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LANGUAGE, GENDER, AND DESIRE IN HILIGAYNON¹

Introducing Hiligaynon

The paper is a study of lexicographic entries in three dictionaries on Hiligaynon in terms of how they relate to expressions of desire. Hiligaynon is the main language in the Panay islands in Central Philippines. These include the provinces of Capiz, Iloilo, and Negros Occidental. However, Ilonggo, which is the colloquial form of Hiligaynon, is also spoken in Davao, Cotabato and other areas in Mindanao populated by Hiligaynon immigrants.

Hiligaynons in pre-Spanish Philippines were noted to be at ease with their sensuality. This was seen in the care with which both males and females tattooed their bodies, filed their teeth black, used various embellishments such as earrings, and wore their hair long (cut hair was a sign of mourning or punishment). The males had penis pins that women manipulated to increase sexual pleasure (Scott citing Pigafetta and the Rajah Tupas collection in Capiz 24). Anthony Reid, in fact, viewed this practice as a sign of the power and the freedom enjoyed by most

¹ An expansion of a paper of the same title written and read in English at the 10th International Conference on Austronesian Languages, Puerto Princesa City Palawan, Philippines in January 2006.

Southeast Asian women: “the most graphic demonstration of the strong position women enjoyed in sexual matters” (Cited in Mojares 26). Missionaries viewed these with disdain; for instance, the missionary Martinez declared the pins satanic and they quickly removed to reform the body through various strictures.

Quite intriguing, for example, is the taxonomy of sins delineated in a confession manual in Hiligaynon (Perez 1884). Of particular relevance to this paper are the entries under the fourth commandment: “Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.” The husband is asked if he has seen to it that his wife has followed God’s wishes; he is also asked if he has allowed his wife to talk for a long while with another man or to be away from their home for some extended time. The woman, on the other hand, if she has respected her husband at all times, or if she has followed his commands and decisions especially with respect to their children and servants. Also interesting is the section on the sixth commandment. This details the thoughts, speech, gestures, and activities considered indecent, e.g., dancing, singing, keeping copies of indecent songs, sketching indecent figures. Such injunctions were likely universal in the Spanish period since literature was a panoply of religious discourse—novenas, hymns/carols, bibles, books of conduct, etc.

But might not the dictionaries, since they are supposed to be strictly denotative and expected to be objective—have been spared? Would the sharp gender dichotomy between man and woman be shown? Is there space for other gender identities? Has the vocabulary of desire been edited out? These are contentious questions. An examination of gender related entries in the dictionaries could yield interesting results.

The paper examines three dictionaries with lexical entries in Hiligaynon. It proceeds from the premise that words, or sets of related words are windows to the “inner life” of a society (Sapir 1921; Matore 1953). In particular, it will analyze these dictionaries in terms of lexicon related to gender. Terms on sexual identity, the body, and desire shall be chosen. This approach would be consistent with currents in gender scholarship which critique a phallogentric culture and suggest resistance against the “Laws of the Father” as Lacan would say (Jones 1985: 86-101). Initial impressions reveal a paucity of terms on explicit and sensitive aspects of gender. Since two dictionaries in the study were compiled by missionaries (upon consultation with native informants) some sensitive terms could have been edited out.² However, certain key words connected to gender do cut across dictionaries

² Vibar, in his study, notes that the Spanish solution to the ethnic and linguistic diversity in the Philippines was to compress the over 100 Philippine languages into 8 major ones and to compile diccionarios and artes mainly on these languages. These include Hiligaynon, Tagalog, Ilocano, Bicolano, Pangasinense, Kapampangan, Cebuano and Waray, and Ibanag.

while some “lexical witnesses”³ register changes across time. On the bases of these lexical data, some tentative generalizations shall be made on attitudes towards sex and different ways to contain and negotiate desire. Mentrída⁴ published his dictionary in 1637; Kauffman (parish priest from Igaras town in Iloilo) in the 1930’s; and Alcantara, a lay professor of the University of the Philippines, in 1997.

Listed below are the dictionaries to be used in the study. The focus will be the Mentrída and Kauffmann dictionaries.

De Mentrída, Alonso, OSA. *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya Hiligueina y Haraya De La Isla De Panay Y Sugbu Y Para Las Demas Islas*. Manila 1637.

