

# Fibre, Cloth and Clothing in the Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century

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## OVERVIEW

This article begins with a discussion of the dominant fibre of the Bikol region, abaca. Included is a description of the plant, where it was grown, when it was ready to be cut and how the fibres were removed from the concentric circles of the stem. Also covered is the cleaning, drying and bleaching of the fibres, their sorting, selection and use, and how they were prepared for cordage or weaving. Section 2 introduces two of the other main fibres used in the region, cotton and silk, and how they were dyed and spun.

In Section 3 is an extended discussion of the loom and weaving. Presented is a description of the backstrap loom and its various parts, including combs, reeds, rods and shuttles. The process of weaving follows, including determining the finished size of the cloth, the choice of thread by texture and colour, the fixing of the warp threads and the eventual weaving of the weft. Included in this section as well is the finishing and treatment of the cloth once it is cut from the loom. Section 4 looks again at cotton and silk, but this time as finished cloth, and touches briefly on the use of bark as an early source of clothing. Section 5 is a short section which examines the various sources of dye and their resultant colouring of a fabric.

Sewing in its various forms is the subject of Section 6. The implements used are presented, as well as sewing techniques from basic basting and hemming, to the more decorative edging styles with bows, braiding and scallops. Various styles of embroidery are also mentioned here. The section ends with the tailoring of cloth to turn it into clothing.

Section 7 is the presentation of clothing, the types worn by men and women and the blankets which served as both upper and lower garments. Also discussed is the way clothes were worn, how suitable they were for the wearer, what condition they were in and how they were washed and stored. Section 8 ends the article with a discussion of headwear, including the types and construction of hats, and the softer head coverings made from cloth.

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## 1. ABACA

The Bikol region was particularly suited to the growth of the abaca plant, *Musa textilis*, commonly referred to as Manila hemp, even though it is not hemp and not from Manila. To the Spanish it resembled the hemp fibres available in Mexico, *Cannabis sativa*,<sup>[1]</sup> and the majority of the produce was exported through the port of Manila even though it originated to the east and south.<sup>[2]</sup>

To produce good fibres for cordage and clothing, the abaca plant must receive a relatively consistent amount of rainfall throughout the year. Upland areas of the Bikol region which are exposed to both the southwest and northeast monsoons, with a relatively short dry season, fit this criteria.[3] Other primary regions where abaca would naturally grow were the coastal areas of Samar and Leyte, and the coast of southeastern Mindano at Davao.[4]

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## 1. ABACA

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### (i) Description

Abaca grows in clumps, something called a mat, with cultivated plants producing 12-20 stems at various stages of growth with four to eight stems reaching maturity and flowering each year. Individual stems can grow from 4-8 metres[5] and new stems grow out from the centre of the mat, replacing those which have been cut down.

The stem is, in reality, a concentric series of leaf stalks, the outer ones being wider and more enveloping and the inner ones narrower and more tightly coiled. The first of these forms close to the base of the plant, with successive stalks growing from the centre. The leaves, which top each of the stalks, grow from progressively higher positions on the stalk.[6]

In Bikol, the abaca plant which produces useful fibre for cordage and clothing is **upás**. While this would have had its origins in the wild, we can assume, from the amount of cloth woven from its fibres and the predominance of this cloth for clothing, that it was also cultivated. The fibres which were produced were referred to as **ábaka**.

**upás** plant (typ- producing the hemp-like fiber called abaca); MANG-, PANG--ON to collect abaca fiber from such a plant [MDL]

**ábaka** abaca, Manila hemp (typ- plant, *Musa textilis*) [+MDL: **abaká** a hemp-like fiber taken from the plant called **upás**; MANG-, PANG--ON to dress and prepare abaca for weaving; -AN basket for storing abaca; (fig-) **Garó na ing abaká an payó ni kuyán** *That person's head is like abaca* (Said when one's hair is all gray)]

*Úpas* however, was not the only variety of abaca found in the region. Two other varieties were **agútay** and **amúkid**, varieties which must have produced inferior fibres which Lisboa mentions were not suitable for cordage or cloth. Two references from the mid-nineteenth century, however, indicate that these may have been useful for producing rope, possibly a later development.[7] Entries for *agutay* are also found in Waray, where it is defined as the fruit of the abaca[8] and Hiligaynon where it is described as a type of plantain like abaca.[9]

As for the derivation of the noun *amúkid* there is some evidence that a prefix of the form **aN-**, fossilised even during Lisboa's time, could be affixed to roots to produce nouns which in some way incorporated the central meaning of that root. In this case, it was an abaca plant which grew in the mountains (**búkid**): **aN-** + **búkid** ? **am búkid** ? **amúkid**. The linguistic processes at work here are assimilation and deletion.

**agútay** abaca (typ- wild, not suitable for making clothing or rope); MANG-, PANG--ON to go to the mountains to collect this plant [MDL]

**amúkid** abaca (typ- wild, not suitable for making clothing or rope) [MDL]

**búkid** hill, mountain; MA- hilly, mountainous; KA--AN mountainous terrain, range of mountains; **bukíd-búkid** knoll, small hill [+MDL: **gabán nin búkid** base of a mountain; **taruntóng nin búkid** summit of a mountain; -NON: **bukídnón** people of the mountains; KA--AN: **kabukíran** or -AN: **bukíran** hills, mountains; also towns in the mountains or located in the uplands]

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### (ii) Cutting

Information on when the individual stems of the abaca plant are cut vary. These may be cut just before the plant comes into flower,[10] or during the interval between flowering and the ripening of the fruit.[11] Alcina, describing the abaca growing in Samar, indicates that the plant is cut prior to the development of the fruit, indicating that it is probably the second of these possibilities which also applied in the Bikol region at the time.[12] Plants which are cut too early produce fibres which are shorter and finer, and those that are cut too late are said to produce fibres which are weaker due to the onset of deterioration of the stem.

Reference as to the exact age plants come into flower and are ready to be cut, vary from 18 months[13] to 24-30 months of maturity.[14] This difference may be due to the variety, or to soil and environmental factors.

When the abaca stems are mature, they are cut just above the base or rootstock (**sárad**). The implement used for this would most likely have been the **útak**, a common working bolo or machete. The more delicate cutting and preparation of the fibres would have been done by women using smaller knives dedicated to that purpose (see Section 1(iv)), but this initial felling would have been carried out by men.

**sárad** MAG-, -ON to cut the stems of the plant called **upás** at the base, the first step in the process of obtaining abaca fibers for weaving and cordage [MDL]

**útak** bolo (typ- the main working implement, also used as a weapon); MAGTAGÁ- to carry such a bolo in the hand [MDL]

Each of these stems has from between 10 to 20 leaf sheaves which contain useable fibre. For Lisboa, these concentric layers or stem sheaves were referred to as **balakbák**, a term which has changed in only minor ways over time, referring now to individual layers producing fibre for tying. From the central, outer sections of each of these sheaths, three or four pulpy strips, referred to as 'splits', which contain the desired fibres are drawn.[15] The relevant term for Lisboa was **bakbák**, referring as well to the removal of any outer covering, and not just the layers of the abaca. The relationship between these two terms is clear, with **balakbák** differing from **bakbák** only in the addition of the infix, **-al-** (see Section 7(ii)). An additional term, **pisó'**, referred to the edges of the concentric layers from which fibres used for tying could be drawn.

**balakbák** wide strips from the trunk of the abaca plant, used for tying; MAG-, -ON to pull off these strips [MDL: concentric layers which make up the trunk of plants such as the banana and abaca]

**bakbák** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove the husk or bark; to pare or peel off the skin or outer covering; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to remove the husk or outer covering from a plant, or bark from a particular tree [MDL]

**pisó'** the edges of the concentric layers forming the trunk of the abaca plant from which fibers used for tying can be drawn [MDL]

To facilitate the removal of the pulpy strips containing the abaca fibres (**áwat**), the leaf sheaths would first have to be softened. This could be accomplished in two ways, by bending the lengths of abaca strips back and forth (**lu'ló'**), a technique mentioned by both Lisboa for Bikol and Alcina for Samar, or by stomping on the strips with the feet, something mentioned by Alcina alone.[16]

**áwat** abaca fiber, thread [+MDL KA-: **kaáwat** a fiber, thread: **saró' lámang kaáwat** only one thread, fiber]

**lu'ló'** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to soften the bark of the **ábaka** plant or the **malubágo** tree by bending it back and forth to make it easier to extract the fibers for weaving or the making of rope; (fig-) **Pakalu'lo'ón mo an bu'ót kainíng**

**áki'** *Calm this child down* (by reasoning with him or her); **Da'í máyo' nalulu'ló' an bu'ót ni kuyán** *There is no mollifying this person* [MDL]

For modern Bikol, the pulling off of strips from the removed stem sheaves, is **baknís**, a term which is not recorded by Lisboa. The strips which are removed in this way are referred to as **lupnís**. Interestingly, for Lisboa, this is not given as a reference to abaca, but to another fibre-producing plant, **malubágo**, a tree in the hibiscus family growing along the seashore and tidal streams. [17]

**baknís** MAG-, -ON to pull off strips from the stem sheaves or layers of the abaca plant, later to be processed for their fiber

**lupnís** narrow strips or fibers of the banana or abaca stalk pulled from the wider strips called **balakbák** and used for tying; MAG-, -ON to remove these strips [MDL: the fiber obtained from the **malubágo** tree for the purpose of tying; MA- or MAG- to remove the fibers from the bark of this tree]

**malubágo** tree (typ- *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, sea rosemallow, possessing a bark from which fibers used in the making of rope, twine or cord may be obtained); var- **bágo** [MDL]

Both the *malubágo* and the tree called **pútat** (*Barringtonia racemosa*) are mentioned by Lisboa as important sources of fibre, particularly for the production of rope, and specific entries refer to the removal of the bark (**lubnág**) and the subsequent removal of the fibre-producing sections (**balnót**). The preparation of the fibres from these trees and from the abaca have similarities which are referred to in the sections which follow. [18]

**pútat** tree (typ- *Barringtonia racemosa*, growing in mangrove-like habitats along the seashore and streams, reaching a height of 10 meters; producing decorative necklace-like fruit stems, edible young leaves and a fiber extractable from the inner portion of the bark; seeds and bark may also be used in preparation of a fish poison) [+MDL]

**lubnág** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to strip the bark from the branches of the **malubágo** tree in order to prepare handles or holders for transporting cargo; to strip the bark from other trees; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to strip a branch or tree of its bark; (fig-) **Garó na linubnagán na malubágo** (*You're stripped like a malubágo branch* (Said to one who is naked) [MDL]

**balnót** the inner part of the bark of the **malubágo** (or **bágo**) and **pútat** trees, the fiber of which may be twisted into cord or rope [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove the inner portion of such bark; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to remove the inner portion from the outer portion of the bark]

As the stems of the abaca are heavy with the water-impregnated pulp they store, as much preparation of the fibre took place close to where the stems were cut. First to be removed were the dried, outer leaves which would be located closest to the base of the plant (**suní**). The Spanish original has been included in the entry as the translation of *aristas* can have differing interpretations.

**suní** dried, outer leaves of the abaca plant (*las aristas del abaca*); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to clean an abaca plant of such leaves; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to remove and discard such leaves (*desperdicar las aristas del abaca*) [MDL]

Next to be removed are the stem sheaves containing the useable fibre, and once this is done, the remaining core of the plant is discarded, leaving it to rot near where it has grown. The remainder of the sheaths, once the splits are taken, is also left to decay. The splits which contain a number of strands of useable fibre must still be cleaned of the excess pulp which covers them. While neither Lisboa nor Alcina indicate where this cleaning takes place, it is likely that the splits were brought to a more central location where they could be properly attended to in what was a lengthy and complex operation. This is certainly the situation described in later centuries, even for traditional preparation. [19]

William Dampier, describing the extraction of abaca fibres from plants in Mindanao, most likely in the area of what is now Cotabato City, describes a somewhat different process. Here the stalks are cut into

quarters and left to dry in the sun for two to three days. Once the pulp has dried out, thin fibres become visible at the ends of the cut sections. Women then pull each of these fibres, removing them across the full length of the trunk.<sup>[20]</sup> While this may have been the process employed in western Mindanao in the seventeenth century, it does not appear to have been the common way of removing the pulp to free-up the fibres in the Bikol region or Samar. In these areas, the abaca strips or splits were scraped clean of their fibre. To accomplish this, the splits would be drawn by hand across a block of soft wood.

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### (iii) Cleaning

While Lisboa mentions no preparation preceding the cleaning, Alcina does, indicating that if the splits were stiff, they would first be soaked in water for a day to soften them up.<sup>[21]</sup> There was clearly a limit as to how long the splits could be soaked, or how long they could be left exposed in the sun before processing. Rot or decay would set in if too long a period of time elapsed (**tupók**). The following entry is Bikol.

**tupók** MA- showing the first signs of rot or decay; beginning to wear; MAKA-, MA- to begin to rot or decay (due to long exposure to water or to the sun); to begin to wear [MDL: abaca, cotton or rattan which has become weak or brittle due to being left too long in water or exposed too long to the sun; MA- or MAG- to show such signs of decay]

As the splits were drawn across the wood, a bolo or machete would be pressed down onto them, gradually removing the excess pulp.<sup>[22]</sup> There are no entries in Lisboa which describe this process, although this does appear to be the traditional method of treating abaca fibres at an initial stage. Similar, although more sophisticated, traditional techniques were also described at the turn of twentieth century.

Following this later tradition, a block of wood is attached to a log. Suspended above this is a length of heavy bamboo or a heavy bolo or machete. The strips or splits of abaca containing both pulp and fibre are laid across the wood. The bamboo or knife is then pulled down against the block with some pressure by use of a foot treadle. The abaca strips are pulled by hand across the block with the upper section of bamboo or bolo scraping off the excess pulp. The coarser, darker fibres from the outer sheaths would normally be cleaned in this way just once, but for the lighter, more delicate fibres from the inner sheaths, the cleaning process would be repeated two or three times.<sup>[23]</sup>

What happens to the fibre after it has been removed is described in detail by Alcina.<sup>[24]</sup> Lisboa has no entries which deal with the processes between cleaning and the subsequent selection of fibres.

The cleaned fibres are hung in the sun to dry, a process which not only bleaches them but also adds body. Once dry, they are then softened by pounding in the same wooden mortar used for the pounding of rice, a procedure which also adds elasticity and separates fibres which may still be stuck together. After pounding, the fibres are stretched and again hung out to dry.<sup>[25]</sup>

It is possible that a subsequent bleaching process also took place, although it is unclear if this occurred in the early seventeenth century or was a later development. Diego de Bobadilla in his Relation<sup>[26]</sup> mentions two wild tubers which served as a food source. One of these, *corot*, is further explained in the notes in Blair and Robertson as possessing a yellow sap that was used to bleach or whiten abaca.

*Corot* (*Dioscorea triphylla*) is the term found in Visayan and Ilocano. In Tagalog it is *name* (*namí*).<sup>[27]</sup> In Bikol the equivalent is *namó'*, a non-domesticated variety of yam that requires a period of curing before it can be consumed.<sup>[28]</sup> Lisboa does not refer to its bleaching properties, nor is this mentioned for Tagalog<sup>[29]</sup> or Hiligaynon.<sup>[30]</sup>

**namó'** yam (typ- large, knotty, pale brown; the rootstock of a climbing vine found growing wild in the forests) [+MDL: eaten during times of food scarcity; eaten when other foods are not available]

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### (iv) Selection of Fibres

The abaca fibres which are obtained vary considerably in length, generally from 1 to 3.5 metres, and in width from .05 to .3 millimetres depending upon from which of the concentric sheaths they are drawn. The outer, older sheaths are shorter than those closer to the centre of the plant.[31] The fibres also vary in colour and strength with the strongest coming from the outer sheaths. White, the most delicate of the fibres, come from the inner sheaths, but colours which are naturally yellow, red, brown and even purple or black may also be obtained depending upon the plant variety or the sheath from which they are drawn.[32]

Lisboa has entries for abaca fibres tinged with red (**binagó**) and yellow (**binangkál**). These are clearly derived entries showing the infix **-in-** which has been placed into the roots **bagó** and **bangkál**. In the formation of nominals, this infix derives nouns which possess some of the qualities of the root. In the case of *binangkál* this relationship is clear, although not from within Bikol. In the case of *binagó*, the relationship is far more problematic.

