

# Tablay and Banua of Young Tagbanua Calamianen in Northern Palawan: Narrating the Tablay of the Banua, Mapping the Banua of the Tablay<sup>1</sup>

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This study recognizes the tablay, an oral literature of young Tagbanua Calamianen in Taytay, Northern Palawan, as one form of communication. While it is considered an “old” form of literature and communication, the study also asserts that the tablay is a contemporary text that narrates and describes historic and current events, people, and places, and sentiments about these events, people, and places. The social significance of the Tagbanua tablay gains prominence in the context of competing representations mediated by contemporary media forms, such as newspapers, magazines, tourism brochures, and the Internet, and conflicting claims over the landscapes and sea scapes upon which the Tagbanua Calamianen depend for their subsistence. The tablay is also a social practice. The tablay, in this regard, is the fishing voyage of the Tagbanua Calamianen, particularly its youth. They mark through the tablay the territorial scope of their banua (community). The voyage serves as a spatial testament of the Tagbanua Calamianen’s assertion of their rights over their banua, which has become the object of development projects by the state and capital.

*Keywords: tablay, banua, Tagbanua Calamianen, Taytay, Palawan, ancestral waters*

## Introduction

Sometimes, neither new media (e.g., the Internet and other electronic media forms) nor conventional media (e.g., radio, television, newspapers, comic books) articulate the significant struggles of the people. In many instances, we find the contemporary voices, visions, and hopes of the marginalized groups represented and articulated in what are generally considered old and “traditional” repositories and depots of knowledge. So-called new and conventional media forms are often influenced by the dynamic of state and capital, whereas “traditional” ways by which the marginalized express their struggles are fairly frequently disqualified by the holders of unjust power from the arena of constructing meanings about social life.

The study argues that the *tablay* is one discursive strategy by which the Tagbanua Calamianen assert their construction of the meanings about the world. There are two ways by which this strategy is carried out. First, the tablay, as a piece of oral literature and a form of communication, inscribes what is lived

in the places of the Tagbanua. The tablay as a short piece of oral literature is comprised mainly of four verses. It is sung by Tagbanua Calamianen children and youth, and adult men and women. They sing the tablay during work, while taking a rest, during community gatherings, while journeying around their community, or during fishing expeditions. It is about their work in the farm or their fishing experiences. It is also about their environment or particular events in their community. Mostly, the tablay is about love. Sometimes, according to Maceda (1975), it contains criticism about the behavior of members of their community.

Second, which is the focus of this study, the tablay is also a social practice. According to the public school teachers who documented this piece of oral literature in the *Historical Data Papers-Palawan* (HDPP, 1953), tablay is a Tagbanua term for crossing mountains, fields, rivers, or seas, or moving around their community. In other words, the tablay refers to the act of carrying out an expedition or making a journey.

In short, the study views the tablay as a combination of the following: first, as a piece of oral literature in the Philippines; second, as a form of communication in which are embedded the observations and opinions about events in a community; and third, as voyage or expedition practices that mark the scope of the group's ecological environment and social life, particularly those related to fishing. The interaction and intersection of these three delineate the Tagbanua Calamianen's *banua* (loosely translated in this study as place or community). Their *banua*, however, is threatened by the network of capital, which is closely tied to various government policies that shape the social interaction by members of a place.

The study illustrates how the tablay reflects social conflicts emanating from the tension among various social forces. One of these tense social relationships involves the traditional forms of communication employed by the Tagbanua Calamianen vis-à-vis modern media deployed by capital and the state, which include the Internet, broadcast, newspapers, and magazines. The study contends that the tablay, as literature, historical document, and contemporary form of communication, is deployed by the Tagbanua Calamianen to assert their rights over their *banua*, and further argues that this assertion of their *banua* is best illustrated in the tablay as fishing voyage.

The study focuses on the tablay by the young Tagbanua Calamianen of the municipality of Taytay in Northern Palawan (Figure 1). The field research was carried out in August 1997 in Sitio Pagdurianen, which is part of the Poblacion of Taytay (Figure 2). The full study about the oral literature of coastal communities in Taytay was accomplished from June to December 1997 and from November to December 1998.

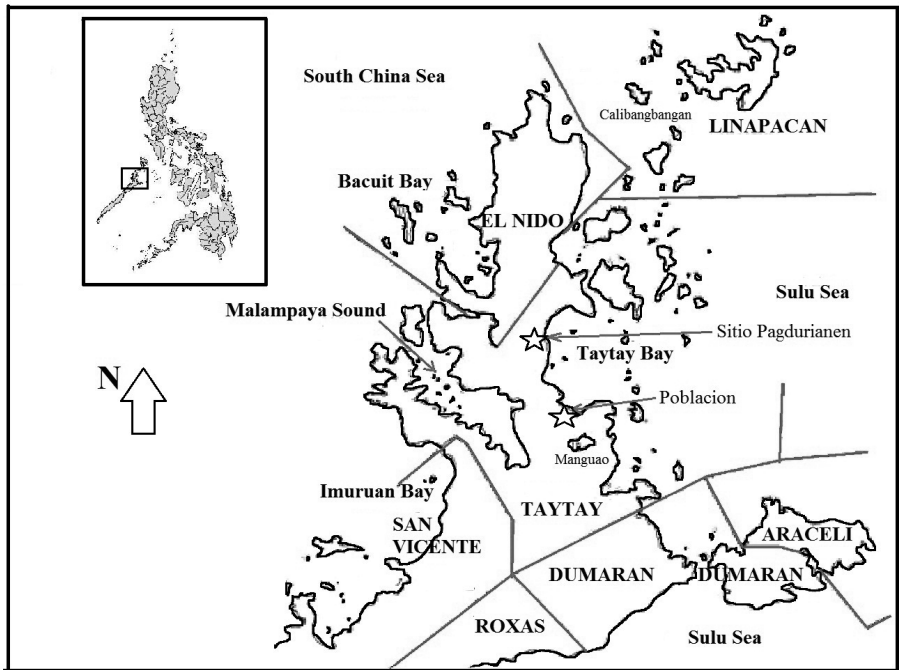


Figure 1 The town of Taytay and adjacent municipalities in Northern Palawan  
 Source: Municipal Index Map, Provincial Assessor's Office, Puerto Princesa, Palawan  
 Legend: municipal boundaries

The Tagbanua Calamianen described in this essay were temporarily camped in Sitio Pagdurianen during the field research. Ten households comprised this particular band of Tagbanua Calamianen. Each family was composed of an average of five members, including the parents. They were on the second month of their six- to seven-month fishing expedition. Their temporary houses were made of bamboo, wood, tree trunks, and nipa and coconut leaves (Figures 3 and 4).

They do not have permanent settlements. Their movement from one place to another is highly dependent on their fishing voyage, which is based on lunar cycles, changes in tidal currents, wind direction, reef condition, and observed movements of species. They scour the coastlines and waters of Taytay Bay (Figure 5). They usually camp on a *tangdol*.<sup>2</sup> They are usually referred to as *Tagbanuang Dagat* (marine-oriented Tagbanua) because of their dependence on the sea for subsistence.

