

# Language Documentation and Description

ISSN 2756-1224

---

This article appears in: *Language Documentation and Description*,  
vol 17. Editor: Peter K. Austin

## **Ibatan of Babuyan Claro (Philippines) – Language Contexts**

MARIA KRISTINA GALLEGO

Cite this article: Gallego, Maria Kristina. 2020. Ibatan of Babuyan Claro (Philippines) – Language Contexts. In Peter K. Austin (ed.) *Language Documentation and Description* 17, 87-110. London: EL Publishing.

Link to this article: <http://www.elpublishing.org/PID/185>

This electronic version first published: July 2020



This article is published under a Creative Commons License CC-BY-NC (Attribution-NonCommercial). The licence permits users to use, reproduce, disseminate or display the article provided that the author is attributed as the original creator and that the reuse is restricted to non-commercial purposes i.e. research or educational use. See <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

---

## **EL Publishing**

For more EL Publishing articles and services:

Website: <http://www.elpublishing.org>  
Submissions: <http://www.elpublishing.org/submissions>

# Ibatan of Babuyan Claro (Philippines) – Language Contexts

Maria Kristina Gallego

*Australian National University and University of Philippines Diliman*

<b><i>Language Name:</i></b>	Ibatan
<b><i>Language Family:</i></b>	Batanic, Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian
<b><i>ISO 639-3 Code:</i></b>	IVB
<b><i>Glottolog Code:</i></b>	babu1242
<b><i>Population:</i></b>	2,500 to 3,000 (first-language and second-language speakers)
<b><i>Location:</i></b>	19.48, 121.96
<b><i>Vitality rating:</i></b>	EGIDS 6b (Threatened)

## **Abstract**

Babuyan Claro is a small island in northern Philippines, home to a dynamic multilingual community of speakers proficient in at least three languages, namely Ibatan, the local language, Ilokano, the regional lingua franca, and Filipino, the national language. Ibatan, the smallest of the three, has emerged out of an intense and complex contact setting in Babuyan Claro characterized by a kind of egalitarian multilingualism, but its less privileged position vis-à-vis Ilokano and Filipino at present has led to changing patterns of multilingualism across generations, driven by interacting social, political, and cultural changes. Currently, language choices and uses among the first-language and second-language speakers of Ibatan reflect how speakers form networks of interaction across the island. That is, speakers strongly tied to particular networks reflect greater affinity towards Ibatan, whereas those tied to other networks show stronger affinity towards Ilokano. The multilingual landscape of Babuyan Claro is one that clearly demonstrates not only change, but also fragility, where the effect of extra-linguistic pressures on the language ecology of the island has become more and more pronounced as the community has become further integrated into the modern nation state.



Figure 1. Location of the Batanic languages

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The small island community of Babuyan Claro in the far north of the Philippines is home to Ibatan, a language with a complex contact history. Genetically, the language belongs to the Batanic subgroup of Philippine languages (Figure 1), along with:

- a) Ivatan, spoken on Batan and Sabtang Islands of Batanes, with its dialects Ivasay and Isamorong;
- b) Itbayaten, spoken on Itbayat Island of Batanes; and
- c) Tao, also known as Yami, spoken on Orchid Island, Taiwan (Tsuchida et al. 1987; Tsuchida et al. 1989).

While the Batanic languages share significant similarities leading to varying degrees of mutual intelligibility, Ibatan reflects contact-induced features resulting from its speakers' intense and continuous social contact with Ilokano speakers, and this sets it apart from the rest of the subgroup.

According to the 2015 census, Babuyan Claro had a total population of 1,571 (Philippine Statistics Authority 2016). As of 2018, an informal census done by local community officials estimates 2,500 to 3,000 first-language and second-language speakers of Ibatan residing on Babuyan Claro (author's fieldnotes 2018). Based on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), Ibatan is rated as 6b (Threatened), which means that while the language is used for everyday communication, it is losing users as a reducing number of children are learning it (Ebarhard, Simons & Fennig 2020).

At present, the majority of children still learn Ibatan in infancy, and the language is vigorously used across all domains in the community, from the private sphere of the home, to the public spheres of school (as the medium of instruction in basic education), community (in community assemblies and festivities), and church (in religious service and activities). However, Ibatan occupies a less privileged position vis-à-vis the larger languages of the region, namely Ilokano, the trade language and regional lingua franca for the Babuyan Islands as well as the northern region of the major island Luzon, and Filipino, the national language of the Philippines, which is the

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to the people of Babuyan Claro for warmly welcoming me into their community. Special thanks also go to Beth Evans, Rundell and Judi Maree, and the two anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

lingua franca for the capital city Manila and other regional centres, and the main language of print and broadcast media in the Philippines. The three languages are all in daily use in Babuyan Claro and form a complex patchwork of community and individual patterns of multilingual language use.<sup>2</sup>

This paper presents the contexts of Ibatan within this multilingual landscape of Babuyan Claro, based on fieldwork carried out in 2018 for the author's PhD project.<sup>3</sup> The dynamic sociolinguistic landscape of Babuyan Claro is what drives change in Ibatan. Each section of the paper highlights these aggregates of change in the language and the community. Section 2 presents the ancestry and descent of the Ibatan language, informed by both linguistic evidence and genealogical records. Section 3 presents changes in the sociocultural setting of Babuyan Claro, and how these have affected the language ecology of the island. Section 4 gives the current picture of the linguistic landscape of Babuyan Claro, based on interviews that explore speakers' language ideologies and experiences, and Section 5 gives some concluding remarks.

The narrative stance taken in this paper is one that highlights the complex sociocultural and political setting that underpins Ibatan. While it is certainly possible to talk about language without much reference to its social history, telling the story of Ibatan requires us to come from the standpoint of change, driven by interacting linguistic, social, cultural, and political factors.

---

<sup>2</sup> The three languages belong to different subgroups of Philippine languages: Ibatan to the Batanic subgroup, Ilokano to the Cordilleran subgroup, and Filipino, based primarily on Tagalog, to the Greater Central Philippine subgroup (cf. Blust 1991 for a summary of the subgrouping proposals for Philippine languages). Philippine languages share significant phonological and lexical similarities, as well as complex systems of symmetrical voice (cf. Riesberg 2014). However, the relationships among the Philippine languages are still debated, particularly whether or not all the languages belong to one coherent subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian (cf. Smith 2017 and Blust 2020 for the most recent discussions of the debate).

