

TRACKING AGUTAYNEN LANGUAGE VITALITY 1984–2009

J. Stephen Quakenbush
SIL International



Photographer Brian Graham



Manila
2011

ISBN 978-971-18-0436-7

Electronically published at www.sil.org/asia/philippines/plb_download.html

ISO 639-3 Agutaynen (agn)

www.ethnologue.com

Contents

1	Introduction.....	4
2	Language vitality and endangerment.....	6
2.1	UNESCO's nine factors	6
2.2	Landweer's eight indicators.....	7
2.3	Language endangerment in the Philippines	9
3	Agutaynen language use and proficiency in 1984	12
3.1	Agutaynen language community.....	12
3.2	Summary of findings: Language attitudes, use, and proficiency	14
3.3	Some trends in the 1980s.....	15
4	Agutaynen language vitality in 2009.....	17
4.1	Some changes in the Agutaynen language community	17
4.2	The 2009 Agutaynen language vitality survey	21
4.3	Comparisons.....	23
4.3.1	What language do you like the most?.....	23
4.3.2	What language do you want your children to know first?.....	24
4.3.3	Do you think Agutaynen will be used for long time to come?.....	25
4.3.4	Speaking with siblings?	25
4.3.5	Speaking with a Cuyonon friend?	25
4.3.6	Speaking with a Cuyonon vendor?	26
4.3.7	Speaking with a Tagalog mayor?	26
4.3.8	Speaking with a Cuyonon mayor?	26
4.3.9	Speaking to an unknown visitor at home?.....	26
4.3.10	For praying?	27
4.3.11	Speaking to a stranger in town?	28
4.3.12	Speaking with teachers at school?	28
4.3.13	Making a complaint to the barangay captain?.....	29
4.3.14	Making a speech at a barangay meeting?	29
4.3.15	With a jeepney driver to/from Puerto Princesa City?.....	29
4.3.16	English ever used?	30
4.3.17	Ever use Cuyonon language with fellow Agutaynens?.....	31
4.3.18	Ever use Tagalog language with fellow Agutaynens?	31

4.4	New questions in 2009.....	31
4.4.1	Do you ever read in Agutaynen?	32
4.4.2	Do you have any books in your home?.....	32
4.4.3	Should Agutaynen be used in school? (Why? How?).....	32
4.4.4	How can you know if someone is Agutaynen?	33
4.4.5	Is it possible for an Agutaynen person not to know how to speak Agutaynen?	33
4.5	Questions that did not work well.....	34
4.5.1	Where is the best Agutaynen spoken?	34
4.5.2	Are there other kinds of books you think there should be in Agutaynen?	34
4.5.3	Questions on language proficiency	35
4.6	Summary of findings	35
5	Agutaynen language revitalization efforts	37
5.1	Agutaynen literacy promotion	37
5.2	Agutaynen arts and media	39
5.3	Community organizing.....	40
6	Summary and prospects.....	41
7	Remaining questions.....	45
	Appendix 1: Agutaynen Language Vitality Survey Questions	48
	Appendix 2, part 1: Publications in the Agutaynen language	51
	Appendix 2, part 2: Other Agutaynen-related publications	53

Abstract

Smaller languages of the Philippines have developed and persisted over the centuries in an environment of multilingualism, sometimes in spite of predictions regarding their sure demise. On the basis of over 200 face-to-face interviews in the mid-1980s, Quakenbush (1989) characterized the vitality of the Agutaynen language as relatively robust. The vast majority of Agutaynen speakers at that time used the Agutaynen language exclusively and extensively for in-group communication, while using Cuyonon, Tagalog, or English for other purposes. How has the Agutaynen language fared over the past twenty-five years? Have the respondents' behavior and attitude toward their own language changed appreciably? What about their predictions and intentions for using the Agutaynen language in the next generation? This paper reports on Agutaynen language vitality a generation later, summarizing revitalization efforts undertaken during the same time span.*

1 Introduction

In light of the prediction by UNESCO and others that half of the world's languages may disappear by the end of this century,¹ it is imperative for those concerned about linguistic diversity to focus attention on the plight of smaller language communities around the world. As a field linguist living in a smaller language community of the Philippines for extended periods of time from 1984–2004, I initially viewed “endangerment” as primarily something that affected small language communities

* Special thanks to Agutaynen Language Use Survey Project Facilitator Anthony A. Badilla in Puerto Princesa City, and to surveyors Inar A. Adion, Pedrito Z. Labrador and Gerson A. Zabanal in the Agutaynen communities. I am also grateful to Tish Bautista, Annie del Corro, Diane Dekker, Margaret Florey, Sue Hasselbring, Yoshihiro Kobari, Bobby Bryan Llanzana, Mike Pangilinan, and Liezeil Zabanal for helpful input along the way. Many thanks to Steve McMullen for assistance with statistical tests.

This paper was originally presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics Aussois, France, 22–25 June 2009.

¹ Retrieved 27 November 2010 from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=EN&pg=00136>.

unfortunate enough to be engulfed by larger, largely monolingual nation states—as with the case of Native American peoples in the United States or Aboriginal peoples in Australia.

These distant cases did not seem immediately relevant in an overwhelmingly multilingual context like the Philippines, where it is not uncommon for communities to employ two, three, four, or even more languages for different purposes. English certainly did not pose much of a threat to the survival of local languages. It was of mandated importance in the classroom and somewhat less so in local government offices, but for the most part its presence in rural Palawan was more symbolic than actual. Too much of everyday life was lived in other languages.

Regional languages represented potential threats from closer to home. Still, from what I observed in the Agutaynen community, proficiency in a regional language served strictly instrumental purposes. Agutaynens learned enough Cuyonon to pursue economic goals, but giving up Agutaynen in order to speak Cuyonon was unthinkable. Agutaynens were Agutaynen (and generally proud of it), and speaking Agutaynen was a (if not the) primary indicator of Agutaynen-ness. The Agutaynen language thus seemed “safe”.

But there was another Philippine language taking on greater importance in the country in the 1980s. Agutaynens lived in the “Southern Tagalog” political region, and Tagalog served as the basis for the national language, Filipino. It was taught in school, heard on the radio, and used in government offices in the local Agutaynen communities, and became even more prevalent as Agutaynens traveled farther afield. In the capital city, Tagalog was heard on TV shows and at the movies, and read in newspapers. Tagalog had become the language of economic progress and upward social mobility. Would Agutaynens someday give up speaking their own language in favor of this more progressive, more predominant, and more accessible Philippine language? Perhaps, but in the mid-1980s that prospect still seemed a distant one. What about today? How has the picture changed in the past twenty-five years? Is the Agutaynen language more or less endangered today? This paper tracks Agutaynen language vitality by comparing the results of a sociolinguistic survey conducted in 1984–1985 with a follow-up survey in 2008–2009. Comparing the resulting snapshots of Agutaynen language use and attitudes provides a unique

opportunity for gaining a chronological perspective on the vitality of this smaller language of the Philippines.

2 Language vitality and endangerment

Language endangerment is a worldwide phenomenon of concern not only to linguists and speakers of smaller (hence threatened) languages, but to all who share a belief that diversity is of inherent value and benefit to the social and biological environment. UNESCO states that at least “50% of the world’s more than six thousand languages are losing speakers” and estimates that “in most world regions, about 90% of the languages may be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21st century.” (UNESCO 2003:2)

2.1 UNESCO’s nine factors

A group of experts on language endangerment convened by UNESCO outlined nine factors to be considered in evaluating a language’s “overall sociolinguistic situation”. The first six are considered major factors, the next two assess language attitudes, and the final one evaluates the urgency for documentation. They are as follows (UNESCO 2003:17):

- Factor 1. Intergenerational language transmission
- Factor 2. Absolute number of speakers
- Factor 3. Proportion of speakers within the total population
- Factor 4. Trends in existing language domains
- Factor 5. Response to new domains and media
- Factor 6. Materials for language education and literacy
- Factor 7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use
- Factor 8. Community members’ attitudes toward their own language
- Factor 9. Amount and quality of documentation

Apart from real number population figures for Factor 2, each of these factors is rated on a scale of 0 to 5, with 5 being the most positive toward the language’s vitality. Even with these numerical measures, it is impossible to quantify precisely the vitality of a language. It is possible to use these measures for comparative purposes,

however, and to give some indication of how endangered a language is. UNESCO has outlined six degrees of vitality/endangerment, based on the nine factors above, the most salient being intergenerational language transmission.²

**Table 1. Degrees of language endangerment, especially
as related to intergenerational transmission.**

safe	Language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted.
unsafe	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home).
definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home.
severely endangered	Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves.
critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently.
extinct	There are no speakers left.

2.2 Landweer's eight indicators

Landweer, working in the highly multilingual environment of Papua New Guinea, concluded that the Melanesian context was distinct from much of the rest of the world due to the relative lack of a dominant “oppressor” language and the “traditional egalitarian coexistence of multiple languages” (Landweer 2006:5). She proposes the following eight Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (Landweer 2006:65–68):

1. Position of the speech community on the remote-urban continuum
(less frequent contact is better)

² Mosely 2010, online version: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>.

2. Domains in which the target language is used
(more domains for the vernacular is better)
3. Frequency and type of code switching
(less code switching is better)
4. Population and growth dynamics
(more population is better)
5. Distribution of speakers within their own social network
(tighter social structure is better)
6. Social outlook regarding and within the speech community
(higher group prestige is better)
7. Language prestige
(higher language prestige is better)
8. Access to a stable and acceptable economic base
(more stable and acceptable income is better)

Each of these indicators is assigned a point value from 0 to 3, with 3 being the most robust evaluation. A total score indicates relative strength of language vitality. Comparing two language communities in depth, she finds that Anuki (viable) scores a total of 19, while Doga (declining) scores only 5.5. Landweer further concludes that the single, easily measurable social variable that most closely correlates with scoring from the Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality is marriage patterns. She summarizes, “the greater the percentage of endogamous unions found within the core settlements of the speech community, as well as within the community as a whole, the better are the chances for potential language vitality.” (Landweer 2006:457–458)

UNESCO’s nine factors and Landweer’s eight indicators have a great deal in common. UNESCO factors 6, 7, and 9 (materials available for language and education, governmental and institutional attitudes toward the language, and amount and quality of documentation) are not highlighted in Landweer’s system, probably because the majority of the languages of Papua New Guinea are very similar with regard to these parameters. Landweer’s indicators, on the other hand,

uniquely include considerations of an urban-rural continuum, social networks, and a stable economic base.

2.3 Language endangerment in the Philippines

How severe is the threat of language endangerment in the Philippines as compared with other regions of the world? Have Philippinists simply been ignoring the imminent demise of the country's many languages, or is the situation in the Philippines—as in Papua New Guinea—qualitatively different from other regions of the world? With 171 living languages listed in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), the Philippines is likely more similar to Papua New Guinea (or sub-Saharan Africa, for that matter) than to the Americas, Europe, or Australia. In 1998, Gonzalez summarized the language situation in the Philippines in this way (1998:518–519):

The major vernaculars are in a stable condition, encountering no danger of language death or extinction at present. However, dialects within these languages, as a result of migration and the homogenization that is taking place because of the mass media and the educational system, are evolving towards convergence. In some cases where the number of native speakers of a specific language has dwindled (for example, among many of the minor languages of the Mountain Province area in the Cordilleras of Northern Luzon), language death is occurring, at least in part because of the much reduced number of speakers. None of the major Philippine languages and hardly any of the minor languages are threatened with this possibility at present.

