

REPORT OF EASTERN LUZON LANGUAGE SURVEY

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0. INTRODUCTION

This survey¹ covered an area along the eastern coast of Luzon beginning at Dinalongan, Quezon, and running north through Isabela Province and ending at the Tabuan River in southeastern Cagayan Province.²

The purpose of the survey was to determine the number of dialects spoken within this area, their degree of mutual intelligibility, and the degree of bilingualism of the speakers of these dialects with Tagalog and Ilocano, the two major languages spoken in Luzon.³

1. PROCEDURE

The basic methodology followed was that described in Casad 1974.⁴ This is the present procedure being followed by SIL, internationally, for linguistic surveys.

The survey was conducted in two main phases: Phase One involved the collection of language data — word lists and taped texts — from native speakers of the various dialects, and the preparation of this material for the next phase. Phase Two involved the testing of the prepared texts in selected towns and settlements representing the various dialects (called 'test points' by Casad 1974: 4).

Throughout the survey the opinions of testees and town officials were elicited regarding the geographic extent of their dialects and the nature of the differences between their dialects and those adjacent. Interpretation of the survey findings was facilitated by the author's field experience in the survey area and his fluency in Casiguran Dumagat, one of the dialects spoken in the area.

¹This paper is the result of field work done under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. It is a report of one of a series of extensive language surveys which SIL has been conducting throughout the Philippines for the past seven years. The goal of SIL's survey department is to locate the geographical boundaries of the minority dialect groups in the country, and to test their level of intelligibility with neighboring dialects and with major Philippine languages.

This report is the result of several field trips to the eastern coast of Luzon between November 1974 and March 1975. The author was assisted by David Ohlson, survey technician of SIL. The survey was sponsored by a grant from the Asia Foundation.

²This geographical area includes the municipalities of Dinalongan, Casiguran, and Dilasag in Quezon; Palanan and Maconacon in Isabela; and the Bulos River and Tabuan River areas of southeastern Cagayan. It excludes the coastal areas of northeastern Cagayan Province and southeastern Luzon. Some dialect information on northeast Luzon may be gleaned from Headland and Headland (1974: x), and on southeast Luzon from Macleod (1972: 43 fn).

³An earlier survey was made of this area (Headland and Mayfield 1965). The present report agrees with those earlier conclusions, but further refines them through intelligibility testing. This report also substantiates the ethnolinguistic map of Fox and Flory's (1974) for this area.

⁴A shorter and less technical description of the methodology is also described in Brichoux 1973: 92-94.

The word lists collected during Phase One showed that there are five indigenous dialects spoken within the geographical area of the study. These same lists constituted the basis of the cognate counts given in Table 1. This list, consisting of 372 words, is entitled, '1966 Expanded Philippine Word List'. It is the standard list used by SIL in the Philippines. (See Reid 1971: viii for a description of the list and its contents.)

In order to test for mutual intelligibility between the five dialects, a personal story was recorded on tape from a speaker of each dialect. These accounts were then transcribed. Then, for each text a series of ten to thirteen simple questions was prepared and translated into each of the five dialects, and tape recorded. These recorded questions were then spliced directly into the stories at relevant points. Questions on Tagalog and Ilocano texts were also translated into the five test dialects. The questions were translated in this way so that each testee could hear each question in his own dialect. This procedure constituted Phase One.

During Phase Two, ten subjects were tested at each of the five test points. Each subject listened to seven texts in seven different dialects (including Tagalog, Ilocano, and his own dialect). Immediately after each question was played the recorder was stopped, the subject answered the question, and his answer was scored. It took an average of fifty-one minutes to test each subject. Subjects answered in their own dialects. The author was usually able to understand their answers, but there was always a local official present to interpret when communication problems arose. (For the details of this procedure, see Casad 1974: 22-28; see also footnote 4 of this paper.)

