

# HILIGAYNON

R. David Zorc

**Language Name:** Hiligaynon. **Alternate:** *Ilonggo* (a term that is sometimes applied to the entire dialect chain).

**Location:** Hiligaynon is spoken in the Philippines throughout Negros Occidental (the western half of the island of Negros), the eastern and southern portions of Panay Island, and most of Guimaras Island, and by immigrants in large pockets on Mindanao (e.g., the Davao area) and Palawan (in and around Puerto Princesa).

**Family:** Bisayan subgroup of the Central Philippine group of the Western Malayo–Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family.

**Related Languages:** Most closely related to Romblomanon (spoken in the Philippine Islands of Romblon and Tablas islands), Masbateño (of Masbate), Samar-Leyte, and Waray Bisayan, all comembers of the Bisayan subgroup of Central Philippine languages.

**Dialects:** Hiligaynon has many dialects. For example, the alternate language name *Ilonggo* originally referred only to the dialect of Iloilo City. Almost every town, especially those along language borders with CEBUANO, Kinaray-a and Aklanon, has some variation in lexicon and intonation. Those dialects that have notable differences include Capiznon (which is spoken in Capiz Province on central eastern Panay; it has several lexical idiosyncrasies) and Kawayan (which is spoken in the town of Cauayan, south of Bacolod City on Negros; it has a phonological idiosyncrasy wherein an [l] between vowels is often replaced by a [y], e.g., Hil *ulán*, Kaw *uyán* ‘rain’).

**Number of Speakers:** 4.5 million (fourth largest Philippine language)

## Origin and History

When the Spanish arrived in the Philippines, Hiligaynon was (and indeed still is) a major trade language in the western Visayas. Legends recorded in the *Maragtas*, a book by Pedro Alcantara Monteclaro, tell of 10 *datus* (‘chieftains’) who left Borneo to found settlements on the island of Panay in the central Philippines, but these have been critically analyzed by Scott (1984: 91–103) and shown to be well-intentioned fabrications. More serious still was the purported discovery of a law code and pre-Hispanic calendar, but Scott (104–135) has shown these to be forgeries by Jose E. Marco, a Filipino chemist. Each of these has unfortunately made its way into postwar Philippine history books. As Scott concludes: “The summary above discloses a considerable discrepancy between what is actually known about the pre-Hispanic Philippines and what has been written about it. The popular texts present a picture of law codes, membership in Asian empires, and political confederations projected against a background of 250,000 years of migrating waves of Filipino progenitors, almost complete with their points of departure, sailing dates and baggage.”

Archeological and linguistic evidence, as well as a few Chinese reports are all we have to determine the prehistory of any Philippine group. Written history starts with the advent of the SPANISH. Thus, Kobak (1969: 22) reports that the Spanish researcher Alzina recorded the fact that the Hiligaynons of Oton (and elsewhere on Panay) traced their origin to Leyte. Zorc (1977: 45f) concludes that based on order of diversity, Hiligaynon (as well as all of the 35 other Bisayan speech varieties) developed in either the eastern Visayan region or on northeastern Mindanao.

The name Visayan was the Spanish rendition of the adjective *bisayá* referring to a person or item from the central Philippine islands and the verb *binisayá* meaning ‘to speak Bisayan’. It applies to 36 different speech varieties, the most well-known of which include Cebuano, Waray, Hiligaynon, and Aklanon. Together, these groups represent over 40 percent of the Philippine population, almost double that of any other language in the archipelago. The word probably derives from a dialect variant of a MALAY loan *bicara* ‘to speak’, based on the propensity of many Filipinos to name their language based on some idiosyncrasy of that language, e.g., Waráy ‘there is none,’ Ja’ún ‘over there’, The Kinaray-a say *bisára* ‘to mention,’ Aklanon has *bisála* ‘to utter’ and *bilisad’un* ‘saying, maxim,’ while the Banton, Odiongan, Surigao, Kawayan, and Romblon dialects use *bisáya* ‘to say, speak’. [See Zorc 1977: 42–45 for more details.]

After the arrival of Magellan in 1521, the Spanish conquest introduced Christianity through Roman Catholicism (which still coexists with the indigenous animistic beliefs), hundreds of loanwords, and a Western outlook on the world. The United States introduced a widespread elementary and high school education program, whereby own-language and ENGLISH literacy became the norms. The legal system and the press follow U.S. language and traditions. It is not uncommon for the wealthy to have had higher education in Manila, Cebu, or the U.S.

