THE MONOSYLLABIC ROOT -AO IN MINDANAO LANGUAGES

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ABSTRACT

In Philippine languages (PL), lexical roots¹ consist of two or more syllables. Single-syllable lexical root words are rare. On the other hand, monosyllabic roots are not uncommon in PL. A monosyllabic root is a 'submorphemic' element; it has no independent morpheme status in that it and its host form a single morpheme. An example is the sequence -ing- in the Tagalog root hinga, which conveys the meaning of the passage of air in the vocal tract. It is technically not a morpheme, since its host, h...-a, is not itself a morpheme; it is the whole word that is a morpheme. In this paper, we list down words, mostly from Mindanao languages, containing the monosyllabic root -ao (also written as -an). These words have meanings related to water—watery areas or activities done with water. To people of archipelagic nations like Mindanoans, water -ao is life.

Keywords: -ao, Water, Monosyllabic Root, Mindanao

ISO 639-3 codes: SGD, TGN, TSG, MRW, MRY, MSM, TGL, CEB, WAR, KRJ, CPS

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¹ Examples of Tagalog lexical roots are *bahay, dagat, bundok*. The single-syllable words *ba, nga, daw*, and the like are functional, not lexical, words. An earlier version of this paper was presented in the 8th Annual In-house Review of the Research Office of Augsan del Sur State College of Agriculture and Technology (ASSCAT) on October 10, 2017.

INTRODUCTION

Lexical roots in Philippine languages consist of two or more syllables. The few monosyllabic lexical roots in Tagalog (TGL) are loan words. The Tagalog *tsa* 'tea' is from Fookien *chai*. So strong is the constraint against one-syllable roots that many speakers add a second syllable to *tsa*, thus: *tsaa*. Modern TGL allows single-syllable English lexemes, for example, *bus*, *ban* 'van', *pan* 'fan', and many others. Proto-Philippines, and, indeed Proto-Austronesian, had monosyllabic roots (see Wolff 1999) for a list of reconstructions in PAN. Potet (1995) lists attested reconstructions in TGL.

A monosyllabic root is a 'submorphemic' element; it has no independent morpheme status, in that it and its host form a single morpheme. In the first example below, the syllable host of the root -*ing*-, which is *h*-...-*a*, is not a morpheme. The TGL data below are from (Ceña 2017).

-ing- "Pagdaan ng hangin sa ilong"

hinga, hingal, hingalo, singhot, singa, singasing, singhal, singhap, singhalit, halinghing

-ang- "Masamang amoy"

anghit, anghid, angot, kulangot, panghi, sangsang, anggo; (Pero: !bango).

-uk- "Pagpapakita"

buka, bukas, buklat, bukad, bukaka`, bukangkang, bukana, ?bukal.

-pos- "Katapusan o kakulangan"

tapos, upos, kapos (Lopez 1940, p. 32); ngapos, ?ngipuspos

In this paper, we gather words, mostly from Mindanao languages, containing the monosyllabic root -ao, also spelled -aw (henceforth, -ao). These words have meanings related to water—watery areas or activities done with water. We show the breadth of the lexical domains these words belong to, reflecting the important role rivers, lakes, and the sea play in the lives and culture of speakers of these languages.

METHOD

We collected words ending in the sound -aw from six Mindanao languages, namely, Sinurigao (SGD), Tandaganon (TGN), Bahasa Sug (TSG), Meranao (MRW), Mandaya (MRY), Minanobo Agusan (MSM). Whenever relevant, we cite data from five languages outside of Mindanao, namely, Tagalog (TGL), Sinugbuanon Binisaya (CEB), Binisaya Waray (WAR), Kinaray-a (KRJ), Mambusaonon (CPS). Our primary sources were dictionaries (see References). The words and their meanings were validated with native speakers of the languages. There are about 159 such words in our list (see Appendix A). We of course did not expect all -ao-ending words to have meanings related to water, but we feel that this number attests to the meaning-bearing function of -ao, and thus justifies our interest.

