

The Objective and Subjective Assessments of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Batak Communities in Palawan, Philippines

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Headland (2003) listed Batak as one of the 32 Negrito languages in the Philippines which are endangered, while Eder (1987) declared the Batak as a “disappearing tribe”. The present study aimed to investigate the ethnolinguistic vitality of three Batak communities and to predict whether language maintenance or shift will prevail in Sitio Kalakwasan in Brgy. Tanabag, Sitio Mangapin in Brgy. Langogan, and Sitio Riyandakan in Brgy. Maoyon, City of Puerto Princesa. The study draws on the social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (1986), Giles, Bourhis & Rosenthal’s (1977) theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, Bourhis’ (1979) ethnolinguistic vitality model, and Allard and Landry’s (1987) macroscopic model of bilingualism.

Among the most important findings were the following: (1) The three areas of study exhibited very positive to positive language attitude; (2) A majority of the speakers in the areas reported use of the Batak language in most domains of communication and this correlated with observations and (3) No correlation was found between the ethnolinguistic vitality in the areas and the patterns of language of its speakers.

From these findings, the following conclusions were made: firstly, the objective vitality of the community is equally determined by the three sociological dimensions, namely, demographic, institutional support and status factors. Secondly, speakers’ beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality do not necessarily predict language use. Finally, speakers’ language attitude is a better predictor of language use.

Key words: *endangered language, objective vitality, speakers’ perceptions of language vitality, language attitude, language maintenance*

I. Introduction

Philippines is a multilingual country whose inhabitants can adequately communicate not only in two languages but sometimes, even three or four. When colonization, globalization, migration and intermarriages among different language groups, have created language contacts, there are cases where the “relation between coexistent languages is not hierarchical and multilingualism is sustained (such as in many parts of the Third World), while there are more cases under which the populations in contact have evolved through monolingualism” (Mufwene, 2008, p. 206) in which the majority languages prevails over the language of the minority. Experts have varied opinions regarding the threats posed by

major languages for minority languages. Hall (1991 in Kobari, 2009) for instance, predicted two possible scenarios for linguistic minorities: (1) that minority group will assimilate to the language and culture of the dominant group, and (2) the languages in contact will maintain diglossic situation in stable bi/multilingualism. Mc Farland (1993) observed that “more and more linguistic groupings (dialects) are being formed not on the basis of ‘social proximity’, rather, for social and economic reasons, resulting in “many small languages becoming extinct, as the children of their speakers abandon their ‘mother tongues’ in favor of one dominant language or another”.

With only ten percent of the 6,809 languages spoken by 90% of the world's population, it is highly likely that 90% of the languages which are minority languages will die by 2100 according to Romaine (1989).

Batak is one of the three ethnic minority groups in Palawan, the fifth largest province of the Philippine archipelago. Headland (2003) listed Batak as one of the 32 Negrito languages in the Philippines which are endangered, while Eder (1987), declared the Batak as a "disappearing tribe" p.238. Eder's (1987) personal census identified 272 with two Batak parents and 374 with one Batak parent (1987: p.110). Novellino's (2008) provisional census found only 155 individuals with two Batak parents, indicating a 57% decline in the Batak core population within 33 years from the time Eder conducted his census. A more recent figure based on the 2010 census is 407 Batak, but this figure includes the children of mixed marriages between a Batak and another ethnic group.

1.1. Statement of the problem

The present study aimed to examine the sociological factors that may determine the objective vitality of the Batak language. Furthermore, this research aimed at examining the beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality of the Batak speakers and possible influence of language attitude in determining language use.

1. Which among the three dimensions of sociological factors influence the language choice of individuals, and thereby determine the maintenance or shift of a particular language in the following communities: (a) Sitio Riyandakan

in Barangay Maoyon, (b.) Sitio Kalakwasan in Barangay Tanabag and (c) Sitio Mangapin in Barangay Langogan?

1.1. Demographic factors

- 1.1.1. Absolute number of speakers
- 1.1.2. Fertility/mortality rate
- 1.1.3. Age pyramid
- 1.1.4. Endogamy/exogamy and immigration
- 1.1.5. L1 intergenerational transmission
- 1.1.6. Proportion of ingroup (L1) vs outgroup speakers (L2, L3) in territory

1.2. Institutional support and control factors

- 1.2.1. Education
- 1.2.2. Government services
- 1.2.3. Economy
- 1.2.4. Media
- 1.2.5. Cultural industries
- 1.2.6. Political institutions
- 1.2.7. Religious institutions
- 1.2.8. Leadership and associative work

1.3. Status factors

- 1.3.1. socio-historical prestige of L1 community relative to L1 and L2
- 1.3.2. current social status of L1 community relative to L2, L3
- 1.3.3. status of L1 relative to L2, L3 (at barangay, city/provincial and national level)

2. What is the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of the three Batak communities?
3. Is there a significant correlation between the following variables?
 - a. beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality of the respondents and their pattern of language use
 - b. ethnic identity and language use
 - c. language attitude and language use

a. **Theoretical framework**

This study draws on the social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (1986), Giles et al.'s (1977) theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, Bourhis (1979) ethnolinguistic vitality model, and Allard and Landry's (1987, 1992), beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality.

1.2.1. **Social identity theory**

Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory has strongly influenced ethnolinguistic vitality in general and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality theory in particular. According to Tajfel (1978), social identity is that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 69). Since individual's identities are derived from in-group's membership, dissatisfaction from such membership may cause individuals to look for another group to which they may attach high value. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), when dissatisfaction with one's in-group happens, individuals tend to gravitate toward one of the two

significant belief systems: (1) social mobility, and (2) social change.

1.2.2. **The Ethnolinguistic vitality theory**

Research in social identity theory led to the development of the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) concept. Giles et al. (1977) define ethnolinguistic vitality as "...that which makes a [linguistic] group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations...(p. 308). They assert that "[e]thnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality...eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups (1977, p. 308). On the contrary, when a group's distinctive identity flourishes, it will have higher ethnolinguistic vitality, and according to Giles et al. (1977), "its members will be more likely to maintain their competence in the use of their ethnic language.

Bourhis ethnolinguistic vitality model consists of three major components. The first component of ethnolinguistic vitality, the demographic variables are those related to the absolute number of members composing the language group and their distribution throughout the urban, rural or regional territory. Number factors refer to the language community's absolute group numbers, its birth rate, mortality rate, age pyramid, endogamy/ exogamy, and its pattern of immigration and emigration in and out of their ancestral territory. Distribution factors refer to the numeric concentration of speakers in various parts of the territory, their proportion relative to outgroup speakers, and whether or not the language community still occupies its ancestral territory. Taken together, the

demographic indicators can be used to monitor demolinguistic trends, such as language maintenance, language shift, language loss, and intergenerational transmission of the L1 mother tongue.

The second component of the framework which is institutional support, is defined as the degree of control one group has over its own fate and that of outgroups and can be seen as the degree of social power enjoyed by one group relative to co-existing linguistic outgroups (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005, in Bourhis & Landry, 2010).

