Fostering Social Identity Through Translanguaging Among Manobo Indigenous Cultural Community In Southern Philippines

Rene Marquez Bonifacio

Abstract: Translanguaging is a complex process of combining two or more languages in a single utterance in reference to the complex linguistic and semiotic repertoires of languages employed. This study aims at probing how translanguaging supports Manobo's social identity through the fluidity of linguistic boundaries. Using purposive sampling, I chose eight respondents based on specific criteria. To gather substantial data, I employed in-depth sociolinguistic interviews and ethnography, which were video-recorded to encapsulate the precision of the respondents' narratives and real-life language use. The transcripts were analyzed to uncover the function of translanguaging in portraying the social identity of the respondents. The findings of the study reveal that Manobo people in Lumintao, Quezon, Bukidnon have embraced a multilingual identity because they employ translanguaging, a combination of Cebuano and Binukid languages, in interacting with others at school, market, workplace. Even though they speak Cebuano, their Manobo identity is apparent because of using Binukid lexis that was smoothly and automatically combined during conversations. Aside from that, their Manobo accent is evident which is an index of belonging to the Manobo cultural community.

Index Terms: Binukid, Bukidnon, Manobo, Manobo indigenous cultural community, social identity, translanguaging

——————————————— ◆ ———————————————

1 INTRODUCTION

DESPITE the coronavirus pandemic, the world has experienced various developments from globalization, advancement of science and technology, gender equality and women empowerment, and progressive economy (Vanham, 2019; UNESCO, 2019; United Nations, 2020; United Nations, 2020); however, the indigenous communities continue struggling to make their voices be heard across the globe as alienation, destitution, prejudice, and strife perpetually afflict the autochthonous individuals (United Nations, 2009). Their language, culture, and belief systems experience endangerment, and worse annihilation (United Nations, 2009), which in turn deleteriously impact their affluent linguistic and cultural heritage, social identity, and ideology (United Nations, 2019). Regardless of the world's acceptance to embrace multilingualism, plurilingualism, and multiculturalism (King, 2018; Mepham & Martinovic, 2018), indigenous peoples strive to communicate in different modes in multiple worlds (Leaño, Rabi, & Piragasam, 2019), particularly that they belong to the minority group and it is inevitable for them to converge to the tongue of the superior culture (University of Minnesota, 2003). Further, the language of the dominant culture supersedes the language of the indigenous peoples (Garcia, 2011), as a result, they converge, assimilate, and adapt to the superior language that makes communication and learning more challenging, most especially if the language is unfamiliar to them (Suarez-Orozco, 2001). In Mindanao, Philippines, specifically in Bukidnon, the Manobo people communicate using the Binukid language within their kin. However, when speaking to people outside their kin, they interact employing the Cebuano language, the lingua franca of Bukidnon Province, as individuals outside their clan are incapable of speaking their language (Edgerton, 2014). For the grade school indigenous learners, they are forced to learn Cebuano

as this language is used in their classroom, specifically that the Department of Education implemented the Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education, where the Binukid language is excluded in the list of languages used in instruction even though Cebuano is not the students' mother tongue (Department of Education, 2012), which defeats the purpose of using the native language supposedly of the learners. Further, social science scholars have studied social identities over the last three decades (Schwartz et al., 2014; Vignoles, Schwartz, & Luyckx, 2011; Côté, 2006), especially that human beings yearn to connect, fit in, and become distinguished from the rest (Fiske, 2010). As people from diverse cultures diverge in the community, ethnic identity becomes a relevant research subject, and this discipline needs more exploration of the conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity (Schwartz et al., 2014). With the recent advancements in the approaches and methods used in analyzing ethnic identity, these developments paved the way towards studying this particular field (Santos & Taylor, 2015).

To provide an in-depth conceptualization of identity, the connection between ethnicity and identity shows "the multivalent and multimodal nature of identities as well as the nuanced ways in which these identities are indexed and negotiated linguistically" using an essentialist perspective (Wong & Hall-Lew, 2014, p. 27). Using a constructivist approach, ethnicity and ethnic identity are continuously conveyed in the diverse social groups to which a person affirms affiliation (Staicov, 2020), most especially belonging to a specific indigenous community. Using the lens of linguistics, the linguistic features used by indigenous peoples in communication showcase their identity (Joseph, 2004), given that language serves as a binding agent between the person and their social identity (Tabouret-Keller, 1998).

To confirm this notion, various studies have been conducted to prove the relationship between social groups and linguistic features (Labov, 1966, 1972; Lakoff, 1975, 2000; Tannen, 1990; Milroy, 1987; Milroy & Milroy, 1992). Joseph (2004) further highlights that "group identities are sometimes manifested primarily through shared linguistic features and these features are not necessarily fixed in a given individual, whose knowledge of his language always includes a wide

• *Rene Marquez Bonifacio is an Assistant Professor III of English at Central Mindanao University. He accomplished his Master of Arts in English Language Studies at Mindanao State University – Iligan Institute of Technology. His research interests include sociolinguistics, indigenous language studies, language documentation, language ecology, and language planning and policy. Email: renebonifacio@cmu.edu.ph*

range of features (so that he can understand speakers from outside his group) which in some cases he can deploy actively, for example in the case of linguistic accommodation" (p. 38). Nguyen and Brown (2010) analyze the language and style of 28 Hmong adolescents to reveal their cultural identities and ethnicity. Through the lens of the linguistic landscape of Dili, Timor-Leste, Taylor-Leech (2011) correlates language choice to the respondents' social and national identity. In Staicov's (2020) study, using the indigenous language shows a solid connection to ethnic identity, such that being able to speak the heritage language, which is Cantonese, is a criterion to secure that certain social and ethnic identity. Aside from being able to speak the indigenous language as a mark of social and ethnic identity, sociolinguists use translanguaging to analyze social identity, specifically in the academic setting, given that this particular field began as a form of a communicative strategy used by teachers who synchronically use two languages in the classroom (Creese & Blackledge, 2015) as it describes the complex process of students' use of linguistic and semiotic resources to advance their proficiency of a target language (Baker, 2011). Creese and Blackledge (2010, 2011) study the process of how students in British complementary schools employ translanguaging to uphold their bicultural identities and challenge language program borders. Li (2011) analyzes how Chinese university students showcase their social identity and social relationship through translanguaging. López-Gopar et al. (2013) highlight that Oaxacan students' use of translanguaging indicates their Spanish identities and strengthens their proficiency in the English language. Sayer (2013) investigates how the translanguaging of students and teachers emphasizes their TexMex or Tejano identities aside from aiding them in their scholastic activities. García and Leiva (2014) examine how students certify their Latinx identity and undertake academic activities through translanguaging. Poza (2019) examines how 5th-grade students foster social identity and social relationships through translanguaging. With the recent developments and studies about translanguaging across the globe, few studies are conducted in the Philippines, especially how indigenous peoples employ translanguaging when interacting among the members of their community and with individuals outside their circle. It is also interesting to discover how they uniquely use translanguaging to uncover their social identity amidst linguistic diversity in the area, at the same time how they preserve their identity despite speaking a different language, particularly not their mother tongue. To present a logical flow of thoughts, this article is structured as follows. The Review of Literature provides significant information about how language shapes social identity, construction of social identity, background and application of translanguaging, and the present situation of the Manobo people in Bukidnon, Mindanao, Southern Philippines. To generate a scholarly output, the research methodology presents the participants, research locale, research instrument used, data gathering procedure, method of analysis, and ethical considerations. To discuss the results of the study, the findings section begins with how the Manobo people project themselves as multilingual speakers in a multicultural community and how they establish their Manobo identity despite the application of translanguaging. I conclude the article by restating why Manobo people employ translanguaging, how translanguaging fosters their social identity, limitations of the study, recommendations for future research endeavors, and implications for language policy,

especially the restoration, preservation, and maintenance of Binukid language in Bukidnon, Mindanao, Philippines.

