

“Kinaray-a,” “Hiniray-a,” or “Karay-a” is derived from “iraya” meaning “upstream,” “ka” meaning “companion,” with infixation “in” meaning “to have undergone something.” It refers to the language of Antique (from “Hamtik,” or large, red ant or wasp) and the upland parts of Iloilo, Capiz, and Aklan, as well as Guimaras and some parts of Negros Occidental.

Ilongo has long enjoyed primacy in the Western Visayas region because it is the language spoken by the ruling classes in the region, namely the hacenderos on both shores of the Guimaras Strait and the Chinese compradores from Molo (Parian), while Kinaray-a has long been identified as “the language of the *sacada* and the muchacho” (*Ani* 19:12). The Spanish priests added to the development of Ilongo by publishing grammars and catechisms in that language, while producing none in Kinaray-a. Today, however, the attitude towards Kinaray-a as *probinsyano* (provincial) has begun to change.

Despite having a disparate vocabulary, with usage differing slightly from town to town (for example, the English “here” could be *rigya*, *rugya*, *digya*, *di-a*, depending on the location), Kinaray-a speakers understand one another whether they come from Antique, Capiz, or Iloilo. The actual number of Kinaray-a speakers is undetermined as the language has long suffered from being classified with Ilongo. Apart from the population of Antique, which was 419,000 in 1990, the populations of Iloilo towns west, north, and northeast of the towns of Tigbauan, Santa Barbara, Pototan, Anilao, and Dingle inclusive, and the towns of Tapaz and Jamindan in Capiz, all speak Kinaray-a. All in all, there may be around 1,000,000 Kinaray-a speakers.

History

According to the oral history of the *Maragtas*, Antique once enjoyed primacy among the realms carved out in Panay by the 10 Bornean *datu* (chieftains), who, fleeing from the tyranny of Sultan Makatunaw of Borneo, bought the island from the Ati King Marikudo in a barter believed to have taken place at the mouth of the Siuaragan River and later established the *sakup* (districts) of Hamtik, Aklan, and Irong-irong. The datu supposedly landed in Malandog, Hamtik, where a marker now commemorates the event which is reenacted in the *Binirayan* (literally, “place where the boats landed”) Festival. In Hamtik ruled the wisest among the chieftains, Datu Sumakwel, whom Datu Puti designated as the *primus inter pares* among the seven remaining datu who formed the Confederation of the Madya-as.

In Spanish times, Antique was administered from Iloilo, and remained a backwater of the colony. When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi transferred his headquarters from Cebu to Panay, his men came upon the villages of Bugasong and Hamtik. Encomiendas were established in Pandan and Hamtik in the 1570s. By 1581, the Augustinians set up a mission in Hamtik, establishing the first parish in Antique. This was followed by Barbaza, 1596; San Jose de Buenavista, 1733; Bugasong, 1742; San Pedro, 1744; Sibalom, 1745; Pandan, 1752; Patnongon, 1761; Dao, 1771; and Culasi, 1773. In the

1660s, Antique belonged to Ogtong (now, Oton, Iloilo). In 1793 Antique became a separate province.

The Antiqueños did not welcome Spanish rule. The natives who were then called *mundo* and *cascado*, refused to live in the poblacion or town center, a problem that occasional Muslim raids along coastal towns did not help relieve. In 1828, secular priests participated in a revolt launched against the *alcalde mayor*, Don Francisco Oreta, which ended when he was replaced by Don Benito Domingo. In 1888, the Igbaong, a secret organization in San Remigio led by Gregorio Palmero revolted against abuses by Spanish officials and Augustinian priests. It was pacified only seven years later.

When the revolutionary movement was launched, Panay became an active area for Katipunan recruitment. On 21 September 1898, General Leandro Fullon landed in Inayawan, Pandan and captured the town, holding the parish priest captive. The following day, Fullon and his army landed in Culasi, forcing the Spaniards to withdraw to Tibiao. The Filipino soldiers under Spanish command mutinied and placed themselves under the command of Fullon. A week later, the forces of Fullon clashed with Spanish troops in Bugasong in a battle that momentarily stopped Fullon's successful southern campaign. Fullon retreated to Culasi. Spanish success was short-lived, however, as another Filipino mutiny decimated the Spanish officers. By 23 November that year, Filipino revolutionaries had taken San Jose de Buenavista. Fullon then became Antique governor.

During the Philippine-American War, the Americans did not land a force in Hamtik, until January 1900. Not long after, the revolutionary forces under Fullon were forced to shift to guerrilla warfare. Fullon held out until 22 March 1901, when he surrendered to the Americans. In April, the civil government was established and Fullon was elected governor. A lasting legacy of the revolution to Antique is the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, which was founded by Gregorio Aglipay, General Emilio Aguinaldo's Military Vicar General, and labor leader Isabelo de los Reyes. Next to Ilocos, Antique has the greatest number of Aglipayans.

In 1939, in anticipation of the Japanese invasion, Antique became a mobilization center. World War II saw an active anti-Japanese guerrilla campaign led by Colonel Macario Peralta and other officers of the 61st Infantry Division of the USAFFE (United States Armed Forces in the Far East). The first submarine-borne supplies to the 6th Military District (as General Douglas McArthur designated the Panay-Negros area) were landed in Libertad, then a barrio of Pandan. Guerrillas operated rather freely in Antique, as their mountain bases in Mounts Baloy and Madya-as were located on the border of Iloilo and Capiz. Moreover, the Japanese were garrisoned for most of the time in the capital of San Jose.