All the Tagbanua Calamianen of Pagdurianen in this study were not sure about their age. They would pause for a few minutes and chat among themselves in their language before they would give the estimate of their age.<sup>3</sup>

This essay begins by describing the spatiality of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Taytay. The second part discusses the tablay as oral literature, as a form of communication, and as social practice. The third part examines the politics of resource use in Taytay Bay, which is illustrated as a stake for both the state and capital, and how this politics inform the tablay—this time as a fishing voyage—that asserts the banua of the Tagbanua Calamianen.

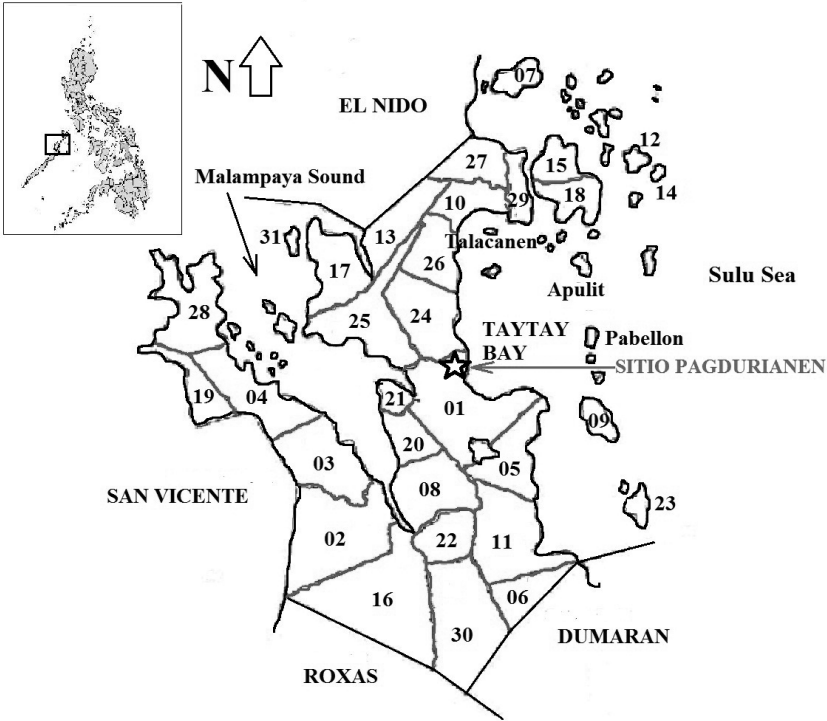


Figure 2 Barangays of Taytay, Northern Palawan  
 Note: Sitio Pagdurianen is part of the Poblacion; Pagdurianen is one of the temporary camping sites of the Tagbanua Calamianen.  
 Source: Municipal Index Map, Provincial Assessor’s Office, Puerto Princesa, Palawan.

Legend: barangay boundaries —————

- |              |              |                       |               |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 01 Poblacion | 09 Biton     | 17 Liminangcong       | 25 Pancol     |
| 02 Abongan   | 10 Busy Bees | 18 Mayteguid          | 26 Polariquen |
| 03 Alacalian | 11 Calawag   | 19 Minapla            | 27 Sandoval   |
| 04 Bambanan  | 12 Casian    | 20 New Guinlo (Baong) | 28 San Jose   |
| 05 Bantulan  | 13 Cataban   | 21 Old Guinlo         | 29 Silanga    |
| 06 Baras     | 14 Debangan  | 22 Paglaum            | 30 Talog      |
| 07 Batas     | 15 Dipla     | 23 Paly               | 31 Tumbod     |
| 08 Bato      | 16 Libertad  | 24 Pamantolon         |               |

## Geography of Taytay: Intersection of Place and Ethnicity

Like all places, the coastal communities of Taytay are a political morphology that is informed by various conflicting forces that configure social order. They are spaces in which the shape, forms, and levels of mirroring power are organized. They are simultaneously the arena in which the Tagbanua Calamianen reconstruct various mediated texts that articulate their ethnicity.

This study presents this complex dynamic of constructing the place and ethnicity of the Tagbanua Calamianen. The texts that they articulate are



Figure 3  
The temporary  
camp site of  
the Tagbanua  
Calamianen in  
Sitio Pagdurianen,  
Poblacion, Taytay,  
Northern Palawan

Photo by  
E. R. Guieb III,  
August 1, 1997,  
Palawan Photo File  
No. F5-14



Figure 4  
A typical house  
of the Tagbanua  
Calamianen in Sitio  
Pagdurianen, Taytay,  
Northern Palawan

Photo by  
E. R. Guieb III,  
August 1, 1997,  
Palawan Photo File  
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discourses about the processes of constructing place and ethnicity in which they are engaged. These texts likewise implicate political power that creates deep polarizations and hierarchies of social ruptures and cohesions, of social ruin and reconstruction. In the tug of war of ideas, their tablay is one among several ideological tools they sustain to bring to material fruition the geographical imaginations about their historicity.

## Ecology of Taytay Bay

Taytay is located in Palawan's northern mainland, 217 kilometers from Palawan's capital, Puerto Princesa City (Figure 1). At the time of the field research, 31 barangays comprised the municipality (Figure 2), which were mainly communities of artisanal fishers (Jacinto, 1995b). Two bodies of water surround the municipality, namely, Malampaya Sound on the west and Taytay Bay on the east. In the interior is a freshwater lake, Lake Danao (sometimes called Manguao), where crocodiles once thrived (Davies et al., 1990). Taytay Bay and Malampaya Sound are economically important bodies of water. They supply 80 percent of the total fish production of Palawan (Municipal Development Council-Municipal Planning and Development [MDC-MPD], n.d.). Palawan, in turn, supplies about 65 percent of the consumption needs of Metro Manila in terms of fish and other marine resources (Camacho, 1996; Japan International Cooperation Agency & the Department of Tourism [JICA-DOT], 1996).

The present ecological condition of Taytay Bay is considered relatively good. Dense mangrove forests border the shores of the bay, and healthy corals and seagrass beds cover the bay's wide reef flats (Batungbacal et al., 1995). Taytay Bay's depth ranges between 20 and 30 meters, but reaches about 50 meters in some areas (Curran, 1997).

Taytay Bay adjoins other bodies of water. Some of these bays are within the jurisdiction of the municipality, while others territorially belong to the towns of El Nido and Linapacan (Figure 5 and Table 1). Several islands dot these bodies of water. The Tagbanua Calamianen regularly fish in these waters, and they temporarily stay on most of the islands and shores during their cyclical fishing voyages.

