# *Karagatan* Tropes, Maritime Characteristics and the Oral Tradition of Romblon

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**Abstract** – Philippine regional oral literature scholarship is currently navigating against the current from the periphery to the center. While a number of works had been anthologized and had undergone scrutiny, apparently not much exploration has been given to the factor of geography, which has allowed the transport of multiculturalism and multilingualism as it is in Romblon. The main research question is a descriptive-analytic documentation of the tradition: the questions reflect on the textual-historical analysis of the significance of karagatan; the textual and extra-textual analysis of the people's collective consciousness; and the overall contribution of the study to the present anthology of the Philippine National Literature.

The history, geography, context of narration and culture were likewise recorded and the translation was done during fieldwork with the aid of the natives. The original vernacular text along with the transcribed and translated field texts were subjected to textual, extra-textual, historical, cultural, and geographical analyses with the researcher interpreting data from the informants' perspectives.

Interestingly, the fieldwork, translation, and literary analysis revealed several fascinating aspects of the regions' consciousness. The maritime characteristics of Romblon archipelago served not as a barrier but a link between the islands thereby connecting the people as one region, as one community. Though the people sang their songs in three different languages — Onhan, Asi, and Romblomanon — they talked of the same sea, laughed at the same jokes, shared the same values, and in general, exhibited diverse but amalgamated attitudes and ideals.

Keywords: collection, karagatan trope, oral literature, regional, translation

#### INTRODUCTION

Tropes, according to Friedrich [1] are "a basic means of synthesizing with the language and for relating language to experience and practice (qtd. in [2])." The most obvious of the tropes are "metaphors or analogical tropes" and because they "synthesize commonly shared beliefs and values, tropes also make successful communication possible[2]."

Romblon *karā'an*[3] songs, especially that of Onhan and Romblomanon, borrowed liberally from those of the regions that speak Hiligaynon and Kinaray-a. However, despite the format and formulaic verses, the songs reflect a different worldview and use slightly diverse tropes. Similarly, their cultures and languages [4] have been profoundly influenced by the neighboring provinces [5];however, cultural borrowings are highly selective to suit the borrower's geography, ecology, and worldview. On the other hand, unlike the *Onhan* and *Romblomanon*, the

Asigroup uses the *karagatan* trope in other ways. The Asinatives always talk about the sea and what it brings, whether it is real or imagined.

In the collected songs, the most prominent trope is the *Karagatan* or sea. The songs are replete with references to the sea, its maritime characteristics, and its wealth as a means to express the locals' deepseated thoughts and emotions.

Of the one hundred and twenty-four (124) collected songs, twenty-four (24) used the *Karagatan* trope. This feature is explicable in the sense that Romblon Islands are surrounded by three turbulent seas: Tablas strait (west), Sibuyan Sea (north and east), and Romblon Sea (south). Romblon's current territories are the islands of Tablas, Sibuyan, Banton, Maestre de Campo, Simara, Carabao, Alad, Logbon, Cobrador, and other islets [6]. It has 17 municipalities: in the island of Tablas (San Agustin, Calatrava, San Andres, Odiongan, Ferrol, Looc, Santa Fe, Alcantara, Santa

Maria), in the island of Romblon (Romblon), in the island of Sibuyan (Cajidiocan, San Fernando, Magdiwang), in the island of Carabao (San Jose), in the island of Banton (Banton), in the island of Corcuera (Corcuera), and in the island of Maestre de Campo (Concepcion). It is in this premise that this study is conceptualized – to identify the metaphorical significance of *karagatan* in relation to the maritime characteristics and oral tradition of Romblon.

This study is also a response from Romblon to the call for regional literature as evidenced by publications of folklore anthologies so that the songs could be included in the literatures of the Philippines. Besides, Romblon oral tradition, in the advent of technologies, is nearing its extinction so collecting and salvaging its little known, vanishing culture is extremely important.

Moreover, these songs, as they are significantly linked with the consciousness of the people who own them, provide valuable information for a regional identity. This study then would aid the natives to remember their historical and ethnic affinities.