<sup>3</sup> The project is funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, under the Individual Graduate Scholarship (IGS0359). Data for the project, which includes audio and video recordings, photographs, among others, are currently being prepared for archiving with PARADISEC and ELAR. The project follows ethical considerations set by the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee (Protocol Number 2017/931), and the researcher ensures free, prior, and informed consent from the consultants and the community at all stages of data collection, processing, writing, and archiving.

## 2. Ancestry and descent

The Batanic subgroup is a small group of Philippine languages within the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. While there are varying degrees of mutual intelligibility within the subgroup, the Batanic languages are actually so similar to each other that some linguists classify them as dialects rather than discrete languages (cf. Scheerer 1926; Cottle & Cottle 1958; Hidalgo & Hidalgo 1971; Reid 1966; Ross 2005). The similarities among the languages are so apparent that reconstructing Proto-Batanic is relatively straightforward (cf. Yang 2002; Gallego 2014, 2017).

In terms of descent, the socio-political history of the speakers is what has driven change in the Batanic languages. The geopolitical boundary that separates the Tao/Yami people of Orchid Island in Taiwan from the Philippines has led to their language becoming less intelligible with the rest of the subgroup. Similarly, the difficulty of navigating Balintang Channel, which is the small body of water that separates Batanes and Babuyan Islands, has provided a barrier between the Ivatan and Ibatan people. This physical boundary, but more so the social history of the Ibatans of Babuyan Claro, has resulted in significant changes in the Ibatan language that makes it less intelligible to speakers of other Batanic languages.

Linguistic, historical, and ethnographic evidence all suggest that the separation of Ibatan from Ivatan happened fairly recently (Ross 2005: 3). Archaeological and historical evidence show that there has been an earlier population on Babuyan Claro, but it is not certain what language these people spoke (cf. de Salazar 1742; Malumbres 1918; Solheim 1960). The eruption of Mt. Pangasun, locally known as *Chinteb a Wasay* 'cut of the axe', as well as *reduccion*, or the resettlement of populations into towns and plazas during the Spanish colonial period, led to the complete depopulation of Babuyan Claro in the 1600s. The Batanes islands underwent the same process of *reduccion* starting in 1718 until 1867 (Maree 2005: xvi-xvii). The Ivatan and Itbayaten people were likewise relocated to the islands of Fuga and Calayan, as well as mainland Luzon, and they were forced to move around these various locations during that century (Maree, R. 1982; Maree, J. 2005). With these series of migrations, it is expected that the relocated Batanic populations had considerable interaction with the Ilokano speakers in the region.

It was only around 1869 that the first Ibatans came to Babuyan Claro. This five-person group of Batanic ancestry, who were initially relocated to Calayan and Camiguin because of the Spanish *reduccion*, were shipwrecked on Babuyan Claro in their attempt to get back to Batanes. Not long after, two more groups, again coming from Calayan but this time tracing their ancestry to Ilokano-speaking families from mainland Luzon, arrived on the island. For the next 50 years or so, Babuyan Claro witnessed arrivals of small groups of people from Batanic-speaking and Ilokano-speaking backgrounds, detailed in Figure 2 (Maree, R. 1982; Maree, J. 2005).

Year	Immediate source	Background	Names
1600s		???	original settlers of Babuyan Claro relocated to neighbouring Babuyan islands and mainland Luzon during the Spanish <i>reduccion</i> <sup>4</sup>
1869	Calayan and Camiguin	Ivatan, Itbayat	Alvaro Alcantara, Maria Seriado, Fidel Nolasco, Mauricio Lagata, Marcelino Lagata
1870	Calayan	Ilokano	Giyang Dican, Maria Elvinia
1887	Calayan	Ilokano	Jose Tomas, Anastacia Tomas, Salvador Tomas
1893	Calayan	Ivatan	Mariano Derecho, Antonio Nolasco
1903	Camiguin	Ilokano	Antonio Tugade
1904	Camiguin	Ilokano	Lucrecia Simon, Susanna Simon, <sup>5</sup> Victoria Vilorio, Domingo Vilorio
1918	Calayan	Ilokano	Bernardino Rosales

Figure 2. The founding families of Babuyan Claro

---

<sup>4</sup> It is important to highlight here that the present-day Ibatans are not (directly) descended from this original population on Babuyan Claro. Cf. footnote 5 regarding the possible history of this population.

<sup>5</sup> Susanna Simon, who was an Ilokano from the neighbouring island Camiguin, apparently spoke Ibatan, and knew the pre-Hispanic history of Babuyan Claro. Antonio Tugade, who was also from Camiguin, seemed to have spoken Ibatan as well, as he was hired by US government officials to translate for them during their census on the island in 1903 to 1905. It is uncertain how both of them knew Ibatan, but Maree (2005: xxii) argues that perhaps Susanna Simon's ancestors were linked to the pre-Hispanic population on Babuyan Claro reported in the 1600s. It is difficult to validate this claim at this point, but further research on archaeology and genetics may shed some light regarding the original inhabitants of Babuyan Claro.

The striking outcomes of contact-induced language change in Ibatan point to an intense history of social contact among the first families of Babuyan Claro who came from two distinct language groups. These features can be seen across all areas of the language, from vocabulary and phonology to morphosyntax. To illustrate, Ibatan has developed the adapted verbal prefix *mag-* (perfective *nag-*) to derive actor voice durative verb forms, which is generally used for loanwords, and it occurs alongside the native verbal prefix *may-* (perfective *nay-*), which is used for native stems. In comparison, Ivatan derives both loan and native stems with the same Batanic prefix *may-*. This is illustrated in (1) and (2) below. In (1a), *lampitaw* ‘motor boat’ is an Ilokano (ILO) stem, occurring with the adapted prefix *nag-*, and in (1b), *abang* ‘rowboat’ is a native Ibatan (IVB) stem occurring with the native prefix *nay-*. To compare with (2), the Spanish (SPA) word *eroplano* ‘airplane’ as well as the native Ivatan (IVV) verb *vidi* ‘to return’, both occur with the native prefix *nay-* in Ivatan (Gallego 2019).

(1) **Ibatan** (Maree 2007:185)

a. Adapted prefix *mag-/nag-*

*Naglampitaw si adi a nangay do Calayan.*

**Nag-**lampitaw            si    adi            a    nangay    do    Calayan  
 P.AV-motor.boat.ILO    DET   sibling    LK    went        DET   Calayan  
 ‘Younger sibling rode on a motor boat to go to Calayan.’

b. Native prefix *may-/nay-*

*Nayabang si adi a nangay do Calayan.*

**Nay-**abang                si    adi            a    nangay    do    Calayan  
 P.AV-rowboat.IVB    DET   sibling    LK    went        DET   Calayan  
 ‘Younger sibling rode on a rowboat to go to Calayan.’