The third major component, the social status is related to a language community's socio-cultural status within the state (e.g., founding people), its current status as a dynamic, culturally and economically vibrant community, and the prestige of the language and culture locally, nationally and internationally. The higher status is ascribed to a language community, the more vitality it is likely to possess (Bourhis, et al., 1981).

Linguists have realized however, that the objective assessment of language vitality, although important, is not sufficient to determine the total vitality of the language, hence, the creation of a complementary component, the *subjective perception of vitality*. The subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ) was designed to measure group members' assessments of their own group vitality and that of other language groups important in their immediate environment (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981). Allard and Landry's Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) is an improvement of the SVQ. BEVQ aims to provide a more comprehensive way of predicting language behavior. The model of belief systems was based on

the cognitive orientation model of human behavior developed by Kreiter and Kreiter (1972, 1976, in Bourhis and Landry, 2010), who organized it into four basic types of beliefs, the general beliefs, normative beliefs, personal beliefs and goal beliefs. Allard and Landry further developed these four categories of beliefs into eight different subgroups of belief pertaining to ethnolinguistic vitality.

2. Methodology

The present study has employed the quantitative-qualitative approach. The use of research tools such as the Language Attitude Questionnaire, Reported Language Use Questionnaire, Interpersonal Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC), Beliefs in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ), the Lexical Ability Test and the Sentence Translation Test all required quantitative and qualitative analysis. Aside from the questionnaires, participant -observation method was employed in the present study. Owing to limited space, only the results for the objective vitality, beliefs in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ), language attitude and ethnic identity are discussed in this article.

2.1. Participants

The respondents from the three Batak communities consist of 121 Batak speakers. Twenty five came from Sitio Riyandakan (total population = 49), 74 from Sitio Kalakuan (estimated population = 110), and 50 from Sitio Mangapin (estimated total population = 72). The figures include both children and adults across ages. The participants were classified into four age groups, namely: (1) below 18 years old, (2) 18-33 years old, (3) 34-49 years old and

50 years old and above to represent the four generations of speakers. Two research assistants who were personally trained by the researcher assisted in the gathering of data.

2.2. Data Collection Procedure

2.2.1. Preliminary investigation of the research locales

A preliminary investigation of the three Batak communities namely, Sitio Riyandakan in Barangay Maoyon, Sitio Kalakuan in Barangay Tanabag, and Sitio Mangapin in Barangay Langogan was conducted sometime in August, September, and October of 2010.

During the months of March to May 2011, a series of three visits in each area were made. The questionnaire on Beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality (BEVQ) was pretested with the Batak speakers in Sitio Tagnaya in Barangay Concepcion. The interview for BEVQ lasted for an hour to one hour and a half. Although the adults (18 years old and above) could respond to interviews, children who were seventeen years old and below had so much difficulty responding to questions. Besides, they could hardly sustain a one-hour interview. Based on these, it was decided that the BEVQ would be only be administered in the areas of study to 18 year olds and above.

Questionnaires on language use and beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality were administered on different occasions until sufficient respondents, 50 to 60% of the total number of population would have been interviewed. For the purpose of comparing the objective vitality of the Batak language in the three areas, each factor was assigned a value of 0 to 3, with 3. To determine the actual

language behavior, the residents during conversations and the children at play were observed. The Questionnaire on Beliefs in Ethnolinguistic Vitality was adapted from the original questionnaire by Allard and Landry (1987). The original questionnaire contains twelve sentences per section which the respondent has to evaluate using a scale of 1 to 9. To fit the situation of the Batak speakers, the questionnaire was modified in content. Furthermore, the rating scale of nine was reduced to five. The questionnaires were translated into Tagalog and were administered orally and individually by the research team to the respondents.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Objective Assessment of Batak Language Vitality

3.1.1. Demographic factors

Table 1. *Summary of Scores of the Three Areas for Demographic factors*

Demo-graphic factors	Kalak uasan	Riyan dakan	Mang apin
Absolute number of speakers	2	.5	1
fertility/mortality rate	2	1	2
age pyramid	2.5	1.5	2.5
endogamy/exogamy and immigration	2	1	1

L1 intergenerational transmission	3	2.5	1.5
proportion of ingroup vs. outgroup speakers	2	.5	.5
Total	13.5	7	8.5

Using a scale of 0 to 3, 3 being the highest, the perfect score of an area for demographic factors would be 18. Kalakuasan with a score of 13.5 may be considered strong on demographic variables, while the other two areas, Riyandakan and Mangapin with scores of 7 and 8.5 may be considered to have weak vitality.

1. Absolute number of speakers

Based on the 2010 population survey of Puerto Princesa, the Batak has only 407 speakers who are widely spread in different rural barangays of Puerto Princesa, while 19 are distributed in the urban barangays. As of 2000, the Batak population, according to City Planning Office (City of Puerto Princesa) was 293, with 149 males and 144 females. The latest figure, 407 is an improvement in the population by 72 percent from the 2000 figure. However, such figure includes adults and children of mixed marriages.

Eder also established (1989) that the original habitations of the Batak were the eight river valleys, namely: Babuyan, Maoyon, Tanabag, Tarabanan, Langogan, Tagnipa,

Caramay, and Buayan. All the river valleys mentioned are within the territory of Puerto Princesa, while Caramay, is a barangay in Roxas, Palawan. Among the seven river valleys mentioned, only the barangays of Maoyon, Tanabag and Langogan, remained to be occupied by the Batak, which are the sites of the study. Although Tagabinit and Concepcion have relatively large Batak population (61 and 77 respectively), these barangays are not among the original settlements. It was also reported that those settlements are dominated by Tagbanua and Cuyonon. According to informants, aside from the three areas of study with the largest concentration of Batak, all the other settlements contain less than ten families and these families were hardly using Batak. This is not surprising since the linguistic communities no longer live in what Fishman (1965) calls "an intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighborhood community" that communicates in the majority language.

2. Fertility and mortality rate

The National Statistics Office bears no record of number of deaths and fertility per year according to ethnicity, hence, no exact record can be given in this study. However, respondents in the three areas reported that their parents and grandparents died in their thirties and forties because of tuberculosis and malaria. The people admitted that their lack of education, their distance from the nearest hospital and their poverty had limited their access to government health services. The present time however, sees a little improvement in the life of these people. Although one resident was found to be in his fifties

in Riyandakan, at least twelve or 16 percent of the interviewees in Kalakuan are in 50 years old and beyond, while 5, or 10 percent in Mangapin are in their old age.

With regard to fertility rate, a Batak couple generally has an average of three children although a few couples have up to six children. The children in one family generally were born two years in between. The improvement in the life span of the

Batak gives more assurance that the users of the language will live long enough to transmit the Batak to the succeeding generation of speakers.

3. Age pyramid

The respondents in the study were generally divided into four age groups namely: below 18 years old, 18-33 years old, 34-49 years old and 50 years old and above.

