

MAY 31 1977

THE DIALECTS OF PANAY¹

Eliza U. Grifo
Central Philippine University, Iloilo City

1.0. Panay. The island under study is one of the main islands of the Philippine archipelago, and the main island of the West Visayas, a political division in the center of the Philippines. Panay has four of the five provinces of this western region. These are Capiz and Aklan in the north, Antique in the west, and Iloilo in the east. This division of the island is partly dictated by the presence of mountain ranges that run in two directions, practically into the sea. A long one that runs from north to south sets off Antique from the other provinces. Another that runs to the east coast about two-thirds of the way up the island divides the Aklan-Capiz region from Iloilo. Of the two northern provinces, Aklan is to the west; Capiz, to the east.

2.0. Assumptions of the Study. This description of the nature and spread of speech in Panay is done from a particular perspective, with certain assumptions. These assumptions are as follows:

2.1. The sound system, the syntax, the morphology, and the morphophonemics of a language are, collectively, its core. Hence, any language shall be described primarily in terms of features of these linguistic subsystems.

2.2. Every language has characteristic vocabulary (or words 'native' to it).

2.3. A live language is productive; that is, it is capable of adding to its body of words others which may better express new experience.

2.4. A language may borrow from another.

2.5. The spreading (or shrinking) of a speech community is related to its settlement history.

2.6. If two speech systems exhibit at least 60 per cent cognation and highly similar grammars, these two are dialects of some language.

3.0. Research Procedures. Six steps were followed in this study:

3.1. Determining the Areas for Study. The most reliable basis for a study of dialects, especially a comparative study, is data derived from information about areas of fundamental concern to native speakers. For this study, therefore, it was thought profitable to ask for items about fourteen areas, to be specified below.

3.2. Making Up a Questionnaire. At the outset it was decided to control reference by having pictorial aids. In part, then, the ordering of the items in the questionnaire was dictated by what pictures were available.

The pictures that were compiled were obtained mostly from periodicals printed and widely disseminated in the country. This was a precaution against any tendency to use items that may be rare and would have little intelligibility to the general run of informants and little comparative value for the research. As much as possible, pictures

¹This is an excerpt from a larger report of research done under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation.

about a predetermined area mentioned in Section I were put together; however, the composition of a chosen picture had, in some instances, modified the arrangement of the items in the questionnaire.

The draft of the finished questionnaire was analyzed for coverage and was considered ready for use when it was found to yield 498 items with the following distribution:

a. The home	
1. household effects	} 49 items
2. house and yard	
3. family relationships	19 items
b. The farm	
1. animals, domestic and other common ones	21 items
2. sundry items about farming, plants, and tools	24 items
3. parts of plants	16 items
c. Time and weather	27 items
d. Topographical features	15 items
e. Personal feelings and states; body positions	12 items
f. Parts of the human body	41 items
g. Parts of the body of lower animals	25 items
h. Directions	15 items
i. Descriptive features	49 items
j. Colors and figures	11 items
k. Actions	73 items
l. Numerals	24 items
m. Grammatical items	
1. particles and articles	20 items
2. pronominal forms	25 items
n. Miscellaneous items	13 items
	<hr/>
Total	498 items

3.3. Choosing the Informants. Informants about sixty years of age, natives of the towns being studied, and whose parents were also natives were preferred.

3.4. Doing the Field Work. Shortly after starting field work, it was decided that a sampling of the speech of towns some distance from each other was to be preferred to the sampling of the speech of a string of neighboring towns. This decision permitted analysis that began to reveal patterns of differences indicative of probable speech distinctions, although at the time of this first sampling only about seven towns were studied.

This type of wide-meshed survey was consequently continued, and twenty-two towns in the island were thus surveyed. A word list that allowed comparison of items for the same reference was drawn up for these first twenty-two towns.

3.5. Analyzing and Revising. The questionnaire which was originally drafted to elicit 498 items finally yielded about 815 items when actual interviewing yielded other items besides.

A study of the word list thus solicited indicated how the towns of Panay may group themselves into speech regions. On the basis of these indications, five versions of the word list were made. Each of the lists was for a group of towns that may be closer to each other in speech. These are usually neighboring towns connected by well-travelled roads. At the top of the list of towns, however, was put the last town in the list of an adjacent group to serve as point of comparison from group to group.

The information obtained for the first twenty-two towns was then duly entered in the new listing. Thus, for every group of towns there was at least a point of reference. The idea was to abandon the use of the original questionnaire in favor of direct elicitation of items detailed in the word list. The new method, it was believed, would allow such prompting as: "In (town), the term for this is '_____.'" Previous experience had shown this to be time-saving and not necessarily inductive of doubtful concurrence with the suggestion. The use of this new method with students pointed to the wisdom of retaining the use of the picture albums.

Halfway through the analysis of these first data, it began to appear that there seems to be one language in Panay with three dialects and an unknown number of subdialects. It was felt that some other test than the ones for phonetics, lexical items, and such grammatical items as particles, articles, and pronouns would establish the fact. Consequently, a set of twenty communication situations were chosen which would elicit morphological as well as syntactical structures that would show the relatedness of the lects in Panay. Should they use the same morphological system in addition to other evidence of relatedness, it could be concluded that there is one language in the island of Panay, to be called Panayan Bisayan in counter-distinction to Cebuano Bisayan.

3.6. Determining the Dialects. Three sets of data were used for identifying dialects: phonetic, grammatical, and lexical. Preliminary analysis showed that a set of minimal triads could widely classify all the types of speech in the island. These were therefore used to identify the extent of the major dialect areas.

3.6.1. A region that used /r/ where others would use /l/ or [ʎ] was considered Hinaray-a territory. If this peculiar use of /r/ was accompanied with the use of the tense, unrounded back vowel /ɯ/, the speech was considered of the 'deep' type. The occurrence of any *one* of these two features identified other subtypes of Hinaray-a.

3.6.2. Deep Aklanon was identified by the use of the lateral fricative [ʎ] in certain predictable environments to be explained in a later section. Any departure from a *consistent* use of this feature was considered as evidence of other subtypes.

3.6.3. Deep Hiligaynon is characterized by the use of [l] where the two other dialects would use either /r/ or [ʎ]. Its intrusion into another dialect was taken to mark the appearance of a subtype of that dialect.

3.6.4. There are sets of vocabulary items that are concomitant with distinctive phonetic features of dialects. The extension of the use of a bundle of such lexical items beyond its own dialect area was used as evidence of more splintering of larger dialect areas already identified by phonetic criteria. These bundles of words identified (sub-) sub-subdialects in Panay.

3.6.5. Thus, major dialects and their subtypes were identified on basic phonetic criteria. Lexical criteria and the degree of intermingling of phonetic features mainly decided whatever lesser splinter lect should be recognized.

4.0. Number of Languages in Panay. The first question that this study can readily answer is: How many languages are spoken in Panay? The answer to this is determined in terms of two criteria: sixty per cent cognation and highly similar grammatical systems (Thomas and Gieser 1973:67). And the answer is that there is one language spoken in Panay, henceforth to be called Panayan Bisayan.²

5.0. Grammatical Evidence of Relatedness. That the different subtypes of Panayan Bisayan have highly similar grammars is easily proved by comparing the responses of informants to twenty communication situations posed to them. From their sentences twenty-one morphological structures, both inflectional and derivational, were extracted. These proved to be of identical shape morphemically, the allomorphs differing only in cases involving the use of phonetic alternants which characterize dialects. Table 1 presents samples of the communities studied. Two communities were chosen from each of the three provinces of Aklan, Capiz, and Antique. Because of its diversity and larger area, Iloilo contributed three samples. All these communities are quite some distance from each other. Thus it can be claimed that the grammars extant in the island have been fairly sampled.

