



# Beyond Urbanization: Language Transcendence of Manobo- Agusanon Language Through Multilingualism in Agusan Del Sur, Philippines

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*Abstract*— Language urbanization creates an image of the minority language as broken, and minority languages lose their original characteristics. This study aims to analyze how multilingualism safeguards the Manobo-Agusanon language despite the language urbanization of the Manobo people in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan Del Sur, Philippines. This study considered 15 fluent Manobo-Agusanon speakers as the respondents employing purposive sampling. The study employed ethnography, in-depth sociolinguistics interviews, and focus group discussion. The study used the Fishman's Theory of Reversing Language Shift, Bourdieusian's Theory of Multilingualism, and Paulston's Theory of Language Maintenance in the analysis of data. The study shows that the drive changes to the Manobo-Agusanon practices are social, intermarriage, education, cultural, physical/demographic dislocation, human intervention, religion, and migration. The effects of language urbanization are social, physical/demographic dislocation, and education. It exposes that the linguistic circumstance to the indigenous cultural community is a linguistic market of the home and from home to school. Furthermore, multilingualism fosters the Manobo-Agusanon language, such as self-imposed boundary maintenance, language adjustments, education, loyalty, and diglossia-like-situation. The study concludes that multilingualism safeguards the Manobo-Agusanon language, notwithstanding language urbanization, which plays a vital role in transcending the language. Multilingualism and its practices, such as MTB-MLE in the educational setting, help provide the opportunity for languages to be used and language development to be enriched by its speakers in the community for language development for future generations.

Keywords- language transcendence, Manobo-Agusanon language, multilingualism, vitality, sociolinguistics, Philippines

# 1. Introduction

During the urbanization process, mainstream languages and dialects influenced others more than usual. This made the minority language regarded as broken, rough, and ugly, causing minority languages to lose their initial features (Crystal, 2007). Due to interactions emerging from urbanization, indigenous languages changed and faced the threat of extinction (Torren, 2015).

The United Nations designated 2019 as the International Year for Local Languages, starting January 1. The celebration aimed to increase global awareness of multilingualism and linguistic and cultural diversity among indigenous populations. However, UNESCO identified 43% of the world's languages as endangered, necessitating interventions by organizations to act or increase and bolster their financing, especially considering that at least one language disappeared every two weeks (Coen, 2020).

Additionally, Belarga et al. (2016) cited that the municipality of Santa Josefa, a third-class municipality in Agusan del Sur, Philippines, had 26,432 people. The main issue was that

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minority languages were vulnerable to various factors affecting their human rights. Indigenous peoples who moved to urban zones encountered complications maintaining their languages. David (2012) highlighted that the number of Manobo speakers in Agusan del Sur, Philippines, gradually declined due to the interruption of dominant languages such as English, Cebuano, and Filipino, which created a barrier to maintaining the language of minority groups.

David et al. (2009) clarified that several regional language speakers established a more cheerful outlook toward English and Filipino than their native language for partisan, societal, and profitable purposes. Walter (2010) explained that most school materials in the Philippines were written in Filipino or English, requiring teachers to translate them into the native language in an age-appropriate format reflecting cultural events and practices. Kosonen (2017) stressed that the policy of only teaching English and Filipino led to the casting of minority or regional languages as unimportant, backward, and narrow.

Moreover, the Philippines supported multilingualism through the MTB-MLE policy, but it only covered about nineteen

languages. This made it more difficult for children to learn and caused the language to deteriorate. In collaboration with the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), the Department of Education ensured that all IPs received culturally responsive primary education. Pandan (2017) asserted that despite the recurring urbanization of languages, her study aimed to assess how multilingualism could support and maintain this language and its role in the community. Her study argued that government efforts alone were insufficient and required ideological changes and interventions (Parba, 2018).

Furthermore, the previous articles examined the impact of recurring language urbanization on indigenous languages. The study examined how the Manobo-Agusanon language was maintained through multilingualism. It allowed the indigenous cultural community to enrich and build the indigenous language despite the challenges and foster language and value as speakers raised the language itself.

Banda (2009) explained that cross-linguistic and cross-border status and corpus planning highlighted the expectations for linguistic repertory-based multilingual standards for language development and strategy in Africa's socio-economic and social contexts. In an ideal world, community conversations around language concerns would not end with simplification but instead lead to additional planning and policy. Nevertheless, the study was limited to the small indigenous cultural community, with favorable outcomes on written and audiovisual products in those minority languages.

Adalolu (2020) highlighted that the UN encouraged countries to be more inclusive of prohibited and disadvantaged parties. Urgent action was required to promote fast growth and the preservation of endangered languages. Stronger, decisive methods were needed to promote rapid growth and the protection of as many endangered languages as possible, although their nature was the subject of controversy.

Similar studies overseas showed that Bastardas-Boada's (2014) survey investigated multilingualism's role in the survival of minority languages. It highlighted the significance of maintaining local languages while communicating in the contemporary world. Vizi (2012) supported that language civil rights were often at the forefront of minority protection measures, and international treaties recognized the significance of linguistic rights. All demonstrated a minorityfocused language rights strategy that encouraged multilingualism in its policy toward its official languages and, to a lesser extent, in some governmental instruments recognizing minority languages.

Although there were research undertakings on language urbanization through multilingualism online due to the call for action on indigenous languages in other countries, few studies were conducted in the Philippine context, focusing on indigenous languages, which the Philippines considered rich in terms of indigenous languages and called for preservation actions and information as language urbanization grew and multilingualism transcended the language from one generation to another. This study's main objective was underpinned by how multilingualism safeguarded the Manobo-Agusanon language despite language urbanization. The study aimed to determine language urbanization practices, identify the effects of language urbanization, assess the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices, and evaluate how multilingualism fostered the linguistic continuity of the indigenous language amidst language urbanization.

As the researcher was involved in various organizations, this research upheld Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number four, which tackled quality education for all. It reflected the core of the researcher to give a small contribution to the marginalized sector, to see the situation, assess the community's needs, and serve as a call for action that needed support and funding.

# 1.1 Theoretical Framework

In determining language urbanization and its effects, this study utilized Joshua Fishman's theory of reversing language shift. In analyzing the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices in the Manobo-Agusanon indigenous cultural community, this study employed Bourdieu's concept of multilingualism. In evaluating the use of multilingualism in fostering the linguistic continuity of their indigenous language amidst language urbanization, this study utilized Paulston's language maintenance.

Firstly, Fishman (1991) cited three primary causes of language change: physical or demographic displacement, social dislocation, and cultural dislocation. Under physical and demographic dislocation, he included dislocations produced by environmental disasters and dislocations created by humans who did not understand the local minority language. In addition to direct contact with newcomers, these human intrusions often brought commerce and bulk channels, which had cultural and grammatical effects on the interest group population.

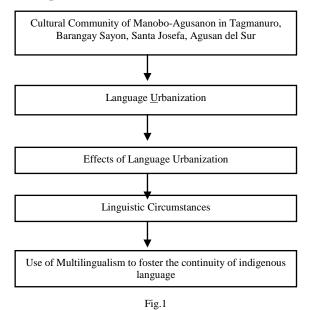
Fishman (1991) highlighted that the marginal language might become associated with backwardness, both in the judgments of the majority and the minority, forcing the minority public to choose between remaining faithful to their cultural and linguistic origins, enduring social disadvantages, or renouncing their traditions to advance their way of life. Fishman emphasized that the core social, economic, and political dynamics of most democracies and modernization fostered cultural disloyalty. Modernization processes were hazardous for linguistic minorities because they enhanced interaction with the dominant culture, allowing it to permeate the minority population.

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1991) explained that multilingualism in Bourdieusian theory spanned from structuralist interpretations such as the synchronization of numerous data to crucial sociolinguistic endeavors to move away from the concept of languages as permanent things and practices. This theory was an integrated collection of linguistic dispositions suited to many languages; they were a part of the imbalanced power relationships among these markets. These findings showed that a modified description of the Bourdieusian model permitted a sophisticated reinterpretation of multilingualism regarding the intrinsic power relations that gave these phenomena.

In addition, Paulston's (1994) theory of language preservation elucidated four causes. Self-imposed border maintenance was usually motivated by factors other than language, most commonly religion. Second, externally imposed limits often took the form of restricted access to goods and public services, particularly employment and topographical separation. Third, a diglossia situation was one in which two languages were functionally distributed, each with its areas where it was difficult to utilize the other. According to Paulston, the fourth factor for language preservation was the purposeful selection of language allegiance. Marginal communities might find their language as a social means or a symbol in their battle for autonomy or pursuit of other goals. Paulston emphasized that there was nothing 'natural' about group linguistic loyalty; instead, it was a consciously selected survival strategy.

In contrast, Paulston (1994) suggested that language preservation was characterized by a significant focus on geographical or artificial isolation. Minority classes would be highly likely to preserve their language if they had little interaction with the hegemonic culture and speakers of the dominant language. Therefore, smaller group members should have remained as passive as feasible, never putting their town and work out in their nearby area.

