

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### 1. Genetic affiliation

The central Ifugao language is genetically affiliated to the Northern Philippine languages (McFarland 1980 and Ethnologue 2000). The ethnologue however further subdivided Northern Philippine languages into Northern Luzon and Southern Luzon, whereas McFarland considered it as one genetically related language. McFarland (p 59) divided the Northern Philippines languages into cordillera languages, Ilongot , and Sambalic languages. He further divided the cordillera languages into Dumagat languages, Northern cordillera languages, Ilocano, Central cordillera languages, and Southern Cordillera languages; Central Cordillera languages was further divided into Kalinga, Itneg, Balangaw, Bontoc, Kankanaey, Ifugao (L-complex), and Isinai; finally, the Ifugao (L-complex) languages was subdivided into Ifugao-Eastern, Ifugao-Kiangan, and Ifugao-Banaue, (which I would prefer to call central Ifugao). The genetic affiliation of the Ifugao (L-complex) language following McFarland model would then look like Figure 1.1a below. I can be contrasted to that of the Etnologue in figure 1.1b.

Northern Philippine languages  
Cordillera languages  
Central cordillera languages  
Ifugao (L-complex)  
Central Ifugao (Banaue)

Figure 1.1a McFarland 1980

Figure 1.1b Etnologue (Gordon 2005)

Northern Philippine  
Northern Luzon  
South-Central Cordilleran  
Central Cordilleran  
Nuclear Cordilleran  
Ifugao language  
Central Ifugao

Figure 1.3 Reid 1974

Cordilleran  
Meso Cordilleran  
South-Central Cordilleran  
Central Cordilleran  
North-Central Cordilleran  
Nuclear Cordilleran  
Ifugaw (Balangaw, Bontoc, and Kankanaey)

Central Ifugao dialect is of two dialect varieties, the “mun'alyon” dialect and the “munkalyon” dialect, of the Ifugao Amganad language variety: which is one of the three major Ifugao language varieties spoken in the province of Ifugao, the other two are Ifugao-Eastern (Ayangnan) and Ifugao Kiangnan (Tuwali). Keley'i is another language variety spoken in the south-western portion of Ifugao, but is more related to the Kalanguya language, which is spoken along the Ifugao-Benguet-Neuva Vizcaya boundary. This Central Ifugao dialect, or the “mun'kalyon”, is spoken in thirteen barangays starting from barangay Pitawan, Hingyon in the north to barangay Tungod, municipality of Lagawe in the south. The thirteen barangays are Pitawan, Namulditan, Piwong, Bitu, and Anao, all in the municipality of Hingyon; barangays Burnay, Cudog, Boliwong, Poblacion North, Poblacion West, Poblacion East, Poblacion South, and Tungod, all in the municipality of Lagawe. The total population in all these thirteen barangays are about \_\_\_\_\_ in 2000 (NSO).

On the other hand, Ifugao Amganad dialect or the “mun'alyon” is spoken in the seven northeastern barangays more particularly barangays Amganad and Balawis in the municipality of Banaue, barangays Cababuyan North, Cababuyan South, Poblacion, Mompolia, and Umalbong, all in the municipality of Hingyon.

The distinctive difference of the Central Ifugao dialect variety is the use of velar voiceless plosive /k/ in place of glottal stop /ʔ/ in some of the lexemes. These two dialect varieties ( ) and some times those spoken in the western barangays of Banaue ( ) are lumped together and labeled as Ifugao Amganad language and is entered in the ethnologue three-letter code as “IFA”.

## 1.2 Physical location:

The homeland of the Ifugao (L-complex) language is situated at the central portion of the Cordillera mountain ranges with altitudes ranging from 4,000 to 5,600 feet above sea level. It occupies less than 750 square miles (Bankoti 2004) in center of Northern Luzon. At the central portion of this land, lies Hingyon-Lagawe, the home of the Central Ifugao language variety. Hingyon-Lagawe is generally mountainous and it is bounded on western portion by the Ibulao river, on the southeast by the Alimit river, on the northeast by eastern ridge of Mount Polis down to the Gihhub tributary that flows to Ducligan river, and northeast by Gahang creek that flows from the southwestern side of Mount Polis to ward the Ibulao river.



