

Language Use, Choice, and Maintenance of 1.5 Generation Filipinos in Hawai'i

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Introduction

"Ang hindi magmahal sa sariling wika, daig pa ang hayop at malansang isda."

(He who does not love his own language is worse than an animal and a smelly fish.)

- *Jose Rizal, a Filipino national hero*

This literary piece tells us the importance of love and appreciation of one's language, since language is the bridge that can connect a country of people to each other. Wolf (1997) stated that, for various historical and cultural reasons, many of which are related to colonial history, Filipinos in the United States appear to be assimilated and successful, tending to integrate into American society in such a way that they are relatively invisible to both the average American and the US academic eye. My curiosity to study 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai'i is drawn primarily from my travels to different parts of the continental United States (e.g., California, Washington, New York, Florida), where I noticed that some 1.5 generation Filipinos cannot speak their native language. With this study, I want to understand if there are differences in the attitudes and behaviors of 1.5 generation Filipinos living in Hawai'i towards the maintenance of their ethnic language.

In the context of this discussion, I refer to the 1.5 generation as children born outside the United States who earned part, or most, of their education in the US. In addition, the term "1.5 generation" is a distinct generation of immigrants who have arrived as children, the "in between" generation, separate from the "first" generation of immigrants who migrated as adults and "second" generation of native born (Rumbaut, 2004). With that, I would like to have a better understanding for diasporic Filipinos in Hawai'i of what might be of interest in the attitudes and behaviors about their ethnic language maintenance at home and in the neighborhood, and also if there is a concern about an eventual language shift and loss especially in a state with many

Filipinos. In addition, I have put focus on the 1.5 generation of immigrants as they are the population that have been documented to be losing their ethnic language at a higher pace (Fillmore, 2000; Lopez, 1996).

Literature Review

Language Maintenance and Shift Theories

Lanza and Svendsen (2007) claim that language has a fundamental role in collective identities such as cultural, national, and ethnic identities, and that the maintenance of language across generations is important in maintaining such identities. According to Baker (2001), *language maintenance* brings up the “relative language stability in number and distribution of its speakers, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains” (p. 59). Fishman (1964) refers to these domains as the situated communicative actions of the choices of the speaker about the use of language in particular contexts, such as home, family, communities, schooling, mass media, etc. In contrast, *language shift* is characterized by the loss of language proficiency and a reduction in the number of speakers in the same domains. In a similar manner, language shift may also transpire when people in communities choose to or are compelled to switch from their native language to the use of the major language of the host country or society. As language shift takes place in the discourse of immigrants, Fishman (1991) argued that language shift has been observed to take place within three generations. Portes and Rumbaut (2006) confirm this observation, arguing that “home language seldom survives” even though other elements of immigrant culture such as food, celebrations, and religion frequently last for many generations (p. 207).

Language Maintenance and the Role of Family to Generation 1.5

Brecht and Ingold (2002) note that English has become the dominant language in the United States, and the following trends predict language use shifts toward English: (1) by the time they enter adulthood, children arriving in the US will typically have English as the dominant language; (2) children born in the US to first-generation immigrant families have English control with the start of schooling or sooner; and (3) children of the third generation will not only be native speakers of English, but will also lose most of their communication skills in their heritage language. Thus, the role of family is important in the maintenance of children's first language, and those who maintain their heritage language sustain better relationships with other heritage language speakers (Cho, 2000). Similarly, the maintenance of heritage language by immigrant children is crucial in gaining access to their parents' guidance and social capital in the community (Fillmore, 2000; Lao & Lee, 2009; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). Hence, there is a significant part for the family in order to help minority children keep their heritage language. Moreover, it also suggests that the family should provide the basic elements in the sense of belonging to their own ethnic identity and culture, and their responsibility to family and in the community, for these are not provided at school.

Filipinos in the US and Filipino Diaspora in Hawai‘i

Since the late 19th century, migration from the Philippines to the United States has been driven in large part through the bilateral political, military, and educational relationships between the two countries. The American Immigration Council (2020) reported that the state of Hawai‘i has a sizable community of 266,147 foreign-born immigrants that makes up 19% of the state overall population. In the same data report, at 45%, Philippines headed the list of the top

countries in the origin of immigrants, followed by China at nine percent, Japan with eight percent, Korea with approximately six percent, and Marshall Islands at less than five percent.