# **1.2 Conceptual Framework**





Domingo and Olivia (2004) highlighted that Manuvu and Minuutu were alternative names for Manobo, which meant "people" or "person." The phrase "Mansuba" was composed of the terms "man" and "suba" (river). Manobos were most prevalent in Agusan del Sur, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Misamis Oriental, and Surigao del Sur. Manobo villages were constructed around tiny areas of water or woodland meadows, though they could also be found on slopes, rivers, valleys, and plateaus. Four to twelve dwellings made up each neighborhood. They used slash-and-burn agriculture. Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, and Surigao del Sur were home to the Agusan Manobo, commonly known as Agusan. Minanubu was the name of the Agusan language, which was a widely spoken Manobo language. Four dialects comprised the group: Umayam, Adgawan, Surigao, and Omayamnon.

Hasselbring et al. (2011) stated that the Manobo language was Austronesian. This language was more directly related to Filipino and Cebuano than to the languages of western Mindanao. The language was a variety of Mandaya languages intricately linked to Butuanon and Surigaonon.

Yamasaki (2019) defined the language preservation and urbanization of Yucatec Maya in a modern environment characterized by enhanced global engagement practices. Indicated by the rising mobility of speakers and the intense use of electronic media in majority languages, globalization was often seen as a danger to the vitality of indigenous languages across the globe. The transition from Yucatec Maya to Spanish had to be viewed in the context of broader societal changes and global events. This dissertation investigated the linguistic position of the Yucatec Maya in light of internal migration within the global capitalist economy. It focused on the movement of Maya speakers throughout the Yucatan Peninsula concerning the global tourist boom in the Mexican Caribbean as an expression of transnational linkages in people's daily lives. The study revealed gaps between these two modes of cultural knowledge, which needed to be filled to maintain the life and preservation of the indigenous language in the globalized world of the twenty-first century.

Ravindranath (2009) stated that the procedure by which a language group in a contact situation ultimately ended some of its two languages in favor of the more dominant one was well-established as language modification. Social factors were believed to be the primary determinants of language change, and academics had concentrated on speakers' views. This dissertation investigated linguistic and social aspects of early language change in a Belizean Garifuna indigenous community. An investigation of apparent time revealed an externally driven change in the status of a sociolinguistic variable, indicating a shift in the dominant language. A second shift away from a particular vernacular language favored another, most notably in language contact settings, when a person had to select which language to employ.

Stephen (2015) stated that the impacts of urbanization among indigenous communities revealed that fast social change and acculturation pressure could severely influence indigenous groups' cultural identity and well-being, especially the young. Despite the continuing incursion of Chilean urban society into the Mapuche sense of living, no research had evaluated social identification and well-being. To address this gap in the existing research, the study sought to assess the robustness of

native social distinctiveness among a group of teenagers despite the recurrence of urbanization.

Efimod (2015) indicated the influence of development on the diffusion of the identity, ethnicity, and communication of the Sakha citizens. Based on a sociological assessment, the ethnocultural distinctiveness of rural and urban first- and second-generation inhabitants was appraised. Individuals living in towns, primarily their offspring, differed significantly from rural inhabitants in numerous ways: they planned to have fewer children, had weaker bonds with indigenous in-groups, their beliefs, language, and identity were transformed, they adopted a common language, and they were less engaged in folk traditions. In 20 to 25 years, the consequences of urbanization were anticipated to become blatantly visible due to the increase in the proportion of second-generation urban residents.

Jorolan and Quinteros (2018) explained that defining multilingualism might be challenging. The word described people who could speak various languages in multilingual areas. It was best to use the Council of Europe's distinction between multilingualism as characteristics of a place region, society, and the nation-state. Multilingualism increased focus and decision-making, multitasking, problemsolving, interaction, and memory, and its benefits extended to many language domains such as vocabulary, phonology, grammar, and literacy.

Li (2017) explained that multilingualism was seen as an indication of a disorder in the language environment, such as resettlement or annexation, which put language systems into unintentional and unnatural contact, usually leading to structural simplification. The belief that multilingualism damaged an individual's cognitive and expressive development stemmed from stress on natural language and unmixed speech. As it was handed down from generation to generation in non-English-speaking nations, it prompted questions regarding the proper usage of English.

Creese et al. (2011) stated that institutional contacts, such as the classroom and schools, were often controlled by a single language. Most of the time and effort was spent educating monolingual students primarily in English. Other languages, in contrast, lacked status and played no part in the market for monolingual schools. Most immigrant groups' speech fell into the latter category. Multilingualism had several impacts, including social and linguistic ones. Multilingualism had etymological implications, such as creating and growing a lingua franca, which often resulted from the need for intergroup communication.

Carbonara (2020) defined language preservation and multilingualism as the act of preventing a language from vanishing. There were numerous methods to do so, including establishing documented and written assets, teaching and attending language courses, and using digital and social media platforms.

Fillmore (2014) stated that using marginal languages in schools as mediums of instruction, multilingualism practices,

such as establishing a multilingualism procedure that allowed a student to study more than two languages in the classroom, contributed significantly to the preservation of speech and the avoidance of the language's neglect and devaluation. For example, in the Philippines, the nationwide implementation of the Department of Education's Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education required the use of the native language as the medium of instruction in elementary education, allowing students to learn more about the language and culture.

Premsrirat and Person (2018) stated that the Thai administration in 1947 requested the recognition of Malay as an official language and its use as a method of teaching in government schools, suggesting that using indigenous languages in education was not a novel notion in Thailand. Additionally, in other parts of Thailand, Catholic and Protestant missionaries, together with their national counterparts, had been undertaking language projects for decades, such as the advancement of languages among various ethnic groups. The introduction of MTB-MLE in Thai government schools did not begin until 2001, when a UNESCO-sponsored literacy instruction for indigenous people in Raipur, India was held. Throughout the early years of school, the first language of the ethnic group was used as the medium of instruction for all subjects.

# **3. Research Objectives**

The research underpinned the researcher's interest in indigenous languages. It focused on language urbanization through multilingualism in the indigenous community of northeastern Mindanao Island, Philippines. The primary question that leads the study is, "How does multilingualism safeguard the Manobo-Agusanon language despite language urbanization in Sayon, Agusan del Sur, Philippines?" Studies on culture and language urbanization are prevalent in Northern America, Western Europe, Australia, and Japan. However, more scientific studies emphasizing the language urbanization of indigenous languages in most indigenous communities in the Philippines would subsidize further the growth of a marginalized sector in the community. Therefore, this study aimed to address the following sub-questions:

- 1. What language urbanization practices impel changes in the Manobo-Agusanon language?
- 2. What are the effects of language urbanization in the Manobo-Agusanon language?
- 3. What are the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices in the Manobo-Agusanon indigenous cultural community?
- 4. How does the Manobo-Agusanon use multilingualism to foster the linguistic continuity of their indigenous language amidst language urbanization?

# 4. Experimental Method/Procedure/Design

In this study, the researcher employed a descriptive qualitative design to describe how the Manobo-Agusanon safeguarded their language through multilingualism. This research was a qualitative type, designed to reveal the range of influences on the target audience regarding specific issues or topics (Silverman, 2020). This study was also descriptive, as it attempted to describe the situation and problems in the indigenous cultural community by fully observing the movement, daily interactions, and lifestyle of the Manobo-Agusan in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Santa Josefa, Agusan del Sur.

The researcher utilized a purposive sampling procedure, selecting fifteen (15) respondents because of their fluency in speaking Manobo-Agusanon and their availability during the study. This sampling method was appropriate since it involved the selection of respondents based on specific attributes or occurrences relevant to the research's objectives. As outlined by Crossman (2016), purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method chosen based on the characteristics and goals of the study.

After gathering the data, the researcher determined the language urbanization practices in the Manobo-Agusanon language. The researcher then identified the effects of language urbanization on the Manobo-Agusanon language by employing Joshua Fishman's theory of reversing language shift. Additionally, the researcher assessed the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices in the Manobo-Agusanon indigenous cultural community, utilizing Bourdieusian's theory of Multilingualism. The researcher also evaluated how the Manobo-Agusanon used multilingualism to foster the linguistic continuity of their indigenous language amidst language urbanization by employing Paulston's theory of Language Maintenance.

As a general principle in analyzing the data about the Manobo-Agusanon language, the researcher used deductive analysis, applying themes and concepts from Fishman's theory of Reversing Language Shift, Bourdieusian theory of Multilingualism, and Paulston's theory of Language Maintenance to the raw data. A top-down approach was followed by using predetermined codes for the data. Lastly, the researcher analyzed the results. The researcher conducted a focus group discussion (FGD), depending on the availability of the respondents, to verify the findings of the study.

# 5. Results and Discussion

# Problem 1. What language urbanization practices impelled changes in the Manobo-Agusanon language?

In this subchapter, the researcher discussed the seven factors that impeded the Manobo-Agusan language despite language urbanization. Language urbanization related to a movement away from minority and indigenous languages in favor of national and official languages. Urbanization was a critical factor in creating national identities, which supplanted or superseded local or specific identities. When a dialect moved to a city, it was observed to have a more significant impact on the standard language, as it provided sustenance (Toren, 2015).

