



Bantayanon Dictionary Project

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SINGGA NA! THE 1ST BANTAYAN SUMMIT ON LOCAL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

*“Using Lexicography as a Tool for Examining
Local Language and Culture”*



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LANGUAGE? DIALECT? WHAT IS THE REAL DIFFERENCE?

- ▶ The word **language** is extremely difficult to define accurately. Why?
 - ▶ The word carries political, economic and social implications.
 - ▶ Languages sometimes change slowly over distances, so it is difficult to know where to “draw the line”.
- ▶ A **dialect** is easier to define. It is a *variation within a language*.
 - ▶ Everybody speaks a *language*. Everybody speaks a *dialect* of that language.
- ▶ From a linguistic standpoint, the terms **language** and **dialect** are often misused and/or are often used to mean the same thing.
 - ▶ *May it nevermore be!*
- ▶ What is often today in the Philippines called a **dialect** is more accurately called a **minority language**.



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LANGUAGE? DIALECT? WHAT IS THE REAL DIFFERENCE?

- Bantayanon IS NOT a *dialect* of Cebuano or Tagalog or Ilonggo. Bantayanon IS a unique *minority language* in the Philippines.
- Bantayanon has at least three *dialects*:
 - Binantayanon
 - Linawisanon
 - Sinantapehanon



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LANGUAGE? DIALECT? WHAT IS THE REAL DIFFERENCE?

- On a further note, Cebuano is the *dominant, regional* language of the province. Cebuano IS NOT the Mother Tongue of the child in Bantayan.
- A child learns his *mother tongue* from home, not from school.
- So why are we using Cebuano in our MTB materials?
- The message to the children is:
 - “The language you speak is not a real language.”
 - “The language you speak is not valuable.”
 - “The language you speak is not worth preserving.”
- DO WE REALLY WANT TO TELL OUR CHILDREN THIS?



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WHAT EXACTLY IS BANTAYANON?

from the *Ethnologue*

- ▶ Austronesian
 - ▶ Malayo-Polynesian
 - ▶ Greater Central Philippine
 - ▶ Central Philippine
 - ▶ Bisayan
 - ▶ Central : **Bantayanon**
 - ▶ Peripheral: Hiligaynon
 - ▶ Romblon: Romblomanon
 - ▶ Warayan: Waray-Waray
 - ▶ Cebuan: Cebuano
 - ▶ Tagalog: Tagalog



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WHERE DID BANTAYANON COME FROM?

RECORDED HISTORY

Ignacio Francisco Alcina (1668) *Historia de las Islas e indios de Bisayas* :

“Finally, it could have happened that people from various larger or smaller islands passed over to the others, *as is an established fact among them*. For instance, those on the **Island of Bantayan**, which is near Cebu, are actually descendants of the people living on Samar Island and on the western side or opposite that of Ibabao. Today, they admit that they are related by blood due to the fact that the latter were populated in more recent times. In the town of Oton, which is on the southern part of the Island of Panay, some of the chieftains there told me that they descend from a great settlement which existed in ancient times on the Island of Leyte ... and from that town they went to inhabit the coastlands of the said island. Even today they distinguish themselves very strikingly from the neighboring towns in their language, manner of dress and customs. It may be concluded from all this that some have migrated here out of necessity or pressure of war or storms; others due to their proximity, and still others because of trade have migrated to these islands of the ‘Pintados’ and began to mingle with one another. Today all of them communicate with each other in the Bisayan language.”



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WHERE DID BANTAYANON COME FROM?

LINGUISTIC RECONSTRUCTION

Dr. Jason Lobel, from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

“at its most underlying level, **Bantayanon** must have originated from a western Warayan dialect that had just barely begun shifting into what would become the underlying Central Bisayan stratum of Ilonggo, cut off from the rest of the linguistic community that would later become Ilonggo in eastern Panay, and subsequently coming under the sphere of influence of Cebuano. Tying that in to what will have already been discussed in [my upcoming] Kinabalian paper, you can then draw a map from Samar to Panay (with the help of early Spanish-era historical accounts) illustrating the east-to-west expansion of Central Bisayan (i.e., Waray, etc.) speakers which must have occurred prior to the expansion of Cebuano into western Leyte, eastern Negros, and much of Mindanao.”



