

Komustaka Ngatan?:
Investigating the Language Status of Ilocano
Language through an Analysis of the Language Use
and Language Preference of Ilocano Speakers

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Abstract

This study investigated the language status of the Ilocano language through an analysis of the language use and language preference of selected Ilocano speaker. This study used a questionnaire on language use to gather relevant data. Using the descriptive method, the results of the study show that the Ilocano language is slowly being edged by the Filipino language in the five communicative domains: home, school, neighborhood, church, and marketplace in terms of language functions. One reason why the Ilocano language is losing its communicative domains is because of the devaluation of the minority languages over the national language. The use of Filipino as a medium of instruction has resulted to the fluency of the Ilocano speakers in the Filipino language because they are exposed to the language all day during schooldays, thus, making it difficult for the native language to cast a strong hold. Moreover, since the university where the respondents work caters not only students from the province of La Union but also and mostly even from Pangasinan, Ilocano teachers/speakers assume that it would be better to use the Filipino language to cater the bilingualism and multilingualism in their classes and surroundings.

Keywords: *Ilocano speakers, language use, language preference, status*

Introduction

Language's role in every society is undeniable. Humans generally use it to communicate with one another, establish a common understanding, interact with other speakers, and create and maintain relationships (Asuncion & Rañosa-Madrurnio, 2017). For people around the world, language is the language entity that would identify them to their nationality. Language is part of the conceptuality of an individual. Thus, the loss of a language would be a loss of the individuality of a person, and of the language community perse.

Just like tradition and culture, language reflects the community or nation's identity. Some people define themselves based on their language. This is not surprising since language, in general, constitutes an influential factor in group identity (Fishman, 2001). Language is more likely than most symbols of ethnicity to become the symbol of ethnicity.

However, language cannot be contained in a vacuum. It is dynamic. It changes. It morphs to adapt to the needs of the community. But the moment the community does not need the language, the language may disappear. A language depends on the people who use it. Time limits its use in people's lives. Eventually, a certain group of people would wake up and find themselves unspeaking the language they are born to speak.

Crystal (2007) explained that a language is dead when no one speaks it anymore. It may continue to exist in a recorded form, but one will not talk of it as a living language unless it has fluent speakers. Meanwhile, language can remain strong if used reciprocally between parents and children, and if all living generations have high, active competence in the language. Where this is not the case, changing cultural values are likely to be at work. If younger speakers' proficiency begins to differ substantially from that of their parents, language change or contraction occurs, probably under the influence of neighboring languages, of media in national or international languages (Ravanzo, 2006).

This is true for the Ilocano language. The population has been exposed to globalization, Filipinization, and intermarriages with the neighboring towns and provinces. The subjugation of the Ilocano language is due to the interaction of the language with Tagalog. However, Rambaud (2008) in his article on the marginalization of the Ilocano language and other regional languages in the Philippines mentioned that it would have been impossible for students in Ilocano-speaking provinces to speak Filipino outside of their classes in the 1960s or early 1970s. Speaking in Tagalog was frowned upon at the time and was seen as a "clumsy" attempt to look cosmopolitan. Radio dramas and transmissions were

either in Ilocano or had been adapted from Tagalog. Nowadays, more and more Ilocanos choose to speak Filipino over their native language.

Hence, the strength of a language lies in the strength of it being passed from the older generation to the younger generation. Also, the uses of a language in the different communicative domains ensure its transference and continuous vitality. Following Mother Nature's decree of "survival of the fittest," languages are meant to fight for vitality and domains. The extinct and endangered languages are like the extinct and endangered flora and fauna of the earth. They do not have the necessary abilities and qualities to survive; thus, they conclude that these are "weaker specimens" than those that have survived up to the present date. The same principle could be applied to languages if Mother Nature's decree is to be followed.

However, the limited reading materials and publication in the Ilocano language make it harder for children to acquire the language. Hence, only finding a native speaker who can speak and possibly pass the language seems the only way of learning the language since their parents refuse to use the language.

Furthermore, using a language in formal and informal written and oral communication provides records of the language that researchers and speakers can preserve and study. But the Ilocano language is not used in formal communication. Transactions under formal communication are in English and Filipino in the province of La Union. This is because the Philippines' state languages are Filipino and English. Meanwhile, in informal communication like striking up a conversation with a stranger on a bus or buying goods in the market, it can be observed that Ilocano youth choose to speak in the Filipino language than in the Ilocano language.

On the other hand, constitutionally, the country's official languages are Filipino and English, and the regional languages are mandated as auxiliary languages in the regions they are spoken (Dreisbach & Demeterio, 2020). The implementation of the Mother Tongue-based- Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) curriculum in the Philippines has effected a significant change in its educational system (Cabansag, 2016; Esteron, 2020; & Saavedra, 2019). This mandate requires basic education to deliver their instruction in a language understood by the learners. This is anchored on the belief that the learners' mother tongue would help in facilitating the concept mastery and would be of great help in providing the foundation for acquiring or learning other languages. Its goal emphasizes that all learners shall be literate in their native language by the end of Grade 1, in Filipino by the end of Grade 2, and in English by the end of Grade 3 (DepEd, 2016).