Table 2

Number of Respondents Per Area Across Ages

Area	Below 18 years old		18-33 years old		34-49 yrs old		50 years old and above	
Kalakuan	14	19%	36	49%	12	16%	12	16%
Riyandakan	10	40 %	11	44%	3	12%	1	4%
Mangapin	22	44%	12	24%	11	22%	5	10%

As can be seen, the most number of respondents from the three areas come from the 18-33 and the below 18 years age groups. This signifies the improvement in the longevity of the Batak.

4. Endogamy/exogamy and immigration

These two factors are combined in the study because the most common reason for migration in the area is marriage itself. There is an estimated 20 households in Kalakuan and 120 estimated population. Of the 20 households, about five couples are products of intermarriage. This area is considered as having the most number of 'pure' Batak, the least number of migration and intermarriages. Immigration does not seem to be a threat to language vitality within the area for according to the local leader

and the other inhabitants, there are only five couples in the area whose spouse is either a Tagbanua or a Visayan and for a long time, the community has not accepted non-Batak immigrants. People very rarely emigrate from the area. Young women may marry someone from another Batak community who may be a Batak, Tagbanua or a Cuyono, but the man usually moves to the woman's community. The man who is a non-Batak speaker eventually learns and speaks the Batak language. Likewise, a Batak male who marries a non-Batak speaker may choose to take his wife to his community or reside in the female's community. But if the female chooses to stay in the Batak community, she eventually learns and speak the Batak language as well as native speakers do.

About half of the adult population

in Riyandakan is immigrants, either Tagbanua or Cuyonon who have married a Batak. It was observed by the research team that the number of children is remarkably small, an average of two children per family and most are males. Of the 13 households, two couples are no longer in their childbearing years. As a matter of fact, only six children were interviewed because the rest of the children were only two to four years old and the very few were in the mountain working.

There is an estimated population of 72 in Mangapin. More than half of the twenty couples are intermarried couples. Despite the high number of immigrants in the area, all the non-Batak partners however, reported to have learned and speak the Batak language. Conversely, the fact that the 'core' Batak speakers have become "bilinguals" in Tagalog, Tagbanua and Cuyonon, is highly likely the result of the presence of immigrants in the area and the speakers' access of the outsiders who speak the 'other' language.

The local leader in Mangapin and other Batak speakers admitted that once they have accepted an immigrant to the community, they have no control anymore on the immigrant and his or her spouse's language choice at home. Although the children continue to speak the Batak language, the fact remains that Mangapin and Riyandakan which have the most number of immigrants are more threatened by language shift than Kalakwasan.

5. L1 intergenerational transmission

The most commonly used factor in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether or not it is being transmitted from one generation to the next

(Fishman, 1991). To determine whether the Batak language is being transmitted through generations, the following question was asked both to Batak adults and children in the three communities.

Question: What language do you use whenever you speak with or do the following?

(1.) sister/brother at home; (2) teacher in the community; (3) Cuyonon salesman; (4) pastor after the mass; (5) Tagbanua friend; (6) Cuyonon friend; (7) Batak friend/neighbor; (8) giving complaints to Batak local leader; (9) speaking before the Batak crowd?; (10) speaking with Batak co-workers?; (11) speaking with jeepney drivers?; (12) speaking with community visitors?; (13) speaking with Cuyonon barangay official?; (14) speaking with Tagalog barangay official? And (15) praying to God?

Based on their responses to the questions, it can be derived that children in Kalakwasan learn the vernacular since childhood and speak it at home and in the neighborhood. Throughout the duration of the survey, children were observed to be using Batak during conversations with other Batak children and with adults both at home and at play. However, they reported speaking in Tagalog whenever there are non-Batak visitors in the community or whenever they interact with non-Batak outside the community. It was further observed that children around nine years old and below can speak only in Batak although their parents said that they understand a little Tagalog, hence, these children did not become part of the survey. This suggests that most

families in Kalakuan use Batak only in communicating with their children.

Of the adults interviewed, 98 percent reported using Batak at home and in conversations with Batak friends and neighbors and when praying to God while 95 percent reported use Batak with a Batak pastor. It was noted that among themselves, even in the presence of the team, Batak is used primarily by members of the community.

In Riyandakan, six children whose age ranges from ten to sixteen years old were interviewed. Aside from the children's use of Tagalog during interviews, there was no occasion when the children were observed to be using a language other than Batak.

As regards adults, about 79 percent (15/19) adults reported using Batak with brother or sister or any other members of the family at home. Fifteen also will speak Tagbanua with a Tagbanua friend, eleven will speak in Cuyonon with a Cuyonon friend, and 13 will only use Batak when praying while 6 use Batak and Tagalog. Of the adult respondents, nine are males and all answered that they speak Batak with co-workers. Whenever the women get together which happens almost every day, the language of communication is Batak.

About 54 percent (12/22) of the children interviewed in Mangapin reported using language (Tagalog, Cuyonon or Tagbanua) as their first language. 88 percent of the adults maintained that Batak is the language at home while the remaining 12 percent admitted using Cuyonon/Tagalog or Tagbanua at home. The teachers in elementary school also maintained that a good

number of Batak families use Tagalog when speaking with family members. Tagalog is the language in school during instruction and when interacting with teachers. On the other hand, students can freely speak in Batak during recess and playtime. Tagalog is the language in church, although the resident pastor speaks with the people in Batak and in Tagalog in conversations with them.

6. Proportion of ingroup versus outgroup speakers

Among the three areas studied, Kalakuan is the one in which majority of inhabitants are "pure" Batak. The decision of the people not to accept non-Batak immigrants for the purpose of protecting their language and maintaining their cultural traits insulates the network system. Even the local government and the outsiders recognize that Kalakuan is the Batak community with the most number of "pure" Batak speakers.

The acceptance of Riyandakan and Mangapin of non-Batak immigrants not only increases the division of network system that will protect the language and culture but also threatens the unity of the Batak as a community. The Batak elders in these areas observed that the Batak are not as closely knit as before. The division is more pronounced among those belonging to the 30-45 age group. The influence of immigrants who bring with them other virtues encourages individualism among the younger Batak which may be good for the individual but not to the Batak as a group. If this trend continues, the language and culture in Riyandakan and Mangapin will surely be at risk.

3.1.2 Institutional support and control factors

A perfect score for institutional support would be 27. Kalakuasan, and Mangapin may be considered moderately strong on institutional support but Riyandakan is considered weak since it got barely a third of the perfect score. Institutional support

may come in the form of (1) education, (2) government services, (3) economy, (4) media, (5) linguistic landscape, (6) cultural industries, (7) political institutions, (8) religious institutions, and (9) leadership and associative work.

