
mepen	kapit	
Pelo epetate	kagamhanan	
Loyre yop	kadopelodo	
dose	kagawasan	
mimes	kaneya	

madero	kaloga	Kere chde-yo	kangetnget
moy edlak	kapote	enteral	kahintang
moy dello kello	kasaket	chdiopen	kabos
moy hes gado	katengad-a	kower dedamcy	kalingawan
monko	kalibangon	gotod	kapun
tglop	kadto	sestogorario	kaminpaw
eselyostes	katol	erquio	kanonay
tompoy	kanaka	karaw	kala-og
tobatella	kaha	wenchdit	kabaho
akan	kanos-a	masewot	kabeling gan
gowarlatanging	kamatooran	kim	kame
se chdisp	kagoba	Pratda	kabo-otan
basiko	kaban	kre so	kasagaran
molleno	katarongan	chdikto	kamo
redellan	kaningo	bagad	klase
bel	kabogo	gida	kagang san
Poobre	katahoom	bol sirestaku	katapo san
gram dama	kadoban	san do	kadangpan
moy dos-oy-on	kadohadohan	chdemdrada	katatim
malike	kagdaw	sito dan	kan delero
koted	karsada	Llo Peso	kaolohan
sekwer	kalingaw	boleyon	kampa
delchdeyon	kaponongon	dalsan don	kabesa
dire diya	kalawata	kerlowar	kawang
perame	kasadya	do do	kaba-yo
ballo	kalle	mon	kahon
chdentes	kahomat	kor sadon	kagong kong
abesinada	kasadpan	derasimar	kasaba



chderel	kayare	linteng	Ling ganan
estanderi	kasay-sayan	roldo tekaw	lemod
Bkaesteka	kapasikaran	tetre Letre	letra
atongo	kabo-ang	Lebret	lebro
moy del	katiponan	rello	lembong
dirasima	kaektan	kerat	letok
herdo	kapita	inggrato	lekod
merdekehayon	katokebanghoy	guinto	le-og
berkedeke	kabelan	Labangy	lewat
saklir	kawet	redelsem	lengē lengē
moykoTed	karsadahon	sipoyog	lebod
beyalker	ka-ogana-an	amay amay	legad legad
kenteil	kana-og	kertepe	leso
Toksiyap	kaolep-nan	de-one	lengng
ay-agano	karad Lawan	dakaw	lemato
sekTare	kadong ganan	sate	lekay
sentar	katsaw	damles	lingkotanan
delcheday	kasogo-an	tendel	leyon
gcatanTe	kaegsa onan	degra	lengagngag
redel-as	kaosaban	deskretagga	lengaw lengaw
menenos	kanita	baro	lonook
menenos	kaniya	keyampe	lekesan
go power	katangonan	dwpp kase	lingawa
Rebowal	katongdanan	mam	lebo
Tagatak	baka	bowaL	lepot
meterkesis	kagolanan		lebokalibokalibod
kam chdas	katelingban		leg-on
			lemse

	todhe		linya
	Lawosde		liso
	libait		litok
	Kortte		li li
	bonhawos		lingkod
	ligat		libotan
	sekere		lingo lingo
	ratke		lima lima
	kernes		limbas
	Esakowet		linte

	meboy		minutos
	moysendati		milansar
	mibol		miricles
	satebagai		minkado
	estogorario		mingaw
	dowate		minatay
	merinos		minyo
	bweil"		mitros
	argas		millas
	melagrat		milagros
	damebinta		mingbinta
	ehabe		mediteranyo
	bantekat		menahal
	kalpara		minos
	sapaw		medyas
	metra		milagroso
	moytep		midokot
	grese		mendo
	dowattere		mementario

gulo			ninglambo
nibil-arap			ni-adto
gawapo			nitubo
yamir saki			nisugot
inijan			nisimba
dilyaki			ni-ana
irchdilas			ni-angay
sisinglow			ningan
Pinuti			nilantip
bijal			ni-ayon
tralo			nilogdang
sijaw			nidanag
lipir			nipis
chdinrawilli			ningbatlad
sakay			nitabo
chdaro			nilubong
sapo			niga
aslam			nitagam
bijal chdin			nisantap
Pulit ti			nilatis
chdimri			ninining
baw			ni-as-os
ichdirtir			nitataw
nipa			nipa

Otobe			otubri
sikiado			osahay
chdiobol			ayamut
ogaddiiros			sakaki ogangan nga
ogadmaytindi			tabayti ogangan nga
ogad			ogangan
biala			omaabut
silori			ayus ayo-an
siso			otuk
kiba			otud
kalki			olo
gowalPo			obo
dani			otang
nostra			olar
toksoy			olipun
dama			oban
idil			anya
tandia			ansana
makari			awagan
chdisit			ohaw
dillo			asa
brimin			anuangan
Rotisim			ansaygitan-aw
insiktor			obispo
wosi			otaw
tundin			agbukonan
odil			anay anay
yokir			ayon

orinitik	O S A	orihinal	
ilgino	O A	otlanan	
tandi	O=	onsa	
tihonido	O= O O O	onsaybo-otmo	
blasim	O O O	oba ob	
gulosiha	O A	ogat	
tidos	O	onud	
almariada	O=	onlan	
as	O	osub	
osab	A	as	
talansa	O O	owon	
chdon	O= O=	osa on	
alabar	O O	oracion	
lusin	O	okbi	
Pul	O	opus	
yokiri	O	ogonan	
isidisurdon	O	opicial	
tarik	O	osik	
chdiamija	O P A	osaha	
mayairdeng	O P A	oságanin	
ahussado	O A O A	ona ona	
boni	O A A	onahan	
killo	O	ofuodlot	
daw	O P	olitan	
idalcin	O O=	ola on	
gawalgolpo	O	onus	
midiyo	O	opisyalis	
	O A	onang Kinaadman	

ay	O= A	onya	
ikirdi	O O	olahi	
hoP	O	opisina	
igliso	O O	otukan	
Sosim	O	okba	
Pormo	O	oding	
samris	O	otaw	
llarim	O	otan	
dinarim	O O	otanun	
tandir	O=	onsani	
bulgaPo	O P= A	olitawo	
Lutil	O	oraray	
diwirki	O	owag	
Sabrit	O	okob	
Kindir	O	ogbuk	
kaltri	O	olohan	
kayra	O	oras	
lawom		ogma	
silarki	O	olbo	

	hibion		Pibwiro
	Pirtom		Pinili
	inwir		Pinasobay
	bilik		Piskay
	dapi		Pikpik
	bidario		Pinolongan
	Pinal		Pilimiro
	lati		Pila
	gulbi		Piang
	sika		Pinangga
	chdirobi		Primera
	algo		Pi-ot
	sokamia		Pilok
	Roblición		PilPidyos
	IP Prinsos		Pinandayna
	wali		Pinig
	griom		Piniriso
	dilkintra		Pinokaw
	dilgato		Pinaakan
	Pikati		Pisi
	Ridimitir		Pinaagi
	simgar		Pilion
	wio		Piso
	hiw		Pino
	sikado		Pili-ag
	biril-ano		Pinatyanay
	Piwaril		Pilit

	lan		Pista
	gobahiw		Pinutos
	tagni		Pislat
	sumolori		Pinaakay
	owis		Piso
	digrat		Pisut
	sagoPi		Pirmi
	Rimol		Pintas
	silba		Pindaiy
	Pilako		Pikas
	talniri		Pinitik
	Griyomi		Paisohan
	Pilipayin		PilPinhon
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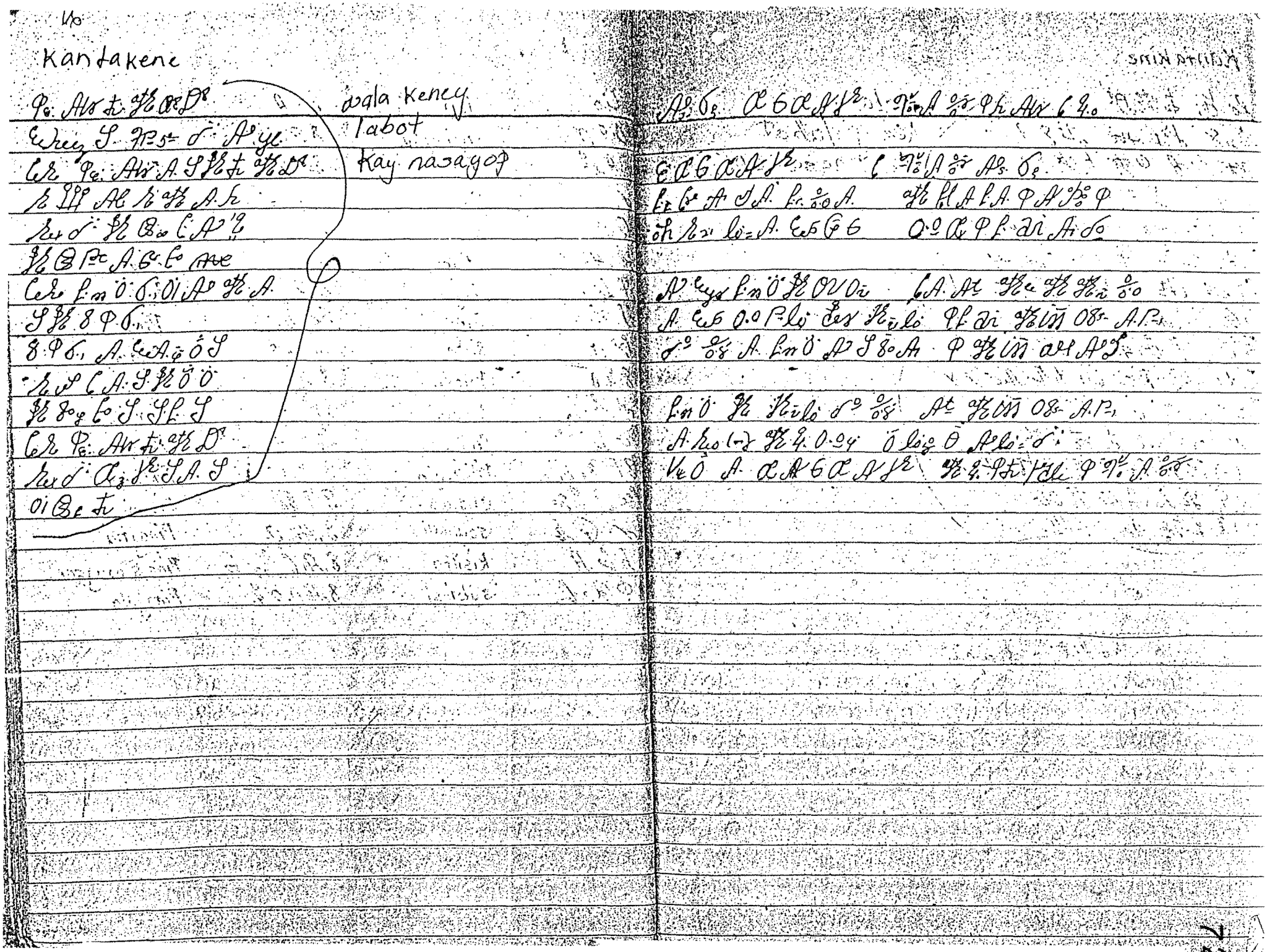
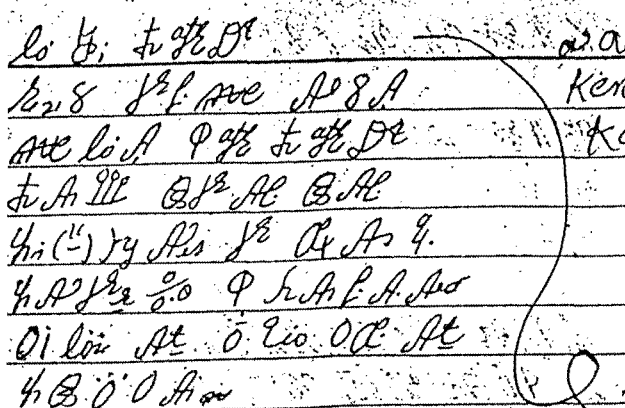
	kisilta		Pina sidonggan
	sabirsi		Pinagula

Kantakene



vala kenen
labot
kay nasayop

Kantakine



bolit - kapit

	Koko		dikursi
	kumkom		sisiw
	nistral		konsogral
	bardi		kuntra
	Panogang		komagko
	sirtadi		kusgan
	dipintoy		kusog Paglaban
	chdiakam		kompās
	LLor		kompay
	serse		komoT
	gamper		kosōkosō
	sodalpo		kosena
	degam		komos
	hotomilla		kolon
	hotkob		koto
	mina-alkida		koquihan
	oydo		kotos
	grianigan		kopyahon
	kalpata		kokang
	nober		komo
	sangkeh		kehā
	damoTes		kotsara
	leyobe		kotokoto
	sido		koko
	netso		komacholingki
	qwwak		konoT
	bet		kompas
	sitto		kosog

bogay	kombera	
dope	koghor	
suwet	kowetes	
sertuwet	kosganon	
kabot	kotop	
kowang	kohita	
balithe	konhod	
batota	kodkoran	
chdorene	kokoga	
beril	kopya	
menido	kosteyn	
laksato	koha-e	
terke	komganari'o	
kom	kotlo	
kowet	kokalingaw	
tekon	kotlo-on	
meyor	kompesak	
bagnering	komandante	
peyame	kolchat	
gono	kotob	
nasintres	kodlet	
gnaetre	koreke	
gadoonidon	konsehal	
gre so	kontes	
bobeb	kototo	
	kombento	

tegalka	testamento	
asender	tegbayon	
tehabon	tenaboran	
astres	tental	
era	ten-aw	
sintam	tendog	
klabo	tengog	
mekante	tegotang	
krenante	tengale	
sampokoted	tekod	
dawepa	tendak	
gawot	testestenaw	
kowerte	temog	
teyaka	tewasa	
robles	tena-e	
bonebol	teyan	
simyaso	tenanawan	
dadama	tegom	
ensay	teyabaw	
gomo	tetel	
segna	tenombokan	
manton	teno-ohan	
gway	tenodto	
oykonsos	tenegongkam	
guiyake	tenoyuman	
bentoddelay	tenegongbansa	
echdim	telaw	
gilepit	teguib	

raket			Teg-agui
sondeya			Tegbas
Letar			Telap
saTyal			tendahan
birdower			Tegpa da
chdoL			TeranTe
dorsede			FoTresurer
saTebling			Tengoha
chdabar			Terghaga
chdiopan			Temaya
kreyom			Tepak
korkor			Tekongkong
yanTese			Teso
kerde			Tekoko
Larelde			Tekangkang
LaTel			Tikang

sapeta			
Retelda			Kilometro
suwep			Kina-on
arhetika			KiTa
secketa			Keled
dagnan			Kinahangtan
Esokwerna			KilaT
wenTe			KiTing
Simre			Kine
Liberasa			Kinabohe
sidamen			Kinhason
ya estomense			Kinadaptinan
chdedtming			Kina-eya
dellase			Kinasing
ekling			Kimay
de estachday			Kina-adinan
Rebol			Kedtap
sipeTat			Kelerap

tende			bakaye
hibapa			baTan-on
mesesabla			baybayon
mga metenio			baha
hondon			baboy
meredo			bana
nekiya			bakya
kop			balaydako
korawo			bangos
arga arka			barko
kopong			bawyoT
Tebel			bag-o
Taber			baLo
ban-ochdoy			bala-od
baTella			bangkaw
sabana			baTo
sapeTo			baTak
damotag			baka
damak			banig
pondo			ba ba
gomal			baga
eksam			balhen
samya			balhina
basiTo			bangko
Prok			batio
Talim			baTe
motel			balos
gopoy			balibad

bedoro			bagyo
ki-ay diya			baTakan
chdere			bahande
soberio			balonon
benTod			bansa
paLo			baTeres
kop			banog
de-al			baroTo
yopen			babag
LebriT			basahon
rame			baliTa
bono			baraTo
barde			baTok
agano			banagbanag
sarde			baLe
grihamda			bakkakon
sober			balon
lelod			baLod
kolpano			baTasan
chdimTe			baho
beTes			baTed
bes			bayo
doker			balegya
akipe			basket
weeplang			basekhaw
boben			bahibo
oleLas			baga
aLaque			bawe

beling	balik	
amis	bayto	
sikaw	bantay	
saklay	bata	
sapelyado	batangalalak	
LiTas	basa	
warchdeTe	bangaga	
moLba	bayong	
Ton mor	baligtor	
doker-debedar	badlonga	
sowa	bats-an	
Ekler	bangkete	
Lara	balaanon	
santam	barog	
bahoy	balon	
Tora	basul	
EnpiT	bahen	
Larak	basak	
abaysiphet	bayaw	
potsaner	ba-ok	
Tende saklay	baTangbabayo	
gokgo	baTok	
Kobo	baso	
baynaboyka	baskogmobohō	
dameynaboyka	baskogmangobō	
gokindo	badsonon	
naboyka	bakog	
bakoiw	balekog	
godnam	bakeled	
lelek	barbase	
chdenchden	banos	
bahiw	bangana	
bre	baiha (Bangabok)	
boSTrop	balhinasa	
sinTer	bakol	
nesinTraya	bakod	
Eteg eTos	banos	
redel	basTa	
sirbanTes	banTogan	
beresagui	bayake	
chderekete	bahANdi-anon	
lenchok	babag	
chordim	bang-gqita	
krepsed	barng'ga	
demen	bas	
reser	bagTing	
selmerc	balak	
chdeTar	balane	
damolag	bata	
chdamoT	baSa	

ngare	bolan	grona	boKTon
KoLdo	bolan	Rosno	bog
oytogo	bogTong	bolbing	boLboL
Llamoquire	bogas	Yonra	boTo
aLalong	bo ang	saba	borak
gonaham	boTa	werdo	boKog
beldeso	bosa	dam-ayo	bosog ako
biRowe	bohe	dim	boling
Raggpe	bongbong	sampin	bohaton
Nolo	bonaw	Jekson	boTella
dreso	bowa	bahiwan	boskaga
dedos	bo-oT	breslomen	bolawan
esTraperado	bolak	dakoL	bongay
Peketo	bongol	arengleTo	bongog
moychdin Pira da	boTang baTang	dam	bosog
gon sado	boTang	choleriol	bongGod
PorTake	bodlay	RoweLTe	boKlad
borah	bohok	simpor	boMoboTo
Teb	bo-oK	salag sag	bonga
rgadyo	bonga	maldiyo	boT-a
wetes	bohaT	mestiak	bonyag
delToko	boroka	bloy	boyno
PorTar	bodkag	LoT-og	bog-aT
aga	bonTag	haro	bonak
salKop	boKo boKo	Teyawna	bokag
yeolsamres	boronng	moyharo	bonake
PiraTda	booTan	aredos	boslaTa
Pron	bona	leberowe	bohi-anon

	Latnam		bowad
	krecion		bobong
	Sipor		boTo
	Sikel		boghat
	Ropa		bogha
	sakerse		bokad
	delhim		bosay

	Sanobe		sabado
	achden		saleg
	senTa		sanghed
	seke		sako
	kab enhay		sab-ong
	nepoga		salag
	Ping		sagpa
	Tendas		salope
	boTTora		sampoT
	bosde		sapa
	Pandrop		sayaw
	mabedario		saba-an
	dario		saba
	Noker		sabaw
	napoykere		samTang
	Kebabe		sapnay
	baldu		sagang
	yalbekte		sangka-a
	renTer		sayod
	korcLa		sang-a Tanan
	morde		samok
	diyahame		salen
	Kerbe		sakpan
	sidepoy		sagakay
	nali		sag bayan
	Powerru		sagopon
	chdiamole		sag boT
	kansel		sayop

samyal	salamat	delchdes	sarang
kortesim	samen	werte	sagpanan
sicion	sabakan	agalgado	sambat
chdiolekapa	salingkapaw	kain	sanena
sador	sarol	detallero	salabotan
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pesyo	sayo	sertet	sarnnto
ponlas	sabon	selmet	saka
monay	salop	kellos	sakit
saklireleb	sanggotan	ke-ay	sa-ad
alog	sag-op	delbegora	sampita
alkakore	sakay	de-al	sakayan
deglesis	saatbang	yorke	salt-at
dehontó	sa-obos	6gorake	sampotanan
pera	saora	b'atsit	sapella
largo	salog	bolite	sakom
samyalire	sa-olag	perkeya	santa
nabolde	sagonsan	grab	saka
kerbesas	sakpan		
kresé	salikway		
lop	sag-sag		
dalde	sakot		
rebalder	sagnga		
porgo	salipod		
reshke	sawaya		
porgowa	saligde		
sikere	saksé		

kraTo	ꝺ ᗅ ᗜ	awang
kansolla	ꝺ ᔑ	soka
nekot	ꝺ ᘐ	so-ok
kogo	ᔑ ᘐ ᕮ	sodlay
pahong	ꝺ ᘐ ᕮ	sobong
romol	ꝺ ᗅ	sombag
malago	ꝺ ᔑ ᕮ	somala
gad	ꝺ ᘓ	sonod
Erya eso	ꝺ ᔑ	soga
sokedo	ꝺ ᖴ	sokod
aberil	ꝺ ᕮ	sogde
ere	ꝺ ᘐ ᘓ	sod-onga
saker	ꝺ ᑲ	soseha
togan	ꝺ ᔑ ᘐ	sogaton
enbel	ꝺ ᕮ	sorendet
keren	ꝺ ᕮ ᔑ	sodlanan
anonganong	ꝺ ᕮ ᕮ	soguitanon
sotel	ꝺ ꝺ	soso
dellanese	ꝺ ᔑ	sod-an
embawot	ꝺ ꝺ	so.so
talag	ᕮ ᗅ	solban
tonderas	ᕮ	sol-te
baherare	ꝺ ᘐ ꝺ ᘐ	soroysoroy
chdial	ꝺ ᔑ	sobang
basag	ꝺ	soguiguí
ewede	ꝺ ᗅ	sobaSowayon
ewed	ꝺ	soway
alcperona	ꝺ ᔑ	sondalo

selman	ꝺ ᕮ	sotal
wer	ꝺ ᗅ	sobay
arol	ꝺ ᔑ	sondang
peyapet	ꝺ ᘐ ꝺ ᘐ	soro.sor
botay	ꝺ	sod
saldo	ꝺ ᘐ	sombong
kontoksoy	ꝺ ᑲ ᘐ	sologoon
bore	ꝺ ᕮ	som pa
sodalgo	ꝺ ᘓ ᘐ	sonogon
bawod	ꝺ ᑲ	solong
chdoy	ꝺ ᘐ	so go
etel	ꝺ ᖴ	sokod
chdialbo	ꝺ ᗅ	sobangan
bak	ꝺ ᗅ	soba
metet-kisis	ꝺ ᕮ	soloran
regal-ke	ꝺ ᘐ ꝺ ᘓ	somo sonod
dealkacore	ꝺ ᔑ ᕮ ᘐ	somasakay
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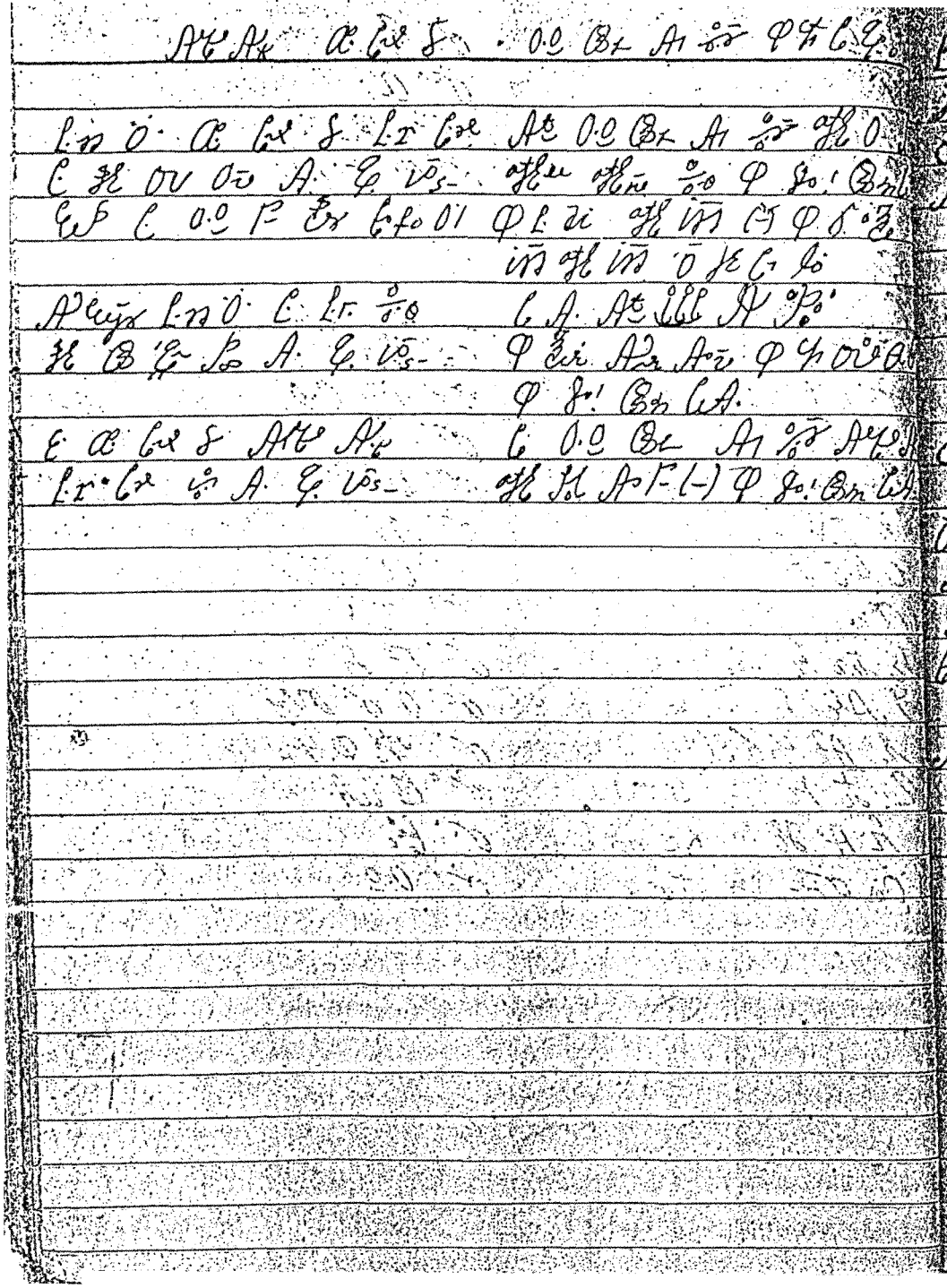
kedame	ꝺ ᑲ	solod
toksoy	ꝺ ᘐ	sogo



	Gbetangke	A A	dagat
	mergowat	A	dangatan
	Rebe	A	dangpan
	aredato	A	dagan
	delda	A A	dad-a
	hota	A	dangaw
	klabara	A	dalinggan
	medim	A	dagom
	op	A A A	dam dawato
	kore	A	dalan
	bong	A	da-op
	bor-lobenibel	A	dako-og Tegai
	dalaha	A	dahin
	hachdesan	A A	dagame
	loresako pa	A	daotano but
	gok	A	da-og
	naboy	A	dele
	salag	A	dagpas
	guio	A	dayon
	mense	A	dapten
	dekonder	A	daginotan
	Emen	A	day-gon
	gawarnacion	A	dangaton
	Cyet	A	dapaw
	bualden	A	dangoy ngoy
	dildobel	A	dangpanan
	keygr	A	dagul.t
	greyo	A	dalison

	Sisere		dapeta
	Repower		dang ga-an
	Lobos		dag dag
	Laban		dag sa
	datoli		d dlile
	sobremen		dawat dawa
	qrabetangke		dagat
	empena		dabog dog
	Labela		dako
	Lamis		daghan
	saling		damdag
	salinggan		dalaga
	sobe		dala
	warino		dahonog
	Sera		dangog
	londa		dahik
	ned		dane
	dened		danihon
	dimaker		da-og da-og
	Salate		dahon
	Sidayet		dapit
	Labalke		dak pa
	goloTa		dalid
	Ejoso		daiguit
	magpolos		da-an
	digiwago		dakpan
	diopo		dakop
	Tores		da-o Tan
	llong'go		domenggo
	beruke		dola
	doslabyo		dohadoha
	Colledo		dogoz
	Ses		dogog
	Saca		dogoguit
	rekTaT		dopa
	Palda		doghan
	goldogam		dogang
	SelTa		dongog
	Bohes		dogay
	agonan		dongoanan
	biya		doyanan
	yorosim		do-aw
	achdiakama		dongan
	klaranTe		dogokan
	alwates		dogo
	Peleg		dogmok
	taballe		do awa
	serbantes		dong gaon
	negraTo		dong gap
	gsawer		dobdoban
	medekel		dokTor
	ke-ay		donoT
	kardesim		dongaw
	beke		dobli
	Ter		dota

LoTarber		Pag-abot
singlon		Pag-engim
serna		Pagomangkin
selyate		Paranglit
silyates		Pananglitan
sekello		Paglopig
yomoysate		Pahilayo
Porgowerte		Pasalipdi
gochdenPepema		Patipala
Enchdim		Paigo
sebaidario		Paghangyo
delgowago		Pagdakop
desKoramo		Pagsokol
dimoyPolos		Pagpasidaan
demosmo		Paghalok
delKol		Papas
dewasriado		Pagbanabana
dellamanllop		Panihapon
peino		Pag-ilis
lo GSTobedario		Pag-asay
dillamnesEklop		Pagkaonsa
diglesIgion		Pag-atobang
detalle		Pagsabot
devl de estoZi		Pagkamahal
TedsiLTa		Pag-pahiuba
kidame		Pag-sotod
kesaper		Pahulay
kanap		Pagawi
kegosom		Pahimosle
domelve		Palandonga
Ramos		Pagpo-asa
kejake		Pag-tabang
gawpar		Panemalay
madrake		Pag-Tampalas
maranda		Pan-Talan
weKer		Panahon
Todakesis		Panolondon
reserLa		Pamoplong
eksar-as		pagbalhen
golgowe		paglonod
diglesis		pag-atbang
degal		pataylo
degalmay		Patayloa
de estalgo Pedei		pag-ayolama
esTraba		Paliliog
erkesTos		Pagbonyag
essar		Pagkabayo
estapd		Pagto-o
enpon		Pagbahin
ensikaw		pagbantay
entera		patie
ermeral		pagbate
hendalak		Pagdawat
hogamo		Pagkopot
hogam		Paglong-ag
kaop		Pag-ag

Katoboy	pagbayad	Keyabe	Pakyas
medeme dame	pagTahe	Reda	Panaw
salib ling	pangandoy	Redillo	Paggamut
Edibenwe	parginabohe	bahide esTe	Pagsoroysoroy
soyoke	pagatigoma	bagnal	pagpotol
Posta padasake	pagpangahas	mocsilar	Pagimut
golaken	Padargit	nodto was nangpa	pagkinahong
Rebobas	pagboyan	moykelloya	Pagkasakit
aros	pakos	nasar	Pastilan
metildiloyboy	pakoyogi osa kato	nasentruse	pag guite
ogala	pagbodhe	Rospangga	Pagka kod
ochdeim	pag-inom	Rolda	Pagkawad
kowesTaresa	pagiwag	Romal	Paghenko
Pellos	pagpalit	Toka	Pagsogod
kowarito	pagtambay	quchdiago	pahinomdom
kor ya	pagdaig	quimsura	Payong
kolpare	pamatasan	gollago	Paningoha
Reka	Pagtogane	Sicilago	Pagtoman
Rebowal	patoyan	EKKabolTo	Pagkatawo
Rechdeyare	ponon-doman	moykesere	pagka-anegoi
Resaid	pagbal hin	Paso	Palsapin
Redalo	pag dagan	Ebel	Parayegan
Tebohal	pagTaban	wase	Palandong
Tekaykore	Pa agui	sekdatmororya	pa abong Saas
Kreyachdiale	Pagkawalayba	mesTracion	Pag bonyag
Kerade	Pag-Tolon	moynongkatay	Pagtolon-an
Kreyompong	pag bo-ak	Serwa	Patiny
alakade	Pangawat	mering	Pasencia

Elchdio		Paglahod
dekdalareda		paabongpag
morda		pangabong
beyalkere		paabotón
yosuyaeuya		pagdaegog
denelkeya		palabang
kellosto		pagabatéon
westósem		pagtaraa
Retcpre		pahibalo
gowardasem		pagpile
santo		pag-ebot
estoryoke		pagtoon
paychdeyago		paglibak
Sube		pagdala
Egwal		panompa
moy beiak		pagkanta
balintayaw		paglopad
moybahaba		pagkatolog
boy-ay kaslay		pagkabatan
bulice		pagdangop
lakdapa		paglakob
mallado		pagkaloya
lakere		pag-engon
salike		pagakaktan
qcabo		palad
Lamo		pahire
qruya este		patamod
be Serorat		pahilakon

Ewildes		Panid-an
moyrugowalga		Paggpamaolu
ditsus		paningkamot
suberdidame		paggadala
sukamado		paggpamilok
malqo		pagligon
moychdiomo		paggpalong
moylitandi		Pagcogui
moygaro		Pagdaro
estarbaya		pag-antos
aser		pagbaton
moykitendiya		paghalad
bros		Pa-a
abrati		pahimatngo
Reksato		pagkabalhin
maykoy		pakawala
qmiadoya		pagbotang
goyork		pada-og da-o
Sinqlanon		pangotara
moyqullada		pahilona
Sognan		pagkalimot
Rukore		pag-anhe
dinte-as		paglatin
wadnes		pamahon
Polkal		panghopaw
Towal		pagistoolyo
ellom		pag-ka-on
baro-on		pag-ana

doTeldol			pangdyo
kelbise			patoorro
pabor			pad-a
waiag			papha-a
moyno-od			pagmaniho
tosem			pakita-a
Resangken			pagkabig
maril			palabulabe
laberal			pag dawat
yokerise			pagkeskes
hab-yas			panglingabngo
moy-ellochdim			pagka-on
serdo			paka-otaw
moy-sing lon			pag-ingon
der serding			paglingalengo
yes			pag nga
mermotio			panganod
sondon peling			pangolo
dimeter			pa-agui
bolo			pas-an
kapato			pakang
bo			yang gan
ohdiwas			pasagad
nebmed			pasomangil
Emon SIKTOL			papa
kompaniete			pan
sobedamedel			pagdalangan hi
asinTaday			pagpang gui
moydados			paglobong
borros			patigayon
Hostu			pagbontog
Serlobete			panglimbasogon
bahisketto			pagdogay
dilgrat			pasaka-a
dillokeri			pagdohadoha
goysadomano			panagton
lugarnis			paglibotan
polpol			pabreka
merdoser			pamanhonon
westo			pakay ag
Ermenase			palalingkog
samsiyo			pakiyom
peling			pare
kabor			pamone-an
Lakaniyan			plas.a
banis			panakot
rerde			paghaling
Reyaldes			pamayhon
nor			paros
lingay			pahis
relkeri			pahimolos
legTang			panagway

segas			Politka
kalbato			Pal-an
kreyon			Pos-on
bangeklat			Pokaw
laton			Poltiro
Ba babawhol			Potos
son sermallen			Pongot
ETSOS			Pohonan
solego			Pondok
bodo			Portahan
golgo			Ponō
yon			Po-asa
lisirag			Pobesor
sempore			Posel
chdiompeyo			Polog-anan
Tong Po			Portona
moyTentO			Postada
talo			Pogas
Saneb			Po-ok
Tepya			Ponta
bayer			Posa
Lawod			Probencio
begna			Pongag
tobos			Polak
Reypo			Porgada
aspeirskreyan			PoniTakana
mor yon			P.6
kreyoseA			Prlongnidesus
kentra			Pakawon
mor			Porma
bate			Pothaw
golmo			Pono-an
colda			Potos
Empar			Porow
Sa			PonTel
segna			Poreba
gowadred			PoTk
golmoTe			Pongango
saling			Pohon
yowerde			ProTas

abwan	ha-in	Red chdiagos	handoma
semdalaha	had lok	chdarba	hayang
mane	hag banan	Salbet	hapon
Kei di esTar	hamo bo	Lay	hat-ad
es-al	ha Ta-as	soTbagane	hari
dol	hati qui	Pesardo	hawod
elsosoldibkas	ha endapet	Redyo	handom
doti	ha Tagui	Telga	hangTod
sober	hagwa	HanTelibeling	hangTodsa
take	hago	soberTe	hagwaon
sape	hag dan	Ton Ton	habol
gatsam	haTod	alake	halin
golpo	hangon	Larak	hawanan
Tewergo	halaran	Pedraguin	hasol
kawag	halas	erlicion	hangben
gol	hait	owe	hagoton
korcon	hakog	hap	hala
Terg gad	halawon	sontareya	hanianor
gang goy	hado-ol	wergo	halad
bolit	hapet	dolco	hangad
do esto	hasta	bersim	hanap
golpoTan	habagat	garita	haiwak
elak	hayag	Tompere	habokar
ewen	hapdol	aso sal	halapad
buyoldama	hak oT	qiechdiagoga	handomana
wasbag	haw-as	deridyo	halandomon
banTas	hawod	greyome	halwa
segLa	hay op	Sapere	sapen

toledo	~~Aeo oi gol~~ Aeo oi gol / ~~Ae oi gol~~	Handoraw / Hadoraw	
Todle	Aeo Ae	han-ay	
kenTar {LA}	Aw Ae	hang-ga	
Beyop ~~Beyop~~	~~Qio o~~	Lanto	
godwalso	Qe ~~:~~ v	Langoy	
moy grullos	Qe Bss Ae Alo	Labingmaay	
asado	Qe ae	Lawas	
aredato	Qe Qvo	Lakaw	
achdiam	Qe Ae An	Lami-an	
beng gowali	Qe B A1	Labina	
Sengkalar	Qe Jy Ee	Labotpa	
enteme	Qe Ae	Lame	
Ponten	Qe A.e	lagay	
opoy	Qe A1	Lana	
kolibote	Qe Ai	Labay	
kalasaw	Qe Aeke	Lagmet	
memoria	Qe Ae	Langit	
sumel	Qe AG	Langgam	
memoriyamo	Qe B Ae ov	Langitnon	
dotal	Qe 8s	Lapes	
ladoreTe	Qe A.e	Laya	
tone	Qe Ae	La-ay	
Topet	Qe vo	Langaw	
sara	Qe ~~6~~	Lagas	
gaka	Qe ys	Lapad	
domo	Qe Qe Qe	LapaLapa	
LaTen	Qe Te	Laten	

Toyo	Qe ox	Lakrod	
Gta	Qe Ae	Lamday	
TonTor	Qe ae	Lawa	
Toke	Qe ~~:~~	Lalis	
grueyom	Qe Ane	Lagbas	
golos	Qio Qv	Lansang	
diraldo	Qe Aw	Labaw	
bateleke	Qe A As	Labaha	
harong	Qio ~~:~~	Landong	
Kelaba	Qe Le	Laen	
sus	Qe 8d	Lahe	
maras	Qe Qse	Lasang	
peda	Qe A	Laban	
bebelo	Qe Pe	Lahot	
moTe	Qio Q J Qe	Lansarira	
baldes	Qe L ov	Laeron	
haldo	Qe ov ~~:~~	Lanog	
kratas	Qe Ax	Latay	
chderong	Qe Ae	Labat	
PerTa	Qe Aioc	Lanay	
6ber	Qe (-)	Lagui	
simsaTe	Qio A a	LanTawa	
hamkay	Qe B	Labe	
nord	Qe B Aeo	labehan	
agoyom	Qe Aw	La-om	
reida	Qe Zol	Laraw	
redake	Qe Qe a	Larawa	
beyaldo	Qe ~~:~~ 8og	Lampos	

soropet	ᜎᜅᜒᜎᜅᜒ	langanlanga	
lobyana	ᜎᜓᜋᜓ	Lawod	
lonere	ᜎᜋᜌᜒᜌ	laayan	
olere	ᜎᜒᜃᜇᜒᜌ	Lakaran	
boter	ᜎᜃᜇ	Lakad	
pedarel	ᜎᜊᜈᜋᜈ	Labanan	
gamerdo	ᜎᜄᜒᜆ	Lapok	
chdem	ᜎᜐᜋ	tamlasmo	
gowagono	ᜎᜒᜉᜌᜈᜒᜐ	Landay	

bosala	ᜋᜃᜎᜎᜊ	makenella	
moy beyop	ᜋᜇᜒᜐᜒᜉ	malanTo	
maso	ᜋᜐᜓ	matso	
mao	ᜋᜌᜓ	mayo	
memaTe	ᜋᜎᜒᜆᜒ	maTTes	
bindkedo	ᜋᜈᜒᜇᜒᜃᜓ	manamambak	
sigta	ᜋᜈᜈᜇᜒᜆ	mananap	
si same	ᜋᜐᜒᜐᜒᜎᜒ	masosebon	
beiole	ᜋᜐᜒᜊᜒᜎᜒ	masinogTaron	
sipoyog	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜓ	matesod	
achdiam	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	maTamiS	
atawon	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	manemka	
bekare	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	mahibalo	
sim	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	maTa	
bikarere	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	mahibawanon	
bmpoylo	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	manyahog	
dugrom	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	makalilisan	
ed tak	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	maPoTe	
Eskotaw	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	ma esog	
Ededos	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	mag bo oT	
da-el	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	mdnagaT	
Pos Tapa	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	maliTa	
moy leme	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	makalilingan	
debas	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	mag Pogas	
Rom	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	manganom	
Enyom	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	mananama	
biTa chdiamo	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	maTay-ang	
mantchado	ᜋᜐᜒᜆᜒᜌᜒᜐ	mahabong	

ra ăholiames			mapait
borowan			mamas
kowerte			mateTe
dolachdoy			manlalaban
somato			mamaak
deketho			mangtogos
enkelloso			masakiTon
ETogago			mahiTongid
mataw-ay			madrage
honTondesos			maobsanon
horogrom			mahadlokan
kastay			mangabata
grillo			maayo
meldoset			masamong
moy paroŋ			mabigugma-o
chdiobelkinaren			manamediTra-ako
meneme			manaratie
moy cgdo!			makagagahom
Uos gok			maka darog
samresTo			maka-o-olaw
banTo			mahal
damelade			makahagait
EsTo-ola			malawom
gamerdo			mahogaw
sisker			manimbahay
sikaring			mangaukan
remoy pesakol			mangabiTo-on
si-ang			mabaw

moyeskwal			maisogon
dodol			matingore
moyhasing			magEmagfog log
silat			makasuli
kitaala			mahalang
ogala			mabadhion
Plosos (rarame simye)			maayotaraw
peramdillo			malipayon
moybellitos			mangabitoon
chdiomot			maiton
tdore			maloy
kanTo			matarong
wechdio			mabato
dowal			mamatay
narella			mahirno
tanyas			maliloy-on
merise			magadaig
moyloris			mangelad
Entel			ma-o
SomiTsayna			maselob-on
Somelire			mananap
Eredas			magbobo ot
makabongkag			maderake
beyante			maka abot
dibe arke			maka ake
cholimel			masa
soyo			mahetamak
arnaaena			magkohotkom

maedyas	manewang	moykerasim	magkita
ewestosan	mamomonyan	moybite	maldeto
bakne	magasangan	eskoraw	mabangus
dolen	magapantalon	oyrel	makegdaeton
tuyomerido	magtekayon	llente	masigpit
piramedello	malipayon	wckoha	mangakawatan
magoyom	magoyod	Ruyolke	manokonda
malato	matambok	makam	makahelo
nedelktesis	mahinokligon	serlobete	makos-ganon
lasando	manilong	lotarber	madogso
Rebiyaka	magpa-abot	alakado	makawat
sidoros	magolang	arera	masisiwa
wayen	manghod	Rechdiompei	mamoyos
bakarna	makina	beneke	mangapare
hase	ma-atang	erera	masanagon
pelikato	mak	serdowen	manglimbasog
kobiray	mala	beles	magsolat
wadred	matod	klet	makalogar
moyhopore	magtoktok	aberyoso	madanehon
moy-yor-en	magakompisal	doramo	mamomo-o
lebres	manaag-got	gowat-dider	matenad-anon
retsowen	matahan	potsanen	magbaba-ot
kre-yonpe	mabo-ak	chdeymte	mahogpong
no-od	magmamano	serlobete	mangosog
tokedayo	masosihon	lowerse	makegbeneg
werke	makalijon		
moysichdion	mabolag		
dosmorcillodel gane	malimbongon		

agatakang	modto	biyalte	mosoang
agad	mo-adto	Esalwet	nagtanom
ochdoem	moenom-ak	salwet	nananom
bocatke	mo asig	chdiemto	napalong
simtak	mo-anhe	abiradiyo	nahitubo
mowesto	mogola	diyamano	nahitengaha
gowal	mo-ole	bumisi	nahigumi kaa
Estar	mobo	kowerdiya	nahisa-la-ac
mok	monagos	kayto	nawala
god	moto	guinpostan	nawong
londo	moresepi	gowat	nanengaha
yader	moyokbo	gowel	napelde
Em	motokok	kobas	nalonod
koloy	mologdang	dalga	nadesiasia
tiangpane	mobalek	chdiomel	natomba
dolkadelpoy	mohanad	yaksap	nahokog
mogdokat	motambong	Reemperna	nagdalagdog
Eling	modelo	ne-oy-ohos	nagaona
galso	masagal	teka	natewas-na
moybathetta	motalikod	poysadlos	nagpangali
moylay	modongo	chdimoldo	nana-og
bantat	modenna	Reyalke	nahinagak
toykoted	modosot	binem	natengob
rededos	mobo-at	beket	nabogto
degdeldeg	mobaha	abes	nadane
moylokedo	motalikod	almusmedak	nagatengob
Lakya	motya	chdieng	nato
rekya	motabang	simot	nahobekang
		kreses	nahenakog

gardesem	ʌn 81ᵉ	napeᵉ	
dubem	ʌn ʃi ʌ	nalrita	
gumpeu	ʌnn ʒe ov ɔ	nagPaŋoka	
mita-asar	ʌn ɣ φ ʒe	nakasaka	
bahes-koyda	ʌn ʃ ɓe	nahoteg	
moydarel	ʌn ɛ ɑ ʌe	nahimonda	
dabbayal	ʌnn ʒe ʌ ʃɣ	nag Pa-abot	
yoskere	ʌn ɛ ɑʃ ∴ v	nahimaŋge	
Paroman	ʌn ɓ ʌn	nasina	
elmado	ʌn ʌn ɑʃe ʌ ɑʃe	nanamasta	
degara	ʌn ɣ ʒe ınn ʌz	nakaPanpaha	
bowas	ʌn æ ɪᵉ	nabaleᵉ	
moysande	ʌn φr 0 ɓ	nacag-alo	
wasa	ʌn ʌᵉ ʌi°	nahanaw	
ɓchdomar	ʌn ʒe ɓ:	napalag	
watda	ʌn ɣ ö ɛd	nakaboke	
yober	ʌn ɔ ɪᵉ	nacucle	
bohong	ʌn öp	nabone	
Homke	ʌn ınn ɓ	paŋgayo	
war	ʌn ɓ ɓg	na-elop	
kayba	ʌn ö ʃ	nabohe	
Potne	ʌnn ö ɓg	nagtato	
hopor	ʌnn ö ɓg 0 ɓg	nagtatotal	
Nepal	ʌn 0 ɛo ɟ	naopas	
Poo-aro	ʌnn ö ʌm	ŋagbonak	
sapelcdemet	ʌn ɣ ö ov ɗn ʃ ʌɛ	nakatonob	
weydn	ʌn ɔɔ	nasad	
yotendo	ʌn ɓ ʌeo	natawhan	
yabas	ʌn ʌφɟ ʌɔ	nadam-ag	
ɛhder	ʌn ɛ ö ɓj	nahimatang	
selyop	ʌn 0 o' ɔo	nagon-ob	
elkoraw	ʌn ɔ ɓ	nake-taw	
wed	ʌn ınn ʌn ɗ	nangana-os	
rasteg	ʌn ınn ɣn ʌɔ	nangakay-a	
deprower	ʌnn ɓo ɓr	nag bo-eb	
aykolebore	ʌn ɛ ɓ ɛ	nahiLabay	
retere	ʌn ʌ to ınn	nagatenga	
nane	ʌn ʌnoɛ	nanay	
Plowake	ʌn ʌɛ ʃ ɓ	nagahopot	
kedeya.ano	ʌnn ɓ ov ʌn φr	nagbinonal	
neiyande	ʌnn ɣ φ	nagmesa	
regrat	ʌn ʌn ɣ	nanaka	
Hotte	ʌn ɑʃ ∴ vɛ	namangon	
molleno	ʌn ɛ ö ɓ:	nahibobon	
Lamendebote	ʌn ınn ʌɓ	nangagod	
moysadwek	ʌn ıssa ʌ	nangantan	
sipoyogkegis	ʌn ɣ ɟɛ 0!	namilegro	
ekldbolto	ʌn ʌ 01	natawo	
moy galbe	ʌnn ɣ ɸe ʌo	nagkasong	
hondogloy	ʌn ɣ ɛr ɛo	nakalampa	
quiyanido	ʌn ɣ 0 ɓ ɓo	nokagola	
gowar	ʌnn ɑʃe ʌɓ	nagmangga	
yotendowal	ʌn ɛ ow o' ɓ	nahimagsa	
enchdel	ʌn ʌ² ınnss	nanangay	
doboro	ʌnn ʃ ʌn ʃ ʌn	naghona	
Persiya	ʌnn ɓo lao	nagpo yo	

edelelo	Aššᴬᵍ O₂	nagdamo	tagna-a
Pete	Aᵣ Pōi	Mahomod	tabon
tenig	Aᵣ ō Ǧᵉⁿᵍ	nakorat	tawo
Reayma	Aššᵃᵍᵉ Aᵍᵉ	nagmaha	tamay
ewarella	Aᵣ ō ō	Mahimo	takos
retonder	Aššᴬᵛˡᵒ	naghanpjo	taga-e
wenterke	Aᵣ ōAᵀᴷ	Nabohat	tagbalay
Polhay	Aᵏ Pᴸᵃʸ	nangñopaw	tabang
setlobete	Aᵏ Iᵀᴷ Æ ōⁱ	nanglembabo	talawan
tekal	Aᵣ ōš (-)	Nangaqui	tagad
nobe	OV Vᵏ S	nobemre	tag-eja
sokowena	OV Vᵏ	noko	tabo-an
re-oy	OV Hᵒ Oⁱ	nomero	tagyaw
Loma	OV Lᵒᵐ	nolod	taga
			tagokun
			tambag
			tana
			taposan
			taponon
			taga deen
			talines
			tagboy
			ta-as
			tagaik
			tampalasan
			taga denhe
			tatay
			tahong

tarnala	AAnA	tagna-a	
hamo	AO	tabon	
bolto	AOš	tawo	
demay-ay	ALLL	tamay	
tingsel	AOš	takos	
datek	AAL	taga-e	
henhay	AÆGᵉʸ	tagbalay	
kuya	AÆ	tabang	
mayonsap	AGÆ=	talawan	
anga	AAG	tagad	
dile	ALA	tag-eja	
satekaqui	AōAᵏ	tabo-an	
Pongqot	AAᴷ	tagyaw	
porqampe	AA	taga	
togope	AOᵍᵉC	tagokun	
tarde	Aᵛ Aᵧ	tambag	
tolada	AA	tana	
bolsemre	AŠP	taposan	
chdiamolo	AōOV	taponon	
tagchdlompet	AAʰˡᴸ	taga deen	
chdaqwat	Aᴵᵀᵂ	talines	
benite	APd	tagboy	
tekande	AAᵏ	ta-as	
lon	AL-K	tagaik	
yan dran	AᵛŽGP	tampalasan	
porqampedel	AAᵏᵏŠ	taga denhe	
tate	AAᵏ	tatay	
tewero	Aššš	tahong	

Redyak	A A A	tag-ano	
gartes	E Q δ 0	tangkog	
teras	A	tasa	
kawer-re esesa	A	tasa	
kreman	A A	tawotawo	
ote	A	tubu	
kerboke	A	tabonan	
badario	A	tagak	
bandak	A	tangad	
sem	E A	tatnaw	
armenak	A	tatato	
oykre yop	A	tagsatagsa	
gadame	A	tahop	
was	A	tagod	
gatora	A	tagtagan	
kalite	A	tanod	
dama	A	taban	
echdan	A	taken	takrel
wadro	A	takos	
grame	E	yankaw	
chdape	A	tugayan	
kechdem	A	tagay	
moram	A	takwahaw	
chdep	A	tagpas	
gato	A	tagoktok	
sekwes	A	tanan	
boyboya	A	tabe	
apoy	A	tabako	
mada	A	tagtawat	
meboy	A	takna	
meboyan	A	taknaka	
grow	A	tukboy	
trese	A	tambak	
salwere	A	tanaman	
sabello	A	tawog	
monsamnere	A	tagyota	
kabrem	A	talikala	
yak	A	tagana	
tam	A	taptapan	
gater	E	tando	
demayane	A	talamayon	
hama	A	taban	
sakoy	A	tagbo	
resim	E	tan-awa	
sesim	E	tan-awan	
sakwen	A	tanoman	

	Epochdarin	to ohan
	Epong	to-eg
	adidas	toyo
	ayaw	tongod
	awaaw	tomoy
	beyo	toyok
	weste	tog-an
	diwen	tonok
	diwesede	tonokon
	estokayro	tognaw
	kollar	tobeg
	bot boyon	tolisan
	dames	todlo
	togale	togon
	Rogo	tonhok
	topete	tiboran
	tropsol	tohod
	Lawos diliyo	tongotaliwala
	kamakaka	tomahod
	Koropeng	towaytoway
	chderenyan	tolomanon
	ham	toLes
	bracado	tol'ed
	Chdaper	tobogei
	hopo	tongtong
	berdo	todlo-e
	werpo	topong
	tor	togot
	core	tongaw
	dasil	toma
	wing	tolingeg
	tordi	togote
	sukte	todlo-a
	toka	tongol
	yoro	tokeban
	toracion	ton-an
	batag	tokaw
	lomamay	to-ale
	bongnok	tonob
	hopore	tongtongan
	chdio	towakbog
	berik	todlo

alke	A Sd.	gake	
kor em	G. C	ganse	
diselsom	A K A	gatita	
bantike	A Q	galab	
bucrario	A S Cu	gahilat	
gawot	A Ar	ganas	
apkang	A An	gaan	
laborek say	A Ab	gawas	
selwedo	A Ao	gabā	
panora	A O	gaue	
chdiom	A Lo	gayod	
Colleto	A Ax	gatas	
yomor	A Or	gakos	
memorya	A a	gabon	
serding	A Je	gane	
Edres	A E	galing	
Lab	A Av	gabat	
menel base	Ae O	gasto	
Eg dot	A Ps	gahom	
baylan	A B	gabe	
Chdiring	A yt	ganed	
lot	A O C Ov	gagono	
balnere	A C Fe	galimen	
ara	A Q	gasa	
gere	A So	gahob	
opoy	Ae	gas	
arap	A Je A K	ganihata	
gote	A a Ai	gabanaw	

~~balma~~ kolma	A Oio	gaung	
dig dot	Qe Ea	gorgracia	
arap	A Je An	ganina	
awos	A Ei	gatang	
yomorde	Ay Q	gaksa	
dilbe	A Sos	gapos	
datore	G K	gante	
gawper	A16 A Qw	gambalay	
krop	A B L	gabe-e	
Petis	A Lll	gamay	
towas raper	A As So	gahapon	
aper	Qe Oi	grado	
ap	Qe Oi A	gradohia	
diarke	A16 A A	gamhanan	

	sustantivo gra.	(-)	quinhatean
	yadoval	(-)	quiehaw
	akatgo	(-)	quikotasan
	baliw	(-)	quiga ed
	sondeya	(-)	quitenbas
	repeyatec	(-)	quiterehan
	chdito	(-)	quipajaan

	dolbe		qosok
	seg yop		qoba
	elgato		qonting
	bodo		qola
	atat		qotom
	moldesean		qobat
	gondé		qok-tan
	kotec		qoma
	bansathe		qobernadu
	qowak		qosto
	borter		qowaridiya
	bodo		qowa

yo

	tanoka-oy		yobetan
	saminat		yota
	ya diu		yok bo
	entendimento		yota

benta-al	(-)		quigarrita
Legarte	(-)		quilebotan
quireqowa	(-)		quidak-on
pohado	(-)		quitas-an
portake	(-)		quikapagan
golpaya	(-)		quinenhawa
tengad	(-)		quiladarón
etera	(-)		qui dele
etryokesem	(-)		qui eta eta
koayne	(-)		quisaaran
parme	(-)		quihelantan
moydiyante	(-)		quipakaniaha
aymahan	(-)		quinahayan
chderichelen	(-)		qui-ohaw
qrowertere	(-)		quiloeban
morleyo	(-)		quinsakopan
goldame	(-)		quihay
keaydame	(-)		quidomtan
Reklos	(-)		quilangkat
fodenal	(-)		quileteng
waren	(-)		quitalikdan
tralpoy	(-)		quitkuned
salesale	(-)		quisalikway
bayawan	(-)		quitokawan
gowarko	(-)		quidak-on
dilchdoy	(-)		quisoqo
moydilyeno	(-)		quikasilapan
Galis moy Rechdeal	(-)		quihesgotan

lo yeseberatio	(-)		quipangotana
delbe	(-)		quinapos
teksel	(-)		quinakahan
delaniyaned	(-)		quikaqolaqi
qteleting	(-)		quitenentehe
Regane	(-)		qui hapon
bakeresem	(-)		qui pakita
densil	(-)		quisenyasan
yoper	(-)		quibwatan
mayestawitas	(-)		qui bohat
Ruyalte	(-)		quikaholoqur
quinakonparong	(-)		quihiq
tekaltore	(-)		quinsangqa-a
moyyopen	(-)		qui babagan
empos	(-)		quiposlan
bahiw	(-)		quihokot
dililo	(-)		quidamaq
dilpoyqo	(-)		quisoqnod
Chabotor	(-)		quisoqba
re erada	(-)		quinahanda
re-ablanso	(-)		quibasolan
moyrekanyo	(-)		qaipaniqoro
yasamyale	(-)		quisa-alaq
moybeg	(-)		quinbot-an
resenton	(-)		qui engon
bakereyalke	(-)		quikahinaqbo
qui-askaq	(-)		quipangeta
koldekal	(-)		quikakdtan

	yap		wə et
	to		walog
	dedkay		wad-oN
	aswang		wakwak
	krenc		waki
	nokesekdaya		walay-ə payə
	morimo		walaylabot
	dəralkorc		waylangān
	rckoy		walaman
	koytoning		walaylaw
	bədo		wasay
	nokraya		walay
	konostra		walayolaw
	əimanase		walaunakadə
	ekdiyon		waqtanə
	moykestos		wala paybonyn
	warmə		wad-ə
	deker		wangē wangō

	ragə		ngadtə
	wenterulek		ngaronggadə
	top		ngabel
	de abə		ngano
	nado		ngano
	langes		ngatan
	nadodelpa wot gəiwet		ngaronng

yə

	Limanos	A·G	yawe
	chdowcto	A·AyA·A·O·C	yabəgyabəgə
	goloko	A·ofē·A·ofē	yamə yamə
	inclo	A·ēw	yamog
	diwet	A·÷ l	yam-ət

	sasodo		lonlon
	lene		lonis
	buntod		longsod
	koted		loksa
	lekreyom		lotas
	kollo		lohà
	dados		lobong
	ramol		logad
	degara		loryo
	chderama		losgad
	label		lonopan
	gaper		lo-ag
	largo		lobok
	welchdio		lowa
	kolombiyado		loboq
	lasekoh		lokbe
	Pet siyam		logar
	wedra		lotak
	chdoreé		lopbog
	loteng		lobay
	Grchidenter		lotok
	araso		losong
	meter		loogan
	baser		logos
	towes		lasa
	wetto		longsuranon
	laseden		longsodnan
	dowalfere		lobngaran

	Sutenahon		luwasa
	sutenado		luwason
	bel		lunop
	bora		lomae
	Pasram		Lotahan
	gabel		Lokonan
	sutena		lowas
	tomaw		lomat
	himawa		lomaLangyaw
	balsa		lowanan
	Loker		lokop
	molde		lopog
	kedelare		lomalakaw
	Ebrola		lobe
	moy-as		lobad
	hogamo		long-og
	Enchdewared		chdongat
	dellos		ngotngot
	kere		nge-ob
	Prendido		ngepon

1.3 Grinadu

ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲁ

ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The good man

ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The virtuous woman

ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The robust bodies

ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲕⲟⲙⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The big trees

ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁⲩⲟ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The poisonous water

ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲁⲓ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The fierce animals

ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The beautiful fowls

ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The strong wood

ⲡⲉⲓⲗⲓⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ - The hard stones

ⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲛⲁ - No!