The Japanese would occasionally sortie north to pursue guerrilla forces in actions that the people would call as "penetration" and associate with "evacuation." The guerrilla warning system worked effectively in evacuating the people from the town centers

whenever Japanese columns would venture out of San Jose, such that the majority of the people of Antique could say that they never saw a Japanese soldier during the entire war. Looming large in the public imagination were the horrors, not so much of Japanese atrocities as of the guerrilla killing fields called Badyang, a place where suspected collaborators were executed. Stay-over public officials and traders were most vulnerable to charges of collaboration.

In general, Antique has kept a low profile in national affairs. Its mountainous terrain, lined by a narrow coastal plain, as well as its lack of good roads, ports, and other transportation and communication facilities have prevented Antique from raising its standard of living despite being a net surplus producer of rice, sugar, and other agricultural crops. Antiqueños also partly attribute the lack of development to politics, especially as they tend to support the opposition. For instance, in premartial law days, when the president was Nacionalista, the Antique governor was Liberal.

During the Snap Elections of 1986, the pro-Corazon Aquino group led by then Governor Evelio Javier conducted a successful campaign against entrenched pro-Marcos forces led by Assemblyman Arturo Pacificador, but after the elections, the charismatic Javier was gunned down in broad daylight in San Jose. The assassination intensified the tension that culminated in the EDSA revolt 11 days later.

Economy

Antique occupies the western coast of Panay Island, and has an area of 252,200 hectares. The province has 14 coastal towns, three inland towns, and a municipal conglomerate of six islands called Caluya.

The narrow plains, which comprise only 1/6 of the land area, accommodate wet rice culture; more than half of the land are mountainous. Two-thirds of the cultivated land is planted to rice, of which the province is a net exporter. The other third is planted to corn, coffee, cacao, mango, peanuts, mongo, sugar, copra, sweet potatoes, and cassava. Much of the highlands have been eroded by kaingin or slash-and-burn swidden agriculture.

Fishing is a secondary occupation in Antique. In between planting and harvesting, many families engage in fishing. One of the biggest businesses in the provinces is catching *bangus* or milkfish fry; the exclusive franchise for the purchase of bangus fry is a major forum for competition among elite families, who bid for the municipal concessions every year. The fry are sold to fishponds raising bangus in Capiz and Iloilo. New prawn-fishing ventures in the late 1980s adversely affected the economy of Antique, specifically the fisherfolk's cooperatives, which had managed to wrest the bangus fry concessions from the traditional elite.

From the 1800s to the 1920s, trade in locally manufactured and other goods was

conducted between Sibalon, Antique, and Miag-ao in Iloilo. In this exchange called *carriada*, traders used the trails crossing the mountains between Antique and Iloilo (Madrid 1995).

The province has coal mines in Semirara Island and marble quarries in Pandan and Libertad where the quality of the marble is said to be better than the lodes in Romblon. But for most, the major source of livelihood remains fishing and farming.

The relative poverty of the province has contributed to a high rate of emigration. From the turn of the century onwards, a large number of *sacadas* or migrant workers serving the Negros sugarcane haciendas consisted of Antiqueños. A significant percentage of the population of Palawan consists of Antiqueños or descendants of Antiqueño migrants, as is the population of South Cotabato. On a per 1,000 basis, Antique is the source of more female domestics below 21 than any other province in the country, except perhaps Samar. Thus, while Kinaray-a has its historical boundaries in Antique and the interior mountain towns of Iloilo, the Kinaray-a speakers are now found also in certain areas in Palawan, Negros, and Mindanao.

Political System

In the oral history of *Maragtas*, Hamtik and the other two *sakup*, Aklan and Irong-irong, were governed by a code promulgated by Datu Sumakwel. The code had prescriptions for the regulation of personal and family relations, property, succession, contracts, delicts, and quasi-delicts. Edicts were announced through the *umalohokan* (town crier). The datu enforced the code and his edicts by a system of punishment that made use of fines, ordeals by fire and water, public humiliation, exposure to ants, and other ingenious torments.

Clues about precolonial Kinaray-a culture may perhaps be gleaned from a Kinaray-a speaking upland people, the Sulod (Bukidnon), who live in settlements in central Panay island bounded on the north by the Taganhin and Siya mountain ranges, on the south by the Iggabun-Tigaylo ranges, on the east by Mount Baloy, and on the west by Agburi-Mayuqui-Takayan ridges. As observed by Jocano in 1968, peace and order is maintained among the Sulod by office-fillers, so called because they are not elected by the people but derive their power and authority from the kind of service that they render to the community. These are the *baylan* (shaman), *mirku* (medicine person), *parangkutan* (adviser)—male or female—who are called upon to remedy all sorts of ailments and illnesses by performing rites and seances or to interpret dreams. The baylan may also be hired for their knowledge of sorcery. The mirku have a narrower sphere of usefulness, for they are the herbalists who prescribe the plants suitable for certain ailments. They may also act as midwives, but this latter function is minimal because child delivery is known to almost every household. The parangkutan is expected to settle disputes or misunderstanding among members of the household or neighborhood, and cases that involve kinship relations.

The *husay* mediates in more serious problems between members of the community. When acting as the chief arbiter involving violations of the custom law, the husay is assisted by older members of the community called *timbang*. As there is no police to enforce whatever decision is made, the efficacy of the husay's decision depends upon his status in the community. If any of the parties concerned is dissatisfied with the husay's decision, a husay from another community may be requested to reopen the case. This second decision, done by appeal, becomes final. Such an authority system has been modified by the barrio political organization and more recently by barangay law.

Political power in present-day Antique is held by elite families such as the Fornier, Zaldivar, Pacificador, Javier, Cadiao, and their sanguinal and affinal relations. Their scions, relatives, and partners invariably occupy the elective and appointive positions in the province. In many upland barangay, however, the shadow government of the National Democratic Front has taken hold, existing side by side with the structures of the Philippine government.