_____. *Arte De La Lengua Bisaya-Hiligayna De La Isla De Panay*. Corregida y Aumentada Por El M.R.P. Jose Aparicio, 1894.

_____. *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya Hiligueina y Haraya de la Isla de Panay y Sugbu y Para Las Demas Islas*. Edición y estudio de Joaquín García-Medall, Valladolid 2004.

Kauffmann, Rev. J.M.H.M. *Visayan-English Dictionary (Kapulungan Binisaya-Ininglis)*. Iloilo: La Editorial, n.d. (ca. 1920 or 1934).

³ Desmet, *et al*, define “lexical witnesses” as the symbol of change in society: i.e., the entry of the word “coke” in French lexicon sometime in 1770 signaled the birth of capitalism. But might not “lexical witness” be used for words and concepts that have endured through the years? It is in this sense that I appropriate the term.

⁴ Fray Alonso de Mentrída, an Augustinian friar, was born in Mentrída, Toledo, Spain in 1559. When he came to the Philippines in 1598, he was assigned in Panay Islands. He held several important posts eventually becoming the provincial of the Augustinian Order.

Alcantara, Ruby G. *Diksiyonaryong Hiligaynon-Filipino*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, 1997.

The Mentrída entries come from García-Medall's 2004 edition of Mentrída's dictionary to attest to the survival through time of these "lexical witnesses."

Differentiating Genders

The study yielded unexpected results. For one, gender dichotomy is not clearly drawn. Basic terms distinguish male from female, i.e., **babaye** from **lalaque**. However, a number of entries mostly derivatives from these basic words (except for **bayug** and **bilatun**), acknowledge other gender identities or show unconventional behavior as in the 5th and 10th items below. Mentrída includes the following entries derived from **babaye**:

1. **babainun**: amujerado [effeminate]
2. **cababayinan**: hermana or hermanos entre hermanos
3. **bayugun**: hombre afeminado
4. **nagababaye**: representar mujer, vestido como mujer
5. **nanhimabaye**: llamar a otro mujer; en los pescados abiertos por el lomo la parte que lleva la esquina del lomo se llama lalaque, la otra babaye
6. **nanhimayug**: llamar bayug a alguno
7. **nagalalaque**: andar vestida de hombre; o representar hombre la mujer
8. **lalaquinun nga babaye**: hembra amachada, ora sea mujer, ora animal
9. **bilatun nga lalaque**: dicitur de hermafrodito; como **botoan nga babaye**, de la mujer hermafrodita
10. **maquilalalui nga babaye**: mujer dada a hombres

Kaufmann lists the following. The derogatory attitude towards this gender preference seep through the illustrations of the words.

1. **babayen-on** [spelled babainun in Mentrída]: effeminate, feminine in a depreciative sense. **Ang mga lalaki nga babayen-on sang batasan talamayon.** [Trans. Effeminate men are contemptible.]
2. **binabaye.** effeminate, female-like especially applied to a cock with habits of hens.

Elaborating Gender Through Affixation and Reduplication

While gender diversity is acknowledged, the terms for male and female as to their preoccupations are greatly elaborated. This is facilitated by affixation and reduplication which are the preferred ways by which Hiligaynon (and other Philippine languages) form their words. Thus, the word derivations from the basic terms of **babaye** and **lalaque** as seen in Mentrída and Kauffmann.

The following derivatives are found in Mentrída.

A.

1. **babaye.** p.p.: hembra, mujer, generalmente
2. **babaylan:** sacerdote o sacerdotisa a su uso; **nagababailan:** ser o ejercer el ser babaylan: la persona a quien se hace el maganito y la paga del oficio de babaylan
3. **cababayian:** el colectivo
4. **cababayinan:** hermana o hermanos entre hermanos;
5. **naquibabaye:** dares a mujeres
6. **nagababaye:** representar mujer, vestido como mujer

7. **nanhimabaye**: llamar a otro mujer: en los pescados abiertos por el lomo la parte que lleva la esquina del lomo se llama lalaque, la otra babaye

8. **babainun**: amujerado

9. **tibabaye sila**: son marido y mujer, o maridos con sus mujeres. Bisan maalong sarang quita magsacay, con di quita tibabaye: aunque hubiera olas, nos pudieramos embarcar, si no fuéramos con mujeres, si no nosotros solos.