(2) **Ivatan**

*Nay-eroplano si Maria ta nayvidi du Basco.*

**Nay-**eroplano            si    Maria    ta            **nay-**vidi            du    Basco  
 P.AV-airplane.SPA    DET   Maria    because    P.AV-return.IVV    DET   Basco  
 ‘Maria rode on an airplane because she returned to Basco.’



### 3. A dynamic landscape

In order to understand the development of the Ibatan language, it is necessary to situate it within particular periods of socio-political change. In terms of population growth, Babuyan Claro has maintained a steady increase in its population since the arrival of the first Ibatans on the island in the late 1800s. Based on census reports and genealogical reconstruction by Maree (1982: 20), as well as updated genealogical records from Maree (2005), Figure 3 presents the population of Babuyan Claro from 1860s to 1980.

Year	Population
1869	5
1870	7
1880	17
1890	29
1900	49
1910	68
1920	103
1930	162
1975	472
1980	612

Figure 3. Population census from 1860s to 1980

At present, the population on Babuyan Claro has grown to about 2,500 to 3,000, with the steady influx of Ilokano immigrants to the island, adding to natural population growth. This population increase has been accompanied by changes in the socio-political landscape of the island, which in turn continue to shape the language ecology of the community.

#### 3.1. Babuyan Claro and the first Ibatans

The island of Babuyan Claro is part of the Babuyan group of islands along with Camiguin, Dalupiri, Fuga, and the municipal center of Calayan. Apart from Babuyan Claro, Ilokano is mainly spoken as the first language on the rest of the Babuyan islands (see Figure 1).

Babuyan Claro has two prominent volcanoes, Mt. Babuyan locally known as *Pokis* ‘baldy’, and Mt. Pangasun locally known as *Chinteb a Wasay* ‘cut of the axe’. Major volcanic activity has been reported at least three times since 1919 (Maree 1982: 28). Agriculture is the primary livelihood for the Ibatans, but farming is made difficult by the poor soil quality as well as the long monsoon season, *ammyan*, from around September to February, when cyclonic winds can reach more than 240 kilometres per hour (Maree 1982: 11). Fishing is an

alternative livelihood, but like farming, this is only ideal during the dry season, *rayon*, and so the island can only produce enough resources to support its own local needs. Moreover, in times of natural calamities, which then bring periods of hunger and sickness, external support such as financial and medical aid have been extremely limited or non-existent, leaving the Ibatans to recover by themselves. Babuyan Claro's rugged coastline, with few natural harbours and massive cliffs surrounding the island, has contributed to the isolation of the community. Even today, mobile and telephone communication within and outside Babuyan Claro remain immensely limited, and while fishing boats have begun to travel to and from the island more frequently, the absence of commercial transport makes travel difficult, especially during the long monsoon season.

This isolation of Babuyan Claro led to the development of the Ibatan culture and language as we know it today. Given the tough conditions on the island, the first families of Babuyan Claro needed to be in some sort of social contact with each other. For instance, the Ibatans have the concept of *mayyoho*, more popularly known as *mangawis*, which roughly translates as 'reciprocal work', or 'helping each other in a formal way'. *Bonggoy*, or cooperative work groups, are also still common, often contracted to help with agriculture and construction work. However, ethnographic and genealogical records suggest that the first few generations of the Ibatans did keep ethnolinguistic lines separate to some degree. This is not to say that the Ibatans were completely endogamous (not possible given the small population on the island), but there has been a preference in the first few generations to marry within one's own linguistic group (characterized as linguistic endogamy, compared with linguistic exogamy reported by Epps 2012 in the Amazon, among other cases). It was only when there was a lack of marriageable women that the men were forced to marry outside their demes<sup>6</sup> (Maree 1982: 51-52).

The ideal settlement pattern on the island is matrilocal,<sup>7</sup> where the husband goes to live with his wife's matri-deme (although 40% of marriages are found to be patrilocal) (Maree 1982: 59). However, as inheritance is bilateral, where both male and female offspring have equal rights to their parents' land, the man retains access to his own family area (Maree 1982: 52-53). While the greatest density of settlements is located on the southern slopes of *Chinteb a Wasay*, there was no central residential area until the late 1980s, and the settlements were dispersed across the whole island (Maree 1982: 63).

---

<sup>6</sup> Demes are local kin groups that are generally related to one another through intermarriage, bound by common residence and consanguinity (Murdock 1949: 62).

<sup>7</sup> But not in the strictest sense, as the group follows a bilateral line of descent. Maree (1982) uses the term *uxorilocal*, which disassociates residence from genealogical ties.

Regarding marriage patterns, there was a general rule against marrying someone within the settlement area. Marriage practices among the Ibatans had more to do with finding marriageable partners outside one's settlement, and not much with establishing alliances between families. Such alliances were rather based on linguistic and cultural factors (Maree 1982: 92)

In sum, it can be said that the first few generations of families living on Babuyan Claro generally kept ethnolinguistic lines separate, in that there was a preference to marry within one's own linguistic group, hence also keeping linguistic distinctions between settlements. Land ownership (including the use of swidden fields for agriculture) was kept within one's family, and settlements were scattered across the island, which point to not so frequent social contact across demes. However, all this does not directly corroborate with the linguistic data, which suggests intense social contact that has given rise not only to the maintenance of community-level bilingualism, but more importantly to the development of significant contact-induced features in the Ibatan language.

In order to understand the development of these outcomes of language contact, there is a need to take a more nuanced approach to matching up ethnographic and linguistic evidence. For instance, while the preference has been towards linguistic endogamy, instances of marrying outside the group were not uncommon. In addition, with the man moving to his wife's *matri-deme* after marriage, there would have been instances of co-existing linguistic groups within a settlement. To take as an example, the Tomas family of Ilokano-origin arrived from Calayan in 1887. The Tomas men, Jose and Salvador, married into the Ibatan-speaking Alcantara family, but for the next two generations, the Tomas men married into other Ilokano-speaking families even though they continued to reside in Alcantara territory (Maree 1982: 52). These instances of intermarriage, while outside the norm during this time, maintained bilingualism within the family and established connections across Ibatan-speaking and Ilokano-speaking networks,<sup>8</sup> and so must have been the locus of change in the language.