In 2000, Gonzalez further noted that “the functional distribution of different languages (English, Filipino and other vernaculars) has not changed substantially in the past thirty-five years, except for gradual changes of linguistic behaviors in the expanded domains of Filipino, the contracted domains of English, and the spread of code-switching variety as an informal lingua franca.” (Gonzalez 2000:5)

In 2003, Wurm concurred that in the Philippines there was “a good bulwark against the loss of minority languages whose speakers simply add the knowledge of one of the large lingua franche and/or of Tagalog to their repertory of languages, without

losing the others.” (Wurm 2003:20) Ironically, the same year saw the publication of Scebald’s book on a language of Palawan entitled *Central Tagbanwa: A language on the brink of extinction*. Headland’s 2003 “Thirty endangered languages of the Philippines” also raised an alarm by highlighting the fate of thirty-two Negrito languages, a few of which were already extinct because their speakers had died out (or been killed). He argues that the remaining Negrito languages are endangered due to the rapid loss of broad areas of traditional vocabulary that reflected the vanishing world and worldview of hunter-gatherer societies. Reid (2010:254) lists 25 extant Agta languages and, like Headland, notes the impact on language vitality of the massive social changes involved in switching from a hunter-gatherer to a horticultural lifestyle. He concludes that (2010:252):

Increasing intermarriage with non-Negrito groups, education, and incorporation into the social fabric of mainstream Philippine society is resulting in the rapid loss of the relatively few remaining Negrito languages in favor of the major languages of their neighbors: Ilokano, Tagalog, Bikol, and Cebuano.

On closer examination, things do not look so promising even for some of the “larger” Philippine languages. In her 2008 research on Pangasinan, del Corro writes (2010: 68):

Everywhere I went in Pangasinan, I always asked the parents or young adults the language they use to children. 90% of the time, they use Tagalog. ... In all the respondents, adults spoke to children 6-7 years old in Tagalog. The majority of the adults (age 40-50) spoke Pangasinan to their children but spoke Tagalog to their grandchildren.

Pangilinan writes about the current state of Kapampangan (personal communication, 21 May, 2009):

In the town of Magalang near the foot of Mt. Arayat where I grew up as a kid, ALL my nephews (about 15 of them) speak Tagalog because their parents (my cousins) would only speak to them in that language. This phenomenon is actually wide spread. ... The Kapampangans themselves are the ones killing their language. Despite the fact that

Kapampangan language and culture is getting a lot of attention on the internet and the media, many Kapampangans still treat these as mere items of curiosity. A lot more needs to be done to stir the Kapampangan public to love, speak and promote their language.

A recent Ph.D. dissertation by Yoshihiro Kobari (2009) documents the situation of Butuanon, a language commonly considered to be on the verge of extinction in an otherwise now largely Cebuano-speaking area of northern Mindanao. Kobari found that Butuanon is still widely used in the home and local community, and maintains great symbolic importance as a marker of identity and positive emotional significance to members of the in-group. Butuanon maintains such a strong local presence, in fact, that in-migrants of other ethnic backgrounds often learn it to interact with their neighbors. However, Butuanons live in an environment heavily influenced by a pervasive sociocultural trend toward “Bisayanization”, where there is relentless pressure to accommodate to a broader, more dominant Cebuano-Bisayan language and culture. Butuanons are increasingly negotiating multiple ethnic and social identities through multiple languages (Butuanon, Cebuano, Tagalog/Filipino, English). Kobari also examines structural differences and the use of distinctive linguistic features in Butuanon as spoken by younger versus older speakers. He concludes that younger speakers show decreasing fluency in Butuanon and increasing accommodation toward Cebuano—so much so that one day Butuanon may completely merge into a more generic Cebuano-Bisayan language and culture. (Kobari 2009:203).

The obvious conclusion is that although the language endangerment situation in the Philippines is not as dire as in some other parts of the world, it nevertheless deserves serious attention. Smaller Philippine languages, while not threatened by English, do appear to be giving in to larger Philippine languages such as Tagalog/Filipino or Cebuano, depending on their broader context. For a number of languages, even those with over a million speakers like Pangasinan and Kapampangan³, it may be too late to reverse a trend.

³ The 2000 Philippine National Census was the last to record numbers of Kapampangan speakers (2,067,760) and Pangasinan speakers (1,185,905). (del Corro 2010:2). Also see del Corro 2000, 2008 and Pangilinan 2009.

3 Agutaynen language use and proficiency in 1984

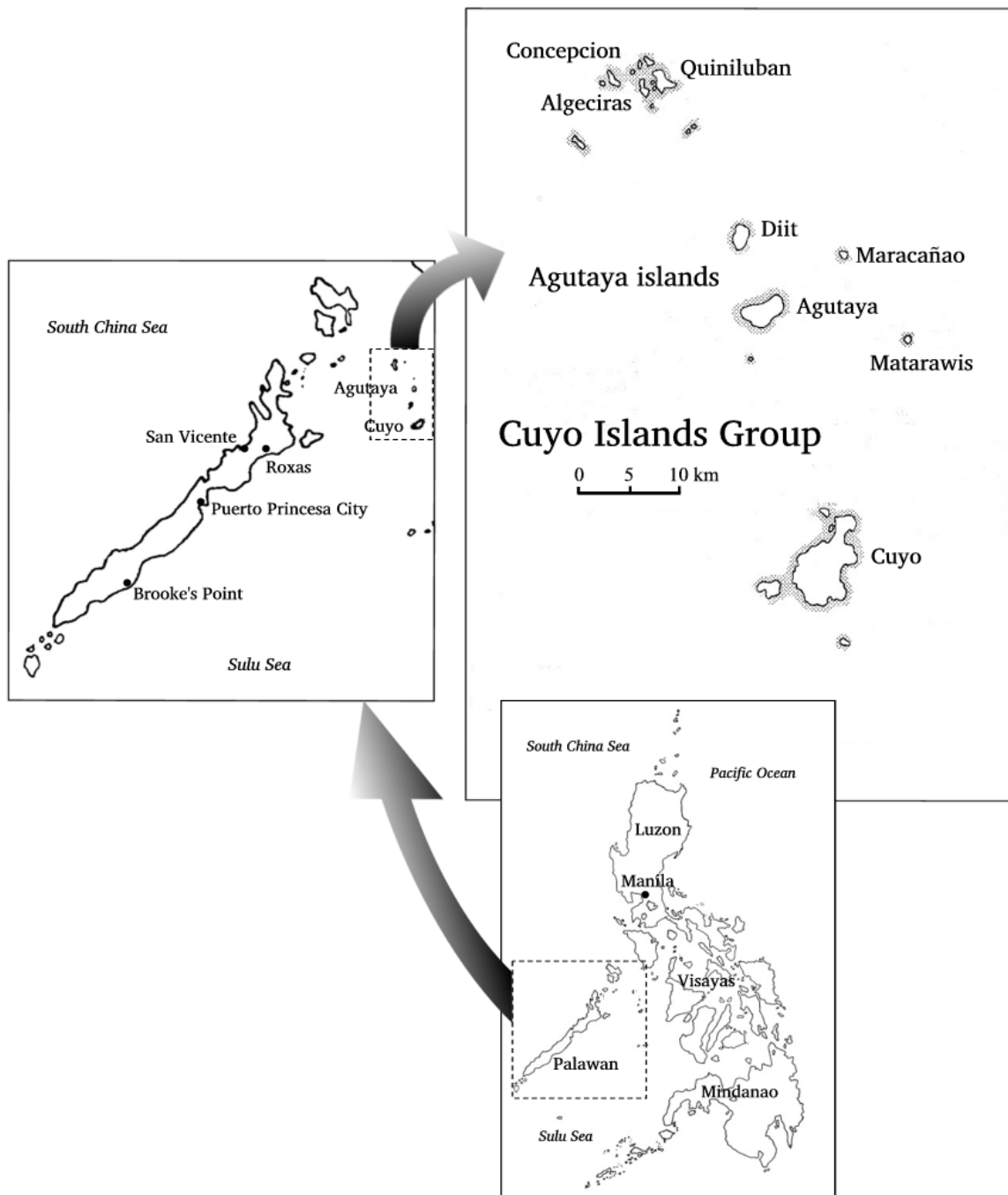
In 1984-1985 the author conducted a sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen language use and proficiency in Palawan, motivated by both practical and theoretical concerns. The practical concern related to the work of SIL Philippines, and whether written materials in the Cuyonon language might adequately serve the Agutaynen community. Theoretically, the survey employed basic sociolinguistic concepts to characterize patterns of language use, attitudes, and proficiency in a hitherto undescribed language community in rural, island Southeast Asia. The survey involved participant observation and personal interviewing of over 200 respondents in three municipalities of Palawan province over the course of a year (1984-1985). The final sample included equal numbers of male and female respondents in each of three age groups (14–24, 25–44, and 45–over years old) in each of the three municipalities. That survey is fully documented in Quakenbush 1989.

3.1 *Agutaynen language community*

The homeland of the Agutaynen people is the island of Agutaya in the Northern Sulu Sea, approximately 30 kilometers north of Cuyo Island. Agutaya Island has a land area of approximately 15 square kilometers and serves as the center of Agutaya municipality, which includes the five surrounding islets of Diit, Algeciras, Concepcion, Maracañao, and Matarawit. Local history has it that the first residents of Agutaya were fishermen who drifted there from the Calamian Island group about 100 kilometers to the west. When the fishermen saw it was a pleasant place, it is said, they returned for their families and made Agutaya Island their home. All that is known about the date of these first arrivals is that they came “before Spanish time”.

Blair and Robertson (1973) credit Augustinian Recollect Fray Juan de Santo Tomas with being the first of many Spanish priests who came to Christianize the Cuyo Island group (of which Agutaya forms a part) and Northern Palawan beginning in 1624. In 1748, a Spanish fort was completed on Agutaya that still serves as a Roman Catholic Church today. Agutaynens have always interacted to some degree with larger society. According to Rauto and Edep (n.d.) the first English language school was established on Agutaya in the early 1900s by an American soldier. From 1919–

Maps of the Agutaynen islands in relation to Cuyo, the Agutaynen communities on the island of Palawan, and the Philippines



1930, many Agutaynens worked seasonally on sugar plantations on Mindoro, and in this way increased their contact with other language groups (Rauto and Edep, n.d.). A number of Agutaynens enlisted to fight alongside the Americans in World War I, but that war ended before they were able to leave the Philippines. Many Agutaynens did serve as guerilla soldiers alongside Americans during World War II. It wasn't until after World War II that Agutaynens began settling in communities on the main island of Palawan, where they cleared land and planted rice. These communities continue today in the municipalities of Roxas, San Vicente, Brooke's Point, and Sofronio Española. There are also small Agutaynen populations in Puerto Princesa City, as well as in Metro Manila. The 2000 national census put the total number of Agutaynens at 13,718.⁴

Agutaynens have traditionally been subsistence farmers and fishermen, and many continue in this tradition. There are also a number of Agutaynen professionals, with teaching possibly being the most commonly sought after career for college graduates. Agutaynens highly value formal education, as evidenced by the high proportion of Agutaynen teachers working in their home communities. Police officer, tourism officer, and seamen are other sought after jobs.