Social dislocation, intermarriage, education, cultural dislocation, physical dislocation, demographic dislocation, human intervention, religion, and migration were the dominant reasons for the changes in the Manobo-Agusanon language. These seven factors differed in impact at home, in the community, and at school, which the researcher considered in this study, as different experiences were noted among people of different age brackets. People who interacted in the community also mattered because they could influence changes in the Manobo-Agusanon language, even though they came from the same indigenous cultural community.

Table 1 shows the summary of themes of the language urbanization practices that impel changes in the Manobo-Agusanon language.

Table 1 Language urbanization practices impel changes in the Manobo-

| Agusanon language                 |  |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Themes                            |  |  |
| Social Dislocation                |  |  |
| Intermarriage                     |  |  |
| Education                         |  |  |
| Cultural Dislocation              |  |  |
| Physical/ Demographic Dislocation |  |  |
| Human Intervention                |  |  |
| Religion                          |  |  |
| Migration                         |  |  |

Table 1 shows the eight (8) themes of the language urbanization practices that urge changes in the Manobo-Agusanon language such as social, dislocation, intermarriage education, cultural dislocation, physical/physical/ demographic dislocation, human intervention, religion, and migration.

# Social Dislocation

Urbanization and society were related to the decline of minority languages and a trend toward national and official languages on a cross-national level. The best way their practices were preserved was through oral preferences. However, the processes underlying the relationship between urbanization and linguistic change remained poorly understood (Pandan, 2017).

Based on careful observation of the Manobo environment, Manobo is an Austronesian language spoken in the Philippine provinces of Agusan del Sur, Agusan del Norte, and Surigao del Sur in the northeastern section of Mindanao. The ethnic group known as Manobo, and their language, known as Manobo-Agusanon or Ninitibo, was spoken. In Tagmananuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur, where these Manobo people originated and these Manobo people were given a relocations site "Pabahay" in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon as part of the land as being wrecked by typhon Pablo in 2012. Because of this incident, the social dislocation in the indigenous community occurred. Aside from that, Filipino, English, Hiligaynon, Dibabawon, and Bulanon languages were also introduced to the home, school, and community as the mediums of instruction in different fields.

In 2012, the Department of Education established the Mother Multilingual Education Tongue-Based (MTB-MLE) initiative, which sought to utilize the learners' native language for the first three years of their primary education, from kindergarten to third grade. On the other hand, the indigenous people were ignored since the province of Agusan del Sur utilized only the Sigbuanong Cebuano language, ignoring the region's other languages. This situation undermined the learners' use of their mother language since Manobo children were required to utilize Ninitibo throughout their first three years of elementary school. The issue, however, was the shortage of instructors capable of instructing children in Manobo. Additionally, the Department of Education did not use teaching materials. The students were required to study Cebuano or another language instead of English in such a situation.

In terms of interaction with Manobo people in home, school, and community, the respondents varied in terms of the duration of their exposure to other languages because they belonged to different ages brackets. For instance, the parents were aged 36-50 and aged 15 to 20. With this data, their experience impelled language changes differed from other languages, and the generation was also a factor because of the millennium. Social dislocation entailed that most Manobo-Agusanon speakers were afraid to speak their language in the crowd because they encountered bullying and discrimination. In this case, Manobo was not exempted from the changes in their language even though they lived in the remote area of Barangay Sayon.

The study also shows the duration of their experience and exposure to other languages in terms of interaction with other people. The older generations were not adaptive to the language change, unlike the younger generation. Mang Lando, not his real name, shared that one reason to change their language was how to interact and socialize because they would not be able to use their language despite the challenge. They needed to meet people. After all, they needed to adapt outside the community. The use of Manobo-Agusan was stronger than Cebuano, Tagalog, which the family members used at home.

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To verify this result, the researcher asked the respondents about the language urbanization practices that impelled changes in the Manobo-Agusanon language. Tugpan, 42, a housewife in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, stressed that they used the Manobo language to speak to their children when they were at home. They no longer used the Manobo language; instead, they employed the Cebuano language. It is revealed in the lines:

Pag naa mi sa balay magminanubo lang mi, pero pag sa gawas ang mga bata murag dili na gaistorya ug minanubo kay Bisaya na.

(When we are in our home, we speak the Manobo language, and most of my children, if they go outside, are not speaking the Manobo language, we use Cebuano.)

Pamulak, 30, a housewife in Barangay Sayon, found that the impel changed their language Manobo-Agusanon language, which is currently working in the store in Poblacion, Santa Josefa, Agusan del Sur. She stressed that she used the vocabulary she felt shy about because they would not be able to understand the language.

Kung magadto ka sa lain na lugar maulaw ka gamiton ang imong pinulongan kay dili man sila makasabot ug kung naa kay kauban na kapareha ra nimo pwedi ra maginistoryaha sa Ninitibo.

(If you are going to another place, I feel shy using my language because they can't understand what I am trying to convey if you have your colleagues with you, you can speak together in the Manobo language.)

Diwata, 38, a farmer, stressed that the barrier in their language was the interaction outside the community because other Manobo people in their society were afraid of being discriminated against by others. She experienced being discriminated against because of her language, which made her afraid to socialize with others.

Ang nagadala gyud dakong babag gyud sa amoa pinulongan or binuhatan kay kana makahalubilo ka sa gawas sa komunidad kay kana bang uban sa amoa mga Manobo hadlok maghalubilo ilabi na makutya kita maong masalikyaw na hinuon namo.

(As a teacher, I noticed that the changes in the language happen in the classroom, especially among members of the IP community who are afraid of being exposed to their language because it is primarily used in Bisaya.)

It implies that social dislocation changes the Manobo-Agusanon language, a complex set of circumstances that accelerate the disappearance of indigenous languages in language contact and socialization in the community, bringing a radical change to the language in making indigenous languages their speakers vulnerable. It presupposes that society gets to know these languages and their speakers and learns to respect and help keep them alive to achieve the ideal of a genuinely multicultural society (Habod, 2019).

#### Education

Education played a significant role in influencing the Manobo-Agusanon language, especially after the Department

of Education implemented the MTB-MLE policy. This policy mandated the use of Cebuano as the medium of instruction from kindergarten to third grade in schools. Consequently, children in these areas needed proficiency in Cebuano to understand their lessons and demonstrate their intelligence through interactions and learning. Parents also played a crucial role by teaching their children Cebuano to support their education.

During the study, researchers observed the use of educational modules in the area. These modules integrated various languages but predominantly used Cebuano/Bisaya. Outside their community, most Manobo-Agusanon speakers communicated in Cebuano, highlighting its dominance as the primary language of interaction.

Overall, education underpinned the shift towards Cebuano proficiency among Manobo-Agusanon children, driven by educational policies and community practices aimed at enhancing educational opportunities and integration.

**Magbalantay**, **35**, **a housewife**, elucidated that education changed their language. She highlighted that schools must use the native language of the area, especially the non-IP so that they would be able to learn the Manobo-Agusanon language.

Pinakadako gyud na changes para sa akoa kay kana edukasyon dapat ang itudlo gyud sa eskwelahan kay ang native language mismo sa usa ka lugar kay para makatuon ang tanan labi na tung mga non-IP.

(The most significant change for me is education because it should be taught in school the native language of a particular place for everybody to learn, especially that non-IP.)

**Tukhow**, 42, a Barangay Health Worker (BHW), stressed that the Manobo-Agusanon must be taught because only English and Tagalog were being taught in the school, which caused changes in their language. It is shown in the lines:

Para sa akoa ang dako hagit na makapachange sa amoa pinulongan kay kana sa edukasyon kay English, Tagalog ang ginatudlo sa eskwelahan o unsa pa nga pinulongan dapat siguro itudlo ang Manobo sa eskwelahan para ma preserba o bisag unsa na native na pinulongan.

(It is a big challenge to change our language because of education. The language taught in school is English and Filipino, and Manobo should probably be taught in school to be preserved as any native language.)

Education altered the Manobo-Agusanon language as most speakers desired to teach their indigenous language to future generations, establishing facilities to ensure its continuity. Articles 14 and 16 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirmed their rights to develop educational systems and publications in their languages and receive schooling in those languages (United Nations, 2007). In 2019, the United Nations General Assembly designated it the International Year of Indigenous Languages to highlight the rapid loss of these languages and the critical need for their conservation and development globally (United Nations, 2019).

# **Cultural Dislocation**

The cultural dislocation highlighted how the Manobo-Agusanon lived alongside Cebuanos, Boholanos, Ilocanos, Hiligaynons, and Tagalogs in their area. These groups predominantly used the regional language Cebuano, which was perceived as more advantageous in business, education, and employment opportunities.

The researcher observed that this coexistence gradually influenced the daily lives of the Manobo-Agusanon. As a result, they began assimilating aspects of these cultures, such as using the prestigious Cebuano language outside their community while maintaining the use of the Manobo language within their homes.

**Uma**, 23, a student, stressed that when interacting with other people, they must possess the dominant language, Cebuano, for them to understand each other. It elucidates in the lines:

Number one kani atung ka estorya ug Bisaya siya ang dal-on nimo nga pinulongan kay Bisaya pud arun magkasinabot ug kana masagulan sa kultura siguro.