**binagó** abaca fiber tinged with red [MDL]

**binangkál** abaca fiber tinged with yellow; (fig-) **Garó na binangkál iníng hinilíngan ko** *It's as if my vision has a yellowish tinge* (Said when someone has a high temperature or a bad headache); **Garó na binangkál an ipinagsúka ni kuyán** *What that person has vomited up is like binangkál* (Said when one vomits up bile) [MDL]

The root *bangkál* is defined in Kapampangan as a 'known tree',[33] perhaps the least helpful of the definitions. In Tagalog, it is defined as a 'yellow wood',[34] in Hiligaynon as a tree producing a yellow dye [35] and in Cebuano a tree possessing roots from which a yellow dye can be extracted.[36] *Bangkál* is the tree *Nauclea orientalis* (Leichhardt tree), found throughout the Philippines at low to medium altitudes and growing from seven to 16 metres.[37] It has a straight-grained wood ranging in colour from yellow to orange.[38]

*Bágo* (or *malubágo*) is the tree *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (sea rosemallow) (see Section 1(ii)), growing from four to 12 metres and found the length of the Philippines. Of the central Philippine languages, references to this tree and its fibre-producing bark, can be found in Tagalog, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon.[39] While this is most probably the root form for *binagó*, there are two problems. Firstly, nothing about the tree is described as red. Secondly, though more minor, the change in stress to final position in the derivation, cannot be explained.

In the selection of fibres described by Alcina, the best ones are chosen for cordage and the weaving of heavy blankets. Into a second group go the more delicate fibres used in the weaving of ordinary blankets, and finally the fibres described as hair-like in their fineness are chosen to produce the most delicate of blankets and other items of clothing.[40]

The selection of fibres recorded by Lisboa is by length (**huhón**), with fibres placed into one of three groups ranging from the longest to the shortest, with the shortest strands being discarded. Those fibres which were brittle were also removed (**hintó'**). The remaining bundles of tangled fibres (**gúmon**) would still have to be combed in preparation for weaving, and during this process (**ha'gót**), further unwanted fibres would be found and removed.

**huhón** MA- or MAG- to select abaca fibers, separating first the longest, then those of medium length, and finally the

shortest; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to separate out the longest fibers; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to leave behind the shortest fibers after sorting out longer ones; -AN: **hinunhónan** the shortest fibers which are discarded [MDL]

**hintó'** MA- describing abaca which contains many brittle fibers; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to clean abaca, removing the broken fibers with the nail or the tip of a knife; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove broken abaca fibers; -ON: **hinintó'** the broken abaca fibers which are removed [MDL]

**gúmon** a small bundle of tangled or uncombed abaca fiber which must be combed in preparation for weaving; MA- to be entangled (fiber, such as abaca, cotton, silk); (fig-) **Garó na kamó kagúmon-gumónan** *It's like you have got yourself all tied up* (Said when one argues so much they forget who they are arguing with; or when one strikes blindly out with a knife, forgetting exactly who they are fighting) [MDL]

**ha'gót** MAG-, -ON to strip or comb abaca fiber [MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to comb out abaca, removing the unwanted fibers; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to comb the unwanted fibers from abaca flax; (fig-) **Naha'gót na iníng uták** *This knife is dull*]

Once the fibres were sorted, they were tied into bundles; **kiníkon** in general reference and **sikarám** if they were particularly long. For commercial sale, the abaca was tied into bundles referred to as **bandála'**. This was a later development and the term is not originally from Bikol. Of the central Philippine languages, only the early Kapampangan dictionary has this as a headword entry referring to items which are packed for distribution, such as bundles of bamboo or rolls of mats.[41] It is also listed in John Wolff's modern Cebuano dictionary referring to items which are stacked into neat piles.[42] The term must have entered the Philippines from Malay where it is *bandela*. [43] While Winstedt and Crawford [44] both list the Malay term as a borrowing from Portuguese, it is not immediately obvious what the original Portuguese term was. The closest term is *bandeira* 'flag', and considering that the earliest Malay reference is to a system of imposed port charges and taxation (see below), it may very well be to borrowed term.

In 1600 the Spanish instituted the *bandala* system in the Philippines whereby those Filipinos under Spanish control were required to supply a certain amount of produce to the government in return for promissory notes.[45] This was a form of tribute for which, in return, they received a certain degree of protection provided by the Spanish government.[46] A comparable system of taxation was recorded for the Malay peninsula by the mid seventeenth century with reference to payments made at Kuala Kedah in the northern state of Kedah for items measured by the *bandela*. [47] It is likely that this system originated far earlier in Malacca under the Portuguese and was then adopted elsewhere in the peninsula after the loss of Malacca to the Dutch. The term *bandela* in the Malay peninsula and *bandala* in the Philippines referred to a system where produce was supplied in measured quantities. In the Philippines, it appears that the term eventually took on a commercial meaning in the supply of abaca.

**kiníkon** hank, skein (of cotton, thread, abaca or other fibers gathered in a similar way); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to gather fibers into hanks, skeins [MDL]

**sikarám** long hank or skein of cotton or other fibers [MDL]

**bandála'** skein of abaca fiber [MALAY *bandela* from PORTUGUESE *bandiera* 'flag']

Some of the heavier and stronger fibres available after their separation into relevant groups were used in the making of cord or rope. These fibres were arranged (**rambál**) and then twisted (**pi'ó**) to form a rope of the required length and thickness.

**rambál** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to arrange threads or fibers for plaiting or the making of cord or rope; (fig-) **Pagrambalá ta an satóng úlay** *Let's plan together what we want to say* [MDL]

**pi'ó** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to twist cotton or abaca fiber into twine, cord [MDL]

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## (v) Preparation for Weaving

The preparation of abaca fibre for weaving was a more involved process. Abaca was not spun, so to prepare threads suitable for weaving, the fibres were knotted together (**sugót**), a long and tedious task carried out by women.[48] The fibres could also be gummed together,[49] although there is no entry in Lisboa to indicate that this was also a process used in the region.

**súgot** MAG-, -ON to clean and arrange abaca fiber in preparation for weaving [MDL: **sugót** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to tie abaca fibers in preparation for weaving (women); MANG- to tie many fibers; to spend a great deal of time in the tying of such fibers; -ON: **sinusugót** tied abaca fibers]

The lengths of abaca fibre were then coiled, either onto the ground or into a basket where they could be stored until needed for weaving (**tagák**). Smaller baskets used for storing abaca were referred to as **típay**.

**tagák** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to coil abaca fiber or thread onto the ground or into a basket where it can be drawn out for weaving; also applicable to twine; -ON: **tinagák** abaca fibers readied in this way for use as the warp threads of a piece of cloth; -AN: **tagákan** or **tatagákan** basket in which abaca thread is stored in this way, ready for weaving [MDL]

**típay** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to store abaca thread in small baskets ready for weaving (not tied in hanks); -ON: **tinípay** abaca thread stored in small baskets [MDL]

Knotted abaca fibres could also be wound tightly into a ball (**púron**), or into one that was hollow in the centre (**bitibót**) with thread sticking up from the centre ready to be used (**sugpák**).

**púron** MAG-, -ON to wind or coil s/t up; to reel s/t in; MAG-, I- to wind or coil s/t around; -ÁN: **puronán** or **pupuronán** bobbin, spindle; reel [MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to wind thread (abaca, cotton) into a ball; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to wind thread around s/t; -ON: **pinúron** clew, ball of thread]

**bitibót** ball of abaca thread or yarn, hollow in the center; MA- or MAG-to roll abaca thread into such a ball [MDL]

**sugpák** PA- the ends of a ball of thread or yarn left sticking up from the top, ready for weaving; MAPA-, PA--ON or MAGPA-, PAGPA--ON to prepare threads in a ball in this way, ready for use; MAPA-, PA--AN or MAGPA-, PAGPA--AN to prepare a ball of thread or yarn for use [MDL]

Where the fibres or threads needed to be cut, this was done with one of two knives, **gatáb** or **utód**. While both of these knives were used by women, **gatáb** appears to have had a more widespread usage associated with sewing and needlework and **utód** more specifically used only for abaca. Cognate forms in other central Philippine languages, however, show this last term with a wide set of referents, generally associated with cutting something long, shorter in Cebuano, Hiligaynon and Waray,[50] or in the case of Tagalog, the cutting of food.[51]

**gatáb** small knife used by women for cutting abaca fiber and other fibers associated with sewing and needlework; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to cut abaca fiber with such a knife; MA-, -AN: **gatbán** or MAG-, PAG--AN: **paggatbán** to cut abaca fiber from a longer piece; (fig-) **Nagatbán na si tata'án ko** *My payment has been cut* (Said when one has been paid very little); **pinagsugbóng gatáb** a setting in gold or brass [MDL]

**utód** knife (typ- used by women for cutting abaca) [MDL]

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## 2. OTHER FIBRES

Abaca was not the only fibre available in the region at the turn of the sixteenth century. The growing and spinning of cotton was widespread throughout Luzon and the Visayas and came in for mention by the Spanish present in the Philippines during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[52] In addition to cotton, silk was also produced in the Philippines[53] as well as imported from China in a variety of



qualities and colours.[54]

Lisboa has no entries dealing with the cultivation of cotton nor the production of silk indicating that it was likely these were not activities carried out in the Bikol region. Cotton, however, was clearly grown in other regions of the Philippines,[55] and silk was also produced.[56]

Early dictionary entries indicate the availability in skeins or hanks of both cotton and silk in Bikol (**lúbag**). The availability of cotton gets far greater mention than that of silk; cotton ready for spinning, **gápas** (a term which has changed over time and now is the general term for cotton), and varieties of cotton thread based on colour, such as that tinged or dyed with red (**bangkúdo**, **igagaláng**) or dyed blue with indigo (**tágom**). Cotton was clearly used to a far greater extent than silk, although cloth woven from silk was certainly available (see Section 4).

**lúbag** skein, hank (of cotton, silk, yarn) [MDL]

**gápas** cotton [MDL cotton ready for spinning]

**bangkúdo** thread (typ- cotton, tinged with red) [MDL]

**igagaláng** cotton thread, dyed red or with another color [MDL]

**tágom** indigo (typ- plant with leaves from which a blue dye is extracted); also: spun cotton or thread which is dyed blue with indigo; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to tint or dye s/t with indigo leaves; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use indigo leaves for dyeing; (fig-) **Garó na ing tágom an lábod** *The welts are black and blue* [MDL]

Unlike abaca fibres which were knotted or glued together to achieve the length needed for weaving, cotton was spun. It was during this process that individual fibres were turned into thread or yarn. In the initial stage, a distaff (**búyo**) made from the fronds of the *anáhaw* palm was used to draw the fibres together. Subsequent spinning (**búrong**) involving the use of a large spindle (**bibiríkan**) enabled threads to be twisted together to the thickness desired (**labság**). *Bibiríkan* is a derivation from the root *bírik* with the central meaning 'to turn s/t around'. Cotton spun from two or more threads was referred to as **pinyó**. Spinning did not always produce a satisfactory outcome and the result may have been uneven with fibres sticking out from the thread (**tibák**).

**búyo** distaff, the upright staff which holds the unspun cotton from which thread is drawn when spinning by hand; made from **anáhaw** fronds; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to spin cotton on this type of distaff [MDL]

**búrong** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to spin cotton or yarn; -ON: **an binúrong** spun cotton or yarn [MDL]

**bibiríkan** a large spindle used for the spinning of cotton, enabling two or more threads to be twisted into one [MDL]

**pinyó** cotton spun from two or more threads; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to spin cotton in this way [MDL]

**labság** thread (typ- thick, in a cloth or fabric); MAPA- PA--ON to thicken the thread in a fabric [MDL]

**tibák** cross-fibers; unevenness found in poorly spun thread or poorly twisted rope; MA- uneven (such thread or rope) [MDL]

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### 3. WEAVING

There is one term in Bikol which encompasses all aspects of weaving, including the cloth which is produced and the loom on which it is woven. This is **haból**. Of the central Philippine languages, identical forms are found in Waray, Cebuano and Hiligaynon, and the cognate form *abal* in Kapampangan.[57].

**haból** the weave of cloth; MAG-, -ON to weave cloth; -AN loom; backstrap loom; **hablón** woven cloth; **hablón nin dawáni'** or **hablón dawáni'** rainbow [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to weave cloth; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--

AN to weave cloth on a loom; -ON: **hablón** cloth which is still on the loom; **náyog na hablón** a length of woven cloth; **haból ni dawáni'** or **hablón ni dawáni'** rainbow; (fig-) **Gahinablo'án an paghilíng ko** *It's like I'm looking through a mesh* (Probably indicating vision that is not very clear); **Garó ka na tinabángan nin paghaból** *It's like you've been helped in weaving* (Said when one helps in a particular task, and is suddenly left the task to complete; compared to helping one weaving cloth - if you help, you are left the job to complete)]

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### 3. WEAVING

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#### (i) The Loom

There was undoubtedly more than one type of loom in use in the Bikol region, although this can only be surmised from the available dictionary entries and references. Clearly the backstrap loom was in common use (see below), but a fixed frame loom would have also existed. **Patkón** referred to such a loom's bamboo frame, although it is unclear what form this loom may have taken. In Waray, de la Rosa makes reference to a loom resembling a cot lacking the bamboo crosspieces (*garingan*), indicating as well that it was a type of loom common in the Visayas, [58] and in Cebuano, Encarnacion refers to the loom's wooden framework. [59] Historically *patkón* would have been a derivation of the root *tukón* with the addition of the causative prefix PA- indicating a use that the root could be put to. *Tukón* referred to the length of bamboo used for poling a boat in water. Additionally, the clacking sound made by the moving parts of a bamboo-framed loom when weaving (**latakán**) would most likely not have been made by a backstrap loom.

**patkón** the bamboo frame of a loom; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to build the framework of a loom; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use bamboo for such a framework [MDL]

**latakán** clacking sound made by the movement of the bamboo parts of a loom when weaving [MDL]

One further element was the extension. This was a bamboo pole with needle-like protrusions at either end which was used to extend the loom enabling a longer length of cloth to be woven, more likely on a fixed-frame than a backstrap loom.

**bukóg** a bamboo pole or shaft with two needle-like protrusions at either end, used for extending the cloth being woven on a loom; a cross-bar of a carpenter's horse or the support beams for the frame of a house or church [MDL]

While a loom, depending on the type, could potentially be set up in any convenient location, a bamboo platform found beneath the house which also served as a storage area, was specifically mentioned as a place where weaving took place (**bantál**). Where gender is mentioned in relation to this activity it is always attributed to women.

**bantál** a platform of bamboo or wood located beneath the house, used by women when weaving; also used for storage; MA- or MAG- to construct such a platform; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to lift s/t on a platform or pallet of wood; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to place a wooden pallet or platform beneath s/t so that it may be lifted on such a base [MDL]

The backstrap loom was in common use at the turn of the sixteenth century and still continues in use in many parts of the Philippines and elsewhere in the world. It is a loom in which the weaver actually forms a part of the mechanism of weaving, providing the tension to the warp threads by means of a harness strapped around the waist. [60] In the discussion which follows, I have attempted, where possible, to pair the Bikol terms with equivalent terms in English for the various parts of the loom. [61]

In Bikol the harness was referred to as **lawsíg** and this was worn and then removed (**huklás**) when the weaving session was finished. The cloth was attached to a small piece of wood approximately 15 cm wide which women placed on their hips (**páwod**). This may be similar to the 'cloth bar support' of the standard loom.

At the upper part of the backstrap loom is the crosspiece to which the warp threads are attached (**papán**), generally referred to as the 'warp bar'. There is usually a similar bar at the lower end of the loom where the weaver sits referred to as the 'cloth bar'. Both the warp bar and the cloth bar may also be referred to as 'loom bars'. Lisboa has no reference to this lower bar but it is, in all likelihood, an oversight for these two bars are standard on a backstrap loom. Strings are attached to each end of the warp bar and then further anchored to a post allowing the loom to be tensed as required between the harness of the weaver and the stationary post. Resin or starch from boiled taro was used to attach the warp threads to the warp bar.

**lawsíg** harness (typ- one end of which is tied to a backstrap loom and the other tied around the waist of women when weaving) [MDL]

**hukás** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to take off or remove a jacket, shirt, tunic, a gold chain, a backstrap loom; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to remove a jacket, gold chain, backstrap loom from the body [MDL]

**páwod** small piece of wood, about 15cm wide which women place on their hips and to which the cloth is attached for weaving [MDL]

**papán** crosspiece at the top of a loom to which the threads are attached [MDL]

**luslós** the resin or the starch from boiled taro used for attaching threads to a loom; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to rub a pole with such a resin or starch so that threads may be attached to it; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use resin or the starch from taro for this purpose; -AN the pole holding the thread for weaving [MDL]

Before the weaving would begin, the weaver would determine the length of the cloth she intended to weave (**gukód**), and once this was determined, the length of the warp threads would be marked out. The warp, the vertical threads, were referred to as **ha'náy**, the weft, or horizontal threads, as **pugáwa**, and the process of finishing the stringing of the warp threads as **takás**. Thread which was reserved for the warp was apparently referred to as **lindóg**. The reference to winding the thread directly into the cloth must refer to the stringing of the warp threads around the loom bars thus distinguishing them from the weft threads which are actually woven into the warp.

