

THE TAGBANUA LANGUAGE IN IRAWAN
IN THE MIDST OF GLOBALIZATION

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The purpose of this study was to investigate the Tagbanua language in Irawan alone as a potentially endangered language. Focusing on the language attitudes, language use, and actual language proficiency of the Tagbanua inhabitants, the researcher was interested in determining how these might be affected by the respondents' characteristics such as age, sex, education, and geographical location. Social factors such as intermarriage and stereotyping which might influence the perpetuation or decline of the language were also examined. The respondents included young and adult speakers from Sitio Iratag, Sitio Taga-ud, and lowland Irawan. To determine the language attitudes and language use of the respondents, the researcher administered a set of questionnaires. For actual language proficiency, two native speakers of Tagbanua were hired to do interviews with the respondents. The paper ends with an outlook of how the Tagbanua language can be maintained by its speakers.

1. Introduction

A surge of interest in sociolinguistics has been taking place during the past decades. Among the focus of many studies from different parts of the world are language loss, language identity, and language survival. This is due to the fact that 'the threat to linguistic resources is now recognized as a worldwide crisis' (Crawford, 1998). Krauss (1992a, cited in Crawford) claimed that as many as half of the estimated 6,000 languages spoken on earth are dying.

In Palawan, some research has been done by foreign linguists. J. Stephen Quakenbush from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) conducted a sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen speakers in Palawan in 1989. Another researcher who has frequented the place these past years is James F. Eder, anthropology professor at Arizona State University. His valuable contribution is on Cuyunon language and culture, particularly the Cuyunon ethnic identity, which was published in the *Journal of Asian Studies* in August 2004. The most recent published study done in Palawan is entitled 'Central Tagbanua: A

TAJOLOSA

Philippine language on the brink of extinction' by Robert Scebald (2004), a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

In one study conducted at Palawan State University, students made use of interviews to determine how the Tagbanua residents of Sitio Iratag and Sitio Taga-ud in Barangay Irawan of the City of Puerto Princesa, made requests and gave responses in Tagbanua discourse. It was observed that the young respondents could hardly speak the Tagbanua language. Although it has not been established that Aborlan Tagbanua is an endangered language (since many Tagbanua communities in southern Palawan still speak it), this researcher considered the possibility of its extinction in Irawan alone, owing to social factors such as education, age, intermarriage, language attitudes, and location. Thus, this particular study was undertaken.

This paper aimed to investigate the sociolinguistic factors affecting the use of the Tagbanua language in Irawan. Specifically, it sought to:

1. determine the language attitudes, language use, and actual Tagbanua language proficiency of the Tagbanua respondents across age, sex, location, and education,
2. determine the interrelationship of language attitudes, use, and proficiency, and
3. determine the possible effect of intermarriage and stereotyping on attitudes of the respondents towards the Tagbanua language.

2. Methodology

This study made use of quantitative and qualitative approaches. It was undertaken for six months, starting July 2005 until the last week of December 2005. Respondents were composed of 38 minors (6-17 yrs old), 61 single and married adults (18 years and older), residents of Sitio Iratag, Sitio Taga-ud, and lowland Irawan, who were of either mixed or pure Tagbanua ancestry.

Personal interviews to gather the data were divided into three stages:

Stage One - An initial interview was done in Tagalog in July 2005. The purpose of the interview was to establish contact with the respondents, inquire about language use at home, and their perception about the Tagbanua language.

Stage Two - The second interview was conducted in November 2005 using the Tagbanua survey method patterned after Quakenbush's modified questionnaire. This contained 16 questions that aimed at determining language attitudes and language use.

Stage Three - This interview was conducted in December 2005 because the second interview proved unreliable in getting the respondents' language proficiency. To determine actual Tagbanua language proficiency, an interview by two native speakers of the Tagbanua language was conducted using a scale of 0 to 5, following the guidelines used by Quakenbush. All interviews were tape-recorded.