2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Language and Social Identity
Language is not only intended for human interaction, but it also unveils the identity of human beings as it holds the behavior and culture of the persons speaking the language (Fishman & García 2010, 2011; Shashkevich, 2019), and we sometimes judge their age, gender preference, educational attainment, occupation, and speech community based on how they communicate. Given that people portray what they believe in through their words, then language is an instrument that individuals utilize to affirm a cultural identity (Day, 2011). With the multifaceted feature of language, we can confirm their identity in various ways such as through pronunciation and accent, word choice and style, sentence patterns, linguistic variations (Edwards, 2009; Dumanig et al., 2020), and many others that make this particular field complex and interesting. Because of its intricate nature, research on language and identity have conventionally centered on how people or communities use linguistic reality to preserve, build, or convey their social identities, as Gumperz (1982) holds that language does not only construct the identity of the person but also ascertains their social group affinity. In Gumperz's (1982) viewpoint, there are two language identities, the we-code and they-code, where he describes we-code as the informal language used at home and among close family members and friends, while they-code as the formal language used in economic interactions and negotiations. In his theory, he explains that language and identity have a profound psychological connection between the social setting and the individual. Further, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) highlight that "to understand issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political and ethnic divisions we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise" (p. 1).Since the link between language and identity is evident as "the language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable: This is surely a piece of knowledge as old as human speech itself" (Tabouret-Keller, 1998, p. 315), then the linguistic identity denotes "the active negotiation of an individuals' relationship with larger social constructs, in so far as this negotiation is signaled through language and other semiotic means" (Mendoza-Denton, 2002, p. 175). Edwards (2009) affirms that ethnicity, nationality, social class, and social affinity could be revealed through language varieties, then a single aspect of language may detect the speech community of all individuals (Tabouret-Keller, 1998). As soon as babies learn to speak their tongue, they constantly shape their social and personal worlds as they make sense of the world around them through constant interaction with others beyond time and space (Norton, 1997). With the indivisible nature of language and identity, any alteration to one of these may cause the change of the other (Joseph, 2004). Given the dynamic nature of language, linguistic shift is inevitable, most especially if there are significant events that occur in the community; and these speech communities need to disconnect from the foregoing coding traditions if they want to create a separate identity (Widdowson, 1998). Both languages show identity and these tongues are temporary, especially that people interact with others; thus, we create multiple identities across time and

80

space (Norton, 1995). Using the lens of poststructuralism discourse analysis, language and identity investigations have accentuated the function of power and disparity in processes of social identification, as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) believe that "poststructuralist theory recognizes the sociohistorically shaped partiality, contestability, instability, and mutability of ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies" (p. 10). On top of that, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) append that "the social constructionist focus on discursive construction of identities" and "the poststructuralist emphasis on the role of power relations" (p. 13), where social constructionism and poststructuralism could be the basis of analyzing identity. Given that identity influences people to act in a specific manner, Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory show that people firstly affirm themselves into their community called social identity, then classify themselves within a particular group called personal identity, where these two identities are inseparable given that interaction is dynamic and multifaceted (Brown, 2009). Phinney (1990) formulates ethnic identity formation from Tajfel and Turner's concept of identity and defines it as "a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group" (p. 63). Phinney (2003) later proposes that social identity can be equated to ethnic identity as they associate themselves based on their autochthonous community.

2.2 Translanguaging
Coined in the 1980s by Williams from the Welsh word trawsieethu, to depict pedagogical procedures that he observed in Welsh revitalization activities (Li, 2018; Mendoza & Parba, 2018), translanguaging is defined as a tool for language pedagogy among bilinguals (Garcia, 2009), and it explains the learners' intricate application of linguistic and semiotic repertoires with the aim at developing their second language (Baker, 2011). Fishman (1996) postulates that this academic pedagogy would support the students to converge swiftly to the superior culture, given that learners need to become proficient in the target language while conserving their cultural and ethnic identities. However, Garcia (2011) believe that the diglossic structure assumes that bilingualism, given that two languages are combined in a single utterance, is a system of dual monolingualism, and highlights that "[s]ociolinguists involved in language planning worked to organize the use of the two languages of bilinguals in society to stabilize the maintenance of a minority language linked to ethnic identity while guaranteeing the dominance of a national language linked to a nation-state identity" (p. 6). Canagarajah (2013) stresses that the languages of a person affect one another, where multilinguals employ their diverse semiotic facilities during an interaction. Hélot (2014) considers translanguaging as the artistic and evocative manifestations of bilinguals' combination of their linguistic reservoirs. Blommaert (2014) asserts that the multifaceted linguistic and semiotic repertoires of a person are products of one's linguistic realm. Garcia and Li (2014) emphasize that translanguaging builds the distinctiveness and individuality of the learners. Li (2011) appends that translanguaging highlights the life, background, and milieu of a person; and the combination of these three builds the speaker's social space. Lewis et al. (2012) dichotomize translanguaging from code-switching, where translanguaging supports the fluidity of two or more languages

during language learning, while code-switching connotes the isolation of languages. Garcia (2010) appends that translanguaging does not create any partition on the languages of the multilingual learners. Sayer (2013) highlights that subsequently language proficiency is the main objective of formal instruction, and translanguaging becomes indecisive, as it does not focus mainly on the target language. However, with Poplack's innovative findings of code-switching, he has demystified that code-switching is not after all a product of one's indolence and linguistic paucity (Sayer, 2013). Through the years of constant scholarly works, translanguaging has been established to be an efficient academic intervention from diverse educational situations, where the language of instruction and the language of the students are dissimilar. As this concept breaks the imaginary division of the indigenous or mother tongue versus superior or second language, the application of translanguaging in the classroom facilitates power relations, strengthens the knowledge of the students and the teachers, and reveals the identity of the language users through the process of sense-making (Creese & Blackledge 2015; Garcia, 2009). To provide a better understanding of this linguistic concept, Baker's (2011) notion of translanguaging focuses on a practice that encompasses the active and coherent application of several languages and language varieties and the development of knowledge that transcends across languages, and not just a theory or a linguistic situation of combining two or more languages. With translanguaging, it opens the thought that language is "a multi-scalar organization of processes that enables the bodily and the situated to interact with situation-transcending cultural-historical dynamics and practices," and not a human-centered structure with correlative sounds, lexis, syntax, semantics, discourse, and pragmatics (Thibault, 2017, p. 78). Translanguaging recalibrates language as a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal facility for sense production and meaning formation, and the human being equipped with multiple languages possesses the capability to employ any combination of the features of those languages (Cook & Li, 2016).