What are we looking for? On the assumption that bodies of water (rivers, lakes, the sea) constitute a formidable physical presence and force in the life of the people living nearby, we expect the use of -ao-words to cut across lexical domains, and not just in the naming of such places. We are also interested in the contribution of the "host" elements to the overall meanings of these words. Surigao means "flow of current/water"; and here, the contribution of -ao is accounted for. But does surigmean flow?

DATA AND DISCUSSION

1. Place Names

Mindanao and Maguindanao are obviously related; the later term referring to one of the native peoples of the island. The root is danao "lake or inland body of water" and lakes are considered calm most of the time. Danao has the monosyllabic roots -ao "water" and dan-, which means "surrounded by," like dan'uk "dump or an area surrounded by waste" or dan'ag "illuminated or surrounded by light." Min- is noted in minkaon SGD, with root kaon "eat," in minpanaw SGD, root panaw "go for transaction," minsuba SGD, root suba "go to hinterland" and in these words min- suggests a 'going to'. Our informant said Mindanao might compositionally mean "the water in the lake went high," or pragmatically "the water in the lake went calm," or "the place became peaceful like the water in the lake." Min- in Maguindanao is split apart by the affix -ag-(> m-ag-[u]in-), a common affix in Philippine languages (PL) that expresses intentional mood. We analyze Maguindanao as follows: m-ag-uin-dan-ao. Maguin- is related to TGL maging, which means intentionally be something or someone. Thus, Maguindanao likely means "be like a lake" or "become peaceful as a lake."

Ranao MRW, also "lake," is a transform of danao; where d > r is a common sound alternation in Philippine languages. Lumao in Agusan del Sur is a tectonic lake and as another CEB word for hubon "fontanel". Lum- is noted in lumoy "drench," lumos "drown," lumot "seaweed." In Panamao, a crater lake in Sulu, pan- is a plurifactive-intentional or qualifier-nominalizer affix. The lexical root is unlikely to be CEB amao, meaning "a person of low intelligence"! Pan- likely is the prefix pang-, another common prefix in PL, in which -ng- assimilates to the first sound of the following root. Thus, TGL pang-lasa > pan-lasa and TGL pang-sungkit > pan-ungkit. The lexical root

in panamao could be CEB samao "bright," but more promising is CEB lamao or TSG sabaw-bűtűng "coconut drink" with 1 > s and m > b changes. Siargao in Surigao del Norte, Cabugao in Bacuag, Surigao del Norte, Cabugao in Bislig, Surigao del Sur, Manjagao in Surigao City are names of places near water or watery areas, as is Banahao, a bay in Surigao City, Anao-aon (now San Francisco, Surigao del Norte), and Linao, located near the Butuan River.

Siargao is an island surrounded by Pacific waters where mangroves vastly grow. Siargao has an intensifier affix si- and root word argao. Si- is noted in the sentential sample Kasilaung ko HBG "I thought" (Villanueva 2014), while arg- is a monosyllabic root for a tropical tree that has roots which grow from its branches.

Surig- in Surigao is related to sulig- MRY. The r-l difference is an expression of a tendency in Philippine languages, where cognate words differ in the lateral sounds r and l, as in til-as > (t)ir(-)as > iras 'woolly bear caterpillar', baras > balas 'sand' (the RLD/G law, Conant 1911). Sulig means "spring up or sprout." Surig- is also related to surog CEB (Almeda 2009), where the $i \sim o$ alternation is attested by another law (the Pepet law, Conant 1912). Surog is also related to suyog SGD where $r \sim y$ also follows the RGH/Y law mentioned above. Suyog means "current," hence, Surigao may have come from sulig-ao "spring water", surog-ao or suyog-ao "water current."

Manjagao's root word is *jagao*, which is a kind of hardwood tree that grows in an island or near sea water or in watery areas. *Anao-aon*, with root *anaw-aw*, where *-aw* is reduplicated, and has the noun-forming suffix -(o)n, might mean "remote fishing area." This municipality is one of the remotest areas in the province. It is also the name of the river before the town proper.

