

SOME COMMENTS ON BONTOC ETHNOBOTANY

LAWRENCE A. REID

University of Hawaii

and

DOMINGO MADULID

Philippine National Museum

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide a brief description of the ethnobotanical nomenclature found in the Guinaang dialect of Bontoc, Mountain Province.¹ In addition to providing a listing and identification of many of the botanical terms, brief descriptions of the economic function of many of the plants is given, with folk descriptions of why the plants are named as they are. This data has been viewed in the light of an article recently published by Brent Berlin, "Speculations on the growth of ethnobotanical nomenclature," *Language in Society* 1.51-86 (1972), resulting in a few speculations of my own.

Compared with other published lists of botanical terms for Philippine languages (e.g. Vanoverbergh 1927, McKaughan and Macaraya 1965) the Guinaang data seems sparse. This is partly because the data includes relatively few names of cultivated plants. Only the most common varieties of rice, sugarcane, sweet potato, yam, taro, beans and corn, the primary cultigens of the area, have been included. In addition the ecological environment is not one which would be conducive to the development of a plethora of botanical terminology.

Guinaang is situated in a relatively dry valley. The indigenous forest has long since been cut back, so that it now requires a good half day's hike to reach an area where forest products such as rattan can be obtained. The hills around Guinaang, where they have not been converted to rice terraces or dry gardens for corn and sweet potatoes, are grass lands for water buffalo forage, with wide areas covered by cogon grass. Pine trees predominate in the higher ridges, but in the lower, more accessible regions most of the pine trees have been felled to provide lumber and firewood.

One other factor can be adduced for the relatively small number of Guinaang plant names. There seems to be little emphasis on the use of herbs for medicinal or religious purposes. This may be a concomitant of the previous factor discussed, since in other

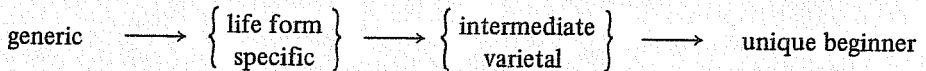
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The majority of the terms identified and discussed in this paper were first recorded during several periods of extended residence in Guinaang, Bontoc between 1959 and 1969, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. In 1971, a field trip was made with Mr. Domingo A. Madulid, Researcher for the Philippine National Museum, for the purpose of collecting and cataloguing botanical specimens in Guinaang and its environs. Mr. Madulid later provided the identification for most of the plants listed in this paper. In the summer of 1972 a further visit was made to Guinaang in order to check on some questionable forms. Some of these turned out to have been coined during the previous summer by our hardworking assistants: Pakolan Catay, Pangdal, Takdeg and Amaki. These terms are included in the list (with a preceding asterisk), since they clearly illustrate the principles used in the development of ethnobotanical nomenclature.

areas of the mountains of Northern Luzon where the village size is much smaller and where the land is not so intensively exploited, the number of botanical terms is far higher.

Categories of Ethnobotanical Nomenclature

In a recently published article, Berlin (1972) postulated six basic categories in terms of which the ethnobotanical nomenclature of any language in the world may be described. The categories are as follows. (1) Generic, the major category, which consists primarily of "semantically unitary and linguistically distinct . . . single-words" (p. 54). These are the minimal, naturally occurring terms within the folk taxonomy, by means of which the basic discontinuities of the botanical environment are labelled, e.g. pine, mahogany, thistle etc. (2) Specific, is the category of lower order terms which develops as keener observation enables a labelling of subtypes to be made, e.g. white pine, red pine, etc. (3) Major life forms. This is the relatively small category of higher order terms which label the more abstract concepts, e.g. tree, grass, vine, etc. (4) Varietal, the category of names which subclassify specific taxa; Berlin suggests that such names "occur almost exclusively in the classification of important cultigens." (p. 72). (5) Intermediate taxa, a category of terms midway between generic and life-form terms which develop "in response to situations where native polytypic generics must be distinguished from newly encountered generics" (p. 74). (6) Unique beginner, the label for the highest order ethnobotanical taxon, which may be translated as "plant". Berlin speculates that the categories of terminology described above develop in any given language in the sequence illustrated as follows (p. 53):



The Guinaang Generic Category

It will be useful in discussing the Guinaang taxa to utilize part of the schema suggested by Berlin. Comments will be made on the generic, life form and unique beginner categories. This section will include comments on the morphological processes used in Guinaang to generate new terms within the generic category, and the historical instability of such morphologically complex terms.

1. Of the nearly 400 names given in the list below, the great majority can be characterized as belonging to the generic category. Approximately two thirds of these names can be considered morphologically simple and are semantically unitary, although of course in some cases, the labels apply to more than one modern, scientifically defined taxon. In many cases a name is considered to be morphologically simple even though it appears obvious that at some point in the past the form was morphologically complex. Forms such as *adlan*³ with an apparent *-an* suffix, or *ag-agwey* with an apparent CVC- prefix are no longer morphologically complex, in that the roots from which they were originally formed **adal* and **agwey* no longer exist in the language, and native speakers do not recognize the forms as complex forms. On the other hand *olaten* is immediately identified as a tough, sinew-like wood, *olat* "sinew" + *-en*, and *ak-aklit* is likewise identified as sunflower with its bitter sap, *aklit* "bitter" + C₁VC₂- "like", and are therefore morphologically complex.

² See, for example, Vanoverbergh (1972), which contains extensive references to plants and to their medicinal and religious usage in Isneg life.

³ The orthography used for the Guinaang Bontoc forms in this article represents glottal stop only when it occurs as the second segment in a consonant cluster. Word initially and between vowels it is not represented. See Reid (1963) for a description of the Bontoc sound system.

The method of formation of new generic names described by Berlin, is active also in Guinaang. He says, "The linguistic process of *analogy*, i.e. when some new category is seen to be conceptually related to an already existing category and named accordingly, is an extremely common form of name formation in contemporary languages" (p. 55). In Guinaang, expansion of generic terms has developed by analogy in the same way as described by Berlin, e.g. compare *anam-am* "bracken fern" with *an-anam-am* (with C_1VC_2 -reduplication) "like bracken fern", applied to a number of fern species, and *bengwil* "bamboo" with *bengbengwil* "a kind of climbing bamboo" also called *bengbengwil si ótot* "rats' bamboo". Expansion by descriptive phrases such as "x of the mountain" or "y of the pondfield" is not uncommon, and was a device used by informants in coining names for which none existed (see asterisked entries in the list below, and footnote 1). Nevertheless the primary method of expansion of the generic category in Guinaang, a method implicit in Berlin's article, but not made explicit, seems to be reference to a characteristic of the plant itself, rather than analogical reference to an established generic term. Some of the characteristics to which reference is made are the following:

odor:	<i>ag-ágob, ang-angseg, ap-apüt</i> <i>tattai, in-inti</i>
taste:	<i>ak-aklit</i>
color:	<i>ballaan</i>
characteristics of wood:	<i>kigkiglit, tongtong-álen, olaten</i>
appearance of bark:	<i>dad-alit</i>
appearance of leaf:	<i>kopkoppit, bab-alin</i>
amount or kind of sap:	<i>lenlenna, ngang-aloyóngoy</i>
characteristics of seed:	<i>patpatay, pokpóket, pekpeket</i> <i>pepeket, kolotkot</i>
characteristics of stem:	<i>ak-akósan, bengbengngas, popoptod,</i> <i>pop-owégan, selselwi, tintinalli,</i> <i>dopdopil</i>
characteristics of fruit:	<i>pop-oyyong, tongtong-álen, dippig</i>
characteristics of root:	<i>botbóto, tebtebek</i>
appearance of inflorescence:	<i>sangsanga, sis-illew, páyong</i>
general shape:	<i>kóleng si ótot</i>
kind of growth:	<i>bokboktot, kamkammat, as-áso</i>
use:	<i>on-onnas, sossósop, bab-alásig,</i> <i>sansanil, soksókay</i>
effect on people:	<i>laslassa, banbanangngal</i>

Several grammatical devices are used in the generation of new formations. The primary one is C_1VC_2 -reduplication.⁴ This reduplication, plus gemination of a single medial consonant is a productive morpheme meaning "similar to, like" usually when the object being named is smaller than that with which it is being compared, as *anak* "child", *an-annak* "doll". When used with plant names formed by analogy with an established generic term the plant being named is not necessarily smaller than that with which it is being compared, note *apangdan* "pineapple" and *ap-apangdan* "climbing pandanus". The same morphological device (C_1VC_2 - + gemination of a single medial consonant) is now a productive method of indicating "plant characteristic". There are many forms however

⁴ C_1VC_2 - has several phonologically defined variants. Where $C_2 = 1, w$ or y , the variant is $C_1V?$, and a metathesis rule then inverts the order of the ?C cluster. Thus *powégan* + C_1VC_2 - > *po'powégan* > *pop'owégan*. Where $C_2 = ?$, the variant is C_1VC_1 , thus *tai* ([ta?il]) + C_1VC_2 - > *tattai*.

which have not geminated the medial consonant (e.g. *dad-alit* vs. *sis-illew*, *sansanil* vs. *on-onnas*, etc.) There appears to be no phonological reason for this to have occurred.

