International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Translation (IJLLT)

ISSN: 2617-0299 (Online); ISSN: 2708-0099 (Print)

DOI: 10.32996/ijllt www.ijllt.org



Original Research Article

Genealogy of Cebuano Language in Calbayog City, Samar

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ARTICLE INFO

Article History

Received: March 28, 2020 Accepted: May 23, 2020

Volume: 3 Issue: 5

DOI: 10.32996/ijllt.2020.3.5.11

KEYWORDS

language genealogy, Cebuano language, language preservation, language maintenance

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the reasons why the resident-participants of Brgy. Pena, Brgy. Malayog, Brgy. Cagmanipis Sur and Brgy. Cagmanipis Norte speak Cebuano. The researcher used narrative research design wherein, in-depth interviews were conducted to the participants of the barangays. Significant reasons revealed that the first settlers of the barangays originally came from Cebu and Masbate. The original settlers who came from Cebu and Masbate were Cebuano speakers in nature and this is due to the primary livelihood which is fishing. Further, the participants have strong language preservation and maintenance towards Cebuano language and a strong indicator of this is they are active speakers of their language. Hence, the participants positively see their language as their tool to communicate even with the majority speakers as they perceived their language not as a hindrance in participating in communication settings even with the Waray-Waray Speakers. Lastly, there is a precise establishment of habitual language use in a contact situation despite of contact with majority language speakers.

Introduction

Language variation is an observed occurrence which is found in every language in this world. Language use and maintenance in an immigrant minority setting is an important area of investigation if one is to understand some of the factors involved in the community's integration process. Minority communities adopt a number of linguistic strategies for communication among themselves and their wider community. Every language has its varieties or dialects, when a certain variety of a language is used according to the users. As Fromkin, et al. (2013) defined, a dialect is simply a distinct form of a language, possibly associated with a recognizable region, social, or ethnic group, differentiated from the other forms of a language by specific linguistic features, (for example) pronunciation, grammar or any combination of this. Therefore, like the language variation in Calbayog City, it is not surprising that different dialects of a language evolve within social groups.

The Waray language is prevalently spoken in the whole of Samar Island specifically in the City of Calbayog except in the little island communities of San Vicente and San Antonio in Northern Samar, Almagro and Santo Niño in Western Samar where Cebuano is being spoken. Cebuano is also spoken in some barangays of San Isidro, Northern Samar and Calbayog City, Western Samar.

Alegre (2010) clearly stated the variations of Waray-Waray language as the Waray spoken in Eastern Samar is called estehanon; that in Northern Samar is nortehanon and that of Samar in the west is westehanon. Waray is the medium in the northern part of Leyte Province. Municipalities in the northwestern part of the province speak Cebuano. At the southwest end, Binol-anon is spoken. The dialect spoken in Babay is Baybayon which is slightly different from Waray and Cebuano. Cebuano and Binol-anon are spoken in Southern Leyte. Biliran Island, people in the eastern towns and Maripipi Island are Waray speaking and the rest are Cebuano. The people of Capul Island uniquely speak Inabaknon which is largely different from Waray or Cebuano in terms of vocabulary.

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The history of Calbaog City began as early as 1600 in a settlement called Hibatang by the river bank of the present Oquendo River. It had 2,000 inhabitants under the spiritual guidance of a certain Jesuit, Father Ignacio de Alzina. The present barangay Anislag was the forerunner of Calbayog settlement. The barangay is located along the river bank of Oquendo river, about ten kilometers north off the city proper. Historical remains of what was once a village church can be noticed by travelers passing this barangay. The place was often visited by flood during stormy days, so Anislag settlement became unsafe. The enduring settlers left the place in "balotos" (bancas) and hastily rigged bamboo rafts following the river towards the sea. At Cahumpan (now barangay Cahumpan) they decided to stop just for a moment's break. Somehow, at the spur of the moment and by common consent, they settled down at Cahumpan to start life anew. More settlers came. Some crossed the river to Sabang (now barangay Trinidad). After a