Table 3. *Summary of Scores for Institutional Support and Control Factors*

Institutional support and control factors	Kalakuasan	Riyandakan	Mangapin
education	.5	.5	3
government services	2	.5	.5
economy	2	1	.5
media	.5	.5	.5
linguistic landscape (L1 vs L2, L3)	1	1	1
cultural industries	2	1	1
political institutions	1	.5	.5
religious institutions	2.5	2.5	3
political and associative network	1	1	.5
Total	12.5	8.5	10.5

Generally speaking, only a few Batak in Kalakuasan and Riyandakan have interest in sending their children to school. At present, only Mangapin has an elementary school. It was observed that most children at seven years old and beyond are sent to the school to study. However, male children who have reached fifteen years old no longer go to school and instead help their father in the mountain either in gathering almaciga or farming.

Two children in Kalakuasan are sent to study in the barangay elementary school with a little support

from the local government. Likewise, only one child in Riyandakan is sent to the elementary school. The parents in these two areas, especially the women, expressed interest in the education of their children if a school will be built in their community.

With regard to government services, what is most visible is a few of the health services offering weighing and immunization to infants. Medical missions are very rarely held in Batak communities. On the part of the Kalakuasan, its inhabitants benefit from occasional visits of a private doctor who conducts medical missions

and also teaches children to read. Based on observations and interviews with Batak, those in Kalakuan seemed to have developed a harmonious relationship with barangay officials as proven by the existence of concrete benches around the basketball court, the allotment of funding for electricity, food and prizes for the community's Foundation Day Celebration. In contrast, the residents in Riyandakan and Mangapin expressed bitterness over the lack of support of the barangay officials not only on special occasions but also the lack of programs for the community.

The Batak are considered among the poorest of the ethnic groups in Palawan, yet according to them, the government has not done anything to make life better for them. Even the Kalakuan residents, who seem better off than their counterparts in Mangapin and Riyandakan, feel that they are often the last to receive benefits from the local government. When the research team went to the area for the first time, they noted that a great part of the river from the Maoyon proper to the Riyandakan area was largely destroyed by quarrying activities. The river banks were moved widely and many large holes were created by bulldozers at the center of the river. According to the Batak, the river used to have clear waters and was shallow enough for them to cross. After years of quarrying, the river has become unsafe for their children and during rainy seasons, floods occurred more often. At the time of writing this paper, the Batak reported that the road going to Riyandakan is hardly passable even for a motorcycle because the road has become deep, soft and muddy. Although the people does not associate the lack of institutional support to the

low prestige ascribed to the Batak language, the regular presence of outsiders who conduct the quarrying operations and the creation of the road towards the interior, make this language group more vulnerable to non-Batak influences which is not good for the maintenance of their language.

One serious environmental concern in Mangapin is the small scale mining conducted in the mountain. Although there is another source of drinking water which comes from a spring, the water from it flows so slowly so the residents depend largely on the Mangapin river for bathing and washing their clothes and even drinking water. When the researcher visited the area for the first time, the color of the river was greenish to brown and remained the same in the succeeding two visits. On the fourth visit, it was noted that the river turned to chocolate brown. Aside from their river problem, the Batak are concerned about being prohibited by the DENR from gathering almaciga because they lack the necessary permits. Because of the restriction, the Batak cannot openly deliver their products to the usual buyers. This situation is being taken advantage of by some businessmen who buy almaciga for only half the price. The Batak main source of livelihood has been gathering almaciga resins and honey since the time of their ancestors. The scenarios mentioned are the reasons why the Batak in Mangapin believe that the government does not perceive them favorably as people.

Some effort has been taken by the local government to some extent to preserve or maintain the Batak cultural heritage. For instance, just a few years ago, the City Tourism Office

spearheaded a project which aims to help Batak communities preserve their cultural heritage. The Batak Center in Barangay Concepcion, Puerto Princesa was built as a gathering place for Batak elders and children. During weekends, the Batak from different river valleys convene to teach the young their traditional dance and the art of basket and mat decorative weaving. This activity is attended by a few Batak from Mangapin and Riyandakan and other communities while the most active and the most number of attendees come from Kalakuasan.

Except as voters during local and national elections, the Batak generally do not participate in politics beyond their borders compared to their Cuyonon and Tagbanua counterparts. On the other hand, religious institutions show their support by sending their missionaries to Batak communities. Although the people are accepting and generally attend masses, most of them if not all are not baptized in the Christian religion and still practice old customs such as living together at a young age without the sacrament of marriage. All the three

communities studied are being served by pastors.

One of the important observations of the Batak is their tendency to elect a Tagbanua as their local leader. In Kalakuasan for instance, the local leader is not a Batak, but a Tagbanua who married a Batak resident. Likewise, the previous local leader of Riyandakan is a Tagbanua and she was succeeded by a Batak who is a product of mixed marriage. Even the local leader in Mangapin is no longer pure Batak but is a Batak-Tagbanua. This is alarming considering that there are 'pure' Batak who may be capable of performing the function of a local leader. Although the people do not admit it, the tendency to choose a Tagbanua to be their local leader may be an indication that the Batak consider the Tagbanua to be superior in status than the Batak that the highest political position in the community should be taken by an immigrant.

From the preceding discussion, it can be said that very few institutional supports are received by the three Batak communities.

3. Status factors

Table 4. *Summary of Scores for Status Factors*

Status factors	Kalakuasan	Riyandakan	Mangapin
current social status of L1 community relative to L2, L3	1.5	1.5	1.5
status of L1 relative to L2, L3 (at barangay, city/provincial and national level)	2	2	2
socio-economic status of L1 community relative to L2, L3	1.5	.5	.5
Total scores	5	4	4

A perfect score for status factors would be 9. A score of 5 and 4.5 indicate moderate vitality. Overall, Kalakuasan is strong on demographic variables and moderately strong on both institutional support and status variables resulting in a medium vitality position. On the other hand, Riyandakan which is weak on demographic variables and institutional support and moderately strong on status factors has a total vitality position of weak. Similarly, Mangapin which is weak on demographic variables and status factors but moderate on institutional support has a vitality position of weak.

1. Current social status of L1 community relative to L2 and L3.

To gauge how other language groups perceive the Batak, 25 outsiders per area were randomly selected and asked to describe the Batak speakers.

Below are the most common descriptions given.