## Orthography and Basic Phonology

The Hiligaynon writing system currently follows that established for the Philippine National Language based upon TAGALOG. Previously, a quasi-Hispanic orthography was fol-

Table 1: Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ
	Voiced	b	d		g	
Fricatives	Voiceless	f	s			h
	Voiced	v				
Nasals		m	n		ng	
Resonants		w	l, r	y		

lowed, which is still in use by an older generation of authors, e.g., <ica> = *ikáw* ‘you, thou’. The glottal stop is written as a hyphen before or after another consonant, e.g., *ba’ba* = <ba-ba> ‘mouth’, *búg’at* = <bug-at> ‘heavy’. However, it is never written in word-initial position before a vowel, whereas in word-final position it is not indicated in the vast majority of Hiligaynon publications apart from a convention of writing a final [u’] or [o’] as <u>. Following the tradition for Tagalog, it may be indicated with an acute accent over the vowel, e.g., *bisáya* = <bisayâ>, *binisayá* = <binisayâ>. Punctuation (use of the period, comma, semicolon, question mark, and exclamation mark) is as established for English.

The voiceless stops are all unaspirated. The digraph <ng> represents the velar nasal [ŋ], which occurs in all positions (at the beginning, middle and end of words); *c, j, f, v, e*, and *o* occur mostly in borrowings from English and Spanish. *R* is trilled, as in Spanish *perro*.

The glottal stop is a very important sound in distinguishing words, e.g., [basá’] ‘wet’ as opposed to [bása] ‘read’ or [kíta] ‘see’ as opposed to [kitá] ‘we all [inclusive]’. When a word ends in a glottal stop and is followed by the linker *nga*, the two forms may be fused together, such as: *balíta* + *nga* = <balitang> ‘news (of)’. Some linguists, such as Wolfenden (1971), write the glottal catch with a <q>, e.g., <basáq> ‘wet’, but an apostrophe is used herein.

Word accent is very important in distinguishing forms in Hiligaynon. Roots generally have accent on either the second last or final syllable, as in: *ámo* ‘master’ (Sp.) vs. *amó* ‘the same, thus’, *áyaw* ‘satisfaction’ vs. *ayáw* ‘don’t’, *bála* ‘bullet’ vs. *balá* ‘is it?, really?’ *báti* ‘feel, perceive’ vs. *batí* ‘hear, catch sound of *bílin* ‘remain, stay’ vs. *bilín* ‘leftovers’, *dúlot* ‘offer’ vs. *dulút* ‘penetrate’, *súbong* ‘like, similar’ vs. *subóng* ‘now, today’, and *útud* ‘sibling’ vs. *utúd* ‘cut’.

If the accent falls on the second last syllable (penult) and that syllable is not closed by a consonant (i.e., if the syllable is “open” or of the shape CV), the vowel is pronounced long. Thus [*á:mo, á:yaw, bá:la ... ú:tud*] in the above examples. If the accent falls on the final syllable, then that syllable receives stress (is pronounced louder and with a slight change in pitch), while the penult is pronounced with a short vowel. Thus [*amó, ayáw, balá ... utúd*] in the above.

Accent also plays an important role in distinguishing certain related pairs of words, such as noun or verb roots from their stative or adjective-like counterparts: *báli* ‘break’ vs. *balí* ‘broken’, *búhi* ‘live’ vs. *buhí* ‘alive’, *kúsog* ‘strength’ vs. *kusóg* ‘strong’, *lútu* ‘to cook’ vs. *lutú* ‘cooked’, *pílas* ‘to wound’

vs. *pilás* ‘wound, injury’.

**Basic Phonological Rules.** All words are formed from syllables of the shape CV(C), that is always an initial consonant (a word that appears to begin with a vowel, actually begins with a glottal stop), followed by any vowel, and optionally ending in a consonant, thus *sa* [CV] locative marker, *sang* [CVC] oblique marker, *matá* [CV.CV] ‘eye’, *takúp* [CV.CVC] ‘cover’, *támbuk* [CVC.CVC] ‘fat’, etc.