In brief, the Filipino population in Hawai‘i started in the early 1900s when 15 contract laborers known as the *sakadas*¹ from the Philippines were hired to work on sugar plantations; Filipinos became the backbone of the sugar industry (Poblete, 2014). Initially, Filipino migrants came from the Ilocos region and in later years, the Visayas region, lured to have better life opportunities in Hawai‘i compared to their lives in rural areas of the Philippines. Accordingly, a steady flow of migration to the shores of Hawai‘i were seen in the 1930s, pioneering the formation of the Filipino community. Meanwhile, Teodoro (2019) further asserts that in the late 1940s, a new wave of 6,000 Filipino immigrants together with their families were recruited as new plantation workers in the sugar industry. As immigration policies in the country developed over the years, the Philippines has sent the largest number of occupational immigrants (professionals and highly trained individuals), and families received opportunities to reunite because of the dynamic and ever changing management in government protocols (Teodoro, 2019). Indeed, the continuous growth of immigrants has led to the growth of the Filipino nationality, ethnicity, culture, identity, and the continued existence of the community in the Hawai‘i islands.

Filipino Languages in Hawai‘i

Grounded on working-class consciousness, Labrador (2002) points out that it has long been established that Filipino identity and solidarity in Hawai‘i emanated from the shared experiences on plantations and participation in the unionizing efforts of the labor movement. In

¹ From an Ilokano phrase “*sakasakada amin*” to mean those who work barefoot, “*sakadas*” are the migrant farmworkers that pioneered the large diasporic Filipino community in Hawai‘i islands (De Leon, 2019).

Hawai'i, Ramos (1996, as cited in Teodoro, 2019) acknowledged that Ilocanos comprised the overwhelming early immigrant Filipinos, which fostered cohesiveness in the plantations, a trait that is lacking when there are less equal numbers of Filipinos from the different regions of the Philippines. One of the factors that helped them survive in their new workplace was the retention of their native languages and the aspects of their culture. Also, Reinecke (1969, as cited in Teodoro, 2019) mentioned that because of the number of immigrants, short term commitment residency, attitude of transiency, and isolation from the rest of the population, made it possible for Filipinos to maintain the use of Filipino languages. With these intentions, there was no reason for the early Filipino immigrants to give up their native tongue as they did not regard themselves as permanent settlers in Hawai'i.

Interestingly, although 96% of the 503 immigrants that were interviewed spoke Ilokano in Lasman et al.'s (1971) study, 67.4% reported that they could also speak Tagalog, and 78.4% had the ability to speak English to varying degrees (Teodoro, 2019). As these numbers indicate a surprising rise of Tagalog speakers in Hawai'i, it can be said that this might be the result of the change in language policies and the prevalence of Tagalog as a compulsory subject in schools in the Philippines. As the language of Tagalog became the basis for the national language, it began to become known simply as Filipino. As such, both Tagalog and English became a lingua franca for Filipinos even in the Hawai'ian islands. In a statistical report done by the Hawai'i State Data Center (2016), over 130 languages other than English were spoken at home, and of the three Filipino languages listed, the largest language group was Tagalog with 58,345 speakers. This is followed by Ilokano with 54,005 speakers, and Bisayan with 3,005 speakers. Hence, it is apparent that the overlapping numbers of different Filipino language speakers could be the result of the rapid dissemination of the dominant official language in the Philippines through internal

migration, rapid urbanization, mass media, and the implementation of bilingual education policies in the country.

Filipino Language Maintenance and Shift Studies

In some countries, relevant studies show that most second generation Filipinos are less likely to speak Tagalog as opposed to their adult counterparts (Angeles, 2015; Nical, 2000). Other studies have also revealed that Filipino parents desire for their children to only learn and speak the dominant language of their new place to the extent of not using Tagalog at home (Chan, 2003; Dumanig et al., 2013; Yamamoto, 2005). Furthermore, some studies suggest that Filipinos who have a higher self-esteem, strong sense of identity, and determination have stronger ties to their ethnic language and culture (Aivazian, 1995; Angeles, 2015). The studies mentioned therefore show the significance in the understanding of language as a means of communication, and how Filipinos portray their cultural and ethnic identities as Filipinos. As language maintenance and shift highlights the importance of our knowledge of one's attitude towards maintaining Filipino language(s), it could also point to different directions whether Filipino language(s) is going to be maintained in the years to come or if it heads toward a shift in English, and ultimately language loss, especially in a place like Hawai'i that embraced the Filipino people, culture, and traditions over the years.