The interviewers then made an independent evaluation for each respondent in order to compare respective ratings. In case of a mismatch, a final ranking was decided upon by listening to the taped interview, discussing the respondent's performance in greater detail, and arriving at a single rating.

Statistical treatment of the variables was made with the help of SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages and cross tabulations were also employed to determine relationships between variables.

3. Results and Discussion

The main findings of the study are presented in three main parts. The first part deals with language attitudes and provides some understanding of the next two parts, language use and language proficiency.

From the interviews, data on the four characteristics of the respondents, i.e. sex, age, education, and location, were analyzed. Age refers to which of two age groups the respondent belongs to – young respondents (6-17 years old) or adults (18 years and older). Education refers to whether the respondent has had any formal education categorized into elementary, secondary, and postsecondary level, or none at all. Location refers to whether the respondent lives in Sitio Iratag, Sitio Taga-ud, or lowland Irawan.

The SPSS package and chi-square were used to determine the variables of direct significance to language attitude, language use, and language proficiency. Qualitative data have been included to expand, confirm, or illustrate patterns evident in the quantitative data.

From Iratag, 39 adult respondents each representing one household out of the total number of 59 households were included in the study. From Taga-ud, there are just 12 households left, and eight respondents were interviewed. From lowland Irawan came 13 respondents out of the 25 Tagbanua households. These 25 households used to be former residents of Sitio Taga-ud in the past one to 10 years.

The 38 young respondents were limited to Sitio Iratag because of the following reasons: Firstly, between Sitio Iratag and Sitio Taga-ud, the former has the greater number of households and a greater number of young residents. Secondly, the children of the residents in Taga-ud are all 18 years and older (with the exception of one 15 year old and one 11 year old and three younger than five years old), have families of their own, and are now settled in lowland Irawan.

As to the educational level of the 60 adult respondents, one had no formal education, 37 had schooling on the elementary level, 19 on the secondary level, and three on the post-secondary level. As to sex, 25 (41.7%) of the total respondents are male and 35 (58.3%) are female.

On the part of the young respondents, 17 (45%) are male and 21 (55%) are female; 31 are elementary pupils and seven are secondary school students.

TAJOLOSA

Location could not be considered a variable in young respondents' language attitude, use, and proficiency since they all come from Iratag. To determine the effect of age on attitude, use, and proficiency, the adult respondents and the young respondents were compared.

3.1 Language attitudes toward the Tagbanua language

To elicit the respondents' attitude toward the language, two questions were asked of the adult respondents: 'What language do you like the most?' and 'What language do you want your children to learn first?' Table 1 shows the distribution of respondents according to the language they like most against the language they prefer for their children.

Table 1
Self Language Preference and Language Preference for Children Cross Tabulations

| Language Preference for Children | Self- Language Preference | | | Total |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------|------|-------|
| | Tagbanua | Tagalog | Both | |
| Tagbanua | 14 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Tagalog | 15 | 10 | 3 | 28 |
| Both | 9 | 5 | 4 | 18 |
| Total | 38 | 15 | 7 | 60 |

Thirty-eight out of the 60 adult respondents prefer Tagbanua as their language of communication. Among these 38 respondents, 39% prefer Tagalog for their children. Only 37% prefer Tagbanua to be their children's language of communication. Only 24% prefer their children to speak both Tagbanua and Tagalog.

Only 25% of the Tagbanua respondents prefer Tagalog as their language of communication. Of these 15 who prefer to use Tagalog, 10 also prefer Tagalog for their children. The remaining five respondents prefer both Tagalog and Tagbanua, but nobody prefers pure Tagbanua to be used by their children. For the 12% of the respondents who prefer both the Tagalog and Tagbanua languages to be used as their language of communication, they still prefer either pure Tagalog or mixed Tagalog-Tagbanua language to be used by their children. In general, only 37% out of the total 60 respondents prefer pure Tagbanua to be used by their children.