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ - This man

ⲧⲁⲓ ⲥⲓⲛⲓ - This woman

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩ - That glass

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲟ - That pen

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲣⲟⲥ - That paper

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲟ - That leaf

ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲑⲣⲱⲡⲟⲓ - These men

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲉ - These women

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩ - Those glasses

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲟ - Those pens

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲣⲟⲥ - Those papers

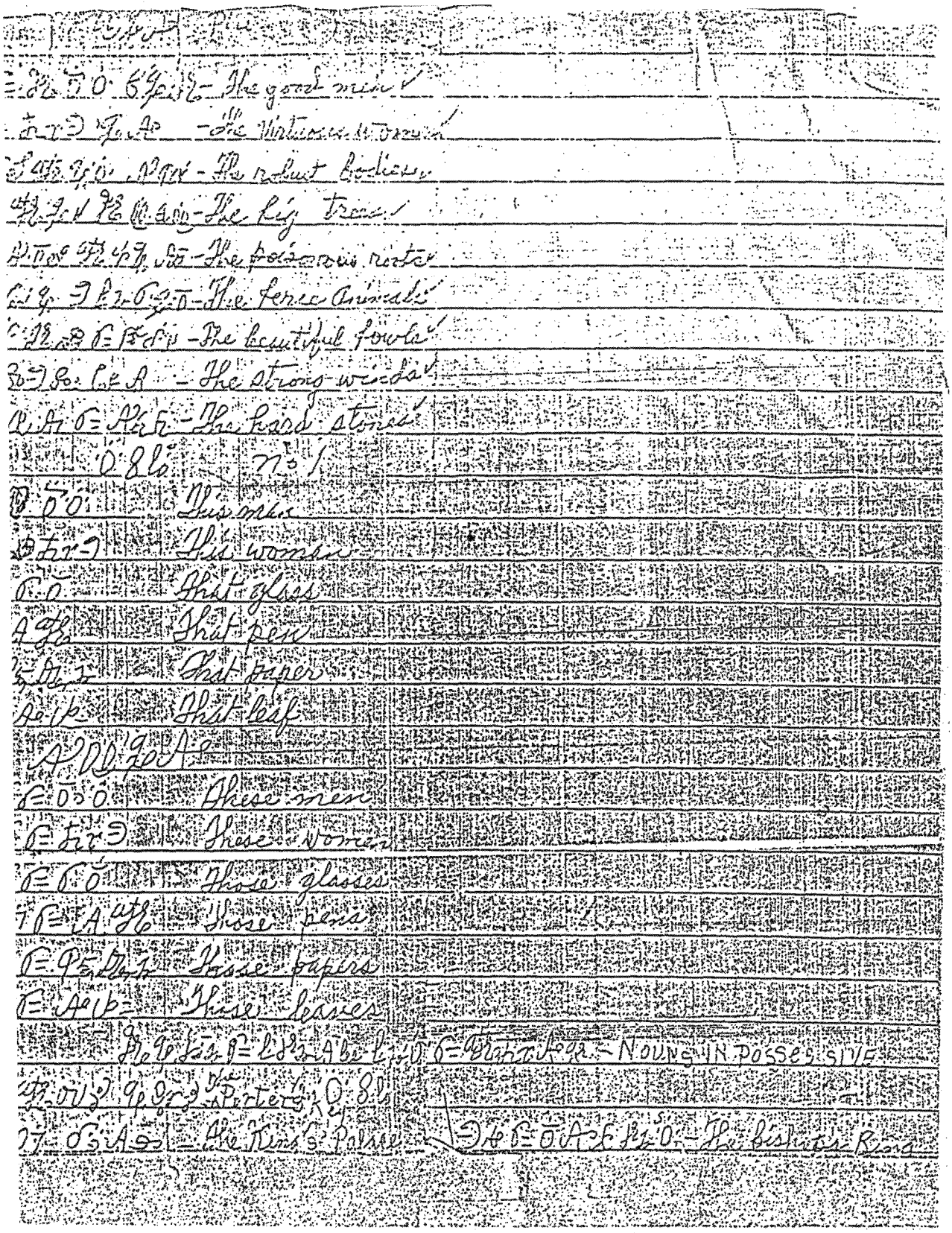
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲟ - Those leaves

ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ - NOUNS IN POSSESSIVE

ⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲉⲩⲥ - Porters of Kings

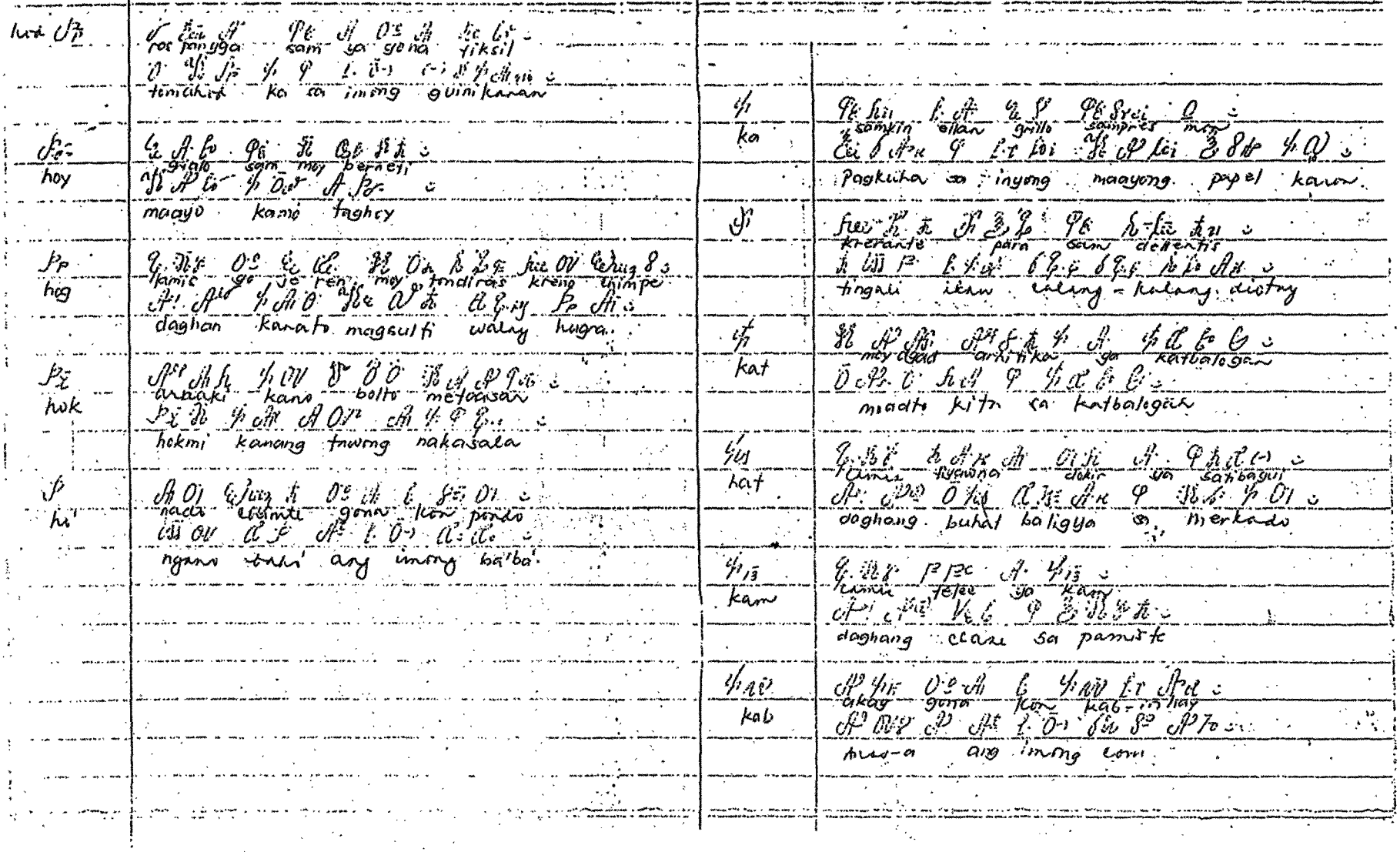
ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲥ - The King's palace

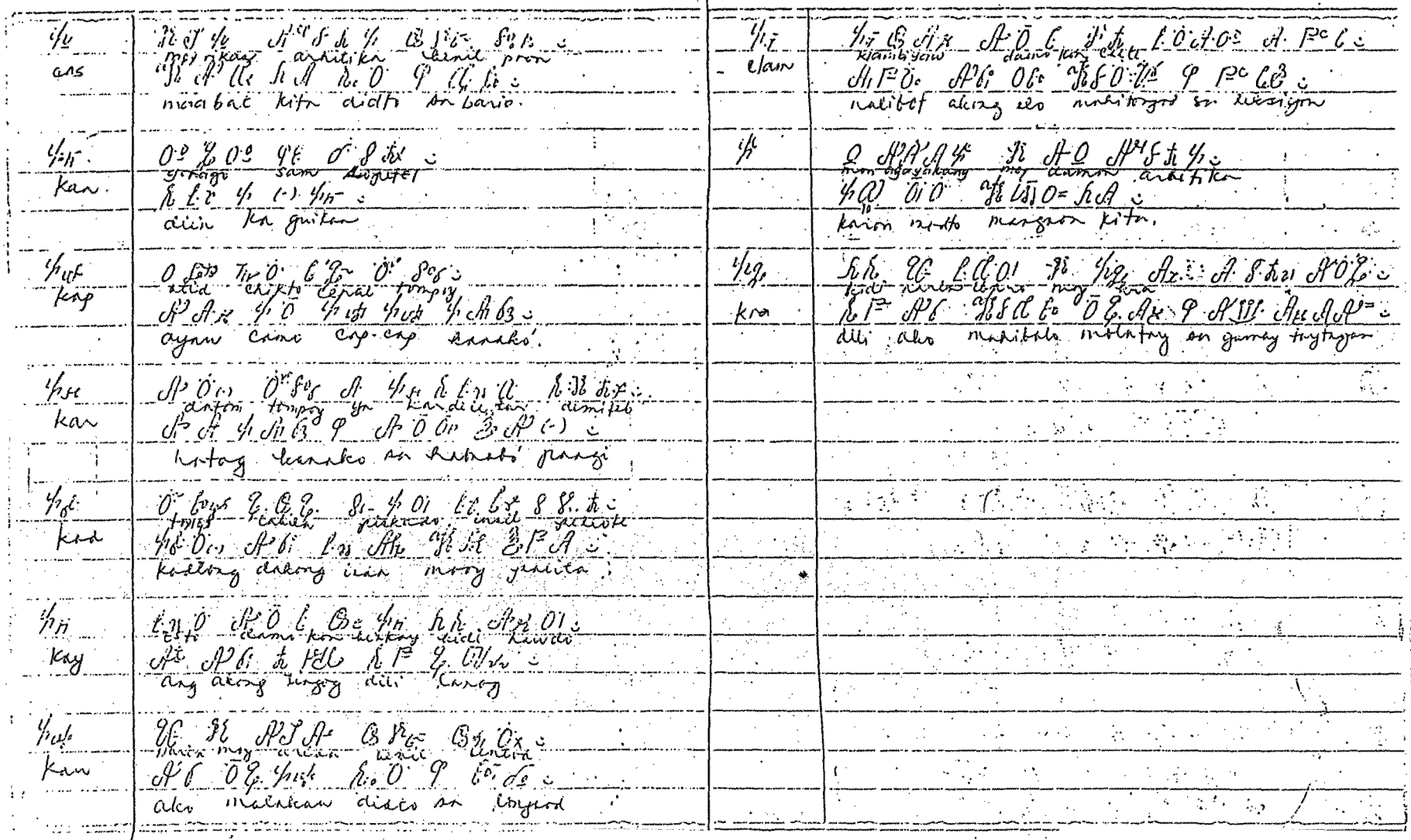
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ - The bishop's Priest


The good man
The Wicked Woman
The robust Bodies
The big trees
The poisonous water
The fierce Animals
The beautiful fowls
The strong winds
The hard stones
His mother
His woman
That glass
That pen
That paper
That leaf
These men
These women
These glasses
These pens
These papers
These leaves
NOUNS IN POSSESSIVE
Peters
The King's Palace
The bishop's Ring

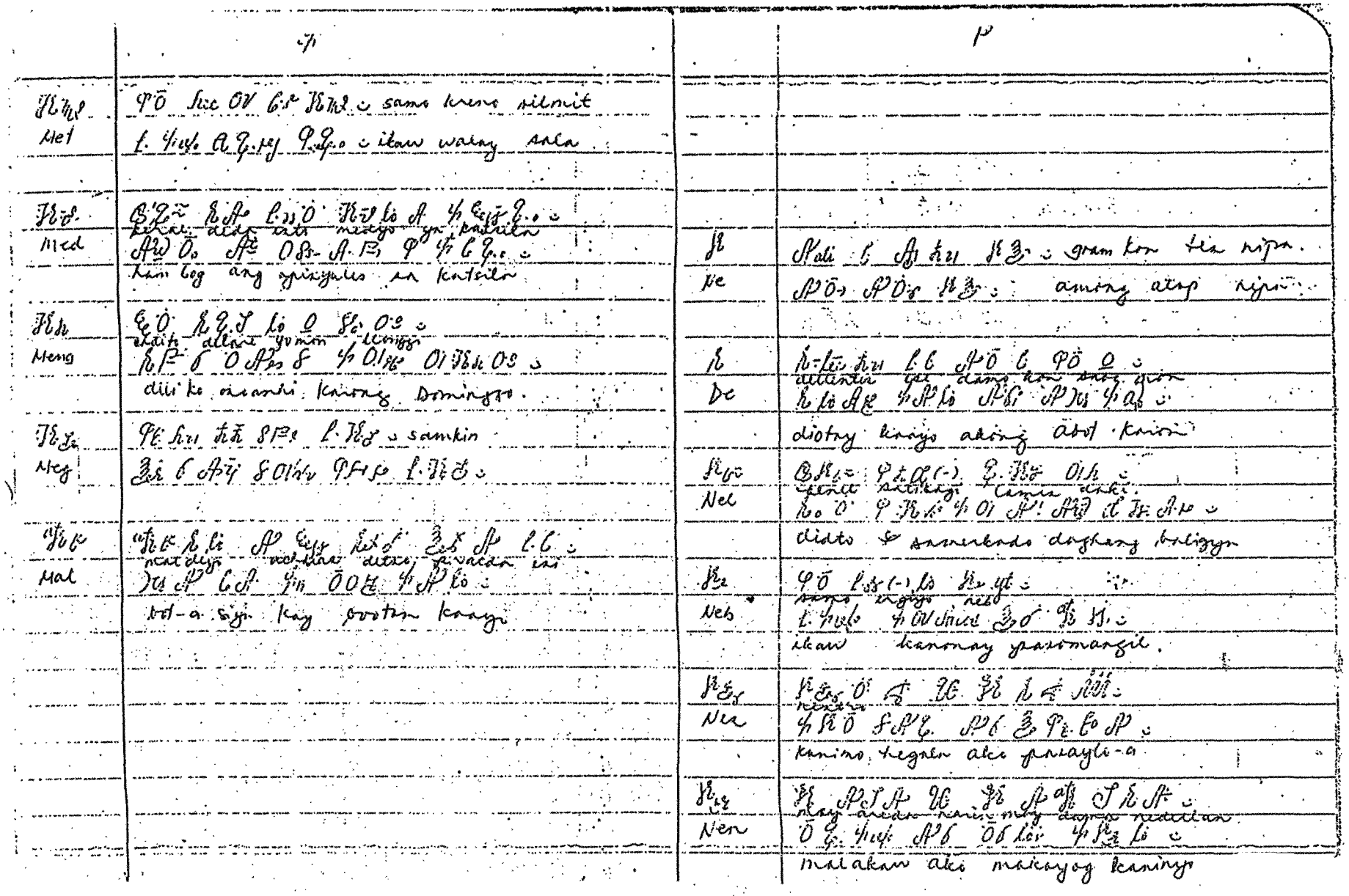
1.4 Kwadra

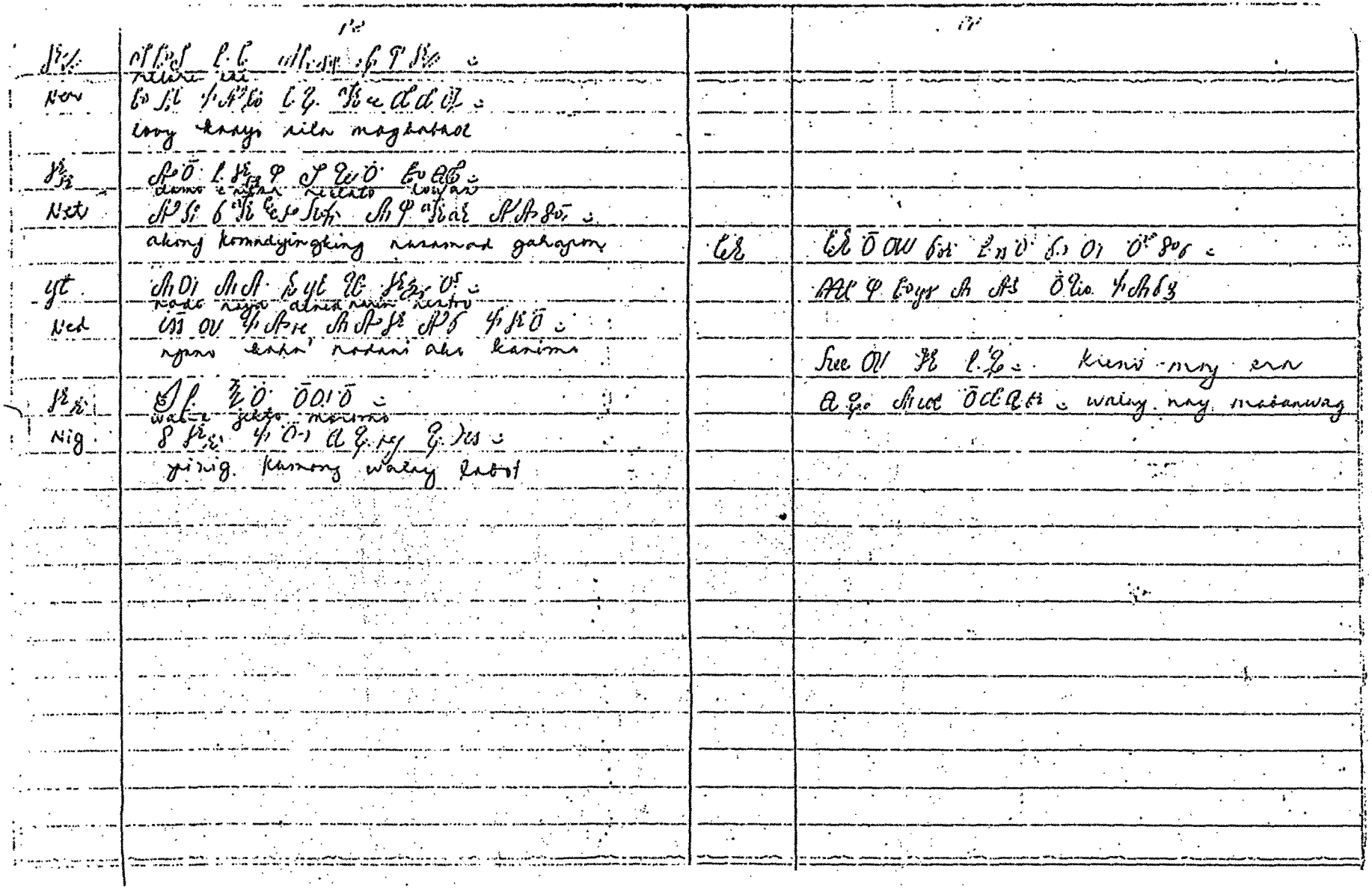
nion abiya hober karong adlawa Huebes.		
hinden isi esta gona berwitis. niatahom kaayo ang inong binuhat		
hinton binil ya karangke luluta ako didto sa atabay		
hobhay tuyop damo manta. ihuyhay kadtong akong sinina.		
bilbolo gona kin tindiras. kusto na ang imong arti.		
amirme anhitika binil ya hordan. naiigo kita sa hurdan		





		Nag	gona kon siphil kerlu.
		Nab	imong asawa mabdas
		Nal	lamis samyal nestro gas
			dagkamo salamat kanimo higala
		Nao	dinong ertal obi tomaw
Ne Ne	samo minaalkida eti ikaw kagihan kwaya	Nao	dihe anney obi nilomat.
Na Ma	kingma kon gramda kinsay imong kaubin	Na'	amigong pare pakaue ugma jehan maligo ang tuna
May May	moy amay amay ogihi'ke diet [illegible]	Nav	mon nak ngari maso
		Nav	kanin sowel kulan Nanay
Nang Nang	Jekto moy kakauing anai a kano mang gikan	Nis	kanin kon manto lamis chatmet ang akong ainan dagang mansa.
		Ner	simri dano kon amenin
Le Le	samo kano wayen erez ikaw walay magkuha	Ner	kini akong ulitata
Mei Mei	Lanin moy Hanan tonel ako makaon ag lunggan.		





S
Pc

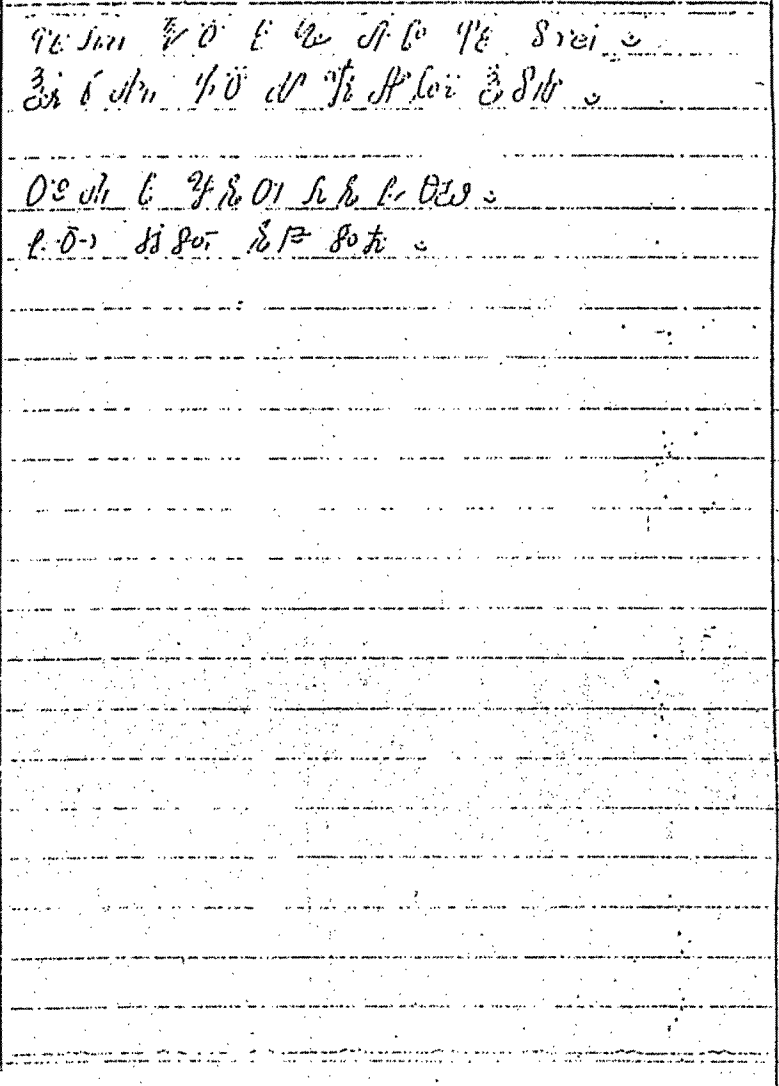
Si
Pet

S
Pig

Des
Pne

Stp
Pel

Sst



Prue — Samkin jekto i grigyes sam prue
yag kuda kamo og nanyong gogel

6i — 8o6 6E.: 8 6 Ski A 18 Y6.
pan ekjongu danang yo nasi

kol — Zei A O= 6 Sic P c O
pag tago diin sa sook

6in — C 6l6 PO 6J 6.n 6 O Sc
sano kon ei intae dagay

kon — 8 OV 6n 6.Sic C Ol Sica 6in S 9
dinkes ikaw kon danay kombera

6ei — PO C+6 6 6.C. Samo nentada ei

kad — 6.Yul 6n G Yo P6 : ikaw cagan kanay

6j — 6.n O 6j 6 6.07 Ze oc
ento kay kagen dei

kop — 9c C Ol= "6n (-) se 9 8c
ang banay nanagit og gesi'

6v — 6v 6m 9C Ye Ce O 8c Sa OV 6o
ka en nina nicha adtae kaina ya.

kor — G C 96 8 O Yn A 9.o 96 :
ganei ako nina kay wala ako.

69 — Yali C A 01 6 Oc 6.C : grankon barola gal eai

kod — P O) 69 6 Ze Ce Yo P6 : akong cadcong
kait kanay

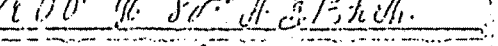
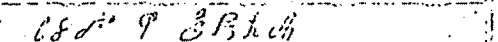
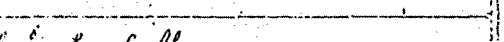
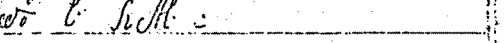
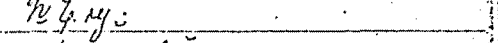
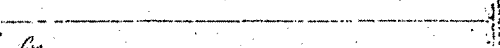
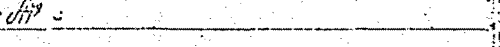
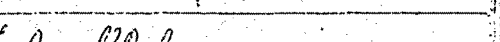
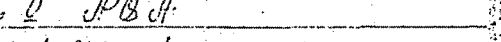
ði	ð·ï ĉ ·ſ·ſ·ſ· ð·ᵉ ĉ·yr = dumo kon ngullong tyleg
kong	ᴿðï ſ·ᴹ·ᴵ²ᵒ ½c. ð· akong ginalit kadta
ðu	ᴺ·ſ·ſ ðᵉ ſoſ ᴮ·ſᵉ·ᴬ· ðu ĉ =
kuy.	mata tingang kinit ga coybo
	ðloi ½ᴹ·ᴵ·ðz ſo ð· ᴾ ðᵖ =
	kogog tanako didto sa bako'
ð'	ᴿo ð·ᵒ ſ·ſ·ſ· ð·ᵉ = dumo kon ngullong tyleg
ðf	8ð· ſ·ſ·ſ· ½·ᴴ·ſ·ſ = Piot diin kanayo.
ðᵒ	ᵍᴱ ſ ĉ·ſ· ·ᴬ· ᴿðᵒ ĉ ᴬ·ſ·ᴿſ ðᵒ ſ·ĉ =
901	3nang kasuli ga dumo kon bitatiki gal yan.
	ĉ·ſ· ſ·ᴿ·ᴼᵛ ðᵒ ᴾ ᴿðᵍ ᵍ·ᴬ·ᴿ ᴬ·ſ·ᵉ ½·ᴹ·ſ·ſ =
	pagkanagon sa akong cabaka kait kanayo.
ð·	ᵉᵉſ·0·1 ½ᵉ·ſ ſ = chdiain kaiko gal
ti'	ᴿð· ½·ᴼᵏ ᴬ· ſ·ᴿ·ᵍ = ato' kano nigala
ð·⁻	ᵃᵍ ᴬ ½ᵉ·ᵉ ᵍ ᴬ·ð·ſ ðᵒ ð·1 =
tɨl	mamaragsag yatoyo mo' ol
	ᵃᵍ ſ·ſ ᴬ ·ᴿ ð· ᴱ· ·ſ·ſ ½ ſ·ſ =
	mangita ta ug tɨl-id nga kahoy
ð·²ᵒ	ſ·z·ſ ᵍᴱ ᴿ ᵃᵍ ð·²ᵒ ᵍ·ᵍ = kin moy dama tomjog
tom	ſ·z·ſ ᵍ ððð· ½·ᴹ·ſ·ᵍz = kinsay mobasa kanako
ðᵢ	ᵖ·ð·ᵢ ᵍᴳ ᴮ ſᵍ = hontm nanin binit
tm	ᵖᵍ·ᴬ ·ᴿ·ſ ſ·ð· = sulatn ako didto
ð	ᵉ·ĉᵈ ĉ·ĉ ð ſ·ᵃ·ſ = chdicit esimon retume
ðm	chdi ð·ſ·ᵍ·ſ ½·ᴿ·ĉ·ſ ½·ĉ·ᵍ ³·ᴹ·ſ·ᴹ = akaw kanayo
	kanong panahon

O=	Sc ʼn L Cs Lo Ofʼ.Sw ſi ÷
	Lima cadya Oliveiray cca
tn	ÖOG O=A S Nº& Ll Ÿ.o Ÿ.Ÿ ÷
	mouban ontr ko agan when lang
O	Ek K Oº A Sovº Cf÷ S K Nº A Sº 6ª ÷
Oa	tindi gona yin chinga dinang yanike ÷
	O=Q l.Ö-) (-) AOº Nºe K Nºe Q σ O ÷
	bsin inong gitago-an dicha an soak:
Öa	Ö, S Uc Ni d S K f.n k ÷
tagtsr	Oº Oº k Nº6 iN ºb e σ Ol÷ σ Al÷ ÷
	togti aks ngn magaonod-sonod
Ön	Ek K A Sl ñzı Oº A C Nº ÷
tsn	tinde yn gona kon gaagh.
	O=Pe Nº Ön Q l.Ö-) Ac Ÿ.N ÷
	bnay atag an inong balay
Öx	Q Sc ~ S Ox Ÿ.Ni s Ö Ö ÷
tsd	kenil dantod Yamia bitty
	k Ö Q Eº Oz Nº Nº º Ni AOl ÷
	diatu an longsod dagbang ngn tsun
Öv	Qk Oº Eºys Ls Ac Fº A Nº
tsy	skki tsyeg Lalintayaw
	O=Q ½ l Ö-) Nº E ª- ÷
	bsun leadtay nilogod
Öt	kzı iNk kº Ötte Qy Eºy ÷
tst	kin chintatimog Nadlen
	Szı Qº OOr Fº 6 ÷
	kinang stot komot

	-Pk-
Cö	Ek Cº Oº Nº. C Cº E ÷
-ne	tindi Ke gona kon sabi
	O=Ÿe l.ö-) (-) Nº.Ÿ.o ÷
	bnay inong gidala
Cº	Nd A= Oº A C 6 Cf ÷ abuan gona kon canit
nit	A=l.r Ac l.Ö-) Cö N ÷ kain ang inong silya
Ks	kzı Sk Ç½Oı A Nali l Nºö Ÿ.Ÿ ÷
neg	kin nay sikato ya gana kon dadni kng
	kzı Ie Nº A Nº Ks Ÿr Q Nºö-) Aº ÷
	kinay manegkan an among pakin
lit	Nº Ön Uc Lr l.C ÷ konton kanin in cai
riot	bŸ.A Nº Nº lit Nº Nºlö ÷ kalatin aks kendigat kng
kº	J Nö C Fkl Sk Ie A fº ÷
tre	ya dama kon sitio kadi gingato
	Aº Nºöi Fka k Fº aº Nºlö ÷
	ang akong utun dili mnaya
kc	Nd A= Oº A Ç kc 6º ÷
tic	abuan gona kon tiktik
	Aº l.r Aº l.Ö-) (-) k Nº A ÷
	kain ang inong gintanan
kl2	O Lºº Nºs kl2 Oº Sº6 ÷
tres	kata dentist tongan
	Nº A se Ei k ÷ ª Nº ª3 ÷
	ayaw pagsinkal kanaka

Narin E sama brekio	E	ÞE ł ÞÖ Þ ÐÐ SÖÞ:
aku og ikaw mog-inomogog	E	ÞÖ dÞ L. Þuk. Þ: L. ØØØÞÞÞ.
gre ekdal ekmi gomn kon uelis	Ue	Ł ÐeÐ. ÞÞ 0º Þ E Ö Þ.
kojiselenon ang inong bukat.	gre	Þ Þøł Ð. Þan Þt L. Ö-. Öan.

boy	boya redilla :
	A bó' ɬ'ɬ'ɛ li :
ngal	Shoi qō shō' h-lēē ɬɑɜl :
	ngano ikaw bongal oy dirty

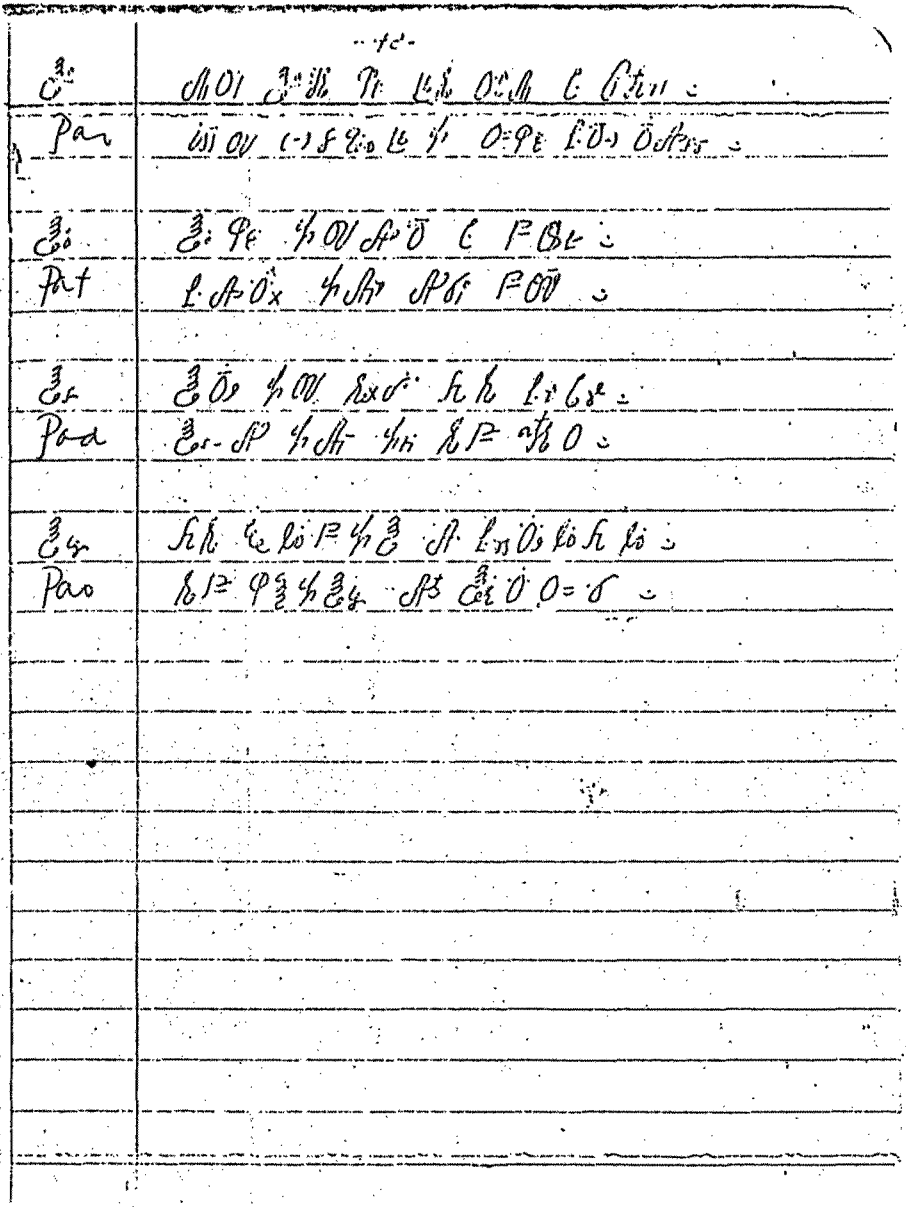
Wadrid e elabalta yen jeane ya Palestia	Ja	
matrdpa natura si Jesus sa Palestia	Pa	
inay pan dnge Arbitika mon	Ja	
nagsingaw kita kaon	Pan	
Nado tiyake ebdiano kon kiay.	Cac	
ngano napakiyan ang atong sood.	Pag	
Prutas eginatay sablay.	Jx	
bootan kaayo nga nga tuto.	Prat	
Palangpo jilto dinang.	Jf	
Pano cana dika.	Pal	
Wasan lone esi mon akiya	Js	
Pastilan kang kaayo kanang adlawa	Pas	
Kin katiya tryleg.	Jgl	
kinsang Hangpana kanta.	plang	

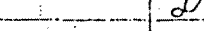
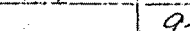
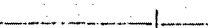
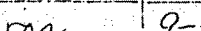
Noon Panne sam-tan de gaan ka niets
ngano giniantan-ka orang inang gibuat

Pat sam kanadamo kon libret
Ihatod kanang akong libro.

Patoo kano detro kidi enel
Pad-a kano kay diri mo

kidi gniyalikeyo ya utoryokiyo.
diri siling kapaw ang paytom ko.



grid number esto gonna kon kam	Dkg:	
gramma ang. wong kirik	Pne	
kim dii ciait dick themawa eri	Dk	
kunting nagpuys dinki timi-wa kraiy.	wa	
dano kon sonno ray mot esi	Qāt	
akoy kusones kam kraiy	ray	
noyes go jekto lowar	Jalis	
gilistogar gotar kano kyndoyon		
nuy pimi nain akyas kano ke ras	Qāus-	
nagtukat aku og konoy kaning konjoy		

tarde gona ka tongay	gudic	ŋk ŏ:ch ć gudic ŏ:ⁿsoŕ:
nnay inay gisug kanaka		ŏ=ɋɛ ŕ.ŏ-ı (-)ć ŏ:ᵍ ɣchŏŋ:
Hoy gni jekta kenik ya	Zei	H ĥĆJ ŋ/ŏ ĞŘ6= ŕ.Ŗŏć:
jagdana kana didta na bukid	Pag	Zei ŕ.ŏl ɣ/ŏ ŕ.ŏ ɋ : ŏŘŋ:

Perisik yr yang sang-an parimongaan kunis bnlh ai dth ar yang sang-an parimongaan dizhang tuus

Ziri Day

Bfic A. Zi 9e Sz, Zh.Ō.ūi Sze G.Hx ŌŌ.
Lo.Ō. 9 Zi 9e Sz, Zh.Ō.ūi Sze Ah.Hō AO.

ब्रह्मचारी तपसा असुरान्	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मचारी तपसा असुरान् ब्रह्म ।
प्रजापति: ब्रह्मणा असुरान्	ब्रह्मण	प्रजापति: ब्रह्मणा असुरान् ब्रह्म ।
	देवा:	ते देवा: असुरान् ब्रह्मणा ब्रह्म ।
		ते देवा: असुरान् ब्रह्मणा ब्रह्मणो ।
		ब्रह्मणा ब्रह्मणो ।

2. Eskayan Narratives

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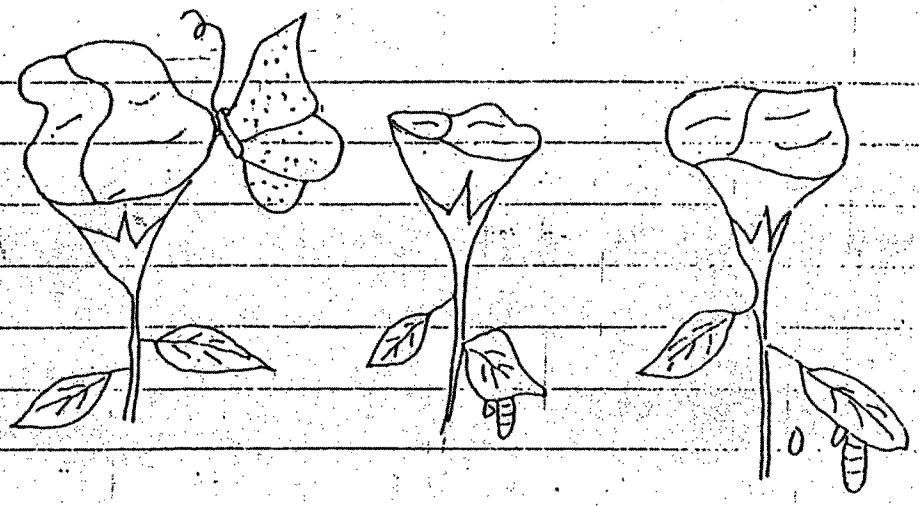
2.1 Tumaw



P ᜎᜒ ᜆᜒ ᜓᜌ᜔ · ᜀ ᜐᜓᜎ ᜒᜋᜓᜌ᜔᜵

1 En te ra ya Nok Tomaw.

P ᜆᜒᜋᜓᜌ᜔ ᜐᜏ ᜓᜌ᜔ ᜐᜓᜎ ᜒᜋᜓᜌ᜔᜵

1 Timaan sa Nok Tomaw.

3 ᜎᜓᜒ ᜀᜐᜓᜎ ᜒᜋᜓᜌ᜔᜵

2 Est sila ya Nok Paypayping.

3 ᜀᜐ᜔ ᜀᜋᜓᜌ᜔ ᜐᜏ ᜓᜌ᜔ ᜐᜓᜎ ᜒᜋᜓᜌ᜔᜵

2 Ang amahan sa Nok Alibangbang.

paypayplinij Noko, ensil atsil relangis

alibangbang kagaw, mao siya ginanlan

Noko jo mawo,

Noko jo mawo.

Detso kano Noko nare lla

kay kanang Noko nahimong

bolto, Edel pinal Noko, rekon Noko re

tawo, Kagaw ang sinugdan, ang kagaw nga

delga konlabila, ya labila kos

nagtubo sa pagdako; sa dako na

atsil muygrello kos may-aredo del

siya maayo na mulakaw sa

chaliamole, e nanag sag atsil ya kinya

kasagbutan, ug nangita siya kon kinsay

chadel tekse/ : Apolore atsej oy

iyang ginikanan : Edad siya usa

Es to Noko pen ya paypaypling.
Ang Noko ttog sa a li bangbang.

Esto nima ya Noko pen.
Ang inahan sa Noko pen.

Eklabollo eldempe supetel kon bel
Natawo huyna' gikan sa paglunop

E Nowe sila e nima Noko
ni Noe amahan ug inahan Noko

Tomaw, es to spital paypaypling es to
Tomaw, ang pelimerong alibangbang ang

chdel sila
iyang amahan.

Es to nima ya Noko pen ya
Ang inahan sa Noko ettog sa

paypaypling. Yo tindowal ya la ya
alibangbang: Paghimug só' sa anak sa

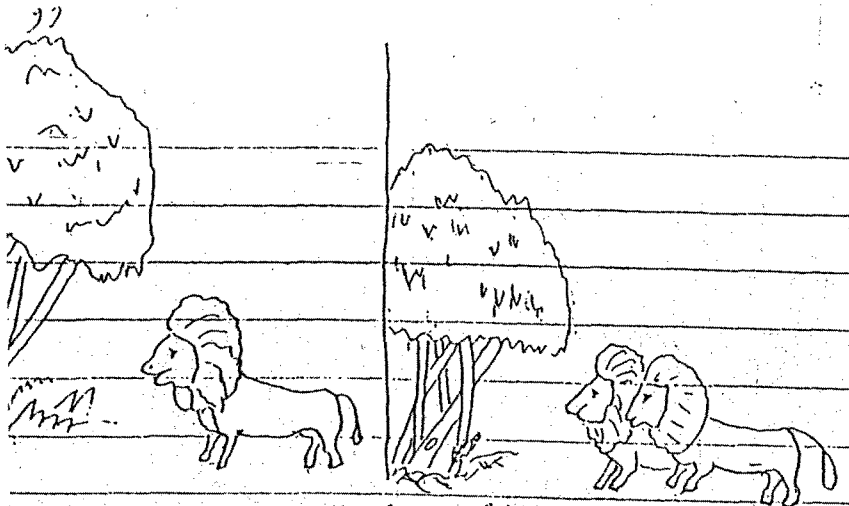
apuna . Atsel sekwer del aredla
ka tuig . Siya nagkalingaw ug lakaw

ya tetso ya marase kaniyan .
sa kabukiran ug kalasangan .

Lotar ber ya go wer go
Paghiabot sa dakong bukid

re leyo marase kaniyan , miy kisaper
nga tunga sa kalasangan , nagadeskanso

ya oy leted kanmorol .
sa usa ka leted nga kahoy .



Apolore oy apong empek
Edad usa ka tuig bahin

(4)
re-oy sing (5)
numero singko (5)

ya estudyante atchi' dinang
sa nagpuyo siya diha'

oy apong supetol ya chdil lolarber
usa ka tuig gikan sa iyang pag-abot

ya liteg re chdil chdiompereyo narella
sa liteg nga iyang gipay-an nahimo

chdil kon ga-op.
na niyang balay.

Singlamon ya Nokos pay
Pangutana ni Kagaw kang

ya chtinkotetbone esto oy
sa ninglabay ang usa ka

chtindelbegora atchel "lindel
niysampet siya," leon.

lla yan narin maybrel nistro"?
o ba ako mokabayo kanimo"?

Chtindelpma esto lindel eros
Mitubag ang leon nga lalake.

"Ay a garella maybrel a gad ya diame
mahimo pagkabayo' adto sa imong

Kali Ae" grandama". Chindeyoma esto Noko
kaubon". Mitubag ang tingaw

"abwan kos mon samo kos oy mon"?
"hain man karon ikaw raman usa karon"?