B.

1. **lalaque**. p.p.: macho, *latine mas*

2. **nagalalaque**: andar vestida de hombre; o representar hombre la mujer

3. **maquilalaqui nga babaye**: mujer dada a hombres. Masigcalalaqui sila nga naca sara: pecar un lalaque con otro, son someticos

4. **calalaquinan**: parente varón; y si es mujer cababayenan; lalaque, f. 2: hacer tamales esquinados

5. **lalaquing buhat**: viudo; **babayeng buhat**: viuda

6. **lalaquinun nga babaye**: hembra amachada, ora sea mujer, o animal

Gender Elaboration in Root Words

But gender is also elaborated in root words as seen in the Kauffmann entries. These indicate a.) age differentiation, e.g. for females, **akay**, **babaknit**, **dalaga**, **gining**, **lin-ay**; and for males, **lay-aw**, **olitao**, **soltero**; b.) closeness of relationship, e.g. for females, **baine** and **babay** and for males, **akid**, **atid**, **idol**; and c.) civil status, e.g. **asawa** (generally for female spouse), **bana** (for male spouse), **laon** (unmarried), **oloasawa** and **kerido** ; and d.) gender preferences, as in **babayen-on**.

For Female

1. **akay**. A term of endearment used towards small girls.

2. **asawa**. Wife

3. **babaknit**. Diminutive of babae, but also applied to girls, especially in contempt. **Nalagyo ang babaknit sa tapos na siya mapanghaboy ang mga**

hampangan sang iya mga kaupud. The naughty girl ran off after throwing away the toys of her companions.

4. **babay.** Used only among females: bosom friend. **Nagababayanay sila.** They are constantly together. (The relative term for males is **akid, atid, idol**).

5. **babayhana.** Woman (familiar or even contemptuous).

6. **dalaga.** Unmarried female [young, not considered a spinster]

7. **inday.** Darling [sign of intimacy, may be used for one's sweetheart or dear relatives]

8. **gining.** Young lady, Miss (cf. **ginang, ginuo**)

9. **lin-ay.** Maiden of tender years

10. **oloasawa.** Concubine

11. **soltera.** Single woman

12. **puta.** Harlot (cf. **bigaon, alpot, patotot**)

13. **laon.** Old spinster

For Male

1. **akid, atid, idol.** Pal

2. **abuelo.** Grandfather

3. **babaylan.** Sorcerer wizard, magician, one versed in superstitious practices. Also used as a verb. **Ginababaylan** sang **babaylan** ang masakit nga bata. The sorcerer practiced his art or performed his enchantments over the sick child.

4. **bana.** Husband.

5. **inamay.** Fatherly

6. **kerido.** Beloved [usually referring to one's lover, other than the legitimate spouse]

7. **lalaki.** Male; lover. Also used as a verb, as in **Magpakalalaki** ka. Be a man. Be brave.

8. **lay-aw.** Bachelor

9. **olita.** A young unmarried man

10. **soltero.** Single man

Embodying Lexicography

The dictionaries were also examined on the basis of lexical items on body parts related to sexual reproduction and desire. Were these edited out as was done in religious literature or even in published metrical romances such as the corridos? The findings show that terms for intimate body parts have not been excluded from both the Mentrída and Kauffmann dictionaries, as the list below shows. In fact, the terms for male hermaphrodite is **bilatun** and the term for illicit activities of a womanizer is **nanhimilat**, both of which have been quite graphically derived from **bilat** which means the female organ. The term for female hermaphrodite, **babayen nga botoan** is derived from **boto** which refers to the male organ. The term for “castrate” is **hiboto**. Interestingly, the meanings of some terms in Mentrída are given in Latin. **Boto** is given the meaning *membrum virile, etiam in brutis*. There is a carry-over of this in Kauffmann where **bilat** is given the meaning *veranda faeminine; buyu is veranda in faeminis parvulis*. These terms indicate the background in Latin of the Spanish grammarians, but could the lexicographers have also been hiding under the “objective” cloak of scientific names? Indeed, the examples tend to be on the safe side. **Bilat** is safely skirted under the meaning of *decir buyayaos nominando veranda*. The meaning of the term **quinatao** is not Latinized, but its root is actually tao which is used to explain the birth process