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IS BANTAYANON THE SAME AS ILONGGO OR CEBUANO?

LINGUISTIC RECONSTRUCTION

Dr. Jason Lobel, from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

“if you really wanted to go in-depth into the whole problem, you’d find that what you and everyone else THINKS is Ilonggo in Bantayanon is actually from the Warayan dialect of a group of people who migrated across from Leyte to northern Cebu (i.e., in the area of Bantayan Island), some of whom later migrated across to eastern Panay, where that Warayan dialect mixed with Kinaray-a and became what we know today as ‘Ilonggo’. **But what you’ve got on Bantayan Island is based on what that Warayan dialect was BEFORE it got mixed with the native peoples of Panay and became ‘Ilonggo’**; then, you take that, and overwhelm it with Cebuano vocabulary and morphology, so it becomes a whole ‘nother animal, but that pre-Ilonggo Warayan substratum is still there, and it’s not all stuff that you can still find in modern Ilonggo (although most of it is, but NOT all).”



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CONSIDER ALSO THE FOLLOWING:

- **regular sound changes:** *tyo* compare to *tulo*
byay compare to *balay*
kyamay compare to *kalamay*
kakyop compare to *kakulop* (Waray-Waray)
- **words being replaced:** *siki* replaced by *tiil*
Miyatinis replaced by *Misa de Galyo*
tyo is being replaced by *tulo*
agar-agar replaced by *guso*
- **threatened words:** *mama* threatened by toothpaste and mouthwash
buok threatened by *stick*
Is *syatong* threatened?
- **lost words:** *alipid?* *balading?* *konding?* *botok?*
luwag nga bagoy!



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CONSIDER ALSO THE FOLLOWING:

- Where did the expression ***kolera!*** come from?
- Where did the name of ***Kangkaibi*** come from?
- Is there a “more Bantayanon” word for the ***interyor*** of a bicycle tire?
- Where do the words ***sara*** and ***lat*** come from?
- What word is “more Bantayanon”: ***asukal*** or ***asukar*** or ***kyamay***?
- Where did the word ***kingki*** come from?



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WHAT COULD A BANTAYANON DICTIONARY GIVE US?

- The first – that I am aware of – publication in Bantayanon.
- The recording of our words – and therefore our traditions and way of life – for future generations.
- An historical record of the language for use by linguists in the future.
- A basis for further publications in Bantayanon:
 - MTB materials!
 - books, poems, songs, newspapers, websites.....what else?
 - **If you can dream it, you can do it!**
- Public notices to be written in Bantayanon.
 - Then everybody – our kids, our visitors – will see that we take pride in our very special and unique language!



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HOW CAN BANTAYANON BE SAVED?

At the American Association for Applied Linguistics conference in 2011 in Chicago, Paul Lewis discussed the development of five conditions that must be met in order to achieve sustainability of a language in a diglossic context. These are the **FAMED** conditions:

- **Functions** : The language in question must be useful. Uses (functions) for the language must *exist* and *be recognized* by the community.
- **Acquisition** : A means of acquiring the needed proficiency to use the language for those functions must be operational.
- **Motivation** : Community members must be motivated to use the language for those functions.
- **Environment** : The external environment (e.g., policy, attitudes) must not be hostile to the use of the language for those functions.
- **Distinct Niche** : Societal norms must keep the functions assigned to the language distinct from the functions for L2.



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HOW CAN BANTAYANON BE SAVED?

Let's examine each of these 5 conditions individually in the Bantayanon context.

Functions

- **condition:** The language in question must be useful. Uses (functions) for the language must exist and *be recognized* by the community. The language must be used to meet the functions of communication within the home and community.
- **my observation so far:** This seems to me to be true for Bantayanon.
- **What is your evaluation?**



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HOW CAN BANTAYANON BE SAVED?

Let's examine each of these 5 conditions individually in the Bantayanon context.

Acquisition

- **condition:** A means of acquiring the needed proficiency to use the language must be operational. There must be *full oral transmission* of the language to all children.
- **my observation so far:** This seems to me to be possibly true for Bantayanon, but it seems doubtful that it's true on a sufficient scale.
- **What is your evaluation?**



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HOW CAN BANTAYANON BE SAVED?

