SOME COMMENTS ON BONTOC ETHNOBOTANY

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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, Fangdal, 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 an
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 term
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 o
"semantically unitary and linguistically distinct . . . single-words" (p. 54). These are th
minimal, naturally occurring terms within the folk taxonomy, by means of which th
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 cultivars." (p. 72). (5) Intermediate taxa, a category of term:
midway between generic and life-form terms which develop "in response to situation:
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):

\[
\text{generic} \rightarrow \{ \text{life form} \} \rightarrow \{ \text{intermediate} \} \rightarrow \text{unique beginner}
\]

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 charac-
terized 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
\textit{adlan} with an apparent -\textit{an} suffix, or \textit{ag-agwey} with an apparent CVC- prefix are no
longer morphologically complex, in that the roots from which they were originally formed
\textit{*adal} and \textit{*agwey} no longer exist in the language, and native speakers do not recognize the
the forms as complex forms. On the other hand \textit{olaten} is immediately identified as a tough,
sinew-like wood, \textit{olat} "sinew" + -\textit{en}, and \textit{ak-aklit} is likewise identified as sunflower
with its bitter sap, \textit{aklit} "bitter" + C\textsubscript{1}VC\textsubscript{2} - "like", and are therefore morphologically complex.

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

\textsuperscript{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 C1VC2-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: ag-ágob, ang-angseg, ap-apít
tattai, in-inti
taste: ak-aklit
color: ballaan
characteristics of wood: kigkiglit, tongtong-álen, olaten
dád-alit
appearance of bark: kopkoppit, bab-alin
appearance of leaf: lenlenna, ngang-alyóngoy
amount or kind of sap: patpatve, pokpóket, pekpeket
characteristics of seed: pepepket, kolotkot
characteristics of stem:
ak-akósan, bengbenggas, popoptod,
pop-owégan, selselwi, tintinalli,
dodopil
characteristics of fruit:
pop-oyyong, tongtong-álen, dippig
botbóto, tebtebek
appearance of inflorescence:
sangsanga, sis-illwe, páyong
general shape:
kóleng si ótot
kind of growth:
bokboktot, kamkammat, as-áso
use:
on-onnas, sossósop, bab-alásig,
sansanil, soksokay
effect on people:
laslassa, banbanangnal

Several grammatical devices are used in the generation of new formations. The primary one is C1VC2-reduplication. 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 (C1VC2- + gemination of a single medial consonant) is now a productive method of indicating “plant characteristic”. There are many forms however

\[C_1V_{C_2}^{-}\] 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 + C1VC2-+ po?powégan > pop?powégan. Where \(C_2 = ?\), the variant is C1VC1, thus tat (\{ta?i\}) + C1VC2- > tattai.
which have not germinated 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.

Infixed -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 germinated.) Other affixes which formerly signified “similar, like”, but which are now nonproductive are -en, and -an (e.g. olaten, tongtong-iten, ballaan).\(^5\) The large number of forms which show a fossilized -al- infixed (e.g. alási alangáang alayówey, balangbang, ballakew, balókok, taleptep, talagadew, 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 talogtot 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 (Conkin 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 \(C_1VC_2\)-repetitive prefix. Of the 40 botanical terms which are shared by Bontoc and Ifugao\(^6\) only 3 are derived with a \(C_1VC_2\)-prefix. Of about 40 terms shared by Bontoc and Isneg, none are derived with a \(C_2VC_2\)-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 repetitive 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. *tuktkapaw “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. liyohon “Panicum palmaefolium”, Bon. lil-iyas “Centotheca lappaceae”).

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

\(^5\)Vanoverbergh (1927) also notes the \(C_1VC_2\)- reduplication, and affixation of -en or pang—en meaning “similarity”; in his description of plant names in Ilokó. (Pang- prefixes have generally been lost in Bontoc.)

\(^6\)Conkin (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. *paláyén > Knk. páyén “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 ṇáluy “Boehmeria multiflora” is an apparent simplification of an earlier form reflected in Bontoc without change as ngang-alóyóngoy “Boehmaria multiflora” (ngalóyóngoy + C₁ VC₂ -).