The geographic distribution of Central Ifugao language variety within Ifugao province covers the whole municipality of Hingyon, and the western portion of Lagawe (Barangays Cudog, Burnay, Boliwong, Tungod, Poblacion South, Poblacion North, Poblacion East, and Poblacion West).

The western portions of the municipality of Banaue, more particularly barangays Bocos, View Point, Gohang, San Fernando, Poblacion and Tam-an may be included among the Central Ifugao language variety. The speakers in these barangays, however,

speakers of a somewhat different variety that have extra phonemes like [c, j, s, and r] (Llamzon 1978, p58) that is absent in the phonemes of the variety spoken in central Ifugao. The rest of Banaue speak the eastern language variety.

There are other speakers of the Ifugao (L-complex) language scattered nationwide. It was reported that it comprises a majority in municipalities of Ambaguio and Kayapa, large minority in Kasibu and Diadi, a small minority in Barangay Villa Verde, municipality of Solano, all in province of Nueva Vizcaya; large minority language spoken in the municipality of Maddela, small minority in Cabarrojis, Aglipay, and Diffun, all in the province of Quirino (McFarland 1980). There are small communities in city of Malaybalay, Bukidnon, and in the municipality Ramon, Isabela, and in the municipality of Tuba, Benguet (personal knowledge). There may be speakers in other places nationwide.

Map 1.1 Geographic distribution of speakers of the Central Ifugao language variety.



IFUGAO	161,623
BANAUE	20,563
Amganad	1,699
Gohang	686
Poblacion	2,312
San Fernando	649
Balawis	880
Ohaj	916
Tam-an	1,263
View Point	1,297

### 1.3 Sociolinguistics setting

#### 1.3.1 Previous research

The People. The Spaniards lamped all the people of mountainous lands of Northern Luzon and called them Ygolot, Igorrotes, Igorotes or Igorot (Henry Scott 1974, pp 169f). Later the term was used to designate the peoples groups of the old Mountain Province comprising Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga and Apayao (Scott 1974, p 310). Still others says the term refers only to the Bontocs, Kankanaeys, and the Benguets peoples groups ( \_\_\_\_\_ ).

The Ifugao that is sometimes called Ifugaw, Ipugao, Ypugao, Hilipan, or Quiangan by outsiders (Peralta 2000). Peralta (erroneously) reported that Ifugao is host to six different language varieties: Kiangan-Hapao, Banaue-Burnay, Ayangan-Mayoyao,

Hungduan (mistakenly named Hanglulu), Tuwali, and Keleyi. There may actually be only four language varieties; tuwali is the language name of the speakers who inhabited in the Kiangan-Hungduan area (municipalities). Hapao is adjacent and one of the barangays of Hungduan. He further reported that there were 167,369 speakers of the Ifugao language in 1990 (Peralta 2000, p 19).

The National Statistics Office in its 2000 census reported that total population of Ifugao province is 161,623. From this report, then total population in all the barangays in three municipalities of Banaue, Hingyon and Lagawe inhabited by speakers of the Central Ifugao language variety is about xx,xxx in all.

Social life: Villages or hamlets (boble) of as many as eight to twelve dwellings (Encyclopedia of South-East Asian Ethnography pp256), housing an equal number of families or lesser, are built on hillocks at the sides of valleys or on top of hills overlooking rice fields. Separate houses for rice storage or granaries (alang) are built within these villages and owned by the wealthy landed families (kadangyan) who may not necessarily be residents of the village. Houses are made of timber, bamboos, and rest on four posts, with thatch roofs. Residential houses are usually larger, have shelves (patye) all around the four sides of the wall and have hearths (pundapulan) while granaries don't have hearths nor shelves.