Let's examine each of these 5 conditions individually in the Bantayanon context.

Motivation

- **condition:** Community members must be *motivated* to use the language. Speakers must perceive the benefits (economic, social, religious, identificational) of using their language.
- **my observation so far:** This seems to me to be definitely NOT true.
- **What is your evaluation?**



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HOW CAN BANTAYANON BE SAVED?

Let's examine each of these 5 conditions individually in the Bantayanon context.

Environment

- **condition:** The external environment (e.g., policy, attitudes) *must not be hostile* to the use of the language. Official government policy must affirm and promote the use of the language, primarily by sanctioning an official orthography and using public schools to transmit local language literacy.
- **my observation so far:** This may be the case, but official policy could do more. Steve Quakenbush pointed out to me that Bantayanon “has no official recognition as a language in the Philippines”, but that “at least there is no national level policy to suppress local languages, and *local communities are allowed to promote the use of their languages.*”
- **What is your evaluation?**



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HOW CAN BANTAYANON BE SAVED?

Let's examine each of these 5 conditions individually in the Bantayanon context.

Distinct Niche

- **condition:** Societal norms must keep the functions assigned to the language distinct from the functions for L2 (in this case, Cebuano, Tagalog and English). Members of the language community must have a set of *shared norms* as to when to use the local language versus when to use a more dominant language.
- **my observation so far:** This is the case. However, the Bantayanons' "shared norms as to . . . when to use a more dominant language" is to use it in almost all domains outside of the home or with another Bantayanon.
- **What is your evaluation?**



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HOW CAN BANTAYANON BE SAVED?

- It must be **recorded**, as in a dictionary or a grammar.
- It must be **used** for more than casual conversation.
- The local government must **promote** and **encourage** its use.
- The Bantayanon must **be proud** to use Bantayanon and must use it whenever he or she can.
- Literature must be **produced** in the language.
- The language must be **transmitted fully** to our children, at home, in our schools, in our churches. When our kids return from their education in Cebu or Manila, they must **continue to speak** Bantayanon! We as parents should insist.
- **If we do not do these things, Bantayan will be a Cebuano-speaking community within two to three generations, and it will be our fault.**



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WHAT EXACTLY IS LEXICOGRAPHY?

- ▶ Briefly put, LEXICOGRAPHY is “the making of dictionaries”, or the study of the making of dictionaries.
- ▶ BUT, because there is so much involved in the making of a dictionary, the lexicographer must master many other linguistic fields, such as:
 - ▶ Phonetics & Phonology
 - ▶ Morphology
 - ▶ Syntax
 - ▶ Sociolinguistics & Dialectology



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HOW CAN LEXICOGRAPHY BE USED 'AS A TOOL FOR EXAMINING LOCAL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE?

Ignacio Francisco Alcina (1668) *Historia de las Islas e indios de Bisayas* :

“Now, one that surpasses [the *borot*] in thorniness and which is similar in leaves and fruit, if one may call it thus, is one called *hagman* [es otra que llaman *hagman*]. It has such numerous spines that they pierce the very soles of our shoes as if they were awls and, without exaggeration, even more readily.

“These two types of shrubs usually grow on little hills or mounds near the ocean; **they abound on some islands like in Bantayan**, which is a small island near the Island of Cebu. **This island of Bantayan is just about all covered with this *hagman***. As a result, this *hagman* serves as a fortress and a stockade for defense against the enemies which plague this island constantly. When these enemies would land on this island their feet were badly pierced because some of these thorns are as large as three fingers in width. And because they experienced such severe punishment, these enemies then fashioned *wooden clogs*, **similar to those used by the natives on this island**, in order to protect themselves from these thorns. All the while our natives believed themselves secure on this thorny island; however, when the enemy landed with clogs on, they captured many.”



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HOW CAN LEXICOGRAPHY BE USED 'AS A TOOL FOR EXAMINING LOCAL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE?

- **Question:** Will your children know what a *karomata* was?
or a *pinggapingga*?
or a *laton*?

What about a *dusonduson*?
What about *kopra*?
- **Question:** If they don't know these words, will they remember the unique traditions involved?