**gukód** MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to measure the length of cloth one is going to weave; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to mark out the appropriate length of the warp; (fig-) **Nagukód ka namán nin si gáwi' ni amá' mo** *You have the characteristics of your father* (Implying: You'll turn out the same way); **ginugukdán nin kúto** infested with head lice; **ginugukdán nin túma** infested with body lice [MDL]

**ha'náy** warp, the set of yarns placed lengthwise in a loom; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to place the yarn in such a way in preparation for weaving; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to place the yarn on a loom; -AN a piece of bamboo shaped like a blade, used for drawing the warp thread; (fig-) **Garó akó naghá'náy nin da'í áyaw** *It's like I am drawing the warp with no satisfaction* (Said when one moves back and forth in search of things they need) [MDL]

**pugáwa** weft of cloth; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to join cloth by the weft; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to align the weft when joining cloth [MDL]

**takás** MAKA-, MA- to finish stringing the warp threads of a weaving [MDL]

**lindóg** thread which is wound directly into the fabric; -ON: **lilindógon** warp of a fabric [MDL]

There are several further bars between the warp bar at the top and the cloth bar at the bottom of the loom. One of these is the 'shed rod' which is used to separate alternate rows of the warp thread. This created what is called a 'shed', the space through which a shuttle (**siko'án**) containing the weft thread could easily pass.<sup>[62]</sup> The shed is said to be 'open' when the warp threads are separated, accomplished by drawing the shed rod toward the weaver, and 'closed' when the shed rod is moved away from the weaver so that the warp threads lie level or are flat.<sup>[63]</sup> The Tagalog entry *patuwasín* appears to refer to a mechanical system of opening and closing (or raising and lowering) the shed which would be more

associated with a fixed frame loom. [\[64\]](#)

Lisboa also has an entry for a bamboo segment around which thread was coiled and which appeared to serve as a bobbin (**burubdán**) *Burubdán* is a derivation from the root *budbód* with the central meaning 'to wind s/t around'. With some weaving techniques, the bobbin is placed inside the shuttle and the thread unwinds as the shuttle moves through the shed. This is unlikely to be the case for Bikol since Lisboa describes thread as being wound around the shuttle itself. The bobbin, then, was most likely used independently of the shuttle and for different weaving projects.

**siko'án** shuttle of a loom; also used in weaving nets; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to wrap thread around a shuttle; (fig-) **Garó nagsisiko'án si kuyán kon minakakán** *That person is like a shuttle moving back and forth when she eats* (Said when one eats quickly) [MDL]

**burubdán** small bamboo segment around which thread is wound so that it won't become snarled or entangled when weaving [MDL]

Lisboa has entries for three rods used in weaving, **bulós**, **sikmát** and **libo'án**, each of which is described in terms which make it difficult to know if any one of them was used as a shed rod, or as any of the other rods which are mentioned below. Without a shed rod to separate the warp threads, the shuttle would have been moved over and under individual threads during weaving making it a far longer and more tedious process.

**bulós** a stick one meter in length and the thickness of a walking stick, used in the weaving of material with colored designs, such as the cloth called **badyó'** [MDL]

**sikmát** a stick cut from a tree or palm to the width of cloth being woven, used to keep the rows of thread even [MDL]

**libo'án** thin piece of bamboo placed between the threads on a loom [MDL]

There are other ways in which the warp threads can be lifted. Loops of string of equal length called 'leashes' are tied around alternate warp threads. A rod or string called a heddle is then passed through these leashes. When tension on the warp threads is lessened and the heddle is lifted, alternate rows of warp thread are also lifted allowing the shuttle to pass through the space created. Lisboa has no entry which approximates this string or rod, although the Waray entry *kughon* [\[65\]](#) does seem to refer to and describe the creation of the leashes.

Once the weft thread has been woven into place it is then firmed down against the previous rows of thread. This is done with a 'sword' or 'batten' (**baríra**) which runs the width of the loom. To maintain a consistent distance between the warp threads after the weft threads have been added, a comb-like implement is placed between individual warp threads. Lisboa mentions two of these, **bitín** and **sadó**, each of which traditionally would be referred to as a 'reed'. The thickness of the wires or other material serving as the teeth of the comb determine the density of the finished cloth. [\[66\]](#)

**baríra** an implement, somewhat like a ruler, used to compress the threads in a loom; (fig-) -ON: **Bariráhon an tabáy** Said about s/o whose calves are the same thickness from top to bottom [MDL]

**bitín** various wires serving as a comb for a loom; -AN: **bitinan** the small stick to which these wires are attached [MDL]

**sadó** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to compress threads with a fabric comb so that the cloth becomes more dense [MDL]

The more the weave is compressed by the sword or batten (**dutdót**), the denser the cloth. At times, the cloth may be loosely woven deliberately (**haraghág**), and at other times this could be the result of a lack of needed materials (**atág**).

**dutdót** cloth (typ- closely woven); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to compress the threads when weaving [MDL]

**haraghág** descriptive of clothes which are much too large for the person wearing them; loose [MDL: -ON loosely woven (cloth; items made from reeds, straw); MA- or MAG- to stretch, loosen (the weave); MAPA-, PA--ON to weave s/t loosely]

**atág** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to not compress the weave of a fabric being woven due to a lack of materials (thread, abaca); to weave s/t loosely due to a lack of thread [MDL]

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### 3. WEAVING

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#### (ii) The Process

Before weaving can begin (**pugí'**), the threads have to be arranged (**taltág**). This refers, most probably, to the choosing and ordering of the coloured threads needed to produce the desired pattern or design. Where necessary, threads can also be waxed with an available resin (**hágod**), something which is done to keep them from knotting or twisting.

**pugí'** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to start the weaving of cloth after setting up the loom; to start some other task [MDL]

**taltág** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to arrange threads in the order they are to be used in preparation for weaving; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to arrange threads for weaving (as on a loom) [MDL]

**hágod** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to wax s/t; to place wax or resin on s/t (a thread, a stick); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a particular resin or wax [MDL]

During the weaving process, the threads are also moistened (**damó'**). This can be done with the fingers which are dipped into a plate or bowl containing a small amount of water, or with an instrument referred to as **tagíhi** with a perforated container at one end. On the other end there is a point which can be used to remove loose threads in the fabric. *Damó'* refers to a process which takes place as the threads are woven. *Tagíhi* may refer to a later process applied to woven cloth still on the loom. Threads when prepared for weaving may also be starched (**tasí'**). An entry in Cebuano, *kago*, also describes a related process where the threads of the weft are moistened or infused with a clear starch before they are combed.[\[67\]](#)

**damó'** the small amount of water at the bottom of a plate or bowl which is used to moisten the threads in a cloth when weaving, or the hands of one who is kneading bread (**tinápáy**), or those performing similar actions; MA- or MAG- to moisten the hands in this way; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to moisten s/t with such water; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t for moistening (such as the small brush used for moistening cloth) [MDL]

**tagíhi** a stick one finger wide (1-2 cm), and two palms in length (about 18 cm), with a perforated container at one end used to moisten cloth, and on the other end, a point used to clean the threads in a fabric [MDL]

**tasí'** starch; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to starch s/t (generally cotton fibers for weaving); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use starch for such a purpose [MDL]

There is no explanation in the *Vocabulario* as to why the thread was moistened. One possibility was to maintain the tension in the woven thread to create an even weave. This also has the effect of softening what was inherently a stiffer fibre. This is a technique used when stringing the warp for the weaving of linen, although no mention is made of its application to the weft threads.[\[68\]](#)

The dominant fibre in the Bikol region was abaca, and it was this fibre which was most likely used to produce a large part of the cloth in the region, cloth such as **samáng**. It was possible to weave abaca cloth to a variety of thicknesses, single, double or triple (see **sinaró'**). Cloth could also be woven from a mixture of abaca and cotton fibre (**samáy**). Weaving could be accomplished with straight threads (**tayód**),

leaving open the option of also using twisted threads to produce a cloth with a ribbed or corded appearance. The cloth produced would be woven to suit the needs of the weaver, from finer weaves to those which were coarser (**mábaw**).

**samáng** abaca cloth (typ-); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to weave this type of cloth [MDL]

**sinaró'** single thickness of abaca cloth woven from single or double threads; **dinuwá** such abaca cloth of double thickness; **tinuló** such cloth of triple thickness [MDL]

**samáy** MAG-, -ON to weave cloth from a mixture of abaca and cotton fiber; -ON: **sinamáy** the cloth produced, once used for the lining and stiffening of women's skirts [MDL: a blanket woven from abaca and cotton fiber; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to weave a mixture of cotton and abaca fiber into cloth]

**tayód** cloth made from straight threads, not those which are twisted and presenting a ribbed or corded appearance; **tayód na tápis** a skirt made from this type of cloth; (fig-) to be direct, straightforward in speech: **Tinayodán taká na pakaráy kan pagtarám ko saímo** *I'll tell you directly what I have to say* [MDL]

**mábaw** weaving (typ- of coarse cloth, like sackcloth) [MDL]

The weaving of colours and designs was also accomplished, choosing a weft thread that contrasted with the warp (**harukhók**), incorporating stripes (**rági'**), or raised designs (**dalón**), or weaving figures into a cloth that was only used as a shroud for the dead (**badyó'**).

**harukhók** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to weave cloth with a weft (horizontal thread) of a different color, adding a design to the fabric; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add a weft of a different color [MDL]

**rági'** cloth with stripes of red, black and white as well as other colors; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to weave cloth with this design; (fig-) **Da'í ka súkat na makarági' dumán ta' makiiwálon ka** *You shouldn't get involved there because you are an argumentative person*; **Da'í akó súkat na makarági' saindó ta' mga mabu'ót kamó** *It's not right for me to involve myself with you because you are honorable people* [MDL]

**dalón** embroidered cloth; cloth with raised designs; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to weave cloth with embroidered or raised designs [MDL]

**badyó'** cloth (typ- woven with colors and figures, used only for covering the bodies of the dead) [MDL] [MALAY *baju*, from PERSIAN *bazu*]

The common word for clothing in Bikol is *bádo'* (see Section 7.1), and cognates are found throughout the central Philippine languages: Tagalog and Kapampangan *baro*,<sup>[69]</sup> Waray and Cebuano *bado*<sup>[70]</sup> and Hiligaynon *bayo*.<sup>[71]</sup> *Bádyo'* with its very specific meaning is most likely a borrowing of the Malay *baju*. In modern Malay, this is the term which designates all forms of clothing,<sup>[72]</sup> although in earlier usage it referred specifically to a coat or jacket.<sup>[73]</sup> Windstedt attributes the Malay term to a borrowing from Persian, and the term *bazu* in that language, referring to a bathing garment tied at the waist, is most likely the origin.<sup>[74]</sup> Both *bádo'* and *badyó'* in Bikol and their cognates in the other central Philippine languages clearly have the same origin. Forms of the term *baju* were widespread in south and southeast Asia and while Malay is a likely donor of the term to Philippine languages, trade contacts elsewhere could have also been the source.

When weaving on a backstrap loom, the width of the cloth is limited to the distance the weaver can reach with her hands, generally one metre (**átip**). This is the outmost limit of control of the shuttle or bobbin. Within this limit normally one piece of cloth is woven, although the entry **yáwa'** opens the possibility of two pieces being woven at the same time. These would have to be two narrower pieces of cloth set up as individual projects at the time the warp is strung.

**átip** the width of cloth which can be reached with the hands during weaving, approximately 1 meter; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to weave this length of cloth [MDL]

**yáwa'** a method of weaving two pieces of cloth in a loom at the same time [MDL]

The length of the weaving is far more flexible as the finished part of the weave can always be folded over nearer the weaver giving her access to the unwoven sections. Eventually the cloth reaches the warp bar where the warp threads have been tied (**sungdó'**). It is not clear why the cloth would be woven beyond this point (**sapáw**), although this may be done to facilitate lifting of the warp threads when the weaving is to be joined to another project yet to be woven. This may aid in providing a seamless transition between the two sections (**ughóy**).

**sungdó'** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to reach the wooden crosspiece (**papán**) of a loom where the warp threads have been tied (woven cloth); (fig-) **Agwá ka nang gayód nin kasusungdó'an kainíng gáwi' mo** *You'll reach an end commensurate with your deeds* (Meaning: You will get what is coming to you) [MDL]

**sapáw** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to pass the point where it is held fast on the rod or pole (cloth woven on a loom) [MDL]

**ughóy** referring to the juncture where a length of cloth one is weaving on a loom is joined to the starting threads of another which is yet to be woven so that the transition from one length to another is smooth [MDL]

When the weaving is finished, the cloth is cut from the loom (**gáras**), with the resulting cloth, **gináras**, derived from this root.

**gáras** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to cut woven cloth from a loom; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to cut along a particular part of the cloth; (fig-) **Garó na ing gináras iyán nátad na kuyán** *Those people's front yard is like cloth just cut from the loom* (Said when the front yard is very clean); **Garó na ing gáras an baybáy sa dágat** *The sand along the shore is like cloth newly cut from the loom* (Said when the beach is free of stones); -ON: **gináras** abaca cloth newly cut from the loom [MDL]

For those without the skill or means to weave their own abaca cloth, such cloth could be purchased. A barter system existed whereby finished cloth could be purchased in exchange for abaca fibre. For one piece of cloth, the seller was offered enough fibre for the weaving of two subsequent pieces, thereby compensating them for the time and effort involved (**tulós**).

**tulós** MA-, -ON to buy one piece of woven abaca cloth in exchange for abaca fiber sufficient for the weaving of two pieces of cloth; MA-, I- to exchange enough abaca fiber for the weaving of two pieces of cloth for one piece of finished cloth; MA-, -AN to buy a piece of woven abaca cloth from s/o in this way; MAG-, IPAG- to sell one piece of woven abaca cloth in this way; MAG-, PAG--AN to sell woven abaca cloth to s/o, receiving abaca fiber in return [MDL]

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### 3. WEAVING

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#### (iii) Problems

When weaving, not everything always goes to plan. Threads may break when they fall to the ground and are stepped on (**ragás**) necessitating the tying of the broken ends together to effect a repair (**hayúma**). When a number of threads are being woven, these may become displaced resulting in some separating and other bunching up (**hinhín**) producing a fabric with lines of thread missing (**dalúdag**). Poor selection of the fibres chosen for weaving will inevitably result in a poorly woven cloth with brittle and uneven fibres (**gapás**).

**ragás** MA- to break (the threads in a loom when they fall to the ground and are stepped on); MAKA- to accidentally break threads in a loom [MDL]

**hayúma** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to repair broken thread on a loom or ripped cord on a net by tying new thread or cord to the broken ends; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to repair cloth or a net in this way; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to tie thread or cord to the broken ends to effect a repair [MDL]

**hinhín** MA- or MAG- to become displaced (the threads of abaca cloth when many threads are being woven, causing some to separate and others to bunch up) [MDL]

**dalúdag** fabric, cloth (typ- in which lines of thread are missing); MAKA-, MA--AN to weave a fabric, leaving out lines of thread (a weaver) [MDL]

**gapás** a boat with sides which are too low; poor quality abaca cloth, uneven with brittle and uneven fibers [MDL]

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### 3. WEAVING

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#### (iv) Finishing and Treatment

While abaca fibre is strong, it produces a relatively stiff cloth. To remedy this, once the cloth is cut from the loom it can undergo a number of processes to soften it, such as treating it with lime (**abó'**). It can also be pounded (**buntól**) until the desired degree of softness is achieved (**lumhók**). All of these processes are incorporated into the general term **tugás**.

**abó'** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to treat recently woven cotton cloth with lime to soften it; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to treat such cloth with a softening agent (as lime); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove s/t in the treatment process (as excess fibers, lint) [MDL]

**buntól** a mallet or a pounding stick used for compacting earth, driving in stakes or beating cloth during the curing process; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to beat or pound s/t with such a mallet or stick [MDL]

**lumhók** MA- soft (as cloth, fruit or food); MAG- to grow increasingly soft; MAGPA-, PA--ON to soften s/t [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to grow softer; **Lumhók na gúbing iní** *These clothes are soft*]

**tugás** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to block cloth; to cure cloth that has been recently woven and removed from the loom by moistening and beating; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to trim off parts when curing or blocking cloth; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use particular acidic fruits in the curing process [MDL]

Cloth was further finished by snipping off the remnant treads (**sapgót**), producing a distinctive sound (**ragurhó'**).