2.3 Manobo People in Bukidnon, Mindanao, Southern Philippines
Bukidnon, encompassing a total land area of 8,294 square kilometers, situated in the north-central region of Mindanao, is the domicile of the seven indigenous cultural communities, namely Bukidnon, Higaonon, Talaandig, Manobo, Matigsalug, Tigwahanon, and Umayamnon (Edgerton, 2020; Province of Bukidnon, 2020, Province of Bukidnon, 2012). It is a non-coastal province bounded by the Cagayan de Oro City in the north, North Cotabato and Davao City in the south, Agusan del Sur and Davao del Norte in the east, and Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur in the west (Province of Bukidnon, 2020). It is monikered as the "Food Basket of Asia" because the province is a major producer of cassava, corn, coffee, flowers, pineapple, rice, rubber, tomato, and other fruits and vegetables (Province of Bukidnon, 2020). With its strategic location being the heart of Mindanao, Bukidnon is a fusion of diverse cultural, linguistic, social, and political systems and ideologies (Edgerton, 2020), especially people from Visayas and Luzon migrate to the island (Northern Illinois University, n.d.). The indigenous peoples use the Cebuano language, the lingua franca of the province, apart from their native language because many people outside their kin do not speak their

tongue (Edgerton, 2020). In 2002, the Manobo people, coming from the mountainous areas of Sitio Santo Domingo, Lumintao, Quezon, Bukidnon, petitioned a parcel of land at Lumintao, Quezon, Bukidnon as their ancestral domain from the government. During that period, all the lands, especially in the lowland plain areas, are already titled with private owners. After three years of a constant struggle to claim their ancestral domain, the government, through Barangay Lumintao, awarded a piece of land at the barangay which they call Resian Manobo Farmers Association (REMFA) Village in 2005, which is now known as Purok 6 REMFA.

3 METHODOLOGY

Using purposive sampling, a total of eight respondents were chosen based on the specific criteria: the family must comprise three generations, where grandparents, parents, and children must be native speakers of the Binukid language, and they must have resided in the area for at least five years. Aside from that criteria, I selected respondents from a balanced gender group and diverse socio-economic backgrounds and age groups (Otheguy et al., 2007) to gather a diverse corpus of information. Regarding their gender, four (4) were males and four (4) were females. Based on their occupation, there were two (2) students, one (1) housemaid, two (housewives), and two (farmers). In terms of age, the first generation (grandparents) ages 47–52, second generation (parents) ages 31–34, and third generation (children) ages 11–15. All participants were native speakers of the Binukid language, and they have dwelled in the area between 11 to 52 years. With their continuous social contact with the residents of Barangay Lumintao, which houses diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds, many indigenous peoples have become accustomed to the different languages spoken in the area. Of the eight (8) respondents, all of them could communicate using Cebuano, one (1) could speak Hiligaynon, and three (3) could express themselves in Filipino and English. Before the conduct of the study, I secured an Institutional Ethics Review Committee (IERC) certification, as my study considered the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents. As part of the protocol, the respondents were given an informed consent form before they participated in the study. To further establish the ethical considerations of my study, the results would bear no ethical implications regarding how Manobo people employ translanguaging in their community. To gather substantial data, despite the coronavirus pandemic, I employed an in-depth sociolinguistic interview technique (Tagliamonte, 2006), which was video-recorded to capture the exact narratives of the respondents. All interviews ranged from 45 to 60 minutes. As an insider from the same community, though I belong to another purok, I used ethnography with field notes to observe the natural and uninterrupted flow of communication of the respondents, which lasted for a month. I followed Wertheim's (2003) framework, wherein I used my distinctive social status to gather multiple registers and styles of the respondents to capture their natural use of the language. To give a better understanding of the complex linguistic, pragmatic, and social features of the Binukid language, I hired a translator who is a native speaker and could speak Cebuano. To create uniformity in style and spelling, I followed the spelling conventions in the book edited by Otanes and Wrigglesworth (1992) entitled Binukid Dictionary for Binukid and Wolff's (1972) A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan for Cebuano. After

the transcriptions were completed, I asked my respondents about how they used their language to corroborate the results of my interview (Romaine, 2000). Based on the data that I have gathered, I determined the reasons why Manobo people use translanguaging, especially that they live in a multicultural community. Then, I analyzed how Manobo people portray their social identity through translanguaging.

4 FINDINGS

4.1 Becoming multilingual in a multicultural environment
Language plays a significant role in shaping the social identity of the Manobo people, which were shown in their linguistic features such as pronunciation and accent, word choice and style, sentence patterns, and linguistic variations (Edwards, 2009). Based on my ethnography and in-depth interviews, the Manobo indigenous cultural community residing at Purok REMFA, Lumintao, Quezon, Bukidnon were fluent speakers of both Binukid and Cebuano languages. Binukid language is their mother tongue as this language was introduced to them firsthand by their parents and grandparents. They used Binukid language in a variety of functions such as engaging in daily conversations, participating in negotiations within the community, cooperating during meetings and assemblies, and uttering prayers and rituals. As their first language and as the safe-keepers of their cultural and linguistic heritage, they make it a point that their children learn the Binukid language first by using it judiciously at their homes and neighborhoods who share the same blood and culture. With the multicultural nature of Barangay Lumintao, given that migrants from Luzon and Visayas also dwell in the area speaking Ilocano, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon, the Manobo people acquired particularly the Cebuano language, most especially while they were young because Cebuano was used by the barangay officials, teachers in both grade school and high school, classmates and peers, and colleagues at work. Aside from Cebuano, they also knew how to speak English and Filipino, as these languages were the medium of instruction at school in the Philippines. They were not forced to learn these languages; instead, they learned and acquired these languages because they are useful in initiating conversations, attending barangay meetings and seminars, and comprehending their lessons at school. This finding conforms to the article published by the University of Minnesota (2003) where indigenous people adapt to the language of the dominant cultures to participate and interact in the mainstream society, which is usually inevitable for them. Hagbet, not his real name, 15, a student of St. Vincent Ferrer Academy, a private high school institution of Barangay Lumintao, affirmed that he learned Cebuano, English, and Filipino, especially that his friends and classmates speak Cebuano during casual conversations and his teachers use Cebuano, English, and Filipino during class discussions and for him to cope-up with their lessons. If he did not master these languages, he said that he would be left behind and become aloof in one corner because he could not understand them and they could not comprehend what he was saying using the Binukid language. Even talking with his Cebuano classmates and peers, he sometimes mixed Binukid lexis, most especially if he could not think of any equivalent or word-for-word translation of a term from Binukid to Cebuano. Hélot (2014) and Canagarajah (2013) describe that because of the combination of the speaker's linguistic and semiotic repertoires, the usage of lexis in L1 that has no direct

translation in L2 is used instead. Hagbet appended that through the years, his classmates were able to adjust to his language, which is evident in: Nakatuon ko sa ilang pamulong aron dili ko mag-inusara nga wala'y kaistorya…Usahay masagul nako ang mga pamulong sa Cebuano ug Binukid kay dili ko makahuna-huna ug pulong nga makahubad niini.