Cagdianao, according to a local blog (in cagdianao.com) started with three names: cada dia danaw, which means peaceful lake. Cada is "every," dia means "here it is," and danaw means "peaceful water;" thus, cada dia danaw is translated as "every time the sea in this area becomes peaceful like a lake." We, however, analyze cagdianao ~ kagdianao to derive from 'agd-ian-ao; the root is 'agdao, velar k replaces glottal "`", and -(i)an- is a locative infix, in contrast to the locative suffix -an in k(a)-agdao-an or kabakhaw-an "vast mangrove area". Kagdianao is a place facing waters of the east where hardwoods and mangroves like agdao grow.

The *Anahaw* is a type of tree that could grow near watery areas, as in the island Barangay Anahaoan in Siargao and Barangay Anahaw in Alegria, Surigao del Norte. *Sapao* means place of water with plenty of fishes; story has it that a fisherman said *Sapao-sapao an kuha ko* "I caught plenty [of fish]," which was later used by the natives to name their place. *Sapaw* or *apaw* in TGL means brimming.

Caob is a wonderful lagoon where a body of water is separated from a bigger body of water. The place name Laonan is derived from laon CEB which means "grown living thing"; thus, laon-an could possibly mean "fish growing area." However, an informant said the original name is Liaonan, a sitio or purok at Barangay Caob, Del Carmen, Siargao, Surigao del Norte, and this may be where the meaning of growing fish came from. Now, the water around the island of Laonan is fish sanctuary and most of the local great fishers live in the area.

Mambajao in Camiguin was coined from Binasaya mamahaw "eat breakfast", which is from mambahaw, whose root is bahaw, meaning "slightly moisten leftover rice."

Table 1. Summary of Place Names

Place Name	Meaning	Affix	Root	Host	Possible function	CEB Example
Lumao Agusan Sur	Tectonic Lake			lum-	situation/ feature	Lumod (fish)
Panamao Jolo Sulu	Crater Lake	pan- Qual-Nom	lamao CEB sabaw-bűkű TSG (COCO juice)	sab-	situation or feature	
Siargao Surigao Norte	Island	si- Intensifier	Argao (Mangrove)	?arg-	feature	
Cabugao Surigao Norte	Swamp	ca- Nominalizer	Bugao (Shooing)	bug-	situation/ feature	Bugwak (gush)
Cabuyao Surigao Sur	Island	ca- Nominalizer	Buyao (citrus tree)	buy-	situation/ feature	Buyos (borrow)
Manjagao Surigao City	Isand	man- Quan-Nom	Jagao (hardwood)	jag-	situation/ feature	Jagan (run)
Banahao Surigao City	Bay		Bana(h~l) (Holy)			
Anao-aon Surigao Norte	River	-(o)n Nominalizer	Anao-ao (Remote)	an-	situation/ process	Ani (this way)
Linao Butan City	River		Linao (Still water)	lin-	situation	Linu-i (rinse)
Cagdianao Dinagat Island	Peaceful Lake	c(a)ian- Nominalizer	Agdao (mangrove)	agd-	intertwined	Sagda (pacifiy)
Anahawan Siargao, SDN	Island	-an Loc-Nom	Anahaw (tree)	ana(h)-		Anad (used)
Sapao Siargao, SDN	Place		Sapao (brimming)	sap-		Sapdok (trip)
Caob Siargao, SDN	Lagoon		Caob (upsidedown)			
Liaonan Siargao, SDN	Island	-an Loc-Nom	Liaon (matured)			
Bunawan Agusan Sur	Gold Area	-an Loc-Nom	Bunaw (basin)	Bun-	situation/ feature	Bundok (mountain)
Bayugan Agusan Sur	Pathway	-an Loc-Nom	Bayug (path)	Bay-	Feature	Baybay (shore)
Agusan Marsh Agusan Sur	Marsh River	-an Loc-Nom	Agus = Awas (water flow)	-us = -as	Feature	Ubos (lower) Taas (Upper)
Mambajao Camiguin	Port	man- Quan-Nom	Bajao (leftover)	Baj=	Feature	Baju (mortar)

Bunawan is in Agusan del Sur, the home of Lolong, the biggest crocodile in the world (National Geographic Team, November 2011). In a really heavy rainy season, according to informants, Bunawan looks like a basin full of water; hence, the name may mean "water containing area" surrounded by bundok TGL "moutains."