certain period of time, the restless settlers moved again and settled at Taboc (now barangay Obrero), a settlement which directly face the open Samar sea. The place was once a vast swampland which extended from the present Nijaga Park, where the monument of national hero Dr. Jose P. Rizal and local hero Benedicto P. Nijaga now stand. Taboc is the place where the name Calbayog began. Taboc, so legend says, once abounded with "Bayog" trees. They were cut down and burned for fuel in making "Cal" (lime) out of sea shells and corals. From these two things, the Spaniards called the place "Calbayog". The second version says that there was once a man named "Bayog". It so happened that there was no other path leading to the sea except at Bayog's place. Fishermen used to say "tikang kami kan Bayog" (we came from Bayog) or "makadto kami kan Bayog" (we shall go to Bayog). One day a "guardia civil" asked for the name of the place. The fisherman mistaking the query for another thing, answered "tikang kami kan Bayog" (we came from Bayog), with the correct query and a wrong answer, the Spaniard took the last words, "kan Bayog", for the name of the settlement. A lot of tongue-twisting and mispronunciation changed the original name of Calbayog.

Calbayog City is situated in the western part of the island of Samar. It lies along the coastal region of the province stretching about 60 miles from the northern tip of the island and 180 miles from southern boundaries. The city has a total land area of 90,300 hectares which is .301% of the archipelagos total land area, 4.21% of the regional land area, 6.724% of the island of Samar and 16.10% of the area of Samar province and the language being spoken in Calbayog City is known as Calbayognon Waray-Waray (http://www.competitive.org.ph/cmcindex/pages/profile/?lgu=Calbayog).

In terms of the main livelihood of the province, Samar is known in terms of its traditional livelihood which is fishing or panagat in local term. Majority of the Calbayognons are engaged primarily in fishing, farming and forestry considering that the city has an agro-based economy. According to Alegre (2010), fishing communities thrive in communities by the river or sea and since ancient times, the Waray have been building boats. Boats serve as means of transportation for fishing and for transporting people as well as goods.

The two main islands, Samar and Leyte, and the island province of Biliran now comprise the Eastern Visayas region. The term "Waray" refers to both the people and the language of Leyte and Samar. It literally means "nothing". The formal name for the Waray language as qualified by the Waray literati elders of the Sanghiran sang Binisaya (Council for the Visayan Language) is Lineyte - Samarnon or Binisaya and the term "Waray" has become a common term now a days. As Constantino (1971) has noted that the Bisayan languages like Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, and also Kinaray-a, and Romblomanon are regarded by some linguists and anthropologists as dialects of one language, called the Bisayan language, or simply Bisaya or Binasaya.

According to Zorc (1977) in his linguistic analysis work entitled "The Bisayan Dialects of The Philippines: Subgrouping and Reconstruction", the linguistic term binisaydq applies to the following islands and their respective provinces. Bohol; Biliran; Cebu; Caluya (Antique); Dinagat (Surigao del Norte); Guimaras (Iloilo); Leyte-Leyte, Southern Leyte; Masbate; Negros-Negros Occidental, Negros Oriental; Panay-Aklan, Antique, Capiz, Iloilo; Romblon; Samar-Eastern Samar, Northern Samar, [Western] Samar; Semirara (Antique); Siargao (Surigao del Norte); Sibuyan (Romblon); Siquijor; Tablas (Romblon); Ticao (Masbate).

As added by Elkins (1974), the following islands or provinces are not politically Visayan, but have had Visayan communities and speakers since pre-Hispanic times: Bikol-Sorsogon; Cuyo (Palawan); Mindanao-Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Bukidnon, Misamis Occidental, Misamis Oriental, Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, Zamboanga del Norte; Mindoro- Occidental Mindoro, Oriental Mindoro; Jolo Capul has Abaknon, a Samalan language; and Agutaya has Agutaynen, a Kalamian lan- guage. All of these languages have borrowed from their Visayan neighbour).

Barangay Pena is part of the Tinambacan District, Calbayog City and 33.1 km away from the city proper. Brgy. Pena has 770 household and 800 families. Majority of the residents of Barangay Pena are into farming and fishing. The total no. of population of Barangay Pena is 1,950. Based on the data from the City Planning and Development Office, Calbayog City, the

age bracket ranging from 5-9 years old has the greatest total no. of 256 no. of population. Meanwhile, ages ranging from 1-4 has the total no. of 238, ages from 10-14 has 225 population, 15-19 years old has 194 population, 20-24 years old with 163 population, 25-29 years old with 142 population and residents who are 75-above are have the total population of 12. In terms of educational attainment, majority of the residents are in primary level with 549 total no. of population, 132 total number of population who are high school graduate, college level with 78 population and 255 population of the residents who have not attained educational attainment. It has been recorded that majority of the college students attend their schooling at Northwestern Samar State University, Calbayog City. Brgy. Pena has its Elementary and Secondary Schools and Cebuano is their mother-tongue being used in the schools.