The most common reasons given for preferring Tagalog for the children are: (1) Tagalog will be needed by the children to communicate with non-Tagbanua speakers, and (2) Tagalog is useful and is used more often. Preparing the children for school and the inability of the husband to speak Tagbanua and lack of competence in the language were the least frequently cited reasons. The

reasons given illustrate the dominance of Tagalog in the life of these people. Even if the parents prefer the Tagbanua language for themselves, they hardly use it at home if it is in conflict with the language they prefer for their children. This researcher, in the course of her interview with some of the respondents whose language at home is purely Tagalog, learned that mothers believe it is in the best interest of the children if they learn Tagalog as a first language. For them, the children should be taught the language used in school and learning Tagbanua first might interfere with the learning of Tagalog. Most parents believe that Tagbanua is best learned when the children are older.

Table 2
Language Attitude and Educational Attainment Cross Tabulation

| Language Attitude | Educational Attainment | | | | Total |
|-------------------|------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|-------|
| | None | Elementary | Secondary | Post secondary | |
| Prefers Tagbanua | 1 | 34 | 9 | 2 | 46 |
| Prefers Tagalog | 0 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 14 |
| Total | 1 | 37 | 19 | 3 | 60 |

As reflected in Table 2, thrice as many respondents prefer the Tagbanua language to Tagalog. The figure is based on the responses of the interviewees to the first question 'What language do you like most?' The three interviewees who answered that they like both Tagbanua and Tagalog are classified among those who have Tagbanua preference. Together, they make up the 46 who have a positive attitude toward the language. As can be noted, 34 of the respondents whose attitude toward the Tagbanua language is positive, are of elementary level. It can be noted also that 10 of the respondents, who are of the secondary level, have no preference for the Tagbanua language. The chi-square test was applied on the modified cross tabulation (see Table 3 below). Manual computation of the chi-square value 13.82 revealed that educational attainment and language attitude toward the Tagbanua language are related. Most elementary-level Tagbanua have a positive attitude toward their native language.

TAJOLOSA

Table 3
Modified Language Attitude and Educational Attainment Cross Tabulation

| Language Attitude | Educational Attainment | | Total |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|-------|
| | Elementary | Secondary | |
| Prefers Tagbanua | 35 | 11 | 46 |
| Prefers Tagalog | 3 | 11 | 14 |
| Total | 38 | 22 | 60 |

* Chi-square test at 0.05 level of significance

Let us now consider language attitude based on location of the respondents.

Table 4
Language Attitude across Location

| Language Attitude | Location | | | Total |
|-------------------|----------|---------|----------------|-------|
| | Iratag | Taga-ud | Lowland Irawan | |
| Prefers Tagbanua | 32 | 7 | 7 | 46 |
| Prefers Tagalog | 7 | 1 | 6 | 14 |
| Total | 39 | 8 | 13 | 60 |

*Chi-square test at 0.05 level of significance

As can be seen, the respondents who have a positive attitude toward the Tagbanua language are more than three times those who prefer Tagalog only. By location, it is expected that many more of the residents in Taga-ud and Iratag would prefer Tagbanua. It is remarkable, though, that there is no marked difference found among the respondents who have joined the mainstream Irawan. The chi-square test finds no significant relationship between language attitude and location (p-value = 0.085).

The 14 adult respondents who prefer Tagalog more than Tagbanua give varied responses, almost evenly distributed among: (a) they lack proficiency in Tagbanua, (b) Tagalog is the language at home, (c) Tagalog is easier to learn than Tagbanua, (d) either the husband is Tagalog or he can't speak the Tagbanua language, (e) it is easier to communicate with neighbors using Tagalog. All the reasons given are similar in a way, in that they indicate that speakers are not fluent in Tagbanua, hence the preference for Tagalog and evident lack of interest in learning Tagbanua.

Among the young respondents, 29 (76%) have a positive attitude toward the Tagbanua language while nine (24%) have a negative attitude.