(I learned their language to avoid being alone in a corner without someone to talk to…Sometimes I mixed Cebuano and Binukid words in a single utterance because I could not think of any direct translation.)

In another interview, Alamay, not her real name, 15, a housemaid, responded that she learned the Cebuano language by listening to how her classmates and friends speak Cebuano. Now that she is working as a housemaid, communicating in Cebuano was essential for her to understand the commands and requests of her employers. There were also instances where she applied translanguaging because she sometimes combined her Cebuano utterances with Binukid lexis, which is presented in:

Ug makig-istorya ko sa mga Bisaya, masagulan nako ug Binukid akong pag-istorya. Apan gapaningkamot ko nga mag-Bisaya para magkasinabot kami.

(If I am talking to a Cebuano-speaking individual, I sometimes mix my words with Binukid. However, I make it a point to use Cebuano vocabulary so that we will understand each other.)

Further, Babalek, not her real name, 31, a housewife, asserted that since she had neighbors who could not speak the Binukid languages, she learned the Cebuano language for easier communication. She highlighted that she used translation upon speaking in Cebuano, wherein she encoded Binukid sentences in her mind and simultaneously translated them into Cebuano. The studies of Li (2018), Cook and Li (2016), and Baker (2011) support this finding where bilingual or multilingual speakers combine the linguistic semiotic systems of the two or more languages seamlessly. Whenever she encountered unfamiliar terms and concepts, she asked her friends for clarifications, sometimes using Filipino and English. Before, she had a hard time understanding her classmates and friends because of unfamiliarity. As time passed by, she learned to cope up and somehow mastered the Cebuano language through constant exposure and practice. In this case, the study of Richards (2015) supports this claim because a language learner could acquire language in various modes even outside the classroom. This phenomenon is exemplified in Babalek's response:

Akong gitun-an ilang pamulong. Gapangutana ko sa akong mga higala arun hubaron ang mga dili nako masabtan nga Binisaya. Sauna galisod ko, apan karon kay na-anad nako.

(I studied their language. I asked my friends to translate some unfamiliar Cebuano words. At first, it was hard, however, I already get used to it.)

Based on my observations and in-depth interviews, all Manobo people could speak the Cebuano language, the

lingua franca of the province. Edgerton (2014) supports this finding as he found that even the indigenous peoples speak Cebuano, being the most common tongue of all dwellers in the province. It is also noteworthy to mention that even though the Manobo people could understand Ilocano and Hiligaynon, but they found it challenging to speak these languages. Also, they considered speaking Cebuano more practical because even the Ilocano and Hiligaynon speakers could communicate using the Cebuano language. Apart from that, the Manobo people dealt mostly with Cebuano speakers, especially at school, market, and workplace. As a consequence, speaking Cebuano became a necessity for their learning, negotiation, and survival. The study of Ushioda (2011) supports this finding because language learners choose a language that is significant for them in real-life. To present evidence, Kalalagan, not his real name, 11, a student of a private secondary institution in the barangay, affirmed:

Para sa akoa, mahinungdanon gyud ang pag-istorya ug Cebuano. Sa among eskwelahan, akong mga klasmet kay mga Cebuano, mao mag-istorya gyud ko ug Cebuano. Ug suguon ko nga muadto sa merkado para mupalit, ang mga tindera kay ga-Cebuano. Sa uma, akong mga kauban Cebuano gihapon. Wala gyud ko'y padulngan kundili mag-tuon sa ilang pamulong.

(For me, speaking Cebuano is essential. At school, my classmates are Cebuano, so I have to speak in Cebuano. If I am asked to go to the market to buy some stuff, the vendors speak Cebuano. At the farm, my colleagues speak Cebuano also. I have no choice but to learn their language.)

In another interview, Dakel, not his real name, 47, a farmer, corroborated that speaking Cebuano was vital for their survival. If they would not speak Cebuano, they could not interact with others, which would make them different and make them hostile. Additionally, he adapted his language if he speaks with non-Binukid speakers to blend in society with diverse cultures and languages. The book chapter of Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, and Møller (2015) entitled "Polylanguaging in superdiversity" approves this finding as people adjust their language to become accepted in the society. To elucidate this finding, Dakel said:

Sa akoa, kinahanglan ko magtuon ug Cebuano arun makig-uban ug ubang tawo sa panahon sa negosasyon, panag-tigum, ug uban pa. Mabatian nako nga dili ko mahigalaon ug mag-istorya ko gamit among pamulong…Pama-agi pud kini para makig-uyon sa ubang tawo.

(In my case, I have to learn how to speak Cebuano to mingle with other people during negotiations, meetings, and others. I feel that I am unfriendly if I speak our tongue, but not necessarily…It's also a way of harmonizing with other people.)

The Manobo autochthonous people speak Cebuano so that non-Binukid speakers could understand them, which is considered fundamental for the Manobo people to initiate conversations, conduct business and trade, especially those autochthonous people who lived in the hinterlands and sold

their produce to the lowland dwellers who spoke Cebuano, and partake in teaching and learning, especially the young children who study in the public and private academic institutions. With this scenario, it presents that the Manobo people converged and adjusted their language depending on the people that they interacted with. Given that the Binukid language is a minority language or a language spoken by the low cultures, the tongue of the dominant cultures superseded and overpowered the autochthonous tongue. This situation is very common among indigenous peoples across the world, most especially in dealing with people who cannot communicate using their tongue (University of Minnesota, 2003). However, the reintroduction of their indigenous language through joint efforts and conscious learning can be an effective strategy to preserve their language (Bonifacio et al., 2021).Amidst language diversity, the Manobo indigenous cultural community managed to adjust their language depending on social situations. If they would communicate with their kin, they conversed using the Binukid language. However, if they would speak with another person outside their community, they used Cebuano to achieve understanding and mutual agreement.