This study would also serve as a pioneering effort in the collection of folk literature. Subsequent researches on this aspect would eventually and hopefully yield an anthology of Romblon oral tradition. Consequently, the documented tradition would then be available to scholars for interpretative study [7] (pp. 282-283). Likewise, as this study would identify the culture of Romblon from its oral tradition, any subsequent research that focuses on a crosscultural analysis would then be possible. Furthermore, these three languages would be showcased, providing linguists with another language for their scrutiny and study. Linguists could also use the documented materials as examples or bases in making a dictionary like what Sanlucar and Noceda[8] did in Vocabulario de la LenguaTagala.

#### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

Collectors of oral tradition are always directed to study the meaning of their gathered materials. In this sense, this study was not contented with merely authenticating, classifying, and translating the collected songs. The first two steps which are the collection and translation is just a measure that the item of analysis is an authentic tradition of the people.

The main goal of the literary analysis is to identify the collective consciousness of the traditions' owner – the "imagined community" as called by Benedict Anderson[9]. A nation, as Anderson conceived it, is a community socially built, meaning imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group (pp. 6-7). This group is composed of the Romblomanons who in this study are represented by their songs -- a literature and a product of the imagination that would serve as the threshold for their ethnic affinity. This affinity defines Romblon as a region that eventually contributes to the definition of the nation.

Interestingly, the most prominent trope in the songs is the *Karagatan* or sea. Madeja [10], a Romblomanon historian, already affirmed that the geography of Romblon province "had bearing on the lives of its inhabitants" and it "play[ed] a vital role in the history of the province (p. 24)." This study adds that the geography, especially the maritime characteristic of Romblon, has influenced the songs and the people who sing them. This study shows that the songs are replete with references to the sea, its maritime characteristics and its wealth. These references serve to express the Romblomanon folk's deep-seated thoughts and emotions.

#### **METHODS**

One of the major tenets of the philology of the vernacular [11] is its being text-centered, meaning; that the primary unit of analysis in the philological approach is the "text" which is crafted, bounded, internally cohesive, and coherently stretched discourse. The materials that are usually entextualized or rendered in their textual form are discursive forms, such as the narratives, songs, proverbs, riddles and the likes. In this study, the text of Romblon folk songs is the primary unit of analysis.

Cruz-Lucero [12] was already using this prevailing theoretical orientation of the folklorist. In her paper, she examined the ritual of a barrio in Antique, Philippines, involving the effigy of Judas and his phallus. She read the "plaza" where the ritual was performed. The custom was entextualized or rendered in textual form and she did this in "adjunction with other texts across historical periods" to reveal the "code of ideological regulation (p. 39)." – to inspect the connection between them and the ritual (pp. 44-54). Cruz-Lucero used both the text and context of the tradition and rendered the context as text.

In this discussion, one could add the concept of the contextual theory [13] which is concerned with the "total performance aspects of the folklore event, that

is, the personal aesthetics of the teller/performer and the nature of understanding of the lore by the audience (p. 75)." Since according to the contextual theory, the "social experience of folklore is crucial (p. 76)," the researcher recorded Romblon folk songs from "three dimensional perspectives: (1) teller/performer; (2) The text; and (3) the audience (p. 76)." The teller/performer and the audience embody the culture, custom, and tradition of the place which in turn shapes the text.

Another tenet of Bauman [11] in his philological approach is its being a relativist, since it is based on the notion that "texts are expressions of and intelligible in terms of cultures in which they circulate." Hence, texts are "culturally reconstituted." However, it is also true that "culture is textually constituted." In short, if critics want to "understand culture" they should "study its texts" and if they want to "comprehend a text" they should "read it in relation to culture (pp. 30-31)."

Analysis of the materials using the theories of Bauman[11], Cruz-Lucero[12], and Lopez[13] is also useless unless there is a proper documentation of folkloricity of the materials. Collecting and documenting the songs from the field is the only way to ensure that we are dealing with original materials if we are to analyze the regional consciousness of Romblomanon. During fieldwork, the context (the teller/performer and the audience) and the culture that shaped the text were likewise documented and included in the analysis. The informants clarified the text and provide valuable information, annotation, and glossary. The annotation would serve as the basis for translation and analysis since the culture of the source language not the target language is the focus. At the center of this investigation is the proper documentation that would provide authentic materials and other valuable information for analysis. The field provides not only the text, which can be retrieved from a library, like what "armchair" folklorists and critics do, but also the context, culture, and linguistic clarifications.

The final step taken is the analysis and interpretation of the text – that is, the original vernacular text along with the transcribed and translated field texts were subjected to textual, extratextual, historical, cultural, and geographical analysis with the researcher interpreting data from the informants' perspectives.

#### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

## Maritime Characteristics and the Oral Tradition of Romblon

Metaphors rooted in the maritime characteristics of island provinces could be called *karagatan* tropes or geographical tropes that become tropes of social identity when, for instance, turbulent seas, sea travel, fishing, sea creatures, and other sea-related activities and economics are endowed with shared emotions, attitudes, and ideals. For example, Romblomanons' love songs are permeated with pains of unrequited love that the lover expresses through his analogical references to the sea and its maritime characteristics. Waves are personified as a cruel being in "MapintasngaGugma (MalupitnaPag-ibig)." The waves carry away his loved one and roil their love toward each other:

mapintasngabalud	malupitnaalon
Kailongbulaksatubignalag	Ulilangbulaklaksatubig
lag,	nalaglag,
Inanudsahigadsabaludnatu	Inanodsatabisaalonito'y
nod,	umibabaw,
Nahimongagugmasadugha	Nabuongpag-
nnaglabud.	ibigsadibdibnalabusaw.

Similarly, the singer in the song "Mabudlay (Nakakapagod)" regards the sea as a barrier that needs to be crossed by flying to see his loved one. In "YuhumngaMakabibihag (NgitingNakakabihag)," the persona equates the pain of rejection with being drowned in the sea. Meanwhile, boats are regarded as something that could be of help in conquering the ocean; that is why in the song "AkoangTumabok (AkoangTumawid)," unrequited love is like crossing the ocean without using a boat and with the sea currents carrying the lover aimlessly away:

Turitorius turijing unt 10 (t	and the state of t
Akoangtumabokngawal a'ybaruto	Akoangtumawidnangwala ngbangka
Nga nag-anod-anodangpobrengkailo.	Ulilangpobrenainanud- anod.
Gasinggit pa gani, Delingupodiako	Sumisigaw pa nga, "Deling, samahanmoako."

The song "AngPagpangaila (AngPanliligaw)" equates courtship to fishing. The persona uses written letters as bait and the sea as the post-office. According to him, he casts his bait (the letters) into the sea (post-office) but nobody catches or answers his letters and,

\_\_\_\_\_

unfortunately, his boat drifts away with its sail turn	D
apart and its outrigger broken:	al

Akoangnamunit,	Akoangnamingwit,
sapampang sang	sapampangngpag-ibig
gugma,	
Angakonngapao	Angaking pain,
n,	madamingmgaletra,
madamogidngale	
Angeleongingelay	Angakingsinakyanbangkakonglón
Angakonginsaky an,	a,
barutokongalona	a,
,	
Lawod sang	Laotng post-office,
post-office,	
Lawod sang	Laotng post-office,
post-office,	
Ang gin-	Angdinaanannila,
agyannila.	
D 1 '1	D 1.1
Dawwalagidsuw	Dawwalatalagangswerteangaking
erte,	pamimingwit,
angakonpagpam unit,	
Tawtawlangngat	Tawtawlangngatawtaw,
awtaw,	walatalagangkumakagat
walagidninggaku	, waraangangkamakagat
bit,	
Dimalasngasuwe	Malasnaswerte,
rte,	bangkakonapadpad,
Barutokonapalid,	
Nagisianglayag,	Napunitanglayag,
Nagisianglayag,	Napunitanglayag,
Nabaliangtarik.	Nabaliangkatig.

Another recurring motif that uses the sea trope is departures and remembrances of those that are left behind, like the songs that talk of travelling to neighboring islands in search for livelihood, working aboard merchant ships or large fishing boats, or leaving to relieve the pain of an unrequited love.

The persona in "GugmasaDughan (PagibigsaDibdib)" talks of working on a merchant ship but aborts the plan for fear of losing his loved one because of his imminent protracted absence:

Kung	Kung
bukonkaSosingangnaolin	hindikaSosingnaakingnag
ggan	ustuhan

Dugaynagidakosapagpan	Matagalnaakosapagpanak
akayan	ayan <sup>14</sup>

Moreover, the song "DawGinlimot Mo Na" talks about going away by travelling at sea if his love is not requited:

required.	
Ginlimotmoakosaimopanu	Kinalimutanmoakosaiyo
mduman	ngisipan
Perobantayanmosapilakab	Peroiyongbantayansailan
ulan	gbuwan
Konakoanglumarga ay	Kung ako ay
kanugonka lang.	umalissayangka lang.