**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.\(^7\)

\(^7\)There 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, mòla and lògam). 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.” Mòla and lògam may likewise function as both nouns and verbs. With appropriate affixation mòla means “to plant a cutting, etc.” and lògam 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 unreduced 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adáwey</td>
<td><em>Ficus</em> sp. (<em>Morac.</em>) A kind of tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adlan</td>
<td>A kind of large, white, edible mushroom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áey</td>
<td>A kind of tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agákog</td>
<td><em>Artemisia capillaris</em> Thunb. (<em>Composit.</em>) A common, half-woody, leafy herb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag-)ageg-ed</td>
<td><em>Scleria purpurascens</em> Steud. (<em>Cyperac.</em>) A coarse annual sedge with sharp-edged leaves. [aged “to cut, as the edge of a leaf”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggey</td>
<td>A kind of plant with edible seeds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag-)ágob</td>
<td><em>Helianthus annuus</em> L. (<em>Composit.</em>) Sunflower. The most commonly used fertilizer in pondfields. [ágob “bad odor”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag-)ágob₁</td>
<td><em>Mentha arvensis</em> L. (<em>Labiat.</em>) Mint. The leaves are crushed and smelled as a cure for headache. [ágob “bad odor”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag-)agto</td>
<td><em>Dioscorea</em> sp. (<em>Dioscoreac.</em>) A kind of yam. [agto “to carry on the head”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ag-)agwey</td>
<td><em>Ageratum conyzoides</em> L. (<em>Composit.</em>) A small, annual herb with blue flowers. It is used as a fertilizer in pondfields.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akasya</td>
<td><em>Samanea Saman</em> (Jacq.) Merr. (<em>Leguminos.</em>) Spanish. The acacia tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akbab</td>
<td><em>Alpinia</em> sp. (<em>Zingiberac.</em>) Ginger. A tall, leafy herb growing in clumps, forming thick masses of vegetation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ak-)aklit</td>
<td><em>Helianthus annuus</em> L. (<em>Composit.</em>) Sunflower. Syn: ag–ágob. [aklit “bitter”. Refers to the bitter taste of the sap.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ak-)akósan</td>
<td><em>Coelogynae</em> sp. (<em>Orchidac.</em>) A ground orchid, the base of the stem having a swelling shaped somewhat like a cowrie shell. [akósan “a woman’s waist adornment consisting of a number of cowrie shells strung together on a strip of woven cloth”]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
alakówak  *Saccharum officinarum* L. (*Gramin.*) A kind of sugarcane.

aláísí  *Pipturus dentatus* C. B. Rob. (*Urticac.*) A small shrub having nettle-like leaves. Cuttings are planted for hedges.

*alálásin si bílig  *Leucosyne brunnescens* C. B. Rob. (*Urticac.*) Literally, the *alálásí* 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 barandaruin* 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* Geisl. (*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. (*Aspidaece.*); *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.

ánès  *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

Vigna sesquipedalis L. (Leguminos.) A kind of cow pea, commonly cultivated.

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. ôbi.

A kind of plant. [Cf. angél.]

Hypericum sp. (Guttifer.) 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. Var. ang-ang-ît

Syn. tat-awwa

Lycopersicum esculentum Mill. (Solanac.) A tomato plant bearing small, acidic fruit. Cultivated. [angseg “underarm odor”. Refers to the smell of the fruit.]

A kind of shrub; the edible fruit of this shrub. Syn. sapsapangkag.

Ananas comosus (Linn.) Merr. (Bromeliac.) Pineapple plant and fruit. [Probably originally named because of the apparent similarity between the pineapple and the fruit of the screw pine, L. pangdan.]

Freycesettia sp. (Pandanac.) Climbing pandan. [Cf. apangdan. The fruit of the climbing pandan and the pineapple are said to smell alike.]

apáya

Manihot utilisima Pohl. (Euphorbiac.) General name for cassava. [Name probably developed because of similarity in appearance between the cassava plant and the papaya.]

Viburnum odoratissimum Ker (Caprifoliac.) A kind of small, odoriferous shrub. Stem cuttings are planted to form a hedge. [ápít “the smell of chicken being cooked by boiling”. Considered to be unpleasant.]

Saccharum officinarum L. (Gramin.) A kind of sugarcane.

Ficus umifolia Lam. (Morac.) A kind of shrub with edible fruit. Its rough leaves are used for smoothing wooden utensils. Spear shafts may be made from its branches.

Saccharum officinarum L. (Gramin.) A kind of sugarcane.

Cissampelos pareira L. (Menispermac.) A kind of vine growing in thickets, used for binding. [áso “dog”. Said to refer to the manner in which the tendrils easily climb, “as a dog leaps up.”]

A kind of plant whose fruit seeds are used to make a red coloring for face painting.

Atelba

Callicarpa formosana Rolfe (Verbenac.) A tall shrub bearing berries with violet juice used for body decorations. The stems are used for bean poles.

Atibanglan

Cyathea contaminans (Wall ex Hook) Copel. (Cyatheac.) Tree fern. The large fronds are frequently used as scarecrows in the pondfields.

(Bontoc) Var. atibanglan.

Coleus blumei Benth. (Labiat.) Coleus. A somewhat succu-
lent herb, with square stems, two to three feet in height. Its leaves are often variegated. [atinbayángon “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”

bagitingey
A kind of fern, the rhizomes of which are used in weaving basket hats.

bágiw
Algae which grows on the surface of pondifields.

bakakew
A kind of grass with edible seeds.

bakan
*Litsea perrottetii* (Blm.) F.-Vill. (*Lauraceae*) 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 esculenta* (L.) Schott. (*Araceae*) A kind of taro. Refers to the corm only. *lákát* “the leaves of the taro plant”

balangbang
*Madinilla brevipes* Merr. (*Melastomataceae*) A common shrub with edible fruit.