4.2 Establishing the Manobo identity

Even though the Manobo people at Lumintao, Quezon, Bukidnon used other languages aside from their autochthonous tongue, they managed to project their social identity through their language. Because of constant and direct exposure to people with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, they adapted to their society and contrive to be understood. Through time, they learned how to speak Cebuano because this language has a great number of speakers in varied social settings such as schools, markets, barangay offices, workplaces, and public spaces. With their knowledge on how to communicate employing the said language, they became proficient in speaking and listening to this tongue because of necessity such as commencing a conversation, undertaking business ventures, participating in barangay events, and interacting with their teachers, classmates, friends, neighbors, and strangers. For all these reasons, it became unavoidable that these Manobo people employed translanguaging, given that their native language is Binukid, and the language of the persons they were intermingling with is Cebuano, though they also interacted with Ilocano and Hiligaynon speakers. In that case, they sometimes incorporated Binukid lexis while speaking Cebuano unconsciously. With all the possible reasons for learning a different language and combining their tongue with other languages, translanguaging became inevitable for the Manobo people. In their case, most especially when communicating with people outside their community, they employed the Cebuano syntax and mixed a few Binukid lexeis in their conversations. As mentioned earlier, sometimes they could not look for an equivalent word from the Binukid lexis to Cebuano vocabulary, in that case, their Binukid semiotic and linguistic repertoire, though they use the Cebuano structure, were activated and employed seamlessly. The studies of Hélot (2014) and Canagarajah (2013) support this outcome where they explain that language learners' combination of their linguistic and semiotic repertoires of diverse languages pushes them to mix lexis even across languages in a single utterance. During my ethnography in the area, I recorded a few instances where the participants used Binukid terms while

using the Cebuano syntax. Some of the Binukid words inserted in the Cebuano sentences were angaray (endearment for girls of the same circle), bagabaan (not fully ripe rice), bai (female chieftain), bangday (crisscross), baug (dried cassava), kukuk (mischievous spirit bird), dakan (gabi leaves), ganda (onion grass), laguy (to ward), and mimis (shoots of cogon grass). The following utterances were examples of Manobo peoples' translanguaging application:

Sample 1: Tua sa akong angaray ang akong sinina. (My dress is with my female friend.)

Sample 2: Nag-adto ko sa akong uma pero bagabaan pa man. (I went to my farm but my rice is not yet ripe.)

Sample 3: Na-unsa mani imong buhok na-bangday man? (Why is your hair crisscrossed?)

Sample 4: Pagdala aning baug ayha ka mu-uli. (Bring some dried cassava before heading home.)

Sample 5: Ayaw anha diha kay nay kukuk. (Don't go there because there's a mischievous spirit bird.)

Sample 6: Magluto ko aning dakan para panihapon. (I'll cook gabi leaves for dinner.)

Sample 7: Saguli ug ganda imong niluto para lami. (Add some onion grass to what you're cooking to make it delicious.)

Sample 8: Naglaguy bitaw ko nga dili maglaag. (I warned you not to go anywhere.)

Sample 9. Lisod kaayo basta daghan mimis kay dugay ta mahuman ug guna. (It's difficult if there are a lot of shoots of cogon grass because it delays our weeding.)

The following examples showed that although they communicated with Cebuano people using their language, the Manobo people sometimes integrated their utterance with Binukid terms because while in conversation, they sometimes found it hard to translate their thoughts into Cebuano, most especially words that they were well-accustomed to. At the same time, this translanguaging strategy portrayed that they showcased their Manobo identity even though the syntax rule that they were following was Cebuano. As mentioned above, Hélot (2014) and Canagarajah (2013) explained this concept of combining the linguistic and semiotic repertoires of two or more languages in a single utterance. With this instance, I asked a few of the respondents why they sometimes mixed their language with Cebuano. To present evidence, Babalek's response highlighted:

Usahay, ug naa ko sa tunga-tunga sa among pag-istorya, masagulan nako akong pamulong ug Binukid samut na ug wala ko'y lain nga mahuna-hunaan para mahubad kini. Natural napud sa akoa nga maggamit ug Binukid nga pamulong kay masabtan naman pod sa akong mga higala.

(Sometimes, if I am in the middle of a conversation, I tend to mix my language with Binukid automatically because I

could not think of any Cebuano translation to something in my mind. I find it natural to use some Binukid words, knowing that my friends could understand me.)

Moreover, some Manobo people considered translanguaging as part of their daily routine. Through the years of being exposed to people with diverse languages, they managed to express themselves as Manobo. For them, it was a way of showcasing that they were proud of their origin. For instance, Laaw, not her real name, 34, a housewife, said:

Para sa akoa, gikinahanglan gyud nga maggamit sa among pamulong bahala'g masagulan nako ug Cebuano, ang importante kay mapakita nako ug kinsa ko, unsa akong tribu, ug unsa amoang pinulungan. Akong nabantayan nga ang uban sa amoa kay mahadlok mugamit sa among pinulungan mahitungod sa diskriminasyon, apan mao man gyud mi. Dapat ipasigarbo nako kini.

(For me, it is relevant to use my language, though I mix it with Cebuano, what matters is that I show who I am, what my tribe is, and what language I speak. I notice that some of us are afraid to speak our tongue because of possible discrimination, but it is who we are. So, I should be proud of it.)

Further, there were also instances wherein it was hard to discern whether they were employing translanguaging because there were Binukid lexeis that were similar to the Cebuano vocabulary. In the transcribed ethnography, I identified nine mutually similar vocabularies, namely abunu (fertilizer), baka (cow), bag-ang (molar tooth), kahun (wooden box), daru (plow), gamut (root), gira (war), and hilaw (uncooked). Comparing the spellings of Binukid lexis using the Binukid Dictionary edited by Otanes and Wrigglesworth (1992) and the Cebuano lexis using A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan of Wolff (1972), both dictionaries showed the same spelling and referent. The following were the utterances with similar Binukid and Cebuano words:

Sample 1: Mag-abunu ko ugma sa akong tanum nga mais sa bukid. (I'll apply fertilizer to my corn at the mountain tomorrow.)

Sample 2: Magsakay ra ko ug baka ugma padulong sa uma. (I'll ride through my cow upon going to my farm tomorrow.)

Sample 3: Perting sakita ni akong bag-ang, haskang ngut-nguta. (My molar tooth hurts, the pain is excruciating.)

Sample 4: Kuhaa sa kahun akong martilyo. (Get my hammer inside the wooden box.)

Sample 5: Mag-daru ko ugma sa akong uma kay bagnut na didto. (I'll plow my field tomorrow because my farm is full of weeds.)

Sample 6: Ibta apil ang mga gamut para dili na muturok ang sagbut. (Uproot including the roots to prevent the weeds from growing back again.)

Sample 7. Nag-gira napod sa bukid siguro kay naa ma'y buto-buto. (I think there's a war again in the mountain because I could hear explosions.)

Sample 8: Hilaw pa man ni imong sud-an. (Your viand is still uncooked.)

Because of this condition, I asked some of my respondents about their thoughts regarding the similarities between Binukid and Cebuano lexis. One of them responded that he was unsure if he mixed Binukid words in his utterance. For them, this particular scenario became unconscious, and combining their multifaceted linguistic and semiotic repertoires became spontaneous. The studies of Hélot (2014) and Canagarajah (2013) once again support this finding. As evidence, Alamay said:

Dili ako sigurado ug nasagulan ba nako ug Binukid akong Cebuano nga pinulungan kay kung mu-istorya ko kay awtomatiko naman.

