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SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF BANTOANON

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1. Introduction
 - 1.1 Present language use
 - 1.2 Profiles
 - 1.3 Predicted changes in language use
 - 1.4 This dialect survey
 - 1.5 Conclusion
 2. General information
 - 2.1 Language classification
 - 2.2 Location of the language area
 - 2.3 Number and distribution of Bantoanon speakers
 - 2.4 Socioeconomic base of the Bantoanon language area
 - 2.5 Neighbouring languages
 - 2.6 Technical work in related languages
 - 2.7 Churches and missions in the area
 - 2.8 Schools in the area
 - 2.9 Government agencies
 3. Present language use
 - 3.1 The sociolinguistic survey
 - 3.2 Languages known
 - 3.3 Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English compared
 - 3.4 Profile of an 'influential' Bantoanon
 - 3.5 Profile of a Bantoanon who would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog
 - 3.6 Comparison of the profiles of resident Bantoanon 'islanders' and 'Tablasans'
 4. Attitudes toward languages
 - 4.1 Attitude toward and use of Bantoanon
 - 4.2 Attitude toward and use of Tagalog
 - 4.3 Attitude toward and use of English
 - 4.4 Attitude toward and use of neighbouring languages
 5. Predicted changes in language use
 - 5.1 Profile of a Bantoanon 'trend-setter'
 - 5.2 Actual use of language by 'trend-setters'
 - 5.3 Looking to the children
 - 5.4 Predicted changes in language use
 6. This sociolinguistic dialect survey
 - 6.1 Aims
 - 6.2 Procedures
 - 6.3 The opinion of the people
 - 6.4 Results
 7. Summary
- Notes
Appendix A: Maps
Appendix B: Tree diagrams

Appendix C: The sociolinguistic survey
Appendix D: The lexicostatistical study
Appendix E: Accessibility and transportation
Appendix F: Possible allocation sites
Selected bibliography

1. Introduction

The aims of this survey¹ were to determine people's attitudes toward the Bantoanon language, its current usage, and possible future trends in use of the language. It could then be determined whether there would be a market for Bantoanon literature or whether the needs of this speech community could be met by literature in other prestigious languages such as Filipino,² the Philippine national language; Hiligaynon,³ which was used historically in politics and education in the area; or Romblomanon,⁴ which is spoken in the provincial capital. This information would indicate whether or not translation personnel should be assigned to the area. There would also be some indication as to the best location for the placement of such personnel if such an assignment should be made.

Zorc 1977 is a reliable and authoritative source of linguistic information on Bisayan dialects. With regard to Bantoanon, this survey did not contradict his data and conclusions, but rather supported and complemented them. Further, our findings support both the classification he makes of Bantoanon as a Bisayan language and the genetic distinction he makes between Bantoanon and the other Bisayan languages spoken in Romblon Province, namely, Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon (Zorc 1977:30-32, 267ff. Cf. 2.1 and Appendix B, 1).

The general social and sociolinguistic information on which this paper is based comes from the extensive data gathered in the 1975 census of the Philippines. This census gives figures in such areas as population, occupations, and advanced education. Other general information, regarding neighbouring languages, denominations, churches and missions, schools and colleges, and medical facilities, comes from the survey data we have gathered.

The 1975 census puts the provincial Bantoanon population at 45,705. The total number of Bantoanon speakers would be much larger than this, however, both because the population of the province has grown in the years since 1975, and because there are pockets of speakers outside the province--pockets that probably existed even in 1975. One would want to consider both provincial and nonprovincial speakers when making an estimate of the population that would possibly use Bantoanon literature. The figures in our survey regarding occupations appear to be almost the same as those in the 1975 census, with some 75% of the Bantoanons being engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and various other types of manual labour.

Bantoanons place a high value on education. They have a higher percentage of degree holders than any other language group in the province (see Table 3). Nearly all the local officials and all the teachers we met were native speakers of Bantoanon. Many of the educated speakers of Bantoanon leave their language area for better employment opportunities

elsewhere, though some return home to live or to stay a short time to serve their 'townmates'. There are elementary and high schools in all municipalities, as well as two provincial tertiary institutions in Odiongan.

The languages having some bearing on the question of language use in the Bantoanon area are those in relative geographical proximity, namely, Tagalog, Romblomanon, and Looknon, and those that are relevant for political reasons, namely, Tagalog, English, and Hiligaynon. Of these, Tagalog is the language most Bantoanons (97%) know to some degree, and Hiligaynon is the one they know least. Considering Romblomanon's linguistic similarity, which Zorc (1977:199) puts at 83% cognate, it was surprising that only some 45% said they spoke it.

1.1 Present language use

Though most respondents said they spoke both Tagalog and English, this was not measurable in this sociolinguistic survey. The survey did reveal, though, that over 95% of Bantoanons use their vernacular in the majority of life's social situations, for example, with their family, with friends, at work, and even with officials (see 3.3). The one social situation where people said they used Tagalog or English rather than Bantoanon was with a school teacher. This was not at all supported by what we were able to observe, however, and since all teachers were Bantoanon speakers, we think this may be the result of their recalling past classroom situations or their holding to a social ideal that does not conform with present reality. Even with the mayors, who speak Bantoanon, many must hold official conversations in the vernacular.

The present use of the language indicates bilingual stability between Bantoanon and Tagalog.⁵ Bantoanon is used in everyday situations, and it is the language of the heart, while Tagalog is used in politics, education, and interaction with non-Bantoanons. (See section 2.7 for a discussion of language use in relation to particular religious activities in the area.)

The Filipino values of smooth interpersonal relations and respect for social status appear to have some effect on language use in the area, as would be expected. This would account for the responses of some who claimed, 'I would be likely to respond to the mayor, the school teacher, superiors at work, or friends in whatever language they address me with, provided that I know the language.'

1.2 Profiles

Profiles (i.e. sets of characteristics that define various segments of a speech community) were constructed by using the selected criteria described below. The use of these profiles proved to be a strategic way of interpreting the data collected, especially since this was a random survey. It would have been more helpful, though, to have had the profiles in mind before the survey was designed and carried out, in order to be sure to collect data from representative samples of selected segments of the community. But as it turned out, we had to make our analysis and

interpretations on the basis of the data available when the survey was done. The profiles are:

- (a) 'Influential', which is defined in terms of socioeconomic criteria (see 3.4)
- (b) 'Weak Tagalog', which is defined in terms of educational and linguistic criteria and comprises Bantoanons who would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog
- (c) 'Islander' and 'Tablasan', which are profiles of resident Bantoanons and defined in terms of geographical criteria
- (d) 'Trend-setter', which is defined in terms of age and socioeconomic criteria

1.2.1 'Influential'

'Influentials' are Bantoanons by birth, residence, and mother tongue. They have college degrees or occupations associated with the upper social strata, or they may have both of these qualifications. They are more likely to live in a poblacion⁶ than in a barrio⁷ and to use Bantoanon in the home, with friends, and at work. It was noted, however, that Tagalog or English are sometimes used with superiors---a finding we assume to be the result of the social situation and the superior's occupation and mother tongue.

Most 'influentials' we interviewed acknowledged thinking and dreaming in Bantoanon, but fewer of them pray in it, probably because memorized Tagalog and Hiligaynon prayers are used in the churches. Most realized that Bantoanon was the language easiest for them to speak, and they also stated a preference for it, though, at the same time, many (31%) said they preferred Tagalog. 'Influentials' also want their children's first language to be Bantoanon, followed by Tagalog. Also, most of them have lived for six months or more outside the language area, and 77% of these spent that time in a Tagalog area.

1.2.2 'Weak Tagalog'

The Bantoanons who are included in this profile would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog because either they are monolingual or they have only a weak understanding of Tagalog due to infrequent or no use of that language. The levels of language proficiency, by the way, were based on the respondents' self-evaluations.

Many who are included in this profile live in either Banton or Calatrava, and some 20% in each municipality make only minimal use of Tagalog. In Banton, 75% of the people do not use Tagalog in the normal course of a day. Many 'weak Tagalog' speakers are likely to be living in the poblacions as well as in the barrios, though twice as many in the barrios have no opportunity to use Tagalog.

Those over thirty years of age show much less knowledge of Tagalog, having gone to school before Filipino was used as the medium of instruction. Even though young people say they know Tagalog better than their elders, they do not use it more, at least within the language area.

1.2.3 'Islander' and 'Tablasan'

The typical 'islander' and the typical 'Tablasan' are both native speakers of Bantoanon, having been born and now residing in one of the two major geographical parts of the language area. One part consists of the three islands: Banton, Simara, and Sibale, and the other part is Tablas Island. In this report we refer to the inhabitants of the former part as 'islanders' and those of the latter part as 'Tablasans'. Some 40% of each group have never lived outside their language area for more than six months, and of those who have, most have spent their time in Tagalog areas.

Of those with children, most have some children residing within the language area. This perhaps reflects the strength of filial ties, but it also highlights the fact that many feel it is a good place to live and bring up children. Also, there are more 'influentials' among the 'Tablasans' than among the 'islanders'--an expected finding since the major urban centre of Odiongan is on Tablas.

Most Bantoanons expressed pride in the dialect of their home municipalities. Also, many indicated that they were aware of differences between the dialect of the three islands area and that of Tablas. They also considered Banton to have the most prestigious and beautiful sounding dialect. Odiongan, on the other hand, was ranked second in prestige, probably because of its being the largest and most progressive town in the language area rather than because of the beauty of its dialect. This finding would support the suggestion that Banton would be the best site for initial language learning, while it should be realized as well that any published literature for the area would need to be in the Odiongan dialect. We say that for the following reasons: (1) the dialect in Odiongan is probably furthest along in the process of change; (2) it is less archaic; (3) it is more suited to the coming generations; and (4) it has social prestige in accordance with its progressive status.

Both groups want their children to speak Bantoanon first and Tagalog second, and they are not particularly interested in other languages, such as Romblomanon. They recognize that Tagalog is socially and economically important. As could be expected, in our survey more residents of Odiongan than of other localities were aware of this importance of Tagalog, and they would even choose it as the first language for their children, though these same people did not choose to speak Tagalog with their children in the home. They expressed high interest in Bantoanon literature.

1.2.4 'Trend-setter'

'Trend-setters' are native speakers, between the ages of thirteen and thirty years, who are students or are graduates of high school or college. They stated that they prefer to speak Tagalog, but like their elders, they continue to use Bantoanon in most of their daily social exchanges. They assume their children would learn Bantoanon first, and they prefer that Tagalog be the second language learnt. A few expressed the desire that their children learn Tagalog first, but of these only three spoke to their children in Tagalog. It seems likely that at least 70% of the next generation will speak Bantoanon as their first language.

1.3 Predicted changes in language use

Of all the influences that are likely to lead to change in Bantoanon, Filipino is probably the most significant, and the dialect most vulnerable to these changes would be Odionganon. Even so, Bantoanon will probably remain strong, with speakers continuing to improve their understanding of Filipino, but not at great expense to Bantoanon.

The people seemed proud of their language, and they use it constantly at all levels of social life, both private and public, which include religion, politics, and some areas of education. There was also evidence that Bantoanon is being written, for example, in personal letters, in newsheets, on public signs, and in articles and poems, some of which have even been published.

Filipino is used in multilingual situations, at social occasions where a common tongue with non-Bantoanons is necessary, and in educational and political situations that reflect national life in some way.

English remains popular, and some speak it well. Others show shyness or inadequacy when faced with native speakers, such as the 'Americano' surveyors. They are aware of its use internationally, and it ranks third, after Bantoanon and Tagalog, as the language chosen for one's children to learn.

The neighbouring languages of Bantoanon, which are Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon, are not considered important, though Romblomanon is known by 30% to 40% of the population on the three islands and by 50% to 60% on Tablas. Interaction with Romblomanons is often carried on in Tagalog since Romblomanons apparently do not know Bantoanon, saying that it is too hard to learn!

1.4 This dialect survey

This was a random survey, but since it was found to be strategic to use profiles in the analysis, we now suggest that a more selective survey should have been made. Such a survey would involve obtaining a suitable sample of respondents in categories that are relevant according to the criteria used in constructing the profiles. These profiles would be taken

into account in both the design and the administration of the survey questionnaire.

A limited preliminary lexicostatistical study was made on the basis of three word lists elicited in each municipality. These word lists, along with the sociolinguistic data gathered in this survey, were analysed for interest and comparison of dialects. Zorc (1977), as far as we know, presents the most extensive linguistic material on Bantoanon available to date.

We found that the dialect reflecting the greatest range of heterogeneous outside linguistic influences was the one spoken in Calatrava, where we had done our initial language learning. Calatrava had been chosen because it was a small, less urban community with fewer non-Bantoanon transients, and because it is accessible from the three islands, from Tablas, and from Manila. It is still not thought to have been a bad choice for the purposes we had in mind.

The dialects spoken in Banton or Simara were least affected by outside influences, but Simara's dialect was considered to be unacceptable because of its intonation, which was described as 'angry' in comparison with the highly valued 'slow and gentle' intonation of Banton's dialect.

1.5 Conclusion

A stable relationship seems to exist between Bantoanon and Tagalog, and this relationship is likely to continue into the foreseeable future. Literature in Bantoanon would probably be much better understood than would that in any other language. Since Tagalog is not the first language of Bantoanons, it is not likely that all of those who say they are able to speak Tagalog would also be able to read in that medium. Because many speakers used Tagalog only in school situations, some would probably have lost their ability in reading that language, if not in speaking it as well, through disuse since they left school.

2. General information

2.1 Language classification

In the Ethnologue, Bantoanon is referred to as being of the following affiliations: 'AUSTRONESIAN, Hesperonesian, Northwest Austronesian, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine' (Grimes 1984:457).

For Zorc, Bantoanon is the local name of what he classifies as Banton (1977:14). The genetic relationships of Banton, as he shows them (1977:30-34), are as follows: Banton, which includes Banton, Odionganon, and Sibale,⁸ is a subgroup of Bisayan. Bisayan is a subgroup of Central Philippine; Central Philippine, of Meso-Philippine; and Meso-Philippine, of the Southern Philippine group.

In this discussion of Bantoanon, there are other languages, genetically related, that should be considered either because they are in close geographical proximity to the Bantoanon area or, even though not actually close geographically, because they exert influence in that area.

The first group of these languages consists of Bulalakawnon, Dispolhonon,⁹ Looknon,⁹ and Alcantaranon, which are the North-Central subgroup of West Bisayan (Zorc 1977:32). Bulalakawnon, which is spoken along the south-eastern coast of Mindoro (Zorc 1977:14, 16), is the one language of the four that is at somewhat of a distance from the Bantoanon area. The other three are all spoken on Tablas and, thus, are geographically contiguous to Odionganon, one of the Bantoanon dialects. Even though these languages are geographical neighbours of Bantoanon, they do not exert any degree of political and educational influence in that area.

There are other genetically related languages, which, because of political factors, are presently exerting, or have in the past exerted, influence in the Bantoanon area.

The first of these languages is Romblomanon, which, in its genetic relationship as Romblon, is a single-language branch of Central Bisayan (Zorc 1977:32). This language exerts considerable sociopolitical influence in the Bantoanon area because it is spoken in Romblon, the capital of the province.

In the past, when the political and educational centre of the whole area was on Panay, three other languages--namely, Hiligaynon; Capiznon, which is spoken in Capiz Province on Panay; and Kawayan, which is spoken around Cauayan, on the western side of Negros Occidental (Zorc 1977:14-15)--exerted influence in the Bantoanon area. Genetically, these languages constitute one branch of the Peripheral subgroup of Central Bisayan (Zorc 1977:32).

Finally, there is Tagalog, which has a more distant linguistic affinity. Being in a subgroup co-ordinate with the Bisayan subgroup of Central Philippine (Zorc 1977:33), it is more distant from Bantoanon than any of the languages mentioned above.

Despite its distant relationship, Tagalog nevertheless exerts considerable political and educational influence in the Bantoanon area primarily because it is the basis of Filipino, the national language. Although Tagalog is spoken on Mindoro, Marinduque, and Luzon--three islands that may be said to border the Bantoanon area--these geographic facts alone do not account for the influence Tagalog has in the area.

The Bantoanon language is referred to by its speakers as Bisaya or Binisaya, as are all Bisayan dialects by their speakers. Bantoanon is also known as Odionganon, Calatravanhon, Sibalenhon, and Simaranhon, depending on the locality where it is spoken. A more general name for Bantoanon, used by both native and non-native speakers, is Asiq,¹⁰ the Bantoanon word meaning 'why?' Asiq is used to contrast Bantoanon with the neighbouring dialect Romblomanon, which is known as Basiq, a name that also means 'why?'

2.2 Location of the language area

The Bantoanon language is spoken in the north-western part of Romblon Province (see Appendix A, 2), in Region IV,¹¹ which is the Southern Tagalog region. This province, which is located among the northern Visayan islands, consists of a number of small islands south of Marinduque, south-west of the Bicol region of Luzon, and east of Mindoro--in all of which Tagalog is either the mother tongue of the majority of the population or the most prestigious language.

The area where Bantoanon is spoken consists of three islets, named Banton, Simara, and Sibale, located to the north and north-west of Tablas Island, and the two towns of Odiongan and Calatrava, located on Tablas itself. Calatrava is located on the northern coast, and Odiongan is on the western coast. These towns are connected by road, but between them lies the town of San Andres,⁹ formerly named Despujols, where Looknon, or Dispholnon, is spoken.

Zorc, who surveyed this language area, does not mention Calatrava or Simara, although on his map 5 (1977:17) he correctly classifies the language spoken on Simara as being Bantoanon. His failure to mention Calatrava could be because he was unaware that any Bantoanon speakers lived there. In our survey, however, we found with regard to Calatrava that of 189 nonresidents only 110 (or 58%) knew that the language spoken in Calatrava was the same as theirs. We learned this by using the question, 'Where else do they speak the same as you do?' Our findings with regard to Calatrava contrast with what we found with regard to Banton, in which case 141 (or 74%) of 190 respondents who did not reside in Banton were aware that the language spoken in Banton was the same as theirs. It is possible, then, that Zorc's informants did not let him know of Calatrava's existence.

2.3 Number and distribution of Bantoanon speakers

Bantoanon is spoken in five municipalities¹² of Romblon Province: Odiongan, Corcuera on Simara Island, Banton, Concepcion on Sibale Island, and Calatrava. Each municipality consists of a poblacion and a number of barrios.

When the 1975 census was taken, 45,705 people in Romblon Province, or 25.1% of the total population, spoke Bantoanon as their mother tongue. By municipality, 21,070 of these were in Odiongan, 8,584 in Corcuera, 7,440 in Banton, 4,837 in Concepcion, and 3,590 in Calatrava. The remaining 184 speakers lived in other municipalities. In Table 1 are shown the percentages the above numbers of Bantoanon speakers are of the total population.

Municipality		Total population	Bantoanon speakers	Percent Bantoanon speakers
Odiongan	total	30,198	21,070	69.8%
	urban	3,028	2,569	84.8%
	rural	27,170	18,501	68.1%
Corcuera	total	8,739	8,584	98.2%
	urban	545	508	93.2%
	rural	8,194	8,076	98.6%
Banton	total	7,545	7,440	98.6%
	urban	1,308	1,289	98.5%
	rural	6,237	6,151	99.6%
Concepcion	total	4,997	4,837	96.8%
	urban	-	-	
	rural	4,997	4,837	96.8%
Calatrava	total	5,682	3,590	63.2%
	urban	1,063	1,010	95.0%
	rural	4,619	2,580	55.9%

Table 1. Number and distribution of Bantoanon speakers

Note: The 1975 census classifies the poblacion of Concepcion as 'rural', hence the lack of any urban speakers in that municipality.

Bantoanon also is a significant minority language in some municipalities of Mindoro Oriental, where there are 1,223 speakers in Pinamalayan (2.9% of the population), 724 in Roxas (3.0% of the population), 670 in Naujan (1.2% of the population), and 478 in Pola (2.5% of the population). None of the data of our survey, however, were collected outside Romblon Province.

The two small islands of Banton and Sibale are both mountainous, with very little coastal land for agriculture or for town sites. Concepcion, on Sibale, is being extended on reclaimed land. The Banton poblacion has a very exposed shoreline because it was built on one of the few less rugged slopes available. Banton Island has rugged, rocky terrain, and it reaches an elevation of 614 metres, or 1995 feet. Simara has lower hills, and on its northern and western sides it has flatter and more arable land.

Odiongan is situated on flat land to the north of the swampy mouth of a small river on the western side of Tablas Island. Inland to the east there is a chain of mountains that extends the length of the island. The western side of Tablas has a coastal plain, which is of varying widths and is broken in a couple of places by spurs of hills that extend to the coast, separating the pockets of arable land surrounding the municipalities of Odiongan, San Andres, and Calatrava. Tablas also has flat land on its southern and south-eastern coasts.

Calatrava has a protected shoreline towards the north-north-west, and it has mountains to the east and south. It is surrounded by a narrow strip of arable land.

2.4 Socioeconomic base of the Bantoanon language area

The Bantoanon's socioeconomic situation seems stable. During our survey we found that the major industries listed in the 1975 census still prevailed in Romblon Province. Of the total workers employed in various industries 64.4% were engaged in agriculture, hunting, forestry, and fishing.

Occupation	Percent of total workers
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and related workers	64.5%
Craftsmen, production process workers, and related workers	15.2%
Service and sports people and related workers	5.2%
Professional and technical people and related workers	4.7%
Sales workers	4.0%
Workers in transport and communications	2.2%
Stevedores, freight handlers, and labourers	1.8%
Clerical workers	1.2%
Administrators, executives, and managers	0.5%
Miners, quarrymen, etc.	0.2%

Table 2. Occupations in Romblon Province
(as per 1975 Census)

Most of the staple crops of Romblon Province are grown on Tablas; however, rice must still be imported since the province is not self-sufficient in that grain.

Banton and Sibale have little land suitable for crops other than copra. Simara has more arable land, and that is used for growing rice and raising animals, like pigs and horses. During much of the year, the three islands have a meager water supply. Banton and Simara, because of their exposed positions and the lack of sheltered valleys, are also open to damage by typhoon. Many of the inhabitants of these three islands are fishermen, although it is said that the best fishing grounds are off Calatrava, which is on Tablas. Fishermen from Banton have to travel further to good fishing grounds than do those from the other islands. Also, as sort of an adjunct to the fishing industry, there are ice plants in Odiongan and Calatrava.