With the scenario mentioned above, this present study is conceptualized and is anchored on several concepts about language that include bilingualism, multilingualism, language motivations, language contacts and language attitude.

Bilingualism and Multilingualism

People come in contact with one another. Thus, their languages mingle with each other as well and they become bilinguals. Bilingualism is being equally proficient in two languages, that is having mastered the structure of the languages to be able to express ones' thoughts well in both languages. Proficient means speaking a language like how native speaker. Accentuate themselves A community could have one language and all the members of that community are proficient in that language. The neighboring community, on the other hand, has another language. People from the two communities interact with one another. For example, person A is a bilingual, therefore, person A talks using the language in the first community and the other language in the second community and expresses himself well in both cases. This means that people often use more than one language. The ability to use two (or more) languages means possessing two (or more) grammars and two (or more) sets of vocabulary (Rampton, 1995). In such cases, words, sometimes even grammatical structures, may enter one language from another.

If bilingualism is mastering two languages; multilingualism is mastering more than two languages. A person may use language A in communicating with people from community A, he may use language B in conversing with a stranger from community B, and he may use language C in greeting an old lady from community C (Rampton, 1995).

Bilingualism and multilingualism are governed by the choices of the people. A person may choose to drop a language in favor of another language based on the context where the person is in. These choices and decisions affect the language functions and domains in a given community. Fishman (2001) summed this up in the question "Who speaks which language to whom, where and when?"

Even when a language does not die, it may change, and the situations in which it is used may change. Bilinguals can often choose which language to use. Their choice may depend on many things, including language proficiency, the prestige of the language or of its users, the relationship between certain people in certain roles, and so on. The impact of bilingualism and multilingualism in a language is bipolar. The positive side is that it can strengthen the language by making its lexicon richer and varied. The contact can also improve the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the language. Most languages have words

loaned to their lexicon by other languages. Some languages also have letters that are borrowed from the other languages which have come in contact with the language.

Language Contacts, Language Attitude, and Language Preference

Bilingualism and multilingualism are all possible because of language contact. This happens when two or more languages co-exist in a community where speakers use one language over the other in a specific context. In the Philippines, English is the medium of instruction, Filipino is the language of socialization, and Ilocano are the languages at home. With this kind of relationship, each language is influenced by the other languages (Rubino, 1991).

Language contact facilitates the acquisition of more than one language but the uses of languages in certain domains are influenced mainly by language attitudes. Language Attitudes are feelings and preferences of the members of a speech community towards a language or a speaker of a certain language. It is about what value a speaker gives to a certain language. The language could be their native language or a second language. Language attitude affects the choices made by the members of the speaking community when to use a language, where to use a language, to whom to use a language, and what language is to be used in what situations, to whom, and when. These choices brought the existence of bilingualism, multilingualism, and diglossia in a speech community. Dropping of a language in favor of another may result to the shifting of the dropped language and the strengthening of the preferred language. Attitudes are defined based on three components: thoughts (cognitive), feelings (affective), and predispositions to action (behavioral).

This study investigates the status of the Ilocano Language through an analysis of the language use of Ilocano Speakers. Specifically, it seeks answers to the question: What is the status of the Ilocano language vis-à-vis English, Filipino, and Pangasinan based on Ilocanos' use of these languages in the following domains:

- a. home
- b. school
- c. social settings/community
 - 1. church
 - 2. market
 - 3. neighborhood

Materials and Method

The present study used the descriptive method to document the status of the Ilocano language among its native speakers. It is descriptive as it seeks to discover the language use of Ilocano in given situations. Descriptive research in quantitative research attempts to collect quantifiable information for statistical treatment.

The study is conducted in the municipality of Agoo, La Union. Specifically, the respondents of the study are instructors and professors from the Don Mariano Marcos Memorial State University- South La Union Campus, taken through cluster-purposive-random sampling. There are four colleges in the South La Union Campus and one of these is the College of Education, which was identified through purposive sampling. The college has seven departments clustered through its program offerings namely Bachelor of Secondary Education, Bachelor of Elementary Education, Bachelor of Early Childhood Education, Bachelor of Special Needs Education, Bachelor of Technology and Livelihood Education, Bachelor of Culture and Arts Education, and Bachelor of Physical Education. In each program, three respondents were taken as sample to answer the survey questionnaire through random-purposive-convenience sampling. All in all, this study employed 21 sample-respondents.

The survey questionnaire was administered to the selected 21 faculty members of the College of Education. This survey-questionnaire was based on Michael Halliday's seven functions of a language which have specific communicative purposes. First is instrumental in which language permits speakers to get things completed. Second is administrative wherein a language is utilized to control events once they occur. Third is representational wherein a language is utilized to convey information about the world, to report situations and events, offer expressions, give accounts, clarify relationship, hand-off messages, and others. Fourth is interactional wherein a language is utilized to guarantee social upkeep. Fifth is personal wherein a language is utilized to communicate the person's character. Sixth is heuristic wherein a language is utilized as an instrument itself to acquire knowledge and understanding. The last is imaginative, wherein a language is utilized to make envisioning frameworks whether these are artistic or literary works, philosophical frameworks, or idealistic dreams on one hand, or fantasies and inactive insights on the other.