Artisanal fishers (also called municipal fishers) generally use motorized bancas (rig boats) to scour Taytay Bay and surrounding bodies of water for economically important resources. A few still use non-motorized boats propelled by windblown cloth or plastic sails. They employ various forms of fishing: set gill net (*palubog*), drift net (*paanod*), hook and line (*kawil* and *horos-horos*), long line (*kitang*), jigger (*ganti-ganti*), spear gun (*pana*), pots (*bubo*), and fish corrals (*baklad*). Medium-scale commercial fishers using baby ring net

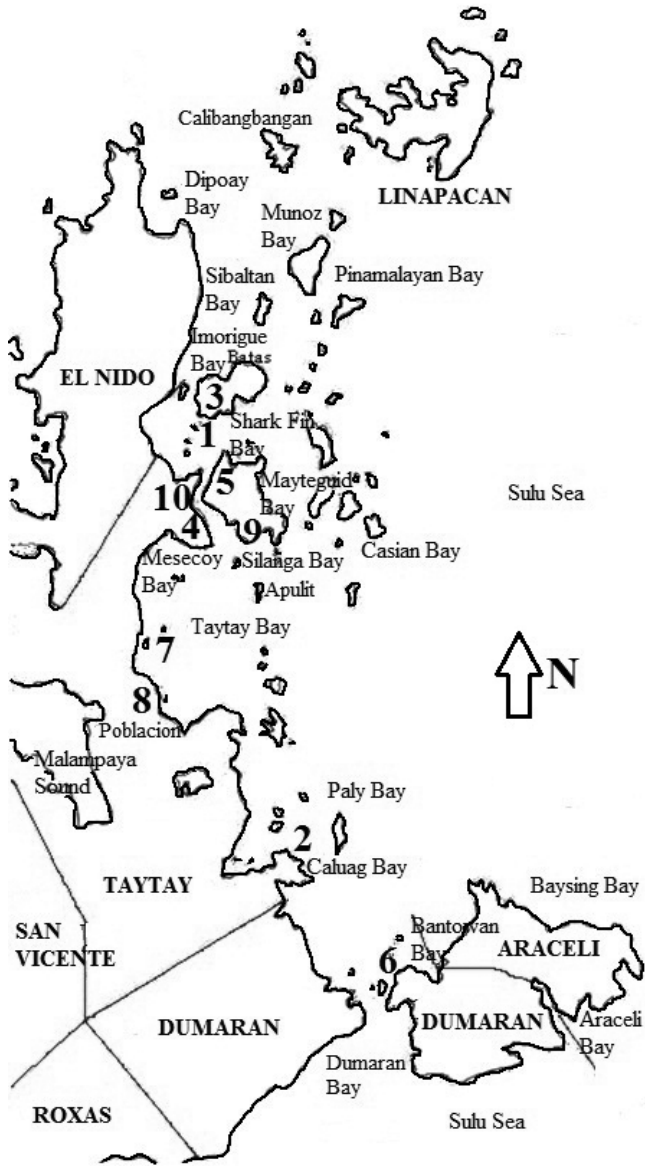


Figure 5 Fishing sites and temporary settlement sites (sities) of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Sitio Pagdurianen

Legend: municipal boundaries —————

- |           |           |               |               |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 Bacalan | 4 Caycayo | 7 Indapdapan  | 10 Pangatalan |
| 2 Baras   | 5 Dipla   | 8 Pagdurianen |               |
| 3 Batas   | 6 Dumarán | 9 Pangalan    |               |

(*baring*) and bagnet (*basnig*) intrude into these municipal waters (Batungbakal et al., 1995; Rivera et al., 1997). Some fishers are also reportedly using illegal forms of fishing, e.g., blast fishing and the use of sodium cyanide (Batungbakal et al., 1995; Curran, 1997; Rivera et al., 1997).

About 70 to 80 fish species are caught by artisanal fishers from Taytay Bay (Curran, 1997). Other marine resources include seaweeds (*lató*), sea cucumber (*balatan*), giant clams (*manlut*), sea cow (*dugong*), sea turtles (*pawikan*), horseshoe crab, and mother of pearls.

Like most of the country's natural resources, studies indicate that both Taytay Bay and Malampaya Sound are in a state of decline, mainly due to a combination of the following ecological and social factors: overfishing, resource degradation, decline in ecological biodiversity, poverty in fishing communities, a property rights regime that favors less artisanal fishers and indigenous communities, unfair fishing competition posed by commercial fishers, unfair trading practices of marine resources, the conversion of marine spaces into other uses, and rampant use of illegal fishing methods. Political structures and economic

**Table 1. Islands and bodies of water inside and around Taytay Bay**

DESCRIPTION	ISLANDS AND BODIES OF WATER
Islands on Taytay Bay <sup>a,b,c</sup>	Icadambanua, Calabadian, Pabellones (the twin islands of Elephant Island and Castle Island; the latter is also called Baradesen), Ditnot, Apulit (also called Apulid), Binatican, Guindabdaban, Quibuluan (also referred to as Quimbuluan), and Talacanen
Bodies of water within the territorial jurisdiction of Taytay <sup>a,b</sup>	Shark Fin Bay, Silanga Bay, Imorigue Bay, and Maytiguid Bay
Islands on Shark Fin Bay <sup>a</sup>	Maytiguid, Batas, Macua, and Malapari
Islands on Silanga Bay <sup>a</sup>	Silanga, Quimbaludan, and Nabat
Islands on Imorigue Bay <sup>a</sup>	Batas, Imorigue, Talaotauan, and Binulbulan
Islands on Maytiguid Bay <sup>b</sup>	Dadaliten, Debang, Casian, Manbanen, Denet, Makraben, Bodacan, Malutamban, Cagdanao, Binga, Calabugdong, Malcorot, Bulucan Malaki, Bulucan Maliit, and Pangisian
Bodies of water adjacent to Taytay Bay, and under another municipality's territorial jurisdiction <sup>a</sup>	Sulu Sea, Sibaltan Bay, Muñoz Bay, Darocotan Bay, Emilia Bay, and Linapacan Strait

**Sources**

<sup>a</sup>Administrative Map, Province of Palawan, Edition 1, October 1992, National Mapping and Resource Information Authority (NAMRIA), Manila.

<sup>b</sup>Nautical Map Sheet 4317, Northeast Coast of Palawan: Shark Fin Bay to Flechas Point, revised edition, July 14, 1980, NAMRIA, Manila.

<sup>c</sup>Topographical Map Sheet 2952-IV, Calabadian Island, no date, NAMRIA, Manila.



policies also impinge on these issues (Addun, 1995a, 1995b; Batungbakal et al., 1995; Curran, 1997; Dela Cruz et al., 1995; Guieb & Jarabejo, 1998; Jacinto, 1995b; Muzones, 1995; Rivera, 1995; Umengan, 1995; Zingerli, 1999).

## **Demographic Characteristic of Taytay**

During the fieldwork in 1997, Taytay ranked second to Puerto Princesa in terms of population in Palawan. It also had the highest rate of migration in the province. Taytay's migrants came mostly from Negros, Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon, Masbate, Panay, Samar, Leyte, Antique, Cebu, Bicol, Ilocos, and Tawi-Tawi (Addun, 1995b; Jacinto, 1995a; JICA-DOT, 1996; National Statistics Office [NSO], 1995).

The Tagbanua are one among the seven major indigenous cultural communities in Palawan (Fox, 1982; Ocampo, 1985; Peralta, 1991). Other indigenous groups in Palawan include the Pal'awan, Batak, Molbog, Cuyonen, and Sama (Peralta, 1991).

Peralta (1991) classifies the Tagbanua of Palawan into four subgroups: 1) the *Tagbanua Aborlan* or *Apurahuwano*, who are mostly rice cultivators and are found in central and southern Palawan; 2) the *Tagbanua Tandula'nen*, who are dependent on both water and land resources for their subsistence, and found on the northwestern coast of Palawan; 3) the *Tagbanua Silana'nen*, who are also dependent on both water and land resources, but found on the northeastern coast of Palawan; and 4) the *Tagbanua Calamianen*, who are mostly marine oriented, and found in northern Palawan and the Calamianes group of islands.