Davao was a mangrove forest (EdgeDavao, 2015), and, alongside Siargao, Cagdianao, Agdao face east waters (the Pacific Ocean), where mangroves and citrus trees are widespread. Manab means "wide area with lots of water sources." Tungbangkao SAMB has the root word bangkao "mangrove." Bongao or Bangow SAMB (Salapuddin, 2017) is not the CEB meaning "absent-minded" but the SAMB "a kind of bird: heron probably" are islands in Tawi-Tawi (from tawi, a banian fig tree), where *Bajaos or Sama Delaut, Sama Bihing and Tausugs live. Dapao is a deep water lake in Lanao. Salapuddin (in LangKIT 2016, 2017 and NCWoLL, 2017) suggested calling them Sama Delaut "people living at sea" or Sama Bihing "people living at shoreline."

2. Place Names with -ao in other Philippine languages

Apayao, though a landlocked province, has many rivers, and so does Laoag. Anihan is a water fall in Bulu, Apayao, Bayugao is a lake in Dibagat, Apayao, and Paoay is a municipality name as well as the name of a tectonic lake (locally known as Dacquel a Danum, Census, 1918). Currimao is facing western waters which could possibly experience "hellish weather." Panglao and Danis are located on Panglao Island in Bohol, and the latter has a sweet deep well water and barangay named Dao. Palawan is an island facing the west seas. Ambuclao has a hydroelectric facility from Agno River. Baao is a lake in the province of Camarines Sur, and the language Sinaranow is spoken in some parts of the province. Camannanan is a lake in Cagayan. Gunao in Quezon and Libuao in Occidental Mindoro are crater lakes. Mangnao is also a tectonic lake in Palawan. Banao is one of the barangays in Mayoyao, a place of waterfalls. Lagawe River

is a stream within *Ifugao*. *Dulao* is one of the barangays in Bago City, Negros Occidental, named after the *Mandulao* tree, whose sap of peeled barks served as drinking water for the sick people in Spanish years. *Argao*, where *Saliargaw* mangroves grow, is located in the province of Cebu and faces the eastern waters.

Table 2. Summary of Place Names with -ao in other Philippines languages

Place Name	Meaning Aff	Affix/es	Affix/es Root Word	Host	Possible	CEB
Place Name	weaming	Amx/es	Root word	поѕі	Function	Example
Apayao	Landlocked		Apa			
Ilocos Norte	province		(fight)			
Laoag	River		Laoa	(a)a > k	Breadth	Hawag
Ilocos Norte	Rivei		(Breadth)	-(a)g > k	Dreaum	(spacious)
Awihan	Falls	-an		Awi(h)-	Water	
Apayao	i alis	Loc-Nom		Awi(II)-	vvalei	
Bayugao	Lake		Bayug	Bay-	Feature	Baybay
Apayao	Lake		(Bamboo)	Бау-	i caluic	(shore)
Paoay	Lake		Paoa	-(a)y		
Apayao	Lake		(Clear)	-(a)y		
Currimao	Place	Cu-		-rim-		
Ilocos Norte	1 1400	Ou		11111		
Cubao	Place	Cu-	Bao			
Manila	1 1400	Ou	(turtle)			
Panglao	Island	Pang-	Lao	Lao-	situation/	Lao-lao
Bohol	isiariu	Qual-Nom	Lao	Lao	feature	(loose)
Dauis	Island		Dao	-is	Situation	Til-is
Bohol	isiana		(spring)	10	Situation	(urinate)
Dao	Place		Dao			
Dauis, Bohol	1 1000		(spring)			