(If you speak to the Bisaya people, you will also bring a Bisaya language for both of you to understand, and especially culture will involve.)

It denotes that cultural dislocation changed the practices of the Manobo-Agusanon. Most of the Manobo-Agusanon used Cebuano in conversations with non-IP individuals, altering how they spoke the Manobo-Agusanon language. Additionally, informal socialization within families and the community demonstrated how the older generation passed down linguistic and cultural knowledge and practices to the younger generation. Intergenerational transmission was crucial in determining language maintenance and language shift. This cultural dislocation posed risks of eroding cultural and linguistic diversity, potentially leading to a universal reliance on dominant languages and homogenizing identity and culture (Fishman, 1991).

# Physical Dislocation or Demographic Dislocation

Physical and demographic dislocation changed the Manobo-Agusanon language due to natural disasters in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur. Furthermore, Mang Cardo shared that they had to relocate to the area because of Typhoon Pablo. They had lived in the center of Barangay Sayon before the hurricane hit. When Typhoon Pablo destroyed their houses, they had to build temporary shelters along the river. This housing relocation changed their way of life significantly as they moved away from the main barangay area.

**Magtatambal**, **20**, a student, stressed that in 2012, the barangay experienced a strong typhoon Pablo, which brought change to the community and their language. Most of the

Manobo people built temporary shelters along the river. This housing project changed the way they lived because of being far from the main barangay of Sayon. It is shown in the lines:

Natural na kalamidad na magdala sa dakong kausaban sa amoang pinulongan parehas atong bagyong Pablo na amoa na again atong 2012.

(Natural disasters bring about changes in our language, especially when we experienced a typhoon in 2012.)

It entailed that the Manobo-Agusanon language experienced physical/demographic changes because of natural calamities, causing many Manobo speakers to relocate to other places. This forced physical dislocation jeopardized the community's cohesion and posed a threat to the maintenance and transmission of their language. These cataclysmic events significantly contributed to population migration in search of new homes or better livelihood prospects due to physical/demographic dislocation (Fishman, 1991).

#### **Human Intervention**

Human intervention was another factor that propelled changes to the Manobo-Agusanon language. Human activities altered the dynamics of the Manobo-Agusanon language as speakers needed to adapt to immigrants arriving from outside the community, necessitating adjustments in communication. The researcher's observations indicated that the accessibility of these areas enabled Manobo-Agusanon residents to interact and engage with individuals from other ethnic backgrounds such as Hiligaynon, Bul-anon, and Cebuano.

Human involvement and activities changed the Manobo-Agusanon language within the community, particularly through the visits of immigrants or non-IP people, creating communication barriers when they did not understand each other's languages. The response of **Basak**, 40, a farmer, elucidates these findings:

Guro makapabag-o sya gyud kay kanang tao na mag-adto sa isa ka lugar kana magbalhin ug puy-anan mao sad makapabag-o kay para na isa gyud ka rason makapabag-o sa community.

(The reason can change our language because a person who goes to a place and lives it for a long time can also break our language in the community.)

It suggests that human intervention caused changes to the practices of the Manobo-Agusanon language due to the visitation of non-IP people and their activities in the area. Human disturbances led to changes in the flow of language in the community. Additionally, due to years of oppression, many indigenous parents preferred to educate and converse with their children in the dominant languages to provide better opportunities for their social success. While older adults typically used their mother language, a whole generation of indigenous youngsters could no longer interact with their grandparents (Degawan, 2019).

#### Religion

Religion played a significant role in changing the language because religious expressions had a substantial influence on language performance in conversations and community interactions. In Barangay Sayon, religion predominantly used the dominant language in the community, Cebuano. This focus on the dominant language neglected minority languages like Manobo-Agusanon, potentially diminishing its presence in daily life.

**Bathala**, 21, as a student, stressed that religion could change the behavior of the language as it indulged the community as an interaction and the Cebuano as the most dominant language being used inside the church as the medium of communication.

Siguro isa sad sa makapabag-o kay kana sa relihiyon sad siguro kay lahi man imoha makahalubilo ug kana sad ang ginagamit sad na pinulongan sa sulod sa simbahan kay Bisaya.

(Maybe it can change because of religion, because it's different when you interact with others, and the language used inside the church is Cebuano.)

It indicates that religion in the Manobo-Agusanon language varied. The dominance of Cebuano in religious domains was well-documented, as it served as the primary medium used in church services and discussions of religious ideologies. This emphasis on Cebuano highlighted how religious practices influenced individual and group identities, often leading to ethnic-religious discrimination where subordinate groups might conceal their true beliefs (Albo, 2000). As a result, in some religious practices, the use of the Manobo-Agusanon language in these contexts diminished over time.

# Migration

Migration was another factor that prompted changes to the language, as migration rates increased due to linguistic proximity and the prevalence of English. Lower language requirements for citizenship and the presence of larger linguistic groups also facilitated migration. When the dominant language network in a local area prevails, linguistic proximity becomes less crucial. Immigrants often need to learn a new language and teach others in their native language. Such community changes could impact minority languages like Manobo-Agusanon.

**Bulawan, 22,** a student, stressed that other Manobo people in the community might migrate because of the access to goods, livelihood, and education. It results in most Manobo people migrating to different places to have a better way of living. It elucidates the findings:

Kana uban silbi magmigrate sa uban lugar tung sa panginabuhi ug access sa kana mga palitonon, livelihood, ug hilabi na ang edukasyon kay layo siya ang maong eskwelahan.

(Others will migrate because of livelihood and access to goods, livelihood, and education.)

It implied that migration also brings changes. Migration significantly influences language since immigrants are often required to acquire a new vocabulary from scratch and teach other people their native language's words and phrases. Languages have undergone considerable alterations because of the influx of immigrants from other communities. Factors such as home life, the concentration of an immigrant community, and the length of time away from a native-speaking environment determine the rate at which first-language attrition occurs Clyne et al. (2003).

As the general findings of the study about the impel changes of the Manobo-Agusanon language due to the language urbanization, which is present in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur, the Philippines, they are caused by social dislocation, intermarriage, education, physical/ demographic dislocation, religion, human intervention, and migration.

The above-mentioned themes impelled changes due to language urbanization because movement in a community originates from the assumption that language links individuals in the community of shared understandings and identity. It suggests that the urge changes of the Manobo-Agusanon practice in the language change due to the interaction and intermarrying with other ethnic groups. Manobo people have a feeling of 'ethnic' or group identification. They regard their language as a precious source that needs to be transmitted to their children. It also remarked that linguistic change has started at home. It is primarily attributable to the parents who no longer pass their language to their children, which has become the standard in the Cebuano community. Children no longer know how to speak the Manobo language in specific areas, but they can understand the Manobo-Agusanon languages. It was also claimed that the youngsters barely knew a few Manobo words. During the fieldwork, few stated that they still used Manobo for their children, but the youngsters responded to them back in Cebuano. It suggests that the Manobo language was not dominant in the community due to the presence of other languages.

Furthermore, it relies on the Cebuano language more than its native language. The study showed that the Manobo people no longer regularly used their native language and relied more on using the Cebuano. The Manobo people of Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur continued their culture and language with respect for their heritage and elders. One factor is the belief that their culture and language will still be alive and well because they still use and practice their culture regularly. Families have chosen not to pass on the languages and cultures, instead of emphasizing national and international languages; the deliberate and unconscious actions of the families pose the greatest danger to the languages of the region. The prejudice and persecution of dominant language speakers towards indigenous speakers contribute to the risks or reasons why some indigenous language users opt to utilize national or provincial languages that brought changes also by education and migration in the area because of the natural phenomenon encountered by the Manobo-Agusanon people.

Thus, Fishman's theory of Reversing Language Shift validated the results of this research that the indigenous people suffer from the oppression of their indigenous languages because of contact and migration, which brought about changes in the cultural practices and language practices of the indigenous group. Due to the dominance of non-tribal groups inside their communities, indigenous people's linguistic vitality is progressively fading. Indigenous communities begin to favor national languages over their native language to avoid feeling isolated from the rest of the group. A new method of preserving and transcending the indigenous languages must be developed to encourage people to continue using their native language and save endangered languages despite the language urbanization in the area.

# Problem 2. What are the effects of language urbanization in the Manobo-Agusanon language?

In this sub-section, the research discusses the effects of language urbanization in the Manobo-Agusanon language by the people of Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur. Stephen (2015) asserts that urbanization amongst indigenous communities has proven that fast social change and assimilation pressure may affect indigenous groups' cultural identity, language, and well-being, especially the young ones.

Table 2 shows the summary themes of the effects of language urbanization in the Manobo-Agusanon language.

| _ | Table 2 Effect of language urbanization in the Manobo-Agusanon language |
|---|---|
|   | Themes  |

| Themes                            |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Social Dislocation                |  |
| Education                         |  |
| Physical/ Demographic Dislocation |  |
|                                   |  |

Table 2 shows the effects of the language urbanization in the Manobo-Agusanon language, namely social dislocation, education, and physical/demographic dislocation.