The Tagbanua in Taytay are the Tandula'nen, Calamianen, and Silana'nen. While the Tandula'nen are settled in a reservation site in Sitio Yacal of Barangay Baong (New Guinlo), many of them reside in different sites on the west coast of Taytay, mainly in areas surrounding Malampaya Sound. The Calamianen of Taytay reside in a settlement site in Barangay Baras. Many of the Calamianen, however, reside on the shores of Taytay Bay or on islands that dot the various bodies of water on the east coast of Taytay. The Silana'nen also live on the shores of Taytay Bay; estimates indicate that their population is dwindling (Dumagat, 1996; Guieb, 2000).

Peralta's classification (1991) corresponds to the local people's own terms of classification: *Tagbanuang Lupa* (land-dependent Tagbanua); *Tagbanuang Dagat* (marine-oriented Tagbanua); and *Tagbanuang Pampang* (coast-dwelling Tagbanua; marine- and land-dependent Tagbanua).<sup>4</sup> The Tagbanua Calamianen in this study can be categorized as Tagbanuang Dagat or marine-oriented Tagbanua.

The cultural pluralism results in a number of languages used in the municipality. Cuyonen and Tagalog, however, serve as the *lingua franca* in Taytay. Many also speak Sugbuano (Cebuano), Boholano, and Hiligaynon.

The current study examines the tablay as oral literature and as a form of communication, and the tablay as fishing voyage in the context of the above-mentioned ecological and demographic changes, and the dynamic of marine resource geography.

### **Tablay: Discursive Construction of Affect, Place, and Notions of Place<sup>5</sup>**

Love is the most popular theme of the tablay of the Tagbanua Calamianen.

Tablay 1 (sung in the Cuyonen language, with a *yuke*<sup>6</sup> accompaniment by Rene Corba, about 14 years old):<sup>7</sup>

Cabay maraye dian emong guinestaran	You may live far from me
di ko malipatan, maal, emong aran	I will not forget your name, my beloved
malipatan ko pa aqueng tratong tanan	I can forget my girlfriend
bequen lamang icao palanga sa tanan.	Because I love you the most.

Tablay 2 (sung in Tagalog, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Rene Corba, about 14 years old):

Ibong lumilipad hintayin mo ako	Wait for me, flying bird
meron ako sanang ipapadala sa iyo	I have a request (letter) for you to carry
kung tatanungin ka kanino ba ito	if they were to ask you for whom this is
pakisabi na lang pinadala sa iyo.	please tell them you were simply asked to do so.

Some tablay are about relationships marred by physical distance mainly due to the economic circumstances in which the lovers find themselves, e.g., long-distance fishing voyages by a man that require him to be away from the island for days or months.

Tablay 3 (sung in Tagalog, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod, about 23 years old):

Ang awit kong ito, paalala  
na bukas ng umaga ako'y  
paalis na

ang aking ialis huwag  
mong ikalungkot

sa ganitong oras babalik  
din ako.

This song is a reminder  
that I leave tomorrow at the  
break of dawn

don't feel sad about my depar-  
ture

I promise to come back at the  
same mark of time.

Some tablay are about unrequited love or relationships on the brink of collapse.

Tablay 4 (sung in Tagbanua Calamianen, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod, about 23 years old):

Ang kaisip pong pisan ang  
calaam o ide

yo elem ang sambelog edeng  
haguegman mo

pala ay masapo eg madem-  
deman no

yawa pala nini yo ay may  
karaebal.

I thought I was the only one  
you love

only me, my beloved,

I now realize

you love someone else, my  
beloved.

Tablay 5 (sung in Cuyonen, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod, about 23 years old):

Impesa sa dadi asta ca inoro	From hereon to eternity
india co ron liag ang paeg laver	I despise getting into relationships
cong laver da lamang ang bequen tapatan	unfaithful love affairs
caelo ra si nining nga mag consimision.	poor Neneng is thrown into a confusion.

Tablay 6 (sung in Cuyonen, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod, about 23 years old):

Ang aqueng caisipang aqueng calaon	I am wondering
amang pag recibe canaquen dayon don	if you truly accept me
ara ra sa dila ara ra sa bibig	acceptance is not in words I am misplaced in your heart.
cong may taguiposon ara ra capinta.	cong may taguiposon ara ra capinta.

There are tablay songs about their struggles in fishing.

Tablay 7 (sung in Tagbanua Calamianen, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod, about 23 years old):

Mapilay-pilay besiong beltay beltay	Fishing is tiresome
pag sagyap sagyap iyan anday anday	scouring the sea to catch anday-anday fish

ang anday anday tabyang  
tong calesed  
tabyang calesed tong pama-  
lay palay.

anday-andaycushions our  
hunger  
it keeps us away from pov-  
erty's harm.

Tablay 8 (sung in Tagalog, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod,  
about 23 years old):

Anong hirap ang mangisda  
maghapon kaming basang-  
basa  
kapag kami'y makakuha  
tuwang-tuwa ang mga bata.

Fishing requires a lot of effort  
drenched all day  
when we catch fish  
the children are happy.

The tablay below is longer than its usual length. It is analogical in character. It describes various fish species, compares them to humans, and designates the fish species into a system of human social stratification.

Tablay 9 (sung in Cuyonen, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod,  
about 23 years old):

Macon cono ang isdang  
palata:  
"aco masque mabao eg  
malansa  
cong guisaen indo sa  
mantika  
sabor de sa endong  
guinawa."

According to the *palata*  
fish:  
"I may smell bad and putrid  
but if you were to fry me  
I will be delicious to your  
taste."

Magsabat ang isdang  
mormor:  
"aco misyado ron da  
capolpol

The *mormor* fish replied:  
"my smell may be disgusting

como ako ara caseled y iskul

I have not made it to grade school

pero cacaelam da ang basketbol.”

but I know how to play basketball.”

Magsabat ang isdang tamayo:

The *tamayo* fish said:

“aco indong buwaten manigano  
manig leb manig bayo  
manig degos ang indang olo.”

“make me your masseuse

I thump and thump  
and I wash your head.”

Magsabat ang isdang tabangka:

The *tabangka* fish responded:

“acoy indong buaten cabisa  
pero aco mababael baba  
adlec ang tanan nga isda.”

“make me your leader  
but I have a big mouth  
all the fish are afraid of me.”

Magsabat ang isdang silay:  
“aco pong magpanao agoda-  
day

The *silay* fish said:  
“I wriggle when I walk

cong camo caque obra  
mabobolong da indong pilay.”

if I were to find work  
I can restore your health.”

Tablay songs also derive images from nature. In some cases, nature’s analogy pertains to the human body.

Tablay 10 (sung in Tagalog by Jelyn Languyod, about 10 years old; with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod):

Bituin sa langit ika’y nagbitin-bitin

Stars hanging in the sky

hulugan mo kami ng tatlong bituin

drop three beads of stars  
for us

isa sa akin at isa sa iyo  
ang pangatlo naman sa mahal kong darling.

one for me, one for you  
and the third is for my beloved.