It is actually this setting that must have favoured the emergence and maintenance of Ibatan during these initial decades. That is, presuming that a kind of egalitarian multilingualism prevailed on Babuyan Claro, such that there was little village-internal hierarchy, and groups existed in mutual respect and little to no dominance or prestige of one group over the others (cf. François 2012: 93). However, given the rise in the status of Ilokano in

---

<sup>8</sup> Milroy & Milroy (1985) and Milroy (1992) argue that the first locus of the propagation of change in the community is situated in speakers who are weakly tied to their social networks, or individuals who are more mobile and thus less communicatively isolated compared to strong-tie individuals.

the larger region outside Babuyan Claro, this egalitarian multilingualism has changed to a hierarchical one, discussed in the sections that follow.

### 3.2 The beginnings of a divide: *daya* and *laod*

As the ethnolinguistic lines between Ibatan and Ilokano families were kept separate to a certain degree, residential settlements would reflect such separation as well. While settlements on Babuyan Claro are scattered across the whole island, the greatest density is found in the southern slope of *Chinteb a Wasay*, along Idi to Rakwaksong from west to east. This concentration of settlements forms the basis of the geographic distinction between *daya* ‘east’ and *laod* ‘west’, where the latter generally pertains to the *sitios* ‘hamlets’ of Idi, Barit, and Kasakay, whereas the former, while technically referring to the *sitios* east of *laod*, has come to refer to all other *sitios* outside *laod*, which then also include the small settlements west of *laod* such as those along the slopes of *Pokis* on the western part of the island (see Figure 4).

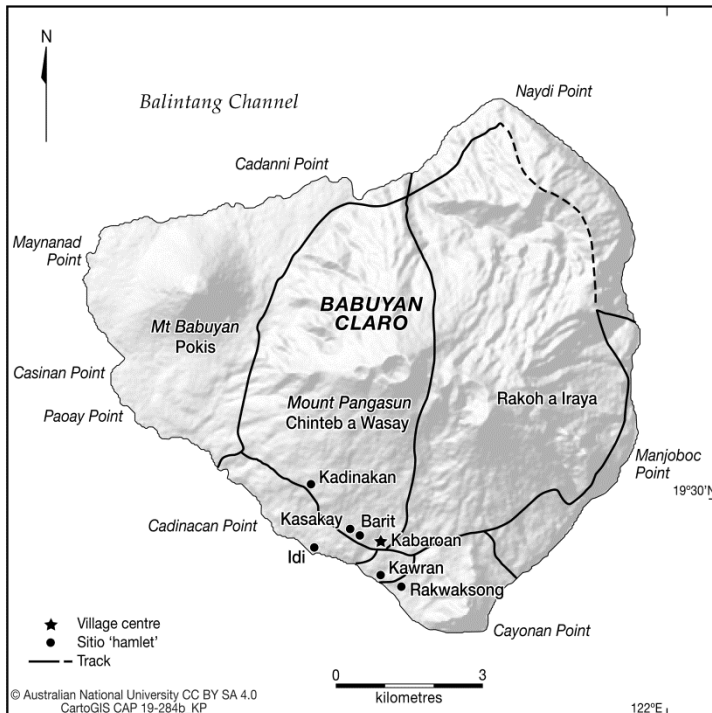


Figure 4. Map of Babuyan Claro showing key locations

The geographic regions of *daya* and *laod* have come to coincide with networks of social interaction of differing strength and intensity, based primarily on the nature of the residential settlements on the island, and these networks then underpin speakers' language ideologies and uses. Small but significant networks of speakers situated in *laod*, consisting mostly of mixed Ibatan–Ilokano families, show greater affinity towards Ilokano as their everyday language, whereas families situated in *daya* show greater affinity towards Ibatan. The divide between the two regions, and hence the social networks that form around them, is particularly prominent in that speakers have identified differences in language use based on these networks, where those from *laod* show more mixing between Ibatan and Ilokano, while those from *daya* speak 'pure' Ibatan (discussed in Section 4). These two regions are also relevant when it comes to the socio-political aspects of the community which play significant roles in shaping the linguistic landscape of the island.

### 3.3. 1970s and the prominence of Ilokano

Ilokano has been and continues to be a significant force in the Ibatan community. In Section 3.1, it was argued that egalitarian multilingualism favoured the emergence of Ibatan and consequently its co-existence with Ilokano. However, with the rise in the status of Ilokano in the whole region of the Babuyan islands and northern Luzon, this kind of multilingualism has shifted to a hierarchical one, especially as Babuyan Claro has come to be more integrated within the municipality of Calayan. That is, Ibatan became largely the language of the home and the immediate community, while Ilokano was the language used in the wider domains of religion, education, and other official institutions.

By around the 1970s, the centre of community activities was in the *laod* region, which, as discussed in Section 3.2, is where many of the Ilokano-speaking networks are situated. The Catholic Church and cemetery were built in the *sitio* of Idi, effectively making it the village centre. During this period, a majority of the Ibatans were Roman Catholics, and religious services and activities were mostly conducted in Ilokano.

Before the 1990s, teachers on Babuyan Claro were purely Ilokano immigrants, and so instruction was done in Ilokano, and to a limited extent, Filipino. The only school on the island did not go further than Grade 3 during the 1980s, and then up to Grade 6 until 2004. Thus, the Ibatans needed to continue their schooling in the municipal centre of Calayan, which is about a five-hour boat ride from Babuyan Claro. Because of the difficulty in transportation, the Ibatans would have to stay in Calayan for the duration of their schooling. Calayan, as mentioned, is the municipal centre of the Babuyan group of islands. Aside from schooling, the Ibatans would

have to go to Calayan if they needed to conduct official business with the municipal government, for example filing and requesting official documents. In Calayan, the Ibatans mostly use Ilokano, with Ibatan only employed with fellow Ibatans. With Ibatan comprising the minority group in the region, coupled with the status of Ilokano on Babuyan Claro and the larger region outside it, the linguistic vitality of Ibatan became endangered during this period. However, recent socio-political changes on the island have triggered another change in the community's patterns of language use.

### 3.3 1980s and the prominence of Ibatan

Changes in religion, education, political status, and overall geographic mobility in Babuyan Claro have led to the empowerment and more vigorous use of Ibatan beginning in the 1980s, with the arrival of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) (cf. Quakenbush 2007: 54-55).