Infix *-in-* meaning "having the characteristic of the root" appears in few botanical terms, e.g. *tintinalli* from *tali* rope. (This form has also been reduplicated and the medial consonant geminated.) Other affixes which formerly signified "similar, like", but which are now nonproductive are *-en*, and *-an* (e.g. *olaten*, *tongtong-álen*, *ballaan*).⁵ The large number of forms which show a fossilized *-al-* infix (e.g. *alalási alangáang alayówey*, *balangbang*, *ballakew*, *balókok*, *taleptep*, *tagadew*, *tallangew*, *salakbey*, *salotsot*, etc.), make one suspect that one of the functions of this obscure affix was also that of either denoting similarity to the root or having the characteristic of the root. At this point however in the development of the language, forms such as *palótot*, and *talogtog* are not recognized as having any semantic or morphological relationship to their former roots — *pótot* "to cut the end off something" and *togtog* "to crush by beating".

2. A comparison of the Guinaang ethnobotanical terminology with that of Ilocano (Vanoverbergh 1927), Ifugao (Conklin 1967), and Kankanay (Vanoverbergh 1933) in an attempt to reconstruct plant names for the parent of these daughter languages revealed an inverse relationship between the number of morphologically complex forms which can be reconstructed and the time depth of the parent language being reconstructed. Of the approximately 130 botanical terms which could be reconstructed for the language ancestral to Bontoc and Kankanay, Bontoc's linguistically closest relative, only about 20 could be definitely reconstructed with a C_1VC_2 - reduplicative prefix. Of the 40 botanical terms which are shared by Bontoc and Ifugao⁶ only 3 are derived with a C_1VC_2 - prefix. Of about 40 terms shared by Bontoc and Isneg, none are derived with a C_1VC_2 - prefix; the same is true of the 46 terms shared by Bontoc and Ilocano. Yet both Isneg and Ilocano use this device for generating new forms. There are about 50 terms with C_1VC_2 - in Vanoverbergh (1927). The widespread occurrence of this reduplicative prefix on botanical terms attests its antiquity, but it cannot be reconstructed on actual forms beyond a relatively recent time depth (the parent language of Bontoc-Kankanay-Ifugao). Some of the reconstructible botanical terms for protolanguages of a greater time depth (Proto-Philippines, Proto-Austronesian) are analyzable as probably originally morphologically complex, e.g. **kawáyan*, **gasátan*, **balátung*, but it is probable that they had become morphologically simple generic terms before migrating groups hived off from the parent community. It appears then that morphologically complex botanical forms are less readily inheritable than morphologically simple forms. A correlate of this is that morphologically complex botanical forms tend to become morphologically simple. This occurs in a variety of ways. The function of the deriving affix may be lost, as in **kawáyan* "bamboo", leaving a fossilized affix. The affix itself may be lost, leaving only the root, either as a homophone of the root from which it was originally derived (e.g. Proto-Bon.-Knk. **tuktukpaw* "Benguet lily" > Knk. *toktokpaw*, Bon. *tokpaw*, where *tokpaw* also means "to guard, watch over") or if the root has since been replaced, as a completely new phonological form (e.g. Knk. *lías* "Panicum palmaefolium", Ifg. *liyahon* "Panicum palmaefolium", Bon. *lil-iyas* "Centotheca lappacea").

The loss of the *-al-* fossilized infix occurs in a number of Kankanay forms. In some

⁵Vanoverbergh (1927) also notes the C_1VC_2 - reduplication, and affixation of *-en* or *pang-en* meaning "similarity", in his description of plant names in Iloko. (*Pang-* prefixes have generally been lost in Bontoc.)

⁶Conklin (1967) only includes 156 terms. With a larger sample the number would probably be somewhat larger.

cases the absence of this infix in Kankanay can be accounted for by a regular phonological process by which $1 > \phi$ in some environments, the elision of two like vowels resulting in a single long (accented) vowel (e.g. **paláyen* > Knk. *páyen* "oak", **balátung* > Knk. *bátong* "a kind of bean"). However other Kankanay terms can only be accounted for by postulating the reduction of both segments of the infix, e.g. **taleptep* > Knk. *teptep* "tobacco leaves", **talagádew* > Knk. *tagádew* "tiger grass".

Simplification may also take place by loss of stem segments, e.g. Ifugao *ṛālyu* "Boehmeria multiflora" is an apparent simplification of an earlier form reflected in Bontoc without change as *ngang-aloyóngoy* "Boehmeria multiflora" (*ngaloyóngoy* + C_1 VC_2 -).

Major Life Forms

In discussing the origin of major life form names, such as "tree", "vine", "herb", etc., Berlin says, "Applying the principles which we have seen to be at work in the case of generics and specifics, one can make fairly good guesses as to which names get elevated to major class status: precisely those names which, because of their distribution and cultural importance, are most salient culturally" (p. 66). The Guinaang data provides an interesting light on Berlin's statement. The form **kayuh* has been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian with the meaning of "tree". It is well attested, reflexes of the form occurring in most languages of the Philippines meaning "tree" or "wood". The reflex in Guinaang is *káew*, but it is not the name of the life form "tree". The term *pagpag* most closely approximates the meaning "tree", being applied to all forest trees and shrubs. It excludes only cultivated trees (coffee, guava, mango, avocado) and pine trees. *Káew* has lost its meaning of "tree", and is now applied specifically to pine tree, the tree which is most common in the area, and which has become the main source of fuel and lumber. The origin of the term *pagpag* is obscure. In neighboring Kankanay, the term means "forest". In Ilocano, it is applied to rice with comparatively many empty spikes. No evidence is presently available that the word was ever part of the generic category of plant names.

Unique Beginner

Guinaang appears to have no term which can apply to all plant life, such as "plant". Three terms however are potential candidates to carry this meaning. They are *insek* "that which is cultivated from seed, as beans, but not rice", *móla* "plant which is cultivated without seeds, as sweet potato, banana, etc.", and *lógam* "weed, useless herbaceous plant." Berlin suggests (p. 78-9) that there is evidence to show that languages often draw from one of the major class taxa in developing the "unique beginner" term. This would appear to be happening in Guinaang, since the three terms above can perhaps all be classified as major life forms.

It is interesting to note that just as the term for "tree" became specifically "pine tree" in Guinaang, removing it from the major life form category to the generic category, the term *móla* may also have changed its category in reverse, from unique beginner to major life form. Ilocano and Kankanay dictionaries generally define *móla* as "plant", and because of the historical relationships which exist between these languages one would expect *móla* to be "plant" also in Bontoc. Since in Bontoc *móla* is a major life form name it has apparently reverted from the unique beginner category.⁷

⁷There is reason to believe however that even in Ilocano and Kankanay the term *móla* is not a true unique beginner, but means "that which is planted" and refers only to cultigens.

A further comment is in order here on the development of these three major life form names (*insek*, *móla* and *lógam*). As was noted above for the life form *pagpag*, there is no evidence that any of these terms developed from the generic category. Their development as major life form names is a result of a grammatical characteristic of Philippine languages, which enables many root words to be variously used as nouns or verbs. In Guinaang *esek* means "to plant, using seed." Kankanay has a nominal meaning for the root which is not present in Guinaang. In Kankanay it also means "seed". The term *insek* (*esek* + *-in-*) thus means "that which is planted by seed." *Móla* and *lógam* may likewise function as both nouns and verbs. With appropriate affixation *móla* means "to plant a cutting, etc." and *lógam* means "to weed".

In summary then, it would seem that devices other than analogy are at work in the development of nomenclature in the generic category, and that major life form names may develop (at least in Philippine languages) by utilizing verbal forms which are applicable to the category.