Tablay 11 (sung in Cuyonen, and with a *yuke* accompaniment by Rene Corba, about 14 years old):

Ang puno ng saging, maman din ang bolpen	The trunk of the banana plant, that is the pen
aanang mga daon, maman din ang papel	its leaves are its paper
ang anang nga bonga, ma- man ang paqueguma	its fruit, its love
ang anang puso, maman taguipuson.	its flower, its own heart.

The tablay songs presented above describe human relationships or elements in nature, or an individual's affect about nature and human relationships. The tablay, in this sense, serve as a medium of communication, a repository of observations and emotions, specifically in a situation in which the text remains one among a few narratives that record events in their places and their struggles as individuals or as a group. The tablay, as a technology of orality, functions as a contemporary form of media that contains and in which flows their views about certain particularities of their societies. The tablay is the oral technology of their discursive construction of meanings about human and social life. One more example is provided in the next section of a tablay that directly links this form of narrative to their social struggle as a group.

The study addresses below how the the Tagbanua Calamianen, particularly the young men, of Pagdurianen discursively construct their banua through this form of media and oral literature.

### **Fishing Voyages: The Tablay of the Banua**

This section explores the tablay as a social practice, particularly as a fishing voyage. It examines the economic and cultural contexts within which the Tagbanua Calamianen carry out their tablay as a fishing voyage. The study argues that these fishing trips and their transient stay on different coastal points and islands of Taytay and nearby municipalities are acts of spatially authoring their place, the banua, which defines and refines the construction of their contemporary identity as a maritime or marine-oriented group.

This section begins by identifying the fishing routes of the Tagbanua Calamianen around Taytay Bay and nearby bodies of water. It then redefines

the tablay as social practice in the context of these fishing voyages. The section ends by presenting how fishing voyage is tied into the cultural articulation and mapping of their banua.

### Fishing Routes and Voyages of the Tagbanua Calamianen<sup>9</sup>

The 10 households of Tagbanua Calamianen of Pagdurianen of Taytay move from one fishing ground to another in their search for commercially important marine resources. They camp for a few days or weeks on coastal points (locally called *tangdol*) during their fishing expeditions around the bay (Figure 5). All members of each household join the male fisher (both old and young) in the camp sites where they set up their temporary residence. Pagdurianen is one of these coastal points where they stay during their fishing voyages.

The fishing expedition of the Tagbanua Calamianen is based on the cycle of wind directions. Strong *amihan* (northeast monsoon), usually from December to May, creates huge waves in the seas, preventing them from engaging in their traditional fishing expeditions. Waves reach a height of more than 10 people, they say.

During this season, they stay in Barangay Baras, also part of Taytay. Baras, found south of Taytay Bay, is a settlement site for the Tagbanua Calamianen established by the national government sometime in the 1950s (Figure2). Some work as porters or as helpers in stores and in the homes of Christian families, from which they earn roughly PhP20 (US\$0.40-0.50) a day. The Tagbanua Calamianen have no farm lands of their own, although some get a share from the produce of some of the rice fields or *kaingin* (forest vegetable or tree farms) of farmer-settler families by working as seasonal farmworkers.

During these lean months in Baras, *corot* (wild tubers; *Dioscorea hispida* Dennst. [University of the Philippines Science Education Center, 1996]) is the Tagbanua Calamianen's staple food. Corot, if not properly prepared, may cause diarrhea that may lead to a substantial loss of water from the body. It is sometimes poisonous, they say. They add that there have been instances of deaths in their settlement, which they link to eating corot.

When the *habagat* (southwest monsoon) sets in, the Tagbanua Calamianen prepare for their fishing expedition around Taytay Bay and adjacent bodies of water, which takes about six to seven months, usually from May to November. The Tagbanua Calamianen group themselves into bands, each consisting of all family members and kin, male and female, children and adults. Each band has its respective traditional fishing route. They ensure that each band's route does not conflict with the fishing routes of other bands.



The band of Tagbanua Calamianen described in this study narrates that their traditional fishing routes cover the whole expanse of Taytay Bay and adjacent bodies of water. During these fishing expeditions, they establish temporary camps in traditionally identified places (Figure 5).

From May to June, they temporarily stay in Dumarán, a town south of Taytay. By mid-June they move to Indapdapan Island. In August, they are either in Sitio Pagdurianen or Batas Island. From July to November, they establish their temporary camps in Pangalan, Diplá, Bacalan, Pangatalan, and Caycayo. The length of stay in these villages varies. Many place names they mentioned were not marked in the numerous historical and government maps consulted for this study; either the island or sitio is named after an explorer's name or, in some cases, identified as reefs, islets, or shorelines indicated by geographical numbers.

Their fishing areas cover Taytay Bay. They also fish in Shark's Fin Bay, and in the bays of Mesecoy, Silanga, Imorigue, Maytegued, Malatumban, Calauag, Sibaltan, Muñoz, Darocotoan, and Emilia. They also fish as far as Linapacan Strait and the Sulu Sea (Figure 5).

During the trip, they bring with them domesticated pigs, chicken, dogs, and household items, mostly kitchen utensils. Not all the households own a boat. Banca-owning households travel ahead. Those without a banca are fetched by these banca-owning households. A new phenomenon, however, has altered the dynamic of moving. The band's voyage is now led by a non-Tagbanua trader who joins them in their fishing expedition. The details of this phenomenon are discussed in another section below.

Their temporary houses are made of bamboo, wood, tree trunks, and nipa and coconut leaves. In several instances, they no longer find these structures intact when they go back to these camp sites. The structures are destroyed by typhoons and strong winds, or, which is often the case, taken furtively by migrant settlers living nearby.

They fish everyday, except during trading days when they sell their catch to the Poblacion of Taytay and in the barangays of Maytegued, Casian, or Polaraquen (also called Canique; Figure 5). The men usually start at six in the morning. Young men are part of the fishing trips. They return to their camp at about two or three in the afternoon. The women do not join the men's fishing trips.

There are instances that the men, both old and young, take about three days scouring the waters of Taytay Bay or adjacent bodies of water. They sometimes fish in the evening, particularly when they spear for sea cucumber (*balatan*). They also target octopus (*pugita*). Fishing time also varies, depending on the lunar cycle, wind directions, and other ecological factors.

The Tagbanua Calamianen are expert divers. For diving, they use *yapak* (improvised wooden flippers) and *antipara* (improvised goggles). They also resort to the use of compressors, which is risky and often endangers the life of the diver. They say they dive between five and 12 fathoms, or about 30 to 72 feet.<sup>10</sup>

They return to Baras by the end of November or early December. In Baras, they are joined by other bands of Tagbanua Calamianen who also spent six to seven months of fishing expeditions around Taytay Bay.

The sections below ask the following questions: How are these tablay fishing voyages by the Tagbanua Calamianen linked to the tablay as social practice? What underlying philosophy guides the tablay? What worldview frames the tablay as social practice?

## The Tablay as Oral Literature, Form of Communication, and Social Practice

The term *tablay* is used by non-Christian indigenous groups to refer to crossing fields and mountains. The *Historical Data Papers-Palawan* (HDPP, 1953) mentions the tablay as an oral text sung by the Tagbanua Calamianen of Busuanga and Coron. The HDPP documents that men and women, both young people and adults, in Busuanga sing the tablay while traversing their fields atop a water buffalo. The tablay is also sung in several important social gatherings, like weddings and the *pulao* or wake. The Tagbanua Calamianen of Coron sing the tablay in their homes or, like the Calamianen of Busuanga, while traversing fields. Women sing the tablay while cleaning, cooking, washing clothes in river banks, and weaving fish nets. Young women and men use the tablay to express their love for each other. Similarly, the Tagbanua Calamianen of Coron also refer to their trips and journeys as tablay (HDPP).