Banton and Simara, with more than two hundred fifty people per square kilometre, both have a relatively higher population density than do the other Bantoanon areas. Maybe because of the factors stated above as well as its isolation, Banton's residents are considered by others--both Bantoanon speakers and outsiders--to be more thrifty, more industrious, and more retiring than the average Visayan. Along with these characteristics, they are evidently progressive as well, for it was the people from Banton who populated the other four areas.

That these people did, in fact, migrate to the other areas is borne out by the fact that many family names of Bantoanon speakers have the initial letter 'F', which the Spanish gave to the inhabitants of Banton. Bantoanons also put a high value on education, evidence of which can be seen in Table 3. In this table are tabulated the percentages of the population, in the different municipalities, who are over six years of age and who hold degrees. (These data were taken from the 1975 census.)

Looknon speakers		Romblomanon speakers		Bantoanon speakers	
Municipality	Percent degree holders	Municipality	Percent degree holders	Municipality	Percent degree holders
Looc	1.7	Romblon	2.3	Odiongan	2.7
Alcantara	1.7	San Fernando	1.9	Banton	2.1
San Andres	1.4	San Agustin	1.3	Corcuera	1.9
Santa Fe	1.4			Concepcion	1.6
San Jose	1.4			Calatrava	1.4

Table 3. Degree holders

The desire for upward social mobility seems to be achieved through education, which often leads to better employment. To find such employment a considerable number of people leave their language area and go to larger Philippine cities or overseas. This trend, which would tend to reduce the population, seems to be offset by the continuing high birth rate and the large number of parents who still rear their children in the area, with the result that the population of the three islands tends to remain more or less constant. Despite this trend, however, Odiongan has been a centre of growth.

The major centre of Bantoanon speakers is Odiongan. It is strategically located on Tablas Island, and it has good transportation facilities. In fact, the provincial airport is more easily accessible from Odiongan than from the provincial capital on Romblon Island. These factors, along with the progressiveness of Bantoanon speakers, may explain why Odiongan is challenging Romblon for its position as capital of the province. Another factor is that there are Bantoanon speakers, still living in their own language area, who hold positions of influence on the provincial level.

If development on Tablas and this challenge to Romblon continue, there would seem to be a definite possibility of linguistic change in the future--a change, however, that would be toward strengthening, rather than weakening, the use of Bantoanon relative to Romblomanon.

Numbering some seventy thousand compared with some forty-five thousand Bantoanons, the Romblomanons seem to regard Bantoanons as insignificant and lower in prestige than themselves. This, however, as evidenced above, is probably more an artifact of history and tradition than of fact.

2.5 Neighbouring languages

The languages considered neighbours to Bantoanon are both those within the immediate geographical vicinity and those that, though not immediately adjacent geographically, exert influence in the Bantoanon area. These neighbours are Tagalog, Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon. Of these, Tagalog and Hiligaynon are spoken on islands in provinces, outside, but bordering, Romblon Province.

Tagalog is closer geographically than Hiligaynon, and, as the base for Filipino, the national language, it nowadays exerts an influence much greater than that of a mere neighbouring language. This is because Filipino is the language of politics, education, and radio, which is increasingly pervasive. Now that Romblon Province is in the Southern Tagalog region, the use of Tagalog has increased even more.

In the past, when Romblon Province was in the same Visayan region as Capiz Province on the island of Panay, the language of politics and education was Hiligaynon (cf. 2.1). Even though Hiligaynon, whose centre is Iloilo, on Panay, is a more distant neighbour, it has been an influence in Romblon Province for some two to three hundred years. And in the town of Romblon it continues to exert more influence than it does in the Bantoanon area.

It is on the three smaller islands of the Bantoanon area, where the residents say 'pure' Bantoanon is spoken. The languages that are neighbours of this language are Tagalog and Romblomanon. Tagalog is the major prestigious language of Mindoro to the west and Marinduque and Luzon to the north. Romblomanon is the language of prestige on Romblon, the island where the capital of the province is located, and it is spoken on the islands to the east and south-east. Since both Tagalog and Romblomanon are spoken on islands apart from those of the Bantoanon area, they are separated from Bantoanon by water. In the past, this was a greater hindrance to communication than it is nowadays, when motorized boats are in common use.

On Sibale, the influence of Tagalog, which results from daily communication by boat with Mindoro (see Appendix E) and from Tagalog radio programs, is offset by the considerable pride Bantoanons have in their language. This means that, while Tagalog loanwords have come to be used, the vernacular is still maintained as a distinct form of speech. Romblomanon has little influence on Sibale because of the irregular communication between the two islands, but it's influence is greater on

Banton and Simara because of the regular scheduled communication between the two language areas by means of the biweekly mailboat that runs between Romblon and Banton via Simara (see Appendix E). Thus, without this mailboat, communication would be quite irregular.

Tablas has as its three neighbouring languages Tagalog, Romblomanon, and Looknon. Tagalog is the neighbouring language on the west since it is spoken on Mindoro, the next island to Tablas in that direction. Tagalog has influence on Tablas both because of the number of scheduled boats between the two areas and because Filipino is used in national events, in the schools, and by outsiders who come to or through the major port town of Odiongan.

On Tablas, Romblomanon is spoken mainly in and around the north-eastern town of San Agustin, which formerly was named Badajoz; therefore, it exerts more influence on the bordering municipality of Calatrava, which until the recent past was actually part of the municipality of San Agustin. As the language of the provincial capital, Romblomanon has had some political and social influence in Odiongan also since both are major towns in the province and there is regular scheduled transportation between the two places.

Looknon is spoken both in the southern part of Tablas and in San Andres, on the north-west coast. San Andres, lying between Calatrava and Odiongan, thus separates these two Bantoanon municipalities. Odiongan is surrounded by Looknon, while Calatrava has common borders with both Looknon and Romblomanon. In border areas there seems to be little mixing of languages--a finding substantiated by the fact that we found side by side households having different mother tongue speakers. For example, Looknon speakers were found to live in one house and Bantoanon speakers in the next. Among such households, some speakers were bilingual while others were monolingual in one language or the other. It was found in Calatrava that there was more interaction, intermarriage, and bilingualism between Bantoanon and Romblomanon speakers than between Bantoanon and Looknon speakers.

Looknon was not listed in the 1975 census as a mother tongue; rather, Romblomanon was recorded as the majority dialect in such localities as Alcantara and Looc. Thus, out of a population of 27,170 in the Odiongan rural area, most of the 7,911 reported to be Romblomanon speakers are more likely to be speakers of Looknon. Similarly in Calatrava, while 95% of the urban dwellers speak Bantoanon, the eastern portion of the 1,650 who were reported to speak Romblomanon--out of a total of 4,619 rural dwellers--are probably actual speakers of Romblomanon, while those in the western portion more probably are speakers of Looknon.

The people of Tablas consider Looknon and Romblomanon to be distinct from each other, which is borne out by Zorc (1977:30-32, 267ff; cf. also 2.1 and Appendix B). In his diagram 1, entitled, Genetic relationships of Bisayan dialects (32), Zorc shows the results of his analyses, which were based on lexicostatistical comparison, comparison of functors, and intelligibility testing. He then defends his analyses in chapters ten to thirteen, with chapter twelve being devoted specifically to Bantoanon (241-85).

2.6 Technical work in related languages

We frequently heard of a Bantoanon dictionary, which, after some twenty years of work, is being prepared for publication by a James Fabicon, a native speaker from Banton. We were told he now resides in Manila; however, after attempting to do so, we still have not been able to contact him. We are inclined to believe that the dictionary is still in the prepublication stage.

Personnel of the United States Peace Corps are carrying on a nutrition program on Banton Island. At present, the Peace Corps workers in that program are Glenn and Mary Bisquera. Other workers in that nutrition program are stationed in San Andres, where Looknon is spoken. Others have been stationed near Odiongan for a two-year term of service, and others are yet to be assigned in Romblon Province.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics had a member, Robert French, stationed in the Romblomanon area, near Romblon, from 1980 to 1982, and he completed a description of Romblomanon phonology during his time in that assignment. That organization is now represented again in the Romblomanon area by Leonard and Jo Newell, who began work there in June 1986.

Father Dennis McKillip, SVD,¹³ has done some translation into Bantoanon on Sibale (see 2.7).

2.7 Churches and missions in the area

On Banton Island, the Roman Catholic Recollect Fathers have had a mission station. Roman Catholic influence has been strong on that island since Spanish times, when a church and a fort were built there. Today the population remains predominantly Roman Catholic, but in the poblacion of Banton there is a large Philippine Evangelical Mission church and also a Seventh-Day Adventist church.

Sibale is 98% Roman Catholic. Father Dennis McKillip, from the United States, is the priest there and has been for twenty-five years. His long tenure is the result of his being a member of the Society of the Divine Word, an order whose members are not subject to frequent changes in parish as the secular priests of the province are. During his years of service he has learnt the vernacular, and some years ago, spurred by Vatican II support for the Mass in the vernacular, he began translating the Mass into Bantoanon. He followed this by translating the lectionary readings, which are Old and New Testament portions, for a three-year cycle. His method has been to make a translation himself and then have it checked and revised by six individuals before putting it into use. Some hymns have also been translated into the Bantoanon vernacular.

Although the people of Sibale appreciate the vernacular Mass, Concepcion is the only parish in the area still using it. The other four Bantoanon areas are prevented by church regulations from using it. The Seventh-Day Adventists and the Iglesia ni Cristo--the latter with a small but growing group--are also represented on Sibale. The stronger groups of these denominations seem to be in the barrios rather than in the poblacion.

In Odiongan, the largest denomination is the Philippine Independent Church,¹⁴ and the residence of that church's bishop, Bishop Gabasa, is in that town. A number of other denominations are represented in Odiongan also. In addition to the Roman Catholic church, which accounts for 25 percent of the people, there is a large Foursquare church and Bible school, which is the residence of the superintendant, a Pastor Doromal, of Romblon and Masbate. There are also Baptist, Methodist, Seventh-Day Adventist, and Apostolic churches. plus Jehovah's Witnesses, the Iglesia ni Cristo, and the Church of the Twelve Tribes.

Calatrava has large Roman Catholic and Philippine Independent churches as well as smaller Seventh-Day Adventist and Foursquare churches. When we were there, some Iglesia ni Cristo members were meeting in a home in the poblacion, and there was a Jehovah's Witnesses church in the nearby barrio of Linao.

On Simara, there is a large Roman Catholic church in Corcuera, while in the largest barrio, Mabini, there is a large Philippine Independent church. There are also smaller Seventh-Day Adventist and Foursquare churches in Corcuera and some barrios.

The Roman Catholic churches are all involved in the Catholic charismatic renewal, possibly encouraged by the Bishop of Romblon Province, Monsignor Mondejar. In addition to 'Life in the Spirit' seminars in the Roman Catholic Church, which are associated with the charismatic renewal, a short course in Christianity, called 'Cursillo', is also offered regularly. The Philippine Independent Church offers a similar short course, called 'Krisilka', an abbreviation of the expression Kristo ilawan mo kami 'Christ, You enlighten us.'

With the exception of Sibale, the Roman Catholic Church uses Tagalog for most masses and for Bible reading. This is true of the Philippine Independent Church also. The language used in sermons--whether Tagalog, English, Hiligaynon, or Bantoanon--depends on the one preaching.

The Seventh-Day Adventist Church uses Hiligaynon mainly for Bible reading. Devotional notes, study outlines, and hymnals are published in Hiligaynon. Sermons, however, depending upon the preacher, may also be in the vernacular. Often copies of Tagalog and English Bibles and hymnals are on hand as well. Seventh-Day Adventist members consider Hiligaynon to be the 'language of the church'.

The Foursquare Church uses Tagalog or English Bibles and Bible studies, but sermons are generally in the vernacular, unless there is a visiting speaker, in which case Tagalog is used. Since the Bible college in Odiongan trains people from an area wider than that of the Bantoanon speakers, courses are taught in Tagalog or English, but some group discussions are conducted in the vernacular.

The Baptist church in Odiongan was said to favour the use of English Bibles. Since a Tagalog missionary is stationed there, and members are both Bantoanon and non-Bantoanon speakers, Bantoanon is not exclusively used in the services.

2.8 Schools in the area

Most barangays¹⁵ have an elementary school, where grades one through six are taught. There are high schools in each of the five municipalities, with at least one in each poblacion and sometimes others in outlying barangays of the municipalities of Odiongan, Corcuera, and Banton. These high schools offer four years of training. Odiongan also has Romblon College, a tertiary institution. Branches of tertiary institutions offer special training in Odiongan in the field of agriculture and in San Agustin in fishing.

The official languages of instruction in all schools are Tagalog and English. Teachers told us that Bantoanon is also used through the third grade. This is probably true since all the teachers we met were Bantoanon speakers.

2.9 Government agencies

We did not make any attempt to note the government agencies that are functioning in the Bantoanon area, but we do want to make some comments regarding the ones that are there. Odiongan, being a larger provincial town, seemed to have offices, with local or outside representatives, of all the relevant government agencies. Smaller municipalities, however, had some local representatives, but not of all agencies. In the case of the Ministry of Human Settlements, for example, we know of one municipality where there was, at that time, no full-time representative of that ministry, but the mayor and other local officials were both approaching personnel suitable for this position and making plans for housing projects. We also heard and read of plans for the construction of housing for rent to people with low incomes in at least one municipality in the three islands area and in one municipality on Tablas. This lends support to the assumption that such projects were being considered in all municipalities.

Nutrition programs, with supervision by personnel from Romblon and Odiongan, seemed to be well underway. There was an office of the Bureau of Census and Statistics in Banton, and there were probably such offices elsewhere, for example, in Odiongan. The circuit court judge for the three islands area, a Bantoanon, was stationed in Simara, while Tablas had judges of its own in at least Odiongan and San Andres.

We met various personnel of the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports in each municipality--personnel who were under the provincial office in Romblon. Odiongan had two superintendents, and each of the other municipalities had one.

Local governmental responsibilities were in the hands of the mayor, employees of the municipio,¹⁶ and the barangay captains. Representatives of the Integrated National Police, which had offices in Odiongan and their provincial offices in Romblon, were stationed in each municipality.

3. Present language use

3.1 The sociolinguistic survey

In carrying out this sociolinguistic survey, we interviewed a total of 230 people, all of whom spoke Bantoanon: 40 in Banton, 42 in Corcuera, 43 in Concepcion, 61 in Odiongan, and 41 in Calatrava. Of these, 196, or 85% of those surveyed, spoke Bantoanon as their mother tongue. For the questionnaire we obtained a translation of each question and its optional answers in Bantoanon, and we conducted the survey using Bantoanon. (The questionnaire used in the survey may be found in Appendix C, 1.)

In each municipality, approximately two-thirds of the respondents were found in the poblacion and one-sixth in each of two other barangays. The survey was conducted randomly by visiting, say, every fifth house on the right side of all east and west parallel streets. An attempt was made to canvas evenly sex and predetermined age groups as well as to cover all geographical sectors of a town.

3.2 Languages known

Question 10a of the survey questionnaire was asked more in the sense of, 'What languages do you speak or have you learned?' Some respondents admitted that they were weak in certain languages, and this was also recorded. The results obtained are tabulated in Table 4. (Note: The percentages in Table 4 are based on the sample of 196 Bantoanon native speakers.)

Language	Spoken		Poorly spoken		Not spoken	
Tagalog	181	92%	9	5%	6	5%
English	123	63%	57	29%	16	8%
Romblomanon	76	39%	12	6%	108	55%
Looknon	27	14%	6	3%	163	83%
Hiligaynon	19	10%	12	6%	165	84%

Table 4. Speakers' self-evaluations of languages known

Although the lingua franca in the eastern part of Romblon Province is said to be Hiligaynon, with Tagalog being spoken as well, it can readily be seen in Table 4 that Tagalog is the lingua franca of the Bantoanon area. English is taught in the schools, and it has some degree of influence, especially since Bantoanons are interested in education and upward social mobility. With the spread of Filipino, however, English is, as expected, second to Tagalog in usage.

After English, Romblomanon, the language of the provincial capital, is next, but this language is spoken by fewer than 50% of the Bantoanons surveyed.

As mentioned previously, a small percentage of Bantoanon speakers know Looknon--a fact that usually is the result of the influence of geographical proximity or of intermarriage.

In Table 4 it can be seen--and local observation seems to confirm--that most native speakers of Bantoanon are bilingual in their own language and Tagalog; however, a small number are monolingual. Some people in the area who speak other languages, for example, Looknon, are monolingual also. Many people are what might be called trilingual, knowing their own language, Tagalog, and English, and some might be called multilingual because they are also able to speak one or more of the other languages of the area, namely, Romblomanon, Looknon, or Hiligaynon.

3.3 Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English compared

The results we obtained by the use, in the survey, of question 11, 'What language do you use when you speak to spouse, parents, etc?' are tabulated in Table 5. As before, only native Bantoanon speakers and only the three languages spoken by more than 50% of the population are considered. (Note: It is often the case that people are bi- or trilingual, which means that such individuals would be included in this survey with speakers of the various languages they know. As a result, the percentages in Table 5 do not total 100%.)

Language	Spouse		Parents		Children		School- Market vendor		Friends					
							teacher /shopkeeper		Mayor	/peers				
Bantoanon	140	96%	192	98%	154	97%	66	34%	192	98%	173	88%	194	99%
Tagalog	9	6%	9	5%	19	12%	128	65%	34	17%	51	26%	39	20%
English	1	1%	6	6%	6	4%	108	55%	1	1%	27	14%	18	9%

Table 5. Common usage of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English compared

Of the figures given in Table 5, one in particular draws our attention. It is the 34% in the Bantoanon row in the Schoolteacher column--a figure that represents those who speak in their own language to teachers. We note this figure because, if 34% of Bantoanons speak in their own vernacular to schoolteachers, then that can be understood to mean that 66% do not speak in their own vernacular to teachers. We note this also because, in the case of all conversations we heard outside the school context, Bantoanon was the medium of communication between teachers and other members of the community. The survey question we used must have suggested to most respondents either a classroom situation or some status distinction.

That only 12% of the respondents do not use Bantoanon when speaking to the mayor suggests that many official conversations must take place in the vernacular. This agrees with our observations in the municipalities we visited, where we noticed that the officials and staff spoke among themselves in Bantoanon. Many respondents emphasized that they would not initiate a

conversation with the mayor, but if they became involved in such a conversation, they would follow the mayor's lead. Thus, if the mayor used Tagalog, they would reply in Tagalog. This applies also to conversations with friends or peers.

Table 5 also shows that upward of 96% of the people whose mother tongue is Bantoanon use this language in their day-to-day communication in the family, with friends, and with market vendors and storekeepers. If we were to apply this percentabe to the count, in the 1975 census, of 45,705 mother tongue Bantoanon speakers, we would find that at least 43,877 people regularly speak Bantoanon.

3.4 Profile of an 'influential' Bantoanon

After our survey was completed, we concerned ourselves with abstracting from the 230 individuals surveyed a sample of those respondents who could be considered 'influential' (cf. 1.2.1). As described above, this profile is defined in terms of these factors:

- (a) Ethnic origin, that is, whether the individual's mother tongue is Bantoanon
- (b) Age, that is, whether the individual is between twenty and fifty years of age
- (c) Scholastic achievement and occupation, that is, whether the individual has one or both of these qualifications: an academic degree or employment as a teacher, a government official such as barangay captain or policeman, a doctor or nurse, a professional such as a lawyer or an architect, or a businessman

From a total of 196 Bantoanons, 39 were found to fit this profile. (See Appendix C, 4(c) for considerations relative to surveying the 'influential' Bantoanon.)

3.4.1 Place of birth and place of residence

The places of birth and residence of both the 'influential' Bantoanons and all the native Bantoanons surveyed are tabulated in Table 6. It is doubtful whether the data shown in this table reveal any pattern other than that of the migration of a few 'influential' persons from Odiongan to Calatrava. More 'influential' people were interviewed in Simara (i.e. Corcuera) and Odiongan than in the other areas, but, while this is interesting, it cannot be verified in the context of this survey that these figures reflect the true situation.

Birthplace	'Influentials'		Total		'Influentials' are ___% of total
			native	speakers	
Banton	4	10%	39	20%	10%
Corcuera	10	26%	43	22%	23%
Concepcion	6	15%	34	17%	18%
Calatrava	4	10%	27	14%	15%
Odiongan	14	36%	49	25%	29%
Other	1	3%	2	1%	50%
Residence					
Banton	5	13%	40	20%	13%
Corcuera	10	26%	39	20%	26%
Concepcion	6	15%	37	19%	16%
Calatrava	7	18%	29	15%	24%
Odiongan	11	28%	48	24%	23%

Table 6. Places of birth and residence of 'influential' Bantoanons

3.4.2 Distribution by denominational affiliation

The denominational affiliations of the Bantoanon 'influentials' and of the total set of native speakers surveyed, are tabulated in Table 7.

Denomination	A	B	C	D	E
Roman Catholic	25	64%	137	70%	18%
Philippine Independent	12	31%	43	22%	28%
Seventh-Day Adventist	1	3%	7	4%	14%
Foursquare	1	3%	7	4%	14%
Baptist	0	0%	1	1%	0%
Other	<u>0</u>	0%	<u>1</u>	1%	0%
Totals	39		196		

Table 7. Denominational affiliation of the 'influentials'

- Key: A Number of 'influentials' who are affiliated with the denomination
 B Percentage that A is of all the 'influentials' who are affiliated with a denomination
 C Total number of the sample who are affiliated with the denomination
 D Percentage that C is of the total sample
 E Percentage that A is of C

From these data it could be suggested, but again not verified, that the Philippine Independent Church apparently has a higher percentage of 'influential' native Bantoanon speakers than do the other major denominations in the language area. A factor that may contribute to this, however, is that the Philippine Independent Church is the largest denomination in Odiongan, the major centre of influence in the area.

3.4.3 Distribution by place of residence

During the course of this survey, only approximately one-third of the interviews were done in the barangays outside the poblacions. The results are summarized in Table 8.