# **Social Dislocation**

Social dislocation was a significant effect of language urbanization on the Manobo-Agusanon language, as experienced by the Manobo-Agusanon people both inside and outside their community. Based on the respondents' responses, social dislocation highlighted that the minority might come to associate their language with backwardness. Consequently, the minority community was forced to choose between remaining faithful to their language and cultural heritage and accepting social disadvantages or renouncing their traditions to improve their quality of life.

Additionally, social dislocation was viewed as an indication of disruption in the linguistic order, such as migration or colonization, which brought language systems into accidental and unnatural contact with one another, frequently resulting in structural simplification. This explained why, at least in institutional interactions like those with teachers, schools were typically dominated by a single language, that of the teacher. In contrast, other languages, such as Manobo-Agusanon, had minimal prestige and commercial presence in monolingual schools.

Furthermore, most immigrant groups' statements fell towards the latter category. Social dislocation had various consequences, including linguistic and sociopolitical repercussions and effects on creating and expanding a lingua franca, often necessitated by the requirement of intergroup communication. Code-switching transferred one language spoken at home to another language spoken outside the house. This process was governed by deeply rooted social norms in a particular geographical area.

The researcher asked the respondents about the effects of language urbanization on the Manobo-Agusanon language and the indigenous community to substantiate the result.

**Tugpan, 42**, a housewife, stressed that their language would be diminished if they went outside the house, primarily if they interacted with the crowd. Most youngsters were shy in using the Manobo-Agusanon language outside the community.

Murag sa akoang kuan gud murag mawala silbi. Ang among inistoryahan murag mawala inig paggawas nila sa balay, silbi kanang naa sa kadaghanan, kasagaran sa mga nagtubo diri silbi ang uban maulaw tungod kay Manobo.

(Our language will diminish when going out of the household, especially in the crowd, and most young Manobo speakers are shy about their identity.)

**Pamulak,** 30, a housewife, mentioned that the effect of language urbanization is that she did not use the Manobo-Agusanon. They interacted with a lot of people outside the community, especially the younger generation because they used the Cebuano language. There would be a tendency that their language might disappear. She said:

Di gyud ko maka-ingon nga magNitibo gyud ko perminti kay sa kadaghan nga tawo nga imong makahalubilo, dili man gyud ka maka-ingon mao ra na imong i-istorya kay bisag ang mga bagong tubo gani magBisaya naman so naa gyud mga possibilities nga mawala gyud ang native language namo.

(I can't say that I can't speak Manobo in all circumstances because there are many people to interact with and communicate with. Like the youth today, they talk in Cebuano, and there is a possibility that our native language will disappear.)

**Bathala,** 21, a student, stressed that the technological influence might also affect the Manobo-Agusanon language significantly since they would interact with the crowd that would affect everything. It is revealed in the lines:

Nagadala gyud siya ug dako na epekto kay hilabi na masagulan ug dili sad i-embrace wala maapektohan gyud ang tanan hilabi na ang dagan sa panahon nga high tech. (It carries a significant effect, considerably since they will interact with the public. It has a considerable impact also the time of being high tech.)

It implied that social dislocation affected the Manobo-Agusanon language in the area. Though less explosive than the physical dislocations resulting from natural disasters, social dislocations resulting from ongoing unfair social and economic conditions that characterized many endangered language communities were equally or more devastating due to their deceptive and long-term nature. Social dislocation was often accompanied by physical dislocation. Notably, migration in pursuit of economic and social mobility, along with information about the outside world, made it an even more potent factor in recent times (Fishman, 1991).

# Education

Education was another impact of the Manobo-Agusanon language's urbanization. Linguistic urbanization damaged this aspect, and minority languages, such as Tagalog and Spanish, were ignored due to the dominance of English and Tagalog. It also attracted pupils who, on average, had less access to school, received a lower quality of education, and underperformed compared to their rural counterparts. They were often victimized by bullies, and ethnic, cultural, and linguistic prejudice in schools were significant barriers to equitable education access. Manobo-Agusanon speakers in some locations faced prejudice and struggled to maintain their language, identity, and culture, and to educate future generations, leading to the loss of the language's indigenous history and values.

In education, MTB-MLE introduced drawbacks associated with a lack of instructional resources, which impeded learners' reading, listening, speaking, and writing skills development. Additionally, there was a shortage of teacher preparation programs for potential teachers of mother tongue and other minority languages. The usage of the mother language in the classroom influenced how kids learned in a multilingual context. A melting pot necessitated teaching practices that accommodated the interaction of several cultures and languages and placed a premium on mitigating language urbanization by other languages.

**Binugwakan**, 27, a housewife, stressed that teaching the mother tongue affects the Manobo-Agusanon language because the dominant language was used in the classroom, and the Manobo-Agusanon language might be left behind. The community established teachers and classrooms for them to preserve their autochthonous language. It is evident in the lines:

Labina sa eskwelehan kay dako kaayo siya epekto sa among pinulongan kay ginatudlo ang English, Tagalog, Sigbuanong Binisaya o kana MTB-MLE. Ang amoa pinulongan kay mabiyaan na siya sa tanan ang amoa community kay naa man IP teacher mao to nagrequest mi sa lokal na panggamhanan na tukodan amoa lugar ug eskwelahan para lang mapreserba ang amoa pinulongan sa hagit sa panahon.

(Especially in school, it has a huge effect on our language because they teach English, Tagalog, and Cebuano or the MTB-MLE. Our language is being left out and neglected among other languages. In our community, we already have IP teachers that's why we request to build a school to preserve our language despite today's challenges.)

**Tukhow, 42, a Barangay Health Worker** (**BHW**), highlighted that language urbanization affects education, especially if they send their children outside the regions because they would encounter different languages. She said:

Dako kaayo epekto para sa akoa isip nageskwela sa gawas kay lahi na klase na mga pinulongan imoha madunggan hilabi na grabi ka diverse ang eskwelahan ug taga lahi na nga region imoha masagubang.

(It has a significant effect on me as a student because you will hear different languages. The school is very diverse, and you will have to deal with other regions.)

**Basak,** 40, a farmer, stressed that sometimes he would notice that his children would use different languages, and sometimes he would worry about the Manobo-Agusanon language. It is evident in the lines:

Kana mageskwela imoha anak sa gawas hilabi na parehas sa akoa anak naay college matingala ko panagsa kay lahi naman hinuon iyaha sinultian maong panagsa mabalaka ko kay dapat magamit sa sulod sa balay amoang pinulongan.

(For instance, my children are attending college outside the region. I am surprised sometimes because his language is different, and sometimes I worry because our language should be used inside the house.)

It implied that education affected the indigenous cultural community as the school's domain language used Cebuano, resulting in children acquiring a more dominant language outside the community. The children were then pressured to learn Cebuano, and the parents taught them Cebuano to further their education. This linguistic discrimination was not uncommon in the Philippine educational system and social mobility (Lewis & Simons, 2009).

# Physical or Demographic Dislocation

Physical dislocation was another effect of language urbanization. Natural calamities caused this, or the migration of the Manobo-Agusanon people, which impacted the language. Most of the effects of language urbanization were due to natural phenomena that brought linguistic disorder to the language.

**Taphag, 29,** mentioned that being affected by the typhoon Pablo in 2012 brought effect primarily that they engaged with other people. As a result, they were not able to engage their ideas using the Manobo-Agusanon language because people outside their indigenous cultural community could not understand their language. It is evident in the lines: Parehas ato amoa naagian sa akoa pamilya katong bagyong Pablo ba to siya. Dako kaayo na epekto kay kailangan man nimo magkig-istorya sa mga taga-gawas. Ginatawag namo nga immigrants sulod sa komunidad. Kay kung dili sad kami magabi-abi, dili man namo masidungon sad amoa idea ug hilabi na ang pinulongan namo.

(We went through the same thing with my family. When typhoon Pablo hit our barangay, it brought a significant impact because you had to talk to outsiders. We call them immigrants in the community because if we don't interact, we could not be able to deliver our ideas and especially our language.)

Also, **Magdiwata**, 33, a farmer, supported and stressed that a calamity is wrecking the most significant to changing their language. In 2012, his family experienced typhoon Pablo, which resulted in their family being scattered and transferred to another barangay, which became difficult for them to sustain their language. It is assisted in the lines:

Pinakadako siguro makapa-change sad sa pinulongan kay kana maagian kita ka mga kalamidad kay tungod ani magwatakwatak ang mga tao sa komunidad. Parehas atong Pablo na amoa na experience.

(The biggest thing is probably to change the language because we go through calamities and the people in the community will be scattered, and we experienced that during typhoon Pablo.)

It implied that physical and demographic dislocation was one of the effects of language urbanization in the area. Physical and demographic dislocations had been an omnipresent feature of Manobo-Agusanon speakers' lives. At the time of Typhoon Pablo, there was a dramatic reduction in the number of speakers due to natural calamities, causing bodily dislocation and jeopardizing the community's cohesion and language preservation (Fishman, 1991).