Gathered data were subjected to quantitative analysis as well as thick description. The statistical tools used in this study were frequency count, weighted mean, and percentage. The tabulated data are presented together with the qualitative description in the discussion.

For the problem of the study, ranking was used to determine the status of the *Ilocano* language vis-à-vis English, Filipino, and Pangasinan. The questions were categorized into the seven functions of a language as espoused by Michael Halliday (1978). Each function has a set of speech situations in which the respondents ranked the language they use in a specific situation.

Results and Discussion

The municipality of Agoo serves as a host to people of different races and groups because of its scenic spots, religious places, and economic opportunities. Aside from this, the municipality serves as a crossway in which different people of different cultures come in contact. The contact of these cultures gives rise to the contact of the different languages in and out of the municipality and the province of La Union as a whole.

Moreover, culture is frequently, if not always, represented in the language spoken or the manner in which it is spoken (Torres, Balasa, Ricohermoso, & Alieto, 2020). Differences are unavoidable no matter how physically near two cultures are, such as Ilocano and Tagalog belonging to the same nationality. The Filipino language had entered the communicative domains of the Ilocano language when it was proclaimed as one of the official languages in the Philippines. Meanwhile, the English language, being the international lingua franca also competed with the native language of the municipality and other languages in dominating the different communicative domains.

In the succeeding discussion, the use of these four languages is described. These functions of language in the many domains where communication occurs is referred to as language use. In this case, the different domains such as home, school, marketplace, community and church are highlighted.

Status of the Ilocano Language vis-à-vis Three Other Dominant Languages Used in Agoo

Table 1 shows the status of the *Ilocano* language vis-à-vis three dominant languages. In the domains such as in the home, community, and church, the Filipino language ranks first while the *Ilocano* language ranks second. Furthermore, the English and Pangasinan languages were ranked third and fourth, respectively. Meanwhile, Filipino and Ilocano languages both dominated in the marketplace domain. The school domain, on the other hand, deviates from this ranking wherein the Filipino language is still first but it is followed by the English language as second and the *Ilocano* and Pangasinan languages ranked third and fourth respectively.

Table 1. Status of the *Ilocano* Language vis-à-vis Three Other Dominant Languages Used in Agoo

Four Dominant Languages	Home	School	Community	Marketplace	Church	Over-all Rank
English	3	2	3	3	3	3
Filipino	1	1	1	1.5	1	1
Ilocano	2	3	2	1.5	2	2
Pangasinan	4	4	4	4	4	4

Overall, the table shows that despite the *Ilocano* language being the native language of the respondents, the Filipino language dominates the linguistic repertoire of the Ilocano speakers in Agoo. The succeeding discussion would show specifically the predominance of the Filipino language in the different functions of a language as postulated by Michael Halliday.

Instrumental Function

The instrumental function of the language allows the speaker to accomplish things. This is where people can manipulate others to do what they want done. This is sometimes known as the “I want” function of language. Some of the micro-functions included are *naming, pronouncing, betting, suggesting, demanding, persuading, ordering, directing and commanding* (Halliday, 2004).

In Table 2, it can be gleaned that, Ilocano speakers consistently ranked Pangasinan language last in all five domains. In the school domain, the respondents consistently ranked the Filipino language first while English and Ilocano were ranked second and third, respectively. Meanwhile, in the community and marketplace domains, the respondents consistently ranked Ilocano language first while Filipino ranked second. English and Pangasinan were ranked third and fourth, respectively.

Table 2. Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains along the Instrumental Function of a Language

Context	Domains of Use	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
1. when you want to make suggestions	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4

	Church	3	1	2	4
	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
2. when you persuade another person	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
3. when you want things to be done	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	2	1	4
	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
4. when you give directions	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	2	1	4
	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
5. when you demand that something be done	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	2	1	4
Mean Rank		3	2	1	4

In the instrumental function, the aim of the interlocutor is to get something accomplished and in order to get things accomplished, effective passing of message and instructions should be done. The effectiveness of the communication is determined by the language that the interlocutors use. Since Filipino is the language of communication in schools nowadays, getting something done can be accomplished by giving instructions in a language that all students and teachers are speaking. Thus, Filipino is consistently ranked first in the school domain. In the taxonomy of motivations (Karan, 2000), this pattern is an example of communicative motivation. People will make choices that best facilitate communication. In this instance, the number of speakers has an impact on the language choice of an interlocutor. If majority of the speakers favor a certain language, for the sake of communicating to more people, speakers would choose the favored language and in the case of the *Ilocano* language, its speakers choose Filipino over their native tongue (*Ilocano*

language) in the school domain because they can communicate to majority of the students and teachers using the Filipino language.