(ba)b-alásig
*Ludwigia octovalvis* (Jacq.) Raven sp. *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. (*Musaceae*) General name for banana plant. In most places also, the fruit of the banana. In Guinaang pósó is the fruit, and *ótik* the heart-shaped flower. In most places pósó is only applied to the flower. *komáew* “stalk of bananas”, *lepag* “hand of bananas”

balatong
*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 balatong”, *látong* “edible leaves of this plant”

balattinaw
*Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramineae*) A kind of glutinous rice.

(ba)b-alin
*Astronia zamalensis* Elml. (*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.]

baliyongyoung
*Lobelia nicotianaefolia* Heyne (*Campanulaceae*) 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”

ballakek
*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
balókok  
(ban)bananggal  
bánpang  
bángi  
(bang)bánon  
bangún  
(bas)bas-ot  
bastkang  
bátang

*balókok* grass in weaving skirts for women.  
*(Rubic.)* A kind of tree with edible leaves and fruit.  
*Oryza sativa* L. *(Gramin.)* A kind of non-glutinous rice.  
*Smilax bracteata* Presl. var. *verrucolosa* (Merr.) T. Koyoma.  
*(Liliac.)* A kind of vine, commonly used for binding shoulder loads of firewood.  
A kind of red, hallucinogenic mushroom. *(bananggal* “to blush”. Refers to the physical effects after eating this mushroom.*

byákaw

*Dysosyylon* sp. *(Meliac.)* 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)bánon

*Ocimum sanctum* L. *(Labiat.)* A small herb, with aromatic leaves and stems. *(bánon* “to wake, get up from a prone position”)*

bangún

A kind of tree, the wood of which is used for making shields.  

(bas)bas-ot

*Sporobolus poiretii* (R. & Sch.) Hitch. *(Gramin.)* A common grass.  

bastkang

*Oryza sativa* L. *(Gramin.)* A kind of non-glutinous rice.  
*Pinus insularis* Endl. *(Pinac.)* A mature pine tree. *bolbol* “needles”, *mókon* “cone”, *sipsip* “bark of pine”, *ánit* “sap-wood of pine”, *bósag* “heart of pine”, *sáten* “pitch pine”, *liket* “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”, *gammong* “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*, *paqpag*.

(bat)batang

*Blumea balsamifera* (L.) DC. *(Composit.)* A small to medium-sized shrub. [Cf. *bátang*. Refers to the appearance of the bark, “like that of a pine tree.”

batángan

*Musa* sp. *(Musac.)* A kind of banana plant, having large edible fruit. [Cf. *bátang*]

b(in)aydan

*Ipomoea batatas* L. *(Convululac.)* The above ground growth of the *ogangnga* sweet potato; a kind of sweet potato vine. *(bayad* “payment”)*

bayag

*Oryza sativa* L. *(Gramin.)* A kind of non-glutinous rice.  
*Ipomoea batatas* L. *(Convululac.)* A kind of sweet potato.  
*(Bontoc)* Var. *belbel*.  

báve

*Delphinium* sp. *(Ranunculac.)* A small herb. [Cf. *belbel*. Said to refer to the similarity in appearance between this herb and a young pine sapling.]

belbel

*(beng)bengngas

A kind of grass. *(bengas* “cracks in the feet”. Refers to the
fact that the stems of the grass will split when bent.]  
_Bambusa spinosa_ Blin. (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 lucioiiae_ (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.

binólok  
_Maesa cumingii_ Mez. (Myrsinac.) A kind of vine, with edible  
fruit and leaf. _ásip “the fruit of the binólok 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)binólok  
_Polygonum hydropiper_ L. (Polygonac.); _Oxalis repens_ Thunb.  
(Oxalidac.) Any of several vines whose leaves may be eaten,  
and are similar in appearance to _binólok_.

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”, sapítil “young leaves”, pāol  
“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 _bassas-  
hot. [boktot “to form a bunch”]

bolantog  
A kind of edible fungus which frowns in pondfields.

bolinaw  
A kind of tree.

bólít  
_Oryza sativa_ L. (Gramin.) A kind of non-glutinous rice.

bollagot  
Moss; lichen.

bollagot si bátang  
_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,
bololong (bong)bónaga

the leaves of which are sometimes used as a fertilizer in pondfields.
(Bontoc) Syn. boblong.

*Cyperus koltingia* Endl. (*Cyperac.*) A common, small sedge growing beside pondfields and other wet places. [bónaga “flower, inflorescence”]

bóó (bob)bóót

A kind of edible, ball-shaped fungus; puffball.

A kinć of grass. [nabótán “moldy”]

bosti kil (bot)bóto

*Thespera* sp. (*Malvac.*) A tall shrub which bears large, bright yellow flowers.

*Nephrolepis cordifolia* (L.) Presl. (*Davalliac.*) 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, lícay.

boyáboy

*Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramín.*) Any of several varieties of glutinous and non-glutinous rice characterized by long awns.