Residence	'Influentials'		Total native speakers		'Influentials' are ____% of total
Poblacion	35	90%	132	67%	27%
Barrio	4	10%	64	33%	6%

Table 8. Place of residence of 'influential' Bantoanons

Thus, it may be said that more 'influentials' are to be found inside the towns than outside them.

3.4.4 'Influential' use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English

3.4.4.1 In the family

Of the sample of 39 'influential' Bantoanons, 36 answered the question about the language they use in speaking to their children, as did 158 of all the native speaking Bantoanons surveyed. In Table 9, figures are shown comparing the 'influential' subset with the set of native speakers with respect to the language used in speaking to children.

Language	'Influentials'		Total native speakers	
Bantoanon	35	97%	154	97%
Tagalog	10	28%	19	12%
English	1	3%	6	4%

Table 9. Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English with children

Although a greater percentage of 'influential' Bantoanons are concerned about their children's speaking Tagalog, or Filipino, and for that reason use it in the home, it seems that Tagalog is being used along with, rather than in place of, Bantoanon. So, on the basis of this survey, it would seem that 'influential' Bantoanons do not feel that they should restrict the use of Bantoanon in the home.

The entire sample of 39 'influentials' said that they spoke to their parents in Bantoanon, while 192 out of 196 (or 98%) of the total native speaking sample used Bantoanon in speaking to their parents.

3.4.4.2 Among friends

In Table 10, the 'influential' subset is compared with the set of all the native speakers surveyed with respect to the language they use in speaking with friends or peers.

Language	'Influentials'		Total Native Speakers	
Bantoanon	39	100%	194	99%
Tagalog	18	46%	39	20%
English	11	28%	18	9%

Table 10. Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English among friends

From comments received during interviews, the practice with regard to speaking with friends seems to be, 'If my friends are, for example, Tagalog, American, or Romblomanon, I speak with them in their language. With my Bantoanon friends, I speak Bantoanon.' Thus, Table 10 would seem to show that the 'influentials' have more friends from outside the language area than do those in the general set of native speakers. (See Appendix C, 4 Evaluation of survey design.)

3.4.4.3 At work

This information was taken from the responses to question 14 in the survey questionnaire. In Table 11 are shown four possible alternatives derived from those responses. These alternatives are as follows:

- (a) Those who speak Bantoanon only, with no English or Tagalog, with their superiors
- (b) Those who speak Bantoanon and English or Tagalog with their superiors, which means that, although they use Bantoanon, it is not the only language they use
- (c) Those who speak only English or Tagalog with their superiors and no Bantoanon

- (d) Those who use only Bantoanon with those under them but no Bantoanon with superiors or peers

The sample of those who responded to this question regarding the language they use at work is different from that of the whole profile. In this case, the figures are 34 'influentials' versus 120 total as compared with 39 versus 196 (see 3.4 above). The reason for this difference is probably because some respondents, namely, housewives, were not in the work force.

Language used with superiors	'Influentials'		Total native speakers	
(a) Bantoanon	9	26%	63	53%
(b) Bantoanon, Tagalog, English	18	53%	46	38%
(c) Tagalog, English	7	21%	11	9%
With inferiors only				
(d) Bantoanon	2	6%	6	5%

Table 11. Languages spoken at work

It cannot be verified from this survey, but it seems probable that those in groups (a) and (b) have native-speaking Bantoanon superiors, while those in group (c) have non-Bantoanon superiors.

If one compares rows (a) and (b) of Table 11, he can see that a lower percentage of 'influentials' than of those in the total native-speaker set feel free to use only their native language with their superiors at work. However, 79% of the 'influentials' still use Bantoanon only or partially when speaking with superiors.

The way different languages are used in work situations was seen in the five municipalities we visited. In all of them, Bantoanon was used in general office conversation; English was used with us; and Tagalog or English were used in dictation and typing of letters.

From row (c) in Table 11 one may conclude only that it is more likely for those in the 'influential' group than for others to be employed by a non-Bantoanon. The percentage of non-'influential' native speakers who speak no Bantoanon to their superiors is approximately 5%. This figure is arrived at by dividing the number of non-'influential' native speakers (11 minus 7 from row (c) in Table 11) by the total number of non-'influential' native speakers (i.e. 120 native speakers minus 34 'influential' native speakers).

In row (d) of Table 11, there is no significant difference between the 'influentials' and the total group, though it can be seen that it is in only a few working situations where the use of Bantoanon is restricted to those on the lower scale of influence.

3.4.4.4 'Internal' language

Question 17 in the survey questionnaire concerns the languages used in prayer, thinking, and dreaming. The results are tabulated in Table 12.

Language of prayer	'Influentials'		Native speakers	
Bantoanon	33	85%	161	82%
Tagalog	14	36%	58	30%
English	9	23%	20	10%
Language of thought				
Bantoanon	39	100%	186	95%
Tagalog	9	23%	27	14%
English	6	15%	10	5%
Language of dreams				
Bantoanon	37	95%	184	93%
Tagalog	8	21%	27	14%
English	5	13%	7	4%

Table 12. Languages used in prayer, thought, and dreams

It may be noticed at once that in both sets fewer people pray in their native language than think in it. The reason for this could be that in some churches, for example, the larger Roman Catholic and Philippine Independent churches, prayers are more formal and usually in Tagalog. Such prayers are then memorized and recited during private devotions. In Sibale, however, where the language used in most church services, including prayers, is Bantoanon, 95% of the people interviewed said that they prayed in Bantoanon. The question on prayer, incidentally, was asked specifically about private prayer.

Also worthy of comment are the higher percentages noted in every case for 'influentials'. Not only do a greater percentage of 'influentials' pray, think, and dream in Tagalog and English, which would be expected, but also a greater percentage of 'influentials' pray, think, and dream in Bantoanon. It may be that these figures reflect a greater awareness of their psychological processes or pride in their language, rather than actual use. Some of the non-'influential' native speakers may have been reluctant to admit that they thought in Bantoanon and chose instead a prestigious ideal. From the total sample of 196, of whom 39 were 'influential' and said they thought in Bantoanon, we may note that there were 10 non-'influential' native speakers who do not use Bantoanon in thinking. Thus, there are different ways of interpreting the figures:

- (a) The figures reflect actual use of language, which would mean that 'influentials' use their native language more than their non-'influential' neighbours do.

- (b) The figures reflect pride in language, which would mean that 'influentials' are prouder of their native language than their non-'influential' neighbours are.
- (c) The figures reflect awareness of one's use of language 'internally' and ability to distinguish these languages, which would mean that 'influentials' are more aware that they think in their native language than are their non-'influential' neighbours.

3.4.5 Language use: Relative facility and preference

Question 19 in the survey questionnaire asks, 'In which language do you find it easiest to express yourself?' while question 21 asks, 'Which language do you like speaking best?'. The results obtained from the responses to these questions are shown in Table 13.

Easiest language	'Influentials'		Native speakers	
Bantoanon	34	87%	161	82%
Tagalog	9	23%	41	21%
English	1	3%	3	2%
Language preferred				
Bantoanon	31	79%	183	93%
Tagalog	12	31%	35	18%
English	2	5%	3	2%

Table 13. Relative facility in use and language preference

Because a number of respondents were unable to choose one 'easiest' or 'best' language, the percentage total is greater than 100% in each case. For this reason, it may be helpful to look at these figures from their negative perspective. That is, we can, for example, look under Easiest language at the 2% figure in the English row and in the Native speakers column and then make the statement that '98% of the native speakers do not think English is the easiest language in which to express themselves.' Or, after looking at the 79% figure, under Language preferred, in the Bantoanon row and the 'Influentials' column, say that '21% of the "influential" native speakers do not like speaking Bantoanon best.'

The question, 'Which language do you like speaking best?' was difficult for many to answer. The question seemed to bring to mind the presentation of oneself in public and the associated activities of speech-making and public debate. This was certainly so for many of the 'influentials', and it may have reflected their social aspirations. This, then, prompted a shift in focus from the respondent as speaker to the audience instead. This would explain why three of those 'influentials' who considered Bantoanon the easiest language did not prefer it as a medium of address. They had visualized their audience as consisting, at least in part, of non-Bantoanon speakers.

Another twenty-two native speakers who were surveyed thought Bantoanon was 'easiest', and they also considered it 'best', probably visualizing an audience consisting entirely of Bantoanon-speakers. For many the question may also have suggested the wider educational or social scene, where the influence of English, the international language of the technical world, and Filipino, the national language, are promoted and specifically used.

3.4.6 Other places of residence

Question 24 in the questionnaire asks, 'In what other places, where Bantoanon is not spoken, have you lived for more than six months?' For those who had lived outside the language area, the most frequent place of residence was an area, like Luzon or Mindoro, where Tagalog is spoken.

Residence	'Influentials'		Native speakers	
Outside Bantoanon area	33	85%	113	58%
In Tagalog area	30	77%	98	50%

Table 14. Other non-Bantoanon places of residence

From Table 14, it can be seen that a greater percentage--one and one-half times as great--of 'influentials' than of the total group of native speakers have lived outside the language area. This was an expected result.

It can also be seen in Table 14 that more than 50% of the native-speaking population live outside their language area for significant lengths of time. This may show that they are a mobile society with strong ties to their home area, to which they return. This is probably why Tagalog is well understood by many native Bantoanons.

3.5 Profile of a Bantoanon who would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog

In order to arrive at a profile of native Bantoanon speakers who would have difficulty reading Tagalog--a profile we call 'weak Tagalog'--we have used the following criteria:

- (a) Native speaker of Bantoanon
- (b) No or weak understanding of Tagalog, which leads to great difficulty with Tagalog literature
- (c) No or infrequent use of Tagalog, which leads to moderate difficulty with Tagalog literature

To determine those who would be considered (c) we took those respondents who never use Tagalog in the home (i.e. with spouse, with parents, or with children), in the market, with friends or peers, or with the mayor. (This information was gained from the answers to question 11 of the survey questionnaire.)

Note that the set of those who have no or a weak understanding of Tagalog is a subset of those who never or infrequently use Tagalog. The size of the sample of those having minimal understanding is 15; that of the sample of those who use Tagalog minimally, 96.

(Note, with regard to the percentages in Tables 15-19, that it should be kept in mind that percentages relating to a sample of 15 are accurate to $\pm 4\%$.)

3.5.1 Places of birth and residence

The places of birth and residence of those included in this profile are tabulated in Table 15, where data are given for two samples, namely, those with weak or no understanding of Tagalog and those who never or infrequently use Tagalog.

Birthplace	Minimal under- standing		Minimal use		Total native speakers	Percent of total with... minimal use	
	7	47%	28	29%		18%	72%
Banton	7	47%	28	29%	39	18%	72%
Corcuera	0	0%	27	28%	43	0%	63%
Concepcion	3	20%	15	16%	34	9%	44%
Calatrava	5	0%	14	15%	27	19%	52%
Odiongan	0	33%	10	10%	49	0%	20%
Other	0	0%	1	1%	2	0%	50%
Residence							
Banton	7	47%	30	31%	40	18%	75%
Corcuera	0	0%	23	24%	39	0%	59%
Concepcion	3	20%	17	18%	37	8%	46%
Calatrava	5	0%	15	16%	29	17%	52%
Odiongan	0	33%	10	10%	48	0%	21%

Table 15. Places of birth and residence of 'weak Tagalog' sample

Again, because of the small size of the samples, it is difficult to draw definite conclusions from these data, but it seems that a number of people, especially in areas at a distance from Odiongan, would find difficulty with Tagalog literature.

The figure of 75%, which refers to the residents of Banton who do not use Tagalog in the course of a normal day, possibly reflects ethnic pride as well as isolation, which maintains a relatively 'pure' linguistic situation. Bantoanon is the original language on Banton, and the people there see little need of another for general use. Because of having enough well-educated people for most influential roles, such as mayor and teacher, they are relatively self-sufficient and do not have many non-native speakers holding positions on the island. This no doubt is a factor in the maintenance of the Bantoanon language through all strata of the society.

3.5.2 Distribution by denominational affiliation

Table 16 shows the denominations with which the people of the 'weak Tagalog' sample are affiliated.

Denomination	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Roman Catholic	12	80%	73	76%	137	9%	53%
Philippine Independent	2	13%	16	17%	43	5%	37%
Seventh-Day Adventist	1	7%	5	5%	7	14%	71%
Foursquare	0	0%	1	1%	7	0%	14%
Baptist	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0%
Other	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0%

Table 16. Denominational affiliation of the 'weak Tagalog' sample

- Key: A Number of those who have minimal understanding of Tagalog who affiliate with the denomination
 B Percentage that A is of all who have minimal understanding of Tagalog
 C Number of those who use Tagalog minimally who affiliate with the denomination
 D Percentage that C is of all who use Tagalog minimally
 E Number of native speakers who affiliate with the denomination
 F Percentage that A is of E
 G Percentage that C is of E

3.5.3 Distribution by place of residence

Table 17 shows data concerning the residence of 'weak Tagalog' people in the poblacion or outside it. As would be expected, we find in this table that almost twice as many people (11%), having weak or no understanding of Tagalog, live in the barrios as live in the poblacion (6%). Also, while the number of people who do not use Tagalog is greater in the barrios than in the poblacions, it is not a significant difference.

Residence	Minimal under-standing		Minimal use		Total native speakers	Percent of total with...	
						minimal understanding	minimal use
Poblacion	8	53%	62	65%	132	6%	47%
Barrio	7	47%	34	35%	64	11%	53%

Table 17. Distribution of the weak Tagalog sample by residence

3.5.4 Distribution by age

The age divisions used in this survey are 13-20 years, 21-30 years, 31-50 years, and 50+ years. Table 18 shows the number of individuals in the 'weak Tagalog' sample who fall in the given age groups.

Age	Minimal under-standing		Minimal use		Total native speakers	Percent of total with...	
						minimal understanding	minimal use
13-20	0	0%	17	18%	39	0%	44%
21-30	1	7%	18	19%	37	3%	49%
31-50	6	40%	36	38%	72	8%	50%
50+	8	25%	25	26%	46	17%	54%

Table 18. Distribution of the 'weak Tagalog' sample by age

As expected, in both the Minimal understanding and Minimal use columns the percentages increase with age. Of those surveyed from the 13-20 year age group, 100% said they had a good understanding of Tagalog, while 17% of the 50+ year age group acknowledged that they had weak or no understanding of Tagalog. Looking at the figures from a different point of view, we note that speakers not included in the percentages for minimal use of Tagalog do use that language in some circumstances or personal contacts. Thus, we would note that of those in the 13-20 year age group, for example, 56% make more than minimal use of Tagalog. This compares with 46% of those in the 50+ year age group.

Regarding the use of Tagalog, we find in Table 18 that, although it is greatest among those in the 13-20 year age group, it really is not that much greater; there is only a 10% difference over a span of forty years. It would, therefore, seem that, although Bantoanon young people know Tagalog better, they do not speak it significantly more than their parents do.

3.5.5 Distribution by sex

Table 19 shows that of the Bantoanons who do not understand Tagalog well most are women. With regard to the use of Tagalog, however, we note that only 10% more men use it than do women.

Sex	Minimal understanding		Minimal use	
Male	3	20%	43	45%
Female	12	80%	53	55%

Table 19. Distribution of the 'weak Tagalog' sample by sex

3.6 Comparison of the profiles of resident Bantoanon 'islanders' and 'Tablasans'

Two other profiles arrived at in this survey are of Bantoanon residents: these profiles are of those residents who are native speakers of Bantoanon and were born in the area where they were residing at the time of the survey. As noted above, there are two major geographical parts of the Bantoanon area: one consists of the three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale, and the other consists of Tablas, where Calatrava and Odiongán are located. It is these two geographical areas that define the two profiles discussed here. Residents who live on the three islands are called 'islanders', and those who live on Tablas are called 'Tablasans'. The total sample of the 'islander' profile is 114 (50% of the total sample interviewed), and the total sample of the 'Tablasan' profile is 72 (31% of the total sample interviewed).

3.6.1 Residential patterns

In this section, we are concerned with any possible correlations there may be between the language Bantoanons use and where they reside. In the subsections below, the patterns of residence of the following groups of Bantoanons are discussed:

- (a) The whole group of residents surveyed
- (b) Those residents who still have children living in the language area
- (c) Those residents who have influence, including those who fit both the 'influential' and the 'trend-setter' profiles

3.6.1.1 Whole group of survey respondents

We consider, first, correlations between language use and residence for the whole set of residents surveyed. In this section, the focus is on whether or not a respondent had resided outside the Bantoanon language area for more than six months (cf. question 24 in the survey questionnaire) at any time, and if he had, where he had lived. Respondents were questioned relative to the following considerations:

- (a) Had they ever lived outside the Bantoanon language area, including all five municipalities?

- (b) If they had lived outside their own language area, was it in only a Tagalog area, including Mindoro, Marinduque, or Luzon?
- (c) If they had lived outside their own language area, had they lived in an area where Tagalog is not spoken? (Those who had lived in both Tagalog and non-Tagalog areas are included here.)

Language areas	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Bantoanon	52	46%	29	40%
Bantoanon and Tagalog	43	38%	29	40%
Elsewhere	19	16%	14	20%
Totals	<u>114</u>		<u>72</u>	

Table 20. Areas of residence

In Table 20 relatively similar percentages are shown for 'islanders' and 'Tablasans' with respect to the three possible patterns of residence. For example, we note that the percentage of 'islanders' (46%) who have lived only in the Bantoanon language area is somewhat higher than that of the 'Tablasans' (40%). But this would be expected because 'islanders' tend to be more isolated and less mobile than 'Tablasans'.

Another observation is that a somewhat higher percentage of 'Tablasans' have lived in non-Tagalog areas than have 'islanders'. In consideration, though, of the greater social and geographical mobility 'Tablasans' enjoy due to both educational and employment opportunities, as well as the variety of means of transportation available to them on Tablas, this difference is actually not that significant.

3.6.1.2 Children still resident in the Bantoanon area

In this section, our concern is with those Bantoanons who have children still residing in their home language area. In Table 21 we see that of 84 'islanders' and of 45 'Tablasans', a high percentage have at least some children still residing in the Bantoanon area.

	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Children still residing in the Bantoanon Area	77	92%	42	93%

Table 21. Bantoanons with children still at home

These data indicate a residence pattern of family life that maintains strong filial ties--a pattern that bodes well for the future of the language. Apparently, since there were many young, established families in all municipalities, the whole area is still considered by native speakers to be a good environment in which to raise children. Incidentally, we did not compute the percentage of children who leave the Bantoanon language area, either temporarily or permanently, because our interest was more in the present and future potential for readers within the language area.

3.6.1.3 'Influential' and 'trend-setter' residents

Table 22 shows the percentages of Bantoanon residents--both 'islander' and 'Tablasan'--who are 'influentials' or 'trend-setters'. (See 1.2.4 and 5.1-2 for more information on the 'trend-setter' profile. It may be mentioned again that both the 'influential' and 'trend-setter' profiles represent people who have influence in a community.)

	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
'Influential'	20	18%	17	24%
'Trend-setter'	17	15%	23	32%

Table 22. 'Influential' and 'trend-setter' residents

Reference to Table 22 shows that there is a greater percentage of 'influentials' among the 'Tablasans' than among the 'islanders'--an anticipated result since Odiongan, the major sociopolitical town, is on Tablas. Such reference also shows that there are 'influential' native speakers on the more isolated islands too--a fact borne out by the observation that local political and educational needs were being met by native speakers.

With regard to the 'trend-setter' figures in Table 22, we believe these are somewhat skewed because the survey was taken during vacation time when college students, who are usually studying elsewhere, were home and declared themselves to be residents. This was noticed especially in Odiongan, on Tablas, where the higher percentage (32%) of 'trend-setters' resided. Again, this is not surprising since Odiongan is the sociopolitical centre of the whole Bantoanon area and has its own tertiary institution, Romblon College. It may be noted also that a good number (15%) of 'islanders' are 'trend-setters' too. These data seem to be evidence again of the value Filipinos place in education and social mobility.

3.6.2 Distribution by denominational affiliation

Table 23 shows the denominational affiliation of both 'islander' and 'Tablasan' Bantoanon residents. These data show membership in the Roman Catholic Church and in the Philippine Independent Church, with all others being included in the 'Other' category.

The figures in this table show that the typical 'islander' is Roman Catholic, a result of the long historical association of people on the three islands with that church in Spanish times. It is on the islands, which are the centres of more traditional life, that the Roman Catholic Church has held its strength. Thus, the Philippine Independent Church and other denominations have fewer adherents among the 'islanders', and the adherents these other churches have are unevenly scattered over the three islands.

Denomination	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
	A	B	C	D
Roman Catholic	102	89%	28	39%
Philippine Independent	4	4%	37	51%
Other	8	7%	7	10%

Table 23. Denominational affiliation of the 'islander' and 'trend-setter' samples

Key: A Number of 'islanders' who are affiliated with the denomination
 B Percentage of 'islanders' who are affiliated with the denomination
 C Number of 'Tablasans' who are affiliated with the denomination
 D Percentage of 'Tablasans' who are affiliated with the denomination

A 'Tablasan' is more likely to be non-Roman Catholic, as indicated by the figures 51% Philippine Independent and 10% Other. Historically, the Philippine Independent Church separated from the Roman Catholic Church, but it still adheres to many of the Roman Catholic doctrines and traditions, though it perceives itself as being more Protestant, specifically of the Episcopalian persuasion. The other, mainly Protestant, denominations have a greater following among 'Tablasans'. Though the figure of 10% does not seem to be particularly significant, still the variety of the churches and the existence of a Bible college in Odiongan show that the Protestants have a rather strong position there.

The non-Roman Catholic strength on Tablas may indicate that those who disagreed, or were not satisfied, with the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the more innovative members of the 'islander' society, were the founders of, and settlers in, the Tablas municipalities. The language has been kept during this process of migration and settlement, although it has been affected by the increased contact with other groups.

3.6.3 Bantoanon subdialect areas

The responses we received to question 25 in the survey questionnaire--a question that reads, 'Where else do they speak like you do?'--fell into two groups: those who considered all five municipalities to have the same language and those who distinguished between the language spoken on the three islands and that spoken on Tablas. This distinction indicated to us that there are two dialect areas in the Bantoanon language area, namely, the three islands and Tablas Island. The results obtained from these responses are tabulated in Table 24.