Based on these reports in the HDPP (1953), the tablay operates on several levels. First, the tablay is sung by Tagbanua Calamianen men and women, young and adults, farmers and fishers. Second, the tablay is sung during trips, particularly when crossing fields or travelling by sea. Third, the tablay is itself the voyage. The tablay as voyage is specifically mentioned in one of the narrative tablay of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Pagdurianen:

Tablay 12 (sung in Tagbanua Calamiane, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Rene Corba, about 14 years old):

Tablay tablay ora ang bukid  
balite

I travelled through the *balite*  
fields by foot

opay na tablayan chi baing  
pag amuek

quesen na ta malway tanya  
paquig suway

ilampes tong quenay anday  
penua y penuay.

I witnessed my grandmother  
weaving a mat

I talked to her calmly, but  
she replied furiously

and struck the mat angrily in  
the sand.

The narrative tablay above denotes the tablay as an act of travelling. The tablay in this sense is a space between two spaces: the space of home or community and the space of work (fields). The tablay as voyage links these two spaces that frame the domestic and economic life of the Tagbanua Calamianen. In this regard, the tablay as voyage forms part of a Tagbanua Calamianen's life cycle. This study relates the tablay as voyage to the concept and notion of the *banua*—the community itself around which revolve several aspects of the life of the Tagbanua Calamianen.

### The Banua of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Taytay

Scholars offer different explanations on the etymology of the word *Tagbanua*. Llamzon (1978) states that the term is derived from *banua* o *banwa*, which pertains to people, place, or community, sometimes country. The prefix *tag* (or *taga*) means to found, to establish, or a referent to someone or something that is indigenous to the place. Romualdez (1914) mentions that the term *Tagbanwa* stands for a person who is indigenous to a place or community. *Taga banua*, thus, denotes a sense of being of the place or community. Jagmis (1997) adds that *banua* refers to land, represented by a people or community. In recent years, the notion of *banua* extends to the seas, waters, forests and resources of the community; in short, the entire place in which live a group of people. *Tagbanua*, in this sense, now suggests a sense or notion of a claim or right over terrestrial and marine territories, and the resources found therein.

The *banua* as a notion of a claim was one of the arguments raised by the Tagbanua Calamianen of Coron in their struggle to claim their ancestral domains, which was eventually recognized by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). The DENR granted them a certificate of ancestral domain claims (CADC) over 22,000 hectares of land and sea in Coron, including the nearby island of Delian (Rimban, 1998).<sup>11</sup>

In the case of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Pagdurianen, the current study asserts that the tablay, as a social practice, i.e., as a fishing voyage, is about living and knowing the territoriality of their fishing grounds and social spaces.

The tablay as fishing voyage is a spatial authoring of their place, the banua, which defines and refines the construction of their contemporary identity as a modern maritime people. In other words, the fishing tablay is an “invisible” spatial deed of title. It is a conceptual frame about the Tagbanua Calamianen’s property rights and tenurial arrangements, a declaration of their claims to their seas, a testament of property ownership, a spatial reclaiming of the Tagbanua Calamianen’s banua, a discursive strategy of mapping their ancestral and present-day territorial waters.

The next section relates the process by which the Tagbanua Calamianen reclaim their banua in the context of spatial contestation going on in Taytay Bay and adjacent bodies of water.

### **Taytay Bay and Adjacent Marine Territories: Breaking the Banua in**

What competing claims over the banua of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Taytay are put forward by other social groups? What narratives of exclusion threaten the claims of the Tagbanua Calamianen over their banua? What is the geography of struggle that outlines the contentions by the Tagbanua Calamianen and other social groups about the morphology of the places they claim?

Different forms and levels of social relations configure the spatial contentions over Taytay Bay. These relations, which shape the spatial order of Taytay, range from the production and circulation of marine resources, to the production and circulation of meanings about places in Taytay.

#### **Production Relations: Boat, Sea, Native, and Settler**

At the time of the field research, a non-Tagbanua settler stood as a leader of the fishing expedition of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Sitio Pagdurianen. He was a Cebuano who owned the motorized fishing boat that was used by the Tagbanua in their fishing trips around Taytay Bay. He took care of the expenses for gas, kerosene, and other fishing expenditures. These were deducted from the shares of the Tagbanua’s earnings from the sale of the catch. The study did not inquire into how he was taken in by the Tagbanua as leader of their fishing trips. Following is the inference on why the Tagbanua Calamianen has preferred his presence in their fishing expeditions.

Several issues are at work about the new and emerging relations between the Tagbanua Calamianen and the Cebuano trader with whom they carry out their fishing. First, ethnicity is turned into an issue partly informed by capital that defines a certain hierarchy of production relations. The trader, who owns the capital, stands on top of the ladder of marine resource production. The

Tagbanua Calamianen serve as fish workers and are practically relegated down the ladder of the production hierarchy. Second, given the new production arrangements, the marine catch by the Tagbanua are no longer for the group's household consumption. Fishing is turned into producing *surplus* that feeds the demands of the market. Third, the Tagbanua Calamianen are driven away from a non-monetized economy and motivated to engage in a cash-oriented economy.

In short, the marine environment is no longer *a source of food* for the Tagbanua Calamianen; the marine environment is turned into *a source of capital to produce food*.<sup>12</sup> As a result, the marine environment is set up within the frames of capital and discursively rendered as a space more for the creation of profit than the production of food for the Tagbanua's household consumption.

The study does not contend that the Tagbanua Calamianen of Taytay remain in archaic modes of economic production and relations. It argues, however, that economic relations observed during the field research indicate the Tagbanua Calamianen's marginalized location and position in the relations of power that were at play in the economy and politics of Taytay. A few more elaborations about trading relations in Taytay into which the Tagbanua Calamianen are drawn are discussed in the next section.

### Trading Relations: Unjust and Iniquitous

One tablay sums up the nature of trading relations in Taytay, which gives a hint about the the disadvantaged position of the Tagbanua Calamianen.

Tablay 13 (sung in Tagalog, with a *yuke* accompaniment by Jopel Languyod, about 23 years old):

Ang amo naming si Quetolio	Our boss is Quetolio
isda namin kaniyang kinikilo	he weighs our catch
bagsakan ng mababang presyo	he buys them cheap
pero ayos na rin ito.	and we don't complain.

According to the Tagbanua Calamianen, the Quetolio mentioned in the tablay was an official of the municipality of Taytay when the field research was conducted. He was a live fish trader from the island of Baras (also called Pampang), which is a barangay of Taytay. Baras is one of the camp sites where the Tagbanua Calamianen temporarily settle during the *amihan* (northeast monsoon). Live fish trading is a complex and controversial issue in Palawan because of the reported involvement in this trade of alleged illegal fishers (e.g.,

sodium cyanide fishers and those who use nets with large-sized mesh) and local government officials who, according to artisanal fishers in Taytay, authorize the trading of these illegally caught or harvested commercial fish species.