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HOW CAN LEXICOGRAPHY BE USED 'AS A TOOL FOR EXAMINING LOCAL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE?

► **Answer:** Of course not!

Language (i.e. words) are the caretakers of cultural practices, local traditions, and unique knowledge.

When we *change our practices*, we lose our **traditions**.

When we *lose our traditions*, we lose our **words**.

When we *lose our words*, we lose our **unique knowledge**.

Did you know... that Doong is named for a migratory bird that used to frequent the islet in large numbers? We found this out by doing *lexicography*!

Source: a 104 year old resident of Doong!



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WHAT DOES A DICTIONARY TELL US ABOUT THE LANGUAGE?

- ▶ Linguistic Anthropologists like myself tend to produce dictionaries that are **descriptive** in nature. That is, they *describe* the speech patterns of the language *as it is spoken* in the speech community.
- ▶ Many people see dictionaries as **prescriptive**. That is, they see the dictionary as *instructing* the speech community as to *how the language should be spoken*.
- ▶ In truth, both are true. The dictionary we create will describe the words of Bantayanon as Bantayanons speak them, but, in the process, many decisions will have to be made to prioritize some forms over others, and the dictionary will become a *standardization* of the Bantayanon language.
- ▶ This is the very reason why we must proceed carefully, so that the result is correct, but also acceptable to the community as their standard.



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WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF HAVING A DICTIONARY?

- A dictionary will **validate** our language.
- A dictionary will **enable writers** to produce literature in our language.
- A dictionary will help speakers of other languages **to learn and appreciate** our language.
- A dictionary will **promote literacy** in the community.
- A dictionary will **record and describe our words** so that they won't be lost.



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WHAT PROCESS WILL WE BE USING TO COLLECT WORDS?



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“What if the word is the same in both Cebuano and Bantayanon?”

Then both languages use the same word!

This happens all the time! It's because the languages are so closely related.

So add the word to the dictionary!

Don't leave it out just because Cebuano uses the same word.



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“What if nobody uses the word anymore?”

Then it is **IMPERATIVE** that you add it to the dictionary!

We've already discussed the loss of words. Many words are often lost as languages change.

We will indicate in the dictionary that the word has fallen out of use. But the word **SHOULD** and **MUST** be included.

Remember, if we don't record the words, they will be lost forever!



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“

Can an English word also be a
Bantayanon word?

”

YES! As long as there is not a word in Bantayanon instead.

Languages “borrow” words all the time. Actually, did you know that 30-40% of English words are actually of French origin?

Why does this happen? Let's talk about it.



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“If the word is of English origin,
how do we spell it?”

According to the orthography of Bantayanon.

Remember, this word is now Bantayanon. Spell it the way Bantayanons are pronouncing it.

When words are borrowed, they are usually *accommodated* phonetically and phonologically to the language that adopts them. This means that the Bantayanon will not pronounce the word as an American or an Australian or an Englishman would. So why spell it the same way?



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“

Can we correct the words that we are given in the field?

”

NO! Absolutely not! Our job is to REFLECT, not to CORRECT!

This is very, very important. Our job is to **describe** the language of the Bantayanon. We are not concerned at this point with *correctness*. Those decisions of *standardization* will come later.

At this point, tell us what the Bantayanons **are saying**,
NOT what you think they **should be saying**.



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“

Can we correct the words that we are given in the field?

”

Example:

if a person says “kyamay” or “tyo”, DO NOT WRITE *kalamay* or *tulo* because you think this is the *correct form*.

if a person says “duwa”, DO NOT WRITE *duha*!

Write what people say! We need to know what they're saying!



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WHAT ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY?

- Now we get to the fun part. How to write the words!
- The **consonant phonemes** in Bantayanon are:

b	as in	<u>b</u> inga
d	as in	<u>d</u> uha
g	as in	<u>g</u> ab-i
h	as in	<u>h</u> apon
k	as in	<u>k</u> ak <u>y</u> op
l	as in	<u>l</u> ubot
m	as in	<u>m</u> aslok

n	as in	<u>n</u> an <u>o</u>
ng	as in	<u>ng</u> a
p	as in	<u>p</u> uya
s	as in	<u>s</u> ara
t	as in	<u>t</u> ambok
w	as in	<u>w</u> a
y	as in	a <u>y</u> o

- The consonant allophone is:
r as in diri



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WHAT ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY?