Ethnobotanical Terms in Guinaang

In the following list, forms with reduplicative prefixes are alphabetized by the initial letter of the unreduplicated stem. In such forms the reduplication is placed in parentheses. Where the unaffixed base is a lexical item in the language, this is indicated in square brackets following the definition. Folk etymological comments are given in square brackets following the meaning of the lexical base.

adáwey	<i>Ficus</i> sp. (<i>Morac.</i>) A kind of tree.
adlan	A kind of large, white, edible mushroom.
áey	A kind of tree.
agákog	<i>Artemisia capillaris</i> Thunb. (<i>Composit.</i>) A common, half-woody, leafy herb.
(ag-)ageg-ed	<i>Sceleria purpurascens</i> Steud. (<i>Cyperac.</i>) A coarse annual sedge with sharp-edged leaves. [<i>eged</i> "to cut, as the edge of a leaf"]
aggey	A kind of plant with edible seeds.
(ag-)ágob	<i>Helianthus annuus</i> L. (<i>Composit.</i>) Sunflower. The most commonly used fertilizer in pondfields. [<i>ágob</i> "bad odor"]
(ag-)ágob ₁	<i>Mentha arvensis</i> L. (<i>Labiata.</i>) Mint. The leaves are crushed and smelled as a cure for headache. [<i>ágob</i> "bad odor"]
(ag-)agto	<i>Dioscorea</i> sp. (<i>Dioscoreac.</i>) A kind of yam. [<i>agto</i> "to carry on the head"]
(ag-)agwey	<i>Ageratum conyzoides</i> L. (<i>Composit.</i>) A small, annual herb with blue flowers. It is used as a fertilizer in pondfields.
akasya	<i>Samanea Saman</i> (Jacq.) Merr. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) Spanish. The acacia tree.
akbab	<i>Alpinia</i> sp. (<i>Zingiberac.</i>) Ginger. A tall, leafy herb growing in clumps, forming thick masses of vegetation.
(ak-)aklit	<i>Helianthus annuus</i> L. (<i>Composit.</i>) Sunflower. Syn: <i>ag-ágob</i> . [<i>aklit</i> "bitter". Refers to the bitter taste of the sap.]
(ak-)akósan	<i>Coelogyne</i> sp. (<i>Orchidac.</i>) A ground orchid, the base of the stem having a swelling shaped somewhat like a cowrie shell. [<i>akósan</i> "a woman's waist adornment consisting of a number of cowrie shells strung together on a strip of woven cloth"]

- alakówak *Saccharum officinarum* L. (*Gramin.*) A kind of sugarcane.
- alalási *Pipturus dentatus* C. B. Rob. (*Urticac.*) A small shrub having nettle-like leaves. Cuttings are planted for hedges.
- *alalásin si bílig *Leucosyke brunnescens* C. B. Rob. (*Urticac.*) Literally, the *alalási* of the mountain. A small tree, the stems of which are used for firewood.
- (al-)alangaang *Leea manillensis* Walp. (*Vitac.*) A small tree, the berries of which are sometimes used as head beads.
- alayówey *Macaranga sinensis* (Baell.) Muell.-Arg. (*Euphorbiac.*) A common tree, the fruit of which is used as a fermenting agent in making sugarcane wine.
- alimomósong *Vaccinium barandanum* Vidal (*Ericac.*) A small tree, with edible berries called *banway*. The leaves are used to ornament hair. The wood is used for making vessels.
- alin-ew *Croton caudatus* Geisel. (*Euphorbiac.*) A tall tree, with good bast fiber. The bark is used for binding and tying.
- al-ip *Ampelopsis brevipedunculata* (Max.) Koehne. (*Vitac.*) A twining vine with edible fruit, stems sometimes used for binding.
- alóley *Cirsium* sp. (*Composit.*) A kind of thistle-like weed, used as pigfood.
- amti *Solanum nigrum* L. (*Solanac.*) A tall herb used for pigfood, and cultivated as a vegetable substitute.
- anag-ey *Rottboellia exaltata* L. (*Gramin.*) A coarse, tall grass, the leaf sheath of which is covered with stiff, irritating hairs. [*tag-ey* "high, above"]
- analdong *Trema orientalis* (L.) Blume. (*Ulmac.*) A small tree, the wood of which is used for making vessels.
- anam-am *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuhn (*Pteridac.*) Bracken fern. A terrestrial fern with creeping underground stem, and long stemmed, leathery, dull green, triangular, much divided fronds, two to six feet in length.
- (an-)anam-am *Pteris vittata* L. (*Pteridac.*); *Nephrolepis hirsutula* (Forstd.) Presl. (*Davalliac.*); *Goniophlebium subauriculatum* (Bl.) Presl., *G. benguetense* Copel. (*Polypodiac.*) Any of a number of species of terrestrial fern.
- *(an-)anam-am si payew *Lastrea ligulata* J. Sm. ex Presl. (*Aspidiac.*); *Adiantum capillus-veneris* L. (*Pteridac.*) Literally, *an-anam-am* of the pondfield. Any of several species of fern growing on pondfield terrace walls.
- anat-il *Deutzia pulchra* Vidal (*Saxifragac.*) A tall shrub, the leaves of which are fed to water buffalo as an anthelmintic. The fruit is sometimes added to sugarcane wine to make the taste more bitter.
- anaydos *Ficus septica* Burm. f. (*Morac.*) A medium-sized tree, the bark of which is used for making thread.
- ánes *Schizostachyum dielsianum* (Pilger) Merr. (*Gramin.*) A climbing bamboo, the culms having narrow diameter and long internodes, used for basketry and for making into noseflutes.

antak	<i>Vigna sesquipedalis</i> L. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) A kind of cow pea, commonly cultivated.
angel	General name for sweet potato vines; the above ground portion of the sweet potato plant. These vines are normally cooked and used for pigfood. Cf. <i>óbi</i> .
(ang-)angel	A kind of plant. [Cf. <i>angel</i> .]
(ang-)ang-it	<i>Hypericum</i> sp. (<i>Guttifer.</i>) A small herb with red flowers. The plant is pounded and used as a cleansing agent when washing the hair. The dried plant is used as a hair perfume.
(ang-)anglit	Var. <i>ang-ang-it</i>
(ang-)anglit ₁	Syn. <i>tat-awwa</i>
(ang-)angseg	<i>Lycopersicum esculentum</i> Mill. (<i>Solanac.</i>) A tomato plant bearing small, acidic fruit. Cultivated. [<i>angseg</i> "underarm odor". Refers to the smell of the fruit.]
apaklan	A kind of shrub; the edible fruit of this shrub.
(ap-)apang-ag	Syn. <i>sapsapangkag</i> .
apangdan	<i>Ananas comosus</i> (Linn.) Merr. (<i>Bromeliac.</i>) Pineapple plant and fruit. [Probably originally named because of the apparent similarity between the pineapple and the fruit of the screw pine, Il. <i>pangdan</i> .]
(ap-)apangdan	<i>Freycinettia</i> sp. (<i>Pandanac.</i>) Climbing pandan. [Cf. <i>apangdan</i> . The fruit of the climbing pandan and the pineapple are said to smell alike.]
apáya	<i>Manihot utilisima</i> Pohl. (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) General name for cassava. [Name probably developed because of similarity in appearance between the cassava plant and the papaya.]
(ap-)apiit	<i>Viburnum odoratissimum</i> Ker (<i>Caprifoliac.</i>) A kind of small, odoriferous shrub. Stem cuttings are planted to form a hedge. [<i>apiit</i> "the smell of chicken being cooked by boiling". Considered to be unpleasant.]
apísang	<i>Saccharum officinarum</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of sugarcane.
aplas	<i>Ficus ulmifolia</i> Lam. (<i>Morac.</i>) A kind of shrub with edible fruit. Its rough leaves are used for smoothing wooden utensils. Spear shafts may be made from its branches.
appoti	<i>Saccharum officinarum</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of sugarcane.
(as-)áso	<i>Cissampelos pareira</i> L. (<i>Menispermac.</i>) A kind of vine growing in thickets, used for binding. [<i>áso</i> "dog". Said to refer to the manner in which the tendrils easily climb, "as a dog leaps up."]
asóti	A kind of plant whose fruit seeds are used to make a red coloring for face painting.
atelba	<i>Callicarpa formosana</i> Rolfe (<i>Verbenac.</i>) A tall shrub bearing berries with violet juice used for body decorations. The stems are used for bean poles.
atibanglan	<i>Cyathea contaminans</i> (Wall ex Hook) Copel. (<i>Cyatheac.</i>) Tree fern. The large fronds are frequently used as scarecrows in the pondfields.
atibangngan	(Bontoc) Var. <i>atibanglan</i> .
atinbayágon	<i>Coleus blumei</i> Benth. (<i>Labiát.</i>) Coleus. A somewhat succu-

- lent herb, with square stems, two to three feet in height. Its leaves are often variegated. [*atinbayágon* "bleeding nose". Refers to the color of the leaves.]
- atomila *Crypsinus taeniatus* (Sw.) Copel. (*Polypodiaceae*) A kind of terrestrial fern.
- baay *Pueraria javanica* Benth. (*Leguminosae*) A hairy, leguminous vine. Fibers of the skin of this vine are used for making twine. The vine itself is used for binding and tying. *pang-el* "the fruit of this vine"
- (ka)bagtan *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramin.*) A kind of glutinous rice.
- bagíngey A kind of fern, the rachises of which are used in weaving basket hats.
- bágiw Algae which grows on the surface of pondfields.
- bakákew A kind of grass with edible seeds.
- bákan *Litsea perrottetii* (Blm.) F.-Vill. (*Laurac.*) A tall tree, felled especially for use as a *kabowánan* log, to provide fuel for the men's ward house. The wood is also used for making vessels. Its sap is said to cause irritation of the skin.
- baklag *Colocasia esculentum* (L.) Schott. (*Arac.*) A kind of taro. Refers to the corm only. *lákát* "the leaves of the taro plant"
- balangbang *Medinilla brevipes* Merr. (*Melastomataceae*) A common shrub with edible fruit.
- (ba)b-alásig *Ludwigia octovalvis* (Jacq.) Raven ssp. *octovalvis* Raven. (*Onagraceae*) [*balásig* "to visit the girls' dormitories, of young men". Said to refer to the fact that the fruit, mixed with that of the *katingel* tree was formerly used to blacken the teeth prior to visiting girls' dormitories.]
- bálat *Musa* spp. (*Musac.*) General name for banana plant. In most places also, the fruit of the banana. In Guinaang *póso* is the fruit, and *ótik* the heart-shaped flower. In most places *póso* is only applied to the flower. *komáew* "stalk of bananas", *lepág* "hand of bananas"
- balátong *Vigna* sp. (*Leguminosae*) A kind of small, black cultivated bean. *beyed* "the edible green pods of this bean plant", *gidon* "first edible leaves picked from the *balátong*", *látong* "edible leaves of this plant"
- balattinaw *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramin.*) A kind of glutinous rice.
- (ba)b-alin *Astronia zambalensis* Elm. (*Melastomataceae*) A common small tree. Also called *bab-alin si bílig* "the *bab-alin* of the mountain." [*balin* "the reverse side of something." Refers to the fact that the leaves have different colors on the two surfaces, green on top, purple beneath.]
- baliyongyong *Lobelia nicotianaefolia* Heyne (*Campanulac.*) An erect, medium-sized herb. The sap is used as a fish poison.
- ballaan *Dioscorea* sp. (*Dioscoreaceae*) A kind of yam, with reddish skin. [*bala* "lungs"]
- ballakew *Nepenthes alata* Blco. (*Nepenthaceae*) Pitcher plant.
- balli *Scirpus mucronatus* L. (*Cyperaceae*) A common sedge growing in pondfields. The stems formerly used with those of the