The social constructs of ethnicity are expressed openly in the marketing of their produce. Traders and middlemen, who are mostly the indigenous Christianized Cuyonen or Christian settlers from other provinces of the country (e.g., Cebu, Bohol, and Palawan), regard the Tagbanua Calamianen as inferior. Sharing a common cultural framework that differentiates them from other ethno-linguistic groups, these settlers exploit the situation to their economic and political advantage. This culturally prescribed ordering defines the social and economic relations that are constantly reproduced by trade and marketing practices.

Since the Tagbanua Calamianen have no idea of the market value of their catch, traders take advantage of this situation to cheat the Tagbanua Calamianen in several ways. One, they classify the catch of the Tagbanua Calamianen less than their commercial value. Two, traders alter the weighing scales they use to devalue the volume of the catch of the Tagbanua Calamianen. Three, traders, exploiting the Tagbanua Calamianen's naïveté, induce them to drink local wine, cajole them during their drinking session, and sweet-talk them into agreeing to a lower value of their catch. In some cases, traders simply hand them any amount, which the intoxicated Tagbanua Calamianen could do nothing about. These are probably the reasons the Tagbanua Calamianen preferred to include in their fishing ventures a non-Tagbanua whom they trust and on whom they can rely for the marketing of their catch. However, there were no sufficient data to figure out whether there was goodwill or there existed some form of exploitation in whatever agreed sharing system there was between the Tagbanua Calamianen and the non-Tagbanua.

Whatever social ties that exist between the Tagbanua Calamianen and the traders are more to the detriment of the former. Traders also give the Tagbanua Calamianen loans in the form of consumer goods such as rice, coffee, sugar, and canned sardines. Traders automatically deduct these loans from the value of the catch they buy from the Tagbanua Calamianen. In the end, the Tagbanua Calamianen are left with no money and no catch to bring home, said B. Capangpangan, 50 years old, president of Nagkakaisang Mangingisda para sa Kalikasan at Kaunlaran in Sitio Kalero (Little Tondo), Poblacion, Taytay, Palawan (personal communication, December 14-16, 1998).

One more example illustrates the disadvantaged position of the Tagbanua in terms of marketing their produce. Traders usually downsize sea cucumbers or reclassify them into less commercially viable species in order to buy them cheap from the Tagbanua. According to P. Babera, a 60-year-old artisanal fisher

and member of the *Lapian ng mga Maliliit na Mangingisda sa Baybayin ng Taytay* (LAMMBAT) in Taytay:

Traders employ various tactics to buy cheap sea cucumber from the Tagbanua. The traders surreptitiously steal the catch during unguarded moments of the Tagbanua, particularly when the latter gets drunk for drinking one or two bottles of *Ursus* (a cheap wine), which was offered to them by the traders. The Tagbanua have no discipline in drinking. They drink without limit. Traders take this opportunity to pay them low for the catch. When under the influence of alcohol, the Tagbanua usually do not complain about the undervalued price of their catch. What is important for them is that they can go back home unharmed. (personal communication, August 28, 1997)

### **Real Estate: Narratives of Claims**

The Tagbanua Calamianen are further rendered virtually spaceless by the dynamics of real estate in Palawan that traffics the sale or lease of the islands and shores of Taytay or deposits these places, including fishing grounds and temporary camp sites of the Tagbanua Calamianen, for security. The following advertisements printed on the pages of *Palawan Buy & Sell* (1997, pp. 11-14), a magazine in Palawan devoted to real estate, demonstrate this particular situation:<sup>13</sup>

- 6 has. Tax Declaration. Taytay[,]Palawan Sand beach - Can be titled 5/sq. m. (p. 11).
- 2.5 has[.], Tax Declaration, located in Northern Palawan, white sand beach - Can be titled 5/sq. m.(p. 11).
- A 2.5[-]ha(s). island in Taytay fully planted to cashew trees. About 5 min. from mainland near a fishing village. Attractive price. (p. 11).
- A titled 10 ha[s]. Property which is part of an island in Taytay.Good anchorage; white sand; planted to coconuts. (p. 12).
- 10 has[.]TAYTAY, PALAWAN. Portion of big island near Sandoval Airport, Tax Declaration P10 Million. (p. 13).

One also finds the following under the classification *Beaches for Sale*:

- 12 has. beach property in Taytay near town proper. Full[-]bearing coconuts, cottage ready for occupancy. (p. 14).

A number of islands on Taytay Bay and adjacent bodies of water were on lease to individuals or groups during the time of field research. For example, Bodacan Island was reportedly “owned” by a foreigner. Apulit Island was on lease to *Club Noah Isabelle*, a popular tourist resort. Portions of Maytegued Bay and Malatumban Bay, specifically those adjacent to Shark’s Fin Bay, were leased to a member of a well-known political family from Luzon for his pearl farming business. The limestone cliffs on the twin islands of Pabellon (Grande and Pequeño) on Taytay Bay, Imorigue Island on Batas Bay, and on the islands of Nabat, Apulit, Pangalan, Talacanen, and Batacan were leased by the local government to businessmen, who were reportedly members of the local ruling elite. These limestone cliffs were home to *balinsasayaw* (swiftlet) whose nests are collected by hired laborers, and shipped and sold to Chinese businessmen in Manila, who export this product to Hong Kong and China. Balinsasayaw nests are processed into nido soup.

These texts about the sale or lease of portions of the landscape and seascape of Taytay are narratives of claims and possession by individuals and groups with the capacity, mainly induced by capital, to engage in the real estate business. These same texts, however, are narratives of dispossession of rights for artisanal fishers and members of indigenous cultural communities like the Tagbanua Calamianen whose subsistence dependson the landscapes and seascapes put on lease or sale by the government.

The situations described above reflect the discursive construction and ownership of places. These are social texts in which are embedded the hierarchy and geography of power. The mosaic of resource users of the bay and adjacent bodies of water has practically designed the kind of property regimes at work in Taytay. It is within this context that the tablay as voyage by the Tagbanua Calamianen gains political relevance and significance. The next section sums up the contention that the manner the Tagbanua Calamianen of Taytay carry out their tablay as fishing voyage around their banua is an ideological engagement of authoring their places and spaces. Their manner of authoring their banua through the tablay (as fishing voyage) is, in the end, a reassertion of contemporary local knowledge, at times reconfigured to negotiate, in their own terms, the terrain of discursive and pragmatic social engagement.

### **Tablay as Fishing Voyage: Reclaiming the Banua, Semiotically**

The study has described the tablay of young Tagbanua Calamianen as a piece of oral literature that textually narrates the description of their places, people, and events, and as a form of communication in which flow, and in turn mediate,



the construction of meanings about these same places, people and events. It has argued further that the tablay as social practice, i.e., in the form of fishing voyages, serves as a discursive strategy of mapping their ancestral and present-day territorial waters.

The tablay, as a literary text and a form of communication, is about what is lived in their banua, the banua being the socially shared sea spaces and landscapes that bind together the Tagbanua Calamianen. The tablay, in this sense, functions as cultural narratives of the social spaces of the Tagbanua Calamianen. The tablay, as a social practice, on the other end, is about living and knowing the territoriality of their fishing grounds and social spaces. The tablay, as a literary text, as a form of communication, and as social practice, is a spatial authoring of their place, the banua, which defines and refines the construction of their identity as a contemporary marine-oriented people.

