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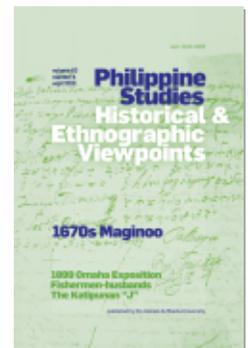
## **“Ang manga Ualang Auang Jalimao” The First Katipunan Document and the Mysterious Letter “J”**

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# Research Note

RAMON GUILLERMO

## “Ang manġa Ualang Auang Jalimao” The First Katipunan Document and the Mysterious Letter “J”

The unusual orthography of the earliest document of the Katipunan, entitled “Casaysayan; Pinagcasundoan; Manga daquilang cautosan” (Narration; Covenant; Principal Orders), dated January 1892, raises some puzzling questions regarding its authorship and provenance. This document widely uses the letter “j” in lieu of the “h,” which had become the standard in Tagalog orthography by the late nineteenth century. The author proposes a possible explanation for the use of the letter “h” based on linguistic interference with the Chabacano creole language. Given the plausibility of this explanation, the author points to some possible inferences regarding the individuals behind the founding of the Katipunan.

**KEYWORDS: KATIPUNAN · LADISLAO DIWA · CHABACANO · ORTHOGRAPHY · PHILOLOGY**

Jim Richardson's (2013) edition and publication of Katipunan documents created quite a stir in Katipunan historiography. This was particularly the case with the document entitled "Casaysayan; Pinagcasundoan; Manga daquilang cautosan" (Narration; Covenant; Principal Orders; henceforth, CPMDC), dated January 1892 and sourced from the Archivo General Militar de Madrid (Caja 5677, legajo 1.37) (fig. 1). The document shows that, although the Katipunan was born in July 1892, it had been conceived six months earlier. Richardson (2013, 5) notes, "[t]he document is unsigned, and it is difficult for the untutored eye to tell whether or not it was penned by a single hand."<sup>1</sup> His observations on the orthography of the text states:

The orthography, however, is more or less consistent throughout, and is highly distinctive. One surprise is that the "c" is favored rather than the "k" (which was later to become almost obligatory within the Katipunan). The name of the society, for example, is consequently rendered as the *cagalang galang na Cataastaasang Catipunan*. But the use of the "c" was still commonplace in the Manila of the 1890s, as were other characteristics of the old-style orthodoxy [sic] to be found in the document—the use of "u" rather than "w" in words such as *gaua* and *uala*, for instance, or *sila,i*, among others rather than *sila'y* and so on—so none of these conventions is in any way aberrant or anachronistic. What is truly unusual about this document orthographically, perhaps even unique, is that the author or authors customarily use "j" in place of "h", so that *hindi* becomes *jindi* and *hanap buhay* becomes *janap bujay*, and so on. As yet, the reason for this stylistic quirk remains a mystery. (Richardson 2013, 5–6)

### **Explaining the Unusual Orthography**

A first reaction to the unusual orthography of the CPMDC might be to attribute it to a personal quirk of the writer or even to some unusual ideological motivation. One could compare the generally consistent use of "j" in CPMDC with José Rizal's first sustained introduction of the letter "k" into Tagalog in his 1887 translation of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (Guillermo 2009; Thomas 2012). This option, however, would effectively bar any further possibility of knowing more about such a *sui generis* object.

leg. 1.37

a Basaysayan 38

Pag sasaysay ng mga cadahilanan ng pag finalay ng lapulang ito sa nag aanguing Yna.

Ang unodice sa amin na  
Jinnialay sa C. . . . .  
ay ang malabis niyang ugali,  
matigas na loob, catacilitan at  
iba pang mangga carumalder-  
mat na gawi na jindi da-  
pat gamitin ng sino mang  
Yna sa alin mang anac, ga-  
ya ng mangga sumusunod.

1°.- Ang cataasan at natang  
anang pag siigil ng buis na  
min, maguing sa aming co-  
tanan, maguing sa mga  
ari i' caramanan namin.

2°.- Ang pag callas sa can-  
ting quiquitan namin  
cung can ay gumamit

Fig. 1. The first page of the CPMDC (courtesy of Jim Richardson)

A second reaction might be to explain it on the basis of the typical pressures of standard Spanish orthography on a Tagalog bilingual. A person habituated to the dropping of “h” would probably feel some discomfort at having to pronounce it, especially in textual contexts wherein properly spelled Spanish words are mixed in willy-nilly and in close proximity with Tagalog. In contrast to the first reaction, this eventuality would appear to offer too broad a range of possibilities as to result also in a virtual deadend. (A related, somewhat humorous example was an incident in which an Indonesian visitor once complained to the author why Filipino names such as “Jojo Buenconsejo” could not be pronounced as “Hoho Buenconseho.”) However, there is a history behind the dropped “h.” According to Ralph Penny (2004, 45–46), the dropping of “h” in standard Spanish, and therefore the necessity of replacing it with “j” in some linguistic contexts in the Philippines, only took off in the sixteenth century:

The development which interests us here is the subsequent success of /h/-dropping, a phenomenon which may have more ancient origins but which gains significant attention in the middle of the sixteenth century, when interested observers contrast the speech of Old Castile, where /h/ is lost, from that of the prestige centre, Toledo, where /h/ is retained. It appears that, very rapidly, in the second half of the sixteenth century, /h/-dropping became acceptable.

Furthermore,

in the early communities established in the Americas there were speakers who pronounced such words as *hilar* ‘to spin’ and *humo* ‘smoke’ with initial /h/, while others pronounced them /ilár/ and /úmo/. This variation had its cause in the different parts of the Peninsula from which the colonists came. We saw earlier that in the sixteenth century (the period when Castilian began to be carried to America), much of Old Castile was an area of /h/-dropping, while in other areas (such as Cantabria, New Castile, Extremadura, and Andalusia) speakers retained initial /h/ in their pronunciation. But a competition of forms which had its origins in geographical variation appears to have been transmuted into a case of social-class variation. The articulation of /h/ in words like *hilar* is found today throughout Spanish-speaking

America, but is now confined to uneducated speakers, in rural and urban settings, while educated Spanish-American varieties, like their Peninsular counterparts, lack /h/ in words of this class. (ibid., 54–55)

A third theory, similar to the second, might be to explain spelling such as *jindi* by identifying nineteenth-century Philippine orthographies that habitually and systematically spell Tagalog words using an orthography closer to Spanish than to the already commonplace Tagalog spellings. One way of doing this search would be to look for spellings similar to “jindi” in Philippine language textual corpora (texts, including dictionaries) and, by this means, identify possible candidates. This research note is an exploration of this third option.