The general findings of this study showed that the Manobo-Agusanon speakers were affected by language urbanization due to social dislocation. education. and physical/demographic dislocation. The Manobo-Agusanon people's loss of language increased cultural sensitivity and led to greater cultural uniformity. One might argue that cultural uniformity could lead to language extinction because of the interaction outside and inside the community, such as in the school domain, where most people in the community used Cebuano. In terms of instruction, it affected the minority language in the area.

Also, in the school domain, with the multicultural nature of Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur, given that migrants from other municipalities in Agusan del Sur, the Manobo people acquired the Cebuano language. It affected the younger people to thoroughly use the dominant language in school when conversing with teachers, peers, and classmates. The Manobo natives used Cebuano so that non-IP

speakers could understand them, which was essential for initiating conversation among the Manobo people.

In addition, the interaction outside and inside the community affected the indigenous language, demonstrating that the Manobo people converged and adapted their language based on the individuals with whom they interacted. Given that Manobo-Agusanon was a minority language or a language spoken by low civilizations, the dominant culture's language succeeded and supplanted the indigenous language. This was a regular occurrence among indigenous peoples around the globe, particularly when interacting with others who could not speak their language on a larger scale because of the hegemonic language.

Furthermore, due to natural calamities, as the area of Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur belonged to the lowland area of the barangay, some of the speakers migrated. Due to the status of the land, some Manobo-Agusanon speakers migrated to other municipalities to provide for their everyday living. Their language slowly faded as the Manobo-Agusanon speakers continued to scatter and migrate to other places. This migration hindered the transcendence of their language, which was also caused by the presence of language urbanization in the area.

It justified that Fishman's theory of Reversing Language Shift reflected the scenario of the indigenous cultural community in the area as they encountered the effects of language urbanization. The theory supported the notion that social dislocation, education, and physical/demographic dislocation were the reasons why the indigenous language in the area changed over time due to the dominant language, which was Cebuano.

# Problem 3. What are the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices in the Manobo-Agusanon indigenous cultural community?

In this component, the researcher discussed the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices in the Manobo-Agusanon language. Since language urbanization brought effects to their language, the Manobo people employed some techniques and experienced difficulty identifying the linguistic circumstances they encountered in their indigenous community in transcending the Manobo-Agusanon language.

Table 3 shows the summary themes of linguisticcircumstances of multilingualism practices in the Manobo-Agusanon indigenous cultural community.

 
 Table 3 Linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices in the Manobo-Agusanon indigenous cultural community

| Themes                          |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| A linguistic market of the home |  |
| From home to school             |  |
|                                 |  |

Table 3 shows the effects of the language urbanization in the Manobo-Agusanon language, namely a linguistic market of the home and from home to school.

#### A linguistic market of the home

In this sub-section, the researcher examined the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices of the Manobo people despite the language urbanization in transcending the language at home and the cases they encountered. If they did not use their language, their cultural heritage might have been lost with its demolition.

The linguistic conditions of multilingualism practices that began at home offered a barrier to the community's ability to sustain multilingualism practices. Due to the many factors that influenced the methods, this did not significantly impact the people. There was no literacy education in the community in terms of schooling that tackled difficulties in the family and community. This list was not exhaustive, but it reflected the level of continuous oral usage that resulted in sustainable orality. The language was being passed down through the generations in an unbroken chain. The context in which languages were used and transmitted was stable or improving. Furthermore, parents' linguistic habits might have been the fundamental reason for the emergence of a particular linguistic market in the home, where linguistic practices overlapped and children were taught the language.

**Bulawan**, 22, a student, stressed that she did not know the spelling and grammar of the Manobo-Agusanon language and the interaction in the community. It is evident in the line:

Kani isa sad ka problem kay kani pagsulat kay parehas sa akoa dili ko kabalo unsa ang spelling ug kana grammar sa amoa mga pinulongan. Tas panagsa kay kani magabi-abi sa mga bisita gikan sa gawas sa amoa komunidad na magdala ug kausaban.

(One of the problems in our language is writing. I don't know the spelling and grammar of our language. The interaction with the visitors may bring changes in our language.)

**Pamulak,** 30, a housewife, stressed that the Manobo language should be reminded, practiced, and taught to the children at home. Since they were at home, they must employ the Manobo language even when socializing with the community. It is supported in the lines:

I guess, remind or practice siya sa house if possible or i-teach gyud siya sa bata or I guess kanang padagkuay na, samtang naa pa sila sa balay tudluan na sila kay bahalag maggawas.

(I guess it must be reminded or practiced, if possible, it must be taught to the children, and if they are still at home, they must be teaching the language.)

**Tugpan, 42,** a housewife, mentioned that she encountered difficulty, especially in writing. If oral, they were quick to transcendend their language to the younger generation because they used Manobo-Agusanon in their home and the community. It is observed in the line:

Kanang maglisod mi labi sa pagsulat ug kung sa oral o inistoryahan mas paspas namo siya matudlo sa mga bagong tubo kay naanad man mi sa pag-istorya.

(We encounter the difficulty of writing, but we can teach it to the younger ones because we are used to speaking from a more youthful generation.)

**Taphagan, 22,** stressed that the youngsters are prone to this change. It was better to master the Manobo-Agusanon language orally even though they would encounter problems in terms of writing. It is supported in the lines:

Basta kay ma-master lang siya orally ug bahala maglisod sa writing.

#### (It must be practiced if they can only master orally and even we have difficulty writing.)

Moreover, **Tukhom**, 42, elucidated that the biggest problem they encountered at home was writing. Their children did not even know the spelling of the Manobo language, which leads to misunderstandings in home conversations. It expounds in the lines:

Ang dakong problema kay kana writing na aspects mahitungod di ko kabalo unsa ang spelling sa amoa pinulongan ug panagsa sir kay maglisod sad ko magsabot labi na laglom na kaayo na mga istorya

# (The big problem is because those writing aspects about I don't know the spelling of our language, and sometimes it's hard to understand the intense conversation.)

It suggested a linguistic market of home-initiated practices for the engagement with and instruction of the mother tongue to children. It implied that parents were the primary cause of linguistic challenges in forming illicit practices, changes, and multilingualism phenomena in written and spoken Manobo-Agusanon. The linguistic market at home resembled a relatively unified linguistic market of a given social space's interactions, spanning from communication to multilingual activities (Bourdieu, 1991).

As the general summary implication of the study, the linguistic market at home was one of the main reasons for the linguistic circumstances of multilingualism practices because parents were more obliged to teach the children about the native language to facilitate interaction. The participants were more dynamic in their language if it was used in the home domain.

Also, it showed that parents frequently used the Manobo-Agusanon language as a means of communication with their family. The Manobo-Agusanon parents appeared to function as a default language. However, this interaction tended to be valid only as long as all speakers understood the language and had enough command of the language to engage in a conversation at home. It grew difficult for the children to learn the spelling and writing of the native language. As a result, most agents inhabiting this social space acknowledged English as the official language inside and outside their domestic linguistic markets. For the majority of them, the linguistic market of the home was one of the primary means by which they obtained the legal competence to engage in multilingualism activities.

In addition to the above data, they acquired similar competence. The interviewees underlined that the home represented different linguistic markets where other linguistic practices were acceptable. Starting from this home dichotomy, socio-historical processes and power dynamics enabled the constitution of a linguistic market of the home, which seemed to have had a salient impact on the development of the linguistic habitus of the parents in teaching the Manobo-Agusanon language. In light of the power relations between markets, it interpreted this transformation as the key to a nuanced understanding of the production of linguistic practices with languages other than the Manobo-Agusanon language.

Thus, the linguistic market created by the family at home was one of the two most influential determinants of the language habitus of agents. The development of children's language habits began predominantly inside the home's linguistic environment. The market had rigorous regulations impacted by the power dynamics between adults and youngsters. Both parents and children operated as producers and consumers; however, parents had greater symbolic authority to affirm or sanction their children's language behaviors, thereby enforcing the laws of price formation on the home market.

#### From Home to School

Another linguistic consequence of multilingualism practices was the linguistics of the school-home. It demonstrated the respondents' belief that institutional contacts, such as those with the instructor in the classroom, were often controlled by a single language, typically the hegemonic language. Specific foreign languages were included in the curriculum, and much time and effort were spent on educating the pupils. In addition, multilingualism practices in schools had linguistic repercussions, such as forming and expanding a lingua franca, like Cebuano or Bisaya, which often resulted from the need for intergroup communication.

**Magbalantay**, 35, housewife, stressed that the challenges in terms of their practices were the transcendence of the language to the younger generation. They were afraid of being discriminated against in school and the challenge when it comes to writing. Most of them do not know the spelling of the Manobo-Agusanon language. It is supported in the lines:

Ang isa ka hagit hilabi sa mga practices o binuhatan namo ang pagpasa niini pa sa mga bagong tubo sa komunidad kay bisan itudlo sama sa spelling naa na gyud ni pagkabata na pinulongan ang uban kay dili ni dawaton sa hintungod na ginadiscrimnate sa eskwelahan.

(One of the challenges in our practices is to pass it on to young people in the community because even if they are taught or have learned in childhood days, others will not accept that they are discriminated against in the school.)