- basbas-ot* grass in weaving skirts for women.
- balókok (*Rubiaceae*) A kind of tree with edible leaves and fruit.
- balsang *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramineae*) A kind of non-glutinous rice.
- banal *Smilax bracteata* Presl. var. *verrucolosa* (Merr.) T. Koyoma. (*Liliaceae*) A kind of vine, commonly used for binding shoulder loads of firewood.
- (ban)banangngal A kind of red, hallucinogenic mushroom. [*banangngal* "to blush". Refers to the physical effects after eating this mushroom.]
- banyákaw *Dysoxylon* sp. (*Meliaceae*) A tall tree, the wood of which is used for making pestles and spear shafts.
- bángi A kind of tree with hard, dark-colored wood used for spear shafts.
- (bang)bágon *Ocimum sanctum* L. (*Labiatae*) A small herb, with aromatic leaves and stems. [*bágon* "to wake, get up from a prone position"]
- bangtínen A kind of tree, the wood of which is used for making shields.
- (bas)bas-ot *Sporobolus poiretii* (R. & Sch.) Hitch. (*Gramineae*) A common grass.
- bastíkang *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramineae*) A kind of non-glutinous rice.
- bátang *Pinus insularis* Endl. (*Pinaceae*) A mature pine tree. *bolíbol* "needles", *mókón* "cone", *sipsip* "bark of pine", *ánit* "sapwood of pine", *bósag* "heart of pine", *sáleng* "pitch pine", *líket* "sap of pine", *ótil* "heart timber which has become pitchy", *palen* "pitch pine which has been submerged in water", *pegay* "pitch pine, well saturated with resin", *ságod* "pine with twisted grain; particularly of a pitch pine log from which pieces cannot be chopped for a torch", *gam-mongo* "pine tree from which the lower branches have been cut", *pagadew* "a dead pine branch", *palagga* "stump of a dead branch", *tádaw* "dead pine tree which is still standing". Primarily used for firewood and lumber. Cf. *belbel*, *pagpag*.
- (bat)batang *Blumea balsamifera* (L.) DC. (*Compositae*) A small to medium-sized shrub. [Cf. *bátang*. Refers to the appearance of the bark, "like that of a pine tree."]
- batárgan *Musa* sp. (*Musaceae*) A kind of banana plant, having large edible fruit. [Cf. *bátang*]
- b(in)aydan *Ipomoea batatas* L. (*Convolvulaceae*) The above ground growth of the *ogangnga* sweet potato; a kind of sweet potato vine. [*bayad* "payment"]
- bayag *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramineae*) A kind of non-glutinous rice.
- bayyási *Ipomoea batatas* L. (*Convolvulaceae*) A kind of sweet potato.
- bébe (Bontoc) Var. *belbel*.
- belbel A young pine tree. Cf. *bátang*.
- (bel)belbel *Delphinium* sp. (*Ranunculaceae*) A small herb. [Cf. *belbel*. Said to refer to the similarity in appearance between this herb and a young pine sapling.]
- (beng)bengngas A kind of grass. [*bengas* "cracks in the feet". Refers to the

- bengwil fact that the stems of the grass will split when bent.] *Bambusa spinosa* Blm. (*Gramin.*) A tall, erect, spiny bamboo, the culms of which are used for making water or wine containers, or as a carrying bar.
- (beng)bengwil *Dinochloa luconiae* (Munro) Merr. (*Gramin.*) A climbing bamboo. Also called *bengbengwil si ótot* "the *bengbengwil* of rats". [Cf. *bengwil*]
- (bes)besneg A kind of plant which grows in pondfields. It is sometimes eaten as a vegetable.
- binittilaw *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramin.*) A kind of rice.
- binólók *Maesa cumingii* Mez (*Myrsinac.*) A kind of vine, with edible fruit and leaf. *ásip* "the fruit of the *binólók* vine". The fruit, a red berry, is also called *kalkalbey*, since it is used as a decoration in the manner of *kalbey* "small red or green beads used in a woman's head dress."
- (bin)binólók *Polygonum hydropiper* L. (*Polygonac.*); *Oxalis repens* Thunb. (*Oxalidac.*) Any of several vines whose leaves may be eaten, and are similar in appearance to *binólók*.
- bisi *Melastoma polyanthum* Blume (*Melastomatac.*) A spreading shrub, with a mature height of about six feet and having violet flowers; the edible fruit of this shrub. The flowers are used to attract crabs when fishing. [*bisi* "to crack or split, of the fingertips". The fruit of the *bisi* shrub breaks open when ripe.]
- bitoklo *Musa* sp. (*Musac.*) A kind of banana plant, having edible fruit.
- boblong *Miscanthus floridulus* (Labill.) Warb. (*Gramin.*) A tall reed, with hairy, irritating leaves. The leaves are used for water buffalo fodder, the stems are used as a base for thatching, etc. *salibobong* "young shoots", *sapiil* "young leaves", *páol* "reeds", *lotbo* "green reeds, often split and used for binding", *dápong* "mature reeds", *biyakaw* "inflorescence".
- bognay *Ardisia* sp. (*Myrsinac.*) A small tree, bearing edible fruits.
- bokádo *Persea americana* Mill. (*Laurac.*) English. The avocado tree and fruit.
- bokatel Moss growing on stones in a water course or in a water jar which is not cleaned.
- (bok)boktot *Eragrostis chariis* (Sch.) Hitch. (*Gramin.*) A kind of bunch-forming grass, frequently growing in association with *basbasot*. [*boktot* "to form a bunch"]
- bolantog A kind of edible fungus which grows in pondfields.
- bolinaw A kind of tree.
- bólit *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramin.*) A kind of non-glutinous rice.
- bollagot Moss; lichen.
- bollagot si bítang *Usnea* sp. (*Lichen.*) Literally, *bollagot* of the mature pine. Spanish moss; long moss. A slender, gray moss with flexible stems and leaves. Rootless, it commonly hangs from tree branches.
- bollos *Acalypha amentacea* Roxb. (*Euphorbiac.*) A kind of tree,

- the leaves of which are sometimes used as a fertilizer in pondfields.
- bololong
(bong)bóngga (Bontoc) Syn. *boblong*.
Cyperus kyllingia Endl. (*Cyperac.*) A common, small sedge growing beside pondfields and other wet places. [*bóngga* "flower, inflorescence"]
- bóo
(bob)bóot A kind of edible, ball-shaped fungus; puffball.
A kind of grass. [*naboótan* "moldy"]
- bostikil
Thespesia sp. (*Malvac.*) A tall shrub which bears large, bright yellow flowers.
- (bot)bóto
Nephrolepis cordifolia (L.) Presl. (*Davalliaceae*) Sword fern. A terrestrial fern having long, narrow, arching fronds, one to two feet in length, dissected into many narrow segments. [*bóto* "testicle of an animal". Refers to the small round corms which are attached to the roots of this fern.] See also, *lígey*.
- boyáboy
Oryza sativa L. (*Gramin.*) Any of several varieties of glutinous and non-glutinous rice characterized by long awns.
- boyon
dála (*Arac.*) A kind of taro, refers to the corm only. Cf. *baklag*.
- dalángey
dálaw A kind of ball-shaped fungus with red flesh. [*dála* "blood"]
Any of several species of orchids.
- (da)d-alit
Dianella nemerosa Lam. f. *tenuifolia* Schlett. (*Liliac.*) A plant which grows in pondfields. It has a segmented root which is used medicinally.
- damáyan
damáyen A kind of forest tree. [*dalit* "eel". Refers to the smooth bark, and slender branches.]
A kind of small, edible, ball-shaped fungus; a small puffball.
- damíno
damínol *Calamus* sp. (*Palm.*) A climbing rattan, not used for binding in basketry because of its poor quality.
- dománey
(Bontoc) Var. *damínol*.
A kind of edible mushroom, noted for being very slippery when cooked and not needing to be chewed.
- dánon
Buddleia asiatica Lour. (*Loganiac.*) A tall shrub. Its inflorescence is used for decoration.
- (dang)dang-ay
dapóol *Cayratia geniculata* (Bl.) Gagnep. (*Vitac.*) A strong, thin vine, especially used during the erection of *bansal*, in the *bayas* ceremonial complex.
- (dap)dapóol
(Maligcong) Syn. *langlangiya*.
Dicranopteris linearis (Burm.) Underw. (*Gleicheniac.*) False staghorn fern. A terrestrial fern with underground stems and wiry, forking, dissected fronds often smothering surrounding vegetation. The rachises when submerged in water turn black and are used in the weaving of basket hats. They are also used to string mud fish caught in the pondfield in order to carry them home.
- (padpa)dáyaw
Sphenomeris chusana (L.) Copel. (*Pteridac.*) A terrestrial fern. [Cf. *dapóol*. The *dapdapóol* has smaller leaves.]
Lycopodium cernuum L. (*Lycopodiaceae*) Club moss. A far-creeping, evergreen, mosslike plant. Its branches are used as