Barangay Malayog is situated at the coastal barangays of Calbayog City facing Samar Sea. The barangay has 233 no. of households, the average household size is 5 and the total population of the barangay is 1,113. The barangay was once a Purok of Brgy. Pena but as the population increased and with the presence of the first families resided in the barangay: Tamidles, Caspe, Balero, Lapure, Allego, Danico and Pelenio. Until such time that the place became a barangay. This place was once called marvel in honor of the late President Marcos and Assemblyman Fernando Veloso but the name Malayog is more popular to the people and of the neighbouring barangays. Up to now the name Malayog is still its name. Barangay Cagmanipis Sur is part of the Tinambacan District and 40 km. away from the City proper. According to the data gathered, majority of the residents would have the age ranging from 5-9 years old with total no. of population of 143, while for ages ranging from 15-19 years old has the total no. of 109 population and the oldest residents recorded in the barangay is ranging from 79-above years old with 13 population. The barangay has the total no. of 260 in terms of households, average household size is 4 and the total no. of population is 1,069.

Lastly, Barangay Cagmanipis Norte has a distance of 39.3 km away from the city proper. Majority of the residents of the barangay were children ages 5-9 and 10-14 years old. Meanwhile, there were 140 no. of population ages ranging from 25-29 years old, ages 40-44 with 83 population and there were only 12 population with the ages ranging from 80-above years old. The total no. of households is 381, average household size is 5 and the total no. of population is 1,881.

This study was confronted for an investigation on the reasons why the residents of Brgy. Pena, Brgy. Malayog, Brgy. Cagmanipis Sur and Brgy. Cagmanipis Norte speak Cebuano and why they were able to preserve the Cebuano language.

Statement of the Problem

This study aimed to answer the following question:

To investigate what are the reasons why the residents of Brgy. Pena, Brgy. Malayog, Brgy. Cagmanipis Sur and Brgy. Cagmanipis Norte, Calbayog City, Samar speak Cebuano.

Methodology

Research Design

The researcher used narrative research design in which it focuses on getting stories from individuals through reporting individual experiences and putting meaning on those experiences. Further, narrative research design was used because the nature of the current study is on history and sociolinguistics. The researcher employed observations, one-on-one interviews, focused-group discussion (FGD) and documents.

Participants

The participants of this study were the residents of the four (4) barangays. In-depth interviews were utilized during and the researchers obtained similar responses coming from the participants of the four (4) barangays. There were five (5) participants for every barangay who were considered to be the participants because based from the in-depth interviews conducted, similar reasons and responses obtained from the participants.

Data Gathering Procedure

The researcher conducted a pre-observation and initial assessment to the four (4) barangays on how do the participants would communicate in their day-to-day living using the Cebuano language in the market, in the church, in school, in transportation vehicle, in the streets, at the farm, at the beach, during parties and fiestas. During the pre-observation and initial assessment, there were no interviews conducted by the researcher but all the observations were recorded and documented. The purpose of conducting a pre-observation and pre-assessment is for the researchers to provide initial background on the processes in conducting interviews.

The researcher gathered documents from the City Planning and Development Office of Calbayog and Barangay Halls through the Barangay Officials for the historical, geographical and other pertinent information about Brgy. Pena, Brgy. Malayog, Brgy. Cagmanipis Sur and Brgy. Cagmanipis Norte. Aside from the documents and field texts/field note, the researcher had an indepth interview with the participants especially with the old residents since the old residents of the barangays were recorded to be the descendants of the first settlers of the barangays in various homes, barangay halls, playground, along the streets and markets. Using guide questions, all the interviews were recorded. The documents gathered and the responses of the residents were cross-checked to compare and validate the reasons on why and how the residents speak Cebuano.