(Arac.) A kind of taro, refers to the corn only. Cf. baklag.

A kind of ball-shaped fungus with red flesh. [dálaca “blood”]

Boyon
dálá
dalángey
dálaw

Any of several species of orchids.

*Diandra nerosa* Lam. f. *tenuefolia* Schlett. (*Liliac.*) A plant which grows in pondfields. It has a segmented root which is used medicinally.

(dad)alit

A kind of forest tree. [dalit “eel”. Refers to the smooth bark, and slender branches.]

damáyan
damáyen

A kind of small, edible, ball-shaped fungus; a small puffball.

*Calamus* sp. (*Palm.*) A climbing rattan, not used for binding in basketry because of its poor quality.

(damíno) Var. damínoł

A kind of edible mushroom, noted for being very slippery when cooked and not needing to be chewed.

*Buddleia asatica* Lour. (*Loganiac.*) A tall shrub. Its inflorescence is used for decoration.

*Catarrata geniculata* (Bl.) Gagnep. (*Vitac.*) A strong, thin vine, especially used during the erection of *bansá*, in the *bayas* ceremonial complex.

(dang) dang-ay
dapól

(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.

Sphenomeris chusana* (L.) Copel. (*Pteridac.*) A terrestrial fern. [Cf. dapól. The *dapdápól* has smaller leaves.]

*Lycopeodium cernum* L. (*Lycopodiac.*) Club moss. A farcreeping, evergreen, mosslike plant. Its branches are used as
dayket
dayyong
(da)d-ayyong
*(da)d-ayyong si payew
degáyan
degway
dengla
dengsil
dipig
dippig
(dop)dopil
edpay
enep
enwad
(eng)-engnas
epaan si yáyas
(gad)gading
*(ga)g-alamígam
gamóting
gamotling
gásang
gasátan
gasingsing
(gel)gélngas
gikgik
gólón

decoration during certain ceremonies. [dáyaw “to honor”]
General name for the various varieties of glutinous rice or
cassava. Cf. págey, apáya, poddaw.

Oryza sativa L. (Gramin.) A kind of reddish, glutinous rice.
Rynchelytrium repens (Willd.) C. E. Hubb. (Gramin.) A kind
of bunch-forming grass with a reddish inflorescence, growing
in open, dry, abandoned areas. It is used as water buffalo
fodder. [Cf. dayyong. Named because of the color of the
inflorescence.]

Setaria palmifolia (Koen.) Stapf. (Gramin.) Literally, the
dad-ayyong of the pondfield. A common grass with palm-
like leaves growing along trails and paths to pondfields.

Oryza sativa L. (Gramin.) A kind of glutinous rice.

Saurauia bakeri Merr. (Dilleniac.) A small tree; the edible
fruit of this tree.

A kind of plant, with wide, red leaves.

Zizyphus sp. (Rhamnac.) A tall shrub, the stem of which is
used for making jar casings, etc.

Tetrastigma loheri Gagnep. (Vitac.) A kind of vine some-
times used for binding.

Musa sp. (Musac.) A kind of banana plant, which does not
bear fruit. [dippig “oval, having flattened sides”]

Elatostema banahaense C. B. Rob. (Urticac.) An erect,
animal herb; nettle. [dopil “having 4 sides”. Refers to the
angular stems of the plant.]

A kind of tree, the berry of which is used as a fermenting
agent in sugarcane wine.

Bridelia glauca Bl. (Euphorbiac.) An erect, medium-sized
tree with edible fruit.

Bidens leucorrhiza (Lour.) DC. (Composit.) A small herb
with yellow flowers, sometimes used as a vegetable, more
commonly used for pigfood.

A kind of herb.

Literally, landing place of the yáyas beetle. Syn. kalom-inga.

A kind of sweet potato vine.

Cynodon dactylon (L.) Pers. (Gramin.) Bermuda grass. A
creeping perennial with flattened, smooth stems and narrow
leaves, one to four inches long.

Any small, undersized, sweet potato.

Var. gamóting.

Oryza sativa L. (Gramin.) A kind of glutinous rice.

Aglaja diffusa Merr. (Meliac.) A hard, long-grained wood
used for spear shafts and tool handles; the tree from which
this wood is obtained.

A kind of tree.

Kalanchoe pinnatum (Lam.) Pers. (Crassulac.) A succulent
perennial herb with yellow flowers.

A kind of edible mushroom.

Imperata cylindrica (L.) P. Beav. var. major. (Nees) C. E.
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Hubb. (Gramin.) Cogon. A grass with white, silky inflorescence. siyakkot “inflorescence of gölon while still in its sheath”. Picked and eaten by children. Primary use of the grass is for thatching.

Syn. ganóting.

A kind of plant which grows in pondfields, the root of which is eaten as a vegetable.

The awn or beard of rice grain.

Any cultivated plant. [esek “to plant”]

A kind of herb. [inti “sugar candy made during the production of sugarcane wine”. Refers to the sweet smell of this plant.]

