

Received 11 November 2022.

Accepted 30 March 2023.

Published January 2024.

DOI: 10.1344/DIALECTOLOGIA.34.10

LEXICOPHONETIC DIALECTOLOGY OF PANAY

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Abstract

This study provides an exploratory description of linguistic varieties in Panay in central Philippines through a combination of dialectometric and qualitative approaches. Data were gathered through a series of interviews with locals from four provinces of the island, namely Aklan, Antique, Capiz, and Iloilo. Concluding from analyses of lexicophonetic data and field reports, five dialect zones were identified. The first three include well-defined zones, namely an Akeanon zone containing four dialect areas within Aklan, an Antique Kinaray-a zone with five dialect areas within Antique, and a Caluyanon zone within the Caluya Islands. The other two zones are within a Central Bisayan-West Bisayan contact zone with the first being a convergence zone involving 9 dialect areas mostly in Iloilo where Hiligaynon and Kinaray-a interact, while the second is a Hiligaynon-Capiznon dialect continuum covering 10 dialect areas spanning Iloilo and Capiz.

Keywords: dialectometry, dialect geography, Akeanon, Capiznon, Kinaray-a, Hiligaynon

DIALECTOLOGIA LEXICOFONÈTICA A PANAY

Resum

Aquest estudi ofereix una descripció exploratòria de les varietats lingüístiques a Panay a les Filipines centrals mitjançant una combinació d'enfocaments dialectomètrics i qualitius. Les dades es van recopilar mitjançant una sèrie d'entrevistes amb vilatans de quatre províncies de l'illa, és a dir, Aklan, Antique, Capiz i Iloilo. A partir de les anàlisis de dades lexicofonètiques i informes de camp, es conclou que es van identificar cinc zones dialectals. Les primeres tres inclouen zones ben definides, és a dir, una zona Akeanon que conté quatre àrees dialectals dins Aklan, una zona Antique Kinaray-a amb cinc àrees dialectals dins Antique i una zona Caluyanon a les illes Caluya. Les altres dues zones es troben dins una zona de contacte Bisayan central-Bisayan occidental, essent la primera una zona de

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convergència que involucra 9 àrees dialectals, principalment a Iloilo, on interactuen Hiligaynon i Kinaray-a, mentre que la segona és un continu dialectal Hiligaynon-Capiznon que cobreix 10 àrees dialectals les quals abracen Iloilo i Capiz.

Paraules clau: dialectometria, geografia dialectal, Akeanon, Capiznon, Kinaray-a, Hiligaynon

DIALECTOLOGÍA LÉXICO-FONÉTICA EN PANAY

Resumen

Este estudio ofrece una descripción exploratoria de las variedades lingüísticas en Panay a las Filipinas centrales mediante una combinación de enfoques dialectométricos y cualitativos. Los datos se recopilieron mediante una serie de entrevistas con lugareños de cuatro provincias de la isla, a saber, Aklan, Antique, Capiz e Iloilo. A partir de los análisis de datos léxico-fonéticos e informes de campo, se concluye que se identificaron cinco zonas dialectales. Las primeras tres incluyen zonas bien definidas, a saber, una zona Akeanon que contiene cuatro áreas dialectales dentro de Aklan, una zona Antique Kinaray-a con cinco áreas dialectales dentro de Antique y una zona Caluyanon en las islas Caluya. Las otras dos zonas se encuentran dentro de una zona de contacto Bisayan central-Bisayan occidental, siendo la primera una zona de convergencia que involucra 9 áreas dialectales, principalmente en Iloilo donde interactúan Hiligaynon y Kinaray-a, mientras que la segunda es un continuo dialectal Hiligaynon-Capiznon que cubre 10 áreas dialectales las cuales abarcan Iloilo y Capiz.

Palabras clave: dialectometría, geografía dialectal, Akeanon, Capiznon, Kinaray-a, Hiligaynon

1. Introduction

1.1 Panay and its linguistic environment

With an area of 12,011 km² the linguistically dense island of Panay in central Philippines has so much potential in providing information on Philippine linguistic ecologies. The island divided into four provinces has 6 distinct languages belonging from three different groups. These are Hiligaynon and Capiznon under Central Bisayan, Kinaray-a, Akeanon, and Suludnon under West Bisayan (WBis), and the isolate Inati. The linguistic richness of this region is further attested by the fact that its northwestern fringe rests within what Zorc (2021) calls the West Bisayan Axis. This axis is one of the many geographic areas across the Philippines where unique linguistic features are shared among language groups belonging from different subgroups due to long histories of contact and cross-migration. Interacting with Akeanon and Kinaray-a (and its Pandan variety) are Caluyanon in Caluya Islands,

administratively part of Panay, including the Bulalakawnon variety of Inonhan in Romblon and Cuyunon in the Cuyo Islands of Palawan.

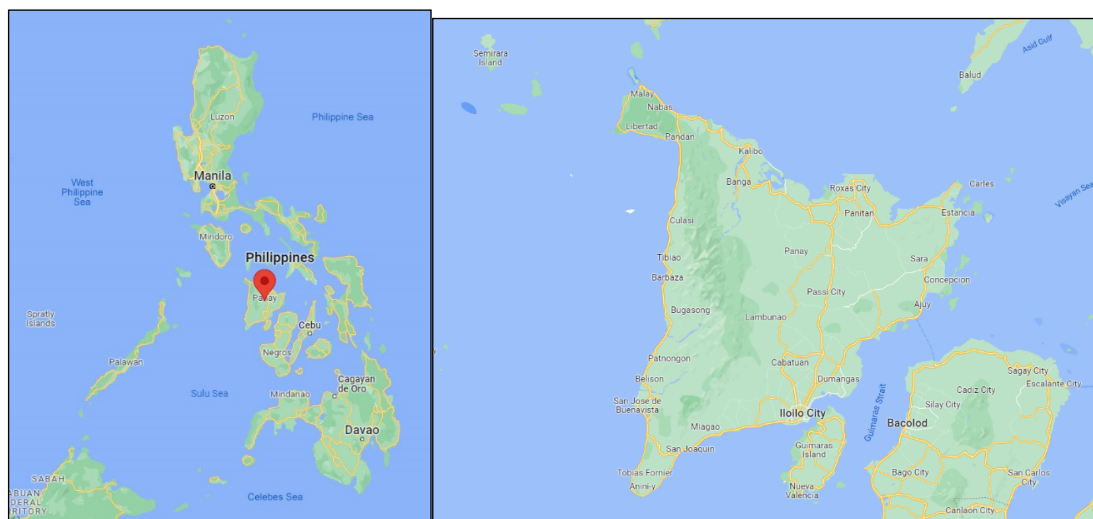


Figure 1. Location of Panay in central Philippines

Like Filipinos today the people of Panay are mostly if not entirely bilingual or multilingual and thus monolingualism is rare. Apart from their mother tongue, they also have varying degrees of proficiency in Tagalog (Filipino) via the educational system and national mass media. It is however a misconception that Hiligaynon has an overwhelming presence throughout all four provinces despite that they are administratively part of Western Visayas with a significant Hiligaynon-speaking population. This is evident among the people of Aklan, who generally would speak with those from nearby provinces in the national language instead of another regional language. The relative distance from Iloilo which requires initial passage through Capiz and the more cumbersome transportation out the province's mountainous terrain could be factors to this. The people of Antique meanwhile, in spite of an L1 highly unintelligible to Hiligaynon speakers, are said to have a considerable command of the language. Many are also sesquilingual due to the significant number of shared lexicon with Kinaray-a, which in turn could be a product of sustained contact with Hiligaynon from neighboring Iloilo and greater tendency of those from Antique to travel to Iloilo City for educational and economic purposes.

Though, a noteworthy domain where Hiligaynon maintains its strong presence in these provinces, however, is religion at least for Roman Catholics. Aklan is under the Archdiocese of Capiz while Antique is under the Archdiocese of Jaro, which both use Hiligaynon as the vernacular in prayers and other religious rites.

1.1 *Dialectological studies on Panay*

1.1.1 Hiligaynon

There is very little dialectological documentation on Hiligaynon (ISO 639-3 hil) despite that it is the most spoken Central Bisayan language (in fact one of the most widely spoken PhL) with nearly 3 million speakers and the most geographically spread across eastern Panay to western Negros, and parts of south-central Mindanao. It is one of the earliest PhLs to be documented by philologists mainly since the Visayas underwent immediate and intensive contact with European colonizers since the mid 1500's. The late 17th century lexicography of Spanish priest de Méntrida (1637) entitled *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya hiligueyna y haraia de la Isla de Panai y Sugbu y para las demás islas* vaguely suggests distinction between a "lowland" Bisayan known today as Hiligaynon (cf. *ilig* 'river flow'), and an "upland" variety nowadays identified as Kinaray-a (cf. *iraya* 'hinterland'), a WBis language. Lobel (2013) meanwhile argues that a proto-Hiligaynon developed from an old Warayan dialect brought by migrants somewhere in present-day Eastern Visayas to southeast Panay, which was then heavily influenced by a WBis variety (presumably by Kinaray-a), and/or Inati. Kobak (1969 apud Lobel (2013)) cites Alcina (1668) who mention that Hiligaynon speakers of Oton, Iloilo and nearby areas trace their roots to Leyte. There is unfortunately no existing survey on the Hiligaynon spoken in south-central Mindanao (Cotabato region) brought by government-sponsored homesteading¹ migrants in the early 20th century. Zorc (1977) also includes in his list Kawayan or

¹ The same recent phenomenon that intensified the rapid spread of Cebuano-Bisaya nearly all over Mindanao.

Kawayanon, a variety said to be spoken in Cauayan in Negros Occidental, which also has no extensive documentation.

1.2.2 Capiznon

Closely related to Hiligaynon is Capiznon (ISO 639-3 cps) spoken in the province of Capiz in Panay Island. The very first descriptive project on this Central Bisayan variety is by Argos (1969) who surveyed Roxas City and the towns of Panay, Pilar, Dumalag, Mambusao, and Sapan. She cites high overall similarity with Hiligaynon but with difference in accent and a few distinct lexical features. Next is Ubal (1970) who covered the towns of Dumarao, Ivisan, Panitan, President Roxas, Sigma, and Tapaz. She identified a possibly declining feature in Panitan notable among speakers aged 65 and above during the time of the study, where the /l/ reflex in select words is approximantized into /j/ or /w/. For example, the standard Hiligaynon *bugalun* ‘boastful’ becomes *bugawin*, and *dalaga* ‘maiden’ becomes *dayga*.