Rundell and Judith Maree of SIL came to Babuyan Claro in 1978 to study and document Ibatan for the main purpose of bible translation. They were helped by a small network of Ibatan speakers, one of whom is Lucio Ramos. Because of his experience with SIL, he became the first Ibatan to convert to Protestantism. During this time, he was living with his wife's family in Rakwaksong, located in *daya*, and he initiated the construction of a Protestant Church, which was later transferred to Kabaroan, likewise located in *daya*. At present, the majority of the Ibatans go to this Protestant Church in Kabaroan, with religious activities, including the church service itself and bible fellowships, done in Ibatan. Catholics, who by now are the minority on Babuyan Claro, mostly consist of families who reside in *laod*, in addition to more recent Ilokano immigrants, and their religious activities continue to be conducted in Ilokano.

In addition to the Protestant Church, a rural health unit as well as the first water supply on the island were likewise constructed in Kabaroan. With these facilities, in addition to the school and the first store on Babuyan Claro, and more recently the *barangay* 'village' hall, all located in Kabaroan, the centre of community activities has been transferred from *laod* to *daya*. According to Rundell Maree (personal communication), the choice of Kabaroan was intentional: 'If Ibatan was going to survive, we had to give the area in which Ibatan lived [Kabaroan] some greater prominence'. It was this greater prominence of the region, along with other socio-political changes discussed below, that triggered another change in the language ecology of Babuyan Claro, specifically the greater use of Ibatan.

Reading proficiency in Ibatan was boosted with the publication of Ibatan books, readers, and even a newspaper. In 1996, the publication of the Ibatan translation of the New Testament of the Bible encouraged more Ibatans to

read in their language, and many of them have come to prefer reading the Ibatan translation rather than the Ilokano one.

In 2004, the local school on Babuyan Claro was expanded to include high school, and in 2016 started to offer the additional years of senior high school. Thus, the Ibatans can now opt to stay on the island for the duration of their primary and secondary education. Moreover, the mandatory use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction from Kindergarten up to Grade 3 means that the students are starting their schooling in Ibatan. However, logistical problems still limit the use of the language. No official materials in Ibatan have been developed by the Department of Education yet, and so the students are still using materials in Ilokano. There are also limited teaching positions for local Ibatan teachers, with the majority of the teachers still from Ilokano-speaking backgrounds, and with varying proficiencies in Ibatan. Thus, while the local school tries to implement the use of Ibatan in the relevant levels, the medium of instruction ultimately depends on the individual class teachers. Beyond Grade 3, Filipino and English are officially mandated as the medium of instruction, but actual language use still varies, especially when the situation requires it, with the teacher sometimes switching to Ilokano (or Ibatan if the teacher speaks the language) to supplement instruction. In general, recent educational reforms have led to less exposure to Ilokano, with the introduction of Ibatan as the medium of instruction in the early years of schooling, but more importantly because the Ibatans do not have to go to Calayan for further education during their formative years. This then means that the younger generations of Ibatans do not undergo the same kinds of experiences the older generations went through. Those who continue on to university in mainland Luzon do not report significant issues arising from their minority status. This is because regional centres such as Tuguegarao, Cagayan, where many of the Ibatans go for university, are also ethnolinguistically diverse, and so more tolerant of linguistic differences.

As for official recognition, the Ibatans were awarded their Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title on the 1<sup>st</sup> June 2007,<sup>9</sup> which grants them collective rights to natural resources on Babuyan Claro, including five kilometers of the surrounding ocean. This was done through the *Indigenous Peoples Rights Act* of 1997, with the help of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines (Ebarhard, Simons & Fennig 2020). Processing this recognition required the Ibatan to officialise their indigenous political structure through the formation of *Kakpekpeh no Mangalkem* (KAKMA), which serves as the council of elders or leaders of the community, and its

---

<sup>9</sup> CADT Number R02-CAL-1206056 (National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, in Padilla 2012)

official organization *Ibatan CADT Holders' Organization* (ICHO), which serves as the community's legal arm. They are led by the *Apong Malkem* (presently Cruzaldo Rosales) who serves as the chieftain of the Ibatans. This indigenous political structure exists alongside the governmental administrative division of the *barangay* 'village'. Thus, along with KAKMA, the community is also led by the *barangay* council, headed by a chairperson (presently Analiza Nuñez). Both types of leadership and authority are recognized in Babuyan Claro, with KAKMA dealing with the traditional aspects and internal issues that concern the Ibatan community, whereas the *barangay* council deals with matters relating to the larger administrative levels of governance, such as with Calayan at the municipal level, and Cagayan at the provincial level. With this official recognition of the Ibatan indigenous political structures and the awarding of their ancestral domain title, we see the empowerment of the Ibatans, particularly in exercising their claims to their land and sea, and all of this ultimately has contributed to the renewed vitality of the Ibatan language.

Finally, increased geographic mobility has connected Ibatan to the rest of the Philippines. Trips from Babuyan Claro to both Batanes and mainland Luzon are more frequent (albeit via fishing boats, as no commercial vessel travels to and from the island), and this has enabled the Ibatans to expand their social networks and to feel more integrated within the nation state. We see an increased participation in the national scene, such as in national conferences and activities organized by the Philippine government. In addition, more and more Ibatans are choosing to continue their schooling in either Tuguegarao, Cagayan in mainland Luzon, or in Basco, Batanes, which then entails greater exposure to either Filipino or Ivatan. With their more frequent social contact with the Ivatans of Batanes, specifically, the Ibatans have come to appreciate their Batanic heritage more, and hence their language, because of the certain degree of mutual intelligibility shared between Ivatan and Ibatan.<sup>10</sup>

Technological improvements on the island also have enabled the Ibatans to gain more access to broadcast and social media. More Ibatan families are getting satellite television access, and the younger generations are becoming

---

<sup>10</sup> The attitude of the Ivatans of Batanes towards the Ibatans, on the contrary, is a different matter. The Ivatans regard the Ibatans of Babuyan Claro as *ipula*, which is a term used to refer to Filipinos who are not Ivatan. This is despite the languages of the two groups being very closely related. To compare, they treat the Itbayatens of Itbayat Island as fellow Ivatan. This difference is most possibly because of the long-standing contact between the Ivatans and the Itbayatens, whereas contact with the Ibatans has only been fairly recent. (This is based on personal communication with Edwin Valientes, a speaker of Ivatan, who is an anthropologist working on the ethno-archeology of Batanes.)



more actively engaged in social media through the establishment of satellite internet on Babuyan Claro in 2018.