**Morphophonemic Changes.** The phoneme /d/ has a word-final allophone of [r], so when a root word ending with *d* receives a suffix, the *-d* changes to *-r-*, as in *báyad* ‘pay’ + *-an* = *bayáran* ‘be paid’ or *idád* / *edád* ‘age’ + *pang-on* = *pangidarón* ‘be of a certain age’. In inflecting verbs borrowed from Spanish that end in *r*, the *-r* changes to *-h-*, as in *inpreparár* ‘to prepare’ + *-un* = *preparahón* ‘be prepared’ or *probár* ‘to try out’ + *-an* = *probahán* ‘be tried out’.

After the distributive prefixes like *maN-* or *paN-* NASAL ASSIMILATION takes place:

	Example	Root	Gloss
b > m	<i>himánwa</i> <i>ginpamalibáran</i> <i>památi</i>	<i>bánwa</i> <i>balíbad</i> <i>bati</i>	‘civic-mindedness’ ‘was denied’ ‘listen to’
p > m	<i>pamáhug</i> <i>pamúgon</i>	<i>páhog</i> <i>púgon</i>	‘threaten, scare off’ ‘work for a daily wage’
s > n	<i>panílag</i> <i>panumbungon</i>	<i>sílag</i> <i>súmbong</i>	‘observe, watch’ ‘accusation’
t > n	<i>panindugan</i>	<i>tíndog</i>	‘stand, position’

Vowel loss is a common process affecting many words that receive a suffix: *dálhon* (from *dalá*) ‘be brought’, *kagamhánan* (from *gahóm*) ‘powers’, *madákpan* (from *dakóp*) ‘can be caught’, *pagkalímtan* (from *límot*) ‘(not) be forgotten’, *pamálhon* (from *malá*) ‘let become dry’, *súndon* (from *sunúd*) ‘be followed’.

Table 2: Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

## Basic Morphology

Grammatical relations are shown either by particles (*ang* or *si* topic markers, *kag* ‘and’, *na* ‘now, already’, *mga* plural marker,

*kaysa sa* ‘than’, *man* ‘also, too’, *lang* ‘only,’ etc.) or by the following kinds of affixes:

**Prefixes** (which come before a root word), e.g., *i-* instrumental verb, *inug-* instrumental noun, *ma-* future stative verb, *mag-* active contingent, *nag-* past active, *pa-* causative verb.

**Infixes** (which come after the first consonant but before the first vowel of a stem), e.g., *-in-* in *linuthang* ‘was shot’ and *-um-* in *pumulúyo* ‘resident’. Note that glottal stop begins all words that appear to have a vowel first, e.g., *‘inagihan* ‘was passed’, *‘ináway* ‘was fought’.

**Suffixes** (which come after the root), e.g., *-an* (in *baligyá’an* ‘was sold to’) or its alternate *-han* (after vowels, as in *listáhan* ‘list’), *-i* (in *tilawí* ‘taste it!’), *-on* (in *buhátan* ‘be made’) or its alternate *-hon* (after vowels, as in *dálhon* ‘be brought’).

**Circumfixes** (which consist of a prefix and suffix or an infix and suffix that belong together), e.g., *paga—an* (in *pagahambálan* ‘be discussed’), *-in—an* (in *ginikánan* ‘parents’, *tinindúgan* ‘was stood upon’), *ka—an* (in *ka’ayuhán* ‘goodness’, *kahamtángan* ‘situation’), *ka—anan* (as in *ka’angtánan* ‘connection, relationship’).

**Reduplications** (which may be partial or full, and involve either the first consonant and the first vowel of the root or a repetition of the whole stem), e.g., *Culo-*(*bulobánta* ‘guess’), *-VI-* (*balatí’an* ‘disease’), full reduplication, denoting a diminutive (*basá’basá’on* ‘be moistened’, *kakikakíthon* ‘brownish’).

**Noun Morphology.** Nominals are of four kinds: common nouns (with *ang*-type markers), proper nouns (marked with *si*), demonstratives (e.g., *iní* ‘this’, *dídto* ‘there’—also called deictics), and pronouns (e.g., *akó* ‘I’, *ikáw* ‘you’). Common nouns are distinguished for three cases: a topic or subject form (equivalent to the nominative case), an oblique form (equivalent to both a genitive and an accusative, marking a direct relationship to a verb or head noun), and a locative form (marking location or an indirect object). Plurality is generally shown by *mga* [pronounced *mangá*], which indicates a “variety” or “assortment” of what the noun signifies. Personal names are also distinguished for three cases, but are marked for singular or plural. The plural here (e.g., *sanday Pedro*) is the equivalent of ‘Peter and family’ or ‘Peter and his/her companions’, etc.