Distinctive features, although not consistent with those found by Ubal, were also reported by Uy-Griño (2011) based on a much more extensive fieldwork in 1971-1974. She identifies Capiznon subdialects of Hiligaynon based on reflex and lexicon. There is greater preference for /l/ over /r/ (e.g. /tilʔas/ vs /ʔiras/ [HIL] ‘caterpillar’) and /r/ over /d/ (e.g. /ʔiruʔ/ vs /ʔiduʔ/ [HIL] ‘dog’). She further elaborates on certain “lects” or subtypes of the Capiznon subdialect which can be presumed as evidence of convergence zones based on features attested in the towns of Panay, Sigma, Cuartero, and Dumarao. Speech in Panay reveals close contact with Akeanon based on /t/² reflex borrowings which transform upon three conditions:

1. If intervocalic /t/ is between /u/ and /a/, it lenites into /w/ and the succeeding vowel becomes slightly raised (e.g. /puʔa/ > /puwæ/ ‘red’).

² Non-standard phonetic symbol used by Uy-Griño; as per earlier literature in Akeanon, this is a voiced velar fricative [ɣ], but has been later argued by Zorc (2005) to possess “semivowel” properties then reaffirmed by Rentillo & Pototan (2022) to be a velar approximant [ɰ].

2. If intervocalic /t/ is between similar vowels, /t/ is completely elided and the remaining nucleus is lengthened and sometimes slightly raised (e.g. /madutum/ > /madu:m/ ‘dark’; /baɫagbag/ > /bæ:bag/ ‘bamboo slats’).

3. If /t/ is a word-final, it lenites into /j/ (e.g. /buɲut/ > /buɲuj/ ‘deaf’).

In Sigma, the /t/ reflex is retained but is elided after /u/, /b/, and /p/. Kinaray-a and Hiligaynon pronominals are used alongside frequent interchange of object/genitive markers *sang* (HIL) and *it* (AKL). Meanwhile, speech in Cuartero features reflexes found in Kinaray-a and Akeanon such as /r/ for /l/ (KRJ) and /d/ for /r/ (AKL). Kinaray-a deictics *diya*, *day-a*, and *tuya* were also attested. Lastly, speech in Dumarao shows high lexical similarity with Kinaray-a.

1.2.3 Akeanon

Akeanon (ISO 639-3 akl) is mainly spoken in much of Aklan Province and forms its independent Aklan sub-branch of West Bisayan. Its earliest known formal description is by Scheerer (1920) who discussed the voiced velar fricative innovation [ɣ] of the Bisayan /l-r/ reflex. This was later reanalyzed by Zorc (2005) as an unrounded back semivowel and confirmed by Rentillo & Pototanon (2022) to be velar approximant [ɰ] (e.g. /bauɰaj/ vs Bis /balaj/; ROM, ASI /bajaj/ ‘house’). Among if not the earliest descriptions of its dialects, although scant, is the dictionary by de la Cruz & Zorc (1969). A separate Malaynon variety (ISO 639-3 mlz) is spoken around the town of Malay in northwestern Aklan (Eberhard et al. 2022) first described by Zorc (1977) but remains contentious as to whether it is a dialect of Akeanon or a distinct language. Zorc (1994) mentions that the dialects in the towns of Ibajay and Libacao are divergent. No further details were provided, but both towns are at two ends farther from Kalibo and peripheries where much of the provincial population is concentrated. Ibajay is within a crucial transit zone between Aklan and Antique and is thus a linguistically diverse part of northeastern Panay. A parallel observation was presented by Zorc (1977) on the influence of Akeanon to the Pandan variety (or vice-versa). It is a fact that the town of Pandan in northern Antique is exactly where the said cross-boundary road links with Nabas where the local variety is known as to be a

phonologically divergent island featuring /l~r/ reflex (e.g. /bauɔaj/ > /balaj/ ‘house’, /haɔɔk/ > /harok/ ‘[to] kiss’). Libacao meanwhile lies in the most remote part of Aklan River upstream into the Central Panay Mountain Range bordering the similarly mountainous eastern Antique and northeast Capiz. Zorc (1994) also mentions outlier varieties spoken in the northwestern most towns of Malay and Buruanga. The former he says is “associated with Kinaray-a” while the latter “with various dialects of Tablas, Romblon” (1994: 343) which was also unspecified whether these imply Romblomanon, Inonhan, and Asi altogether.

Based on preliminary findings by Rentillo (2018) and Rentillo & Zubiri (2019), much of the dialects spoken around the most populous dense banks of Aklan River, are tightly knit as they are presumed to follow one direction of peopling. The variety spoken in Nabas to the northwest meanwhile is reported by locals (and confirmed by lexicophonetic data) to be an island with its /l/ reflex surrounded by other Akeanon varieties retaining /ɔ/ (e.g. /buɔɔŋ/ > /bulɔŋ/ ‘medicine,’ /hambau/ > /hambal/ ‘[to] speak’). There is also evidence that varieties in the hinterlands of Madalag and Malinao bordering Kinaray-a areas to the southeast are divergent.

1.2.4 Kinaray-a

Zorc (1977) notes that the Kinarayan sub-branch of West Bisayan includes Kinaray-a and varieties in Pandan and Guimaras. Kinaray-a (ISO 639-3 krj) is dialectologically underdocumented despite being the most spoken and geographically widespread West Bisayan variety and only second to Hiligaynon in the whole of Panay. There are reports that the Kinaray-a spoken in Antique is internally diverse. Among them are varieties in the northernmost areas centered in the town of Pandan variably called Pandananon, which Nickell in 1966 (SIL, n.d.) was among the first to systematically describe. Zorc (1972) cites it as a distinct Kinaray-a dialect in his subgrouping of West Bisayan. There are also varieties in Guimaras and Iloilo which are said to be in stronger contact with Hiligaynon and less likely to feature the /ə/ phoneme more identifiable to varieties in Antique.

1.2.5 Suludnon and Inati

The much less studied Sulod or Suludnon (ISO 639-3 *srg*) is classified in Glottolog as a Kinarayan language. It was notably documented by historian F. Landa Jocano (2008 [1968]) who conducted a series of anthropological studies on the Sulod people whose language Jocano labels as “Panay Bukidnon”. Its speakers settle mostly in very remote and rugged areas of Panay’s hinterlands that could only be reached by foot which is why formal dialectological studies are technically non-existent.

The Inati (ISO 639-3 *atk*) is the only isolate in Panay in a sense that it is directly descended from Malayo-Polynesian and has no clear direct relationship with other language groups of the Philippines. On the other hand, Reid (2013) theorizes that it shares common ancestry with the other Negrito languages of the Philippines which is yet to be substantiated. Although as minoritized as Suludnon, it has undergone more systematic descriptions owing to the pioneering efforts of Lawrence Reid and fieldworkers from the SIL particularly Douglas Pennoyer. Recently there has been an Inete reference grammar developed by Armando Katalbas of Iloilo State College of Fisheries-Main Campus based on the variety in Sitio Nagpana, Barotac Viejo, Iloilo (Manzano 2021). It has also been a subject of analysis by Lobel (2013) in reanalyzing the internal grouping of Philippine and North Bornean languages. So far there are two main dialects identified by Pennoyer (1985), namely Sogodnin and Inete. The former is reported to be spoken by groups in Aklan specifically in Barangay³ Cogon, Malay. It is considered by the Ati as the “pure” or “formal” register. The latter is claimed to be the variety spoken in Iloilo. Manzano (*ibid.*) however argues that Inete is not a distinct dialect but a mere endonymic variation for the Ati people. In her investigation, the Inati of Numancia, Aklan claim that the Sogodnin in Malay, which they call “Malaynin,” could be a sociolect used by the ancient datus of Panay as per their epics. They also distinguish it from the Inati in Boracay Island, administratively part of Malay, as “Boracaynin.”

³ The smallest official administrative unit in the Philippines that constitute a municipality, roughly equivalent to a village, county, or hamlet

1.3. The present study

Following the scarcity of dialectological studies in the Philippines, those on the linguistic ecology of Panay are equally sparse and temporally far apart. The oldest to date is de Méntrida's *Arte de la lengua bisaya-hiligayna de la isla de Panay* (c. 1628) and *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya hiligayna y haraia de la Isla de Panai y Sugbu y para las demás islas* (1637), both mainly for lexicographic purposes. It should be noted however that these works among others, as products of their time, show minimal regard for areal variation and accuracy of provenance and thus conflate many collected data as "Bisaya" despite that some words were instead of Kinaray-a (*Haraya*) or Cebuano (*Sugbu*) origins. Pototanon (2016) likewise found that a significant portion of the words especially in *Vocabulario* are Hiligaynon and some were archaic and now only attested in Capiznon varieties. These items have cognates in Waray spoken in the islands of Samar and Leyte, which provide evidence of (proto-)Hiligaynon's eastern non-Panay origins.

Much research on dialectology in the Philippines are unfortunately scant and far apart. This is even more pronounced in the context of Panay, where the most systematic and encompassing survey on the island is by Uy-Griño (1975). Nearly five decades later there has been however no update that applies contemporary approaches, leaving the field in the dark as per the current linguistic profile of the region amid the realities of sociocultural and thus language shift.

2. Methodology

This study took a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches whereby dialect areas were identified by interspersing production data with field inquiries. All participants of this study were asked to sign a consent form and

reminded of their rights as research participants prior to engaging in any data collection activities.

2.1 Participants

A total of 262 informants native to Panay were invited for a structured interview using the wordlist as a guide. Through convenience-purposive sampling, seventy-five (75) municipalities across four provinces of Panay were represented by three to five informants, gender notwithstanding, from non-contiguous barangays. At the time of the study, the informants had an average of 26 years old, have lived in their represented municipality for at least 10 consecutive years, have finished at least a bachelor's degree or were in the process of completion, and have no academic/professional background on language studies. The decision to have mostly young informants is to show the current linguistic situation of the region. Below is a summary of all participants per municipality per province and the specific location of their respective residence. No speakers of Suludnon and Inati however were included in this study.