The Agutaynen language is part of an isolate Kalamian microgroup of Proto Philippines (cf. Blust 1991). As such, Agutaynen is notably different from its nearest neighboring language, Cuyonon, as well as from languages of mainland Palawan. *Ethnologue* lists Agutaynen as 72% lexically similar with Kalamian Tagbanwa and 52% lexically similar with Cuyonon (Lewis 2009).

3.2 Summary of findings: Language attitudes, use, and proficiency

There are four primary languages of relevance to the Agutaynen community: Agutaynen, Cuyonon, Tagalog, and English. While Agutaynen has little prestige in its wider context, it is highly valued as the language of the home and community, and is the single, most visible mark of Agutaynen identity. Since outsiders do not generally learn to speak it, speaking Agutaynen is nearly synonymous with being Agutaynen. Cuyonon is a language with thirteen times as many native speakers as

⁴ Thanks to Vincent D. Olaivar of the National Statistics Office in Manila for providing this figure.

Agutaynen, and one that traditionally served as a lingua franca in Palawan.⁵ Because Agutaya historically related to the outside world through Cuyo (it was the nearest place to go for higher education, for buying or selling in a market, and to catch a boat to travel to other parts of the Philippines), Agutaynens learned enough Cuyonon to study, barter, and travel. In the 1980s, Cuyonon was the best known second language among Agutaynens and maintained some use for the older generation as a lingua franca, but it was first and foremost a language for interacting with Cuyonons. For the younger generation, Tagalog—learned in school and heard over the radio—was becoming the language for communicating with Filipinos from outside their own community, and for upward social mobility through educational and economic success. Tagalog had the added motivational advantage of carrying with it a sense of national identity. The older generation had greater proficiency in Cuyonon due to their experience with it over time, but the younger generation had greater proficiency in Tagalog through their exposure to it in school. English was a highly appreciated language, but not of much practical use outside of the classroom or government offices, and proficiency in English was overall considerably lower than proficiency in either Cuyonon or Tagalog.

The quadrilingual situation for Agutaynens was in fact captured perfectly by Gonzalez in a 1985 article: “Thus, as a minimum, every Filipino is at least bilingual in his mother tongue (a vernacular) and the regional lingua franca; in addition he learns Pilipino and English in school, thus making him quadrilingual if he stays in school long enough to learn English (because he can learn Pilipino outside the school).” (Gonzalez 1985:142)

3.3 Some trends in the 1980s

Proficiency in Cuyonon, Tagalog, and English showed different patterns throughout the Agutaynen community in the 1980s. Cuyonon proficiency was highest in the older age group, and unrelated to gender or level of education. Cuyonon proficiency was also higher in the municipality of Roxas, where Agutaynens lived in closer proximity with Cuyonon speakers. Tagalog proficiency, on the other hand, was the

⁵ The 2000 National Census lists 179,184 ethnic Cuyonons.

mirror image of Cuyonon with regard to age—the younger generations spoke it better than the older generation. This was largely a result of Tagalog (or more properly, Pilipino at that time) being used as a medium of instruction in the school system. The Bilingual Education Policy of 1974 declared that English and Pilipino (based on Tagalog) were to be used as official media of instruction from grade one through university. Vernacular languages were previously allowed as “auxiliary” media in the first two grades, but as of 1974 Pilipino officially displaced whatever Agutaynen had been in the classroom.⁶

There was one primary factor in the 1980s that influenced the language an Agutaynen chose to use in a particular situation—the ethnicity of the interlocutor. This rule was verbalized repeatedly by respondents throughout the survey: Use Agutaynen with Agutaynens, Cuyonon with Cuyonons, Tagalog with Tagalogs, English with foreigners. The four languages came in that order of level of prestige, with English having the highest prestige. In a group with mixed ethnicity, the general rule was to choose the most prestigious commonly understood language for communication.

Two important factors favored the vitality of the Agutaynen language in the 1980s. First, it was highly valued for in-group communication and served as a badge of identity—a marker for being part of the “in” group. Second, there was a relatively homogeneous homeland in Agutaya Island and municipality, separated by physical as well as cultural distance from other parts of Palawan and the Philippines. None of the Agutaynen communities had electricity in the 1980s, though battery-powered transistor radios constituted a common link with the outside world through radio programming mostly in Tagalog. A few households had their own generators, and these families were introducing the first video houses to the Agutaynen

⁶ Sibayan (1985:163) clarifies that English was the sole medium of instruction in the educational system from its establishment in 1900 through 1939. In December 1939 “native languages” were allowed as auxiliary languages in grades one and two to help explain what children could not understand in English. After WWII the use of local languages was encouraged in the primary grades, with their use specifically authorized in grades one and two in 1957. The Bilingual Education Policy of 1974 required that English and Pilipino be the main languages of instruction from grade one through university.

communities. With the video houses came the influence of English and Tagalog language videos as group entertainment.

One of the factors working against Agutaynen language vitality in the 1980s was the lack of local economic opportunities. Lack of employment opportunities meant that as young Agutaynens graduated from high school, they also “graduated” out of the Agutaynen communities. The majority who went to college did so on either Cuyo Island (if they were from Agutaya) or in Puerto Princesa City, the provincial capital. Many of these young people living outside the primary Agutaynen communities eventually found spouses from different language backgrounds. By and large, the only ones who moved back to their home communities were teachers who found employment through the Department of Education in local schools.

4 Agutaynen language vitality in 2009

This section outlines some general changes in the Agutaynen language community that impact language vitality and describes the methods employed in the 2009 Agutaynen survey before comparing its findings with the data from 1985.

4.1 Some changes in the Agutaynen language community

What have been the primary changes in the Agutaynen language community since the mid 1980s? First, there has been an increase in the absolute number of Agutaynen speakers due to normal population growth. At the same time, the population of surrounding language groups in Palawan has increased even more rapidly due to immigration, making Agutaynens an even smaller minority in their own province. Second, innovations in technology and communication have impacted even the remotest Philippine communities. Third, other Agutaynen trends evident in 1984 have continued to hold and influence the nature of the community—such as the high value placed on education as a means to professional employment available in large part only outside the local community.

The 1990 census listed the Agutaynen population at 10,384, with the 2000 census putting the figure at 13,718. This increase represents an annual growth rate of 2.87% for that decade. The average annual growth rate of Palawan province over

the same decade was more than 3.6%—considerably higher due to in-migration.⁷ It is this tremendous growth in Palawan immigration that accounts for the dynamic of a growing population of Agutaynens becoming an even smaller minority in their own local environments. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the municipality of Agutaya itself. Since the 1990s there has been a dramatic increase in seaweed farming in the island barangays of Algeciras and Concepcion, largely engaged in by recent settlers from the Visayas. In the 1980s, 96% of Agutaya municipality was estimated to be Agutaynen. In 2009, estimates are 75–80% Agutaynen overall, with the largest contingent of non-Agutaynens on Algeciras and Concepcion. (Atty. Leizeil Zabanal, personal communication, 25 May, 2009). Thus there has been a weakening of the ethnic homogeneity that has always characterized Agutaya municipality.

While the municipality of Agutaya has experienced a weakening of homogeneity, the Agutaynen communities of Roxas and San Vicente on the main island of Palawan have built a stronger “history of presence” in a context where they have always been surrounded by speakers of other languages. The first Agutaynen families began settling in Roxas and San Vicente after World War II. In the 1980s, it was impossible to find any speakers of the older generation who were not originally migrants from Agutaya. In 2009, it is relatively common to find adults (including some grandparents) who were born and have lived all their lives in their local communities. This reality is reflected in the characteristics of the respondents in the two surveys, as seen in table 2. An equal number of respondents were interviewed in each of the three locations: Agutaya, Roxas, and San Vicente. If each respondent had been born in his or her current location, the percentages would be equally distributed in the cells at 33% each. Table 2 shows that the number of respondents actually born in Agutaya municipality decreased overall from 72% to 53% between the 1985 and 2009 samples.

⁷ Average annual growth rate in Palawan was 3.67% from 1990–1995 and 3.60% from 1995–2000. Retrieved 30 November, 2010 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr0290tx.html>. Palawan population increased fifteen-fold from 1903–1990, according to Eder (2000:23).

Table 2. Birthplace of respondents in 1985 and 2009 samples

	1985 sample	2009 sample
born in Agutaya	72%	53%⁸
born in Roxas	15%	25%
born in San Vicente	8%	18%
born elsewhere	3%	4%

Since the original Agutaynen survey in the 1980s, technology has also significantly changed the landscape of rural Palawan. Electricity had not yet reached any Agutaynen communities in 1984, and battery-powered radio provided the sole means of access to mass media. The first video houses began to appear in those years as individual families acquired generators, TV monitors, and video players and began to build rooms or shelters for public video showings in Tagalog and English. With the advent of electricity came electric appliances and, for the first time, TV programming, largely in Tagalog. Today Agutaynens living near the municipal centers of Roxas and San Vicente (and especially in Puerto Princesa City or Manila) have access to the internet, and are increasingly using email and other social media. One of the most striking changes between 1985 and 2009 is the ubiquitous presence of the mobile phone. Each of these technological changes has provided a bridge for bringing the outside world into the local community, mostly through Tagalog and English. Mobile phones and the internet have made it possible for Agutaynens to initiate communication with that outside world, as well as among themselves, much more freely.

Agutaynens continue to value formal education. For most of the 1900s, the older generation usually had only an elementary education since there had been no high school on Agutaya Island prior to 1966. In the 1980s, a majority of younger Agutaynens were graduating from high school, and many of these were continuing on for college studies on Cuyo, in Puerto Princesa City, or in Manila. The trend

⁸ Here and throughout the paper, differences that are statistically significant at $p < .05$ are in **red**.

toward attaining higher education has continued, steadily yielding a more highly educated Agutaynen population. This trend is also reflected in the two surveys, as shown in table 3.

Table 3. Highest reported level of education in 1985 and 2009

	1985 sample	2009 sample
Elementary	34%	32%
High school	47%	20%
College	17%	48%

Among the 180 respondents in the 1980s survey, 34% reported completing at least some elementary school (but not beyond), 47% some high school, and 17% some college. In 2009, those reporting some elementary schooling remained about the same at 32%, while those reporting some high school decreased to 20%, and those reporting at least some college jumped to 48%. This flip-flop in percentages between high school and college-educated Agutaynens may be due in some part to the social networks among which the surveyors were operating. All interviews were carried out in the local communities, however, and there has undeniably been a dramatic increase in recent years in the number of Agutaynen speakers who attend college or university.

In the 1985 survey, a correlation was seen between the medium of instruction in the classroom and the proficiency and use of language. Namely, the younger generations were more proficient in and more likely to use Tagalog than the older generation.⁹ The position of Tagalog in the language repertoire of Agutaynens could therefore be expected to continue to increase. Another natural result of pursuing higher education and subsequent employment outside the local community is that a greater number of Agutaynens are marrying outside their own language group today than in 1985. This trend toward exogamous marriage is reflected in the two samples from 1985 and 2009, as shown in table 4.

⁹ Tagalog-based Pilipino was decreed a primary medium of instruction in the public schools in 1974.