Table 5
Young Respondents' Attitude toward the Tagbanua Language and Justifications Given

| Attitude | Frequency | Percentage |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Positive | 29 | 76% |
| 1. Likes to learn more of the Tagbanua language | 21 | |
| a. for socialization/communicate with other Tagbanua | 18 | |
| b. it is a beautiful language | 2 | |
| c. identifies with father/mother | 1 | |
| 2. Is proud of his/her ancestry | 4 | |
| 3. Does not want the language to die | 3 | |
| 4. Likes the language because it was learned first | 1 | |
| Negative | 9 | 24% |
| 1. Does not want to learn the language anymore | | |
| a. parents don't teach the language to children nor encourage them to learn it | 1 | |
| 2. Tagalog is the only language learned | 2 | |
| 3. Tagalog is easier to learn | 1 | |
| 4. Tagalog is used every day | 1 | |
| 5. It feels good to speak with others in Tagalog | 1 | |
| 6. Tagalog is being taught in school | 1 | |
| 7. I don't know how to speak Tagbanua | 1 | |
| 8. Tagalog was learned first | 1 | |

As shown in Table 5, a little more than three fourths of the young respondents have a positive attitude toward the Tagbanua language. In addition, it can be noted that children's desire to learn more of the language was motivated by the desire to identify with the community and to socialize with them. Those who have more preference for the Tagalog language do not necessarily have a negative perception toward the Tagbanua language, but they choose Tagalog because the communicative situations they engage in require its use. The researcher noted some stereotyping when she went to Irawan National High School to interview Tagbanua speakers. Some boys teased some girls that they are Tagbanua and the latter retorted angrily and looked deeply offended. One even refused to be interviewed because, according to her, she is not a Tagbanua; however, most of her classmates say she is. It took some encouraging from the researcher before some of the respondents agreed to be interviewed. It

TAJOLOSA

was found that most of these high school respondents have low level proficiency in the Tagbanua language.¹

There are two elementary schools in Irawan but the researcher only included the data from Iratag Elementary School where half of the student population is Tagbanua. The respondents from Valentin Macasaet Memorial Elementary School were very few, most of whom are residents in lowland Irawan and do not speak the Tagbanua language though one or both of their parents are Tagbanua (former residents of Taga-ud).

3.2 Language use of the Tagbanua

To elicit responses about the language use of the Tagbanua, only one question was asked, 'What language/s do you use at home?'. Realistically, the Tagbanua use Tagalog in communicative venues outside the home, when they communicate with non-Tagbanua speakers or even within their own ethnolinguistic group. Home, it seems, is the only place where the Tagbanua language can be nurtured and be learned by the younger members of the community. Table 6 presents the distribution of the respondents according to language use and location.

Table 6
Respondents' Language Use by Location

| Language Used at Home | Location | | | Total |
|-----------------------|----------|---------|----------------|-------|
| | Iratag | Taga-ud | Lowland Irawan | |
| Tagbanua | 13 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| Tagalog | 11 | 2 | 10 | 23 |
| Both | 15 | 5 | 3 | 23 |
| Total | 39 | 8 | 13 | 60 |

* Chi-square test at 0.05 level of significance

¹ The primary purpose of the last interview was to see how well the Tagbanua interviewee could carry on a conversation in the Tagbanua language on different topics. This language proficiency interview was originally developed by the language training program of the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, revised and adapted by Quakenbush (1989) for his sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen speakers. The interview has three stages: (1) exploratory, (2) analytical, and (3) easing up. The first stage aims to put the interviewee at ease (e.g. 'How are you?', 'Where are you from?'). The second stage is the most complex part of the interview in which the interviewer steers the conversation to different areas to test for vocabulary, grammar, fluency, pronunciation, and comprehension. The third stage is the easing up in which a few simple questions are asked once again to reassure the interviewee that he or she has communicated successfully on at least some level. The proficiency levels 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 characterize spoken language use. Each higher level implies control of the previous level's functions and accuracy.