Appendix A shows all the usages of “j” (pronounced “h” in the CPMDC) and the frequencies of usage of the relevant lexeme. “Jindi” (no/not) being the most frequent item caught Richardson’s eye. But is such a spelling really so unique as he says? A dictionary of Zamboanga Chabacano lists the word *jende* (no/not) (Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino 2002). This is linguistically the equivalent of “jindi” and *hindi*. It seems to be the case that the type of usage of “j” found in the first Katipunan document is similar to regular Chabacano usage.<sup>2</sup>

Appendix B is a wordlist of lexical items with “j” from the Chabacano dictionary of the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino, with some non-Spanish words also spelt with “j.” The lizard *tambilijan*, for example, is known as *bubuli* in Tagalog. *Pulujan* in Chabacano is Tagalog *puluhan*, which means the handle of a bladed weapon. Obviously, the use of “j” in proper nouns such as “José,” “Pagsanjan,” “Jolo,” and the like was not unusual.

But, apart from Chabacano, the systematic orthographic use of “j” in place of “h” was already highly unusual in Tagalog orthography in the nineteenth century. In fact the first book in Tagalog, the *Doctrina Christiana* (1593, 7–8; italics added; letter “h” capitalized for emphasis) already consistently used “h” as an equivalent for baybayin *ha* (∞) in the Lord’s Prayer:

Ama namin nasa langit ca ypasamba mo ang ngala mo mouisaamin ang *pacaHari* mo ypasonor mo ang loob mo dito salupa para sa langit, bigya mo cami ngaion nang amin cacanin. Para nang sa araoarao. atpacualin mo ang amin casalana, yaiang uinualan *baHala* nami

sa loob ang casalanan nang nagcacasala sa amin. *Houag* mo coming  
aeuan nang di cami matalo nang tocso.

Chabacano or Chavacano is a creole language based on Spanish, which dates back to the seventeenth century (Romanillos 2006, 2–3) and is said to have spread subsequently through Cavite, Manila, and Zamboanga. Perhaps Chabacano spelling conventions learned through a linguistic environment could have exerted a normative force on the writer of CPMDC until this practice was “corrected” through “Tagalog intervention,” which happened in the revised version dated August 1892 entitled “Kasaysayan; Pinagkasundoan; Manga Dakuilang Kautusan” (KPMDC; see Appendix C).

However, it is important to note that the use of “j” for “h” in the CPMDC is not completely consistent. There is a scattering of usages of “h,” for example: *huag*, *caapihan*, *cadahilanan*, *harap*, *hindi*, *hirap*, *huluin*. And, quite interestingly, there are also instances of usage of the new orthographic innovation represented by the letter “k,” for example: *kaapijan*, *kajarian*, *kastila*, *maykap[al]*, and the encrypted word *kzstnja* (*kastila*).

Obviously, those involved in the drafting of both the CPMDC (January 1892) and the KPMDC (August 1892) were not completely different people. The CPMDC was much longer with a total number of 3,649 words (with 1,050 unique words) as compared with the KPMDC with a total 2,287 words (with 747 unique words). Interestingly, while the CPMDC states that this archipelago will be given an appropriate name (*bibigyan nang nababagay na pangalan*) at the proper time, the KPMDC already directly adopts the name “sang Kapuluang Pilipinas.” The organization was already called “Cataastaasang Catipunan” in CPMDC, and it would be respelled as “Kataastaasang Katipunan” in KPMDC. Fascinating is the original use of the word “Jalimao” (“halimaw,” monster) in CPMDC to refer to the Spaniards, “harimau” being an important culture-concept in the Malay world that means something more than just “tiger.” As much as 26 percent of the KPMDC had been brought over from the CPMDC but altered in spelling (Appendix C).

As Richardson (2013, 20–21) points out, the proclamations of independence in both documents are almost identical. Orthographic differences are what strikes the eye initially but one sees that the CPMDC hesitates mentioning “Espania” whereas it is directly mentioned in the fully encrypted KPMDC manuscript:

### CPMDC

Isinasaysay na ang manga  
Capuloang ito ay jumijiualay sa . . .  
mag bujat sa arao na ito at ualang  
quiniquilala at quiquilanlin pang Puno  
at macapangyayare cung di itong  
Cataastaasang Catipunan. (ibid., 11)

It is hereby declared that this  
Archipelago is separating from . . .  
from this day onwards and does not  
and will not recognize any other  
leadership or authority other than this  
Highest Association.

### KPMDK

Ysinasaysay mag buhat sa arao na  
ito na ang manga Kapuloang ito ay  
humihawalay sa Espania at walang  
kinikilala at kikilanling Pamumuno  
kung di itong Kataastaasang  
Katipunan. (ibid., 27)

It is hereby declared that from  
this day onwards this Archipelago  
is separating from Spain and does  
not and will not recognize any  
other leadership aside from this  
Highest Association.

### Possible Authorship

Now the question is, who among the three original founders of the Katipunan could have been immersed in Chabacano to the extent that the orthographic conventions of the latter could prevail over regular Tagalog spelling usages? (See fig. 2.) Andres Bonifacio (1863–1897) and Teodoro Plata (1866–1897) were natives of Tondo and probably knew some of the patois (Anderson 2008, 73). But given what is known from Bonifacio’s Tagalog writings, he probably would have found the use of “j” for “h” unnatural and uncomfortable. Plata is an unknown quantity in this regard. Romanillos (2006, 22) writes that there was a time when variants of Chabacano were spoken in the Manila areas of Ermita, Quiapo, Malate, San Nicolas, Binondo, Santa Cruz, Trozo,

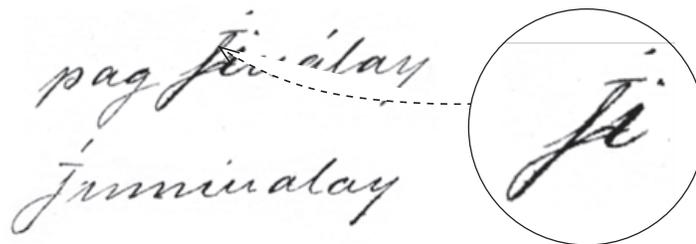


Fig. 2. The first (*top left*) and second (*bottom left*) appearance of 'J' in CPMDC; the first appearance shows that 'h' was hastily overwritten/corrected with 'j' (*right*)

and Paco. Emilio Jacinto (1875–1899), who joined the Katipunan later, was said to be more proficient in the *lenguaje de tienda* (language of the market) than in Tagalog (Agoncillo 1996, 87).