Table 4. Non-Agutaynen parents and spouses in 1985 and 2009

	1985 sample	2009 sample
mother's first language not Agutaynen	2%	6%
father's first language not Agutaynen	3%	6%
spouse's first language not Agutaynen	8%	17%

While the number of parents not speaking Agutaynen as a first language has not yet dramatically changed, the number of non-Agutaynen spouses has clearly increased. The percentage of respondents overall reporting non-Agutaynen spouses is actually more significant than it might seem at first, since not all of the respondents were married. Of the 61% of respondents who were married in the 2009 sample (N=109), 28% (N=30) reported that Agutaynen was not the first language of their spouse.

It is mainly through exogamous marriage that other languages are introduced into the home. (The exception would be an Agutaynen couple who choose to speak Tagalog to their children in order for their children to perform better in school.) An increase in multiple languages in the home is also reflected in the data from 2009, as seen in table 5.

Table 5. Multiple languages in childhood and current home in 1985 and 2009

	1985 sample	2009 sample
multiple languages in childhood home	2%	4%
multiple languages in current home	13%	22%

4.2 The 2009 Agutaynen language vitality survey

In 2008–2009, a follow-up survey of language use and attitudes was undertaken in order to compare data from 1984–1985. A project facilitator in Puerto Princesa City trained three Agutaynen surveyors to administer an oral survey interview much like the one from the survey completed in 1985. Each subsequent interview was recorded and sent in digital form to the primary researcher for analysis. As in the survey

completed in 1985, the surveyors' goal was to attain a stratified sample of three age groups in each of three locations, with an equal number of male and female respondents in each category. The three generations roughly represent Younger (ages 17–27), Middle (28–47) and Older (48–above) generations.¹⁰ Table 6 shows the characteristics of the final sample actually attained. A perfect sample would show 10 in each category.¹¹

**Table 6. Characteristics of actual sample attained
by location, age group, and gender**

	Agutaya (N = 54)		Roxas (N = 60)		San Vicente (N = 60)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Younger	9	10	10	10	10	10
Middle	5	15	6	14	10	10
Older	0	15	10	10	10	10

Table 6 shows that the 2009 sample is weighted toward females in Roxas and especially in Agutaya,¹² with an end result of a roughly 40%–60% split in the overall sample of males to females. It should also be noted that there were only 54 total

¹⁰ The age groups used in 1985 were slightly different: 14–24, 25–44, and 45–over. In 2009 the aim was for the youngest respondents to be young adults, at least the age of a typical high school graduate—17 years old.

¹¹ According to the 2000 census, the actual percentages of female vs. male Agutaynens is 51% female vs 49% male.

¹² The surveyor noted that it was easier to schedule interviews with females given his limited time frame in Agutaya and Roxas. The primary surveyor for San Vicente was a resident in that community, so presumably was under less time pressure. It may also be that there are simply more women than men resident in these communities, especially in the middle and older generations.

interviews accomplished in Agutaya. In order to attain the target sample size of 180 for statistical purposes, three extra interviews each from Roxas and San Vicente were incorporated into the overall calculations reported in the next section (1 younger female and 2 older females from Roxas, and 1 older male and 2 older females from San Vicente). For the few percentages that refer specifically to Agutaya municipality, only the 54 interviews that actually came from Agutaya were used.

The surveyors attempted to locate as many of the respondents to the original 1984–1985 survey as possible. This was irrelevant, of course, for the younger generation. In the end, thirty-seven of the respondents in 2009 (21% overall) had actually been part of the 1985 survey. Of these, 24 were from San Vicente, 7 from Roxas, and 6 from Agutaya.

The English version of the interview questions for 2009 is included in this paper as Appendix 1. All interviews were conducted in Agutaynen. The main differences between the 1985 and 2009 questions are that a few were added in 2009 dealing with reading in Agutaynen and the possible use of Agutaynen in formal education. An additional difference is that in 2009, no attempt was made to rate proficiency in the different languages according to standard levels of proficiency.

4.3 Comparisons

Following are overall comparisons between how the same questions were answered by respondents in 1985 and 2009. Differences that are significant at $p < .05$ using a two-tailed t-test are printed in **red**. Where significant, differences according to age group or location are also noted. It was possible for more than one language to be given in response to a number of the questions.

4.3.1 What language do you like the most?

1985–2009: Agutaynen 75% - **94%**, Tagalog 21% - **10%**, English 4% - 2%, Cuyonon 3% - 4%

1985–2009 for Tagalog: Younger 32% - **5%**, Middle 20% - 17%, Older 11% - 8%

The simple question “What language do you like the most?” yielded a surprising difference between 1985 and 2009 in the number who chose their own language as

their favorite. While 75% in 1985 indicated a generally positive outlook toward their own language, the increase to 94% in 2009 indicates a notable strengthening of that positive outlook. It is also instructive to see which age group was most likely to choose Tagalog as their language they liked most. In 1985, the Younger generation was most likely to choose Tagalog as their favorite language, followed by the Middle generation, and then the Older generation. It thus appeared that a growing preference for Tagalog was taking place over time. If that was the case in 1985, the trend has been reversed. In 2009, the Younger generation is the least likely to say they like Tagalog better than any other language.

Why do Agutaynens like the Agutaynen language? By far the most frequent response is some form of, “Because that’s my language.” Some specific responses include:

- Because that’s what I grew up with.
- Because that’s what I was born into.
- Because that’s what I inherited from my parents, and we can’t forget it.
- Didn’t Jose Rizal say, “The one who doesn’t know how to love his own language is worse than a stinking fish”?

A few respondents said, “Because that’s what I understand best.” One young woman from San Vicente replied, “Because, you know, when you think of Agutaynen, you think *neman* ‘nice/kind/thoughtful’ and *malaming* ‘sweet/affectionate’.” Throughout the Agutaynen community, there is a strong sentimental attachment to the Agutaynen language and an expressed commitment to maintaining it.

4.3.2 What language do you want your children to know first?

1985–2009 overall

Agutaynen 61% - 68%, Tagalog 33% - 32%, English 6% - 11%, Cuyonon 3% - 4%

1985–2009 by location

Agutaynen: in Agutaya 70% - 68%, in Roxas 56% - 70%, in San Vicente 56% - 65%

Tagalog: in Agutaya 20% - 22%, in Roxas 41% - 32%, in San Vicente 36% - 42%

1985–2009 by age group

Agutaynen: Younger 66% - **92%**, Middle 46% - 50%, Older 70% - 62%

Tagalog: Younger 33% - **17%**, Middle 43% - 42%, Older 21% - **38%**

In both 1985 and 2009 a majority of respondents indicated that they wanted their children to know Agutaynen first. Those who chose Tagalog also assumed that their children would learn Agutaynen without any intentional effort. In 1985, residents of Agutaya were more likely to choose Agutaynen as their children's first language than residents of Roxas or San Vicente, but the 2009 does not show any significant difference according to location. There remains a greater likelihood that residents of the mainland communities Roxas and San Vicente will choose Tagalog, however, as opposed to residents of Agutaya.

Looking at age group differences, the Younger generation shows a marked increase in expressed commitment to passing on Agutaynen to their children in the future, and less attachment to Tagalog. It would appear that in today's environment where Tagalog proficiency is more of a given, Agutaynen proficiency is more intentionally valued.

4.3.3 Do you think Agutaynen will be used for long time to come?

1985–2009: 80% - **89%** affirmative

Another indicator of the strengthening of Agutaynen language vitality is the number of Agutaynens who predict that their language will be used for a long time to come. In 1985, 80% said this about their language. In 2009, that figure increased to 89%.

4.3.4 Speaking with siblings?

1985–2009: Agutaynen 98% - 98%, Tagalog 4% - 7%, Cuyonon 2% - 1%, English 2% - 0%

The language spoken with siblings remained overwhelmingly Agutaynen. Nine percent of the respondents in 2009 reported speaking different languages with their siblings, mostly Tagalog.

4.3.5 Speaking with a Cuyonon friend?

1985–2009: Cuyonon 98% - **90%**, Tagalog 4% - 6%, Agutaynen 2% - **8%**, English 0% - 0%

1985–2009: Agutaynen (if known) 93% - 94%

There was a slight decrease in the use of Cuyonon with Cuyonon friends between 1985 and 2009, and a slight increase in the use of Agutaynen. The comments made by those indicating they would use Agutaynen with their friends included: “I would teach him!” and “I’ll just speak Agutaynen. It’s up to them if they don’t understand!” There is an overwhelming preference to use Agutaynen when the Cuyonon friend knows it.

4.3.6 Speaking with a Cuyonon vendor?

1985–2009: Cuyonon 97% - **83%**, Tagalog 8% - **16%**, Agutaynen 1% - **7%**, English 1% - 1%

There was also a slight decrease in the use of Cuyonon in the market, along with a slight increase in the use of Tagalog and Agutaynen.

4.3.7 Speaking with a Tagalog mayor?

1985–2009: Tagalog 96% - 93%, English 3% - 1%, Cuyonon 2% - 2%, Agutaynen 0% - 2%

1985–2009: If the mayor knows it, Agutaynen, 93% - 93%

The pattern of speaking Tagalog with a Tagalog mayor in his or her office held steady, as did the preference to use Agutaynen if the Tagalog mayor speaks it.

4.3.8 Speaking with a Cuyonon mayor?

1985–2009: Cuyonon 95% - **86%**, Tagalog 4% - **13%**, Agutaynen 1% - 2%, English 1% - 1%

1985–2009: If the mayor knows it, Agutaynen 89% - **96%**

There was a slight decrease in the reported use of Cuyonon with a Cuyonon mayor, along with a slight increase in the use of Tagalog. The strong preference to speak Agutaynen if the Cuyonon mayor knows it also increased.

4.3.9 Speaking to an unknown visitor at home?

1985–2009: Tagalog 88% - 84%, Agutaynen 10% - 12%, Cuyonon 7% - **2%**, English 1% - 3%

Tagalog in 1985–2009: Younger 93% - 92%, Middle 95% - 80%, Older 75% - 82%

The pattern of primarily speaking Tagalog with an unknown visitor arriving at one's home was maintained between 1985 and 2009. The use of Cuyonon decreased slightly overall. The Older generation was the least likely to use Tagalog in 1985. The Younger generation is most likely to use Tagalog with an unknown visitor in 2009.

4.3.10 For praying?

Overall in 1985: Agutaynen 84%, Tagalog 36%, English 18%, Cuyonon 13%

Agutaynen used by municipality in 1985: Agutaya 95%, Roxas 75%, San Vicente 83%

Tagalog used by municipality in 1985: Agutaya 20%, Roxas 45%, San Vicente 41%

In 1985 there was a decided preference for praying in Agutaynen, with Tagalog coming in as a distant second. The mainland communities of Roxas and San Vicente showed slightly more Tagalog and slightly less Agutaynen than the home island of Agutaya.

During the 1985 survey it became clear that some respondents were reporting on what language they used for praying the rosary or other ritual prayers in groups, while others were thinking of more personal extemporaneous or individual prayer. The question was thus divided in the 2009 survey to ask about these two types of prayer, with the following results.

“What language do you use for praying the rosary?”

Overall in 2009: Agutaynen 56%, Tagalog 47%, English 8%, Cuyonon 2%

Agutaynen used by municipality in 2009: Agutaya 67%, Roxas 43%, San Vicente 47%

Tagalog used by municipality in 2009: Agutaya 37%, Roxas 50%, San Vicente 42%

“What language do you use for speaking personally with God?”