The Current Study

The overarching goal of this research is to examine the factors that may be of concern to the attitudes and behaviors of 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai'i towards the use of their ethnic language and how these factors are reflected in the maintenance of ethnic language or the shift in the English language especially in creating their identity. My hope is that by investigating this concern, it will serve as a tool to encourage more researchers to pursue the field of language

maintenance and shift, and in particular, to the preservation of the Filipino language(s) at home, in other Filipino communities in the United States and in other parts of the world. Relatedly, it is my desire to illustrate the diverse experiences and insights of the participants by sharing their unique stories. By drawing on the experience of the participants, I address the following questions:

- 1) Do 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawaii generally maintain their ethnic language?
- 2) To what extent do 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai'i use their ethnic language? Is there a pattern of language shift? If so, what are the factors that contribute to the maintenance of ethnic language or shift towards English?

Methods

Context

In the context of the discussion, it is essential to note that the term Filipino language(s) used in this study applies to the major native languages spoken in the Philippines (e.g., Ilokano, Cebuano, Bicol), since this term can also be shared with the official language of the Philippines, the Tagalog-based Filipino. The study involved 15 participants who were enrolled in various Philippine language classes housed in the Languages and Literatures department of a US university located in Hawai'i. According to the university department's website of interest, their programs are unique in the world, as it is the only department that, among other Southeast Asian languages, offers Ilokano and Filipino Bachelor of Arts degrees. The Ilokano program is offered in light of the large Ilokano population in the state and in response to the community's need for Ilokano language and culturally-trained professionals. At the same time, the Filipino program seeks to provide a thorough understanding of the Philippines, the national language, and its people to students of heritage and non-heritage backgrounds through the program's course

offerings. With that in mind, this takes me to my objective of focusing on university students. As Syed et al. (2011) mentioned, school is one of the many significant institutions that may influence the identity development of some individuals. In addition, research has shown that academically successful students seem to have a positive sense of pride in their ethnic identity and a sense of belonging fostered by the quality of relationships with their peers, teachers, and the school community (Napoli et al., 2003; Syed et al., 2011). During the recruitment process, invitations were sent out electronically to the students and the below selection criteria were observed:

- 1) must be of legal age during the study;
- 2) should be an individual who immigrated to the US before or during their early teens;
- 3) should have been exposed to Filipino language(s) on a daily basis even after immigration

Participants

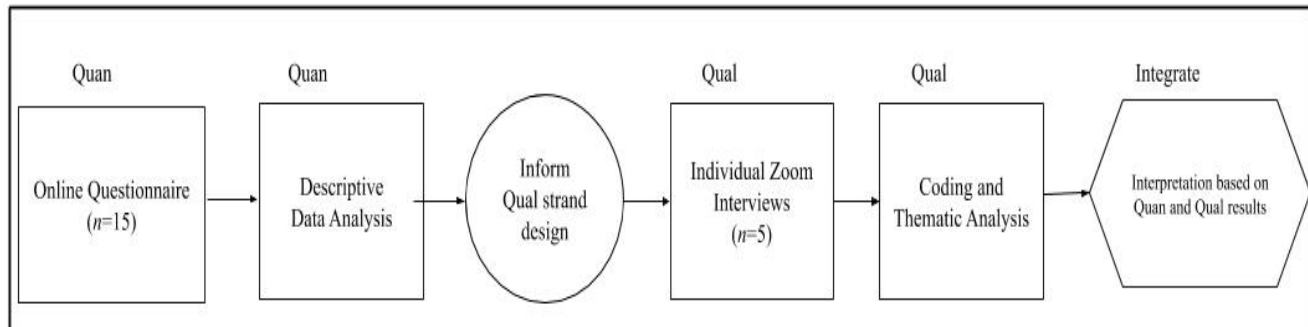
Data was gathered in October 2020 from 15 individuals, 5 (33.3%) male and 10 (66.7%) female students enrolled in various Philippine language courses at a U.S. university. The ages of the participants ranged from 18 to early 30s, with 11 (73.3%) falling in the 18-24 range, and the remaining 4 (26.7%) at the 25-34 age range. Of the 15 participants, six (40%) were born in Manila, while 5 (26.7%) were born in Ilocos Norte, 2 (13.3%) in Laoag, 2 (13.3%) in La Union, and 1 (6.7%) in Olongapo.