TAGBANUA

It can be noted from Table 6 that there is a remarkable decline in the use of the Tagbanua language in lowland Irawan. If the figures of language used at home in the different locations will be compared as a whole to the figures of language attitude, there is a difference of 15% between those who still use Tagbanua at home and those who use only Tagalog. In lowland Irawan alone, 54% of those who expressed preference for Tagbanua do not actually use it at home. The mismatch seems to imply that there is a tendency for the respondents to overstate their attitude toward the Tagbanua language but that positive attitude toward the language does not mean it would be used at home.

In the case of the Tagbanua in lowland Irawan, it is understandable that since they have joined the mainstream, there would be a greater demand for the use of the Tagalog language outside of the home though Tagbanua can still be spoken there. Realistically, most Tagbanua parents in lowland Irawan admitted that Tagbanua is used only when talking with Tagbanua visitors or relatives who speak the language. Most children never bother to learn the language and parents oftentimes feel it is unnecessary to teach it to their children. The chi-square test (p -value = 0.001) establishes a significant relationship between language used at home and the location of the speaker.

Table 7 presents language used at home according to the ethnic background of the Tagbanua couples.

Table 7
Language Used at Home by Ethnic Background of the Tagbanua Couples

| Spouse's Ethnic Background | Language Used At Home | | | Total |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------|------|-------|
| | Tagalog | Tagbanua | Both | |
| Pure Tagbanua | 8 | 5 | 9 | 22 |
| Mixed | 0 | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| No Tagbanua Blood | 13 | 2 | 8 | 23 |
| Total | 21 | 14 | 20 | 55 |

*Chi-square test at 0.05 level of significance

It can be noted that between a pure and non-Tagbanua couple, more than twice the number of couples who speak both Tagbanua and Tagalog speak only Tagalog at home. Between a mixed and non-Tagbanua couple, 15% more use Tagalog at home than those who use Tagbanua. Overall, there are 33 cases of intermarriage among the respondents. At 0.05 level of significance with p -value of 0.002, we say that the language used at home is somehow related to the spouse's ethnic background.

Table 8 presents the young respondents' use of Tagbanua.

TAJOLOSA

Table 8
Young Respondents' Distribution by Frequency of Tagbanua Use

| Mother Tongue | Tagbanua Use | | | | Total |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| | Concomitant | Sometimes | Infrequent | None (Uses Tagalog only) | |
| 2 (5%) | 5 (13%) | 6 (16%) | 4 (11%) | 21 (55%) | 38 (100%) |

As shown in Table 8, 45% of the young respondents admitted that Tagbanua is used in their home with four using it rather infrequently. The greater majority have gravitated toward Tagalog. The young interviewees have illustrated that despite the positive attitude of 76% of the respondents, 34% never really use Tagbanua at home.

Let us consider adult respondents and educational level:

Table 9
Distribution of Adult Respondents According to Education

| Language Used at Home | Education | | | | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------------|-------|
| | None | Elementary | Secondary | Post Secondary | |
| Tagbanua | 0 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| Tagalog | 0 | 9 | 12 | 2 | 23 |
| Both | 1 | 15 | 6 | 1 | 23 |
| Total | 1 | 37 | 19 | 3 | 60 |

*Chi-square test at 0.05 level of significance

As can be seen, 93% of those who use Tagbanua only at home are elementary educated, while of those who use both Tagbanua and Tagalog, 65% are elementary educated. Among the secondary level, only 5% speak Tagbanua at home. This somehow implies less preference for the language as the educational level increases. A modified table was used to employ the chi-square test of independence (see Table 9A below).

Table 9A
Modified Language Use by Adults and Educational Attainment

| Language Used at Home | Education | | Total |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|-------|
| | Elementary | Secondary | |
| Tagbanua | 13 | 1 | 14 |
| Tagalog | 9 | 14 | 23 |
| Both | 16 | 7 | 23 |
| Total | 38 | 22 | 60 |

* Chi-square test at 0.05 level of significance

The computed chi-square value of 11.43 indicates that education and language used at home are dependent. A greater number of elementary-level Tagbanua use their native language at home compared to those who have reached secondary level. Other variables like sex and age, on the other hand, have no significant relationship to language use.