Kalakuasan	Mangapin	Riyandakan
Hardworking (5)	Good natured (4)	Hardworking (5)
Tamad (5)	Harworking (4)	Civilized already (5)
Dependable (2)	Deceitful (3)	Uneducated (3)
Dark-complexioned (2)	Lack interest in education (3)	Poor (3)
Has curly hair (2)	Civilized already (3)	Obedient/good-natured (5)
Liar (2)	Live simply (2)	Lack interest in education (2)
Helpful (2)	Helpful (2)	Deceitful (2)
Other responses	Other responses	Other responses:
Generous (1)	Rarely takes a bath (1)	Curly hair (1)
Civilized already (1)	Lazy (1)	Ravenous eater (1)
Deceptive (1)	Too shy (1)	Dresses differently (1)
United(1)	Learn easily (1)	Knows how to speak Tagalog (1)
Good-natured-(1)	Not contented anymore with their way of life (1)	
Respectful (1)		

Table 5. *Perceptions of Outsiders on the Batak of Kalakuasan, Riyandakan and Mangapin*

Based on the responses in Table 5, it can be derived that the Batak were ascribed by outsiders both positive and negative status. Traits like hardworking, good-natured, and helpful are the same perceptions the Batak have of themselves. On the contrary, the Batak were also described as lazy, lack interest in education and deceitful. These negative traits were the same descriptions the Batak believe people have of them. Very few descriptions that refer to physical appearance were given such as 'curly haired' and 'dark complexioned'. The negative perceptions which outsiders attach to Batak may eventually affect the latter's perceptions of themselves as people, especially the children. For instance, a few of the children in Mangapin who were studying in the barrio high school admitted that they prefer to be identified as Cuyonon than Batak because their classmates would not want to befriend them. Because of such preference, children might avoid using their native language so as not to be identified as Batak. The group's status is a source of language prestige. If a low status is ascribed the language minority groups, this is often transferred to the perception of a people's language. Comparing the Batak language community status with the status of the Tagbanua and Cuyonon, a marked difference will be found. Among the three, the Cuyonon consider themselves superior in status compared to the other two language groups. Quakenbush (1989) in his sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen language acknowledged the important place of Cuyonon language in the lives of the Agutaynons. Cuyonon traditionally served as a lingua franca in Palawan. The importance given to the language must be attributed to the

fact that compared to other ethnic groups in Palawan; the Cuyonon speakers were majority in number. The 2000 National census lists 179,184 ethnic Cuyonons. While the Tagbanua community did not enjoy the same prestige given to the Cuyonons, this language group is considered better in status compared to Batak. Firstly, Aborlanon Tagbanua is considered "Safe" by virtue of its more than 10,000 speakers all over Palawan. Secondly, the achievements of its speakers in the field of education and politics have made this linguistic group popular not only in the province but even outside Palawan.

2. Current status of the Batak language relative to Tagbanua and Cuyonon languages

In Palawan, just like in the rest of the provinces the Philippines, Filipino and English are the language of communication both in spoken and print media and in school, Filipino and English are the media of instruction. Filipinos who come from other provinces in the country and reside in Palawan speak Tagalog and English to communicate with Ilocanos, Bicolanos, Cebuanos, Ilongos and other language groups. Among the ethnic groups in Palawan, it is the Cuyono language that enjoys prestige. Some immigrants who have settled in the province for a long time have learned Cuyonon and they use it when speaking whenever they interact with Cuyonon speakers.

Batak language however, does not share the same prestige with the Cuyonon language. Cuyonon songs, folktales, and other forms of literature have been published already. Aside from immigrants who marry a Batak and settle in the Batak community, no outsider normally strives to learn the

Batak language. As a matter of fact, more prestige is enjoyed by the Tagbanua. Aside from Tagbanua songs and folktales, there had been also a Tagbanua dictionary. At present, a good number of Tagbanua have finished college; a few have even earned a doctoral degree and have become academicians. The success earned by individual Tagbanuas was somehow transferred to the Tagbanua communities more especially to the Aborlanon Tagbanua. While many of the Cuyonon and Tagbanua speakers have achieved high level of education and gained financial stability, no Batak up to this date has finished high school or has become successful in life financially or materially.

3. The Batak for a long time has been considered the most economically underprivileged among the minority groups in Palawan. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the Batak males continue to gather almaciga resin and honey while women stay at home or plant palay.

The Batak in the three areas generally have very little desire for new clothes. Clothes come as donations from charitable organizations which visit the community during Christmas. The Kalakuasan inhabitants are luckier because tourists sometimes give food and other gifts during Christmas. On the other hand, the people from Riyandakan and Mangapin do not have the same benefits since no regular tourist visits them and not many people give them gifts during Christmas.

The Batak in the three areas build homes using traditional materials like cogon, nipa and kawayan. The people are not generally concerned about building presentable and durable

houses. It was noticeable though that a few Batak in Mangapin who married Tagbanua farmers built concrete homes. There are also a few Batak married to Cuyonos with more presentable and durable homes than those ordinarily built by Batak. According to them, if they do not eat and live the way they do, then they are no longer Batak. Although economically underprivileged, the inherent simplicity of the Batak makes life tolerable for them and such attitude seems to have positive impact on their language vitality.

Analysis of the overall mean for objective vitality of the three areas seem to indicate that demographic factors as the most influential among the three sociological factors in the language choice of Batak speakers. Further analysis of variance however, indicated no significant differences among the three dimensions of sociological factors. This implies that the objective vitality of the community is equally determined by the three sociological dimensions, namely, demographic, institutional support and status factors.

a. The Beliefs in Ethnolinguistic Vitality

The ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire aims to measure the effects of the sociological factors on the speakers of the language in question. The questionnaire consists of eight sections representing the eight cognitive orientation beliefs and beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality. The following sections are: (1) The Present Resources of Batak in the Community; (2) The Future Resources of the Language in the Community; (3) What Would Be Just and fair in This

Community; (4) The Present behavior of My Friends in This Community; (5) What You Consider to be Important; (6) What I Want To Do Or be Able To Do in This Community; (7) What I Am Capable of Doing; and (8) My Feelings of Belongingness. The first two sections and the fourth section represent the general or factual beliefs (what is, is not), the third section represents the normative beliefs (what should, should not be), the fifth, seventh and eighth sections represent personal beliefs (what I am, I am not) and the sixth section represents goals and desires of the speaker (what I want, I don't want). Of the eight sections, the fourth section, the social models section, was not included in this study to shorten the time that will be spent in the interview. Just the seven sections need at least an hour of interview. Oftentimes, an interview would last up to one and a half hours. Owing to differences in the realities of respondents in Allard and Landry's study and that of the Batak, the content of the BEVQ was modified to suit the Batak context.

Each section of the BEVQ administered to the Batak is composed of 12 items like the original questionnaire and the subject addressed in item number one in the first section is the same subject addressed in the number one item of the remaining sections of the questionnaire.

Table 7 shows the question number one in all the seven sections of the questionnaire used in the study. The missing section, section number four was omitted but the assignment of sections has been retained. The BEVQ administered in the three communities were uniform in content and format.

The following discussion highlights the analysis of findings on the administration of the BEVQ on the Batak respondents. A lengthy discussion are given in Section One since it constitutes the feelings of the Batak about the present situation.

Section 1. The Present Resources.

Analysis of responses in number 1 question revealed some important trends. For instance, in number one question, the most number of respondents in Kalakuan, chose 'Many' or "Marami" to refer to the presence of cultural activities in their community, while a majority of the respondents in Riyandakan and Mangapin chose 'Few' or 'Kaunti'. The responses of the Kalakuan residents coincide with the common observation that this community has the most number of cultural dancers and performers of rituals among the Batak communities. Likewise, the 'Kaunti' of the Mangapin and Riyandakan coincides with the observations that these two communities barely preserve cultural knowledge of the Batak. The second question: In this community, the number of houses which owns radio is... 1 for None, 2 for Few, 3 for Just enough, 4 for Many, and 5 for Everybody has radio. It was noted that in all the three areas, a greater majority of respondents in the three areas chose number 2, which is 'Few'. This response coincides with observations that there is hardly any radio owned by Batak in those communities. The lack of radio were then related by residents to their poverty and the lack of interest in listening to radio programs.