Kide maybahiste maybiyal ya edel-
Dili madugay madugso' sa imay-

ba his	persiyan	konsindo	chdin
kata-od	ta-od	nilang	hinugi lan	ning

bigal	es to	lindel	tinde ..	Es to			
abot	ang	leon	nga	babaye .	Ang		

lendel	eros	sinz lon	geyo	lo tarbe				
leon	lalake	ningsulte	dayon	pag-abot				

ya	tinde	lindel .	Es to	lle	e.			
sa	babaye	nga leon .	Ani-a		si			

Nako	re tonder	tumpoy						
kagaw.	nagkaingge	kanako	nga	mokabays				

gopoy	narin	re	agad	brel	ug			
nagbalibad	ako	nga	ad to ·	kabaye	ng			

damo	gramdama	es ta lle	sang					
akong	kauban	ni-a	na	ikaw				

Es to	ter	singlanon	ya	Noko	e			
Ikaduhang	pangotana	sa	kagaw	ni				

Linde, maychatiomle anakko ye Noko,
Le on, magsabot kamo si kagaw,

tande kos linde, tinde, re kan brel
una man le on babaye, pakabayo'

samo Lompoy. Deyoma e linde,
itaw kangko. Tubay si le on,

"marella maybrel, ulos sirbasem
"mahimo paglabayo, apan luwasa

Es to damo langis e kiki sam
ang akong ngalan ug dili ka

mayserba kide sam maybisdak tompak
makahilwas déli ka makakahayo nako

Kinya langis nisto ya sutinan
kini nga ikaw le on man

detso moybrel poy demyo · Boyno ,
Kay makakabayo kang siguro · Bloy
kidi samo amano leona samo
dili ikaw ingnon leona , aw, ikaw
Eber Konsolina tompoy detso moybredda
lagi mulowas kanako kay makakabayo
kos samo . E leona yan samo .
kang . Si leona di-ay ikaw .

"Chdentleyoma esto Nako" , Chdentleyo
"Ningtubag ang kagaiw , Ningtubag
esto lindol eros "narella damo sa
ang leon nga lake." mahimo ako ka
leoncia ulos sutring nagin aise
leon cia apan luwasa ako aron
Jam moybrel kon-leonsa , delso
kang makakabayo ni leonsa , kay k

Lo ᜇᜒᜎᜓ᜔ c᜔ᜑᜋᜒᜀ Y.ᜊᜒ C
yo mismo sotinado laning kon
ᜇᜒ ᜇᜒᜎᜓ ᜎᜓᜆᜒᜋᜊᜓ ᜉᜇᜒ ᜇᜒ
ko nimo luwasan sana ni

ᜈᜒᜎᜓ᜔ᜑᜋᜒᜀ, ᜑᜒᜇᜒ Y᜔ᜒ ᜇᜒᜐᜒ ᜐᜓ᜔ᜐᜒ ᜐᜓ᜔ᜐᜒ." ᜇᜎᜓᜇᜒ
leona, tide sam maybrel." Deyong
ᜈᜒᜎᜓᜋᜒ, ᜑᜒᜈ᜔ᜒ ᜌ᜔ᜒ ᜇᜒᜎᜒᜉᜒᜋᜒᜎᜓᜐᜓ." ᜐᜓᜋᜒᜎᜒ
leona, dili ka makakabayo." Tubag

ᜎᜈ᜔ᜒᜐᜓ ᜐᜓᜌᜓ, "ᜑᜒᜈ᜔ᜒ ᜐᜓᜋᜒ ᜇᜒᜐᜒᜆᜒᜋᜒᜇᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ
esto Nuko, "hindi kos sama" Chendeyong
ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜌᜓᜐᜒᜀᜈ᜔, ᜐᜓᜋᜓᜌᜓᜐᜓᜋᜒᜈ᜔ ᜇᜒᜐᜒᜎᜓᜐᜓᜋᜒᜈ᜔
ang kagaw, unsaon man paglumas

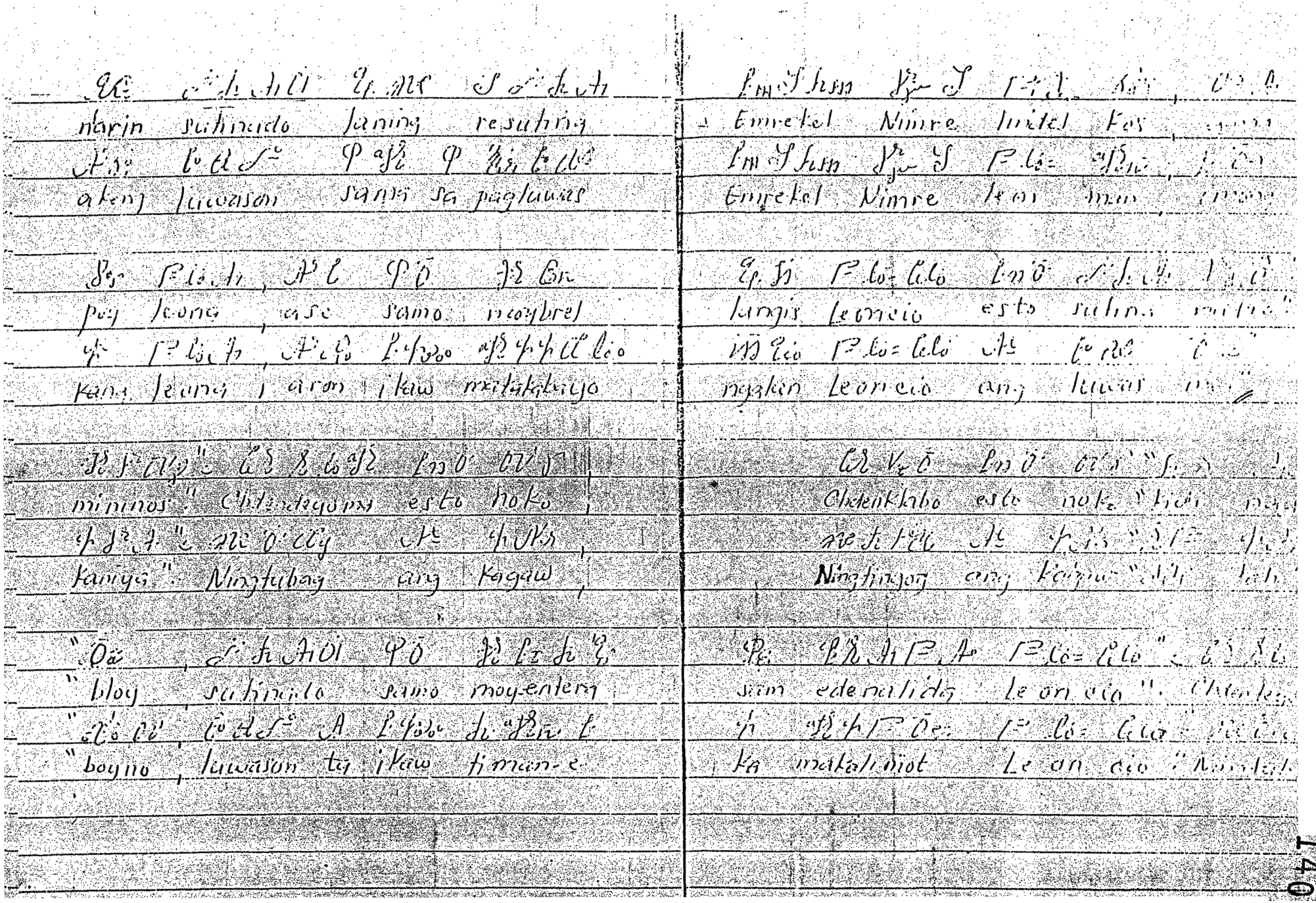
ᜇᜒᜐᜒᜆᜓᜀ ᜌᜒ ᜌᜓᜋᜓ ᜎᜒᜐᜓ ᜐᜓᜋᜒ?"
mistu re sama eros kos?"
ᜇᜒᜐᜒᜆᜓᜀ ᜋᜒᜈᜒ ᜎᜒᜌᜒᜋᜒᜎᜓᜐᜓᜋᜒᜈ᜔ ᜌᜒᜐᜒᜀᜈᜓ
mismo nga ilang laki man"

ᜎᜒᜈᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜎᜒᜎᜓᜐᜓᜋᜒᜈ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜓᜈᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ "ᜎᜒ ᜑᜒᜎᜓ=ᜌ
Chendeyong esto lendel "e leonsa
ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜇᜓᜎᜒᜌ᜔ ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜇᜓᜎᜒᜌ᜔ ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜇᜓᜎᜒᜌ᜔ ᜑᜒᜎᜓ= "ᜀ ᜑᜒᜎᜓ=ᜌ
Ningtuling ang leon "si leonsa

ᜐᜒᜆᜒᜑᜒᜎᜓᜈᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜐᜓᜋᜒᜈ᜔ᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜎᜒᜈᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜎᜒᜎᜓᜐᜓᜋᜒᜈ᜔
hame gona moysoting" Chendeyong
ᜑᜒᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜎᜒᜎᜓᜈᜒ (-) ᜎᜓ ᜀᜈᜒ" ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜇᜓᜎᜒᜌ᜔
bitaw limong gi luwas". Ningtuling

ᜎᜈ᜔ᜒᜐᜓ ᜐᜓᜌᜓ, "ᜑᜒᜈ᜔ᜒ ᜐᜓᜋᜒ ᜌᜓᜀ" ᜎᜒᜎᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ
esto nuko, "hindi kos sama" Chendeyong
ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜌᜓᜀᜈ᜔, "ᜑᜒᜎᜓᜐᜓ ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜎᜒᜐᜓᜆᜒᜈᜒ" ᜋᜒᜈᜒᜇᜓᜎᜒᜌ᜔
ang kagaw, "leon man ilang" Ningtuling

ᜎᜈ᜔ᜒᜐᜓ ᜑᜒᜆᜒ, ᜎᜒᜐᜓ "ᜇᜒᜐᜒᜆᜒᜈᜒ ᜆᜒᜋᜒᜈᜒ
esto lindel eros "Guna che-
ᜋᜒᜈᜒ ᜑᜒᜎᜓ= ᜁᜈ᜔ ᜌᜒᜐᜒᜆᜒ "ᜎᜒ ᜌᜒᜐᜒᜀᜈᜓ
ang leon nga laki "emo laqi



Sa sala si Felix at Leon

resulta pag Leon pati Lino

sa paglawas kang Leon, [illegible]

Ch[illegible] esto Noko, mas

me ocay ke [illegible], ya

Ningtabay ang kapew, [illegible]

[illegible] ang Ze [illegible] Sa [illegible] lin

may bre[illegible] kas nawin Chelendegoma [illegible]

[illegible] makatabaya na aka Ningtabay [illegible]

Fe[illegible]" Oe A, Suza sin Oe A

Linlo" goma, kinga kas gong

Felo" Le, Sin P [illegible] Le

Leon" emo, kinsa may [illegible]

"A, [illegible] Noko"

"A, [illegible]!

"A, malimat ang ako kapew"

Ch[illegible] esto Noko" bilay, ase

[illegible] Ke [illegible] "Oe, [illegible]

Ningtabay ang kapew" bayina, aron

Sa [illegible] sala Felo Leo, e

kadi nintro sa[illegible] Felo Leo, e

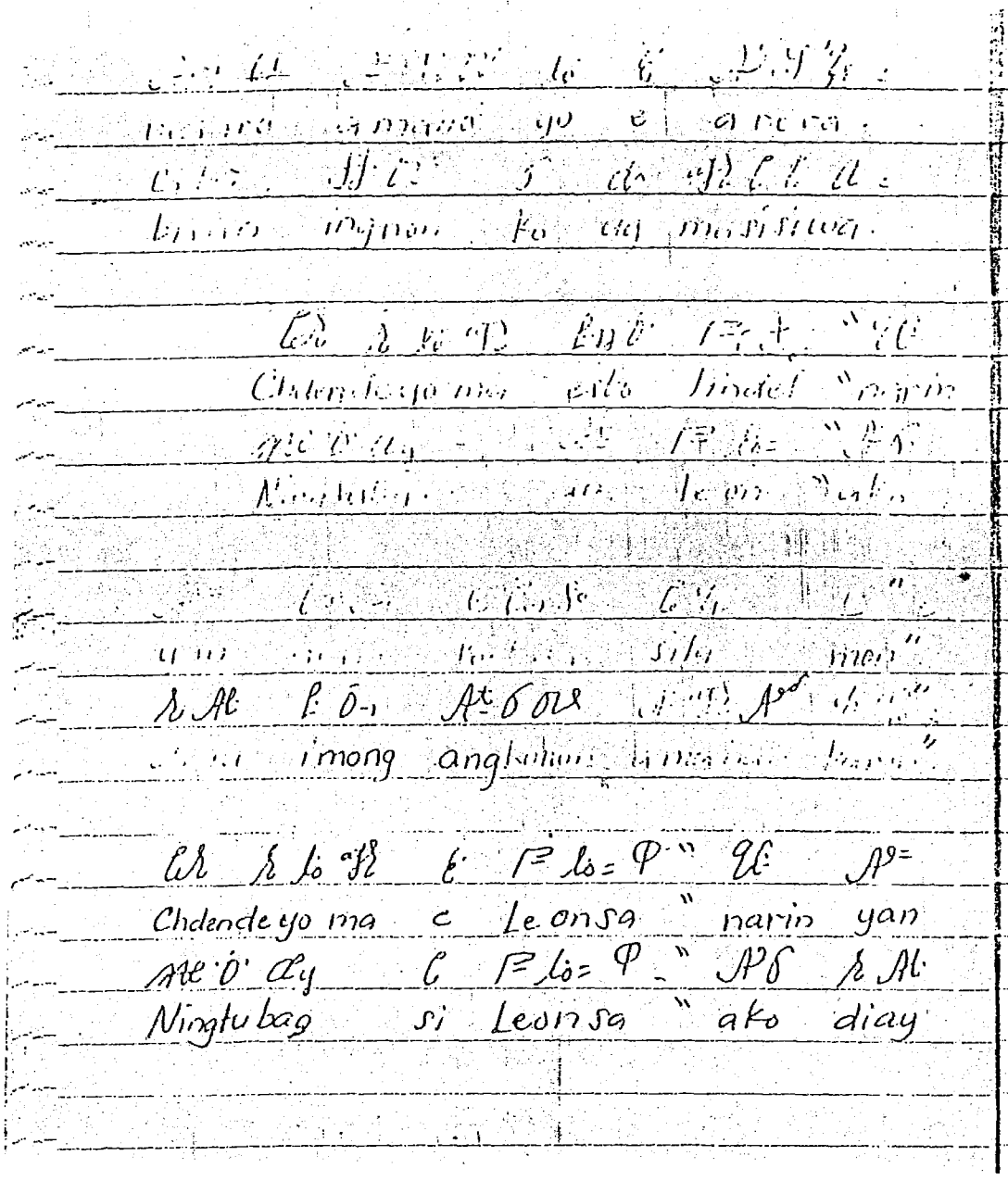
[illegible] ako sinabi kalimtan Leon eo si

Fe [illegible]" [illegible], Sa [illegible] Sa [illegible]

Lino sano" Ya, gregalo delso laning

Fe [illegible]" Ke, [illegible]

Lino ikaw" Na, masayo kay sang



Noko gona kontongpo nima mon".
Kagaw imong angkonon inahan karon".

deyoma esto Noko "rapo". Esto gor
tubag ang kagaw "Oo". Ang imon

langis Noko regane. Kidi Noko na
ingalan kagaw gihapon. Dili kagaw ak

ulos arera nistro! Deyoma es
apan masisiwa kamino. Tubag an

Linde." nado kos Noko nariʼlla
Leon." mano man kagaw ngo mahimo

kos arera poy Leona." Deyoma
mang masisiwa kang Leona." Tubag

e Noko." Kidi arera narin nistro,
si kagaw." dili masisiwa ako kanimo,

rera detso yarde kos narin
jwa kay anha man ako

moyborin ya gorna bolbing." Deyoma
mabuhi sa imong balhibo." Tubag

e Linde eros." nado kos esto damo
si Lion laki." ngano man ang akong

bolbing ensi kos gorna mellam." Kidi
balhibo mao may imong kan-on. Dili

narin moyllamon ya bolbing e Leonsa
ako moka-on sa balhibo ni Leonsa

detso ensil kas damo brilda c

kay mao may akong kabay-an ug

nariⅡa nima detso e ensil damo

himoong inahan kay ug maoy akong

mellam esto bolbing e Leonsa, krenol

kan-on ang balhibo ni Leonsa, walq

kos narin deltonton ya abiya e krop.

na akoy ehabol sq adlaw ug gabii.

Ase tlsim narin re lad redellan

Aron elhon ako nga anak kaninyo

re ensil narellq nima e Leonq

nga maoy mahimong inahan si Leonq.

Chdenklabo esto Noko, ase narin

Ningtingog ang kagaw, aron ako

moyguwadred re arera narin nistro

mamatuod nga masisiwq ako kanimo

re samo insel e Leoncio Lino

nga ikaw mao si Leoncio Lino

re esto gona bolbing ensel damo

nga ang imong balhibo maoy akong

mellam ya aga, agatakang, llamonkrop

Kan-on sa pamahaw, paniudto, panihapon

dinang ya gona salkop, ase esto

diha sa imong bukobuko, arom ang

em re-i-los hew, detso esto bolbing

muturok mubanos pino, kay ang balhibo

ay moy bahew kidi yo kos millamon

unyang mapino dili ko na kan-on

gino ya damo konyotinduwal

kutob sa akong paghimug so'

moy-cklabulto konleona Deyoma e

pagkatawo Leona. Tubag si

Linde Leona, "nado kos mayyotinduwal
Leon Leona, "ngano man mahimugso

sam ya eklabulto." Nado kos kidi
ka ug matawo". Ngano god dili

*

re samo kos damo rekonnima
nga i'kaw man akong gipaka-inahan;

mon Chdendegoma e linde Leona,
Karon Ningtubag si Leon Legona,

"OVS Ai Oi ōi", K lō afk t OVS,
"Noko nado kos", deyoma e Noko,
"ЧЛ.з iñ OV afkñ", ö ay C ЧЛ.з,
"Kagaw ngano man", tubag si Kagaw,

"L.Vt ö ö J ōi qi yz ö, O ty
"eklabulto rekos narin nistro, ulos
"Ai A OS Ai afkñ N S Чr ō, A.z
"nataw riaman ako kanimo, apan

ku OV ōi qi J qr yz ö
Kreno kos narin re lad nistro"
A q.o z N S L NAk Чr ō
wala pa ako e-anak kanimo"

" Ch K lō afk t Le Lō= Clō
Chdendegoma e linde Leoncio
Ne ö ay C Lō= Lō= Clō
Ningtubag si Leon Leoncio

tande yan Kos kano Noko gong
O= Φ ᘐ O=ᘏ ᓀ ᐱ ᓀ ᘎ ᔑ ᒪ Ö-)
unsa ba god kana' kagaw imong

Konresinglon . Ay, ya korkor kos
(-) ᒪ ᐁᐢᒥ ⸗ ᐱ· , ᔑ ᐊᘐ ᔑᘐ ᔑᐢ ᐱ ,
giingon . Ay, ug mahurot ng "

dellamon karko bolbing ya salkop
ᘐᔑ ᓀ O= ᓀ ᐱᐧ ᐃᘐ ᔑ Ö Φ ÖÖ Ö Ö
pagka-on kanang balhibo sa bukobuko

ᖴᓂ OV ᔑᐢ ᘐᘏ ᘐᘐ ᐱ O= ᐊᘐ O ᥣᒥ
wala na akoy kan-on mao nga

ᘐᘐ ᓀ ᐱᐧ ᔑᐢ ᘏᘐ ᐃ ᐱ ᐊᘐ ᓀ ᒪ O= Φ O= ᐊᘐᒥ ᐱ ᔑᘐ ᘐᔑ ᓀ ᐱ O= ᥣᒥ
miradas kos narin e lindel Leonsa .
ᒪ ᐱᐊᐢᒉ ᐱ ᐱᔑ ᔑᐧ ᘏ ᒪ= ᘏ ᒪ= Φ ⸗
e-anak ng ako ni leon Leonsa .

ᐱ Ol ᔑᐢ ᔑ ᒣ ᐃ ᔑᐢ Φ Ö ᘐᘐ-
Nado kos re kido kos samo moy-
ᐊᘐ OV ᐊᘐᒥ ᥣᒥ ᐃ ᘏ ᐊᘐᒥ ᒪ ᓀ ᥣ Ö -
Mano man nga dili man ikaw mo-

ᐱ O ᐱ · Ö Ö ᘐ ᒪ= Φ ⸗ ᐃ lo ᐊᘐ
llamon ya bolbing e Leonsa . Deyo ma
ᓀ O= Φ ᘐᔑ ᔑ Ö ᔑᐧ ᘏ= Φ ⸗ Ö · ᘐᔑ
kaon sa balhibo ni Leonsa . Tubag

ᔑᐧ ᔑᐢ Ö ᔑᐢ ᘐᘐ ᐱ O ᐱ ·
chdon kos tompoy moymillamon ya
O= Φ O= ᐊᘐᒥ ᐱ Ö ᔑ ᘐᔑ ᓀ O= ᥣᒥ
unsaon man nako pagkaon nga

achel kos damo nima c lad
siya may akong inahan ug anak

kos narin ay mininos Es to
na ako unya niya Ang

chdel kos kolleto damo llamon
iya na mang gatas akong kan-on

detso ya esto bolbing damo llamon
kay ug ang balhibo akong kan-on

kidi kos bechdem damo nima.
dili na ma-ila nakong inahan.

Beldeso Leoncio, resem sila yo
Busa Leoncio, sunga amahan ko

Mon esto gona bolbing damo
Karon ang imong balhibo millamon

detso eros sam kos moybechdem
kay lake ka man maila

re damo sam chdiom sila ay

ngg ako ka gayong amahan unyg

yg lome yg oy apong damo apinas

sg sulod sa usg ka tuig akong isilbe

yg rera nistro leonel Leona

sg iwg ni'mo leon Leona

Ya ponpan ngarong ngare

Sa ikanapulo ug upat ka bulan

iklabulto kos narin ya gona diglesusion.

nataw na ako sa imong sabakan.

Ya koy ngare e ponwal (15)

Sa ikatulo ka bulan ug dese-ucho (15)

abiya yal gona binibel moy yotindowal

deyas sa imong tiyan mahimugso

kos narin ya gona loskere

na ako sa imong higdaanan

nima yo chdiom samo remoy lad
inahan ko na gayod ikaw sa pag-anak //

nistro, tompoy. Deyoma e lindes
kanimo, kanako. Tu bag si leon,

Leona "tande kos sam Noko, esto
Leona "Unsa god ka kagaw, ang

gona kon kj-ay, re ki-ay yo detso
imong gisaad, gisaad ko kay

nima sam kos ya rera. Mon
inahan ka naman sa iwa. Karon

Noko moy-areda kos narin moybrel
kagaw molakaw na ako mukabayo'

sam yam e kidi yan, brelda kos
ka ba ug dili ba, mokabayo ba

samo detso narin agad kos. Deyoma
ikaw kay ako mo-adto na. Tubag

ya Noko, rapo mon agad kos
sa kagaw, Oo karon adto ng

arhitika Kolda arhetika moy entera
kita Puro kita magtima-an

ya chdiaro kon chdiomle binggawali
sa atong kasabutan labing

samo lindes detso sotiing sam ya
ikaw, leon kay giluwas ka ña sa

singlon kon Leoncio, gramdama arhitika
pagingon nga Leoncio, kauban kitang

koy entera kas mon. Chden ngare
tulo timan-an ta karon. Ning bulan

Maso oy (1) Chden kidame ya apon
Marso uno (1) Ning sulod sa tuig

narin mon, Arhitika mon koy fuk
ako karon, Kita karon tutulo sugo

arbitiko ya ente ya chdiaro ki-ay
ai a. d l Abs6 P A'Oi) PAs-
na ta ug itap sa atong saad

s qi E OV s 4Be P l Vt O O
re narin e Nsko Kaber 1 iklabulto
in Ns C 4Ar Aw Jk Pagg A Os
nga ako si Kagaw Abrel 1 mataw

t ls ti Oi Q os ej qi A.
e yotindual kos chdism narin ya
O agg s Ow j4 Ai Klo Ns P
o mahimug so na gayod sako sa

sos Q (Pg) A. pB O=, j s ts
ponwal (18) ya Hobe-on, supetel
s l O ed (Pg) P ss ls, (-) 4rs
dese-ocho (18 sa Hulyo, gikan

Cl s (?) Cl 4Be, sw OV os
chden oy (1) chden Kaber, Kreno kos
ae OV (?) ae Aw Jk, a q. Ai
ning. uno (1) ning Abril, wala ng

qi 7=5= A. 0eAi Pi 6 q. Os
narin dlel ya gong salkop lawom
Ns s l P l Ō-) Ō s ō s d agge
ako dinhi sa imong buko-buko ugma'

Cl 4 (?) A. 4Be 7 C ej
chden oy (1) ya Kaber moysechdism
ae OV (?) P Aw Jk ō Ō q.y
ning uno (1) sa Abril mubokag

os qi A. 0eAi Pi 6 ks j
kos narin ya gong salkop detso
Ai Ns P l Ō-) Ō s Ō s 4ri
na ako sa imong buko-buko kay

ᜃᜊᜒᜇ᜔ ᜋᜓᜌ᜔ ᜐᜈ᜔ ; ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔ ᜋᜓᜌ᜔
Kaber kos mon ; hondogloy kos
ᜀᜊᜒᜎ᜔ ᜌᜈ᜔ ᜀᜈ᜔ ᜄᜆᜒᜈ᜔ ᜃ ᜐᜓᜎᜓᜐ᜔ ; ᜀᜈᜓᜃ᜔ ᜃᜒ ᜐᜓᜄ᜔ ᜀᜈ᜔
Abrel naman karon ; nakakompos na

ᜃᜒ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜓᜅ᜔ᜐ ᜀᜈ᜔ ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔
nari ya gona kontrera tompoy.
ᜀᜐᜓ ᜑ ᜎᜒ ᜐᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜉᜄ᜔ᜎᜒᜏᜅ᜔ ᜃᜈᜀᜐᜓ
ako sa imong pag-iwan kanako

ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜓᜉ᜔ ᜀᜐᜓᜉ᜔ᜎᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜓᜅ᜔ᜐ ᜋᜓᜌᜒᜎᜀᜇ᜔
ya oy apong ya gona moyrelad
ᜑ ᜐᜓ ᜀᜐᜓᜉ᜔ᜎᜓᜅ᜔ ᜑ ᜎᜒ ᜐᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜉᜄ᜔ᜉᜀᜈᜓᜅᜀᜈᜀᜇ᜔
sa usa ka tuig sa imong pagpanganak

ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔ ᜐᜓᜎᜒᜐᜓ ᜋᜓᜌᜒᜎᜀᜇ᜔ ᜎᜓ ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔ ,
tompoy detso nimo yo samo ,
ᜃᜈᜀᜐᜓᜃ᜔ ᜃᜌᜒ ᜎᜀᜈᜀᜇ᜔ ᜀᜈ᜔ ᜎᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ,
kanako kay inahan ko ikaw ,

ᜃᜒᜐᜓ ᜎᜒᜃᜓᜎᜓᜉᜓᜎᜓᜅ᜔ ᜋᜓᜌᜒᜎᜀᜇ᜔ ᜎᜓ ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔
Sugod ning uno (1) ning Abrel

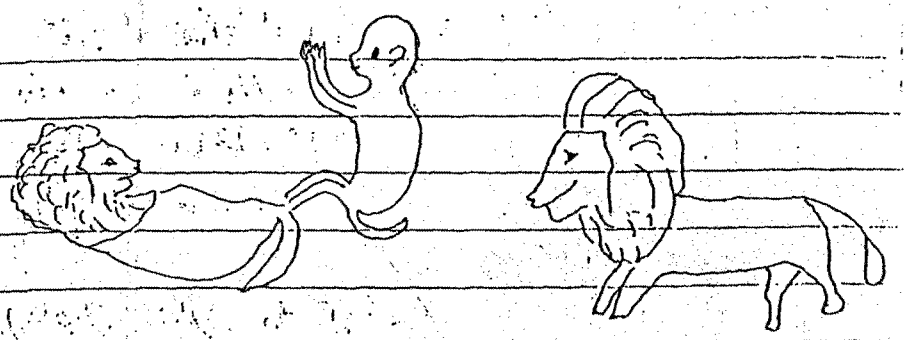
ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔ ᜎᜓ ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔ ᜋᜓᜌᜒᜎᜀᜇ᜔
nimo yo samo re guwardred
ᜎᜀᜈᜀᜇ᜔ ᜀᜈ᜔ ᜎᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜈᜀᜐᜓᜃ᜔ ᜃᜌᜒ ᜀᜈᜓᜃ᜔ ᜎᜒᜑᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜈᜀᜐᜓᜃ᜔
inahan ko na ikaw inga matuod

ᜐᜓᜎᜒᜐᜓ ᜎᜓᜏᜒᜇ᜔ ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔ ᜃᜒ ᜐᜓᜎᜒᜐᜓ ᜎᜓᜏᜒᜇ᜔ ᜑᜓᜈ᜔ᜇᜓᜄ᜔ᜎᜓᜌ᜔ ᜃᜒ
detso iklabulto kos chaiom nari re
ᜃᜌᜒ ᜀᜈᜀᜐᜓᜃ᜔ ᜃᜌᜒ ᜀᜈᜓᜃ᜔ ᜎᜒᜑᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜈᜀᜐᜓᜃ᜔
kay nataso man gayod ako inga

gong miradas supetel ya gong
imong i-anak gikan sa imong

binibel kidame ya koy
tiyan sulod sa tulo ka bulan

e ponwal (18) ya Hobe-on
ug dese-ocho (18) sa Hulyo



Hobe-on ponwal (18) supetel
Hulyo dese-ocho (18) gikan

ya oy apong ya moyrera yo
sa usa ka tuig sa pag-iwa ko nga

narin moy-eklabulto ya gong
ako magpakatawa sa imong

diglesesion, Hobe-on estalle narin
sabakan, Hulyo ani-a ako

Linde Leoncia supetel ya gong
Leon Leoncia gikan sa imong

binibel nima sam kos chdiom
tiyan inahan ka na gayong

gowadred tompoy. Detso relad kas
tinood kanako. Kay gi-anak na man

narin nistro Kidame ya oy apong
ako kanimo sulod sa usa ka tuig

e koy ngare e ponwal (18) abiya
ug tulo ka bukan ug dese-ocho (18) diyas

binil narin ya lome ya gong binibel.
didto ako sa ilalom sa imong tiyan.

Chden koy ngare e ponwal (18)
Ning tulo ka bulan ug dese-ocho (18)

ᜀᜊᜎ᜔ ᜀᜊᜒᜌᜎ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜉᜓᜅ᜔ ᜇᜒᜈᜅ᜔

abiya, Esto oy apong dinang

ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ

ka adlaw. Ang usa ka tuig diha

ᜈᜎᜒᜈ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜑᜓᜑᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜓᜐᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜉᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔

narin ya hondog ya gona asado

ᜀᜃᜓ ᜉᜄ᜔ ᜎᜒᜊᜀᜊᜏ᜔ ᜉᜄ᜔ ᜎᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜎᜀᜏᜐ᜔

ako sa ibabaw sa imong lawas

ᜀᜇᜋ᜔ ᜈᜎᜒᜈ᜔ ᜌᜓᜐᜅ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜓᜐᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜉᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔

dama narin nistro nasaro ayaya

ᜀᜊᜀᜃᜓ ᜀᜃᜓ ᜌᜓᜐᜅ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔

uban ako kanimo bisan asa

ᜀᜃᜓ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔

ako kanimo bisan asa

ᜑᜓᜋᜓ ᜀᜂᜐᜎᜀᜇᜓ ᜎᜒᜃᜎᜀᜊᜓᜎᜆᜓ ᜈᜎᜒᜈ᜔ ᜀ᜔

samo arida. Eklabulto narin ya

ᜎᜒᜆᜀᜏ᜔ ᜃᜓ ᜌᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜆᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜃᜓ ᜉᜄ᜔

ikaw lakaw. Nataro ako sa

ᜀᜓᜃᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜓᜃᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜓᜃᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜃᜓ ᜐᜄ᜔

ᜀᜓᜋᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜓᜋᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜓᜋᜀᜏᜏ᜔ ᜀᜃᜓ ᜐᜄ᜔

ugma lakaw. Nataro ako sa

ᜈᜒᜈᜀᜉᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜃᜓ ᜉᜄ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔

nimong lawas sa usa ka tuig ug tulo

ᜈᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜎᜀᜏᜐ᜔ ᜐᜄ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜅ᜔ ᜆᜓᜎᜓ

ᜈᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜎᜀᜏᜐ᜔ ᜐᜄ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜅ᜔ ᜆᜓᜎᜓ

nimong lawas sa usa ka tuig ug tulo

ᜈᜒᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜎᜀᜏᜐ᜔ ᜐᜄ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜅ᜔ ᜆᜓᜎᜓ

ᜀᜃᜓ ᜐᜓᜐᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜉᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜀᜌᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜃᜓ ᜉᜄ᜔

ako sa ibabaw sa imong lawas

ᜀᜃᜓ ᜐᜄ᜔ ᜀᜓᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜎᜀᜏᜐ᜔ ᜐᜄ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜅ᜔ ᜆᜓᜎᜓ

ako sa imong lawas sa usa ka tuig ug tulo

ᜀᜃᜓ ᜐᜄ᜔ ᜀᜓᜋᜓᜅ᜔ ᜎᜀᜏᜐ᜔ ᜐᜄ᜔ ᜀᜐᜇᜓ ᜃᜎᜓᜆᜎᜏ᜔ ᜀᜅ᜔ ᜆᜓᜎᜓ

Pi Lr Plo= CeA , Cx Qe Oe Sir Lnn O
lindes Leoncia , serlago kos esto
Plo= Plo= CeA , Ai O afn Ai At
leon Leoncia , naturan na ang

Eleu O Ch At Sr L Ve O O Sir Qc
chdiaro ki-ayne eklabulto kos narin
A O ( ) (-) Q A Lr Ai A Os Ai A
atong gisaaran nataws na ako ,

Sue OV Sir Qc , H Qr Ae Yr Zr O
Kreno kos narin miradas nistro
a Qo Ze A Sr L A Ai x Q Yr O
Wala pa ako i-anak kanimo

O J Sir , Mc , Pi Lr Plo= CeA
mon rekos , Ay , lindes Leoncia
Q Ro Ze Qo afn , Ai Ao , Plo= Plo= CeA
Karon pa lamang Nan , leon Leoncia

Ch Sl A Qc ,
langisya narin ,
Wn P A Sr ,
nganle ako .

Sri A Qo Sl Yr Zr O , Sux J
Kinya langis nistro , detso
Sri Pe Wn Qio O , Yri
Kinsay nganan mo , Kay

J Qo Sr Sir Qc Yr Zr O O ,
relad kos narin nistro mon
(-) A Ai x Ai afn A Sr Q Yr O Q Ro ,
gi-anak na man ako kanimo Karon

Cr Sl afn A Ch Be H Qo Ae E
Chdendeyomo ya tibel miradas e
Ae O Cy Q Cy Cr L A Ai x C
ningtubag sa bag-ong inanak si

linides Leoncio Lino, tande yo kos

leon Leoncio Lino, unsa ko may

sofina nistro re langis re kidi

i'luwas kanimo nga ngalan nga dili

sam kos labanay ya remoy linides

ka man liwat sa mga leon

labanay kos samo ya balencia,

liwat man ikaw sa balencia,

e gona ligtang ya gongo'. E

ug imong dagway sa amo', Si

Balincia gona langis niyaba sam ya

Balincia imong ngalan ikog ka sa

ggongo', Klabara sam ya gongo sutina

amo, dalonggan ka sa onggoy naluwas

kos samo, gongo' esto gona langi

ka ikaw, Unggoy ang imong ngala

Deyoma e Gongo' esto langis yo,
Tubag si Unggoy ang ngalan ko,

re tindo kos narin Deyoma e
nga babaye man ako Tubag si

lindel Leoncio Gongo' chdiom detso
leon Leoncio Unggoy gayod kay

e amano sam e Balincio kidi
ug ingnon ko ug Balincio dili

sam kos eros, tindo kos, Chdiom
ka man lake, babaye man. Ning

deyoma esto Gongo' sutinahon narin
tubag ang Unggoy louwasa ako

laning ya damo konsuting ya langis
sama sa akong pagluwas sa ngalan

nistro. Chdendeyoma e lindel Leoncio
nimo. Ningtubag si leon Leoncio

rapo e Balencia ya pinal langis
00 C. Ca Pi CA. P Ha Ha O'r iñ qio
0.0 si Balencia sa premirong ngalan

A. ter e O'Hre OEi J So F
ya ter e Orang-utang repower
P L'p Oi A C O'Hre OEi As-A Ae
sa ikaduha si Orang-utang dangga-an

A. Oe Vr c Sr Ae Ha A. ter iñ J
ya Gorgo' Kidaime ya ter ngare
da La Oer c Ji Eo P OiA p Ō qio
ug Unggoy Sulod sa duha ka bulan

Ha Sue Soo ōi Qi Vzr Ō' Jr aff
maykreyom kos narin nistro nima-
Ō Eo Ax A1 A5 p Jr Ō L A A
mulotas na ako kanimo 'nahan

Pi Jr Plo A Sx ó C ej ōi Qi
linde' Leona detso sechdism kos narin
Plo= Plo A p1 Ō Ō Q.y A1 A5
leon Leona Kay mobulag na ako

A. A J A. A. Lr ti: R SVi Ō A. R A1
ya areda ya entindemento ya dinang
P Zi Q. p Oo P lo Ā P R A1
sa paglakaw sa yuta sa diha'

ōi Qi Yzr Ō' OV ō Lno Q. Si L
kos narin nistro Noko esto langis y
Z A5 p Jr Ō p N.y Ae iñ qio ó
pa ako kanimo kagaw ang ngalan ko

A. Oe A P: ōn c R lo aff E Pi Jr
ya gona salkop Oeyama e linde'
P L Ō-1 Ōō Ō ō c Ō Ay C Plo=
sa imong buksbuko. Tubag si Leon

Leona, rapo ulos eklabulto sam/
Leona, oo apan nagpakatawo ka

tompoy ya damo binibel ligtang
kanakó sa akong tiyan, hitsura

samo ya remoy balencia relangis
ikaw sa mga balencia ag ginganlan

Sam mon Urang-utang Gongo' ensil
ka karon Urang-utang Onggoy, maoy

gona konsechdom tompoy ya aredi
imong ibulag kanakó sa lakaw

ya samnat. Deyoma e Gongo' Orang
sa yutá. Tubag si Onggoy Orang

utang, detso agad narin ya rekard
utang, kay are na akó sa ita-a

ya murol detso basaykila kos esto
sa kahoy kay nagkala-in-lain man ang

chdiaro hamlay . Samo moy-areda . ya
atong klase . Ikaw mag lakaw . sa

samnat , narin moy-areda . ya muroldé ,
yuta , ako mag lakaw sa kakahoyan ,

detso gona deletongpo ya remay lindel
kay imo mang naangkon sa mga leon ,

samnat re-areda , detso kidi re-grat
yuta lakwan , kay dili makasaka

ya muroldé . Deyo ma e lindel Leoncia
sa kahoy . Tubag si leon Leoncia

Nako damo sam kon-arera e damo
Kagaw ako kang gimasesewa ug ako'

sam konlad , refer yo nistro ,
kang gi-anak , kaduha ko nimo ,

nima , pinal ya Noko samo .
inahana , premero sa Kagaw ikaw .

Ter mon Orang-utang Gongo' gowndred
Ikaduha karon Orang-utang Onggoy tinood

chdiom kano re samoa moy-aredo
gayod kanà nga ikaw magalakaw

ya kardo murol e manarag sag sam
sa taas tahoy ug mamahit ka

dellamon ya samrat. Ensil gona aredo
kan-unon sa yuta. Muray imong ilakaw

ya estar ya samrat, dorte sam
sa mubo' so yuta', human kag

millamon moygrat sam beling ya murol
pamahit mosaka kag balik sa kahoy

detso ensil kos gona kontongpo ya
kay mao may imong naang kon nga

rebowal mon. Belulo esto ngare r
serbesyo karon. Husto na ang bukan nga

damo konkreyom nima moyredyo
akong pagalutasan inahan magahandom

yo erquiyo detso ter sam nima
ko kanunay kay ikaduha kan inahan

tumpoy detso narin, delpinal sila
nako' kay ako, premerong amahan,

E Paypaypling mon nima
Si Alibangbang karon inahan

lo lindol Leonsa moypan sam nima
ko leon Leonsa ikaupat kang inahan

tumpoy detso ter yo nistro
nako kay kaduha ko ninio

moy lad, pinal arera ya Nok
i-anak, premero masisiwa sa kaygan

kos narin, Esto hopo ya gona
pa ako Nagtongtong sa imona

Pi sal kop — A. ter ya — C Q. sil q — lo yo — P O samo

O O bukobuko — L ka duhang C A ika — A ag amahan — A ko — O ko — L w ikaw

P i d. linded — P lo = C lo Leoncio — x r o Detso — B O O berowe

P lo = P lo = C lo Leon Leoncio — x r Kay — A O s nabuhi

Q C narin — A. O a A ya — O B guma — L n O bolbing — A. z esto — yapan

A ako — P sa — L O imong — C z balhibo — A t ang — L k C z ikaupat

lo yo — A k nima — A. O ya — L V e damo — O O iklabulto — x r ensil

i kong — L A p inahan — P sa — A akong — z r k A O s pagkatawo — ag mao — 0

A. ter yater — lo yo — Q. l lad — n r z nistro — O . — A. ya

L k O i ikaduha — A n kong — O panganak — z i n A kanimo — k r O . — P sa

S A n pinal — Q. l lad — r z nistro — O tampoy — O n s ya

P z premerong — r n A anak — r O nimo — k A o kanak — P sa

re-apera e lindol Leona. Esto

pagkamasisiwa si leon Leona. Ang

laingis nistro nima yo, sila yo.

ngalan mo inahan ko, amahan ko

mon kayra moysechdiom kos arhetika

karong orasa magabulag na kita

detso narin moygrat kos ya murol

kay ako mosaka na sa kahoy.

detso lekreyom rekos narin ya

kay nalutas naman ako sa

gona kolleto moyllamon kos nari

imong gatas magkaon na ako

ya ngadiyo ya murol. Rapo, deyo

sa bunga sa kahoy. Oo, tuaca

e lindel Leoncia samo kas es

si leon Leoncia, ikaw na a

manarag sag ya gona dellamon samo
mangita' sa imong kalan-on ikaw

kos ebaro ya edelleberwe
nay maantigo sa panginabuhi'

bersos . Cidendeyoma e lindes
patigayon . Ningtubag sí leon

Leoncia , rapo Orang-utan detso
Leoncia , Oo Orang-utang Kay

lekreyom rekos samo mon . Sam
malutas naman ikaw karon . Ikaw

ibaro ya gona dellamon esto
maantigo sa imong kaon a

damo kolleto re dellamon nistro
atong gatas nga naka-on mo

bore ya llamon re makam , ng
sompa' sa makaon nga makahilo , bu

ya murot, es talle murol Orang-utang

Sa kahoy; adunay kahoy Orang-utang

Gonga re kidi makam nistro,

Onggay nga dili makahilo kanimo,

Kidi kos millamon nistro, Deyoma

dili pod makaon kanimo. Tubag

e Gonga' Orang-utang nadto kas

si Onggay Orang-utang ngano man

Kano nima yo re kidi millamon

kana' inahan ko; nga dili makaon

tompay re kidi kos makam?

kanako' nga dili man makahilo?

Es to makam yoga chdim millamon tom

Ang makahilo hinoon makaon nak

Deyoma e lindol Leoncia Orang-uta

Tubag si leon Leoncia Ora

Gongo, kidi sam dellamon detso
Onggoy, dili ka mitatam kay

beyor, esto ahdemtic kos iyotro esto
malayo, ang baho ra tamimis ang

makam, beyor kos, yamis, kam
makahilo, lanto pa, as.lom, akpa

ahdiamis kos ese gong yaminas
pait pa kaayo imong semhoton

ensil kidi moyllamon detso makam
may dili makaom kay mabil;

dii kos esto gong Chdiomenfor Pwerma
man ang imong ilong Tuba;

e Gongo Orang-utang, narin kos
si Onggoy Orang-utang, ako nau

ebaro nima yo ya enchitem
maamigo - inahan ko sa pag

ya damo- lebero we, defso esto
Sa abang panginabuhi, kay ang

sekwis goma kan ki-ay kolda krerante
tanan mong saad poro tinga la

kano tompai serlago esto salwere
kani nako maturman ang tanaman

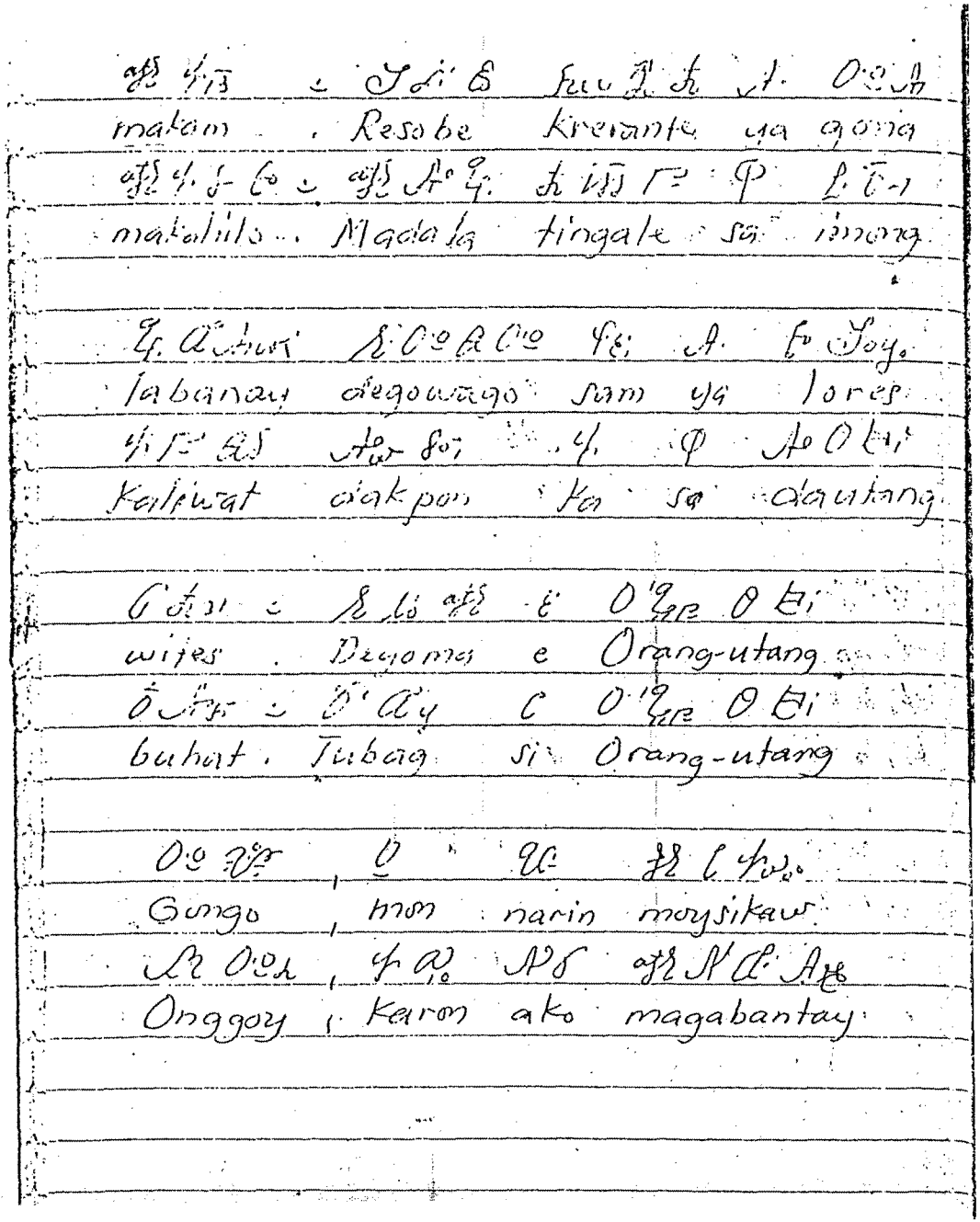
ya dumi dellamon go alakan
Sa uban makaon ko kawatan

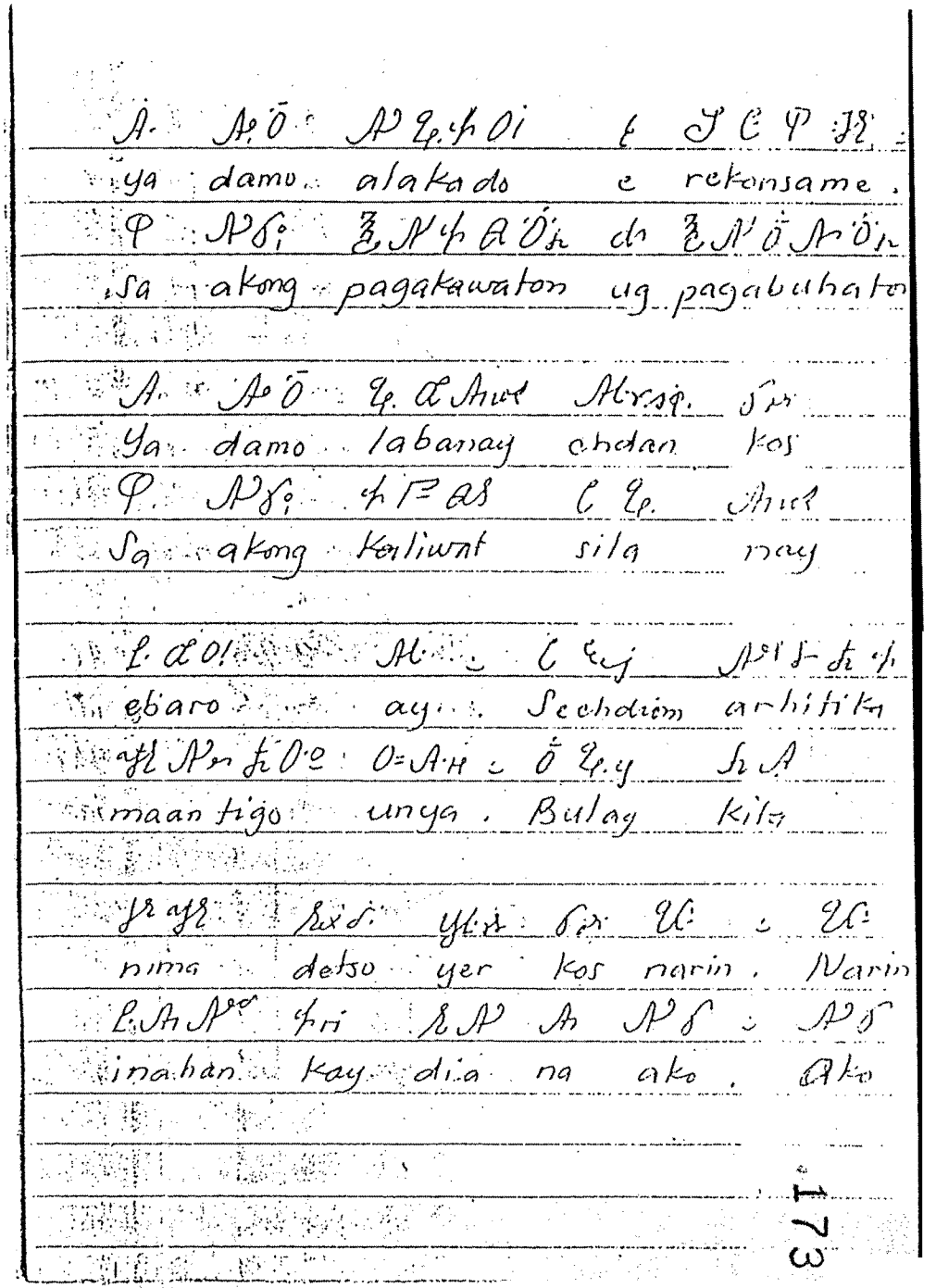
Deyoma e linael Leona, kreming
Tubag si leon Leona, tinawa

serlago kano esto goma setonderas
matuman kana ang imong gisulte

tompoj, dellam ya dam dellamon,
kanako, kan-unon sa uban makaon,

alakado eindom mistro delso kiti
makwat gaygod nimo kan ti




ya damo alakado e rekonsame.
sa akong pagakawaton ug pagabuhato
Ya damo labanay chotan kos
Sa akong kaliwat sila may
ebiaro ay. Sechdiom arhitika
maan tigo unya. Bulay kita
nima detso yer kos narin. Narin
inahan kay dia na ako. Ako

semsate maylay redellan ya samnat
molantaw modungo' kaninyo sa yuta',

Chdikto dolkodelpos tompoy e wistoseni
kamo mohangad kanako' ug motan-aw. *

ya karde murol. Rapo Gongo' saimyal
sa taas kahoy: Oo Onggoy salamat

nistro. Orang-utang Gongo' arem
kanimo. Orang-utang Onggoy masisiwa

miradas ya lindel, sim(g) apon
inanak sa leon, noybe(g) ka turig

esto apolore, Konlad kos estu
ang panu-igon, nanganak na ang

Gongo' Orang-utang, supetel labanay
Onggoy Orang-utang, gikan nagpamelya

ya paypaypling. Esto Gongo maylad
sa alibangbang. Ang Onggoy nanganak

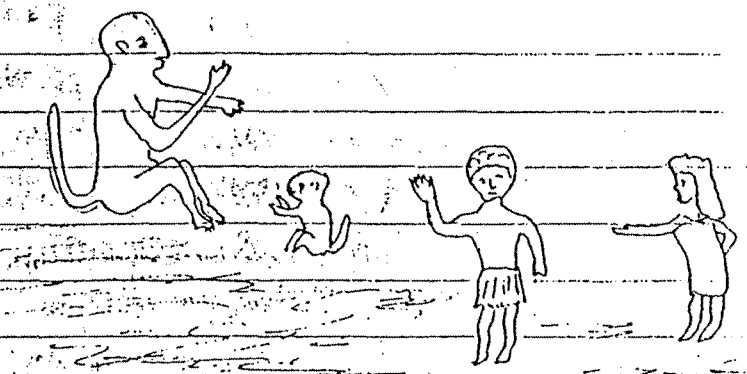
ug tulo (3) sa idad ug noybe (9)

a pong supeter relad ya linde
ka tuig gikan gi-anak sa leon

Esto chdel lad oy (1) Gongo'
Ang iyang anak usa (1) ka amobg

eros | oy eros bolto e oy linde
laki | usa lalaking tawo ug usa ka babaye

re bulto.
nga tawo.