dayket	decoration during certain ceremonies. [<i>dáyaw</i> "to honor"] General name for the various varieties of glutinous rice or cassava. Cf. <i>págey</i> , <i>apáya</i> , <i>poddaw</i> .
dayyong	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of reddish, glutinous rice.
(da)d-ayyong	<i>Rynchelytrium repens</i> (Willd.) C. E. Hubb. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of bunch-forming grass with a reddish inflorescence, growing in open, dry, abandoned areas. It is used as water buffalo fodder. [Cf. <i>dayyong</i> . Named because of the color of the inflorescence.]
*(da)d-ayyong si payew	<i>Setaria palmifolia</i> (Koen.) Stapf. (<i>Gramin.</i>) Literally, the <i>dad-ayyong</i> of the pondfield. A common grass with palm-like leaves growing along trails and paths to pondfields.
degáyan	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of glutinous rice.
degway	<i>Saurauia bakeri</i> Merr. (<i>Dilleniaceae</i> .) A small tree; the edible fruit of this tree.
dengla	A kind of plant, with wide, red leaves.
dengsil	<i>Zizyphus</i> sp. (<i>Rhamnaceae</i> .) A tall shrub, the stem of which is used for making jar casings, etc.
dipig	<i>Tetrastigma loheri</i> Gagnep. (<i>Vitaceae</i> .) A kind of vine sometimes used for binding.
dippig	<i>Musa</i> sp. (<i>Musaceae</i> .) A kind of banana plant, which does not bear fruit. [<i>dippig</i> "oval, having flattened sides"]
(dop)dopil	<i>Elatostema banahaense</i> C. B. Rob. (<i>Urticaceae</i> .) An erect, annual herb; nettle. [<i>dopil</i> "having 4 sides". Refers to the angular stems of the plant.]
edpay	A kind of tree, the berry of which is used as a fermenting agent in sugarcane wine.
enep	<i>Bridelia glauca</i> Bl. (<i>Euphorbiaceae</i> .) An erect, medium-sized tree with edible fruit.
enwad	<i>Bidens leucorrhiza</i> (Lour.) DC. (<i>Compositae</i> .) A small herb with yellow flowers, sometimes used as a vegetable, more commonly used for pigfood.
(eng)-engngas	A kind of herb.
epaan si yáyas	Literally, landing place of the <i>yáyas</i> beetle. Syn. <i>kalom-inga</i> .
(gad)gading	A kind of sweet potato vine.
*(ga)g-alamígam	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i> (L.) Pers. (<i>Gramin.</i>) Bermuda grass. A creeping perennial with flattened, smooth stems and narrow leaves, one to four inches long.
gamóting	Any small, undersized, sweet potato.
gamotling	Var. <i>gamóting</i> .
gásang	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of glutinous rice.
gasátan	<i>Aglaia diffusa</i> Merr. (<i>Meliaceae</i> .) A hard, long-grained wood used for spear shafts and tool handles; the tree from which this wood is obtained.
gasingsing	A kind of tree.
(gel)gelngas	<i>Kalanchoe pinnatum</i> (Lam.) Pers. (<i>Crassulaceae</i> .) A succulent, perennial herb with yellow flowers.
gikgik	A kind of edible mushroom.
gólon	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i> (L.) P. Beauv. var. <i>major</i> . (Nees) C. E.

- Hubb. (*Gramin.*) Cogon. A grass with white, silky inflorescence. *siyakkot* "inflorescence of *golon* while still in its sheath". Picked and eaten by children. Primary use of the grass is for thatching.
- gomógom
ibas Syn. *gamóting*.
A kind of plant which grows in pondfields, the root of which is eaten as a vegetable.
- ígo The awn or beard of rice grain.
insek Any cultivated plant. [*esek* "to plant"]
(in-)inti A kind of herb. [*inti* "sugar candy made during the production of sugarcane wine". Refers to the sweet smell of this plant.]
- inyog *Cocos nucifera* L. (*Palm.*) Coconut.
ítáb *Dolichos lablab* L. (*Leguminos.*) A kind of bean. *galpak* "the edible green pods of the *ítáb* bean"
- itang *Dipteris conjugata* Reinw. (*Polypodiaceae*) A kind of terrestrial fern. Its fronds are used as scarecrows.
- itda *Chloranthus glabra* (Thunb.) Mek. (*Chloranthaceae*) A kind of shrub, the young leaves of which are used as a substitute for tea. It is also used as an antidote for snakebite. Syn. *sómang*.
- káew *Pinus insularis* Endl. (*Pinac.*) General name for pine tree; wood.
k(om)áew Cf. *bálat*.
kágat A kind of grass which grows in pondfields and hinders the growth of rice. Syn. *tintinalli*.
- kakaw *Morus alba* L. (*Morac.*) A kind of tree; the edible fruit of this tree. It is commonly used as a shade tree in the village. Formerly each of the yards of the men's ward houses was shaded by one of these trees.
- kalabákab *Pipremnum pinnatum* (L.) Engl. (*Arac.*) A climbing plant of the arum family. ["The leaves resemble a person's rib cage. *kalabákab* rhymes with *sákab* 'rib cage'."]
- kalbóoy *Ipomoea batatas* L. (*Convolvulac.*) A kind of sweet potato.
kalob-as *Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne. (*Cucurbitac.*) (Tococan) Var. *kalobasa*.
- kalobása *Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne. (*Cucurbitac.*) Spanish. Squash, pumpkin.
- kalom-inga *Abarema clypearia* (Jack.) Kosterm. (*Leguminos.*) A medium-sized tree, the wood of which is used for the haft of tools.
- (ka)k-alomitímit *Pogonatherum paniceum* (Lam.) Hack. (*Gramin.*); *Sacciolepis indica* (L.) Chase. (*Gramin.*) Any of several kinds of common grass. [*kalomitímit* "to crackle". Refers to the crackling of these grasses when burned.]
- kalotkot *Plantago lanceolata* L. (*Plantaginac.*) A kind of small herb with seeds which stick to one's clothing. [*kalotkot* "to scrape off with one's fingers". Refers to the action needed to remove the seeds from clothing.]
- (kam)kammágang *Clematis javana* DC. (*Ranunculac.*) A vine, used for binding and tying. [*kágang* "to suspend, hang up". Refers to a legend