3. Personal Names

In days of old, residents in the areas likely had names expressing various meanings related to water. This is common in many cultures, where someone may go

by the name equivalent of "man from the sea or the mountain," or "born during a storm," and the like. Unfortunately we lost records of these names when the Spaniards decreed Filipinos to choose Spanish names like Aragon and Villaflores. Still, a few survive. Alipao is a prominent family name near the Mainit Lake in Alipao, Alegria, Surigao del Norte; the place name likely was influenced by the family name. This family originally live in Taganaan, Surigao del Norte facing the seawaters of Surigao. Bag-ao, is one of the prominent names in the province of Dinagat Islands from the Municipality of Loreto. Another example is Abao (many will remember Procopio Abao). The Lamanilao family originally came from Bohol and scattered via boat when World War II broke out. The family of one of our informants was headed by their late grandfather Santiago A. Lamanilao, Sr., who settled in Barangay Jubgan, Anao-aon (San Francisco), Surigao del Norte. Ignacio Malliare *Parungao* is from Nueva Ecija, a government employee, who with his family was also displaced because of the WWII. Parungao settled for many years in Cotabato City doing farm works for living. There even Parungao Street as one of the members of the family made an exemplary contribution in the city (Connie Parungao of Surigao City, 2017). Rogelio Enoc Buniao was born on April 17, 1969, a Muslim by origin who came from Dumalinao, Zamboanga del Sur. Rogelio ventured in Nueva Ecija in 1987 and in 1989 he met Edna Ignacio Miranda who is from Lapinigan, San Francisco, Agusan del Sur.

4. More -ao-words in Mindanao languages

Names of Animals

There are animals which live and thrive in water: *Kabaw* is a swamp-type domestic water buffalo native to the Philippines. *Ambaw* is one of the best swimmer rats. *Bangaw* in CEB is "blowfly," *Haw-an* is a snakehead fish found in the Agusan marsh and in various watery areas in the Philippines, *Patawen* in Batanes Islands

(Mangahas, 2010) means flying fish. *Kalaw* is a rufous hornbill which is endemic to the Philippines, in particular, in Dinagat, Siargao, and in Mindanao (Witmer, 1993). *Anduhaw* CEB or *Andoao* MRW is a type of fish. *Balangitao* MRW is a crocodile or alligator.

Table 3. Summary of Animal Names

Word	Meaning	Affix/es	Characteristics
Kabaw	Water buffalo		Swamp-type domestic water buffalo native to the
Tamaraw			Philippines.
Ambaw	Rat		One of the best swimmer rats.
Tungaw	Arachnids		Any minute arachnids often infesting animals or plants or
			stored foods.
Bangaw	Blowfly		A kind of diptera flies.
Haw-an	snakehead		Snakehead fish found in various watery areas in the
			Philippines like in Agusan marsh.
Patawen	Flying fish	-en	Seasonal fish in Batanes Isands (Mangahas, 2010).
Kalaw	Hornbill		Rufous hornbill which is endemic to the Philippines like
			Dinagat, Siargao, Mindanao (Witmer, 1993) which eats
			citrus fruits and is talawan [tal- + -aw -an] or extremely
			aloof or afraid to human (Margate, 2017).
Anduhaw SGD	Tuna fish		Usual fish in archipelagic areas like Philippnes.
Andoao MRN			
Bao	turtle		Water or land dwelling reptile.
Sawa	Snake		A kind of snake (python).

Activities and Practices

Hunaw means wash or rinse, uhaw is thirst, kutaw is to mix or to stir, tampisaw play in the water, kawkaw means to touch or play with water, sawsaw is to dip in sauce, banaw means flood, tuwaw or dung-aw is to cry, awas means flow of water, lutaw means float, tibaw in CEB or sibaw in KRJ means to check the fishhook. Tan'aw could be used

to look for something on water or to watch for safety as a ship's crew on duty at a particular time.

Table 4. Summary of Human Activities, Cultural Practices or Beliefs

Word	English	Meaning
Hunaw	Wash	Wash or rinse body parts.
Uhaw	Thirst	Need to drink water.
Kutaw	Mix	Stir or mix anything.
Tampisaw	Play	Play in the water.
Kawkaw	Fumble	Search for something.
Sawsaw	Dip	Dip something (food) in sauce.
Banaw	Flood	Area is flooded.
Tuwaw	Cry	Crying for something unpleasant.
Dungaw	Look over	A cultural practice of respecting cadaver.
Tan`aw	Look Watch	Look for something on water or watch for safety as ship's crew on duty.
Huraw	Scare	Scare someone or something.
Dajaw	Heal	Heal someone using water.
Banhaw	Healed	Quack doctors usually use water or oil to heal their patients.
Sajaw	Dance	Dances are usually offered before and after fishing and farming.
Panaw	Transaction	Go to somewhere far for important transaction.
Kuligaw	Disturb	Disturb someone for a purpose.
Karaw	Scramble	Jumble things together.
Tibaw CEB Sibaw KRJ	Checking	A fisherman's practice to check the fishhook.