Some inconsistencies however, were found in the responses of Kalakuan and Riyandakan in number

3 question: Gaano kaimportante sa palagay mo, ang pagpapatayo ng paaralan sa komunidad ng mga Batak (Trans. How important is it for the government to build a school in the community?) It was then expected that a majority of the respondents from the two communities would choose 'Unimportant' or 'A little important' because until now, no school was built there. On the contrary, 'Very important' or 'Napakaimportante', which is the highest of the scale 1 to 5, was the dominant response. All questions were orally administered and explanations were supplied to avoid confusions on the part of the interviewees. Still, a majority steadfastly chose the extreme answer which contradicts their present situation. Such response can be interpreted both ways. One, the Batak might be thinking that the research team was, being an outsider, is a representative of the government and they would not want to offend the government. Some previous studies conducted with indigenous groups abroad mentioned a tendency for ethnic minority groups to associate the presence of strangers to government representatives, hence, they were careful about responding to sensitive questions. Another possibility is that the people might have interpreted that they were being asked how important having a school in their area is to them. This interpretation arose from the people's desire to send their children to school if there will be a school in their area.

Another inconsistency in answer was exhibited in response to number 7 question: Sa komunidad na ito, ang pamunuhay ng mga Batak ay... Napakahirap, Mahirap, Katamtaman, Magihawa, Napakaginhawa (Trans. In

this community, the socio-economic level (degree of material and economic comfort) of Batak families is... Very much below average, Below average, Average, Above average, Very much above average). By normal standards, people who live in nipa huts, who cannot afford to buy new clothes, who hardly own a radio, cannot afford to send their children to school and barely able to afford a decent meal are considered very poor. If such standard will be used, the Batak may be considered very poor. Interestingly however, the most number of responses in the Kalakwasan and Riyandakan went to the scale 'Katamtaman' (Average) while in Mangapin there was a tie between the 'Mahirap', (Below average) and the 'Katamtaman', (Average). The responses therefore imply that majority of the Batak in the three localities perceive their socioeconomic situation to be moderate, that their life may not be comfortable but not necessarily poor. Such response reflects the people's pride in their way of life. This coincides with some views that to live in a hut and to eat honey and rootcrops is to be a Batak. According to some elders, their life is difficult but it is the kind of life they were born with and got used to and they have no intention of changing it.

Section 2. The Future Sources of Batak in the Community

Under this section, a respondent is invited to predict what can possibly happen in 2020 in relation to the use of the Batak language in the community. Analysis of responses in the section reveals that the Batak in Kalakwasan believe that their cultural trait will be maintained in the next twenty years,

while those in Mangapin predicts an improvement in cultural activities from ‘Kaunti’ (Few) to ‘Katamtaman’ (Moderate). On the other hand, those in Riyandakan neither see a possible disappearance of cultural activities in the community in the next twenty years nor an improvement in them, hence a ‘Kaunti’ (Few) response. The Batak in Mangapin also see an improvement in the number of radio owners from ‘Kaunti’ (Few) to ‘Katamtaman’ (Moderate) while those in the other two areas believe that few will still own a radio in the next twenty years.

About 94 percent in Riyandakan and in Mangapin and 92 percent in Kalakuasan believe that Batak will remain the language of work in the

next twenty years. Similarly, 97 percent in Kalakuasan, 94 percent in Mangapin and 89 percent in Riyandakan believe that Batak will continue to be the language at home.

Section 3. What will be Fair and Just for the Community?

The section consists of 12 statements which pertain to the respondents ideals, what is fair and and just for the Batak community considering the number of its speakers.

Kung pagbabasehan ang bilang ng mga Batak sa komunidad, ... Trans.(Given the number of Batak in the community...)

Item number 5. “Magiging makatuwiran at makatarungan ang sitwasyon para sa komunidad kung ang paggamit ng Batak sa kapitbahayan ay...(. Trans. For things to be truly just and fair, the language of the neighborhood should be Batak.)

1	2	3	4	5
Hindi	Bhirang	Paminsan-minsan Bihira	Madalas	Napakadulas

About 94 to 100 percent of the responses in the three areas chose number 4, “Madalas” and 5, “Napakadulas”. These respondents believe then that Batak should be used almost at all times in their conversations with neighbors, except

when there are visitors who do not speak the language. The same respondents believe that the use of the Batak in socialization within the community is the right thing to do.

Item no. 10. ... magiging makatuwiran at makatarungan ang sitwasyon kung ang mga Batak ay mag-aasawa ng kapwa Batak. (Trans. One should expect that Batak will marry a Batak).

1	2	3	4	5
	Di maaari	Bihira	Paminsan-minsan	Madalas
				Napakadalas

Responses for this item were divided between 4, “Madalas” (Often) and 5, “Napakadalas” (Always).

About 97 percent in Kalukuasan, 85 percent in Mangapin and 65 percent in Riyandakan agreed that Batak should marry as much as possible another Batak. Although the Batak in Kalukuasan are very optimistic about the idea, the Batak in Mangapin and Riyandakan believe that this cannot be possible for a long time because of their small population. Like other ethnic groups, the Batak believe that it is a sin to marry within the third degree

of consanguinity. When most of the unmarried Batak are relatives, those who want to build their family either choose a Batak who is not a relative from another community. If that is not possible, they either marry a Tagbanua or a Cuyonon.

Section 5. What is the Most Important to You at Present

This section asked the respondents to consider the things that matter most to them at present. Sample items:

Item no. 1. Gaano kaimportante sa iyo na ang mga gawaing pangkultura (sayaw, pag-awit, ritwal atbp.) sa komunidad ay maging Batak?

1	2	3	4	5
Hindi importante	Me konting	Katamtamang	Importante	
importansiya	talaga	Napakaimportante		

Of the three communities visited, it is Kalukuasan that prides itself for maintaining its cultural activities by way of dancing and rituals, although the elders admitted that not many among the fourth generation of speakers know the culture of their ancestors. Even fewer among the elders of Mangapin, know the language that reflects their culture. In Riyandakan where nearly half of the population are immigrants, none admitted having learned the cultural

activities of their ancestors. The cultural decline may be attributed to the influx of immigrants in Riyandakan and Mangapin which affected the density of the social network within the community. Although these immigrants may not impose on the Batak inhabitants the culture of their own group, these people may not feel obliged to learn the Batak ways, much less, embrace them. Besides, the Christianization of the Batak somehow made them realize that practicing

rituals are in conflict with the Christian beliefs and therefore should not be

practiced.