**sapgót** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to snip off the ends of s/t (hair, thread); to trim the hair; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to snip the ends from s/t [MDL]

**ragurhó'** sound made when hair is pulled out or loose threads are pulled from finished cloth; MA- or MAG- to make this sound [MDL]

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### 4. CLOTH

Abaca was not the only fibre used in the Bikol region at the turn of the sixteenth century. Cotton, while probably not grown in the region, was also in common use (also see Section 2). Linen was also available, although most likely in finished pieces such as that used for veils (**hiniwág**). There is no mention of an industry turning flax into linen thread existing in Bikol.

**hiniwág** linen (typ- fine, such as that used for a veil) [MDL]

Silk was also available in the Philippines. Francisco de Sande writes in 1577 that this and cotton were raised throughout the islands and used in the weaving of clothing.<sup>[75]</sup> Silk was also imported from China, with various grades available for trade.<sup>[76]</sup>

Silk and other types of cloth imported from China, were sold so widely that this trade threatened the local weaving industries. Filipinos from various regions began to abandon their traditional clothing manufacture



in favour of the purchase of Chinese-made cloth. Additionally, prices paid for the cloth gradually escalated as there were always buyers willing to pay an inflated price. This eventually resulted in an ordinance being passed forbidding Filipinos from wearing cloth made from imported fabric.[77] The continuing trade in cloth, especially in silk, and the insistence by the Chinese that goods be paid for in cash and not by barter, began to have an effect on the Spanish treasury. This led, eventually, to laws being passed which curtailed the Chinese silk trade in the Spanish colonies.[78] [

Lisboa defines **suklá'** as 'coloured silk'. As this is the only Bikol term available for 'silk', it may very well have also carried a more general meaning. Cognate forms can be found in most of the central Philippine languages. In Tagalog and Kapampangan *sutlá* refers to 'loose silk' a term which is usually opposed to 'twisted silk' (most likely 'spun silk') and probably refers to what we may call 'raw silk'. [79] In Cebuano, *sukla* referred not only to raw silk, but to all types, be it raw, spun or woven. [80] Raw silk in Hiligaynon had three terms, *sukla*, *sutla*, and *igagama*, [81] this final term the only entry found in Waray. [82] One further Bikol term is **talúki** which Lisboa defines as a silk cloth similar to taffeta, that is, a stiffer and glossier type of silk. The same term is found in Tagalog where it is defined as clothing made from pure silk. [83]

**suklá'** colored silk [MDL] [MALAY *sutera*, from SANSKRIT *sutra* 'thread', 'string']

**talúki** silk cloth, such as taffeta [MDL] [MALAY *teluki*]

*Suklá'* / *sutlá'* come originally from the Sanskrit *sutra* where the meaning is 'thread' or 'string'. [84] Malay, with the form *sutera*, is most likely the direct donor language. [85] Malay also has the term *teluki* or *taluki* with the meaning 'silk' [86] and this may have also been the origin of the Bikol term. The Malay term itself is undoubtedly a borrowing, although I have yet to identify its source.

Lisboa's entry for **bulídaw** is defined as a cloth similar to damask. Damask is not so much a type of cloth, but a style of weaving producing a reversible fabric with a design created from a particular arrangement of warp and weft threads. The cloth can vary, from silk or cotton to linen. The origin of the term may be the Malay *beledu* 'velvet' which in turn was borrowed from Portuguese.

**bulidáw** cloth (typ- like damask) [MDL] MALAY *beledu* 'velvet', from PORTUGUESE *veludo*]

The use of tree bark in the making of clothing still must have existed in the Bikol region at the turn of the sixteenth century, although its production would probably have been limited to groups such as the Negritos (*Agtá'*) living in the mountains at the time of arrival of the Spanish. The bark, properly cured, would have once been in widespread use, displaced eventually by the more durable and workable fibres of the abaca plant. [87] **Agá'** is the bast fibres (fibres from the inner bark) of one of the *Ficus* trees native to the Philippines. [88]

**agá'** tree (typ- possessing bark once cured and used to make cloth) [MDL **agá'** a particular type of tree bark used in the making of clothing; MAG- to cure such bark; to wear clothing made from such bark; MA-, -ON to put on such clothing; MA-, -AN to dress s/o in such clothing]

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## 5. DYING

The dyes which were used for colouring fabric and other materials were derived from natural sources. These were plants such as the turmeric (**kaláwag**) whose roots were used to impart a yellow colour, and indigo (*tagóm*, see Section 2) whose leaves were used for the colour blue.

**kaláwag** turmeric (typ- plant producing a root from which a yellow coloring is obtained, also used as a seasoning; *Curcuma longa*) [+MDL **kalawág**: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dye s/t with this root; (fig-) **Garó na ing kinalawág iyán háwak ni kuyán** *It is as if that person's body is like s/t dyed with kalawág* (Said when s/o looks pale)]

The leaves and bark of trees were also used. A red or black dye for silk could be obtained from the bark of the **tangál** tree. Lisboa gives one name for this tree, but refers to it as having two types. The tree is most likely the *Ceriops tagal* or yellow mangrove, growing to eight metres and found in the mangrove swamps. The bark is used in tanning and dying.[89] A black dye could also be derived from the leaves of the **kanárom** and **ubú'ob** trees. It is likely that both of these trees are types of mangroves judging from the coastal locations of towns bearing the same names, respectively, in Albay (Canarom), and on Bantayan Island off Cebu (Obo-ob).

**tangál** bark from trees of two types, one from which a black dye is extracted, and the other from which a red dye is extracted; used in dying silk [MDL]

**kanárom** tree (typ- possessing leaves from which a black dye may be extracted); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dye s/t with these leaves; -ON: **an kinanárom** s/t dyed with such leaves [MDL]

**ubú'ob** tree (typ- possessing leaves used for dying s/t black); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dye s/t black with such leaves; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use such leaves for dying; -ON: **inubu'ob** s/t dyed black with such leaves [MDL]

**Tugmá'** referred to the dying of an item any colour but black. When items were dyed black the term was **tína'**, a term with identical meanings in Tagalog, Waray and Kapampangan.[90] In Hiligaynon, it referred to 'mud' and the blackening of something with mud,[91] and in modern Cebuano it has the general meaning 'to dye'. [92]

**tugmá'** dye; MAG-, -ON to dye s/t; MAG-, I- to color s/t with a particular dye [MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dye s/t any color but black (see **tína'**); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a particular dye; PARA- dyer, one who dyes]

**tína'** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dye or tint s/t black [MDL]

*Tugmá'*, while it follows the dominant disyllabic pattern of the language, most likely had its origins as a trisyllabic word which included a prefix of the form *tu-*. *Tu-* itself may very well be a remnant first or last syllable of an independent word whose unique meaning was lost. If this is correct, then the original trisyllabic form was probably *tugúma'*. **Gúma'** in Bikol has a related independent meaning referring to dying the teeth black.

**gúma'** MA- or MAG- to have the teeth dyed black; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dye the teeth black with the root called **amlóng** or other dyes; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use the *amlóng* root for this purpose [MDL]

There are numerous other forms in which this pattern can be observed, although most of these are so difficult to tie together semantically as to put the relationship between the two sets of words in doubt. One of the clearest examples, in addition to the pair presented above, is **tugbós** and **gabós**, which is presented below.

**tugbós** MA- or MAG- to increase in number or amount; to embellish a tale or add to a story that is being told; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add s/t; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to add to s/t; MAPA-, IPA- or MAGPA-, IPAGPA- to add elements to what one has previously said, making it up as one goes along and not reporting it accurately; MAPA-, PA--AN or MAGPA-, PAGPA--AN to add to a tale; to tell a tale with such embellishments to s/o [MDL]

**gabós** all; everybody, everyone, everything; **gabós-gabós** all in all, altogether [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to include everything in the count; **gabós an mga táwo** all the people; **an pároy gabós** all the rice; **Pirá gabós?** - **Limá gabós** *How many in all? - Five in all*]

The first stages of dying when the fabric begins to take on colour is referred to as **arók**, and if the process is successful, then the fabric will continue to take on colour to the desired intensity, resulting in a fabric that may be comparatively bright (**pungsí'**). If the dye is defective or of poor quality (**sapáng**) then the colour will be light and easily fade (**pu'sáw**).

**arók** MA- or MAG- to begin to take on color (s/t which is being dyed); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dye s/t; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a particular color or dye; (fig-) **lyán may arók an búlan** *That has a tinge of the moon* (Said when s/t is very white or very clean) [MDL]

**pungsi'** MAKA-, MA--AN to possess more brilliant colors than another (a cock, a piece of silk or other cloth) [MDL]

**sapáng** defective or poor quality dye; coloring that easily fades; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to color or tint s/t with a poor quality dye; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a poor quality dye or coloring [MDL]

**pu'sáw** paleness, lightness of color; MA- pale, light in color, faint; MAG- to become pale; to grow lighter [MDL: **pusáw** poorly dyed; MA- or MAG- to lose its color (s/t which has been poorly dyed); MA- to grow fainter (color); MAKA- to cause a color to fade or grow lighter]

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## 6. SEWING

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### (i) Sticking

Clothing and cloth items of household use would have to be sewn (**tahí'**), and to do this techniques readily identifiable in the modern world were available. Needles (**dágom**) were threaded (**táli'**) and the thread, often of uneven thickness and of varying materials, frequently had to have the end shaved to make it thin enough to pass through the eye of the needle (**tamgód**). When the required length was achieved, the thread was cut (**gurób**) and once the sewing session was finished, the excess thread was wound around the needle and the end stuck safely away (**pitípot**).

**tahí'** MAG-, -ON to sew or tailor s/t; to mend s/t; MAG-, I- to stitch, suture; MAGPA-, IPA- to have one's clothes tailored; PAGKA- sewing, needlework; suture; KA--AN a seam; PARA- seamstress, tailor [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to sew s/t up with a needle; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use thread for sewing; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to sew s/t onto s/t else]

**dágom** needle; MAG-, -ON to prick s/o with a needle [+MDL]

**táli'** MAG-, -AN to thread a needle; MAG-, I- to place thread in a needle [+MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to thread a needle; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to place thread through the eye of a needle; **Aha'in idtóng dágom na may táli'?** *Where is the threaded needle?*]

**tamgód** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to scrape or shave off the end of a thread making it thinner so that it will pass more easily through the eye of a needle; MA-, -AN: **tamgorán** or MAG-, PAG--AN: **pagtamgorán** to scrape away the fibers of the thread; -ON: **tinatamgód** fragments of fiber scraped away in thinning the ends of thread [MDL]

**gurób** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to cut string or thread with a knife; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to cut a piece of string or thread from a longer piece; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a knife for this purpose; syn- **garáb** [MDL]

**pitípot** MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to stick a needle into s/t for safekeeping, winding excess thread around it; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to stick a needle into s/t [MDL]

Basic sewing involved the tacking or basting of material, a series of temporary stitches used to hold the cloth in place until the application of permanent stitching (**síbak**). This would have been used commonly before the sewing of a hem (**lilín, gáyad**), which could be accomplished with simple stitching or a more decorative style involving the formation of bows with the thread (**há'od**). Hemming was needed to keep the ends of the cloth from fraying or unraveling (**patpát, tastás**), something which could also be accomplished by the sewing of binding or tape along the edges (**luplóp**).

**síbak** MAG-, -ON to tack or baste stitch s/t [MDL]

**lilín** a hem; MAG-, -ON to hem s/t [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to hem s/t so that the edge does not fray]

**gáyad** hem; MAG-, -AN to have the hem touch or drag on s/t; **gáyad kan lángit** horizon [+MDL hem, the edging of an item of clothing]

**há'od** style of hemming; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to hem s/t in this style, making bows with thread [MDL]

**patpát** MAG-, -ON to unravel thread; MAG-, -AN to unravel thread from a piece of cloth; MAKA-, MA- to become unraveled [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to unravel (cloth which is not properly hemmed); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove lines of thread; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to remove lines of thread from a piece of cloth; (fig-) **mapatpát na dalúgi** rice seedling with a number of stems]

**tastás** MAG- to fray, unravel; MAG-, -ON to rip out stitches; to unstitch s/t [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove stitches; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to remove stitches from s/t]

**luplóp** binding, ribbon or tape sewn along the edges of clothing; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add binding; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to sew binding along the edge of clothing [MDL ]

There were also more decorative ways of edging clothing, by creating a braid or fringe (**palád-palád**), or scalloping the edge and using a different material such a linen (**gíring-gítíng**).

**palád-palád** edging of clothes, fringe or braid at the edge of cloth, clothing; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to place an edging on clothes; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as an edging [MDL]

**gíring-gítíng** a scalloped edge or border; MAG-, -AN to scallop s/t [+MDL edging, border; also describing s/t edged in a material such as linen; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to edge s/t; to edge s/t in linen; to put a scalloped edge on s/t; -AN: s/t sewn or edged in this way]

Finished clothing could be further decorated by the pinning of ribbon or other decorative elements (**tadík**), the addition of gold flowers, stars or engraved metal disks sewn into the cloth (**kansíng**), or the sewing of strings of beads along the edges of a skirt (**tandás**).

**tadík** a pin; MAG-, -AN to pin s/t [MDL: MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to pin ribbon or other decorative elements on clothing; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to decorate clothing by pinning things on it]

**kansíng** gold flowers or stars, or engraved metal disks, which are usually sewn onto clothing; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to decorate clothing with such flowers or disks; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add such ornament to clothing as a decoration; -AN: **kinansíngan** clothing adorned in this way [MDL]

**tandás** (arc-) strings of beads placed along the edge of a skirt (**tápis**); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to place strings of beads as a trimming; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to trim or edge a skirt with strings of beads [MDL]

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## 6. SEWING

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### (ii) Embroidering

In addition to what appears to be a type of knitting (**putík**), there were also instances of more decorative stitching, such as embroidery (**súram**) which was realised in a number of different ways once the basic design over which one stitches was determined (**pangíring**).

**putík** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to knit; PAG- knitting; syn- **mutík** [MDL]

**súram** embroidery, needlework; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to embroider cloth; -AN: **sinuráman** embroidered cloth [MDL]

**pangíring** the basic design over which one stitches when embroidering cloth [MDL]

One of these styles was cutout embroidery (**gaháng**) in which certain parts of the design are cut out of the fabric opening up the upper fabric to a second fabric beneath, usually of a different colour, or to the bare skin when worn to that effect.<sup>[93]</sup> Another style was **bugták** in which the embroidery was concentrated toward the central part of the cloth, and a third, **lipós**, applied to the head covering, *sakbód*

(see Section 8(ii)) which extended over the head and shoulders.

**gaháng** needlework, sewing (typ- called *cortado*); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to sew s/t in this style [MDL]

**bugták** embroidery (typ- sewn along the edges and in the middle of a piece of cloth), similar to that found on cloth used to cover the chalice during religious services; sometimes used as a head covering (**pudóng**); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to embroider such cloth; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to embroider cloth with a particular thread; -AN: **bugtakán** cloth with such embroidery [MDL]

**lipós** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to embroider the shawl called **sakbód**; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to embroider a particular section of this shawl; -AN: **linilipósan** a a shawl embroidered in this way [MDL]

The choice of thread used for embroidery would also add to the richness and value of the cloth. Nothing could be more decorative than silver or gold embroidery (**palíd-palíd**) created from silver and gold thread (**túpi-túpi**).

**palíd-palíd** silver or gold embroidery; MA- or MAG- to move, shimmer (such embroidery) [MDL]

**túpi-túpi** embroidery with gold or silver thread; MANG-, PANG--AN to embroider s/t with such thread [MDL]

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## 6. SEWING

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### (iii) Tailoring

In general, the cloth needed for clothing would be woven for that particular purpose, and once it was chosen it was counted as a full piece, or half a piece, and so on. This counting was expressed by what appears to have been one of the few numerical classifiers existing at the time, **bulós**, a term used throughout the central Philippine languages, referring to a piece of cloth or clothing (except for Hiligaynon where the reference is to a full length of bamboo).[\[94\]](#)

It is also probable that cloth was purchased commercially, something which would certainly have been the case for fabrics which were not locally produced, such as cotton, linen or silk. **Bastá** referred to bales of cloth and other similar types of merchandise. This was not a term commonly used in the central Philippines, and is shared only by Tagalog.[\[95\]](#)

**bulós** piece of cloth for clothing; full sheet of *papel de china*; **saróng bulós** one full piece or sheet; **kabangáng bulós** one half piece, sheet [MDL]

**bastá** bale of cloth or other merchandise [MDL]

Once the cloth was chosen, it would have to be measured. This could be done by folding it in half, possibly to determine if the full width or length would give sufficient coverage (**lukóy**), or it could also be tied to a specific model or figure to give a more precise measurement (**gíkos**). Cloth that was too large would have to be cut (**takbás**), or that which was too small would be enlarged by sewing two or more pieces together (**tabíng**).