5.1. Actual words that exemplify these grammatical features are given in Table 2. The manifestations of the features being exemplified are italicized.

6.0. Evidence from Cognation. As to cognation,³ a study of paired samplings of communities revealed that it can be as high as 90-95 per cent for neighboring communities with some difference in speech, 85.5 per cent for two distant communities speaking the same dialect, and even as high as 77 per cent for two communities which are some distance from each other and are suspected to speak different dialects. Cognation studies of this type which have been made are reported in Table 3.

7.0. Three Sound Systems Compared. Since the main consideration in drawing up the dialect map of Panay was phonetic, a comparison of the extant sound systems in the island is necessary background to the study.

7.1. Briefly, all the dialects have 16 consonants: p, t, k, ʔ; b, d, g; w, s, h; m, n, ŋ; y, r, l. Aklanon and Hiligaynon have a three-vowel system: an unrounded front vowel /i/, a low central one /a/, and a rounded back one /u/. Deep Hinaray-a has a four-vowel system; in addition to the ones just cited, it adds a fourth: a tense, unrounded back vowel /u/.

7.2. The significant suprasegmentals of the dialects are yet to be definitely described, although there is evidence of differences in accent and pitch patterns which distinguish dialects.

7.3. The only difference between the segmental systems of Hiligaynon and Aklanon is that Aklanon has two allophones for /l/: [l] and [l̥], whose occurrence is conditioned by certain phonetic environments. Like Hiligaynon, Hinaray-a has only one allophone for /l/: [l].

²This answer can at best be only tentative for as long as the comparative study of Philippine languages around Panay does not produce definitive statements about their interrelationships.

³A relationship due to a common origin. To determine the degree of this relatedness, cognates (i.e. words which show evidence of having sprung from a common source) are identified. The percentage of cognation would be derived by dividing the number of cognates by the total number of word pairs studied.

TABLE 1
A COMPARISON OF CERTAIN GRAMMATICAL FEATURES
OF A SAMPLE OF COMMUNITIES IN PANAY

Gloss	Batan, Aklan	Libacao, Akl.	Dumarao, Capiz	Pontevedra, Capiz	Da-o, Antique	Laua-an, Antique	Dumangas, Iloilo	Carles, Iloilo	Cabatuan, Iloilo
1. native of . . .	taga-	taga-	taga-	taga-	taga-	taga-	taga-	taga-	taga-
2. durative, actor focus	(g) a-	(g) a-	(g) a-	(g) a-	(g) a-	(g) a-	(g) a-	(g) a-	(g) a-
3. verb-deriving prefix	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa-
4. actor focus, plural action	(N → C) *	(N → C)	(N → C)	(N → C)	(N → C)	(N → C)	(N → C)	(N → C)	(N → C)
5. projected action	ma-	ma-	ma-	ma-	ma-	ma-	ma-	ma-	ma-
6. completed action	na-	na-	na-	na-	na-	na-	na-	na-	na-
7. actor focus, point event	g-	g-	g-	g-	g-	g-	g-	g-	g-
8. capability	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-
9. type of occupation	maNV.**	maNV.	maNV.	maNV.	maNV.	maNV.	maNV.	maNV.	maNV.
10. attempted action	Cufu-***	Cufu-	Culu-	Culu-	Cufu-	Cufu-	Cufu-	Culu-	Curu-
11. causative	pá-	pá-	pá-	pá-	pá-	pá-	pá-	pá-	pá-
12. caused actor, projected action	pá- -on	pa- -on	pá- -on	pá- -on	pá- -on	pá- -en	pá- -on	pá- -on	pá- -on
13. caused actor focus, completed action, actor reminiscent action done severally	ginpá- -Vj	ginpá- -Vj	ginpá- -Vl	ginpá- -Vl	ginpá- -Vr	ginpá- -Vr	ginpá- -Vl	ginpá- -Vl	ginpá- -Vr
14. beneficiary focus, completed action, actor reminiscent	gin- -an	gin- -an	gin- -an	gin- -an	gin- -an	gin- -an	gin- -an	gin- -an	gin- -an
15. goal focus, completed action, actor reminiscent	gin-	gin-	gin-	gin-	gin-	gin-	gin-	gin-	gin-
16. instrument for . . .	inog-	inog-	inog-	inog-	inog-	inog-	inog-	inog-	inog-
17. imminent (projected) action, actor focus	manog-	manog-	manog-	manog-	manog-	manog-	manog-	manog-	manog-
18. imperative mood, goal focus	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a
19. imperative mood, beneficiary focus	í	í	í	í	í	í	í	í	í
20. customary beneficiary	-Vj- -an	-Vj- -an	-Vl- -an	-Vl- -an	-Vr- -an	-Vr- -an	-Vl- -an	-Vl- -an	-Vr- -an

*Nasalization (N) of the initial consonant (C) of the base word. **V = the reduplication of the first vowel of the base word. ***C = the reduplication of the first consonant of the base word

TABLE 2
WORDS* MANIFESTING THE USE OF CERTAIN GRAMMATICAL
FEATURES, IN FOUR WIDELY-SPACED COMMUNITIES

	<i>Batan, Aklan</i>	<i>Pontevedra, Capiz</i>	<i>Da-o, Antique</i>	<i>Dumangas, Iloilo</i>
1.	<i>taga</i> -Aklan	<i>taga</i> -Pontevedra	<i>taga</i> -Da-o	<i>taga</i> -Dumangas
2.	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?
3.	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?
4.	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?	<i>gapat</i> ñisda?
5.	<i>mat</i> ñisda?	<i>mat</i> ñisda?	<i>mat</i> ñisda?	<i>mat</i> ñisda?
6.	<i>nat</i> ñisda?	<i>nat</i> ñisda?	<i>nat</i> ñisda?	<i>nat</i> ñisda?
7.	<i>nagpat</i> ñisda?	<i>nagpat</i> ñisda?	<i>nagpat</i> ñisda?	<i>nagpat</i> ñisda?
8.	<i>kapat</i> ñisda?	<i>kapat</i> ñisda?	<i>kapat</i> ñisda?	<i>kapat</i> ñisda?
9.	<i>mat</i> ñiñisda?	<i>mat</i> ñiñisda?	<i>mat</i> ñiñisda?	<i>mat</i> ñiñisda?
10.	<i>pu</i> lu ^h <i>pat</i> ñisda?	<i>pu</i> lu ^h <i>pat</i> ñisda?	<i>pu</i> lu ^h <i>pat</i> ñisda?	<i>pu</i> lu ^h <i>pat</i> ñisda?
11.	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?
12.	<i>papat</i> ñisda? <i>on</i>	<i>papat</i> ñisda? <i>on</i>	<i>papat</i> ñisda? <i>on</i>	<i>papat</i> ñisda? <i>on</i>
13.	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?	<i>ginapapat</i> ñisda?
14.	<i>nagpapat</i> ñisda?	<i>nagpapat</i> ñisda?	<i>nagpapat</i> ñisda?	<i>nagpapat</i> ñisda?
15.	<i>gintaw-an</i>	<i>ginhatagan</i>	<i>gintaw-an</i>	<i>ginhatagan</i>
16.	<i>ginta-o</i>	<i>ginhatag</i>	<i>ginta-o</i>	<i>ginhatag</i>
17.	<i>inugsulat</i>	<i>inugsulat</i>	<i>inugsulat</i>	<i>inugsulat</i>
18.	<i>manugsulat</i>	<i>manugsulat</i>	<i>manugsulat</i>	<i>manugsulat</i>
19.	<i>dal'</i> <i>a</i>	<i>dal'</i> <i>a</i>	<i>dal'</i> <i>a</i>	<i>dal'</i> <i>a</i>
20.	<i>dal'</i> <i>i</i>	<i>dal'</i> <i>i</i>	<i>dal'</i> <i>i</i>	<i>dal'</i> <i>i</i>
21.	<i>talaw'an</i>	<i>talaga'an</i>	<i>taraw'an</i>	<i>talaga'an</i>

*The four base words used in the table are (after No. 1): *isda*? 'fish'; *ta-o*~*hatag* 'to give'; *sulat*~*sulat* 'to write'; *dala*~*dara*~*daku* 'to take, carry'.