For his part, Rizal famously inserted the following Chabacano passage in *El filibusterismo*—notice the unusual spelling of the words *jablá* (Spanish *hablar*) and *jasé* (Spanish *hacer*):

*“Ya cogí ba con Tadeo?” preguntaba la dueña* [“Is it true Tadeo's been caught?” asked the proprietress].

*“Aba, ñora,” contestaba un estudiante que vivía en Parían, ‘pusilau ya!”* [“Good Lord, ma'am,” replied a student who resided in Parían. “He's already been shot!”]

*“¡Pusilau! Nakú! No pa ta pagó conmigo su deuda!”* [“Shot! My God! And he still hasn't paid me back what he owes me!”]

*“Ay! No jablá vos puelte, ñora, baká pa di quedá vos complice. Ya quemá yo ñga el libro que ya dale pretau conmigo! Baká pa di riquisá y di encontrá! Andá vos listo, ñora!”* [“Hey! Don't speak so loud, ma'am, or you could be taken for an accomplice. Actually, I've already burned the book he lent me. Otherwise, maybe they'd search and find it! Be prepared, ma'am, keep a sharp eye out!”]

*“Ta quedá dice preso Isagani?”* [“You mean to say Isagani is in jail?”]

*“Loco-loco también aquel Isagani,” decía el estudiante indignado, “no sana di cogí con ele, ta andá pa presentá! O, bueno ñga, que topá raya con ele! Siguro pusilau!”* [“That Isagani is really a fool,” said the student indignantly. “They shouldn't have been able to catch him, but he went and turned himself in! Well, then, it'll serve him right if the lightning strikes him! He'll be shot for sure!”] *La señora se encogió de hombros.* [The lady shrugged her shoulders.]

*“Conmigo no ta debí nada! Y cosa di jasé Paulita?”* [“He doesn't owe me a thing! And what will Paulita do now?”]

*“No di falta novio, ñora. Siguro di llorá poco, luego di casá con un español!”* [“She won't lack for boyfriends, ma'am. Sure she'll cry a bit, then marry a Spaniard!”] (Anderson 2008, 73–75; cf. Romanillos 2006, 80–81)

However, although one cannot rule out the distinct possibility that Bonifacio, Plata, or other unknown collaborators and coconspirators in the

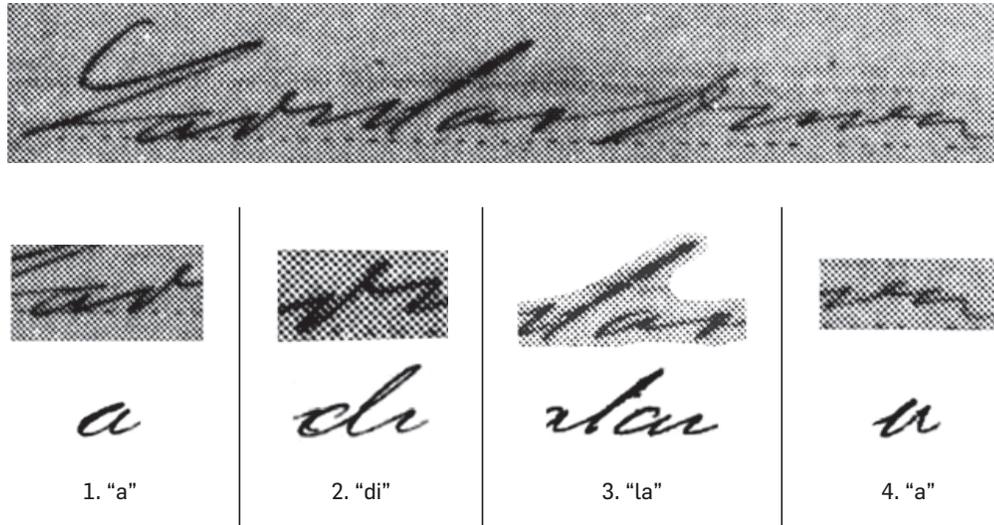


Fig. 3. Ladislao Diwa's signature (1901) (*top*) and samples from CPMDC (1892) (*bottom*)

Source: Calairo 1996, 21

early Katipunan were conversant in the Chabacano dialect or some other languages in the vicinity with similar orthographies, it is known with certainty that Ladislao Diwa (1863–1930), the third original founder of the Katipunan, was the one who was born in the Cavite town of San Roque when Chabacano was at the peak of “its widest diffusion and greatest splendor” (Calairo 1996, 3; Romanillos 2006, 3). San Roque is the town of origin of some of the great Chabacano poets such as Eliodoro Ballesteros (1892–1973), the “adroit sonnetist of San Roque” (Romanillos 2006, 25–28).<sup>3</sup>

The complication that arises is that apparently “jende” is not a part of Cavite Chabacano. But it is possible that it existed and was known among Chabacano-speaking Caviteños. Due to a large degree of overlap in vocabulary, Cavite and Zamboanga Chabacano are said to be mutually intelligible dialects and are not considered separate languages (*ibid.*, 2). The transformation of “jende” to “jindi” is also consistent with “the alteration of the vowel /o/ to /u/ and the vowel /e/ to /i/ by Chabacano-speaking residents of San Roque” (*ibid.*, 9–10).