(**pagtao**): *se llaman las partes verandas de la mujer o hombre, aunque más las del hombre.*

Mentrida's Dictionary: Terms for Body Parts

1. **boto**. Membrum virile, etiam in brutis; **botoan**: que tiene miembro viril; **babaye nga botoan**: mujer hermafrodita, que tiene sexo viril; **hiboto**: capar.
2. **Butang**: parte, miembro, capítulo, artículo...Item, los actos o pasiones del ánima se dicen así; **Cabtang**. L. **cabtang sa calag ang pagsubu, ang pagcaharluc, ang panghimaya, ang pagbuut, ang pagdumur**
3. **Bilat** u.a., veranda faemine: **bilatan**. L. **bilatun nga lalaque**: dicitur de hermafrodito, **como botoan ng babaye**, de la mujer hermafrodita; **nanhimilat**; decir buyayaos nominando veranda.
4. **Hita**. Ingle
5. **Itlog**. Etlog. Turma de hombre o animal, id est, **lagay**.
6. **Buyu**. Veranda in faeminis parvulis. **Taboni ang buyo mo**: dicen a las niñas; en los hiligaynos de las grandes lo dicen también.
7. **Quinatao**: se llaman las partes verandas de la mujer of hombre, aunque mas los del hombre
8. **Soso**, p.a.: teta, generalmente; sosohan, cosa tetuda, que tiene tetas, o que las tiene grandes
9. **Soso**, u.a. : caracolillos de la mar a modo de teta; manoso; cogellos

Kauffman's Dictionary: Terms for Body Parts

1. **Bilat**. Vulva: the genitals of a woman. Cf. **pokak, poklo, putay, puyo**
2. **Buto**. Membrum virile. Cf. **pisot, pitoy**
3. **Kinatao/kinatawo**. The nature of man; congenital, genitals
4. **Hita**. The groin.
5. **Itlog**. Egg; testicle

6. **Soso.** The female breast: to suck the breast; pasoso—give or offer the breast. Bulahan ang tian nga nagdala sa imo, ka gang mga doghan nga ginsosan. “Blessed is the womb that bore thee and the paps that gave thee suck.”

7. **Titi.** Mammary gland, teat, nipple dug. To suck the breast. **Ang bata nagatiti.** The baby is sucking the breast. **Ambot kung diin pa niya tition ang dako nga pilak nga kinahanglan niya.** [I don’t know where s/he what she can milk to get what she needs.]

8. **Utung.** Teat, nipple, pap

9. **Utungan.** To stand forth, to jut out, said of any small elevation or projection, as a tumour wart, pimple, etc.

Engendering Desire

Both dictionaries include entries on desire. The same observations made in the previous section on body parts can be made. In Mentrída’s, one meaning of **biga** is given in Latin: *Dicunt esse ardorem libidinis ad coendum*. That of **cohit**...*Item, in faeminis extrahere digito semen in cuitu receptum*. One notes, however, that the illustration that follows does not dovetail with the meaning explained: “**Di mo icohit yanang taliuis sa dalunnggan**”: “no limpies con eso puntiagudo la oreja.” For **haplus**, part of the entry is in Latin: “*refregar trayendo la mano blandamente; halagando a persona o a animal. Item, refregar entre la mano cosa larga, etiam genital ut commoueat ad pollutionem.*” **Higugma** which means to love is illustrated in the following way: vide higugma, amar a Dios y a los hombres.

However, what cannot be ignored is the cultural elaboration of **gugma** especially in Kauffmann. It is thus necessary when speaking of Hiligaynon culture to redefine desire to include softer, tender emotions such as affection, fondness, etc. The usage of this vocabulary of endearment need not cast us among the lustful who are eternally buffeted by whirlwinds in Dante's *Inferno*. Moreover, the semantic range of lexis relating to desire is an index of attitudes and predispositions associated with the Hiligaynon.⁵ The word *palangga* meaning "to love" generates a number of words such as **ga**, **angga**, **palanggingging**, **gingging**. There are also gender- specific and age-specific terms of endearment especially in the Kauffmann dictionary.