**Noun Markers**

	Common Nouns		Personal Names	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Topic/Focus	<i>ang</i>	+ <i>mga</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sanday</i>
Oblique - definite	<i>sang</i>	+ <i>mga</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nanday</i>
- indefinite	<i>sing</i>	+ <i>mga</i>		
Locative	<i>sa</i>	+ <i>mga</i>	( <i>sa</i> ) <i>kay</i>	<i>kanday</i>

Nouns are linked to adjectives or other parts of speech by means of a ligature or linking particle, *nga*, which has an alternate *-ng* after vowels, e.g., *matahúm nga babáyi* ‘beautiful woman’ or *ma’áyo-ng babáyi* ‘good woman’.

Demonstratives (deictics) show three different locations (near me, near you, far away); they can also indicate time:

	Near Me	Near You	Far Away
Topic	<i>iní</i>	<i>iná’</i>	<i>ató</i>
Oblique	<i>siní</i>	<i>siná’</i>	<i>sádto</i>

Locative	<i>dirí</i>	<i>dirá’</i>	<i>dídto</i>
Existential	<i>yári</i>	<i>yára’</i>	<i>yádto</i>
Verbal	<i>karí</i>	<i>kará’</i>	<i>kádto</i>

Pronouns are generally like their English equivalents, but there are inclusive vs. exclusive forms for “we”, and a singular vs. plural form for “you”:

Pronoun	Topic	Oblique		Locative
		Before	After	
I	<i>akó</i>	<i>ákon</i>	<i>-ko/nákon</i>	<i>sa’ákon</i>
you [singular]	<i>ikáw/ka</i>	<i>ímo</i>	<i>-mo/nímo</i>	<i>sa’ímo</i>
he / she	<i>si(y)á</i>	<i>íya</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>sa’íya</i>
we [+ you / incl]	<i>kitá</i>	<i>áton</i>	<i>-ta/náton</i>	<i>sa’áton</i>
we [- you / excl]	<i>kamí</i>	<i>ámon</i>	<i>námon</i>	<i>sa’ámon</i>
you [plural]	<i>kamó</i>	<i>ínyo</i>	<i>nínyo</i>	<i>sa’ínyo</i>
they	<i>silá</i>	<i>íla</i>	<i>níla</i>	<i>sa’íla</i>

Numerals are not a separate part of speech, since they fall within the noun class. However, there is a native set as opposed to a Spanish set. This can cause some confusion as to pronunciation when an ARABIC number (such as 3 or 10) is encountered. As a general rule, phrases that involve time, dates, years, money and compound numbers use Spanish loans, while counting in a series (usually up to 10) or naming simple numbers is done with the original system: (1) *isá*; (2) *duhá*; (3) *tátlo*; (4) *ápat*; (5) *limá*; (6) *ánom*; (7) *pitó*; (8) *waló*; (9) *siyám*; (10) *napúlo*; (11) *napúlog isá*; (22) *duhá ka púlo* *kag duhá*; (100) *isá ka gatós*; (1,000) *isá ka líbo*, etc.

When a noun follows a number (or the interrogative *pilá* ‘how many?’), the enumerative marker *ka* is used instead of the linker *nga*. Note that this is found in all the original numbers (above) from 20 upwards.

**Verb Morphology.** Verbs are inflected for the following categories:

**VOICE**

- ACTIVE emphasizes an actor or a meteorological event
- PASSIVE emphasizes an object totally affected or taken in
- INSTRUMENTAL emphasizes an object moving away from the agent or doer
- LOCAL emphasizes an object partially affected or a beneficiary (“for/to whom”)

**TENSE**

- PAST / action already begun = past-time statements
- PROGRESSIVE = ongoing action (e.g., present)
- CONTINGENT / action not yet begun (e.g., infinitive)
- FUTURE = action expected to occur

**ASPECT**

- PUNCTUAL / action viewed as a single event (*-um-*)
- DURATIVE / action viewed as an ongoing process (*mag-*)
- DISTRIBUTIVE / complex process or plural object (*maN-*)