Labanay Tumaw supeter
Pamella Tumaw gikan

Kon lad ya linde pon-oy (11) apong
gianak sa leon onse (11) ka tuig.

ᒪᑎᐤ ᕿᔨᖅ ᐱ. ᐅᓂᒃᑲᓐ, ᒪᑎᐤ ᕿᓐᔦ
Esto lad ya Gongo', esto langis
ᐊᓗ (-)ᐱᐧᐦᒃ ᕈ ᐱᐤᐧ ; ᐊᓗ ᐃᒪ ᕿᓂ
Ang gi-anak sa amo' ; ang ngalan

ᒪᐱᒉ, ᒪᑎᐤ ᖃᑦᓴ ᒉ ᔦᐱᒉ ; ᒪᑎᐤ
Edam, esto tinde e Hidam. Esto
ᒪᐱᒉ, ᐊᓗ ᐋᐋᔪᓗ ᑕ ᔦᐱᒉ ; ᐊᓗ
Edam, ang babaye si Hedam. Ang

ᐅᓂᒃᑲᓐ ᔨ ᕿᔨᖅ ᒉ ᔭᓄ (7), ᖃᓐ ᑐᐤ
Gongo' reiad e koy (3), ter bulto
ᐱᐤᐧ ᐱᑲᒪᐱᒃ ᐁ ᐤᐧ ᒪ (7), ᐐᐱ ᐱᐦ ᐃᐅᔪ
Amo' nanganak ug fulo (3), duha tawo

ᒉ ᔪᓗ ᐅᓂᒃᑲᓐ ; ᒪᑎᐤ ᑐᐤ ᒪᔨ
e oy Gongo', Esto bulto eros
ᐁ ᐅᕈ ᓀ ᐱᐤᐧ ; ᐊᓗ ᐃᐅᔪ ᕿᓂ ᕿᓂ ᔭᓄ
ug usa ka amo'. Ang tawo lalake

ᒉ ᖃᑦᓴ ᒪᑎᐤ ᐁ ᒪᔨ ; ᒪᑎᐤ ᑐᐤ ᕿᓂᓐᔦ ᐁ
e tinde. Esto Gongo' eros, ug
ᐁ ᐋᐋᔪᓗ ; ᐊᓗ ᐱᐤᐧ ᕿᓂ ; ᐊᓗ
ug babaye. Ang amo' laki, Ang

ᕿᓂ ᐃᐧ ᑐᐤ ᔨ ᒪᔨ ᒉ ᐱᐧᐦᐱᒉ ;
langis ya bulto re eros e Adam.
ᐃᒪ ᕿᓂ ᕈ ᐃᐅᔨ ᐃᒪ ᕿᓂᓂᔭ ᑕ ᐱᐧᐦᐱᒉ ;
ngalan sa tawo nga lalake si Adam.

ᒪᑎᐤ ᖃᑦᓴ ᒉ ᒪᐱᒉ ; ᐃ. ᐱᔅᓀ ᒪᔨ
Esto tinde e Edam. Ya apolare
ᐊᓗ ᐋᐋᔪᓗ ᑕ ᒪᐱᒉ ; ᕈ ᒪᔅᓂ
Ang babaye si Edam. Sa edad

ᔅᐟ ᖃᑦᓴ (ᕿᔭ) ᐱᔅᓀ ᔨ ᕿᓂᓐ ᑲᓐ ᐊᓂᓐ
pontre (12) apong reiad kos adan
ᐅᐟ ᑕ (ᕿᔭ) ᓀ ᐤᐧ ᒪᓂ ᐃᐦᐃᒃ ᐃᐦ ᒪ ᕿᓂ
dose (12) ka tuig nanganak na sila

ᜉᜒᜈᜎ ᜎᜊᜋᜓᜐ ᜎᜒᜌᜓᜐ , ᜒᜐᜆᜓ ᜎᜈᜒᜄᜐ

Pinal lad eros , esto langis

ᜉᜓᜋᜒᜋᜂᜌᜓᜅ᜔ ᜀᜈᜃ᜔ ᜎᜊᜎᜃᜒ , ᜀᜆ᜔ ᜁᜈ᜔ ᜎᜒᜄᜂᜐ

Premerong anak lalake , ang ngalan

ᜒᜆᜓᜇᜒ , ᜀᜇᜎ ᜎᜒᜌᜓᜐ ᜆᜒᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜊᜀᜌᜌᜒᜎ ᜉ

e Ode , gad lad tinde ya

ᜎᜓᜇᜒ , ᜎᜒᜆᜓᜎᜒ ᜀᜈᜃ᜔ ᜊᜀᜌᜌᜒᜎ ᜉ

si Ode , sunod anak babaye , Sa

ᜀᜉᜓᜎᜓᜇᜒ᜵ᜌ ᜆᜒ (᜘) ᜀᜉᜓᜏᜒ ᜃᜒᜎ ᜀᜇᜌ᜔ ,

apolore wal (8) apong chdinbahew ,

ᜒᜇᜆᜒ ᜆᜓᜁᜒᜐ᜔ (᜘) ᜀᜋᜓᜐ᜔ ᜋᜁᜅᜃᜌᜒᜏ ,

edad Ocho (8) años ningkagew ,

ᜃᜒᜎ ᜎᜁᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ ᜎᜓᜉᜒ ᜒᜆᜒ ᜐᜒᜈᜒᜃᜒᜆᜒᜋ ᜌ

chdinsechdim ya sila e nima

ᜋᜁᜅᜓᜉᜓᜎᜃ᜔ ᜉ ᜀᜋᜓᜉᜀᜆᜒᜀᜋᜓᜅ ᜆᜒᜎᜈᜒᜋᜀ ᜌ

ningbulag sa amahan ug inahan

ᜎᜓᜈᜒ ᜎᜒᜌᜓᜐ ᜎᜒᜏᜓᜎᜒᜏᜓᜅ᜔ ᜁᜈᜒᜃᜒᜆᜒᜋ ᜌ

ᜎᜓᜈᜒ ᜎᜒᜌᜓᜐ ᜎᜒᜏᜓᜎᜒᜏᜓᜅ᜔ ᜁᜈᜒᜃᜒᜆᜒᜋ ᜌ

Ino ya Esto langis Lebunan , gad re lad

ᜀᜆᜓ ᜁᜈᜓ ᜎᜓᜇᜒ , ᜀᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜆᜒᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜊᜀᜌᜌᜒᜎ ᜉ

At ino ya Lebunan , sunod nya anak

ᜀᜆ᜔ ᜁᜈᜓ ᜉ ᜎᜓᜉᜒ ᜒᜆᜒ ᜐᜒᜈᜒᜃᜒᜆᜒᜋ ᜌ

Ang ngalan Lebunan , sunod nya anak

ᜀᜈᜒᜄᜂᜐ ᜎᜒᜌᜓᜐ ᜎᜓᜉᜒ ᜒᜆᜒ ᜐᜒᜈᜒᜃᜒᜆᜒᜋ ᜌ

ᜆᜒᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜐᜓᜈᜓᜇ᜔ ᜌ ᜎᜓᜈᜒᜓ ᜉ ᜎᜒᜌᜓᜐ ᜒᜆᜒ ᜀᜇᜓᜋ

tinde regane , Esto langis e Odem

ᜀᜀᜌᜒᜎ (-)ᜀᜉᜓᜐ᜔ ᜀᜆ᜔ ᜁᜈᜓ ᜉ ᜎᜓᜉᜒᜓ ᜌ

babaye gihapon . Ang ngalan si Odem

ᜃᜒᜎ ᜀᜇᜌ᜔ ᜐᜓᜈᜓᜇ᜔ ᜆᜒᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜐᜒᜈᜒᜃᜒᜆᜒᜋ ᜌ

ᜃᜒᜎ ᜀᜇᜌ᜔ ᜐᜓᜈᜓᜇ᜔ ᜆᜒᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜐᜒᜈᜒᜃᜒᜆᜒᜋ ᜌ

chdinbahew kos . 1) Lebunan tinde

ᜋᜁᜅᜓᜉᜓᜎᜃ᜔ ᜉ ᜎᜓᜉᜒᜓ ᜌ ᜆᜒᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜀᜀᜌᜒᜎ

ningkagew usab . 1) Lebunan babaye

ᜋᜁᜅᜓᜉᜓᜎᜃ᜔ ᜉ ᜎᜓᜉᜒᜓ ᜌ ᜆᜒᜇᜒᜎᜒ ᜀᜀᜌᜒᜎ

3) Ora A. tinde 7) Oni Le

2) Odya tinde 3) Odem eros

3) Ora A. babaye 7) Oni Lo

2) Odya babaye 3 Odem lalake

F) Ode Lalay

4) Ode eras

F) Ode Lalake

4) Ode lalake

Ensel ohiden remoy saklay

Mao ning mga batua

sechdiony ya sila Subello chdan

nahimulag sa amahan Natawag sila

resinglon labanay ya larap ya

pag-ingon pamella sa hawanan ug sa

Monsamnere

tagyuta'

Wadred e Hodam e Edam esto

Matod ni Hodam ug Edam ang

ter kos yalad amina hado ya

duroha ra kaanak nahibelen sa

mollen e ya samnat . Chdan subello

kalibutan ug sa yuta' Silo tawgon

toylop labanay ya larap . Esto

kadto pamella sa hawanan . Ang

aminahado yachdiaro , labanay merekian

nahibelen kanato' , pamellang karaan

ya paypaypling detso esto chdiaro

sa alibangbang kay ang atong

konsupetel re sila paypaypling

kagikan nga amahan alibangbang

esto chdiaro nima re mereklan

ang atong inahan nga karaan

pen ya paypaypling kolda semre

letlog sa alibangbang puro kini

moybeg kon Ara . E moylad kos

gimbut-an ni Ara . Ug manganak pa

arhetika moydedos regane kon Ara

kita pagbuot gihapon ni Ara

ᜎᜒᜀᜌ᜔ ᜌᜒ ᜎᜀᜇᜋ᜔ ᜃᜒᜈᜌᜎ ᜃᜐ ᜐᜇᜋ᜔
Deyoma ye Edam kinya kos Odam

ᜐᜒᜀᜆᜄ᜔ ᜋᜒ ᜎᜀᜇᜋ᜔ ᜃᜒᜈᜐᜎ ᜋᜈ᜔ ᜐᜇᜋ᜔
Tubag si Edam kinsa man Odam

ᜃᜑᜈᜓ ᜌᜒ ᜀᜌᜓ ? ᜎᜒᜐᜎ ᜂᜐᜆᜓ ᜇᜒᜎᜇᜓᜏᜒᜆᜒᜐ
Karko ye Ara ? Ensil esto deldowites

ᜃᜀᜈᜀ ᜋᜒ ᜀᜌᜓ ? ᜋᜀᜓ ᜅᜄ ᜋᜅᜆᜓᜊᜓᜑᜀᜐ᜔
Kaná si Ara ? Mao ang magbubuhat

ᜀ᜔ ᜂᜎᜓᜐ᜔ ᜆᜓ ᜎᜒᜐ᜔ ᜐᜒ ᜈᜒᜈᜒᜐᜒ
ya chdiaro teksel re paypaypling

ᜉ ᜀᜆᜓᜅ᜔ ᜅᜒᜈᜒᜆᜀᜈᜀᜈᜄ᜔ ᜋᜒᜈ᜔ ᜀᜎᜒᜊᜀᜅᜊᜀᜅ᜔
sa atong ginitanan nga alibangbang

ᜒ᜔ ᜐᜒᜋᜒᜎᜓᜐ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜒᜂᜐᜓ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜒᜌᜓᜐ᜔
e rekonwites ya mollen yo rekar

ᜇᜒ ᜀᜈᜀᜈᜓᜏᜒᜆᜒᜐ᜔ ᜉ ᜑᜒᜎᜓᜆᜓᜒ ᜉ ᜎᜀᜊᜀᜅᜊᜀᜅ᜔
ug nagabuhat sa kalibutan sa itaas

ᜒ᜔ ᜉᜓᜑᜓᜇᜓ᜔ ᜒ᜔ ᜀᜋᜒ ᜊᜒᜆᜒᜈᜄ᜔ ᜉᜓᜑᜓᜇᜓ᜔
e honton . Nado bechdem sam ?

ᜇᜒ ᜎᜐᜓ᜔ ᜒ᜔ ᜋᜋ᜔ ᜐᜈᜄᜓᜅ᜔ ᜈᜀᜑᜀ᜔ᜎᜒᜎᜀ ᜑᜓ ?
ug ubos . Nganong naka-ela ka ?

ᜀᜌᜒᜐ᜔ ᜌᜀ ᜀᜎᜒᜐᜎᜀ ᜎᜒᜎᜓ ᜆᜓᜒᜐᜓᜎᜒᜆᜒᜐ᜔
Ayes ya labisla lelo . Pinal

ᜓ᜔ ᜓᜏᜓᜒ ᜉ ᜀᜉᜒ ᜀᜈᜄᜓ ᜐᜈᜄᜓᜅᜓ᜔ ᜐᜒᜈᜒᜐᜒᜎ ᜓ᜔ ᜃ
Tungod sa dakong damgo . Premero si

ᜀᜈᜀᜈᜓᜏᜒᜆᜒᜐ᜔ ᜆᜓ ᜎᜒᜐ᜔ ᜐᜒᜂᜐᜓ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜒᜌᜓᜐ᜔
Ara ensil delwetes ya chdiaro

ᜀᜈᜀᜈᜓᜏᜒᜆᜒᜐ᜔ ᜀᜐᜒᜎ᜔ ᜐᜓ ᜀᜋᜒ ᜐᜒᜋᜀᜓ ᜅᜄ ᜐᜒᜊᜒᜅᜊᜀᜅ᜔
Ara maoy nagbuhat sa atong

ᜃ᜔ ᜐᜒᜎᜀ ᜂᜐᜓ᜔ ᜒ᜔ ᜎᜒᜎᜓ᜔ ᜐᜒᜆᜒᜈᜄ᜔ ᜒ᜔ ᜎᜒᜐᜎ᜔
sila re paypaypling e ensil

ᜀᜈᜀᜉᜓᜑᜀᜈᜄ᜔ ᜅᜒᜈᜒᜆᜀᜈᜀᜈᜄ᜔ ᜋᜒᜈ᜔ ᜀᜎᜒᜊᜀᜅᜊᜀᜅ᜔ ᜇᜒ ᜀᜐᜒᜎ᜔
amahan nga alibangbang ug maoy

Kosnistral e makam ya chdiaro
agakensagral ug nagahilo sa atong

nima re pen ya paypaypling. Esto
inahan nga etlog sa alibangbang. Ang

damo lilo ensil esto yoberariyo
akong damgo mao ang gasaysay

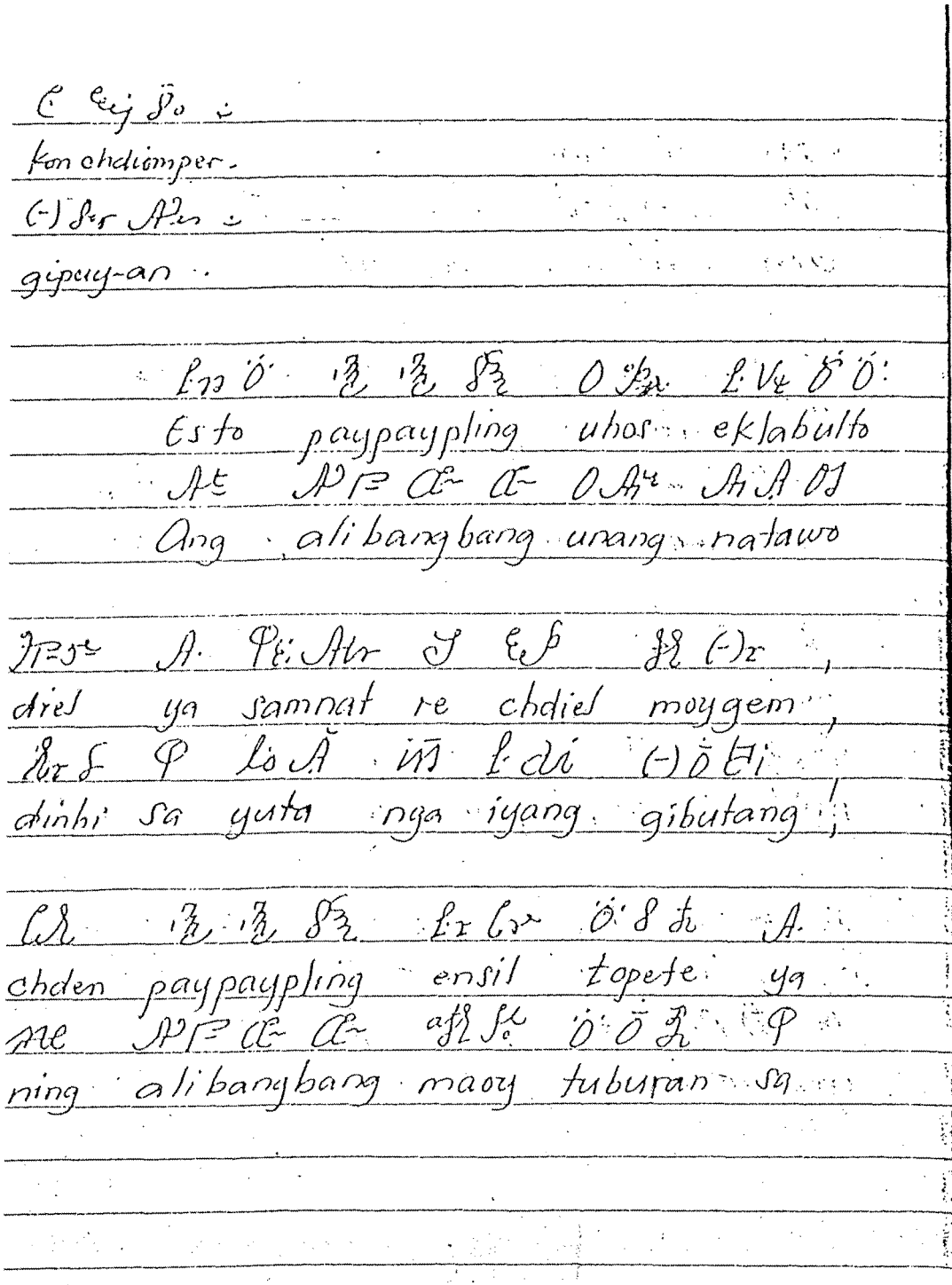
re esto pinal sila ensil
nga ang premerong amahan mao

esto singlom re paypaypling.
ang giingon nga alibangbang.

Gidungan sa pagbuhat ni Ama

sa kalibutan, ibabaw ug dinhi sa abos

ug mao ang yuta karon nga atong



kon chdiomper.

(-) Ser An ÷

gipuy-an.

Esto paypaypling uhos eklabulto

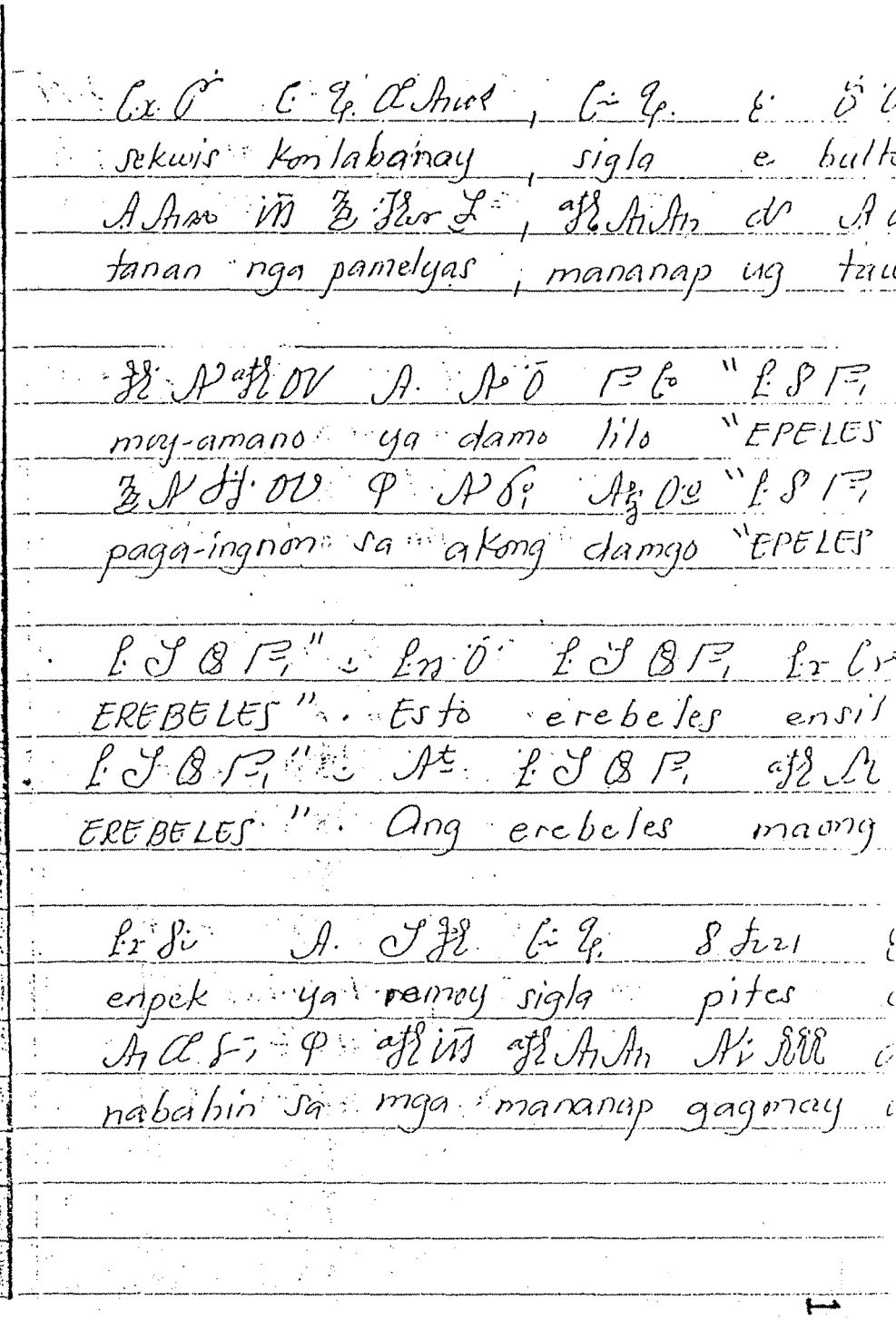
Ang alibanybang unang natawo

diel ya samnat re chdiel moygem,

dinhi sa yuta nga iyang gibutang;

chden paypaypling ensil topete ya

ning alibanybang maoy tuburan sa



sekwis konlabainay, sigla e bulto

tanan nga pamelyas, mananap ug tan

may-amano ya damo lilo "EPELES

paga-ingnon sa akong damgo "EPELES

EREBELES" ÷ Esto erebeles ensil

EREBELES" ÷ Ang erebeles maoy

enpek ya pamoy sigla pites

nabahin sa mga mananap gagmay

ᜊᜓᜎᜄ᜔ ᜀᜈᜋ᜔ ᜀᜇᜓᜎᜓ ᜀᜌᜒᜎᜒᜎ᜔ ᜀᜋᜒᜈᜄᜑᜇᜓ
bilag . Esto epeles ensil aminahado
ᜀᜆᜓᜎᜓᜄ᜔ ᜀᜈᜋ᜔ ᜀᜇᜓᜎᜓ ᜀᜌᜒᜎᜒᜎ᜔ ᜀᜋᜒᜈᜄᜑᜇᜓ
atulug . Ang epeles maong nahibelen

, A Ōś , Ās K A. A Ō Γ ł ÷
n gawas , wadred ya damo lelo .
N Ei , afl Ōx Φ A Ōi A3 O9 ÷
gatang , matod sa akong damgo .

3 śv (73) C Γ B O C Łr Cr
at tre (32) kon leberowe ensil
a Ylr Ar ÷5° (73) iñ Ō S A OV afl Śł
yen tag dos (32) nga buhi-anon maoy

Ej Śł Γ=5 A. Φ Ar J Bh C śv
chdiomper dies ya samnat re benwites
Ō łoo Łr S Φ ło A iñ B OV A5
amoyo' dinhi sa yuta nga binuhat

A Ł , E Łr Cr Fl C Ψ Oi A.
m Ara , e ensil moysikado ya
r A Ł , dn afl Śł afl N A Jr Ł Φ
Ara , ug maoy maga-areglar sa

Ās , A. hA Fl A. Bh C śv J Ō =la
war , ya kidame ya benwites re mallen
Ās , Φ ś łoo Φ B OV A5 iñ Ψ Γ Ō t
war , sa sulod sa binuhat nga Kalibuta

Γ Ak Y A. Φ Ar J a łł ło Ś
ligarnes ya samnat re sul-ego ka
Zir Γ Js Φ ło A iñ Śoi Oi Śoi Oi
paglibot sa yuta nga puwesk-puwesk

Lm Ō Ās J Ś łv ł B Ei h ÷ Ł A3
Esto war resing lon ebetaingke . Edam
Ak Ās (-) Ł Ōr A Ashe ÷ Ł A3
Ang war gi ingon dagat . Edam

Lm Ō Ś C A Yl Q śv
Esto chdiaro kon-ayes mon ter
Ak A Ōi Ψ Ō Ōr Ψ Qi Oi A Ψ
Ang atong katungod karon duha ka

1870

ᥴᥲᥒᥲᥡ , ᦅᥲᥒ ᥲᥣᦅᥱᦓᥱᥴᥲ , ᥲ ᥴᥲ
anay , pinal arhetika , ya ter
ᥲᥲᥣ , ᥘᥱᥒᥲᥡ ᥴᥲ ᥲ , ᥣᥱᦓᥣᥲᥡ ᥲ
Ilahan , premero Kita , ikaduha

ᥴᥲ ᥴ ᥘᥱᥒ ᥖ ᥴ ᥘᥱᥡ
ter kon lad re sechdion
ᥡᥲᥣᥲ ᥲ ᥣᥲ ᥲᥒᥲᥒᥱ ᥕᥱᥒ ᥲᥒᦅᥱᥒ ᥘᥱᥡ
duha ta ka anak nga nabimulag

ᥱᥣᥱᥕᥱ ᥲᥥᥱᥒ ᥲᥣᦅᥱᦓᥱᥴᥲ ᥱᥒ ᥲᥣᥱ ,
chdiaro dapame arhetika tumaw ,
ᥲᥣᥱᥒ ᥣᥲ ᥱᥒᥱ ᥴᥲ ᥱᥒ ᥲᥣᥱ ,
atong ka mot Kita tumaw ,

ᥱᥒ ᥴᥲ ᥖ ᥱᥣᥱᥕᥱ ᥘᥱᥒ ᥱᥒ ᥲᥣᥲ ᥴ
ter re chdiaro lad tu-aw ,
ᥣᥲᥣ ᥡᥲᥣᥲ ᥕᥱᥒ ᥲᥣᥱᥒ ᥲᥒᥲᥒᥱ ᥱᥒ ᥲᥣᥲ ᥴ
ikaduha nga atong anak tu-aw .

ᥘᥲ ᥴᥲᥒᥲᥡ ᥲ ᥲᥣᥥᥲᥒᥲᥣᥲᥡ ᥲ ᥘᥲᥣᥲᥒ
Labanay ya aminahado ya larap
ᥥᥣᥲ ᥣ ᥲ ᥣᥲᥒᥲᥣᥱᥒ ᥣᥲ ᥲᥒᥲᥣᥲᥕᥲᥒ
Pamilla sa nahabilin sa hawanan

1 ᥱ ᥱᥒᥱ 2 ᥣᥱᥕᥙᥒᥲᥒ 3 ᥱᥒᥡᥲ
1. Ode 2. Lebunan 3. Odya

4 ᥱᥣᥱᥒ
4. Odem

ᥱᥒᥱ ᥱ ᥱᥕᥲ ᥰᥣᥱ ᥣᥱᥒ ᥱᥒᥡᥲ
Ode e Odya oy logo esto
ᥱᥒᥱ ᥴᥲ ᥱᥕᥲ ᥱᥒᥱ ᥡᥱᥒ ᥲᥒᥱ
Ode ug Odya bugtong ang

ᥱᥒᥱᥕᥲᥒ ᥴᥲᥒᥲᥡ ᥣᥱᥒᥱᥕᥲᥒ ᥱᥒᥱᥕᥲᥒ
perseyan moy-ener . Ye Lebunan
ᥣᥲᥒᥱ ᥘᥱᥒᥱᥡ ᥣᥱᥒᥱᥕᥲᥒ
ilang pagkaminyo' . Si Lebunan

É O ẖī Sō É Oē ·Ḧ Sḧ₀₀ A. Q Pṯ· Sḧ J
= Odem oylo go miner ya monsamnere.
ᵗr O ẖī Ōo Ōi·ı Ḥi lōo Ꝑ A lō Ă ÷
ıg Odem bugtong minyo' sa tag-yuta'.

Ḧ C Ꞓj A. C Q. , Q·ṡṡ C
noysechdiom ya sila , Iad·÷ kon
A ṡ Ō Q·y Ꝑ Aᵛ ḧ Aᵛ , Aᵛ Ank· ṡḧ
ıahimulag sa amahan , anak ni

Aᵛ Aᵛ₃ É L Aᵛ₃ Lz Lv J C ·ẓ,
Adam e Edam ensil rekonpan
Aᵛ Aᵛ₃ dr L Aᵛ₃ ḧ Sō L·ϕ O Ẓ·
Adam ug Edam mayy ika-upat

Q·ṡ ÷ A ·ẖx , Mrsip. Lz Lv
lad · Ya ter , chdan ensil ·
Aᵛ Ank· ÷ Ꝑ L·ϕ Oi A· ; C Q· ḧ O
anak. Sa ikaduha , sila mao

Lm Ö Ḧ Sḧ₀₀ , Lz Ši A. Q. Sj A.
esto miner , enpek ya langis ya
Aṯ A Ṡ Ḥi lōo , Ꝺ ṡ÷ Ꝑ ıṀ Qıo Ꝑ
ang nagaminyo , bahin sa ngalan sa

Q Pṯ· Sḧ J ÷ L Aᵛ₃ Lz Lv ẖ F̄ lō
monsamnere . Edam ensil deliyo
A lō Ă ÷ L Aᵛ₃ ḧ Sō ·ϕ ·ẖ Ök· Aᵛ·
tag-yuta' ; Edam mayy kabibuk-an

A. Ö Ö Ö ḧ· , A. Q. CC Anı' Lz C
ya bulto tumaw , ya labanay ensi
Ꝑ A Ōıo Ö ḧ· , Ꝑ Ꞓ Ḧ A ḧ O
sa tawong tumaw , sa panilla mao

Ct J Ḧ B Ꞓ ıug Lm Ö Ꞓb J Ḧ
simre mayb e ahdem esto chidel remay
ẖ Ṡ ḧ L Q. Aṯ L·dı ḧ ıṀ
kini ma-ela ang iyang mga

lad sekwes kidame ya larap
anak, tanan sulod sa banwa

kon Odam e Edam ya persiyan
i Odam ug Edam nga i lang

klabulto re tomaw kon bolto ya samnat
tawhan nga tomaw nga tawo sa yuta

otbagani labanay ehdemre remay
aring pamila niining mga

bulto ya mate-mate kon Adam e Edam
tawo sa siyudad ni Adam ug Edam

Esto sotbagani labanay pen ya
Ang haring pamilya etloy sa

paypaypling, rekon-a mano ya uhos
alibangbang, paga-engnon sa unang

bedariyo paypaypling. Moybayer ya
pulong paypaypling. Pagpusa sa

Se A. ꞁ, ꞁ ꞩ ov o, l.n ö
oen ya paypaypling noko, esto
i- loy ꝑ AF=a- a- ꝺ A.s, At
tlog sa alibanglang kagaw; ang

Vo ꞩ AJ'ꝗ A. l=ꝗ. J P:ꝺ
noko may-arem ya sigla re lindel
ꝺ A.s (-) l a ꝑ ꞩ AnAm iñ F=lö=
kagaw gi iwa sa mananap nga lem

'C ös AJ':ꝗ, ꝺ A.ꞩ A. ꝺö (7)
alse kos arem, kidame ya oy (1)
ꞩ ꝺg An l.l.a, ö ö ꝑ o ꝑ (7)
apos na e-ewa, sulod sa usa (1)

Aꞩ ꝺo= A. AꝑOi A. P:ꝺ ov ö,
pung ya asado ya lindel kayto,
ö l.r. ꝑ ꝗ. ac ꝑ F=lö= An a ꝗ.,
tuig sa lawas sa lem nawala',

l.ꝑ(-) ov A. ꝺov ꝺ.Aꞩ ꞩ A. ꝺn
elgino ya maykoy kidame ya koy
o ös ꝑ ꞩ:ꝺ a ꝗ. ö:ꝺ ꝑ ö l
kutob sa pagkawala sulod sa tulo

iñ J ꝗ ꝺö; ꝺ AꝐA.
agare e ponwal abiya
ꝺ ö ꝗ:o dr An ꝺ ö:g dr a ö. ꝺ As ꝗ.n
ka bulan ug napulo ug walo ka adlaw

J. ꝗ.n A. ꝺ:ꝺ P:ꝺ.
relad ya tindo lindel.
(-) AnAx ꝑ a a ꝺ iñ F=lö=
gi-anak sa babaye nga lem.

ꞩ lö ꝺ:öi ꝺ Eꝺ ꞩ ꝗ Asv O.o=2n
Moyyotindowal ahdel miradas Gonga
ꞩ:ꝺ ꝺ ös- J' l.di l.An Aix. AꝐö
Pagkahi mugsó' iyang inanak amo

supetel moy lad ya lindel, esto
(-) gikan pag-anak sa leon, ang

gongo' kidamo ya oy apong, Chden-
amo' sulod sa usa ka tuig, ning-

sechdiom esto gongo' ya lindel. Kidamo
bulag ang amo' sa leon, Sulod

kos ya oy apong ya chedel
pod sa usa ka tuig sa iyang

moysechdiom esto gongo' moylad e
pagbulag ang amo' nanganak u

koy. Esto oy, gongo' eros, e
tulo. Ang usa, amo' lake, a

ter bolto tinde e eros. E
duro ha tawo babayo ug lalaki. N

simio yo Adam e Edam. Supet
Kini si Adam ug Edam. Gikan

imre pen ya paypaypling,
i Jr Lr Ly Φ -- APF Æ Æ,
ini etlog sa alibangbang,

g lò ti: Öl Ø Sl ti: OV ō : A.
y yo tinduwal oy teb noko. Ya
i Y J- Öw Ly OP Y Ö Θ Y Ar : Φ
gkahimugsó' usa ka book kagaw. Sa

(APSoc Lm Ö' Jr Ee Ö' A. afr tr afr tr
apong esto moychduto ya mate-mate
Φ Y Ö' Lr. At Zi So lò. Φ C lò Æ
a ka tuig ang pagpuyó' sa siyudad

1 Z Z Sz Q. Y oZ : Ox Ö× A.
paypaypling Lakapan : Bentod ya
APF Æ Æ Q. Y oZ : Lò Ls Φ
alibangbang Lakapan. Lungsod sa

Z Z Sz Z ſ A. Y AAr : Lm Ö
paypaypling tetso ya Kanaan. Esto
APF Æ Æ Ö Sis Φ Y AAr : At
alibangbang bukid sa Kanaan. Ang

OV ō Cr APSo lo J. ōr Al Ls A.
noko chdin-apolore kos atsel ya
Y Ar Ae L Æ At C A. Φ
kagaw ning-edad na siya sa

Sl APSoc A. afr tr afr tr Q. Y oZ,
oy apong ya mate-mate Lakapan
OP Y Ö Lr. Φ C lò Æ Q. Y oZ,
usa ka tuig sa siyudad Lakapan,

Y AAr : Lm Ö OV ō Cr APJA
Kanaan. Esto noko chdin-areda
Y AAr : At Y Ar Ae Q. Y oZ
Kanaan. Ang kagaw ning lakaw

Y A. Z ś A. C Anol, Pe Aus
re ya tetso ya Sinay, samnat
Vor Φ Ošis Φ C Anol, lo Ă
gon sa bukid sa Sinay, yuta'

H A. C Anol Y Q. Ši &
me ya Sinay relangis kung
o Φ C Anol (-) ĩn Qio xing
d sa Sinay ginganlan nga

Ō APA·y Qe= : AP Cr Zo Ee Ö
amo Atyabras. Atses delchdito
e Ax. APA·y Qe= : C A. Aĩ So lio
ntas. Atyabras. Siya nagpuyo

Z ś A. SF lo A. C Anol :
tetso ya delego ya Sinay.
Ošis Φ AFQ Qio Φ C Anol :
bukid sa taliwala sa Sinay

B Sr= H Ee Ö A. Ō O'1 Y F
Benil moychdito ya murol re lited
So Ö Aĩ So lio Φ h Fc ĩn F
Didto nagpuyo' sa kahay nga lited

AP So C Y E So AP Soe A. Es
Apoloro e oy apong ya chdel
L Ae d' OΦ h Ö L Φ L di
Edad ug usa ka tuig sa iyan

H Ee Ö B Sr=, AP Eey Zo Je Ši
moychdito benil Achel del tikay
Zis So lio So Ö. C A. S-AP(-) L
pagpuyo didto, Siya hi-age-e

A F Zo Y AY'Q H Sr Mg :
ya lindes re arera menos.
Φ Flo= ĩn Aĩ L A h Sr A. :
sa leon nga nag-ewa kaniya.

Yoro esto labanay kon
Tulokiban ang pamella ni

dam e Edam, re esto lad
dam ug Edam, nga ang anak

on Odam e Edam relangis tumaw
i Odam ug Edam gingarlan tumaw

on bulto.
ga tawo.

Estamre chdenmoybullto ael
Estamre ning mga tawo nag

basay e lilek.
kalaen-lain ug klase.

Oy teb noko e Odam e
Usa kabook kagaw si Odam ug

Edam miradas ya oylogo kon
Edam inanak sa bugtong nga

Gongo' ya apolore kan Adam e
-amo' sa edad ni Adam ug

Edam pon tre apong, oylogo
Edam napulog duha ka tuig; bugtong

esto persiyan moyminer, remoy lad,
ang ilang pagkaminyo, nanganak,

supefel ya ebdel lad ya pinal
gikan sa iyang anak sa premero

ter ya telga, ter ya telga,
hangtod sa ikaduha, hangtod sa

koy, telga ya pan
ikatulo; hangtod sa ika-upat. Ug

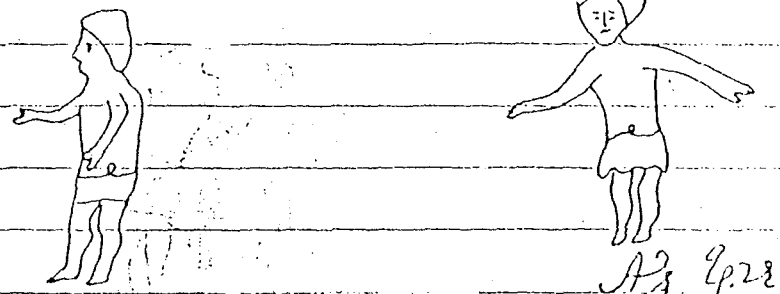
ter lad.
ikaduhang anak.

Deyosma ya rekonpan re-enpe
Tubag sa ika-upat nabahi

A· ᑫ ᑭᓰ ᔑᖏᔑ , ᖻ ᓀ ᐞ ᐞrsiᖽ
ya munsammere , moygraban ahdan
ᖽ ᐞ ᓘó ᐞ̆ , ᖻᓀ ᑯ ᑐ= ᓀ ᓀᖽ
sa tagyutai ı magsuon sila

ᓀ ᔑ ᓀ ᓂ̈ ᔑ ᔑᓘ ᓘó ᑐᓭ ᓀᑎᑐ
eros e tinde oylogo esto
ᖽ ᖽ ᔑ ᑯ ᐞᐞᔑᓀ ᑐ̈ ᑐ̈ ᐞᓂ
lalake ug babaye bugtong ang

ᔑᓭ ᑕ ᐞ= ᖻ ᖻ ᔑᓭ ᓭ
persiyan mayminer .
ᓀ ᖽᖏᑭ ᔑᓰ ᓂ ᔑᓂ ᓘóᓭ
ilang pagkaminyo .



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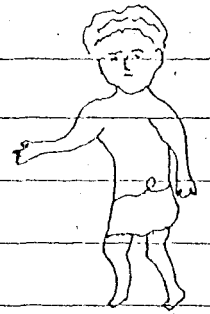
Ode

ᐞᐞ ᖽᖏᔑ
As law



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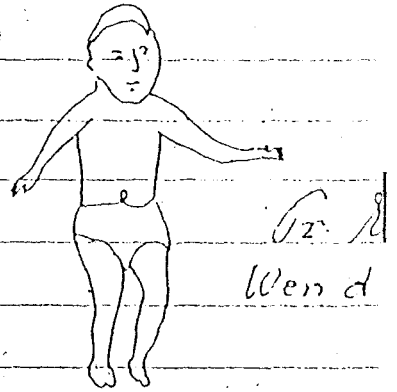

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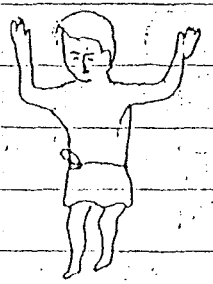

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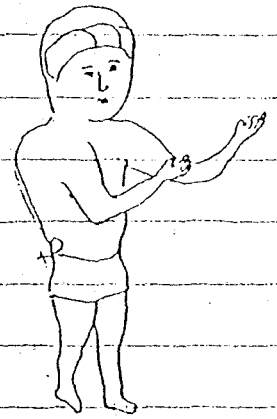

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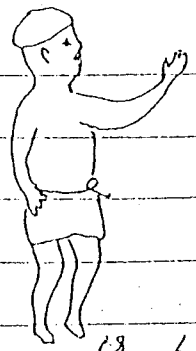

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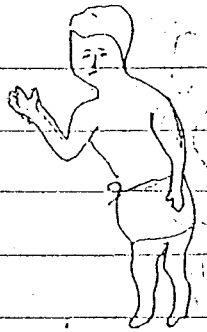

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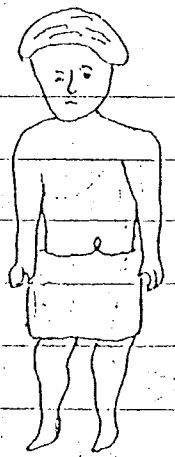

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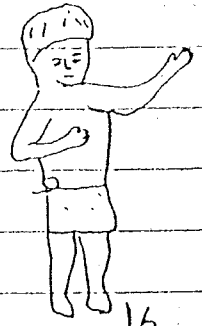

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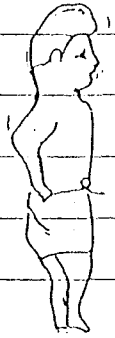

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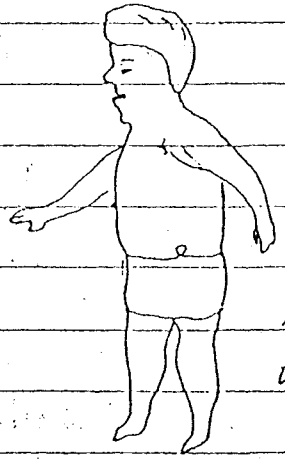

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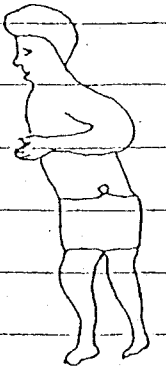
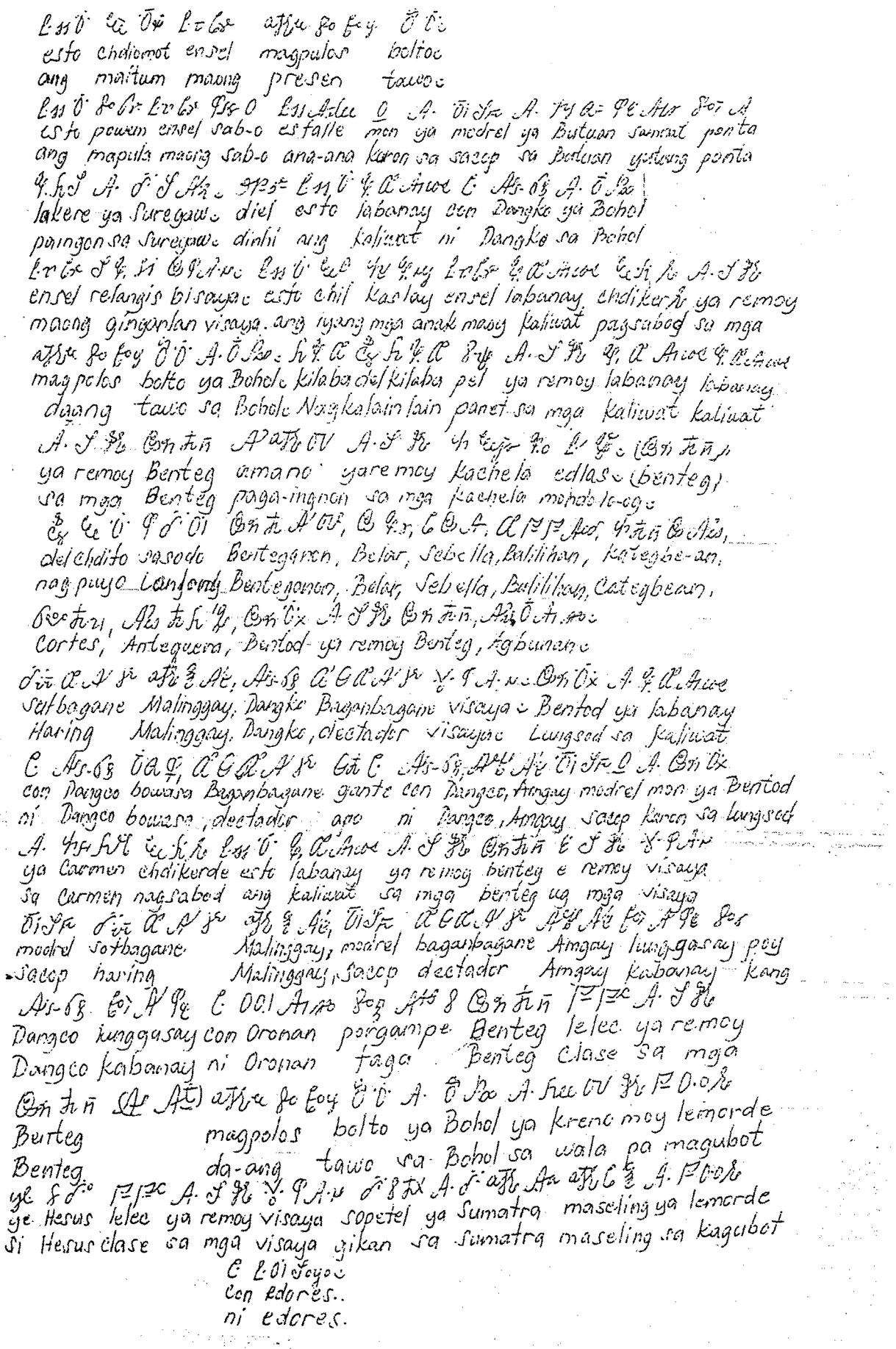


We'

2.2 Unang Tao sa Bisaya Bohol

PINAL BOLTO VISAYA YA BO-OW
UNANG TAO VISAYA SA BOHOL

pinal visaya bolto ya Bohol supitel ya
sinugdang tawo visaya sa Bohol guikan sa
sumatra mansili oy longgasay kolibure chdan ya
sumatra mansili usa ka pamilya han milabay sila sa
Hindangan Lanao lakere diel ya Bohol :
Hindangan Lanao paingon dinhi sa Bohol :
chdin biyal ya Tambo Talibon puwim sampat :
nirg abot sa Tambo Talibon pulang yuta :
pinal visaya iya Bohol delda y lad pontre :
chiang visaya sa Bohol nagdala ug anak dose :
del dorte atchil ya chdil rechdito ya Talibon dama esto
human siya sa iyang pagpuyo sa Talibon uban ang
chdil sephil Lunita mitel ya chdil ladas pontre
iyang asawa Lunita kuyog sa iyang mga anak dose.
oy tende pon-oy erus :
usa ka babaye dose ka mga lalaki :
miteros ya sasudo magpolos bolto ya Bohol delchdito magpulos.
panga miniyo sa lunsay presen tawo sa Bohol puumpuyo da-an.
esto del biyal miremos dalde ya re moy sab-o
ang gui-abutan nila sakut sa mga sab-o.
re moy edlas bulto.
mga ihalas tawo.
del iksam ya Butuan Surigao : kreno moy
namalhin sa Butuan Surigao : walay pag
coyto ya Bentod renos mon powem e chdiomot estalle
kapo-o sa Lungsod nela kuran mapulag maituan anaa
ya Bentod ya Butuan Surigao :
ya Lungsod sa Butuan Surigao :


esto chdiomot ensel magpalos boltoc
ang maitum maong presen tawoc
esto powem ensel sab-o estalle mon ya medrel ya Butuan sumcat ponta
ang mapula maong sab-o ana-ana karon sa saccp sa Butuan yudang ponta
lakere ya Suregaw. diel esto labanay con Dangko ya Bohol
paingon sa Suregaw. dinhi ang kaliwat ni Dangko sa Bohol
ensel relangis bisaya. esto chil kaslay ensel labanay chdikerde ya remoy
maong gingarlan visaya. ang iyang mga anak masay kaliwat pagsabod sa mga
magpolos bolto ya Bohol. kilaba del/kilaba pel ya remoy labanay labanay
daang tawo sa Bohol. Nagkalain lain panet sa mga kaliwat kaliwat
ya remoy Benteg amano yaremoy kachela edlas. (benteg)
sa mga Benteg paga-ingnan sa mga kachela mohablo-og.
del/chdito sasodo Bentegaron, Belar, Sebella, Balilihan, Categbe-an,
nag puyo Langdong Bentegaron, Belar, Sebella, Balilihan, Categbean,
Cortes, Antequera, Bentod ya remoy Benteg, Agbunan.
Sotbagane Malinggay. Dangko Baganbagane visaya. Bentod ya labanay
Haring Malinggay. Dangko, dectador visayac Lungsod sa kaliwat
con Dangco bowasa Baganbagane gante con Dangco, Amgay medrel mon ya Bentod
ni Dangco bowasa, dectador ago ni Dangco, Amgay saccp karon sa lungsod
ya Carmen chdikerde esto labanay ya remoy benteg e remoy visaya
sa Carmen nagsabod ang kaliwat sa inga benteg ug mga visaya
medrel sotbagane Malinggay, medrel baganbagane Amgay lunggasay poy
saccp haring Malinggay, saccp dectador Amgay kabanay kang
Dangco lunggasay con Oronan pergampe Benteg lelec ya remoy
Dangco kabanay ni Oronan taga Benteg clase sa mga
Benteg magpolos bolto ya Bohol ya kreno moy lemorde
Benteg da-ang tawo sa Bohol sa wala pa magubot
ge Hesus lelec ya remoy visaya sopetel ya Sumatra maseling ya lemorde
Si Hesus clase sa mga visaya gikan sa Sumatra maseling sa kagubot

con edores..
ni edores.

2.3 Pinay

Benwer Enmonsiktor Penay Besayan Bool, Bohol Mean
Mugna Enmonsiktor Penay Besayan Bool, Bohol karon.

Benwer ya apong nomton, 600
Mugna sa tuig soyesentas, 600

Sopetel eclabolto coon Hesus Senrayel egdot ya Pilipinas,
Gikan sa pagkatawo ni Hesus Caugalingong gahom sa Phil.,

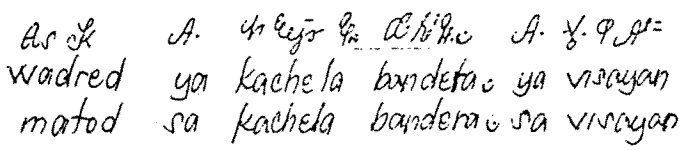
Ensel penel de esta chdoy
Maoy unang kinaadmanon

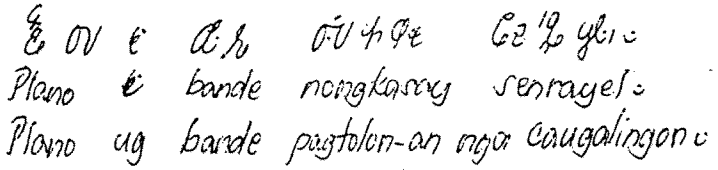
diel ya monyon visayas. ensel kristal
dinhi sa kapopad-an visayas. maoy tag-iya

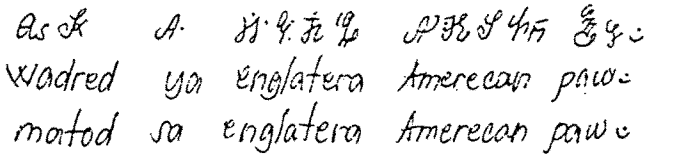
Ya benwer baxie Pilipinhon plano daloha
Sa mugna bande nga Pilipinhon plano dahon

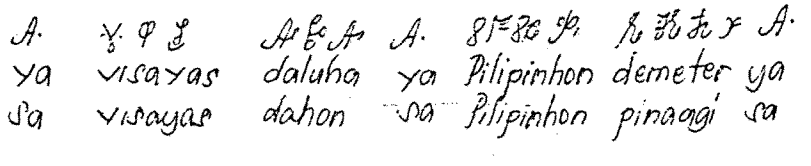
Ya seannat Pilipinhon. kreno nongkasay
Sa yatang Pilipinhon. walay pagtolon-an

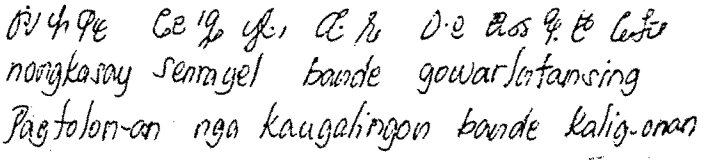
kree ov ak ee ak kree ov a. ko, kree ov a. ko ce ge ybi.
kreno daluha kreno bande, kreno bande senrayel.
walay dahon walay bande, walay palaweng Caugalingon.