	in which a Maligcong man attempted to tie the thunder (large pig) with this vine.]
(kam)kammat	<i>Arthraxon</i> sp. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A common grass, considered a weed in the pondfields. [<i>kámat</i> "side by side, packed together"]
kamátis	<i>Lycopersicum esculentum</i> Mill. (<i>Solanac.</i>) Tomato.
(kam)kamíling	A kind of tree with poisonous sap.
(kam)kamíling ₁	<i>Mucuna pruriens</i> (L.) DC. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) A kind of vine with a furry pod, contact with which causes blistering.
kamling	<i>Canavalia ensiformis</i> (L.) DC. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) A kind of cultivated vine with edible fruit.
kamling ₁	(<i>Leguminos.</i>) A kind of vine producing an edible pod. The seed may be boiled to produce an hallucinatory drink.
kangkángaw	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of glutinous rice.
kapi	<i>Coffea arabica</i> L. (<i>Rubiace.</i>) Spanish. Coffee, tree and berry. Cultivated.
kapíkap	<i>Marchantia</i> sp. (<i>Liverwort</i>) A hepatic growing on wet rocks and decaying wet wood. It is used for blocking holes in channel walls in a stream or river. [<i>kapíkap</i> "to cover completely"]
katil-ey	<i>Pinanga</i> sp. (<i>Palm.</i>) A tall, erect, wild palm, the trunk of which is used to suspend scarecrows in the pondfields.
katíngel	A hardwood tree, used for making spear shafts. [<i>Solsolkodkos katingel</i> , <i>Solkod si mamaíngel</i> . "My spear shaft made of <i>katíngel</i> , spear of one who is <i>maíngel</i> 'brave, hard.' " Song doublet. Said to be so named because of rhyme potential.]
kawáyan	<i>Bambusa</i> sp. (<i>Gramin.</i>) Bamboo. Syn. <i>bengwil</i> .
k(in)awáyan	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of non-glutinous rice.
kawwey	Syn. <i>kamling</i> .
kaybas	Spanish. <i>Psidium guajava</i> L. (<i>Myrtac.</i>) The guava tree, also its fruit.
(ked)keddeng	A kind of sweet potato vine.
kedman	A kind of weed bearing small edible berries.
keldis	<i>Cajanus cajan</i> (L.) Millsp. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) Pigeon pea. Cultivated.
(kel)keldis	<i>Cassia alata</i> L. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) A coarse, erect, branched legume. [Cf. <i>keldis</i>]
(kig)kiglit	<i>Ligustrum glabrinerve</i> Elm. (<i>Oleac.</i>) A small tree, the wood of which is used for making tool handles. [<i>kiglit</i> "hard"]
kinollong	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of glutinous rice.
kistaol	<i>Coix lachryma-jobi</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) Job's-tears; a tall, coarse, erect, annual grass. The grains are made into a headdress as a sign of widowhood, also as a waist band by children.
kodi	A kind of bracket-fungus. It is eaten after pounding and cooking.
kóleng si ótot	Literally, rat's ear. A kind of thin, non-edible, bracket-fungus which grows on trees.
kolimáya	(<i>Myrtac.</i>) A kind of shrub. Its fruit is edible when roasted.

kom-o	A kind of darkish, edible mushroom.
komog	<i>Antidesma ghaesembilla</i> Gaertn. (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) A small tree, the bark of which is said to cause irritation. The wood is used for making vessels.
*(alóyos si)komog	<i>Breynia cernua</i> (Poir.) Muell.-Arg. (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) Literally, the helper of the <i>komog</i> tree. An erect shrub with small flowers and fruits.
kóneg	<i>Curcuma zedoaria</i> (Berg.) Rosc. (<i>Zingiberac.</i>) A kind of erect herb with aromatic, fleshy rootstock, producing a yellow juice used as a dye.
konnákon	A kind of tree; the edible fruit of this tree.
(kok)kóog	<i>Rosa</i> sp. (<i>Rosac.</i>) A decumbent shrub, with prickly stems used for tying bundles of sticks to bring them home from the mountain. [kóog "to have failing health". No known connection between the base meaning and the derived plant name.]
(kop)koppit	<i>Desmodium triflorum</i> (L.) DC. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) Three-flowered beggarweed. A prostrate, slender legume with jointed pods. Its leaves are applied to wounds to staunch bleeding. [kópit "wrinkle, crumple". Refers to the appearance of the leaves.]
koppot	A kind of small, white, edible mushroom which may be eaten either cooked or raw.
(kot)kotto	<i>Rhododendron vidalii</i> Rolfe (<i>Ericac.</i>) A low, branching shrub. Its leaves frequently have small nodules growing on them which children squash like lice. [kóto "lice"]
lábay	<i>Ficus rudis</i> Miq. (<i>Morac.</i>) A small tree, the sap of which is used as an antidote to the poisonous sap of the <i>kamkamiling</i> tree.
lagwey	<i>Nasturtium indicum</i> (L.) DC. (<i>Crucifer.</i>) Also any green, leafy plant used as a vegetable.
láktan	<i>Calamus</i> sp. (<i>Palm.</i>) A kind of rattan.
lampaka	A kind of plant.
lánew	A kind of shrub.
lanípew	<i>Mallotus ricinoides</i> (Pers.) Muell.-Arg. (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) A small tree with soft wood, used in certain of the <i>bayas</i> ceremonies. Its fruit is used as a fermenting agent in the making of sugarcane wine.
(báin si)lanípew	Literally, the female of the <i>lanípew</i> tree.
(lákin si)lanípew	Literally, the male of the <i>lanípew</i> tree.
lanóti	A kind of shrub, the wood of which is used for making tobacco pipes.
(lang)langiya	<i>Eupatorium odoratum</i> L. (<i>Composit.</i>) A common weed used to staunch bleeding, also used as pigfood.
langka	<i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> Lam. (<i>Morac.</i>) Jackfruit.
(las)lassa	<i>Astilbe philippinensis</i> Henry (<i>Saxifragac.</i>) A small herb with hairy stems and leaves. [lomas "to cause irritation". Refers to the result of contact with this plant.]
lastógan	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of glutinous rice.
laswik	<i>Pittosporum pentandrum</i> (Blanco) Merr. (<i>Pittosporac.</i>) A

	kind of shrub.
láya	<i>Zingiber officinale</i> Rosc. (<i>Zingiberac.</i>) Ginger.
légey	A kind of tree.
(len)lenna	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> L. (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) Hairy spurge. An erect, hairy herb, three to twenty-four inches high. Its leaves have a brownish spot near the center. [<i>lena</i> "sap of a plant". Refers to the amount of sap that this plant has.]
leng-ag	A kind of plant. [<i>leng-ag</i> "life, spirit"]
lígey	<i>Nephrolepis cordifolia</i> (L.) Presl. (<i>Davalliaceae</i> .) A terrestrial fern, the frond of which is used in the construction of bird traps. See also, <i>botbóto</i> .
*(lig)lígey	(<i>Acanthac.</i>) A kind of herb. [Cf. <i>lígey</i>]
likmod	A kind of plant.
lilit	<i>Digitaria microbachne</i> (Presl.) Hitch. (<i>Gramin.</i>) An annual herb, with culms to three feet long. The stem is used to rub irritated eyes. Its inflorescence is used as a decoration.
*lilit si payew	<i>Arthraxon</i> sp. (<i>Gramin.</i>) Literally, the <i>lilit</i> of the pondfields. A kind of grass, used for water buffalo fodder.
linóko	<i>Manihot utilissima</i> Pohl (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) A kind of cassava, with reddish petiole. [<i>lókó</i> "the Ilokos provinces". Refers to the origin of this cassava.] Cf. <i>apáya</i> .
liten	(<i>Leguminos.</i>) A kind of tree, the wood of which is used for making vessels.
liwliw	<i>Ficus</i> sp. (<i>Morac.</i>) A kind of tree.
(li)l-iyas	<i>Centotheca lappacea</i> (L.) Desv. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of tall grass with broad leaves.
lobban	<i>Citrus maxima</i> (Burm.) Merr. (<i>Rutac.</i>) Shaddock; pomelo. Cultivated.
(lob)lobban	A kind of shrub, having a leaf similar to the pomelo tree. [Cf. <i>lobban</i>]
lokísan	Citrus trees such as orange and mandarin; the fruits of these trees. Cultivated.
magey	<i>Agave americana</i> L. (<i>Amaryllidac.</i>) Spanish. The maguey plant.
mama	<i>Arecha catechu</i> L. (<i>Palm.</i>) Betel nut. Not cultivated or chewed in the Bontoc area.
mani	<i>Arachis hypogea</i> L. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) Spanish. Peanut. Cultivated.
mangga	<i>Mangifera indica</i> L. (<i>Anacardiaceae</i> .) Mango tree, also the fruit. Cultivated.
minageymey	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A type of rice.
minakmakliing	<i>Manihot utilissima</i> Pohl (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) A kind of cassava, with green petiole. [<i>makliing</i> "a man's name". Refers to the person who introduced this cassava.] Cf. <i>apáya</i> .
moyong	General term for legumes, such as beans and peanuts. Refers only to the seed taken from the pod.
námol	<i>Anaphalis contorta</i> Hook f. (<i>Composit.</i>) A small herb with narrow, silvery leaves and yellow flowers. It is crumbled and used as tinder with flint and steel.
*(nam)námol	(<i>Composit.</i>) A kind of small herb.