Results and Discussion

The researcher had an interview with the Barangay Chairman of Pena regarding on why the residents of the barangay speak Cebuano and according to him, in the year 1850, some immigrants from Cebu, Masbate and Bohol settled in Barrio Pena. Prominent residents of Barrio Pena during the year 1850's were Allego, Labolabo, Mahinay, Maribojoc and Palaypay. The family of Binoy Allego was reported to be the oldest residents of Brgy. Pena and they came from Central Visayas. The family of Binoy Allego was believed to own hundred hectares of land in the barrio. Together with the wife of Binoy Allego named Awang Allego, they arrived in Barrio Pena in 1850s and one of their children namely, Telesporo Allego was born on 1868 in Barrio Pena. During 1910 – 1920, many immigrants from the Island of Almagro and Tagapul-a settled in Barrio Pena due to farming. Residents of Barrio Pena were engaged in planting corns, sweet potato and abaca. In 1945 - 1949, the residents of the Barrio shifted their livelihood from planting to mining. However, the mining industry did not last long due to typhoon which it caused huge distraction in the Barrio.

The Barangay Chairman added that he personally asked and interviewed the oldest residents in Barangay Pena and he found out that the first settlers in this barangay are those Cebuano speaking people. The researchers asked the participants on how do they preserve the Cebuano language as their first language and the participants answered that the residents in this barangay could actually understand Waray-Waray but usually have a hard time using Waray-Waray in conversation. Also, the residents do not use Waray-Waray even if they are in the City as they do not feel uneasy in speaking Cebuano and lastly, Cebuano is the language they use because this is the language of their ancestors and their language is also part of their culture and identity.

"Sa akoang paghibaw, kato akoang gi interview na mga tigulang ug mga apuhan gikan sa pamilya Allego, gikan sila sa Cebu. Naay pud lahi diri nga ang ilahang mga apoy-apoyan ug ginikanan ba kay taga Masbate pud. Pero katong ni arhi ang pamilya 'Allego', wa pa taw diri sa amoang barangay, kay ang Brgy. Pena ang sentro na barrio sa Tinambacan katong mga 1850's unya mao na ang rason nganu Cebuano ang amoang lingwahe diri ."

"As far as I know, based from the interviews I had with the descendants from the Allego family, their ancestors were originally came from Cebu. There were some residents here whose ancestors were from Masbate. According to the Allego family, when the time their ancestors migrated from Cebu and Masbate, there were no residents living in this barangay and Brgy. Pena was then the biggest barrio in Tinambacan District and these are the reasons why the residents speak Cebuano language."

The researcher interviewed one of the oldest residents of Barangay Malayog to compare the information obtained from Barangay Pena and the resident came from the family of Lapure. The Lapure family is known to be the first family who settled in Barangay Malayog. According to the participant, his ancestors were originally from Talisay, Cebu. Their ancestors decided

to settle in Barangay Malayog because of their livelihood means which was into fishing and forestry. As he added, his ancestors could catch more fishes if they sail along the coastal area of Barangay Pena and Malayog.

"Ang mga una gyud na nag puyo diri kay ang mga gikan sa Talisay, Cebu niarhi katong 1850's.. mao na ang pamilya Lapure ug Caspe.. kay managat man sila ug mangahoy. Ang Brgy. Malayog kay parte man sa Brgy. Pena katong tuiga sa 1850's unya gi tawag sya na Malayog kay mga taw mulayog sila sa dagat pad'ong sa Pena kay naa may bato na dako mao ang ilang gamiton sa pag layog. Ingon sa among mga apohan, ang mga unang residente diri sa Pena ug Maglayog kay ang mga gikan sa Talisay, Cebu."

(The first people who settled in this barangay were those who came from Talisay, Cebu during the year of 1850 and they and were the family of Lapure and Caspe and this barangay was then part of Pena. The first settlers in this barangay were reported to be fishermen and doing forestry. This barangay was called Brgy. Malayog because before, there was a big stone in the sea and it was being used by the residents to jumped over going to Brgy. Pena (Malayog means to jump). According to my ancestors, the first settlers came from Talisay, Cebu).

An interview to a 78-year-old resident of Barangay Cagmanipis Sur, around 1850's there were only four (4) families who were living in the barangay namely: Moraca, Cantiga, Dura and Tayab who were recorded to be from Masbate. The researcher found out that the first settlers in Brgy. Cagmanipis Sur and Norte were the people from Masbate and even until now, mostly of the residents came from Masbate. When asked why they decided to migrate all the way from Masbate to Brgy. Cagmanipis Sur, the participants answered that it was easy for him to find ways of living in the barangay than in Masbate and he added that it was not hard for him together with his family to travel from Masbate to Pena because the distance was not that far. Motor-boat or motor-pandagat in local term is the kind of boat they would usually use in travelling.