Alimendao MRW is lukewarm. Far up north, mataw is a fishing practice in Batanes Islands (Mangahas, 2010). Andao MRW means roam. Bagiao MRW means flood. Daoat MRW means inky. Daiao MRW means tide. Danao MRW means puddle. Danadanao MRW means flood or sweat. Ligaw TSG means senseless. Lampaw TSG means superior in degree. Bangahan (2017) explicated Kanawkanaw TSG as "an alternation of brightness (as reflection from sun or light) and dimness, a phenomenon exemplified by body of water or sea with some ripples which results to non-smoothness of the (not clear) water surface, and the phenomenon is also observable in non-water situation for as long as there is an alternation of brightness and dimness, as for example in the sky." Bugaw TSG means drive away. Hundaw TSG is to look out through.

A Few of Diseases and Causes

Bus-aw is a urinary tract infection, Kagaw is a germ that grows in wet or moist areas and can cause disease. Subaw is to have head/common cold caused by sudden drizzle, Alindahaw means drizzle.

Mythical Creatures

Bolalakao MRW is the god of the fish. Busaw CEB is a monster in Agusan Marsh. Kataw CEB "mermaid" is a mythical sea creature with upper body and head of woman and lower body of fish tail instead of legs.

Human Products and Food

Sikpaw means landing net used to catch fish. Pataw is a floating raft and a local term for a fish aggregating device in Southern Leyte, birau is a Sama Palau boat, parau is a smaller Sama Palau boat like a bauto in BTW, balangaw is like a parau. Aoang MRW is a boat. Aoang-aoang MRW means boatlike. Banaiao MRW is a fishhook. Ayaw in Karao means usually a float. Kararaw in KRJ is a winnow while dawi is a fishhook. We may

include food-related names here. *Kilaw* is a raw fish, *lugaw* is porridge, *sabaw* is soup, *pasaw* or *lawog* means food waste or fodder, *ilao* is a MRW word for rice and *inbao* means rotten rice.

Table 5. Summary of Human Products and Food

Word	English	Meaning
Kararaw KRJ	Winnow	Used by Karay-a in winnowing.
Dawi KRJ	Fishhook	Used by Karay-a in fishing as fishhooks.
Pataw	Raft	Fish aggregating device in Southern Leyte.
Birau	Boat	Boat with house of Sama Delaut (*Bajau).
Parau	Small Boat	Smaller boats of Sama Delaut used for fishing.
Balangaw	Small Boat	Small boats in Palawan.
Kinilaw	Raw food	A raw food usually of fish.
Lugaw	Porridge	Usual food in archipelagic areas.
Sabaw	Soup	-
Palitaw	Sweets	Made of finely ground rice tops with shredded coconuts.
Pasaw	Fodder	Leftovers served to animals.
llao mrn	Rice	Term for rice in Meranao.
Inbao MRN	rotten rice	Term for rotten rice in Merenao.

Trees and plants

Anahaw, tighaw, bakhaw, jagao are trees which grow near seawater or watery areas. Anahaw CEB is a palm tree and the national leaf of the Philippines. Agdao Pangasinense PAG or Alagaw TGL is a type of medicinal tree. Anilao MRW, hau in

Hawaiian, fau in Samaoan, purau or vau in Tahitan is a flowering coastal tree. Bakao MRW or Bakhaw CEB means mangrove. Saliargaw CEB is a kind mangrove tree in Argao, Cebu. Bangkaw (Bangkal) CEB is a kind of nuclea subdita tree which grows near lake. Balatigao MRW is meliosma or flowering tree, and Tighaw CEB is a tiger grass plant where the name of Tighauan, Iloilo originated.