Province	Covered Municipalities	Total Informants
Aklan	17	80
Antique	15	73
Capiz	14	42
Iloilo	30	67

Table 1. Dialect survey sample size

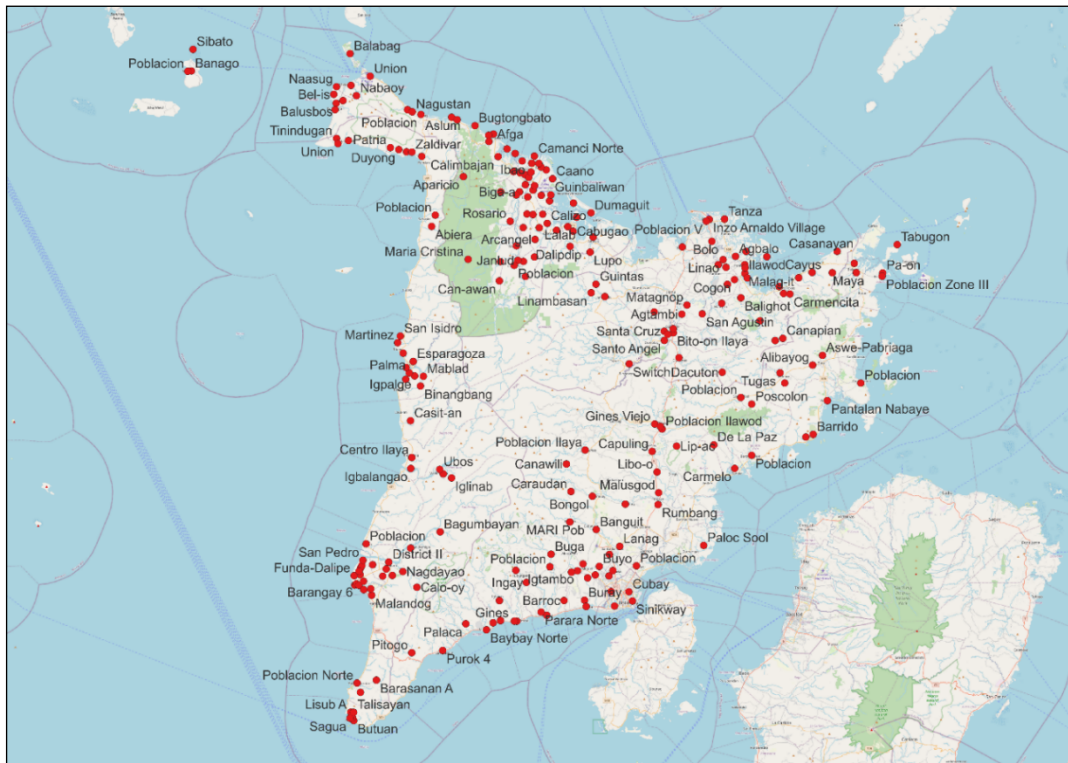


Figure 2. Residence of survey informants

2.2 Instruments

A 495-item wordlist (see Appendix A) was adapted from an informant interview guide developed and tested by the University of the Philippines Diliman Department of Linguistics for field documentation appropriate for Philippine contexts. This was used to elicit informant responses which was analyzed in the form of lexical and phonetic data. Said data was the basis in identifying bundles of isoglosses to establish dialect area/s (and possibly dialect continua/-um). Lexical and phonetic data were run under *Cog* version 1.3.6.10020 through its built-in hierarchical clustering and MDS-ready algorithm to produce visualizations of linguistic relationships. The dialect areas were then established by integrating observed patterns from network graphs using produced lexical and phonetic data alongside anecdotal reports and descriptions from informants and locals. Areas were clustered through QGIS that computes centroids as representation of dialect areas and their approximate location in the real world through coordinates.

2.3 Data analysis

2.3.1 Lexicophonetic comparison

Production data represented by a total of 97,255 tokens were first analyzed through Cog. Through the Blair method, datasets were compared to produce similarity matrices, which provide quantitative information in percentage on the relationship among every data (each town versus every other town). These were the basis for Cog to generate network graphs to visualize relationships based on said lexical and phonetic data (see Figure 3). These graphs were produced through a multidimensional scaling technique called stress majorization to reveal outliers and clusters of similar features. Both matrices and networks were first generated for each of the 4 provinces and then for the entirety of Panay.

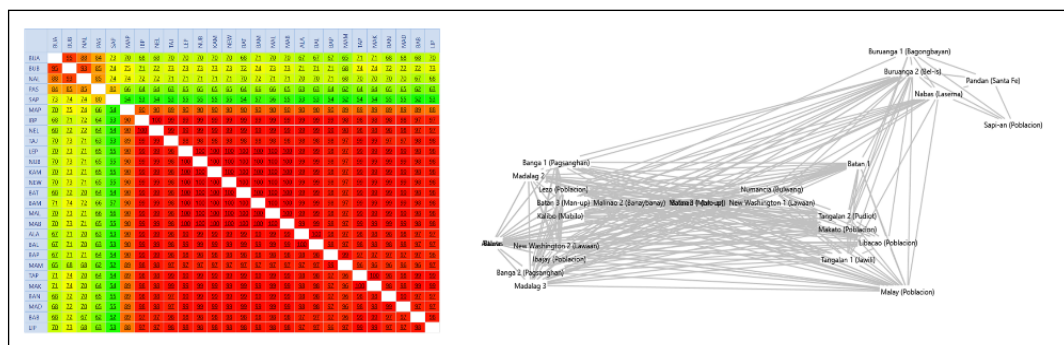


Figure 3. Sample analysis on Cog

2.3.2 Dialect area mapping

Data from all three analyses from Cog were then cross-referenced to assume dialect groupings, which was assigned to the geolocation of every elicited production data on Cog. This was then used to produce Voronoi diagrams via QGIS' native algorithm⁴ to help identify approximate the geographic location and diffusion of said

⁴ See <https://docs.qgis.org/3.16/en/docs/user_manual/processing_algs/qgis/index.html>.

dialect areas and across Panay. These Voronoi polygons were later refined as vector layers to provide a more legible approximation of said dialect areas (see Figure 4).

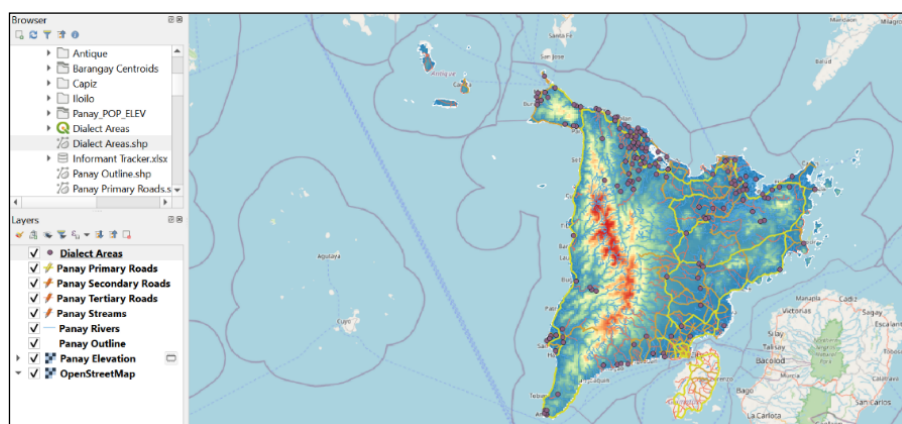


Figure 4. QGIS interface

Qualitative analysis of data from open-ended inquiries was integrated to thoroughly determine dialect areas. Notable features especially cognates and unique features (e.g. relics) were noted per informant data and compared with those from other informants. Geographic locations were also identified to determine if a feature is areal or unique. Locals (not included as informants) were at times informally inquired to confirm certain data points and to elicit additional information not captured in the wordlist.

3. Results

The following are network graphs based on the comparisons of all datasets in the four Panay provinces of Aklan, Antique, Capiz, and Iloilo. These provide a macroscopic view on the interrelationships of all dialect areas in the region based on the elicited lexical and phonetic production data.

The lexical network (see Figure 5) provides a perspective on the interrelationships of all elicited Panay varieties. Three primary continua are formed. First is a well-defined *Akeanon Areas of Influence* represented by all production data

elicited from Aklan informants. Based on open-ended inquiries with informants and locals across the provinces, it was typical to point at the speech in Aklan to be the most distinct throughout the island. Lexical and phonetic data then show that the varieties spoken in Aklan are cohesively Akeanon. Connections with data from Capiz serve as evidence of its contact with Capiznon varieties. Recall in the previous analyses that varieties in Capiz carry certain West Bisayan features similar to Akeanon. This affinity was first reported by Uy-Griño (2011) although her findings focus on reflexes which did not manifest in the data of this study. The *Kinaray-a Areas of Influence* meanwhile is centered around production data elicited in Antique, but also overlaps with a significant portion of data from Iloilo. This shows the Kinaray-a linguistic influence found in data in Iloilo and some in Capiz and Aklan. The strong bilingualism/sesquilingualism in parts of Iloilo shows a history of contact between Kinaray-a, said to have been established in the region much earlier, and the more prestigious and widely accessible Hiligaynon. This therefore has created the impression that Kinaray-a is closely related to Hiligaynon which is a common tendency in historiographic studies on the region. This is not entirely false since both languages indeed belong to Bisayan and its speakers especially have had substantial contact throughout much of recorded history (Zorc 1977) resulting in high lexical borrowing. Small portions of Aklan and Capiz data are also shown to be overlapped with this area of influence mainly through Buruanga Akeanon, Malay-Nabas Akeanon, and South Capiz, which are all geographically adjacent to dialect areas with Kinaray-a features. The *Capiznon Areas of Influence* are concentrated in data gathered in Capiz pointing to the features consistent to what could be considered as Capiznon or Hiligaynon-type varieties or those with a noteworthy Hiligaynon influence. However, it is entirely covered by the *Hiligaynon Areas of Influence* given that a significant proportion of features in this area show features bearing great similarities with Hiligaynon radiating from Iloilo.

The phonetic network (see Figure 6) further confirms that varieties in Panay overall have very close phonological features. This has been illustrated in individual provincial networks showing interconnectedness of almost all representative data. It has been long documented that Bisayan like the rest of Philippine-type languages has

a simple phonological inventory. The group is also known to have minimal reflex variations which can be explained by the RDL and RGH Laws (Conant 1911, 1912), and a canonical three-vowel system /a, i, u/ with the exception of Kinaray-a varieties mainly in Antique featuring /ə/. Stress patterns are overwhelmingly similar especially among cognates. Deviances were noted as idiosyncratic features, and when verified with a reference sample informants would confirm that their initial utterance and the sample are both acceptable. It can also be noted that most data from Aklan are closely clustered together and slightly farther from the other datasets. This could be due to its /u/ innovation of the Bisayan /l-r/ (Zorc 1977) including unique WBis lexical forms largely unattested in Iloilo and Capiz and which could have already been lost in Antique varieties due their more intense contact with Hiligaynon. Possibly also due to effects of lexical differences, certain dialect areas seem to be relatively more divergent as they cluster in distant positions. These are data that represent the dialect areas of northwestern Aklan (i.e. Buruanga Akeanon, Malay-Nabas Akeanon) and Caluya.