In the same vein, **Naliyagan**, 32, a student-teacher, experienced difficulties when it came to writing Manobo, especially in school when she would ask her classmates to write specific Manobo-Agusanon phrases. However, in oral, she was fluent. It is reflected in the lines:

Dili ko kabalo basta pasulaton ko sa akoa classmate pero ug oral hawod kaayo.

(I don't know how to write in Manobo-Agusanon if my classmate would ask me, but if oral, I've mastered Manobo-Agusanon.)

It denoted that most of the Manobo speakers encountered linguistic circumstances using Cebuano as the medium of communication from home to school. It must be emphasized that the education system never operated in isolation but in connection to all the other elements of the social space it belonged to. In school, students' language behaviors were often judged concerning the relatively unified linguistic market's linguistic standards (Bourdieu, 1991).

As the general implication, it suggested that the linguistic market from home to school was the submarket of the house that played a crucial role in the development of the linguistic habitus of the Manobo-Agusanon speakers, representing one of the main mechanisms of validation and reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than their own.

In addition, before entering school, via interaction with their parents, the linguistic habitus of the children conformed mainly to the internal norms and regulations of price construction of the linguistic submarket of the home. It focused on the journey of the participants from home to school. The thesis was that such a transition represented a significant shift in the linguistic habitus of Manobo-Agusanon speakers and their construction of linguistic practices with languages in the setting of multilingualism.

By including the educational system, it was hypothesized that the linguistic habitus of speakers adjusted to the circumstances of the relatively unified linguistic market and the uneven power relationship between this market and the linguistic submarket of the home. This intricate alteration of the linguistic habitus had significant effects on the production of minority language and multilingual linguistic practices.

## Problem 4. How do the Manobo-Agusanon use multilingualism to foster the linguistic continuity of their indigenous language amidst language urbanization?

In this subsection, the researcher looked at how the Manobo-Agusanon used multilingualism to maintain the linguistic continuity of their indigenous language in the face of language urbanization. Multilingualism was the act of keeping a language from becoming extinct. There were numerous techniques for doing so, including providing recorded and written resources, teaching and taking language programs, and utilizing digital and social media outlets (Castillo, 2019).

**Table 4 shows the summary themes of** multilingualism tofoster the linguistic continuity of their indigenous languageamidst language urbanization.

| Table 4 The use of multilingualism to foster the linguistic continuity of the |
|---|
| Manob-Agusanon Language   |

| Themes                            |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Self-Imposed Boundary Maintenance |  |
| Education                         |  |
| Language Loyalty                  |  |
| Language Adjustment               |  |
| Diglossia-like-Situation          |  |

Table 4 shows how multilingualism fosters the linguistic continuity of the Manobo-Agusanon language despite the language urbanization, namely self-imposed boundary, education, language loyalty, language adjustment, and diglossia-like-situation.

#### Self-Imposed Boundary Maintenance

Self-imposed boundary maintenance was the most common technique for Manobo-Agusanon people to maintain the language's linguistic continuity. According to the general response of the respondents in the in-depth sociolinguistic interviews and focus group discussion, most Manobo-Agusanon applied this maintenance to sustain the language within their homes and communities, despite the pressure of language urbanization from more regionally and socially powerful languages, which sought to replace the indigenous language as the primary means of communication.

Additionally, multilingualism was employed as a practice but also served as a tool to transcend and preserve the language through family efforts at home. Urbanization and the promotion of other languages such as Cebuano, Filipino (Tagalog), and English significantly impacted the Manobo-Agusanon language. The Manobo-Agusanon employed various methods to preserve their language and cultural customs, including code-switching and mixing.

It was significant in fostering the Manobo-Agusanon language through multilingual education, actions at home, and community efforts. It represented an observable contribution of multilingualism practices, such as implementing multilingualism at home, allowing learners to engage with more than two languages while maintaining their indigenous language—avoiding the neglect and devaluation of minority languages as mediums of instruction.

The researcher asked the respondents how they used multilingualism to foster the Manobo-Agusanon language to justify this finding.

**Pamulak**, 30, a housewife, stressed that learning a different language could help her interact with outsiders. She could teach and pass it on to her children so they did not feel left behind. It is supported in the lines:

Ang akong pamaagi sa paggamit ug kaalaman sa daghan na linggwahe kay kabalo man ko magMinanubo, Bul-anon, Bisaya, ug mag-Ilonggo. Kini nga mga kaalaman kay ginapasa nako sa akoang anak sad para dili sila mabilin sa gawas ug sulod sa amoa komunidad ug mamintinar namo amoa kaugalingon na pinulongan.

(My way of using my knowledge of different languages is that I know how to speak Minanubo, Bul-anon, Bisaya (Cebuano), and Ilonggo (Hiligaynon). This knowledge is being passed to my children, who will not be left behind inside and outside the community, and we can preserve our language.)

**Binugwakan**, 27, a housewife, stressed that multilingualism has a big help in transcending the language, interacting with others, and boosting their self-confidence in terms of socialization. It is validated in the lines:

Makatabang kay halimbawa kay dili raman ta permi diri sa bukid, kay makasalamuha man ta sa lain na lugar at least sa imohang kaugalingon naa kay self-confidence nga kaya nako ni kay kabalo ko sa lenggwahi sa uban, kabalo ka magstand sa imoha kaugalingon.

(It has a big help, especially if we are not staying in the same place, we encounter different places at least we know that we have self-confidence that we know the language of other people and you know how to stand with yourselves.)

**Taphag**, 29, a housewife, stressed that the government's housing project helped preserve the language as the typhoon Pablo wreaked their houses. With this housing project, they were united in maintaining their tradition, language, and traditions despite slowly changing. It is shown in:

Kaning ilang pabahay nga ilang gihatag sa amo tungod atung Bagyong Pablo kay nakita mi nila nga nagkatag-katag tungod aning pabahay nila. Nahiusa ming mga Manobo sa usa ka lugar para ma mintinar dili lang ang among tradisyon but also apil na gyud ang among kaugalingong lenggwahe nga gigikanan bisag anam-anam na naay changes.

(In the housing project they gave to us because of Typhoon Pablo, they saw that the Manobo were scattered. In this housing, they united us Manobo in one place to preserve our tradition and language despite slowly changing.)

Also, **Diwata.** 38, a farmer, supported and stressed that they continually practiced the Manobo language inside their house for them to sustain and pass their language to the next generation. They could learn different languages and be better at socializing with the other groups in the community since they could not stop the interaction inside and outside of their community. It is pinpointed in the lines:

Amoa pinulongan kay ginapractice man namo siya sa sulod sa balay kay ug daghan ka na hibal-an makahalubilo gyud ka ug maayo sa gawas.

(We practice the language inside the house because if you know a different language, you can socialize outside.)

It implied that the Manobo-Agusanon speakers employed self-imposed boundaries in fostering the language, wherein indigenous cultural communities-maintained distinctions between themselves and others by practicing at home and in society. Self-imposed limitations served to keep the group apart, usually relying on religion, to maintain an enclosure of language maintenance (Barth, 1990).

# Language Adjustments

Since they were inescapable to interact with others speaking diverse languages, the Manobo people gradually learned other languages. They embraced multilingualism as a tool for transcending and maintaining their language. The Manobo people adjusted their language to include Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Bul-anon, and Tagalog.

Furthermore, many indigenous parents chose to teach and converse with their children in dominant languages due to years of prejudice to provide the best conditions for their social success. An entire generation of indigenous youngsters could not interact with their grandparents because their mother tongue was typically only spoken by the elderly.

**Magbalantay**, 23, stressed that practicing their native language started at home, which the parents must teach. Attending seminars was a great help in maintaining the language because of the language adjustment that would continue until the future. It is expounded in the lines:

I-practice sulod sa amoa panimalay ug pamaagi sad siguro sa pag-attend ug mga seminar mahitungod sa mga bagong pamaagi kay isip gaeskwela sad sir kay ang pagtuon wala man siya naghunong nagapadayon siya hangtud sa hangtod.

(Even though there were challenges, we still practiced our language at home and attended seminars because learning does not stop. It continues in the long run.)

Also, **Magtatambal**, 19, a student, highlighted that even though they must adapt to other languages such as Cebuano, they interpreted it as their language for the others to understand and for them to preserve and maintain their language. At the same time, their language and the immigrants could also adapt to the Manobo language. It is shown in the lines:

Though mu-adapt mi, still i-push gihapon namo like kabalo mi mag Bisaya, so i-interpret namo sila sa among own language into other languages para ma preserve namo at the same time ma adapt pud nila.

(Even though we will adapt, we still push to learn the Bisaya(Cebuano) language and be able to interpret our language and other languages.)

It implied that the Manobo-Agusanon speakers communicated in Cebuano, the prevalent language in the region, to connect with non-IP members of the community. It meant that language adjustment was another means of promoting the Manobo-Agusanon language. With the description of language adjustment, native speakers responded not to a single but a mixture of circumstances. These included the comprehensibility of the non-native speaker's interlanguage, but most notably, an apparent grasp of what the native speaker was saying in the area (Long, 2000).