Cocos nucifera L. (Palm.) Coconut.

Dolichos lablab L. (Leguminos.) A kind of bean. galpak “the edible green pods of the lab bean”

Dipteris conjugata Reinw. (Polypodiace.) A kind of terrestrial fern. Its fronds are used as scarecrows.

Chloranthus glabra (Thunb.) Mek. (Chloranthace.) 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. sőmang.

Pinus insularis Endl. (Pinac.) General name for pine tree; wood.

Cf. balat.

A kind of grass which grows in pondfields and hinders the growth of rice. Syn. tintinalli.

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.

Epipremnum pinnatum (L.) Engl. (Arac.) A climbing plant of the arum family. [“The leaves resemble a person’s rib cage. kalabákab rhymes with sáka ‘rib cage’.”]

Ipomoea batatas L. (Convulvulac.) A kind of sweet potato.

Cucurbita maxima Duchesne. (Cucurbitac.) (Tococan) Var. kalobasa.

Cucurbita maxima Duchesne. (Cucurbitac.) Spanish. Squash, pumpkin.

Abarena clypearia (Jack.) Kosterm./Leguminos.) A medium-sized tree, the wood of which is used for the haft of tools. Pogonatherum panicum (Lam.) Hack. (Gramin.); Sacciolepis indica (L.) Chase. (Gramin.) Any of several kinds of common grass. [kalomítimít “to crackle”. Refers to the crackling of these grasses when burned.

Plantago lanceolata L. (Plantaginac.) A kind of small herb with seeds which stick to one’s clothing. [kalorkot “to scrape off with one’s fingers”. Refers to the action needed to remove the seeds from clothing.]

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
Arthraxon sp. (Gramin.) A common grass, considered a
weed in the pondfields. [kámá “side by side, packed to-
gether”]

kamátis
Lycopersicum esculentum Mill. (Solanac.) Tomato.

(kam)kamling
A kind of tree with poisonous sap.

(kam)kamling₁
Mucuna pruriens (L.) DC. (Leguminos.) A kind of vine with
a furry pod, contact with which causes blistering.

kamling
Canavalia ensiformis (L.) DC. (Leguminos.) A kind of
cultivated vine with edible fruit.

kamling₁
(Leguminos.) A kind of vine producing an edible pod. The
seed may be boiled to produce an hallucinatory drink.

kangkángaw
Oryza sativa L. (Gramin.) A kind of glutinous rice.

kapi
Coffeea arabica L. (Rubiac.) Spanish. Coffee, tree and berry.
Cultivated.

kapikap
Marchantia sp. (Liverwort) A hepatic growing on wet rocks
and decaying wet wood. It is used for blocking holes in
channel walls in a stream or river. [kapikap “to cover
completely”]

katil-ey
Pinanga sp. (Palm.) 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.
[Solsolkodkos katíngel, Sol kod si maaíngel. “My spear
shaft made of katíngel, spear of one who is maaíngel ‘brave,
hard.’ ” Song doublet. Said to be so named because of
rhyme potential.]

kawáyan
Bambusa sp. (Gramin.) Bamboo. Syn. bengwil.

k(ın)awáyan
Oryza sativa L. (Gramin.) A kind of non-glutinous rice.
Syn. kamling.

kawwey
Spanish. Psidium guajava L. (Myrtac.) The guava tree, also
its fruit.

kaybas
A kind of sweet potato vine.

(ked)keddeng
A kind of weed bearing small edible berries.

kedman
 Cajanus cajan (L.) Millsp. (Leguminos.) Pigeon pea.
Cultivated.

(kel)keldis
Cassia alata L. (Leguminos.) A coarse, erect, branched
legume. [Cf. keldis]

(kig)kiglit
Ligustrum glabrinerve Elm. (Oleac.) A small tree, the wood
of which is used for making tool handles. [kiglit “hard”]

kinollong
Oryza sativa L. (Gramin.) A kind of glutinous rice.

kistaol
Coix lachryma-jobi L. (Gramin.) 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
(Myrtac.) A kind of shrub. Its fruit is edible when roasted.
kom-o
komog

A kind of darkish, edible mushroom. *Antidesma ghaesembilla* Gaertn. (*Euphorbiac.*) A small tree, the bark of which is said to cause irritation. The wood is used for making vessels.