Place Characteristics

Opaw means no trees because of drought, *lim-aw* is "muddy area," *linaw* "still water," *mabaw* SGD or *bajo* CBK (aw > 0) "shallow water," *hugaw* "dirty or dumpy area," *lutaw* "floating area," *lawud* SGD: *laot* TGL: *hondo* CBK is "deep sea," and danao CBK "murky canal water."

Names of Ethnicity, Language and People

Places, people, and the languages they speak usually carry similar names. Farangao, Sinurigao, Meranao, Sinaranaw, and Sinama Palau are languages of people who are strongly connected with waters in lake, river or sea. Terms for human or mankind in this archipelago are tao, tawo, otaw. Ethnic group names are Maranaw which means people of the lake. *Bajau means fisher folks (Nommi, 1990). Tausug in Haskins (1982) means people of sug > sulu > suluk or sulug CEB, or water current, but Ingilan (2017, and in a conversation) said that Tausug means people from lupah Sug or "the homeland of Sulu" originally Sug while another scholar Prof. Benj S. Bangahan, MD (2017) wrote that Tausug means "People of the Path to Allah." Surigaonon might mean water current or spring water people. Siargaonon might mean people from Mangrove Island in the east.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The concept of water is pervasive in our culture as Mindanaoans. We live on seawater (Sama Delaut, *Bajau), in lake (Maranaw), around coastal areas (Surigaonon, Dabawanon). As a group we are Mindanaoans, consisting of subgroups Surigaonon, etc. We speak the languages of Meranaw, Sinurigao. We attach the concept of water to our personal identity by naming ourselves Alipao, Lamanilao, Bag-ao and the like, and kahaw, kalaw etc. are some of our animals. For our livelihood, we traverse rivers (Bunawan to Butuan via Agusan) to trade goods. Fish like anduhaw, bolinao are our main food source, and we harvest those using sikpaw, payaw or in mataw way. We eat lugaw, sinabawan, palitaw etc. We celebrate fiesta and other occasions with sajaw-sajaw "dances" and when we get sick with bus`aw "urinary tract infection" or with subaw "flu" because of exposure to kagaw "germs" our quack doctors will dajaw "heal" us with water from banahao "holy water". And finally, if dili mabanhaw "not healed", mupanaw kami dakan makapahuway sa dajon "we die so we can rest forever." From birth to death, we are a people of the water.

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Appendix A

Language/Informant	Word	English Equivalent/
		Meaning
Tandaganon (46 words)	Ambaw	Mouse
Bernard "Jun" Zamora		
	Anaw	sober after getting blitzed
	Bahaw	Leftover

Balisawsaw	feel like always peeing
Balitaw	agree to someone
Baraw	stop someone
Bulaw	Blonde
Buntaw/bangtaw	Floor
Bungaw	Fool
Kabaw	Water buffalo
Kagaw	Germs
Kantyaw	Bully someone orally
Karaw	Mix
Kataw	Mermaid
Kisaw	Water disturbance
Kilaw	Eating of raw meat of fish
Kutaw	Stir
Dayaw	Good
Dapaw	Itch caused by rice husks
	or grass
Hanaw	Lost
Hinaw	Wash hands
Ihaw	Slaughter
Imabaw	Above something
Labaw	Over, greater than, or taller
Lamaw	Coconut juice
Lasaw	Diluted
Lawlaw	Loose
Linaw	Peaceful, calm

	Lutaw	Float
	Mabaw	Shallow
	Mamaw	Ignorant
	Opaw	No hair
	Pagaw	Husky
	Panaw	To go for an important
		purpose or transaction
	Sapaw	Butt-in
	Sinew	Shiny
	Singkaw	Curved arm bones cause
		by fracture
	Tabnaw	Same as dilted but lasaw is
		more of human
		characteristic
	Tagaw	Ignorant
	Tan-aw	Look at
	Tin-aw	Clear
	Tubaw	Tandaganon scarf
	Tunaw	Dissolve
	Tungayaw	Curse
	Tungaw	Tiny insect
	Yawyaw	Murmur
Samar Binisaya (8 words)	Bukaw	Owl
Nemecio Baldesco	17	m 1
	Kumaw	Turtle
	Kataw	Mermaid