Overall in 2009: Agutaynen 84%, Tagalog 23%, English 1%, Cuyonon 1%

Agutaynen used by municipality in 2009: Agutaya 91%, Roxas 80%, San Vicente 67%

Tagalog used by municipality in 2009: Agutaya 15%, Roxas 27%, San Vicente 25%

As hypothesized, personal prayer takes place more often in Agutaynen than does ritual prayer. The strong preference for Agutaynen in personal prayer is similar to the response for prayer in general in 1985, with the use of English and Cuyonon approaching 0% in 2009. Tagalog is called for more often in public, ritual prayer,

and a few people still prefer English for rote prayers in 2009. For either kind of prayer, Agutaynen is most likely to be used in Agutaya municipality, and Tagalog is more likely to be used in one of the mainland communities of Roxas or San Vicente.

4.3.11 Speaking to a stranger in town?

1985–2009: Tagalog 82% - 85%, Agutaynen 17% - 13%, Cuyonon 11% - **4%**, English 3% - 2%

1985–2009 by municipality:

Agutaynen used in Agutaya 38% - **28%**, Roxas 1% - 4%, San Vicente 11% - 4%

Tagalog used in Agutaya 63% - **72%**, Roxas 93% - 90%, San Vicente 90% - 92%

In both 1985 and 2009 there is a clear preference for speaking Tagalog in town with strangers. In both years the only place where one could reasonably expect to use Agutaynen with strangers was in Agutaya, since Tagalog was almost obligatory in either Roxas or San Vicente, where people are from more mixed backgrounds. Agutaynen seems to be losing some ground to Tagalog for greeting strangers in town in Agutaya.

4.3.12 Speaking with teachers at school?

1985–2009 overall:

Tagalog 80% - 79%, Agutaynen 31% - 39%, English 22% - **12%**, Cuyonon 17% - **4%**

1985–2009 by municipality:

Agutaynen in Agutaya 41% - 33%, Roxas 15% - **33%**, San Vicente 36% - **48%**

Tagalog in Agutaya 72% - **92%**, Roxas 85% - **73%**, San Vicente 83% - **70%**

In both 1985 and 2009, respondents clearly preferred using Tagalog with teachers at school. Slightly more respondents (not statistically significant) reported using Agutaynen with Agutaynen school teachers in 2009, while fewer respondents reported using English or Cuyonon. Reported use of Agutaynen increased in Roxas and San Vicente. Reported use of Tagalog, in contrast, increased in Agutaya while decreasing in Roxas and San Vicente. Interestingly, more respondents report that they use Agutaynen with teachers in San Vicente than in the other two municipalities.

4.3.13 Making a complaint to the barangay captain?

1985–2009: Agutaynen 77% - 54%, Tagalog 35% - 46%, Cuyonon 16% - 0%, English 3% - 6%

Respondents tended to answer this question based on who the barangay captain (local political leader) was for their neighborhood at the time of the survey. As it turned out, in 2009 all the barangay captains were Agutaynen. This was not the case in Roxas in 1985, where Cuyonon was reportedly used at least part of the time. However, there was a decrease in the use of Agutaynen for making a complaint to the barangay captain between 1985 and 2009, together with an increase in the use of Tagalog. Some respondents specified Agutaynen or Tagalog for a verbal complaint, and Tagalog or English for a written complaint.

4.3.14 Making a speech at a barangay meeting?

1985–2009: Tagalog 58% - 54%, Agutaynen 45% - 46%, Cuyonon 12% - 4%, English 2% - 2%

1985–2009 by municipality:

Agutaynen in Agutaya 95% - 63%, Roxas 26% - 32%, San Vicente 51% - 42%

Tagalog in Agutaya 11% - 44%, Roxas 68% - 58%, San Vicente 55% - 55%

A slight majority of respondents in both 1985 and 2009 reported using Tagalog for speaking publicly in barangay meetings, with Agutaynen a close second. Residents of Agutaya were much more likely to use Agutaynen than residents of Roxas or San Vicente, where meetings are more likely to have non-Agutaynen participants. Not surprisingly, residents of Roxas and San Vicente were more likely to use Tagalog than residents of Agutaya. The difference among municipalities appears to be closing with regard to Tagalog use, however, with a substantial increase in reported Tagalog use on Agutaya in 2009 and a corresponding substantial decrease in reported Agutaynen use for public meetings.

4.3.15 With a jeepney driver to/from Puerto Princesa City?

1985–2009: Tagalog 95% - 89%, Cuyonon 23% - 4%, Agutaynen 5% - 15%, English 0% - 0% 2009 by municipality:

Tagalog in Agutaya 100%, Roxas 85%, San Vicente 77%

Agutaynen in Agutaya 6%, Roxas 12%, San Vicente 20%

This question was not asked of respondents from Agutaya in 1985 since it was deemed irrelevant. (No jeepneys run on Agutaya, and boat is the only means of travel between Agutaya and Puerto Princesa.) Accordingly, the percentages for 1985 given above reflect only responses from Roxas and San Vicente. In 2009 it was deemed reasonable that residents of Agutaya would have some direct or indirect experience of jeepney travel originating in Puerto Princesa, so the question was included for all respondents. In 2009, residents of Agutaya responded universally that they would use Tagalog with a jeepney driver, though some added that if the driver were Agutaynen they would use Agutaynen. In 1985, the responses from Roxas and San Vicente were practically identical to each other. In 2009, there is less Tagalog and more Agutaynen reported by residents of San Vicente. This is likely due to the current presence of several Agutaynen drivers on public transport between San Vicente and the capital city. Note that again the use of Cuyonon diminished between 1985 and 2009. English remains practically non-existent on jeepneys.

4.3.16 English ever used?

1985–2009: 71% - 62% affirmative

1985–2009 by municipality:

Affirmative in Agutaya 61% - 69%, Roxas 46% - 48%, San Vicente 73% - 72%

1985–2009 by age group:

Affirmative for Younger 75% - **58%**, Middle 73% - 73%, Older 65% - 55%

The number of respondents reporting ever using English dropped between 1985 and 2009, but not to a level of significance. Those who respond affirmatively usually mention work contexts such as school meetings or job interviews, or situations involving foreign visitors or guests. As in 1985, English is least used by respondents from Roxas in 2009. There is a significant decrease in use of English by the Younger generation between 1985 and 2009.

4.3.17 Ever use Cuyonon language with fellow Agutaynens?

1985–2009: 28% - 31% Affirmative

1985–2009 by municipality:

Affirmative in Agutaya 40% - 31%, Roxas 26% - 27%, San Vicente 18% - **33%**

1985–2009 by age group:

Affirmative for Younger 40% - 27%, Middle 25% - **43%**, Older 20% - 23%

Cuyonon was and still is sometimes used by around one-third of the respondents in conversation with other Agutaynens. Reasons given for using Cuyonon are for joking around, or for when there is a Cuyonon present in the group. There is an apparent increase of use of Cuyonon in San Vicente. The Younger generation of 1985 (now the Middle generation of 2009) continues to be the group that uses Cuyonon the most.

4.3.18 Ever use Tagalog language with fellow Agutaynens?

1985–2009: 27% - **43%**

1985–2009 by municipality:

Affirmative in Agutaya 38% - 44%, Roxas 28% - 33%, San Vicente 15% - **52%**

1985–2009 by age group:

Affirmative for Younger 43% - 37%, Middle 25% - **48%**, Older 13% - **45%**

The reported use of Tagalog with fellow Agutaynens increased between 1985 and 2009. Reasons given for using Tagalog include “When there is a Tagalog speaker around”, “When you need to, like in a meeting”, “For joking around”, “If you don’t know they’re Agutaynen” and “When it slips out”. There is a marked increase in the use of Tagalog in San Vicente, and among the Older generation.

4.4 New questions in 2009

Several new questions were asked in the 2009 survey, mostly having to do with reading and education. These are reported here, without the possibility of comparison with figures for 1985. It should be noted that in 1985 there was only one book that had ever been published in Agutaynen—a catechism translated by a Spanish priest 20 years or so previously—and very few copies of that were available.

Personal letters or handwritten announcements posted on walls were the only reading materials generally available in Agutaynen in 1985.

4.4.1 Do you ever read in Agutaynen?

91% Affirmative

What do Agutaynens read in Agutaynen? Responses included books, calendars, dictionary¹³, song book, cell phone texts, and personal letters or messages. The most frequent single response (54%) was the Bible.

4.4.2 Do you have any books in your home?

86% Affirmative

What languages are those books in? Agutaynen 81%, Tagalog 30%, English 20%

76% the respondents reported having Agutaynen books in home. Of these, 97% (73% overall) reported having an Agutaynen New Testament in their home.

4.4.3 Should Agutaynen be used in school? (Why? How?)

67% Affirmative

Two-thirds of the respondents felt that there was a place for Agutaynen at school. Why and how? Some responses indicated that Agutaynen was seen as appropriate for whenever Agutaynens talk among themselves. A number clearly saw it as a possible school subject, or at least as an auxiliary medium of instruction. Some mentioned that children should study it so they won't forget their own language, or that non-Agutaynen children should study it to learn it. Several mentioned that whether this was possible depended on the Department of Education and whether local teachers were actually Agutaynen.

33% of the respondents replied either "No" or "I don't know" to the question of whether Agutaynen should be used at school. Those who commented further usually referred to the standard roles of Tagalog and English in the classroom.

¹³ What was actually being referred to was a trilingual phrasebook with a vocabulary list in the back.

4.4.4 How can you know if someone is Agutaynen?

70% specifically mention language

The most frequent response had to do with the language used or an “accent” in speaking another language. Other responses included appearance, behavior, mannerisms, and the fact that Agutaynens usually already know each other.

4.4.5 Is it possible for an Agutaynen person not to know how to speak Agutaynen?

54% Affirmative

Just over half of the respondents recognize that someone can be ethnically Agutaynen but not speak the language. Two-thirds (67%) of the respondents offered some further comment on such a situation. Slightly less than half of these (45%) gave neutral to positive explanations for how this could happen, including the following:

—They grew up somewhere else and their parents did not teach them.

—Those who married outside, they are influenced by their spouses.

—It depends on them.

—They speak (the language of) wherever they live.

—If they were born in some other place, there’s some goodness to that.

Slightly more than half (55%) gave a negative evaluation for this state of affairs, including the following:

—They’re ashamed of their language.

—He’s proud. He’s forgotten his own language. One shouldn’t forget.

—Remember what Rizal said, “The one who doesn’t love his own language is worse than a stinking fish!”

—They’re selling off their Agutaynen-ness.

—They’re not good people.

—They’re plastic.

—They’re throwing away our language, and trading it for Tagalog.

Some responded that it was “Impossible” or “They know Agutaynen! They’re just faking it!” Several expressed a strong opinion that “A true Agutaynen will really know Agutaynen.”