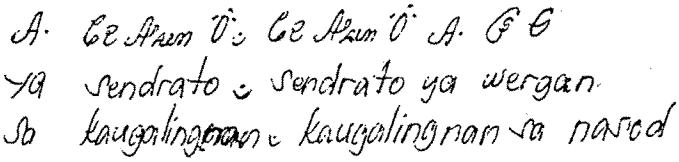

wadred ya kachela bandera. ya visayan
matod sa kachela bandera. sa visayan

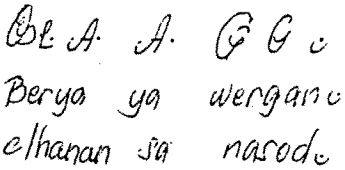

Plano e bande nongkasay senrayel.
Plano ug bande pagtolon-an nga caugalingon.

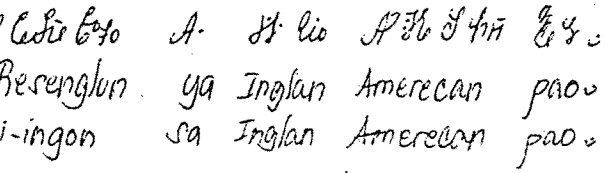

wadred ya englatera Amerecan paw.
matod sa englatera Amerecan paw.


ya visayas daluha ya Pilipinhon demeter ya
sa visayas dahon sa Pilipinhon pinaagi sa


nongkasay senrayel bande gowarlatansing
Pagtolon-an nga kaugalingon bande kalig-onan


ya sendrato. sendrato ya wergan
sa kaugalingnan. kaugalingnan sa nasod


Berya ya wergan.
elhanan sa nasod.


Resenglon ya Inglan Amerecan pao.
gi-ingon sa Inglan Amerecan pao.

Resenglon ya espanes bandera.
giingon sa espanes bandera.

Resenglon visayan plano bande.
gi-ingon visayan plano bande.

Penal ya apong singpe sing
Sinugdon sa tu-ig singkowentay singko

Penal benwer enmansector Penuy.
Pelimiring mugma enmonsector Peñay.

Sopetel ya apong eclabotto con Hesus.
gikan sa tuig pagkatawo ni Hesus.

Ye Hesus recoy empet ya monton
Si Hesus katolong bahin sa tino-ohan

Ya gapo mollen.
Sa tibo-ok kalibutan.

Diel ya Pilipinas visayas, magpolas estal senragel manton ya apolore
Dinhé sa Pilipinas visayas, da-an dunay kaugalingan tinoohan sa edad

Eclabolto can Hesus, krattre, eclabolto esto senragel manton diel ya
Pagkatawo ni Herus, trayentaydos natawo ang kaugalingang tinedan dinhi sa

Vesayas Boow. Salbador Mono, esto eklabotto samnatya Maraboyok Booy Dawes.
Vesayas Boow. Salbador Mono, Ang gikatawhang yuta sa Maraboyok Booy Dawes.

Esto (ena) Nema Gowardalope, esto sela ye Lamono.
Ang Inahan Gowarddlope, ang Amahan si Lomono.

2.4 Daylinda

DAYLINDA

1 Tukib sa mga kara-ang tao ug bag-o ing-non nga maluibon sa yutang nataohan. Ang kahimtang sa karaan sa maingun kang Humabad. Nagkuput sa mga sondalo sa iyang lungsod sa Maribohok, yutang nait sa Abatan-suba, Dayhagan Cortes karon, lungsod ni Umanad ug ni Daylinda Abatan Wadi.

2 Si Umanad sondalo uban ni Humabad. Si Umanad trato ni Daylinda. Ning maong Humabad kani-adtu maong tinuud nga mabudhi-un ug malu-ibun sa yutang Pilipinas, sa yutang nataohan Bo - Bohol karon.

3 Ning Humabad wala mubati sa iyang lungsod , nga diha siya magpatakus nga tao, ug wala mapo-o ang ngalan sa iyang lungsod nga iyang gikataohan bisan Barrio Opon nga ang ngalan na karon nga na sakup na sa Maribohok, kabilin ni Humabad, gibinlan niya sa ngalan na malu-ibun sa iyang lungsod sa pagkanganlang Humabad. Wala mapo-o sa pagkangalan Opong , ngalan sa lungsod angay panid-an sa tagsa-tagsa ka panumduman sa pagkangalan nga malu-ibun. Kay bisan magabuk ang atong bukug, mahibilin ang dautang kapalaran . Angay atimanun ug hikayun , bisan basin lang ang Opon nahibilin ang iyang kaayo sa lungsod, siya maoy nada-utan,ang iyang lungsod Opon namaayo karon kay gipuslan sa mga tao nga taga-barrio . Siya nahulug sa kada-utan gihapon karon sukad niadtu sa iyang pasugud sa buhat.

tinahud sa lungsod ug sa iyang gingsakpan. Pagtumud ni Magalyanes Magelan sa look sa Opon ug sa Abatan, tunga sa iyang lungsod sa Opon, mingtagbu sa lutsa ni Magelan, nagabisti sa iyang kulpa sa pagkapari ug nagbanda sa iyang pagkahari.

5 Pagkaala-ut ang iyang kahimtang gikan ni-adtu ug hasta hangtud karon. Pag-abut sa ilang sulti nga sinyasay nagahaluk ug naghinagkanay kay nagpina-akay sa ilang buktun ug nagsinupsupay sa ilang dugu. Matud pa ni Humabad, "talinga kini". Hingtubag si Magelan, "tima-an kini, magtinabangay kun kinsay awayun". Mitubag si Humabad " pilkaoro isyu kin-i". Mitubag si Magelan , matud pa ni Magelan, " por que". Ug mitubag si Humabad "mi-aru", mibinta sa kamot si Humabad, "mi arọ". Mibinta s kamut ug ningtigbas sa abaga ni Magelan . Ang sinyas misabut si Magelan dayun ug hintubag si Magelan dayun "si". Sa inig-kahimo nila , nagbangkete sa ka-un. Inig -tulu ka adlaw , minggikan sila paingun sa Mactan.

6 Ning maong nagkasabut ang ilang sinyas ug monstrasyon sa sulud sa duha ka adlaw muagpas si Humabad , magtagbu sa Talibon kay aduna pay ahatagan sa iyang sakop ni Humabad nga mga bata nga mistrasya sa tubig,pagmistral sa ngalan sa bata .

7 Sa maong inig kaugma ning tawag si Humabad sa iyang mga sondalo. Unang mi-abut si Umanad kay mao may ubus sa iyang katungdanan, ug nagtawag sa iyang gingsakupan sa iyang lungsud tigumun ang tanang damas balsahanan inig kahapon natigum singkwenta ka balsa. Sa mga tao nga mukuyug kaniya ingun sa iyang mga sondalo, sa inig kabuntag ning larga paingun sa lungsod ni

Dangku pulang-yuta Tambo, Talibon, karon pulu Bo. Ug didto sila nagkasandu ug nagkasugat sa walay dugay sa pagkakita nila si Humabad ug si Magelan.

8 Si Humabad naga-agda ni Magelan sa iyang mga tao nga "Mistrahan mo", nitubag si Magelan," unsay mistral ? " Ning maong Humabad nagkuha sa tubig ug ning hatag sa sinyas pagbubu sa tubig sa tang-kugu sa usa ka tao. Nitubag si Magelan " Si, si". Mingtawag si Magelan sa iyang mamumunyag , baga ing-nun niya Andres, ug diha gipamunyagan ni Dangku. Nagubut, nangagiw sa nanghilayu mga sitio, hasta si Dangku wala magpakita sa sulod sa usa ka bulan.

9 Si Humabad gi-aslag sa mga sondalo ni Dangku kay nakagubut sa ilang lungsod kay nagdala sa mga taong panaw. Si Dangku naghatag ug insay sa iyang mga gingsakupan ingun nga taga-Bintolaran, " Kamo pasa tisim ", kay si Humabad naglu-ib na sa atong red swing dinhi sa polo sa Bo.

10 Sa taud-taud ningtinguha ang ubus sa iyang gahum si Umanad. Ning maong Umanad ningsulti kang Dangku, " Sulundan, pikati ako mindagan, ningbulag sa ilang hatol. Busa sulundun, pasa tisim ning bulan ako mubiling sa Wadi, Abatan. Tubag si Dangku, " Yeko yangku si Humabad, OO, ug mi-agpas ko unya sa Mactan, maayo ni Dangku na. "

11 Ning maong Umanad, ning binilin ning maong Humabad, ning arida kini paingun sa iyang ventud Abatan. Ning maong Umanad pag-abut niya sa iyang ventud , nakigsabut ni Daylinda nga iyang

trato; " Daylinda, kun atu-a na ako sa Mactan, mag-dilis ka kanako (dilis, magsulat). Ning maong Daylinda mingtandu, "OO". Pagkabuntag, ning maong Umanad , si Umanad nagkuha sa iyang balsahan (ang balsahan, sakayan), ug migikan siya dayun pagkabig sa iyang mga damas baroto paingun sa Mactan.

12 Pag-abut sa Mactan ni Umanad, nakita niya dayun si Humabad, komo naila na ni HUmabad ang kauban niyang sondalo, nagsulti na sila matud sa sugilanun sa mga sondalo, " Umanad, kami gipamunyagan na man gud." Matud ni Umanad, " Unsa kanang bunyag?" Ang usa ka rital nagasulti kang Umanad. Sa tapus nangutana si Umanad ug unsang bunyag. Nitubag ang rital " gibubu-an ug tubig sama sa pagbubu kang Humabad didto sa ato, pariha sa bata." " Apan Humabad, la-in ang bubu ni Magalyane kay anha sa ulo, kay sa ato tangkugu man gayud. Human bubu sa tubig sa ulo, hungitan sa sales nga dinugmuk." Ningtubag si Umanad, " Rital, sago man ikaw, hihungitan ka?" Mintubag si sago, " OO". " Sago, kanang kabuhata, po-on na kita sa kaulipon. Sago, mubulag ning atong hatol, mu-ipun ako ni Lapu-lapu. Mitubag si sago, " Dili mahimu kay ka-iktan unya kita sa Hari. Sago, walay sapayan. Nahibalo kaba Umanad ? " " Ngano man Sago ? ". " Ang mga tao sa ato uban si Daylinda , gipakuha sa Hari ." " Ngano man kono? " " Ipadala sa ventud ni Dangku sa Tambo kay pamunyagan , kay ang mamumunyag atu-a didto, kay adtu pamunyagi ang taga ato." " Sago", matud ni Umanad, " maayo hinuun kun mahilahos si Daylinda dinhi. Ambut na lang."

13 Inig ka ugma , ning abut si Daylinda , nangutana ni sago hain si Umanad. " Atu-a sa ventud, sa lungsod Opon karon." Wala

ra madugay, nagkakita si Daylinda ug si Umanad. Ningsangpit si Daylinda, " Umanad, gibunyagan ako didto sa ventud ni Dangku sa Tambo." Si Daylinda nangutana, " Ikaw Umanad, gibunyagan ka ba ?" Nitubag si Umanad, " Ay Daylinda, dili ako magpa-ulipon , dili ako mutalikud sa yutang nataohan. Nag-ingun si Daylinda, " Umanad, wala ra ako maka-kler kanimo sa pagsulat kay gikuha naman ako sa mga balsa." " Daylinda, mupa-uli ikaw sa ato, mu-pril ra ako kanimo unya." " OO, apan mu-uli na ako ugma." " OO", tubag ni Umanad.

14 Pagka maong kagabhi-un ning sulong ang mga sondalo ni Humabad didto sa ventud ni Lapu-lapu. Gikan sa polo sa Mactan arun sa pag-gubat sa maong gabi-i, si Umanad, komo nakasabut na sila ni Lapu-lapu. " Sumulud na gani si Humabad ug si Magelan dinhi sa kampo, kanimo sulundun Lapu-lapu, Andami ako sa imong sondalo iuban kanako bisan ma-usa kay among dakpun si Humabad." Tuud ninghatag si Lapu-lapu usa ka sondalo, iuban kang Umanad, ang gihatag si Iriwan.

15 Si Humabad wala matingala kay iya mang sondalo si Umanad. Si Iriwan mingliput sa luyo ni HUmabad, gidunganang dunggab ni Iriwan ug ni Umanad. Si Magelan ning mandasyun dayun sa iyang mga sondalo arun sa pagtulin sa gubat. Kining Umanad ug Iriwan nahisakut sa taliwala sa ilang sondalo, nabusog gayud sa pagpanunggab, ug daghan sila ug patay. Pagtan-aw nga daghan ug patay si Magalyanes ning-atras ug dayun ning-pa-uli sa Mactan sa sunud gabi-i, komo patay na si Humabad.

16 Nangkay-ag ang iyang sondalo sa luyung gabi-i. Kining Umanad didtu nahisakut kang Lapu-lapu kay ningbulag man sa hatol ni Humabad. Ning maong Umanad, ning maong gabi-i nanukus daplin sa maong kasalsa sa baybayon. Gikahinagbu sa ulipon ni Magalyanes, sondalo ni Humabad. Gitigbas ning maong Umanad ug gidunggab. Ug wala mamatay kay gitabang-ngan man ni Iriwan. Ang mga ulipon ni Magalyanes nanagan ug nanguli sa Mactan.

17 Ning maong Umanad nakigsabut ni Iriwan nga magpahatud sa iyang ventud nga nataohan, Abatan Wadi. Ning maong Iriwan, nagkuha sa balsa ug nagtungtung si Umanad sa walay pag-lalis sa iyang gihatud. Ning kabig dayun sa pagtulin paingun sa ventud ni Umanad.

18 Sa duul nang kabuntagun, ning abut sila sa Wadi Abatan. Igung nagkakita sila si Daylinda ug Umanad sa mga kaig-suunan ug mga ginikanan. Natuman na ang ang sinulatay ni Daylinda ug ni Umanad sa serbisyu ni Umanad sa pagkasondalo sakup ni Humabad. Gidala sa Sebu si Humabad sa mga Katsilang tao, Haring Magalyanes. Si Daylinda ug si Umanad maoy minyu nila nga sulod sa serbisyo Umanad. Si Dayinda ug si Umanad daang mahibalu sa pagtulun-ang Bisayas. Mao ilang sinulatay nila sa Sebu, Bohol, kay si Umanad may serbisyo na man sa sondalo ni Humabad nga dili pa sila nahibalo sa basahong Espanis, kay , kay ni-anang petsaha nga mingkuyug ni Magalyanes si Humabad, nabihag dayun sa bulan sa ilang pagkakita, nga maong bulan sa Abril petsa sa usa ka polo-an ug pito ka kapin sa bato ning maoung bulan nga Abi.

19 Sa madugay sa kabuntagun nga alas tres ningbulag ning

dugu-on ni Umanad sa kamatayaun, diha na sa gikan sa kaudtuhun, gilubung sa pagkahapun, nahuman pag-ambahan sa mga igsuun ug ginikanan ni Daylinda. Nanamilit si Daylinda sa mga igsuun ug ginikanan," Human na man ta mag-ambahan, mupauli na ako , muagi ako sa pagdu-aw sa lubung ni Umanad."

20 Sa inig kabuntag , gi-agpas niya sa iyang igsuun si Hari, ug iyang inahan nga si Datang sa balay sa inahan ni Umanad. Matud pa, " Wala mahi-uli sa Daylinda kagabi-i," nitubag ang inahan ni Umanand Sediza. Sa humana na ang ambahan, nanamilit si Daylinda nga mupa-uli na ug mu-agi sa lubung ni Umanad. Hindawra, atong susihun sa lubung nga iyang giadtuan. Tuud, didto silang tulo, ang igsuun ug ginikanan ni Umanad. Paghi-abut nila, nakita ang patay nga lawas ni Daylinda nga nagtungtung sa lubung ni Umanad. Ug diha dayun , ilang gikagul-an. Naghinsay sa kamatayun ni Daylinda ug dayun duguk sa mga kaubanan niya ug sa mga kaig-suunan ug ginikanan. Kining kamatayun ni Daylinda , gilubung tupad sa lubung ni Umanad. Natuman ang ilang panumpa, minyu sa buhi ug sa kamatayun.

21 Tulukibun ang kinabuhi ni Umanad. Nanumpa sa dili pa-ulipon sa mga taong panaw. Ang kinabuhi ni Humabad nagpakamatay sa pagka-ulipon sa mga taong panaw dinhi sa kabisay-an. Moong tinuud nga kinabuhi sa nataohan. Bugtung nga gipataty sa ka-ulipnan sa mga kamut ni Magalyanes. Si Magalyanes Katsilang tao. Si Humabad haring ulipon sa mga kabisay-ang tao. Si Umanad bisan singut wala ihatag sa pagka-ulipon. Nagpakamatay sa yutang nataohan. Nagpatabun sa inahang yuta, Wadi Abatan Bo. Angay handumun sa mga taong Pilipinhon ug nagpa-ulipong patay pait nga

kamatayun. Ug dili kita magpa-ulipon mamatay apan tambungan sa binuhat sa yutang nataohan. Ang namatay sa pagka-ulipon , gitambungan sa ipus ug lagong, binuhat sa yuta nga mag-subir kung kinsay bahu ug kinsay dili bahu.

22 Pag-abut sa lutsa ni Magalyanes, sa look sa Opon, Dayhagan, , ningsapuy sa lutsa ni Magalyanes si Humabad, taga-taod sa iyang kulpa, matud sa katsila "capa". Ning maong Humabad, piling sa tinu-uhang Bisaya, matud sa Katsila, "pare". Ning Humabad tinudlu ni Pinae nga bike, matud sa Katsila, "cadrinal". Ang pagbike sa Bisayan, doble iyang katungdanan, hari sa mga "pare-cadrinal", birike dukun, matud pa sa Katsila mga pare se Dukon katu sa Kagubaan, barrio karun sa Antequera. Si Habor Taging birike ilihan Cortes karon. Matud sa Katsila, pare ang birike ngalan sa Bisayas. Si Gura-ud birike sa ilang lungsod, Lingbungun karon, sakup sa lungsod Batuan, Bohol. Si Tamisan, birike sa lungsod sa Taungunan. Ilang lungsod kanhi barrio karun sa Loon. Si tagbakan birike sa iyang lungsod Libag, barrio karon ingun sa Kagubaan, sakup karon sa lungsod sa Tubigon. Kasugiran sa mga karaan Bisayan Pilipin sies sienta y siete, tuig maoy pag-abut sa mga Katsila diri sa kapupud-an Pilipin Bisayas.

2.5 Lingganay na Ugis

LINGGANAY NA UGIS

1 Sa tuig mil siete sientos sitienta y siete, maoy pagubat sa tibuuk Pilipin BIsayas kontra sa mga Katsilang tao. Sa tuig mil otso sientos kwatru, maoy katapusang gubat sa mga Prayle ug sa mga birike, mga pare sa Pilipin ug mga pare sa Espanya. Ang kinaadman sa mga birike sa Pilipinas pinaagi sa tinuuhan milagrus, ang mga pare nga Espanyahun, dili makahimu sa tinuuhan sa mga milagrus. Maingun sa tinuuhan sa birike nga dios nga kang Salvador Suno. Ingun sa mga Katsila, dios-dios sa mga huganu sa Bisayas-Pilipin. Ang mga katarunganun nga Prayle sa mga Katsilang tao, ginganlan patuo-tuo sa mga huganus. Ilang tinu-uhan si Salvador Suno dinhi sa kapupud-ang Bisayas, naa ang labingtinuud ug kamatuuran. Ang gubat nga klasta sa kang Tumud ug sa kang pare Jose Santa Maria., nga ang klasta nga ilang gipahayag tinu-uhan sa mga huganus Salvador, ug tinuuhan sa mga Kristiyanus nga abayun ang pagkakita unsa-un pagbawi ang linggganay pagkuha ana-a na karun sa kamut ni Jose Maria, gi-ingun pare sa Espanya diha gihiuno dayun ang sunglanun nga mahimu sa buhat sa gihimu kang Tumud Babaylan nga arun masiguru sa pagbawi ang Lingganay nga ugis.

2 Ning maong Tumud ningsaka sa kampanaryu, nagdala ug pisi nga dyutay ug gihukut sa pikas tiil sa langgam ug gihukut sa gaong sa lingganay sa maayong pagkaga-id sa tama-an sa kampanaryo ni Jose Santa Maria. Ang mga pagano kon idolatra ug ang mga kristiyanus nga binunyagan kang Tumud Babaylan naglibut sa huwanan sa simbahan ni Jose Maria sa lungsod sa Malbago. Pagtan-

aw, pagbantay sa bihuta gibuhat ni Tumud Babaylan sa pagmaneho ni Tumud sa paglupad sa langgam arun sa pagkuha sa lingganay , madala sa pagbawi maguyud sa langgam. Si TumudBabaylan nigamit sa pulong sa dios ug tinu-uhan sa ngalan ni Salvador Suno , ug si Jose Maria ninggamit sa sulti nga latin, pinulungan ni kristo, nga tinuuhan sa prayle, pagtuuhan sa kristiyanista. Ang langgam milupad dayun, mitingug si langgam baruku, " Tumud, mugikan na ako kaninyo nga tanan". Ang lingganay nadala sa langgam, ang kalitala nga puthaw nga gi-gaung sa lingganay, natubig miagus sa kampanaryu. Ang langgam mipanaw padulung sa suba, didto itunung sa langgam. Ang lingganay sa gingsangaan sa suba sa Abatan. (Ginganlan kana ug abatan kay ang sapa ning abat sa dakung suba).

3 Ug wala madugay, gihulug ang lingganay sa suba sa Abatan. Ang mga paganos-idolatra ningsinggit ug nanagtuwaw sa hugut nga pag-insay, nabawi na gayud ang atong lingganay. Nadala ni Suno nga atong dios. Nan minsinggit ang mga paganos-idolatra, " Kita magpakamatay sa gubat paglaban sa yutang nataohan, ug paglaban sa atong lingganay nga nabawi." Hinh-insay si Tumud Babaylan nga, " Mga kauban pakita magpakamatay sa gubat, dili kita magpakamatay sa kaulipnan kay ang magpabilin sa kaulipnan bisan unsaun pagkuha ang lingganay nga mabawi nga atu-a na sa taliwala sa suba, ang kalikalang nga giga-id sa lingganay sa ilang kampanaryu, natubig ug nakuha nila katung lingganay sa kalikalang puthaw ni agas sa atong lingganay nga mao kadtoy magabantay ug ilang kuhaun kadtung lingganay. Mudaku , maglunup sa suba, mubaha, musaka sa kadalipnan sa kabudlan, ug maoy mupatay kanila sa sakup ni Jose Maria ". Ning otru pag-insy si Tumud Babaylan, "

Walay lain makakuha unya ug matao na ang atong ikaduhang lawas. Kay magpakamatay man kita karun unya makuha kanang lingganaya, makatindug na dinhi sa atong yuta. Ang atong ikaduhang lawas sa tuig mil nueve sientos sietenta y sies.

4 Sumala sa gisa-ad kang Suno nga duul sa atong dios bathala nga kinadak-an sa kalibutan, kay mao man ang asad ni Suno ang paghugas sa duha ka libo ka tuig kay manindug na man ang pito ka kamatayun gikan pagkatao kang I-Suno nga dios nato. O duha ka libo ka tuig gikan sa iyang pagkatao, hangtud niini pagkaduha ka libo sa paghunaw, paghugas, kay balikun na, balhinun na ang tao sa ibabaw sa yuta kay gikan pagbu-ot sa langit, ug gikan sa kusug sa kalibutan, kay pagatapusun na man ang gininhawa sa dagat ug sa yuta, mao ang paghunaw sa gimbut-an sa langitnon " Ning insay ang gingsakupan, tubag sa insay ni Tumud Babaylan, " Wala kanato, wala kanila nga magpaulipon, puru magpaabut sa kamatayun, ug magalaum sa atong pagbalik tungud sa hukum mga nabalhin ang naong sa yuta bisan kinsa mananap ug tao, magapaabut sa tugun ni Salvador Suno, nga gibalhin sa mga Katsila ang ngalan ni Suno ang dios nato, giinun nila Salvador del Mundo. Kaliwat matud kanila sa mga prayle, taong bukidnon. Siya Suno, amahan ni Salvador Guadalupe ang inahan ni Salvador.

2.6 Ang Mga Hiyas ug Caague ni Mariano Datahan

Mga hijas ug caagui ni Mariano Datahan Somatra

Natawo sa mil ocho sintos cuarintay singco. 1845
Sa edad nga siya ug (7) site años nahitabo, ug gui dacop
sa osa fa yobat sa kinabohe hing obän sa eyang enahan ug
pamocad ug bongsod sa dagat sa barjo Catagbacan
sitio Cantimpang Iongsod sa Loon Bohol:

Sa bolan Honyo 9. 1851 gui abot sa taob ang
dalandalan sa bonasan mga halaloin. Ang baroto hila
gidaog sa solog. Wala madaog puy cabig sa enahan
Dominga Presintes. Ang baroto nahayabo ang maong
bata Mariano, dili pa mahibalo molangoy ming age sa
calomos cay wala madaog sa enahan pag caoras sa
solog may (50) Singcuenta minotos ona hidakpe nag
tinghaya na sa dagat. pag cadacop sa enahan gae
lowan niya sa baroto nga wala nay gininhawa. Ang
enahan nag singcawo sa pag (ensay) singgit cang Juan
nga eyang bana sa bay bayon naga lage sa bongsod,
pakitabang cay nalomos ang bata nya elang anak:

Ang maong amahan, sa pag ca dongoy na sa hataas
nga (ensay) simggit, mi agpas ug milangoy balor sa osa
ca Kilomitro ug tonga sa bay bayon calayoan sa gi agrasan
sapag tonga sa amahan sa pag ganoy sa baroto sa
enahan. pag abot sa bay bayon sa bata nga wala nay
gininhawa, gibowanit sa amahan ug gipas an ug gui
botang ang tiyan sa eyang abaga. Ang maong bata
ya bitay ang olo sa licod sa amahan ug ang dagat
nang gola sa baba ngadto gidala sa elang 'balay.

Ang calayoon sa bayhayon ug sa balay wala day midya Kilomitro, pag abot sa natad gihanday sa losong aron mag calinguo ug gola ang dayat sa eyang baba. ang dagat na hoho sa eyang tiyan balor ug doha ca oras gican sa pag calomos alas noybe ang adlao sa bontag, macatingog alas 3es trayenta pasado. (10:30) Ang atake sa Kinabohe, siya diriyot dag a ug diha siya nacalowas.

Kining maytiayon bakiro sa baca ni dato Piro Lasco, sa yota sa bario catag bacan sa sityo cantimpag. Kining palad sa anak nila maong Mariano Pirme gayong gisaninaan sa atake sa Kinabohe. sa maong toig gihapon sa bolan sa Novembre dos adlao minatay nahitabo na osab ning maong bata, numeyabas sa elang solar ug gui Kita na osab sa baca nga nag amak sa ilang binakirohan. Oras alas tres sa palis gui songag na osab sa baca nga bag ong naga anak sa dool sa biyabas nga gui pangohaan nila sa bonga.

Ang amahan wala napod diha didto na osab sa bongsod nag eles sa lage. Ang na ca tibao ang eyang apo apo sa bata paga engnon ug Maorecio Colito: mao na osab ang naga dala sa bata nga wala nay gahom nga gui songag ug gui paak lilabyan sa dool sa dalan namalhin ug cabao ug mao nay nag dala, ug didto na osab sa balay sa apo apo.

Kining maong Kinabohe nga naga dala sa lawas maong Mariano, osa ca gabie gican sa pag songag sa

alas tres sa palis, ning maong Mariano wala nay omoy ang calawasan, ang Kinabohe nag libok gihapon apan wala nay tingog tibook gabee hangtod sa alas dos sa pag ca ugma, daghan nang midogok ug midaw sa pasado alas dos ang oras, miabot si Agdo Moncada nga apo apo gihapon sa bata nga gisongag bayao ni Mauricio Colito maoy nacatabang sa alas dos pasado e singcuintay dos minotos.

Kining apo apo nga Agdo Moncada naga enit ug tobig nga egong maantos sa palad, sa cainit ug maoy gui digo sa lawas nga wala nay omoy. Ang bata sa ensakto singcuentay dos minotos gican sa oras alas dos naca tingog sa mibati na sa cainit hinapyod sa lawas ne Agdo Moncada nga apo apo cania. Ang piny anan ning maong apo apo nia ning maong Agdo Moncada bario Cansowagit ebabau sa bario Catagbacan. Ning maong mga bario naga canait.

Kining doha ca apo apo naga engon cang Juan ug Dominga ginicanan ning maong bata. Miingon Kining maong Mauricio bana ni Marcilina Moncada mang hod ni Agdo Moncada gi ang gaan ug Insing-guan Dominga, Kining bataa ayao na eipon ninio. Mitobag kini si Alijanro Moncada (Agdo) Mao man tood ang maayo ni ene anhe na lamang ni Maoricio cay ug homan cania ari canaco. Cotob niana ning maong Mariano uala na mag poyo sa amahan enahan, didto na mag poyo ni Maoricio napolo ug osa ca bolan gican sa Novembre sa toig 1853. Sa bolan sa Otobre ono gui coha na osab ang maong bata ne Alijandro Moncada (agdo).

didto na cania napolo da ca bolan, gi coha sa amahan ug enahan cay gipatongha sa escuela caj ang amahan ug enahan me balhin sa barrio Candaigan sa ilang yota nga caogalingon. Ang barrio sa catagbacan ug Censovagit ualay escuelahan didto sa longsod ang mga cabataan mag escuela. Maong gui coha sa amahan ug enahan cay ang barrio sa Candaigan diha may escuelahan.

Ning maong toig mil ocho sentos singcuentay tris didto na mag escuela sa barrio Candaigan. Sa Octobre bayente ocho(28) mil ocho sentos singcuentay tres (1853) ming tongha sa escuela nag cabayo ug cabao onia mi dagan ang carabao ug onia nagapos ang camot sa lacon sa pise nga eyang gicobtan uala ra maca escuela cay diha raman sa dalan ug gibalik sa obang escuela sa elang balay. Sa pacaugma gihatod sa eyang apohang tinood amahan sa eyang enahan didto sa longsod Cang~~ani~~ agustin empron presinte nag poyo didto osa ca toig. Sa edad siya ug nuebe años, ning paole gihapon sa amahan enahan didto sa Candaigan. Ning maong Mariano homan na atakiha sa personal sa kinabohe, sa wala madogay na matay ang eyang amahan ning maong Juan, diha na mag tinobo hangtod sa pag ca daco sa eyang enahan nga wala nay amahan.

Edad ug 3es(10) años sa talitaposon ang panoigon nga 3es(10) namatay ang eyang enahan sa bolan sa Mayo singco. Sa bolan sa Junio hing lacao ning maong Mariano sa Tobigon hing agpas sa eyang eysoon.

sa nag panoigon pa ug 3es. (10) Ang eyang egsoon nga gi agpas mao si Fransisco Datahan Somatra.

Sa dido na sia sa Tobigon nag silbe sa cristan. Sa pag ca cristan nia sa e catolo nang tongha sa eyang simana ni pare Dionicio franco ug gihimo nga poltiro mayor sa Combinto loyoloyo sa eyang mochacho cang Plasido oharis. Cotob sa eyang pag ca poltiro, nag edad ug nuebe misis gihangyo napod ni padre filix Gallaris nga eyang adadon sa longsod sa Catigbian Bohol-Cay uala siay gisaligan sa poltiro Mayor.

Xining maong padre Vicente sa maong cataposan toig sa panoigon ni Mariano diha sa eyang camot ne pare Vecente. Gibalhin sa paré Vicente sa singco sa Enero mil ocho sintos singcuentay cuatro (1854)
Ning maong Mariano nag lacao nag lacao na sa onse ang panoigon sa pag balhin ni padre Vicente sa bagong longsod nga siya maoy na premirong cora sa bagong longsod sa Anda Bohol. Ning maong Mariano na dala ni pare Vecente oban cang Gillermo Logang nga eyang mochacho. Ning maong Mariano pito da ca bolan sa Anda sa eyang pag onong ni pare Vecinte Gallares ug ne Guillermo Logang nga eyang mochacho. Ning maong Mariano mi paole sa Tobigon. Tongod sa dacong cawiod ni pare Vecinte ug ca hinogon pag paole niya, gitaga an ug singcuenta pisos. (₱50.00) Pag abot ne Mariano sa Tobigon mang hangyo sa mga tawo nga manohol, ug tawo da sicwalo ang osa ca adlao ug mag dalag cabao sica pat.

Dihimo niya ang hinatag ne pari Vicente nga singcuinta ug handomanan sa caloy ni pare Vicente sa sirbicio. Ang salape giintra sa oma padaro, padaro sa tobhanan maisan ug oban pang tanaman. Kining salape nga gipabalon ni pare Vicente ni Mariano uga singcuenta uulay lain gi agian con dili sa panohol da sa omaban. ug diha sa bario Cauayanan sityo Mapait Tobigon Bohol. Cana ang pag abot sa eyang tanaman panobo sa tobo mais ug oban pa. Nianang maong toig sa panamaman nag lacao sa Panoigon ug onse ~~#~~ años ni maong Mariano nahigayon sa salapé ni pare Vicente nga singcuenta sa eyang cahimtang sa eyang pinaage sa maong oma sa eyang kinabodlayan sa poltero mayor canhe sa mga praile.

Sa pag abot ug disiotcho años ang edad ni maong Mariano, nakintos sa longsod sa Tobigon. Sondalo sa mga catsila contra sa mga moros maoy onang gikita sa panggobatan.

Satoig milocho sintos saysintay ono (1861) sa primiro sa enero milocho sintos saysintay ono mao ang pagca kintos sa Enero zes (10) sa maong toig nadala sa Eligan Lanao. Sa pag ca Febuero singco (5) milocho sintos saysintay ono maoy pag asdang sa gobat sa Marawe Lanao Campo ni dato Pakpak.

Sa homan niana ang mga kintos sibil sa tiempo español may huraminto nga ocho años. An ocho años uala malampos sa sirbicio sibil cay nabong cag naman

silang mga catsila tongod sa sopinaria contra sa casadores sondalo sa mga catsila.

Ang sopinaria maoy hongao sa Aklas sa Pilipinas contra sa español. Ang sopinaria nabanyon sa mil ocho sintos saysintay site. (1867)

Ang Aklas sa Pilipinas natawo sa mil ocho sintos saysintay nuebe. (1869) Nag barog sa Aklas sa pamonoan diha sa camot ni Donsalis sa Samar contra sa cagamhanan España.

Ang Aklas sa tinoohan sa mil ocho sintos otsintay dos (1882) Anaa sa gahom ni padre Borgos ug sa gogma sa yotang nataohan.

Ang bonga sa gahom sa yotang nataohan Club sa Biak Nabato tinocod sa Doctor Jose Rizal, Juan Luna, Apolinario Mabini, Padre Zamora, ug padre Momis.

Ang bonga sa nahimong cadayganan sa pag socol sa España ming barog sa bagombayan Rizal gipanompaan sa bandira na litra K. K. K.

Catiponan Catiponan Catiponan

Hinggitik si Andres Bonifacio, ang bandira ug ang acong espada maoy lawas Catiponan sa pag socol cu sa cagamhanan sa España dinhe sa Manila. Wala dogaya ang gahom ug cosog ne Andres Bonfacio sa pag pakita sa mga Opisiales sa mga catsila dinhe sa Manila.

Sa dacong haget sa adlao nga lones. Ning maong Adres naga bohe ug fcowitis pag paingon sa cowarter sa mga catsila, nag boto boto ang mga cuitis ug ribintador pag agbat sa casoco sa yotang nataohan Lones, Martes, Mercoles

Juebes dacong pag hagit sa aligotgot sa yotang nabachan sa mga hineralis nga prailes sa mga catsilang tao dinhe sa Pilipinas. Sa hapon ug huebis nag pahalona si Andres Bonifacio oban si Jose santa Ana, Juan dila Cruz didto holata ang batok sa mga catsila sa bario Balintawak osa ca kilomitro ug tonga yican sa siodad. Kini si Andres Bonfacio nag pakita pag esa sa bandira sa modto ug bernes pag palopad sa cahanginan pagpacayabcayab pag hagit sa aligotgot sa gobernador hiniral comandante hiniral sa mga catsila. Niine sa pag cahapon ang mga casondalohang catsila ming solod pag solong.

Si Andres Bonifacio sa bario Balintawak diha dayon naga cabogno. Ang lima ca proveincia sa longsod hing tindog ug ming arsa sa bontag ug sabado sa casogiran nga nabohe na gayod ang Catiponan sa pagtolon an sa club sa Biak. Nabato pinangolohan cang Jose Rizal Protacio:

Ang nomiro ono nga sondalo sa Catiponan ang mga mochacho sa mga ofisialis sa catsila ug mga praile:

Ang gobat sa Balintawak causa ra ning honong ug ualay saba: Ang mga mochacho sa mga catsila sabisan onsang catong danan nila como maoy nomiro ono sa mga sondalo sa katiponan. Ang mga mochacho somala sa gikaoyonan sa club sa Biak nabato sa kadagkoan sa katiponon maoray hing ataki sa ilang agalon. gihimong osa katakoban somala sa estodio sa club.

Ang mga mochachio nag alagod sa sinyos. sa pag abot sa sinyas namindog na ang girilia sa club pag abot sa sinyas namindog na ang girilia sa club ang mga mochacho nanglihok dayon somala sa mando. mang lakaw ang ilang agalon sa pacio mooy ikawat

Pag okab sa alkoba sa kowarto sa ilang agalon. ug matolog matolog na ang ilang agalon sa kowartong ilan higdaanan abliban ang alkoba nga ilang gitarbaho sa adlao ug etonton ang mopotol sa olo sa ilang agalon didto sa cuarto. Sa enag cahoman ug potol sa liog sa ilang agalon nga uala na malingtingog dad on ang olo sa mochacho olo sa ilang agalon ug hogoson dayon sa pag saca aron eole ang enocab nga alcoba. Ang tarbaho sa tacoban estodio sa club gican sa gahom ni Jose Rizal Mabini, Juan Luna padre zamora padre Gomes: Ualay macaila sa gibohat sa mochacho tungod sa mando sa pangolo sa Catiponan.

Ang olo elobong sa bayhayon nga dili maila sa mga hueses ug sa obang mga catachan. ug ang obang mga olo elobong sa silong sa mga bodiga nga dili masose. Tood da ang gibohat sa catiponan ug mahimo sa Aclas hangtod caron walay macasolbad.

Ang onang nahitabo nga nag himo sa mga mochach sa cadag co ang catsila sa Manila ug diin pang mga Provencia ug calongsoran, Ang homiro ono mochacho nga nag bohat sa ingon nag potol sa olo sa ilang agalon. Ang mochacho sa gobernador general sa maong pag cabanto: ualay cocahadlok ang mga mochacho nag bohat gihapon sa mga painit sa ilang agalon. Aron sa walay pag ela sa mga hueses ug cadag coan.

Ang maong painit gibotang sa lamisa sa maong canaan aron dili catingadan nga sila maoy nag pasirala. Gitacoban ang calan on ug bayang nga painit sa ilang

agalon. Sa tapos mabohat maningawong cugabihon. Sa tiktik alas ocho ang oras sa bontag ming dagan ang mochacho pag pahibalo didto sa balay sa comandante hinirul. Pag abot nag solte nga, Señor comandante hinrul, ang acong agalon uala man macapainit cay acong tig sampit ug tig pocao sa gawas ug tig tagoktok sa tongod sa eyang higdaanan sa catre uala mag mata. ang eyang painit namsgnao na.

Ning tobag ang hinerul, wala ba mag lacao. mitobag ang mochacho, wala man: Ang mochacho miingon, mitogon hinoon canaco cagabei sa capos sa panihapon nga pasayoon hinoon aco pag bohat ug painit cay mosayo cono ang governador pag adto sa Tondo. Miing ang hinirul nga, nan, wala locabe ang puerta. mitobag ang mochacho nga onsaon pag locab nga sirado man lage nga ang yabe atoa man cania sa solod. Miingon ang hinirul nga galing ug milacao sia nga wala na mag tagad sa painit. Mitobag ang mochacho, asa man lage Caage nga wala man yabehe ang solod ligon man gihapon ang solod.

Ang comandante hinirul nanaug dayon ug nag dala sa eyang doha ca sondalo nga gowadia. ug dayon nang lacao ug aco ming coyog sa pag paole, pag abot sa comandante, sampit ug tagoktok dayon sa eyang higdaan ug gui gaong gaong ang powerta. Ang comandante nag sogo dayon sa gowardia nga paadto sa Coronil ug mga sondalo ug hues. gui togon sa pag dala ug bara cay eligwat sa powerta. Pag tulicod sa guardia nag bistigar canaco. Mochacho onsa wala bay tawo ming anhe nanombalay. Tobag, wala.

wala ra cadogay ming abot ang coronil ug mga sondalo Diha pag abot giligwatan sa bara ang puerta wala madaog ug ang bongbong maoy gui ligwatan.

Naabre ang doha ca tabla. Pag lili sa coronil patay na ang gobernador hiniral nga wala nay olo. Gui ablihan pag tood ang bongbong ug nanolod ang mga sondalo hiniral ug coronil. Pag sole walay laing samad condili ang pag potol lamang sa olo. Ang coronil nag dimanda sa mga sondalo nga epasoroy ang mga cadag coan sa longsod nga patay ang gobernador hiniral nga wala nay olo:

Ang longsod sa pag casayod sa mga sibil. nagobot ang tibook siodad ug hinganoy ang mga tawo pag pa tonong sa gui catingad ang minatay. Ang mga catsila mga pare ug oban pang mga catsila, nanga lisang sa pag tanao na sa minatay nga wala nay olo: ug gisose ang tanang poltahan ug bentana ug wala matandog ang tanan sirado. Ang capitan hiniral ug comandante hiniral capitan sa sibil. ug mga howesis. osa ray pangotana sa mochacho, wala ba ecao gicatingad ang tawo cagabee: Ming tobag ang mochacho nga wala: Ang mga catsilang asawahan ug mga angcan, miatencion sa mga barco nga epa hatod ang mga babaye ug mga asawa ug mga bata didto sa Mindoro: ug nanga gobot ang mga catsila sa pag sose ug onsay hinungdan:

Ang mga mochacho sa nahitabo na nangandam tanan sa pag bohat sa pag abre sa mga alcoba eole sa sigo gihapon: Samaong gabee sa sonod sa homan masose Ang gobernador hiniral nga namatay nga walay olo.

como ang mga mochacho moray nang himilin sa pag cagobot sa pag sose sa gobernador hiniral. Ang mga mochacho naca pabor sa elang guibohat nianang adlawa. Ang mochacho sa teninte coronil maoy naca sigondo, ug nahimong ecadoha nga nahitabo sa eyang agalon. Ang olo sa teninte coronil didto ebotang sa mochacho sa caballarisa sa cabayo sa capitan coronil: Ang mochacho sa tininte coronil, Ming pa hibalo na osab nga ang acong agalon uala mang himata gipocao naco sa painit. Otrong cagobot sa mao gihapon camatayon sa gobernador hiniral.

Ang dacong calisang sa mga catsila nianang gabee nga misonod, wala na mang higda sa ilang poloyanan. Nang gitago na sa calibonan sa longsod sa tagsa tagsa: Ang capitan hiniral didto macatago sa elmita san Juan ug ang mga sondalo nomiro dos. sa Catiponan nang gibantay ug asa ang mga catsila. Ang naca bantay sa capitan hiniral mao osab ang mipotol sa olo sa capitan hiniral sa elmita ug sa obang mga catsila ug nianang gabieha dose ca catsila ang patay osa ca arsobespo ug osa ca argaminsor ug ang Jues mayor. Ang mga catsila mao nang adlawa uala nay orte sa panagan. Ang oban ming tonong sa Mendoro, ang oban sa Sorsogon dg diin ang oban mahitonong. Ang mga sibil nanga catagsa tagsa dien dien lamang gitago. Ualana mang gibiste sa elang minitar. Ang mga catsila nianang simanaha naga ca dein dein na ang nanga matay cay gibantayan naman sa sondalo sa Catiponan. Ingon dinha sa simana o bolan nahonong ang cagobot sa wala na ginsao sa tanan nang longso.

nanglihok solod sa Pilipinas ug nang gibantay.

Ning maong Mariano didto siya ecatodlo sa pangolo sa catiponan sa esla de Malabon. Ning maong nag todlo si Antonio de Mara taga Sorsogon cagican. Camarines. Sa pag hitabo niadtong cagobot sa catsila sa Manila hing ritera si maong Mariano ug Antonio paingon sa Samar. ug didto na ning maong Mariano nag alagad sa Samar nga gipoy an ni Dons ales sa pag patik sa Aklas sa Pilipinas. ug didto ning maong Mariano mag sirbicio sa Catiponan sa nag cagobot pa ang mga catsila.

Sa nalinao na ang catsila na katodlo sa pag bantay sa Catiil Soriguo. Didto ecakita sa hocom sa mga catsila maong caaway. Sa tapos na imahitabo sa caawayan hing ritira sa Catiil paingon sa Camiging. Ang mga catsila nag pon og sa balay ni Capitan Sido. Solod sa osa ca simana nga paminao nangawala ang mga catsila. Metabok sa Borneo sa homan na mga way ning maong Mariano ang mga catsila sa paminao sa Camiging.

Ning maong Mariano aco mingtabok sa Misamis Oreintal. Ang oban co si Antonio Cabongse taga Camiging. solod sa dose ca bolan pag poyo didto sa maong Misamis, ug mibalik came sa Samar ug didto na capoyo napolog tolo cabolan labang sa osa ca toig.

Sa toig mil ocho sentos noybintay sais (1896) didto sa Samar Satoig mil ocho sintos nuebintay site (1897) ming paole dinne sa Bohol. Kining maong Mariano sa maong toig

ming buerta sa Misamis. Sa mil ocho sentos noybintay ocho, (1898) hing Paule sa Bohol ug nangita sa yotang timawa. Ning maong toig nag poyo sa Carmen moawa. Ning maong toig milocho sentos noybinta ocho, (1898) nag. larao gihapon sa pag pangita sa yotang timawa. Sa diha nakita nia ug gi timaan dayon nia. Sa maong toig hing balik sa Misamis.

Sa mil ocho sento noybintay nuebe (1899) hing paole gihapon sa Bohol ug nag tanda sa yotang timawa. Hinigog mang catoigan ug gibinlan sa dacong timaan.

Kining yotang timawa sacop sa longsod sa Guindulman Bohol ginganlan ug Biabas odlot sa Candijay.

Sa tapos nang timaan sa ngalan sa yotang timawa Biabas sa bolan sa Mayo, hing balik sa Misamis ug pag abot sa Misamiss naga cukita cami si Eustaquio Daligdig sa longsod sa Malabon Clarin caron. Ning maong toig didto cami mag poyo sa Langaran. Sa mil nuebe sintos (1900) nag poyo came sa Langaran. Among pag ca higala gican sa toig mil ocho sintos noybintay nuebe, 1899 hantod sa mil nuebe sintos (1900) hangtod sa Enero mil noybe sintos ono. (1901) didto e hicaplag ang saca sa mga amercano. Sa mil noybe sintos ono (1901) Mayo 12 hangtod Jonio Dolgo. Sa Mayo bayente dos (22) mil noybe sintos ono (1901) didto mahitabo aco ug si Daligdig sa bohat nga tiawan contra sa amercano. Ning maong pitcha bolan sa Mayo bayente dos (22) Oban an cuarintay singco 45 ca caballo gibotang sa tribonal ug escuelahan may moros nga dose among caoban

si Daligdig. maoy gisogo sa pag dabdab sa tribonal ug escuelahan giboboan sa gas tagorha ca tral. Ang cabayo dolha ra ang nabaue sa amercano nga wala mapagod. Sa bayente tris (23) sa Mayo sa pag ca bontag alas nuebe ang oras naga caaway sa minterio sa Misamis. Ang patay nga moros among caoban site (7) contra sa osa ca platon nga amercano. Ang patay sa amercano nga singco. ming sibog cay wala macadasdas pag solod sa menterio. Ang patay nga moros nga site gi hipos sa bohing moros oban canamo ug gilabong sa loyo sa minterio. Sa enag cahoman came aco hing paole came sa Nocolan ug parayon aco sa Todela oba si Eustaquio Daligdig. Sa pag cahapon ug sabado nag parayon came sa Capayas Langaran Oroquita. Sa enag cabontag ug domingo gibaril ang Oroquita sa mga amercano gican sa Misamis sa homan na awaya. Sa daghang patay sa Oroquita sa pag baril Lobok ug san Vecente. sa enag cahapon ug Juebes hinglarga came si Daligdig Eustaquio paingon sa Sikihor. Ning maong Eustaquio hing paole sa ilang balay sa Talingting aco ming larga paole dinhe sa Bohol oban cang Pedro ug cabisa Leon taga Ponta Cruz Loon. came si Pedro nag parayon dinhe sa Anda cay si Pedro taga Anda Tajod.

Sabolan sa Junio disi ocho maoy among pag abot sa Tajod. pag ca bayente tris ming buerta aco sa Misamis nNocolan. Ang gi abotan co sa bayente singco sa Junio sa Nocolan. Aron ang acong pag paminao ug onsa ang

nahitabo.

Sa primiro sa Julyo nagkita na osab came si Daligdig. sadiha sa balay ne Siriaco Somatra, ug maong catiog sa mga catawhan nga elang cantada ug gui ababa, pag ca macalilisang ang among cahimtang dinhe socad sa enyong pag hitalicod. Macahahadlok pag ayo, sa dagat amercano sa bokid amercano ug came si Daligdig moot pag ayo tongod ~~kung~~ lamang sa mga tawo labe na caron himotan caayo ug cahadlocan sa mga tawo.

Pag ca bontag sa domingo nang lacao came si Daligdig paingon sa Nocolan. Ego gicahinagpak namo ang opat ca amercano sa soba sa Nocolan Clarin caron nangaligo. Diha walay otang otang cay away among giatobang. Pag ca bontag ug lones hing paole came sa Baliangao Langaran ug didto came maminao sa pila caadlao. Solod sa doha casimana gipangita na came ni Capitan Simeon sa Misamis sa tiktik na sia sa amercano. Samaong catapasan sa Julyo bayente nuebe mimaong Capitan Simeon didto sa Dapitan nag cuha sa mga Amercano cay tongod nanga hadlok sila sa bokid amercano. ming maong capitan Simeon nag dala sa amercano sa loyong ogma sinogdan sa bolan sa Augosto ono came naga catigom na sa manobo nga osa ca gatos, sa enag cabontag sa sinogdang bolan ginahagpa sa dalan sa calonasan licoan, sa enag tongha sa amercano ug si capitan Semion nga nag cabayo sa cabayo dasmagan dayon sa among caoban nga manobo nga gisarhintolan

ne Pedro Kisco sogboanon Talisay.

Ang gropo ni Pedro disisite (17) patay. ang among binatoga, bayentec(20) patay. amercano nuebe(9) patay ug mochacho ne capitan Simeon nahimong 3es (10) patay. Saingon sa ogma hingole came sa Langaran cay ang mga amercano hing Ole sa Dapitan ug si capitan Simeon. ug came naga holat sa balay ni Antonio Bisanda. Ang amercano ug si capitan Semion wala na mag lacao nag saday na sa barco. sa otcho (8) sa Agosto hingtabok na came sa polo sa Pamilacan atbang sa Sikijor ug Panglao. Diha came mag cabolag si Eustaquio Daligdig. sa enag cabontag si Daligdig mipaole sa Talingting.

ACO ming tabok sa Panglao sa diha pa came sa dagat nakitana ang barco gican sa Cebu nag paingon sa Maribojok. Sapag abot sa barco sa Maribojok ming tacas ang mga amercano. Aco nag parayon pag lacao sa bokid Datag Balilihan. Pag abot co sa hanopol gicasogilon nga adonay grupo sa Bilar Batuan ug Carmen. Sa enag ca bontag dose (12) & sa Augosto milacao aco ug mitabok sa Batuan. pag abot naco sa Hasan sa balay ni dato Pero, diha na ang mga tawo nga bolontario. Ang nakita co dayon sa solod sa balay se Pedro Samson. Maoy naga palacao sa camalig ug diha aco mihonong oban canila. Ang camalig nga tag dose ca dopa dotla ca camalig dag co. Ualara abote ug alas onse ang oras alas 3es (10) nadoman.