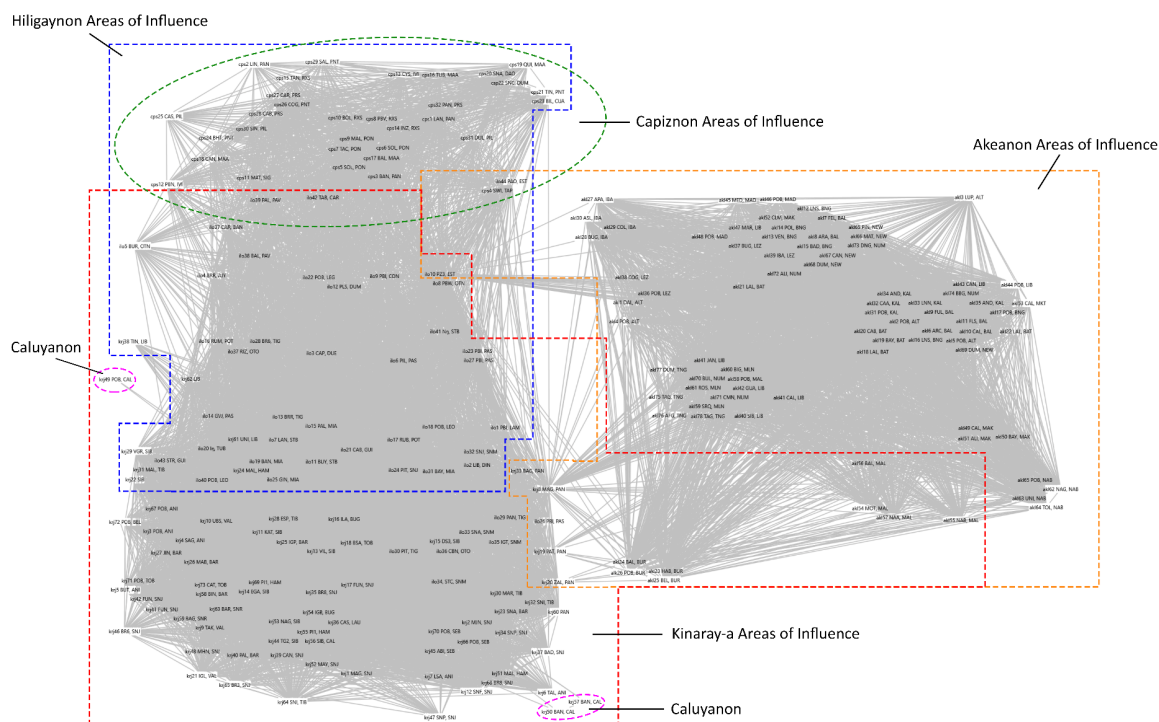


Figure 5. Panay lexical network of production data from Cog

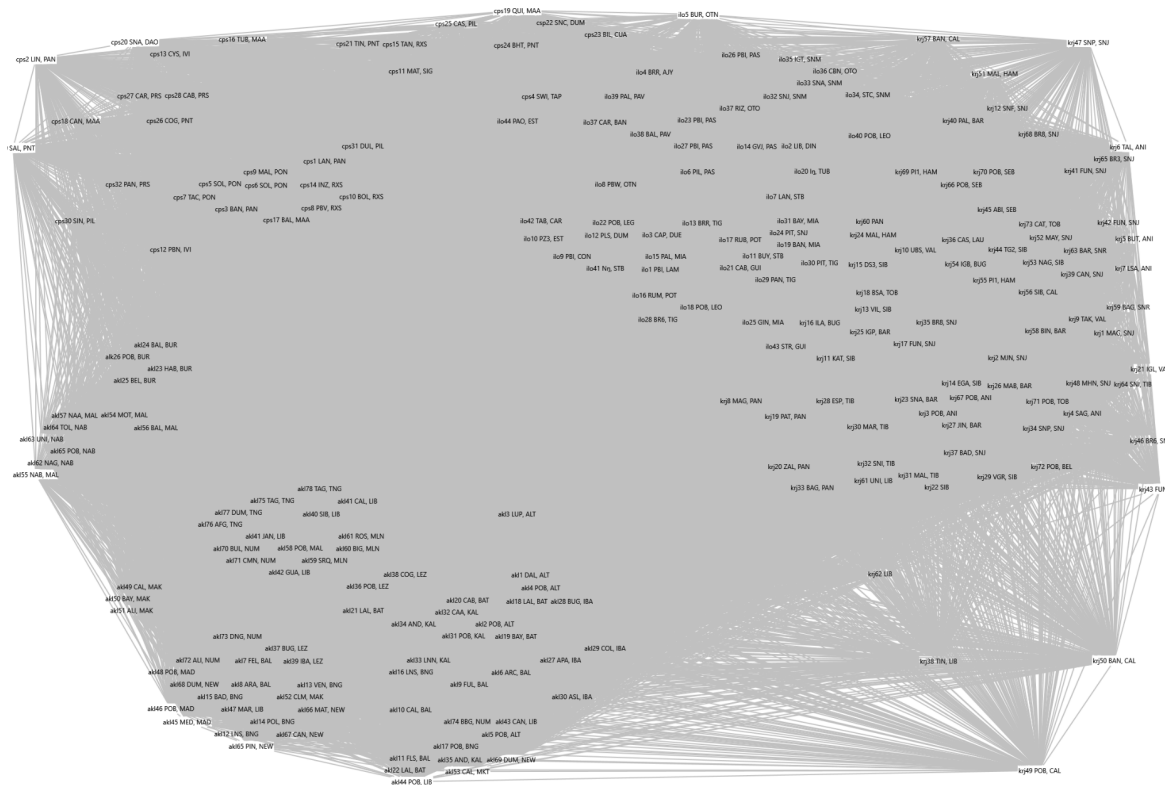


Figure 6. Panay phonetic network of production data from Cog

By combining comparison analyses of production data and field reports gathered throughout the course of the survey, the discussion below presents the dialect areas of Panay and their proximate geographic location and extent. Five major areas can be identified: an Akeanon Zone, an Antique Kinaray-a Zone, a Caluyanon Zone, a Hiligaynon-Kinaray-a Convergence Zone, and a Hiligaynon-Capiznon Dialect Continuum.

3.1 Akeanon Zone

Aklan foremost contains clear dialect areas of the *Akeanon Zone* (see Figure 7). Aside from the comparative results showing relatively greater distance of Aklan data from the rest of the dataset, anecdotes from informants in the other three Panay provinces frequently describe the local varieties to be significant different from the rest of the region. Four (4) areas that can be identified from west to east: Buruanga

Akeanon, Malay-Nabas Akeanon, Central Aklan Akeanon, and Aklan River Valley Akeanon.

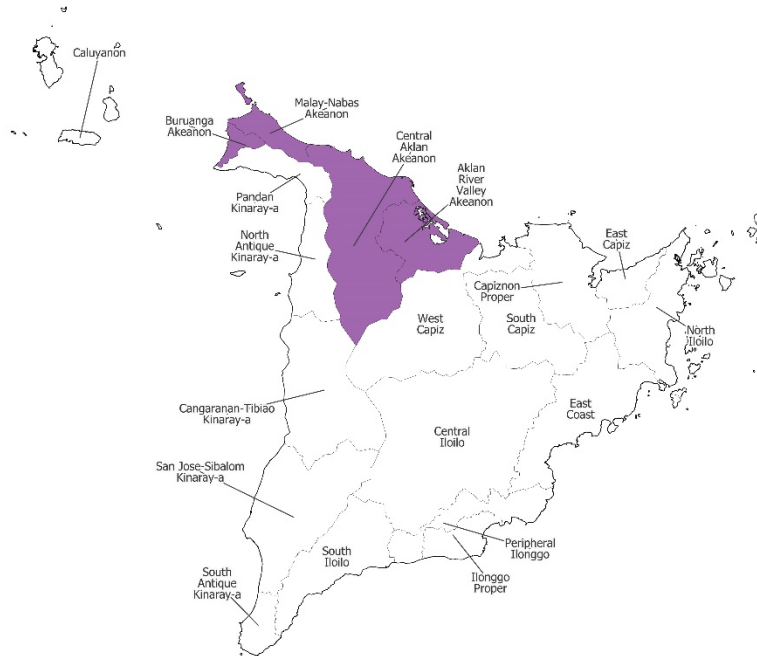


Figure 7. Akeanon Zone

The core Akeanon dialect area radiating from Kalibo, its eastern coast, and the lower banks of Aklan River where standard Akeanon is based can be designated as the *Aklan River Valley Akeanon*. An intermediary area can be identified west of Aklan River centered around Makato, Ibajay, and Tangalan. Lexical and phonetic dendrograms and network graphs reveal slight clustering with Lezo, Numancia, Malinao, Madalag, and Libacao, which are also along the western banks. These towns forming *Central Aklan Akeanon* may be within a convergence zone linking the core Akeanon area radiating from Kalibo and the sharply distinct northwestern dialects. The three northwesternmost towns separated by the Ibajay River from the other Akeanon varieties form a phonological island due to their lack of the velar approximant [ɰ] found in every other part of Aklan. There are two dialect areas that can be identified. One is the *Malay-Nabas Akeanon* dialect, which feature /l-r/ reflex for [ɰ] (e.g. /balas/ vs /bauɰas/ ‘sand’; /taramnan/ vs /tauɰamnan/ ‘garden’) and lexicon distinct from the rest of Aklan (e.g. /pakaɰisa/ vs /ɰɪŋkampud/ ‘cousin’;

/taliŋa/ vs /duwungan/ ‘ear’). The other is the *Buruanga Akeanon* dialect, which despite sharing some of the aforementioned features with Malay and Nabas, also has more influences associated with Antique varieties (e.g. /laswa/ vs /tinuwa/ ‘vegetable’; /nadjə/ vs /kadja/ [KRJ] vs /makarun/ [AKL] ‘now’; /ʔimawran/ vs /ʔamura/ [KRJ] vs /harun/ [AKL] DIST) and shared features in Pandan (e.g. /ʔambuʔ/ vs /uʔangam/ ‘rat’). The former two show some lexical influences from Kinaray-a, possibly via the southern town of Pandan in Antique which is directly connected to Nabas by a major road.