The Tagbanua Calamianen, particularly their youth, are practically rendered spaceless and placeless in the banua of their settlements and fishing. Their banua has become the domain primarily of private enterprises and government projects, which, in the process of holding legal claims to the resources of Taytay Bay, have virtually rendered the Tagbanua Calamianen of Taytay spaceless in their very own spaces and places. The Tagbanua Calamianen's narratives of reclaiming place, however, remain intact, albeit always in a state of flux or almost always negotiated or mediated discursively. One of these narratives is their tablay—tablay not as oral literature alone or form of communication, but tablay as fishing voyage.

As a discourse, the tablay is a continuous remaking and remarking of the Tagbanua Calamianen's banua in the context of the spatial contestation going on in Taytay Bay, which has now become one of the loci of projects and actions deployed by various social forces as part of their specific objectives and strategies. The tablay as fishing voyage is an iterative act of marking their banua. This act serves as a counter-discourse to the competing claims of other social groups to the places and resources of Taytay Bay.

The tablay as fishing voyage function as spatial narratives and practices that frame the bounded yet boundless territorialities of their fishing grounds and ancestral waters, and the eco-geographical structures of their social and economic life. All the fish hunting activities, and the fishing practices and beliefs associated in these fishing journeys, are, thus, acts that embody their whole notion of the tablay. By doing the fishing tablay, they mark and delineate the ancestral, as well as the contemporary, territories of their socio-economic and cultural domains. These are the same physical territories that are gradually

being taken away from them by the various claimants of the water and the forest resources of Taytay.

The twin concepts of tablay and banua are cultural frames that map, less on the symbolic and the cognitive aspects than on the materially functional level, the terrain of the Tagbanua Calamianen's geographical and eco-infrastructure boundaries. Their tablay and banua are a testament and a declaration of their claims to their seas. In other words, the fishing tablay, or tablay as fishing voyage, is an 'invisible' spatial deed of title. It is a conceptual frame about the Tagbanua Calamianen's property rights and tenurial arrangements, a declaration of their claims to their seas, a testament of property ownership, a spatial reclaiming of the Tagbanua Calamianen's banua,

In short, the tablay, as a social practice that defines their banua, is not about the "ancestralness" of their waters. It is about the "contemporariness" of their ancestral waters. It is about the "modern-ness" of their traditional fishing practices. The tablay of the young rural Tagbanua Calamianen is as contemporary as the urban youth's market-mediated mobile phones, technology-dependent Internet, and capital-induced mall practices. The tablay of the Tagbanua Calamianen youth, in sum, is all about their historically contested present, a present shaped by a likewise historically contested past, and a present that reaches out to the historicity of their future.

## Endnotes

- 1 This study is an excerpt from the author's M. A. thesis in Philippine literature, titled *anin, laud, beltay, pandaw, dagoy: Lunan, kaakuhan at kapangyarihan sa texto ng mga komunidad kostal sa hilagang Palawan* (Unibersidad ng Pilipinas-Diliman, 2000). It has been presented in the following conferences and workshops: "Pagdadalumat sa Panitikang-Bayan, Pagdadalumat ng Bayan sa Panitikan: A national conference on traditional literature," November 29-December 1, 2000, at UP Diliman; "Coastal Zone Canada International Conference," September 2000, in St. John, New Brunswick, Canada; "Workshop on Community-based Management of Coastal Resources: The Philippine and Atlantic Canadian Experience," September 2000, at St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada; "Philippine Workshop on Marine and Coastal Resources and Community-based Property Rights," June 12-15, 2001, in Anilao, Mabini, Batangas; and "On Edge: Anthropology in Troubling Times," the 30th annual conference of the Canadian Anthropology Society and the Society for the Anthropology of North America (CASCA), May 8-11, 2003, at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. Further revisions were made during the course of my Ph.D. work at McGill University, with a research grant coming from the International Development Research Centre (Canada) and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (USA) through Project Seahorse.

- 2 A tangdol or tandol is a land formation that juts out to the sea. It is often called point or port.
- 3 The Tagbanua Calamianen in Pagdurianen gave permission to have their photos taken. The photos of the young Tagbanua Calamianen tablay singers mentioned in this essay are indexed as Palawan Photo File F5 at Aklatang Guieb, Baliuag, Bulacan.
- 4 This geographic-oriented system of classification of the Tagbanua in 1997 was gathered during informal talks with them during the author's stay in their villages in Taytay and on the island of Linapacan, both in Northern Palawan. Some fishers of Taytay also referred to the Tagbanua using this system of classification. However, anthropologists are debating whether each subgrouping of the Tagbanua represents either a distinct ethnolinguistic group or a "socio-geographical variation" of the group (Eder & Fernandez, 1996; Fox, 1982; Maranan, 1994; Misión de la Compañía de Jesús, 1900; Worcester, 1913). This essay will not be engaged in such a debate.
- 5 Many samples of the tablay by the Tagbanua Calamianen and other groups from coastal and island communities of Taytay and the nearby municipality of Linapacan recorded during the 1997 fieldwork are not included in this essay. The current essay focuses on those sung by the Tagbanua youth of Pagdurianen. One or two samples from other areas are mentioned only when directly related to a point raised in the essay.
- 6 yuke = ukelele
- 7 All the tablay in this essay were recorded on August 1, 1997 and had no titles. The author provided the tablay with titles. In parenthesis are the name of the singer, the singer's estimate age, and the language used in the song. Lelita Agustin, a 55-year-old Tagbanua Calamianen of Calibangbangan Island, Linapacan, Northern Palawan, translated the texts from the original language into Filipino. The author, in turn, translated the Filipino text into English. The English translation is not meant to be literary and serve only as literal guides to the original text.
- 8 makipaglaver—from the English word 'lover'.
- 9 The ethnography of the Tagbanua Calamianen described in this section came from interviews in 1997 with the following: 1) Gil Languyod, 45, Tagbanua Calamianen, Sitio Pagdurianen, Poblacion, Taytay, Palawan, August 1; 2) Genaro Garcia, 48, Cebuano, Sitio Pagdurianen, Poblacion, Taytay, Palawan, August 1; and 3) Jose Liboon Jr., about 40, artisanal fisher, Poblacion, Taytay, Palawan, August 1. Some information was based on observations of the camp site in Sitio Pagdurianen.
- 10 Some Tagbanua Calamianen mentioned that they can dive from 18 to 20 fathoms, which translates to 108 to 120 feet underwater. This information is unconfirmed.
- 11 Other than Rimban (1998), the experiences pertaining to the CADCs of the Tagbanua Calamianen of Coron, northern Palawan are reported by Dalabajan (1998, 1999), Hilario and Salazar (2000), and Mercado et al. (1999).
- 12 The same analysis was forwarded by Cadeliña (1996) in a study about the Batak's use of their forest resources.
- 13 The marks [ ] and ( ) have been added to correct the texts of the ads. The [ ] is for the inserts provided; the ( ) is for the texts that were deleted. The texts of the advertisements are verbatim. The contact information mentioned in the original text has been deleted.

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