Social Organization and Customs

Antiqueños have long since dispensed with the practice of parentally arranged marriages, but the *pamalaye* or formal asking of the girl's hand in marriage remains. Some customs associated with the *panghagad* or engagement period are common to many Philippine groups, such as the injunction against the wearing of the bridal dress before the nuptial date, lest bad luck befall the bride and her betrothed.

During the wedding, care is taken that the veil is not dropped, otherwise it will be an unhappy match; the same goes for dropping the ring or the coins. The one whose candle burns out faster will be the first to die. To ensure their own marital bliss, before the couple enter their new home, they must make sure that some old, happily married couples have slept there the previous night.

Among the Sulod, the solidity of marriage depends on the couple's offspring. Hence, the society has devised ways by which to ensure this solidity.

Sulod customs allow polygyny for those who can afford it. The wives may live under the same roof, or a wife may choose to live independently. Either way, the first wife's consent is a prerequisite. Children call their stepmother *iti*. Incest rules apply only to relations between grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, brothers and sisters, and parents and children. Custom law allows divorce for infidelity, cruelty, childlessness, desertion of the conjugal home, or wife stealing. Divorces occur more usually among the young people. Older people would rather reconcile because of their children.

Burial practices among the Sulod include the ritual questioning of the dead to inquire as to the cause of death. The corpse is placed in a coffin which has carvings on the sides

and cover. Two or three months after the burial, the bones of the deceased are removed, washed, and wrapped in a black cloth called *baghek*. They are then deposited in beige Chinese jars, which are carried with the family as they transfer from one swidden field to another. The remains are kept by the eldest son of the daughter and are passed on to the next generation.

When the corpse has been readied for the funeral, it is carried out feet first, to prevent further deaths in the family in the immediate future. The *pararigos* is done by the family members in the nearest stream three days before the deceased is buried. Sometimes this practice is done after burial. The *bilasyon*, which is equivalent to the novena for the dead, begins in the evening of the burial. In Antique, however, the *bilasyon* can last up to a month. During the *bilasyon*, games such as the *bordon* and *kabatingan* are played to while away the time.

Among the social values most revered by the traditional Kinaray-a are courtesy and respect for both young and old. While Kinaray-a does not have the equivalent of the Tagalog *po* and its derivatives, there is a marked emphasis on courtesy and respect in speech. Persons older than the speaker are addressed according to their relation, such as *lolo* (grandfather), *lola* (grandmother), *tatay* (father), *nanay* (mother), *tio* (uncle), and *tia* (aunt). For nonrelatives, women of a generation older than the speaker are called *manding* (*oda* in Pandan and Libertad), while those of the same generation are *manang* or *nang*. For males it is *tio* or *manong* or *nong* as the case may be. Nor is courtesy extended only to elder persons; a distinctive custom in Antique is the belief that it is rude to address a younger person without attaching his or her pet name.

The names are the terms of endearment given by parents to their children before baptism and is attached to whatever Christian name or nickname they may later acquire. For boys, the pet name can be Toto, Nonoy, Dodong, or Dodoy, while girls are called Nening, Nene, Inday, Diding or Acay. Thus while Alberto may already have Bert, Berting, or Abet for a nickname, and Elisa may have Isang, they are still referred to as Toto Bert or Nening Isang. Only parents have the right to drop the pet name and only when they are admonishing their child for some transgression.

Aside from courtesy and respect, the value of *dagyawonay*, which can be likened to the Tagalog *bayanihan*, is held sacred by the traditional Kinaray-a. Relatives, neighbors, and friends all join hands to help one of their own, whether in planting or harvesting rice, building or moving a home, holding a wedding, or burying the dead. In return, everyone is treated to a *merienda*.

The major events in the Sulod life cycle are believed to be occasions for the sending of signals from environmental spirits. To divine these messages, the people hold rituals for marriage, conception, delivery, birth, sickness, death, and burial. It is believed that there are three brother deities who determine the life and death cycles. The eldest visits every newly born infant and converses with it to decide on its life-span and the manner of its death.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The spiritual world of the Antiqueños is inhabited by numerous *engkantu*, fairies, and other supernatural spirits. They are encountered at the headwaters of junctions, shallow wells, isolated places, enchanted trees, thickets, and lonely trails at high noon or late evening (Magos 1978:58). Traditional Kinaray-a have a strong belief in the *aswang*, the generic term for a creature of the netherworld which takes human form during the day and transforms into viscera-sucking, flesh-eating ghouls, polymorphing creatures, or witchcraft practitioners during the night. There are dwellers or residents in the towns or barrios who may also be *aswang*. The *aswang* has a double, according to belief, and so can appear or change form easily. Another creature is the *maranhig* which is a dead person who cannot rest in peace until a member of his/her family takes over his/her position. The *maranhig* cannot cross a stream, otherwise, they turn into worms. These spirits and supernaturals are believed to be the cause of people's illness and many of the evils that befall them.

The *maaram* or medicine man counters or neutralizes these creatures. In places where there are no doctors, the *maaram* becomes a general practitioner as well as specialist—a medium or rite officiator, diviner, herbalist, bone setter, midwife, and extractor of foreign objects placed by supernatural forces or beings side the body of the individual (Magos 1978).

Being an isolated province, Antique is a culture area where the connection of traditional magical practices can be studied in relation to economic survival (Magos 1978:25). Each stage of the rice production, from planting to harvesting, is punctuated by ritual; the same holds true for the production of corn, cassava, sweet potato, beans, *kadios*, jackfruit, coconut, and so on. The presence of a menstruating woman or an animal urinating before or during planting are considered bad omens; planting should be done during low tide, or during the time when the moon is full, so that the fruits or tubers will grow large; and so on.