Area chosen	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Home area	46	40%	3	4%
Five municipalities	58	51%	42	58%

Table 24. Dialects within the Bantoanon area

A considerable number of 'islanders' considered the dialect spoken on the three islands to be distinct from that spoken on Tablas. This may be a traditional view, although some 'islanders' would not comment about Tablas since they had never been there. Even though, on the other hand, many of them would surely have met Bantoanon speakers from Tablas, they may not have considered these people necessarily to be representative of the whole community. It is probable that 'islanders' would be quicker than 'Tablasans' themselves to recognize foreign elements in the Tablas dialect.

More or less the same percentages of 'islanders' and 'Tablasans' considered the dialect of the five municipalities to be in some sense the same. Further, because 'Tablasans' are aware of the historical roots of their language and they meet many 'islanders' as the latter pass through Tablas--although the 'Tablasans' may have never visited the islands--they are less conscious of any foreign elements in their own speech, and more of them would be likely to see the five municipalities as a unit.

These data indicate that there is a boundary of some kind within the Bantoanon language area--a boundary that separates two geographical dialect areas, namely, the three islands and Tablas. Probably the dialect of the 'islanders' would be the 'purer' one, having deeper and older forms of expression and being less influenced by neighbouring languages.

3.6.4 Language attitudes

In this section we discuss the attitudes of the 'islanders' and the 'Tablasans' as these attitudes relate to the following considerations:

- (a) The location of the dialect centre, that is, where the 'best' vernacular is spoken

- (b) Their first choice of language--Bantoanon, Tagalog, or English--for their children to learn
- (c) Bantoanon literacy or literature

3.6.4.1 Dialect centre

Respondents had a high degree of pride in the dialect spoken in their home municipalities, as well as pride in their own language of Bantoanon. That it was 'their own' was an important reason for it's being the 'best'.

In Table 25 are tabulated the numbers of 'islanders' and 'Tablasans' who chose Banton or Odiongan as the dialect centre. (These figures include those who made their selection on the grounds that the dialect was their own.)

Municipality	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Banton	69	61%	15	21%
Odiongan	3	3%	40	56%

Table 25. Where the 'best' dialect is spoken

Most 'islanders' (61%) chose Banton either because of residence or because of historical or linguistic factors. Evidence of this was comments like 'It has the most beautiful intonation' or malumanay 'It is slowly and gently [spoken],' which is a judgment of high merit.

In Table 25 we see that 'Tablasans' (56%) preferred Odiongan. This preference was either because of residence or because of present sociopolitical prestige. Some younger students made their choices in ignorance of the fact that their language had originally come from Banton. Also, some 'Tablasans' may have made their choices thinking that the dialect spoken on the three islands had less prestige and was, therefore, from the 'back-woods', as it were, or was 'old-fashioned'--although they did not express this.

3.6.4.2 First choice of language for one's children

A high percentage of both groups said that Bantoanon was their first choice of the language they wanted their children to learn. These figures are seen in Table 26. This table also shows the number of those who chose Tagalog first and did not choose Bantoanon at all (see Appendix C, 4 Evaluation of survey design). This would include some who would naturally want their children to learn Bantoanon, but did not mention it, since it would happen, or had already happened, in the normal course of things. These were only a small percentage, though, so the conclusions are not changed.

First choice	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Bantoanon	88	77%	43	60%
Tagalog	7	6%	3	4%

Table 26. First choice of language for one's children

A high percentage of people from both dialect areas chose Bantoanon first, but the percentage of 'Tablasans' is lower, probably because of the greater influence of other languages. Another variable was the different ways we who conducted the survey approached the question of whether or not to remind respondents that Bantoanon was a choice also.

3.6.4.3 Bantoanon literacy

Most 'Islanders' (100%) and 'Tablasans' (94%) expressed interest in both Bantoanon literacy and Bantoanon literature. This interest is supported by the productivity we observed in the language, as illustrated by letters, local newsheets temporarily produced by innovative individuals, and public signs. 'Tablasans' who were indifferent to, or disapproved of, Bantoanon literacy had those views either because they were native speakers of other languages, such as Chinese or Looknon, or because they wanted to choose a high prestige language like Filipino or English--a language that assures social mobility and ease of communication in a sociopolitical centre like Odiongan.

4. Attitudes toward languages

4.1 Attitude toward and use of Bantoanon

Except for a small group of college-age students on Tablas, most Bantoanons have an attitude of pride toward their language. This conclusion is drawn from the following observations:

- (a) Bantoanon is the language used in the home, at the market, and with friends (see Table 5).
- (b) It is the language Bantoanons use with each other in the municipalities in conducting official business and in handling political matters.
- (c) In the schools, teachers, but not students, said that sometimes they use Bantoanon in the lower grades in order to explain things not understood in Tagalog.
- (d) There is the following evidence of literary productivity by Bantoanons in their vernacular:

- (i) A presidential decree, translated into Bantoanon, on the subject of 'Probation'
 - (ii) A small collection of Bantoanon proverbs, published with Gabriel Fabella's short history (in English) of the area
 - (iii) Poems, songs, and prayers composed in Bantoanon and printed to mark the sixtieth anniversary of Banton as a municipality
 - (iv) The Mass, along with liturgy, readings, and hymns, in Bantoanon. The people in Concepcion are particularly proud of this, and each week two or three banners are prepared for hanging at the front of the church. These banners bear, in four-inch red letters, portions of the vernacular Scripture readings or the theme for the week.
 - (v) A number of local newssheets, produced in the past at the instigation of one of the parish priests
 - (vi) Occasional signs in the vernacular
- (e) Use of Bantoanon by the mayor of Calatrava in a speech on a public occasion. He began with a note of thanks in Tagalog, but as he progressed and increased in fervour, he changed to Bantoanon in making his exhortation to the audience.
- (f) Testimonies and exhortations, almost entirely in Bantoanon, given in public by church lay people on two separate occasions, on different islands, and at different parachurch functions
- (g) The following comments by respondents in this survey about their own language:
- (i) 'It is worthwhile making [literature in Bantoanon].'
 - (ii) 'It is sweet to hear because it is our own dialect.'
 - (iii) 'It rhymes.'
 - (iv) 'We realize how it sounds because it is inborn in us.'
- (h) A positive attitude toward the language on the part of Roman Catholic priests in the area, as illustrated by the following:
- (i) In Calatrava, Father Baranda, an Ilongo, learned Bantoanon and preached consistently in it. He has since been replaced by a native-speaking Bantoanon priest.
 - (ii) In Concepcion, Father McKillip (see 2.7), an American, learned Bantoanon; he has translated the liturgy, readings, and hymns into it; and he preaches in it.

- (iii) In Corcuera, Father Conde, a Romblomanon, who had been in the parish only two months at the time we met him, was learning Bantoanon rapidly.
- (iv) In Banton, Father Fabriquel, a native of Simara and thus a native Bantoanon speaker, was preaching in Bantoanon.

4.2 Attitude toward and use of Tagalog

Although the area where Bantoanon is spoken is in the region of the Visayas, the trade language is not Visayan, or Cebuano, but Tagalog, hence the inclusion of the Bantoanon area in the Southern Tagalog region. For a long time the trade language of the neighbouring island of Romblon was Hiligaynon; however, Tagalog is now replacing it. In the Bantoanon area, Hiligaynon has never been the lingua franca; Tagalog has been--to the extent that a lingua franca was needed.

Tagalog is spoken by some 181 (or 92%) of the respondents in our survey (see Table 4). It is also the language--after Bantoanon and before English--that most parents (62%) want their children to learn (see Table 29), and it is always one of the languages chosen for children to learn.

Tagalog radio programs are very popular. In this connection, Father McKillip made the following comment in Concepcion, on Sibale: 'Twenty years ago the people didn't know Tagalog and wouldn't listen to it. Now, because of radio programs and education in Tagalog, they understand it well and do not turn off a message in Tagalog.' In Concepcion, though, there is very little use of Tagalog, since, for one reason, not even the church expects people to attend a mass when it is in a language other than Bantoanon.

In summary, Tagalog seems to be thought of as the language of politics and polite society since it is used for such activities as public speaking and formal, memorized prayer, while Bantoanon is the language of the heart.

4.3 Attitude toward and use of English

Of those surveyed, 63% claimed that they know English, but for many of these it is a language they used only in school. Those who are not college graduates rarely feel confident in using English--especially when they are in the presence of surveyors who are native English speakers. When many respondents were first approached about participating in the survey, they needed to be assured that the questions would be in their own language so that they would not be shamed by their lack of understanding of English.

English is a language that can be learned only at school. It cannot be 'picked up' by living in some area in the Philippines where English is spoken. Even those fluent in English are sometimes embarrassed to use it with native speakers of English. English has prestige because it is known that many books are written in it and it is useful overseas. But for those who are not scholars or international travellers, it is of no practical use in the Bantoanon area. Only once during the course of our survey did we

hear English on a public occasion: it was a funeral oration by a visiting interim priest from Iloilo for a Calatravanhon man.

4.4 Attitude toward and use of neighbouring languages

For our purposes, one language is neighbour to another when the first language is adjacent geographically to the second or it is the language of a group that has exerted political influence in the area where the second is spoken (see 2.5). The languages that are related in one or both of these ways to Bantoanon are Looknon, Romblomanon, and Tagalog.

For Sibale, Tagalog is the neighbouring language, and Sibale's communication with a Tagalog area is by the daily motor boat from Concepcion to Pinamalayan, on Mindoro.

For Banton, the neighbouring languages are Romblomanon and Tagalog, and Banton's communication with these areas is by the biweekly mailboat from Banton to Romblon and the weekly contact via Sibale with the Tagalog town of Pinamalayan.

For Simara, the neighbouring languages are Romblomanon and Tagalog, and Simara's contact with these areas is by the biweekly mailboat to Romblon and the weekly boat to the Tagalog port of Batangas, on Luzon.

For Calatrava, the neighbouring languages are Romblomanon and Looknon, both of which are geographically contiguous. Romblomanon is spoken in San Agustin, which is one-half hour by jeep to the east, and Looknon is spoken in San Andres, which is one-half hour by jeep to the south-west.

For Odiongan, the neighbouring language is Looknon, which actually surrounds it on three sides. Looknon is spoken in the two neighbouring municipalities of San Andres and Looc. San Andres is one-half hour by jeep to the north, and Looc is one hour by jeep to the south-east. Romblomanon, the language spoken in Romblon, the provincial capital, is spoken in San Agustin, which is a two-hour jeep ride from Odiongan and is actually on the route to the capital itself. There is naturally considerable traffic between Odiongan and Romblon, which are major centres in the province.

Another neighbouring language for Odionganons is Tagalog, which is spoken on the island of Mindoro to the north-west. Odiongan has a large port with almost daily contact with Mindoro, with weekly ships to and from Manila, and with contact by ship with many other parts of the Philippines.

Since Romblon is the provincial capital and is geographically closer to the three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale, Romblomanon has more prestige among them than does Looknon. But even so, the three islands are linguistically isolated and, thus, decidedly less bi- or trilingual than are the Bantoanon towns of Calatrava and Odiongan, on the island of Tablas, where as many as three languages may be spoken along one jeep route.

Table 27 shows the number of people in each area able to speak Tagalog, Romblomanon, and Looknon.

Neighbouring language

Area	Tagalog			Romblomanon			Looknon		
	Spoken	Weak	Not spoken	Spoken	Weak	Not spoken	Spoken	Weak	Not spoken
Banton [sample=40]	33 82.5%	5 12.5%	2 5%	9 22.5%	4 10%	27 67.5%	0 0%	0 0%	40 100%
Corcuera [sample=39]	39 100%	0 0%	0 0%	15 38%	3 8%	21 54%	2 5%	1 3%	36 92%
Concepcion [sample=37]	33 89%	0 0%	4 11%	11 30%	1 3%	25 67%	0 0%	0 0%	37 100%
Calatrava [sample=29]	24 83%	4 14%	1 3%	19 66%	1 3%	9 31%	6 21%	3 10%	20 69%
Odiongán [sample=48]	48 100%	0 0%	0 0%	20 42%	3 6%	25 52%	19 40%	2 4%	27 56%

Table 27. Use of neighbouring languages

Key:——Solid lines are used for actual neighbouring languages.

---This kind of line is used for a provincial language that is not neighbouring.

--- This kind of line indicates that the language meant is Filipino.

The attitude toward neighbouring languages seems to be that, while it would be useful to be able to speak them, it is not essential. Thus, those with an interest, such as employment or marriage, in a neighbouring area will learn that language, but the majority do not bother. And since neither Romblomanon nor Looknon has a significant body of written material, one would learn these languages only to speak them. As far as Bantoanon and Romblomanon are concerned, when a Bantoanon speaker and a Romblomanon speaker work together, they are likely to converse in Tagalog or Romblomanon. Romblomanons hold that Bantoanon, or Asiq, is too difficult for them to learn.

5. Predicted changes in language use

5.1 Profile of a Bantoanon 'trend-setter'

As a possible help in predicting trends, a profile, called 'trend-setter', was posited, with the following defining criteria:

(a) Native speaker

(b) In the 13-30 year age group, the age group where language change would be most likely to occur due to peer or status pressures and which would affect the generation of children born after the completion of this survey

(c) Student in, or graduate from, high school or college

Because it was thought that residence in Odiongan might make a difference in some of the language habits of this group, the Odiongan and non-Odiongan samples of 'trend-setters' were considered separately. Odiongan has a much larger urban population than the other five areas do (see Table 1), but the percentage of Bantoanon speakers in that urban population is lower by about 10%. Odiongan has Romblon College, a large port, and access to the provincial airport--all factors that could have an effect on the rate of change in the language, if change were occurring in the 'trend-setter' group.

5.2 Actual use of language by 'trend-setters'

Any differences between the actual use of language by 'trend-setters' and that by the rest of the language group is of potential significance in any attempt to identify possible patterns of language change. The responses by 'trend-setters' to question 11 in the questionnaire--which reads, 'In what language do you speak to your parents, children, and friends?'--are of value in this respect. (Note: The * after Children in Table 28 means that not all single people answered this part of question 11.)

Reference to Table 28 shows that, while one must take into account the small size of the samples being considered, not only is there no significant difference between the Odiongan and non-Odiongan groups, but also there is no significant difference between the 'trend-setters' and the total native-speaking group. In other words, young students and graduates are using language in essentially the same way their parents, grandparents, and non-scholastic contemporaries do.

In Table 28 the rows represent languages and the columns, the person(s) spoken to. The figures on the right in each column are the percentages of the sample who answered the question. The figures in parentheses are the corresponding percentages, taken from Table 5, of the the entire native speaker sample.

Language used by...	Language they use with...					
	Parents		Children*		Friends	
Odianganons [sample=14]						
Bantoanon	13	93% (98%)	6	86% (97%)	14	100% (99%)
Tagalog	1	7% (5%)	1	14% (12%)	3	21% (20%)
English	1	7% (3%)	0	0% (4%)	2	14% (9%)
Non-Odianganons [sample=28]						
Bantoanon	27	96% (98%)	12	100% (97%)	28	100% (99%)
Tagalog	1	4% (5%)	2	17% (12%)	7	25% (20%)
English	0	0% (3%)	0	0% (4%)	0	0% (9%)

Table 28. Use of language by 'trend-setters'

5.3 Looking to the children

Question 22a of the survey questionnaire asks, 'Are there languages that you want to see your children learn to speak? Number these in order of preference.' Of the respondents to this question, some did not even mention Bantoanon as one of the languages. When they were reminded, however, they replied, 'My children already know how to speak Bantoanon,' apparently indicating that they did not consider Bantoanon to be an option.

The number of native speakers who responded to this question was 162. Of these, 136 (84%) preferred Bantoanon as their children's first language, 21 (13%) preferred Tagalog, and 5 (3%) preferred English. Of the 16% who did not choose Bantoanon, some--it is impossible to say how many--were among those referred to above who said, 'My children already know Bantoanon'. The most frequent order of preference was Bantoanon, first; Tagalog, second; and English, third.

Sometimes a neighbouring language was included in the order of preference, especially if the spouse of the respondent was native to the area of the chosen neighbouring language. Of these neighbouring languages, Romblomanon was preferred more often than was Looknon. One reason may be that, because Romblomanon is a neighbour of more municipalities, it has more prestige than Looknon has. Another reason may be that it has more linguistic features in common with Bantoanon than Looknon does (Zorc 1977:199). In Table 29 are tabulated the results of this survey of the native speaking population, of the 'influential' sample, and of the

'trend-setter' sample with respect to the language they prefer their children to learn.

Table 29 shows that a somewhat greater percentage of 'trend-setters' and 'influentials' than of the total number of respondents would prefer that their children learn Tagalog first. Whether this is the expression of an ideal or a genuine desire is uncertain. What is certain, though, is that among the 'trend-setters', the same group where five preferred that their children learn Tagalog first, only three actually spoke to their children in Tagalog, and none spoke to them in English (cf. Table 28).

Languages preferred	Total		'Influentials'		'Trend-setters'	
	native	speakers				
1 Bantoanon						
2 Tagalog	101	62%	23	66%	11	55%
3 English						
(Subset of 1 Bantoanon)						
1 Bantoanon	136	83%	27	77%	14	70%
1 Tagalog	22	14%	6	17%	5	25%
1 English	6	4%	2	6%	1	5%

Table 29. Languages preferred for one's children

Because 70% of the 'trend-setters' and 83% of the total Bantoanon population prefer that Bantoanon be their children's first language, it seems that there is still a high regard for the Bantoanon language, which is a definite hope for its future. It seems safe to say that Bantoanon will continue to be the first preference of the people in that language area.

5.4 Predicted changes in language use

As we consider the results of this sociolinguistic survey, it is our view that Bantoanon will continue to be the language used most in all areas of life, for example, in thinking, in talking with family and friends, and in preaching and public speaking, on the three islands, especially on the most isolated ones: Banton and Sibale. Further, in the poblacion of Odiongan and to a lesser extent in Calatrava, Filipino will come to be better understood, with more understanding of the deeper areas of meaning. Such an increase in understanding, we submit, will be due to the continued use of Filipino in the education system and greater contact with outsiders in either the more cosmopolitan town of Odiongan or the centres of education, business, and politics elsewhere.

It is probable that the Bantoanon language spoken in the Tablas area will change, having drawn upon Tagalog as well as perhaps upon Romblomanon and Looknon. We predict that in a generation Bantoanon on Tablas will show even heavier Tagalog influence, and in that area Tagalog may even be the

preferred language. In the three islands area, however, with its population of 21,281 native speakers (see 1975 census), the language will tend to remain 'purer', with innovations that reflect further development within Bantoanon rather than outside influence from Tagalog. Also, pride of language will be a protection for Bantoanon in the islands from radical change. Even with change, however, it seems likely that the present bilingual stability between Bantoanon and Tagalog will continue.

As previously mentioned, the use of Bantoanon would probably become greater as compared with Romblomanon if the provincial capital were ever relocated in Odiongan. But still, even though Odiongan is progressive and would perhaps be an advantageous location for the provincial capital, it would truly be a major change if the provincial political centre were to be moved from a site having the historical prestige Romblon has.

6. This sociolinguistic dialect survey

6.1 Aims

For the five municipalities that make up the Bantoanon language area it was our purpose to determine:

- (a) The people's attitudes toward their own Bantoanon dialect
- (b) The extent to which the people currently use Bantoanon
- (c) Possible future trends in the use of the Bantoanon language
- (d) Whether Bantoanon literature would be read
- (e) Which Bantoanon dialect is most central linguistically and, having been least influenced by neighbouring languages, is 'purest'
- (f) Which Bantoanon dialect is perceived by native speakers to be the 'best'. This information was desired in order that the best location for language learning and the work of a translation team could be chosen.

6.2 Procedures

In order to accomplish aims (a-d) and (f), we conducted a sociolinguistic survey, making use of the questionnaire shown in Appendix C, 1. The results of the survey have been augmented by personal observations we made during the four months we lived in the language area, during which time our base was Calatrava. During the first two months, we were involved in learning the language, and during the latter two months we conducted this sociolinguistic survey, which was done in the vernacular and included the five municipalities of the Bantoanon area.

Aim (e) was accomplished by our taking word lists in each municipality--word lists that later were analysed and served as a preliminary sample of lexicostatistical data.

6.2.1 Sociolinguistic procedures

6.2.1.1 Survey instruments

The questionnaire (see Appendix C, 1) was prepared in a format that made possible the processing of the responses by computer. For such processing, the unnumbered matrices used initially had to be remade so that possible responses could be numbered. This in turn required that questions be reworded so that only relevant data would be obtained and unnecessary information would be eliminated. The numbered responses were then processed by computer, and the results were thus obtained in that way (see Appendix C, 2-3). It seems that, except for some ambiguities, which are discussed in Appendix C, 4, the questionnaire was successful.

6.2.1.2 Methods

First, the questionnaire, including both questions and possible answers, was translated into Bantoanon. Then, in conducting the actual survey, we did at least twenty-six interviews in each poblacion and seven in each of two barangays. In Odiongan we did thirty-six interviews because a larger proportion of the population lived there.

This survey was a random one, which we conducted by visiting, say, every fifth house on the right side of the streets running east and west. We tried to survey all geographical sectors of a town. Where possible in a given house, we would interview members of two different generations, one a male and the other a female. In order to obtain more information relevant to the future speakers of Bantoanon, we tried to do more interviews of people under fifty years of age.

With regard to this random method of surveying, it was successful as long as there was flexibility in dealing with situations such as when the occupants of a given house were gone, or only the women were at home while all the men were gone for some activity, such as building a boat at the waterfront or watching others who were so engaged. Also, in some cases we seemed to miss some religious groups. The main reason perhaps for that was that all the members of such groups lived in fringe areas of the town or in other barrios--areas that we failed to reach in the survey because we had already completed the required quota of geographical sectors.