3.2 Antique Kinaray-a Zone

The proximity of Antique data with those from Iloilo points to substantial linguistic connections suggesting a history of sustained contact between peoples from the two provinces. However, certain features unique to Antique can still be distinguishable from the rest of Panay and substantiate a well-defined grouping among five (5) dialect areas within the province which can be called the *Antique Kinaray-a Zone* (see Figure 8). In north-to-south fashion, these are Pandan Kinaray-a, North Antique Kinaray-a, Cangananan-Tibiao Kinaray-a, San Jose-Sibalom Kinaray-a (basis of standard Antique Kinaray-a), and South Antique Kinaray-a. Separate from the mainland is the *Caluyanon Zone*, which is considered by Antiqueños⁵ themselves to be extremely distinct due to a high level of unintelligibility especially in spoken form. The local variety is overwhelmingly described to be either an extremely different dialect of Kinaray-a bordering exotic, a Kinaray-a dialect heavily mixed with Tagalog (and oddly to an extent with Cebuano-Bisaya), or an entirely separate language. These descriptions might owe to Caluya archipelago’s isolation and a different economic structure heavily relying on mining in Semirara Island which draws laborers from different parts of the Philippines. Many from the islands also travel to mainland Antique for educational and economic purposes, and thus could have Kinaray-a proficiency or are sesquilingual.

⁵ Local demonym for the people of Antique.



Figure 8. Antique Kinaray-a Zone

There is a core Antique Kinaray-a radiating from Sibalom River where San Jose and its satellite towns of Sibalom, Belison, and Hamtic are located. They also share great similarities with Patnongon and to some extent Bugasong and Valderrama. However, by integrating information gathered through informal interviews with informants and other locals, there is a particularly distinct use of the *ngan* and *kan* emphatic particles approximately around these towns including Laua-an, Barbaza, and Tibiao to the north. There are also reports of a distinct Hamitkanon variety spoken in Hamtic that is argued to be quite different from the variety in San Jose and peripheries, although this was not captured in the data. From these information, two dialect areas can be established. The first group, assumed as the basis of standard Antique Kinaray-a, is the *San Jose-Sibalom Kinaray-a*. The second group, a transitional zone within the very middle of Antique bridging the southern and northern towns, is the *Cangaranan-Tibiao Kinaray-a* with its distinct use of *ngan* and *kan*.

Varieties spoken in Tobias Fornier and Anini-y in the southernmost tip of Antique, meanwhile, are notably different from the rest of the province and are

sometimes associated with the speech in San Joaquin (and Miagao to an extent), the major transit point connecting Iloilo and Antique. They are as well described to have a soft, rising-falling rhythm. This area can be grouped under what can be called *South Antique Kinaray-a*. Although distance-wise this should be as close as the northern towns of Bugasong or Patnongon to Antique's main population center, population centers of both southernmost towns are tucked in rugged terrain and are bypassed by the Iloilo-Antique Mountain Road passing through Hamtic. There is an alternative route along the southern coast of Anini-y but is less preferred, and trips are much less available due to longer travel time hence greater isolation. Meanwhile, there are claims of a specifically distinct dialect in Hamtic, which is called *Hamtikanon*. This could be spoken in the southern mountainous sections nearer to Tobias Fornier and Anini-y. Future localized investigations could help confirm whether it should indeed be grouped with the southern dialect.

The northernmost section of Antique past Tibiao River is dotted by the most isolated towns of Culasi, Sebaste, Pandan, and Libertad. They might not form one cohesive dialect area, however. Sebaste and Culasi forming *North Antique Kinaray-a* might instead be considered as another transitional zone although varieties there are reported to be different from those from the Cangaranan-Tibiao area southwards. While they share a huge proportion of features with the southern towns, their accent is reported to be more similar to that in Pandan. Though what more certain is Pandan and Libertad can be grouped into one dialect area called *Pandan Kinaray-a*. This dialect is already known throughout Antique and even to some extent in Aklan due to their sharply divergent features that are sometimes associated with Akeanon. The frequency of northern Antique residents traveling and working in northwestern Aklan also makes sense due to their relative distance from most of commercial and logistical infrastructure concentrated in San Jose (~128 km) which is nearly a three-hour drive compared to the centers of neighboring Nabas (~19 km), the tourist hub Malay (~36 km), or even Kalibo (~54 km). This relationship somehow is reflected by elicited production data from the area. Some words not found in the rest of Antique but are in fact similar to Akeanon include /ʔuŋaʔ/ (cf. KRJ /bataʔ/) 'child,' /ʔasawʔasaw/ (cf. KRJ /tarithiʔ/ 'drizzle,' /ʔistan/ or /ʔistut/ (cf. AKL /ʔisut/, /ʔistu/;

KRJ /gamaj/) ‘small,’ /busul/ (cf. AKL /busuɰ/; KRJ /lisu/, /binhi?/) ‘seed,’ /pajuk/ (cf. KRJ /gata?/) ‘coconut milk,’ /lambun/ (cf. AKL /ɰambun/; KRJ /baju?/) ‘upper garment,’ /hulas/ (cf. AKL /huɰas/; KRJ /balhas/) ‘(to) sweat,’ /dujug/ (cf. KRJ /tuju/) ‘sleepy,’ /pandihu?/ (cf. KRJ /mus?un/) ‘to defecate,’ and /pila?/ (cf. KRJ /dupra?/) ‘to spit.’

3.3 Caluyanon Zone

Caluyanon, the local variety spoken in the Caluya Islands, can be argued as a distinct language based on its relative distance from the rest of Antique data as shown in the hierarchical dendrograms with data from Libertad and Pandan forming a separate branch (possibly also due to their relative featural distance from the other varieties). This is further supported by Caluya data forming their own island in the lexical network graph separate from the rest of the Antique data. Non-informant locals also consistently mention that the speech in the far-flung archipelago has some similarities with Kinaray-a of the mainland or that its residents know or can understand Kinaray-a. However, the speech in general is largely unintelligible to them. This substantiates the longstanding claim that Caluyanon is a separate WBis language (Zorc 1977). Unique lexical items identified in the data include /paŋi/ (cf. /ʔihi?/) ‘urine,’ /lantu?/ (cf. /manʔan/) ‘to know,’ /rusna?/ (cf. /mahigkə?/, /mahigku?/) ‘dirty,’ /kajsan/ (cf. /pirmi/) ‘always,’ /digi/ (cf. /rəgja/, /rədja/) PROX, /magkal/ (cf. /sawa/) ‘snake,’ and /basi?/ (cf. KRJ /ʔandət/, Bis /basi?/ ‘perhaps’) ‘why.’ There are also shared features with Akeanon showing Caluya as a part of the West Bisayan Axis similar to the Pandan Kinaray-a area. Some cognates include /dagʔun/ (KRJ /tuʔig/) ‘year,’ /busul/ (cf. AKL /busuɰ/, KRJ /lisu/, /binhi?/) ‘seed,’ and /lambun/ (cf. AKL /ɰambun/, KRJ /baju?/) ‘upper garment.’

3.4 Central Bisayan-West Bisayan Contact Zone

Dialect areas across Iloilo and Capiz are less defined internally due to a more erratic nature of contact among different languages but are undoubtedly distinct from the varieties in Antique and much even so from those in Aklan. They constitute a *Central Bisayan-West Bisayan Contact Zone* where each end has undergone different patterns and degrees of influence depending on the adjacent language or variety. This chain of varieties with significant Hiligaynon influence spans eastern Panay and contains varieties that could be (1) remnants of proto-Kinaray-a and proto-Akeanon diluted by a steamrolling Hiligaynon, (2) spillover effects of modern Kinaray-a and Akeanon brought by migration, or (3) a collection of both relics and spillovers. These point to two major linguistic groupings under said contact zone: the Hiligaynon-Kinaray-a Convergence Zone and the Hiligaynon-Capiznon Dialect Continuum.

3.4.1 Iloilo dialect areas

Six dialect areas can be identified within Iloilo. These are Ilonggo Proper, Peripheral Ilonggo, South Iloilo, Central Iloilo, East Coast, and North Iloilo. The first is centered in Iloilo City where Hiligaynon radiates most intensely until around Peripheral Ilonggo where Kinaray-a starts to bear stronger presence. The latter three could be transitional zones with varying levels of Kinaray-a admixture, with South Iloilo having more direct contact with Antique Kinaray- varieties and North Iloilo having the least influence and instead sharing lexical features with varieties in Capiz.

It should however be clarified that Iloilo City alongside its peripheries Oton, Pavia, and Leganes form a Kinaray-a-Hiligaynon bilingual conurbation, and that Hiligaynon does not hold monopoly in these areas despite the wide misconception. As previously mentioned in §3.2., the admixture of features from both languages might have been a factor to the relative closeness between the production data from Antique and Iloilo. This area can be described as *Ilonggo Proper* defined by a Hiligaynon superstratum and Kinaray-a substratum. It is also common knowledge

that the farther one goes from “the city” (Iloilo), the more Kinaray-a the speech becomes. This is recognized not only by Iloilo residents but also by those from neighboring provinces. This coincides with common understanding of variations in Kinaray-a spoken in Iloilo depending on which part of the province, while few others may be aware that the Kinaray-a varieties spoken in Antique are entirely different and have their own internal diversity. Encircling the Iloilo City and its peripheries are the outer towns of Tigbauan, San Miguel, Santa Barbara, Zarraga, and Dumangas. These form a transitional zone between Ilonggo Proper and other dialect areas. This area can be designated as *Peripheral Ilonggo*.

Within an area informally called “southern Iloilo” are towns near the Antique border. Represented mainly by San Joaquin and Miagao alongside towns near Guimbal River, namely Igbaras, Tubungan, and Guimbal, this is the *South Iloilo* dialect area. They feature Antique Kinaray-a-leaning features such as the pre- and intervocalic /r/ reflex (e.g. /ʔirun/ vs /ʔilun/ ‘nose’), and the /ə/ phoneme uncommon in the central towns of Iloilo (e.g. /gətəm/ vs /gutum/ ‘hungry,’ /itəm/ vs /itum/ ‘black’). Data from these towns also show some lexical affinity with Antique Kinaray-a. Examples include /tulad/ (cf. HIL /subun/) ‘now, today,’ /ʔisut/ (cf. HIL /gamaj/) ‘small,’ /t(in)ula/ (cf. HIL /ʔutan/, /laswa/) ‘vegetable,’ and /rigja/ (cf. HIL /diri/) PROX. This area is reported to have other features which were not captured by the production data and thus necessitates further investigation in the future. Some of these peculiarities include intonation and certain emphatic particles not used in other Kinaray-a varieties of Iloilo.