The Sulod believe in a double or soul-spirit who removes itself from the carnal body upon death and travels from one place to another until it reaches a lake which it has to cross with the assistance of Bangle, ferry man. According to this myth, Bangle asks the soul-spirit several questions before he takes it to the other shore. If the soul answers that it has had more than one wife, it is congratulated and immediately carried across on Bangle's shoulder. If it has had only one or remained a bachelor, then it is told to hold on to Bangle's pubic hair and to swim across the sticky water. (As there are no recorded cases of polyandry, it cannot be assumed that the same questions apply to the female soul.)

The soul has yet to pass another stream guarded by another deity called Bagubu, who asks him the same questions. After passing the examination, the soul is admitted to Madya-as (a mountain nearby), where it participates in a cockfighting game. Then it is taken to the rest house called *haramyangan*. If its relatives in the earthworld perform

the right ceremonies, it undergoes a strengthening process, after which it takes its place in the center of Madya-as, where it leads a normal life and eventually turns into one of the environmental spirits which guard every aspect of Sulod society.

Sulod religion is inextricably intertwined with social and economic activities like fishing and hunting, which are influenced by deified environmental and ancestral spirits. All phases of the agricultural practice, like preclearing, begin with an invocation to the ancestral spirits. The *sagda* ceremony, for example, is postclearing-chanting ritual as a gesture of apology to the spirits who may have been hurt by burning of the field during the clearing process.

It is believed that illness is caused by forest spirits who must, therefore, be appeased. A procession is led by the baylan who dances to the beat of gongs and drums to invoke good and evil spirits.

Architecture and Community Planning

Most of the towns of Antique are coastal. Rather than radiate outwards, the towns are strung along the main provincial road. It is rare for a town center to be farther than 500-800 meters from the seashore. Nevertheless, most towns have the standard *plaza-iglesia-municipio-escuela* (plaza-church-municipal hall-school) layout.

In upland villages, houses are generally set apart. In the areas inhabited by the Monteses or Sulod, the houses are in clusters of 5 to 7. The Sulod people have their settlements on the upper streams of the Pan-ay River in Capiz province. They live in one-room houses on stilts with walls and floors made of bark of trees, cogon roof, and tree trunk ladders. These houses are dispersed, numbering only about 5 to 7 per neighborhood, and often located on hillsides. The boundaries of settlements may be creeks, which become the main water supply. Because the people can trace kinship relationships, distances are no barrier to day-to-day interpersonal relations. They are brought together by religious activities and obligations, and social gatherings, large (e.g. weddings and wakes) or small (e.g. drinkfests, barter of food hunted or caught in streams). There is also mutual service and labor extended in the building of a house, cooking of food during feasts, and other activities. Therefore, the Sulod communities form a more or less homogenous society.

There are no buildings higher than two stories in Antique and there are few with outstanding aesthetic qualities. One of these is the church of San Juan Nepomuceno in Anini-y, built by a succession of Augustinian parish priests over the old wooden structure constructed in 1845. The old structure, measuring 45 x 12.5 meters, rises over an even older church founded in the 1600s, and measuring 33 x 13 meters. The facade of the church replacing the wooden structure is composed of a single rectangular level and a triangular pediment. The lower level is divided by two central pilasters into three equal sections. The main arched entrance is embellished by rosettes in the upper edges, a pattern which is followed in the other openings and niches of the front and

side walls. Two niches with statues flank the main entrance. A rose window stands above each of the two lateral niches. The sharp triangular pediment with a niche in the center, and flanked by two more windows, ends in finials.

The St. Augustine's High School Building in Patnongon is the remodeled Spanish convent near the site of the ruins of the century-old Spanish church. The ruins of the Libertad watchtower and a Spanish fortress in Tobias Fornier (formerly Dao) serve as reminders of the Muslim marauders who pillaged coastal towns from Negros to the Ilocos.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Several towns in Antique have the distinction of producing quality ware ranging from salakot and sawali from Belison; bamboo craft from San Jose; ceramics from Sibalom; pottery from Bandoja, Tibiao; mats from Pandan and Libertad; and loom-woven *patadyong* (tubular skirt) from Bagtason, Bugasong—the only one of its kind in the Visayas and well-known throughout Panay for the quality of its material (silk threads) and its elegant look.

Literary Arts

Antique riddles may be a combination of phrases like:

*Kon nagadayang wara it sulod
Kon nagakulob may unod. (Kalo)*

If it faces up, it has no contents
If it faces down, it has contents. (Hat)

They can also take the form of concisely worded statements, as in:

Tao nga lantiyog duro iya bunga. (Niyog)

A tall man with many fruits. (Coconut)

or the interrogative form, as in:

Ano nga pispis indi kahapon sa kahoy? (Pugo)

Which bird cannot perch on a branch of a tree? (Quail)

While some riddles have only one line, most have two with assonantal rhyme and a syllabic count ranging from 4 to 13 syllables. There are also 3- to 5-line riddles. The tercets rhyme in *a-a-a* and *a-b-a* patterns; the quatrains rhyme assonantly in *a-a-a-a* and *a-a-b-b*; while the five-line stanza follow *a-a-a-a-a*.

Structurally, the Antique riddle consists of one or more descriptive elements, where the subject is compared to a dissimilar or unrelated object. Sometimes, the riddle has

only one descriptive element which is either literal or metaphorical.