Another consideration with regard to our survey method is this. In order that future trends and prestige factors might be more easily seen, it would probably have been better to aim at surveying a specific number of people in the community who were known to be members of the 'influential' (see 3.4) and the 'trend-setter' (see 5.1) profiles--in addition of course to those not in these profiles. In our random survey, information about these profiles was obtained quite inadvertantly. Yet it is the people who

fit these profiles who probably most influence the trends a language will follow in the future. (See Appendix C, 4 for the observations and comments, regarding language usage, we made during our time in the Bantoanon area.)

6.2.1.3 Analysis

The responses to the questionnaire were processed by computer (see Appendix C, 3). In this processing, the computer printed three two-dimensional matrices with these co-ordinates: true/true, false/false, and true/false. An aid to us in organizing the data was the computer's printing the total number of true responses for each question. Also, our analysis of the questions was assisted by the computer's application of Boolean logic ('AND/OR/NOR/NAND') to the data.

By using the answers to certain questions, we posited some profiles, which were then used as a basis for comparing data. For example, 'influential' was a profile used in analysing data from the upper socioeconomic strata; 'trend-setter', a profile used in analysing data from the younger age and educated strata; and 'islander' and 'Tablasan', profiles used in analysing data from geographical areas. The defining features of these profiles could also be combined to define even more limited profiles, such as one comprising only individuals who are both 'islanders' and 'influentials'. The membership of the various profiles could then be studied to learn such things as, for example, how many preferred that their children learn Tagalog first.

6.2.2 Lexicostatistical comparisons

6.2.2.1 Word lists employed

Two word lists were employed in this phase of the survey. One, which was the 101 Philippine word list ('101'), is a master list that was compiled by Dale Savage of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in approximately 1982 (cf. Appendix D, 1). The other list, which was used in conjunction with the '101' list, is the Expanded Philippine word list ('372'), containing 372 items, which was compiled by Lawrence Reid and used in the research he did for his 1971 work on Philippine minor languages. For the cognate counts, only the items in the '101' list were used. The additional items on the '372' list were taken for future reference if needed.

6.2.2.2 Methods

In each of the five municipalities, three word lists were independently elicited. Then, the fifteen word lists were compared for cognates in two stages:

- (a) First, the lists obtained from the three individuals in each municipality were compared: A with B, A with C, and B with C, and from each comparison a cognate percentage was computed. Then from each group of three percentages a mean cognate percentage was computed for each town.
- (b) Second, a comparison was made between municipalities. For this, the three lists from each municipality were grouped together, and then the combined lists of each municipality were compared with each other. If, in the comparison of the lists of two towns, the form for a given lexical item in one of the lists of one town was cognate with the form for the same lexical item in one of the lists of the other town, the towns were recorded as having cognate forms for that lexical item. After these comparisons were completed, cognate percentages were computed for each pair of municipalities.

Some difficulty was experienced in working with the '101' list. (See Appendix D, 2-4 for a summary of these difficulties and for some suggestions for adapting this list for future work in the Visayan area.) Because of that difficulty, seven items on that list were not used in the lexicostatistical comparisons done in connection with this survey. The total of the remaining items was 94. The eliminated items were: 11 hand (and arm), 14 leg (and foot), 36 stick (of wood), 45 worm, 58 woods, 61 lake, and 62 river.

6.2.2.3 Analysis

Table 30 gives the mean cognate percentages for each municipality (see Appendix D, 3).

Area	Mean cognate percentage
Banton	97.9%
Corcuera	97.1%
Odiangan	94.6%
Concepcion	92.5%
Calatrava	84.4%

Table 30. Mean cognate percentages

Multiple glosses for a given English word caused deviation from 100% in the comparisons tabulated in Table 30. Some multiple glosses are likely to be recorded in any lexicostatistical survey; however, the higher incidence of multiple glosses in the Calatrava lists suggests that the Calatravanhon dialect is less 'pure' than that of, say, Banton.

In fact, the Calatravanhon dialect is the least 'pure' of the dialects of the five municipalities. The reason for this is probably because Calatrava is a small centre bounded by two languages, Romblomanon and Looknon, with each of which there is some degree of interaction. Another consideration is that Calatravanhon has more linguistic similarity with

Romblomanon than it does with Looknon. Banton, on the other hand, with only the weekly mailboat from Romblon--in contrast with the service Calatrava enjoys from the jeeps that pass hourly between Odiongan and San Agustin, both of which are ports of access to Tagalog areas--is the most geographically isolated of the Bantoanon areas, and that probably accounts for the relative 'purity' of its dialect.

Table 31 gives the cognate percentages arrived at for each pair of municipalities. If any elicited word in any of the lists from one community was cognate with the corresponding elicited word in any of the lists from the other community, the two communities were scored as having cognate forms for that item.

Concepcion				
98.9%	Banton			
96.8%	97.9%	Corcuera		
95.7%	96.8%	97.9%	Calatrava	
95.7%	96.8%	96.8%	98.9%	Odiongan

Table 31. Cognate percentages between municipalities

Table 31 shows Banton and Corcuera to be almost equally central linguistically. Cognate percentages between these two areas and between them and others do not fall below 96.8%. The Banton dialect is most closely related to that of Concepcion, with 98.9%; then it is next most closely related to the dialect of Corcuera, with 97.9%; and, finally, it is related with equal closeness to the dialects of Odiongan and Calatrava, with 96.8%. The problem of multiple glosses for English words seems to have been minimized in this analysis by our considering two dialects to be cognate with respect to a given lexical item if one item from a group of three lists was cognate with the corresponding item in another group of three lists.

6.3 The opinion of the people

One of the questions in the survey questionnaire was, 'Where do they speak the best Bantoanon?' (see aim (f) in 6.1). Most respondents chose their home area, and the reason given for doing so was, 'Because I live here', which would seem to indicate a measure of pride in one's language. Out of 230 respondents, however, a number chose not their home area, but another, and that number seemed to us to be significant. In Table 32 are tabulated those who chose an area other than their own as the place where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken.

A	B	C	D
Banton	190	55	28.9%
Odiongan	169	14	8.3%
Corcuera	188	4	2.1%
Concepcion	187	1	0.5%
Calatrava	189	0	0.0%

Table 32. Where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken

Key: A Home areas

B Total number of respondents who are non-residents of the A areas

C Number of B respondents who chose this A area as the place where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken

D Percentage that C is of B

Table 32 shows that, in addition to the 40 people interviewed in Banton, 55 others (28.9%) from outside Banton also chose it as the place where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken.

No other municipality had as high a rating with non-residents as did Banton. Odiongan was next, perhaps because of its being the sociopolitical centre of the Bantoanon area, but with 8.3% its rating was much lower. But a low rating for Odiongan would be expected in view of its greater contact with outside languages. Thus, Odiongan would not be where the 'purest', and therefore not the 'best', Bantoanon could be learnt. Again, the reasons for this are lexicostatistical evidence and the greater number of non-Bantoanon speakers in the Odiongan urban area (see Table 1)--a fact that implies greater influence from other languages on the Bantoanon spoken there.

Lexicostatistically, the dialects of Banton and Corcuera are close (cf. Table 31), but due to sociolinguistic evidence, Corcuera cannot be considered to have the 'best' dialect. The reason is that the intonation of its dialect, described as 'like being angry', is low in prestige in contrast with the intonation of Banton's dialect, which, being described as malumanay 'slow and gentle', is considered high in prestige.

Traditionally, the Banton dialect has been held to be the high prestige, original Bantoanon dialect, and that dialect is known to have 'deep' elements not known elsewhere, especially on Tablas. Banton is the traditional, old centre of the language area, but, at the same time, there is evidence that the language--with both written and oral literature--is productive. Banton, therefore, is not a 'stagnant backwater' place. Yet it seems that it should be kept in mind that, because Odiongan is more and more becoming a gateway to the outside world and to the national culture, any efforts at translation into Bantoanon would have to take the dialect there into account as well. Perhaps this would not be necessary until a later stage in language learning, but if not then, it should certainly be done in the translation stage.

Native speakers perceive two definite Bantoanon subdialect areas, which correspond to the three islands area and to Tablas (cf. 3.6.3). Smaller dialect areas in each municipality are also recognized. The two principal subdialects are especially evident on each island because of the differences in intonation patterns and in lexicon. These two subdialect areas also seem to correlate with the people's choices of Banton or Odiongan as dialect centre. These two centres would have to be considered if it were desired to produce Bantoanon literature acceptable to the whole area. Each centre is affected by different prestige factors.

6.4 Results

In section 6.1 we stated the aims of this survey. We now give the findings that have been made, which we believe satisfy those aims.

(a) The following findings were made through the sociolinguistic survey and personal observation:

- (i) Bantoanons are decidedly proud of their language, but that does not prevent them from being willing to make use of another language if that will mean social mobility.
 - (ii) Bantoanons in their language area use their language almost exclusively among themselves. Filipino is used if one is concerned with political matters or about prestige, or if one is speaking with outsiders. Other neighbouring languages may be used if one is speaking with persons who speak those languages.
 - (iii) The future of the Bantoanon language appears to be good, although some change can be expected in the Odionganon dialect due to increased use of Filipino in that increasingly urbanized centre.
 - (iv) Bantoanons have a positive attitude toward literature in their vernacular, as is evident from their own attempts at producing such literature. This literature would be supplementary to whatever is provided in Filipino and English in the school system.
- (b) The finding made through lexicostatistical comparison is that the Banton dialect linguistically is the most central and, being the least influenced by other languages, is the 'purest' dialect in the Bantoanon language area.
- (c) The finding made through both the sociolinguistic survey and lexicostatistical comparison is that the 'best' Bantoanon dialect, in the sense of having the highest prestige and most beautiful sounding intonation, is spoken on Banton. We would, therefore, judge this to be the best location for language learning. At the same time, it would be necessary to take the Odionganon dialect into account before translations were made or literature was published because Odiongan, with the largest population, is the

centre of sociopolitical life in the Bantoanon area. The prestige the Banton dialect has is due to its being the 'purest' dialect and its having the most beautiful sounding intonation. Odiongan also has prestige, but it is prestige as a major business centre, which is the point of contact with the outside world. Ideally, literature would have to be in a form of dialect acceptable at both these centres.

7. Summary

Bantoanon is, by far, the language most used in the Bantoanon area. In view, therefore, of the way Bantoanon is currently used and in view of the changes predicted in its use, it would seem that not only would there be readers for Bantoanon literature now but also there would be for many years to come.

With regard to Tagalog, it is understood by most people. Also, if there were to be a widening of the use of Tagalog, it would seem that this would occur in the Tablas area first.

The island of Banton is the place from where the forefathers of all Bantoanons migrated. It is the linguistic centre of the language area, and that island is thought by the people to be the area where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken. Also, Banton, on the basis of sociolinguistic evidence, would be the best place for those planning to work in the language to do the major part of their language learning, but when it comes to translation and publication of literature, the Bantoanon dialect used would have to be understood in Odiongan also.

NOTES

¹This sociolinguistic survey was conducted by M. Ruth Gordon and Heather J. Kilgour under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during the months of April and May of 1983.

²Filipino, constructed on a Tagalog base, is the national language of the Philippines. It is used in politics, education, media, and business, and for communication between those of different language groups throughout the country. Since Tagalog is a neighbouring language geographically to Bantoanon, it is not surprising that Bantoanons have become more fluent in Filipino than in other neighbouring languages. As the national language it is the means of upward social mobility.

³In the past, Hiligaynon (cf. Grimes 1984:459) was the lingua franca of the Visayan islands, which included Panay and Romblon. Following the coming of the Spanish to Cebu, Spanish loanwords came to be used in Bisayan languages. Later, the Visayas were divided into smaller political units, and at that time the islands of Romblon began to be governed from Panay.

The language that became dominant during this era was Hiligaynon, which is now spoken in coastal areas of Iloilo, on Panay, and in western Negros Occidental (Zorc 1977:14). Sometimes this language is called Ilongo, but this name is said to refer to the speakers of the language, not to the language itself. Hiligaynon has, therefore, exerted an influence over Romblon for some two to three hundred years. Now in the twentieth century, with Filipino, the national language, gaining in influence, Hiligaynon seems to be declining. Or perhaps it is that speakers are learning more Filipino, while still retaining fluency in Hiligaynon.

⁴Romblomanon (cf. Grimes 1984:464) is the vernacular of Romblon Island, nearby Sibuyan island, and San Agustín, formerly called Badajoz, on the north-eastern side of Tablas. After the period when they were governed from Panay, these islands were made a separate province, with the provincial capital being located in the town of Romblon. Romblon Island has the best natural harbour among these islands, and it is noted for its quality marble. That Romblomanon is spoken in the capital of the province has given it the highest prestige among all the languages spoken in the province.

⁵Bantoanon and Tagalog are specifically mentioned because the relationship between these two languages seems to be the most important as far as the goals of the survey are concerned. It was our impression that there are also other important language interrelationships that are of varying degrees of stability. The relationship between Romblomanon and Bantoanon appeared to be relatively stable, whereas that between English and Bantoanon and between Hiligaynon and Bantoanon were less stable, with both English and Hiligaynon losing ground. These impressions, however, would require further verification before they could be regarded as established. The stability of the relationship between Bantoanon and Tagalog means, from our perspective, that Bantoanon is not likely to die out within the next generation or more and that Bantoanon could still be a viable project for vernacular literature and translation.

⁶Poblacion = The major urban center in a municipio. It is under the jurisdiction of a barangay captain, but it is also the location of the office of the mayor, whose jurisdiction covers the municipio as a whole.

⁷Barrio = The village or neighborhood on which the barangay centers; it is under the jurisdiction of a barangay captain.

⁸Sibale is the present name of the island formerly called Maestre de Campo.

⁹Dispoholnon (Zorc 1977:14, 16, 32) is the dialect spoken in San Andres, formerly called Despujols, which lies on the western side of Tablas Island between the Bantoanon municipalities of Calatrava and Odiongán. Dispoholnon is referred to by Bantoanons from Calatrava as Manakaran 'like that', which is Tuyar kinag in Bantoanon.

Dispoholnon is a companion dialect to that spoken in Looc, where it is called Looknon. Other dialects of the same language are Bulalakawnon and Alcantaranon. In the 1975 census, Dispoholnon is referred to as Looknon, and its speakers are counted with the Romblomanons. From the responses

received during this survey, it would seem that this language is more closely related to Aklanon or Kinaray-a, as Zorc (1977:199) indicates.

¹⁰Asiq 'why?' used by both Bantoanon and Romblomanon speakers, is a common name for Bantoanon. This name seems to have arisen from the local contrastive use of asig 'why?' used in Bantoanon, and basig 'why?' used in Romblomanon. Asiq is frequent in many Bantoanon expressions, and it seems to mean more than the English word 'why?' does. (See note 13 regarding the way vernacular forms in this paper are written.)

¹¹Region IV is the Southern Tagalog region, in which Romblon Province has been included. Previously, Romblon Province was in the same Visayan region as Capiz Province, on Panay, which means that, historically, the lingua franca was Hiligaynon. Now, however, the lingua franca is Tagalog. Romblon has always been more closely tied to the areas of Panay where Hiligaynon was spoken, but it does not seem that Hiligaynon was ever used extensively in the Bantoanon area. Perhaps the inclusion of the Bantoanon area in the Southern Tagalog region has encouraged people to use Tagalog instead of Hiligaynon, although, at the same time, one might observe that the new political alignment has merely confirmed the existing situation as far as language use by the Bantoanons is concerned.

¹²Each municipality is named for the one poblacion found in it, and each municipality usually corresponds to the island where it is found. For example, Sibale is the island where the municipality and the corresponding poblacion of Concepcion are found. Since poblacions and islands have been renamed, the names used in reference can be confusing for a newcomer to the area. Further, the names used locally do not always correspond to those printed on the official government maps. Some examples of this in the Bantoanon area are the poblacion of Banton, formerly named Jones, on Banton Island, and Sibale Island, which was formerly named Maestre de Campo. The names most used currently by local residents are Banton and Sibale.

In this paper, the name used in reference is usually that of either the municipality or the island, since, except for the municipalities on Tablas Island, these names refer to the same geographical and political area. The current names of the municipalities, poblacions, and islands are:

Municipality	Poblacion	Island
Banton	Banton	Banton
Calatrava	Calatrava	Tablas
Concepcion	Concepcion	Sibale
Corcuera	Corcuera	Simara
Odiongan	Odiongan	Tablas

¹³The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

Bn	Banton	Si	Sibale (Maestre de Campo)
Ca	Calatrava	Sm	Simara
Od	Odiongan	SVD	Society of the Divine Word
PIC	Philippine Independent Church	'101'	101 Philippine word list
SDA	Seventh-Day Adventists	'372'	Expanded Philippine word list

¹⁴The Philippine Independent Church, or Iglesia Independiente ng Pilipinas, was formerly called the Aglipayan Church, after the priest who was involved with the break from the Roman Catholic Church in 1947. This break was the result of a nationalistic movement within the Roman Catholic Church, and it led to a denomination that perceives itself as Protestant and adhering to the Episcopal, or Anglican, tradition. Many of the doctrines and traditions of this church, though, remain similar to those of the Roman Catholics. This denomination has a rather strong following among Bantoanons, especially in the newer towns of Odiongan and Calatrava.

¹⁵Barangay = The geographical and political unit under the jurisdiction of a barangay captain and immediately subordinate to the municipio. It centers on some named town, village, or residential neighbourhood.

¹⁶Municipio = (1) Municipality, a political unit under the jurisdiction of a mayor. It often centers on an urban center, and it includes the small towns and villages within the district that belongs to that urban center.
= (2) The municipal office building

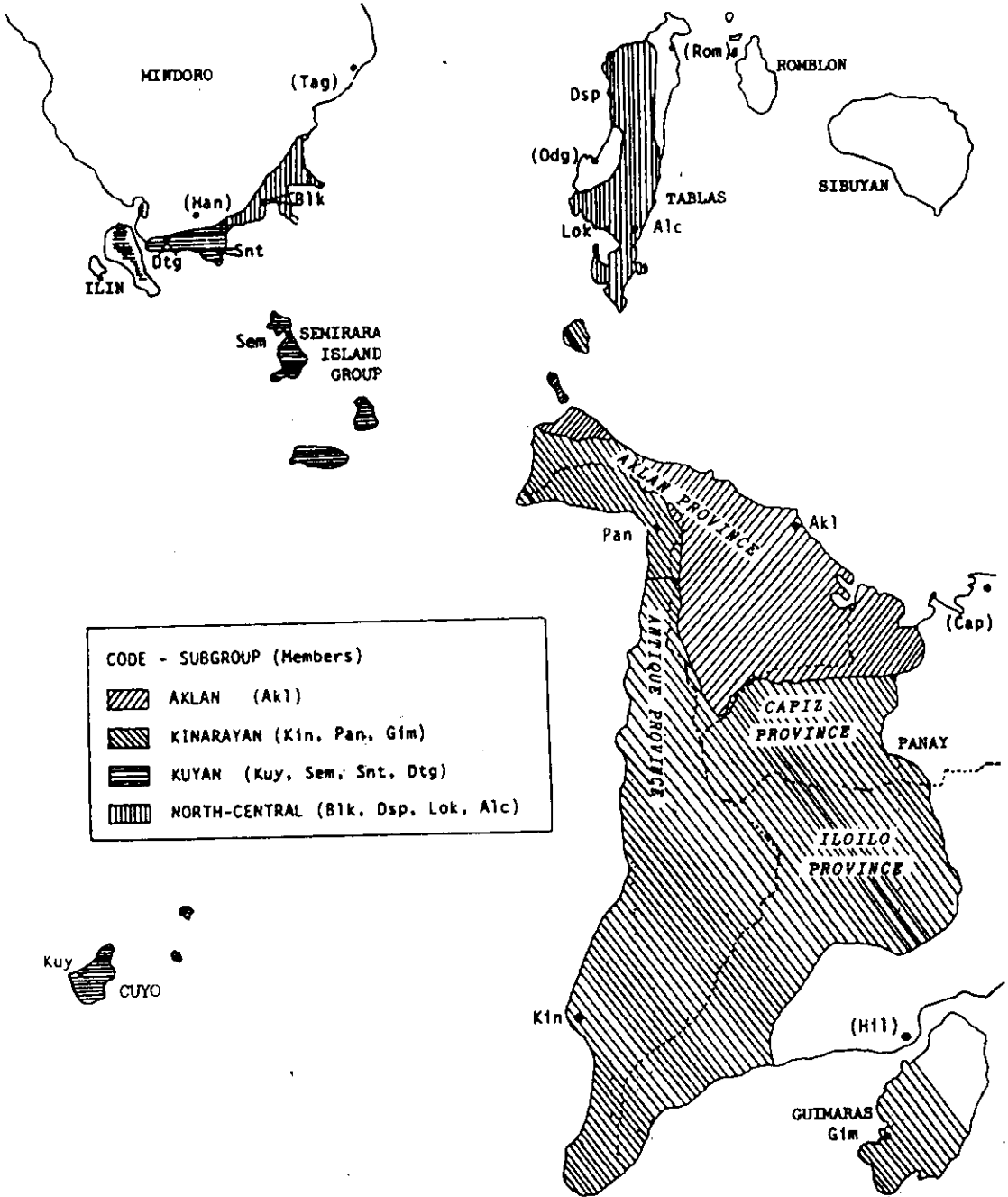
¹⁷Since the phonology of Bantoanon has not been adequately analysed, no attempt has been made to write vernacular examples phonemically in this paper. Instead, in order that examples might be given, we have contented ourselves with the expedient of impressionistic writing. The glottal is represented by g.

We have observed that, when Bantoanons read our representation of their language, they have no trouble reading any symbol used for glottal. In their own attempts to write the glottal they seem to follow Bisayan orthographic usage. For example, they use a hyphen for a glottal preceding a suffix. Glottals in other environments are not usually written. This was not surprising since, although the glottal is phonemic in many Philippine languages, it is not always written.