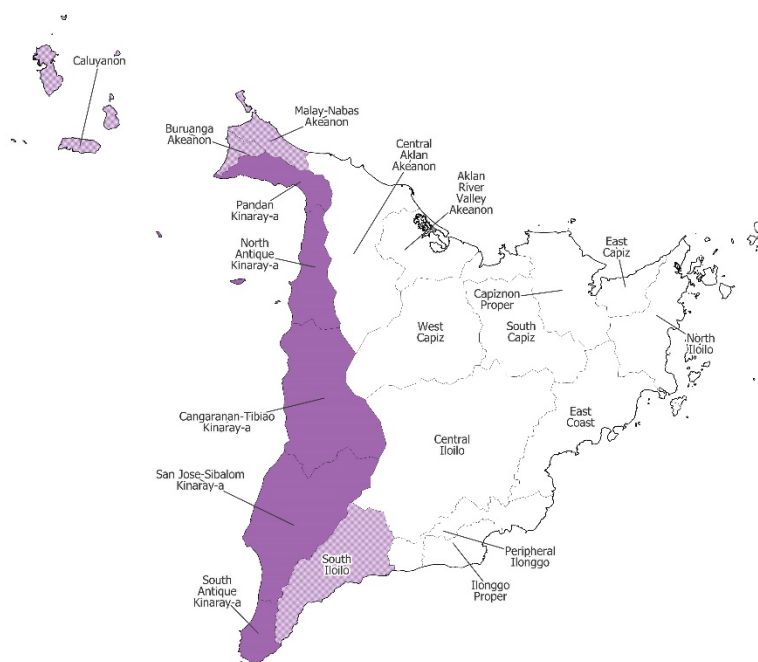


Figure 9. Extent of Antique Kinaray-a influence

The next area is represented by towns in what is informally referred to as “central Iloilo.” This can be imagined as a diamond-shaped zone with one corner somewhere around the Leon-Alimodian border in the southwest, another around Lambunao, the northern corner between Bingawan and Passi City near the Panay River, and the southeast corner around Pototan and New Lucena along Jalaur River. Despite having more Kinaray-a elements than Ilonggo Proper, although much less than South Iloilo, pattern in the preference between Kinaray-a and Hiligaynon features is less predictable due to more intense bilingualism and sesquilingualism brought by cross-migrations not only involving residents of Iloilo City but possibly those of Capiz as well. There are hence some words with the intervocalic /r/ reflex instead of the more common /l/ in Hiligaynon. Examples include /ʔirun/ (cf. /ʔilun/) ‘nose,’ /ʔuran/ (cf. /ʔulan/) ‘rain,’ and /rawʔaj/ (cf. /lawʔaj/) ‘ugly.’ Kinaray-a lexicon here likewise feature the /u/ reflex of schwa more common in Antique (e.g. /rumʔan/ cf. Antique /rəmʔan/ ‘tomorrow,’ /limug/ cf. Antique /liməg/ ‘voice’). Certain Kinaray-a and Hiligaynon lexical items are also used interchangeably such as /dahiʔ/ (cf. HIL /ʔagtan/) ‘forehead,’ /duru/ (cf. HIL /damuʔ/) ‘many,’ /ʔajam/ (cf. HIL /ʔiduʔ/) ‘dog,’ /nijug/ (cf. HIL /lubiʔ/) ‘coconut,’ /galʔum/ (cf. HIL /pananud/) ‘cloud,’ /ʔaragjan/

(cf. HIL /dalan/) 'road, pathway,' /ʔalima/ (cf. HIL /kamut/) 'hand,' /ʔuntu/ (cf. HIL /ŋipun/) 'tooth,' /dulungan/ or /durungan/ (cf. HIL /taliŋa/) 'ear,' and /sanda/ (cf. HIL /sila/) 3PL. This area can then be designated as *Central Iloilo*.

This now leads to the third dialect area which is grouped as "northern Iloilo" comprised of Carles, Balasan, Estancia, Batad, San Dionisio, Concepcion, and Sara. This area is commonly described by Ilonggos as the "pure Hiligaynon" part of the province due to what they believe as lack of "Kinaray-a" admixture in terms of lexicon and the lack of the intervocalic /r/ reflex. On the other hand, there are Capiznon features especially in Carles, Balasan, and Estancia some of which could be relics lost in modern Hiligaynon. These include /kuratsa/ (cf. HIL /tara/) 'cockroach,' /gapʔud/ (cf. HIL /jabʔuk/) 'dust,' /jandaʔ/ (cf. HIL /subuŋ/) 'now, today,' /pilaw/ (cf. HIL /tuju/) 'sleepy,' /talisik/ (cf. /talithi/, /tarithi/) 'drizzle,' and /hinipu/ (cf. HIL /ʔagut/) 'youngest sibling.' These are likely due to proximity and physical obstacles. First, these towns are closer to Capiz and among the farthest from Kinaray-a speaking towns. Second, mountains east of the Panay and Ma-ayon River systems act as a barrier from the rest of Iloilo. These could be why the area also lacks the singsong rhythm considered by many Filipinos as a distinguishing trait of Ilonggo (and Bacolod Hiligaynon), something which can be equally associated with the varieties of Capiz. Based on these connections, the area from the northern coast of Ajuy Bay up to the easternmost tip of Panay in Carles can be designated as the *North Iloilo* dialect area. Similar to the Capiz varieties, this area is defined by a Hiligaynon variety with a WBis substratum of Capiznon type.

A transitional zone rests along the eastern banks of Jalaur River facing Guimaras Strait and stretching from Barotac Nuevo to Lemery. They are intermediate between Ilonggo Proper and Northern Iloilo but may not yet be clearly defined as a cohesive dialect area due to varying degrees of admixture between Hiligaynon and Kinaray-a and varying presence of the pre- and intervocalic /r/ and /l/ reflex. What sets it apart is an accent much closer to the northern towns and the absence of a singsong rhythm. Much more investigation must be conducted in these towns which are temporarily grouped as the *East Coast* dialect area.

3.4.2 Capiz dialect areas

Four dialect areas can be identified within Capiz. These are Capiznon Proper, West Capiz, South Capiz, and East Capiz. They are characterized to be Hiligaynon-leaning with some unique lexical features possibly radiating from Capiznon Proper. These relics have cognates in Waray (Pototanon 2016) and are deemed obsolete in modern Hiligaynon suggesting their Central Bisayan origins. These also substantiate Hiligaynon's eastern provenance and the possible extent of proto-Hiligaynon since its arrival in Panay.

Capiznon Proper is a distinctive Capiznon dialect centered at the Panay River delta facing Jintotolo Channel mainly around Roxas City, Panay, Panitan, Pontevedra, and to some extent Ma-ayon. While a huge proportion of lexicon here converge with Hiligaynon (henceforth, HIL), some distinctive words used include /halaʔ/ (cf. HIL /hambal/) 'to speak,' /puja/ (cf. HIL /bataʔ/) 'child,' /gapʔud/ (cf. HIL /jabʔuk/) 'dust,' /jandaʔ/ (cf. HIL /subun/) 'now; today,' /ʔaŋanʔaŋan/ (cf. HIL /karun/) 'later,' /pilaw/ (cf. HIL /tuju/) 'sleepy,' and /bulaw/ or /maggmata/ (cf. HIL /bugtaw/) 'to awake.' They also use the emphatic particle *tiya* (variably *tya* or *ya*).

The latter three areas are contact zones, where other varieties from neighboring provinces converge with the Capiznon Proper that radiates from Roxas City and the downstream of Panay River. West Capiz and to an extent South Capiz show Akeanon influences (see Figure 10), while South Capiz has the most apparent Kinaray-a features. East Capiz has the least Akeanon and Kinaray-a features among the three and serves as a spillover area of Capiznon features towards North Iloilo (see Figure 11) since residents from that part of Iloilo are likelier to seek educational and economic opportunities in Roxas City being the closest urban center (~60 km) than Iloilo City (~120 km).

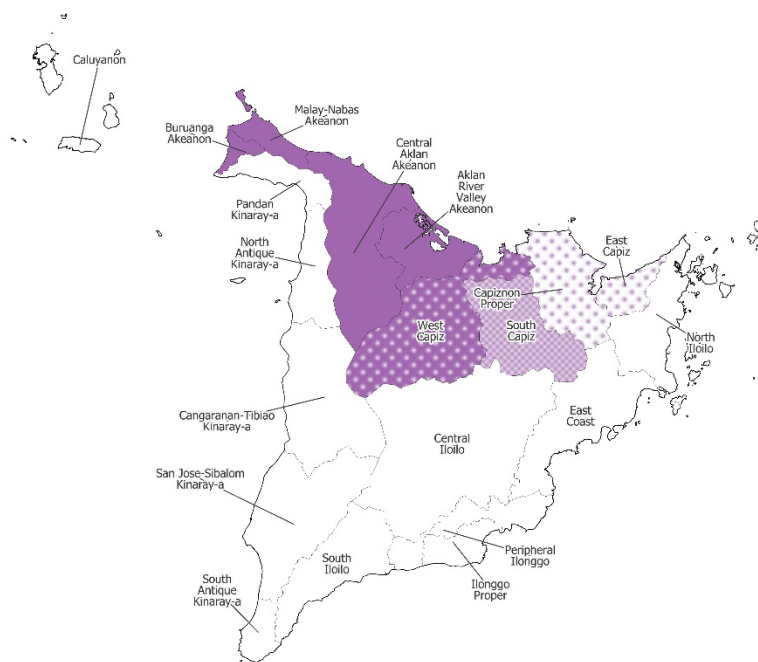


Figure 10. Extent of Akeanon influence

The first is east of Capiznon Proper with the border towns of President Roxas and Pilar. They can be said to be intermediary between the core Capiznon areas and varieties of northern Iloilo. According to informants and locals, the speech in Pilar in particular is commonly associated with those in Balasan and Estancia with an accent gentler than that in Roxas City. This area while sharing many features with the core group shows traces of WBIs such as /ʔuntu/ 'tooth.' It should be noted that the barangays forming President Roxas with its population center of Lutod-Lutod used to be a part of Pilar until their formation into a separate municipality through Republic Act No. 374 of 1949. This area can be assigned as *East Capiz*.