Ang oban ni Pedro Samson osa ca doctor ug si

Poldo Talacoma. diha na came mang higda. sa enag cabontag nag bolag came, Sila si Samson ug ang doctor ug si Talacoma nag paingon Sila sa Tobigon. aco nag paingon sa Carmunayan babe diha sa balay na Antonio Claras. Sa pito na ca adlao nacong poyo gui Catiog nga ang amercano motocad na sa Carmen. Tood da sa pitcha disisite (17) sa Augosto mil nuebe sentos ono (1901) aco sa enag cabontag dayon cong paingon sa Carmen. pag abot co sa Banlasan cagobot na cay ang amercano diha na sa Carmanayon. aco diha sa balay ni Rogue Lingcong, ang oban co si Pedro Sandias (Pislong) ug si Antonio Angcog ug si Roman Angcog. Ualas madogay nakita na ang amercano sa carsada sa Banlasan, ang mga tawo diay didto sa gaway gawayan ebabao sa Lungsod sa Carmen nang gui hapa ug totolo nang gidala ug satgun didto sa bongtod sa gaway gawayan. Caming opat nag abay canonay sa mga amercano sa dili layo sa Carsada. pag abot sa Toboo sa basak ne Pero, ang amercano pag hitongod sa bongtod ming boto ang satgun nahataliwala na diay sa Sinicolong bantay. Amercano gilibotan na ug came si Sandias ug doha ca Agcog, nang hicorat cay ang mga tawo nang gola na sa cabogangan ug ming dasmag. Came wala macasibog oban nalamang sa dasmag.

Ang daghang patay ang ganid sa satgun uala gayod Silay panimalos cay na ha ariba man wala man maca

minanok. Ang patay sa mga bisaya singcuentay nuebe (59) solod sa taga satgun, ang sa olahe cay Toloman ca pondok, ang amercano moray gicamatyan sa parada minanok. patay ni Sandias sa away nacaabot ug pito satinadtaray lamang cay si Sandias gitabangan niadtong pito ca amercano cay nahalosot sia sa daro nahimolag canamo. Si Sandias walay tatcha. Ang pondok sa olahe nga amercano moray gicamatyan. Ang patay traintay nuebe (39) walay habol ang mga 8 Bisaya. gawas ang habol singcuentay nuebe (59). Ang mga amercano naga cabolag sapag dagan nahadlok sa minanok. nianang pitchaha disinuebe sa Agosto Premirong gobat sa Bohol sa amercano. Sa enag cahoman, nag paingon aco sa Serabullones. Mingdangop aco sa balay ni Capitan Helario Totanes. sa inag catolo caadlao ming togbong aco sa Guindulman, bayente dos sa Agosto. (22) sa bayente couatro (24) naga cakita came si Juan Beronilia sa Tabahan ug di ha sia makig solte nga gosto makig tabok sa Surigao. Gui ingon co sia nga dili angay moadto kita sa laing yota condili anhera kita.

Tood niana naga cahigala came doolay Tolo ca simana. Sa nuebe (9) sa Septembre nianang cagabii ming adto came sa Togas cay giingon nga adonay amercano nga gican sa ubay mo anha sa Togas. Sa onse (11) sa Setembre hanog caayo nga ang amercano sa Tagbilaran

manha sa Guindulman. aco nanombalay sa pare ~~Don~~ Leoncio Obhinal. ang pare nag solte nga ang amercano mo anhe ogma. Ang pare hing hawid canaco nga diha ra aco sa combento.

Si Juan Beronilla naga pahalona na sa Cabantian niadtong dose(12) sa Setembre. nianang gabii ang pare wala naco tagae ug ariya hasteng nabontag oban canaco si tinente Balinten Bernales diha sa conbinto. Pag alas nuebe ang oras Pinaca na ang Cabantian. Diha ~~A~~niana aron macalosot came si Balinten sa caicog sa pare nag pasomangil came ug mamalhin sa cabayo, ug diha came mangagpas sa Cabantian nangabayo ug Cabayo. Ego caming nahaabot nalinao na ang gobat ug nang gui agoyong na ang mga samdon.

Sa pitcha trese(13) sa Septembre ecadohang gobat sa Bohol ug dayon nanga tawo ang Aklas sa longsod pag tago sa ca bokiran. Cadohang gobat nag tocod aco ug sintro sa Bohol Carmen Cambaliga cay hingtindog naman si Pedro Samson sa pag ca hineral.

Icatolo nacong silbe sa gobat nag campo na aco ug Caogalingon.

Icaopat ang gobat sa Rili~~gion~~hiyon tibook Bohol. walay comite, walay sondalo bogtong personal contra sa Romano hasta caron naca campo aco bayente site(27) ca campo sa Eglicia Pilipina Indipendinte.

Icalimang gobat contra sa hapon nag Caogalingon acog campo sa Cabagnan, Biabas Guindulman Bohol.

sa mil nuebe sintos cuarintay dos. (1942)

sa mil nuebe sintos cuarintay tres (1943)
gicoha aco sa amircano mao si captin Norch.
& sa pitcha kise (15) sa Marso mao ang pag abot
sa Midina Talisayan Misamis Oriental. Didto aco
macasilbe ug tolo ca toig sa panggobatan sa
hapon sa provencia Butuan Agusan.

Ang pag silbe co dinhe sa Bohol sa caogalingong
campo sogod sa Junio singcu (5) mil nuebe sintos
cuaritay dos (1942) cotob sa dose sa Marso mil
nuebe sintos cuarintay tres (1943) napolo da ca
bolan cay sa dose (12) sa Marso gicoha naman
aco ne Capten Norch.

u Mao kini ang hiyas ug caage nc
Mariano Datahan Somatra.

Osba ang mga epeling cay wala ne macacadimao
basta na lang mabasa.

Faustina Yalam Bilayda

The Virtues and Experiences of Mariano Datahan Sumatra

1 Born 1845, he was seven years old when trouble in life caught up with him. He went with his mother to harvest fish from the corrals found in the sea of barrio Catagbacan, sitio Cantimpang, of the province of Loon, Bohol.

2 On the month of June 9, 1852, the high tide reached the paths of the ebbing tide, making them deep , and their small boat was carried away by the current. His mother, Dominga Presintes, was not able to steer the boat towards the shore. The small boat capsized, and the young child Mariano, who was yet unable to swim, drowned. The mother, in vain, tried to comb through the current for the body, but it took fifty minutes before she could recover the body from the sea. When she retrieved it, the the mother lay the breathless body on the boat. The mother strained herself as she shouted for her husband Juan, as he was passing by the fish corral across the shore. She screamed for help for their child who had drowned.

3 The father, as he heard her shrill cry, swam a kilometer and a half towards the boat. When the father got there, the couple both steered the boat towards the shore. Reaching the shore with the child without breath,the father took the child and carried him over his shoulder. The child's head hang over the back of his father, and sea water streamed from his mouth as he was carried to their

house. The distance from the sea to the house was only a half kilometer, and when they reached the yard of the house, he was laid across a large mortar for pounding rice so that sea water would continue to trickle out his mouth. From the time he drowned at 9:00 in the morning, sea water continued to come out of his stomach for two hours. At 10:30 , he began to speak. He was almost defeated by this assault on his life , but he had been saved.

4 Now this couple were herders for the cows of Datu Piro Lasco, in the land of the barrio of Catagbacan, sitio Cantimpang, and the fate of their son Mariano had always been clothed with assaults on his life. On that same year, on the month of November the second, on the day of the dead, another event happened to the child. He was picking guava fruits from their yard, when he was seen by a herded cow who had just given birth. It was three in the afternoon, when the cow who had just given birth, gorged him by the horn as Mariano stood by a tree he was picking fruits from.

5 Again,the father was not around, for he was again at the fish corral to change pieces of split bamboo. The person who first got to know of his predicament was the child's surrogate grandfather, by the name of Maorecio Colito, and again he was the one who brought the gorged and bitten child, now without strength, to the road. From there, he was transferred unto a carabao, and was brought to his own home.

6 This life, which was contained in the body of Mariano

-- this body of Mariano, no longer had any vitality from the time he was gorged at three in the afternoon to the following night. He continued to move however , but he no longer had a voice throughout the whole night till 2:00 of the following morning. Many had already come to watch and visit. At an hour past 2:00, Agdo Moncada , another of the gorged child's surrogate grandfathers, the brother-in-law of Maurecio Colito, arrived. At two o'clock past fifty two minutes, he had suceeded in helping the child.

7 This surrogate grandfather named Agdo Moncada, boiled water to a heat level that could be tolerated on the palms, and this he used to bathe the body that no longer had strength. The child, after exactly fifty-two minutes from the hour of two, was able to speak, as he felt the heat that Agdo Moncada, his surrogate grandfather applied on his body. This surrogate grandfather , by the name of Agdo Moncada, lived in barrio Cansowagit, above the barrio of Catagbacan. These barrios are adjacent to each other.

8 Then these two surrogate grandfathers spoke to Juan and Dominga, the child's parents. This man named Mauricio , husband of Marcilina Moncada, younger brother of Agdo Moncada, nicknamed Insing said, "Juan , Dominga, this child should no longer be made to live with you". Alejandro Moncada likewise said , " Yes that is true, it would be better that he should live with Mauricio, after which he can also live with me". From that time on, this child named Mariano, no longer lived with his father and mother, and

he lived with Mauricio for ten months and one starting on November 1853. On the month of October the first, the child was taken by Alejandro Moncada, and the child stayed with him for ten months away from his mother and father. He was made to attend school since the father and the mother transferred to their own land from the barrio of Candaigan. The barrio of Catagbacan and Cansouagit had no school so that the children had to go to town for schooling. This is why the child was taken from his father and mother because the barrio of Candaigan had a school.

9 On this year, 1853, he began to go to school in barrio Candaigan. On October 28, 1853, he appeared in school riding a carabao, but was not able to attend classes because the carabao started to run, and the child's hands got entangled in the knot of the rope he was holding. So he just stayed by the road until he was brought by his other classmates to his home. In the morning , he was brought to his real grandparents, the father of his mother in the town of Agustin Empron Presinte . The child lived there for a year. At the age of the nine, he again returned to his father and mother in Candaigan. This Mariano, after he had been attacked in his personal life, soon after experienced the death of his father Juan, and he stayed with his mother as he grew up without a father.

10 At the age of ten, towards the end of his tenth year, his mother died on the 5th of the month of May. On the month of June, just at the age of ten, this Mariano travelled to Tubigon, in order to find his brother. This

brother that he wanted to see was named Francisco Datahan Sumatra.

11 When he arrived at Tubigon, he served as a sacristan. On his third week as sacristan for the priest Dionicio Franco, he was made as **poltiro mayor**(chief bell-ringer) of the convent, a position just below the priest's servant named Plasido Oharis. He served as **poltiro** till he reached the age of 19, until he was requested by the priest Felix Gallares that he be brought to the town of Catigbian Bohol, because the priest had no one to appoint as **poltiro mayor.**

12 This priest named Vicente, towards the final year of Mariano's stay under Paore Vicente's hands , was transferred on January , 1854. This Mariano walked without direction at the age of eleven ,when Padre Vicente was transferred to become the first curate of Anda , Bohol. This Mariano was then sent for by Padre Vicente , together with Guillermo Logang ,the priest's servant. This Mariano stayed for seven months in Anda, as he served Padre Vicente Gallares and Guillermo Logang, the priest's servant. Later, this Mariano transferred to Tubigon, and because of the great hesitation , and regret that the priest had regarding his going, he gave fifty pesos to Mariano. When Mariano arrived in Tubigon, he requested the people for labor for a fee. He would pay a **sikwalo** (a coin worth half of a **sikapat** which was during the Spanish times, about a quarter of a peso, but in the 1900's about ten

centavos) per day, and a sikapat per day if they brought along their own carabao. He used what Padre Vicente gave him, the fifty pesos, as a memento of the pity Padre Vicente had for his service. This money was used to cultivate the field, to plough the sugarcane field, the corn field and the field for other crops. This money that Padre Vicente had given Mariano, this fifty pesos, was not used for anyhting else but as salary for labor on the field. And there in the barrio of Cauayanan, sitio Mapa-it, Tubigon Bohol, there he gathered produce from the sugarcane field and the corn. Of that same year, as he was walking the fields at the age of eleven, this Mariano Datahan had become better off in his condition at the farm because of the money - the fifty pesos, that Padre Vicente had given him for his past labor as **poltiro mayor** for the friars.

13 As this Mariano reached the age of eighteen years, he was drafted to the town of Tubigon. He became a soldier for the Spaniards, and encountered his first battles against the **moros**.

14 It was in the year 1861, on the first of January, that Mariano was sent to Iligan, Lanao. February 5, 1861 was the time when an assault was launched against the camp of Datu Pakpak of Marawi, Lanao.

15 After this, the civil guards during the Spanish times,had soldiers that were aged eight years old. But those who were aged eight were not able to push through with their civil service because the Spaniards were

disbanded due to the revolution against the Spanish casadores.

16 The revolution was exuded by the rebellion of the Philippines against Spain. The revolution was raised in the year 1867.

17 The rebellion of the Philippines was born in the year 1869. This rebellion against the Spanish authorities stood up under the hands of Donsalis in Samar . The rebellion against beliefs in 1882 , was under the power of Padre Burgos and the power of love for the land of one's birth.

18 The fruit of this power from the land of birth caught fire in Bik-na-Bato, as put up by Doctor Jose Rizal, Juan Luna, Apolinario Mabini, Padre Zamora and Padre Gomez. The fruit of the pride that resulted from the rebellion against Spain, was first established in Bagumbayan, Rizal, a rebellion pledged for by a flag with the letters K K K , Katipunan, Katipunan, Katipunan.

19 Andres Bonifacio declared " the flag and my sword is the Katipunan-body, which I will use to fight against the power of Spain in Manila". Andres Bonifacio immediately showed his power and strength to the Spanish officials here, in Manila.

20 It was a big challenge on the day of Monday. This Andres let go several explosives towards the quarters of the Spaniards. The fire rockets and firecrackers were exploding everywhere when the rage of the native land was provoked. On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, there

was a big challenge out of the deep abiding anger that the native land had against the generals, the friars, and the Spaniards who were in the Philippines. On the afternoon of Friday , Andres Bonifacio settled down, together with Jose Santa Ana and Juan de la Cruz. The rebels against Spain waited in the barrio of Balintawak, a kilometer and a half away from the city. This Andres Bonifacio showed himself as he raised the flag on the noon of Friday . He unfurled the flag to the winds, flapping, provoking the rancor of the governor general and the commanding general of Spain. On this very afternoon, the Spanish soldiers began their attack.

21 Andres Bonifacio in the barrio of Balintawak, was immediately there for the battle. The five provinces of the town stood up and revolted on the morning of Saturday. And as has been told, the Katipunan had finally been made alive, sheathed within the beliefs of Biak-na-Bato, headed by Jose Rizal Protacio.

22 The prime soldiers of the Katipunan served as servants of the Spanish officials and the friars. The battle at Balintawak stopped only once, and was without noise. The servants of the Spaniards accomplished whatever duty they were given because they were the prime soldiers of the Katipunan. These servants, as agreed upon by the pact at Biak-na-Bato, and as voted on by the higher officers of the Katipunan,were made to attack their own masters. They went undercover as according to the strategy

It was the servants who took care of the signs. When

the sign was executed, the querillas stood up , and the servants immediately acted upon the orders : the moment a master would go out for a stroll, tne servant would steal into the master's room and leave an opening in the ceiling. As soon as the master sleeps in the room that he is occupying, the servant would open the ceiling that he had worked on during the day, and aim at cutting the head of the master in his room. After cutting the neck of the master, and having disabled him from speaking, the master's head is to tied to a string and raised up as he climbs out and closes up the opening in the ceiling. The work of the spy was from the power of Jose Rizal, Mabini, Juan Luna, Padre Zamora and Padre Gomez. It was forbidden by the head of the Katipunan to speak to anyone about what the servants had done.

23 The head was to be buried by the shore in such a way that the judges , as well as the rest of the people would not be able to discern. The other heads are to be buried in the basements of stockrooms in such a way that it would not be investigated. And just as it happened, no one has, up to this moment, been able to solve what the Katipunan did during the rebellion.

24 The first incident that the servants did to the big Spanish officials in Manila and in other provinces, was carried out by the number one servant among those that were to cut the heads of their masters. The servant of the governor-general , that very next morning, did it without

fear. The rest of the servants continued to cook breakfast for the master in order to evade any suspicion from the judges and the powerful people.

25 The meal was laid on the table of the dining room so that the servants would not be suspected that they themselves have done the evil. The food was covered with of their master after the still night was done. At the strike of eight in the morning, the servant ran to the house of the commandant in order to inform him . When he arrived , the servant said, " Sir commandant general, my master has not come out to eat his breakfast. I have been calling him and trying to wake him outside. I have knocked on the door just by the side of the bed he lays on, and yet he does not wake up. His breakfast has become very cold.

26 The general asked if the master had not gone out . The servant answered that he had not. The servant said, " the master did tell me last night , right after dinner, that I should prepare an early breakfast for him because he would leave for Tondo early in the morning. The general said , " then why don't you open the door? " The servant answered, " how can I open the door when it is locked, and the key is with him inside the room ? ". The general said, "then maybe he has left without taking notice of breakfast ?" The servant , exasperated, answered, " but where would he pass if a key has not turned the lock of the room ? The door remains intact. "

28 The commandant general and brought with him his two soldiers who were also guards, and they proceeded to

walk. I wet with them towards the house. When the commandant arrived, we immediately called and knocked on the wall by his bed, and we tried to break down the door. The commandment then ordered a guard to summon the colonel , other soldiers and judges. They were also asked to bring a pole in order to break down the door. When the guard turned his back, the commandant questioned me. " Servant, was there any person who came to visit ? " Answer, " None". It was not long after that the colonel and the soldiers arrived. When they were at the scene, they tried to pry open the bolt across the door, but were unable to. They worked on the wall instead.

29 They were eventually able to open two panels from the wall,and when the colonel peeped in, he saw that the governor was already dead, headless. They further opened the wall, and the soldiers, the commandant general and the colonel entered. When they looked closer, they saw that there was no other wound but the cut that severed the head. The colonel orderd the soldiers to go around and broadcast the news to the high officials of the land that the governor general was dead, and that he no longer had a head.

30 The town, as soon as the civilguards informed them, the entire city , the people of the mysterious cadaver. The Spaniarads, the friars, and the rest of the Spaniards, were when the looked upon the dead that no longer had a head. And they investigated all the doors and windows ,

and they found out that not one was touched, all were closed. The captain general , and the commandant general , captain of the civil guards and the judges, had only one question for the servant " did you notice any mysterious-looking character last night ?" The servant answered that he saw none. The spaniards who had wives and mistresses, notified the boats to bring the women, wives and children to Mindoro. The Spaniards were in a commotion as they tried to find out the cause.

31 After this happened, the other servants readied themselves to open other ceilings, and to do the same thing right after the night the governor-general was discovered, dead and headless.

32 And because the servants were the only ones who were constantly there even during the investigation over the governor-general, these servants earned some favor through what they did that day. The servant of the teniente colonel was the one who made the second move, and what happened to his master was a repetition. The head of the teneiente colonel was deposited by the servant in the captain's stable for horses. The servant of the teneiente colonel again declared that " my master has not awakened as I tried to wake him up for breakfast. The same commotion flared up as that which resulted from the death of the governor general.

33 And because of the great terror that fell upon the Spaniards the following night, they refused to sleep in their homes. They all, each one of them, hid in the

thickets of the surrounding towns. The captain general was able to hide in Elmita, San Juan, and the number two soldiers of the Katipunan all kept watch over where the Spaniards were. The one who was able to spot the captain general, was the same servant who cut off the head of this same captian general in Elmita, and other Spaniards. That night, twelve Spaniards died, including an archbishop and an **argaminsor** and a **hues mayor.** Because of this, the Spaniards no longer had any finesse as they ran about. Some fled to MIndoro, while others reached Sorsogon. The civil guards became fragmented, and they hid in whatever place they could find. They no longer wore their military uniforms. The Spaniards that week, just fell down dead in several places because they were all under the scrutiny of the soldiers of the Katipunan. And as it is said there, whether of the week or the month, , the trouble stopped when there no longer was , everyong moved and kept watch within the Philippines.

34 This Mariano was appointed by the head of the Kaipunan to the island of Malabon. The man who appointed him was Antonio de Mara from Sorsogon and Camarines. When the trouble in Manila among the Spaniards happened, both Mariano and Antonio retreated towards Samar. And there, this Mariano took care of Samar, the place where Donsales lived as he inscribed the of the Philippines. And it was \there that this Mariano served the Katipunan as trouble continued among the Spaniards. 35 As soon as there was

calm among the Spaniards, he was appointed to watch over Catiil Surigao. It was there that the Spaniards . When the battle was finished, he retreated from Catiil towards Camiging. The Spaniards were all gathered together in the house of Captain Sido. As has been heard, all the Spaniards disappeared within a week . He crossed over to Borneo after this Mariano had fought, all the Spaniards of Camiging.

36 This Mariano, I crossed over to Misamis Oriental. I had with me Antonio Cabongse from Camiging. Within the twelve months that I lived in Misamis, we eventually returned to Samar, and there lived for ten and three months, beyond one year.

37 In the year 1896 I was in Samar. In the year 1897, I went home here in Bohol. This Mariano, on that same year, returned to Misamis. In the year 1898, returned to Bohol in order to look for the native land. On this same year, lived in Carmen. In that same year, 1898, still hoping to find the native land. Whe he finally saw it, he immediately took note of it. Still in that same year, he returned to Misamis.

38 In the year 1899, he again went home to Bohol, and again remebered the native land. A beloved year, and a repository of a great remembrance.

39 This native land is within the town of Guindulman, Bohol, named Biabas, an offshoot of Candijay.

40 After he had marked the name of the native land, Biyabas, on the month of May, he returned to Misamis, and in Misamis set up a meeting with Eustaquio Daligdig of the

town of Malabon, now called Clarin. On this same year, we lived in Langaran. In the year 1900, we lived in Langaran. Our friendship dated back from the year 1899 to the year 1900, and even to till January 1901. At that time, from May 12, 1901 to June and July, the rise of the Americans was made obvious. On May 22, 1901, I and Daligdig were caught in a mock activity against the Amricans. On this date, May 22, together with forty-five horses that were placed under the tribunal and the school building, twelve moros who were with us and Daligdig, were commanded to put the tribunal and the school building to fire. We poured gas, two each. Only two horses were recovered by the Americans, unschorched. On May 23, at nine o'clock in the morning, there was a battle in the cemetery of Misamis. Of the dead, there were seven moros, who were with us, in contrast to one platoon of Amricans. The five dead among the Americans moved because they were unable to rush into the cemetery. The seven dead among the moros were gathered by the live moros with our help, , and we buried them at the back of the cemetery.. After all this, we, I , we all went home to Nocolan, and I proceeded to Todela, together with Eustaquio Daligdig. In the afternoon of Saturday, we proceeded to Capayas Langaran Oroquita. In the morning of Sunday , Oroquita was under the gunfire of the Americans, right after the battle in Misamis. The most dead in Oroquita were found in Lobok and San Vicente. In the afternoon of Thursday, Eustaquio Daligdig and I left for

Siquijor. This Eustaquio went home to his home in Talingting, while I went home to this place, Bahol, together with Pedro and Cabisa Leon from Punta Cruz, Loon. Pedro and I proceeded to this place, Anda, because Pedro is from Anda Tajod.

41 The month of June the 18th, was the time we arrived in Tajod. By the 23rd, I went back to Misamis Nocolan. I arrived in Nocolan on the 25th of June, and was there to listen to what had happened.

42 On July first, Daligdig and I again saw each other. In the house of Siriaco Sumatra, the one who headed ,"how terrifying our condition has been here since you turned your backs on us . The Americans are very much to be feared . In the sea, Americans. In the mountains, Americans. And Daligdig and I were very pleased

42 In the morning of Sunday, Daligdig and I walked towards Nocolan. at that moment, we crossed the paths of four Americans taking their baths by the river of Nocolan, Clarin. There, there was no owing of any kind because we were facing a fight. Monday morning, we go home to Baliangao Langaran, and there we stayed for several days. within two weeks, we were already being looked for by Captain Simeon of Misamis of the Americans. Towards the end of July 29, this captain was in Dapitan in order to fetch the Americans who ahd become afraid of the mountains. This captain Simeon brought an American at the beginning of the month of August, just before we and one hundred sugarcane cutters were assembled. With the morning of the

first day of the month, we sprawled ourselves across the bending road, and when the American and Captain Simeon appeared on horseback, the hundred sugarcane cutters , headed by sergeant Pedro Kisco from the Sugbu , of Talisay, rushed towards them. The group of Pedro had seventeen dead. From our forces, twenty were dead. From the Americans, nine died, and together with the servant of Simeon, ten. In the morning, we went home to Langaran since the Americans , together with Captain Simeon, went home to Dapitan. And we waited at the house of Antonio Bisanda. The Americans and Captain Simeon no longer walked but instead rode on a boat. On August 8, we crossed the polo of Pamilacan, just across Siquijor and Panglao. It was there where Eustaquio Daligdig and I parted. In the morning, Daligdig went home to Talingting.

43 I crossed over to Panglao. As I sailed along on the sea, I spotted a boat from Cebu heading towards Maribojoc. When the boat reached Maribojoc, the Americans fled. I contniued to walk on the mountain of Datag Balilihan.When I reached Hanopol, I was told tht there was a group in Bila, Butuan and Carmen. In the morning, on the 12th of August, I went away to cross over to Butuan. When I reached Hasan, in the house of Datu Pero, the men who had volunteered were already there. I immediatey saw Pedro Samson inside the house. He was the one who was foreman for the construction of the warehouses, and it was there were I lodged. There were two large warehouses, each measuring 12 meters per

side. It was not even the hour of eleven yet , for at ten o'clock it was finished.

43 Together with Pesdro Samson was a doctor and a man named Foldo Tolacoma. We all lodged at the warehouse. In the mroning, we separated ways for Samson, the doctor and Tolacoma all headed towards Tubigon. I was heading towards Carmanayan Gabe, were I would find the house of Antonio Claras. After seven days of living there, it was ascertained that the Americans would in Carmen. and just as it was said, on the 17th of August, 1901, I immediately proceeded towards Carmen in the morning. When I reached Banlasan, there was much havoc for the Americans had already reached Carmanayon. I was at the house of Roque Lingcong. With me was Pedro Sandias (Pislong) , Antonio Ancog and Roman Angcog. It was not long before the Americans were sighted on the roas of Bansalan.All the people were at the, just above the town of CArmen, lying flat on the ground. Three , stationed on the hill of , carried shotguns. The four of us were constantly trailing the Americans, not staying far from the road. When we reached the spring at the farm of Pero, the Americans were heading towards the hill when the shotgun was fired. They were caught in the middle . The Americans were already surrounded. Sandias and I, and the two Angcogs were startled when all of a sudden, people rushed out of the tall cogon grasses, and . We were unable to move, and so we just rushed along with the assault.

44 Many had died from the volley of the shotgun. They

never had a chance to fight back because they were hardly even aware. The dead among the Bisayans was fifty nine, all within the people from satgun. Of the three groups among the Americans, only the last group had dead among them during the parade . The dead within Sabdias' group was seven, all dead by being hacked to pieces. Sandias was helped by the seven Americans because he was able to break through the ploughed fields, having been separated from us. Sandias did not have a single scratch. The last group of the Americans was the only group with dead among them. The dead among the Bisayans was 39, and not one of them had a blanket to cover them. Only the first 59 had blankets to cover them. The Americans had fled into several directions for hear of the **minanok**. That date, the 19th of August, was the first war in Bohol against the Americans. After the battle, I proceeded to Sierra Bullones. I entrusted myself to the house of captain Helario Totanes. On the third day, I went up to Guindulman, the 22nd of August. On the 24th, Juan Beronilia and I saw each other in Tabahan, and it was there that he told me that he wanted us to cross over to Surigao. I told him that it was not proper that we should go to another land, but that we should just stay here.

44 True o this, we stayed as friends up to almost three weeks. On the night of the 9th of September,we went to Togas because it was rumored that several Americans would be coming from Ubay and that they will head towards Togas. On the 11th of September, it was widespread that the

Americans from Tagbilaran would go to Guindulman. I was at that time lodging in the house of Leoncio Obhinal. The priest said that the Americans would come here on the morrow. The priest insisted that I should remain in the convent.

45 Juan Beronilla was already settling himself in Cabantian on the 12th of September. That night, I did not give , and even until morning, Balinten Bernales, the teniente, was with me in the convent. At the 9th hour, Cabantian was already . At that point, in order that we could escape from our of the priest, we gave excuses about having to transfer onto a horse .It was only then that we were able to head towards Cabantian riding on horseback. At the very moment we arrived, the ar was already still, and the wounded were already being carried on people's backs.

45 On the 13th of September, the second war agaiinst the Americans happened in Bohol. Right after that was born the rebellion in the town as soon as the people had hidden themselys in the mountains. On this second war, I instituted a center in Bohol Carmen Cambaliga, because Pedro Samson had already stood up as general.

46 On the third time I served in a war, I had already instituted my own camp.

47 The fourth war was a war against religion in the whole of Bohol. There were no committees, no soldiers, it was a personal war against Rome. Up to now, I have been able to establish twenty seven camps for the Iglesia Filipina

Indipendiente.

48 The fourth war was against the Japanese. I had my own camp in Cabagnan, Biabas Guindulman Bohol in the year 1942.

49 In 1943, I was drafted by an American by the name of Captain Norch. The 15th of March was the day I arrived in Midina Talisayan, Misamis Oriental. It was there that I served for three years in the waragaint the Japanese in theprovince of Butuan Agusan.

My service here in Bohol within my own camp began on June 5, 1942 until the 12th of MArch, 1943. This lasted for only ten months because on the 12th of March, Captain Norch had already come for me.

"These are the virtues and experiences of Mariano Datahan Sumatra."

2.7 Damgo ni Hurayhaber

3-16-1938

Lelo Con Horay Haber
Damgo ni Horay Haber
Chdeforc Eyoropanhon
Molopyong Eyoropanhon

Esto paladas kede cas warma telgaya sem empet berya boLre estaco ang panudya dili na mauogtang hangtud sa siyam kabalin batakan katapusang reyolke moy lasago ya gapo mollen remoy gowago samnat e petes manulonda Magsaysay sa tibo-ok kalibulan mga dagkong yuta ug gagmay kede coyto esto paladas demeter ya Sondon Sotbagani e Baganbagane dili na po-ohon ang panudya pina-ngi sa pangulo Hari ug deetador Saber ya pondo ya remoy con toesoy con denyor septor diel ya Eyaropa pinagola sa baba sa mga-Alepon ni denyor septor dinhi sa Eyoropa e clabotto ya Herosalem moy estoryoke ya howas ya recorde sika con toksoy natawo sa Herosalem nag to-on sa howas sa yoneber sidad pinalunggang sologo-an ya chdiaro serbantes sopetel ya eksemane moy bonhawas mopen depentoya sa atong bantoqang gikan sa eksemane naglingkod kapitong eskina sa mate mate ya Herusalem
Siyudad sa Herusalem

esto reyolke ya apolore ponwal 18, ya dapame con denyor gem e ang manulonda sa edad nag deseotso 18, sa kaunot ni denyor gibutang ug sedor ya chatil Hon ya chderos ensel bangis si Sal chdan Chdil redel berdo ya secretaryo sa iyang Opisina sa kadato, mga ong ngalan si sal chdan chdil nga nagapasabut sa con pereaporg ya sadwik kreno ebaro nenos dama ya chderos serat katuigan sa kanta wala hibalo-i niya uban sa dato takolahaw recos relaning ya deldedos con ara tadlang abeya kaber pon-oy
lamang nga gisibo sa kabubut-on ni Asa niadtong adlawa abrel onse

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tinodlo siya pinahibalo sa anghel niya bo-ot ni Ara manulonda-on si, Sesal
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Abra, pakauntahon ug pagbangon kewa ono, 1, hangtod sa 7, pagbangon
ya bentod esto enpet kreno kelaba moy paladas esto oypen, 1, 7
sa lungsod ang bahin walay la-ing manulonda-on ang ono sete, 1, 7
moldecion alat killos ya karangke eyuropa sopetel abecchaba lakere yu
guera gutom salet sa tuburan eyuropa gisekan sa kasadpan paingon sa
chdialbo grechdiagoya golpotan paseling tewerse sikwes haldo esto gere
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ang kaaway sa lawas-ug kinabuhi dugo sa Lungsod taliwala
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sa kanasuran maoy ulaling nasod dango sa kalibutan senilet sa hangin ang
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Siyam, 9, capolo sa taliwala sa dagat sulod sa torel sa mga
wergan ya merechan e yaregarke ya gramalama chden sem, 9, moryon, wergan
nasud sa karaan ug sa mga sumusunod sa kaubanning siyam kapolo, nasod
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sa kadlipnan sa dili pa muabot ang mga katuigan sa-ad ni Bathala umabot unya
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kalibutan.

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remoy wergan esto lelo ya mollen esfal berdo con Ara Bathala redatong gad rel remoy chdeyon
kanasuran, kas dango sa kalibutan dunay itodlo nl Ara nga Bathala nga taga-an
sundon nga sa pagkawagtang.
ang
ya remoy breshmen tendas de Ara reyofende gapo mollen ya toledo
samga bulawan salapi de Dios nga natawhan fiberok kalibutan sa hunaftuna,
Bagan bagane ya moybeles apong con pere apong 1929, oyman isem ton kawsem
Dectador sa magsusulat tuig sa katuigan 1929, ~~sang pagkatawo~~
esto eclabotto renattella-achel Bagan bagane ya moryon ya lawosdeleyo
ang pagkatawo nga mahimo-ayong dectador sa kapolo-an sa taliwala
ya labela wergan sopetel ya abesehaba lakere ya chdialbo degle ya golpotan
sa dagkong nasud guikan sa kasadpan paingon sa subangan atbang sa habagatan
degleses ya tewerse mog reloke esto chil con bagan bagane ay chdin apong
atubang sa amehanan madayon ang iyang pagka dectador unya ning tuig
ya remoy apong ya con pere apong: lelo chden moryon chden lawosdeliyo ya
sa tuig sa ~~sang katuig~~ sa mga tuig sa katuigan: damgo ning
kapolo-an nlng taliwala sa
mollen ya wergan degapo ya fotolan ya sikwes ya meriklan
kalibutan sa nasud katibuk-an sa manunudlo sa tanan sa niyutibo
chden moryon lames lelo ya sikwes meboy esto saklay moy sedyal
ning kapulo-an daghang damgo sa kara menuto ang bata nga gianak
olad sa damgo ning kapolo-an tapong sa mga kasa-ang ginshari-an
ma dectadores

ya parong del-op ya nema waren ya chil parong ya sela chiden sachay
sa gugma gedawat sa inalian gitaliedan sa iyang gugma sa amahan ning bata
durte eclabolto ya deglesecion ya nema loledo lawom ya sekwes lawam apong
natawo na sa atubangan sa inahang esip ugma sa taviang ugma tuig
iyareya lacya ya samnat yotende e ya nema samnat tewergo
nahimong mutya sa yutang natawthan ug sa inahang yuta hinalaran
dosyan ya golse ya remoy lelo ya tokseyar iyareya golota ya
hingpit sa aneb sa mga damgo sa kaalipman nahimong dela sa
nema samnat ya moryon ya samnat yotende.
inahang yuta sa kapolo-an sa yutang natawthan.

Chesol ya lelo con Horay Haber Mar-so 21, 1938
Sumpay sa damgo ni Horay Haber Marso 21, 1938
Chdiomper Eyuropanhon
Mulopyong Eyuropanhon

Apong oyman penton setpen, 1,777, kaber 2 recoy, 3,
tuig 1,777 abrel 2, ekatulong gabii
(damgo nga) lelo rekede yaste eswa ya bahaba ya loledo ab esto selarke
damgo nga dili kapangngan siga sahikatulog sa humahuma hasta pay-olbo
ya eso groper keay con Ara lakere ya esemsol ya pasepeko moy selar ya eso
sa kalayo hugot nga saad ni Bathala paingon sa bolkan sa pasepeko pag sela-ab sa kalayo
ya akwates ya eso kowerna con breslomen satebling ya dese-etel ya samnat
sa dugo-on sa kilat nga bulawan tinguha sa nanag-iya sukod sa yuta
ya abe sehaba e ya chdialbe ya tendas esto ebetangke ya pasepiko
sa kasadpan ug sa silangan sa salapi ang dagat sa pasepiko.

Ug sa A. Ex ó GG A-ll-h L-ss Ó' 0-9 ta 0-9 L-d' ó G ta A. P-G-g-9
tongpo ya sekwes wergan yapok esto gowago eso-cowerte ya keberasa
inangcon sa tarang nasud anha ang dakong lenti sa kinabuhi
9 Gou A. Sc Ger AC L-ss Ó' S Sc g Sssn A. fo P=01 L-ss Ó' g 0.1 A.
sacoy ya kechden ase esto reke rakel ya loledo esto paro ya
tagbo-on sa hugyaw aron ang kataua e-aguk sa alimúngaw ang kasema
L-v Ex A. Ōe A-A-g A. fo Ye S L-G-k-h g 0.1-8 A. g 0.1 A. Ex ó GG
ensel labor ya dados ya lome re ebetangke parong ya paroya sikwes wergan
maoy tabon sa isbong sa elabon nga dagat gugma sa eboy sa tarang nasud
fo S C a-g GG ee ó é è 8e 0-9 ta 0-9 8 tri h Ae C A-g fo S h A.
loresema wergan chderos e chdiopen gowago petes ke-aiy con tra deredeya
mahimaya-on nasud dato ug pobre dagkog gamay sa-ad ni Bathala kalawaton
A. A-ó' 9 = S L-G-k-h C C K A. Sss Ai S Ye 0-0 A. Ō A A-ss L-ss Ó' g 0.1-8
ya asasal re ebetangke-sesered ya karna re memoryamo agad esto parong
sa halapad nga dagat dinapit sa kalag nga kangitnon adto ang gugmang
ó' 1g A. g 0.1-8 (-Y Ye ta Ge- L-ss Ó' P. Ee Ae A. 9 E. Aus ta G 0-9
tora ya parong guio moyfebel esto hondog ya samnat tewergo
hinolsol sa guymang dayon pagabag-uhon ang ebakaw sa yuta hinalad=
A. Ye 0-9 A. Ger f fo-fee OV Lp (-) OV ge 8e C A-g fee OV-8 Ai w fee OV
ya memarya chden lelo kreno elgeno werpo con Ara kreno penal-kreno
sa langit ning daingo walay kinutuban tupong ni Bathala nga walay-

Sinugdan, walay

Ge L-ss As fee OV L ta cA. Ō-lee S Ger G A. e.
bolse estaco kreno etel ya mollen rechden beyal.
katapusan walay sukod sa kalibutan nga ning-abot.

Ug Si A. L Eig-ag
Gregorio Bohna
Cadapdapan, Candijay Bohol

3. Expositions

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31 Ang Pagtulun-an sa Bisayas

NONGKASAY VISAYAS
PAGTULON-AN VISAYAS

esto nongkasay ya visayas kaning ya dima kide narella nangkasay e kreno letre resenmoyel
ang pagtulon-an sa visayas samara sa oban dili mahimong pagtulen-an ug walay letra nga kaugalinga
merenos moy visaya e vedanyo cos ensel narilla ke estapo recos re kreno nongkasay ditso gapo
niiyang pagka visaya ug pinulongan ra ug macy mahimo nagpa-ila kanang nga waky pagtulen-an kay hangin
cos ya pondo sabera ya chil reserla ; kede sobello kasko ~~pagpamolong~~ chil reserla ;
ra mah sa baba makub sa iiyang pagpamolong, dili tawgon nga kana iiyang pagpamolong ;
bildeso esto letre visaya demeter ya asado ya bolto ; e dereco/ ya keratere e
busa ang letra visaya pinangi sa huwas sa tewo ug senyas sa kalihukan ug
kedame ya asado esto letre visaya ;
solod sa huwas ang letra visaya ;
ensel bolse estako reenpat ya pon e ter tempor, malago ya nedor ya sekere con ehuba
maoy katapusan nga bahin sa hapolo ug dulla kadusina sumala sa hantok sa saksini ehuba
kedame ya gapo molleng esto letre visaya ekerde ya nedor ya sekere ditso lawes deke yo ya
solod sa tibo-ok kalibutan ; ang letra visaya naulahi sa hantok sa sakse kay nagaliwala sa
tetso ya gapo molleng, kedame ya rakeken ya astro sopete/ ya cindialbo kkeire ya
bukid sa tibo-ok kalibutan, nasolod sa agi-an sa adkuo gikan sa sidlakan paingon sa
abesehaba ; esto letre reoy-oy ~~3~~ katenes ya samnat ya ehipto leqas ya gapo
kasadpan ; ang letra numero ~~3~~, otho katenes sa yata sa ehipto pagsibot sa tibo-ok
molleng ; esto letre reoy-~~oy~~ tre (2), depet ya enpet etchena samnat ya remoy kainsikan ;
kalibutan ; ang letra numero dos (2), lona sa bahin etchena, yata sa mga kainsikan ;
bildeso esto letre visaya kede moymita, ya bolte rekrena moy tekoy kede laning ya letre
busa ang letra visaya dili masabut sa tawo nga wala pa maka-agi, dili sama sa letra
re-oy-oy ~~3~~, laten ya ehiptohanon ; benta-al ya letre ehiptohanon koy monarka ehipto
numero ono laten sa ehiptohanon ; hinggame sa letra ehiptohanon tulo ra ka monarka ehipto,
Roma, España, koba ; esto china ~~james~~ esto redello moy
Roma, España, koba ; ang china daghan ang meganie nag
kelaba kelaba esto asado ditso chalan ensel esto ekerde ya ehipto ;
nagkalain lain ang lanas koy sila mao ang nahaulahi sa ehipto ;
esta visaya oylogo ya meterkeses ya kawsdeliyo ya mollen titso ya samnat
ang visaya bogtong sa suliran sa taliwala sa eahibutan bukid sa yuta
lakere ya memoryal ; ensel kera wadred ya lanbre ya sekere con ftoba dede
paingon sa langit ; maoy hinungdan mated pa sa kasulatan sa saksi ni Huba, dili
moy areda ya es-al esto lenting ya mor visayas ditso ekerde ya pinal moy narella
makalakaw sa ta-as ang kampanella sa kabisay-an kay naulahi sa nahig-unang pag-organisar
Roma, España, koba ; ang china daghan ang meganie nag

Plano bande ya samnat yefende Samnat Pilipinhon edel lemorde ya moldecion ditso moy
gibandira sa yurlang natawhan yutang Pilipinhon enay gigoliya sa panggubaton kay pag-
narilla kristohanon bildeso kedame moy siayop ya letre españa ditso hugamyo ya remoy
organisar pagkakristohanon busa nasulod sa pagguba sa letra España kay gi-ilog man sa mga
kachela bolto esto egdot ya ara saklay relangis salbador sono e enkistos ya remoy kachela
katselang tawo ang gahum sa Dios bata nga gingarian Salvador Sono ug gibunagan sa mga katselang
Bolto e-salvador Delmondo ditso bolto ya titso edel saunkan e hagamyo esto moy narella
tawo ug Salvador Delmondo kay tawo sa bukid ug giagad ug gi-ilog ang pag-organisar
esto langis con Salvador Sono pertinekas ya kalo-an Bohol, Cebu Mactan del enkestos esto
ang ngalan ni Salvador Sono nakita sa kalo-an Bohol, Cebu Mactan guibenyagan ang
estapo senrayel ya moryon visayas del Sebillo Senior Santo Niño ya durte samya relere esto
kangis mestral ya remoy kachela con Senior Santo Niño Mactan Cebu batauw un peondo
ngalan sabunyag sa inga katsela nga Senior Santo Niño Mactan Cebu pinabukaus sa ngabel
con Magellan e del kender ye Magellan guenya gowago oydo ya deglesecion ya besa
ni Magellan ug nag-ugbok si Magellan dayon sa dakong Crus sa sinbakan sa atubangan sa simbahan
San Agustin Sugbo e dienang genenyo moy kanohas con Magellan oydo remetra
San Agustin Sugbo ug diha dayon gipistahan pag-una ni Magellan Crus nga melagroso
deldowate con Hesucristo ya tetso ya kalbaryo ya Herosalem ya
nga gipakamatyan ni Hesucristo sa bukid sa kalbaryo sa herosalemsa
Gowago larak ya samnat ya palistina mon e guerno ya del ken der con Magellan
dakong patag sa yuta sa palistina karon e kotob sa pag-ugbok ni Magellan
ya oydo remellar ya deglesecion ya San Agustin Sugbo del abralte re-oydo remellar
sa kruas inga meligroso sa atubangan sa simbahan sa San Agustin Sugbo gediskorso nga Crus nga milagroso
del ken der ya kay 3 abeya ya mao e chdimre oydo moygeuato soler ya chil con ter
gui ugbok sa Toto 3 ka adlaw sa mayo e kining crus magatobo solod sa iyang cota.
resenrayel ga-op ohas ya besa ya San Agustin e
nga kangalingong balay, nahacina sa Simbahan sa San Agustin e

Lo ke ge ti kat kuri ti atte ge A. ta ke ö ö. ö A OV e
enchdelas tesek desternak ya del chdeto sugbuanon e
angay aternahon sa pomopoyo Sugbo-anon e
(-)OV Ge kru kuo O·e ge O·e kan ö O·e a O·e O·e a ö· Ge kru kuo A. Sd Oi
guerno moy kender gorago esto gowago gowato moy kender ya oydo
kutob pag-ugbok di-in ang dakong tobo pag-ugbok sa crus
con Magellan esto bolto achdiakaina ya del kender ya oydo
ni Magellan ang tawo dungan sa pag-ugbok sa crus
kreno moy deraldo ya saklay ditso ya oydo, ditso esto oydo
walay makalabaw sa bata kay sa Crus; kay ang Crus
guerno del kender telga re cas esto chil es-al
kutob pag-ugbok hangtod na laman ang iyang kata-as

e 0·e a 0·e e ep ce ng yb A g s ño c ax ax au h lv cs s A g oi lxö 0
e gowago e chil senrayel ga-op remoy center plantes rake ensel regane do-esto mon
ug kadako ug va iyang kaugalingon nga balay manga cota enaptan teso mao sa gihapon hasta karon

lxg ö pb hu A ba·h afb a·c hzs a·ep ñ hzu ño lv bs g 0·e a ö ax A a·ep c oiath
esto saklay achdiakama ya del lad ya chil moy kender ensel delgowato telga chil con dounte
ang kinako bata dungan sa pag-anak sa iyang pag-ugbok nga-oy nagatubo hangtod iyang pagkamatay

e h ñ B g lxö h a Anoe s ö ep pb hu ax A 0
e late moy beling esto labanay re toylop saklay telga mon
ug kapila mabangon ang kaliwat ni adtong bata-a hangted karon

lv ñ h a·0·e ds k s ño B g lxö h ña is e 8b 6x d ajb e ño ñ bz
entera ya gowadred remoy beling esto kechdas e pen cas somag moytesem
tema-an sa to-od nga pag balie ang masungay ug pito naka somag nagpa-ila

s lxö pb hu g 0·e a ö A= hx d h ño lxö g c ö a d° ö
re esto saklay del gowato yan ditso lames esto del chdito ya sugbo
nga ang bata maoy nagatubo de-oy kay daghan na ang pamoptyo sa sugbo

lxö ld oi lv bs s A g A ep ld oi lxö 0
esto oydo ensel regane achil oydo esto mon
ang crus mao gihapon siya rang asara hasta karon

d 8 ax L Ve ö ö c s d° a ajñ ñ ajb ñ a qc Ahr a Be Fñ ñ An
Sopetel eclabolito con Hesus ya matemate ya sampat ya Palestina
gikan sa pag katawo ni Hesus sa siyudad sa yuta sa Palestina

G ov ño hzu hus ñe A h ld
ngueno moy kender dellake oy
kutob pag-ugbok nianang Crus

d 8 ax a·A ño bo s c s d° HHH, 8c öa bs 8c 0 ö c
Sopetel ya apobre con Hesus 777, penton setpen mon bolse
gikan sa panuigon ni Hesus 777, karon imatapus

ßs ö F lxö ax ajñ ñ A bo d 8 ax a·L Ve ö ö·c s d° lxö ld oi
cos bolet esto ter man apong Sopetel ya eclabolito con Hesus, esto oydo
na hapit ang duha ka libo ka tuig gikan sa pagkatawo ni Hesus ang crus

A ep s A g ld hus ov g A Anoe a·d° ö A= lv ñ g lxö ld oi
achil regane oy kreno labanay ya sugbo yan entera esto oydo
siya gihapon asara wala moliwat sa sugbo. di-oy tema-an ang crus

ño hz hus c ajbe lio lv ñ g a·öa c A·s
moy kender con Magellan entera ya tokseyar
pag-ugbok ni Magellan marka sa kaolipnan

8 F 8c p, ño ax ñ a·ele e F ce· A ñ h cb l F d· a·ej ño 8 F 8c p
Pilipinhon, moy date ya chdiaro lebret atekeses eglese ya chdiomper Pilipinhon
Pilipinhon, pagkamatay sa atong pagtolon-an lofena atekeses otokan sa
molopyong Pilipinhon

ch lv bs öV ih pe, A ajb a·L ce ce ej ño 0·o lio= 8 F 8c p
chdon ensel nong kasay dapna ya delbe chdiomper mopyon Pilipinhon
Ning ma-ong pagtolin-an oban sa pagkagapos molopyong kalpopod-ang Pilipinhon

lxö ele öV ih pe g ttl a·h ce· a· lxc g s d· ih ajb d· ih ajb g 6 ño ax
esto chdiaro nong kasay laning ya tebel bang-eklat del sekama sokama rakometel
ang atong pagtolon-an mora sa bag-ong nahimata pag pirok pirok pagkabihag

a·a 8 F 8 ñ a·s d·s ño ih ep qc ö ö
ya gapo Pilipinas ya remoy kacheka bolto
sa tibo-ok Pilipinas sa mga katselang tawo

e s ño 8 g s ño 6 A= cs oi ea h lxö yc g B 8 F 8c p ch· qg
e remoy peling re perseyan del dounte esto recon labe Pilipinhon tadlang
ug sa mga praylesta nga ilang gipamatay ang kadagku-ang

Pilipinhon kabi

de-esta chdoy laning poy Penay ensel penal
mga kina-admanon sama kang Penay ma-oy unang

Sondon ya gapo Pilipinas, laning ya Peling Tumod,
Sabyo sa tibo-ok Pilipinas, Sama sa Pari Tumod,

moyha sing ya Peling Vesente ya Bentod ya Malbago
gi-ilog sa Paring Vesente sa Lungsod sa Malbago

Abatan Cortes Dayhangan delha sing esto besa
Abatan Cortes Dayhangan na-ilog ang simbahan

con Peling Tumod ya Peling Vesente. do-esto lenting e
ni Pari Tumod sa Prayling Vesente. hasta lingganay ug

esto lenting rehaldo re edlak ya Dayhangan Malbago.
Ang lingganay nga matunog nga ogis sa Dayhangan Malbago.

keyor ya somel Bacoco e del yaksap ya bac ya Cortes
gidagit sa langgam Bacoco ug gihulog sa Suba sa Cortes

Abatan, ensel entera ya tokseyar ya mor visayas Pilipinhon.
Abatan, ma-oy tima-an sa ka-ulipnan sa ka-visay-an Pilipinhon.

by,
Goring Fatma
Cadapdapan, Candijay Bohol

3.2 Bisayan Declarado

ᜊᜌᜀ᜔	ᜎ᜔ ᜀᜊᜏᜒᜆᜒ
Besayan	Ibawerte
Vesayan	Declarado

ᜎᜈᜒᜍ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜌᜒᜌᜓᜌᜓᜎᜒᜆᜒ ᜌᜓ᜔ ᜋᜆᜓᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜌᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒ, ᜐᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜒᜐᜒᜆᜒᜋᜒ
Esto letre endese ya kachela, Atekeres ya Vesaya', reenpik ya recapan
Ang letra endese sa kachela. Atekeres sa Vesaya, gebahin sa tenagop-at
ᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜐᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜌᜓ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜎᜈᜒᜍ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜌᜓ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔
Ase kede bahes meta ya gowadred esto letre Vesaya e asado ya bolto
Aron dili nadugay vabton sa berbo ang letra Besaya ug lawas sa tawo
ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜌᜓ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜎᜈᜒᜍ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜌᜓ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔
Letre Pelepenhon senrayel ya ramnat yotende, esto penal ya
letra Pilipinhon kaugalingon sa yutang-natawhan. ang sinogdan sa
ᜎᜈᜒᜍ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜌᜒᜌᜓᜌᜓᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜎᜈᜒᜍ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜌᜓ᜔ ᜈᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔
Atekeres vesayas kerasem ya sentam ya bolto esto remor dapame estapo
Atekeres vesayas matan-awon sa tawo ang mga porma kamot magtotoo
ᜀ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜎᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜋᜒᜀ᜔ ᜀᜐᜒᜐᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔
ya letre e asado reenpik ase narella depase ya asado ya bolto
sa letra ugsa lawas nga gibahin aron mahimong balasahon sa lawas sa tawo
ᜎᜈᜒᜍ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜐᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒᜇ᜔ ᜐᜒᜐᜒᜆᜒᜋᜒ ᜀ᜔ ᜋᜒᜋᜒᜎᜒᜆᜒ
Esto letre resamken ya Asado
Ang letra nga kinuha sa lawas.