Many of the riddle images consist of the subject's comparison to parts of the human body. Some riddles even use the sexual organs as metaphors, without hint of immodesty or vulgarity. For example, coconuts represent a tall man's testicles. Of the 477 riddles collected by Puedan, 78 deal with this kind of imagery. The next most frequent theme consists of kinship and friendship ties, indicating values attached to close family and personal relationships. Individually, the most recurrent image is that of the house (21 instances) followed by the fish (12), the head (11), lower limbs and mothers (10 each), and friends and brothers (9 each).

In addition to metaphors, the riddles frequently use personification, often even giving proper and pet names to subjects. Another common rhetorical device is the paradox, where contradictions are resolved upon proper scrutiny. Other riddles contrast, like the bamboo shoots wearing clothes when young, and going naked when old enough.

Some riddles are cleverly phrased so as to mislead the guesser: the first line is the hook, the second line is the riddle in itself. The solution can be reached by ignoring the first line completely.

Another set of riddles play on the meaning, syntax, sound, and spelling of the words. The question may be totally unrelated in logical terms but find meaning in rhyme and meter as the only link between question and answer (Puedan 1988:135-150):

Pakton mo pakta. (Laton kag lata)
Guess it, guess's. (Basket and can)

Some riddles can be overtly sexual:

Ubaha bayo mo hay tirawan ta. (Saging)

Take off your clothes and I will taste you. (Banana)

*Matigdas kang akong pagguru,
kang akon paggabut malum-ok kag nagaturo.
(Tinapay ginbutang sa kape)*

It was hard when I put it in;
it was soft and dripping when I pulled it out.
(Bread dipped in a cup of coffee)

In Antique, proverbs are still readily cited whenever the need arises, as evidenced by the rich lore unearthed by Puedan in his pioneering work. The 351 proverbs gathered by Puedan cover a wide range of subject matter.

Kinaray-a proverbs reflect a serious, realistic attitude towards life, free of illusions, yet revealing behind the severe veneer, a subtle humor and optimism. Here is a typical example (all translations made by Al A. Puedan):

Kon indi ikaw mag-antos, indi ka gid magsantos.

You can't be a saint if you don't sacrifice.

The same optimism shows in expressing the dichotomy in life, reconciling opposites and contradictions with proverbs such as:

*Maputi man ang tulabong peru sa likod kang karbaw
nagatongtong*

A heron has white feathers but it perches
upon the carabao's back.

The rich and boastful can get a dose of realism with a subtle reminder that life is transient:

*Hinugay daganas, linaw
Balao si kasulgan dayon
Dagaya ka lang kon tig-ulanon
Apang bangag ka man kon ting-adlaw*

Quiet, pool!
You think you'd always flow?
In the rainy season you're full
but come dry season, you're empty.

For life to last, it must have meaning:

*Ang bulak kon malaya
Ang sipad mataktak sa duta
Apang ang kahumot nagpabili
Sa sinipad nga sang init ginkaging*

A flower withers
its petals fall to the ground
but the perfume remains
in the heat of the sun.

The Antiqueño is also a great believer in universal justice, where the good get their fair reward and the bad their punishment. In view of their agricultural lifestyle, there are many allusions to planting as in:

*Ang kahoy nga gintanum mo kar-on, makabulig kanimo
sa parabuton.*

The tree you plant today will help you someday.

Their diet of fish shows in this truism:

Warat ginamus nga indi magsungaw.
There is no fish sauce that won't smell.

As industry is a prized trait, an industrious person is related to one born to wealth:

Ang tandos nga tawo, bugto kang manggaranon.
The industrious person is the sibling of a rich person.

Work, in fact, is not the problem but accomplishing it is:

Ang obra indi makapatay, pero ang pagpalibog amo ang makapatay.
Work can't kill, but worrying does.

So the person who applies himself/herself does not starve because:

*Ang tawo nga paralagaw may surolod sa kararaw;
Tungod man sa iya kabakas, makadawi sang bisan sa takas.*

One who forages will have something in the
basket;
Because of one's industry, one can catch fish
even ashore.

Thrift is also strongly advised:

*Ang tawo nga indi magpurot kang sibit,
indi magmaggad kang himpit.*
One who doesn't pick up a pin will not become rich.
Ang tawo nga mahakog madunlangid sang bokog.
The extravagant person will have a bone
stuck in his/her throat.

Self-reliance and determination are also encouraged:

*Ang bato bantiling sa padayon nga tulo
sang tubig nagabalhin.*

The stone will move if water continually
drips on it.

Other values are foresight, prudence, and moderation; haste is seen as counterproductive:

Samtang wara pa ang uran, preparar ka ron sang kapote.

Prepare your raincoat before the rain.

Indi pagpaurani ang imo asin.

Do not expose your salt to the rain.

Kon ikaw nagadali, hinay-hinay lang.

If you want to do things fast, take it easy.

Education is also of paramount importance:

*Ang gamut sang kaalam nga nunuo
Mapait labi sa batyay kag apdo
Apang kon mamonga may karimis
Labis pa sa dugus nga matam-is*

The root of knowledge
Is more bitter than tree bark and gall
But it bears fruit
Sweeter than the sweetest juice.

*Matam-is man ang tuba nga lina
Nga gintayong mo sa imo baba
Apang marimis gid kon imo masagamsam
Ang tayuk sa dugos sang kinaalam*

Tuba may be sweet
To put into your mouth
But it is not as sweet
As the wine of knowledge.

In form, Antique proverbs range from brief prose statements to pithy verses. As verses, they come in rhymed couplets with 4 to 14 syllable lines, in tercets with rhyming last syllables, and in quatrains.

There is a liberal use of simile, metaphor, and personification. The metaphors are rich in images of flora and fauna, foodstuffs, religious beliefs, and household artifacts found in the province.