3.3 Language proficiency of the Tagbanua

Let us now turn to what the proficiency instrument reveals about the language proficiency of the Tagbanua.

Table 10
Respondents' Language Proficiency by Sex

| Sex | Language Proficiency | | | Total |
|--------|----------------------|--------------|------|-------|
| | Low | Intermediate | High | |
| Male | 4 | 2 | 20 | 26 |
| Female | 4 | 11 | 19 | 34 |
| Total | 8 | 13 | 39 | 60 |

As clearly shown, only eight or 13% of the adult respondents have low proficiency in the language. It is remarkable that more than half of the

TAJOLOSA

respondents are highly proficient in the language. No relationship however, was found between sex and proficiency in the language.

We now consider language proficiency and its relationship to location:

Table 11
Respondents' Language Proficiency according to Location

| Language Proficiency | Location | | | Total |
|----------------------|----------|---------|----------------|-------|
| | Iratag | Taga-ud | Lowland Irawan | |
| Low Proficiency | 4 | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| Intermediate | 8 | 0 | 5 | 13 |
| High | 27 | 7 | 5 | 39 |
| Total | 39 | 8 | 13 | 60 |

* Chi-square test at 0.05 level of significance

As can be seen, 38% of the respondents in lowland Irawan are highly proficient in the language despite the fact that some of them have been with non-Tagbanua speakers for almost 10 years. The chi-square test of independence between location and language proficiency was found to be insignificant with a p-value of 0.147.

Is the picture different with the younger respondents?

Table 12
Young Respondents' Tagbanua Language Proficiency Based on Frequency of Use

| Tagbanua Use | Proficiency Level | | | Total |
|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------|------|-------|
| | Low | Intermediate | High | |
| Mother Tongue | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Concomitant | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Sometimes | 5 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| Infrequent | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Not at all (Tagalog only) | 19 | 2 | 0 | 21 |
| Total | 28 | 8 | 2 | 38 |

As illustrated in the table, 90% of those who use only Tagalog at home have low proficiency in the Tagbanua language while the few who speak the language as mother tongue are highly proficient. Those who speak the Tagbanua language at home as often as Tagalog are intermediate in proficiency. This

implies the importance that language used at home has in developing the language proficiency of the children. As to the five respondents who are level 1 (very low) proficient only, Tagalog is the only language spoken at home, and data show that because parents do not speak Tagbanua at home, the children will not learn Tagbanua at all. In fact, according to these children, they have learned Tagbanua from listening to conversations of neighbors. These children have a positive attitude toward the Tagbanua language.

3.4 Interrelationship among language attitude, use, and proficiency

The next table shows how some of these variables interact with each other.

Table 13
Distribution of Respondents' Language Attitude by Language Used at Home

| Language Attitude | Language Used at Home | | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---------|------|-------|
| | Tagbanua | Tagalog | Both | |
| Prefers Tagbanua | 14 | 10 | 22 | 46 |
| Prefers Tagalog | 0 | 13 | 1 | 14 |
| Total | 14 | 23 | 23 | 60 |

As can be seen, 77% of the respondents said they prefer to use the Tagbanua language, but in reality, only 23% use the language at home. The difference between the language preferred (attitude) and the language used at home seems to suggest that there is a tendency for speakers to overstate their preference for the Tagbanua language but may not really be using it at home.

As previously illustrated, a positive language attitude does not necessarily lead to language use at home. For the children, however, use of the Tagbanua language at home is very significant in developing their proficiency.

TAJOLOSA

Table 14
Language Attitude and Language Proficiency Cross Tabulation

| Language Attitude | Language Proficiency | | | Total |
|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|------|-------|
| | Low | Intermediate | High | |
| Prefers Tagbanua | 0 | 9 | 37 | 46 |
| Prefers Tagalog | 8 | 4 | 2 | 14 |
| Total | 8 | 13 | 39 | 60 |

As shown in Table 14, no one who has a positive attitude toward the language is low proficient. It can be noted too that the highly proficient respondents are four times as many as the intermediate proficient. It can be noted too that out of the 14 respondents who have a negative attitude toward Tagbanua, nine are low proficient. Test of significance finds a relationship between language attitude and proficiency. It is not conclusive, though, whether it is the attitude that influences proficiency or the other way around but it is likely that those who are proficient in the language will have a positive attitude toward the language.

4. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the data collected from the questionnaire and interviews, this researcher has arrived at the following conclusions:

Firstly, it is clear from the data that Tagalog has taken the place of the Tagbanua language at home and has become the Tagbanua speakers' first vernacular. Owing to this, the Tagbanua language is considered an endangered language in Irawan. Note the fact that barely one fourth of the children speak the language.

In the case of the Tagbanua in Irawan, it does not follow that a positive attitude toward the Tagbanua language will lead to the language being used at home and neither does it guarantee proficiency in the language. Despite the fact that 85% of the adults have between intermediate to high level proficiency in the Tagbanua language, only 61% use the language at home. Since home is considered to be the language nest where children can learn the language at its best, if parents choose not to speak the Tagbanua language at home, there would be less chance that it would be learned by their children. That observation is supported by the fact that the 20% of the young respondents who are intermediate and highly proficient in Tagbanua are those whose mother tongue is Tagbanua and those who use it at home as frequently as Tagalog.

Education and migration (from the Tagbanua community to the mainstream society) undoubtedly have a deleterious effect on the respondents' attitude toward the Tagbanua language. Education is mentioned here because of the constant exposure to the non-Tagbanua speakers. The respondents who may not have established strong ties with their group and their ancestral language have the tendency to identify more with the outsiders. Awareness of the low status which the non-Tagbanua speakers directly and indirectly ascribe to Tagbanua may discourage its speakers from speaking or even learning the language. Likewise, migration limits the demand for the use of the Tagbanua language as shown in the case of the Tagbanua in lowland Irawan. These respondents being proficient in Tagalog will definitely prefer Tagalog since they are surrounded by non-Tagbanua speakers. Again, the desire to belong might prompt them to deny their real identity (as was done by one student who refused to be interviewed) or show a lack of concern for the language.

A relationship between intermarriage and language attitude was established; however, no conclusion could be reached between stereotyping and language attitude owing to the small sample size. The possible effect of stereotyping on the attitude of the respondents (based on the researcher's observations/interviews of both Tagbanua and non-Tagbanua speakers) toward the Tagbanua language cannot be ignored.

At the time of finalizing this paper, the handful of elders in Taga-ud had already been relocated to the mainstream society. With the present status of the language, the hope for survival lies in the hands of both the Tagbanua and non-Tagbanua speakers. Firstly, the non-Tagbanua speakers should realize that by not participating in stereotyping of the Tagbanua speakers both in words and in deeds, they give the latter the feeling of acceptance in the society. Secondly, the government should remain protective of the indigenous group's habitat and their culture, ensuring that government interventions for economic progress will not take for granted the people's inherent rights and cultural preservation. Thirdly, educational institutions should participate actively in building the students' pride in their own cultural groups and their native languages. Lastly, and most importantly, the Tagbanua speakers themselves, both youth and adults, should realize their role in perpetuating their language. If all of these take place, then perhaps the Tagbanua language will survive into succeeding generations, despite globalization.

It is to be stressed that despite the efforts of educational institutions, the government, and the non-Tagbanua speakers in the community, the survival of the Tagbanua language depends to a great extent on the efforts exerted by its native speakers. According to Crawford (1998), tribal initiative and control are essential to language revitalization because language choices are a matter of consensus within each community. In the exact words of Krauss (1992b, as cited by Crawford), '[a]ll important is the people's will to restore their languages. You cannot from the outside inculcate into people the will to maintain their

TAJOLOSA

languages. That has to come from them. If endangered languages are to be saved, it is crucial for native speakers to see the value of doing so and get actively involved in the process'.

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