TABLE 3
DEGREE OF COGNATION BETWEEN THIRTEEN PAIRS OF
COMMUNITIES IN PANAY

<i>Towns Being Compared</i>	<i>Total No. of Items with Paired Terms</i>	<i>Items with noncognate terms</i>		<i>Percentage of Cognation</i>
		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
1. Balasan, Iloilo & Pres. Roxas, Capiz	729	39	5	95
2. Leganes & Pavia, Iloilo	729	73	10	90
3. Jamindan & Tapaz, Capiz	682	84	12	88
4. Batan & Buruanga, Aklan	714	92	13	87
5. Buruanga & Kalibo, Aklan	707	93	13	87
6. Roxas City & Tapaz, Capiz	703	103	14.5	85.5
7. Roxas City & Jamindan, Capiz	688	100	14.5	85.5
8. Jamindan, Capiz & Leganes, Iloilo	697	112	16	84
9. Jamindan, Capiz & Pavia, Iloilo	694	120	17	83
10a. Libertad & Anini-y, Antique*	508	60	12	88
10b. Pandan & Da-o, Antique				
11. Pres. Roxas, Capiz & Pavia, Iloilo	726	108	15	85
12. Tapaz, Capiz & Buruanga, Aklan	701	119	17	83
13a. Roxas City & Anini-y, Antique*	540	124	23	77
13b. Roxas City & Da-o, Antique	165	36	22	78

*These towns being part of the first survey, the listing for them was not extensive; hence, information from them was complemented by information from the towns adjacent to each of them.

7.4. The fourth vowel in Hinaray-a, the unrounded back vowel (also called the *pepet* vowel in linguistic literature), must be considered a phoneme, and not a variant of /u/, because no conditioning can be determined for its predictable occurrence in preference to /u/. On the contrary, two minimal pairs have been found showing contrast between /u/ and /ɯ/ on the one hand (*bɯlag* 'to separate a couple' vs. *bulag* 'blind') and /i/ and /ɨ/ on the other (*kidit* 'small' vs. *kudɨt* 'starting fire').

7.5. All the vowels in the three sound systems, however, have tense and lax allophones which freely interchange, although an accented vowel frequently becomes tense. Also, a speaker under tension is more likely to use the tense allophones.

7.6. As to the articulation of the consonants, Hinaray-a speakers have been observed to articulate stops rather strongly. In fact, this is a secondary feature of Deep Hinaray-a.

8.0. *Distinctive Phonetic Features in the Dialects.* It is obvious from the comparison of the phonology of the three known speech systems that their distinctions lie in the use of [ʃ] in Aklanon and its absence in the two others, and the use of a fourth vowel, /ɯ/, in Hinaray-a in addition to the three that the others also have.

8.1. The initial data obtained from field work yielded some minimal triads which identify dialects. The Hinaray-a words exhibited the /r/ reflex; the Aklanon, the [ʃ] reflex; and the Hiligaynon, the /l/ reflex. Ten such triads were used to determine the distribution of the three major dialects. These ten were:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Hiligaynon</i> /l/ ⁴	<i>Aklanon</i> [ʃ]	<i>Hinaray-a</i> /r/
rain	ulan	uʃan	uran
ugly	maʃaw ⁷ ay	maʃaw ⁷ ay	maraw ⁷ ay
to go under the rain	sulay	suʃay	suray
to shrink	kolo ⁷	koʃo ⁷	kero ⁷
island	pulo ⁷	puʃo ⁷	puro ⁷
name	ʃalan	ʃaʃan	ʃaran
the eldest	kamagulaʃan	kamaguʃaʃan	kamaguraʃnan
young un- married woman	dalaga	daʃaga	daraga
pit of the stomach	soloksolok	soʃoksoʃokan	soroksorok
sleep	tulog	tuʃog	turog

8.2. Other criteria had been used, but these tended to identify splinter sections in each main system. A discussion of their use in the study is given elsewhere in this report. These others are other phonetic features, vocabulary held in common by contiguous communities, and even coinage.

⁴Examples here and elsewhere are in phonetic transcription; thus, the allophones of the back vowel are given.

9.0. The Use of /w/ as a Test for Hinaray-a. In addition to the criterion just used, another phonological test is the use of /w/ in Hinaray-a in words which have /u/ in Hiligaynon and Aklanon. Some other triads which exhibit this distinction are:

Gloss	Hiligaynon /u/	Aklanon /u/	Hinaray-a /w/ ⁵
1. six	anum	an ^o om	an ^u m
2. milled rice	bugas	bugas	b ^u gas
3. sow (pig)	nayon	nayon	nay ^u n
4. to shrink	kolo	kolo ^o	k ^u re ^o
5. floor	salog	sa ^o log	sa ^u log

9.1. Hinaray-a which exhibits both /r/ and /w/ reflexes is here called Deep Hinaray-a in contradistinction to the other types which retain either one of the two features. (See Fig. 1.)

9.2. Dumalagnon (21f). In the central region, Dumalagnon has grown from the influence of Capiz Hiligaynon on Hinaray-a. The preference of Capiz Hiligaynon for /l/ in positions where Hinaray-a uses /r/, in many more instances than in Iloilo Hiligaynon,⁶ is reflected in this subdialect. Dumalagnon is a type of Hinaray-a because it has retained the pepet vowel and even extended its use. In addition, it has retained many distinctive Hinaray-a words.

9.2.1. The few distinguishing Hinaray-a words which have retained the /r/ reflex are *darawa* 'two', *torodo^o* 'index finger', and *kararoton* 'root crops'. On the other hand, the Deep Hinaray-a [gi:rək] 'fine hair on rice plants' has become [gilək]. Other forms which have lost the /r/ reflex are:

Dumalagnon	Gloss	In other dialects
gatilindəg	'all standing'	gatrindəg
bologto ^o	'siblings'	borogto ^o
dalaga	'unmarried woman'	daraga
ilək	'arm pit'	irək
kele ^o	'to shrink'	ke ^u re ^o

9.3. Lemerinhon(21e). On the Iloilo side, four other subdialects of Hinaray-a have arisen between Deep Hinaray-a territory and the Hiligaynon-speaking coastal area. To the north, like some spearhead deep into Hiligaynon territory, is the subdialect which is characterized by the loss of the pepet vowel and the use of /r/ and /l/ in free variation in lexical items that form minimal triads.