**MOOD**

- FACTUAL (“is Xing,” “does X” or “did X” = unmarked)
- POTENTIAL = “can/could”, stative, or accidental

Examples with the verb root *balígya* ‘sell’ include: *nag-abalígya* ‘is selling [active progressive]’, *nagbalígya* ‘sold [active past]’, *magabalígya* ‘will sell [active future]’,

Table 3: Verb Morphology

	<u>Past</u>	<u>Progressive</u>	<u>Contingent</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Command</u>
Active					
Punctual	-um-		-um-	ma-	mag-
Durative	nag-	naga-	mag-	maga-	pag-
Distributive	naN-	nagapaN-	maN-	magapaN-	magpaN-
Potential	naka-	naka-	maka-	maka-	
Passive					
Punctual	-in-		-(h)on	-(h)on	-a
Durative	gin-	gina-	pag-on	paga-on	pag-a
Distributive	ginpaN-	ginapaN-	paN-on	paN-on	
Potential	na-	na-	ma-	ma-	
Instrumental					
Punctual	-in-		i-	i-	i-
Durative	gin-	gina-	i(g)-	iga-	ipag-
Distributive	ginpaN-an	ginapaN-an	ipaN-	ipaN-	
Potential	(ki)na-	na-	ika-	ika-	
Local Passive					
Punctual	-in-an		-an	-an	-i
Durative	gin-an	gina-an	pag-an	paga-an	pag-i
Distributive	ginpaN-an	ginapaN-an	paN-an	paN-an	
Potential	na-an	na-an	ma-an	ma-an	

*magbalígya* ‘sell [active command]’, *nakabalígya* ‘was able to sell; could sell [active potential past]’, *makabalígya* ‘can sell [active potential future]’, *nagapamalígya* ‘sell lots [distributive active progressive]’, *namalígya* ‘sold lots [distributive active past]’, *ginbalígya* ‘was sold [instrumental past]’, *ginabalígya* ‘is being sold [instrumental progressive]’, *ibalígya* ‘will be sold [instrumental future]; sell it! [object focus command]’, *ikabalígya* ‘can be sold [instrumental potential future]’, *ginabligya’án* ‘is being sold to [local passive progressive]’, *ginbaligya’án* ‘was sold to [local passive past]’, *nabaligya’án* ‘was able (could) be sold to [local passive past potential]’.

The verb system also has some other frequently used affixes:

-ánay	Reciprocal	<i>patyanáy</i>	‘killing each other’
pa-	Causative	<i>pakíta</i>	‘show, cause to see’
pakig-	Mutual Activity	<i>pagpakigkíta</i>	‘meeting with someone’
		<i>nakighámbal</i>	‘talked with’
magka-	Stative	<i>nagkabuhí</i>	‘lived one’s life out’

**General Rules.** In Hiligaynon, a part of speech is best assigned from the context or actual use of a form. Thus, a root word may be a noun or a verb (e.g., *ulán* ‘rain’) or a noun or an adjective (e.g., *támbuk* ‘fat’). Some roots, depending on affixation, can serve as nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, e.g., *áyo* ‘good; to repair’ = *ma’áyo* ‘good’ [adjective] or ‘well’ [adverb], *ka’ayúhan* ‘goodness’ [abstract noun], *nangáyo* ‘improved’ [distributive verb], *ginka’áyo* ‘was repaired’ [stative verb]. Compounding is not a common process, but when it does occur, it involves the simple juxtaposition of two roots, e.g., *sakít’úlo* ‘headache’ [noun; also said *asmasakítang* ‘úlo ko’ ‘my head aches’].

## Basic Syntax

Although there is relatively free word order due to the clar-

ity provided by the case-marking particles and verb-subject (focus) agreement, standard word order follows the pattern VSO.

Case marking of major constituents is accomplished by focus; that is, having an appropriate voice affix on the verb that agrees with the grammatical role of the subject noun (in the nominative) plus any optional oblique or locative nouns.

Departures from the standard VSO word order generally indicate a kind of emphasis. *Nag?abút akó kahápon* (arrived I yesterday) ‘I arrived yesterday’, *Kahápon akó nag?abút* (yesterday I arrived) ‘It was yesterday that I arrived’.