Meanwhile, as a whole, *Ilocano* language is still ranked first. This shows that the respondents still believe that the language can help them accomplish what they want to accomplish especially at home, in the community, and in the marketplace.

The *Ilocano* language can be used to get things done if they are in the public places and within the parameters of their home and neighborhood but beyond that, they have to use the national language thus they gave Filipino the higher ranking in schools, since the university caters not only Ilocano students but also students from neighboring provinces, because they see the bigger picture where Filipino language can be more useful than *Ilocano*.

Moreover, in the school, where common *Ilocanos* mingle with others, pride prompts the common *Ilocanos* to speak English and Filipino inasmuch as these are deemed to be as superior languages compared to *Ilocano language*. Speaking in *Ilocano* comes with a negative label that someone is provincial (or barriotic) because of the wavy and somewhat hard accent. The name-calling (“barriotic” label) on the *Ilocano* language is reinforced by the concept of Filipino being the language of class and urbanity in the Philippines as pointed out by Andrew Gonzales (1980) in his article “Language Planning Situation in the Philippines.” Avoiding the label prompts an Ilocano to speak the urban language/s over the native tongue which is regarded as the language of the commoner. This is an example of language choice based on social identity motivation. Social identity motivations are in effect when people want to be, or not to be, identified with a group or individual. In the case of the *Ilocano* speakers, they choose the Filipino language in the school domain, where varied language communities meet, because they want to associate themselves to being a classy Tagalog and not as an Ilocano from the barrio. Specifically, this is called as prestige-related social identity motivation since the *Ilocano* speakers choose to use the Filipino language in order to associate themselves to the prestige of being a Tagalog who speaks the Filipino language especially when suggesting or persuading something to be done.

On the other hand, another reason may be ascribed to instrumental or economic motivation. *Ilocanos* speak their native language in their communities but they do not see the role this language can play in their future like finding jobs and going abroad. Job interviews are conducted either in English or Filipino.

Since English is the international language, this is seen as the only language they can use if they ever leave the country. Aside from these, even in job interviews, English and Filipino are the media. Specifically, this is an example of job-related economic motivation

wherein *Ilocano* speakers choose to use the Filipino and the English languages because they believe that they can obtain a good job if they do away with their native language. Speaking the Ilocano language for years as part of the formative stage has an impact to the way a child would speak English. *Ilocano* words in Agoo require a hard accent which when carried to English system, the words would sound awkward. This makes the Ilocano speakers conscious of how they speak.

Regulatory Function

The second function of a language is the regulatory function. The regulatory function of the language covers the control of the language and its people. It allows a speaker to tell others what is to be done. It also gives words dedicated solely to expressing approval and disapproval and putting people in appropriate places in conversations. This is sometimes called the “Do as I tell you” function of language. Some of the micro-functions included are *approving, disapproving, answering the phone, and setting rules for playing and addressing the action* (Halliday, 2004).

Table 3. Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains along Regulatory Function of a Language

Context	Domains of Use	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
1. when you state that you approve or disapprove something	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	2	1	4
	Home	3	1	2	4
2. when you answer the phone	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
3. when you clear up a misunderstanding	Community/ neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
	Home	3	1	2	4
4. when you ask for guidelines from someone	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/	3	2	1	4

	neighborhood				
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
5. when you encourage someone	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
Mean Rank		3	1	2	4

In the regulatory functions of the languages under study shown in Table 3, it can be observed that the pattern of language use seen in the instrumental function deliberately changed wherein respondents ranked the languages in terms of use as follows: Filipino, first; Ilocano second; English and Pangasinan, still third and fourth in four domains respectively.

The act of Ilocanos of dissociating themselves from their native language in order to avoid the negative label given to it shows that they consider their language as a low language form and their choice of using the Filipino language shows that they regard the Filipino language as a high form of language. This maybe a case of diglossia wherein a language may fall under a high variety or low variety depending on the prestige associated with speaking a particular language. A high form of language allows a speaker to gain power or prestige. In the case of Ilocano speakers, speaking in Filipino lends them a certain class or finesse.

The phenomenon of ranking Filipino higher than *Ilocano* is an observation that they are more exposed to the language than to their mother tongue especially when they enter school. Their ability to learn languages and their ability to adapt to the changes brought by the passing of time have inch-by-inch assimilated themselves to these changes thus losing their identity as a different ethnic group.

For example, an Ilocano youth is raised by Ilocano parents. The language at home is *Ilocano* and the child's first language is *Ilocano*. But when the child starts going to school, the prevailing language is Filipino. During school hours, the child will be forced to speak Filipino and because the child spent his elementary years speaking Filipino, the *Ilocano* accent will be softened and almost eliminated from the linguistic system. This phenomenon is common among *Ilocano* youth because they spend more time in school than at other domains thus allowing great exposure to the languages like Filipino and English which dominate the school domain.