9.3.1. The hub of this area is Lemery, a town ringed in by some low mountains, a part of the range that runs across the middle of the island, from west to east. Actually, Lemery is the rearguard of Hinaray-a against the 'assault' of the more prestigious Hiligaynon; and its speech shows that Hinaray-a is losing in a long drawn-out battle.

⁵Examples here and elsewhere are in phonetic transcription; thus, the allophones of the back vowel are given.

⁶For example, Iloilo Hiligaynon has *sirik* 'dorsal fin' and *baroron* 'to coil' against Capiz Hiligaynon's *silik* and *bali^okon*.

9.3.2. So, in this town, one could expect to hear:

padalawat ~ padarawat	'to sell rice'
dulangan ~ taliṅa	'ear'
kolon	'pigpen'
tiyan ~ buson	'abdomen'
dalaga ~ daraga	'unmarried woman'

9.3.3. But Hinaray-a has been supplanted by Hiligaynon in such basic items as 'dog' (*ido?*), 'second' (*ikaduha*), 'one' (*isa*), 'feet' (*ti?il*), 'a big one' (*daku?*), 'tomorrow' (*buwas*).

9.4. Central Iloilo Hinaray-a (21b). At the center of this diverse linguistic area and to the west of the Lemery area is a long strip whose speech is characterized by the relatively free alternation of /ɤ/ and /u/ and the retention of the characteristic use of /ɾ/. This strip runs south and includes the towns through which the only railway in the island passes. Starting from Santa Barbara, the dialect is spoken up to Passi at the boundary between Capiz and Iloilo.

It is also interesting to note that the terminals of the railroad are two very important Hiligaynon communities: Iloilo City and Roxas City, both former capitals of their respective provinces.

9.4.1. It is evident that the alternation of the rounded back vowel and the pepet is due to the confluence of Hiligaynon and Hinaray-a along this important transportation artery. The confluence is further established by roads that parallel the railway line.

In its own way, this phenomenon also attests to the growing influence of Hiligaynon on Hinaray-a speakers. This dominance is confirmed by a one-sided bilingualism: Hinaray-a speakers, for fear of being branded as 'mountain people' (which is tantamount to being considered backward), have tried to attain facility in the use of Hiligaynon; Hiligaynon speakers on the other hand, except, perhaps, those who are students of language, hardly bother to learn Hinaray-a.

9.4.2. Some items that exhibit this characteristic alternation are *bogas* ~ *bugas* 'milled rice,' *nayən* ~ *nayon* 'sow (pig)' *atɯp* ~ *atup* 'roof,' *salug* ~ *salug* 'floor,' *li?og* ~ *li?og* 'neck,' *girək* ~ *girək* 'fine hair on rice plants'.

9.5. Pototanon (21c). A third subdialect of Hinaray-a is in a pocket that cuts across the long strip aforementioned. The hub of this subdialect is Pototan. Its main distinction is that the Hiligaynon use of /u/ has intruded into the usage of /ɤ/. This characteristic is not to be confused with the *free alternation* of these two sounds in characterizing words. Instead, Pototanon, in the main, uses /ɤ/; however, many of the characterizing words now have the /u/ sound. Some examples are:

Pototanon	Deep Hinaray-a	Gloss
anum	anɯm	'six'
butlak	bɯtlak	'(sun) to rise'
awot	awɯt	'hard'
ho?od	he?ɯd	'yes'
ron ~ don	rɯn ~ dɯn	'already'

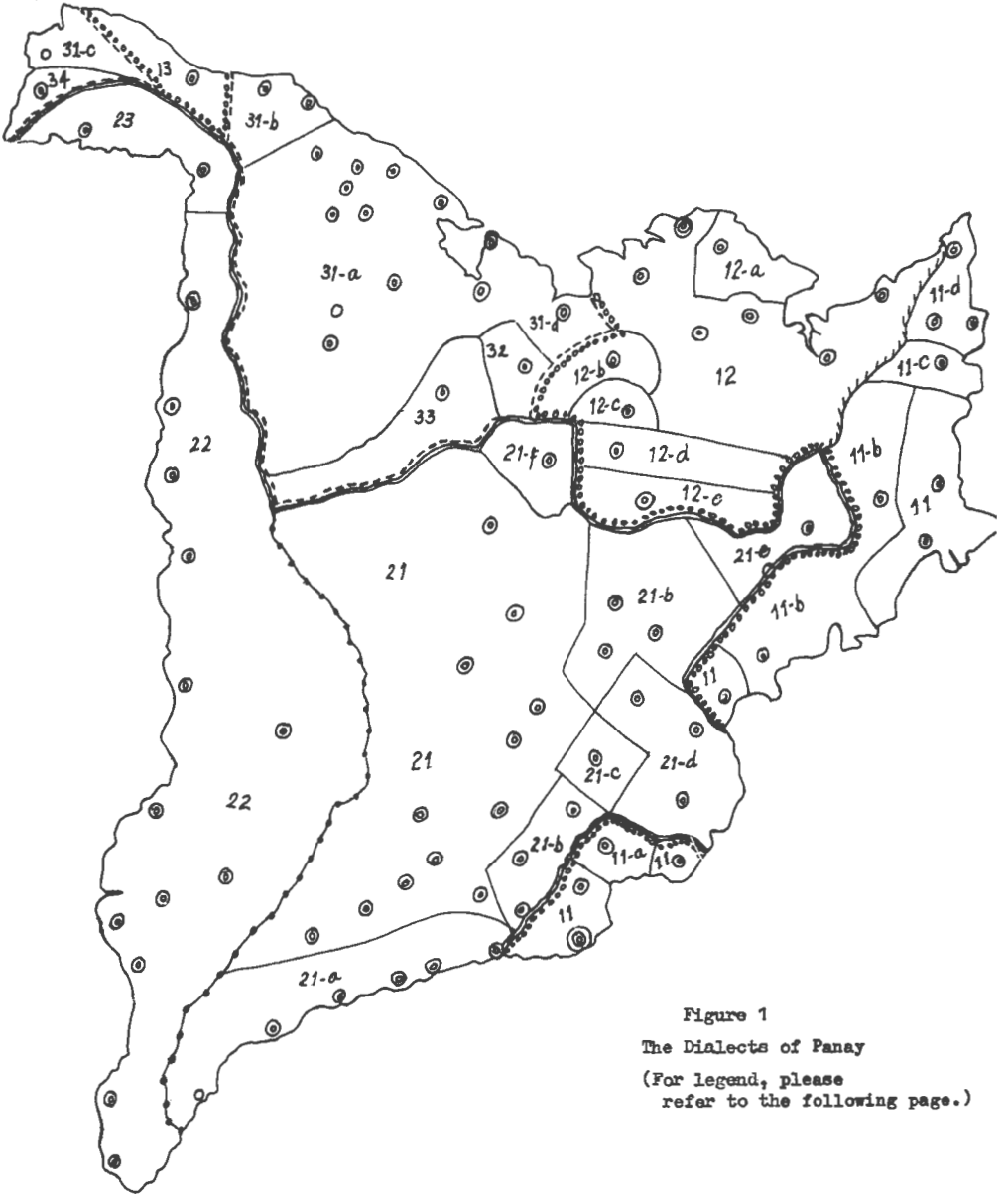


Figure 1
 The Dialects of Panay
 (For legend, please refer to the following page.)