náwel	(Maligcong) Sunflower. Syn. <i>ag-ágob</i> .
(nga)ng-aloyóngoy	<i>Boehmeria multiflora</i> C. B. Rob. (<i>Urticac.</i>) A medium-sized tree. The bark fiber is used for binding vessels. [<i>ngaloyóngoy</i> "thick, hanging nasal discharge". Refers to the appearance of the sap of this tree.]
ngeya	<i>Zea mays</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of corn, with red kernels.
óbi	<i>Dioscorea alata</i> L. (<i>Dioscoreac.</i>) Sweet potato; camote. In most Bontoc barrios, yam.
odpas	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of glutinous rice.
ogangnga	A kind of sweet potato.
olaten	A kind of hardwood tree, used for making wedges to be used in log splitting. [<i>olat</i> "sinew". Refers to the sinewy grain of this tree.]
onas	<i>Saccharum officinarum</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of sugarcane; sugarcane in general. <i>ngáwey</i> "the tender shoots of sugarcane", <i>segwal</i> "young sugarcane sprouts"
(on-)onnas	<i>Paspalum conjugatum</i> Berg. (<i>Gramin.</i>); <i>Capillipedium assimele</i> (Steud.) Camus (<i>Gramin.</i>) Any of several species of grass, the stems or roots of which are sucked like sugarcane. [Cf. <i>onas</i>]
óong	A kind of large, grayish, pleasant tasting mushroom.
(op-)ópey	<i>Shuteria vestita</i> (Grah.) W & A. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) A kind of thin but strong vine, used for binding.
óyok	<i>Saurauia elegans</i> (Choicy) F. Vill. (<i>Dilleniace.</i>) A kind of tree; the sweet, edible fruit of this tree.
(pad)padli	Syn. <i>apáya</i> .
págey	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) Unthreshed rice; the rice plant.
pagpag	General term for tree, other than pine or planted fruit tree; shrub; bush.
pak-ang	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of glutinous rice.
(pa)p-alangapang	<i>Elephantopus mollis</i> HBK. (<i>Composit.</i>) A kind of herb used for pigfood.
paláyen	<i>Lithocarpus bennettii</i> Miq. (<i>Fagac.</i>) A kind of oak tree, used in the making of pestles.
palda	(<i>Leguminos.</i>) A kind of string bean. Cultivated.
palótot	<i>Tetrastigma brunneum</i> Merr. (<i>Vitac.</i>) A slender vine, used for binding when dry.
(pal)paltog	A kind of plant used for pigfood. [<i>paltog</i> "gun"]
panáwil	<i>Canna</i> sp. (<i>Maranthac.</i>) A kind of herb with small, edible, clustered fruit, in shape like a betel nut, green in color with purple flesh.
pan-el	<i>Rhododendron</i> sp. (<i>Ericac.</i>) A kind of small tree.
patáni	<i>Phaseolus lunatus</i> L. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) Lima bean. Cultivated.
pátat	A type of tree.
patátas	<i>Solanum tuberosum</i> L. (<i>Solanac.</i>) Spanish. Potato.
(pat)patey	<i>Themeda triandra</i> Forsk. (<i>Gramin.</i>); <i>Sorghum nitidum</i> (Vahl.) Pers. (<i>Gramin.</i>) Any of several kinds of <i>taaw</i> grass having sharp seeds. [<i>patey</i> "to kill". Refers to the pain of getting pricked with the seeds.]

- páyong *Lagenaria leucantha* (Duch.) Rusby (*Cucurbitac.*) A gourd plant having broad, umbrella-shaped leaves. Cultivated for its gourd. [*páyong* "umbrella"]
- pedped (*Euphorbiac.*) A kind of leafy plant, the leaves of which are used for tobacco. The wood is used for the haft of tools.
- (pek)peket *Amyema* sp. (*Loranthac.*) An epiphyte of the mistletoe family. [*p(om)ket* "to stick to something"]
- *(pepe)pket (*Composit.*) A kind of herb with small yellow flowers. [*p(om)ket* "to stick to something"]
- pelay (*Rutac.*) A kind of tree. *soblay* "the bark of the *pelay* tree". It is pounded, mixed with water and used as a treatment for diarrhoea.
- pel-eg *Leucosyke weddellii* Unruh. var. *acuminata* Unruh. (*Urticac.*) A kind of plant, the outer skin of which is used for making a coarse thread, especially used for stringing beads.
- pígi (Bontoc) Syn. *tóngnga*.
- pikaw *Marantha arundinacea* L. (*Maranthac.*) A small, perennial herb. It is used as a vegetable and for pigfood.
- poddaw General name for the various varieties of non-glutinous rice or cassava. Cf. *págey*, *apáya*, *dayket*.
- (pok)póket *Pennisetum alopecuroides* (L.) Spr. (*Gramin.*) A bunch grass having callused or barbed seeds; any of the several species of grass with seeds that stick to one's clothing. [*p(om)ket* "to stick to something"]
- polnit *Rubus fraxinifolius* Poir. (*Rosac.*) A kind of prickly vine with dull green leaves and edible berry; wild strawberry.
- polon *Eulalia lagopus* (Hack.) Henry (*Gramin.*) A tufted grass, used for thatching.
- pónek A kind of small, edible, gray mushroom.
- pospos *Ficus benjamina* L. (*Morac.*) Benjamin fig. A tall tree with widely spreading branches. *kóbal* "bark of pospos". The bark is pounded and used as a sanitary device during menstruation and after childbirth; also for binding the mouth of a dead person, *atinmanok* "the edible leaf buds of the *pospos*", *iset* "fruit of the *pospos*"
- (popo)ptod *Equisetum debile* Roxb. (*Equisetac.*) Horse-tail. A slender wiry fern growing in wet areas and along pondfield walls. Used for water buffalo fodder, and also for making *gíken* rings for supporting head loads. [*potód* "snap". Refers to the fact that the stems can be snapped and then joined together again.]
- pottongan A kind of sweet potato. [*potong* "to break off". Refers to the fact that the top growth of this plant is easily broken off.]
- (po)p-owégan *Alternanthera sessilis* (L.) R. Br. (*Amaranthac.*) A spreading, much-branched herb. Its leaves and stem are used for pigfood. [*poweg* "knee". Refers to the many-jointed stems.]
- (po)p-oyyong *Rubus benguetensis* Elm. (*Rosac.*) A prickly vine with edible fruit similar in appearance to raspberries. [*pooyong*

- sábog
 (sab)sabog
 "scrotum". Said to refer to the way the fruit hangs.] *Setaria italica* L. (*Gramin.*) Millet. Cultivated.
Echinochloa cruz-galli (L.) Beauv. (*Gramin.*); *Setaria pallidifusca* Stapf & Hubb. (*Gramin.*) Any of several species of grass commonly growing in pondfields. [Cf. *sábog*. The grain of these grasses is similar in appearance to millet, but is not eaten.]
- sagamsam
 *(sag)saglen
 General name for pondfield weeds.
Capparis lanceolatus DC. (*Capparidac.*) A kind of woody vine.
- saggigat
 (sak)saklong
 A kind of sweet potato vine.
Monochoria vaginalis (Burm. f.) Presl. var. *pauciflora* (Blume) Merr. (*Pontederiac.*) A succulent, aquatic herb, occasionally eaten as a vegetable.
- salakbey
Elaeagnus latifolia L. (*Elaeagnac.*) A kind of tree with edible fruit.
- salotsot
 (san)sanil
Schefflera sp. (*Araliac.*) A kind of hardwood tree.
Zingiber sp. (*Zingiberac.*) A wild, erect plant with aromatic and edible rootstocks. [*sanil* "a kind of mat, usually of woven sugarcane leaves, placed in a vat or pot to prevent rice from sticking". Refers to the fact that the leaves of this plant are sometimes used for this purpose.]
- *(san)sanil si tálon
Amomum sp. (*Zingiberac.*) Literally, the *sansanil* of the forest. Also called *sansanil si ótot* "sansanil of the rat". Its leaves are smaller than *sansanil*.
- (sang)sanga
Cyperus distans L. f. (*Cyperac.*) Sedge. A grasslike plant with triangular stems. Used as a head band during some ceremonies. [*sanga* "to fork, branch". Refers to the branching of the tuft.]
- *(sang)sangan si payew
Cyperus iria L. (*Cyperac.*) Literally, the *sangsanga* of the pondfield. A tufted, annual sedge, commonly growing in pondfields.
- sangngo
 sapalad
 A kind of tree; the edible fruit of this tree.
Aulacodiscus premnoides Hook. f. (*Rubiace.*) A tall tree, the wood of which is used for making tool handles.
- (sap)sapangkag
Carex rafflesiana Boott. (*Cyperac.*) A tall, coarse sedge. The leaves are used for binding *giken* head rings made from *siyakkot* grass.
- saplit
 (sap)saplit
Leguminos.) A kind of hardwood tree. [*saplit* "to beat some one with a thin stick"]
Ilex asprella (H. & H.) Cham. (*Aquifoliac.*) A small, much-branched tree. [Cf. *saplit*]
- sayokisik
Jasminium bifarium Wall. (*Oleac.*) A tall shrub with fragrant, white flowers. [*Solsolkodkos sayokisik*, *solkod si mamaisek*. "My spear shaft made of *sayokisik*, spear of one who is *maisek* 'brave, hard'." Song doublet.] Cf. *katíngel*.
- sayyóti
Sechium edule Sw. (*Cucurbitac.*) Spanish. Chayote. Cultivated.
- sedlan
Portulaca oleracea L. (*Portulac.*) Purslane. A fleshy, annual