Handwriting comparison of an existing signature by Ladislao Diwa on his document of surrender to American authorities dated 15 March 1901 (Calairo 1996, 21) and samples from the first page of the CPMDC nine years earlier is inconclusive but nevertheless intriguing (*fig. 3*). Perhaps the most remarkable feature is the almost identical slant of the “l” with a pen lift

before the next letter “a” (fig. 3, item 3). It would take more careful analysis to verify if there was only one writer of the CPMDC. It could also be the case that a hurried signature would reflect different characteristics from a document that had been written deliberately and with care. Unfortunately, all of Diwa’s remaining papers and manuscripts are said to have been burned in a fire (Calairo 1996, 64).

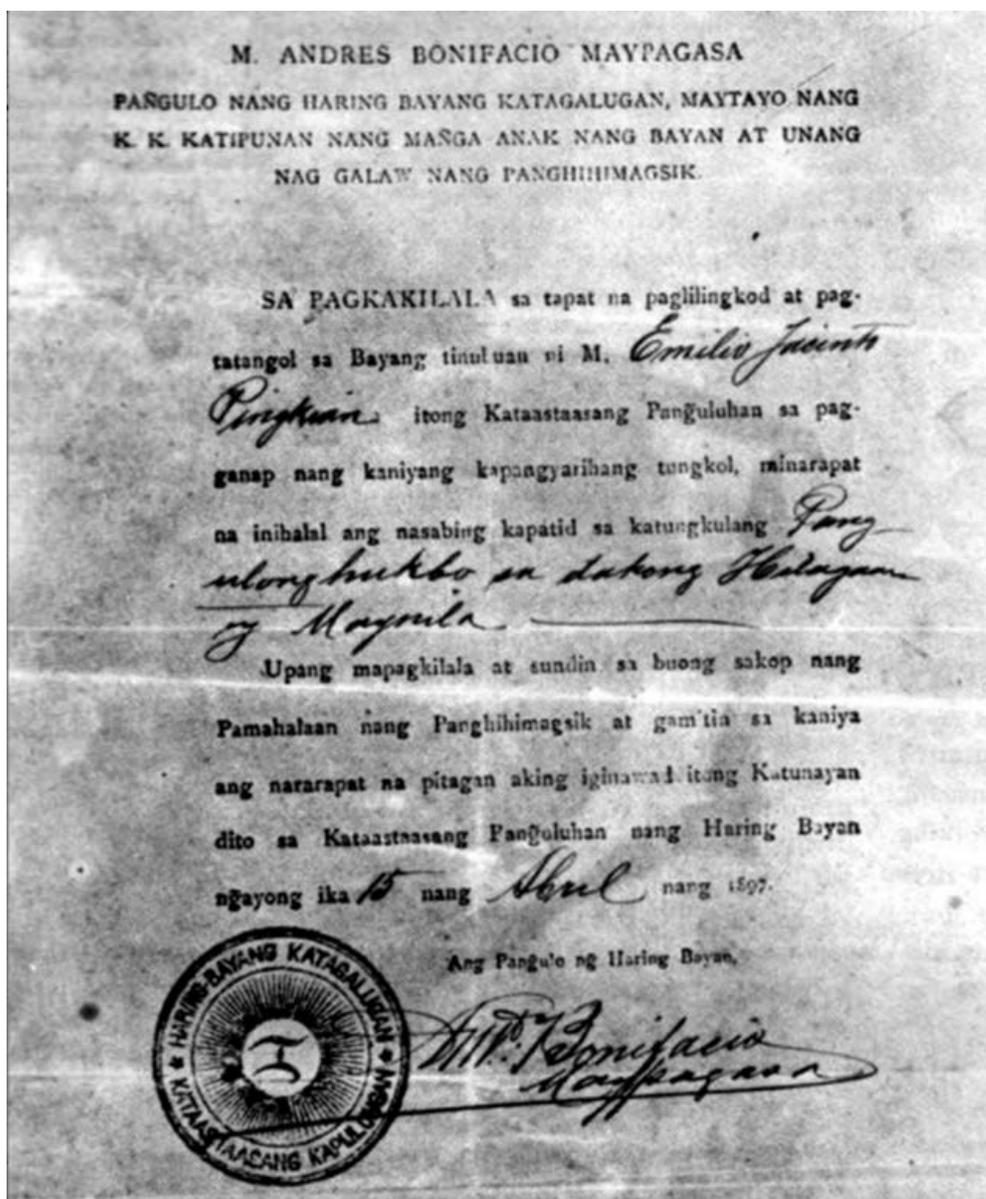


Fig. 4. Bonifacio's Letter of Appointment for Emilio Jacinto dated 15 April 1897

Source: Guerrero et al. 1996, 8

## **Ladislao Diwa and the Founding of the Katipunan**

Diwa's educational background was rather more intensive than that of most members of the Katipunan. He finished a Bachelor of Arts degree at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran, spent fourteen years in a seminary, and studied Law at the University of Santo Tomas from 1883 to 1892 (ibid., 4–7; 92–93). It would not have been difficult for him to undertake the drafting of such a document as the CPMDC.

Despite their extremely tentative nature, the conjectures laid out in this essay may lend new light on Diwa's revelations (and that of his daughter who was interviewed by historians after his death) that he had a more central role in the founding of the Katipunan than is generally acknowledged. Would this contradict Bonifacio's letter of appointment of Emilio Jacinto signed on 15 April 1896 (fig. 4), which stated on the letterhead that Bonifacio was "Ang Pangulo ng Haring Bayan – May tayo nang K. K. Katipunan nang mga Anak ng Bayan at Unang nag galaw nang Panghihimagsik" (The President of the Sovereign Nation – Founder of the Katipunan and Initiator of the Revolution) (Guerrero et al. 1996, 8)? Perhaps not, because being a founder (*may tayo*) of an organization would seem to have entailed rather more than writing an early draft of one of its first documents. The outcome of further investigations would probably not put in question Bonifacio's undisputed position as the soul and moving spirit of the Katipunan.

Diwa's actual contribution to the founding of the Katipunan became an issue when he shared his angle on the founding of the Katipunan a year before his death ("naging usapin nang isalaysay ni Ladislao Diwa ang isang anggulo sa pagkakatatag ng organisasyon") (ibid., 1) in an interview with Fernando Hernandez (1929) entitled "El Ultimo Superviviente Del Primer Katipunan" (The Last Survivor of the First Katipunan) (quoted in Calairo 1996, 76–80). Diwa was quoted as having written:

En la noche del 6 de julio de 1892, estos es, del dia en que fue arrestado el Dr. Rizal, Andres Bonifacio, Teodoro Plata y el que esto escribe, fundemos el KATIPUNAN, en una de las accesorias, llamadas de Dalmacio, señalada hoy con el No. 734 en la calle denominado actualmente Elcano, o sea la segunda puerta desde la esquina Se. de esta calle y la de Azcarraga.