**lukóy** length of rope or rattan used for measuring a plot of land; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to measure a plot of land in such a way; also: to measure a piece of cloth by folding it in half; ... [MDL]

**gíkos** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to tie cloth to a model or figure; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use cord to tie cloth [MDL]

**takbás** MAG-, -ON to cut s/t that comes in thin sheets (such as paper, cloth, leaves); MAG-, -AN to cut s/t from a larger piece [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to cut s/t wide (such as leaves, cloth); ... MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to cut s/t from a larger piece ...]

**tabíng** MA-, -ON to join one piece of cloth to another, sewing them together; MAG-, PAG--ON to join two pieces of cloth; to sew two pieces of cloth together; to sew the ripped edges of cloth together; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to join one piece of cloth to another; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to join one piece of cloth with an existing piece; KA- one of the two pieces or sides of cloth which are sewn together [MDL]

Before it could be measured properly, the cloth would have to be stretched and smoothed with the hands (**hurát**) to eliminate creasing and wrinkling (**tubók**). Cloth which was uniform and ready to be worked would be chosen in place of that which had become uneven due to shrinkage (**pigót**).

**hurát** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to open or enlarge a wound with the hands; to stretch out a cloth; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to open or enlarge s/o's wound; MA- to be distended, stretched [MDL]

**tubók** wrinkled, creased (as paper, cloth, a mat which has been poorly stretched or laid out) MA- or MAG- to be wrinkled or creased; MAPA-, PA--ON to lay or stretch s/t out poorly, leaving wrinkles or creases; **Katubók na papél iní** *This paper is very wrinkled* [MDL]

**pigót** cloth which is uneven due to shrinkage; MA- or MAG- to shrink (cloth) [MDL]

While everyday dress was relatively simple, there were adjustments which could be made to clothing worn on more formal occasions, or by those possessing more wealth. A sleeve or bodice could be made to fit, or simply made more interesting, by the gathering of material into tight parallel rows, something approximating the modern shirring (**kisó**). A piece of clothing sewn too narrowly or needing to be made fuller, could be widened by adding a triangular piece of cloth referred to as a gore (**tanóm**), and material that hung too loosely, could be stiffened by adding additional material on the inner side, or even attaching something resembling a hoop to force the material into a particular shape (**taliskóg**). Clothing could also be lined (**saníb**), although for this entry we have an interesting second meaning of wearing two sets of clothes.

**kisó** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to pucker or crimp s/t; to shirr (gather cloth into parallel rows) [MDL]

**tanóm** gore, a triangular piece of cloth sewn into clothing to make it fuller or wider; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add such a piece to clothing; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to enlarge a piece of clothing with such an addition [MDL]

**taliskóg** a splint or cast (as for a broken arm); MAG-, -AN to tie s/t with a splint [MDL: MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to stiffen s/t by placing s/t inside (as a hoop inside a skirt); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to place s/t inside something else to make it stiff or rigid]

**saníb** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to line s/t; to place a lining on s/t; to dress s/o in two sets of clothes; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as a lining; MAG- to be wearing two sets of clothes; to be doubled over; MAG-, PAG--ON to wear one set of clothes over another; to fold s/t over; **magsaraníb** to be doubled over a number of times; to have many folds; (fig-) **Nasaraníb na iníng dakól na súgo'** *There are many ways to ask people to do things*; **Nagsaraníb na iníng utang mo** *You have many debts* [MDL]

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## 7. CLOTHING

The rich culture of weaving in the Bikol region and elsewhere in the Philippines, led to the availability of different types of clothing (**gúbing**). Some of these items were worn strictly by men, and others by women, but many could be worn by either. Discussed in the following sections are items of everyday dress; how clothing was worn, how suitable it was for the wearer and how it was cared for. Ornamental dress for gala occasions is discussed in ,*The Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapter 9, 'Jewellery and Body Ornamentation' and dress worn specifically in combat in *The Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapter 1, 'War and conflict'.

**gúbing** clothes, apparel, outfit; garment; MAG-, -ON to put on or wear a particular garment; MAG-, -AN to dress s/o [+MDL: MAG- to be dressed; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on clothes; MA-, I- or MA-, IPAG- to dress s/o in particular clothes; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dress s/o; MAPA-, PA--ON to tell s/o to get dressed; MAPA-, IPA- to

give s/o clothes so that they can get dressed; MAPA-, PA--AN to get s/o dressed; **ginuráy-gúray na gúbíng** clothing which is assembled from cut strips (like leather)]

## 7. CLOTHING

### (i) Garments

For men the main item of clothing was the loincloth (**bahág**). Alcina, in a detailed paragraph, discusses the components of this type of dress, in addition to the significance of the material used and the colours worn, reflecting either the status of the wearer in the community, or his accomplishments in combat.<sup>[96]</sup> The entries in Lisboa focus on the different parts of the loincloth. There is no mention of material types or colours and their related significance.

**bahág** loincloth, G-string; also used to refer to the cloth used as a loincloth; MAG- or -ON to wear a loincloth [+MDL: MA-, -ON to put on a loincloth; MA-, -AN to dress s/o in a loin cloth; MA-, I- to tie a loincloth on s/o; MAG-, PAG- -ON to dress in a loincloth; MAG-, PAG- -AN to dress a number of people in loincloths; MAG-, IPAG- to place loincloths on a number of people; MANG- to go around wearing a loincloth; **Mambahág pakaraháy mambádo'** *It's best to wear a loincloth with a jacket*; PAG--AN **pagbahágan** waist; (fig-) **Nagbahág na akón (akó nin) dálan kainíng papapagbalík-balíka akó** *I'm like someone wearing the road as a loincloth with all this to-ing and fro-ing I'm being asked to do* (Said when someone is sent repeatedly back to the same location)]

A loincloth can have various lengths, or can be arranged so that the length can be adjusted. It can be worn short or at full length, extending below the knee (**bílad**). In securing the loincloth one of the ends is brought between the knees from back to front (**singál**), wound around the waist and tied to keep it in place. The front and back sections which hang down (**lakwíg**) are then adjusted as to length. The bulge in the front of the loin cloth (**pintósan**) may be overly noticeable, which may lead to requests for additional cover.

**bílad** referring to a loincloth which extends below the knee when worn at its full length; MAG- to be dressed in such a garment; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on such a garment; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dress s/o else in a *bílad* [MDL]

**lakwíg** the ends of a G-string or loincloth which hang down; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to arrange the ends of a loincloth so that they hang down; (PAG-)-AN to wear a G-string with the ends hanging down [MDL]

**singál** the part of a loin cloth (**bahág**) which is brought between the legs from the front to the back; MA- or MAG- to don a loin cloth, tying it in this way [MDL]

**pintósan** the bulge in the front of a loincloth or G-string (**bahág**) covering a man's private parts; **Nagbalád na iníng pintósan mo; tahób-táhob daw** *The bulge in the front of your G-string is very noticeable; you should cover it* [MDL]

In addition to the loincloth, men could also wear a sash tied around the waist into which they might tuck a dagger, or hang a cloth pouch used to store valuables (**untón**). Another option was to wear a belt (**hagkós**). This entry is not so much a specific reference, but one that is general to all types of strapping or banding.

**untón** cloth sash tied around the waist in which one tucks a dagger; cloth pouch where one carries money; MAG- to use such a sash or pouch; MA- to tie such a sash around s/o's waist [MDL]

**hagkós** belt, strap; MAG-, -AN to tie a belt around s/t; MAG-, -ON to girdle or strap s/t [BIK MYT: the vine belt worn by the giant **mapangílaw**] [+MDL: MAG- to wear a belt; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to put a belt on s/o; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to encircle s/t with a strap; to band s/t; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as a belt or strap]

A later development, not recorded by Lisboa as it occurred in the Bikol region at some point after he left the Philippines, was the replacement of the loincloth by the **sarwál**. This would have happened gradually in areas that came more significantly under Spanish control. While modern reference for this term is to

'trousers', its original use is somewhat different. Juan Francisco de San Antonio in his *Crónicas* describes this as wide and loosely worn pants, resembling western under garments, with an opening, not at the front, but at the side where it is tied.<sup>[97]</sup> A similar reference is also found in Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* which may very well be the source of the San Antonio reference.<sup>[98]</sup> The term is most likely borrowed into the Philippines from Malay where the form is *seluar*, although its ultimate origin is the Persian *serval*.<sup>[99]</sup>

**sarwál** trousers, pants [MALAY *seluar*, from PERSIAN *serval*]

For women, the main item of dress was the **tápis**, a term found in all of the central Philippine languages and carrying the same meaning.<sup>[100]</sup> It can also be found regionally in Indonesia, associated with the province of Lampung at the tip of Sumatra.<sup>[101]</sup> It is a type of wrap-around skirt which is fastened at the waist by a sash or waistband (**habáy**). When the *tápis* was worn from the breast to the knees, and thereby covering most of the body, it was referred to as **láwas**.

**tápis** wrap-around skirt, sarong (typ-); MAG-, -ON to wear a *tápis*; MAG-, -AN to dress s/o in a *tápis* [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to wear a *tápis*; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a *tápis*; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dress s/o in a *tápis*]

**habáy** sash or waistband used by women to keep a skirt (**tápis**) in place; MAG- to wear a sash or waistband; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a sash or waistband; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to place a sash or waistband on s/o; MA-, I- or MAG, IPAG- to use s/t as a sash or waistband [MDL]

**láwas** a wrap-around skirt or sarong called **tápis** when worn to cover the major portion of the torso from the breasts to the knees; MAG- to wear a *tápis* in this way [MDL]

We may assume that, to be worn properly, the waistband which held the *tápis* in place would have been tightly fastened around the waist. If it were loose or slack (**halhál**) then the skirt would probably show signs of slipping or sagging (**ya'yá'**).

**halhál** a waistband, sash or belt which is loose or slack; MAG- to wear a waistband in this way: **Naghalhál ka na** *How loosely your waistband is tied around your clothes* [MDL]

**ya'yá'** sagging, drooping; hanging open or hanging loose; MAG- to droop or sag; to hang open or hang loose [+MDL: **yayá'** hanging open (such as the jaw of the dead or one about to die); to droop or sag (as a damaged roof); MA- or MAG- to hang open or droop (the jaw); to sag; (fig-) **Nagyayá' na iníng pagtápis kainí** *This skirt is sagging* (Said when a skirt is improperly fastened)]

Waistbands worn by women could vary in style and material used. The **habítan**, narrow at just two fingers in width, is described as made from a type of rattan. Also worn around the stomach area was the **pananabón**, described only as a cloth-like fabric.

**habítan** sash, waistband (typ- black or dark in color, two fingers in width, made from a type of rattan, used by women); MA- or MAG- to wear such a sash or waistband; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to put on such a sash or waistband; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dress s/o in such a sash, waistband [MDL]

**pananabón** cloth-like fabric worn around the stomach [MDL]

The upper garment which was generally worn was the **bádo'**, a term borrowed from Malay (see Section 3(ii)) and found throughout the central Philippines. While the entry in Lisboa relates it to a garment similar to a man's jacket it is unlikely his intention was to limit its use only to men as entries for the other central Philippine languages describe it as a garment worn by men, women and children. Francisco Colin in his *Labor Evangelica* describes the men's jacket as short-sleeved, loose, collarless, and barely reaching the waist.<sup>[102]</sup>

As for the women's garment, this is described by San Antonio as being shorter than the men's and barely



covering the breasts. Garments of both sexes hung loosely open with no fastening at the front and had wide sleeves left loose at the wrists.[\[103\]](#) Clearly we are looking at a garment which could have both short or long sleeves with some variation of style.

**bádo'** clothes, apparel, attire, dress, garb, garment, outfit; MAG- to dress; to be dressed; MAG-, -ON to put on clothes; to put on a particular item of clothing; MAG-, -AN to dress s/o; to clothe [MDL: clothing such as man's jacket; MAG- to dress in such clothing; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on such clothing MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to wear a particular item of clothing; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to dress s/o in such clothing] [MALAY *baju*, from PERSIAN *bazu*]

Women also wore a short upper garment with loose, hanging sleeves (**kúbal**) which was decorated with a particular type of stitching (**túgaw**).

**kúbal** bodice (typ- short upper garment with loose, hanging sleeves, worn by women); MAG- to wear a bodice; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dress in a bodice; MA-, -AN or MAG-, QAG--AN to dress s/o in a bodice [MDL]

**túgaw** a type of stitching or needlework used on the woman's upper garment called **kúbal**; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to sew such stitching [MDL]

There is reference in Lisboa to one other upper garment worn by women, and that is the *chinina*. This is not a headword entry, and is referred to only once in the dictionary and that is in the entry for **alíkbóy**, a cloth tied across the breasts when one is not wearing the *chinina*.

**alíkbóy** a cloth tied across the breast by women when not wearing a short-sleeved cotton tunic called *chinina*; MAG- to wear a bodice; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to tie or put on such a bodice; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dress s/o in a bodice [MDL]

*Chinina*, in the form adjusted to the Philippine sound system, *sinina*, does appear as a headword entry with a variety of related meanings in other central Philippine languages. For Hiligaynon, Mentrída describes it as a 'tunic' or 'smock' and indicates that it is from *sina*, a term for 'Chinese' as well as other outsiders.[\[104\]](#) In Cebuano, it is a shirt or blouse-like garment,[\[105\]](#) and in Kapampangan, the realised form, *sud-dia*, is defined as a 'skirt' or 'dress.'[\[106\]](#)

The *Journal of the Polynesian Society* of 1892 has an article drawing on information from the sixteenth and seventeenth century Philippines where the *chinina* is described as a short-sleeved tunic reaching below the waist and sewn from black or blue cotton cloth.[\[107\]](#) The *chinina*, clearly an introduced term, appears in some cases to resemble the *bádo'* and in others a variety of different types of clothing, making it hard to place in the vocabulary of native types of dress.

To complete the upper garment, for dressier occasions, both men and women wore a sash (**sakláy**, **salíhoy**), placed just over or under the shoulder and fastened under the arm.[\[108\]](#)

**sakláy** MAG-, I- to sling s/t across the shoulders [MDL: a sash worn over or just below the shoulder]

**salíhoy** a sash; MAG- to wear a sash across the body, either over or just under the shoulder; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a sash; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to place a sash across the body or on s/o else; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to attach such a sash [MDL]

Longer garments would also be worn. The most common of these was the **lambóng**, described for Bikol as an ankle-length tunic. The term also appears in the Visayas with varying definitions. For Hiligaynon, Mentrída defines it simply as a smock or tunic.[\[109\]](#) Alcina for Waray and referring to its use in Samar, describes it as a type of full-length housecoat worn by women, tied at the waist and reaching the feet.[\[110\]](#) Encarnacion, for Cebuano, defines it as a long, black smock, tunic or blanket worn by married women in place of the shorter shawl or blanket when attending church.[\[111\]](#) Lisboa also has an entry for a sleeveless tunic (**sá'ob-sá'ob**) for which he gives no further information. For Cebuano, it is defined as everyday dress worn when working.[\[112\]](#)

**lambóng** an ankle-length tunic, commonly worn; MAG- to wear such a tunic; MA- to dress s/o in such a tunic; the term used near *Quipayó* is **yambóng** [MDL]

**sá'ob-sá'ob** sleeveless tunic [MDL]

For Bikol, the item of clothing Lisboa identifies for working in the fields is the large, loose smock-like garment, **takóp**. This is an entry which also appears in Waray with the meaning 'abaca cloth, or items made from such cloth'.[\[113\]](#) When *takóp* appears in Bikol narratives or verse, it is referred to as **taking**.[\[114\]](#)

**takóp** a large, loose, smock-like garment commonly worn when working in the fields; MA- to dress s/o in such a garment; MAG- to dress in such a garment; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to wear such a garment; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to put on such a garment [MDL]

**taking** smock, used in place of **takóp** in narratives and verse [MDL]

There are other references to work clothes, such as **daguma'són** and its variants, and to clothing which is simply worn and old (**yamít**) and which might have also been worn a when one wanted to save and protect finer forms of dress.