	Likaw	Deny
	Sikpaw	Catch fish
	Tabaw	Raft
	Tibaw	Harvest
	Ughaw	Call
MandayaAgusanSur(15words)	Lamow	Coconut juice
Jovial M. Pislan		
	Otaw	Human
	Linow	Silent water
	Alisngow	Evaporate
	Kagow	Germs
	Banhow	Rose from death
	Madoyow	Good
	Ayoew	No
	Babow	Above
	Kakatow	No knowledge/skill
	Kadyow	Healed
	Tagow	Ignorant
	Langyow	No permanent address
	Pisow	Snakehead fish
	Butaw	Ignorant or no
		knowledge/skill
Mambusaonon (16 words)	Abaw	ow!
Mrs. Emmalyn F. Sagrado		
	Takaw	rob/steal
	Matakaw	robber/thief

	Sabaw	Soup
	Karbaw	water buffalo
	Adlaw	Day
	Wawaw/tyabaw	cry loudly
	Dayaw	appreciate
	Madayaw	sensitive
	Du-aw	Visit
	Tunaw	dissolved
	Tan-aw	see/look
	Hukaw	boring insect
	Silaw	bright
	Bogaw	to let the animal go away
	Lugaw	rice soup
Maranao (35 words)	Akao	separation of hulled from
McKaughan and Macaraya		unhulled rice
(1967)		
	Ambao	deviate from a straight
		path
	Ampao	popped rice
	Anao	search, seek or find
	Alimendao	lukewarm
	Andao	roam
	Andoao	tuna fish
	Anilao	tiliaceous tree
	Ao	pause to gain time in
		thinking process

Aoag	relative
Aoang	Boat
Aoangaoang	boatlike
Argao	raw or not fully cooked
Bagiao	flood
Bakao	mangrove
Balangitao	crocodile or alligator
Balatigao	meliosma or tree
Baliaoa	wanderer
Balintao	habitation of human
Banaiao	fishhook
Bangao	food served at feasts
Bangkiao	inconsistent
Bangkonao	Impregnable
Barangkiao	chaotic
Bilangatao	well-behaved
Binangkao	short-bladed spear
Bokao	night bird
Bolalakao	god of the fish
Dagiao	cooperation
Daiao	Tide
Danao	puddle
Danadanao	flood or sweat
Daoat	Ink
Dapao	plant in a village of
	Western Lanao that can

		cause itchiness
Bahasa Sug (6words)	Umao	Deaf
Rhazzel Alan M. Asda		
Jolo Sulu		
	Imbao	Sea shells
	Takaw	Steal
	Manaw	Walk
	Halawom	Inside
	Siyaggaw	Arrest
Kinaray-a (33 words)	Adlaw	day/sun
Mr. Egan C. Trabado		
	Agaw	getting something with
		force
	Bahaw	Leftover
	Balangaw	rainbow
	Bingaw	toon "fragment"
	Bugnaw	cold
	Bunlaw	herbal plant/ to rinse
	Buraw	waking up late
	Buraw	greedy
	Kadlaw	laugh
	Karbaw	carabao
	Duaw	to visit
	Hidlaw	missing someone
	Kantyaw	Bully/ tease
	Kinilaw	eat raw meat of fish

	Labaw	Superior
	Lagaw	to roam around
	Lantaw	to see
	Langaw	fly
	Lagaraw	bolo
	Lutaw	float
	Limaw	deep part of body of water
	Mingaw	Quiet
	Nabaw	Shallow
	Panaw	walk
	Sabaw	soup
	Sampaw	to put over on something
	Sibaw	to check
	Tiraw	To taste
	Tunaw	Melt
	Silaw	Shimmering
	Sinew	Shiny
	Sungaw	Leak
Dr. Abee M. Santos	Bajo	Shallow water
Dr. Arnel R. Madraso		
Chavacano (CBK) Speakers		
	Hondo	Deep water
	Danao	Murky canal water