(I am uncertain if I mixed Binukid words with Cebuano because when I speak, it is automatic.)

Another respondent, Maatlaw, not her real name, 52, a housewife, answered that when she would speak, she would not mind her words. What mattered for her was both parties could understand each other. If there were instances that her friends could not understand her, she would clarify things if ever they would ask for some explanations. She expounded:

Wala nako gahuna-huna ug unsa nga mga pulong akong magamit kay ug mag-istorya ko kay muagawas naman ug pinakalit sa akong baba…Ang pagsinabtanay gyud ang importante sa akoa. Ug dili ko nila masabtan, ako man sad ginapasabot sa lain nga pamaagi.

(I do not think of my words when I talk because they just come out of my mouth… Understanding each other is important to me. If they could not understand me, then I explain my thoughts differently.)

With all the situations presented, the findings of the study suggest that even though the Manobo people used translanguaging, blending Binukid with Cebuano language, they maintained to convey their Manobo identity as shown in their language choice.

5   CONCLUSION
This research showed that even the indigenous people used translanguaging in their daily conversations with a diverse group of people with varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds and that they utilized translanguaging in a variety of functions in society. This study also proved that language use among the Manobo people was an essential factor in projecting their social identity and that even though they were using a different tongue, their application of translanguaging helped in fostering their identity. The Manobo people in Lumintao, Quezon, Bukidnon embraced a multilingual identity because they employed the Cebuano language when speaking with Cebuano individuals. Even though they used the Cebuano language, they inserted some Binukid lexis, which for them became automatic and unconscious, and this phenomenon

was an indicator that their linguistic and semiotic repertoires of Binukid and Cebuano had merged within their cognitive domain. Aside from Cebuano, Ilocano and Hiligaynon languages were spoken in the community, but the Manobo people mostly employed Cebuano because the Ilocano and Hiligaynon could speak Cebuano as well, which for them was more practical. In this study, I corroborate that language forges the social identity of the Manobo people even despite the usage of Cebuano because, along the process of communication, some Binukid words come out in their mouths. With their application of translanguaging, their social identity as members of the Manobo indigenous cultural community becomes apparent. At the same time, the Cebuano language has been used in various situations and social settings like schools, markets, and workplaces. To further expand this study, more scholarly works on the translanguaging strategies and a deeper understanding of their motivations and intentions of using translanguaging are deemed essential. Also, validation studies on the other cultural communities on their perception towards the Manobo people employing translanguaging would be a valuable kickstart to uncover more knowledge to the understanding of language and social identity of the indigenous communities. Given that the Cebuano language is used in classes, even though there are students whose native language is not Cebuano, the Department of Education and the Philippine National Government may convene to address this concern. I believe that the offering of indigenous language in the first three years of education of the learners will not only help them in processing knowledge and wisdom at school, but also a message that their existence, language, culture, and individuality matter. With that, we become open to their needs and give value to their rich linguistic and cultural heritage. Overall, the restoration, preservation, and maintenance of the Binukid language, even despite the presence of translanguaging, need immediate attention because the language of the dominant culture may devour and annihilate the indigenous tongues. This particular issue does not only concern the autochthonous people, but the responsibility of everyone to protect and nurture the oppressed and marginalized sectors of the community because they hold a national treasure that is priceless and irreplaceable.

6 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES

[1] A.B. Aydemir, "The relationship between cultural identity and accent" (Unpublished master's thesis). Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey.W.-K.

[2] C. Baker, Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism, (5th ed.) Multilingual Matters, 2011.

[3] M.E Bernal, G.P. Knight, C.A. Garza, K.A. Ocampo, and M.K. Cota. "The development of ethnic identity in Mexican American children," Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, vol. 12, pp. 3–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863900121001. 1990.

[4] J. Blommaert, "From mobility to complexity in sociolinguistic theory and method," Tilburg Papers in Cultural Studies, p. 103, Tilburg University, 2014.

[5] R.M. Bonifacio, D.J.M.R. Zaman, M.D. Prantilla-Arambala, and M.S. Zarate, "Effects of indigenous language conversation skills enhancement program among Bukidnon and Talaandig youths in the Philippines," Ampersand, vol. 8, no. 100076. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S221503 90210000472021.

[6] C. Brown, "Heritage language and ethnic identity: A case study of Korean-American college students," International Journal of Multicultural Education, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 1–16, 2009.

[7] S. Canagarajah, Translingual practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations, Routledge, 2013.

[8] K.O. Cokley, "Racial(ized) identity, ethnic identity, and Afrocentric values: Conceptual and methodological challenges in understanding African American identity," Journal of Counseling Psychology, vol. 52, pp. 517–526. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.4.517. 2015.

[9] V. Cook, and W. Li (eds), The Cambridge handbook of linguistic multi-competence, Cambridge University Press, 2016.

[10] J.E. Côté, "Identity studies: How close are we to developing a social science of identity? An appraisal of the field," Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, vol. 6, pp. 3–25, https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532706xid0601_2. 2006.

[11] A. Creese, and A. Blackledge, "Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching?" The Modern Language Journal, vol. 94, no. i, pp. 103–115, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00986.x. 2010

[12] A. Creese, and A. Blackledge, "Separate and flexible bilingualism in complementary schools: Multiple language practices in interrelationship," Journal of Pragmatics, vol. 43, no. 5, pp. 1196–1208. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.10.006. 2011.

[13] A. Creese, and A. Blackledge, "Translanguaging and identity in educational settings," Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, vol. 35, pp. 20–35, 2015.

[14] Department of Education, "Guidelines on the implementation of the Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE)," https://www.deped.gov.ph/2012/02/17/do-16-s-2012-guidelines-on-the-implementation-of-the-mother-tongue-based-multilingual-education-mtb-mle/. 2012.

[15] S. Douglass, and A.J. Umaña-Taylor, "A brief form of the Ethnic Identity Scale: Development and empirical validation." Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, vol. 15, pp. 48–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2014.989442.. 2015.

[16] F.P. Dumanig, M.K. David, and S.A. Manan, "Transporting and reconstructing hybrid identity through language use in the work domain: Focus on Filipinos in Malaysia," Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1845707. 2020.

[17] R.K. Edgerton, Bukidnon. Encyclopedia of World Cultures, https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/asia/philippines-political-geography/bukidnon. 2014.

[18] R.K. Edgerton, Bukidnon. Encyclopedia of World Cultures, https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/asia/philippines-political-geography/bukidnon. 2020.

[19] J. Fishman, "What do you lose when you lose your language?" In G. Cantoni, (Ed.), "Stabilizing indigenous languages." Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University, 1996.

[20] J.A. Fishman, and O. García, (Eds.) Handbook of language and ethnic identity, Vol. 1 Disciplinary and regional perspectives, Oxford University Press, 2010.