**daguma'són** old clothes used when working; syn- **dalima'són**, **talima'són** [MDL]

**yamít** rags; old and worn-out (clothes, mats) and similar objects); MA--ON: **mayayamítón** old, worn out [+MDL: old and worn-out (clothes, mats) and similar objects) MAG- to wear old clothes; to become old and worn (clothes, mats); MAG-, PAG--ON to put on old clothes; MA- to become worn; to wear out (clothes); MAKA- to cause clothes to age or wear; PAGKA- the aging, decay or wearing out of clothes, mats; MA--ON: **mayayamítón na gúbíng** clothes which wear out very quickly]

There are two references to clothing which is completely white; **puráw**, a term also found in Waray and Hiligaynon, where it refers to something which is clean and pure,[\[115\]](#) and **binálo**, an item of clothing which Lisboa indicates was worn in the past.

**puráw** white clothing; MANG, PANG--ON to be dressed completely in white [MDL]

**binálo** (arc-) clothing (typ- white, simple and unadorned, sewn with white thread); MANG- to dress in such clothing [MDL]

**bálo** widow, widower; MAKA-, MA- to be widowed [+MDL: MANG-, PANG--ON to marry a widow]

The entry *binálo* is interesting, formed as it is by *-in-* infix into a root of the form **bálo** (see Section 1(iv) and 7(ii)). *Bálo* only has one meaning, 'widow' or 'widower' and for the derivation to make sense, *binálo* would have to refer to clothing worn at some point during the process of mourning. Lisboa makes no reference to this, but there is reference in Chirino to the Visayans wearing white in mourning, in contrast to the Tagalogs who wore black.[\[116\]](#) The same information is mentioned again in later references by Diego de Bobadilla,[\[117\]](#) Colin,[\[118\]](#) and Juan Francisco de San Antonio [\[119\]](#) although it is likely they are simply repeating the information originally recorded by Chirino. Bikol, of course, is not in the Visayas, although there are enough indications that the cultural influences in the region, from body ornamentation (see *The Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapter 8) to narratives[\[120\]](#) come from the south. While this cannot be proven, there is the possibility that the preferred dress for mourning also came from the Visayas, and was, therefore, white.

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## 7. CLOTHING

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### (ii) Blankets

Part of the dress of the early Filipinos was the wearing of blankets. These could be worn as either upper or lower garments, or could be draped across the body for the simple purpose of keeping warm. Not all blankets are defined by Lisboa as being worn. At times it is also unclear if the reference is to a blanket as an item of clothing, or simply as a cover (**sangkób**).

**sangkób** MAG-, -AN to veil s/t; to cover s/t with a cloth or blanket; MAG-, I- to use a cloth or blanket as a cover [+MDL: MA-, -AN to cover s/o with your blanket or shawl; MA-, I- to use your blanket or shawl to cover s/o; MAG- to be covered with a cloth or blanket (two people); MAG-, PAG--ON to cover two people with a cloth or blanket; MAG-, IPAG- to use a cloth or blanket for covering two people]

There are a number of entries which refer generally to covering oneself or others with a blanket and using the blanket as an item of clothing. These include the single entry **alimunmón**, and the pair of entries **tamóng** and **alintamóng**. These entries are interesting for they reveal a prefix of the form *aliN-* which is clearly represented Bikol as well as all of the other central Philippines languages, but for which a clear meaning is hard to determine. The place of the affix in Proto-Austronesian is discussed by Robert Blust in three early articles.[\[121\]](#) The possibility of the affix carrying the meaning of 'comparison' is discussed in Malcolm Mintz, 'The Fossilised Affixed of Bikol' and a number of examples are presented.[\[122\]](#)

**alimunmón** MAG- to cover o/s with a blanket; to walk around wearing a blanket; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to cover s/o or s/t with a blanket; MAG-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to cover s/o with a blanket [MDL]

**tamóng** a blanket, cover; MAG- to cover o/s with a blanket; MAG-, -AN to cover s/o with a blanket [+MDL: MAG- to wear a blanket; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a blanket; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to cover or dress s/o in a blanket]

**alintamóng** MANG- to wear a large shawl or blanket across the shoulders [MDL]

A number of blankets were made from cotton, some of those made extra wide (**lalóng**), others made with coloured designs (**bintók**), and others which were simply defined as 'cotton' (**linumpót**).

**lalóng** blanket (typ- cotton, very wide [MDL]

**bintók** blanket (typ- cotton with colored designs) [MDL]

**linumpót** cotton blanket (typ-) [MDL]

The form of *linumpót* is one which appears a number of times referring to clothing and blankets. The infix *-in-* most commonly shows the past tense of verbs which take affixes such as *-on* in the infinitive. It does, however, have one further function, and that is to form nouns which have the main characteristics of the word serving as the root. While the root, in this case *lumpót*, is not an independent form in Bikol, it does exist in three of the other central Philippine languages. In Tagalog it refers to a cloth, like muslin, which is used for clothing.[\[123\]](#) For Cebuano and Hiligaynon it is described as a linen-like cloth made from cotton, widely available, but specifically used for home wear in Panay.[\[124\]](#)

There are two other sets of terms referring to blankets which are formed in the same way. One set is the cotton blanket used for sleeping, **baybáy**, and the abaca blanket, **binaybáy**. Part of the second set is the blanket worn by women, **tinapí'**. In this case the unaffixed form, **tapí'**, is not defined by Lisboa although in modern Bikol it is an apron-type garment worn over a *tápis* (see Section 7.1), and in modern Cebuano it is a piece of cloth which is wrapped around the body, serving as a skirt.[\[125\]](#) In Tagalog it was originally a blanket resembling a short skirt, wrapped around the waist and used by men,[\[126\]](#) although in the modern language, it refers either to an apron, or a piece of cloth wrapped around the body and used by women when bathing, washing or working.[\[127\]](#)

**baybáy** blanket (typ- cotton, used for sleeping) [MDL]

**binaybáy** blanket (typ- abaca) [MDL]

**tápi'** an apron worn over a **tápis** (not a kitchen apron) [MDL: **tapi'** -ON: **tinapi'** blanket (typ- worn by women)]

Lisboa identifies two blankets as originating from outside the Philippines, in this case China: **íseng**, which is black and **káyo**, white and said to be made of the fibre of the same name, the kapok fibre. Of these terms, *íseng* is also found in Tagalog with the same meaning [128] and *káyo* is found in Hiligaynon where it is defined as an article of white clothing. [129]

**ísing** black, Chinese blanket, worn as an item of clothing [MDL]

**káyo** kapok (typ- tree, bearing pods containing a cotton-like fiber used in making pillows, mattresses and life-preservers, sometimes called the silk-cotton tree; *káyo* refers to both the tree and the fiber) [+MDL: blanket (typ- white, Chinese; said to be made from kapok fiber)]

One of the blankets not specifically mentioned as being worn, was the **kalasúmba**, a term which also appears in Hiligaynon with the meaning 'chinz' or 'printed cotton cloth'. Interestingly, it is also identified by Mentrída as cloth which originated from Borneo. This may help explain the source of the name, particularly if items traded at Borneo included those which came originally from islands located further to the south in what is now Indonesia. [130]

**kalasúmba** blanket (typ- colored, dyed red in previous times with *grana* (cochineal or kermes dye)) [MDL]

While *súmba* has no independent meaning in Bikol, there is some indication that *kala-* served as a prefix which has long been fossilised and for which a meaning is particularly hard to determine. It can be most identifiable referring to types of shellfish (*kalampínay*, *kalanghúga'*, *kalasákas*), the bat *kalabidóng*, the iris of the eye, *kalantatáw*, a form which alternates with the more common *alintatáw*, and the repetitive actions of searching (*kalasúkas*) and ricocheting or rebounding (*kalatikát*), on the whole, forms which are not particularly conducive to the formation of a rule. The clearest relationship within Bikol of the presumably affixed and unaffixed forms can be found in the entries **kalamí'as** and **bí'as** which are presented below. Changes shown in the pairs of entries presented here and in some of the pairs presented for other central Philippine languages, indicate that the full form of *kala-*, was probably *kalaN-* ending in a nasal, although the assimilation shown in relation to the root is inconsistent.

**kalamí'as** limb of the body [MDL: long bone of the leg, thigh or arm]

**bí'as** length between nodes of sugarcane, reeds, bamboo; MA- long (referring to sugarcane, reed or bamboo where the distance from node to node is long) [+MDL: the length of bone measured from the shoulder to the elbow and the elbow to the hand or fingers]

Pairs of affixed and unaffixed forms are also identifiable in the other central Philippine languages, often showing clearer formal relationships than are found in Bikol, but also little semantic difference. Examples from Tagalog and Waray, languages which show the clearest paired sets, can be found in the endnotes. [131]

One of the ways of wearing a blanket as an item of clothing was to wrap it around the waist and letting it hang so that it covers the legs. This is referred to as **talápis**, a term which is clearly related to the general term for a wrap-around skirt, *tápis* (see Section 7(ii)). What we have here is the root form, *tápis* and an infix of the form *-al-*. This is an affix identifiable in Bikol, although fossilised and restricted to a limited number of clearly related pairs of words. One of these pairs, *bakbák* / *balakbák* was identified in Section 1(ii)) and further pairs are identified in Mintz, 'The Fossilised Affixes of Bikol'. [132]

This infix, *-al-*, is also found in Tagalog and Cebuano. It is described as part of a set of related affixes in which the *-l-* is fixed, but the vowel is always a copy of the initial vowel of the root. In other words, the three possible forms are *-al-*, *-il-* and *-ul-* or *-ol-*. Early grammars describe the forms as *-la-*, *-li-* and *-lu-*

or -lo-. Encarnacion, who only cites -li- and -lo- (not -la-) indicates that the infix is associated with adjectives and verbs and shows frequency of use or action.[133] For Tagalog, the affix generally goes unrecognised as such, and is taken as part of the root. With regard to meaning, there is generally little or no difference between the affixed and unaffixed forms.[134]

The infix is also found in Malay, represented as -?l-, but as with Tagalog it is fossilised and no longer productive. In general it created verbs, but the affixed form is now rarely distinguishable from the unaffixed root.[135]

**talápis** anything worn around the waist (a sarong, towel); MAG-, -ON to wear s/t wrapped around the waist; MAG-, -AN to wrap s/t around the waist [MDL: a way of wearing a blanket by wrapping it around the waist so that it covers the legs; MAG- to wear a blanket in this way; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a blanket in this way; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to dress s/o in this way]

Lisboa also describes a blanket which is sewn closed at the ends, forming a sack, **rusóg**, but gives no more information as to what it might have been used for. Alcina also has such a description, giving additional information which may very well have also applied to Bikol. This was a blanket used for sleeping, and it came in various widths, with the wider ones for couples, and the narrow ones for those who were single. He goes on to say that, in poorer households, the women used this as a dress, doubling it over and turning it inside out, then either tying it at the waist with any tie which might have been available, or knotting it at the side and arranging the extra cloth in pleats at the front over the stomach.[136]

**rusóg** a blanket which is sewn closed, forming a sack; MAG- to use a blanket sewn in this way [MDL]

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## 7. CLOTHING

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### (iii) Dressing

The root or base for particular items of clothing in Bikol served not only as the noun which named the type of clothing, but also as the verb which indicated the wearing of those clothes. For modern Bikol there is a general term for getting dressed, **bulós**, but for old Bikol such general terms are harder to find. The original meaning of *bulós* in Lisboa's *Vocabulario* was 'to change one's clothes', a reference for which there are numerous other terms (see below). Getting dressed for what might have been a special occasion was **sadyá'** for Lisboa although this now refers to having things, including clothing, custom made. For reference to dressing in one's finery, see *The Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapter 8, Section 4. **Amúkot** referred not so much to dressing as to covering oneself for warmth or protection, a term which also had other, more general references. The root form from which *amúkot* is derived, assuming a prefix of the form *aN-* (see Section 1(i)), would have to be *púkot*. Since *púkot* in Bikol and the other central Philippine languages refers to a dragnet used for fishing, a link between the root and assumed derivation may be possible, but not easy to draw.

**bulós** MAG- to get dressed, put on clothes; MAG-, -AN to clothe or dress s/o [MDL: MAG-, PAG- -AN to change one's clothes; to put on new clothes]

**sadyá'** MAG-, -ON to make s/t on special order; MAGPA-, IPA- to have s/t custom-made; PA- custom-made [MDL: MA-well-dressed, beautifully attired; MA- or MAG- to be well-dressed; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dress in beautiful clothes; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to dress s/o in beautiful clothes]

**amúkot** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to clothe s/o; to protect s/o with clothing; to cover bananas or similar fruit so that they may ripen; MANG- to clothe o/s; MANG-, PANG--ON to swathe the body in clothing; to clothe others [MDL]

As for the removing one's clothes, **hubá'** refers to a number of stages, depending on context, from removing only the upper garments, to undressing completely. For removing a single item of clothing or

jewelery, Lisboa has the term *hukás* (see Section 3.1), a term which is no longer current in the modern language. For modern Bikol, **tangkás** covers the meaning of *hukás*, although there has been a change in meaning over time with Lisboa recording this as removing jewelery or clothing from the dead or a captive in a raid or war.

**húba'** naked from the waist up, having no shirt; MAG-, -ON to remove the shirt; to strip from the waist up; MAG-, -AN to take off s/o's upper garments; may also be interpreted, if the context warrants, as: naked, nude, bare; MAG-, -ON to remove the clothes; to disrobe, strip, undress [MDL: nude, naked; also: s/o naked from the waist up or from the waist down; MA- or MAG- to undress; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to take off one's clothes; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to strip s/o naked; to undress s/o]

**tangkás** MAG-, -ON to remove an article of clothing or jewelery; to take s/t off; ... [MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove the clothing or jewelery from the dead or a captive in a raid or war; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to remove clothing or jewelery from s/o]

Any item of clothing which had been not been properly fastened could slip, and slide off. Such loosening could be accidental or done deliberately, as when wanting to remove a skirt or pair of pants (**hurós**). The skirt, *tápis*, was removed by lifting it over the arms and head when women were bathing (**ningguráng**). This was done, presumably to keep it from getting wet.

**hurós** MAG- to slip or slide down (s/t that has been tied or fastened) [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to come loose and slip out of place (a knot or tie); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to slip, slide or drop off from s/t else; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to loosen s/t and let it fall (like pants, a skirt one wants to remove); MA- to become loose and slip off]

**ningguráng** MANG-, IPANG- to remove a dress (**tápis**) when bathing by pulling it up over the arms and head; to put on *tápis* after bathing by pulling it on over the arms and head (a woman); to pull a dress on or off over the head and arms [MDL]

Terms for the changing of one's clothes in modern Bikol generally refer, as well, to the changing or replacement of more general items. **Sanglí'** is representative of this set of terms. There are more specific terms which Lisboa includes in his *Vocabulario*. **Liswág** and **líwan** are the more general of these, with **taya'tá'** also indicating that a regular change would extend the life of the clothing.

**sanglí'** MAG-, -AN to change or replace s/t; to change one's clothes; to get dressed

**liswág** MA-, -AN or MAPA-, PA--AN or MAGPA-, PAGPA--AN to change one's clothes [MDL]

**líwan** MA-, -AN or MAPA-, PA--AN to change one's clothes [MDL]

**taya'tá'** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to change one's clothes everyday (and by so doing, taking good care of them) [MDL]

Clothes can also get in one's way, such as when climbing or working (**sagiyápot**), or when walking through an area of dense growth where clothing can catch on the plants as one goes by (**sangót**).

**sagiyápot** MAKA-, MA- to hinder or impede s/o; to get in one's way (clothes, as when climbing or working) [MDL]

**sangót** MA-, MA--AN to catch on s/t; to get hooked on s/t (as clothes when walking through an area of dense growth; a fishhook dragging along the bottom of a body of water) [MDL]

To ready oneself for a particular task and reduce the chances of clothes getting in the way, a person can arrange or adjust their clothing (**bínay-bínay**). This can mean tucking in a shirt or blouse, rolling up the sleeves (**mígos**), or rolling up one's trouser legs or lifting a skirt higher off the ground (**karuskós**).

**bínay-bínay** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to arrange or adjust one's clothing [MDL]

**mígos** MANG-, PANG--ON or MAGPANG-, PAGPANG--ON to adjust the clothes in preparation for a particular task

(such as rolling up the sleeves in preparation for working, or tucking in the shirt in preparation for running) [MDL]

**karuskós** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to roll up the sleeves or trouser legs; to lift the skirt off the ground (as if one is about to do a particular task); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to uncover s/t in the process of lifting or rolling (such as a part of the leg) [MDL]

Clothes can also be gathered closer into the body to keep from stepping on them (**sagímo**), or to keep them from getting wet when retrieving something from the water (**lulós**) or passing over an area of wet ground.