These socio-political changes are driving an ongoing change in the linguistic landscape of the community. As mentioned above, the Ibatans are less exposed to Ilokano, compared to the past. This is not to say that the presence of Ilokano has weakened in the community; Ilokano is still a strong second language for a majority of the Ibatans and it remains the lingua franca for the region. However, the Ibatans no longer have to do their schooling in Calayan, which has significantly changed the language experience of the younger generation, and ultimately has contributed to changes in their language ideologies. This, along with the increased integration of the Ibatan community into the nation state, has allowed for an expansion in the linguistic repertoire of the speakers. Compared to the older generations, the younger generation of Ibatans shows greater proficiency in Filipino, and some would prefer to use it over Ilokano. We see this sometimes as receptive multilingualism (cf. Singer 2018), where an Ibatan would respond to an Ilokano speaker in Filipino rather than Ilokano, not only in oral communication but also in writing, such as on social media.

#### **4. Patterns of multilingualism**

With the changes in the socio-political landscape of Babuyan Claro outlined above, we see an accompanying change in individual and community patterns of multilingualism. There are no monolingual speakers on Babuyan Claro (Ebarhard, Simons & Fennig 2020). That is, all residents have a certain level of proficiency in Ibatan and Ilokano. Some have larger linguistic repertoires that include Filipino, English, Ivatan/Itabayaten, among other languages. The immigrants on Babuyan Claro also have varying proficiencies in Ibatan as their second language. This section presents a qualitative overview of the speakers' patterns of language use, experience, and attitude based on semi-structured interviews done with 46 native and non-native speakers of Ibatan.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Interviews employed a modified version of the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q) by Marian, Blumenfeld & Kaushanskaya (2007).

## 4.1 Linguistic repertoire

The number of languages in a speaker's linguistic repertoire varies individually, depending on personal histories. It ranges from two to five languages, with Ibatan and Ilokano shared by all. Filipino and English are learned formally in school, and other Philippine languages are learned either from a parent or outside Babuyan Claro during higher education. In the succeeding sections, I focus particularly on Ibatan and Ilokano as these are the two languages which are relevant for all speakers.

### 4.1.1 Native speakers

Native speakers of Ibatan are individuals who grew up on Babuyan Claro, and have acquired Ibatan alongside Ilokano in their childhood, both from their family members and their immediate community. However, the frequency of use of the two languages depends on the family. There are speakers whose parents and grandparents are Ibatans who likewise grew up on Babuyan Claro, but there are also those who come from mixed families, with one parent usually from an Ilokano-speaking background and having arrived on Babuyan Claro in adulthood.

Almost all speakers who have two Ibatan parents speak it at home, with Ilokano only occasionally used in marked situations, for instance when one is joking or upset. As for those from mixed families, the situation varies. On the one hand, if a parent, usually the mother, has shifted to Ibatan, the family would consistently use Ibatan at home, and only very rarely Ilokano. However, if a parent, usually the father, has not shifted to Ibatan, the family would be using both languages at home, with the child speaking Ibatan to one parent and Ilokano to the other. In such cases, we also see the influence of social networks. Mixed families who live in the *sittos* of Barit and Kasakay, belonging to the region of *laod*, have shifted or are shifting to Ilokano, whereby Ilokano is more frequently used even at home, with occasional switching to Ibatan. Ibatan speakers from *daya* label such code-switching *Ibakano*, a blend of Ibatan and Ilokano, which they regard as 'improper' use of Ibatan, reflecting their attitudes towards synchronic mixing. This will be discussed further in Section 4.2.

There is also a small number of native speakers of Ibatan who have now completely shifted to Ilokano. Most of these have married out of the community and are now living on mainland Luzon, and only speak Ibatan when they occasionally visit Babuyan Claro. There are also some speakers who are ethnically Ibatan but have grown up elsewhere, such as in Calayan, and they prefer to use Ilokano, despite having moved back to Babuyan Claro.

### 4.1.2 Non-native speakers

Non-native speakers of Ibatan are individuals who have arrived on Babuyan Claro in their adulthood. They mostly come from neighbouring Babuyan islands such as Calayan, Camiguin and Dalupiri, or from mainland Luzon, mostly from the province of Cagayan, and are from Ilokano-speaking backgrounds. Their proficiency in Ibatan varies, depending on their social networks: those who are more closely tied to Ibatan speakers from *daya* are quick to learn Ibatan, and have come to use it more frequently than Ilokano. Even when talking with fellow Ilokano speakers, they would choose to speak in Ibatan with each other. In comparison, others, usually those closely tied to speakers from *laod*, prefer to use Ilokano, despite having learned Ibatan. In these cases, some speakers report a certain degree of fluency in Ibatan and would occasionally use the language, especially with Ibatan speakers, but would still revert to using Ilokano in most situations. Some speakers do not speak Ibatan at all, but still report good understanding of it, having lived on Babuyan Claro for many years. These patterns of use clearly reflect the speakers' attitudes towards the languages, and how quickly they pick up Ibatan ultimately depends on who they talk to and their willingness to speak the language.

### 4.1.3 Language dominance

From the preceding sections, it can be said that differences in speakers' patterns of multilingualism are not necessarily dictated by whether they are native or non-native speakers of Ibatan, but are instead largely influenced by a variety of social factors, such as personal history, language attitudes, and frequencies of interaction across social networks. The speaker's degree of proficiency or language dominance (cf. van Coetsem 2000; Silva-Corvalán & Treffers-Daller 2016) can thus change over the course of their lifetime. That is, a native speaker of Ibatan may become less dominant in the language depending on these interacting social factors, and in the same way, a non-native speaker of Ibatan can become dominant in it depending on the nature of their interaction with Ibatan speakers. There are also neutral or balanced bilinguals who report (nearly) equal proficiencies in their languages, although this is argued to be rare in bilingual situations (cf. Grosjean 1985).<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> There are various ways to measure language dominance quantitatively (cf. Silva-Corvalán & Treffers-Daller 2016). A modified Bilingual Language Profile by Gertken, Amengual & Birdsong (2014) will be used to measure the speakers' dominance in Ibatan, Ilokano, and Filipino on the second phase of the research project.

Language dominance is therefore not static, and is always dependent on the speaker's situation. That is, they can be dominant in a particular language in certain domains and registers while not in others. A speaker who is typically dominant in Ibatan may prefer reading in Filipino because of the manner in which they learned that particular skill. In addition, geographic location seems to be an important factor affecting language dominance. That is, some Ilokano immigrants who have married into the community report a preference for and greater proficiency in Ibatan when on the island, but better proficiency in Ilokano when they leave Babuyan Claro to visit their hometowns. They say they tend to forget their Ilokano (mainly referring to vocabulary) while on Babuyan Claro but can easily pick it up again when they travel away from the island. This is less to do with actual location per se but rather the speaker's level of exposure and opportunity to use the languages in their repertoire, and consequently the association of a particular place with the use of a particular language.