El procedimiento establecido principio, para la afiliacion, en cada miembro tenia que buscara aportar dos afiliados que conformase triangulo; y asi, yo mi parte, catequiee y traje la Asociacion para formar triangulo conmigo, a Roman Basa y Teodoro Gonzales, con quienes tenia mayor confianza. Andres Bonifacio trajo a Ciriaco Bonifacio y Restituto Javier; y Teodoro Plata a Briccio Pantas y Valentin Diaz. (Calairo 1996, 77)

The text above is difficult to interpret because it contains what appears to be several errors of Spanish grammar and style, which may be attributable partly to mistakes in transcription (by Hernandez or Calairo) or to actual flaws in Diwa's Spanish (Ebreo 2015). In its current form, however, it may be paraphrased very freely as follows:

On the night of 6 July 1892, which was the day of Rizal's arrest, Andres Bonifacio, Teodoro Plata and the writer of these lines, founded the KATIPUNAN, in one of the apartments, owned by [?] Dalmacio, known today as no. 734 in the street called Elcano, or the second door from the corner Se. of this street and of Azcarraga.

The first order of the day, regarding membership: each member must bring in two others who will form a triangle; and for my part, I taught and brought to the Association to form a triangle with me, Roman Basa and Teodoro Gonzales, in whom I had the greatest confidence. Andres Bonifacio brought in Ciriaco Bonifacio and Restituto Javier; and Teodoro Plata brought in Briccio Pantas and Valentin Diaz.

The most important thing it states is his account of the founding date, which is a day earlier than that generally accepted by historians. However, his daughter (Appendix D), Cecilia Diwa, when asked point-blank by the historian Emmanuel Calairo (1996, 41) if Ladislao had founded the Katipunan, answered in the affirmative. Calairo (ibid., 83) ended his short biography of Ladislao Diwa with the following observation:

Ang mga batis na mababasa tungkol sa alegasyon na si Ladislao Diwa ang nag-isip ng Katipunan ay kakaunti lamang at ang mga ito ay buhat sa mga kaanak ni Ladislao Diwa. May mga batis na

tumatalakay sa buhay ni Ladislao ngunit hindi nababanggit ang pagtatatag ng Katipunan. Dahil sa pangyayaring ito, mayroon pa ring mga historyador na di-umaayon na si Ladislao Diwa ang utak sa pagtatatag ng Katipunan. Ang tanging datos na nagpapaliwanag na si Ladislao Diwa ang nagtatag ng Katipunan ay ang artikulo ni Fernando Hernandez. Gayunpaman, ang artikulo ay panayam kay Ladislao Diwa bago siya namatay.

The sources which can be read regarding the claim that Ladislao Diwa was the one who had conceived of the Katipunan are few and these come from his relatives. There are some sources which deal with Ladislao's life but these do not mention the founding of the Katipunan. Because of this fact, there are still historians who do not agree that Ladislao Diwa was the architect behind the founding of the Katipunan. The only source which explains that Ladislao Diwa founded the Katipunan was the article by Fernando Hernandez. However, this article was an interview with Ladislao Diwa before he died.

Is it possible that the letter “j” can now serve as witness to Ladislao Diwa's words?

### **Further Questions**

It must be emphasized that this article only aims to propose what may be just one among several possible explanations for the use of the letter “j” in the CPMDC for discussion and further research. It is highly probable that other simpler and more plausible explanations may be discovered even in the near future. On this highly tentative note, while pursuing the current line of argument, one can only end with a series of questions:

1. Were there other contemporaneous Philippine languages in the vicinity of the Tagalog-speaking area with orthographies similar to Chabacano?
2. How different are the contemporaneous orthographies of the Chabacano dialects of Manila, Ternate, Cavite, and Zamboanga with respect to each other and to the orthography of the CPMDC?
3. Could Bonifacio or Plata have used such an orthography with the letter “j” despite the well-established usage of “h” in nineteenth-century Tagalog orthography?

4. Could there have been another unknown member (aside from Bonifacio, Plata, or Diwa) involved with the possible early group of conspirators from January 1892 who had been influenced by Chabacano (or another similar orthography) in writing the CPMDC?
5. Could other samples of Diwa's handwriting still exist for comparison with the CPMDC?
6. Was the writer of the CPMDC an amanuensis, or did he write down his own ideas?
7. Was the CPMDC the work of an individual, or was it the product of a collective discussion by a group?
8. If Ladislao Diwa was indeed the founder or architect behind the Katipunan, what would such a fact imply for Philippine historiography? Why was he not a more active claimant in establishing his role in the movement?
9. Are there any other reliable and independent corroborating testimonies that could support Diwa's claims?

## Notes

*Thanks to Jim Richardson who gave advice and provided materials. Questions from Francis Gealogo, Jun Aguilar, Myfel Paluga, and Nancy Gabriel greatly improved the arguments. Bernadette Abrera in particular gave very thoughtful and helpful comments. Elvin Ebreo, Emmanuel Romanillos, and Jean-Paul Potet helped with translations and some linguistic aspects.*

- 1 The following discussion will employ Richardson's transcriptions of the relevant Katipunan texts. There are some unclear portions, however, that may perhaps be improved. Moreover, in his transcription Richardson omits the use of the Tagalog letter 'ḡ.'
- 2 This observation, of course, does not eliminate other possible candidates aside from Chabacano.
- 3 It is puzzling, however, that Diwa's daughter relates that her father knew only Tagalog, Kapampangan, Ilokano, Spanish, and Latin (Calairo 1996, 52).