**sagímo** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to gather the clothes one is wearing closer to the body (so as to not step on them or to keep them from getting wet) [MDL]

**lulós** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to tuck in or lift up the skirt (as to keep it from dragging or from getting wet) [MDL]

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## 7. CLOTHING

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### (iv) Suitability

Care in dressing and choosing one's clothes would have been an individual preference. A particularly careful dresser would have ensured that the upper and lower garments of the clothes worn would have matched (**agóm**). For modern Bikol, this term is restricted in its reference to the pairing associated with husband and wife, a meaning also dominant in old Bikol.

**agóm** MAG- to match or be a suitable pair (as a shirt and matching pair of pants); MAG-, PAG- -ON to complete a matching set (as of garments); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to match one garment with another; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to find a match or pair for a particular garment; MAGKA- to be complete (as a matching set of garments); to be a complete set [MDL]

The proper selection of clothing would also be made to fit the weather, ensuring that it would not be particularly warm (**alingáhot**).

**alingáhot** MA- warm, humid; MÁGIN MA- to become warm [MDL: MA- warm (one's clothing); MA-, MA--AN to feel uncomfortably warm due to the clothes one is wearing]

Clothing which was made for one individual, would then possibly be passed down from that individual to another. The resulting fit may not have always been satisfactory. Clothing could have ended up too short (**kawás**) with sleeves barely reaching the wrists, or trousers only reaching the ankles, or different parts of the clothing chosen could be unsuitably matched with noticeable differences in size (**lapók, sayóp**).

**kawás** describing clothes that are shorter than they ought to be (as sleeves barely reaching to the wrist, or a trouser leg only reaching to the ankle); MAG- to be short (clothes); MAKA-, MA--AN to get cut too short; MAGPA-, PA--ON to shorten clothes [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to be short (clothes); MAPA-, PA--ON to shorten clothes; (fig-) **Da'í kawasá an sakóng bu'ót kaiyán** *I won't be deterred (from doing s/t) by that*]

**lapók** unsuitably matched due to a difference in size; mismatched due to being unequal in size: **Lapók an kopyáng sadáng sa dakúlang táwo** *A small hat doesn't suit a big man*; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to be too big or too small for s/o or s/t [MDL]

**sayóp** unsuitable, improper (as the clothes one wears): **Sayóp na magkopyá nin sadáng an dakúlang táwo** *It doesn't look good for a big man to wear a small hat*; **Sayóp na itina'ó** *What was given is unsuitable* (as when an adult is given a child's portion of bread to eat); (fig-) inelegant in speech: **Sayóp an pagtarám iyán** *That's not a nice way of speaking* [MDL]

**Haraghág** in modern Bikol describes clothing which is too large for the wearer, although in old Bikol this term referred to loosely woven cloth (see Section 3.1). Wearing clothing which was too large for the person may have also been deliberate, having the effect of making the person look larger than they

actually were (**hambág**). Garments not made to an individual's measurements, yet made wide enough to make sure they fit, could result in the wearer looking somewhat puffed out or inflated (**kábag**).

**hambág** MAG- to wear more clothes or larger sizes so as to appear bigger than you are; MAG-, PAG--ON to dress in such clothes; MA-, -ON to dress s/o in this way; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to put on particular clothes to look larger; MA- to appear larger due to the amount of clothes one is wearing [MDL]

**kábag** a wide garment not made to the particular measurements of the wearer, resulting in the wearer looking somewhat 'swollen' or 'inflated'; -ON to look inflated or puffed out (one's over-large clothes): **Kimínabag na iyán paggúbing ni kuyán** *That person's clothes are all puffed out* [MDL]

Wearing clothing which was loose and flowing must have also been desirable for there are references to such a look, comparing the person dressed in this manner to a bird dragging its wing (**yabyáb**) or to fighting cocks approaching each other with wings extended (**gakgák**). Such clothing was also open to catching the breeze, again resulting in comments about the person looking somewhat bloated or puffy (**gáarak**).

**yabyáb** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to drag a wing (birds, fowl); (fig-) **Nagyabyáb na iyán paggúbing** *Said when one is wearing loose and flowing clothing* [MDL]

**gakgák** clothing (loose and flowing); having the wings extended (fowl when fighting); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to walk in loose, flowing clothing; to walk with wings held out from the body (fowl, as when fighting) [MDL]

**gáarak** swelled, puffed out; MA- or MAG- to swell, puff out, expand (like a sponge filled with water); **Gáarak-gáarak na iníng tulák ko** *How swollen my stomach is* (filled with air); **Gimináarak na iníng paggúbing ni kuyán** *That person's clothes are puffed out* (in the breeze) [MDL]

Lisboa has numerous references to clothing which dragged on the ground. This happened when clothing was loose (**káyat**), when it was incorrectly worn (**lagmák**), or simply when it was made too long or deliberately worn that way (**lambó**, **sagayák**, **sagyád**).

**káyat** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to undo a bow or knot; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to undo a bow or know from s/t; (fig-) **Nagkáyat na iyán gúbing ni kuyán** *That person's clothes are loose, almost to the point of dragging on the ground* [MDL]

**lagmák** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to drag on the ground (clothes): **Naglagmák na iníng paggúbing mo** *The way you wear your clothes makes them drag on the ground* [MDL]

**lambó** HA- long (as clothing which drags on the ground); tall (rice seedlings); MA- or MAG- or MAGHA- to stretch longer; to grow tall (rice seedlings); MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add s/t to make s/t longer; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to add to s/t so that it becomes longer; MAPAHA-, PAHA--AN to lengthen clothing (a skirt, dress, trousers); KAHA--AN: **kahalambóhan** length; PAGKA- length [MDL]

**sagayák** MAG- to drag on the ground (a substantial length of clothing): **Nagsagayák na si kuyán** *That person is dragging her clothes on the ground*; **Nagsagayák na iyán gúbing ni kuyán** *That person's clothes are really dragging on the ground* [MDL]

**sagyád** MAG- to drag (as a long dress on the ground); MAG-, -AN to drag on the ground [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to drag (as a long dress on the ground); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to drag on the ground; MAPA-, PA--ON to make one's clothes drag]

Clothing may also have been incorrectly sewn, with the openings for the head or arms made too large, or ending up too wide due to stretching of the material (**lú'ang**).

**lú'ang** MA- wide (a hole or opening): **Malú'ang-lú'ang na labí iníng tuhób kainíng bádo' mo** *The opening in your clothes is just too large*; MA- or MAG- to stretch; to become wider; MAPA-, PA--ON to widen or stretch an opening or hole [MDL]



## 7. CLOTHING

### (v) Condition

As with any well-used item made from natural materials, clothing eventually wears and degrades. It becomes threadbare and frayed (**lúma'**), worn thin (**mismís**) or simply worn away (**sárad**), terms with both overlapping and individuated meanings. The meaning of *lúma'* has broadened over time, with the current reference to anything which is old.

**lúma'** old (things); MAG- to age, become old; MAGPA-, PA--ON to age s/t; to antique s/t [MDL: MA- old, worn, frayed (clothes); MA--ON threadbare, very worn or old (clothes); MA- to become worn, old (clothes); MA--AN to be the owner of old, worn clothes; MAKA- to use clothes to the point where they wear out; (fig-) **Nagkalúma' na an bu'ót nindó** *Your disposition has become worn* (Said when s/o is no longer as caring as they used to be)]

**mismís** worn thin, worn out; MAG- to become worn [+MDL: MA- or MAG- to become thin and worn (as one's clothes, the roof of a house)]

**sárad** MA- to become worn (clothing); to wear away (a mat from dragging or from constant folding); MA--AN to have s/t you own wear away [MDL]

Cloth is also subject to ripping or tearing (**giráy-giráy**, **tiwá'-tiwá'**). These tears can gradually lengthen (**randán**), ending up quite large (**ngiyab-ngiyab**).

**giráy-giráy** rips or tears in clothes; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to make cuts or slashes in clothing; MANG- to be dressed in rags: **Nanggiráy-giráy na si kuyán** *That person is dressed in rags* [MDL]

**tiwá'-tiwá'** ripped, rent, torn (clothes): **Tiwá'-tiwá' na iníng gúbíng mo** *Your clothes are ripped* [MDL]

**randán** referring to the widening of a crack or lengthening of a tear; MA- or MAG- to widen or worsen; to grow larger (a crack, tear); (PAG--AN) to develop a large crack, tear; (fig-) **Harí papagrandaná an gáwí' mong mará'ot** *Don't persist with your bad habits* [MDL]

**ngiyab-ngiyab** a large tear or rip in clothing: **Ngiyab-ngiyab na iníng kapasíngan kainíng bádo' mo** *There is a very large rip in your jacket* [MDL]

Severely worn clothing may also have many loose or hanging threads (**kábil-kábil**) or clothing with large rents or tears may have sections just hanging by a thread (**rawóy-dáwoy**).

**kábil-kábil** MAG- to hang; to be hanging (as a loose thread from a piece of clothing): **Kábil-kábil na** *The threads are really hanging* [MDL]

**rawóy-dáwoy** MA- or MAG- or MANG- to hang by a thread (ripped parts of torn or worn clothing); to hang in place (broken parts or attachments): **Nanrawóy-dáwoy na iníng samnó sa lámpara** *The decorations are hanging from the oil lamp* [MDL]

Clothing was also subject to the ravages of rodents such as mice and insects such as cockroaches which would gnaw small holes in the material (**tangkób**). Mice could cause even more extreme damage by gnawing out larger holes (**it'ít**), and rats by shredding the cloth, rendering the garment unuseable (the figurative meaning in **gáhab**).

**tangkób** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to gnaw little holes in clothes (cockroaches, mice) [MDL]

**it'ít** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to nibble on s/t (a person to see if s/t is sour, sweet); to gnaw out a piece of s/t (a rat, another animal); MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to gnaw on s/t (a rat, another animal) [MDL]

**gáhab** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to cut a blanket, garment or mat lengthwise into strips; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to cut strips from a blanket, garment; (fig-) **Pinaggáhab-gahában pakaraháy nin kinó' si gúbíng** *These clothes have been shredded to pieces by rats ...* [MDL]

## 7. CLOTHING

### (iv) Washing and Storage

From work in the fields or in the home, or just through normal everyday use, clothes become stained (**dupáng**) or just dirty, sometimes very much so (**dugimá'**).

**dupáng** PAG--AN to be stained (cloth, clothing): **Garó na ing pinagdupangán iníng saímong sakbód** *Your head shawl is like cloth which is heavily stained* [MDL]

**dugimá'** MAG- to be very dirty (clothes): **Nagdugimá' na iníng bádo' mo** *Your clothes are very dirty* [MDL]

To remove particular stains, it was possible to bleach them with the juice of acidic fruits (**túpas**). These and other soiled clothes would then be washed (**pipí'**), subjected to beating with the hand or a stick (**dagók**), or scrubbing (**kuró'-kusó'**).

**túpas** MA-, -ON or MAG- PAG--ON to bleach a stain with the juice of acidic fruits; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to treat stained cloth in this way; to wash clothes with the juice of acidic fruits to remove dirt or stains; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a particular acidic fruit for this purpose [MDL]

**pipí'** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to wash clothes; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to wash out a stain, dirt; **Pipi'án mo iyán gúbing** *Wash those clothes*; MANG- to wash many clothes [MDL]

**dagók** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to wash clothes, beating them with the hand or a stick; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove a stain on clothes in this way; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a stick or the hand for beating clothes; (fig-) **Pagdadagokán taká ngatdihán** *I'm going to beat you to a pulp* [MDL]

**kuró'-kusó'** MAG-, -ON to scrub clothes; to remove dirt in scrubbing [+MDL: **kuró'-kusó'** MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to scrub clothes; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to scrub out dirt, mud]

Washed clothes could then be starched. **Bagás**, the rice starch mentioned by Lisboa, is a term identical to that of milled or husked rice. To obtain the starch, the water in which the rice cooks is poured off before it is absorbed into the rice, or the rice is removed from the liquid. The garment is then immersed in the water, or the water is applied to the garment in some other way. The garment is then left to dry.

**bagás** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to starch clothes; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use rice starch on clothes [MDL]

Clothes can also be perfumed or scented (**dagpi'**). This was most commonly done with civet (**didís**) or musk (also see *The Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapter 8, Section 3). Clothes could also be stored with **álom**, a scent which would make them fragrant. I have not been able to find out any further information on the origin of this scent. It appears to have no relationship to the tree of the same name, *Melanolepis multiglandulosa*.

**dagpi'** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to salt s/t one is seasoning or preserving; to perfume clothing with civet or musk; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add salt; to add civet or musk to clothing [MDL]

**didís** civet, the fluid excreted from the anal glands of a civet cat, used in the manufacture of perfumes [MDL]

**álom** a scent placed among clothes to make them fragrant; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to add s/t fragrant to clothes; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG- -AN to place s/t fragrant among clothes [MDL]

As for the storage of clothes, these were kept in baskets with a lid (**arúbo**, **báris**). Of the central Philippine languages, Tagalog has a cognate of **arúbo** in the form *alubohan* (*alubo* + *han*, the locative suffix) which refers either to a basket used to carry fish, or a general basket made small and thin [137] and Waray has the identical form *báris* referring a thick, well-woven basket of bamboo which comes both with and without a lid. [138]

**arúbo** basket (typ- with a lid, in which clothing is kept); clothes hamper [MDL]

**báris** clothes hamper (typ- comprising a small basket with a lid, made of rattan) [MDL]

As for how clothes were stored, these were probably folded (**lúkot**). This is the term found in all the central Philippines languages referring either to the folding of something, as in Tagalog and Kapampangan, [139] or to rolling something up as in Cebuano, Hiligaynon and Waray. [140]

**lúkot** MAG-, -ON to fold s/t up; to fold s/t over [+MDL: MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to fold s/t up; **Lukóta iníng gúbíng** *Fold up these clothes*

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## 8. HEADWEAR

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### (i) Hats

The number of hats which Lisboa includes in his dictionary is small, especially when compared to the entries which deal with the construction of hats in general. Materials used in hat making were those also readily available for the weaving of mats and baskets, that is bamboo, palm leaves, straw and rattan (**iráw**), although it is just the hats made from bamboo for which Lisboa reserves special mention. Of the central Philippine languages, it is in the Tagalog dictionary of Noceda where the greatest variety of hats is mentioned. A list of these is included in the endnotes for those who would like to pursue this further. [141]

**iráw** rattan (typ- yellow, used for tying bundles and in the making of hats); MANG- to go in search of such rattan [MDL]

Hats served as protection, certainly from the sun, as well as from the rain. Bamboo hats were sturdy, and would last when working in the fields. Lisboa mentions two of these, the **kurusóng**, dyed red with the dye, **da'óda**, and the flat, bamboo hat used by women, **tinagá-tahók**. I have been unable to find any further information about the origin of the dye, *da'óda*, but there are clues as to the origin of the hat, *tinagá-tahók*.

**kurusóng** hat (typ- local, made from bamboo); MAG- to wear such a hat; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on such a hat; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to put such a hat on s/o's head [MDL]

**da'óda** dye (typ- reddish, used for dyeing the bamboo hat called **kurusóng**); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to dye such a hat; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use such a dye [MDL]

**tinagá-tahók** hat (typ- made of bamboo, very flat, used by women) [MDL]

The two parts to *tinagá-tahók*, realised here as a hyphenated compound, have independent meanings which give some insight into its possible origin. *Tinagá* is an inflected form of *tagá* which is placed, most commonly, before places to indicate where someone is from. *Tahók* refers to the 'interior', that is locations far from the coast. One way of referring to people living in such areas is to inflect the root form itself, *tinahók* or *tinatahók*. When *tagá* is joined to the root, as is the case here, then it is this form which is inflected; *tinagá*. This leads us to an interpretation that the hat referred to was probably used, at least originally, by women living in the interior, far from the sea.