Students are also motivated to learn the Filipino language in order to blend in school especially since the Filipino language is considered to be the language of the urban centers in

the Philippines. Also, the learning of Filipino as a language among Ilocanos is not seen as an act of treason against their *Ilocano* heritage. The study of Emy Pascasio's (1981) titled "The Filipino Bilingual from a Sociolinguistic Perspective" pointed out that individuals study the Filipino language to demonstrate that they are nationalistic and appreciate their Filipino culture. This is an example of learning a language because of nationalistic and political motivations. Nationalistic and political motivations influence language use because of the association between a language and a nation. Since, the national language of the Philippines is Filipino, speakers choose to speak and acquire the Filipino language as a declaration of national affinity. The same is true with the *Ilocano* speakers; they believe that speaking in the Filipino language makes them nationalistic.

It is also noted that English is learned as a language by the respondents because they want to communicate better because being able to speak in English shows that they are educated and it is a means towards upward social mobility. Being able to speak in English and Filipino enriches their linguistic repertoire which they think would serve them better than being able to speak only in the *Pangasinan* language. This motivation fits in the perceived benefit model of language shift wherein language choice decisions (as well as language acquisition decisions) are influenced by a limited set of motivators. These motivations are classified as communicative, economic, social (solidarity or prestige), and religious.

Aside from this, the loss of ethnic identity through the inability to speak *the Ilocano language* among *Ilocano* speakers is not given much importance. Although they do not speak the *Ilocano* language, they can still claim that they are *Ilocanos* because they are simply from the *Ilocos* region. This coincides with the study of Gonzales and Bautista (1986) stating that a person can claim belongingness in different ethnic groups as long as the person is raised from that place and as long as the person is a multilingual. A person can easily shift to another ethnic group as long as that ethnic group uses the dominant language in the community. This is happening among the *Ilocano* speakers. They are *Ilocanos* by birth and when they were younger, they spoke the *Ilocano* language but since the community is now being taken over by the Filipino language because of its status as the official state language, *Ilocano* speakers do not feel any guilt shifting to Filipino because they are also Filipinos. Again, this is an example of language use with nationalistic and political motivations.

Representational Function

The third function of a language is representational. It facilitates the passing of knowledge about the world, reporting of events, making statements, giving accounts,

explaining relationships, relaying messages and others as long as an exchange of information occurs. The representational function provides certain rules to regulate language behavior when an exchange of information is involved. This is also known as the “I’ve got something to tell you” function of language. It includes the micro-functions as *reporting, giving accounts, explaining, relaying messages, informing/misinforming, telling lies, and making statements* (Halliday, 2004).

In this function, it is important that the message is relayed effectively. In relaying messages, only one language all over the Philippines can be used as a common ground or lingua franca among Filipinos and that is the Filipino language. Moreover, it is in this function where misunderstanding should not happen; therefore, even two *Ilocano* speakers will opt to use the Filipino language because it ensures reliable passing of the message content.

Table 4. Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains along Representational Function of a Language

Context	Domains of Use	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
1. when you narrate events	Home	3	1.5	1.5	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
2. when you explain things	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	2	1	4
3. when you relay messages to others	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
4. when you impart information	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1.5	1.5	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4

	Church	3	2	1	4
	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	3	1	2	4
5. when you tell lies	Community/ neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	2	1	4
Mean Rank		3	2	1	4

The representational function of the *Ilocano* language ideally should ensure the passing of the culture and tradition of the *Ilocano* people to its younger generation using the language. With the gathered information from the *Ilocano* speakers, the respondents ranked the *Ilocano* language higher than the three languages. Though Filipino as a language has become the symbol of nationalism and Filipino identity around the world, the *Ilocano* language has displaced all the three languages in terms of the micro-functions as *reporting*, *giving accounts*, *explaining*, *relaying messages*, *informing/misinforming*, *telling lies*, and *making statements* (Halliday, 2004).

Based on the other functions of language, the Filipino language has indeed unified the Philippines but with this unification, a language like *Ilocano* is slowly gaining its hold to its people.

Aside from this, the use of Filipino as a medium of instruction has resulted to the fluency of the *Ilocano* speakers in the Filipino language because they are exposed to the language all day during schooldays, thus, making it difficult for the native language to cast a strong hold. In most subjects in the public-school systems, Filipino is a medium of instruction especially for teachers who switch to the Filipino language when their students cannot follow what the former are teaching. This would also explain the higher ranking of Filipino in the different domains of the representational function. However, the important thing about the representational function is the passing of knowledge to the receiver and most students, based on the ranking they gave, believed that knowledge or message can be passed more effectively if the *Ilocano* language is used. Furthermore, in using the mother tongue in the classroom, an *Ilocano* speaking instructor does not only instruct, but also disciplines and affirms the importance of cultural values (Paez, 2018).