"Ingon sa akoang mga apuhan, katong ni arhi ang mga una gyud na nag puyo diri ay katong mga taga tabok na isla, sa Masbate. Unya, hangtud karon gyud daghan mi diri nga mga gikan sa Masbate. Naa pud ingon sa ubang mga tiguwang ang mga taga Cebu."

(According to my ancestors, the first settlers of this barangay were known from

Masbate. There were also other settlers who migrated from Cebu).

Cagmanipis was a small village before and part of Brgy. Malaga because there were only few families who were living during that time. After how many years, Cagmanipis became a barangay because of the growing number of residents and the first Kapitan del Baryo was Maximiano Dura. The means of living of the residents are into farming, fishing, trading of products to nearby places. If the workers would go home, they used the forest of the barangay as their land mark going home and that started the name of Cagamanipis from the Cebuano term 'nipis' means 'thin' because the forest of Cagmanipis Norte was known as thin as to its physical appearance.

"Niadto mang gyud na panahon, ingon sa akong mga apohan kay gikan mang gyud sila sa Masbate ug Cebu musakay ra man to sila sa motor sa pandagat ba mao gamiton biyahe sa dagat kung mu-adto sila sa Masbate

ug padung pa uli diri sa Cagmanipis."

(Long time ago, according to my ancestors, they came from Masbate

and Cebu. They used motor-boat every time they would travel going to

Masbate and going back home here in Cagmanipis).

Based on the reasons why the residents of the barangays speak Cebuano, the participants gave similar reasons that the first people who settled in Barangay Pena, Barangay Malayog, Barangay Cagmanipis Sur and Norte were from Cebu and Masbate. Further, there were no people living in the barangays before the coming of the people from Cebu and Masbate. There were no contact between Waray-Waray and Cebuano speakers back then. Until such time, the few families residing in those barangays became big clans or families. The main reason on the migration of the residents was about their livelihood means and majority of the participants' ancestors who came from Cebu and Masbate were fishermen. Until now, majority of the residents of the four (4) barangays are into fishing and forestry.

The historical background, profile of each barangay and series of interviews with the participants gave clear and detailed information on language genealogy on the reasons why the residents speak Cebuano. Geographically speaking, the location of the four (4) barangays are along the high-way and coastal area and this is because the neighbouring islands of these barangays such Almagro, Santo Nino, Tagapul-an, Masbate and Cebu are all Cebuano Speakers.

In terms of language use, the researchers found out that even the young-adult student (college student) of the Barangay who are studying in Calbayog City, would still use the Cebuano because they can shift from Cebuano to Waray-Waray. An interview with a student living in Barangay Pena and currently studying in Calbayog City confirmed that even though majority of his schoolmates are native of Waray-Waray, he would still interact and communicate using Cebuano and able to codeswitch Cebuano and Waray-Waray but definitely he is struggling in communicating using straight Waray-Waray. This could infer that Waray-Waray speakers are more flexible in terms in shifting language compared from the Cebuano Speakers. Language shift takes place if there is a change it could be gradual or not by a speaker, group of speakers, and/or a speech community from the dominant use of one language.

"Akoang mga klasmeyts kay mga Waray-Waray man sila... Mas komportable

mang gyud mi kung among gamiton ang Cebuano nya mao pud akong gamiton

kong makig storya mi sa akoang mga klasmeyts".

(My classmates are Waray-Waray speakers... I do not really speak Waray-Waray

because I am comfortable to use Cebuano rather than Waray-Waray and I still

use Cebuano even my classmates would talk to me in Waray-Waray.)

The residents were all 'active' speakers of Cebuano and it manifests a strong access to a literary heritage and even in school communities, Cebuano language is being spoken. It has been a significant finding that those families where one partner speaks Waray-Waray and the other speaks Cebuano, it was the Waray-Waray partner who would do language shifting into Cebuano as well as their children. According to the participant who is married to a resident of Barangay Malayog, she was the one who was influenced to speak Cebuano because it was hard for her if she would remain to speak Waray-Waray since all the residents in the community speak the same language and as well as their children have acquired the Cebuano language. On the language preservation aspect, the residents showed a positive attitude on preserving their language. Language maintenance and preservation were evidently performed by the residents as they would always use their language inside and outside of their community. This gives an implication that there is a positive and supportive attitude towards Cebuano language among the residents and this led to language preservation.