The second zone or *West Capiz* comprises of western towns of Ivisan, Sapi-an, Jamindan, and Tapaz. The former two are west of Roxas City directly linked to Aklan via the Capiz-Aklan Road, while the latter two are more isolated as they border Aklan and Antique, respectively, only separated by the Central Panay Mountain Range. Their location coincides with marked WBIs features uncommon in the Capiznon Proper variety (CPS). Locals in fact typically describe these towns to be Kinaray-a-speaking although upon inspection of production data, more lexical items can be

associated with Akeanon (AKL) such as /ʔuŋaʔ/ (cf. CPS /puja/; HIL /bataʔ) ‘child,’ /kurun/ (cf. AKL /kuuŋun/; CPS, HIL /kulut/) ‘curly hair,’ /lagun/ (cf. AKL /uagu/; CPS, HIL /ulud/) ‘worm,’ /limug/ (cf. CPS, HIL /tinug/) ‘voice,’ /paŋajam/ ‘to hunt’ (cf. CPS, HIL /paŋasu/), /dajwa/ (cf. CPS, HIL /duha/, /duwa/) ‘two,’ /dukarun/ (cf. AKL /karun/; CPS /jandaʔ/; HIL /subun/) ‘now, today,’ /ʔalima/ (cf. CPS, HIL /kamut/) ‘hand,’ /kaguraŋan/ (cf. AKL /kaguuŋaŋan/, CPS /bukid/) ‘forest,’ /ʔaŋkit/ (cf. CPS, HIL /kagat/) ‘bite,’ /siʔit/ (cf. CPS, HIL /tunuk/) ‘thorn,’ and /dujun/ (cf. CPS /pilaw/; HIL /tuju/) ‘sleepy.’

The third transitional zone is further south covering Mambusao, Sigma, Dao, Dumalag, Dumarao, and Cuartero along the natural border with Iloilo set by the upstream of the Panay River system. Varieties in this area which can be called *South Capiz* share many features with Capiznon Proper, but also have notable WBis traces which could either be Kinaray-a or Akeanon cognates. Some of these include /ʔajam/ (cf. HIL /ʔiduʔ/) ‘dog,’ /kagulaŋan/ (cf. AKL /kaguuŋaŋan/; CPS, HIL /bukid/) ‘forest,’ /siki/ (cf. CPS, HIL /tiʔil/) ‘foot,’ /ʔalima/ (cf. CPS, HIL /kamut/) ‘hand; arm,’ /limug/ (cf. CPS, HIL /tinug/) ‘voice,’ /ʔuŋaʔ/ (cf. HIL /bataʔ/; CPS /puja/) ‘child,’ /(ka)maʔan/ (cf. CPS, HIL /hibalu/) ‘to know,’ and /karun/ (cf. AKL /makarun/, /makara/; CPS, HIL /subun/) ‘today, now.’ These can be attested in various Kinaray-a speaking areas dotting Iloilo (e.g. /ʔaragjan/, /dukarʔun/). This area is also known to preferably use the *tana* emphatic particle attached to pronouns, which could be a cognate of the Kinaray-a 3rd person pronominal.

There are also lexical features shared by most towns of Capiz regardless of dialect area that can be traced as West Bisayan that defines the local linguistic character of Capiz. Some of these are Kinaray-a and/or Akeanon cognates such as /wakal/ (cf. HIL /hambal/) ‘to speak,’ /tubiʔ/ (cf. HIL, KRJ /tubig/) ‘water,’ /landun/ (cf. AKL /uandun/; HIL, KRJ /ʔaninu/) ‘shadow,’ /maŋhud/ (cf. HIL /ʔutud/) ‘sibling,’ /gumaŋkun/ (cf. HIL /hinablus/) ‘sibling’s child,’ /dalungan/ (cf. AKL /duuŋungan/; HIL /taliŋa/) ‘ear,’ /lawud/ (cf. AKL /uawud/; HIL, KRJ /dagat/) ‘sea,’ and /majad/ (cf. HIL /maʔaju/) ‘good.’

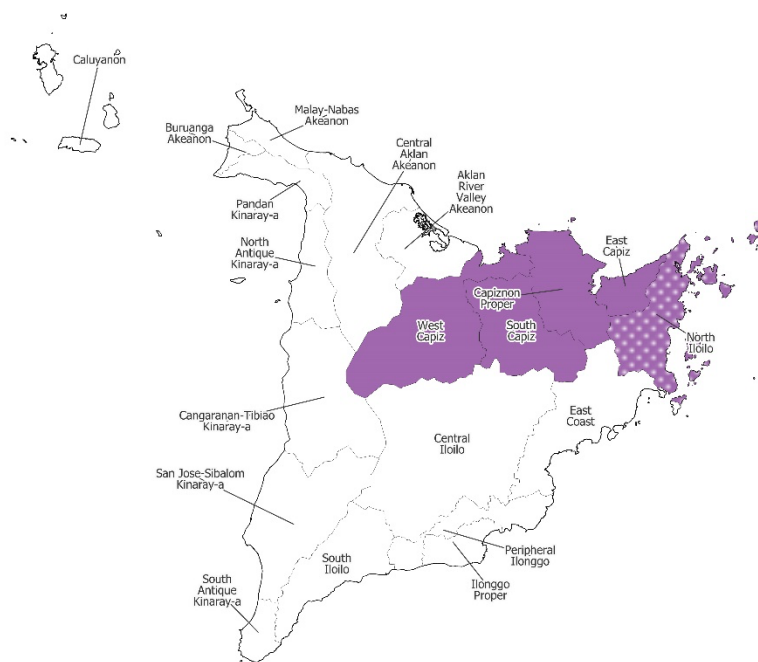


Figure 11. Extent of Capiznon influence

3.4.3 Hiligaynon-Kinaray-a Convergence Zone

The *Hiligaynon-Kinaray-a Convergence Zone* (see Figure 12) spans the seven (7) dialect areas of Ilonggo Proper, Peripheral Ilonggo, South Iloilo, Central Iloilo, East Coast, South Capiz, and West Capiz. These varieties are characteristic of an overlap, hence “convergence,” between Kinaray-a-leaning and Hiligaynon-leaning features of varying degrees. The most prominent is South Iloilo bordering Antique. The degree of Kinaray-a’s influence wanes starting from Central Iloilo and Peripheral Ilonggo then more as one goes north to the East Coast and South Capiz. Due to heavy movement in and out of Iloilo City, there are also few Kinaray-a lexicon that seep into Ilonggo Proper and some parts of Capiz. The varying degrees of Kinaray-a presence in these areas today could be due to an initially adstratal relationship with proto-Hiligaynon upon the arrival of Central Bisayan speakers into the island, and the indigenous WBis in what are today Iloilo and Capiz might have been an extension of Kinaray-a that gained foothold in Antique (all the way to Guimaras) spreading north of the Panay River system up to southern Capiz. The dominance of modern Hiligaynon through the

rise of Iloilo City as the regional center could have prompted a second wave of language shift as it later became the superstrate over the new substrate Kinaray-a particularly in parts of Iloilo province.

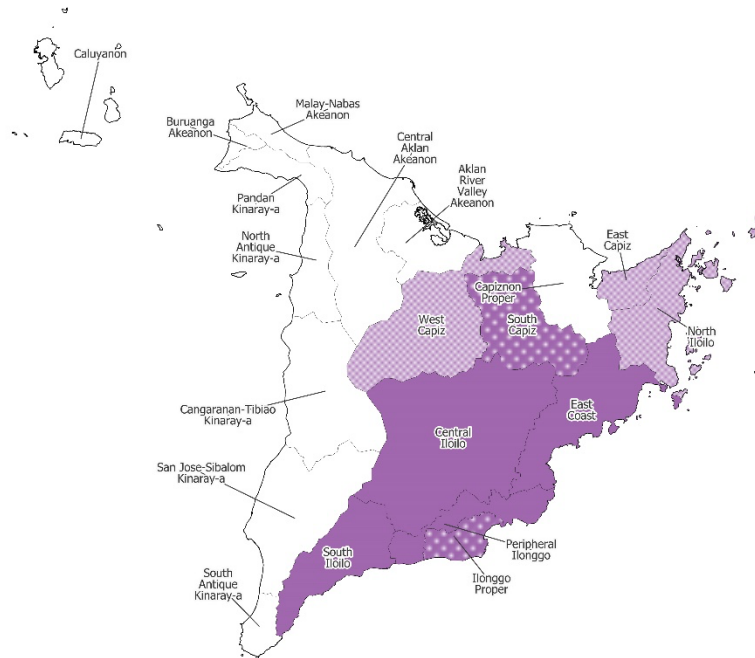


Figure 12. Hiligaynon-Kinaray-a Convergence Zone

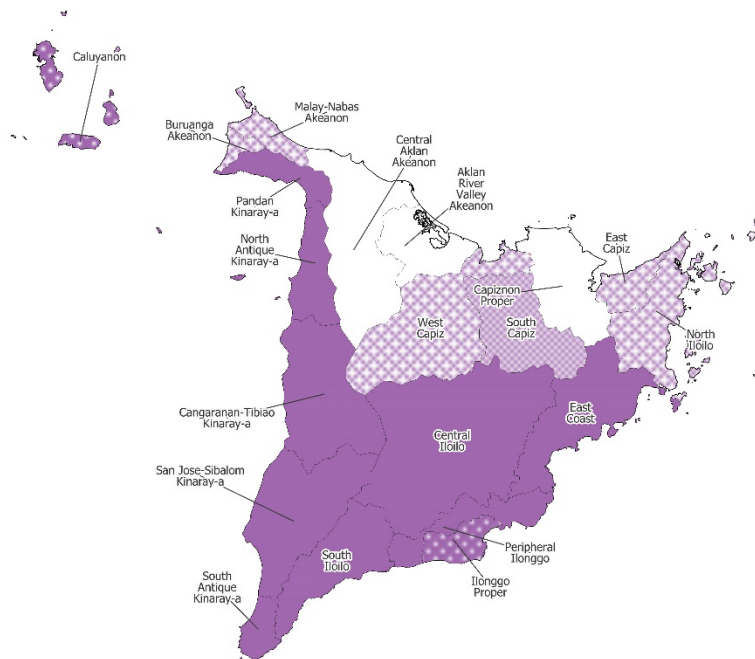


Figure 13. Extent of Kinaray-a influence

3.4.4 Hiligaynon-Capiznon Dialect Continuum

The other contact zone is the *Hiligaynon-Capiznon Dialect Continuum* (see Figure 14). This contains ten dialect areas of Ilonggo Proper, Peripheral Ilonggo, South Iloilo, Central Iloilo, East Coast, North Iloilo, Capiznon Proper, East Capiz, West Capiz, and South Capiz. These can be characterized as Hiligaynon-leaning or Hiligaynon-based varieties which include those with admixtures of Kinaray-a mostly in Iloilo and those classified as Capiznon (and to an extent with admixtures of Akeanon) within Capiz.