4.5 Questions that did not work well

4.5.1 Where is the best Agutaynen spoken?

This question was part of the 1985 survey pilot test, but deleted in the survey because it was entirely predictable: Agutaya, the home island of the Agutaynen people, is where the best Agutaynen is spoken. Some respondents would name a particular barangay in Agutaya, Villa Sol. In 2009 this question was included to see whether the response would always still be “Agutaya.” Surprisingly, it was not. A number of respondents from Roxas and San Vicente would either say, “Here in our place” (because we have many Agutaynens here) or “At home” (because that’s where we are all Agutaynen, in our family). These responses indicated that the question was sometimes being interpreted differently to mean “Where is it best to speak Agutaynen?” One surveyor independently (and inconsistently) changed the question to “Where is the most Agutaynen spoken?” The answers, then, did not reveal the location where the most beautiful or highly appreciated Agutaynen was spoken. It did, however, reveal its strong associations with the home and community. It also revealed that a number of respondents in the mainland communities now associate Agutaynen with their home communities on the main island of Palawan first, before thinking of the traditional home island of Agutaya.

4.5.2 Are there other kinds of books you think there should be in Agutaynen?

This question was not clear enough for all respondents to understand. The usual response was simply “No.” Occasionally a further response revealed that the question was understood to be asking whether the respondents themselves should own any other kinds of Agutaynen books. A few respondents gave a reply such as, “Yes, if they make more books that would be nice.” One respondent felt there should be an Agutaynen dictionary.

4.5.3 Questions on language proficiency

Four questions were asked related to language proficiency:

- 1) What languages do you speak, even if only a little?
- 2) Of these, which ones do you know the best?
- 3) Which ones do you know the least?
- 4) Which ones can you speak a bit, but sometimes run out of words?

Each of these questions had its difficulties. For question (1), respondents were not clear as to whether Agutaynen or other languages they had already mentioned in the survey should be mentioned again. For question (2), a number of respondents did not include their first language, Agutaynen. Question (3) was clear, but not sufficiently different from question (4) to distinguish between low and medium levels of proficiency, as often the same language would be given for each of these responses. English was the language most often associated with “running out of words”.

Finally, the very word for “language” was problematic. Usually the word *bitala* ‘word/language’ was understood to mean languages in the sense of Agutaynen, Tagalog, Cuyonon, English, etc. But sometimes it was interpreted to mean ‘phrase’ and the respondent would give sample phrases in a language rather than naming it. The surveyors sometimes helpfully, though inconsistently, clarified the question by substituting the loanword *linggoahi* ‘language’.

4.6 Summary of findings

In 1985 there were four primary languages of reference for the Agutaynen community: Agutaynen, Cuyonon, Tagalog, and English. These corresponded to the language of the home, the historic lingua franca of the province, a national language, and an international language. The role of English was largely a symbolic one in 1985, and it remains so today. English remains an important language to Agutaynens involved in formal education, and in some cases for employment outside the Agutaynen community (including outside the country). It maintains some importance in the domain of government. But largely, English is of little practical importance or relevance in the daily lives of most Agutaynens.

In the 1980s it seemed that the role of Cuyonon was shrinking while the role of Tagalog was growing. In 2009, the results of such a trend are clearly evident. Cuyonon has lost most of its function as a lingua franca, becoming solely a language for use with Cuyonons in the neighborhood (friends or political leaders) or in the marketplace (vendors). Even under those circumstances, the use of Cuyonon is decreasing, while the use of Agutaynen or Tagalog is slightly increasing.

The role of Tagalog has been increasing since 1985. While no more than 10% say it is the language they like the most, and only 11% say it is the language they want their children to learn first, it has solidified its role as a lingua franca in the province and the nation, and has become the primary language for education, government, commerce, mass media, and social advancement in general. The reported use of Tagalog among Agutaynens themselves increased from 27% in 1985 to 43% in 2009. Tagalog can be used informally among Agutaynens “for joking around” but also in more formal situations “when you need to, like in a meeting.” The place of the Tagalog language in the public life of the Agutaynen community is well established and growing.

The Agutaynen language seems to have gained ground in terms of sentimental attachment and expressed commitment to maintaining it between 1985 and 2009. The percentage of respondents who said Agutaynen was the language they liked the most increased from 75% in 1985 to 94% in 2009. The Younger generation (92%, up from 66% in 1985) now strongly expresses a desire to pass on the Agutaynen language to their children, and more Agutaynens now say that their language will likely be used for a long time to come (89%, up from 80%). Agutaynen is overwhelmingly the language of the home and neighborhood. It is readily spoken with outsiders who learn it, and normally spoken among fellow Agutaynens even in a formal school setting. The exception is if there are non-Agutaynens present, in which case it is customary to switch to Tagalog. Tagalog has become the language for public life, but Agutaynen is still the language for private life. Perhaps three-fourths of Agutaynen homes now have Agutaynen books in them, including the Bible¹⁴, and two-thirds of the survey respondents in 2009 felt that Agutaynen should

¹⁴ Only part of the Bible has actually been published, the New Testament.

have some role at school. Overall, there seems to be a new sense that Agutaynen is worthy of formal study, a stronger sentimental attachment to the language on the part of the Younger generation, and a greater assurance that it will be used for a long time to come.

5 Agutaynen language revitalization efforts

A number of factors may contribute to the generally more positive view toward the Agutaynen language today as evidenced in the 2009 survey. First of all, global awareness of the value and importance of local languages and cultures is greater in 2009 than in 1985. There may also be a natural generational swing in attitudes whereby younger people are more motivated than their parents' generation by "integrative" matters of identity whereas their parents were necessarily more focused on "instrumental" matters of economic need. But certainly concerted language revitalization efforts over the past two decades have had at least some impact on the current Agutaynen sociolinguistic environment, and so it may be useful to summarize some of those efforts here.

5.1 Agutaynen literacy promotion

In the mid-1980s Agutaynens had very little opportunity to read in their own language. Tagalog and English written materials, on the other hand, were widely promoted through the schools. Generations of Agutaynens had learned to read in these languages of wider communication that had dictionaries and codified rules for spelling and grammar. Since Agutaynen phonology, and its phonemic inventory, did not exactly mirror English or Tagalog, Agutaynens were sometimes puzzled about how to spell their own language. There were thus two barriers to literacy in Agutaynen—one was attitudinal and the other practical. The prevailing attitude was that it was more appropriate to read in Tagalog or English, as a matter of tradition. And since these were the only languages actively taught in the schools, reading in these languages actually did seem easier, especially to adults. (Children seemed more open to reading in Agutaynen from the start.) The practical barriers were a lack of a standard orthography and a lack of reading materials.

In close collaboration with community members, an SIL team developed specific strategies and tools to make reading in Agutaynen a more natural part of the Agutaynen experience. One of the first issues was how to spell Agutaynen.¹⁵ The older generation had learned certain Spanish spelling rules, such as “use ‘g’ before ‘a’ or ‘o’, but ‘gu’ before ‘i’ or ‘e’”. The five Spanish vowels (the same 5 vowels used for Tagalog) were not a bad fit for the four Agutaynen vowels, but neither were they a perfect fit. Unlike Tagalog or Spanish, Agutaynen does not distinguish between the front vowels /i/ and /e/ or the back vowels /u/ and /o/. Thus the system that children learned in school over-distinguished front and back vowels. More problematic was that none of the vowels ‘a, e, i, o, u’ were a perfect fit for the Agutaynen high central vowel /i/. Sometimes the letter ‘i’ was used for this sound, sometimes ‘u’ and sometimes ‘e’. Another difficulty was how to symbolize the glottal stop, or lack of one. In Tagalog, two vowels written in sequence are understood to have a glottal stop between them. In Agutaynen, glottals do not occur between vowels, but only between a vowel and a consonant. Community preferences for Agutaynen spelling were tested through showing wordlists and sample paragraphs. Sometimes respondents preferred one form when words were shown in isolation, but were not pleased with a paragraph of text that applied a particular convention systematically. Once the most widespread preferences were determined, the SIL team began working with local speakers to produce and promote a variety of reading materials using a consistent orthography. The first materials consisted of news sheets produced by silk screen, giving local news, riddles, and other items of general interest. For nearly twenty years, a yearly poster calendar was produced with scripture verses in Agutaynen. Over the course of those twenty years, several scripture portions were published in booklet or graphic form, along with two editions of an Agutaynen songbook. Also published in Agutaynen-Tagalog-English format were a phrasebook and vocabulary, a book of locally told stories, and a book of poetry. In 2004 the Agutaynen-Tagalog New Testament was dedicated. An Agutaynen-English dictionary is still in process. In addition to these more general publications, a number of individual children’s picture books were used as “shell

¹⁵ See Quakenbush (1997) and Quakenbush, Hendrickson, and Edep (2010) for more discussion of Agutaynen spelling conventions.

books”, where an Agutaynen translation was pasted over the original English or Tagalog text of the books. These children’s books formed part of an informal lending library.

Public launchings were held in various venues for the Gospel of Luke in the 1980s, *Ginotay-gotay: A collection of poems in Agutaynen, Filipino and English* in the 1990s, and the New Testament in 2004. Each launching was an opportunity for publicly celebrating Agutaynen language and culture.

5.2 Agutaynen arts and media

Launchings for Agutaynen publications also included public performances of Agutaynen music, dance, and drama. The Agutaynen *komposo* and *komidia* are two art forms typically performed during fiesta times that still generate interest, enthusiasm, and nostalgia. The 40th anniversary of SIL in the Philippines in 1993 was also celebrated in the San Vicente community with a drama written especially for the occasion, along with traditional dances, and a singing contest.

Fiestas and holidays provided other opportunities for showcasing Agutaynen music, dance, and drama. Christmas caroling is a popular fund-raising activity in the Philippines. Agutaynen Christmas carols were introduced to singing groups and elementary classrooms, and entered into a municipal contest.

A five-hour video production of the Gospel of Luke (from which the popular *Jesus* film was taken) was dubbed into the Agutaynen language with a team of native speakers, with special showings arranged throughout the Agutaynen communities. At least two different Agutaynen variety shows have aired over provincial radio stations in the capital city for periods of time. These shows have featured local news, interviews, readings, and performances of Agutaynen song and verse.

A common goal for each of the arts and media activities listed in this section—apart from simple celebration of Agutaynen language and culture—was to reinforce the notion that public, creative use of the Agutaynen language in a variety of media was both natural and inherently rewarding.

5.3 Community organizing

Training and organizing community leaders to guide Agutaynen language efforts was an important ingredient from the start. A seminar-workshop in principles of translation in 1986 led to the formation of the Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee (ATAC), a group of native speakers from Agutaya municipality who became organizers, reviewers, advocates, and ultimately publishers of Agutaynen materials. In anticipation of the completion of the translated New Testament, individuals from the various Agutaynen communities throughout Palawan¹⁶ gathered in Puerto Princesa City in 2002 to plan ways to launch and promote the Agutaynen scriptures. Under the leadership of local committees, the Agutaynen New Testament was dedicated with the fanfare of parades, presentations, and performances in the communities of Agutaya and San Vicente as well as in Puerto Princesa City in late 2004 and early 2005.

The training and organizing events mentioned so far were joint efforts between SIL and local Agutaynen communities. There have been at least two significant developments in language and culture revitalization in recent years that, though originating outside the primary local communities, have been completely Agutaynen-led. One was the formation of a new organization “Buruyutan Agutaynen, Inc.”, and a second was the creation of an Agutaynen blog, iHeartAgutaya (<http://iheartagutaya.blogspot.com/>).