- herb, used for pigfood. [*sedel* "thick". Refers to the thickish stems of this plant.] Also called *sedsedlan*.
- segang *Amaranthus spinosus* L. (*Amaranthac.*) Spiny amaranth. An annual with a spiny, much branched stem, one to four feet high. It is used as pigfood and as a vegetable substitute.
- (seg)seggang *Pilea microphylla* (L.) Liebm. (*Urticac.*) A kind of annual herb. [Cf. *segang*]
- (sel)selwi *Anethum graveolens* L. (*Umbellifer.*) A small herb the leaves of which are used as a poultice following circumcision. [*selwi* "to slit open, as when cleaning a pig's intestines". Refers to the hollow stem of this plant which can be slit open.]
- sepal *Entada phaseoloides* (L.) Merr. (*Leguminos.*) A large, woody, climbing plant. The pounded bark is used as a cleansing agent when washing the hair. [*sepal* "to eat a leaf raw"]
- sibit *Euphorbia mihi* C. Maul (*Euphorbiac.*); *Rubus* sp. (*Rosac.*) General term for thorny plants; thorn.
- (sib)sibbitan A kind of yarn, having a thorny stem. [Cf. *sibit*]
- (sib)sibit *Lantana camara* L. (*Verbenac.*) Lantana. A common shrub, with small, red or orange flowers. [Cf. *sibit*]
- (si)s-illew *Spilanthes paniculata* Wall ex DC. (*Composit.*) A kind of weed. [*silew* "pitch pine torch". Refers to the bright color of the inflorescence.]
- siplak *Calamus* sp. (*Palm.*) A kind of rattan.
- siyong *Nepenthes* sp. (*Nepenthac.*) (Mainit) Pitcher plant. Syn. *ballakew*.
- soka *Asclepias curassavica* L. (*Asclepiad.*) A kind of erect, slightly branched, smooth herb. Fiber from the bark is used for making a course twine for weaving women's waist belts.
- (sok)sókay *Helianthus annuus* L. (*Composit.*) Sunflower. [*sókay* "to stick into the hair as a decoration"] Syn. *ag-ágob*.
- sómang *Chloranthus glabra* (Thunb.) Mek. (*Chloranthac.*) A low, spreading shrub used as an antidote for snake bite. [*sómang* "to face, as an adversary"]
- *songsong *Dryopteris varia* (L.) O. Ktze. (*Aspidiac.*) A terrestrial fern. [*songsong* "to smell something"]
- *(sos)sósop *Radermarchera mindorensis* Merr. (*Bignoniac.*) A medium-sized tree with large, orange flowers. [*sósop* "to suck", because "birds suck the fruit"]
- sowwak *Eleusine indica* (L.) Gaertn. (*Gramin.*) A common, annual grass, the young leaves of which are eaten raw by children.
- sóyay A kind of vine, with a pleasant smell, also called *soyáyen*.
- taaw *Andropogon* spp. (*Gramin.*) Any of several species of grass used for thatching. Cf. *patpatey*.
- tabáko Syn. *taleptep*.
- (tab)tabáko *Sonchus arvensis* L. (*Composit.*) An erect, succulent herb, with leaves similar in appearance to tobacco, used as pigfood. [*tabáko* "tobacco"]
- (tab)tabbaan A kind of guava having large fruit. [*taba* "fat"] Cf. *kaybus*.

- (tab)tabilókong *Gynura crepidioides* Benth. (*Composit.*) A low, succulent herb. The leaves are used for pigfood.
- tabóngaw Gourd plant.
- tabóngaw₁ A kind of large pomelo. Cf. *lobban*.
- (tat)tai (*Asclepiad.*) A kind of vine having an unpleasant smell. [tái "faeces"]
- tákang *Itea maesaefolia* Elm. (*Saxifragac.*) A kind of hardwood tree, the wood of which is used for making wedges. [tákang "to open the mouth wide"]
- talagádew Syn. *talakgad*.
- talaggad Var. *talakgad*.
- talakgad *Thysanolaena maxima* (Roxb.) O. Ktze. (*Gramin.*) Tiger grass. The leaves are used in the making of brooms.
- tallangew *Ophiurus exaltatus* (L.) O. Ktze. (*Gramin.*) A kind of coarse grass, the stems of which are tied in bundles in making broom handles.
- (ta)t-allangew *Arundinella* sp. (*Gramin.*) A tall grass, the leaves of which are used for thatching. [Cf. *tallangew*]
- taleptep *Nicotiana tabacum* L. (*Solanac.*) Tobacco plant. Also called *tabáko*.
- talogtog *Ardisia pardalina* Mez (*Myrsinac.*) A kind of shrub; the violet, edible berries of this shrub.
- (ta)t-allok *Pseudoelephantopus spicatus* (Juss.) Rohr (*Composit.*) False elephant's-foot. An erect, annual herb, to two feet in height. The leaves are used for pigfood when young.
- talong *Solanum melongena* L. (*Solanac.*) Eggplant.
- tanbong (*Gramin.*) A kind of tall grass growing in and around pond-fields. It is used as fertilizer in the fields, or as a temporary container by children when collecting green rice for making the *doom* confection. The reed was formerly used as a whistle which was blown during periods of mourning. (Bontoc.) Syn. *tanbong*.
- tannob *Hibiscus* sp. (*Malvac.*) A shrub with big, showy flowers.
- tangáya *Rhododendron quadriasianum* Vid. var. *intermedium* Merr. (*Ericac.*) A small tree with showy, purplish flowers. Used as a head decoration after a successful revenge killing. [Cf. *tangáya*]
- (tang)tangáya
- tangsoy *Drymaria cordata* (L.) Willd. (*Caryophyllac.*) Water cress.
- ta-olan A kind of yam, that sometimes pushes up through the soil. [taol "to lift up or raise one's head"]
- tappi *Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramin.*) A kind of non-glutinous rice.
- tat-awwa *Lygodium japonicum* (Thunb.) Sw. (*Schiceac.*); *Cissampelos pareira* L. (*Menispermac.*) Climbing fern. A lacy, slender fern reaching to eight feet in length with many leaflike subdivisions; also a kind of vine forming a dense thicket. Both of these plants are used for binding. [tawá "to fill, as a bucket with water"]
- tat-awwa₁ *Paspalum commersonii* Lam. (*Gramin.*) A kind of grass, commonly growing in wet areas.

tebal	A kind of grass from which the <i>tebal</i> wand is made. It is used during certain ceremonies.
(teb)tebbek	<i>Scirpus lateriflorus</i> Gmel. (<i>Cyperac.</i>); <i>Eleocharis dulcis</i> (Burm. f.) Trin. (<i>Cyperac.</i>) Any of several kinds of pondfield sedges having sharp, pointed corns or tubers which are edible. [<i>tebek</i> "to pierce"]
tikem	(<i>Rubiace.</i>) A kind of tall, hardwood tree. The wood was formerly used in the construction of sugarcane presses.
(tin)tinalli	(<i>Gramin.</i>) A kind of low, spreading grass, commonly growing in pondfields. [<i>tali</i> "string, rope"] Syn. <i>kágat</i> .
tinobóngan	A kind of sweet potato vine.
típey	A kind of small-leaved taro; the leaves of this plant.
tobo	A kind of grass, used as water buffalo fodder.
todmok	<i>Sida acuta</i> Burm. (<i>Malvac.</i>) A low, erect, branching herb or undershrub. Leaves are boiled and used as a poultice on stone-bruised feet.
togi	General name for yam.
togibay	<i>Macaranga tanarius</i> (L.) Muell.-Arg. (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) A small tree, the berries of which are used as a fermenting agent in the making of sugarcane vine.
tokbo	A kind of nettle.
(tok)tokil-ang	<i>Apluda mutica</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) A slender vine, with reddish stems used as pigfood.
(tok)tokil-ang ₁	<i>Polygonum malaicum</i> Danser. (<i>Polygonac.</i>) A tall, erect herb growing in thickets and open grassland. It is used as water buffalo fodder.
*(tok)tokil-ang si babaley	<i>Commelina diffusa</i> Burm. f. (<i>Commelinac.</i>) Literally, <i>toktokil-ang</i> of the village. The stems are heated and the boiling sap is applied as a salve to cracks in the soles of one's feet.
tokpaw	A kind of lily. The name is also applied to the flowers of squash and sweet potato vines. [<i>tokpaw</i> "to guard, watch over"]
tollábang	<i>Curculigo capitulata</i> (Lour.) O. Ktze. (<i>Amaryllidac.</i>) A tall herb, with palm-like leaves used for wrapping.
(tong)tong-álen	<i>Derris cumingii</i> Benth. (<i>Leguminos.</i>) A strong vine frequently used for binding. [<i>tong-al</i> "bone"]
(tong)tong-álen ₁	<i>Psidium guajava</i> L. (<i>Myrtac.</i>) A kind of guava which ripens early. [<i>tong-al</i> "bone"] Cf. <i>kaybas</i> .
tongnga	<i>Zea mays</i> L. (<i>Gramin.</i>) The corn plant; an ear of corn; corn kernels. <i>dakap</i> "an ear of corn before harvest". Syn. <i>pígi</i> .
towel	<i>Antidesma</i> sp. (<i>Euphorbiac.</i>) A kind of tree; the edible fruit of this tree.
wakal	General name for any vine used for tying.
wílit	A kind of vine.
yakal	<i>Hopea</i> sp. (<i>Diptericarpac.</i>) Mahogany. A tall softwood tree.

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