All in all, the shape of a speaker's linguistic repertoire is the sum of interacting social factors that prevail at the levels of the individual and the community. The nature and frequency of interaction across various social networks play an important role in shaping language learning, usage, and attitudes, and so bridge individual and community-level patterns of multilingualism.

## 4.2 Language experiences and attitudes

As shown above, language use is driven by the speaker's attitudes towards the languages in their repertoire, which in turn is shaped partially by their experiences. The ideologies that prevail on the island of Babuyan Claro on the one hand, and the larger region of Calayan on the other, shape the speakers' perceptions of Ibatan. While such attitudes and perceptions may vary across individuals, there are generally two opposing attitudes towards the use of Ibatan and Ilokano, and this essentially aligns with the *laod* and *daya* divide.

As Ibatans are a minority group within the municipality Calayan, they experience marginalisation in the region, which includes instances of linguistic discrimination. Because of this, a few Ibatans may try to change the way they speak in order to conceal their ethnicity. But contrary to what is expected, many Ibatans still maintain the use of their language, even during their time outside Babuyan Claro, as a secret language: 'at least we know both Ibatan and Ilokano, unlike others who can only speak Ilokano', many of them would say. Thus, the perspective of bilingualism is taken as an advantage despite the ongoing marginalisation of Ibatan.

With recent changes in the socio-political landscape of Babuyan Claro, the younger generation does not have the same kinds of experiences as the

older generations of Ibatans had. In addition, their official recognition as an indigenous group in the Philippines and the formation of KAKMA or the Ibatan council of elders have been significant factors in the empowerment of Ibatan. The younger generation shows very positive attitudes towards the language, and recognise the importance of passing it to their children.

As for Ilokano, some Ibatans show ambivalent attitudes towards the language, mainly because of their history within the larger region. Some younger Ibatan speakers now report greater proficiency in Filipino than Ilokano, and prefer to respond to Ilokano speakers in Filipino rather than Ilokano. In comparison, the older generations are still more comfortable in speaking Ilokano than Filipino, and would describe their Filipino as *dyido* ‘crooked’. In addition, a small but growing number of families prefer teaching Filipino alongside Ibatan to their children. This is because they see the importance of Filipino when they travel outside Babuyan Claro. In the past, this was how the majority of Babuyan Claro viewed Ilokano, and some families have actually completely shifted to Ilokano because of this attitude. Thus, the overall experience and history of the Ibatans have affected, not so much the vitality of Ibatan, but the speakers’ attitudes towards Ilokano as their second language. The kind of egalitarian multilingualism that favoured the emergence of Ibatan as a language has changed because of this current hierarchical relationship between Ibatan and Ilokano, and has affected the way the speakers view their languages.

As mentioned above, this kind of ideology only shows half of the picture, and pertains largely to speakers strongly tied to *daya*. In comparison, those strongly tied to *laod* show the opposite orientation where families have shifted or are shifting to Ilokano as their everyday language, even at home, demonstrating that Ilokano remains the socially and linguistically dominant language in *laod*. The network is also known by their mode of code-switching between Ibatan and Ilokano, known as *Ibakano*. When asked what they think of this behaviour, they would regard it as something that cannot be helped, it is just how they use their languages naturally. In contrast, Ibatan speakers strongly tied to *daya* would describe this as *dyido* ‘crooked’. ‘Mixing is good with food,<sup>13</sup> but not with language’, one person said. For these speakers, code-switching needs to be corrected, and Ibatan and Ilokano should be kept separate: ‘You show you are from the island if you speak proper [unmixed] Ibatan.’

What is quite interesting about this attitude towards mixing is that all Ibatans are aware of their mixed heritage, and clearly acknowledge that their language is a mixture of Ilokano and Batanic features. However, it is

---

<sup>13</sup> Referring to *halo-halo*, literally ‘mixed’, which is a well-known Filipino dessert made up of a huge variety of ingredients.

evident that this current cross-linguistic influence in the speech of a particular category of speakers constitutes a different layer of change in Ibatan, which is regarded as ‘improper’ by some. Nonce borrowings and code-switching are argued to be more of a community mode rather than simply an outcome of bilingualism (cf. Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988). How the present-day Ibatan language developed a mix of Ilokano and Batanic features may have been driven by such behaviour, but at present, we see variation in how networks of speakers view the same pattern of language use. That is, we still see this as an ongoing linguistic mode within the network of *laod*, whereas this behaviour is regarded negatively by speakers strongly tied to *daya*.

### 4.3 Mixed languages, mixed ethnicities

Mixing is a salient theme on Babuyan Claro. Not only do we see this in the linguistic features of Ibatan, both as historical changes and ongoing cross-linguistic influence, but this can also be observed in how the speakers view themselves. Ethnic Ibatans strongly tied to *daya* see themselves as ‘pure’ Ibatans, but with acknowledgement that being Ibatan means descent from both Batanic and Ilokano ancestry. Those from mixed families naturally see themselves as ethnically ‘mixed’, but interestingly, even Ilokano immigrants do not see themselves as ‘pure’ Ilokanos anymore, since they have come to use Ibatan as well. The extent of mixing they attribute to their ethnicity seems to depend on how much they know and use Ibatan. One Ilokano speaker said that while they do not consider themselves as pure Ilokano anymore, they are still more Ilokano than Ibatan because they do not really speak Ibatan well. It is apparent that this mixing to describe one’s ethnicity stems from the speaker’s language use, and so clearly highlights that for the people of Babuyan Claro, language and ethnicity are two sides of the same coin.

## 5. Conclusion

The dynamic sociolinguistic landscape of Babuyan Claro has led to significant changes in the patterns of multilingualism in the community, from the emergence of Ibatan as a separate language within the Batanic subgroup, to the intense, continuous, and complex relationship between Ibatan and Ilokano. All this can be summed up as layers of change, both in terms of linguistic structure and ideology. That is, historical contact-induced changes in the language have come to be treated as Ibatan’s inherent features, but more recent cross-linguistic influence (that is, code-switching) is sometimes regarded as a corruption. Similarly, the Ibatans clearly acknowledge their mixed ancestry, but this can be very different from

synchronically mixed families. The speakers' layered perceptions of language and ethnicity, all told within the narrative of mixing, continuity, and change, constitute an accurate reflection of the sociolinguistic history of Babuyan Claro.