Materials

For the purpose of this research, focus was placed on understanding the attitudes and behaviors in the use, choice, and maintenance of the participants' ethnic language at home and in the neighborhood.

Figure 1

Conceptual diagram of sequential Quantitative → Qualitative Mixed Methods Research design



Note: Figure 1 shows the conceptual diagram of sequential Quantitative → Qualitative mixed-method research design used when qualitative data needs to be followed up to clarify, illustrate, or validate initial quantitative findings (Ivankova & Greer, 2015).

In order to capture the aforementioned data of interest, I utilized the sequential Quantitative-Qualitative mixed-method design exhibited in Figure 1 to direct the study in generating more accurate and compelling conclusions about the study's research questions (Ivankova & Greer, 2015). Mixed-methods research uses quantitative and qualitative methodologies that can enhance the study's quality as this can reinforce, complement, and expand the other. Relatedly, mixed-methods research is a form of analysis where in a single study or a program of inquiry, researchers collect and analyze data, incorporate the results, and draw inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods (Ivankova & Greer, 2015). Additionally, data derived from questionnaires often provide only a superficial assessment of sometimes very complex constructs, while details obtained from interviews can be very rich and in-depth (Wagner, 2015). Hence, in order to understand the attitudes and behaviors in the use, choice, and maintenance of the participants' ethnic language, there is a need for

qualitative follow-up data in order to elaborate, clarify, or verify the initial quantitative findings from the questionnaire.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study was adapted from two surveys that explored the intergenerational differences in language maintenance and shift, and the attitudes toward languages, motivations, and opinions about language choice of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands (Sevinç, 2016; Yagmur & Bayram-Jacobs, 2015). The questionnaires were modified and combined to fit the present study's research questions by utilizing particular items (e.g., language use in the home/family domain), and confining to only one generation (1.5 generation). This quantitative part of the study used 23 questions about how participants describe their language use when speaking to specific interlocutors, language use of specific interlocutors towards the participants, and participants' language use for performing different speech acts with family members. Participants were asked to respond to the questionnaire using Likert ratings in their language preference in each of the different components of the questionnaire. The response options included: *Always in Filipino*, *In Filipino more than in English*, *In Filipino and in English equally*, *In English more than in Filipino*, and *Always in English* (see Appendix A).

Interviews

The perception of meanings based on how people view and recognize their own realities is one of the key fields of qualitative study. In this research, I utilized a qualitative one-on-one interview to explore the participants' experiences in thorough detail (Hennink et al., 2011). In addition, Silverman (2013) also states that this research methodology serves as a way of finding out how individuals and groups see things, and a "way to 'get inside the heads' of particular groups of people and to tell things from their 'point of view'" (p. 87). Therefore, in order to

explore the attitudes and behaviors of the participants regarding their use, choice, and maintenance of ethnic language, I adapted some of the interview questions in Umali's (2016) research that focused on the unique circumstances of the use of ethnic language by Filipino participants in New Zealand to their families, colleagues, and members of the host community (see Appendix B).

Procedure

Prior to doing the research, the questionnaire and interview questions were pilot tested on one student taking a Philippine language course in the university to ask for feedback and to check if the items would raise potential problems. The final reporting of this research does not include responses from the pilot test.