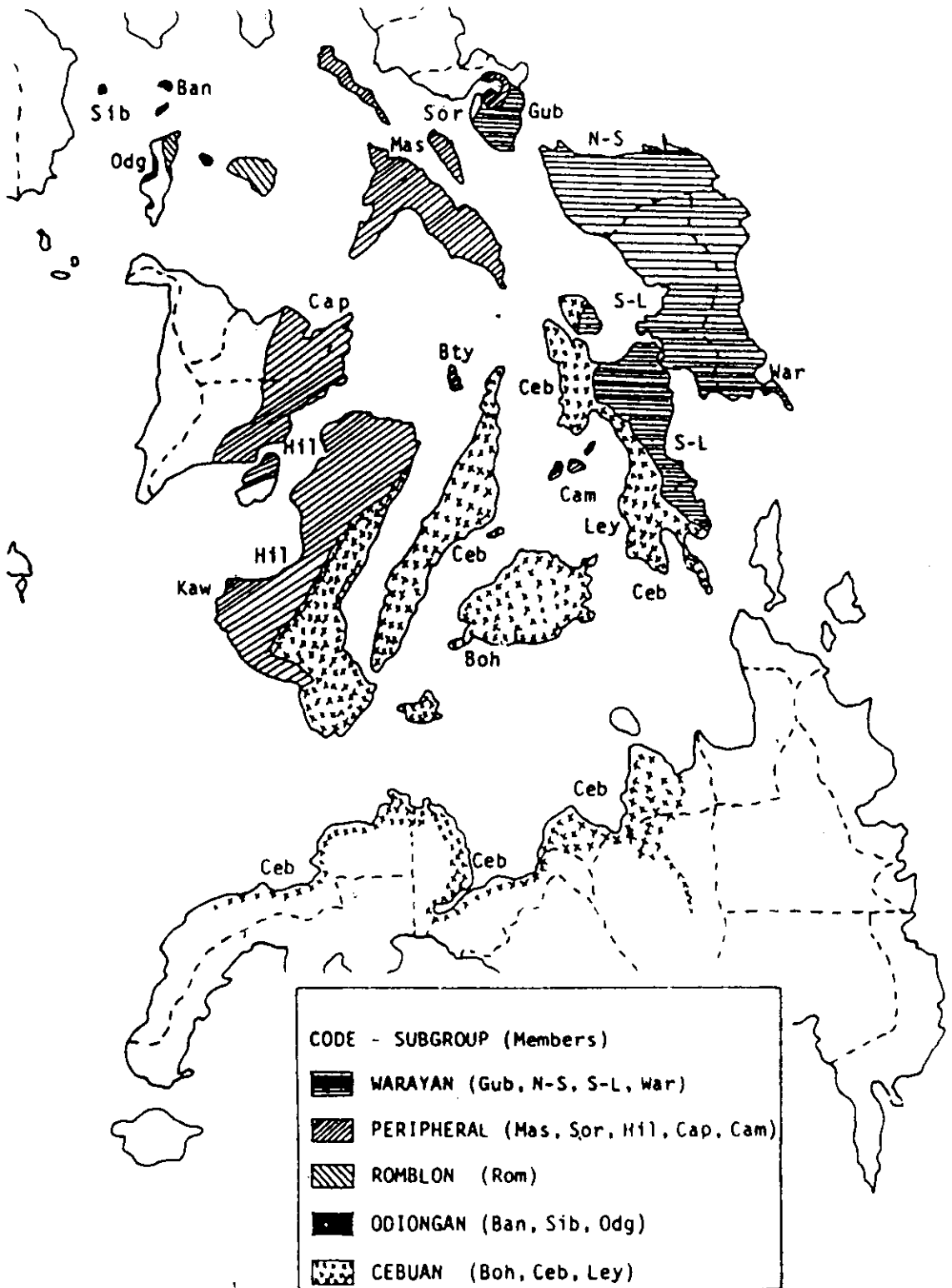
APPENDIX A

MAPS

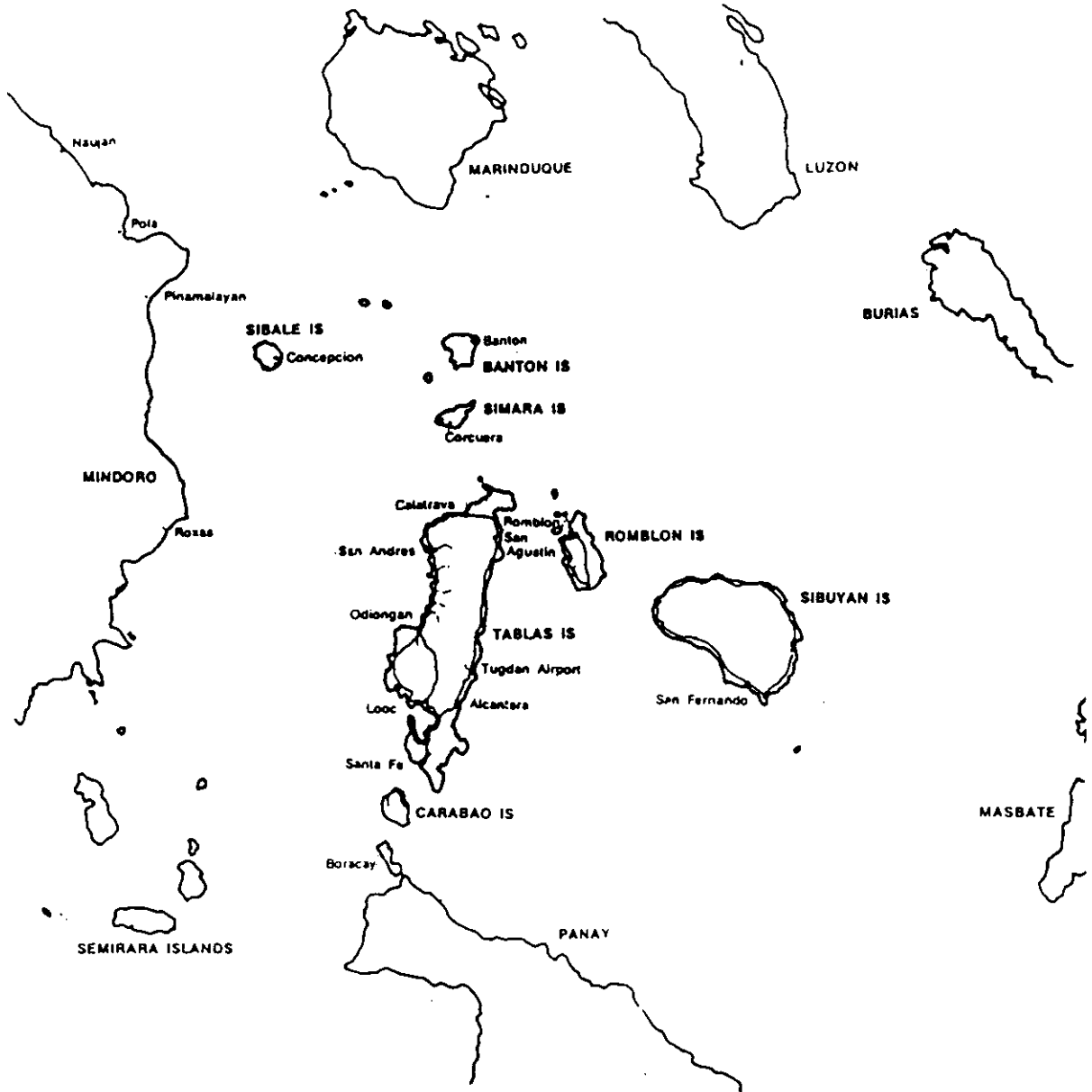
1. Location of western Bisayan dialects (cf. Zorc 1977:16; map 4)



2. Location of central Bisayan dialects (cf. Zorc 1977:17; map 5)



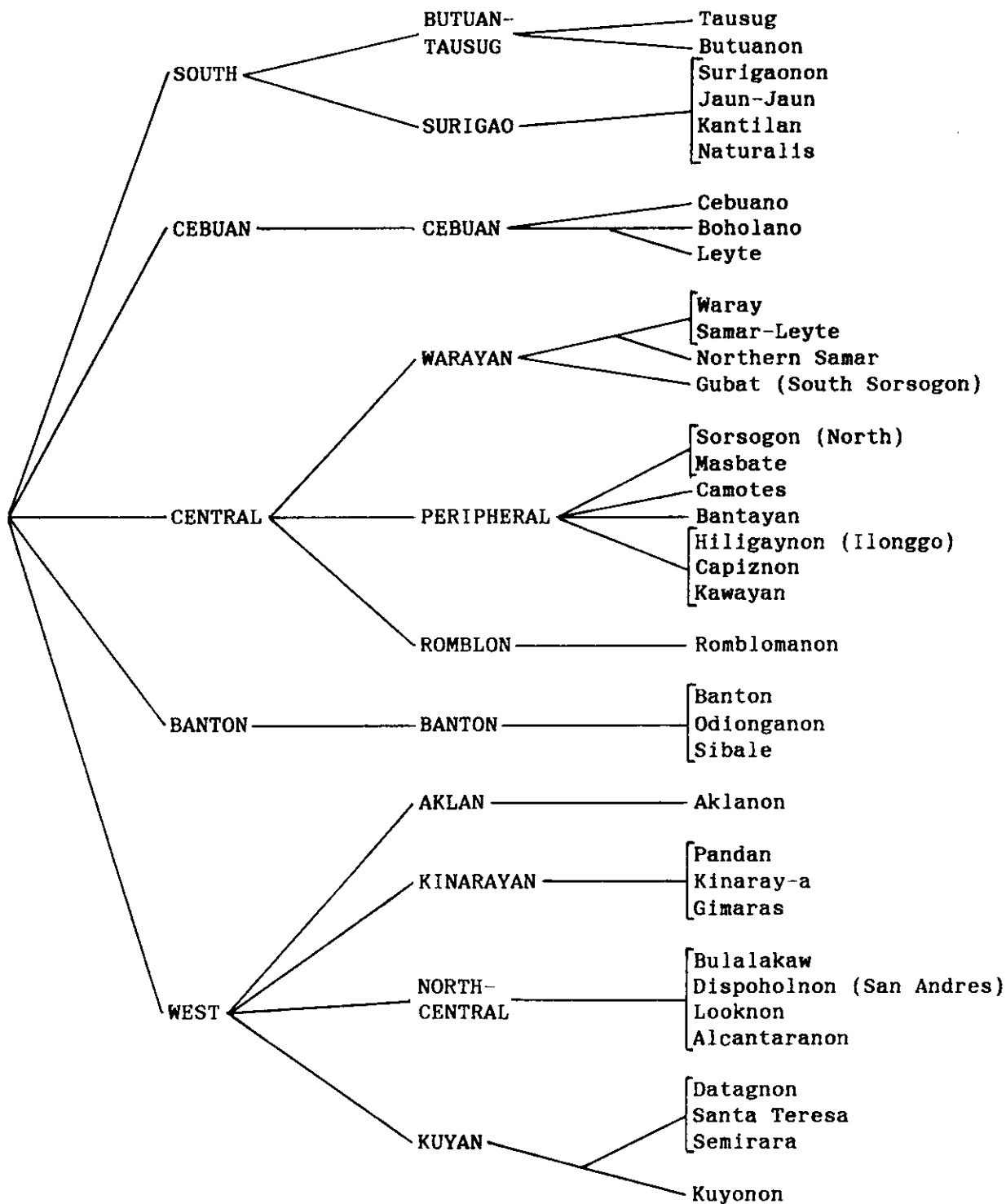
3. Romblon Province and neighbouring islands



APPENDIX B

TREE DIAGRAMS

1. Genetic relationships of the Bisayan dialects (cf. Zorc 1977:32; tree diagram 1)



APPENDIX C

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

1. The sociolinguistic survey questionnaire

The following questionnaire is in the original format, with the addition of certain questions and possible answers, which we came to realize we should have included when the questionnaire was first prepared. These additions, which were actually used during the survey, are marked with asterisks (*) to make it easier for the reader to note items in the questionnaire that are commented on in section 6.2.1 and in Appendix C, 2-4.

1. Survey No. 1
2. Date _____
3. Surveyor 2 R. Gordon 3 H. Kilgour 4 Other
4. Name _____
5. Sex 5 male 6 female
6. a. Town _____
- b. Area 7 Banton 8 Calatrava 9 Simara
 10 Odiongan 11 Sibale
7. Age 12 5-12 yrs. 13 13-20 yrs. 14 21-30 yrs.
 15 31-50 yrs. 16 50+ yrs.
8. Where were you born?
 - 17 Banton 18 Calatrava 19 Simara
 - 20 Odiongan 21 Sibale 22 Other _____
9. a. Name [family*] of spouse _____
- b. Your maiden [family*] name _____
- c. Begins with 23 F 24 M 25 Other
 (Respondent's family name, or maiden name if female)*

d. Where born?

26 [] Banton 27 [] Calatrava 28 [] Simara
 29 [] Odiongan 30 [] Sibale 31 [] Other _____

10. a. What languages do you speak? (Add proficiency comments* e.g. 1=good, 2=fair, 3=weak which can be recorded using additional numbers beyond the 214 given in the present format. These numbers are used for computer calculations.)

	1		1		1		1		1
Bantoanon	2	Romblomanon	2	Looknon	2	Hiligaynon	2	Tagalog	2
32 []	3	33 []	3	34 []	3	35 []	3	36 []	3
	1		1		1				1
Cebuano	2	Ilocano	2	English	2	Other	_____		2
37 []	3	38 []	3	39 []	3	40 []			3

b. What language did you first learn as a child?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
41 []	42 []	43 []	44 []	45 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other	_____
46 []	47 []	48 []	49 []	

c. What is your second language?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
50 []	51 []	52 []	53 []	54 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other	_____
55 []	56 []	57 []	58 []	

d. At what age did you learn your second language?

59 [] 3-5 yrs. 60 [] 6-8 yrs. 61 [] 9-11 yrs.
 62 [] 12-17 yrs. 63 [] 18+ yrs.

e. Other languages [learnt] and [at what] ages [were they] learnt?

3-5 6-8 9-11 12-17 18-21 22-30 31-40 41+

Bantoanon _____
 Romblomanon _____
 Looknon _____
 Hiligaynon _____
 Tagalog _____
 Cebuano _____
 Ilocano _____
 English _____
 Other _____

f. Which languages are you able to read and write?

Tagalog	Hiligaynon	Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other _____
64 []	65 []	66 []	67 []	68 []	69 []

g. Do you think it would be a good thing to read and write Bantoanon?

70 [] yes 71 [] no

h. What advantages do you see in reading and writing Bantoanon?

- I'm proud of my language.
- I understand it best.
- I could write letters to my family/friends.
- It would be important like Tagalog/Hiligaynon.
- We could have books and newspapers.
- Other _____

11. What language do you use when you speak to:

			school	market	shop-	friends/
spouse	parents	children	teacher	vendor	keeper	mayor peers

Bantoanon _____
 Romblomanon _____
 Looknon _____
 Hiligaynon _____
 Tagalog _____
 Cebuano _____
 Ilocano _____
 English _____
 Other _____

12. a. Where was your mother born?

Banton	Calatrava	Simara	Odiangan	Sibale	
78 []	79 []	81 []	82 []	83 []	
Mindoro	Panay	Luzon	Mindanao	Romblon	Other _____
84 []	85 []	86 []	87 []	88 []	89 []

b. What was her first language?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
89 []	90 []	91 []	92 []	93 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other _____	
94 []	95 []	96 []	97 []	

c. Where was your father born?

Banton	Calatrava	Simara	Odiongan	Sibale	
98 []	99 []	100 []	101 []	102 []	
Mindoro	Panay	Luzon	Mindanao	Romblon	Other _____
103 []	104 []	105 []	106 []	107 []	108 []

d. What was his first language?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Taglog
109 []	110 []	111 []	112 []	113 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other _____	
114 []	115 []	116 []	117 []	

13. a. Where are your children living?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Banton _____
 Calatrava _____
 Odiongan _____
 Simara _____
 Sibale _____
 Romblon _____
 Mindoro _____
 Luzon _____
 Mindanao _____
 Overseas _____

b. What are your children's occupations?

118 [] student	119 [] teacher	120 [] clergy
121 [] driver	122 [] farmer	123 [] fisherman
124 [] government official	125 [] doctor/nurse	126 [] lawyer
127 [] housewife	128 [] shopkeeper	129 [] market vendor
130 [] construction	131 [] carpenter	132 [] other _____

14. What language do you use at work?

To superiors To peers To those under you

Bantoanon _____
 Romblomanon _____
 Looknon _____
 Hiligaynon _____
 Tagalog _____
 Cebuano _____
 Ilocano _____
 English _____
 Other _____

15. a. What language is used in church?

Liturgy Sermons Hymns Prayers Announcements Sharing

Bantoanon _____
 Romblomanon _____
 Looknon _____
 Hiligaynon _____
 Tagalog _____
 Cebuano _____
 Ilocano _____
 English _____
 Other _____

b. What language would you like to have used in church?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
133 []	134 []	135 []	136 []	137 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other _____	
138 []	139 []	140 []	141 []	

c. What is your religion?

142 [] Roman Catholic	143 [] PIC	144 [] SDA
145 [] Foursquare	146 [] Baptist	147 [] Iglesia ni Cristo
148 [] Jehovah's Witnesses	149 [] Other _____	

16. What language is used in school?

Classroom Recess

Bantoanon _____
 Romblomanon _____
 Looknon _____
 Hiligaynon _____
 Tagalog _____
 Cebuano _____
 Ilocano _____
 English _____
 Other _____

17. What language do you...?

	Pray in	Think in	Dream in
Bantoanon	_____	_____	_____
Romblomanon	_____	_____	_____
Looknon	_____	_____	_____
Hiligaynon	_____	_____	_____
Tagalog	_____	_____	_____
Cebuano	_____	_____	_____
Ilocano	_____	_____	_____
English	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____

18. What is your occupation?

150 [] student	151 [] teacher	152 [] clergy
153 [] driver	154 [] farmer	155 [] fisherman
156 [] government official	157 [] doctor/nurse	158 [] lawyer
159 [] housewife	160 [] shopkeeper	161 [] market vendor
162 [] construction	163 [] carpenter	164 [] other _____

19. What language is the easiest to express your deepest feelings (e.g. explaining something about your beliefs, religion, or deep experiences of life)?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
165 []	166 []	167 []	168 []	169 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other _____	
170 []	171 []	172 []	173 []	

20. Which language do you think is easiest to learn?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
174 []	175 []	176 []	177 []	178 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other _____	
179 []	180 []	181 []	182 []	

21. What language do you like speaking best?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
183 []	184 []	185 []	186 []	187 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other _____	
188 []	189 []	190 []	191 []	

22. a. Are there languages that you want to see your children learn to speak? Number them in order of preference.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- Bantoanon _____
- Romblomanon _____
- Looknon _____
- Hiligaynon _____
- Tagalog _____
- Cebuano _____
- Ilocano _____
- English _____
- Other _____

b. Is it more important for boys to learn these languages, than it is for girls?

192 [] yes 193 [] no 194 [] same

23. a. Has the constitution been translated into your language?

195 [] yes 196 [] no

b. Do you think it would be good?

197 [] yes 198 [] no

24. What other places where Bantoanon is not spoken, have you lived for more than six months?

6 mths. 1 yr. 1-3 yrs. 4-6 yrs. 7-10 yrs. 10+ yrs.

- Romblon _____
- Mindoro _____
- Luzon _____
- Panay _____
- Mindanao _____
- Other Philippine _____
- Overseas _____

25. Where else do they speak like you do?

199 [] Banton 200 [] Calatrava 201 [] Simara
 202 [] Odiongan 203 [] Sibale * [] Other _____

26. a. Where do they speak the best Bantoanon?

204 [] Banton 205 [] Calatrava 206 [] Simara
 207 [] Odiongan 208 [] Sibale

b. Why do you think it is better speech there?

- 209 isolated from other areas
 210 deeper Bantoanon
 211 purer Bantoanon
 212 original inhabitants [came from there*]
 213 main town
 214 other _____

27* a. What grade did you reach in school? _____

- unfinished elementary graduate of elementary
 unfinished high school graduate of high school

or what level did you reach in college?

- unfinished college graduate of college

with a degree in _____

2. Questionnaire adjustments

Below is a sample of the type of matrix the computer used in processing the responses to the survey questionnaire. At first, the matrix boxes were not numbered, but after the questionnaire had been administered, we numbered the boxes that referred to information that was considered relevant. All other boxes were left unnumbered, and these unnumbered responses were ignored in the computations. Sample matrices--before and after numbering--are shown below.

(a) Before numbering

(b) After numbering

Sample Question:

Language x X

Language x 1X 2 3

Language y X

Language y X

Language z X X X

Language z 4X 5X 6X

Note: (b) is the matrix as it was numbered for the computer. Only the answers given for languages x and z, in boxes numbered 1-6, would be used in the calculations. No account was taken of the unnumbered boxes. The responses for language y were thus ignored in the computer processing of results.

3. Samples of computerized results

The following are samples of data produced with the aid of a computer:

(a) The computer would provide a listing of the numbered boxes marked with X for each questionnaire, e.g.

```

3 5 10 15 20 23 31 32  33 34 36 39 41 52 63 64 69 70 73 81 89  101
109 118  140 142 156  165 174 183 194 196 197 199 200 201 202  203
207 214  221 222 223  224 225 226 227 228 239 243 252 253 254  255
256 257  264 265 268  272 273 274 275 276 277 279 279 280 281  286
287 290  293 296 302  306 309 310

```

(b) The computer would also give evidence as to the degree of correlation that exists between the responses made to any two questions in the questionnaire, e.g. the responses made to questions 10c and 22a. With reference to those who said Bantoanon was their second language (box 50 for question 10c), the computer printed out the following:

18 questionnaire(s) true, 8% of completed questionnaires

The eighteen who answered 'true' to question 10c (box 50) also chose Bantoanon as the second language they wished their children to learn.

(c) Computer matrix: A sample of true/true. The matrix shown here is the one made by the computer for the survey we did in one particular locality, where a total of 100 questionnaires were administered.

	A	B	C		
	1	2	3	4	5
1	8	4	3	0	6
2	4	45	0	0	22
3	3	0	51	0	25
4	0	0	0	4	3
5	6	22	25	3	50

The numbers enclosed in the box and shown in the A, B, and C columns are the numbers of questionnaires administered by the three surveyors, A, B, and C. Thus, it is seen that surveyor A did 45 questionnaires, B did 51, and C did 4.