2. LOCATION OF DIALECTS

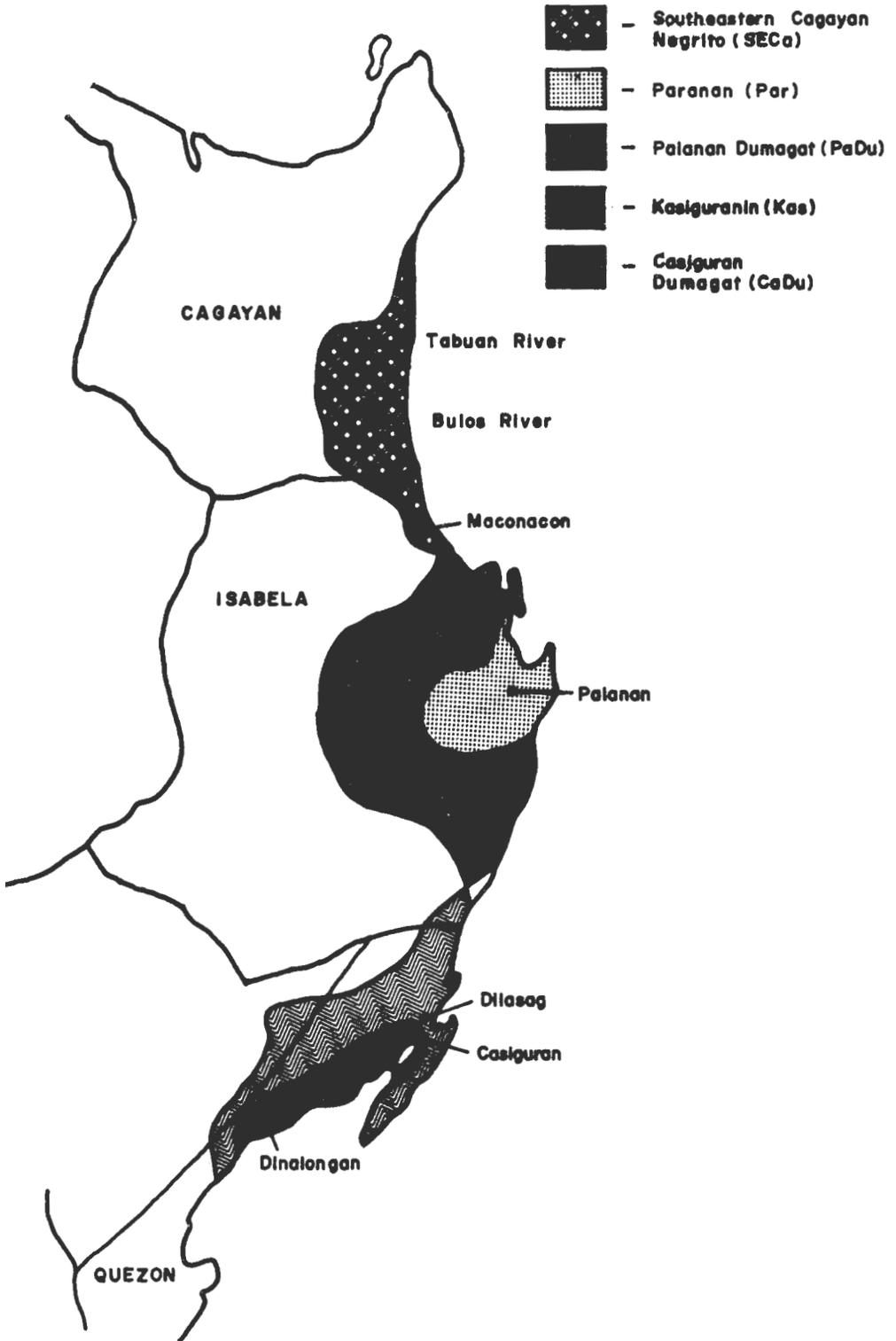
In an earlier report (Headland and Mayfield 1965) the conclusion was drawn that there are five indigenous dialects in this survey area. The present survey substantiates that conclusion. This report agrees with a previously stated hypothesis that 'this chain of languages (running along the northeast coast of Luzon) seems to constitute a distinct subdivision within the languages of Luzon, and perhaps one of the eleven or twelve major subdivisions of the languages of the Philippines' (Headland and Headland 1974: ix. See also Dyen 1965: 30).⁵

The five dialects are: Casiguran Dumagat, Kasiguranin, Palanan Dumagat, Paranan, and Southeastern Cagayan Negrito (see map).

It is important to note that two of these, Kasiguranin and Paranan, are spoken by non-Negrito groups, while the other three are spoken by Negritos. This demonstrates that the Negrito languages of the Philippines are neither more nor less than regular Austronesian languages. There is no linguistic evidence whatsoever that Negrito languages in the Philippines are a distinct or separate division in the Austronesian language family.⁶ The evidence of comparative linguistics, then, appears to militate against the 'earlier migration theory' for Negritos. Negritos may have been the first

⁵For a recent classification of Philippine languages which classifies several Negrito dialects on the basis of Headland and Headland (1974: ix), see Thomas and Gieser (1973).