Item no. 2. Gaano kaimportante sa iyo na magkaroon ng sariling radyo? (How important is it to you to own a radio?)

1	2	3	4	5
Hindi Napakahalaga	Me konting Importante halaga	Katamtaman halaga	Mahalaga talaga	

For this item, responses from the three areas were divided between “Hindi importante”(Unimportant) and “Me konting halaga” (A little important). According to the people, although they learn from listening to radio, considering their poverty, owning a radio is a luxury, and they could not afford it. Besides, radio is something their ancestors lived without, and something they do not need at present. A few elders even

added that owning a radio is very “un-Batak”, hence, owning one signifies a breaking away from being an authentic Batak.

Section 6. What Do I want to Do for the Community?

This section asked respondents to reflect on their own goals, dreams and aspirations. It is believed that goals, dreams and aspirations inspire a person’s actions and decisions.

Item no. 11. Kung may kabataan at matatandang nagdesisyong tumira sa aming komunidad, at di marunong magsalita ng Batak, tuturuan ko sila ng aming salita. If adolescents or young adults speaking neither Batak moved to this community, I would eventually want them to communicate with me in Batak.

1	2	3	4	5
Hindi mangyayari (Will not happen)	bihirang mangyayari (Will seldom happen)	Paminsan-minsan Napakadalas (Sometimes) happen)	Madalas (Will often happen)	mangyayari (Will always

The most common responses to item number 11 are scales number 3 and 4. The item aims to measure the desire of the Batak to teach young immigrants to learn their language.

The Batak who answered ‘Paminsan-minsan’(Sometimes) explained that if ever some young immigrants do not know the Batak language, they are willing to teach them the language but

only during their free time, since they are also busy doing household chores. Those who answered 'Madalas (Oftentimes) are the more willing to teach young immigrants their language. Teaching others their

language is not within the context of the Batak experience, besides, they know that the non-Batak immigrants in their area learned their language on their own.

Item number 12. Ang komunidad na nais kong tahanan ay mayroong kultura at wikang Batak na... (The territory in which I would most want to reside would have a Batak cultural and linguistic character which is...)

1	2	3	4	5
Napakahina	Mahina	Katamtaman	Mayaman	Napakayaman
(Very weak)	(Weak)	(Moderate)	(Rich)	(Very rich)

Majority of the responses in the Kalakuasan and Mangapin are scales 3 and 4 while in Riyandakan the dominant response is number 3, 'Katamtaman' (Moderate). The responses are reflective of the common belief of the people that it would be good to live in a community where people know their culture and speak their native language.

Section 7. What I am Capable of Doing

This pertains to the things the speaker believes he can accomplish through the use of the Batak language. Sample items:

Item number 9. Naniniwala ka bang mas nakakatanggap ka ng maayos na serbisyo sa gobyerno kung wikang Tagalog ang iyong gagamitin? (When you have to use the governmental services (municipal, provincial, national) in your city, do you feel you are capable of obtaining good services by using Tagalog?)

1	2	3	4	5
Hindi naniniwala	Di sigurado	Katamtamang naniniwala	Positibong naniniwala	Labis na naniniwala
(Does not believe)	(Uncertain)	(Moderately believes)	(Most certainly believes)	(Certainly believes)

Responses by Batak from Kalakuasan were evenly distributed across the five scales indicating that the people hold different beliefs as regards the benefit of using Tagalog in government offices. On the other hand,

the Batak in Mangapin and Riyandakan take the scale number 3, which is a safe answer. When asked, the people explained that the ability to speak Tagalog is not the issue why they receive little support from the

government for they speak the language well. It is the fact that they

are Batak that they are taken for granted most of the time.

Item number 10. *Pag pumupunta ka sa tindahan, sa kainan, o sa iba pang establisyamento, nakakatanggap ka ba ng mas magandang serbisyo sa mga tagapagsilbi o sa may-ari dahil marunong kang magTagalog?* (When you use public services (stores, restaurants, etc.), do you feel you are capable of obtaining good services when you talk to store clerks, waiters, and waitresses, in Tagalog?)

1	2	3	4	5
Hindi naniniwala (Not at all Capable)	Di sigurado (Not very capable)	Katamtamang paniniwala (Moderately capable)	Positibong naniniwala (Quite capable)	Labis na naniniwala (Totally capable)

In this item, most responses are the number 4, “Positibong naniniwala”(Certainly believe) which connotes that the Batak recognizes the importance of knowledge of Tagalog in dealing with non-Batak.

sentences, aimed to assess the extent of the speakers’ knowledge of themselves and the community they belong. In this section, the respondents are asked to consider in every situation presented their beliefs, feelings, aspirations and ways of relating with people around them. Finally, after considering those things, the respondents are asked to mark the portion of the choices which describe their situation best.

Section 8. Belongingness

This final section of the questionnaire consisting of eight

Item no. 3. Tuwing titingin ako sa aking paligid at sa mga taong nakakasalamuha ko palagi, nararamdaman kong ako ayBatak (When I look at my environment and the people around me, I have the feeling that I amBatak)

	1	2	3	4	5	
Hinding hindi	___	: ___	: ___	: ___	: ___	Buong buo
(Not at all)						(Completely)

The most typical response in this item is the extreme right which

signifies respondents’ identification with the Batak community.

between beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality and language use. all three areas have demonstrated strong to moderate vitality based on their scores in the beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire (BEVQ). However, Pearson correlation analysis has failed to establish a significant correlation between the seven sections of the BEVQ and language use. Aside from the computations of the individual pairing (i.e. language use and BEVQ Section 1, language use and BEVQ Section 2, etc.), a computation also of two groups of BEVQ Sections, the exocentric vitality, composed of Sections 1, 2 and 3, and the egocentric vitality, comprised of Sections 3 to 6, were paired with language use. Still, no correlation between the two groups of variables was established. Only the Section 8, *Belongingness* which represents ethnic identity correlated significantly with language use in the three areas.

The absence of significant correlation between BEVQ and language use as a whole, is initially attributed by the researcher to the fact that only the adult respondents in the three areas were administered the BEVQ, while both children and adults responded to the language use questionnaire. Such notion however, was not empirically tested. Another possible explanation for the lack of correlation between the paired variables is the propensity of some respondents to overestimate their responses in the first six sections of the questionnaire, which might have resulted in the inability of the present study to find correlation between BEVQ and language use.

b. Ethnic Identity and Language Use

One important section in BEVQ is the eighth section for it measures ethnic identity. Ethnicity, according to Jenkins (1994, in Starks, Taumoefolau, Bell & Davis, 2005) is a dynamic social phenomenon that defines itself through interactions with others in different social situations. Table 7 reports the mean scores for ethnic identity and language use.