"Kung sa pag preserba, amo gyud gi preserba kay mao mang gyud ni ang amoang

gidak-an na amoang isulti ba o gamiton kung mu-atubang mi sa mga taw..."

(In preserving our language, we really preserve our language because this is our language we used to speak and this is the language we use in communicating other people.)

"...dapat pud i-preserba ang amoang lingwahe kay parti mang gyud ni sa amoang pagkataw, kultura pud... nya ang Cebuano kay mao ang amoang kultura ug mao ni ang pagka-ila sa amoa."

(... it should be preserved because this language has been part of our humanity... we use Cebuano because this is the language of our ancestors and our language is also part of our culture and identity.)

The responses coming from the residents on how they maintain and preserve the language have showed that they use their language as part of their living. Based form the interviews, using their language in the city in which it uses the Waray-Waray language does not create any conflict or misunderstanding. The residents share the same sociocultural characteristics which forces in promoting the language maintenance of Cebuano language.

"Ani mang gyud ang among linggwahe (Cebuano) na komportable mi gamiton.

Kay kung mag Waray mi, lisud mang gyud kay nay mga sulti ba sa Waray na dili mi makaintindi, katong mga lalim ang iyahang mga terminolohiya. Gamiton pud namon ang Cebuano kay mao mang gyud ni ang lingwahe sa amoang mga ginikanan ug apohan."

(This is our language (Cebuano) which is we are comfortable in using it. If we speak in Waray-Waray, we are having difficulty because there are terms in Waray-Waray that are not easy to understand, especially those who have different or deep meaning.

We use Cebuano because this is the language of our ancestors.)

The participants were also asked by the researchers on how they would preserve the language and the participants answered that they use the language and they will continue using the language. From the moment they started living in the barangay, they have already acquired the language, it has been used by their ancestors and even children still use the Cebuano language. There is a strong language practices on the use of Cebuano language from the ancestors, grandparents, parents and other relatives.

Language maintenance and language preservation were viewed as a strong indicator why the residents of the barangays maintain and preserve the use of the Cebuano language despite of their interaction of the Waray-Waray speakers and taking into consideration on the location of these barangays from the city which is not that far from Calbayog City. Majority of the residents were elementary, secondary and college levels and Cebuano language still used in the speech community and even those college students who were studying in the City proper, have not brought into language shifting or language death although there was interaction between Cebuano and Waray-Waray speakers.

Kloss (1996) identified factors promoting language maintenance (LM): 1. Early point of immigration; 2. the existence of linguistic enclaves; 3. membership of a denomination with parochial schools and pre-emigration experience with LM. Further, Kloss (1996) added that educational level of immigrants could also be a factor to LM wherein, a higher level of education could mean greater cultural and linguistic activity around the minority language but it could also be in another way in which, there could be a greater ease of integration into the majority group because of lesser difficulties with language and educational barriers. As Edwards (1997) emphasized that language maintenance and preservation imply a continuity of the

ordinary spoken medium and it highlights the importance of uninterrupted domestic language transmission from one generation to the next. If this transmission is sustained, then language maintenance and preservation is assured.

In relation to the educational background of the residents on the four (4) barangays, majority of the residents were elementary and high school graduates and since very few number of residents are employed and mostly of them are into farming and fishing, the residents do not have a greater chance to interact and socialize to the majority speakers of Waray-Waray. As an effect, there is still a numerical strength of the group of residents who speak Cebuano. In terms of linguistic and cultural similarity, the Cebuano speakers perceived their language as part of their culture and speaking Cebuano does not alter or hamper the language preservation even engaging in majority speakers of Waray-Waray.

According to Smolicz (1981) the theory of language as a core value explains why there are certain groups maintain their language. This theory built around the notion that each group subscribes to a particular set of cultural values which are vital to its continued existence as a separate entity. Preserving and maintaining a language among Cebuano residents have been proven to be significant and more important as they consider their language which is Cebuano to be a core value.