Interactional Function

The interactional function of a language allows a person to build relationships through mingling and interaction. This function of the language focuses on the maintenance of good

relationships and binds people in a harmonious context in groups: slang, family jokes, professional jargon, ritualistic exchange and social and regional languages. People must learn a wide variety of such different kinds of language usage if they are to interact comfortably with others. This is sometimes known as the “You and Me” function of language. Some of the micro-functions included are *greetings, leave-takings, joking, teasing, inviting, parting and accepting* (Halliday, 2004).

In the interactional function of the language, a subtle change in the ranking in all the domains can be observed. In all domains except in the school domain, the languages were ranked in terms of use as follows: Filipino, first; *Ilocano*, second; English, third; and Pangasinan, fourth. Furthermore, it can be gleaned that, the *Ilocanos* consistently ranked Filipino language first in four domains namely: home, community, marketplace, and church while *Ilocano* placed second. English and Pangasinan were ranked third and fourth, respectively. Meanwhile, in the school domain, the respondents ranked either Filipino and English first or second while *Ilocano* and Pangasinan were ranked third and fourth, respectively.

Table 5. Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains along Interactional Function of a Language

Context	Domains of Use	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
1. when you greet people	Home	2	1	3	4
	School	1	2	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	2.5	1	2.5	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	2	1	3	4
2. when you end a conversation	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
3. when you tell a joke	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	3	1	2	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4

4. when you invite people	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
5. when you accept invitation	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
Mean Rank		3	1	2	4

Filipino received the first rank in most of the domains because in the interactional function, it is important not to be misunderstood. The risk of being misunderstood in a conversation is high when using a language different from that of the majority of the people. Such use would create a communication barrier; thus, a student would choose to use a language which is generally accepted.

As previously stated, typical Ilocano speakers at school are driven to utilize the Filipino language since, in certain cases, speaking Filipino is a need in order to be accepted into particular school cliques. Ilocanos who speak Ilocano are deemed provincial or "lower class," and hence are not permitted to join these cliques. Furthermore, when an Ilocano speaks English, the hard accent that results from fluency in the Ilocano language prompts other children to laugh at the individual, which embarrasses him or her and establishes a linguistic and cultural prejudice.

According to Abraham Maslow's theory of belongingness, acceptance in a group is a sensation that everyone desires. It is part of their being unaccepted has a significant influence on the individual's self-esteem. As a result, people will go to any length to be accepted, and because the majority of the students and teachers in the school speak Filipino, everyone favors the Filipino language over the Ilocano language. Aside from that, individuals nowadays are exposed to television and mass media, both of which employ the Filipino language. People seek to adapt to the Filipino language since it is given a greater position in society. In the motivation taxonomy, this is known as social identity motivation. Social identification motivation occurs when people desire to be associated with a group or individual, therefore a specific person associates himself/herself by utilizing the group's language. The individual aligns himself/herself with the language that ensures his/her

acceptability in the well-known group or the socially recognized cliques and disassociates himself/herself from the language that the group considers to be inferior.

Ilocanos' linguistic choices are influenced by the media. The media instills ideals in its viewers. Most of the time, it arouses a desire for something by convincing its audience that a certain object is required in their everyday life. This is the same idea that Ilocanos see on TV and in movies these days. Ilocanos speak a variety of languages as a result of the effect of media like as television, the internet, and other forms of communication (Ocampo & Belarde, 2021). They frequently combine terms with Filipino or other local languages to create hybridized terms. The utilization of the Filipino language creates a desire to speak it in able to keep pace with the Filipino nobles; hence, they prefer to speak the Filipino language rather than just the Ilocano language.

Personal Function

The personal function of a language is used to express the individual's personality. Individuals have a "voice" in what happens to them. They are also free to speak or not to speak, to say as much or as little as they wish, and to choose how to say what they say. This is sometimes called "Here I Come" function of language. Some of the micro-functions included is exclaiming, endorsing, cursing, expressing anger, and apologizing (Halliday, 2004).

In the personal function of a language shown in Table 6, the ranking pattern stays the same with the previous function/s. The respondents ranked Filipino as first while *Ilocano* and English were ranked second and third respectively and received similar rankings in some domains, and Pangasinan was ranked fourth in all domains. Meanwhile, the respondents ranked Filipino and English alternately as first or second in the school domain.

The ranking of *Ilocano* as mostly first in the marketplace can be attributed to the awkwardness of using English in transacting in the market. Also, most vendors in the market utilize the *Ilocano* language, thus, forcing the buyers to use the native language to establish a connection with the vendee and get a discount. This phenomenon is called convergence. Aside from this, when a buyer does not speak the *Ilocano* language in buying something in the market, the vendor can take advantage and raise the price.