A rhetorical trait found in many Antique proverbs is parallelism of structure, often accompanied by contrast and rhyme.

Pira ka tuig nga quintipon; pira ka oras lang nga gastohon.
It may take years to save what may take hours to squander.

Contrasts are also heightened with the use of the same word in two phrases or the dropping of predicates, as in (Puedan 1988:154):

Bag-o nga hari, bag~o nga ugali

New king, new lifestyle

Duro sugid, laban butig

Much talk, mostly lies

An Antique tradition that has since spread to Iloilo and elsewhere in Panay is the recitation or singing of the four-line *luwa* during wakes, as penalties in games played during the *bilasyon*. These games include the *bordon*, where the players form a circle and designate a king and queen. The “it” or *matakaw* sits at the center. A ring is passed around secretly while the group sings the *bordon* song. The *matakaw* must guess who holds the ring before it reaches the king or queen. If he/she guesses right, the person tagged becomes the *matakaw* and has to render a *luwa*. If the ring reaches the monarchs, the *matakaw* renders a *luwa* and continues being the “it.”

Another game is *kabatingan*. The players form a circle and pass around a *hungut* or coconut shell, using the flat part of the forearm while singing the *kabatingan* song. Whoever drops the coconut must render a *luwa*. A variation is *padala kon sinta*, where a lighted coconut midrib is passed around. Whoever is holding the midrib when the flame dies out recites or sings the *luwa*. The themes range from love, courtship, and domestic problems to bawdy and silly topics. There are times when the games become a lively exchange of *luwa* between the boys and girls, a public form of courtship and matchmaking (similar to the *siday* or courtship joust, another precolonial poetic form). Sometimes it can degenerate into verbal attacks against the other, but these must be humorous rather than vicious. This holds true for vulgar topics. Some *luwa* make fun of the physically handicapped.

Luwa rhyme is in an *a-a-a-a* pattern, but sometimes appear in *a-a-b-b*. In rare instances, the *luwa* may have only two or three lines. Although *luwa* are usually in Kinaray-a, there are some in Tagalog, and (generally incorrect) English. The *luwa* is rich in figurative language; similes, metaphors, and personification are freely used. But they are most effective when using irony.

Antique lore abounds in stories about *engkantu* and *aswang*, as well as legends about the origins of places. Almost every *barrio* and town has a favorite story about their origins. Most storytellers in Antique are women: grandmothers telling their grandchildren bedtime stories; women doing the laundry by the village stream; or unmarried elderly women and widows gathered around the *petromax* lamp smoking hand-rolled cigars and holding glasses of *tuba* (fermented coconut water).

Persistent in Kinaray-a myths is the belief that things began as reactions to emotional stimuli experienced by the gods and other cosmic characters. For example, land originated from a fight between the sea and sky. In “Why the Dead Do Not Come Back to Life Anymore,” *Pandagwan*, *Lubluban*’s husband and maker of the first fishnets, catches a big shark which dies by accident. This incident so disturbs the goddesses and so angers *Kapta* that he casts a lightning bolt on *Pandagwan*, who dies instantly; his soul goes to *Sulad* and stays there for three days. After being forgiven and resurrected, *Pandagwan* returns to the living on earth but *Lubluban*, who has already married another, refuses to see him. The dejected *Pandagwan* goes back to *Sulad*, and *Lubluban* decrees that henceforth *Pandagwan* and all the dead can no longer

return from the grave.

In “Why People Are Grouped That Way,” the origins of social classes are attributed to the time when Sikalak was roused from his deep sleep by the children laughing and giggling at his nakedness. Those who were peeping through the cracks of the bamboo wall and laughed aloud at him became slaves; those who merely smiled by the stove near the fire became free people; those strolling outside became travelers; and those inside the room who did not laugh became datu and *lakan* (noble).

The Kinaray-a language has produced epics like the *Labaw Donggon*, *Humadapnon*, and *Dumalapdap*, three cycles in the *Hinilawod*. The epics recount the story of the brothers Labaw Donggon, Humadapnon, and Dumalapdap, who were later to rule over the sakup of Panay. The epics are part of the oral tradition of the Monteses of Sulod. This is handed down through generations of *binukot* (“the caged one”), who are ladies accorded a privileged place in the community, and trained from childhood to chant the epics of their people. Binukot are freed from the everyday drudgery of household chores and are ensconced in a *duyan* (hammock), the most important piece of furniture in the Sulod house. They are assigned a personal attendant to take care of their needs. Today, a surviving binukot is 85-year-old Elena Gardoce from the uplands near Jamindan, Capiz. Gardoce, who was given the Gawad CCP Para sa Sining by the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) in February 1992, chanted the opening verses of the *Hinilawod* when it was performed during the First National Theater Festival at the CCP.

Hinilawod is about the adventures of Alunsina and Paubari’s three sons: Labaw Donggon, Humadapnon, and Dumalapdap. Donggon takes two wives: Gimbitinan, with whom he has a child, Asu Mangga; and Anggoy Doronoon, who bears him second child, Buyung Baranungun. He seeks a third wife, Yawa Sinagmaling, who is married to Saragnayon. For seven years Saragnayon fights Donggon and imprisons him in a pigpen. Meanwhile, Humadapnon and Dumalapdap search for their lost brother. The search is pursued by Asu Mangga and Baranugun. Another seven-year battle ensues, this time between Donggon’s captor and his children. Baranugun discovers Saragnayon’s secret and kills the ferocious beasts which holds the latter’s heart. Saragnayon is weakened, and is then killed by Asu Mangga. Thus Donggon returns home, his powers restored when his three wives dance with a magical kerchief. At the end, the family of three generations is happily reunited.