Moreover, the residents were all 'active' speakers of Cebuano and it manifests a strong access to a literary heritage and even in school communities, their language is being spoken. Another factor why the Cebuano speaking residents survive, it is because of the language practices from the ancestors, grandparents, parents and other relatives. According to Pauwells (2004), the language practices of parents, grandparents, and other relatives or kin considered important in child rearing are crucial in laying the foundations for the maintenance of a minority language among future generations. As Pauwells (2004) added, most studies of language maintenance and preservation in the family show that language preservation and language maintenance effort are especially successful among children (pre-school age). School-age children are more prone to language shift, especially if their schooling excludes or prohibits the use of the home language (minority language) in the school or even in public. This often impacts adversely on their use of the minority language in the home and they stop being active users of the home language and become receptive bilinguals only. Language maintenance in the education domain has been considerably important. The four (4) barangays provide education system from elementary to high school level and still, Cebuano is being used as their L1 in teaching-learning process aside from English and Filipino languages.

Important factors Fishman (1964) finds in successful efforts to maintain minority languages include the need for sacrifice, self-help, self-regulation, and the establishment of boundaries for language use. He logically locates the key to minority-language preservation in the intergenerational transmission of the language in the home by families, not in government policies and laws. This thought is reinforced by Littlebear (1990) who emphasizes the importance of family involvement in these efforts.

Further, the analysis led to major themes based on the significant statements:

1. Strong language preservation towards Cebuano language – In losing a language, it seems also losing the culture and knowledge of the people who use the language but this has been an opposite ideology among the Cebuano speaker in Calbayog City. The residents living in the community live in direct contact with their native environment.

"It is our language and it is the language of our ancestors that is why we

are preserving the language (Cebuano)."

".... this is our language we used to speak and this is the language we

use in communicating other people. Even the young-adults who are studying in

the city would still use Cebuano."

2. Positive attitude towards Cebuano language – Positive attitude towards the language of the participants play an important role in sustaining and maintaining their Cebuano language despite of interaction in the majority language. Hence, social attitude towards the minority language in the speakers' community and surroundings, as supported by parents, teachers and even peers can increase the language maintenance. Therefore, if there is a positive attitude by the speakers of the minority, then strong language preservation and maintenance will be evident.

"If we are in the City and communicating with Waray-Waray speakers,

we are comfortable to speak Cebuano."

"Even majority of my classmates are Waray-Waray speakers, I still

continue to use Cebuano".

3. Language maintenance of Cebuano language – Language maintenance as defined by Mesthrie (1992) is a continuing use of language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially powerful or numerically stronger language. In this case, parents who are more concerned in developing and maintaining language as their identity and pride in second-generation tend to emphasize the home language as indispensable part of the identity.

"My daughter can speak Waray-Waray because she is studying in the

City proper but every time she goes home, she would always speak Cebuano."

"Our language is the language we have used to speak since then and we

use this language because it has been used by our ancestors."

4. Language as a symbol of identity – Another common reason cited why the participants continue to use their language because they have a strong attachment on the importance to the home language which is the Cebuano language and their identity. As many linguists would say, language is what gives us our identity and expresses our unique worldview. Therefore, the participants perceived their language as the ultimate symbol of belonging.

"This is the language we use because this is the language of our ancestors

and our language is also part of our culture and identity."

Conclusion

The above discussions give a vivid explanation on the reason why and how the residents of Brgy. Pena, Brgy. Malayog, Brgy. Cagmanipis Sur and Norte speak Cebuano language. The first settlers of the four (4) barangays were the families came from Cebu and Masbate. Cebu and Masbate are the neighboring islands of Calbayog which is according to the interviews, the people back then migrated from Cebu and Masbate to the barangays for the reason of their main livelihood which was they were into fishing and even until now, majority of the residents are into fishing and others do forestry and farming.

Further, there is a precise establishment of habitual language use in a contact situation. In spite of contact with majority language speakers, Cebuano language speakers of Calbayog City still preserve and maintain their language to a certain extent. Being active speakers of the language specifically the parents, this shows a great effort in the continuous use of their language by the younger generation speakers. Hence, the Cebuano speakers seek to maintain the language of their community because they believe that their language is the one that gives them a sense of familiarity, identity and self-worth. As the participants added, they could understand Waray-Waray language but it is difficult on their part to speak Waray-Waray.

Being active speakers of the language, the residents could not find any conflict in times of contact setting to majority language speakers or to Waray-Waray speakers of Calbayog City. Cebuano speakers of Calbayog City perceived their language as useful in a socioeconomic aspect and this most likely, the language can be maintained.

Lastly, considerable efforts have gone into in maintaining the Cebuano language from the parents, relatives, school and communities. The use of Cebuano language among the residents in different Cebuano speaking barangays strengthened their sense of value in Cebuano language through practices and a continuous use of Cebuano language.

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