Table 6. Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains along Personal Function of a Language

Context	Domains of Use	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
1. when you show that you are surprised	Home	2.5	1	2.5	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	2.5	1	2.5	4
2. when you utter bad words/curse	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1.5	1.5	4
3. when you express your anger	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	3	1	2	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
4. when you apologize	Home	1.5	1.5	3	4
	School	1	2	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	2	1	3	4
	Marketplace	2.5	1	2.5	4
	Church	2	1	3	4
5. when you give your support to something or someone	Home	2	1	3	4
	School	1	2	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
Mean Rank		3	1	2	4

Furthermore, most vendors in the market are old women who fluently speak the *Ilocano* language and sometimes when young people who buy something from them do not speak the *Ilocano* language, the vendors call the buyer “maarte” which becomes a stigma because it compromises camaraderie and solidarity among people. Also, the vendor labels the buyer a stranger so the vendor takes advantage of the buyers’ unfamiliarity with local pricing.

Aside from these, the use of the native language helps establish loyal patronage or the “suki” factor or familiarity between the buyer and seller. In this situation, the *Ilocano* language strengthens the solidarity—the concept of being “kapamilya”, “kabalayan” and “kabsat”—which allows the buyer to receive discounts and even freebies from the vendors.

Interlocutors in communication require a shared ground, or, in a more technical sense, overlapping "fields of experiences." These fields of experiences enable interlocutors to encode and decode messages in a setting that is both known to them, so applying the same concept to the buyer-seller communication transaction; the local language acts as the common ground. This shows that the *Ilocano* language, although displaced by the Filipino language in the other domains, is still seen as a useful language in the market domain.

The ranking of Filipino with the Ilocano language in the market domain can be attributed to it being the national language of the Philippines. The market is an open place where different people come to transact business. This crossway for Filipino and Ilocano language in the marketplace allows the people to mingle and interact with one another. Since people in the market might have using their own languages, they also need to establish a common ground - again the Filipino language. This is called theory of accommodation wherein a group of speakers adopt the other speakers' group language. In this instance though, the situation is reversed wherein instead of the visitors adopting the *Ilocano* language as part of their linguistic repertoire, the *Ilocanos* adopt the language of the visitors which is often than not the Filipino language. The accommodation theory states that a speaker adopts a language to make one's way of communicating converge with that of another interlocutor: one tries to meet them on *their* expressive grounds by consciously or unconsciously adopting features of their pronunciation, turn-taking practices, topic conventions, and others (Giles, 1979).

In the personal function of the language, the speech situations focus mainly on the use of the language by the interlocutors to express what they feel. Thus, establishing connections among others would be important. Ranking Filipino first shows that the respondents can express themselves better in it because more people will be able to understand them. Since Filipino is the national language of the Philippines more people speak Filipino. If more people can understand what one says, the message can be communicated to more people.

Heuristic Function

The heuristic function of a language uses a language as an instrument itself in order to acquire knowledge and understanding. Language may be used to learn things about the

world. Questions can lead to answers; argumentations to conclusions; hypotheses testing to new discoveries. Language allows people to ask questions about the nature of the world in which they live and to construct possible answers. Sometimes it is called the “Tell me why” function of language. Some of the micro-functions included are *questioning, probing, answering, arguing, concluding, defining, hypothesizing, analyzing, testing and experimenting* (Halliday, 2004).

The ranking in the heuristic function of the language shown in Table 7 is the same with that of the interactional, regulatory, and personal functions wherein respondents ranked the languages in terms of use as follows: Filipino, first; *Ilocano* second; English, third; and Pangasinan, fourth.

Table 7. Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains along Heuristic Function of a Language

Context	Domains of Use	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
1. when you ask questions	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1.5	1.5	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
2. when you answer questions	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
3. when you argue	Home	3	2	1	4
	School	3	1	2	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
4. when you make conclusions	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	1	2	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
5. when you	Home	3	1	2	4

analyze something	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
Mean Rank		3	1	2	4

As highly observed even in the other functions of language, most Ilocano speakers during their childhood days are more exposed to the Filipino language in the school and in the mass media. This exposure forces them to communicate using the Filipino language. This corroborates the result of the study of Scebold (2003). The Tagbanwa language of the Central Philippines had lost its speakers to the Cuyonon language because the Tagbanwa parents and children chose to speak Cuyonon because they have mingled with other communities and these larger communities speak the Cuyonon language. The abandonment of the Tagbanwa language led to its massive shifting.

In the heuristic function of the language, it is important that a speaker gets the answer to the questions bothering him/her. This forces the speaker to ask the question in a language understood by those people who can answer the questions. English and Filipino, being the official languages of the state, are the languages used to ask and answer questions, formal or informal. Observe a classroom with a class going on, children ask questions in Filipino and the teacher either answers in Filipino or English. In court proceedings, English is used to file motions and submit appeals wherever in the Philippines. With these demands, children learn these two languages more than their native language. Science and Mathematics books in elementary, high school, and college are all written in English requiring children to understand the English language as early as preparatory years.

The demand to learn other languages like Filipino and English is a challenge that *Ilocanos* confidently accept. Again, the *Ilocanos*' pride of being able to learn other languages pushed them into learning the Filipino language while none actually adjusted to learn the *Ilocano* language.