*(alóyos si)komog

*Breynia cernua* (Poir.) Muell.-Arg. (*Euphorbiac.*) Literally, the helper of the *komog* tree. An erect shrub with small flowers and fruits.

kóngeg

*Curcuma zedoaria* (Berg.) Rosc. (*Zingiberac.*) A kind of erect herb with aromatic, fleshy rootstock, producing a yellow juice used as a dye.

konkákon
(kok)kóog

A kind of tree; the edible fruit of this tree. *Rosa* sp. (*Rosac.*) 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

*Desmodium triflorum* (L.) DC. (*Leguminosae*) Three-flowered beggarweed. A prostrate, slender legume with jointed pods. Its leaves are applied to wounds to staunch bleeding. [kópit “wrinkle, crumble”. 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

*Rhododendron vidalii* Rolfe (*Ericac.*) A low, branching shrub. Its leaves frequently have small nodules growing on them which children squash like lice. [kóto “lice”]

lábay

*Ficus rudis* Miq. (*Morac.*) A small tree, the sap of which is used as an antidote to the poisonous sap of the *kamkamiling* tree.

lagwey

*Nasturtium indicum* (L.) DC. (*Cruciferac.*) Also any green, leafy plant used as a vegetable.

laktan

*Calamus* sp. (*Palmac.*) A kind of rattan.

lampaka

A kind of plant.

lánew

A kind of shrub.

lanípew

*Mallotus rieinoides* (Pers.) Muell.-Arg. (*Euphorbiac.*) A small tree with soft wood, used in certain of the *bayas* ceremonies. Its fruit is used as a fermenting agent in the making of sugarcane wine.

(báin si)lanípew
(lákin si)lanípew
lanóti

Literally, the female of the *lanípew* tree. Literally, the male of the *lanípew* tree. A kind of shrub, the wood of which is used for making tobacco pipes.

(lang)langiya

*Eupatorium odoratum* L. (*Compositac.*) A common weed used to staunch bleeding, also used as pigfood.

langka

*Artocarpus heterophyllus* Lam. (*Morac.*) Jackfruit.

(las)lassa

*Aristolbe philippinensis* Henry (*Saxifragac.*) A small herb with hairy stems and leaves. [Iomasa “to cause irritation”. Refers to the result of contact with this plant.]

lastógan

*Oryza sativa* L. (*Graminac.*) A kind of glutinous rice.

laswik

*Pittosporum pentandrum* (Blanco) Merr. (*Pittosporac.*) A
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låya


lègy

A kind of tree.

lèn#lenna

*Euphorbia hirta* L. (*Euphorbiac.* Hairy spurge. An erect, hairy herb, three to twenty-four inches high. Its leaves have a brownish spot near the center. *lèn* “sap of a plant”. Refers to the amount of sap that this plant has.)

leng-ag

A kind of plant. *leng-ag* “life, spirit”

lîgy

*Nephrolepis cordifolia* (L.) Presl. (*Davalliac.* A terrestrial fern, the frond of which is used in the construction of bird traps. See also, *botbòto*.

*lig*îgy

(*Acanthac.*) A kind of herb. [Cf. *lîgy*]

likmod

A kind of plant.

lälit

*Digitaria microbancha* (Presl.) Hitch. (*Gramin.* An annual herb, with culms to three feet long. The stem is used to rub irritated eyes. Its inflorescence is used as a decoration. *Arthraxon* sp. (*Gramin.* Literally, the *lälit* of the pondfields.

*lilit si payew

A kind of grass, used for water buffalo fodder.

linóko

*Manihot utilisima* Pohl (*Euphorbiac.* A kind of cassava, with reddish petiole. *lóko* “the Ilokos provinces”. Refers to the origin of this cassava.] Cf. *apáya*.

liten

(*Leguminos.* A kind of tree, the wood of which is used for making vessels.

liwilw

*Ficus* sp. (*Morac.* A kind of tree.

(li)-iyas

*Centotacea lappacea* (L.) Desv. (*Gramin.* A kind of tall grass with broad leaves.

lobban

*Citrus maxima* (Burm.) Merr. (*Rutac.* Shaddock; pomelo. Cultivated.

(lob)lobban

A kind of shrub, having a leaf similar to the pomelo tree. [Cf. *lobban*]

lokîsan

Citrus trees such as orange and mandarin; the fruits of these trees. Cultivated.

magey

*Agave americana* L. (*Anaryllidac.* Spanish. The maguey plant.

mama

*Arecha catechu* L. (*Palm.*) Betel nut. Not cultivated or chewed in the Bontoc area.

mani


mangga

*Mangifera indica* L. (*Anacardiac.* Mango tree, also the fruit. Cultivated.

minageymey

*Oryza sativa* L. (*Gramin.*) A type of rice.

minâmakklîng

*Manihot utilisima* Pohl (*Euphorbiac.* A kind of cassava, with green petiole. *makklîng* “a man’s name”. Refers to the person who introduced this cassava.] Cf. *apáya*.

moyong

General term for legumes, such as beans and peanuts. Refers only to the seed taken from the pod.

nâmol

*Anaphalis contorta* Hook f. (*Composit.*) A small herb with narrow, silvery leaves and yellow flowers. It is crumbling and used as tinder with flint and steel.

*(nam)nâmol

(*Composit.*) A kind of small herb.
náwel (Malgosia) Sunflower. Syn. ag-agob. *Boehmeria multiflora* C. B. Rob. (Urticac.) A medium-sized tree. The bark fiber is used for binding vessels. [ngaloyongoy “thick, hanging nasal discharge”. Refers to the appearance of the sap of this tree.]