Legend for Figure 1
The Dialects of Panay

oooo	–	Boundary of Hiligaynon (10)
11	–	Deep Ilonggo
11-a	–	Zarraganhon
11-b	–	Saranhon
11-c	–	Batadnon
11-d	–	Carlesnon
<u>////</u>	–	Boundary of Ilonggo and Capiznon
12	–	Central (Deep) Capiznon
12-a	–	Panaynon
12-b	–	Sigmahanon
12-c	–	Daohanon
12-d	–	Cuarterohanon
12-e	–	Dumaraonon
13	–	Nabasnon
<u><u> </u></u>	–	Boundary of Hinaray-a (20)
21	–	Central Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a
21-a	–	Coastal Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a
21-b	–	Central Iloilo Hinaray-a
21-c	–	Pototanon
21-d	–	East Coast Iloilo Hinaray-a
21-e	–	Lemerinhon
21-f	–	Dumalagnon
o-o-o-o-	–	Boundary of Antique and Iloilo Hinaray-a
22	–	(Deep) Antique Hinaray-a
23	–	(Deep) Aklan Hinaray-a
- - -	–	Boundary of Aklanon (30)
31-a	–	Eastern Deep Aklanon
31-b	–	Western Deep Aklanon
31-c	–	Malaynon (Deep Aklanon)
31-d	–	Sapi-anon (Deep Aklanon)
32	–	Mambusaonon
33	–	Jamindanon
34	–	Buruanganhon

9.6. East Coast Iloilo Hinaray-a (21d). A fourth subdialect of Hinaray-a is in a pocket breaking into Hiligaynon territory along the central eastern coast. This is East-Coast-of-Iloilo Hinaray-a. It is characterized by the loss of /w/ (and the use of /u/ in its stead).

The three towns that use the dialect are in the area to the east of Pototan: Barotac Nuevo to the south of it, Anilao to the north, and Dingle to the west. The biggest and longest river in Panay winds just below Barotac Nuevo on its way between Zarraga and Leganes on one side and Dumangas on the other. To the north of Anilao lie the high mountains that shelter the Hiligaynon towns of Banate and Barotac Viejo. Dingle is just across the hills from Anilao. Although it is in the broad central plains of Iloilo, it is at the rim of this, to the east; and although quite close to railway territory, it is not reached by rail.

9.7. The extent of the usage of *ilam* 'I don't know' has much to say about the early linguistic history of central Iloilo. It seems that the whole Hinaray-a region above the Jalaud River, beginning at the coastal towns of Dumangas, Barotac Nuevo, and Anilao, must have had more in common than the towns on the other side of this river. This region of common interest is bounded by Pototan and Lambunao to the south. Below them to the west Janiuay already uses *ma'an* of Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a. From Dumangas itself down to Iloilo City the term used is the Hiligaynon *ambut*. Similarly, the pocket of Lemery also has *ambut* and *ilam* fighting for dominance.

9.7.1. The evidence of at least *insa* 'why' and the whole pronominal system, however, attests to the closeness to each other of the two main Iloilo Hinaray-a regions delineated by *ma'an/ilam*, and their collective distinctiveness from the Antique varieties.

9.7.2. The tendency of early landseekers to settle on one side of a river is again revealed by linguistic phenomena in the southern coast of Iloilo. The informant for Oton, whose residence was close to the town plaza, said that just across the Batiano River outside of the town proper Hiligaynon is the common dialect. Now the Batiano is not much of a river; it is more like a strongly-flowing big ditch. But Hinaray-a settlement stopped at its western bank. It seems that when Hiligaynon folk came, they settled the vicinity but spread up from the eastern bank of the Batiano to the western bank of the Jalaud.

9.8. Deep Hinaray-a. If the basic considerations for the identification of Deep Hinaray-a are the use of (the trilled) /r/ and the unrounded back vowel /w/ in words that exhibit other reflexes in other dialects, then its territory is wide, comprising the whole province of Antique and the western half or so of Iloilo Province (which is adjacent to Antique). This dialect (rather, subdialect) area is not homogeneous, however. Three subdialects of Deep Hinaray-a may be distinguished.

9.8.1. Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a (21). In the central part of Iloilo Province, beginning with the coastal towns to the east of Iloilo City, to the Antique border at the southwestern tip of Panay, a type of Deep Hinaray-a is spoken that is distinct from the Antique types. This subdialect is used up in the central mountain regions of Iloilo, to the border towns of Tapaz in Capiz.

A body of basic vocabulary items which are common among the towns in this area are unlike Antique Hinaray-a items for the same referents. Some of the most distinguishing items found in the lists of this study are:

<i>Central Iloilo term</i>	<i>Antique term</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
hanged	bahel	'(one) big (thing)'
kayot	iki?	'(one) small (thing)'
magagmay	marintek	'(many) small (thing)'
sidlaran	morud'an	'the east'
tunud	salop	'(the sun) to set'
gawi?	uyahon	'face'
kayot	isot	'few'

9.8.1.1. Coastal Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a (21a). Probably, because of the movement of people along and around the southern coasts of Iloilo and Antique, a sub-sub-dialect of Deep Hinaray-a is found in the coastal towns of Iloilo Province to the south, to be called Coastal Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a. This strip of linguistic area runs all the way from San Joaquin to Oton, next door to Iloilo City. This type of Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a has an overlay of distinctive terms. Some of these are:

<i>Coastal Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a & Deep Antique Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Central Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
andet	insa	'why'
pegsa	oyapes	'a big boil'
kasalpan	katondan	'the west'
manga (to Tigbauan)	paho?	'mango'
isot	gamay	'few'

9.9. Deep Aklan Hinaray-a (23). In another pocket with greater isolation, which is influenced mainly by Aklanon (because this region is dependent on Aklan for fulfillment of its basic needs), another sub-sub-dialect of Hinaray-a is found. This is to be called Deep Aklan Hinaray-a. This pocket is in the north of Antique, at the neck of the island.

In this 'deep' territory, both /r/ and /w/ reflexes are found. However, the overlay of Aklanon vocabulary is heavy. Of the total number of items included in the survey, more than 11 per cent obviously were Aklanon words or were derived from them. Many of the Aklanon words were reshaped to conform to Hinaray-a phonology. Those which have been adopted without change are words that do not involve the reflex of the rounded back vowel, for which Hinaray-a has the unrounded counterpart.

These are words like:

siki	'foot/feet'	in'aga	'tomorrow'
pano'ok	'loins'	tanis	'to cry'
tiyan	'abdomen'	gahalin	'moving a house'
ma'istan	'small (thing)'	sadya'	'pretty'

9.10.1. Some words that have /u/ and [ʌ] in Aklanon have been reshaped according to Hinaray-a phonology. Some examples are given below:

<i>Deep Aklan Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Deep Antique Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Aklan Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
giʔək	linas	giʔok	'to thresh'
ipəs	buliʔ	ipos	'rump'
galukon	gabaroron	gaʎokon	'coiling'
səbat	bətlak	subat	'(the sun) to rise'
gamabdəs	gabusəŋ	gamabdos	'pregnant'

9.10.2. The distinctive particles in the two dialects are:

<i>Deep Aklanon Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Aklanon</i>
aŋ	'the'	ru~du
kag	'and'	ʔag
taŋ~it	'of'	ko~it
ambay	'I don't know'	taʔo
rən~dəŋ	'already'	ʎon
heʔəd	'yes'	hoʔo
wan hawʔ	'why'	pamʔan

10.0. The Distribution of Aklanon. Phonetically, the general area that is designated as Aklanon territory can be divided into four sub-areas.