The humorous song "AlimangosaSapa" talks about folk life, travel and commerce:

-	Tom mo, mayor and commerce.	
	Kagangalimangobalayan	At
_		angbaongalimango
	Ginhimukosyangasasakyan	Ginawakongsasakyan
_	Angbiyahe Romblon kag	Angbiyahe Romblon
	Sibuyan	at Sibuyan
	Angkargapawodkagkawayan.	Angkargapawid at
		kawayan.

Kagangkayalimangokapay	At angkayalimangokapay <sup>15</sup>
Hinimukosyangabugsay	Ginawakosiyangsagwan
AngbiyaheTablaskag	AngbiyaheTablas at
Panay	Panay
Angkargapulos pa	Angkargapuro pa
kalampay.	talangka.

The exaggeration for comic effect of using the parts of a gigantic crab as a boat and oar to travel to distant islands to sell local products illuminates the close connection of locals to the sea. The sea trades, travel, commerce, mode of transportation, sea and fresh-water creatures are metaphors that are rooted in the island's maritime characteristics.

Furthermore, fishing in the sea is the principal means of livelihood of the locals along the coastlines and certain mental and physical skills are required of them, like a good knowledge of marine life. Songs that talk about marine creatures and livelihood at sea are notably grouped into humorous and sometimes obscene songs.

"Nene Kari Manihe (Nene Tara Manihe)" is a playful but obscene banter towards young girls while gathering mollusks, small fish, and crustaceans along

the coastlines and in the reefs or when they are playing in shallow waters or on the beach:

Nene, Nene, karimanihe	Nene,	Nene,
	halikamanihe <sup>16</sup>	
Ikawtuwad, akomalili.	Ikawtuwad, 17 akoan	gsisilip.

"AngPobre" is a lament of poor people about the hardship of poverty, comparing their plight with the rich. Interestingly, the highlight of the comparison is again on fishing:

ArawngSabado,
arawngpamimingwit,
Ibangkabataan,
nakabingwitngpusit,
Nanonoodlangako,
nanalulungkot
Kasiangaking
painnaiwansabagúnbon.
[ ] ]

Also, the humorous komposo, "KomposongIsda [19]" stars different kinds of local fish. This song also teaches children the vocabulary for local varieties of fish that abound in the island's diverse sea. Moreover, the distinguishing characteristics of each marine creature are associated with that of the people's personality.

As previously mentioned, unlike the *Onhan* and *Romblomanon*, the *Asi* group uses the *karagatan* trope in other ways. The natives always talk about the sea and what it brings, whether it is real or imagined. Take note of the following stanza from "UsangTungang Gab-i" (IsangHatinggabi):

Osung Lungung Guo i (Isung Luting Guoi).	
Usangtungang gab-i, aknagpananamg o.	Isanghatinggabi, ako'ynanaginip
Ako'yasaragat, pamaruto.	Ako'ynasadagat, namamangka.
Solo kaakkarga, usangbuyakkuno	Isangbulaklakdawangtangikongda la
Kakolor ay rosas, kabubangyo.	Angkulay ay rosas, napakabango.

The singer dreams that he is on a boat in the middle of the ocean holding a red and fragrant flower. He then wakes up and realizes he is just dreaming. After reminiscing what he did several days ago and pondering on his thoughts about the dream, he sings the following lines:

Lugar	Lugar
nakingguinghalinan	naamingpinagmulan
Naraya'tkaragatan	Dumadaansakaragatan
Hirapnakingnaaguman	Hirapnaamingnaranasan
Indi namomabilang.	Hindi naminmabilang.

It is clear that the sea in this case is the means of escape from reality. In the real world, the singer talks about the numerous hardships he and his townsfolk had to overcome in their island home, which is isolated from the rest of the province by a vast and turbulent sea. Nevertheless, this turbulent sea, as shown in their songs and history, is a link to other islands where they work and farm for rice and other amenities. These island inhabitants have to go somewhere else because of the island's geographic characteristic. The island is the "most rugged, stony, and rocky island in the Philippines [20] (P. 1)." The aforecited song is from Banton, originally called Batoon [21] or stony. The rocky and barren land forces the natives to go to neighboring islands -Simara, Sibali (Concepcion or Maestre de Campo) and Tablas – to farm [20] (p. 9). Some of the natives decided to settle in Tablas (that is in Odiongan and Calatrava) [20] (p. 13). Some of them were also attracted to go to Mindoro to serve as rice harvesters and accepted rice as payment for the job [20] (p. 14). Other workers even migrated to the east coastline of Mindoro, especially in the town of Rancho, where the people speak the Bantoanon language [20] (p. 15).