Zea mays L. (Gramin.) A kind of corn, with red kernels. *Dioscorea alata* L. (Dioscoreac.) Sweet potato; camote. In most Bontoc barrios, yam. *Oryza sativa* L. (Gramin.) A kind of glutinous rice. A kind of sweet potato. A kind of hardwood tree, used for making wedges to be used in log splitting. [olat “sinew”. Refers to the sinewy grain of this tree.]

Saccharum officinarum L. (Gramin.) A kind of sugarcane; sugarcane in general. ngáwey “the tender shoots of sugarcane”, segwal “young sugarcane sprouts” *Paspalum conjugatum* Berg. (Gramin.); *Capillipedium assimile* (Stud.) Camus (Gramin.) Any of several species of grass, the stems or roots of which are sucked like sugarcane. [Cf. onas]

óong A kind of large, grayish, pleasant tasting mushroom. *Shuteria vestita* (Grah.) W & A. (Leguminos.) A kind of thin but strong vine, used for binding. *Sauraula elegans* (Choisy) F. Vill. (Dilleniac.) A kind of tree; the sweet, edible fruit of this tree. Syn. apáya. *Oryza sativa* L. (Gramin.) Unthreshed rice; the rice plant. General term for tree, other than pine or planted fruit tree; shrub; bush. *Oryza sativa* L. (Gramin.) A kind of glutinous rice. *Elephantopus mollis* HBK. (Composit.) A kind of herb used for pigfood.

*Lithocarpus bennetii* Miq. (Fagac.) A kind of oak tree, in the making of pestles. (Leguminos.) A kind of string bean. Cultivated. *Tetrastigma brunnneum* Merr. (Vitac.) A slender vine, used for binding when dry. A kind of plant used for pigfood. [paltog “gun”]

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”]

*(pep)pekt
(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. acuminate Unruh. (Urticac.) A kind of plant, the outer skin of which is used for making a coarse thread, especially used for stringing beads.

pići
(pok)peket
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.

pónēk
A kind of small, edible, gray mushroom.

pospos
Ficus benjamina L. (Morac.) Benjamin fig. A tall tree with widely spreading branches. kôbal “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, atinmènok “the edible leaf buds of the pospos”, ëset “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 giken rings for supporting head loads. [potöd “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)po-owégan
Alternanthera sessilis (L.) R. Br. (Amaranthac.) A spreading, much-branched herb. Its leaves and stem are used for pigfood.

(po)po-ooyong
Rubus benguetensis Em. (Rosac.) A prickly vine with edible fruit similar in appearance to raspberries. [poyong
sábog  
(sab)sabog  

“scrotum”. Said to refer to the way the fruit hangs.]  
Setaria italica L. (Grain.) Millet. Cultivated.  
Echinochloa crus-galli (L.) Beauv. (Grain.)  
Setaria pallidifusca Stapf & Hubb. (Grain.)  
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 sanga of the pondfield. A tufted, annual sedge, commonly growing in pondfields.

sangngo  

A kind of tree; the edible fruit of this tree.

sapalad  

Aulacodiscus premnooides Hook. f. (Rubiac.) 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 siyakot grass.

saplit  

(Leguminos.) A kind of hardwood tree. [saplit “to beat some one with a thin stick”]

(sap)saplit  

Ilex asprella (H. & H.) Cham. (Aquifoliac.) A small, much-branched tree. [Cf. saplit]

sayokiskik  

Jasminium bifarium Wall. (Oleac.) A tall shrub with fragrant, white flowers. 'Solsolkodkos sayokiskik, solkod si mambásek.  
“My spear shaft made of sayokiskik, spear of one who is mambásek “brave, hard”.’” Song doublet. Cf. katingel.

sayóti  

Sechium edule Sw. (Cucurbitac.) Spanish. Chayote. Cultivated.

sedlan  

Portulaca oleracea L. (Portulac.) Purslane. A fleshy, annual
herb, used for pigfood. [sekel “thick”. Refers to the thickish stems of this plant.] Also called sedesal.

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.

Pilea microphylla (L.) Liebm. (Urticac.) A kind of annual herb. [Cf. segang]

Anethum graveolens L. (Umbellifer.) A small herb the leaves of which are used as a poultice following circumcision. [setwil “to slit open, as when cleaning a pig’s intestines”. Refers to the hollow stem of this plant which can be slit open.]

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”]

Euphorbia mihti C. Mau (Euphorbiac.;) Rubus sp. (Rosac.)

Sabit

General term for thorny plants; thorn.

Lantana camara L. (Verbenac.) Lantana. A common shrub, with small, red or orange flowers. [Cf. sibit]

Spilanthes paniculata Wall ex DC. (Composit.) A kind of weed. [silew “pitch pine orch”. Refers to the bright color of the inflorescence.]

Calamus sp. (Palm.) A kind of rattan.


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.

Helianthus annuus L. (Composit.) Sunflower. [sokay “to stick into the hair as a decoration”] Syn. ag-agob.