As small, previously isolated communities become more integrated into the modern nation state, the sociolinguistic contexts on which the communities are built become more fragile (Childs, Good & Mitchell 2014: 172). Babuyan Claro is a clear example of this fragile sociolinguistic setting, where the kind of egalitarian multilingualism that existed in the past, which favoured the emergence of Ibatan, has changed to a more hierarchical one at present, leading to changes in the language ecology of the community, as in how the speakers view and use their different languages. Particular socio-political changes have actually resulted in more positive attitudes and greater use of Ibatan, but its viability in the future is not certain, precisely because of the community's dynamicity. The nature of social contact between Ibatan and Ilokano, and more recently Filipino and Ivatan, has led and will lead to changes not only in linguistic structures but also in the patterns of multilingualism of individuals and the community. Understanding this interplay in Babuyan Claro provides a good window onto the processes of language emergence, contact, continuity, and change within a small multilingual society, and with its dynamic landscape we are presented with the opportunity to observe the interaction of social, political, cultural, and linguistic changes as they happen.

## References

- Blust, Robert. 1991. The Greater Central Philippine hypothesis. *Oceanic Linguistics* 9, 104-162.
- Blust, Robert. 2020. The resurrection of Proto-Philippines. *Oceanic Linguistics* 58(2), 153-256.
- Childs, Tucker, Jeff Good & Alice Mitchell. 2014. Beyond the ancestral code: Towards a model for sociolinguistic language documentation. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 8, 168-191.
- Cottle, Morris & Shirley Cottle. 1958. The significant sounds of Ivatan. In Alan Healey (ed.), *Studies in Philippine Linguistics*, 24-33. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- De Salazar, Vicente. 1742. *History of the province of the most holy rosary of the Philippines*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press.
- Ebarhard, David, Gary Simons & Charles Fennig (eds.) 2020. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twenty-third edition*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics International. <http://ethnologue.com>. (accessed 2020-05-24).

- Epps, Patience. 2012. On form and function in language contact: A case study from the Amazonian Vaupés region. In Claudine Chamoreau & Isabelle Leglise (eds.) *Dynamics of contact-induced language change*, 195-229. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- François, Alexandre. 2012. The dynamics of linguistic diversity: Egalitarian multilingualism and power imbalance among northern Vanuatu languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 214, 85-110.
- Gallego, Maria Kristina. 2014. Tracing ancestry and descent: A reconstruction of the Proto-Batanic language. MA thesis, University of the Philippines Diliman.
- Gallego, Maria Kristina. 2017. Savaxay and the language of kinship in Batanic communities. *Social Science Diliman* 13(2), 66-94.
- Gallego, Maria Kristina. 2019. Contact and continuity in the morphology of Ibatan. Paper presented at the 24<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Australian National University, 1-5 July.
- Gertken, Libby, Mark Amengual & David Birdsong. 2014. Assessing language dominance with the Bilingual Language Profile. In Pascale Leclercq, Amanda Edmonds & Heather Hilton (eds.) *Measuring L2 Proficiency: Perspectives from SLA*, 208-225. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Grosjean, Francois. 1985. The bilingual individual as a competent but specific speaker-hearer. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 6, 467-477.
- Hidalgo, Cesar & Araceli Hidalgo. 1971. *A tagmemic grammar of Iwatan*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Malumbres, Julian. 1918. *Historia de Cagayan*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press.
- Maree, Judith. 2005. *The Ibatan: A genealogy of the people of Babuyan Claro Island*. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Maree, Rundell. 1982. Ibatan cultural origins and social organization. MA thesis, University of Texas Arlington.
- Maree, Rundell . 2007. *Ibatan: A grammatical sketch of the language of Babuyan Claro Island*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Marian, Viorica, Henrike Blumenfeld & Margarita Kaushanskaya. 2007. The language experience and proficiency questionnaire (LEAP-Q): Assessing language profiles in bilinguals and multilinguals. *Journal of Speech, Language and Hearing Research* 50, 940-967.
- Milroy, James & Lesley Milroy. 1985. Linguistic change, social network, and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics* 21, 339-384.
- Milroy, James. 1992. *Linguistic variation and change: On the historical sociolinguistics of English*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Murdock, George Peter. 1949. *Social structure*. New York: Macmillan.
- Padilla, Sabino Jr. 2012. *IP areas with CADT and CADC*. <https://bit.ly/2XjEU3m> (accessed 2020-05-24)



- Philippine Statistics Authority. 2016. *2015 Census of Population Report No. 1–D Region II–Cagayan Valley, Population by Province, City, Municipality, and Barangay*. Quezon City: Philippine Statistics Authority. Online version: <https://bit.ly/2ZrNBLI> (Accessed 2020-05-24)
- Poplack, Shana, David Sankoff & Cristopher Miller. 1988. The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and assimilation. *Linguistics* 26(1), 47-104.
- Quakenbush, Stephen. 2007. SIL International and endangered Austronesian languages. In D. Victoria Rau & Margaret Florey (eds.) *Documenting and revitalizing Austronesian languages*, 42-65. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Reid, Lawrence. 1966. *An Ivatan syntax*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Riesberg, Sonja. 2014. *Symmetrical voice and linking in western Austronesian languages*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Ross, Malcolm. 2005. The Batanic languages in relation to the early history of the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian. *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 1(2), 1-24.
- Scheerer, Otto. 1926. Batan texts with notes. *Philippine Journal of Science* 31, 301-341.
- Silva-Crovalán, Carmen & Jeanine Treffers-Daller (eds.) 2016. *Language dominance in bilinguals: Issues of measurement and operationalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Singer, Ruth. 2018. A small speech community with many small languages: The role of receptive multilingualism in supporting linguistic diversity at Waruwi Community (Australia). *Language and Communication* 62(B), 102-118.
- Smith, Alexander. 2017. The Western Malayo-Polynesian problem. *Oceanic Linguistics* 56(2), 435-490.
- Solheim, Wilhelm II. 1960. Jar burial in the Babuyan and Batanes islands and in central Philippines, and its relationship to jar burial elsewhere in the far east. *The Philippine Journal of Science* 89(1), 115-148.
- Tsuchida, Shigeru, Ernesto Constantino, Yukihiko Yamada & Tsunekazu Moriguchi. 1989. *Batanic languages: Lists of sentences for grammatical features*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
- Tsuchida, Shigeru, Yukihiko Yamada & Tsunekazu Moriguchi. 1987. *List of selected words of Batanic languages*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
- Van Coetsem, Frans. 2000. *A general and unified theory of the transmission process in language contact*. Hiedelberg: Winter.
- Yang, Doris Hsiao-Fang. 2002. Subgrouping and reconstruction of Batanic languages. MA thesis, Providence University.