There are two hats which are used in modern Bikol which do not appear in the Lisboa dictionary, **sáyap**, a hat used in the rice fields, and **kálo'**, defined simply as a 'hat'. *Kálo'* appears as an entry in the early dictionaries of four of the other central Philippine languages. For Tagalog, Waray and Hiligaynon, it is simply referred to as a 'hat'. [142] For Cebuano, however, it is given an additional meaning, that of 'helmet'. [143]

*Sayap* is given as an alternate for *sadok* in Encarnacion's Cebuano dictionary, and *sadok* is defined as a

large hat worn by women, made from a variety of materials, including palm leaves, bamboo or *nító'* (see below), shaped like an upside-down, handleless, clay frying pan, and used to protect a wearer from rain or sun, [144] *Sadok* in Waray has a definition similar to that of Cebuano, but it is not cross referenced to *sayap*. [145] The entry *sayap* is also found in Hiligaynon where it is a women's hat made from leaves of the *burí* (talipot) palm. [146]

**sáyap** hat (typ- used in the rice fields); MAG- to wear a *sáyap*

**kálo'** hat (typ-)

The one other hat recorded by Lisboa, and still used in modern Bikol, is **kopyá'**. Lisboa mentions that this is like a Spanish hat which may reflect its style or the material it was made from. The same term is found in Kapampangan. [147] It is also a term in Tagalog, but there it carries the meaning 'metal helmet'. [148]

**kopyá'** hat, cap; **gílid kan kopyá'** brim of a hat [+MDL: Spanish style hat; MAG- to wear a hat; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a hat; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to cover the head with a hat; to put a hat on s/o's head]

What is more likely a cloth head-covering than a hat is the cap or bonnet for children. This is specifically described as resembling a small sack which is placed over the child's head and serves as a hood.

**suklób** MAG-, -AN to cover s/t (as with a cloth, blanket); to drape or veil s/t; MAG-, I- to cover with s/t [MDL: s/t resembling a small sack which is placed over a child's head, serving as a hood; a child's cap or bonnet; MA- to place such a cap on a child; MAG- to wear such a cap (a child)]

Lisboa includes a number of entries relating to the construction of hats, how they are shaped initially and subsequently reinforced to retain that shape. To form the part of a hat which fits directly over the head, a hat-block is used (**karáng**). This is a mould or form which conventionally, in Western tradition, would have been carved from wood. How this particular mould was realised in Bikol is not specified, although it seems likely that if it were carved from wood it would have been defined more specifically than *modo de horma*.

**karáng** hat-block (typ- used in the shaping of local hats) [MDL]

The material used in the construction of two other moulds is specified. Both the **barangká'** and **sinágad** are made from rattan. *Barangká'* is much like the *karáng* in that it forms the part of the hat which fits over the head. *Sinágad* is not specified as to which part of the hat it serves as a net-like frame. Clues to its form, however, may be found in the word from which it is derived, *ságad*, a large, open-weave rattan basket.

*Barangká'*, too, is probably a derived form comprising the now fossilised prefix *ba-*, and the root *rangká'*. The most consistent meaning attributable to the prefix is 'likeness' or 'similarity'. [149] As for *rangká'*, we have to look to Malay for the relevant meaning, 'framework', referring to the framework of just about anything from a house to a kite, to the outline of a story. [150] The framework for hats could also be formed from the wild grass, **bambán**.

**barangká'** a cap-like frame made of rattan, placed inside the part of a straw hat which fits over the head; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to fit a straw hat with a such a frame [MDL]

**sinágad** net-like rattan frame placed inside a hat; MA- or MAG- to make such a frame [MDL]

**bambán** wild grass (typ- *Schizostachyum bamban*, used in making baskets and the framework of straw hats); MANG-, PANG--ON to collect such wild grass from the forest [+MDL]

The overall shape of the hat is maintained by the addition of a hoop or ring which is placed inside. The material used for the **sangbáw** is not indicated, but the **bilít** is made from bamboo or rattan. *Bilít* is a term

found elsewhere in the central Philippine languages, indicating a binding for reeds or bamboo in Tagalog [151] or edging, in general as in Waray [152] or specifically on clothing in Cebuano. [153]

**bilít** a bamboo or rattan hoop or ring placed into hats, bags or baskets so that they do not lose their shape; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to place a *bilít* into s/t so that it retains its shape [MDL]

**sangbáw** hoop or ring (placed along the edge of winnowing baskets, hats); MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to form this hoop or ring; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to place this hoop or ring on winnowing baskets, hats; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to make this hoop from particular materials [MDL]

Two varieties of the forest fern, **nító'** and **agsám**, were used in the edging on hats. These ferns, in particular the *nító'*, as indicated in the modern part of the entry, are still widely used in the weaving of a variety of items, including hats, trays and baskets.

**nító'** forest fern with a main stem that can climb upwards to a length of several meters (typ- black, used for weaving baskets, hats; *Lygodium circinatum* [MDL: plant like black rattan, used for edging on straw hats [+MDL 1865: now fine cloth is woven from the bark or outer layer of this plant])

**agsám** plant (typ- with dark stripes, used for edging or binding, as on hats; *Lygodium* sp.); MANG-, PANG--ON to go to the forest in search of this plant [MDL]

If hats are constructed in sections, they come together at the crown and at the point of juncture, there is usually a button. Hats woven from palm fronds, straw or reeds will also tend to circle out from the crown, and this would also be a natural location for a button if one were used. It is unclear, however, if this is the type of button referred to by Lisboa's entry, **húgot-húgot**. To keep the hat in place, a tie (**kayungkóng**) would be attached to the hat to be fastened under the chin. Only in Waray is there a relevant entry where the reference is to a strip of cloth of length of cord tied into a bow. [154]

**húgot-húgot** button on a hat or bag [MDL]

**kayungkóng** the cord attached to straw hats and placed under the chin to keep a hat in place; MANG- to wear a hat with the band placed under the chin [MDL]

Women often decorated the hats which they wore with feathers (**parungpóng**) or with a yellow reed similar to the yellow rattan *iráw*, **ringká'**, which Lisboa indicates was a decoration used in the past. In Waray, *parungpong* also is defined as a decorative item, but there it refers to 'tassels'. [155]

**parungpóng** feathers worn by women in straw hats; MA- or MAG- to place such feathers in their hats (women) [MDL]

**ringká'** (arc-) decoration on women's hats made from a yellow reed similar to the yellow rattan (*iráw*); MAG-, -AN to decorate hats in this way; MAG-, I- to use this reed for such decoration; -AN: **rinkingá'an** a hat decorated in this way [MDL]

As the hats were made from materials which would degrade over time, they would need to be repaired or patched (**púli**) and eventually replaced. One problem which could be experienced was the material used for weaving, be it reeds, palm fronds or bamboo, snapping out of place. This could happen if the weaving was old or poorly done (**gubtík**).

**púli** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to mend, repair or patch hats, mats (probably refers to items made from palm fronds, pandanus leaves, reeds) [MDL]

**gubtík** MA- or MAG- to jump (a flea); to snap out of place (the reeds of a hat when coming undone); (PAG--)-AN to feel the jumping movement of fleas (a person); to have some reeds snap out of place (a hat); (fig-) **Naggugubtík giráray an díla' ni kuyán** *That person's tongue is always snapping* (Said when a person never shuts up) [MDL]

As a sign of courtesy, a hat or other head covering was removed (**tukás**, or its synonym *tungás*). This same term is found in Waray and Hiligaynon, but with more extended meanings. In Waray it is also the

general term for removing the lid from a pot,[156] and in Hiligaynon, the removing of mourning clothes when a widow is to remarry.[157]

**tukás** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to remove a hat or other head covering as a sign of courtesy; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to remove a hat as a sign of courtesy toward s/o; syn- **tungás** [MDL]

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## 8. HEADWEAR

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### (ii) Other Head Coverings

The general head covering worn by men was the **pudóng**. When red cloth (**ulangó**) was used to form the *pudóng* it probably had a ritual significance which is not mentioned by Lisboa. This ritual aspect is covered in some detail in *The Philippines at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapter 8, Section 3. **Húngay** refers to removing the *pudóng* from the head, although it also has more general, related meanings.

**pudóng** a head covering (typ- tied under the chin); MAG-, -ON to wear such a head covering [+MDL: MAG- to wear a head covering; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a head covering; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as a head covering; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to cover the head with such a covering; to place a head covering on s/o; (fig-) **Garó na ipinudóng sa bu'ót ko si kuyán** *It's as if that person is covering my heart* (Said when one is concerned about the safety of another)]

**ulangó** (arc-) cloth (typ-red, worn as a head covering (**pudóng**); still worn in certain areas [MDL]

**húngay** MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to let down the hair; to undo the hair from a bun or knot; to remove the head covering called **pudóng** [MDL]

There were other head coverings as well. The **tubúto** was a cloth placed over the head and worn as a headscarf, most likely by women, although this is not specifically stated. The shawl-like garment which covered the head and then extended down of the shoulders and upper body, worn by women, was the **sakbód**.

**tubúto** head scarf; MAG- to wear a head scarf; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON to put on a head scarf; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to tie a scarf over the head; to tie a scarf on s/o's head; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a piece of cloth as a head scarf; -AN: **tubutóban** a head scarf [MDL]

**sakbód** a cloth placed over the head by women and extending down over the shoulders and upper body, worn as a shawl; MAG- to wear a shawl in this way; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG--ON / MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to wear s/t as a shawl; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to place this type of shawl on s/o; (fig-) **Garó na sakbód iníng panot** *This pig's fat is like a shawl* (Said when a pig has large amounts of hanging fat) [MDL]

The meanings of two other entries which refer to head coverings in the modern language have changed over time. **Pandóng** is now a 'hood' or a 'canopy'. For Lisboa this referred to something which was used for protection from the sun, something wide which could be carried in the hand. This certainly would have applied to wide leaves or fronds. This is also the general meaning found in Tagalog, where the reference is both to protection from the sun and rain.[158] Protection, too, is also part of the meaning found in the central Visayan languages. An additional meaning for Waray, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon, and the sole meaning for Kapampangan, is to a blanket or shawl.[159] The entries for Waray and Cebuano add that it is made from black cloth and used by married or old women in the case of Samar[160] or married women and women attending church or participating in processions in the case of Cebu.[161]

**pandóng** a hood; a canopy; MAG-, -AN to shelter the head with a hood [MDL: parasol, referring to anything wide which is carried in the hand and used to shelter the head; MA-, -ON or MAG-, PAG- -ON to carry s/t serving as a parasol; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use s/t as a parasol; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to shelter s/o or s/t with a parasol]

For **sangkó'**, the modern meaning is to a 'headband' or 'hood', or in the case of 'turban', something wrapped around the head. The original meaning was to a cloth tied under the chin and over the head to

keep the jaw from falling open, something which applied to preparing the dead for burial.

**sangkó'** headband, hood; turban; MAG- to wear a headband, hood [MDL: a band or cloth tied over the head and under the chin to keep the jaw from falling open, as when preparing the dead for burial; MA-, -AN or MAG-, PAG--AN to tie the jaw in such a way; MA-, I- or MAG-, IPAG- to use a band or cloth for this purpose]

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## 9. CONCLUSION

The Bikol region, exposed as it is to both the southwest and northeast monsoonal rains, has a relatively short dry season, making it ideal for the growth and cultivation of abaca. This was the dominant fibre of the region, and remained so for many centuries until alternate natural fibres gradually replaced it for weaving, and synthetic fibres for cordage.

The cutting and initial extraction of abaca fibres took place in the field, close to where the plants were cut, with subsequent cleaning, drying and bleaching taking place more centrally where access to the necessary tools and implements was readily available. Fibres were selected for their strength, colour and length, tied into bundles and prepared for their intended use. They were twisted for cordage, and knotted together to form longer strands for weaving. Abaca, while dominant, was not the only fibre available in the region. Cotton and silk, although unlikely grown or produced in the area, were also available. Weaving was carried out by women using predominantly backstrap looms, although there is enough evidence to indicate that fixed-frame looms also existed. The parts of the loom, the combs, rods, reeds and shuttles are all identifiable as its common and universal components.

Those with the necessary skill wove highly desirable fabrics of abaca, silk or cotton, or fabrics of mixed fibres. Those for whom weaving was less easy could buy finished cloth in exchange for an amount of abaca fibre sufficient to produce two subsequent pieces, thereby paying for the labour.

Cloth, once cut from the loom, was soaked and pounded to increase its softness, then trimmed of excess threads. Dying took place at one of two possible stages. It could be an early process in which the threads were dyed before they were woven, enabling the weaver to create any relevant design of her choosing, or the cloth could be dyed after it was cut from the loom. Yellow and blue dyes were extracted, respectively, from known plants such as turmeric and indigo, and red and black dyes from the bark or leaves of specific trees.

Clothing was sewn, and the implements and techniques used 400 years ago would be easily recognisable today. Simple processes of hemming and binding could be made more decorative with the addition of bows or beads, or by adding a fringe of a different material. The fabric itself could be beautified by various styles of embroidery concentrated along the edges or centre of the cloth. Tailoring of specific items of clothing involved determining the size, often by setting out the cloth against a model or figure, and then cutting it down or sewing on additional pieces.

The main item of clothing worn by men was the loincloth, *bahág*, and by women the wrap around skirt, *tápis*. The upper garment for both men and women was a short jacket, commonly reaching the waist for men, and somewhat shorter for women. A later development for men was the *sarwál*, a short, loose pair of pants which would have replaced the loincloth as the influence of Spanish dress become more dominant.

Other forms of dress were also available. The ankle-length tunic, *lambóng*, is an article of clothing mentioned in all of the early dictionaries for central Philippine languages, although who wore it and how it was worn differed. There were also clothes chosen for work in the fields and others for use at home. Blankets were commonly worn, forming an upper or lower garment, or simply draped across the entire body.

Clothing was worn in different ways by different people; those who made sure that items of clothing matched, suited the weather, were either sufficiently long or short, were kept clean and free of rips or tears and the ravages of mice or insects, and were properly folded away and stored and perhaps even scented; and those to whom clothing was a simple necessity and to whom styles and sizes were of little importance.

Hats and other head coverings were also commonly worn; hats made from bamboo, palm fronds and rattan, supported by frames of similar material and repaired when the material degraded or simply slipped out of place. Other head coverings were frequently of cloth, differing for men and women, and possibly having ritual significance.

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- [123] Noceda and de Sanlúcar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *lompot*.
- [124] de la Encarnacion, *Diccionario español- bisaya*, see *lompot*; de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *lompot*.
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- [126] Noceda and de Sanlúcar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *tapi*.

[127] Fr. Leo James English, *Tagalog - English Dictionary*, Manila: Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, 1986, see *tapi*.

[128] Noceda and de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *ising*.

[129] de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *cayo*.

[130] de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *calasumba*.

[131] Noceda and de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *bogsoc* large basket / *calabogsoc* basket, *gítná* mid-point, half / *calagitná* middle, *bató* stone / *calambáto* small weight for a level or a sounding line; de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *bitay* hang / *calabitay* s/t hanging, *biting* to tie s/t hanging / *calabiting* rope or bamboo tied at both ends, *bucab* empty, hollow / *calabucab* s/t soft, spongy.

[132] Mintz, 'The Fossilized Affixes of Bikol,' *Currents in Pacific Linguistics: Papers on Austronesian Languages and Ethnolinguistics in Honor of George W. Grace*, pp. 276-277.

[133] de la Encarnacion, *Diccionario español- bisaya*, see *locot*; de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *li*, *lo*.

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[135] Abrak Othman, *Tatabahasa Bahasa Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Sarjana, 1984; p. 116.

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[138] de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *baris*.

[139] Noceda and de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *locot*; Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua Pampanga, en romance*, see *lucut*.

[140] de la Encarnacion, *Diccionario español- bisaya*, see *locot*; de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *locot*; de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *locot*.

[141] Noceda and de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *calo*, *salacot*, *sauing*, *sambalilo*, *tangcoloc*, *torong* (listed only in the Spanish-Tagalog section).

[142] Noceda and de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *calo*; de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *calo*; de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *calo*.

[143] de la Encarnacion, *Diccionario español- bisaya*, see *calo*.

[144] de la Encarnacion, *Diccionario español- bisaya*, see *sadoc*.

- [145] de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *sadoc*.
- [146] de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *sayap*.
- [147] Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua Pampanga, en romance*, see *cupia*.
- [148] Noceda and de Sanlúcar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *copya*.
- [149] Mintz, 'The Fossilized Affixes of Bikol,' *Currents in Pacific Linguistics: Papers on Austronesian Languages and Ethnolinguistics in Honor of George W. Grace*, pp. 274-276.
- [150] Winstedt, *Unabridged Malay-English Dictionary*, see *rangka*.
- [151] Noceda and de Sanlúcar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *bilit*.
- [152] de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *bilit*.
- [153] de la Encarnación, *Diccionario español- bisaya*, see *bilit*.
- [154] Noceda and de Sanlúcar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *cayongcong*.
- [155] de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *parongpong*.
- [156] de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *tocas*.
- [157] de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *tucas*.
- [158] Noceda and de Sanlúcar, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, see *pandong*.
- [159] de Mentrída, *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya, Hiliguena, y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*, see *pandong*; Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua Pampanga, en romance*, see *pandong*.
- [160] de la Rosa, *Diccionario español - bisaya para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, see *pandong*.
- [161] de la Encarnación, *Diccionario español- bisaya*, see *pandong*.

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