## Appendix A

Words with a 'j' (pronounced 'h') in CPMDC

36 jindi	2 jalaga	1 mamajal
10 juag	2 jajarap	1 malajoc
9 capangyarijan	2 jajanda	1 majiualay
9 bujat	2 calilojan	1 majinang
8 jaligue	2 bijira	1 majiguit
7 lajat	1 upajan	1 majalaga
7 bujay	1 tirajang	1 majadlangan
6 jangang	1 tirajan	1 magjajauac
5 jare	1 talinjagang	1 magbujat
4 majigpit	1 talastasin	1 macapamamajala
4 jiualay	1 tajimic	1 mabujay
4 dajil	1 tagjo	1 mabasagulojan
4 caramijan	1 susucbajan	1 lumicja
4 bajalang	1 sabijing	1 linicjang
3 sujay	1 sabijan	1 lililicjan
3 panajon	1 punajan	1 lilicja
3 majal	1 pumapanjic	1 lijim
3 lubjang	1 pujunan	1 licja
3 jauac	1 pinangunguluguijan	1 lalatjala
3 jarap	1 pinajijintulotang	1 kajarian
3 jangad	1 pinacacatau	1 kaapijan
3 jalal	1 pangjimasucan	1 jumiuualay
3 icaguiguinjaua	1 pamamajala	1 jumingi
3 capanajunan	1 pajingajin	1 jumijiualay
3 cajaran	1 pagcasiyajan	1 jumijinging
2 ynalilijim	1 pagcajiualay	1 jumajamon
2 matajimic	1 ngunajan	1 juli
2 mapajiualay	1 namimintujo	1 jubad
2 majicpit	1 minamajal	1 jualang
2 juala	1 maquilajoc	1 joloano
2 jirap	1 maquijarap	1 jocoman
2 jinajauacan	1 mapaquilajoc	1 jocom
2 janga	1 mangajas	1 jocbo

## Appendix A

(continued)

1 jingin	1 jajalatang	1 dajilan
1 jinajauacang	1 jagdan	1 casambajay
1 jinajarap	1 jabilin	1 capurijan
1 jina	1 itagjoy	1 capangyarajang
1 jilig	1 inijalal	1 capanajunang
1 jefes	1 inijajalal	1 camajalang
1 jatol	1 ilajoc	1 cajubaran
1 janap	1 ijapay	1 caja
1 jalos	1 ijajatid	1 caisajan
1 jalimbaua	1 ijajalal	1 caapijan
1 jalimao	1 igugujit	1 bujoc
1 jalile	1 icajijiualay	1 binabajague
1 jalagang	1 icabubujay	1 bijis
1 jajayag	1 gujit	1 bibijisin
1 jajauacan	1 gagastajin	1 bajay
1 jajauac	1 firmajan	1 bajala
1 jajatid	1 dusajin	1 babasajan
1 jajarapin	1 dajilang	1 apijin

## Appendix B

### Words with a 'j' (pronounced 'h') in the KWF Chabacano Dictionary

(Some probable non-Spanish words in bold)

abaja	<b>gijay</b>	justo	queja
abajo	gorgojiao	juzga	quejah
aguja	gorgojo	juzgado	quijada
ajos	hojas	kuajay	raja
alajas	jabon	lejos	rajao
alajero	jabonera	maneya	rajas
ataja	jacka	manejo	rebaja
bajo	jala	marejada	reloj
bandejao	<b>jala-jala</b>	mensaje	remuja
baraja	jalea	mensajero	rimpuja
caja	jamon	moja	sabotaje
cajero	jardin	navaja	saja
cajita	jardinero	ojos	salvaje
cangrejo	jaula	orejas	semejansa
canje	jefe	paja	surujano
carajay	<b>jende</b>	pajarea	tajia
coji	jeringuilla	pajareador	tajiada
deja	jiringa	pajaro	<b>tambilijan</b>
dejado	jolen	parejo	teje
dejao	jorguesa	pasajero	tinaja
desventaja	joven	<b>patujan</b>	trabaja
ejecutivo	juajuy	peleajan	trabajador
ejemplo	judas	pellejo	trabajo
entojada	juego	perjudica	ultraja
entojo	jugador	perjuicio	ultrajada
escoji	juicio	personaje	vejes
escojida	<b>julu-julu</b>	prijoles	ventaja
espejo	junto	projimo	verija
fijo	jura	pugajan	viaja
flojeras	juramentao	puja	viajero
flojo	justicia	<b>pulujan</b>	

## Appendix C

Textual Excerpts Retained and Revised from CPMDC to KPMDK

<b>Casaysayan; Pinagcasundoan; Manga daquilang cautosan CPMDC, January 1892</b>	<b>Kasaysayan; Pinag-kasundoan; Manga dakuilang kautusan KPMDK, August 1892</b>
<b>Casaysayan</b>	<b>Kasaysayan</b>
<p>Yamang ang unang majalaga at pinuputungan ng masaganang carangalan at capurijan sa alin mang maningning na Kajarian ay ang majal na catungculan na mag tangol sa caniyang bayan, mag paca jirap sa icaguiguinjaua nito, gugulin ang dugo sampo nang bujay sa icararangal ng caniyang bayan, manga capatid at anac, upang juag sacupin, lupiguin at apijin ng ibang cajarian.</p>	<p>Yamang ang unang mahalaga at pinuputungan nang masaganang karangalan, at kapurihan sa alin mang maningning na kaharian ay ang katungkulan na mag tangol sa kaniyang bayan, mag paka hirap sa ikaguiguinhawa nito, gugulin ang yaman dugo sampong buhay sa ikararangal ng kaniyang bayan, manga kapatid at anak upang huag, lupiguin, at apihin nang ibang kaharian.</p>
<p>Yamang jindi ipinag iniuutos nang Maykap. na ang isa niyang linalang ay lumupig at yumurac sa capua, lalo na cung ito ay jindi nagbibigay dajilan.</p>	<p>Yamang hindi ipinag uutos nang Maykapal, na ang isa niyang linalang ay lumupig at yumurak sa kapoa.</p>
<p>Yamang jindi gauang calilojan ang mag tangol at umibig sa caniyang bayan lalo na cung iniinis at inaalipin ng namumuno sa caniya, gaya nang manga casalucuyang nangyayare.</p>	<p>Yamang hindi gawang kalilohan ang mag tangol, at pag ibig sa kaniyang bayan, lalo na kung iniinis at inaalipin nang namumuno sa kaniya, gaya ng mga kasulukuyang nangyayare.</p>

## Appendix C

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Yamang ang isang bayan, capag pinagpupunoan nang laban sa caniyang manga **interes**, cailangan, at mga tunay o tapat na jangad, ay mairo,-ong catoirang ijapay ang namumuno na may ganoong asal, at cung dumating ang ganitong janga, ay jindi pag laban o calilojan, cung di pag balicuas sa ningas nang jirap, na pinag susucbajan sa caniya sa isang salita ay pag tatangol sa matapat na catoiran.