The precolonial primacy of Kinaray-a suffered during the Spanish and American periods when Hiligaynon became the language of the wealthy. Even writers born to Kinaray-a-speaking communities were constrained to write in Hiligaynon, like Delfin Gumban of Pavia, Iloilo; Flavio Zaragoza Cano from Cabatuan, Iloilo; Ramon L. Muzones (author of *Margosatubig*) and Conrado J. Norada of Miag-ao, Iloilo; Santiago A. Mulato from Maasin, Iloilo; and Jose E. Yap from Dao, Capiz (*Ani* 19:12).

However, with support from such institutions as the CCP and the Center for West

Visayan Studies, writers in Kinaray-a have reemerged. They include poets like Aleks de los Santos of San Jose, Antique; Ma. Milagros C. Geremia of Sibalom, Antique; Ma. Felicia Flores, Maragtas S.V. Amante, Jose Edison Tondares, Remigio B. Montaña, Sammy Julian, Antonio Aguilar Jr., Herminio Cajilig, and many others who are being encouraged to write in Kinaray-a. **Performing Arts**

Puedan was able to collect 92 folk songs, nine of which are ballads. “Juanita,” “Sa Baryo Sang Burok-burok” (In the Barrio of Burok-Burok), and “Esing” deal with love’s frustrations and tragedies; “Composo ni Dieme” (Composo of Dieme), “Sa Baryo Sang Camad” (In the Barrio of Camad), and “Sa Banwang Culasi” (In the Town of Culasi) take off from the senseless deaths of certain persons; and “O Mga Senyores” (O Dear Sirs), “Kanta Sang Pagsulod Sang Hapon” (Songs About the Arrival of the Japanese), and “Composo Guikan sa Guerra” (Composo from the War) recount experiences during World War II. With the exception of the last two songs, the Antique ballads cluster around a single event. The stories are told dramatically, using dialogue for emotional impact.

Children’s songs range from the *ili* (lullaby) to adaptations of Tagalog and English originals. Greed is parodied in “Tatay Beroy Tikwaog”; spinsters are satirized in “Nagtanum Ako Pinya” (I Planted a Pineapple). Mothers ask their children to perform “Ang Tatlo Ka Pato” (The Three Ducks), complete with hand gestures imitating ducks flying and rear ends waddling. “Lubi-lubi” (Coconuts) is a mnemonic device to remember the months of the year. “Ang Tilapia” (The Tilapia) tells of an impetuous fish who escapes from the aquarium.

Love and courtship songs are still sung as serenade, which are prevalent during harvest time when girls from out of town help their kin in the fields. While modern swains have been heard to strum pop and old tunes like “Serapin Sang Gugma” (Angel of Love), “Pagkalum-ok” (Softly), “Ako Ining Kailo” (I Am a Poor Lover), “Bilin Sang Kabuhi” (My Life’s Desire), “Didto Nayon sa Bukid” (There in the Mountain) are still heard. The most popular of these are “Sa Pugad Sang Pispis” (In the Bird’s Nest), “Karom kay Tingadlaw” (Now That It’s Summer), and “Maghirupay Kita” (Let’s Share Our Love). The latter invites the beloved to share the lover’s affection, so that they could be like two birds on a bough.

“Sang Diutay pa Ako” (When I Was Small) is about a maiden being courted, who sets impossible conditions for her love. Another rejection song is “Igso-on sa Tabuk Nayon” (Godbrother Across Our House). “Ang Gugma” (Love) advises ladies to choose their husbands carefully, while “Dalawidaw” (The Dalawidaw Bird) has a happy ending, with the girl reciprocating her suitor’s love.

Songs that have been adapted in other Visayan tongues include: “Lumabay-labay” (It Passes By), which compares the sweet things in life, like love, to smoke which dissipates; “Dandansoy,” which was composed by Roman who hailed from Culasi; and “Ay Kalisud” (Ah, Misery). The latter two are standard numbers in the repertoire of Visayan singers, and are well-known nationally. Other love songs, which

invariably speak of lost love and heartache, include: “Mamingaw nga Dalamguhon” (A Lonely Dream); “Mahapdi ang Dug-han Ko” (My Heart Aches); “Pispis nga Adarna” (The Adarna Bird); “Ang Pana-ad” (The Promise); “Rosing, Yanang Yuhom Mo” (Your Smile), “Nadura ang Paglaum” (Hope Is Lost); “Ginamingaw Ako” (I Feel Lonely); and “Nene Ati.”

Work songs include: fishing songs like “Si Tarok, Ang Belong-belong” (The Belong-belong Fish), “Ang mga Manunura nga Ansyang” (The Ansyano Fisherfolks), and “Si Felimon.” The latter two, and the nonfishing song, “Ako Mananggete nga si Ikot” (I Am Ikot, the Tuba Gatherer), have references to tuba indicating that they are generally sung during drinking sessions. “Si Filemon” is a tongue twister because the song is repeated over and over, with the various vowels converted to the one called out by the song leader: “A!”—“Sa Falaman, Sa Falaman ...”; “U!”—“Su Fulumun, Su Fulumun”; and so on.

When drinking, the old favorite is “Dandansoy, Inum Tuba Laloy” (Dandansoy, Drink Laloy’s Tuba). But the work songs and humorous songs do equally well: “Nagligad ang Adlaw” (A Day Has Passed), “Bisan Tamun Ati” (Though We Are Aetas), “Sa Banwa sang Kape” (In The Town of Coffee), “Kalantahon sa Adlaw-adlaw” (The Everyday Song), “Puyayang” (Jelly Fish), “Tahur” (Gambler), “Si Manong, Si Manang, Ako Ang Prinsipe” (I am the Prince), and “Manok nga Bukay” (My White Rooster). The first four songs use metaphors for sexual organs and intercourse.