Some villages have temporary residential buildings built on the ground (abung or abbastung) and a few have bigger modern buildings (pinadel) whose design is borrowed from the lowlanders. These modern buildings have more than two rooms and may house more than one nuclear families and/or partly serve as rice storage all at the same time. Some villages have a dormitory house for adult unmarried women or for unmarried men that serve as sleeping quarters (agamang); bigger villages may have both. Dormitories

for women are under the supervision of aged widows. Families who lives in modern residential buildings have rooms for unmarried women and/or unmarried men.

Marriage and properties:

Political and civil affairs:

Economy:

Religion:

1.3.2 A faithful first hand account.

1.3.3 History (oral account, written account and analysis)

Prevailing hypothesis says that the Ifugao people originated from two groups. The first group came following the greater Magat river and turn north at the mouth of the Ibulao river and settled at the river banks and later called Linge (now part of Kiangan municipality). As their number of the settlements grew, they spread throughout the area, following river tributaries; some land in Hapao, and from there spread in what is now called Hunduan municipality, some landed in Tinoc area; some cross the eastern mountain and settled in Ducligan (barangay of Banaue) and from there spread toward west and toward the southwest to form what is now called Hingyon municipality and the northwest of Lagawe; the remaining inhabitants spread toward the western area in what is now called Kiangan and Asipolu.

The second wave came following the same route and took the Alimit river and made settlements along the river banks. As these settlements grew in number, they spread in all directions and moved deeper into the mountains and form settlements. A larger portion inhabited what is now called Mayayao and Aguinal, and the eastern part of Lagawe. In due time, the second group met the group that settled in Ducligan and

intermarry with each other. They now comprise the Ayangan speakers including the mayoyao (Mayawyaw or Mayoyaw) language variety.

The speakers of the Central Ifugao language variety came the first wave that crossed the mountain and made a number of settlement on the sides of mountains, and who traced back their route downstream Ibulao river and followed Hingyon river tributary. They made settlements in the areas, and in due time, the two reunited and made similar settlements. The eastern group called the Central Ifugao people ihapowan or ihappo (people of Hapuwán) while the people from Kiangán-Asipulo and the people from Burnay-Boliwong area called them ihuddokna (people of the north). The people from the Burnay-Boliwong area are classified as belonging to the Central Ifugao language variety ( \_\_\_\_\_).

#### 1.4 Previous studies on Ifugao (linguistics and non-linguistics)

Lawrence Reid made a comparative phonological and morphological studies of the Central Cordillera languages that made him classify this group seven languages; with Bontok-kankanaey, Balangaw, and Ifugao forming a sub-group he called Nuclear Cordillera that joined the Kalinga-Itneg sub-group into what he called North Central Cordillera. He also made phonological studies on Philippines languages (1971) where he came out with orthographies of, among others, three Ifugao language variations, specifically that of Amganad, Batad, and Bayninan language variations.

N. S. Bisht and T. S. Bankoti in their studies on South-East Asian Ethnography came with the description of the social, political and religious life of different peoples group, which include among others, Ifugao people in general.

William Henry Scott came up with a reduction studies political and economic

struggles of the Igorots or the peoples of the greater cordillera mountain ranges during the three and a half century Spanish occupation of the Philippines. Toh Godah (2001) of Japan made a comparative anthropological studies of the cultures of Bontok and Ifugao.

Leonard Newell (1971) made with a report on the Types of Independent Clauses of the Batad (Ifugao Eastern) language variation. Anne West of the Summer Institutes of Linguistics came up with a an unpublished manuscripts on the Amganad grammar.

A home-grown writer in the name of Lourdes Dulawan, in 1984, came with an anthropological studies on the religious practices “baki” of the “tuwali” or Kiangan peoples group.

#### 1.5 Methodology Fieldworks

The corpus on which this paper is based on data collected from field interviews, audio texts of some four discourses, a few selected data gathered by Anne West and Funnel, and elicited data in 2006 from the researcher himself which was used for a phonology paper of a group of four AGS students, of which this researcher is a member.