Imaginative Function

The imaginative function of the language is sometimes known as the "Let's Pretend" function of language. Language is used to create imagining systems whether these are literary works, philosophical systems, on one hand, or utopian visions, daydreams and idle musings on the other. The imaginative function is prized when it leads to artistic creation

(Halliday, 2004). In the imaginative function of the four languages shown in Table 8, the respondents ranked Filipino as first, *Ilocano* as second, English as third, and Pangasinan as fourth.

Table 8. Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains along Imaginative Function of a Language

Context	Domains of Use	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
1. when you write literary pieces like poems and stories	Home	1	2	3	4
	School	1	2	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	1.5	1.5	3	4
	Marketplace	2	1	3	4
	Church	1.5	1.5	3	4
2. when you pretend to be someone else	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	2	1	3	4
	Marketplace	3	1	2	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
3. when you express doubt	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	3	1	2	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	2	1	4
4. when you make up stories to tell your friends	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	3	1	2	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	1.5	1.5	4
	Marketplace	3	1.5	1.5	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
5. when you brag/boast	Home	3	1	2	4
	School	2	1	3	4
	Community/ neighborhood	3	2	1	4
	Marketplace	3	2	1	4
	Church	3	1	2	4
Mean Rank		3	1	2	4

Meanwhile, in write literary pieces like poems and stories, the respondents ranked English as first, Filipino as second, and *Ilocano* and Pangasinan ranked third and fourth, respectively.

The exposure of *Ilocanos* to the television, computer, internet, cinemas, and other media facilitate their accommodation of the Filipino and English languages which could be pointed out as the reason why the respondents ranked Filipino still higher than *Ilocano* in terms of use.

Aside from these materials, both fiction and non-fiction materials abound in the Filipino language while the *Ilocano* language has scanty print materials to be read by learners in the province.

Summary of the Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains

The over-all weighted mean for the different language functions as shown in Table 9 on the next page, the Ilocano speakers ranked the Filipino language first while the *Ilocano* language ranked second, and the English and Pangasinan ranked third and fourth, respectively. It can be observed that the Filipino language ranked first in regulatory, interactional, personal, heuristic, and imaginative while Ilocano emerged first in the instrumental and representational function. In the other functions such as interactional, regulatory, personal, heuristic, and imaginative, the *Ilocano* language ranked second while the Filipino language ranked first.

This ranking shows that in the municipality of Agoo, the most dominant language is the Filipino language. This can be attributed to several reasons like the bilingual education policy, language attitude, and preferences of the *Ilocanos*, which are further governed by language motivations like economic, social identity, nationalistic, language power and prestige, and language contact. Moreover, the ranking shown in Table 9 on the next page shows clearly that the *Ilocano* language is losing its communicative domains to the Filipino language. One reason why the *Ilocano* language is losing its communicative domains is because of the devaluation of the minority languages. This shifting is similar to the observation of the study of Kulick (2002) which found out that the younger generation in Papua New Guinea sees their native language as a low form of language, thus, the younger generation choose to speak the lingua franca of New Guinea which is TokPisin than their native language, Taiap.

Table 9. Summary of the Status of Use of Four Dominant Languages in Agoo in Different Domains

Language Functions	English	Filipino	Ilocano	Pangasinan
Instrumental	3	2	1	4
Regulatory	3	1	2	4
Representational	3	2	1	4
Interactional	3	1	2	4
Personal	3	1	2	4
Heuristic	3	1	2	4
Imaginative	3	1	2	4
Mean Rank	3	1	2	4

Another reason for the losing of the *Ilocano* language is the language contact prevalent in the municipality or in the province as a whole. Being a host of different events, the province welcome visitors from other places which results to the accommodation of the visitors' language as well a good opportunity for interethnic marriages. The interethnic marriages further dilute the pure *Ilocano* speakers by adding another language to their linguistic repertoires which results to their choosing a language over another (Ravanzo,1993).

Furthermore, the prevalent multilingualism in the province of *La Union* , specifically in the municipality of Agoo, shows the fragile situation of the *Ilocano* language. In contrast to the study of Bolton (2002) which predicted that Hong Kong will have a triglossic future, in the province of *La Union*, the researcher believes that the shifting, if not reversed, will be like that of Crystal's (2000) prediction of the world being monolingual, thus, the *Ilocano* language will be replaced by the Filipino language in the future to pave way for the monolingual Philippines which will eventually leads to a monolingual world.

Conclusion

Based on the results, the *Ilocano* language is slowly being edged by the Filipino language in the five communicative domains: home, school, neighborhood, church, and marketplace in terms of language functions. The use of Filipino as a medium of instruction has resulted to the fluency of the *Ilocano* speakers in the Filipino language because they are exposed to the language all day during schooldays, thus, making it difficult for the native language to cast a strong hold. Moreover, since the university where the respondents work caters not only students from the province of *La Union* but also and mostly even from Pangasinan, Ilocano teachers/speakers assume that it would be better to use the Filipino language to cater the bilingualism and multilingualism in their classes and surroundings. However, the *investigation* on the status of the Ilocano language shall also consider the

participation of the community in the preservation, promotion, and development of the language.

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