(d) Basic profile sample using the 'Tablasan' example. For the basic profile of a 'Tablasan', the respondent's present residence and birthplace must be one of the Bantoanon municipalities on Tablas Island, namely, Odiongan or Calatrava. He must also be a native speaker of Bantoanon. After the computer had processed the input data, it would make a printout like the following:

Maximum questionnaires available: 250
Total questionnaires completed: 230
Questions per questionnaire: 319

(8 10) (18 20) 41 (Residence + birthplace + native speaker)

13 questionnaires true, 6% of completed questionnaires
Questionnaires matched (that is, questionnaires which meet the
criteria established for the 'Tablasan' profile): 5 6 10 23 44 45
51 60 106 108 120 125 148.

(e) The profile sample for a 'Tablasan' could also be correlated with factors, derived from other responses, that are in addition to the criteria of the basic profile. Below on the left, there is in the first line a printout of the numbers of the boxes that define the basic 'Tablasan' profile. The next two lines are examples of two different correlations. The first example shows the numbers of the boxes that define 'Tablasans' who are 13 to 30 years of age, and the second example shows the numbers of the boxes that define the 'Tablasan' profile juxtaposed with the numbers of the boxes that define the 'influential' profile, thus showing who are influential 'Tablasans'.

(8 10) (18 20) 41 Basic profile

(8 10) (18 20) 41 (13 14) Basic profile + the additional age factor of 13 to 30 years

(8 10) (18 20) 41 (221 151 156 157 158 160) (14 15) Two profiles
-----1----- + -----2-----
Tablasan + Influential

The answers chosen as 'true' for certain questions became the parameters for a given profile. This means, for example, that the 'Tablasan' profile requires true answers in boxes 8 or 10, which state the residence of the respondent as being in Calatrava or Odiongan; in boxes 18 or 20, which state the respondent's birthplace as being also Calatrava or Odiongan; and in box 41, which indicates that the respondent is a native speaker of Bantoanon. These are the answers to questions 6b, 8, and 10b, respectively, on the survey questionnaire.

As shown in the samples, this basic profile can be combined with other factors by the addition of specified answers, for example, those in boxes 13 or 14, which represent the age categories of 13-20 years and 21-30 years. In addition, any two basic profiles, for example, 'Tablasan' and 'influential', can also be combined to give even more details.

4. Evaluation of survey design

(a) Relative to the time needed to administer the questionnaire

This sociolinguistic survey questionnaire took fifteen to twenty minutes to administer. This was apparently long enough in the view of many respondents. Also, it must have been adequate, for it allowed some time for those who liked to converse about the questions! Thus, it would seem that the time allowed for an interview need not be extended.

(b) Relative to the questions used

For all questions, the surveyors should state the options, or possible answers, in order to prevent people's guessing and giving some perceived 'right' answers. Below we make some comments and suggestions regarding various questions in the questionnaire we used.

Question 6a. Instead of 'Town _____', there should be numbered boxes to indicate the options of 'town (i.e. poblacion)' or 'barrio'.

Question 6b. With regard to Sibale, this island was formerly called Maestre de Campo, and this is the name still shown on many maps. Locally, the name Maestre de Campo did not seem to be known very well. This illustrates the need surveyors have of knowing the local terms of reference as compared with the map references to various areas.

Question 7. Since respondents are not old enough to give responsible answers until they are at least twelve or thirteen years of age, the 5-12 yrs. age category should be deleted.

Question 9a-c. The adjustment needed here was that of obtaining a male respondent's family name, a female respondent's maiden family name, and the initial letter of the family name. This adjustment was made because of the practice the Spanish followed of giving to residents of a given locality family names beginning with a particular letter. Hence, the names of original families from Banton usually begin with 'F', or 'P' if they have changed the 'F' to that phonetically similar letter. Likewise, Romblomanons usually have family names beginning with 'M'.

Question 10a. The question, 'What languages do you speak?' is too general in that it says nothing about the ability a respondent has in the various languages named. Since it is the surveyor who notes what a respondent feels his ability in a given language to be, it seems that it would be expedient to include with the response for each language in the questionnaire a sequence of numbers, say, 1, 2, and 3, by which the respondent's ability, as good, fair, or poor, can be indicated during an interview.

The results of this particular part of the survey would still depend on the candidness of respondents in stating their facility or lack of it in a language, although it is presumed that respondents would tend to overstate their ability in a foreign language, since social prestige in the Philippines is closely related to this. Anything more definite as regards comprehension would have to be tested by some other method, for example, that discussed in Casad 1974.

Question 10c. 'What is your second language?' is ambiguous, since it can mean either the second language one learnt to speak or the language he or she likes to speak second best. A clearer, more unambiguous wording would be something like this, 'What language do you like to speak second to your mother tongue?'

Question 10e. The information gained through this question was not needed since it contributed nothing toward the aims of this survey.

Question 10f. In this case, we should have named all the possible languages, including the 'unwritten' ones like Bantoanon and Romblomanon, because the people are literate in these languages and attempt to write them using the more prestigious orthography used in Hiligaynon. Also, perhaps reading and writing should be distinguished for each language, since some respondents expressed a different ability in each skill.

Question 10g. In this case, only one choice, YES, is necessary since a negative answer is indicated by no mark in the box. To have both YES and NO is redundant.

Question 10h. It seemed to be difficult for many people to state advantages, so it was decided to state some possible options and ask respondents for one, or two at the most. This was somewhat limiting, but it seemed to be the best way to handle the difficulty. The difficulty respondents experienced with this question is probably due to the kind of independent, abstract reasoning required, which is not taught by traditional education methods in this country and does not seem to be compatible with group interdependence and characteristic shyness.

Question 11. This matrix was adjusted (cf. Appendix C, 2) so that only the Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English rows were used, since only these three languages were deemed to be relevant to the aims of this survey.

We suggest for the future that the separate categories 'market vendor' and 'shopkeeper' be combined into one, as, for example, 'vendor/shopkeeper'.

With regard to the 'school teacher' category, this should be defined so that the reference is not to when the respondent went to school himself (this is covered by question 16) but rather to the interaction the respondent has with his children's teachers in the community where they now live.

Question 12. To the question, 'Where was your mother/father born?' occasionally people did not know the answer. It is suggested, therefore, that the Filipino question, Taga saan siya? 'Where was he/she from?' is an acceptable alternate. This option would prevent unnecessary difficulty.

Question 13a. The matrix for this question was adjusted so that all the specific localities were combined into the more general relevant categories: Bantoanon areas, for Banton, Calatrava, Odiongan, Simara, and Sibale; Tagalog areas, for Mindoro and Luzon; Romblon Province, for non-Bantoanon areas in Romblon Province; other Philippine areas, for Panay and Mindanao; and overseas.

Question 13b. For this question we suggest that occupational categories be grouped as they are perceived to show social strata within Philippine society. We also suggest adding the following additional categories:

Pupils (in order to distinguish such respondents from college students--a distinction lost in the single category of 'students')

Handcrafts

Office/clerical

Factory/janitor/security guard

Engineer

Government employee/police

Also, we suggest that the following new categories be made by expanding certain existing ones as indicated:

Fisherman/seaman

Lawyer/professional

Housewife/domestic

Shopkeeper/negosyante (or businessman)

The 'Other' category included numerous occupations that should be distinguished in order to show different socioeconomic strata.

Question 14. This matrix also was adjusted so that only the Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English rows were used. Also, we came to the conclusion that this question should follow question 18, 'What is your occupation?' It also seems that question 18 should be moved to a position following question 9, which asks for general name and birthplace information.

Question 15a. This matrix was adjusted so that only the Bantoanon, Hiligaynon, Tagalog, and English rows were used. Hiligaynon was included because it is used as a 'church language' in Romblon and nearby provinces. The Bibles used in the area are in the languages Tagalog, English, or Hiligaynon.

Question 15b. To the question, 'What language would you like to have used in church?' multiple responses were sometimes given, in which more than one language was named as the one that is, or should be, used. Such multiple answers were accepted.

Question 15c. The question, 'What is your religion?' was usually asked before question 15a, 'What language is used in church?' which seems to be a logical sequence and one that should be incorporated into the format of the questionnaire in the future.

Questions 16 and 17. The matrices for these two questions were adjusted so that only the Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English rows were used.

Question 18. The possible responses to this question should be adjusted as was suggested for question 13b. It is also suggested that this question follow questions 9a-d and be followed by question 14, 'What language do you use at work?'

Question 20. This question, 'Which language do you think is easiest to learn?' was found to be unusable because of its ambiguity. It could be understood as referring to learning in a classroom or learning in general, by any method. The first understanding is not intended or desired; therefore, the question should be restated or deleted.

Question 22a. There was some degree of ambiguity with regard to this question, because often people just assumed Bantoanon to be the first choice, without mentioning it. Respondents should be specifically questioned about their vernacular, which in this case is Bantoanon.

The matrix was adjusted so that only three choices were given, and only three languages, namely, Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English, were named as options. Occasionally, though, other languages, such as Romblomanon and Looknon, were named instead of one of these.

A further observation is that careful translation is necessary in order to prevent the understanding that the choice of language depends on what the parents themselves can teach their children instead of the language the parents would want to see their children learn, that is, be caused to learn, from someone, if given the opportunity.

Question 22b. With regard to this question, there was redundancy. Perhaps a common value in Filipino society is revealed by this, but almost 100% of the respondents chose 'same'. It is suggested that the question be deleted or the choices be reduced to 'yes' and 'same'.

Question 23a. To have both 'yes' and 'no' responses for this question was redundant, as was the whole question after the response 'yes' had been received. Actually, the questions 23a-b could be combined and stated as follows: 'Do you think it would be good to have the Philippine Constitution translated into/written in Bantoanon?'

Question 24. The matrix for this question also was adjusted by combining language areas as follows:

Tagalog areas, for Mindoro and Luzon

Hiligaynon areas, for Panay

Romblomanon areas, for Romblon

Other Philippine areas, for Mindanao and anywhere else in the Philippines

Overseas

The length of time spent in another area was not used in this survey, although the information may be of some general interest.

Question 25. For this question, the additional 'Other' category should be provided for those people who name localities on Mindoro where Bantoanon speakers form a significant community. And the names of such places should be noted by surveyors. Answers to this question in our survey revealed that people have different conceptions. For example, some have no firsthand knowledge of subdialect areas, such as the three islands or Tablas.

Question 26b. The options for response to this question were adjusted in accordance with the answers the respondents gave. Few, if any, gave the response, 'Isolated from other areas'; therefore, that response was deleted and replaced by this one: malumanay 'slow and gentle'--a recurring 'other' response that refers to the dialect's intonation and conveys the general idea of 'good'.

Another commonly recurring 'other' response, which was also stated, was taga rila/amo sarili 'It is from here/our own'--a response that seems to show pride of language. Care was needed in translating the phrase 'original inhabitants', and it was found that a longer equivalent, like 'The first speakers of the Bantoanon language came from there', was necessary.

It did not seem that respondents had any difficulty in responding to question 26b, which was the reason for their answer to question 26a. Perhaps this was because language attitudes, or prejudices, are part of childhood training, not a matter of personal reasoning.

Question 27. The question, 'What grade did you reach in school, or what level did you reach in college?' was added to the questionnaire after it was originally prepared.

(c) Relative to profiles

The use of profiles was strategic in interpreting the results of this survey. The profiles used in this report were arrived at by the selection of various parameters abstracted from the answers received to certain questions. Three kinds of parameters were used to define the various profiles: (1) socioeconomic, which define the 'influential' and 'trend-setter' profiles; (2) educational and linguistic, which define the 'weak Tagalog' profile; and (3) geographical, which define the 'islander' and 'Tablasan' profiles. To arrive at these profiles in this way was moderately successful, which is gratifying since such a procedure was necessary in view of this survey's having been a random one, whose aim was to canvas all geographical areas and, thus, all socioeconomic strata of the population. As illustrated by the fact that we usually stayed with town officials, and for that reason we often did not interview them, it would have been better to have done a more selective survey; that is, one where members of various strata of society, for example, college students and influential and noninfluential people, are chosen ahead of time.

Such a survey could be achieved by going to those of certain strata that had been defined by specific socioeconomic factors. Such factors would need to be preselected and then incorporated into the questionnaire so that a representative sample could be obtained, as was done for the age and sex groups in the present survey. One example of what we mean is that a larger number of people whom we call 'influentials' in a society should be surveyed. In order to do that it would be necessary to get an idea of which groups, such as religious, ethnic, or economic, in a community might be influencing sociolinguistic trends, and then to obtain a representative sample of such groups so as to establish whether the trend is toward change or toward reinforcement of traditional values.

(d) Relative to geographical coverage

Our aim in this survey was to canvas all major geographical areas of a poblacion, and this was achieved in a general sense. But due to the small number of persons surveyed, in some cases we reached our goal in a locality before an area was completely canvassed, which meant that the remaining homes were not covered.

A case in point is Banton, where, after seeing a large Philippine Evangelical Mission church, we assumed that a considerable number of adherents of this church would be surveyed. Yet few were. We concluded that perhaps a majority of the members of this church lived in some outlying, newly developed area of the town--an area that was not reached in the survey since we had already reached our goal. Also, this newer area was not included on the map we used when we planned the survey initially upon our arrival in Banton.

(e) Relative to religious groups

Another interest we had in making this survey was that of learning the attitudes members of different religious affiliations in an area have toward the use of Bantoanon. A random survey, however, is not always the best kind to achieve such results. This survey was generally successful in this respect; however, when there are minority groups that are of such small percentages, it seems that a specific effort should be made (1) to survey a useful number of people from each religious affiliation and (2) to learn the extent to which they use printed religious literature. This latter goal could be achieved by using a question such as, 'In what language do you read/understand/like to read the Bible?' At the same time, the possibility exists that one respondent might understand this question to refer to personal use of the Bible, while another might understand it to refer to use in church worship services.

APPENDIX D

THE LEXICOSTATISTICAL STUDY

1. 101 Philippine word list

The 101 Philippine word list was used in its classified format--a format in which the arrangement is individual noun items first and grammatical elements, such as marking particles, last. The actual format of the '101' list is not shown here, but the contents are given.

The classifications of the items in the 101 Philippine word list are as follows:

Body parts (1-20)	Geophysical features (58-67)
Human/kinship terms (21-29)	Numerals (68-72)
Plant terms (30-35)	Colour terms (73-77)
Fire complex (36-40)	Descriptives (78-97)
Animal terms (41-51)	Interrogatives (98-101)
Meteorological terms (52-57)	

The grammatical elements included in the '101' list are given below, accompanied by one Bantoanon example in those instances where any vernacular form was elicited. An asterisk (*), with the absence of examples, shows where we, the surveyors, had difficulty interpreting what the items on the word list referred to. Language examples are written impressionistically since a phonemic¹⁷ analysis has not yet been completed.

Pronouns: focused enclitic forms, focused full forms

'I' ako

Pronouns: unfocused subject/possessive

'my dog' akog iroq/iroq nakog

Pronouns: unfocused nonsubject/emphatic possessive

'to me' sa akog

Marking particles*: personal, nonpersonal

Focused forms: si/sina, kag

Unfocused subject: ni/na, it

Unfocused nonsubject: kang/kana, sa

Focused full form

Demonstratives*: this that (nearby) that (far away)

Focused forms: kali kinaq kato

Unfocused subject

Unfocused nonsubject

Focused full form

Existentials:

'There is/are' inggwa

'There is/are none' wayaq

Negatives:

Past tense	<u>wuyaq sida gipagtu</u>	'he did not go'
Future tense	<u>indiq sida magpagtu</u>	'he will not go'
Absolute	<u>bukoq maqado</u>	'it is not good'
Imperative	<u>ayaq gibuhata</u>	'don't do it'

Below is an alphabetical list of all the items on the '101' list. The numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding item's sequential number on the list. An asterisk (*) before an item indicates that a problem was encountered with that item when the list was used (cf. 6.2.2.2-3 and Appendix D, 2-4).

101 Philippine word list

ashes (40)	hair (2)	sand (64)
back (9)	*hand (and arm) (11)	sea (63)
bad (93)	head (1)	sharp (as a knife) (84)
*bark (of tree) (32)	heart (18)	*short (80)
belly (10)	*husband (24)	skin (of person) (15)
big (97)	intestines (19)	*sky (66)
bird (46)	*lake (61)	small (96)
black (73)	leaf (33)	smoke (39)
blood (17)	left (hand) (12)	snake (44)
bone (16)	*leg (and foot) (14)	star (67)
burn (a field) (38)	liver (20)	*tail (of rooster) (48)
child (young) (23)	long (81)	thick (82)
cloud (58)	louse (43)	*thin (83)
*cold (weather) (54)	man (male) (21)	three (70)
day (52)	mother (27)	tongue (7)
dog (41)	mountain (59)	tree (31)
dry (substance) (89)	mouth (6)	two (69)
dull (as a knife) (85)	name (29)	water (60)
ear (3)	narrow (87)	wet (88)
*earth (soil) (65)	near (78)	what? (101)
egg (49)	neck (8)	when? (100)
eye (4)	new (90)	where? (99)
far (79)	night (53)	who? (98)
father (26)	nose (5)	white (74)
*feather (large) (47)	*old (91)	wide (86)
fire (37)	one (68)	*wife (25)
fish (42)	person (28)	wing (50)
five (72)	pull (95)	woman (22)
flower (30)	push (94)	*stick (of wood) (36)
to fly (51)	*to rain (26)	*woods (58)
four (71)	red (75)	*worm (45)
fruit (35)	right (hand) (13)	yellow (76)
good (92)	*river (62)	
*green (77)	root (34)	

2. Word list adjustments

When the 101 Philippine word list was used, problems were encountered with certain items (cf. forms with an asterisk in Appendix D, 1). When respondents gave two or more forms for any one item, all the forms were noted. This was done because we were in only the early stages of language learning, and we knew that further analysis could be made later on the basis of this additional data.

The actual problem we encountered was that of eliciting items that were later found to be incorrect. Of course, this could have been prevented, to some degree at least, if we had known the language better. An example of the kind of problem we encountered is item 36 'stick'. For this item, forms meaning 'wood' and 'bamboo' were given, as well as other forms we still did not know.

The major adjustments made with regard to the list were in the grammatical section, where we found these four distinctions, namely, 'focused forms', 'unfocused subject', 'unfocused nonsubject', and 'focused full form', which were not clear to us. The expedient we used in this case was to elicit the Bantoanon forms that are equivalent to the ang, ng, and sa Tagalog sets in both personal and nonpersonal pronouns and in singular and plural personal marking particles, such as si (sg) and sina (pl). In the case of the demonstratives, only three examples, which we assumed were focused forms, were obtained. These forms were kali 'this', kinag 'that (nearby)', and kato 'that (far away)'. The other forms were ignored.

Later the following forms were added:

Locatives

'Here'	'There (nearby)'	'There (far away)'
<u>rile</u>	<u>rahaq</u>	<u>roto</u>
<u>dili</u>		
<u>hali</u>	<u>hinaq</u>	<u>hagto</u>

It seems to have been useful to add these locative forms. But although it seems clear that there are more than one set of these forms, without further study in this area the patterns of these sets can appear as nothing less than complex.

3. Analysis of cognates

For each pair of dialects, a chart was made to show which items in the two dialects were cognate, which were questionable, and which were noncognate. Below, the format used for these charts is shown. As described above (cf. 6.2.2.2-3), the items on the '101' list were used in determining cognates. Then from the number of cognates those items found to be ambiguous and problematical were excluded in obtaining the adjusted possible total. (The ambiguous and problematical items are marked by asterisks in section 1 above. See section 4 below for recommended changes.) The problematical items are: 11, 14, 36, 45, 58, 61, and 62.

1X	21X	41X	65X	89X
X	X	X	X	90X
X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X
5X	25X	45[]	X	X
X	X	0	70X	X
.
.
.

Cognates and recognizable variants = X
 Questionable or blank = [] (not used in the analysis)
 Items not cognate = 0

Cognates and recognizable variants = 91
 Questionable and blank items = 7
 Adjusted possible total = 94

Cognate % = 96.8%

The adjusted possible total was arrived at by adding the number of clear cognates and the number of clear noncognates, disregarding the unclear and blank items. The cognate percentage then was obtained by dividing the number of recognized cognates by the adjusted possible total.

Some forms we elicited were not true variants, or alternates, because either we surveyors misinterpreted what was wanted or the respondents were uncertain. Further, some variant forms, we are sure, were included because of our inexperience in the language, which, in turn, caused us to be unable to recognize that an elicited form was incorrect. We feel that, with even a short additional time in language learning, some of those inaccuracies would have been recognized.

Many of the variants can be recognized as equivalents for other items within the same semantic domain--equivalents respondents could easily have substituted for the correct one. This is illustrated by the way 'body parts' were so often misinterpreted. How easy it is to misinterpret something as ambiguous as 'belly', with or without gestures!

It was observed also that Tagalog words were sometimes given as equivalents. In some cases these were no doubt loanwords that have been assimilated into the dialect in the area, of which an example in Sibale is Tagalog kaliwag 'left (hand)'. In other cases, these Tagalog equivalents were probably the result of the bilingualism of the respondents.

All equivalents in the lists below are included, as they were written, to show the kind of equivalents obtained in such a survey--including the ones that were obviously incorrect due to the factors mentioned above. In the lists the 94 Bantoanon words that were elicited are shown. (The same,

or cognate, forms are in the lefthand column, and the variant forms are in the righthand column. Also given are the areas where the equivalents were obtained.)