10.1. Deep Aklanon (31). Deep Aklanon is spoken over the breadth of the heart of Aklan Province. The other subdialects are pockets of contact with surrounding dialects. Deep Aklanon is characterized by the use of the fricative lateral [ʎ] at certain predictable positions and the absence of the pepet vowel. The lateral fricative is an allophone of the phoneme /l/, of which the other allophone is [l]. [ʎ] is to be found in the following environments:

- 1) adjacent to the front vowel, only of indigenous words;
- 2) after an alveolar consonant; and
- 3) in all positions in borrowed (usually Spanish) words.

In all other positions, [l] occurs. For example:

<i>Words with [ʎ]</i>		<i>Words with [l]</i>	
lima	'five'	buʎak	'flower'
taliŋa	'ear(s)'	isaʎa	'one'
poltri	'poultry'	ʎawas	'body'
lolo	'grandfather'	takʎob	'cover'
bunlaw	'to rinse'	gaʎʔum	'cloud'
		boʎboʎ	'feather, fine hair'

10.1.2. Another distinguishing feature of Deep Aklanon which is shared by the other subtypes is its treatment of a high front resonant adjacent to a high back resonant.

Whereas Hiligaynon and Hinaray-a are likely to make the front resonant the glide of the diphthong /yo/, or /oy/, Aklanon would make the back resonant the glide: /iw/ or /wi/.

<i>Aklanon</i>	<i>Hiligaynon</i>	<i>Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
palagi:w	palagyō	palagyō	'to run away'
isi:w	(piso ^o)	(pise ^o)	'chick'
buwitan	boloytan kalaptan	karaptan	'handle'

10.2. Mambusaanon (32). The subdialect spoken in Mambusao is characterized by the palatalization of the fricative lateral. A consequent phenomenon that is frequently observed is the umlauting of the vowel before it. This occurrence is not unknown in Deep Aklanon, especially in words whose minimal counterpart in Hinaray-a have /r/ instead, as notice:

<i>Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Aklanon</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
isara	isaʃa, isya	'one'
darwa	daywa	'two'
sarwal	saʃwaʃ, saywaʃ	'trousers'

This tendency is best seen in the comparison between Mambusaanon and Deep Aklanon:

<i>Mambusaanon</i>	<i>Deep Aklanon</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
yōn	ʃōn	'already'
siyapo ^o an	saʃapo ^o an	'having birth pains'
diyaga	daʃaga	'unmarried woman'
katyog	katoʃog	'asleep'
katyōndan	katoʃundan	'the west'

Not all probable occurrences of [ʃ] are palatalized, however, as evidenced by the following examples from Mambusaanon:

paʃay	'rice'
daʃuŋgan	'ear'

10.3. Jamindanon (33). The speech of Jamindan, on the other hand, shows a free interchange of [ʃ] and [l] in words which, in Deep Aklanon, would have [ʃ]. Hence, the following may be expected to occur, according to 'what is easiest on the tongue at the time of speaking' (as the old folk would say):

duʃuŋgan	duluŋgan	'ear'
bahoʃ	bahol	'big (one)'
daʃagko ^o	dalagko ^o	'big (ones)'
dumaʃaga	dumalaga	'spring hen'
koʃoŋ	koloŋ	'curly'
aʃum	alum	'mole'

10.4. Buruanganhon (34). The isolation of Buruanga is reflected in the development of its speech: this area shows signs of attrition in the use of the fricative lateral. Many words in the list which, predictably, should have [ʃ] now have [l] in Buruanganhon. Some examples are given below:

<i>Buruanganhon</i>	<i>Deep Aklanon</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
balay	baʃay	'house'
sala	isaʃa	'one'
walo	waʃo	'eight'
palay	paʃay	'rice'
mahabol	mahaʃol	'big (one)'

10.4.1. Buruanganhon has terms peculiar to its region for 47 of 150 items found to be quite widespread among Aklanon speakers, but for which the other dialects have their own distinctive counterpart. These peculiar features even include such grammatical particles as deictics, an article, and interrogative expressions.

10.5. The town next to Buruanga, Malay, which shares its isolation, has adopted just about the same peculiarities in vocabulary as Buruanga's and added a few of its own. However, it has retained the sounds characteristic of Deep Aklanon. Hence, it, too, must be considered another splinter, but one from Deep Aklanon itself. Malaynon (32), then, is to be regarded as a sub-sub-dialect, of the subdialect called Deep Aklanon. Buruanganhon itself is also a subdialect of Aklanon.

10.5.2. A comparison of the vocabulary features that these two areas share show how much other dialects, especially Hinaray-a, have contributed to their development.

<i>Buruanganhon</i>	<i>Malaynon</i>	<i>Deep Aklanon</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
taliŋa	taliŋa	duluŋgan	'ear'
ligaw	ligaw	halin	'to move a house'
tig'ilinit	tig'ilinit	tigsililak	'dry season'
ŋa dia	tan dia	makaron	'now'
ma'ayonŋa aga	mayad ŋa aga	mayad ŋa agahon	'Good morning'
yan	diyan	rito ~ rikaro	'there (near)'
agto	rogto	idto	'there (far)'
aŋ	aŋ	ru ~ du	'the'

10.6. A second sub-subdialect of Deep Aklanon is in another pocket between Mambusao and the coast, around the town of Sapi-an. Sapi-anon, like Buruanganhon, has lost [ʃ] in certain Aklanon words, but has also replaced [l] with it in certain Capiznon words. The first characteristic is evidenced by words like *lokŋon* 'to coil', *palagi:w* 'to run away', *layonŋan* 'carrying pole', *lanŋka?* 'jackfruit', *lagnat* 'fever'.

The second is exemplified by such words as *baʃat'aŋ* 'hip joint', *dihaf* 'to let the tongue hang out', and *saʃog* 'cleaned split bamboo'.

In addition to these peculiarities, it has three others. First, it shares a sizeable vocabulary with Capiznon. Second, it has *siat ana* 'she herself, etc.' where *imawt ana* is commonly expected, and *sandat anda* 'they themselves' instead of *sandat a*.

11.0. Hiligaynon. Hiligaynon is the speech of the eastern coastal regions of Panay. It is the narrow coast below the mountains and what was once swampland between the Batiano River and the Iloilo River, and later of the Jalaud River, which were occupied by Hiligaynon speakers.

In Capiz where the mountains recede into the (interior) border of the province with Iloilo, the coastal plains are wider. Apparently, the Deep Hinaray-a speakers kept to the highlands; thus, Hiligaynon spread over more coastal territory in Capiz.

11.1. The Subdialects of Hiligaynon. At least three Hiligaynon subdialects can be identified: the Iloilo type (Ilonggo), the Capiz type (Capiznon), and the isolated Nabasnon in Aklan. There are four sets of features that establish their distinctiveness. The obvious difference in intonation patterns will not be discussed here.

Other phonetic features, morphology, and vocabulary, however, are sufficient to establish identities. For one thing, Capiznon uses /l/ more extensively than Ilonggo does in certain words. For example, Capiznon has *būlaho*⁷ 'corn flower', *ilas* 'bristly caterpillar', and *silik* 'dorsal fin', where Ilonggo has *biraho*, *iras*, and *sirik*. It could be that the longer border of Capiznon with Aklanon and that of Ilonggo with Hinaray-a have reinforced their respective preferences.

In addition, Capiznon is likely to use /r/ where Ilonggo uses /d/, as in *iro*⁹ vs. *ido*⁷ 'dog'; *koral* vs. *kudal* 'fence'.