In this sense, the sea serves as the inhabitants' highway for a better life. At the same time, the sea is also a barrier that hinders any visitor from coming. This situation provides the reason why they are so hospitable. They treasure anyone who is brave enough to cross the ocean to visit them. Take note of the last stanza from the same aforecited song:

Salamat yang,	Salamatlamangsainyongpagp
sainropagpali	unta
Nalilipaykaangkabub	Nagagalakitongakingdamdam
ut-on.	in.

Moreover, this migration for economic reasons produces songs that evoke love for the native land. Another song, "BukirnakBantog (BukidnaBantog)" also talks about the hardship of the natives but this time it shows their contentment with what they have. The singer recognizes his and his townsmates' meager

means of living and the stony feature of their island which is not suitable for farming. At the same time, he also affirms that they are contented and happy amidst all the hardships. See the following lines:

Tagabukir kami	Taga-bukid kami
Naknagkakanta't kali	Na kumakantanito
Baya'ynamo'ykubos	Bahaynami'ymaralita
Naknupayapi.	Na mistulangapi,
Bukirnakmabato	Bukidnamabato
Ugalingkawiwili,	Kaya langkawili-wili,
adlawag gab-i	Araw at gabi
masadya kami	Masaya kami
higti pa reli.	Higit pa rito.

It is also because of this migration that their songs are replete with nostalgia. In the following song, the singer reminisces his childhood in his island home. Take note of the song "Natatanraan pa bagaNimo?" (Natatandaan Mo Pa Ba?):

Natatanraan pa baganimo	Natatandaanmo pa ba
kagkita'ymgamaintik pa?	Nang tayo'ymaliit pa?
Sigengidamosakarsada	Lagingnaglalarosakalsada

This unique archipelagic geography of Romblon and its historical, cultural and ethnolinguistic differences indeed produce variations in the thematic emphasis, topic selection, choice of medium in the songs. Yet, amid these differences, *Asi* songs, like *Onhan* and *Romblomanon*, also use the sea as analogical reference to pain and suffering, personifying it as cruel and indifferent as revealed in the song "Ako'y Usang Pispis" (Ako'y Isang Ibon):

(TIKO YISHIISIOOII).
Ako'yisangibonnanakaa
awa
Nahulogsapugadsasanga
ngkahoy,
Nilaglaga'ydagat,
ako'ylumanguy-langoy
Lunodsakasakit,
kaluluwa'ynalulublob.
Pagtiissahirapsaakingpa
glangoy
Angalon ay
papatabisagilidngpampa
ng
Agos ay
dumagdagsaakingkahira
pan

Pispis ay anor-anorsatunga	Ibon ay inaanud-
it kalalawran.	anodsagitnanglaot.

#### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In conclusion, the metaphors that are rooted in the maritime characteristics of the island province could be called *karagatan* or geographical tropes. Such metaphors become tropes of social identity when, for instance, turbulent seas, sea travel, fishing, sea creatures, and other sea-related activities and economics reflect the people's shared emotions, attitudes, and ideals.

The singers used the following analogical references to the sea and its characteristics:

- 1) Waves are personified as cruel beings who carry away a loved one and roil the love lovers have toward each other,
- 2) The sea is considered as a barrier that needs to be crossed by flying over it to see the loved one,
- 3) The lover equates the pain of rejection with drowning in the sea,
- 4) Unrequited love is like crossing the ocean without using a boat and the sea currents carry the lover about aimlessly, and
- 5) The lover equates courtship with unsuccessful fishing.

There is also the recurring motif of departures and remembrances:

- 1) The lover talks of travelling to neighboring islands in search for livelihood,
- 2) The lover considers working on a merchant ship or a fishing vessel but aborts the plan for fear of losing his loved one because of his imminent protracted absence, and
- 3) The lover talks of going away by travelling at sea if his love is not requited.