Same (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)

Variant

Body parts:

- | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. 'head' | <u>uyo</u> | 10. 'belly' | <u>bitoka</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 2. 'hair' | <u>buhok</u> | | <u>baliwqang</u> (Od) |
| 3. 'ear' | <u>talinga</u> | | <u>pusgon</u> (Bn, Ca) |
| 4. 'eye' | <u>mata</u> | | |
| 5. 'nose' | <u>ilong</u> | 12. 'left (hand)' | <u>wala</u> (Od, Bn, Sm, Ca) |
| 6. 'mouth' | <u>yubaq</u> | | <u>kaliwag</u> (Si) |
| 7. 'tongue' | <u>rilaq</u> | | |
| 8. 'neck' | <u>liqog</u> | 19. 'guts (intestines)' | <u>tinage</u> (Od, Sm, Ca) |
| 9. 'back' | <u>likor</u> | | <u>bitoka</u> (Bn, Si, Sm) |
| 11. 'hand (and arm)' | [] | | <u>tripilya</u> (Bn, Sm) |
| 13. 'right (hand)' | <u>tuqo</u> | | |
| 14. 'leg (and foot)' | [] | | |
| 15. 'skin (of person)' | <u>anit</u> | | |
| 16. 'bone' | <u>suka</u> | | |
| 17. 'blood' | <u>rogog</u> | | |
| 18. 'heart' | <u>pusog</u> | | |
| 20. 'liver' | <u>atay</u> | | |

Human and kinship terms:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 21. 'man (male)' | <u>kayake</u> | 26. 'father' | <u>tatay</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Ca) |
| 22. 'woman' | <u>kabade</u> | | <u>papay</u> (Sm) |
| 23. 'child (young)' | <u>anak</u> | 27. 'mother' | <u>nanay</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Ca) |
| 24. 'husband' | <u>asawa</u> | | <u>mamay</u> (Sm) |
| 25. 'wife' | <u>asawa</u> | | |
| 28. 'person' | <u>tawo</u> | | |
| 29. 'name' | <u>ngayan</u> | | |

Plant terms:

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| 30. 'flower' | <u>buyak</u> | 35. 'fruit' | <u>bunga</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 31. 'tree' | <u>kahoy</u> | | <u>prutas</u> (Od, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 32. 'bark (of tree)' | <u>anit it</u>
<u>kahoy</u> | | |
| 33. 'leaf' | <u>rahon</u> | | |
| 34. 'root' | <u>gamot</u> | | |

Fire complex:

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| 36. 'stick (of wood)' | [] | 40. 'ashes' | <u>agbun</u> (Od) |
| 37. 'fire' | <u>kayado</u> | | <u>abo</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 38. 'to burn (a field)' | <u>sunug</u> | | |
| 39. 'smoke' | <u>aso</u> | | |

Animal terms:

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 41. 'dog' | <u>iroq</u> | 46. 'bird' | |
| 42. 'fish' | <u>israq</u> | | <u>pispis</u> (Od, Ca) |
| 43. 'louse (head)' | <u>kuto</u> | | <u>yanggam</u> (Bn, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 44. 'snake' | <u>sawa</u> | | |
| 45. 'worm' | [] | 50. 'wing' | |
| 47. 'feather (large)' | <u>bayukag</u> | | <u>pakpak</u> (Od, Ca) |
| 48. 'tail (of rooster)' | <u>ikog</u> | | <u>pakoq</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 49. 'egg' | <u>itlog</u> | | |
| 51. 'to fly' | <u>yupar</u> | | |

Meteorological terms:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 52. 'day (not night)' | <u>adlaw</u> |
| 53. 'night' | <u>gabqe</u> |
| 54. 'cold (weather
[water 372])' | <u>mayamig</u> |
| 55. 'cloud' | <u>rampog</u> |
| 56. 'to rain' | <u>uyan</u> |
| 57. 'wind (breeze)' | <u>hangin</u> |

Geophysical features:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 58. 'woods' | [] | 59. 'mountain' | |
| 60. 'water' | <u>tubig</u> | | <u>baguntor</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm) |
| 61. 'lake' | [] | | <u>bukir</u> (Sm, Ca) |
| 62. 'river' | [] | | |
| 63. 'sea (ocean)' | <u>ragat</u> | 65. 'earth' | |
| 64. 'sand' | <u>baybay</u> | | <u>ragaq</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 66. 'sky' | <u>langit</u> | | <u>dotaq</u> (Si, Ca) |
| 67. 'star' | <u>bitugon</u> | | |

Numerals:

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 68. 'one' | <u>usa</u> |
| 69. 'two' | <u>ruha</u> |
| 70. 'three' | <u>tatlo</u> |
| 71. 'four' | <u>apqat</u> |
| 72. 'five' | <u>lima</u> |

Colour terms:

- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| 73. 'black' | <u>itom</u> | 77. 'green' | |
| 74. 'white' | <u>putig</u> | | <u>berde</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca) |
| 75. 'red' | <u>puya</u> | | <u>grin</u> (Si, Ca) |
| 76. 'yellow' | <u>ruyaw</u> | | |

Descriptives:

78. 'near'	<u>mayungot</u>	86. 'wide'	
79. 'far'	<u>mayado</u>		<u>mayapar</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
80. 'short'	<u>malipgot</u>		<u>mabuka</u> (Od, Si, Sm, Ca)
81. 'long'	<u>mahabaq</u>	88. 'wet'	
82. 'thick'	<u>maramoy</u>		<u>basag</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
83. 'thin'	<u>manipis</u>		<u>hupit</u> (Si)
84. 'sharp'	<u>matayom</u>	95. 'to pull'	
85. 'dull'	<u>barong</u>		<u>bira</u> (Od, Sm, Ca)
87. 'narrow'	<u>makitir</u>		<u>butong</u> (Bn, Si, Sm)
89. 'dry (substance)'	<u>uga</u>		
90. 'new'	<u>baggo</u>		
91. 'old'	<u>yumag</u>		
92. 'good'	<u>magado</u>		
93. 'bad'	<u>mayagin</u>		
94. 'to push'	<u>tuyor</u>		
96. 'small'	<u>magisut</u>		
97. 'big'	<u>marakoq</u>		

Interrogatives:

		98. 'who?'	
			<u>sigo</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
			<u>singo</u> (Od, Ca)
		99. 'where?'	
			<u>rigin</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
			<u>harigin</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
100. 'when (future)?'	<u>saguno</u>	100. 'when (past)?'	
			<u>kaguno</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
			<u>kaquno</u> (Si, Ca)
		101. 'what?'	
			<u>nigo</u> (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
			<u>naqo</u> (Od, Ca)
			<u>ano</u> (Od)

4. Comments and suggestions

The following comments and suggestions relate to the problems encountered when we used the 101 Philippine word list in conjunction with the Expanded Philippine word list.

bark As Zorc notes, Philippine languages rarely have a single equivalent for the English word 'bark'. 'It is most often translated by skin of tree or peeling of tree' (1977:172). Since 'skin' is on the list otherwise, it might be advisable to follow Zorc and replace 'bark' with 'body'. He says that 'the forms elicited usually define isoglosses corresponding to major subgroups among Philippine languages (1977:172).

cold (weather) In the '372' list, 'cold (water)' is found. We found no difference between the equivalent for this term and that for 'cold (weather)' on the '101' list; therefore, we suggest that 'cold' as it refers to water be included in the '101' list also. 'Cold' would then be a descriptive term, not a meteorological.

earth (soil) This term could not easily be differentiated from 'earth (ground)', which is in the '372' list. We suggest, therefore, that 'earth (ground)' be used in both lists.

feather (large) This term does not correspond to 'feather (tail of rooster)', which is the item in the '372' list and for which the word 'tail' was frequently supplied. We suggest amending the '372' list in this case to include 'feather (large)'.

green The equivalents obtained for this term were 'green' or 'verde/berde', the English and Spanish terms respectively. 'Since there is often too much difficulty in eliciting homosemantic colour terms in Philippine languages' (Zorc 1977:172), we suggest, again following Zorc, that 'green' be used in the sense of 'unripe'. This item would then be transferred to the list of descriptives.

hand (and arm) and leg (and foot) During our survey, respondents sometimes read the list in English, and these items would bother most of them because the composite term does not seem to exist. We suggest, therefore, changing both lists to include the specific terms for 'hand' and 'foot'.

husband and wife These terms are the same in most Philippine languages; thus, they may be understood as more equivalent to the English term 'spouse'. We suggest, therefore, that 'wife' on the '101' list be replaced by some other useful item, for example, 'hot (water)'--a substitution that would reduce the redundancy in the list.

lake In the five island communities we surveyed, the word 'lake' was unknown to most respondents since there are no lakes in those areas. One or two old men knew a word for 'lake', but it seems that it probably is an archaic term that is no longer in current use. For further surveys of islands, where a similar problem may exist, we would suggest that some other geophysical term be substituted for 'lake'.

old This term should refer specifically, as it does in the '372' list, to things, or objects, not to people.

to rain Refer to the '372' list, where the noun 'rain' is found. It would seem that it would be easier to use the term as a noun in both lists.

river Again, in the island situation where we surveyed, 'river' and 'stream' were confused. We suggest, therefore, that either the word be defined by the addition of '(not stream)' or it be replaced with another word, such as 'well (of water)', which would be in the same semantic domain.

short and **thin** These terms should be specified to refer to things, not people, since there are distinct equivalents of these terms in Philippine languages that refer to both people and things.

sky For this item the equivalent for 'cloud' was routinely given. We suggest that 'blue, cloudless sky' be used to specify what is meant.

stick (of wood) This item should be replaced with the more easily elicited item, 'wood'. This would bring the '101' and '372' lists into agreement. The inaccurate equivalent 'bamboo fencing stick' was often given for this item. 'Stick' also prompted other inaccurate equivalents, like 'branch', 'wood', and 'bamboo'--all of which indicate that 'stick' does not appear to be used in Philippine languages as it is in English.

woods There is a need to differentiate between 'jungle' and 'forest (planted)'. We suggest that this item be specified as referring to 'jungle'.

worm This item was not well known in our area. Repeatedly 'centipede' was given, but sometimes a generic equivalent meaning 'soft, crawly things' was used. We suggest that the specific item 'centipede' be used. Sometimes a picture of an item being requested would be useful, but even this would not be foolproof in instances like 'soft, crawly things'!

Also, the '372' list includes a number of items that are not in the '101' list but deserve comment. These items are:

206. **offspring** This item is indefinite. We suggest that it be replaced with 'grandchild'.

226. **raincloud** For this term, respondents gave the same equivalents as they would for 'cloud'. We suggest that the term be deleted. The equivalents given were usually some English technical term, such as cumulus, or the term meaning 'dark', perhaps because 'the sky is darkening toward rain'.

342. **waterfall** This is another item that is not very well known in these island regions.

360. **wine (rice)** This is not known in the Bantoanon region. We suggest that it be replaced with 'wine (coconut sap)'.

The grammatical section of the '101' list, from pronouns to negatives, should be stated in terms different from those that have been used. Terminology like 'focused' was not easy to explain; therefore, it was difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the equivalents desired. It seems to us that elicitation from concrete examples, such as 'my', 'this', or 'he did not go', would be simpler to use. We suggest, therefore, that English forms, or Tagalog forms such as those that go with ang, ng, and sa, be given as examples of what is desired.

On the other hand, English sentences are not easy to use to obtain correct grammatical forms because the terminology, e.g. 'focused', fits Philippine languages, not English. Another reason why English forms are not really suitable is because the equivalents respondents give depend on respondents' ideas about how to translate English sentences.

As mentioned above, it seems that it was useful to add locatives, that is, 'here', 'there (nearby)', and 'there (far away)'--which are similar in form to demonstratives--to the grammatical items to be elicited. It would take some knowledge of the language before one would learn that there are various sets of locatives. In fact, the people themselves were not aware of these sets until they were specifically questioned about them.

With regard to the lexicostatistical data used in connection with this survey, see section 6.2.2.2 for a description of the method used to obtain them. Although this data base is limited, it was sufficient for comparison and for correlation with the sociolinguistic data that were gathered for Bantoanon. In a word, it was adequate for this survey of one language and its dialects. Further, these data would also be a starting point for any comparison one might want to make with the neighbouring languages of Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon.

APPENDIX E

ACCESSIBILITY AND TRANSPORTATION

Romblon Province is accessible by sea and by air from Manila, and by sea from such ports as Batangas and Lucena on Luzon and from Mindoro, Panay, and other islands. Sea transportation is available within the province as is land transportation, particularly on Tablas and Romblon Islands. The three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale are less accessible by sea, and they have limited land transportation. All transportation within the province is safe, and historically Romblon Province has been peaceful.

Large numbers of people routinely travel by all these modes of transportation, but during the busy times, such as during national and religious holidays, during fiestas, and at school graduation times, the numbers increase.

1. Sea

Historically, the islands in Romblon Province have been accessible only by sea, and this is still the most common means of access. Romblon town has an excellent, sheltered natural harbour, from where it is connected to Luzon by regular shipping lines. The second-best natural, sheltered harbour in the province is at Concepcion, on Sibale. Artificial ports have been built at Odiongan and San Agustin, which are on either side of Tablas Island.

On Tablas, Odiongan is the larger port, and it has weekly scheduled connecting links with Mindoro, with Luzon (it is a ten-hour overnight trip to Manila), and with Zamboanga. There were links in the past with Masbate and Palawan. San Agustin receives smaller ships that are bound for Batangas or Lucena (a ten to twelve-hour overnight trip), as well as the interisland motorized pumpboats connecting Tablas and Romblon. These boats run two or three times each day, and it takes between one-half hour and two hours to make the crossing. These boats have schedules that are co-ordinated with those of the airline and the jeeps so that it is possible to travel directly from the airport to Romblon by jeep and by motorized pumpboat--a trip that takes approximately three hours. Other small pumpboat lines connect Tablas, from Looc, with the north coast of Panay and the tourist beach on Boracay.

Banton's eastern coast is exposed, and the artificial port on that side of the island--a port that was nearly completed when we were surveying--is constantly battered by the sea. Banton's regular transportation is the weekly mailboat from Romblon. A direct trip of this mailboat in fine weather takes three hours, but if the boat calls at Simara enroute, the trip takes longer. When we were there in 1984, there was also a biweekly pumpboat that went to Pinamalayan, on Mindoro, sometimes stopping at Sibale enroute. There are also some local boats that ply irregularly between Sibale and Banton and between Simara and Banton. In addition, there are private boats that can be hired.

Scheduled travel from Tablas to Sibale would be by boat from Odiongan to southern Mindoro, by jeep up the east coast of Mindoro to Pinamalayan, then by the daily pumpboat to Concepcion. The interisland boat from Concepcion also services the coastal barangays as required.

There are boats that link Romblon with Bongabon on eastern Mindoro, but these are expensive and irregular. Simara is visited weekly by the Romblon-Banton mailboat--if there is mail! Simara is also serviced weekly by larger cargo ships from Batangas and biweekly by an interisland boat from Calatrava. Calatrava had a port under construction, but at the time we were there it received only the biweekly motorboat from Simara.

2. Land

On Tablas Island there are well-maintained bridges and roads, of which some are paved. Most of these roads are around the coasts, joining the main towns, which are also on the coasts. There is also a road across the island between Odiongan and Tugdan airport. Jeeps run almost hourly, from around six in the morning till two or later in the afternoon. They co-ordinate with the arrival of the major ships in Odiongan and other ports of entry, and they shuttle passengers and cargo to other ports, from where smaller interisland motorboats take them to Panay or Romblon. Larger cargoes can be transported on hired jeeps or on the daily Santo Niño bus. Local transportation in the port towns is by tricycle and, occasionally, by private car and truck.

Inhabitants of Calatrava have access to the jeeps that go frequently between Odiongan and San Agustin; therefore, they have ways of traveling both to the Tugdan airport and to Romblon. Calatrava has no public tricycles, although it can be reached by tricycle from San Agustin.

Simara has a few public tricycles and some private motorcycles and bicycles, which can be used on the paths, which are wide enough for two tricycles to meet each other and pass. These paths connect the various barangays, which are also on the coast, and the one between Corcuera and Mabini is cemented.

Banton has only bicycles in the poblacion and only a small section of cemented path. All centres, whether coastal or interior among the mountains, are reached by hiking on paths over the sometimes rugged terrain.

Sibale has paths across and around the island, and these paths link the coastal barangays, which are reached by hiking. Cargo is sometimes transported by packhorse. Only a couple private bicycles were seen.

3. Air

The provincial airport is at Tugdan in the south-eastern part of Tablas, and it is connected directly by jeep with Odiongan, on the west coast, and with San Agustin, on the north-east coast. It is from San Agustin that connections are made by boat with the capital of Romblon. Connections can also be made from Tugdan to Looc in the south and then to Boracay. At the time we were making this survey, there were flights to Manila four times a week, but by early 1984 the frequency of flights had been increased to six times a week. This increase in flights may have been to encourage tourists to travel to the nearby island of Boracay.

APPENDIX F

POSSIBLE ALLOCATION SITES

1. Dialect factors

Based on lexicostatistical study (cf. 6.2.2), the dialect that is most central linguistically (see Table 31) is either the one on Banton or the one on Simara. The Sibale dialect is also closely related to that of Banton, but its intonation has less prestige, and its closer contact with Tagalog areas on Mindoro has seemed to result in the assimilation of more loanwords. Sociolinguistic factors (cf. 6.2-4) show that of the dialects on Banton and Simara Banton's is definitely preferable on the grounds of intonation, productivity, richness of lexical expression, and historical prestige.

The dialects spoken on the three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale are, for sociolinguistic reasons, viewed by Bantoanons as a subdialect of the Bantoanon language, distinct from the dialect on Tablas. The Odiongan and Calatrava dialects show evidence of being more influenced by Romblomanon and Tagalog and of having less variety of Bantoanon lexical items.

The most prestigious dialects in the two subdialect areas of the Bantoanon language area are the one on Banton, in the three islands area, and the one in Odiongan, on Tablas. Any literature produced in the Bantoanon language would have to be acceptable to both dialect groups.

2. Village factors

All of the three islands are somewhat isolated, especially during the wet season. Banton has the best dialect to learn, but it is also the most inaccessible (cf. Appendix E, 1), reachable only by sea on the weekly mailboat--a trip from Romblon that takes three hours in good weather.

The town of Banton receives mail weekly from Romblon, and its supplies come from Romblon or from Pinamalayan, on Mindoro. Fish can usually be bought locally, and there are a few local grocery stores and numerous sari-sari stores, but no vegetable or meat markets. We assume that some vegetables and meat could be bought occasionally from local residents if they had any for sale. The catches of fish are small during hot weather and during the full moon, and probably also during rough, wet weather. This would be a hardship since fish is such a staple part of the diet in these islands.

There is radio communication between provincial municipalities, and there is the public telegraph service, which has an office in Banton. There is a full complement of medical personnel, including doctor, dentist, nurse, and midwife, on Banton, but the nearest hospital is at Romblon.

Sibale and Simara are more accessible than Banton. Sibale has daily contact by boat with the supply town of Pinamalayan, but it has no daily market, only a few stores, and no hospital. Simara has biweekly contact by boat with Calatrava, which means access to Odiongan or Romblon, and it also has weekly contact with Romblon by the mailboat that comes enroute to Banton--provided there is mail for Simara! There is no market on Simara, but there are more and better stocked stores, including a bakery, than there are in Banton. On all the three islands, drinking water, which is sometimes salty or tasteless, comes from wells, but it is scarce in the dry season. There is a clinic, but when we were surveying, no hospital. Later, in 1984, a hospital was built on Simara.

Odiongan is the second most important port in the province, with frequent sea, land, and air transportation service. Odiongan is a good supply town, second only to Romblon. It has a variety of well-stocked stores and daily vegetable, fish, and meat markets. Some market supplies come from Manila on the weekly boat; others are grown locally.

Communications on Tablas are similar to those on Banton, except that the postal service is much better due to daily service, which is possible because of the roads and the means of transportation on that island. Electric service was to be installed on Tablas during 1983 and 1984. Also, the towns on Tablas have good water.

There are medium-sized, well-staffed hospitals in Odiongan and Romblon, as well as a smaller one in San Agustin. Calatrava has a clinic. When we were doing our survey, Calatrava had the services of a Bantoanon doctor, who was serving his hometown community while awaiting the results of his final examination for graduation as a medical doctor. At that time there were also a resident nurse and midwife. Dental care was available in San Agustin, Odiongan, and Romblon.

Calatrava is quite accessible by sea, land, and air. It has a small market, which is open daily, and a number of good stores, which receive supplies overland from Odiongan approximately every three days and from Odiongan or San Agustin by the weekly boats. Calatrava has access to the major centres of both Odiongan and Romblon.

3. Allocation site

Since Banton, the best allocation site as far as the language is concerned, is isolated, especially in the wet season, we venture to suggest the following alternatives as possible ways the allocation of translation personnel in the Bantoanon language area could be handled:

- (a) The first, most preferable alternative would be to allocate personnel on Banton for language learning and beginning translation. Then after a number of years, they would move to Tablas and work there with speakers from the two major dialect areas: the three islands and Tablas Island.
- (b) Our second alternative would, as in the first alternative, have personnel allocated on Banton for language learning and beginning translation, but the difference is that they would work on Banton only during the annual dry season and return to Tablas to work there during the wet season.
- (c) The third, least preferable alternative would have personnel allocated on Tablas, where they would work first with language assistants who speak the Banton dialect and then later with assistants who speak the other dialects.

As to where a team might locate on Tablas, Odiongan and Calatrava are the two possibilities. With regard to Odiongan, its dialect seems to be the 'purer' of the two. As seen by lexicostatistical comparison, the dialect spoken in Calatrava has been influenced the most by other languages.

On the other hand, Calatrava is a smaller, less urban area than Odiongan is, and it has a smaller, more homogeneous population, with fewer non-Bantoanons than are found in Odiongan. Also, as we found when we were there learning to speak Bantoanon, practically all the people in Calatrava speak Bantoanon.

In summary, if Tablas were to be the allocation site later in the project after the personnel had learned the language and had begun translation, probably either Odiongan or Calatrava would be suitable. Of the two, Odiongan would be preferable on lexicostatistical grounds, but the urban population would be a negative factor. Calatrava seems to be a central site as far as the two subdialect areas are concerned, and it could be useful as a site for language area meetings, such as, for example, translation training seminars.

With regard to housing in a Bantoanon allocation, houses are occasionally vacant, but they are not always for rent since their owners like to have the extra space available for family members at fiesta time. Thus, a team would probably have to build a house in their allocation. Houses of traditional nipa style, modern cement block construction, or a combination of these styles would be acceptable. Building is done mostly during the dry season. Cement and other materials for building on Banton would probably have to be purchased at one of the trading centres and transported to the island. On the other hand, there are local tradesmen on Banton who perhaps could procure one's building materials. If, after a team had built a house, it became necessary or desirable later in the project to sell in order to move, that should not be too great a problem because the population is growing.

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