ᜎᜈᜒᜍ᜔ ᜊᜈᜒᜇ᜔ ᜀ᜔ ᜈᜆᜓᜇ᜔ ᜌᜒᜌᜓᜌᜓᜎᜒᜆᜒ, ᜐᜒᜒᜒ

kachela) laning ya, He, resamken ya asado ya gongo, neyaba, e- katte.
kenatchela) maingon sa, He, kinuha sa lawas sa amo', ekog, ug olo.

laning ya letre, kes, resamken ya bate elgato e laning ya letre, A,
maingon sa letra, kes, kinuha sa pothaw nga gonting, ug maingon sa letra, A,
resamken ya soterbeler demeter ya gowadred ya soterbeler ya lan
kinuha sa arkos nga pina-agi sa berbo sa arkos sa pista.

esto letre kachela kames esto resamken ya enchdelas menenos,
ang letra tkenatchela)kachela daghanv ang gikuhaan sa angay kaniya;

laning ya letre, ece, resamken ya per ug dok ya ebetangke
maingen sa letra, ece, kinuha sa esda ugdok sa dagat.

esto letre vesaya estalle kas sekwes ya seler ya asado ya
ang letra vesaya ana-a ra taman sa soled sa kawas sa

Bolto baheske benver, narella guio con demace ya samoat yotende Pilipenhon
tawo. kadugayon pagmugna nahimo dayon nga balasahon sa yorlang extanchan-Pilipenhon.

retonderas diel benesaya olas letre ya kachela esto letre
gisulte dinhi benesaya apan letra sa kachela ang letra

Vesayas ohoske tonderas ya Pilipinhon dello moy tonderas ya venesaya
Vesayas naha-una nga mosulti sa Pilipinhon Dsa makasulti sa venesaya

ditso resamken recos ya letre kachela ya samken esto Pilipinas ya
kay kinuha naman sa letra kachela sa nakuha na ang Pilipinas sa
tokseyar ya espana ensel reenkestos con Anapolko Santiago Pargampe
kaulipnan sa espana maong gebunyagan ni Anakolpko Santiago nga taga
Madred ya espana. penal derekte ya totohon ya Cebu ya nxtenxte repenal
Madred sa espana. unang tenodlo sa maestra sa Cebu sa Siyudad nga premerong
Peling ensel relanges ya enkestos benisayang sinagbuanon ditso narella moy

Qëfuu A. Cjr Soyliu A. AEH C APñSo Pi ñA·O·e R S Sh Hñ fux A. ÖPQ
Samken ya guimposlan ya dapane con Anakolpo Santiago dello redemeter ya bosala
kuha va dagüay sa kamot ni Anakolpo Santiago usa' epaagi sa makenella
S Qi Sj ë Em ÖÖ A :
relangis e emprenta :
nga ginganlan ug emprenta.

Lnjö ifi Qaiñ O·olo= A· 8F8Aa Lo Cr S Që·fuu A· CJr Soy liu C
esto kanchdas moryon ya Pilipinas ensel resamken ya guimposlan con
ang kadagharan nga kapopod-an sa Pilipinas moray nakuha sa daguay ni

AZñ So'C Qi ñ A·O·e C ÖJr QA·H A· A So 8F8Aa O·olo= A· Öi°F lo :
Anapolco Santiago con benesaya ya gapo Pilipinas moryon ya Songleyo :
Anapolco Santiago nga benesaya sa tibo-ok Pilipinas, Polo' da sa Songleyo.

Lnjö' O·olo= A· Ö Soo AEr S Që·fuu Lnjö ÖJr QA·H ÖOVi AP OV Oëg
esto maryon ya Bohol bahes resamken esto benesaya bënol-anon Olos
ang Polo' sa Bohol duguy nakuha ang benesaya sa kenol-anon apan

Ri Hñ ñx R S Hñ Jr OVg A· F Öë· A· V· Jr Q di C OVu ÖAP OV :
demeter dello menenas ya kebret ya bënisayang Sinug bu-anon :
pënaagi usa' nila sa dotrena sa binisayang Sinug-bu-anon.

Lnjö O·olo= A· Ö Soo Lnn A-lee V· Jr Q A·H,
esto moryon ya Boholestalle Venesaya,
ang Polo sa Bohol-aduay binisayan,

Cr A·ñ A· Lo ñ Lnjö (OQ ifi F Ö) A· Lnn Ö ioi,
celyate ya ente esto (asaka lebo, ya españo),
Penanglet sa ehap, ang usa ka lebo sa español,

Sl aZñw A· Öl A OV Jr Sfi öJi Ej Lnjö Qifi Öx A· fi A³ Hñ A ö,
oyman ya Bol-anon nerei cas chdiom esto bentod ya kinampay Dawes,
oyman sa Binol-anon, labina gayod ang lungsod sa kinampay Dawes,

dr Ëëā Qiñ Jx A Q Sree OV öJi as-aZñ Lnjö QJr Q di C OVi AP OV C Öi A·O·e A·
ug Panglao felga mon krero cas warma esto benisayang binol-anon etoyago ya
ug Panglao lungtod karon wala pamapala ang benisayang binol-anon mahitungod sa

Cr ñ, S Lnjö Hñ Oliv ë Ll° fi Q ñR A· AB Q ñ, Ax Q lo= ë aZñ° A·O·e, Sweñ
ente, re esto may rom e mayke laning ya Tagbelaran, Baclayon e Malbago, Cortes
ehap, nga ang mga hinanom ug obe maingan sa Tagbelaran, Baclayon ug Malbago, Cortes

O Hñ Cfi Q OV Lnjö' S Hñ QQA·H R Ai Q fil A· aZñ° A·O·e :
mon may senglanon esto remoy besaya denang laning sa Malbago :
Karon magpinangutan-ancy ang mga besaya diha sa taga Malbago :

Qi ñ öi A= Lnjö O·e Ai 8 Q ö S C Oliv : Sl aZñw ë F ls, öi Cr Cr Hñ W lio
late cas yan esto gona pelaco recon rom-o oyman e kim, cas ensel merekkan
Pela pa oli-ay ano imong goha nga gitanom : oyman ug e lem, maoy kaua-an nga
QJr QA·H Cwieg S O·olo= A· Ö7 : Hñ A Cw & C AP Q fo Ö aZñi Jfe= A· Ö Soo
benisaya chdemre moryon ya bone may bancethe con Adolpo Tomas direl ya Bohol
benisaya niining Pole-a sa bone pagka gobernador ni Adolpo Tomas dinhi sa Bohol

Cr Cr öi Aa fu Sa fu Hñ Cx A A· QJr SP di Q OVi AP OV :
ensel cas trake trake may serba ya benisayang binol-anon :
mao nay pagbinaubinaon nagbalung sa benisayang binol-anon ::

Moy Bancelhe con Gallares Peles kachela remor wato ya madred españa, recanserua,
Pag ka gobernador ni Gallares Peles katsela nga nagtobo sa madred españa, nakahiluas,
Olos groper felga mon estalle regane esto benisaya delgroper diel ya Bohol
apan hogot hangtod karon amaa gihapon ang benisayang linagtan dinhi sa Bohol
Moytenderas i benisaya kide achel moy mita alitso esto benisaya ya Bohol
masulti ug benisaya dili siya makasabut, kay ang benisaya ogod sa Bohol
demeter ya laten ya fee enpek ya benisayang sinugbu-anon i esto semre, ya Betanon i
pina-agi sa laten sa ikaduhang bahin sa benisayang sinugbu-anon i ang feinisa Bol-anon i
esto benisayang sinugbu-anon esto, dako ya benisayang Binul-anon, gowago i
ang benisayang sinugbu-anon, ang dako sa benisayang binul-anon. gowago i
esto benisayang sinugbu-anon esto anindot
ang benisayang sinugbu-anon ang anindot
sa benisayang binul-anon, bilec i
Sa benisayang binul-anon, bilec i
(Ub ha 0:fi= A. Ve)
Beldeso felga man moy kreyan regane
buca hangtod karon nagalubag gihapon
cinden ter maryon ya dako benisaya i ya maryon verayas i
ning duha ka pelo sa tingog nga benisaya-sa kabisay-an i
ya sugbu-anon, dos-aka gaigod i ya bol-anon ayaman ekelem, e do esto mon
sa sugbu-anon, dos-aka gaigod i sa bol-anon ~~dos-aka~~ asa ka gachdod ug hasta karon
Grello moy lames ya secaes benisaya ya mor Vesayas i esto bersaya Sinugbuanon,
maayong pagkasanay ~~sa~~ mang bersaya sa kabisay-an i ang benisayang Sinugbo-anon,
olos kreno letre resanken e kide ya kachela i esto Venisaya ya bol-anon
apan walay letra nga gikuha can dile sa katsela i ang vinisaya sa bol-anon
estalle senraijel re letre olos was sepetel moy gok ya kachela i
adunay kaugalingang letra, apan nahanaw gikan sa pagkabag sa daug sa katsela i

esto gowago degaske ya kachela ya gapo Bohol moy hasing ya bertod ya
ang dakong dag-anan sa katsela sa tibo-ok Bohol pagka-ilog sa lungsod sa
Malbago con Vesente peling kachela, hasing do esto bersa i lenting ya bertod con Tomod i
Malbago ni Vecente paring katsela, na-ilog hastang sembahan ng linggonay sa lungsod ni Tomod i
ye Tomod ensel peling ya mereklan bersaya Malbago bony samkerse deesto lenting
si Tomod maoy sinimbahan nga karaan sa Malbago bony na-ilog hasta ang linggonay
edlak i ayes ya romno con Tomod gowel con peling Vesente espanes i esto lenting keyorde ya
nga ogis i lungod se ka-isog ni Tomod nga napilde niparing Vesente espanes i ang linggonay gipadagit sa
semel Bacoco edel ipaksop ya bak ya kbatan i
lenggam Bacoco ug gihulog sa suba sa Abatan i

3.3 Ang Alphabeto sa Katsila ug sa Bisayas

ANG ALPHABETO SA KASTILA
UG BISAYAS

Kede achel eclabolto cos bel ya Ara to-espetdo-ingo (Espatel) sopetel
dili siya kay natawo lamang aneno sa Dios Espiritu Santo. gikan
eclabolto con Hesus apang nanton 600 cholen sentam ye Penay ya moryan visayas
sapag katawo ni Hesus tung 600 mitindog si Penay sa kapupud-ang visayas
ye Penay delbande ya manfong ya moryan visayas delbande ya letre
Si Penay nagabandera sa kinaadman sa kapupudan visayas. nagabandera sa letra
re langis aspormos menéme re samken ya asado ya bolto. sopetel ya penal
nga ginpanlan ug Aspormos Menime, kinuha sa kwas sa tawo. gikan sa sinugdan
telga ya bolse con empet resamken sekwes ya asado ya bolto. penal letre ensel
hangtod sa katapusan nga bahin kinuha tanan sa lawas sa tawo. premero letra maong
resinglon aspormos 'A' karko esto bolse ya visayas. resamken ya pelako kalte
giingon aspormos 'A' kana ang katapusan sa visayas kinuha sa pikas alo
ya bolto, letre relanges e con secon segna ya lawasdeleyo. esto sekwes letre
sa tawo, letra nga ginganlan ug con. Si nga tinombokan sa taliwala. ang tarang letra
Senrayel ya Pelipayen, kedame ya asado ya oy bolto. kreno morol, moy-eling
kaugalingon sa Pilipinas, sulod da sa lawas sa usa ka tawo, walay kaloy, nga gipanag-
ingnan:
segla e bate. estalle oylogo ya asado ya oy bolto letre Pilipen.
Oy mananap Cputhaw. anaa bogtong sa lawas sa usa katawo letra Pilipen.
esto letre ya hemawa espanes esto penal con letre resamken ya soterbeler
ang letra sa lumalangyaw nga espanes ang ilang sinugdan nga letra kinuha sa arkos
re langis beyabe castora ya letre "A" resinglon karko perseyan segna recas
guenganlan ug beyabe Castora "A" giingan kana nila poreba lamang.
esto letre "gue" ya español chér ya segla con Gongo. esto letre kes cher
ang letra "güe" sa español nahimutang sa mananap nga Amo. ang letra kes nahimutang.
ya bate-elgato. esto letre "I" ya español setookin fonder ya seto
sa puthaw gunting. ang letra "I" sa español kandelero ugbukanan sa kandela

ensel perseyan senrayel ya españa redemase e ensel resentam ya perseyan wergan.
maoy ilang kaugalingon sa españa nga basahon ug maoy gepabaroq sa ilang nasud.

ya del sentam ya soferbeler recon guem ya kited e estal lan.
sa pag baroq sa arkas nga guebitang sa karsada ug adunay pista.

ycuadred del ern ya morigka say ya remoy espanes delolatong diel
poreba nga katin-awan sa pagtulon-an sa mga espanes nga gihatag dinhi
ya Pilipinas. esto "A" petes ya remoy kachela pray teras peron ya direker
sa Pilipinas. ang "A" gamay samga kachelang pray tasa sudlanan sa
sekolate higupanan sa mag pista.

esto letre ya Pilipinas redel sentam tadlang ya krem moy hasang
ang letra sa Pilipinas nga gipabaroq kanhi sa wala pa nia-ilog
ya españa esto Pilipinas, recon sentam con penay ensel penal
sa españa ang Pilipinas, pinabaroq ni Penay maoy unang

merekillo ya gapo Pilipinas, uadred men doctor uadred ya espanes sabyo.
(manananbal) sa tiba-ok Pilipinas, matod pa karon doctor, matod
merekillo
pa sa katsela sabyo.

chden ensel penay del sentam ya demase Pilipen Visayas ya chil letre "A"
ning maong penay nagapabaroq sa basahon Pilipen visayas sa iyang letra "A"
resamken ya sentam ya bolto relangis tesokastora. chden letre "A" penal
nga kinuha sa baroq sa tawo nga ginganlan tesokostura. ning letra "A" sinugdan
ya demase Pilipinhon moryon visayas. esto letre "A" petes sentam regane
sa basahong Pilipinhon kapolo-ang visayas. ang letra "A" gamay baroq gihapon
ya bolto. deresel ya chil dames e panggang reserba moy singlanon ya demase che.
sa tawo nag-senyas sa iyang todlo ug komagko gelowas pag-ingon sa basahon che.

recoy segna ya demase visayas sopetel ya a letre "Guey resamken ya elabara ter.
ekatulo poreba sa basahong visayas gikan sa a letra "gue" kinuha sa dalunggan
nga duruha.

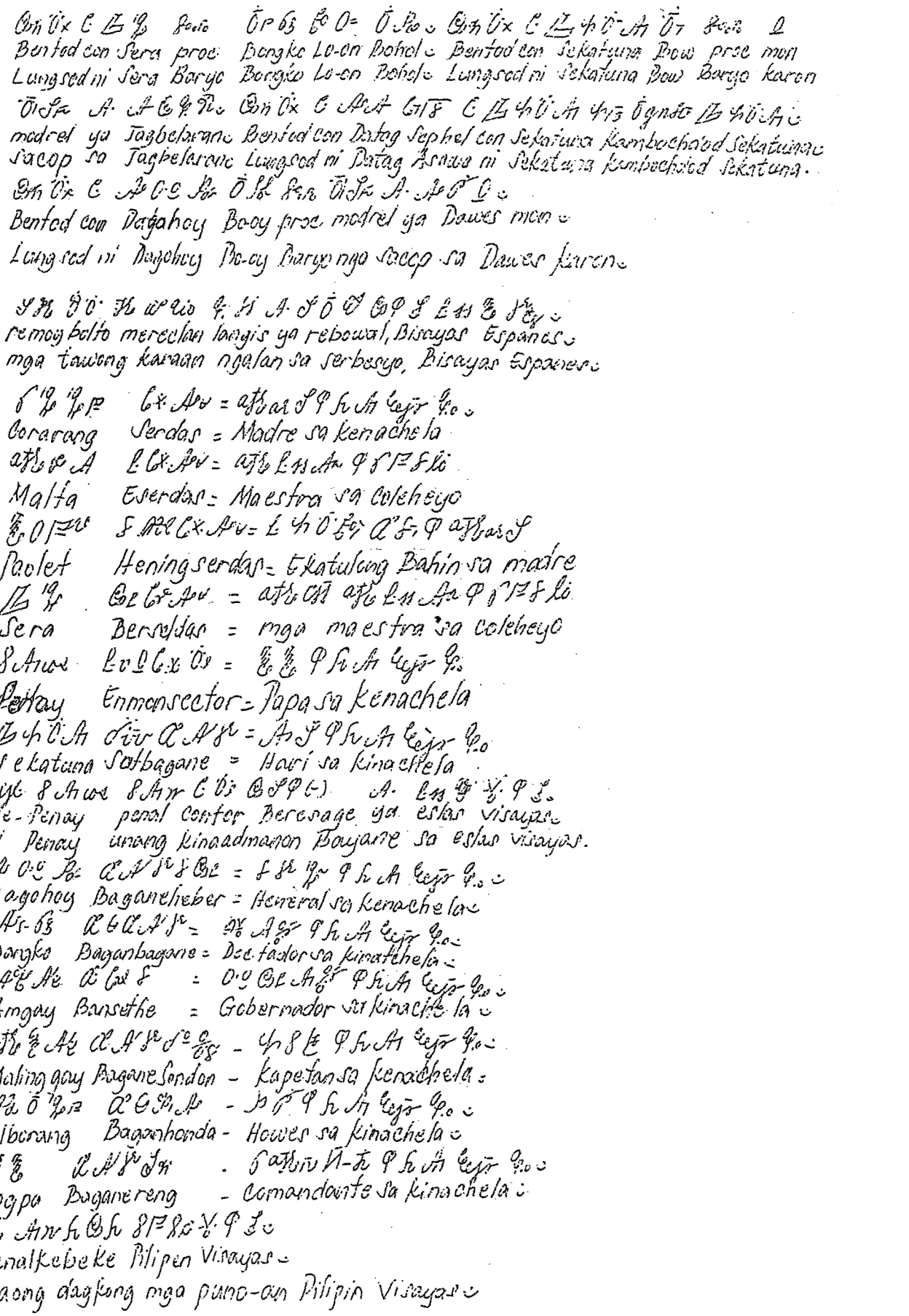
esto recompan segna redemase seniayel, letre Pilipinas visayas. letre "con"
ang ika-upat nga poreba nga basahon kaugalingon letra Pilipinas visayas.
nga letra con.

resamken ya pelako kalte recipet ya igleso con Penay sopetel ya apolore nomtom 600
nga kinuha sa olong pikas binahin sa utukan ni Penay gikan sa panuigon 600
sopetel eclabotto con Hesus ya opong ,677, nomtom setpen ensel moy foka moy reser
gikan sapagkatawo ni Hesus sa tuig ,677, maoy pag sugod pag nometer
ya esforyoke ya chil morleyo moydemase kedame ya chil bentod esforyoke
sa pagtodlo sa iyang mga ginsakupan pagkasa sulodsa iyang lungsod pagto-on
ya montang iya chil demase reseso sopetel ya chil calte chdimre grandama
sa kinaadman sa iyang basahon nga inatukan gikan sa iyang ulo niining kaubanan
ya bentode esto bentod con Penay, ya perseyan ya kanla-as prok mon, kadlang
sa lungsode ang lungsod ni Penay anag sa lugar sa kanla-as Barrio karon, niadto
modrel ya Bentod ya Loon mon modrel ya Bentod ya Antekera Bohol, doesto mon
sacop sa Lungsod sa Loon karon sacop sa Lungsod sa Antequera Bohol, hasta karon
kreno moy coyto esto barber dellake pan bentod moy reseria moy barber kreno
wala pamapo-o ang bansag nianang upat ka lungsod pagpamalong paghisgot wala
chdiom coyto esto wetem moy goro dellake pan Bentode Calape, Loon, Maribohok,
gayod mapo-o ang kasugeran pagtukeb nianang upat ka Lungsode
Calape, Lo-on, Maribohok,
Antequera, binggowale chdiom esto ya Lo-on e Antequera Singlanon
Antquera, ilabina gayod ang sa Lo-on ug Antequera mangurtana
aya sama lakere agad narin ya bentod con Penaye tande reagad componete,
asa ikaw paingone adto ako sa gilungsuran ni Penaye Ansoy adto-on mo pare,
moysaker nareri ya dame larak e tem reyane bolto ya bentod ya Lo-on kano
magatandia oke so akong basak ug hing nabae tawo sa Lungsod sa Loon kana.
Bentod ya Antequera ensel chdenchden chdiom gregogo dellake bentod con Penay
Lungsod sa Antequera maoy banos gayod mahinomdum nianang Lungsod ni Penay
ditso perseyan proe karko kanlaas mone gaka e remoy sampat esto remoy
kay ilang baryo kanang kanlaas karone lapad ug mga yuta ang mga
Pangampe Antequera ya Bentod con Penay proe kanla-ase
Antekeranhon sa gilungsuran ni Penay Baryo kanlaase

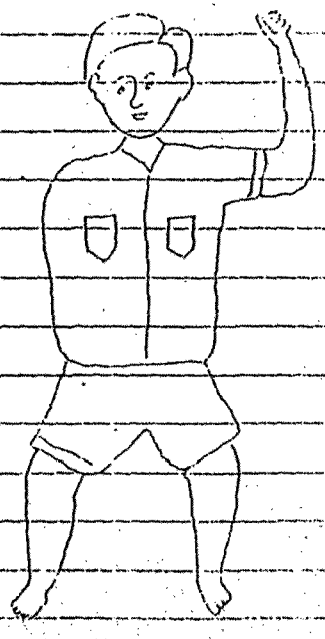
ensel kede renos edinaledo ditso kerte agad kerte senglaren re aya samo.
macnga dili nila hingkalimtan kay eneg adto eneg panguitana nga ana ikaw.
agad ya del bentod con Penay. tandere agad bakne e todiyo remoy doles
adto sa guelungsuran ni Penay. Onsay adtoon mo? magasanggi ug mais magapanlin
e mayke. karke relongis ya bentod con Penay ya Antequera ditso achel esto dese
ug ube. kanang ngalana sa lungsod ni Penay sa Antequera, kay siya man ang tag-iya
dellake proc kanlaas panas. ye Penay pesel kinalada ya kator ya Bow
nianang baryo kanlaas panas. si Penay anang sulonden sa pamunu-an sa Bow
ya remoy kator sopetel ya eclabolto con Hesus ya sington teiga ya nemtom. 600.
sa mga kator, pamunu-an gikan sa pag katawo ni Hesus sa 506 hangtod
sa 600.

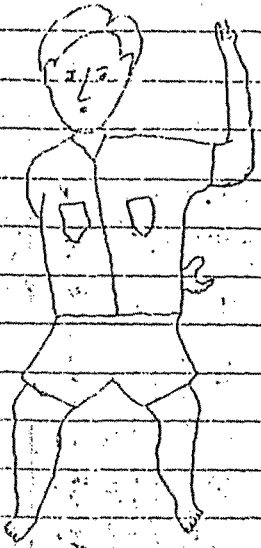
kreno moysolgo esto kachela ya Pilipin Visayas ensel kator con Serol
wala pa makatamak ang kachela sa Pilipin visayas macy pamunu-an ni Serol
esto 972 semton settre. esto Bentod con Serol Pangaw lawes (Pangsow-Dawes)
ang 972, ang lungsod ni Serol Pangaw Lawes. (Pongsaw Dawes)
ya apong oyman setsem (1079) ensel del sentam ya kator
sa tuig 1079 macy namarog sa pamunu-an
Berkedeke con serol. del sentam ya egdof con Serol moryan visayas
kabilin ni Serol. namarog sa gahum ni Serol kopupud-an visayas
ensel del sentam gemba'si Serol ye Sekatuna Setbagane.
maong namarog sa pamunu-an kabilinni Serol si Sekatuna hari.
ye Sekatuna eclabolto ya Bo-ow proc mon ya Tagbelaran
Si Sekatuna natawo sa Bo-ow baryo karon sa Tagbelaran
Bo-ow tadlang Bohol mone ye Sekatuna mereros poy Datag
Bobol kaniadto Bohol karone si Sekatuna minyo kang Datag
Malbago elgueno ya Balilihan e Loboc Baclayon.
Malbago mohon sa Balilihan ug Loboc Baclayon.

tadlang, mon bentod Cambochdod tadlang proc ya Balilihan e Backayon.
Kaniadto. karon, ning kungsod na Kambochdod niadto karyo pa sa Balilihan ug Backayon.
dilso eiqueno cas ya ter bentod. ye Dagohoy eclabolto ya Marabelis tadlang
Kay mohan man sa dulta ka lungsod. Si Dagohoy pagkatawo sa Marabelis niadto
modre/ ya Tagbeloran mon Dawas. Nema con Dagohoy ye Bo-oy, sola
sacop sa Tagbeloran karon Dawas. Inahan ni Dagohoy si Bo-oy, amahan
ye Doya mered'o con Bo-oy. nema con Penay ye Bas mereras poy Kangkay.
si Doya bang ramiayo ni Bo-oy. Inahan ni Penay si Bas naminyo kang kangkay.
Bentod con Penay kanlaas Panas, Antequera mon modre/ tadlang ya Lo-on Bohol.
Lungsod ni Penay kanlaas Panas, Antequera karon sacop niadto sa Lo-on Bohol.
Bentod con Malinggay kandongaw Calape mon. Bentod con Angay bawasa modre/
lungsod ni Malinggay kandongaw Calape karon. Lungsod ni Angay bawasa sacop
ya Inabangga ling-on kan Anggay mon modre/ proc colonya Carmen.
sa Inabangga ling-on kan anggay karon sacop na Barya colonya Carmen.
Bentod con Alborong Agbonan katigbi-an mon Bentod con Dangco powan samnat
Lungsod ni Alborong Agbonan katigbi-an karon Lungsod ni Dangco powang yuta
Tambo Talibon. Bentod con Togpa Guindulman.
Tambo Talibon. Lungsod ni Togpa Guindulman.
Bentod con Cararang Taguba-as Antequera mon tadlang rebel-arap
Lungsod ni Cararang Taguba-as Antequera karon ni-adto kanhi
Kanla-as Panas Bentod con Penay.
Kanla-as Panas Lungsod ni Penay
Bentod con Malta Tubowan Lo-on Bohol.
Lungsod ni Malta Tubowan Lo-on Bohol.
Bentod con Paclet proc kang-oble Lo-on Bohol.
Lungsod ni Paclet barrio kang-oble Lo-on Bohol.



3.4 Askormos Meneme





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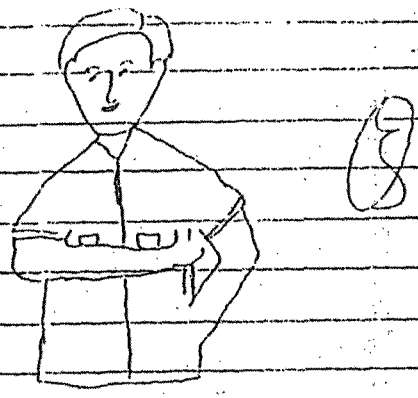


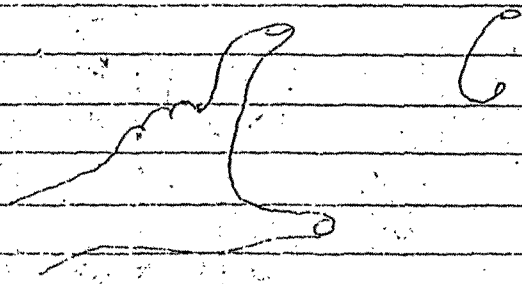
Ang Pangalan B

Pangalan B ay nagsisimula sa patinig na O at nagtatapos sa katinig na G.

Kini litra B

litra B kinuha sa

lawas sa tawo.



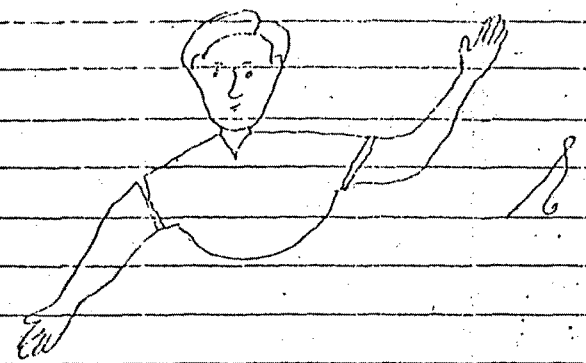
Ang Pangalan C

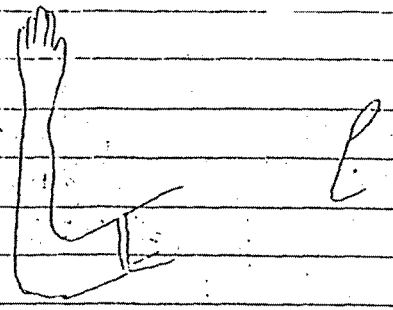
Pangalan C ay nagsisimula sa patinig na A at nagtatapos sa katinig na N.

Kini litra C

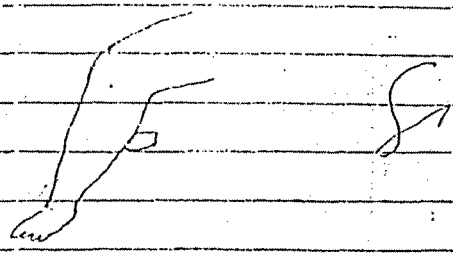
litra C,

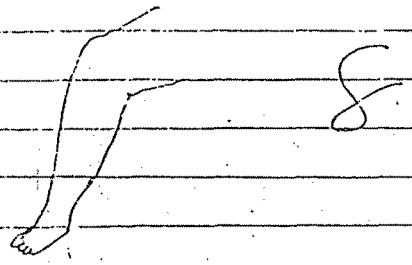
sa tawo.

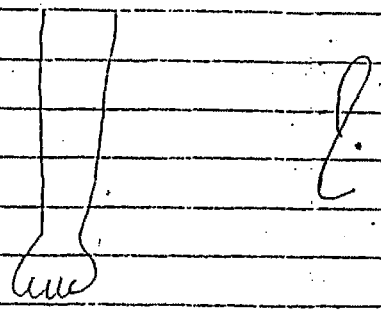


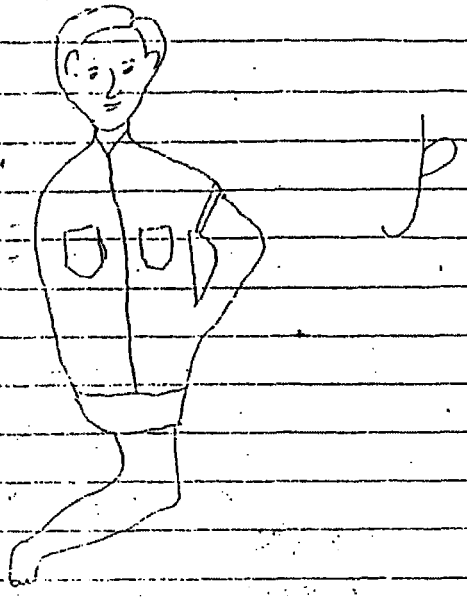


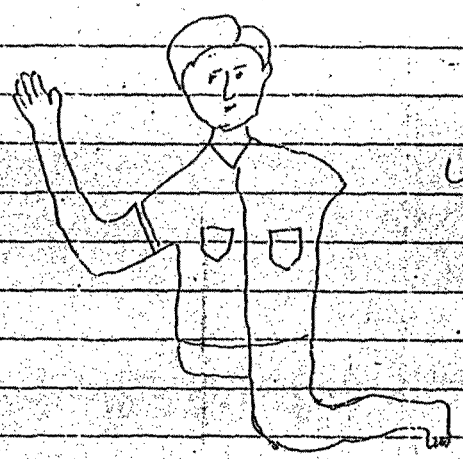
kini litre D
litre D kinula
sa tuve,

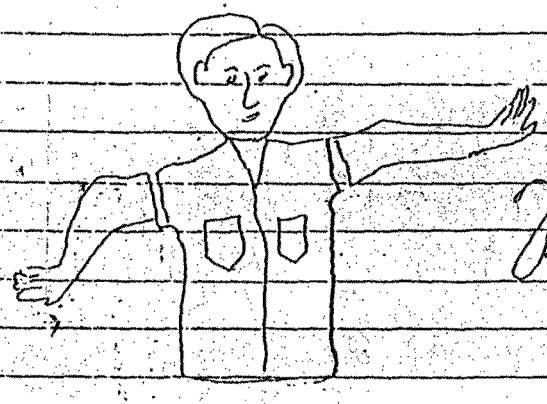


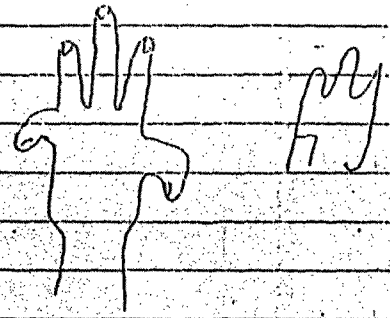


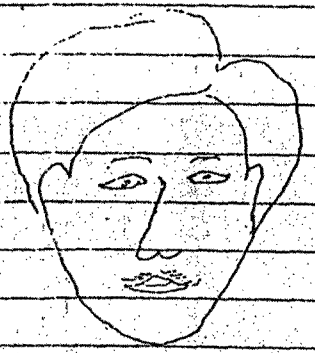


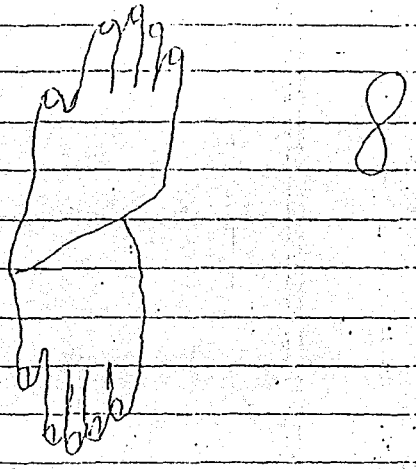












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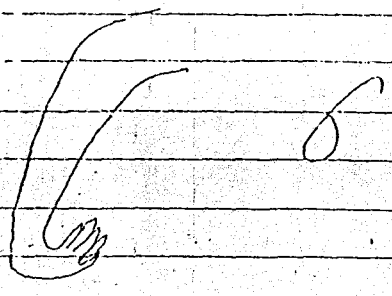

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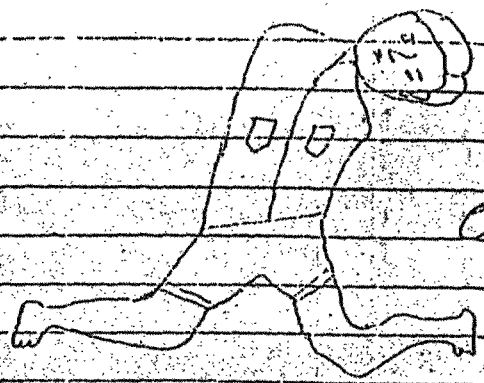

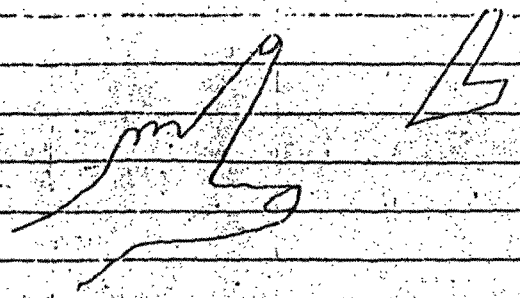

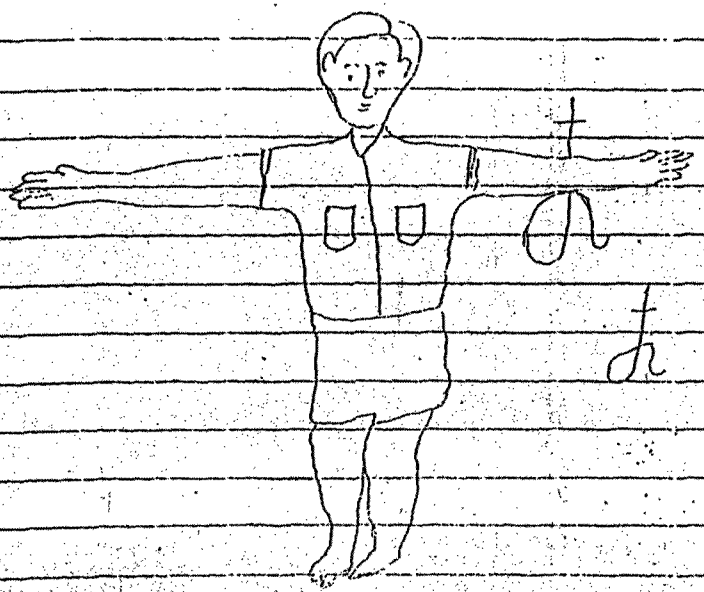

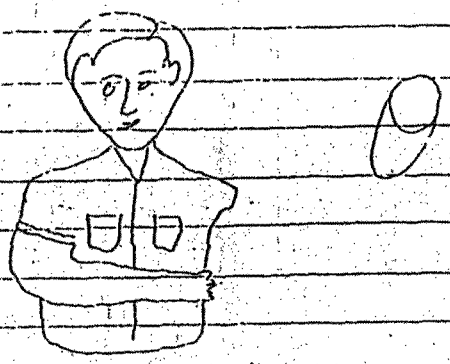

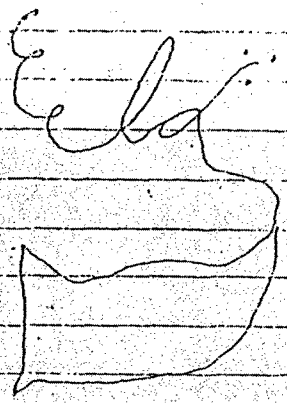

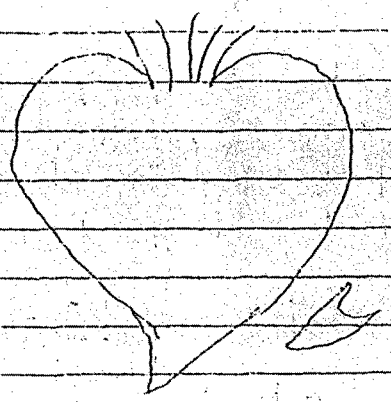

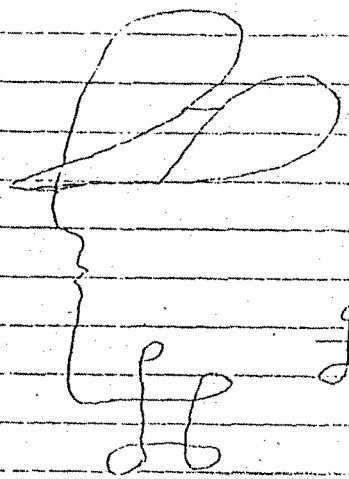
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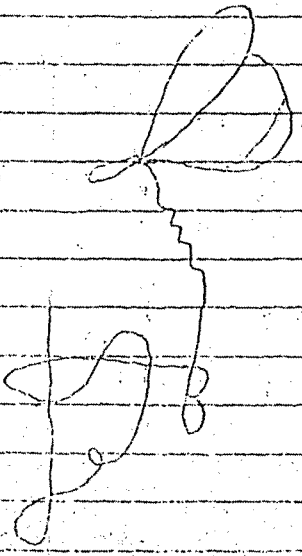
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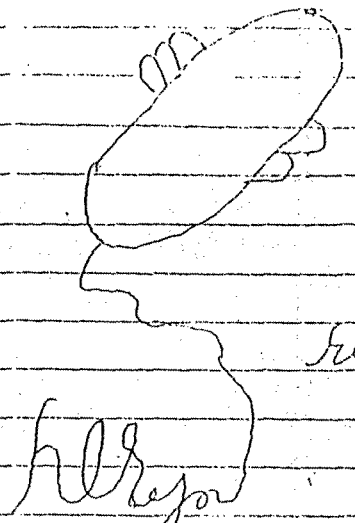
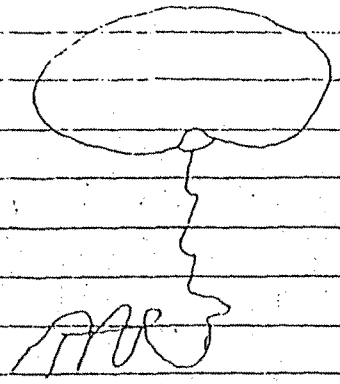
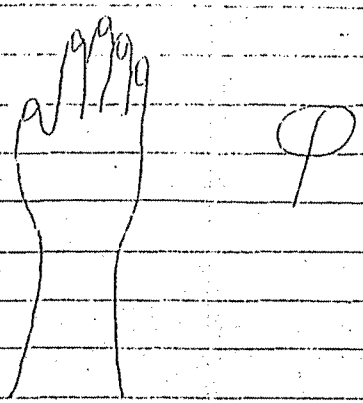
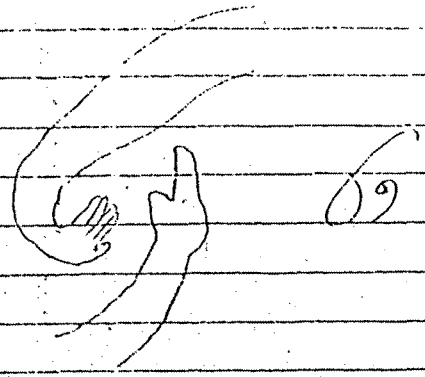
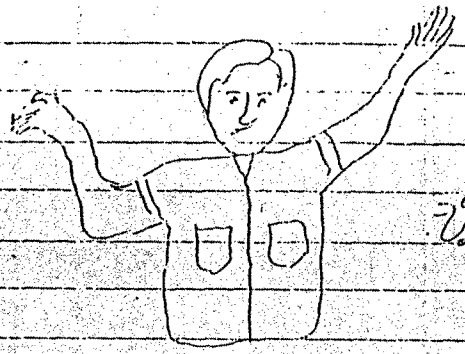
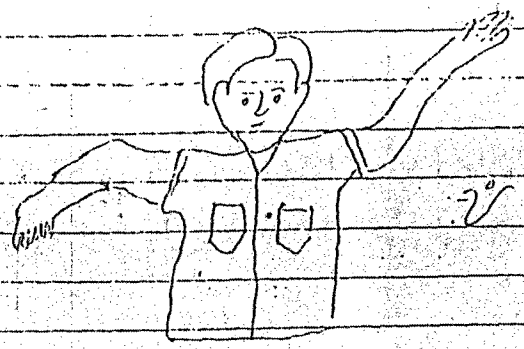








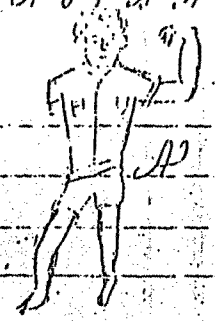




3.4 Atekeses

A te ke sa

Ang litra A sa binisaya
bareg iya kaugalingon og tuwo.
kutlang sa iya sa ka libebo.
ang basahon sa iya sa ka binisaya
sa tuwo.



Ako litra Ateke – tanom kog saging og ube.

tanom kog kamote og sibuyas.

Ako litra B

B, tanom kog loy-a ug ahue.

Ako litra C

tanom kog takake og gabi

Ako litra "A"

Ang litra A nagsugi sa ka kigi pag-tarom niini:

Ako litra "atche"

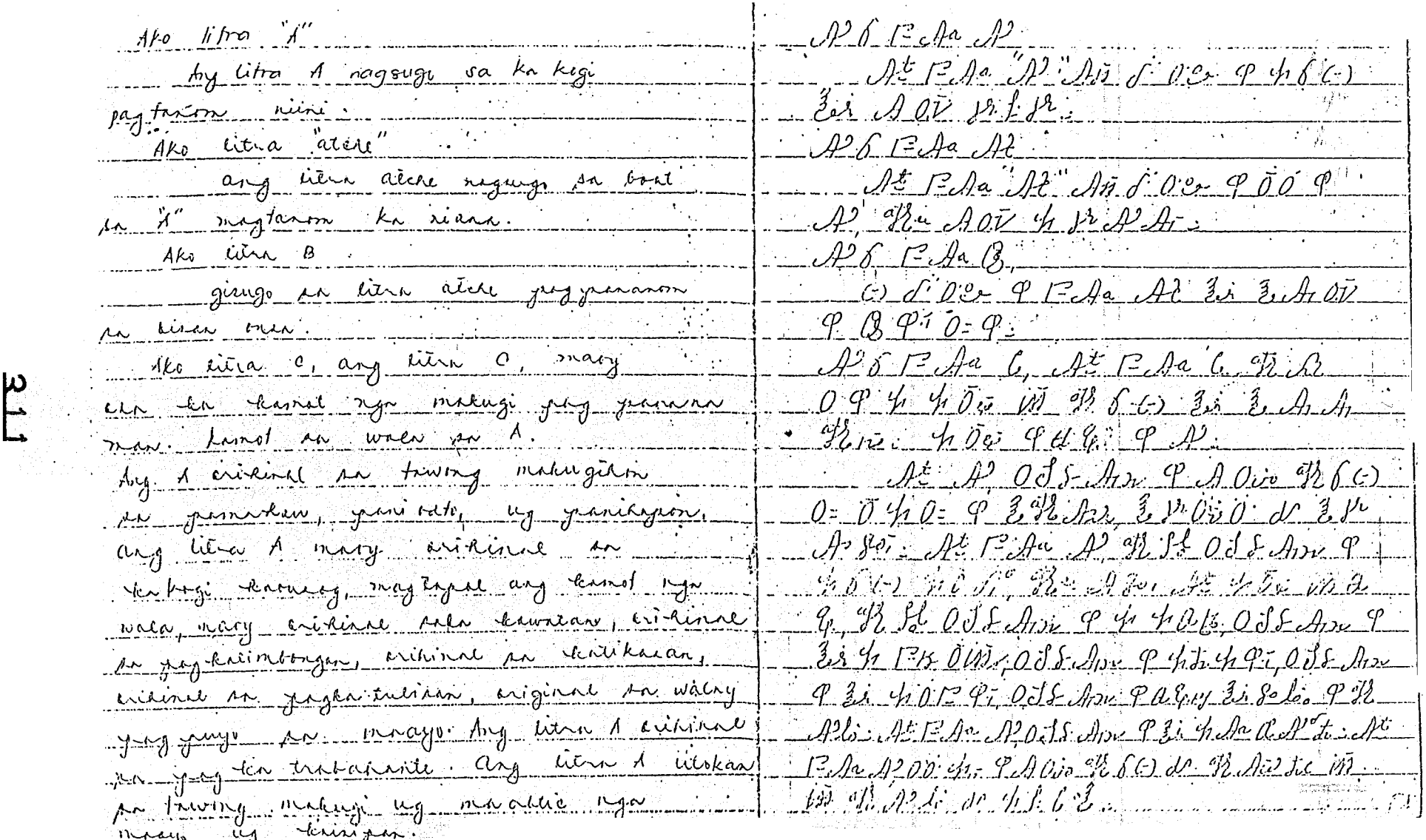
ang liten atche negungo sa bout sa "A" magtarom ka xiaan.

Ako litra B

gingo an litra atche pagyanaron an biran men.

Ako litra C, ang litra C, mary eln en kasnal nga makugi pag yanaron man. Lamot an wnen an A.

Ang A eriking an tawag makugirin an pasnakan, panirato, ug panikayan. ang litra A mary eriking an ka kigi kaneg, magtyal ang kamot nga nala, mary eriking nala kawatan, eriking an pag-kaimbongan, eriking an kalikasan, eriking an pagka-tuliran, original an wala ng pag gamit an mayo. Ang litra A eriking an pag-ka kalabanita. ang litra A ilokan an tawag makugi ug maabig nga mayo ug kaugan.



Ang Litra D, Pigura sa Tawo

Butang sa usa ka bahin
Lasahon sa usa ka bisaya
sa tawo.

Ako litra D,
tanom kog mais og himay

Ako litra t,

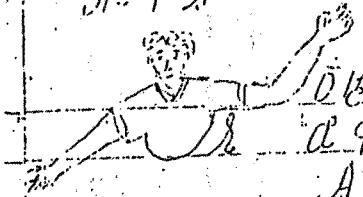
tanom kog kamatis og repolyo.

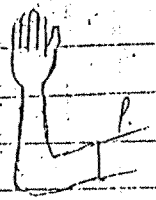
ako litra T-He,

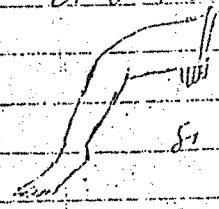
tanom kog patatas og sibuyas.

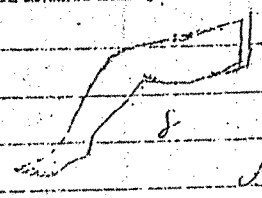
Ako litra He.

tanom kog kalabasa, og bungang.









Ako Litra De,

Aniliraí anka kungi an ɗ, an' yag-
yaraman an kukut ái a an 'ɗ'
iig an kamol an tro an kyok an yuta

Ako Litra t,

Ako diti inadimong kawatan ang kakugi
gaingon an kabang ug ka dapi.

Ako litra tphe.

kamol an wala (left) an de, kon aili inikojog
an kamol. tro (right) an b, ako maoj ma-
kaangkon an yugka kawalan kay aili
man makibalo an yamaman kol an
kalagalan.

Ako litra he,

idag an kakugi an litra ɗ, kon
magtanom, magbukid an yuta, ug ani
diha, makakin - kain an kaon
gikinsa kaon an anai ibaduka yag
yag ikaduka yag aain, ikaugat
gamkat an di ad- an.

Ako Litra k,

Ako Litra l,

Ako Litra s,

Ako Litra ng,

Ako Litra m,

Ako Litra n,

3.6 Pamatasan

" VISAYAN "

" PAGTUO "

SEKSYON: 4 Adunay pagtuo sa Dios nga labaw'ng Makagagahum ug kini guitawag namo ug " BATHALA " nagmahal sa mga Bayane, naga amping sa Bandila, ug ning nasod tang Pilipinas, ang Inahang Yuta.

" PONDOK KAHIUSAHAN

SEKSYON: 5 Ang mga lomad naga kahiusa ubos sa landong sa nasodnong pondok sa pagtuo sa mga Pilipino nga mao ang " IGLESIA FILIPINA INDEPENDIENTE " nga nahimong bunga sa pangimbisog sa atong mga Bayano ug kanhi mga guinikanan.

" MGA PRINSIPYO/ POLISIYA UG BARUGANAN "

SEKSYON: 6 Ang Tribo sa lomad nga Bol-anon, maki-angayon ug mahadlokon sa Guinoo.

SEKSYON: 7 Nagasagop ug naga-ila usab sa mga Prinsipyo O Balaod nga nasodnon alang sa kalinaw, kaangayan, katarungan, kaga-wasan, panagboligay, ug pakigdait sa isigkatao nga Pilipinhon ug sa ubang kanasoran.

Seksyon; 8 Ang tanang sakop sa pundok sa mga lomadd mahimong mandu-an sa Balaod sa paghatag ug linawas nga pag alagad alang sa kaa-yohan sa Tribo ug sa Nasod.

SEKSYON: 9 Ang kagahuman nagasukad sa mga tao ug sa mga tawo usab maga guikan ang tanang Gahum sa Kagamhanan sa tibook Tribo.

SEKSYON: IO' Palamboon sa mga lomad ang ka.iling-banong kaangayan kon hustisya Sooyal alagg sa kauswagan sa Tribo.

SEKSYON: II Ang tanang lomad nagatanod ug naga Balaan sa adlaw'ng Domingo, piyesta Iglilihi ug ingon man adlaw sa mga Bayani.

" 11-1 Kinahanglan adunay labing menos ,usa ka tawo kada familia, ang mosimba matag Domingo ug sa mga piyesta Iglilihi

" 11-2 Ang tanang kabataan, kinahanglan ana-a solod sa Simbahan, panahon sa Ceremonias O Misa.

SEKSYON: I2 Guinadili ang kalingawan O pag duwa-duwa sa adlaw'ng buhatan, ilabina gayod panahon sa pagsimba, ug kon adunay mga kalihukan sa Tribo.

SEKSYON: 13 Walapay nay sogal ni benepesyo nga kahilayan, sama sa bayle, desco, ug pag tan-a w sa mga malaw'ay'ng hulugway nga paga buhaton O paga apilon sa mga lomad, gawas kon may mga bisita, guikan sa lungsod O Probensya nga nag kinahanglan ug pag abi-abi.

SEKSYON: 14 Ang mga lomad anoam no sakripesyo mohalad sa tibook kinabuhi alang sa kaayohan sa Tribo ug ning nasod tang Pilipinhon.

SEKSYON: 15 Bisan Hari ni Pari nga dili motuman ug mosonod sa mga kalagdaan O Balaod, paga hinginlan O papahawa-on, diha sa Kommunidad ug dili paga-ilhon nga sakop sa Tribo sa mga lomad.

" ANG PANILYA "

SEKSYON: 16 Ang kagamhanan sa Tribo, naga-ila sa kabalaan sa kinabuhi sa Panay, panalipdan ug palig-onon ang tibook pamilya isip usa ka Pasihan sa AUTONOMIYA, kon kaugalingong Sosyal nga Institusyon.

SEKSYON: 17 Guipanalipdan ang kinabuhi sa inahan ug ang kinabuhi sa wala pa matawo guikan sa pag panamkon.