Yamang ang isang bayan, kapag pinag pupunuan nang lupit at laban sa kaniyang manga interes kailangan, manga tunay at tapat na hangad, ay mayroong katoirang ihapay ang namumuno o nag hahare na may ganoong asal, at kung dumating sa ganitong hanga ay hindi pag laban o kaliluhan kung di pag tatangol sa matapat na katoiran at pag bangon sa ningas nang hirap na pinag susukbahan sa kaniya.

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Yamang jindi natatala sa alin mang Catoiran na ang sino man ay macapag jauac at cumamcam ng jindi niya lupa o pag aare, ay coming may areng tunay at tubo sa lupang ito na linupig at quinamcam may tunay na catoiran, huag na ang maningil nang pautang dajil sa manga gauang yaon, cun di na lamang jingin na isarile sa amin ang boong Capangyarijan sa manga Capuloang ito, bucod pa sa cami ay jindi nag cacailangan na pangjimasucan at pamunoan nang taga ibang lupa, cun ang guinagaua, gaya ngayon, ay pauang pag inis, pag lait, pag api, pag iring at pag patay.

Yamang hindi natatala sa alin mang **Leyes** o katoiran ang pag kamkam sa ano mang pamaan nang hindi niya pag aare, ay kaming may are na tunay sa lupang ito, may katoirang humingi na isauli sa aming ang boong kapangyarihan sa manga Kapuloang ito, bucod pa sa kami ay hindi nag kakailangan na panghimasukan at pamunuan nang taga ibang lupa kun ang guinagawa, gaya ngayon, pauang pag inis, pag lait, pag api at pag patay.

## Appendix C

(continued)

<b>Pinagcasundoan</b>	<b>Pinag-kasundoan</b>
<p>Alinsunod sa lahat nang manga gauang capusongan, na nasasaysay sa una, cung damdamin ang matinding sugat na sa puso namin ay binucsan ng manga gauang yaon at cung noynoin ang manga catoirang nanga talata, coming nag tibay sa ibaba nitong casulatan ay nagca isang loob at panucala na bunutin sa gayong caalipinan, cadustaan, caapijan at iba pang maraming calabisan na tinitiis nitong Sangcapuloan na quinamcam at linupig nang ualang aua, matacao at dayucdoc na nag papangap <b>Jalimao</b>.</p> <p>Upanding camtan namin ang mabuting janga nanga majicpit at mabigat na panucala, catungculang baga mat malaqui sa taglay naming lacas ay aming gaganapin mag bujat ngayon ay cami ay nag sasacdal sa mataas na Jocoman ng Maycapal at jumijinging tulungan nang caniyang daquilang lacas at capangyarijan, tuloy cami ay sumusucob at na pasasaclolo sa matapat na catoiran.</p>	<p>Alinsunod sa lahat nang manga gauang kapusongan na nanga sasaysayan sa una, sa pagdaramdam nang matinding sugat na sa puso namin ay binuksan nang manga gawang yaon nang Kastila at kung noynoin ang manga katoirang nanga tataala sa itaas. Kaming nag tibay (<b>firmantes</b>) sa ibaba nitong kasulatan ay nagka isang loob at panukala na bunutin sa kaalipinan, kadustaan, kaapihan at iba pang maraming kasukaban na tinitiis nitong sang Kapuloan na kinamkam at linupig nang walang awa ng manga matakao at dayukdok na kaniya, na nag papangap Halimao.</p> <p>Upanding kamtan namin ang mabuting hanga nang panukalang ito na lubhang mabigat, at malake sa taglay naming lakas, aming isinasakdal sa mataas na Hukuman nang Dios na Maykapal at kami humihinging tulungan nang kaniyang dakilang lakas at kapangyarihan, tuloy kami ay sumusukob at napasasaklolo sa matapat na katoiran.</p>

## Appendix C

(continued)

Sa pag ganap nang aming manga ipinangusap at pinagcasundoan ay nanumpa kami sa jarap nitong cagalang galang na Cataast. . Catipunan, sa caniya, dajil sa aming bayan, sa caniyang manga sugat na aming dinaramdan, sa caniyang icaguiguinjaua at sa cami ay nag aasal majal na ipag tatangol at gagauing mapilit ano mang mangyare na siya ay mag sarili at majiualay at di namin papayagang malupig pang muli nang nag jajauac ngayon at nang iba pang Cajarian na mangajas lumupig, at sa ganitong banal na jangad, ay aming isinasagot, sa pag ganap, ang aming catauan, bujay at manga cayamanang jinajauacan at jajauacan pa.

Sumusumpa din naman kami na aming gaganapin at ipagaganap ang mga cautusang sa juli ay inilagda at pinag caisajan nang manga guinoo na naga jajarap sa Cataastaasang Catipunang ito, na aming iguinagalang at ipinagdidiuang sa .....ica..... ng Enero isang libo ualong daan at siyam na puo at dalaua.

Sa pag ganap nang aming manga ipinangusap at pinagkasundan ay nanunumpa kami sa ngalan nang Dios sa harap nitong Kataastaasang Katipunan at sa aming kamahalan, na ipag tatangol nitong aming bayan, pag pipilitan ano man ang karatnan na siya ay magsarile at mapahiwalay sa Espanya.

Sa pag ganap nang ganitong manga banal na hangad ay isinasagot namin ang aming katawan, buhay at manga kayamanang hinahawakan at hahawakan pa.

Sumusumpa din naman kami na aming gaganapin at ipagaganap ang manga kautusang dakila na inilagda at pinagkaisahan namin at nang iba pang manga Guinoo na nag kakapisan sa Katipunang ito, na aming iguinagalang at ipinagdidiwang. Ang manga kautusang yaon ay kalakip sa huli nito.

Tondo ika..... nang Agosto taong isang libo walong daan at siyam na puo at dalawa.