[21] J.A. Fishman, and O. García, (Eds.) Handbook of language and ethnic identity, Vol. 2 The success–failure continuum in language and ethnic identity, Oxford University Press, 2011.

[22] S.T. Fiske, Social beings: A core motives approach to social psychology, (2nd ed.), Wiley, 2010.

[23] S.E. French, E. Seidman, L. Allen, and J.L. Aber, "The development of ethnic identity during adolescence," Developmental Psychology, vol. 42, pp. 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.1.1. 2006.

[24] O. Garcia, Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective, Wiley, 2009.

[25] O. Garcia, "Languaging and ethnifying." In J. A. Fishman and O. Garcia (eds.), "Handbook of language and ethnic identity. Disciplinary and regional perspectives," vol. 1, pp. 519-534, Oxford University Press, 2010.

[26] O. García, "From language garden to sustainable languaging: Bilingual education in the global world," NABE Perspectives, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 5–9. 2011.

[27] O. García, and C. Leiva, "Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice." In A. Blackledge and A. Creese (Eds.), "Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy," pp. 199–216, Springer, 2014.

[28] O. Garcia, and W. Li, Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

[29] J. Gumperz, (Ed.), Language and social identity, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

[30] J.J. Gumperz, and J. Cook-Gumperz, "Language and the communication of social identity," in Helms, J. E. (2007). Some better practices for measuring racial and ethnic identity constructs. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54, 235–246. http://dx.doi. org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.235J.J. Gumperz (ed.) "Language and social identity." Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–21, 1982.

[31] T. Habermas, and S. Bluck, "Getting a life: The emergence of the life story in adolescence." Psychological Bulletin, vol. 126, pp. 748–769. https://doi.org/10.1037/ 0033-2909.126.5.748. 2000.

[32] J.E. Helms, "Some better practices for measuring racial and ethnic identity constructs." Journal of Counseling Psychology, vol. 54, pp. 235–246. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.235. 2007.

[33] C. Hélot, "Rethinking bilingual pedagogy in Alsace: Translingual writers and translanguaging." In A. Blackledge and A. Creese (Eds.). "Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy," pp. 217-237), Springer, 2014.

[34] J.N. Jørgensen, M.S. Karrebæk, L.M. Madsen, and J.S. Møller, "Polylanguaging in superdiversity. In Language and superdiversity," pp. 147–164, Routledge, 2015.

[35] J.E. Joseph, Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

[36] L. King, The impact of multilingualism on global education and language learning, Cambridge Assessment English. 2018.

[37] W. Labov, The social stratification of English in New York City, Centre for Applied Linguistics, 1966.

[38] W. Labov, Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English vernacular, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

[39] R. Lakoff, Language and woman's place, Harper and Row, 1975.

[40] A. Leaño, N.M. Rabi, and G.A. Piragasam, "Speaking difficulties of Philippine indigenous learners in English semantics," Southeast Asia Early Childhood Journal, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 16–27. 2019.

[41] G. Lewis, B. Jones, and C. Baker, "Translanguaing: Developing its conceptualisation and contextualization," Educational Research and Evaluation, vol. 18, no. 17, pp. 655–670. 2012.

[42] W. Li, "Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain." Journal of Pragmatics, vol. 43, pp. 1222–1235. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.035. 2011.

[43] W. Li, "Translanguaging as a practical theory of language," Applied Linguistics, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 9–30. https://doi.org/0.1093/applin/amx039. 2018.

[44] M.E. López-Gopar, O. Núñez-Méndez, W. Sughrua, and A. Clemente, "In pursuit of multilingual practices: Ethnographic accounts of teaching 'English' to Mexican children," International Journal of Multilingualism, vol. 10, pp. 273–291. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2013.769557. 2013.

[45] D. McCrone, and F. Bechhofer, "Claiming national identity. Ethnic and Racial Studies," vol. 33, no. 6, pp. 921–948, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903457199. 2010.

[46] K.C. McLean, "Late adolescent identity development: Narrative meaning making and memory telling," Developmental Psychology, vol. 41, pp. 683–691. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.41.4.683. 2005.

[47] N. Mendoza-Denton, "Language and identity." In The handbook of language variation and change, ed. Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, pp. 475–499. Blackwell. 2002.

[48] A. Mendoza, and J. Parba, "Thwarted: relinquishing educator beliefs to understand translanguaging from learners' point of view," International Journal of Multilingualism. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2018.1441843. 2018.

[49] K.D. Mepham, and B. Martinovic, "Multilingualism and out-group acceptance: The mediating roles of cognitive flexibility and deprovincialization." Journal of Language and Social Psychology, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 51-73. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X17706944. 2018.

[50] L. Milroy, Language and social networks, (2nd ed.), Blackwell, 1987.

[51] L. Milroy, and J. Milroy, "Social network and social class: Toward an integrated sociolinguistic model." Language in Society, vol. 21, pp. 1–26. 1992.

[52] E.W. Neblett, D. Rivas-Drake, and A.J. Umaña-Taylor, "The promise of racial and ethnic protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development," Child Development Perspectives, vol. 6, pp. 295–303. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00239.x. 2012.

[53] J. Nguyen, and B. Brown, "Making meanings, meaning identity: Hmong adolescent perceptions and use of language and style as identity symbols." Journal of Research on Adolescence, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00666.x. 2010.

[54] Northern Illinois University, "Bukidnon." http://www.seasite.niu.edu/Tagalog/Cynthia/Mindanao/bukidno n.htm. n.d.

[55] B. Norton, "Social identity, investment, and language learning." TESOL Quarterly, vol. 29, no. 11, pp. 9–31. 1995.

[56] B. Norton, "Language, identity, and the ownership of English." TESOL Quarterly, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 409–427. 1997.

[57] F. Otanes, and H. Wrigglesworth, (Eds.) "Binukid dictionary," Studies in Philippine Linguistics, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 1–240. 1992.

[58] R. Otheguy, A.C. Zentella, D. Livert, "Language and dialect contact in Spanish in New York: Toward the formation of a speech community," Language, vol. 83, no. 4, pp. 770–802. 2007.

[59] K. Pahl, and N. Way, "Longitudinal trajectories of ethnic identity among urban Black and Latino adolescents." Child Development, vol. 77, pp. 1403–1415. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00943.x. 2006.

[60] A. Pavlenko, and A. Blackledge, "Introduction: new theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts," in A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge (eds) "Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. Multilingual Matters," pp. 1–33. 2004.

[61] J.S. Phinney, "Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research." Psychological Bulletin, vol. 108, no. 3, pp. 499–514. 1990.

[62] J.S. Phinney, "The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups." Journal of Adolescent Research, vol. 7, pp. 156–176. https://doi.org/10.1177/074355489272003. 1992.

[63] J.S. Phinney, "A three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence." In M. E. P. Bernal & G. P. Knight (Eds.), "Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities," pp. 61–79. New York, NY: State University of New York Press. 1993.