⁶This report gives a partial answer to what Robert Fox calls 'one of the most challenging problems in Philippine ethnology': the search for some common cultural or linguistic elements peculiar to the scattered Negrito groups, which might define basic elements of an earlier Negrito



inhabitants of the Philippines, but the evidence for such will have to come from sources other than language.⁷

3. COGNATE COMPARISONS

Cognate comparisons were made of the word lists of the five dialects, and of Tagalog and Ilocano. Pairs of words between dialects were considered to be cognate if they had two phoneme differences or less, or if it could be readily seen, through regular sound shifts, that they both came from the same Proto-Austronesian word.

Table 1 shows the percentage of cognates between the five dialects and the two trade languages, Tagalog and Ilocano.

TABLE 1
COGNATE PERCENTAGES BETWEEN THE FIVE DIALECTS
AND THE TWO TRADE LANGUAGES

CaDu							
87	PaDu						
81	85	Par					
77	71	75	Kas				
70	74	70	56	SECa			
46	41	45	52	39	Tag		
43	42	45	52	45	41	Ilo	

- CaDu = Casiguran Dumagat
- PaDu = Palanan Dumagat
- Par = Paranan
- Kas = Kasiguranin
- SECa = Southeastern Cagayan Negrito
- Tag = Tagalog
- Ilo = Ilocano

culture (1953: 173). There are at least no *linguistic* elements held in common among the Negrito groups which are distinct from other Philippine ethnic groups.

Morice Vanoverbergh hypothesized many years ago that all the Negrito languages of Luzon, together with Kasiguranin, Ibanag, and Isneg, 'show definite similarities . . . many words and expressions . . . have absolutely nothing to do with any of the other languages in the north or center of the island (of Luzon)' (1937: 11). This report does not agree with that hypothesis.

⁷Further evidence that Negrito languages of Luzon do not form a distinct subdivision in the Austronesian language family is seen in the low percentages of cognates between Casiguran Dumagat and the following Negrito languages in other areas of Luzon: with Umiray Dumagat, 36%; with Dicamay Negrito, 60%; with Central Cagayan Agta, 39%; with Atta of Pamplona, 38%. Atta of Pamplona, for example, is 91% cognate with Ibanag, a non-Negrito language in northern Luzon, but only 38% cognate with Casiguran Dumagat. (For a cognate comparison between Casiguran Dumagat and some better known languages of Luzon see Headland and Headland (1974: x), or Headland and Healey (1974: 2).)

4. INTELLIGIBILITY TEST SCORES

4.1 TABLE 2

Table 2 shows the mean scores of the intelligibility tests given at the five test points. This score is the actual percentage of correct responses to ten questions on each text by ten different subjects (except in the case of SECa, where only eight subjects were tested). The actual scores are used in the calculations in this report, rather than 'adjusted' scores, as has been done in some earlier survey reports (see Casad 1974: 32).

TABLE 2
RAW, MEAN SCORES OF INTELLIGIBILITY TESTS

Reference Tapes	Test Points				
	1 CaDu	2 PaDu	3 Par	4 Kas	5 SECa
1. CaDu	98	94	76	85	80
2. PaDu	86	96	94	62	86
3. Par	83	98	95	82	72
4. Kas	95	90	87	99	42
5. SECa	73	91	54	37	94
6. Tag	73	43	65	92	27
7. Ilo	0	36	33	0	47

Note: Subjects in areas on the horizontal axis were tested on the languages of the vertical axis.⁸

4.2 CHOOSING THE SUBJECTS

In order to get an accurate picture of the cross-dialect intelligibility situation, discrimination was used in choosing subjects to be tested at each of the five test points. For the most part, subjects were chosen who had not traveled extensively into the other dialect areas. (For example, subjects who had lived in Manila for more than one year were avoided.) At each test point subjects were about equally divided between male and female, and their ages ranged from late teens to about sixty. Subjects who had been to college were also avoided.

4.3 THRESHOLD

In this intelligibility testing, a threshold of eighty percent intelligibility has been set (Casad 1974: 46). That is, if the subjects tested at one test point have a mean score

⁸The Ilocano test was not given to the CaDu and Kas subjects, as Ilocano is not a trade language of their areas. Thus Table 2 shows a score of zero in Ilocano for these two groups.

above eighty percent in answering the questions on the story from another dialect, they are considered as understanding that dialect.