# Education

Everything pointed to the importance of involving parents and young children in school-based native language restoration projects. The survival of native languages in the family required intergenerational transmission. If a child had a genetic predisposition to language, including personal or cultural characteristics (for example, shyness), this predisposition was strengthened through interactions with others in the native language and participation in as many community gatherings as possible where the child could engage in ethnic activities. Schools helped youngsters improve the native-language skills they developed in their families and language nests. Due to foreign language instruction in schools, multilingualism had become a hot topic in educational circles.

**Tugpan**, 42, a housewife, stressed that the school taught students to become flexible in learning different languages, like translating Manobo phrases into other languages, which is a great advantage in helping their language with the IP teachers. It is shown in the lines:

Gina-teach ug gina-train pud ang mga bata nga bisag daghan na ug lenggwahe pareha anang mugamit ug Manobo hubaron sa Bisaya, Ilonggo, Tagalog, ug English. Mao na among way para mapreserve among lenggwahe gidak-an ug naa sad IP teacher maong magtabang.

(We are teaching and training the children even though there are a lot of languages, and they can both be used and translated into Bisaya (Cebuano), Ilonggo (Hiligaynon), Tagalog, and English. It is our way to preserve our language.)

**Bulawan,** 22, a student, stressed that technology is the best way to create and maintain the language as a pre-service teacher. Another preservation tool that could provide a foundation to carry was recording and archiving audio files of elders or fluent speakers and a suite of web-based tools designed to help Indigenous people archive language information for teaching and preservation.

Kana technology makatabang siya like pagrecord atong mga fluent speakers ug pagcreate ug mga website for indigenous languages.

(Technology is a great help, such as recording the fluent speakers and creating a website for indigenous languages.)

It indicated that education was another means of promoting the Manobo-Agusanon language since it allowed for the development of classroom materials in the language, the teaching of environmental information, and the development of social and cultural capital within communities. To restore, conserve, and promote indigenous languages, country- and community-specific strategies were required. Thus, they had to be created with the involvement and consultation of indigenous peoples in the area (Muedin, 2018).

#### Language Loyalty

The desire to maintain an identity defined in the Manobo-Agusanon language and adhere to cultural traditions linked with that language demonstrated language loyalty. When it came to discourse in the house of babaylan Ma-Aram, if someone entered the community and engaged in Cebuano contact, the Baybaylan would respond in Manobo. It demonstrated that the community was devoted to the language that preserved its culture and beliefs due to being a local language.

**Binugwakan**, 27, a housewife, stressed that being loyal to the language is another way to foster it by employing it at home. Being faithful to the language can be used for the scholarship offered by the government.

Diri sa amoa komunidad loyal kaayo mi sa amoa pinulongan kay kani dapat mapreserba kay magamit man nimo siya sa pagapply sa mga scholarship ug mapadayon sa nimo imoha pinulongan kay diri sa amoa nagalahi mi ug pinulongan kay magdependi sa okasyon man sad.

(Here in our community, we are very loyal to our language because it must be preserved. You can use it to apply for scholarships and continue your language because we have different languages here in our community, and it depends on the occasion.)

It suggested that language loyalty was another avenue for the development of the Manobo-Agusanon language. Most of the elder speakers in the region, notably the Babaylan, were the most loyal to the language as they communicated with non-IP speakers. Language loyalty was a desire to keep an identity communicated through that language and adhere to cultural behaviors linked with that language. Language loyalty enabled individuals to strive toward sustaining the language in question, even under unfavorable situations (Gonzalez, 2008).

#### **Diglossia-Like-Situation**

In the diglossia-like circumstance in Manobo-Agusan, which employed two languages, each speech had its distinct regions. Using the other language was deemed impossible. On the other hand, Manobo-Agusan used functional languages such as Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Minanubo. It entailed that multilingualism in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur community provided the nation with a standard language for communication and established the importance of other languages in existing institutions and throughout the community through language integration.

**Tukhow,** 42, a barangay health worker, stressed that she taught her children two languages, Manobo and Cebuano. They used them at home as the medium of communication. It is supported in the lines:

Sa amoa komunidad sad amoa ginatudloan gyud amoa anak na maggamit ug duha ka pinulongan parehas anang Bisaya ug Manobo kay mao ma ginagamit sa komunidad ug naa sa Ilonggo, Dibabawon, ug kaning Bul-anon na pinulongan pero kasagara Minanubo ug Bisaya. (We teach our children to use two languages in our community, Bisaya (Cebuano) and Manobo. The community uses Ilonggo (Hiligaynon), Dibabawon, and Bul-anon language, but it is usually Manobo and Bisaya.)

It suggested that a diglossia-like situation existed as a means for Manobo-Agusanon speakers to preserve their language amidst the urbanization of the Cebuano language in the region. In this diglossia-like situation, Manobo-Agusanon and Cebuano were used in different social settings and at home. Diglossia refers to all language variations that exhibit functional dispersion within a speech community. Therefore, it encompassed a variety of sociolinguistic contexts, ranging from variances within a single language to the usage of several regional dialects (Fishman, 1991).

In general implications, the Manobo-Agusanon made an avenue to foster the language by employing multilingualism in self-imposed boundary maintenance, education, language loyalty, diglossia, and language adjustment as the core of transcending the language from one generation to another despite the presence of language urbanization in the area. In this scenario, the Manobo people converged and adapted their language based on the individuals they interacted with. Considering that Manobo-Agusanon is a minority language or a language spoken by low civilizations, the dominant culture's language supplanted and dominated the indigenous language. This is a regular occurrence among indigenous peoples around the globe, particularly when interacting with others who are unable to speak their language.

Furthermore, multilingualism practices in education always tried to avoid imposing these languages on the people. A keen measure and clear framework should be considered because imposing languages on people is dangerous and may cause tensions amongst different ethnic and speech communities. Setting a lingua franca and promoting foreign languages to people without developing indigenous languages may lead to language death. Nevertheless, restoring their native tongue via cooperative relationships and mindful learning may be a beneficial technique for preserving their language.

Despite language urbanization, the Manobo indigenous cultural group was able to adapt their speech to various social contexts. When communicating with their relatives, they spoke the Manobo language. However, they employed Cebuano to gain mutual understanding and agreement when sharing with someone outside their society. Increasing multilingualism in education involved using foreign languages as standard courses and the medium of instruction for teaching specialized subjects.

For all these reasons, the Manobo-Agusanon transcended their native language. They engaged with speakers employing other languages, and in this instance, people may inadvertently absorb Manobo-Agusanon when speaking Cebuano. Multilingualism in education, combining two languages at the same function and imposing boundaries, language loyalty, and adjustment became unavoidable for the Manobo people due to various reasons for acquiring a new language and merging their language with others. In their particular scenario, they applied multilingualism mainly when communicating outside and inside their indigenous cultural community.

Thus, multilingualism promoted the continuation of the language since it conformed to Paulston's idea of language preservation. Incorporating multilingualism practices into schooling and producing monolingual and bilingual dictionaries may help revitalize these languages. In summary, depending on the nature of the community, the method of multilingualism in education should include indigenous, national, official, and foreign languages as equal partners in language policy creation and instruction.

# 6. Conclusion and Future Scope

The study focused on the impact of language urbanization on the Manobo-Agusanon language spoken by the Manobo people in Tagmanuro, Barangay Sayon, Agusan del Sur, Philippines. It found that urbanization, influenced by languages like Cebuano, English, Filipino (Tagalog), Hiligaynon (Ilonggo), Dibabawon, and Bulanon, significantly altered the linguistic landscape. This shift was driven by factors such as social dislocation, intermarriage, education, religion, human intervention, migration, and cultural displacement.

Younger generations were more adaptable to these changes compared to older generations, reflecting broader societal shifts. Despite challenges like writing difficulties and fears of language loss among youth, the Manobo people maintained a commitment to their language and cultural identity. They used multilingualism strategically at home and within the community to preserve their language for future generations, even as they faced linguistic and social pressures.

The study highlighted the role of initiatives like Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) in preserving indigenous languages, although it noted challenges such as the shortage of qualified teachers in Manobo. It underscored the importance of oral traditions in passing down language and cultural practices, evident in interactions with community figures like babaylans who maintained language fidelity.

Looking forward, the research suggested exploring additional factors impacting language policies and planning. It called for further investigation into the dynamics between Manobo-Agusanon and neighboring languages like Cebuano, Dibabawon, and Bulanon. Policy recommendations included enhancing documentation and educational initiatives to support indigenous languages across various levels of government.

Ultimately, the study concluded that while the Manobo-Agusanon language faces challenges from urbanization and language shifts, efforts to preserve and promote it are vital for maintaining the Philippines' linguistic and cultural diversity. It emphasized the need for comprehensive support from

educational institutions, policymakers, and community leaders to ensure the continued vitality of indigenous languages in the face of globalizing influences.

#### Data Availability (Size 10 Bold)

Data will be provided whenever asked for at any point in time.

### **Conflict of Interest**

The authors declare and hold the opinion that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the research and the written manuscript.

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Author 1: Developed the primary proposal for the research work and comprised data from primary and secondary sources.

Author 2: Edited and supervised the manuscript along with other notable and necessary contributions.

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