11.1.1. As to morphology, the two subtypes differ in one inflectional affixation and three derivational ones. 'Reciprocal action' is exemplified in Capiznon by *sinumbagan* 'box each other' but by *sumbaganay* in Ilonggo.

The Capiznon *paŋlalaki* 'committing adultery', *paŋawatan* 'having illicit relations', and *paŋinhason* 'shellfish in general' are *paŋinlalaki*, *paŋawat*,⁸ and *pakinhason*, respectively, in Ilonggo.

11.1.2. A long list of contrastive vocabulary distinguishes these two regions. Where all, or nearly all, these contrasts appear, the speech will be called Deep Capiznon, or Deep Ilonggo, accordingly. Some of these are:

<i>Capiznon</i>	<i>Ilonggo</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>kolikon</i>	<i>kalokos</i>	'roll up sleeves, etc.'
<i>kutiba</i>	<i>alukaba</i>	'crab shell'
<i>karuagan</i>	<i>kalaha</i> ⁷	'frying pan'
<i>mapawa</i> ⁷	<i>masanag</i>	'bright (light)'
<i>magilak</i>	<i>mahiniŋ</i>	'shiny (face)'
<i>mad</i> ⁷ <i>ayad</i>	<i>matahum</i>	'pretty'
<i>ŋa man</i>	<i>ŋa</i> ⁷ <i>a</i>	'why'
<i>orok</i>	<i>idik</i>	'piglets'
<i>puya</i>	<i>bata</i> ⁷	'child'
<i>patawa</i>	<i>kadlaw</i>	'laugh'

11.2.1. Deep Capiznon (12). Eight towns around Pilar Bay speak the dialect that extensively shows the contrasts between Capiznon and Ilonggo. These towns are Pilar

⁷This is not to say that is the one term for this item. This may be said of the other examples.

⁸This word is used in Ilonggo to mean 'thieving' in general.

(at the western border between Capiz and Iloilo), Pres. Roxas, Pontevedra, Panay, Roxas City, and Ivisan – all along the coast; and inland, Panit-an and Ma²ayon.

11.2.1.1. The speech of the township of Panay, however, exhibits phonetic peculiarities which demand its being recognized as a sub-sub-dialect (of Deep Capiznon). These phonetic features seem to be reflexes developed from the vestiges of Aklanon speech, which must have been spoken up to that point in Capiz in the past.⁹ This splinter lect shall be called Panaynon. Three developments are represented by the following typical items:

<i>Aklanon</i>	<i>Capiznon</i>	<i>Panayanon</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
1. pu ^h la ta ^h lum	pula tulum	puwæ tawæm	'red' 'sharp'
2. ba ^h lagbag ma ^h du ^h lum	balagbag madulum	bæ:gbag madu:m	'bamboo shoots' 'dark'
3. bu ^h ŋo ^h	bu ^h ŋol	bu ^h ŋay	'deaf'

11.2.2. Sigmahanon (12b). Sigmahanon, like Deep Capiznon, is a sub-sub-dialect of (Capiznon) Hiligaynon. Its hub is Sigma. The towns adjacent to Sigma to the west are Sapi-an and Mambusao, both Aklanon towns, though politically attached to Capiz. So, linguistically speaking, Sigma is at the border, and crossroads, between Aklanon and Capiz. This strategic location is reflected even in its phonology and grammar.

11.2.2.1. A peculiar Sigmahanon reflex is the treatment of the historical [ʃ] in certain words, represented by:

<i>Sigmahanon</i>	<i>Aklanon</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
pa:y	pa ^h lay	'rice (plant or grain)'
saog	sa ^h log	'floor'
ti ^h uwan	ti ^h ulan	'rainy season'
katowog	ka ^h to ^h log	'asleep'
subwak	sub ^h jak	'(sun) to shine'
bawo	ba ^h lo	'widow(er)'

11.2.2.2. In most other cases, the [ʃ] became resonant (/l/).

11.2.2.3. In grammar, the lack of dominance of any one dialect is revealed by the use of the Aklanon *it* and the Hiligaynon *saŋ* 'of' together, and of the Hiligaynon *sila* 'they' and *sia* 'he/she' in a basically non-Hiligaynon pronominal system.

11.2.3. Da-ohanon (12c). The speech of Da-o may be considered a sub-sub-dialect. Unlike Sigmahanon, Da-ohanon has some more evidence of the influence of the Aklanon [ʃ]. The data has *bu^hlak* 'flower', *pa^hda^hlawat* 'to sell rice', *ta^hlo^hto^hd* 'spine', *pu^hla* 'red', and *sakit o^hlo* 'headache'. Otherwise, its phonology is basically Hiligaynon.

11.2.3.1. But for the use of Hiligaynon critical sounds, the Da-ohanon pronominal system is basically Antique Hinaray-a in form. The one aberrant form *sia tana* shows its

⁹A historical fact that is of some consequence here is the establishment of the first Spanish settlement of Capiz in Panay. It was the first capital. The first legendary Malayan settlement was at the mouth of the Aklanon River, almost at the opposite end of the island's northern side.

relationship to the growing identity of a central Capiz larger community, whose characteristics are described elsewhere.

11.2.3.2. As for its vocabulary, Da-ohanon is predominantly Capiznon, exhibiting as it does the most distinctive Capiznon words, as well as having a very large portion of words held in common by all Hiligaynon speakers, and about half as much held in common by Aklanon and Capiznon speakers. It has a noticeable number of Aklanon terms, much less of Ilonggo, and traces of Hinaray-a.

11.2.4. Cuarterohanon (12d). Cuartero, a town at the heart of Panay, is situated in a basin that opens into Aklan, Capiz, and Iloilo. Both railroad and highway pass the edge of the town. Because of this accessibility from many directions, and its being halfway from all directions of hard travel, it has been subject to many linguistic influences.

Cuarterohanon, the speech of the township, is a sub-subdialect (of Capiznon). It shows evidence of heavy borrowing from Hinaray-a, the most important being the morphemic shape of its pronominal system, its genitive forms (*ka ~ it*), its demonstratives (*dia* 'this' *day'a* 'that, near', *to ya* 'that, far'). Furthermore, both the Capiznon and the Ilonggo forms for 'reciprocal action' are used here.

11.2.4.1. A study of the list of items obtained from the town shows that all the major dialects have strongly contributed to Cuarterohanon. Hiligaynon terms comprise about 47 per cent of the total list of distinctive words. About a third are contributed by the other dialects, and about 17 per cent are peculiar to Cuarterohanon and its immediate vicinity.

11.2.5. Dumaraonon (12e). Dumaraonon must also be considered a sub-subdialect of the Capiznon type. Although adjacent to Cuartero, the township's greater proximity to, and long border with, Hinaray-a speaking regions figures quite prominently in its speech. The test proposed for Deep Capiznon is not fully met by Dumaraonon. On the other hand, the incidence of the use of Hinaray-a words and Ilonggo words has risen to about double that in Cuartero speech, but the contribution of Aklanon has diminished.

11.2.5.1. Many of the peculiarities in grammar and vocabulary cited for Cuartero, however, are also shared by Dumaraonon. For example, they share the same genitive and deictic systems. Dumaraonon also shares the jargon of the central Capiz larger community.

11.2.5.2. Some of the peculiarities of this lect need to be pointed out: *alibon'an* 'roof ridge', *libwaŋan* 'mouth of the river', *ma'idlak* 'shiny (face)', *subog* 'basket', *dondon* 'now', and *insa ŋa* 'why'.