Table 2 shows that none of the seven dialects is understood at all five of the test points in the area of the survey. Four of the dialects, CaDu, PaDu, Par, and Kas, are each understood by speakers of three of the other dialects, and SECa is understood by speakers of two of the other dialects. The speakers of only one dialect, Kas, understand Tagalog, and in none of the dialect areas is Ilocano understood.⁹

5. ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

5.1 POPULATIONS

The estimated number of speakers of each of the five dialects is as follows: Kas: 10,000; Par: 8,000; CaDu: 1,000; PaDu: 1,000; SECa: 100.

5.2 RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Racially, the two larger dialect groups are Malay. The three smaller groups are Negrito. There is very little intermarriage between the Malays and the Negritos.

5.3 DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION INTO MODERN PHILIPPINE LIFE

The most acculturated group is the Kas, followed in descending order by Par, CaDu, PaDu, and SECa, which is the least acculturated. In this report, acculturation is measured by percentage of literates, style of clothing, degree of Christianization, bilingualism with Tagalog (the basis of the national language), and by the percentage of people who have been to Manila (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

	Percent of Literates	Clothing Style	Christianization	Bilingual in Tagalog	Been to Manila
Kas	more than 70%	western	folk catholic	92%	more than 50%
Par	more than 50%	western	folk catholic	65%	less than 50%
CaDu	less than 5%	western & G string	animist	73%	less than 20%
PaDu	less than 3%	G string	animist	43%	less than 5%
SECa	none	G string	animist	27%	none

⁹This does not mean to say that there are no speakers of these dialects that understand Tagalog or Ilocano. On the contrary, there are many. For example, six out of the ten subjects in CaDu scored above the threshold of intelligibility in Tagalog. And in Par, three out of the ten subjects scored 80%. But the average scores of the ten subjects indicate that the people as a whole do not, in terms of this survey, understand Tagalog or Ilocano.

To date there are no roads into any of these areas from other areas of the Philippines (though there are roads made by logging companies in the area), and this has kept the whole area relatively isolated from the rest of the country. The government began building a road into Casiguran in 1971, but this road is not yet complete. In good weather, boats go almost daily into the Casiguran area from Baler, and many settlers have moved into the Casiguran valley in the last decade, causing a population growth of 149% in ten years.

The Palanan and southeastern Cagayan areas are much more isolated than the Casiguran area. Only infrequent boats reach this rugged, isolated area of the coast. People travel in and out of these areas by foot, a four- to five-day walk from Ilagan, Isabela. Some people travel by chartered small planes from Cauayan. The rapid acculturation of the CaDu group has been described in more detail elsewhere (Headland and Headland 1974: xviii).

The Par group is a most interesting homogenous unit. Perhaps there is no other Philippine lowland Malay group that lives quite so isolated from and independent of modern Philippine society. In spite of the elementary schools in the area the people are deficient in their understanding of both Tagalog and Ilocano, scoring well below the threshold of intelligibility on both of those languages (65% and 33%, respectively). They scored even lower on Tagalog than the Negrito group in Casiguran (CaDu), which scored 73%.

5.4 THE PRESTIGE DIALECTS

Tagalog and, to a lesser extent, Ilocano are prestige languages throughout the area, and are the mother tongues of thousands of settlers who are migrating into the area.

In the southern part of the survey area (northern Quezon), Kasiguranin is the more prestigious of the indigenous dialects. In the Palanan area, Paranan is the prestige dialect. The Negrito dialects, however, do not appear to be looked down upon, nor are the Negritos at all ashamed of their own dialects.

6. CONCLUSION

Five indigenous dialects are spoken within the geographical area of this language survey report. Table 1 shows that these five dialects are closely related, linguistically. These dialects probably form a major subdivision within the languages of the Philippines. It is noteworthy that although these five ethnic groups are related linguistically, they are not racially the same. Three of the groups are Negrito, and the other two are Malay. This militates against any theory that Negrito languages might form a separate division in the Austronesian language family.

Table 2 shows that there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the five dialect groups, and that their understanding of Tagalog and Ilocano is low. Kasiguranin is the only dialect group that has an adequate understanding of Tagalog, and none of the five groups understand Ilocano.

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