Chloranthus glabra (Thunb.) Mek. (Chloranthac.) A low spreading shrub used as an antidote for snake bite. [somang “to face, as an adversary”]

Dryopteris varia (L.) O. Ktze. (Aspidiac.) A terrestrial fern. [songsong “to smell something”]

Radermachera mindorensis Merr. (Bignoniac.) A medium-sized tree with large, orange flowers. [sosop “to suck”, because “birds suck the fruit”]

Eletusine indica (L.) Gaertn. (Gramin.) A common, annual grass, the young leaves of which are eaten raw by children. A kind of vine, with a pleasant smell, also called soyayen.

Andropogon spp. (Gramin.) Any of several species of grass used for thatching. Cf. paipatey.

Sonchus arvensis L. (Composit.) An erect, succulent herb, with leaves similar in appearance to tobacco, used as pigfood.

[tabako “tobacco”]

A kind of guava having large fruit. [taba “fat”] Cf. kaybas.
Gynura crepidioides Benth. (Composit.) A low, succulent herb. The leaves are used for pigfood.
    Gourd plant.


Asclepiad.) A kind of vine having an unpleasant smell.
    [tai “faeces”]

Itea maesaefoliat Elm. (Saxifragac.) A kind of hardwood tree, the wood of which is used for making wedges. [takang “to open the mouth wide”]

Syn. talakgd.

Var. talakgd.

Thysanolaena maxima (Roxb.) O. Ktze. (Gramin.) Tiger grass. The leaves are used in the making of brooms.

Ophiurus exaltatus (L.) O. Ktze. (Gramin.) A kind of coarse grass, the stems of which are tied in bundles in making broom handles.

Arundinella sp. (Gramin.) A tall grass, the leaves of which are used for thatching. [Cf. tallangew]

Nicotiana tabacum L. (Solanac.) Tobacco plant. Also called tabako.

Ardista pardalina Mez (Myrsinac.) A kind of shrub; the violet, edible berries of this shrub.

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.

Solanum melongena L. (Solanac.) Eggplant.

(Grarin.) A kind of tall grass growing in and around pondfields. 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. tarbong.

Hibiscus sp. (Malvac.) A shrub with big, showy flowers.

Rhododendron quadrasianum Vid. var. intermediate Merr. (Ericac.) A small tree with showy, purplish flowers. Used as a head decoration after a successful revenge killing. [Cf. tangáyá]

Drymaria cordata (L.) Willd. (Caryophyllac.) Water cress.

A kind of yam, that sometimes pushes up through the soil.

Oryza sativa L. (Grarin.) A kind of non-glutinous rice.

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. [tawa “to fill, as a bucket with water”]

Paspalum commersonii Lam. (Grarin.) A kind of grass, commonly growing in wet areas.
tebal A kind of grass from which the tebal wand is made. It is used during certain ceremonies.

(teb)tebbek *Scirpus lateriflorus* Gmel. (*Cyperaceae*); *Eleocharis dulcis* (Burm. f.) Trin. (*Cyperaceae*) Any of several kinds of pondfield sedges having sharp, pointed corms or tubers which are edible. [tebek “to pierce”]

tikem (*Rubiaceae*) A kind of tall, hardwood tree. The wood was formerly used in the construction of sugarcane presses.

(tin)tinalli (*Graminaceae*) A kind of low, spreading grass, commonly growing in pondfields. [tali “string, rope”] Syn. kagat.

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 *Sidá acuta* Burm. (*Malvaceae*) 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 *Macaranga tanarius* (L.) Muell.-Arg. (*Euphorbiaceae*) 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 *Apluda mutica* L. (*Gramineae*) A slender vine, with reddish stems used as pigfood.

(tok)tokil-ang₁ *Polygonum malacicum* Danser. (*Polygonaceae*) A tall, erect herb growing in thickets and open grassland. It is used as water buffalo fodder.

*(tok)tokil-ang si babaley* *Commelina diffusa* Burm. f. (*Commelinaceae*) Literally, toktokil-ang 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. [tokpaw “to guard, watch over”]

tollábang *Curculigo capitulata* (Lour.) O. Ktze. (*Amaryllidaceae*) A tall herb, with palm-like leaves used for wrapping.

(tong)tong-álen *Derris cumingii* Benth. (*Leguminosae*) A strong vine frequently used for binding. [tong-al “bone”]

(tong)tong-álen₁ *Psidium guajava* L. (*Myrtaceae*) A kind of guava which ripens early. [tong-al “bone”] Cf. kaybas.

tongnga *Zea mays* L. (*Gramineae*) The corn plant; an ear of corn; corn kernels. *dakap* “an ear of corn before harvest”. Syn. *pígt.*

towel *Antidesma* sp. (*Euphorbiacae*) A kind of tree; the edible fruit of this tree.

wakal General name for any vine used for tying.

wilit A kind of vine.

yakal *Hopea* sp. (*Dipterocarpaceae*) Mahogany. A tall softwood tree.
REFERENCES


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