[64] J.S. Phinney, "Ethnic identity and acculturation." In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, and G. Marin (Eds.), "Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research," pp. 63-82. American Psychological Association. 2003.

[65] J. Phinney, and A. Ong, "Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions," Journal of Counseling Psychology, vol. 54, no. 3, pp. 271–281. 2007.

[66] J.G. Ponterotto, and B. Mallinckrodt, "Introduction to the special section on racial and ethnic identity in counseling psychology: Conceptual and methodological challenges and proposed solutions." Journal of Counseling Psychology, vol. 54, pp. 219–223. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.219. 2007.

[67] L. Poza, ""Los Dos Son Mi Idioma": Translanguaging, identity, and social relationships among bilingual youth." Journal of Language, Identity & Education, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 92–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2018.1504682. 2019.

[68] Province of Bukidnon, "Kaamulan festival." https://bukidnon.gov.ph/2012/11/ 20/kaamulan-festival/. 2012.

[69] Province of Bukidnon, "About Bukidnon." https://bukidnon.gov.ph/about/about-bukidnon/. 2020.

[70] S.M. Quintana, "A model of ethnic perspective-taking ability applied to Mexican-American children and youth." International Journal of Intercultural Relations, vol. 18, pp. 419–448. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(94)90016-7. 1994.

[71] S. Romaine, Bilingualism, (2nd ed.), Basil Blackwell, 2000.

[72] C. Santos, and A. Umaña-Taylor, (Eds.). "Studying ethnic identity methodological and conceptual approaches across disciplines." American Psychological Association. 2015.

[73] P. Sayer, "Translanguaging, TexMex, and bilingual pedagogy: Emergent bilinguals learning through the vernacular." TESOL Quarterly, vol. 47, pp. 63–88. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.2013.47.issue-1. 2013.

[74] S.J. Schwartz, M. Syed, T. Yip, G.P. Knight, A. Umaña-Taylor, D. Rivas-Drake, D., . . . "Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. Methodological issues in ethnic and racial identity research with ethnic minority populations: Theoretical precision, measurement issues, and research designs." Child Development, vol. 85, pp. 58–76. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12201. 2014.

[75] A. Shashkevich, "The power of language: How words shape people, culture." Stanford News. https://news.stanford.edu/2019/08/22/the-power-of-language-how-words-shape-people-culture/. 2019, August 22.

[76] A. Staicov, Creating belonging in San Francisco Chinatown's diasporic community: Morphosyntactic aspects of indexing ethnic identity. Palgrave Macmillan. 2020.

[77] M.M. Suarez-Orozco, "Globalization, immigration, and education: The research agenda." Harvard Educational Review, vol. 71, no. 3, pp. 345-365. 2001.

[78] M. Syed, L.H. Walker, R.M. Lee, A. Umaña-Taylor, B.L. Zamboanga, S.J. Schwartz, . . . Q.L. Huynh, "A two-factor model of ethnic identity exploration: Implications for identity coherence and well-being." Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, vol. 19, pp. 143–154. https://doi.org/10.1037/ a0030564. 2013.

[79] A. Tabouret-Keller, "Language and identity." In The handbook of sociolinguistics, ed. Florian Coulmas, pp. 315–326. Blackwell. 1998.

[80] S.A. Tagliamonte, Analysing sociolinguistic variation, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

[81] D. Tannen, You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation, Morrow, 1990.

[82] K.J. Taylor-Leech, "Language choice as an index of identity: Linguistic landscape in Dili, Timor-Leste." International Journal of Multilingualism, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 15–34. 2011.

[83] P.J. Thibault, "The reflexivity of human languaging and Nigel Love's two orders of language." Language Sciences, vol. 61, pp. 74–85. 2017.

[84] A. Thorne, andK.C. McLean, "Telling traumatic events in adolescence: A study of master narrative positioning." In R. Fivush & C. Haden (Eds.), "Autobiographical memory and the construction of a narrative self: Developmental and cultural perspectives," pp. 169–185. Erlbaum. 2003.

[85] J.E. Trimble, "Prolegomena for the connotation of construct use in the measurement of ethnic and racial identity," Journal of Counseling Psychology, vol. 54, pp. 247–258. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.247. 2007.

[86] A. Umaña-Taylor, M.A. Gonzales-Backen, and A.B. Guimond, "Latino adolescents' ethnic identity: Is there a developmental progression and does growth in ethnic identity predict growth in self-esteem?" Child Development, vol. 80, pp. 391–405. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01267.x. 2009.

[87] A. Umaña-Taylor, S.M. Quintana, R.M. Lee, W.E Cross, D. Rivas-Drake, S.J. Schwartz . . . "Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group." "Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adult- hood: An integrated conceptualization," Child Development, vol. 85, pp. 21–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12196. 2014.

[88] A. Umaña-Taylor, A. Yazedjian, and M.Y. Bámaca-Gómez, "Developing the ethnic identity scale using Eriksonian and social identity perspectives." Identity: An International Journal

of Theory and Research, vol. 4, pp. 9–38. https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532706XID0401_2. 2004.

[89] UNESCO, "Investing in science, technology and innovation." https://en.unesco.org/themes/investing-science-technology-and-innovation. 2019.

[90] United Nations, "State of the world's indigenous peoples." https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP/en/SOWIP_web.pdf. 2009.

[91] United Nations, "Indigenous languages face extinction without concrete action to protect them, speakers warn general assembly, as international year concludes." https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/ga12230.doc.htm. 2019.

[92] United Nations, "Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls." https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/. 2020.

[93] United Nations, "Launch of report on socio-economic impacts of COVID-19." https://www.un.org/en/un-coronavirus-communications-team/launch-report-socio-economic-impacts-covid-19. 2020.

[94] University of Minnesota, "Study guide: The rights of indigenous peoples." http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/edumat/studyguides/indigenous.html. 2003.

[95] E. Ushioda, "Language learning motivation, self and identity: Current theoretical perspectives." Computer Assisted Language Learning, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 199–210, https://doi.org/10.1080/09588221.2010.538701. 2011.

[96] P. Vanham, "A brief history of globalization." World Economic Forum. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/01/how-globalization-4-0-fits-into-the-history-of-globalization/. 2019.

[97] V.L. Vignoles, S.J. Schwartz, and K. Luyckx, Introduction: Toward an integrative view of identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, and V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), Handbook of identity theory and research (pp. 1–27). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7988-9_1. 2011.

[98] S. Wertheim, "Rethinking the observer's paradox and data "purity." In Proceedings of the 28th Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, J. Larson and M. Paster (eds), 511–521. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 2003.

[99] H.G. Widdowson, "EIL: Squaring the circles. A reply." World Englishes, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 397–401. 1998.

[100] J. Wolff, A dictionary of Cebuano Visayan, Southeast Asia Program and Cornell University, 1972.

[101] A. Wong, and L. Hall-Lew, "Regional variability and ethnic identity: Chinese Americans in New York City and San Francisco." Language and Communication, vol. 35, pp. 27–42. 2014.