## Appendix C

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<b>Manga daquilang cautosan</b>	<b>Manga dakuilang kautusan</b>
Sa pag tupad nang manga nalalaman sa nangungunang Pinagcasundoan ay ipinag uutos namin sa boong nasasacupan ng manga Capuloang ito, na sa capanajunan ay bibigyan nang nababagay na pangalan, at aming ipinag bibilin nang boong pag ibig na ganapin at ipaganap ang mga sumusunod na pasiya.	Alinsunod sa nangungunang kasaysayan at pinagkasundoan, ay sa boong nasasakop at masasakop nitong sang Kapuluang Pilipinas ipinaguutos namin na ganapin at ipaganap ang manga sumusunod na kautusan.
1° Isinasaysay na ang manga Capuloang ito ay jumijiualay sa..... mag bujat sa arao na ito at ualang quiniquilala at quiquilanlin pang Puno at macapangyayare cung di itong Cataastaasang Catipunan.	1.o Ysinasaysay mag buhat sa arao na ito na ang manga Kapuloang ito ay humihiwalay sa Espania at walang kinikilala at kikilanling Pamumuno kung di itong Kataastaasang Katipunan.
2° Ang Cataastaasang Catipunan ay tumatayo magbujat ngayon at siya ang magjajauac nang manga daquilang capangyarijan dito sa boong Capuloan.	2.o Ang Kataastaasang Katipunan ay natatayo mag buhat ngayon at siya ang maghahawak at pag bubuhatan nang manga dakilang kautusan at kapangyarihan dito sa boong Kapuluan.

## **Appendix D**

Interviews with Cecilia B. Diwa (daughter of Ladislao Diwa)

### **Interview by Isagani Medina (March 1981)**

Hindi siya mahilig magkwento. Maraming nagpunta dito na mga istoryador tulad ni Epifanio de los Santos pero hindi ikinuwento ng tatay. Sabi ng tatay kay Epifanio ay huwag nang magtanong nang magtanong dahil mababago lamang ang kasaysayan. Ang kasaysayan na nakasulat ay napakaganda pero kung isasama pa natin ang mga iba ay papangit lamang ito dahil mapupuno ng awayan at mga pangit na pangyayari. Bago mamatay ang tatay ay isinawalat niya ang kanyang nalalaman ng kapanayamin siya ni Fernando Hernandez noong 1929. (Calairo 1996, 69–70)

He was not given to telling stories. Many historians such as Epifanio de los Santos came here but he did not tell his story. My father told Epifanio to stop asking questions because history will change. Written history is very beautiful but if we include other things, it will turn ugly and will be filled with conflicts and ugly events. Before he died, he revealed what he knew when he was interviewed by Fernando Hernandez in 1929.

### **Interview by Emmanuel Calairo (March 1993)**

Naganap ito ng gabi ng Hulyo 6. Ang sabi niya sa akin nang dumating siya sa bahay ay wala pa si Andres Bonifacio dahil nagtatrabaho pa para sa ikabubuhay ng kanyang pamilya. Ang nadatnan ng tatay sa bahay ay si Teodoro Plata dahil palaging pumupunta sa bahay sapagkat napangasawa niya ang kapatid ni Andres Bonifacio.

...

Tanong: Nasabi po ninyo na ang tatlo ang nagtatag ng organisasyon, kailan po ito?

Sagot: Nang makarating siya sa bahay mula sa Hilagang Daungan ay nadatnan niya na wala na ang La Liga, “hindi ko nakumbinsi si Rizal para pumunta dito sa akin kaya ang susunod na aksyon para sa atin ay ang bumuo ng bagong organisasyon para kapalit ng La Liga.”

Tanong: Siya po ang nagmungkahing magtayo ng organisasyon?

Sagot: Oo, at sabi ni Plata “Papaano ang gagawin natin ngayon?” Sabi ng Tatay ay tatlong tao ang kailangan sa pagbubuo nito. Hinalaw niya ito sa

## Appendix D

(continued)

triyumbirato ng Rebolusyong Pranses at triyumbirato ng Sinaunang Roma dahil sa matagumpay na pag-angat ng kanilang organisasyon. Kaya sabi niya kay Plata ay kailangan pa ng isa, dahil nga si Plata pa lamang ang nasa bahay at si Andres ay nasa labas at nagtatrabaho. Pagkatapos ay nagmungkahi si Plata, “isali natin si Manong Andres,[”] tinawag niyang Manong Andres dahil siya ang pinakamatanda sa tatlo at bayaw ni Teodoro. Sabi ng tatay, “kung iyon ang gusto mo, sige” pero sabi ng Tatay sa akin ay si Andres talaga ang kanyang nasaisip kaya lamang ay hinihintay niyang sabihin lamang ni Teodoro dahil ang Tatay ay hindi marunong magdikta, masyadong demokratiko. Yaon ay nangyari noong gabi ng Hulyo 6 ng nabigo siyang kumbinsihin si Rizal para tumakas, sa gabi na iyon nabuo ang unang triyanggulo ng KKK. . . . (Calairo 1996, 41–42)

This happened on the evening of July 6. He told me that when he came home, Andres Bonifacio was still out working to earn a living for his family. He came across Teodoro Plata because the latter always visited since he had married the sister of Andres Bonifacio.

. . .

Question: You said that three people founded the organization, when was this?

Answer: When he came home from the North Harbor, he heard that La Liga no longer existed, “I was not able to convince Rizal to come with me, so our next step is to form a new organization to replace La Liga.”

Question: He was the one who proposed establishing an organization?

Answer: Yes, and Plata said, “What will we do now?” My father said we need three people to form it. He had modeled this after the triumvirates of the French Revolution and Ancient Rome because of the success of these organizations. So he told Plata that they still needed another person, because Plata was the only one there and Andres was still out working. Plata then suggested, “let’s bring in *Manong Andres*,” he called Bonifacio *Manong Andres* because he was the oldest and a brother-in-law of Teodoro. My father said, “if that is your wish, *sige*” [all right] but father told me that he was really thinking of Andres and that he was only waiting for Teodoro to mention him

## **Appendix D**

*(continued)*

since he did not know how to dictate, he was too democratic. This happened on the evening of July 6 when he failed to convince Rizal to escape, it was on this night that the first triangle of the KKK was formed. . . .

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