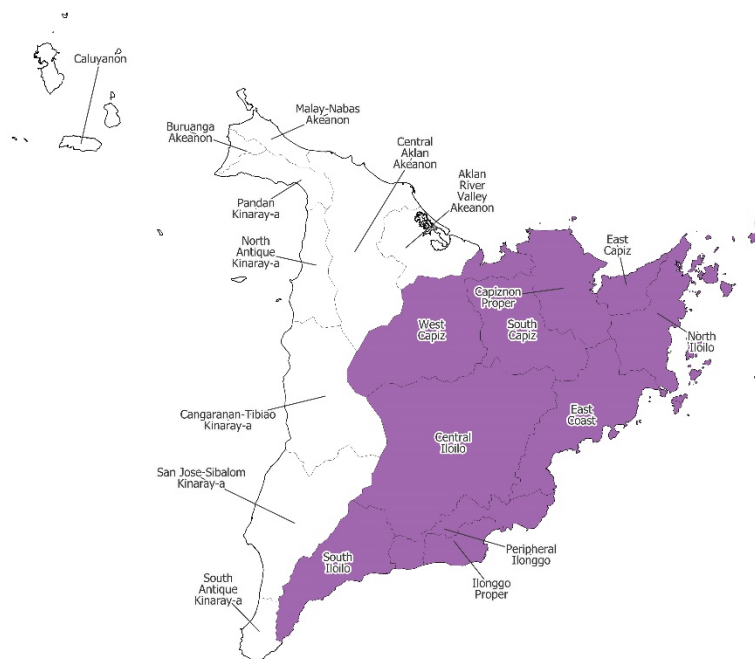


Figure 14. Hiligaynon-Capiznon Dialect Continuum

The varieties of Capiz however cannot be easily claimed to be completely the same as the Hiligaynon in Iloilo especially that of Iloilo City and peripheries due to their own share of WBis influences suspected to be from Kinaray-a and Akeanon. What is known so far is Kinaray-a-leaning features are more noticeable in South Capiz, while Akeanon-leaning features are attested across Capiz especially in West Capiz. The observable traces of WBis could have been lexically influenced by neighboring Akeanon (and Kinaray-a) during or after an older form of Hiligaynon

spread across what is today Capiz. Another possibility is these varieties are WBis relics, possibly an extension of proto-Akeanon, once spoken in the area before becoming diluted by Hiligaynon thus becoming Hiligaynon-leaning varieties. The later arrival of proto-Hiligaynon from its Warayan *urheimat* and its rapid expansion could have engulfed areas of northern Panay all the way to southern Iloilo. Central Bisayan features were later introduced by (proto-)Hiligaynon creating a symbiotic relationship between the local varieties and Central Bisayan via the proto-Hiligaynon that simultaneously formalized within the perimeters of Iloilo City and whose local variety became the basis of standard Hiligaynon. Subsequent waves of Hiligaynon migration from the regional center and its peripheries may have continued to saturate the other local varieties of Capiz and Iloilo pushing further lexico-grammatical shift. Varieties across Iloilo and Capiz might thus form a creole-like continuum with a Warayan superstratum and a WBis substratum. These could have likewise been the conditions that led to the development of modern Hiligaynon.

3.5 Summary

In summary, Table 2 presents the distinctive forms representative of each identified dialect area based on a combination of production data and open-ended inquiries from locals. Figure 15 meanwhile illustrates all the dialect areas of Panay.

Dialect Area	Features
Aklan River Akeanon	Basis of standard Akeanon /ɯ/ reflex of prevocalic and intervocalic Bis /l-r-d/ (common Akeanon)
Central Aklan Akeanon	Lexically closest to Aklan River but different rhythm /ɯ/ reflex of prevocalic and intervocalic Bis /l-r-d/ (common Akeanon)
Malay-Nabas Akeanon	/r/ or /l/ reflex of common Akeanon /ɯ/ Some /d/ reflex of /r/ Marginal /ɯ/ reflex of Bis /l-r-d/ Some Antique Kinaray-a cognates
Buruanga Akeanon	/l/ reflex of common Akeanon /ɯ/ /d/ reflex of /r/ Some Antique Kinaray-a cognates
Capiznon Proper	Lexically close to Ilonggo Proper, minimal Akeanon (and Kinaray-a) cognates With unique Capiznon lexicon
West Capiz	Notable Akeanon cognates, some Kinaray-a cognates With unique Capiznon lexicon

Dialect Area	Features
South Capiz	Notable Kinaray-a cognates, minimal Akeanon cognates Intermediary between Capiznon Proper and Central Iloilo With unique Capiznon lexicon
East Capiz	Significant lexical similarities with Capiznon Proper, minimal Akeanon (and Kinaray-a) cognates With unique Capiznon lexicon
Ilonggo Proper	Where standard Hiligaynon is mostly spoken Strong Hiligaynon influence with minimal Kinaray-a lexical features Notable singsong rhythm
Peripheral Ilonggo	Significant admixture of Kinaray-a and Hiligaynon lexicon With singsong rhythm similar to Ilonggo Proper
North Iloilo	Some Capiznon cognates Minimal Kinaray-a admixture compared to most Iloilo varieties Absence of singsong rhythm
East Coast	Intermediary between North Iloilo and other Iloilo varieties Some Kinaray-a admixture Absence of singsong rhythm
Central Iloilo	Significant admixture of Kinaray-a and Hiligaynon lexicon /u/ reflex of Antique Kinaray-a /ə/ Absence of singsong rhythm
South Iloilo	Notable cognates with Antique Kinaray-a varieties Least Hiligaynon admixture compared to most Iloilo varieties With /ə/ reflex Absence of singsong rhythm
San Jose-Sibalom Kinaray-a	Basis of standard Antique Kinaray-a With /ə/ reflex
Cangaranan-Tibiao Kinaray-a	Lexically closest to San Jose-Sibalom but slightly faster and different rhythm Uses <i>ngan</i> and <i>kan</i> emphatic particles With /ə/ reflex
South Antique Kinaray-a	Lexically close to San Jose-Sibalom and Cangaranan-Tibiao but with soft rising-falling rhythm With /ə/ reflex
North Antique Kinaray-a	Lexically close to southern varieties but with faster accent similar to Pandan With /ə/ reflex
Pandan-Kinaray-a	Lexically close to other Antique varieties but with fast, rough accent Notable Akeanon cognates especially with Buruanga and Malay-Nabas With /ə/ reflex
Caluyanon	Notable Kinaray-a cognates, some Akeanon cognates With unique Caluyanon lexicon With /ə/ reflex

Table 2. Summary of distinguishing features of dialect areas in Panay

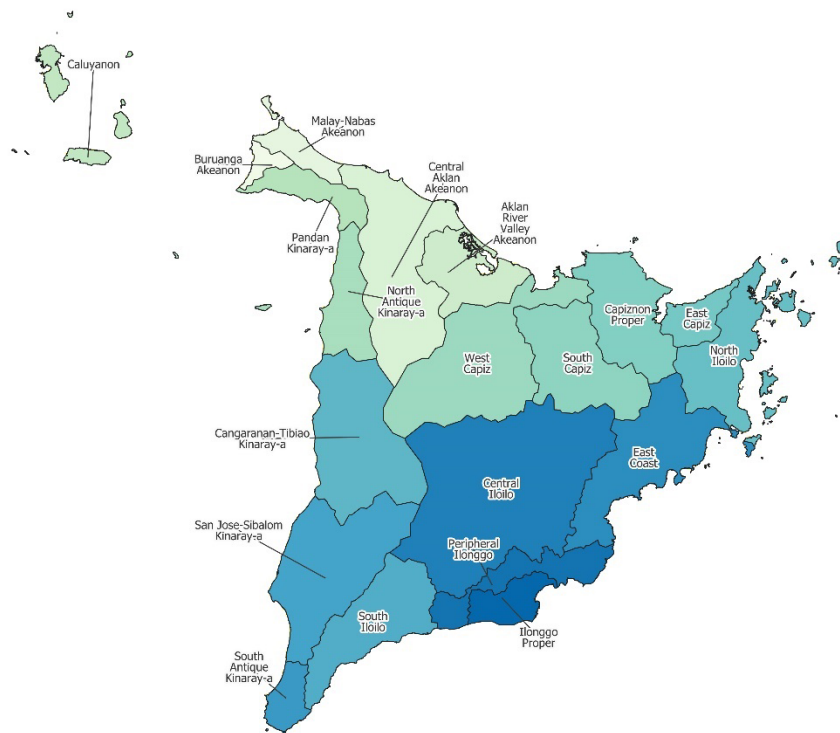


Figure 15. Dialect areas of Panay

4. Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, the dialect areas of Panay can be divided according to four core linguistic zones: an Akeanon Zone, an Antique Kinaray-a Zone, a Hiligaynon-Kinaray-a Dialect Continuum, and a Hiligaynon-Capiznon Dialect Continuum. If including the Caluya Islands, an additional fifth is a Caluyanon Zone.

These findings provide a bird's-eye evidence of dialect areas and groupings involving Akeanon, Kinaray-a, and Hiligaynon-leaning varieties which have already been established by preexisting non-dialectological and/or non-dialectometric descriptions but lacking in detail. Macroscopically, dialect groups may seem to coincide with administrative divisions of each province. However, it should be understood that the political boundaries (including population growth and movement) similar to the linguistic contours of Panay were shaped by the profound force of geography. In the context of Panay, mountains especially the Central Panay Mountain Range impede linguistic spread. Rivers on the one hand either stimulate

linguistic uniformity (e.g. Central Aklan Akeanon and Aklan River Valley Akeanon) or project the same dividing power (e.g. Capiz dialect areas vs Iloilo dialect areas; Kinaray-a dialect areas in Antique). The economic and cultural significance of Iloilo City might likewise be an important element to the persistent influence of Hiligaynon throughout Iloilo as far as Capiz amidst the presence of Kinaray-a and other suspected West Bisayan (Aklanic?) varieties. Much to the misconception outside Panay, however, Hiligaynon has marginal presence in Antique and much even so in Aklan, where many speakers' L2 in the latter is rather Tagalog.

Identifying nuances across smaller dialect areas within a continuum may need to put greater attention towards prosodic and grammatical structures, which were unfortunately beyond the scope of this study. Dialects may be determined based on intelligibility and indeed can be more effectively explored if multiple linguistic features—much better extracted from communicative forms—are intertwined. Thorough qualitative investigation through interviews and ethnographic surveys are also valuable additions. What is clear though is that this study was able to go beyond informal, anecdotal reports of Panay dialects with the guidance of quantitative data on a scale that has never been done before in the Philippine context.

This study in totality has provided a substantial and systematic exploration of the languages and varieties of Panay Island at a scale that has not yet been done. The use of dialectometric approaches via Cog and visual projection through GIS technology is a fresh new take in analyzing the linguistic situation of the island. This development should motivate its application in future efforts to help advance dialectological studies in the Philippines. This is also a new opportunity for the expansion of Philippine language documentation through the integration of interdisciplinary approaches especially with the nascence of perceptual dialectology.

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