Table 7 Mean Scores in Ethnic Identity and Language Use of the Three Areas

Batak Community	Mean Scores- Ethnic Identity	Mean Scores- Language use
Kalakuasan	4.9	3.51
Riyandakan	4.7	2.75
Mangapin	4.9	2.85

It can be seen from scores in Table 7 that the Batak participants in the three areas exhibited very strong ethnic identity. It can be derived also that scores of the locality for language use are just within normal range. While Batak remains the language of the majority at home, in the neighborhood and at work, Batak and Tagalog are the dominant languages in the church while Filipino and English remain the media of instruction in school. Generally speaking, when outside the Batak community, the language used during conversations depends on the language of the interlocutor. Product Pearson correlation analysis found a very high correlation of .01 between ethnic identity and language use in Kalakuasan. Similarly, both variables

were found to significantly correlate at 0.05 level in Riyandakan and Mangapin.

c. Language attitude and Language Use

One of the important factors that impact on shift and maintenance of language is attitude (Holmes & Harlow, 1991, in Kuncha & Bathula, 2004). Attitude refers to a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior (Baker, 1992, p. 10 in Kuncha & Bathula, 2004). So, it represents internal thoughts, feelings and tendencies in behavior across a variety of contexts. One of the important questions that the present study sought to answer was what role attitude played in the shift or maintenance of the Batak language in the three Batak communities studied.

Table 8 presents the mean scores for the language attitude and language use in Kalakuasan, Riyandakan and Mangapin.

Table 8. Average Mean Scores for Language Attitude and Language Use

Batak Community	Psychological variable	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Kalakuasan	Language Attitude	4.7487	.32108
	Language Use	3.5096	.49119
Riyandakan	Language Attitude	4.4667	.83485
	Language Use	3.7500	.32421
Mangapin	Language Attitude	4.6655	.35884
	Language Use	2.8548	.50020

As shown in Table 8, the average mean score for language attitude is highest in Kalakuasan, followed by Mangapin,

then Riyandakan. From the figures, it can be derived that Kalakuasan and Mangapin demonstrated highly positive language attitude while Riyandakan exhibited a moderately positive language attitude.

Conversely, language use mean score is highest for Riyandakan, followed by Kalakuasan and Mangapin. As shown in Table 8, speakers in Riyandakan and Kalakuasan use Batak more frequently than those of Mangapin. As a matter of fact, Batak is used considerably less in Mangapin (2.85) while it is used more often in Kalakuasan and Riyandakan. Although the mean score for language use for Riyandakan is higher than that of Kalakuasan, no significant difference was found between the two scores. This implies that Kalakuasan and Riyandakan speakers use the Batak language with almost the same frequency.

Overall, Pearson correlation analysis established a significant correlation between language attitude and language use for Kalakuasan (0.01), Riyandakan (0.05 level) and Mangapin (0.004 level).

4. Conclusion

Considering the high objective vitality, positive language attitude, high ethnic identity, and relatively healthy language use in Kalakuasan, it would be safe to conclude that the objective language vitality of the area is high. Owing to these characteristics, Batak language in Kalakuasan is predicted to exist in the many years and even decades to come.

With medium/moderate objective vitality, positive language attitude and high ethnic identity of speakers, relatively stable language structure and relatively healthy language use, the

Batak language in Riyandakan is considered to have medium actual language vitality. The language may exist for many years if the population problem and migration will become controllable.

Similarly, with medium/moderate objective vitality, positive language attitude and high ethnic identity of speakers, relatively stable language structure and relatively healthy language use, the Batak language in Mangapin is considered to have medium actual language vitality. Unless migration and intermarriage have become uncontrollable and intergenerational transmission becomes interrupted, language maintenance is expected to prevail in the area.

Overall, the speakers in all three areas have generally demonstrated in varying degrees, additive bilingualism/multilingualism in that the learning of Tagalog, Tagbanua and Cuyonon did not entail the loss of the Batak language. While Tagalog is indisputably dominant in the domains of school, church, politics, media and public interactions, it is not embraced as a Batak identity markers, hence the Batak language continually occupies the domains of home, neighborhood and work in all three areas.

Previous studies abroad (Lenk; 2007, Allard & Landry 1992) established a strong correlation between ethnolinguistic vitality and language use. In the present study, only the eighth section which assessed ethnic identity correlated with language use. The positive association between belongingness/ethnic identity and language use supports previous findings (Rueck and Jore, 2003; Genuino, 2005; Muller, Abbess, Tiessen and Tiessen, 2008; Kobari,

2009, Paul, Abbess, Muller, Tiessen & Tiessen, 2005).

However, the absence of a significant relationship between language use and the first seven subscales (Present Resources, Future Resources, Legitimate Vitality, Social Model, Valorization, Personal Efficacy and Aspirations) of ethnolinguistic vitality reverses previous findings (Lenk 2007, Allard and Landry, 1987) which established egocentric vitality as a better predictor of language use. One possible explanation for this unexpected finding could be the fact that the BEVQ was administered only to adults owing to the inapplicability of the BEVQ content to young participants. Conversely, the language use questionnaires were administered to respondents of all ages. The lack of representation of the young respondents in the BEVQ data might have affected the statistical findings. No further test, however, was made to confirm this assumption. Another possible explanation for the lack of significant correlation between beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality and language use is the tendency of participants to overestimate Batak vitality. This tendency was evident in participants' responses to the first two sections of the BEVQ.

Another plausible explanation for the lack of significant association between the seven subscales of ethnolinguistic vitality and language use is the inapplicability of beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality in predicting Batak speakers' patterns of language use. This view finds support in Yagmur's (2011), Mc-Entee-Atalianis (2011) and Ehala's (2011) critical evaluation of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory. Yagmur summarized the four studies of Turkish ethnolinguistic

vitality in Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands which gave very low ratings to their own group's vitality, yet material evidences and data from observation showed high linguistic vitality. Although he admitted that compared to other models, Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) and its accompanying instruments 'provide a broader and more inclusive framework for the investigation of language maintenance and shift', Yagmur (2011) established that the theory on its own does not provide the responses needed for exploring the relationship between receiving society policies and immigrant group reactions (p. 119). In the case of the Batak, the concern is how in-group responses reconcile with outgroup views about the in-group. In the same paper, Yagmur stresses the inability of the EVT model to 'yield meaningful results on its own, which underscores the importance of additional conceptual models and instruments in analyzing language situations. Another criticism of the EVT is that it takes the mainstream institutions as focus, ignoring ethnic minority institutions. Thirdly, the application of the EVT within indigenous and immigrant minorities yield different outcomes (p. 119). Focusing his discussion on what SEVQ actually measures, Ehala (2011), acknowledges that the SEVQ instrument differentiates communities of different objective vitality quite adequately. Ehala questions the findings that SEVQ scores underestimate actual language maintenance behavior (Yagmur, 2011). Arguing that the development of EV with respect to investigating subjective vitality 'has been constrained by social-psychological bias, Atalianis

(2011), proposed for a consideration of cross-disciplinary research and the adoption of broader research tools to examine the 'tripartite conceptual structure' (Abrams, Barker & Giles, 2009, p. 69, in Atalianis, 2011)..

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