SEKSYON: 18 Magatahud ug naga ila sa kana hinongdanon sa kaposlanan sa mga Batan-on ug diha sa katokoran sa Nasod ug tingohaon, ang pag palambo sa ilang lawasnong kahimsog moral, Diosnong pang-utok ug katilingbanon nong kabulahanan.

SEKSYON: 19 Nagadasig pagdumdom sa mga Batan-on ang kabayanihan ug paghigugma sa Nasod, ug ang ilang pagpalabot sa mga kalihukang Publiko nga Sibiko ug sa Tribo.

<u>MGA BABAYE</u>

SEKSYON: 20 Ang kagamhanan sa Tribo naga-ila sa bahin sa mga kababayen-an ug no pasiguro labaw'ng importante kaangayan sa mata sa Balaod.

" 20-1 Guidili ang pagputol sa buhok ug pagpakolong.

" 20-2 Guidili ang pagsuot sa mga sapot nga iya sa mga lalake, ilabina sa pag sondog sa biste sa mga langyaw.

" 20-3 Guidili usab ang pag pangarte sa dagway sama sa make up, lipstick ug pagpamental sa kuko.

" 20-4 Kinahanglan sa pagsimba, ang mga sinina na paketing ug sa ordinaryong adlaw

SEKSYON: 1 TRIBAL CHIEFTAIN

Maga aprovar O tagdumala sa tanang kalihukan sa Tribo sa mga lomad.

SEKSYON: 2 TRIBAL SECRETARY

Magkopot sa tanang mga papeles O talaan sa mga lomad sa Tribo.

SEKSYON: 3 TRIBAL TREASURER

Magkopot sa tanang kutang ug mga liatahan kabahin sa panalapi, pasaka O paggawas sa Tribo.

3-1 Maghimo ug recibo kon magabayad sa mga obligasiones sa Tribo ngadto sa Gobierno.

3-2 TRIBAL AUDITOR

Maga audit sa tanang kagastonan, sa panalapi, pagawas, O pasaka sa maong Tribo.

SEKSYON: 4 ANG JUNTA DEREKTIBA O MAGBABALAOD

Ang taga pag umol sa balaod ug mgag giya sa mga tamdanan sa Tribo subay sa pamalaod sa kapopod-ang Pilipinas.

4-1 Maga implementar mopasabot ug motabang pagmatood sa mga kalagdaan O guimbut-an sa Tribo.

SEKSYON: 5 ANG MGA DAMAS

Mgoy mgga atiman sa mga bulohaton sa mga kababayen-an sa Tribo, sama panangli sa Simbahan, Tribunal ug ilabina gayod sa panahon nga adunay bisita.

SEKSYON: 6 ANG MGA MAGSALANTAY SA-KALINAO SA TRIBO

Maoy ilang mga katungod ang pagpahimutang sa kasiguro-an sa tanang sakop sa Tribo ug sa palibot niini, mapatunhay alang sa kalinaw.

SEKSYON: 7 ANG HUT*ONG SA MGA TIGHASUD O TIG* PAKISAYOD

Ilang katungdanan ang pagpakisayod O pagtino sa tanang sakop sa Tribo ilabina sa mga buot mosolod ug magpasakop sa maong pondok sa mga lomad.

A R T I C U L O 7

ANG DILI MAMAHIMONG SAKOP SA TRIBO

SEKSYON: 1 Kadtong mga tawo nga dili makahimo pag sonod sa mga guimbut-an O kadaghanan kalagdaan sa Tribo sa mga lomad.

A R T I C U L O - 8

PAGTINABANGAY

SEKSYON: 1 Ang mga Lomad adunay pagtinabangay sa tanang guimbutpan pinaagi sa pag "VOLUNTARYO" alang sa kaayohan O kauswagan sa Tribo nga paga dumalaon sa tagsa-tagsa ka Pangulo.

A R T I C U L O - 9

ANG PAGPAHAWA

SEKSYON: 1 Ang Tribal Chieftain ug magbabalaod maoy may dakong katungod sa pagpahawa sa mga tawo nga dili maka sonod O maka tuman sa balaod diha sa Kommonidad sa

4. Songs

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Entindeminto ya chdialbo.
Lad ya asto moy beling
dama ya isilar con diralde
gram nitro iwergo

Entindeminto bantilar con lara
biya con sirbantis del birisage,
kidi isto himawa, moy padasaldi ya
gona moy misisabla,

Sopitil isto gona con mimoryo,
tilgaya gona con mimoryo ya gona con titso
ya ebitangki, gram con del sim isto gona con ilac
moy talim isto, talnire milparong ya drocir
gona con plano bantiya siewis gram arong gona
kon pasiori con entindeminto con talim ya ilac,
isto gona kon adchdia ri moy dowati.

S A M N A T T I M A W A

- Yutang Timawa -

chdimre diel sedayes
dinhi niining dapita

chdin samnat ya remoy timawa
ning yuta sa mga timawa

demay-ay demayake
tinamay biniay-biay

ddtso moy beg con ara
kay gimbot-an ni Bathala

moy belic ya chdeeleninb
kaanindet sa kinaadmanon

ses esto colde dama ya remoy pisacol
doyog ang bulan uban sa kabitoonan

pisacol ya chdialbo
bitoon sa— sidlakan

reddreese ya remoy bolto
nga midan-ag sa mga katawhan

moy poslore re eri
pagkatahom sod-ongon

chdin sqmnat timawa
ning yutang timawa

ditso balniriya remoy deberte
kay giliminan sa mga tanghaga

ditso ya estachdoy relakya
kay sa makina- non gipakamutya.

A N O Y E S T O L A N G I S M O Y B E C H D E N

- ANOY ANG NGALAN NAILHAN -

yc Mariano Datahah, Anoy esto alangis yan benchden
si Mariano Datahan, Anoy ang ngalan nailhan

deldowetes remoy besa ya prok e remoy bentod
tigtokod sa mga simbahan sa bario ug mga kalongsuran

esto chil moy pŭrong ya ara e wergan
ang iyang paghigugma sa dios og sa nasod

aminahado grechdiagoya, esto bataw con besa
nagbilig handumanan , ang gawasnon nga simbahan

beldise estal kim mon ya besa Pilipayen
busa nia kami karon sa simbahang Pilipinhon

kidi kim kon tŏksey telga ya dewarde
dina kami magpaulipon hangtod sa kamatayon

delda kim kon ara pergewerte ergiyo
agaca kami ginoo panalipdi kanunay

ya remoy ebawer del himawa
sa mga nagtakuban nga langyaw

malage kon Rizal ya nele metangeri
sumala pa ni Rizal sa Nolr Metangeri

esto ey kreyep himawa golas ys tŏkseyar
ang matag butang langyaw lansang saka ulipnan

edres esto remoy beresagi dowate ayes chdimre
gani ang mga bayani namatay tongod niini

Gemburza e dama ces ya wergan killeste chdan
Gumburza ug uban pa sa naesd sila

yc Gregorio aglipay agreyalo insikaw
si Gregoria Aglĕpay maayo magbalantay

del dowates remoy besa ya prok e remoy bentod
tigtoced sa mga simbahan sa Bario og mga kalungsuran.

* NONGKASAY *

-Pagtulon-an -

chdin chdiaro moy nongkasay
ning atong pagtulon-an

cos ya remoy bolto
alang sa katawhan

diel arhitika moy saker
dinhi kita magsusi sa kamatouran

ya gowarla tansing
ang atong maangkon

ase chdiaro moy tongpo esto parong ya sela
remoy berdo edel weste ya cantore

estp chdiaro libirasa ergio moy bahiew
ang atong kinabuhi kanunay gilimisan

ya chdiaro remoy embel
sa atong mga pag-ampo

cos ya perangker
alang saka luwasan

ase chdiaro moy tongpo, esto parong ya nima
aron atong maambit ang gugma sa inahan

remoy berdo edil weste ya gowarla tansing
nga nagtudlo ug nagtug-an sa matarong dalan

mon chdiaro sewer esto gowarla tansing
karon subayon ta ang kamatueran

chdil ya chdiaro soda yes, samnat ya chdialbo
dinhi sa atong dapit yuta sa sidlakan

gowadred mesisabla, goyon recon chawer
putling baybayon , pulo nga nagtakoban

ya esto kreno moy -ay moy lilo reces
og ang wala masayod ay nagdamgo lang.

* W E R G A N *

- N a s o d -

wergan ye con pilipayen
nasod ko nga pilipinas

ladya estra pérado peslure
anak sa bulak matahum

creno moy-as esto delegnte
kay paglubad ang pagmahal

lelodya ebitangke
o balod saka dagaten

ya himawa, del paroya
sa lomalangyaw , inilogan

wergan ye nado nnya
nasod ko nado ngano kaha

contoksoy sam ya tadlang
elipon ka sa kaniadto

estal semel ya bacsikel breslemin
may langgam sa halwang bulawan

dddos moy balintayaw ya dilgelpo
beot molepad sa kahanginan

wergan ces naya kedi moy insay
nasod pa kaha dili magtuaw

esto senrato moy dateng
ang kaugalingnan meng ihikaw

relakya ye pilipayen
pilipinas meng minumutya

mindanao Luzon visayas
mindanao luzon visayas

narelya ces chdiom
mahimo na gayod

esto senrato moy releke
ang kaugalingnan magdayon.

DEL HONTON COS SICA

- Magpailub lang pinangga -

del honton cos sica
magpailub lang pinangga

nasaro ya remoy Kilos
bisan sa mga kasakit

deltonggo chden palda
nga naaangkon ning dughan

idlac misisabla
puti nga baybayon

meryon re chawer
polo nga nagkatoban

esto kreno renter de lilo cos
nga wala masayod nagdamgo lang

katiponiros chden chdealbo
katiponiros ning silangan

diel chden titso del porchampo
dinhi ning bukid ginatagu-an

coy charo ccgesto remoy bolto
wala masayod ang mga katawhan

re insil aminahado ya nongkasay
nga maoy gibinlan sa pagtolon-an

ya chdiaro ara sila
sa dios tang amahan

ditso del biyal ya remoy moboy
kay pag-obot sa mga takna

pirolyoki cgresia teylop chechdim
labing bulahan kadtong nakaila

ditso atchil esto intera
kay siya ang nagamarka

remoy chderen ya Pilipinhon chderen plamo
nga mopakayab sa Pilipinhon natong bandera

c man bokirisim
ug karon gipadayag na

esto gowarla tansibg ya oy kreyop
nga mokayab sa Pilipinhongnatong bandira

bidiso chdiaro pokerdimo
ug busa atong ampingan

ditso incel lacya grechdageya
kay may mutya nga handomanan

continuation:

diel titeo chden ya esteo goraryo
dinhi ning bukid sa kamingawan

del henteon cos sica
magpaileb lang pinanga

nasareo ya remoy demay-ay
bisan sa mga pagbamay

nga naangkon ning dughan
del tongpeo chden palda.

DEGARA YA REMOY TETSO

-Luyo sa kabungturan-

.degara ya remoy titso
luyo sa kabungturan

ya dame ken rida
sa akong pagpanaw

dinang ya remoy grona
diha sa mga bukton

redel parong tempoy
sa nahagugma nako

degara ya remoy tetso
luyo sa kabungturan

leresima del henton
himaya naghulat

degara ya remoy tetso
luyo sa kabungturan

pertemkis ye ye sone
nakita ko si Jesus

remoy biyal nestro
ken meabet kanimo

moy romel kon belero
mapintas nga bagyo

sobelye delki poy ara
tawag lamang kang kristo

detso atchel moy chdiema nestro
kay siya mo tabang nimo.

este pertaki bolcemi moy ewid chdin kolebo
ang kabodlay natapos pagsulay milabay

moy leres lekido
kahilayan talikdan

abiya moy hisgado
[illegible]
adlaw'ng kahibulongan

* Y O N O Y *

-Kalinaw -

kello ya memerya, recos ya samnat
luha sa langit nga alang sa yuta

re idinalida bang-iklat
nga naklaimet pagmata

kello ya memerya yaksap ya sammat
luha sa langit mibundak sa yuta

del kintra ya chdiare meytalim
pagpukaw sa pagbati ta.

tande recos esto chdiare nitarne
naunsa naman ang ateng panahon

edinalida kos chdial este astre mon
nalimet ba pagsubang ang adlaw karon

tande recos esto belto mon
naunsa naman ngg katawhan karon

receyte recos ya parong
nawad-an ba sa gugma

kello ya golpe e kello ya ebitangki
luha sa hangin ug luha sa dagat

abwan kos este yoney, kello ya tetse,
e hain ang kabinaw luha sa bungted

e kello ya larac remey saklay del insay
eg luha sa patag nga bata nga nagtiyakaw

remey insay ya tetse del sipoyeg
mga singgit sa bungted nga naglised

remey clbbe ya larac, redel sebello
mga tingog sa patag nga nanagtawag

yoney 2x, ya nitarni, lelo recos yan samo
kalinaw2x, sa panahon damge nalang ba ikaw.

ENTINDIMENTO YA SIKAYO

- Yutang hinalaran -

esto intindiminto ya sikayo
ang yuta nga pinangga ko

esto intindinminto yo Pilipayen
ang yuta kong Pilipinas

ya alwatis edil wastras
sa duge gipabamawan

moy tongpoy cos esto dreser
maangkon mo ang kagawasan

intindiminto rebante yo
o yuta nga gimithi ko

diskoramo yo moy killoya
asdangon ko ang kasakitan

moy madna yo esto asado yo
e andam ko ang lawas ko

nestro intindiminto tewergo
canimo yutang hinalaran

ya chdialbo, samo esto lakya
sa sidlakan ikaw ang mutya

chderekeri sam bia, intindiminto
bahandi-anon ka nga yuta

ayes chdimri celpano
tonged niining hiyas mo

damilado sam del gram
mag-aghat kanamo

beldiso samo inchdelas insikaw
busa ikaw angayan bantayan

esto intindiminto tewergo
o yuta ko nga hinalaran.

* B I L I K *

- Kaanindot -

bilik ya libirwe, chden mollen
kaanindot nga mabuhi ning kalibotan

remoy chdete, dama ya gena tiwergo
nga magpuye uban sa imong hinalaran

moy tongpo pey, esto pirani abiya krop
maangken me ang kalipay adlaw gabii

edinalida pey ye esto estal wargule
malimtan me nga ang tanan may kinetuban

moy estarbaya irachdámis ken sipeyeg
ken mag-antos saka pait ug kalisdanan

dinang pey grechdage,
anha me pa hinémdemi

esto chdiare ara
ang atong Dios

gey achden ya belte
kaheyang sa tawe

nabey denalida
nga daling malimet

ya greyale, cen ara.
sa kaaye sa Ginee.

*M O R Y O N *

- Kapepod-an -

Meryon Pilipayen , Luzen Visayas Mindanao
kapepod-an Pilipinas, Luzon visayas Mindanao

pisacel ya chdialbo, ya damo kon tewergo
bitoon sa sidlakan , nga among gihalaran

gram samo yo remgy sadwik
amo ikaw nga giawitan

intindiminto gram nima
yuta namong inahan

same gram tivergo
ikaw among gihalaran

ya lilo ya samnat yotendi
sa damgo sa yutang natawhan

samnat Pilipayen, loskesi ya regani
yutand Pilipinas , sinakit sa gihapon

Bathala kim dilkiya
Bathala kami tabangi

ya gran **senrato**
sa **among** kaŵgalingnan

y Jose Rizal chdiaro berisagi
si Jose Rizal atong bayani

dewati ayes dil chdiaro
nagpakamatay tongod kanato

atchel chdiaro dil achden
siya atong gisaligan

ya dil moy reclos ya samnat yotendi
sa paglangkat sa yutang natawhan.

* S E N R A T O *

- Kaugalingnan -

s e n r a t e , s e n r a t e
kaugalingnan , kaugalingnan

insil pirami, insil pirami
maey kalipay, maey kalipay

ya Pilipayen
sa Pilipinhon

droser edeb redye
kagawasn nga ginahandem

ya insil satebling
ug maey mithi

dil lelede remey diamele
nga gihanderaw samga tabunon.

istalis kes kiay
nia na ang saad

chdenbiyal ces este bedario
ning-abet na ang puleng

teylep redel datong
kanhi nga ginahatag

ces esto senrate , ensil berenn telyage
na ang kaugalingnan, maey buhing tinguha

del datong ces chdiem
gihatag gayud

esto droser, droser
ang kagawasan, kagawasagg

giye
dayon.

lyn faben

⊙ RIZAL ⊙

I

O RIZAL IKAW ANG MANGLONDA
NGA SA DUGAY AMONG (GIANTOSAN) GINAHANDOM
LIMAYA NA INTAWON
KINING MGA ANAK SA YUTANG TABONON

CHO,

NGANO DANG IHIKAW DA MAN
ANG HINGPIT JANG CAGAWASAN
LOWASA NA INTAWON KAMI
NING AMONG CAGOL-ANAN

III

HAIN NA ANG MGA PANOMPA MO
NGA SA DUGAY AMONG GIANTOSAN
LIMAYA NA INTAWON
KINING MGA ANAK SA YUTANG
TABONON

⊙ SIMBAHANG PILIPINHON ⊙

I

ANG SIMBAHANG PILIPINHON
NGA IYA SA MGA TABONON
SA MGA LANGYAW GICAYOGTAN
KAY DOOT NILANG ULIPNON

II

ANG ATONG MGA BAYANI
WALA KINI NILA LANGANI.
MIBAROG UG MIALSA
ISA! KAGAWASAN TA

CHO.

ANG UBAN TANG MGA ~~(illegible)~~ IGSOON
SA LANGYAW GIHAPON ULIPON
KAY ILANG GIPASULABI
ANG SIMBAHANG BAHALUANON

III

ANG SIMPAHAN TA DIDI LINGION
UG MAOLAW NATONG MOTIPON
KAY KABOS INTAWON (A)
ANG SIMBAHANG PILIPINHON c. (DALIC CHO.)

⊙ PACLIEGAN ⊙

I

CARON ATONG PACLION
PANUD SA KAGAHAPON
KANUS GIDAOG DAOG SA PAGTOLON-ANG LANGYAW
WALA NILA ILHA, OG WALA NILA ISIPA
ANG ILANG PAGHAGAD, DAW USA CA ONGGOY

II

UNYA WALA CA-ANTOS ANG PARING PILIPINAS
SILA NANGLIMBASOG, MAHAW-AS SA KALISOD
NANGITAG PAAGI NGA MAY CAUGALINGNAN
SA KALOOY SA DIOS NATUMAN RA GAYOD

III

SA AUG, 3 1902 MAOY PAGPROCLAMAR
NI MON. SINGOR DE LOS REYES
TUNGOD SA CAHALANGDON NGA
PARING MANGGILOY-ON, DILI MACATUGOT
NGA MAG-ANTOS ANG IYANG PONDOC

IV

OCT. 24 UNANG MISA GIHIMO
MON. SR. AGLIPAY
ALANG SA CAUGALINGNAN
KITANG MGA CATAWHAN, MAGSAULOG PASALAMAT
CARONG MGA TACUAL, HALANGDON UG BILILHON

V

ANG ATONG PADRE CURA
WALA MACATOLOG, SILA NANGLIMBASOG
PAGSIMINAR SA KATILINGBAN
WALA NILA TAGDA, KAKAPOY UG KALAAY
TUNGOD SA PAGLADAN SA ATONG SIMBAHAN.

⊙ NASOD ⊙

Ang nasod Kong Pilipinas
Dapit sa bulawan ug bulak
Paghigugma ang imong hulad
Nagahalag sa kalalom, ang kaanyag
Mag Kalingdong, nadani ang mga langyaw
Nasod Ko bilanggo ka, sa mga kalisod

chb:

Nalipay ang langgam nagtipad
Hinalwi intawon nagalilak,
Nasod pa kaha nga maytanlag
Ang di maghandom nga mogawas
Pilipinas Kong minamahal, dapit sa Luha
Ug kalisud, akong hinguha kanimo ang kagawasan

May simbahan nga mingbus-wak, Tinamay intawon
Nagahilak, nasod pa kaha nga maytanlag ang
De kamao nga mopangga, Pilipinas Kung minamahal
Dapit sa luha ug kalisud, Pundoc P.I.C.
Atong mahalon og hugugmaon, Pundoc bunga sa
kagawasan

(5) MAGELLAN ©

I ALU DIRONG PAKLIW, PANID SA KAGAHAPON
MARSO 21 MAGELLAN MILANDOG SA SUGBO
IYANG GIDAANPO, HARI NG RAYNA DIDTO
LAUG GIGOLANGAN GISULONG KILA ANG MACTAN

II WALA PA ANDUNGA LAPULAPU ANDAM NA
NAGHULAT SA BAYBAYON SA AWAY DILI LUPIGON
PAGKAWA NI MAGELLAN SA BANGKAW GIPAGLAWAN
KATSELA NANAGAN NAMATAY SI MAGELLAN

III MAO CADTOY SINUGDANAN KATSILA GIDOLNGAN
PILIPINAS GIGOLONG NIYA SA HARI NGA ESPAÑA
BAHANDI GIPANG-ILOG GIDALA SA ILAHA
KITA ANG GIOLIPON, MAO ANG TAG-IYA

IV DAGHAN GIDAUGDAUG UNTA GIPANG-ILOG
DAGHAN GIBILANGGO (GIPOTAN) SA LIOG
TULO CA PARI GILONGGOAN NGA WALAY
KASALANAN, MAO KADTOY SINUGDANAN
NASOKOT ANG KATIPUNAN

V TUNGOD SA CONFECION, GISAYRAN SA KATIPUNAN
RIZAL GIDESTINO SA LAYO NGA DAPITAN
IYANG GITODLO DIDTO ANG IYANG KINAADMAN
MASAKITON GIPANG-AYO; BUTA BAKOL GUITAMBALAN

VI 30 SA DEC. RIZAL GUISENTINSIYAHAN
RIZAL GUINAITUK-MAN; SA NATAD SA BAGOM-BAYAN
RIZAL GUINABARIL, NGA WALAY KASALANAN
SAAD NIYANG MUBALIK CON HINGPIT ANG KAGAWASAN

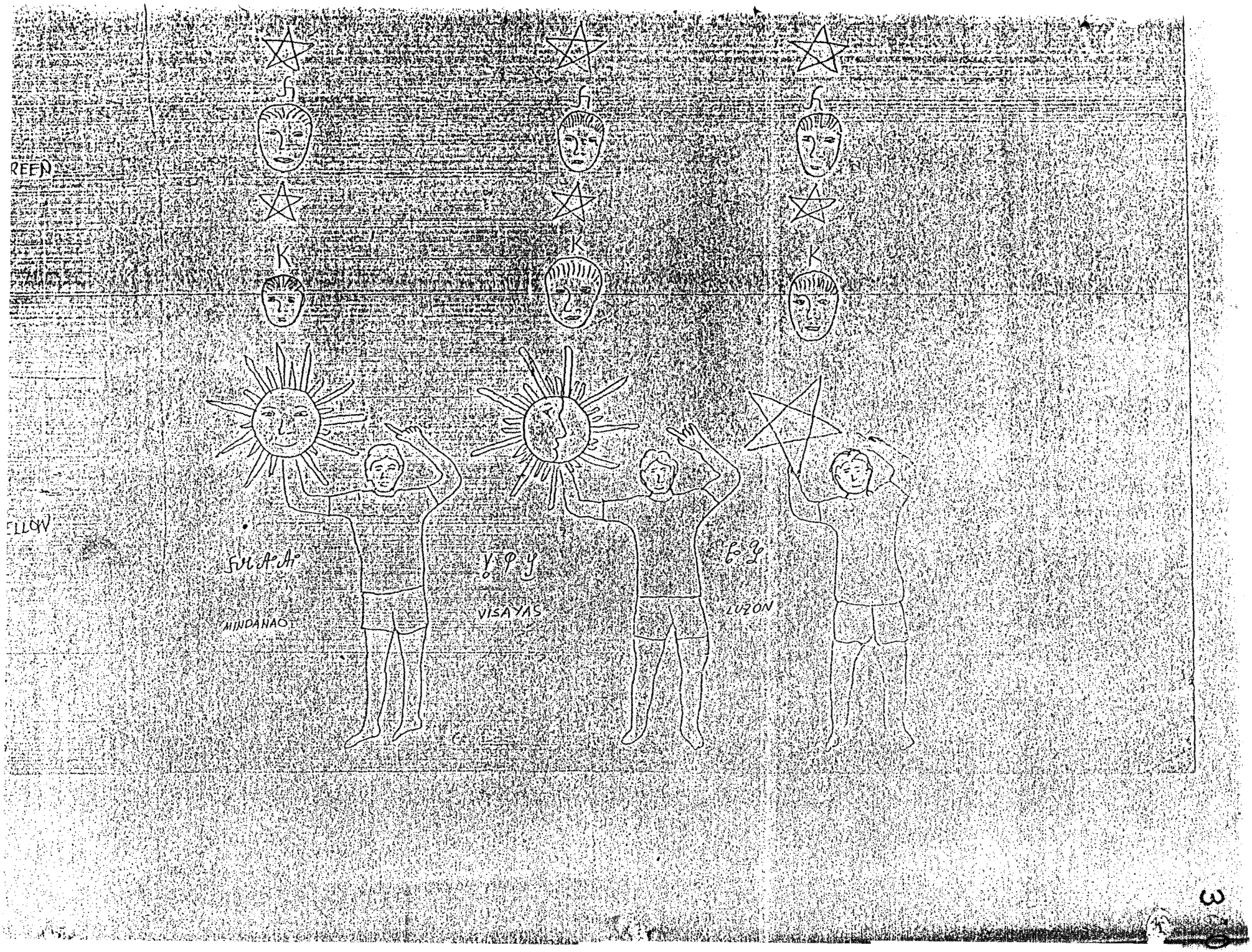
VII LUYO NIINUG, BUNG-TUD, BISKYAN NATUKOD
MANDO SA ESPRITO SANTO, SA GMAHANAN NGA TAYO
PAPIUS GUINAHIKAY SA SIMBAHAN NGA LUNSAY

5. Material Lore

5.1 Flags 341

5.2 Pictures of Wooden Tablets . . . 349

5.3 KKK Insignias 352


MINDANAO
VISAYAS
LUZON

MAN COMONIDAD

LUZON

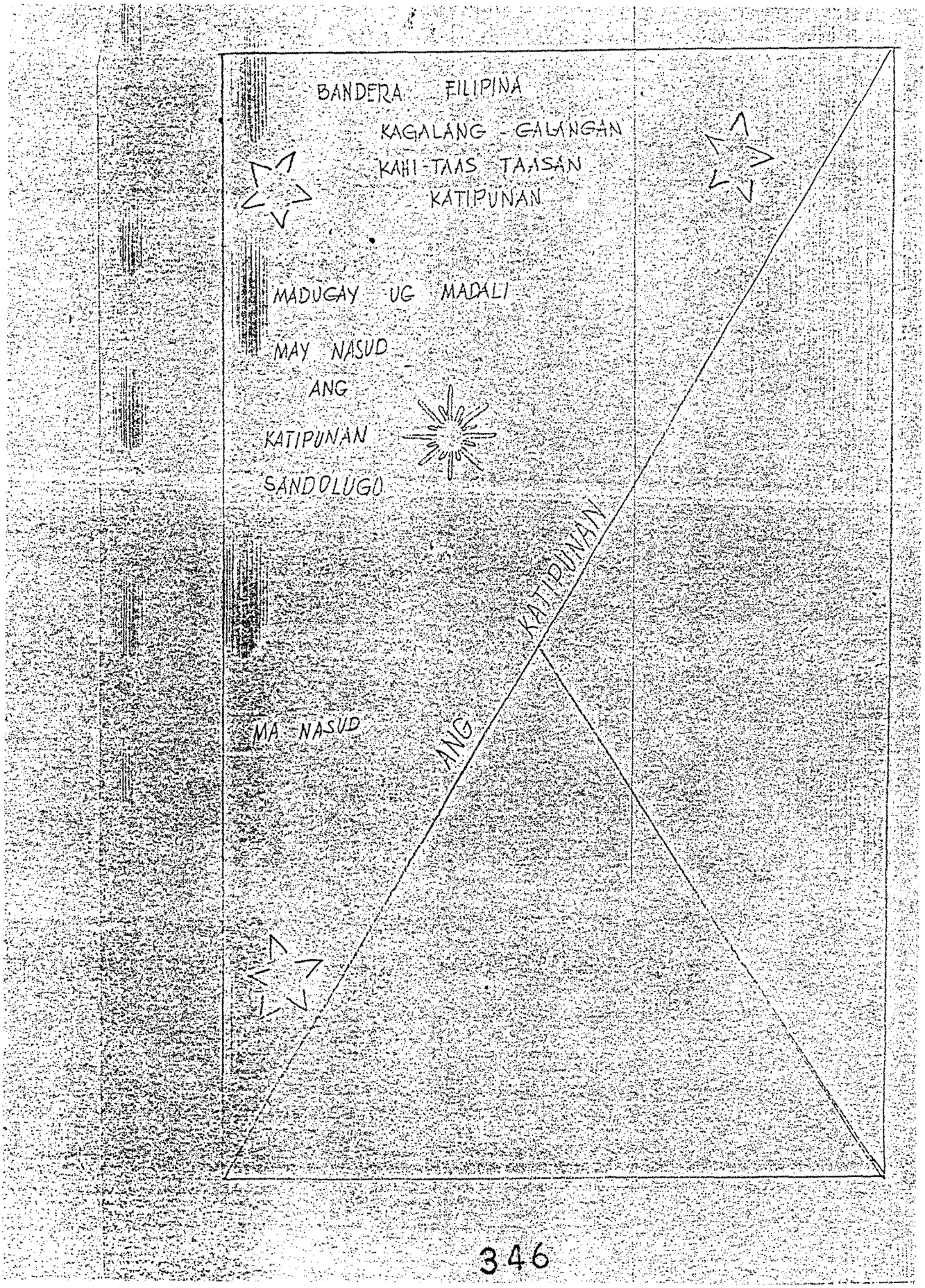
MAN COMONIDAD

VISAYAN

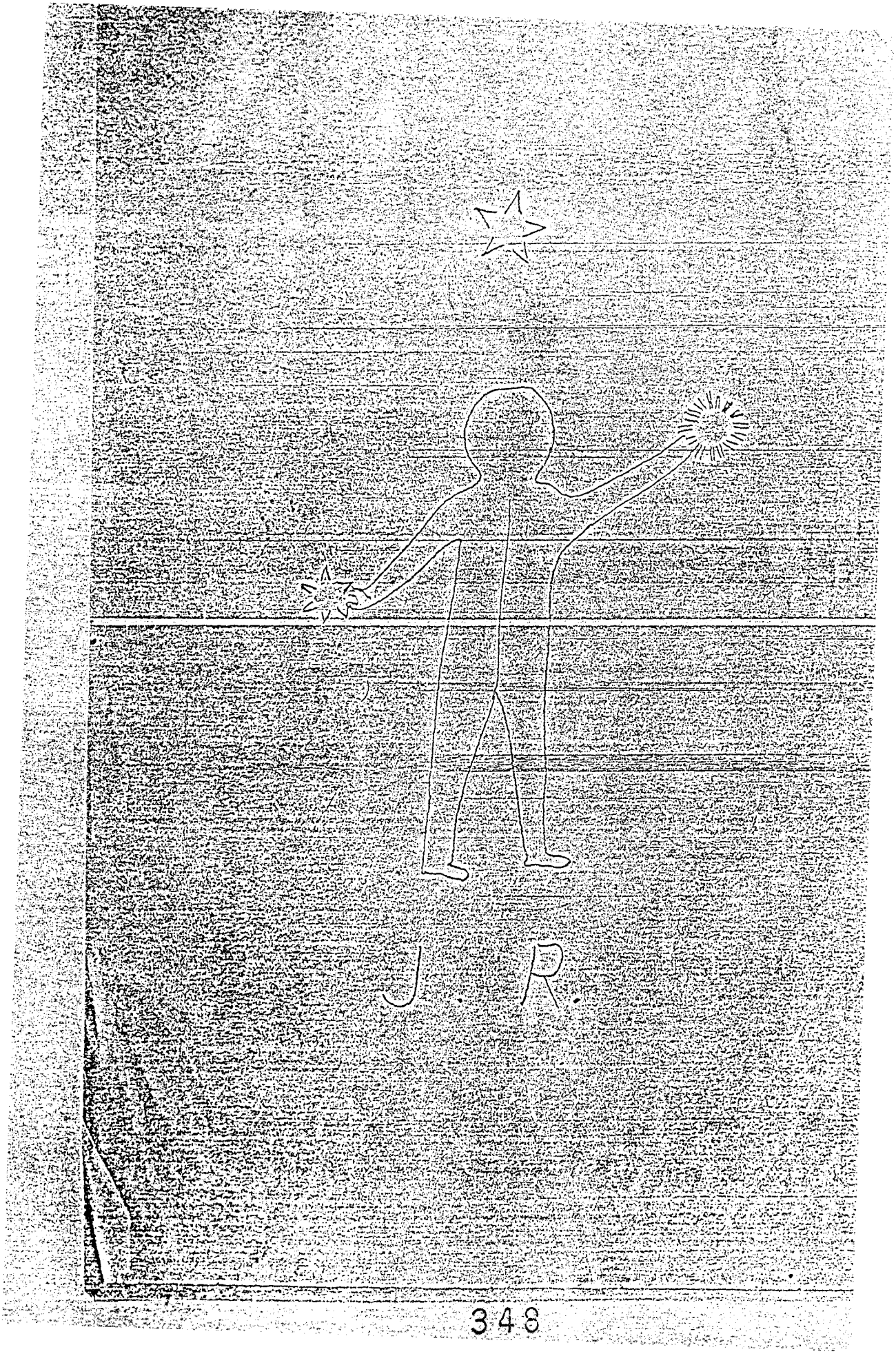
MAN CONSONIDAD
MINDANAO

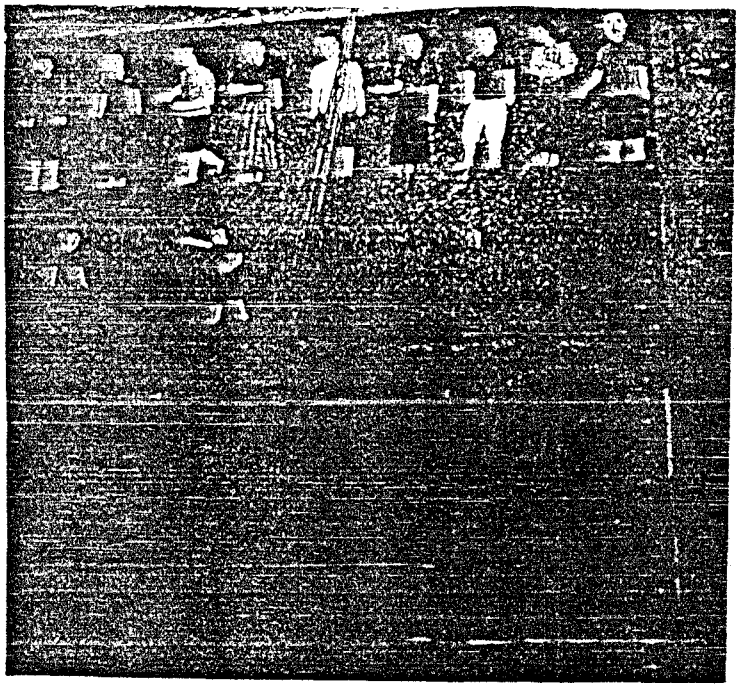
DIOS
BATA
SA SUSÔ
LUZON
VISAYAS
MINDANAO

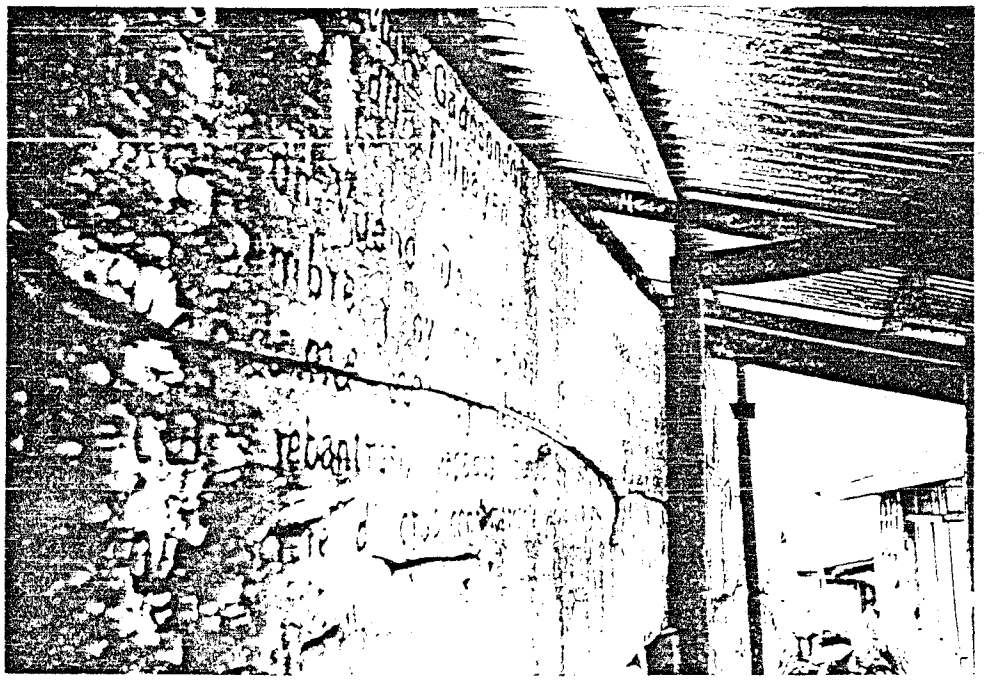
PALAWAN
PHILIPPINES
PHILIPPINA
MINDANAO
VISAYAS

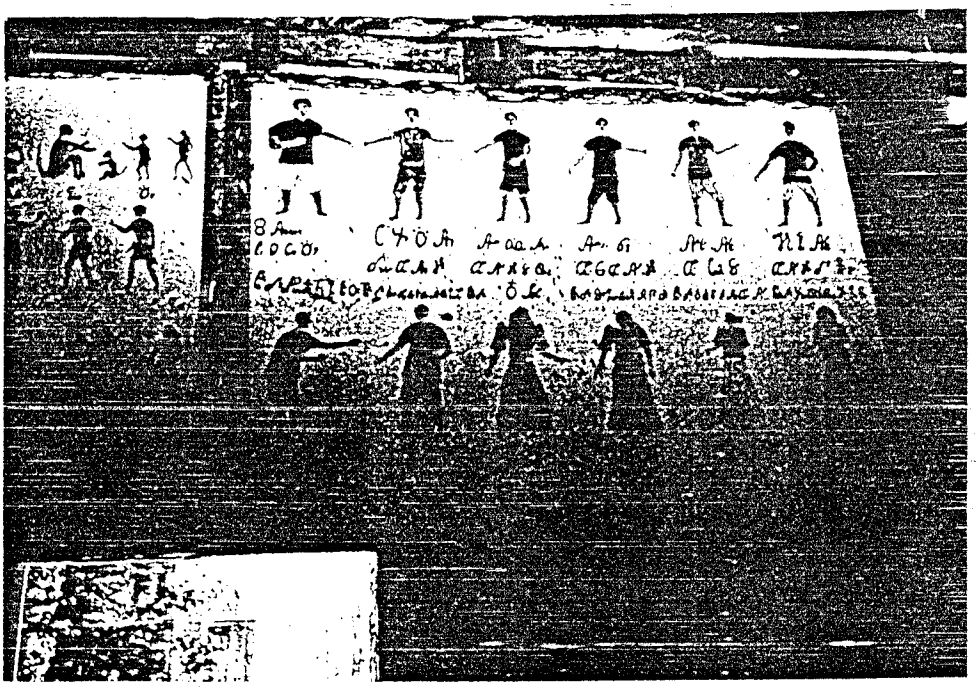

BANDERA FILIPINA
KAGALANG GALANGAN
KAHI-TAAS TAASAN
KATIPUNAN
MADUGAY UG MADALI
MAY NASUD
ANG
KATIPUNAN
SANDOLUGO
MA NASUD
ANG
KATIPUNAN

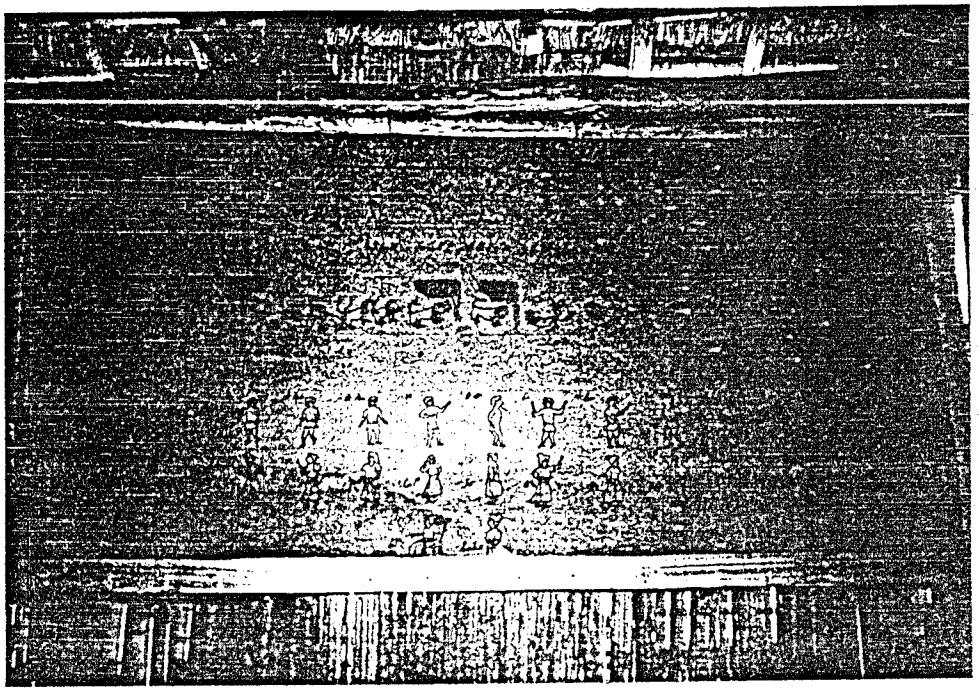
BADAYE 15CG
BANDRA KATPDUNJI 300
GUDDATOS
EGGU PRASAD
30
ASSAM
PAGE

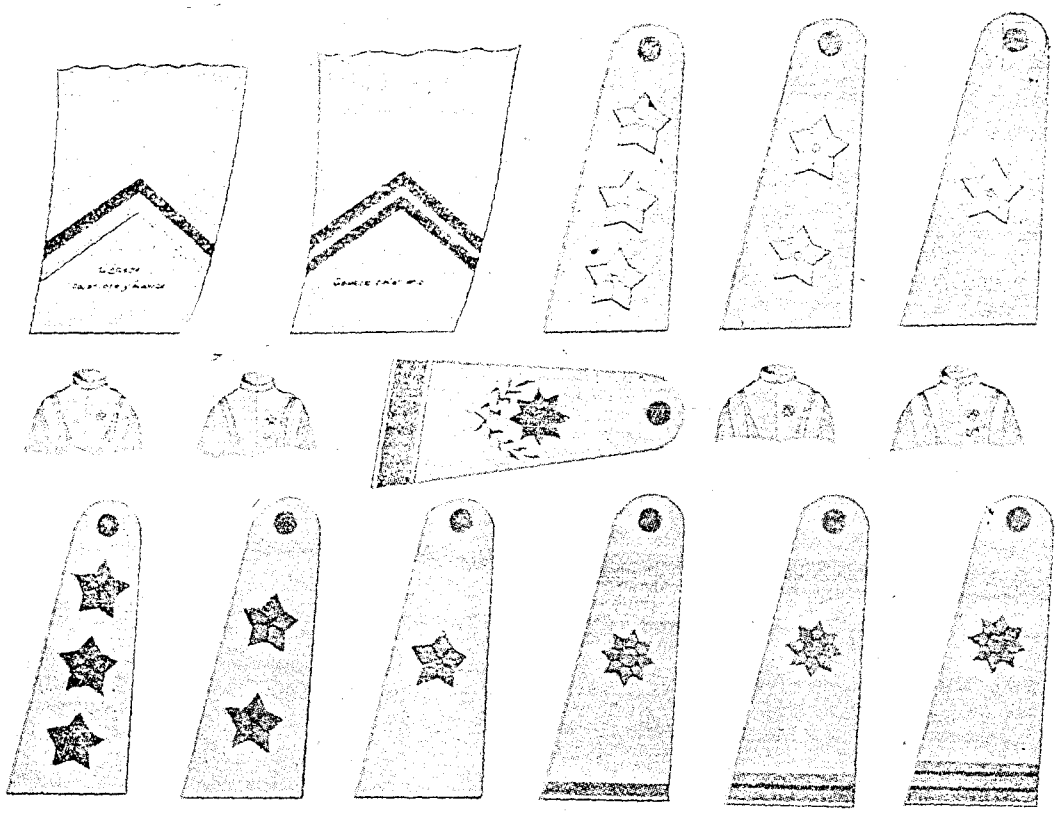












Insignia of Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Katipunan Officers.

(Toprow, from left): Chevrons of corporal and sergeant—only non-commissioned officers carry identifying marks on their sleeves; shoulderboards of second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain.

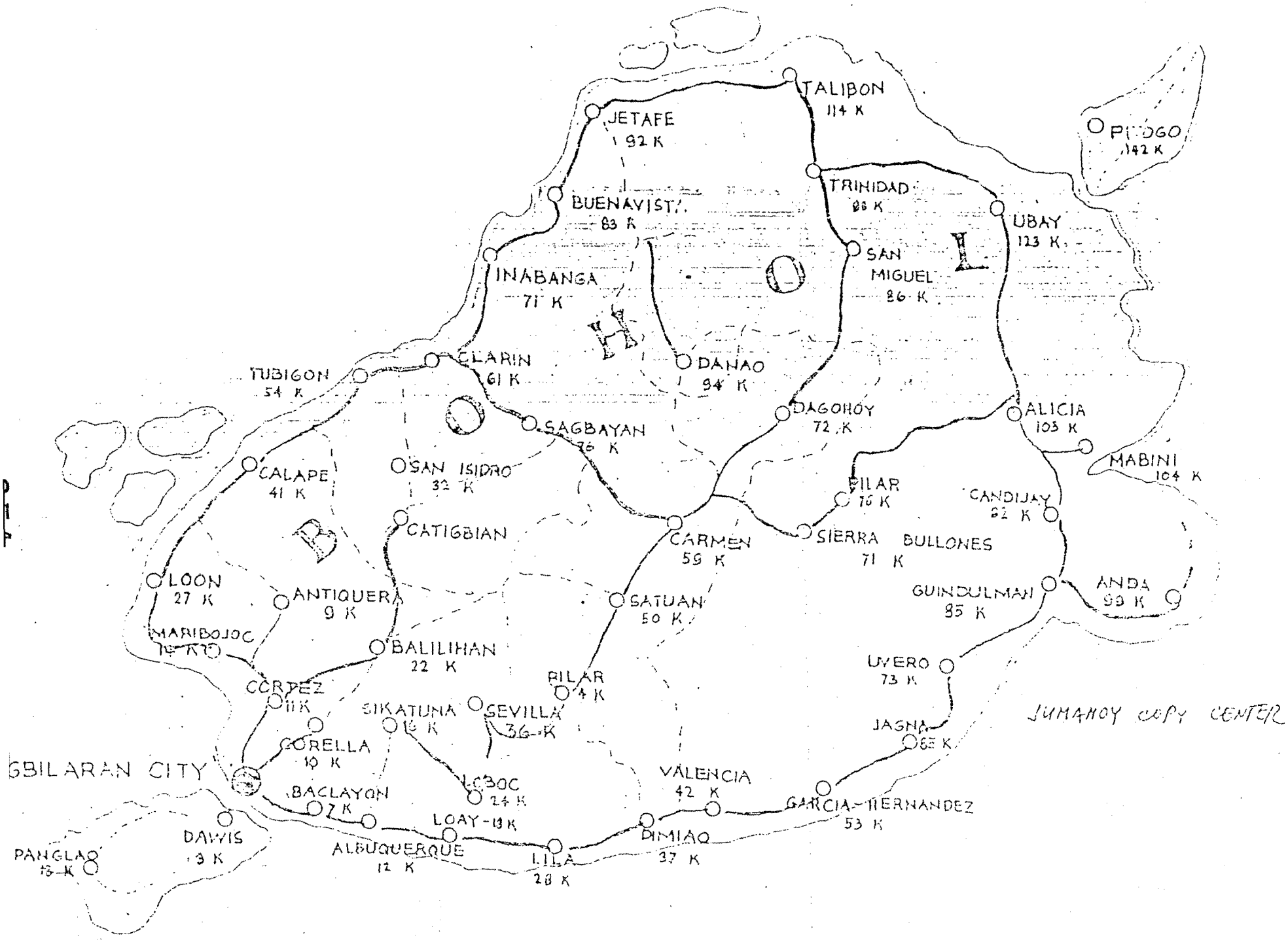
Second row: Badge of a headquarters officer; badge of chief of quartermaster; shoulderboard of captain general; badge of assistant chief secretariat and chief of headquarters offices; badge of the chief of secretariat.

The uniform of the army is made of rayadillo, with the exception of that of the chief of staff and the generals, who have adopted the US Army khaki, which is tan in color and gives poor visibility.

The shoulder pads have the following colors for the different services: Chief of Staff, blue; Engineers, purple; Artillery, red; Infantry, black; Cavalry, green; Judge Advocate Service, white; Medical Corps, yellow, and Military Administration, yellow.

Third Row: Shoulderboards of major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, brigadier general, major general, and lieutenant general.

6. Maps



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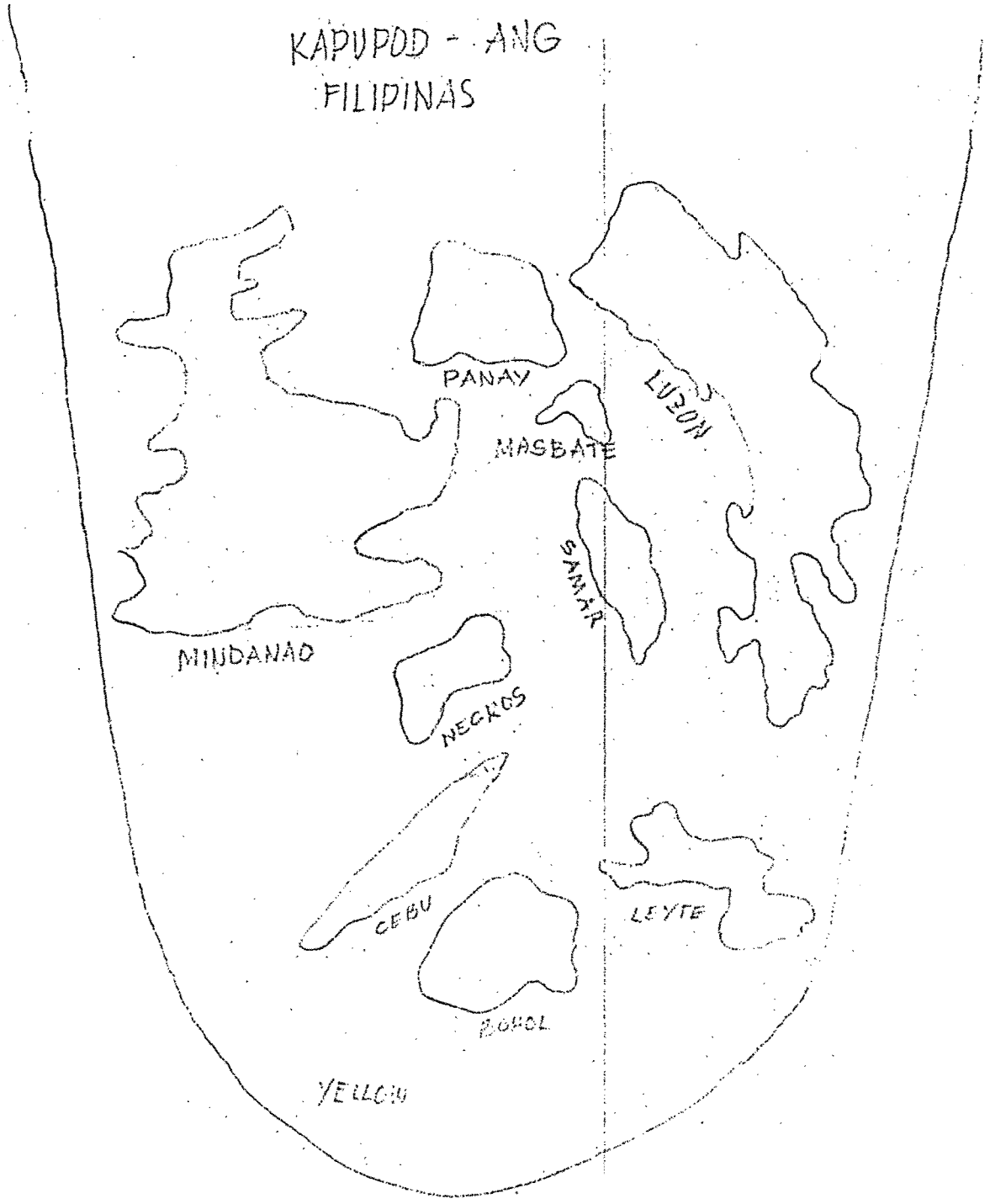
KAPUPOD - ANG
FILIPINAS
PANAY
LUZON
MASBATE
SAMAR
MINDANAO
NEGROS
CEBU
LEYTE
BOHOL
YELLOW