11.3. Ilonggo. Five types of Ilonggo may be distinguished, according to the degree with which the lect exhibits the characteristics posited for Deep Ilonggo (11).

11.3.1. Deep Ilonggo is spoken in four pockets strung along the Iloilo coast to the east. One is the small area between the Batiano River, to the eastern side of Oton and the delta of the Jalaud River, at the boundary of Leganes. This comprises Iloilo City and Leganes.

Another pocket, most probably established through frequent contact with the region first mentioned above, is the town proper of Dumangas, although some trace of Hinaray-a does surface here. It is to be noted that people in the farmlands outside of the town proper speak another type of Ilonggo. This is to be explained by the fact that

communication between the two pockets was established over sea routes and hardly by land.

A third pocket is Banate, a town in a cove below the rising coastal mountains of Barotac Viejo. This is a fishing town established on a very narrow strip of land.

A fourth pocket is composed of three towns clustered around a point three-fourths of the way up the coast of Iloilo. These three towns are Ajuy, San Dionisio, and Concepcion.

As in the case of Deep Capiznon, the speech of these towns shows some traces of other dialects, usually either Hinaray-a or Capiznon, or both. But, again, the test is whether they have the features specified at the beginning.

11.3.2. Another subdialect, to be called Zarraganhon (11a), is spoken around Zarraga and the outlying barrios of Dumangas. It is characterized by marked retention of Hinaray-a vocabulary and some use of the Hinaray-a pronominal system. Had this region had more incidence of use of other Hinaray-a grammatical sub-systems, it could have been included with East Coast Iloilo Hinaray-a.

11.3.3. Another subtype, which may be called Saranhon (11b), is spoken in Sara and Barotac Viejo. This subtype is characterized by the presence of vestiges of Hinaray-a and the influx of some Capiznon vocabulary. These retentions and borrowing are not of marked degree, however.

11.3.4. Batadnon (11c). The speech of the town of Batad, in northern Iloilo, is the fourth subdialect of Ilonggo. It is characterized by extensive alternation between Ilonggo and either Hinaray-a or Capiznon. In addition, it has holdovers from Hinaray-a and intrusions from Capiznon and even Aklanon.

11.3.5. The last subtype of Ilonggo is spoken at the northern tip of the province, by the three towns of Carles, Balasan, and Estancia. Carles may be considered the hub of this region, so the dialect is here called Carlesnon (11d).

11.3.5.1. There is a noticeable trace of Hinaray-a in these towns. Another strong characteristic of this region is the more pronounced contribution of Capiznon vocabulary, either in alternation with Ilonggo, or in preference to it. About 35 per cent of the distinctive words in Carles, 19 per cent in Balasan, and 20 per cent in Estancia are such words.

11.4. Nabasnon (13). The province of Aklan has an anomalous pocket at its neck in the northwest. This is occupied by Nabas, the settlement by the mountain pass between Antique and Aklan. For a town in its geographical position, its speech exhibits an eclecticism that encompasses more variety than expected. This intrusion into Aklanon territory isolates the Aklanon towns of Malay and Buruanga from the main Aklanon territory.

11.4.1. Although wedged in between Aklanon towns, Nabasnon has not adopted the [ʃ] of Aklanon. On the contrary, when latter-day commerce with other Aklan towns began to be reflected in its borrowings, the following Aklanon words in its vocabulary lost their fricative laterals: *bahol* 'big (one)', *lokón* 'coil', and *magulan* 'old'.

11.4.1.1. In addition, the Panayan Bisayan infix *-uL-*, whose reflex in Aklanon is *-uʃ-* and in Hinaray-a, *-ur-*, gets the Hiligaynon *-ut-* in Nabasnon. Thus, what is Aklanon *boboʃan* has become *boloboʃan* in Nabasnon; and what is Hinaray-a *magborogtoʃ* is *magbulugtoʃ* in Nabasnon.

11.4.1.2. Nabasnon does not have the pepet vowel. In fact, obvious borrowings from Hinaray-a, which had the pepet originally, have rounded vowels instead. Thus:

<i>Hinaray-a</i>	<i>Nabasnon</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
tiṅuranən	tiṅuranon	'rainy season'
rən	ron	'already'
sələd	solod	'tuber'
kanamən, etc.	kanamon, etc.	'to us (exclusive), etc.'

11.4.1.3. Because of all this collective peculiarity, Nabasnon is here considered as some version of Hiligaynon. This, Capiznon, and Ilonggo are the three subdialects of Hiligaynon in Panay.

12.0. Classification of Panayan 'Dialects'. The whole language situation in Panay may now be thus outlined:

Panayan Bisayan

I. Aklanon

- A. Deep Aklanon
 - 1. Central Deep Aklanon
 - 2. Malaynon
 - 3. Sapi-anon
- B. Mambusaanon
- C. Jamindanon
- D. Buruanganhon

II. Hiligaynon

- A. Capiznon
 - 1. Deep Capiznon
 - a. Central Deep Capiznon
 - b. Panaynon
 - 2. Sigmahanon
 - 3. Da-ohanon
 - 4. Cuarterohanon
 - 5. Dumaraanon
- B. Ilonggo
 - 1. Deep Ilonggo
 - 2. Zarraganhon
 - 3. Saranhon
 - 4. Batadnon
 - 5. Carlesnon
- C. Nabasnon

III. Hinaray-a

- A. Deep Hinaray-a
 - 1. Deep Antique Hinaray-a
 - 2. Deep Aklan Hinaray-a

3. Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a
 - a. Central Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a
 - b. Coastal Deep Iloilo Hinaray-a
- B. Dumalagnon
- C. Lemerinhon
- D. Central Iloilo Hinaray-a
- E. Pototanon
- F. East Coast Iloilo Hinaray-a

12.1. Sources of Linguistic Complexity. Looking back over the whole attempt to isolate and describe each distinctive speech form in Panay, one is almost forced to consider every town a dialect area by itself, for practically every town exhibits different selections and extent of adoption of words from each of the major dialects.

12.1.1. Other linguistic phenomena that occur when different lects come in contact further complicate matters. When two contrasting words arrive in one settlement, confusion in the use of two equally strong alternants seemed to have forced the speakers to create a blend out of the two.

12.1.2. Another possibility that has so far been given scant attention is the phenomenon of specialization of meanings. This means that two competing words are both adopted, but they divide the field of meanings between them; for example, in Dumangas, *ninyog* refers to the fruit of the coconut tree; *lubi*, to the tree itself. There are similar data from at least 16 other towns.

12.1.3. Not to be overlooked is the fact that there also is hardly a town that does not exhibit some word(s) peculiar to itself.

12.2. In Fine. This much evidence attests to the mobility of people in Panay, a mobility that has established both land and sea routes and has taken travelers over the length and breadth of the island. The blends and the individual coinages also attest to long periods of settling down with neighbors who may have come from other places and originally spoke some other dialect(s).

In short, the highly-checkedered dialect situation in Panay is the result of tensions between the compulsion to move about and the desire to 'take root', among peoples who were of different origins but were not really historically alien to each other. The early settlers, wherever they were originally situated, moved out of settlements to look for more advantageous locations for living — and then settled down.

REFERENCES

- THOMAS, DAVID and RICHARD GIESER. 1973. A decimal classification for Philippine languages. Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez, ed. by Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC, 64-70. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.