- ▶ The following consonants should *only* be used for already established proper names, such as the names of people and places:

c as in Vicente or Nicolas

j as in Madridejos or Joanna

q, qu as in Quiamco

x as in Roxas

z as in Zoren



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WHAT ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY?

- ▶ The **vowel sounds** in Bantayanon are:

a e i o u

- ▶ For the vowels **e/i** and **o/u**, write *what you think you hear the person say*, and we will have an interesting discussion about these letters at a later time.

- ▶ The **diphthongs** in Bantayanon are:

aw ay oy uy iw

- ▶ Can you find any other diphthongs? What about **ey**?



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MORE NOTES ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY

- A **syllable** in Bantayanon has *one and only one* vowel sound.
- For this reason, we write **sya** instead of ***siya**, because this word is pronounced in Bantayanon with only one syllable.



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MORE NOTES ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY

- **Stress** in Bantayanon is considered *phonemic*, meaning it can change the meaning of a word.
- For example, **ánay** is not the same thing as **anáy**, right?
- For this reason, please make sure to mark the stressed syllable of any word with an acute accent (´) above the vowel.
- Examples: **á é í ó ú**



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MORE NOTES ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY

- ▶ The **glottal stop** is also *phonemic* in Bantayanon, and it's a very important consonant sound. Here is how we write the glottal stop:
 - ▶ At the beginning of a word that starts with a vowel, we don't write it.
 - ▶ We also don't write it between two vowels, such as in **maáyo**.
 - ▶ We use a hyphen (-) to indicate a glottal stop in the middle of a word. For example, **ká-non** is very different from **kan-on*, diba? Make sure to listen well and write what the person says!
 - ▶ At the end of a word that ends with a vowel, we mark the glottal stop with a grave accent (`), such as in **búsà**. I have a difficult time hearing this feature, since we don't have it in English, so I need your help to make sure this feature is marked correctly. Salamat!



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MORE NOTES ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY

- Sometimes the same vowel has the **stress** and the **glottal stop**!
- In this case, we use the circumflex accent (^).
- For example, **isdâ** or **lamî**.
- Cool, right?



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MORE NOTES ABOUT THE ORTHOGRAPHY

- Remember the hyphen (-) we used to mark the **glottal stop**? Well, it has another use as well: to make sure the syllables are correctly divided.
- Often, especially when using prefixes, a consonant comes between two vowels and could be pronounced in either syllable.
- For example, we write **nag-ano** so that it won't be pronounced **na-gano*.
- Finally, the letters **f** and **v** are not natural to Bantayanon. They usually occur in loanwords, especially loanwords from English.
- Remember, make sure to write what the person says. Then we'll talk more about **f** and **v** later.



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SO WHO SHOULD WE TALK TO IN THE BARYOS?

► Try to find people who are:

older. Older people are your best option because they typically don't mix Cebuano with Bantayanon and because they know the words that are not used often today. They also love to have visitors and will usually talk for a long time. They will be able to tell you stories as well! View these people as the treasure they are and enjoy your time with them.

less educated. Well-educated people tend to mix Cebuano and English into their speech. They often do not remember the Bantayanon words. This is not what we want.

specialists. Some people can talk about certain things that others can not. For example, a fisherman knows many words about fish. A poultry farmer knows many words about chickens.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

► First, we are going to elicit words from speakers in their own language!

This means that you will not speak to the interviewee in Cebuano or English. The reason for this is simple: *people respond in the language used to speak to them, if they can*. So, if you speak to them in Cebuano, they will respond in Cebuano. If you speak to them in English, they will respond in Cebuano or English. Most people will not understand exactly why you are asking them these funny questions – even if you explain it to them – and they will respond in a language they believe *you the interviewer* best understand.

This is the very reason why I need your help: I don't speak the language well enough to do these interviews.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

► Our job is “to reflect”, not “to correct”!

This is very important. We are interested in what people say, NOT what we think they *should* say.