Three poignant songs express grief over the death of parents: “Binhi sang Paghigugma” (Seeds of Love), “Ang Ilo sa Iloy” (A Motherless Child); and “Ako ang Nailo” (I Am An Orphan). These are sung during funerals. There are also songs that praise knowledge and winged creatures, and game songs.

Two wedding songs, “Inday, Himus-himusa” (Inday, Prepare Your Things) and “Laylay” have similar patterns. There are instructions to the woman to prepare her things as she is getting married, and to the man against maltreatment of the wife lest the relatives take her back; the eventual reply is that the woman can no longer be separated from the man because they have been married by a priest.

Weddings showcase the Antiqueño’s dancing prowess. During their *pamalaye*, the parents of the groom in Anini-y town perform the *soryano* before the parents of the bride. The *soryano* has two counts to a measure, and is danced to guitar music.

The wedding procession is marked by *sinurog* dancers up front, shouting and making considerable noise with drums, empty cans, basins, and other percussion instruments. The dancers, all boys, wear fierce masks of black and red, red trousers, dark-colored undershirts with long sleeves, red bands or kerchiefs around their heads, and a dark-colored length of cloth worn over the shoulder and knotted at one side of the waist. Some *sinurog* dancers wield spears, bolo, and daggers. The dancers are believed to frighten and drive away evil spirits that might spoil the happiness and welfare of the

newly married couple.

During the reception, the bride and groom may dance the *pandang-pandang*, the music of which has three counts to a measure. The partners shake and clap hands, bow to each other, and move in a sway-balance-hop sequence. Ideally only the married couple dances while the guests shower them with presents of cash and valuables, but the members of the entourage may also take part (Reyes-Tolentino 1946:203-206).

In response to the *pandang-pandang*, the parents of the bride and groom perform the *kandang-kandang*. The dance, which is named after a seaside plant, uses a tune similar to the *pandang-pandang*. It also has three counts to a measure, but has more steps which are characterized by reversed arm positions, step-hops, and flirtatious brushes punctuated by begging motions from the boy and point steps, leaps, and occasional kneels.

The *urukay* from Anini-y also has the parents-in-law dancing with each other. This is a lively and vigorous dance where the male tries to assert his supremacy over the female by making her kneel and crawl in between his legs. The woman retorts by snubbing the man and elbowing him as she moves away.

Other dances found in Antique include a number of waltz derivatives, such as the *escopiton malandog*, from Barangay Malandog in Hamtik, which is danced by couples and feature *kumintang* movements; the *regoniza*, also found in San Jose, which is danced for important guests; the *yano pandaninio*, a delicate dance from the northern town of Pandan; and the *salidsid*, a dance for fiestas and other special occasions, produced by the people of the island town of Caluya. The *salidsid* is vigorous, using body twists, trunk jerks, knee bends, and tapping steps, among others.

The *kuratsa*, a perennial Visayan favorite, has two versions, the *kuratsa San Jose* and the *kuratsa Tibiao*, with the latter having more complex steps. The *haplik* is a stylization of the dance step of that name. The count is two to a measure, with two pairs performing. The girl's main prop in her movements is her patadyong. The *virgoire*, which is derived from "Virgo-Eres" (You are a Virgin) is like a *kumintang* dance but is performed barefoot by a girl wearing patadyong and camisa or long-sleeved blouse with stiff sleeves. The Antique version of the *itik-itik* is performed in Tibiao invariably during social gatherings. Dancing two counts to the measure, the couples are in closed ballroom dance position characterized by slide-close and *itik-itik* steps, topped by a quarter turn at the end of each sequence.

Nuptial ceremonies among the Sulod are replete with prototypes of theater, literature, song, and dance. The *pagbati* is the ceremonial meeting of the two sets of parents, who pretend ignorance of the couple's engagement, so that they may formally confirm it. The marriage negotiations are conducted in the form of a poetical joust, in which the girl's family again pretends ignorance of the boy's intentions. Part of the joust includes the haggling over dowry. This accomplished and the boy duly accepted, the boy's service to the girl's family begins. He brings to her house symbolic objects,

such as banana leaves, which signify the virtue of “righteousness giving shade and protection to the couple in their life’s journey” (Jocano 1968).

The wedding day begins with the *hungaw*, another poetical joust between two spokespersons. This is recited as the wedding entourage takes some numbered steps from the gate to the stairs of the house. After the wedding, the feast begins but is regularly interrupted by another poetical joust, in which the bride is referred to metaphorically as the “flower of the house.” For such occasions, heirloom plates called *lahang* and the *sibulan*, the ancient Chinese jar in which rice wine is fermented, are taken out of storage and used.

Antique theater has depended largely on traveling *komedya* troupes from Iloilo which perform during town fiestas. There have been no recorded writers of Kinaray-a komedya or *sarswela*.

The advent of electronics, however, has opened up venues for writers, enabling them to produce radio dramas. Foremost of these Kinaray-a writers was Russell Tordesillas, who wrote the scripts for the long-running radio serial *Olayra: Ang Prinsesa Sang Dagat* (Olayra, the Sea Princess) played over Antique radio DYKA.

Writers are gradually responding to the renewed literary and institutional interest over the promotion of Kinaray-a. Aleks Santos (Ani 19) published *Lupa* (Earth), a one-act play detailing the hardships of women left to tend their farm after the menfolk went to work as sacada in Negros. • D. Javier with R. C. Lucero and E. A. Manuel/Reviewed by A. Magos.

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