In a presentation at the 2nd International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalization and Multilingual Education in Ethnolinguistic Communities, Attorney Liezeil Zabanal (2008) described Buruyutan as “a non-stock, non-profit organization led by young Agutaynen professionals living away from Agutaya” committed to “strengthening the Agutaynen community through preserving and enriching their distinctive culture, traditions, heritage and spiritual and moral values.” Buruyutan’s vision statement is “a prosperous Agutaynen community united by its strong cultural identity, values and spiritual well-being.” Planned activities

¹⁶ Participants in this Community Action Forum came from Agutaya, Roxas, San Vicente, Puerto Princesa City, Sofronio Española, and Brooke’s Point.

include sponsoring scholarships for Agutaynen students committed to serving their local communities, and documenting the unwritten history of the Agutaynen people.

The blog iHeartAgutaya is another instance of a now non-resident Agutaynen designing a means for organizing fellow Agutaynens abroad (domestically or internationally) and for publicizing efforts to assist the home island. Blog designer Bobby Bryan Llanzana (email communication, 25 March 2009) describes iHeartAgutaya as something that began as a personal project in July 2007. Today iHeartAgutaya has a small but loyal group of advisors and regular contributors, and contains local news, musings, photographs, YouTube links, a chat box, jokes, original stories and poetry, as well as selections from Agutaynen book publications.

6 Summary and prospects

With the data from the 2009 survey, we are now in a better position to consider UNESCO's nine factors and Landweer's eight indicators as they relate to Agutaynen language vitality. UNESCO factors are listed first. After each factor a Level ranking is given (5 being the strongest), along with a brief comment on the particular situation.

Factor 1. Intergenerational language transmission

Level 5—Safe. Intergenerational transmission is basically uninterrupted, though there are a limited number of examples of families also using other languages in the home in the case of mixed marriages, or using Tagalog instead of Agutaynen in order to prepare the children for a successful schooling experience.

Factor 2. Absolute number of speakers

Level 4—At risk. Agutaynen is at risk because of its relatively low number of speakers in relation to surrounding languages.

Factor 3. Proportion of speakers within the total population

Level 4—Unsafe. Nearly all (but not all) speak the language.

Factor 4. Trends in existing language domains

Level 4—Multilingual parity. A diglossic situation exists where different languages are used for different purposes, though there is some indication that Tagalog is

beginning to penetrate home domains for a limited number of families.

Factor 5. Response to new domains and media

Level 2—Coping. The language is used in some new domains, such as in texting and blogging. It remains an occasional novelty in forms of mass media, such as radio.

Factor 6. Materials for language education and literacy

Level 3—Written materials exist, and children may be exposed to some of these at school. Literacy skills are not yet being taught specifically in or for Agutaynen, however.

Factor 7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use

Level 4—Differentiated Support. During almost the entire 25-year period covered by this study official bilingual education policy was that education take place in English and Filipino from Grade 1 through university. Such a policy could be ranked Level 3—Passive Assimilation. Attitudes have been changing in recent years, however, and in July 2009 the Philippine Department of Education issued a policy institutionalizing Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education.¹⁷ The new policy decrees the use of the language of the learner in Kindergarten and at least through Grade 3 as a primary language of instruction. Such a policy could be given the highest ranking of Level 5—“Equal support: All languages are protected.” Level 4 seems more appropriate at this point, however, since the policy has not yet been implemented, and since the role of local languages, while recognized as foundational, will likely be limited to the earliest grades.

¹⁷ Department of Education Order #74, Series 2009 can be viewed at <http://www.deped.gov.ph/cpanel/uploads/issuanceImg/DO%20No.%2074,%20s.%202009.pdf>. It promotes the use of the first language of the learner for building a foundation for learning and continuing the cognitive development of the learner while also providing a good bridge to the national language, Filipino, and an international language, English. The policy is scheduled for implementation in selected schools in Kindergarten and Grade 1 in June 2012. (Diane Dekker, personal communication, 13 December, 2010.)

Factor 8. Community members' attitudes toward their own language

Level 5—Practically all community members value their language and wish to see it promoted.

Factor 9. Amount and quality of documentation

Level 3—Fair—Some linguistic analysis has been published and several books are available in the language.

The individual rankings for the nine factors range from 2 to 5, with a majority of 3's and 4's. The mean of all the rankings is 3.8, which could be interpreted as “between unsafe and endangered”. This is a fair assessment for a relatively robust, but small language spoken only by members of the language community. Looking back at the six levels of vitality/endangerment as summarized in table 1 in section 2 above, Agutaynen would not be considered endangered. Intergenerational transmission is mostly uninterrupted, and most children speak the language, though it is restricted to the domains of home and immediate local community. Agutaynen appears, then, to be “unsafe”.

Now consider Landweer's eight indicators as they relate to the Agutaynen language community. Each indicator is ranked from 1 to 3, with 3 being the strongest value for that indicator. Brief explanatory comments follow.

Indicator 1. Position of the speech community on the remote-urban continuum

Rating 1.5

Agutaya municipality could be considered remote (ranking 3), but many people do travel periodically to the neighboring island of Cuyo and on to the provincial capital of Puerto Princesa. Roxas and San Vicente are linked by more convenient land transportation to the capital, and people often come into contact with speakers of other languages in their own locales.

Indicator 2. Domains in which the target language is used

Rating 2

Agutaynen is the choice for language in the home and in numerous cultural events. Tagalog is used for a number of domains such as education, government, entertainment. Cuyonon and English also have limited roles.

Indicator 3. Frequency and type of code switching

Rating 2

Agutaynen exists in a diglossic situation.

Indicator 4. Population and growth dynamics

Rating 1.5

There has been considerable migration into Agutaya municipality over the past decade, while communities on the mainland have always lived in close proximity to speakers of other languages. Individual immigrants into Agutaynen communities may learn Agutaynen, but they typically do not unless they also become spouses or close friends. It is common for Agutaynens to use the Cuyonon language with Cuyonons, or Tagalog as a lingua franca for communication with members of other ethnolinguistic groups in Palawan. Some respondents from San Vicente reported a low level of proficiency in Bisaya, reflecting the presence of a sizable Ilongo-Bisaya minority in that municipality.

Indicator 5. Distribution of speakers within their own social network

Rating 1

Agutaynens operate in dense, multiplex, social networks where insiders fill a majority of roles and relationships, yet at least some members of the communities regularly maintain relationships with outsiders who do not speak Agutaynen. This is more true for the mainland communities of Roxas and San Vicente than the home island of Agutaya.

Indicator 6. Social outlook regarding and within the speech community

Rating 2

Agutaynens have a strong internal identity with neither positive nor overly negative status ascribed by outsiders, with some cultural markers present.

Indicator 7. Language prestige

Rating 1

The Agutaynen language is a locally recognized variety of neutral status, not generally learned by non-Agutaynens.

Indicator 8. Access to a stable and acceptable economic base**Rating 1**

Agutaynen communities have marginal traditional economies, dependent on cash-based economic schemes that require the use of another language.

The total sum of Agutaynen scores for Landweer's indicators is 13. The number alone is of little descriptive value, except in comparison with other language situations. In Papua New Guinea, Landweer analyzed in depth two language communities: Anuki, a language considered "viable," scored 19.5 while Doga, a language considered "declining," scored 5.5. Again, it appears that Agutaynen, though not actively declining, is not in as strong a position as it could be.

My own judgment is that Agutaynen enjoys a fair to good level of vitality at present. The more obvious shift in the community over the past generation has been between its second languages, with a shift away from Cuyonon and toward Tagalog. The position of the Agutaynen language remains relatively strong because of widespread use and positive attitudes toward it in the home and in the community. Likewise, the fact that speaking Agutaynen is one of the primary markers of Agutaynen identity also works in favor of language maintenance. The new presence of some recognized Agutaynen literature also adds to the prestige of the language, both inside and outside the Agutaynen community. Nevertheless, given the increasing role of Tagalog in Palawan and the Philippines, and its occasional use being reported in the home or with other Agutaynens, the situation remains as described over a decade ago: "the door is slightly ajar for the possibility of further language shift to Tagalog." (Quakenbush 1998:11)

7 Remaining questions

Issues that either were not addressed or not sufficiently addressed in the 2009 survey involve actual levels of proficiency in the different languages in the repertoire of the Agutaynen community, the type and nature of code-switching that occurs, and the degree and kind of change in the Agutaynen language as it is spoken by the different generations. This survey attempted to gain an impressionistic appraisal of language proficiency by asking three broad questions: "Which

language(s) do you know the most?”, “Which do you know the least?”, and “Which do you know somewhat, but sometimes are at a loss for words?” These questions were not interpreted consistently enough on the part of respondents to yield very helpful data. The appearance of “Bisaya” in the list of languages spoken at least a little bit was notable, however, in Agutaya (31%) but more so in Roxas (43%) and San Vicente (57%). Only two respondents (1%) reported that Bisaya was one of the languages they knew the most.

This survey did not address the particulars of code-switching as such, but merely asked if Cuyonon or Tagalog were ever used with fellow Agutaynens and if so, when. There seemed to be a qualitative difference in type of code-switching reported between these two languages. On the one hand, Cuyonon was used for special effect (joking) or when a Cuyonon was present. On the other hand, Tagalog had a broader range of uses among Agutaynens ranging from joking to participating in a public meeting, and was sometimes used for certain topics or purposes even among family members. Code-switching is an important topic because in a situation where Agutaynen is solely used for in-group communication, the extent to which Tagalog is used among Agutaynens with each other is the extent to which Agutaynen becomes endangered.

Change in the Agutaynen language itself over time was not addressed in the 2009 survey. It is doubtful that the change in Agutaynen approaches the level of loss of vocabulary reported by Headland for Negrito languages (2003). Neither does it seem at this point that Agutaynen is in danger of merging into Tagalog, as Kobari (2009) suggests is an eventual possibility for Butuanon and Cebuano-Bisayan. Tagalog grammar and lexicon are doubtless impacting Agutaynen, however. The extent of that impact remains a topic for further study.

A trend noticed in 2009 was the increase in number of marriages between Agutaynens and speakers of other languages. When individual Agutaynens marry and settle outside their local communities, the impact on Agutaynen language vitality overall may be negligible, although it is almost impossible for one Agutaynen parent to pass on his or her heritage language without the support of the local community. Given that marriages with non-Agutaynens are also increasing inside local Agutaynen communities, the possibility is real that these families will

choose another language (most likely Tagalog) to speak with their children, who may then acquire only a passive proficiency in Agutaynen.

In the final analysis, the fate of the Agutaynen language of course rests with the Agutaynen community. The odds are against them if we only look at numbers, but the situation is not hopeless. Strong values of identity, heritage, and “belonging” work in their favor. Meanwhile, linguists can join with educators, artists, government leaders, and others in working for a local, national, and global environment that values and nurtures linguistic diversity.

Appendix 1: Agutaynen Language Vitality Survey Questions

Questions in black identical to 1985 survey. Questions in red new with 2009 survey.

Biographical Questionnaire

Were you interviewed in the original 1980s survey?

Name

Mother's first language

Father's first language

Language of childhood home

Language of home now

Date of birth

Place of birth

Present location

Years in present municipality

Occupation

Gender

Education completed

Cell phone number or email address for follow-up questions

Language Attitudes Questionnaire

1. What language do you like the most? Why?
 - a. Is it good to be able to speak Agutaynen? Why?
(asked only if answer to question 1 is not Agutaynen.)
2. What language do you want your children to know first?
 - a. Will they also learn Agutaynen?
(asked only if answer to question 3 is not Agutaynen.)
3. Do you think Agutaynen will be used for a long time to come? Why?
4. Where is the best Agutaynen spoken? Why do you suppose that is so?