Mentrida's Dictionary: Terms Related to Desire

1. **Biga** p.a. et pagcabiga sa lauas: Dicunt esse ardorem libidinis ad coendum; poco usado es, pero los compuesto, bien usados, *unde*, **bigaun**: puta, ruffian
2. **Cohit**. p.a. Reg. 9: limpiar raspando como Job sus llagas o los oídos con paletilla...*Item, in faeminis, extrahere digito semen in cuitu receptum*. **Di mo icohit yanang taliuis sa dalunggan**: no limpiees con eso puntiagudo la oreja.
3. **Haloc**: oler llegando las narices obesar, y lo ordinario lo toman por besar. Sincopado. **Harcan mo ang camut sang padre**.
4. **Hapohap**. Sobar el cuerpo o parte del trayendo la mano y apretandola blandamente por el cuerpo, brazos, piernas como hacienda papachos, o hacer

⁵ See. For example, Anna Wierzbicka's study on key words in English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese.

papachos; *unde*, el cosicosa; **ginhapohap ang quilir**; **gintumban ang tinay**: de la escalera

5. **Haplus**. P.a. hosohoso; refregar trayendo la mano blandamente; halagando a persona o a animal. *Item*, refregar entre la mano cosa larga, *etiam genital ut commoueatur ad pollutionem*

6. **Higugma**: *vide hagugma*, amar a Dios y a los hombres

7. **Hoblas**, p.a. **naghoblas**: desnudarse, andar o estar desnudo de la cintura arriba.

8. **Hobo**. Cosa desnuda, en cueros, si no es que se especifique que parte del cuerpo está desnuda.

9. **Hubar**, p.a. deshacer nudo, desatar el cordel; desatar persona o animal

10. **Palanggi**, piedras cornelinas; panga comi; consuelo.

Kauffmann's Dictionary: Terms Related to Desire

1. **Abraso, hakus**, Embrace, hug
2. **Ayod**. A very obscene expression denoting the act of copulation
3. **Bika**. To spread the legs apart when sitting, standing, lying.
4. **Diwal**. To loll, put out the tongue
5. **Halok**. Kiss, buss
6. **Hapo**. Pant
7. **Hiwal**. To loll or hang out the tongue; to flirt. *Nagahiwal ang dila sang ido, kay ginahapo sang dalagan.*
8. **Hublas**. Naked, undressed
9. **Itot, iyot**. A very obscene term expressive of the act of copulation.
10. **Pisot**. See buto.

Kauffmann's Dictionary: Terms Related to Endearment

1. **Akid, atid, iba**. Chum
2. **Gingging**. A darling (female)

3. **Iba-iba** . Diminutive of iba
4. **Idol**. Pal, male friend
5. **Inday**. Darling girl [in usage today, Inday can refer to a female, young or old, to whom the speaker is close: a friend, a relative, a spouse, a lover]
6. **Nena** (Sp. Nena). A darling babay girl or boy. [carried over to adulthood]
7. **Nening**. Term of endearment for young girls. [carried over to adulthood]
8. **Nonoy**. Term of endearment for darling boy [carried over to adulthood]
9. **Palangga, pungpung**. Favorite, darling
10. **Toto**. A little boy. [carried over till adulthood]

Implications

In a trail blazing study of Tagalog translation in the Spanish period, Vicente Rafael (1988) shows the ways that the ladinos had actually subverted the new, dominant culture in the translation of Tagalog literature into Spanish. The preceding description and analysis of lexical items related to gender and desire in the Mentrída and Kauffmann dictionaries demonstrate another patch of resistance in a semantic field which colonial cultures re-drew. The main credits to the making of *diccionarios* and the *artes* on the major languages produced in the Philippines in the Spanish era and the early American period were given to the missionaries and thus, native concepts were inscribed within their system of literacy.⁶ As Ong (1982: 8) notes: “Writing gives a grapholect power far exceeding that of any purely

⁶ For a contemporary example, please see Peter Muhlhausler’s “‘Reducing’ Pacific languages to writing.” In *Ideologies*, 189-20.

oral dialect.” But the real authors were really the ladinos, (teachers in the case of Kauffmann) natives from the Philippines who were the informants, translators, or consultants of the missionaries.

It is significant to note that Mentrída had earlier published the *Arte de la lengua bisaya, hiliguayna de la isla de Panay* (1618); thus, the collection and inscriptions of the lexical items appearing in the *diccionario* published in 1637 were actually done much earlier (García-Medall: 2004, 10), or within 50 years of Spanish colonization.