The following are some observations regarding folk life, travel and commerce in the songs:

- 1) The sea trade, travel, commerce, mode of transportation, sea and fresh-water creatures are metaphors that are rooted in the island's maritime characteristics;
- The sea is the main source of livelihood of natives living along the coastlines, who are required to have certain mental and physical skills, like a good knowledge of marine life, which is taught through songs;

- 3) There are songs that teach children the vocabulary for local varieties of fish that abound in the islands' sea: and
- 4) The distinguishing characteristics of each marine creature in the songs are associated with that of the people's personality.

As discussed, this study, in part, was able to identify the collective consciousness of the Romblomanon and the ethnic affinities of its three ethnolinguistic groups that would contribute to the national identity. It is too early, however, to determine the psyche of the Romblomanons as reflected in their songs. Determining a region's worldview would entail another study and consultation with the region's inhabitants. This pitfall is the usual problem of armchair folklorists who would visit a library, choose a regional collection of folklore, study the text without the context, and immediately decides on the world view of the people he/she does not even meet.

At this point, this study was only able to determine that in the songs, the most prominent trope is the Karagatan or sea. The songs are replete with references to the sea, its maritime characteristics, and its wealth as a means to express the locals' deepseated thoughts and emotions. This feature is explicable in the sense that Romblon Islands are surrounded by three turbulent seas. In this sense, metaphors rooted in the maritime characteristics of island provinces could be called karagatan tropes or geographical tropes that become tropes of social identity when, for instance, turbulent seas, sea travel, fishing, sea creatures, and other sea-related activities and economics are endowed with shared emotions. attitudes, and ideals. The reading of the text and the textualization of history, geography, and culture of Romblon show the multiple coded metaphor of the sea or karagatan as both a friend and an enemy of the islands' inhabitants. The sea is the source of their livelihood, their escape from the harshness of island living, and their highway for commerce and other economic pursuits. On the other hand, the turbulent sea serves also as metaphor for their hardships, pains, longings, and other negative thoughts.

This interpretation of the sea or *karagatan* as a multiple-coded metaphor recalls the role of the sea on the life of the island inhabitants of Romblon and the effect it has brought to their culture, and especially their songs.

Moreover, the diverse topography of Romblon Island chain [22], as well as its historical, cultural, and

ethnolinguistic differences, justify the variations in thematic emphasis, topic selection, choice of medium in the analysis, however, the themes, values, and ideals expressed in the songs are vitally similar.

The aforementioned findings are only seminal in nature. What has been studied at this point will serve as a starting point in any future studies about Romblon's oral tradition and the subsequent extraction of Romblon's world view.

Lastly, this study and the translation of Romblon will provide authentic materials for folklore scholars and other enthusiasts. Eventually, the publication of the translation will find its way into the anthology of Philippine national literature. The translation is the vehicle that will carry Romblon's oral tradition from the periphery towards the center -- the Philippine National Literature.

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- [3] Karā'an: (from dā'an + ka-) *n* an antique. Dā'an— 1 *adj* an old object; i.e., something that had been used for a long time 'Angdā'anngabayayniBiktor hay guba' na. As for the old house of Victor, [it] is already completely destroyed. Cf.*dāti*. This statement is from the "Romblomanon Dictionary" (2006) collected by Leonard E. Newell of the Summer Institute of Languages and published by the Linguistic Institute of the Philippines. In Romblon, we call karā'an everything that is old yet valuable; so our songs are karā'an.
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- 5] See map of the Philippines where Romblon is highlighted,[4], appendix B, p. 208.
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- [14] "Panakayan" from the word "sakay" means to ride, in this context, to ride a boat to earn a livelihood. The boat could either be a merchant boat or a fishing boat that usually sails to distant islands to sell local merchandise or to fish for long periods at a time.
- [15] It is the rear pair of the thoracic appendages of a crab which is modified and flattened to facilitate swimming and forward movement.
- [16] Act of collecting edible shellfish. From the word "sihe" or shellfish.
- [17] "Tuwad" is an awkward position when doing "panihe" where the person is leaning forward and his posterior is

- higher than his head. "Tuwad" is also the name of a type of shell.
- [18] Sandy clay submerged in a shallow sea. Some areas are exposed during low tide.
- [19] See appendices[4] for the text.
- [20] Fabella, Gabriel F. (1976). "The Romblon Archipelago
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- [21] "Batoon" means stony and rocky [20](p. 1)
- [22] See [4], Romblon Map, appendix A, p. 207.

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