Language Use Questionnaire

What language do you use when:

1. speaking with your siblings?
2. speaking with your children (even if hypothetical)/ and grandchildren (if applicable)?
3. speaking with teachers during school hours?
4. speaking with Cuyonon vendors at the market?
5. speaking with a Cuyonon friend? What if he knows Agutaynen?
6. making a complaint to **Kapitan X?** (actual names used according to location)
7. making a speech at a barangay meeting?
8. speaking with the driver of a jeepney leaving Puerto?
9. speaking with strangers in town?
10. speaking with an unknown visitor arriving at your house?
11. speaking with a Tagalog mayor in his office? What if he knows Agutaynen?
12. speaking with a Cuyonon mayor in his office? What if he knows Agutaynen?
13. praying the rosary?
14. speaking with God personally?
15. Do you sometimes use English with other people? For example, when?
16. Do you sometimes use Cuyonon with other Agutaynens? For example, when?
17. Do you sometimes use Tagalog with other Agutaynens? For example, when?
18. Is there anything you sometimes read in Agutaynen? For example, what?
19. Do you have any books in your home? What language are those books written in?
20. Do you have an Agutaynen Bible in your house now?
21. Is there any other kind of book there should be in the Agutaynen language? If so, what?
22. Do you think that Agutaynen should be used in school? Why? If so, how?
23. How can we tell if a person is Agutaynen?
24. Is it possible to have an Agutaynen person who doesn't know how to speak Agutaynen? What is your opinion of such a situation?

Language Proficiency Questionnaire

1. What languages do you know, even if just a little bit?
2. Of these languages, which one(s) do you know very well?

3. Which one(s) do you know just a little bit?
4. Which one(s) do you know, but sometimes it seems difficult or you find yourself at a loss for words (lit. “run out of words”)?

Appendix 2, part 1: Publications in the Agutaynen language

- Abejo, Gualberto A., Cedronio C. Pacho, Rolando Z. Edep, Victoria M. Nangit, et al. 1997. *Magistoria ita! Mga pinanimet ang mga istoria—Agutaynen-Filipino-English*. [Let's tell a story! A collection of stories]. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 157 pp.
- Baluyot, Ruth C., Marilyn A. Caabay, Josenita L. Edep, Pedrito Z. Labrador, et al. 1996. *Kantang padengeg ong Dios*. [Songs of praise to God]. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 85 pp.
- Caabay, Marilyn A., Josenita L. Edep, Gail Hendrickson, and Missy Melvin, comps. (to appear). Agutaynen-English dictionary.
- Llavan, Peregrina A. Rauto. 2000. *Ginotay-gotay: A collection of poems in Agutaynen, Filipino and English, with illustrations by Joseph Z. Llavan*. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 143 pp.
1989. *Mga bitalang pangaldaw-kaldaw/ Mga salitang pang-araw-araw/ Everyday words and expressions: An Agutaynen-Filipino-English phrasebook*. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 193 pp.
1997. *Si David ang Bantog*. [David the Great]. The Story of David, 2. Bible Society Comics. Manila: Philippine Bible Society. 32 pp.
1997. *Si David ang Maiteg*. [David the Brave]. The Story of David, 1. Bible Society Comics. Manila: Philippine Bible Society. 32 pp.
1998. *Bolong ang herbal*. [Herbal medicine]. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 45 pp.
1998. *Onopay boaten ta mga may taw ang agtrangkason?* [What to do when someone has the flu]. Health booklet. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 12 pp.
1998. *Onopay boaten ta mga may taw ang galo-tan ta wi tang sinangoni na?* [What to

do when someone gets dehydrated]. Health booklet. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 10 pp.

1999. *Onopay boaten ta mga may taw ang napaso?* [What to do when a person gets burned]. Health booklet. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 17 pp.

2004. *Ang Bitala tang Dios: Ba-long Inigoan/ Ang Bagong Magandang Balita: Bagong Tipan*. [The Word of God: New Testament (Agutaynen)/ The New Good News: New Testament (Tagalog)]. Manila: WPS/Philippine Bible Society.

Appendix 2, part 2: Other Agutaynen-related publications

- Hendrickson, Gail R., and Melissa S. Melvin. 1999. Child-giving and child-receiving in a lowland Philippine society. *Studies in Agutaynen, Part II. Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures* 11(1):91–113.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1989. *Language use and proficiency in a multilingual setting: A sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen speakers in Palawan, Philippines*. LSP Special Monograph 28. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. Available for download at: http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/plb_download.html#agn
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1991. Agutaynen glottal stop. *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota* 35:119–131.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1992. Word order and discourse type: An Austronesian example. In Doris L. Payne (ed.), *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*, 279–303. *Typological Studies in Language* 22. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1997. Writing Agutaynen pronouns: Making the most of a mixed-up world. In Cecilia Odé and Wim Stokhof (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Leiden, 22-27 August 1994*, 685–694. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen, comp. 1999. Agutaynen texts. *Studies in Agutaynen, Part I. Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures* 11(1):7–88.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 2005. Some Agutaynen grammatical details. In Danilo T. Dayag and J. Stephen Quakenbush (eds.), *Linguistics and language education in the Philippines and beyond: A festschrift in honor of Maria Lourdes S. Bautista*, 437–477. Manila: De La Salle University. Also presented at the Taiwan-Japan Joint Workshop on Austronesian Languages, 23-24 June 2005, Taipei. Department of Linguistics of National Taiwan University, National Science Council of Taiwan, Linguistic Society of Taiwan.
<http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~gilntu/data/workshop%20on%20Austronesian/9%20quakenbush.pdf>

- Quakenbush, J. Stephen, Gail R. Hendrickson, and Josenita L. Edep. 2010. A brief overview of Agutaynen grammar. Manila: SIL. Available online http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/plb_download.html#agn
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen, and Edward Ruch. 2006. Pronoun ordering and marking in Kalamianic. Paper presented at the Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, 17-20 January 2006, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, Philippines. <http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/ical/papers/Quakenbush-Pronoun%20Ordering%20and%20Marking%20in%20Kalamianic.pdf>
- Quakenbush, Steve. 1987. Agutaynen grammar essentials statement. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.
- Quakenbush, Steve, and James Maxey. 1987. Agutaynen phonemic statement. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

References

<http://www.census.gov.ph/>

<http://www.iheartagutaya.blogspot.com/>

Blust, Robert A. 1991. The Greater Central Philippines hypothesis. *Oceanic Linguistics* 30:73–129.

del Corro, Anicia. 2000. Language endangerment and Bible translation. Paper presented at the United Bible Societies Triennial Workshop, Malaga, Spain, June 2000.

del Corro, Anicia. 2008. Linguistics and Bible translation: Social acceptability and language endangerment. In E. Ebojo, D. Monera, and R. Yu (eds.), *The Bible in the 21st century Philippine context*, 105–123. Manila: Philippine Bible Society.

del Corro, Anicia. 2010. Language Endangerment: The case of the Pangasinan Bible. *The Bible Translator* 61(2):64–70.

Eder, James F. 2000. *A generation later: Household strategies and economic change in the rural Philippines*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Gonzalez, Andrew. 1985. Bilingual communities: National/regional profiles and verbal repertoires. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 6:132–151. Reprinted in Maria Lourdes S. Bautista (ed.). 1996. *Readings in Philippine sociolinguistics*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.

Gonzalez, Andrew. 1998. The language planning situation in the Philippines. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 19(5):487–525.

Gonzalez, Andrew. 2000. English, Filipino, and other languages at the crossroads: Facing the challenges of the new millennium. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 31(2):5–8.

Headland, Thomas N. 2003. Thirty endangered languages in the Philippines. *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session*

47. Retrieved 7 December 2010 from

<http://www.und.edu/dept/linguistics/wp/2003Headland.PDF>

Kobari, Yoshihiro. 2009. The current status of the Butuanon language and its speakers in Northern Mindanao: Findings on ethnic identity, language attitudes, language ability, language use and language change. Ph.D. dissertation. Manila: De La Salle University.

Landweer, Martha Lynn. 2006. A Melanesian perspective on mechanisms of language maintenance and shift: Case studies from Papua New Guinea. Ph.D. thesis. University of Essex.

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version retrieved 7 December 2010 from <http://www.ethnologue.com/>

Moseley, Christopher, ed. 2010. *Atlas of the world's languages in danger*, Third edition. Paris: UNESCO. Online version retrieved 7 December 2010 from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>

Pangilinan, Michael Raymon M. 2009. Kapampangan Lexical Borrowing from Tagalog: Endangerment rather than Enrichment. Paper read at the Eleventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Aussois, France, 22-26 June 2009.

Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1989. *Language use and proficiency in a multilingual setting: A sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen speakers in Palawan, Philippines*. LSP Special Monograph 28. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. Available for download at http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/plb_download.html#agn

Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1997. Writing Agutaynen pronouns: Making the most of a mixed-up world. In Cecilia Odé and Wim Stokhof (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Leiden, 22-27 August 1994*, 685–694. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V.

Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1998. “Other” Philippine languages in the third

millennium. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 1998(1-2):1–22.

Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 2008. SIL International and endangered Austronesian languages. In Rau and Florey, 42–65. *Documenting and revitalizing Austronesian languages*. Language Documentation and Conservation Special Publication 1. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Available online, retrieved 7 December 2010 <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/1352>. [Original paper presented at the International Conference on Austronesian Endangered Language Documentation, Providence University, Taichung, Taiwan, 5-7 June 2007.]

Quakenbush, J. Stephen, Gail R. Hendrickson, and Josenita L. Edep. 2010. A brief overview of Agutaynen grammar. Manila: SIL. Available online http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/plb_download.html#agn

Rauto, Ricardo, and Rolando Edep, comps. n.d. A collection of Agutaynen songs, stories, poems, biographies, local history, etc. Agutaya Central Elementary School. Agutaya, Palawan. Handwritten MS.

Reid, Lawrence A. 2010. Historical linguistics and Philippine hunter-gatherers. In Loren Billings and Nelleke Goudswaard (eds.), *Piakandatu ami Dr. Howard P. McKaughan*, 234–260. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.

Scebold, Robert N. 2003. *Central Tagbanwa: A language on the brink of extinction: Sociolinguistics, grammar, and lexicon*. LSP Special Monograph 48. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1985. Linguistic minorities and bilingual communities in the Philippines. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 6:152–168. Reprinted in Maria Lourdes S. Bautista, ed. 1996. *Readings in Philippine sociolinguistics*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.

UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages. 2003. Language vitality and endangerment. Document submitted to the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages, Paris. 10-12

March 2003. Retrieved 7 December 2010 from
<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf>.

Wurm, Stephen. 2003. The language situation and language endangerment in the Greater Pacific Area. In Mark Janse and Sijmen Tol (eds.), *Language death and language maintenance: Theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches*, 15–47. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zabanal, Liezeil. 2008. Preserving intangible cultural heritage: The Buruyutan Agutaynen, Inc. experience. Paper presented at the Second International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalization and Multilingual Education in Ethnolinguistic Communities, 1-3 July 2008, Bangkok, Thailand.