Although it may go against the grain of anti-essentialist views, we could surmise that the vocabulary of gender, body, and desire came from the living, spoken language of the native speakers of Hiligaynon. Interestingly, most entries survive about 300 years later in Kauffmann’s dictionary, which is also based mainly on spoken Hiligaynon, judging from the acknowledgements that Kauffmann makes to an American parish priest (for the English portion) three named Hiligaynon speakers—and “all the teachers of Igaras, Iloilo Parochial School”; as well as with his preoccupation with accents and other indicators of oral dialects. These circumstances may explain why the *diccionarios* remained somewhat outside the colonial frame, preserving thus a certain purity and naturalness in language. It is refreshing, for instance, to know that the Hiligaynon for penis is **quinatao** (**in**

Mentrida) or **kinatao**, or that which brings about the birth process. Contrary to expectations, terms for intimate body parts are uncensored, gender diversity is acknowledged, and unconventional relationships (as in **oloasawa**, **kerida(o)**) are unconcealed. That Mentrida, Aparicio, and Kauffmann were true to their calling as grammarians could not, of course, be discounted. Moreover, it must be qualified that certain terms usable in this study actually have broader meanings nothing to do with gender and desire. **Quinatao**, for instance, may refer to “one’s nature”; **bika** would simply mean spreading the legs apart [for whatever purpose]. Sometimes, terms with strong sexual associations like **titi** are metaphorically used (please see no. 7 in the Kauffmann entries for body parts). Grammarians could thus not summarily exclude “obscene” terms as they had various uses in the community. Spanish missionaries who were the target learners of the Mentrida dictionary had to know the concepts of currency to facilitate proselytizing.

Still, slippages are evident. Note, for example, the derogatory entries for **babaylan** in Mentrida and Kauffmann (p. 4 of this paper). Yet, Filipino historiography and anthropology have revisited the **babaylan**. In pre-Spanish times and the early colonial period—the **babaylan** was female; also she was not a sorcerer, but considered, even up to today, as a healer and the repository of wisdom in the community (Kindly see Magos 1992). In the following entry from

Kauffmann (also p. 4), bravery is associated with the male when, in fact, this is a quality not exclusive to him: **lalaki**. male; lover. Also used as a verb, as in **Magpakalalaki** ka. Be a man. Be brave.

Taking from Sapir, Matore writes that words, or sets of related words, are crucial to the study of the “inner life” of societies in a specific period. A comparison of the lexicography in the Mentrída and Kauffmann dictionaries gives us a glimpse of how Hiligaynons may have viewed gender and desire in specific periods of their history (although filtered from missionary eyes, we might say). There are core concepts evident e.g., body parts and the nuanced terms for love and desire, but Kauffmann’s dictionary exhibits greater gender differentiation and Hispanic acculturation, e.g. *kerida(o)*, *soltero(a)*. A cross-linguistic study of this vocabulary within the Philippines could give empirical boost for moves to site gender studies within our cultural matrix.

Moreover, the concept of frequency of usage could be added to cultural elaboration and keywords as indicators of core values of a culture. Here is where computers and concordances can be put to use as in Gamboa-Alcantara’s Hiligaynon-Filipino dictionary (1997). What is noteworthy in her dictionary is its aim of contributing to the enrichment of Filipino as a national language, and thus its potentials for locating gender studies across Philippine languages. The Mentrída

dictionary was targeted to foreign readers wanting to learn Hiligaynon while the Kauffmann dictionary was aimed at Hiligaynons wanting to learn English. However, unlike the two other dictionaries, the entries in the Gamboa-Alcantara dictionary are taken from written sources—*Yuhum*, a literary magazine Hiligaynon (the years were not indicated) and a few novels from Magdalena Jalandoni, the foremost Hiligaynon novelist who wrote from the 1920's to the 1960's. Core words persist, the durable lexical witnesses to the history of gender and desire in Hiligaynon, e.g. **ginhalucan**, **ginpalangga**, **gugma**, **hacus**, **babaye**, **lalaki**. No new terms since Kauffmann surface in the corpus, but these would likely come from spoken Ilonggo which I have found in stories over the last 15 years written mostly by young Hiligaynon writers. It would certainly be fascinating to see new terms and how these “lexical witnesses” speak in extended discourse in a way that words in a dictionary are sometimes muted.

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