Always record the word *as spoken* by the interviewee. Even if you've never heard the word pronounced the way you hear it, always write *exactly what the person says*.

Never giggle or laugh or make disparaging comments about the person's accent or the words they give you. Treat every person with respect. Think of it this way: *they are the experts and you're learning from them*.

If you feel that something the person says is 'incorrect' in some way, make a note of that on the questionnaire next to where you recorded what the person actually said. We can always discuss these things later.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

- **Be able to recognize when you're hearing Cebuano and politely redirect the interviewee.**

If you feel the person is speaking Cebuano, politely remind them that you are looking for words in their language, not in Cebuano. Continue to write down what they actually say, but make a note that you believe it is Cebuano.

- **An “educated” person is NOT a better choice than a “non-educated” person.**

Actually, sometimes – especially in the Philippines – the speech of a person who is better educated will be highly influenced by the language of their education. You should not avoid interviewing educated people, but you *should also not avoid* uneducated people either.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

► Seek out the older folks!

Ask around. Where are the centenarians? Find them! Interview them!

Not only will many of these people love talking to you, but you will learn so much from them. I promise you, they will know words you may have never heard before, or even words we would never have without them.

Did you know that many older Bantayanons say *siki* instead of *tiil*, or *tyo* instead of *tulo*?

What other “old Bantayanon” words can you find? *If you don't record them, they may be lost forever.*

Just remember to be respectful of their time and their energy. Don't keep them if you see them getting tired.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

► **Try to find people from all walks of life.**

Why? Because different people who do different things know different words. Fishermen know fish words. Carpenters know construction words. Lawyers and doctors know legal and medical terms. Mothers know words about caring for children. Priests know religious words.

So, don't just go to one place and talk to people at that one place. Go to the beach where the fishermen are. Go to the church where the priest is. Go speak to trisikad drivers. Go speak to the owner of the bakery or the sarisari or the botika.

Be creative and think outside the box.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

► **You can also ask people to refer you to “specialists”.**

This is a good strategy. People will be able to tell you who you should speak to.

Let's say you're looking for someone who knows the names of the birds on the island. Ask around. Someone may be able to refer you to the very person who knows all about the birds.

Try to find people who know about plants and how they can be used, or people who know about insects, or people who know about cockfighting.

Again, be creative and think outside the box.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

- **Record not only the words they give you but also the other words they say while they're thinking.**

Write down, as much as they can, the “other things” that you hear during the interviews.

These may be interjections, or things people standing around say, or expressions, or sayings, etc.

Jot these words on the back of the questionnaire, or travel in pairs and let one person “listen” while you’re recording words.



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

► Listen to people around you, even those you're not interviewing.

While you're walking, or stopping to get a drink, or waiting for a trisikad, listen to people talk to each other. Write down interesting things they say.

Did somebody say something funny? Write it down.

Did you overhear a word you think we may not have? Write it down.

What did you hear a man say when he walked up to buy a cigarette from a vendor? What did you hear a person say when asking directions to some place? What did you hear a mother say to her child when the child was misbehaving? What did the guys joking around and drinking beer say to each other? How do people respond when you ask them to do an interview

Always, always, always be listening!



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WHAT OTHER THINGS DO WE NEED TO REMEMBER?

► Most importantly, have fun!

It should be fun and interesting to document the language of your heritage.

You will learn a lot and you will have lots of laughs.

Not only that, but remember also that *if you don't get the words, they may be lost forever.*

So always keep a positive attitude and have fun!

Just make sure to rest when you get tired. We make mistakes when we're tired, right?



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HOW TO CHOOSE BETWEEN TWO FORMS?

- ***pwa*** or ***mapwa*** ? ***tyo*** or ***tulo*** ? ***kyamay*** or ***asukar*** or ***asukal*** ?
siki or ***tiil*** ? ***asyute*** or ***asyutis*** or ***estewetes*** or ***atswetes*** ?
- If it is different from Cebuano, it is Bantayanon.
- If it is associated with “older speakers”, it has priority.
- If it is heard in the baryos, it has priority.
- If it is associated with a particular town or area, it is *dialectical*.
- If it is part of a regular sound change, it has priority.