Despite the VSO sentence word order, Hiligaynon noun phrases are usually head final: *matahúmnga babáyí* (beautiful LINK woman) ‘beautiful woman’.

There are three main negative markers in Hiligaynon. *Walá?* ‘none’ negates any existential statement: *Walá?kitá sing bugás* (NEG we:TOP OBL rice) ‘We have no rice’. It also negates past tense verbs.

walá? níya pagbákla ang reló  
NEG he buy.PASSIVE.NEG the:sg:TOP watch  
‘He did not buy the watch.’

*Walá?* has an alternate *waláy* if the word order is NEG-O-S: *Waláy bugás kitá* (NEG rice we) ‘We have no rice’. Future tense verbs are negated with *díli?* ‘not’.

díli? níya pagbáklun ang reló  
NEG he buy-FUT the:sg:TOP watch  
‘He will not buy the watch.’

*Díli?* also negates nouns and adjectives in standard Hiligaynon: *díli? siyá abogádo* (NEG he lawyer) ‘He is not a lawyer’. Negative imperatives are marked with *ayáw* ‘don’t!’ *Ayáw pagbákla!* (don’t buy.DURATIVE.PASSIVE) ‘Don’t buy it!’

## Contact with Other Languages

The Hiligaynon dialects of Panay border on Kinaray-a (along the province of Antique) and Aklanon (along the province of Aklan); both of these are members of the West Bisayan group. The dialects of Negros border on Cebuano (the largest of the Bisayan dialects). Furthermore, the airwaves (television and radio channels) broadcast Tagalog (the basis for the Philippine national language). To the degree that Hiligaynon speakers are involved in these contacts, their vocabulary and grammar will differ from the standard dialect. Due to education and the media, the average person is trilingual (Hiligaynon, Tagalog and English) and thus everyday speech reflects a great deal of language mixture (called *halo-halo* or 'mix-mix').

There are a number of words borrowed from SANSKRIT, PERSIAN, and Arabic via Malay or INDONESIAN contacts during the pre-Hispanic era. More recently there are hundreds of words assimilated from Spanish and English.

From Sanskrit: *puṛāsa* 'to fast'

From Persian: *alak* 'alcoholic beverage'; *bāyo?* 'shirt, dress'

From Arabic: *hukúm* 'judge', *salámat* 'thank you'

From English: *ayskrim* 'ice cream', *hayskul* 'high school', *bir* 'beer'

From Spanish: *pwéde* 'possible', *siémpre* 'of course'

Today television and radio channels broadcast in Tagalog (the basis for the Philippine National Language), and the average Hiligaynon speaker knows Tagalog and English. In addition, the Hiligaynon dialects of Panay border on Kinaray-a (along the province of Antique) and Aklanon (along the province of Aklan); both of these are members of the West Bisayan language group. The dialects of Negros border on Cebuano (the largest of the Bisayan dialects). Everyday speech reflects a great deal of language mixture, called *halo-halo* or 'mix-mix'.

## Common Words

man:	laláki	long:	malába?
woman:	babáyí	small:	gamáy
water:	túbíg	yes:	hú?o
sun:	ádlaw	no:	díli?
three:	tátlo	good:	ma?áyo
fish:	ísda?	bird:	píspis
big:	dakú?	dog:	idó?
tree:	káhoý		

## Example Sentences

(1) sín?u ang ngálan mo.  
 who TOP name your  
 'What is your name?'

(2) sa kíndat sa ímo matá na-sayúr-an ko  
 LOC wink LOC your eye be.known by.me

ang ímo pag-higúgma.  
 TOP your love

'By the look in your eye, I can know your love.'

(3) gin-píli? níya ang mangá ma?áyo.  
 PAST/PASSIVE-select by.him TOP PLURAL good  
 'He picked the good ones.'

## Efforts to Preserve, Protect, and Promote the Language

Hiligaynon is taught in the schools from Grades 1–3 (thereafter, the medium of instruction is in the Philippine national language based on Tagalog). There are numerous publications (periodicals, newspapers, poetry and other literature journals) as well as movies and radio broadcasts in the language emanating from the regional centers (Bacolod City and Iloilo). The Roman Catholic Mass and Protestant Church services are in Hiligaynon, and there is a Hiligaynon translation of the Bible in wide use. The Hiligaynon-speaking population is strong and growing, as the census figures over the last few decades attest.

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