For the research proper, data were triangulated based on the survey collected from 15 participants and five participants who agreed to do a subsequent interview to see consistency or conflicting patterns in regards to the attitudes and behaviors of their ethnic language use at home and in the community. The consent form used in this study was developed based on a template provided by the university Institutional Review Board (IRB). Upon getting IRB approval for this research, I recruited participants by sending email invitations to the department coordinators of the Filipino and Ilokano programs and to course instructors. The hyperlink to the consent form and the survey questionnaire were included in the e-mail letter sent to the contact points listed via the department's email list. Only students who agreed to take part in the study participated in the questionnaire and in the interview. The questionnaire and the collection of email addresses from interview participants were administered using Google Forms. Participants were told prior to the start of the survey that all of their answers would remain confidential in order to eliminate bias and reduce pressure from their class professors. Block (2015) stated that while life stories

can be elicited by a variety of means (e.g. diaries, electronic logs), face-to-face interview has become the elicitation mode of choice. However, the Zoom conferencing platform was used for conducting the interviews for this study due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Each interview session lasted for approximately 40-45 minutes and was audio-recorded. In order to encourage convivial relationships, I tried to build friendly discussions with the participants by asking them what language they are comfortable speaking with during the interview. While the majority of the language used during the interview was English, some used Tagalog in order to get the meaning across or to use words that cannot be literally translated in English. In addition, I reassured the participants that the interview would be more of a casual conversation rather than a formal one.

Data Analysis

For the questionnaire data, descriptive comparison analysis was conducted to determine the patterns in the participants' language use when speaking to specific interlocutors, language use of specific interlocutors towards the participants, and participants' language use for performing different speech acts with family members. The frequency and percentage results of the questionnaire of this study were downloaded from Google Forms after data collection.

For the interview data, I transcribed the interviews and coded for themes related to the survey findings. For this study, I employed *values coding* (Saldaña, 2011) in which I defined the values, behaviors, and beliefs of the focal participants through my analysis of the interview results to see patterns in the use, choice, and maintenance of their ethnic language. Saldaña (2011) emphasized that the method of values coding infers the "heart and mind" of a person and a group's worldview, "as to what is important, perceived as true, maintained as opinion, and felt strongly" (p. 105). Prior to the actual coding, I developed a codebook containing codes, categories, and themes in relation to the data being analyzed manually. I first transcribed the

interview in the study and familiarized myself with the transcription of the interview by reading and marking possible codes. Then, I created initial codes by highlighting the words in different font colors and assigning the bold or italic interface to the transcription. Finally, codes were reviewed to examine if they reflect the emergent themes (e.g., Filipino language and being Filipino, advantages of bilingualism) that have been generated during familiarization of the data. The interview transcripts were reviewed several times for consistency to ensure methodological credibility. In addition, interview participants were invited via email to read the results of their responses and to provide feedback after I had summarized the findings.

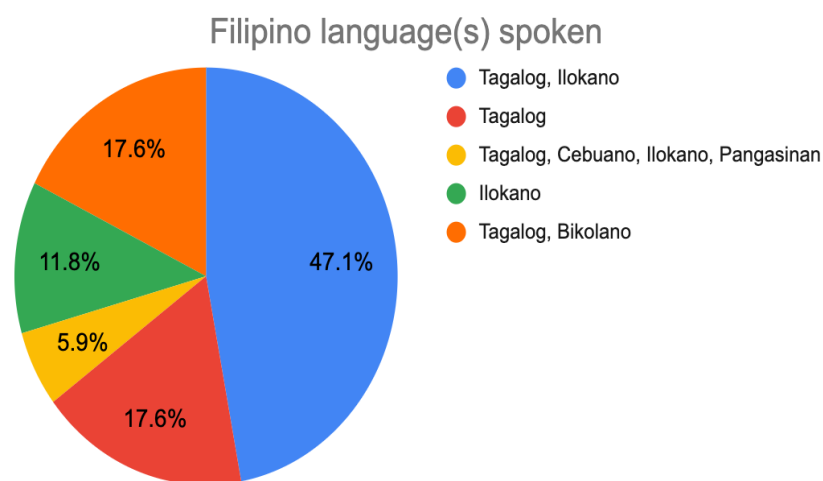
Results

Questionnaire Results

Based on the questionnaire data, participants reported that they are multilingual and considered themselves to be acquainted with more than one Filipino language, although only one Filipino language can be spoken by a number of participants (as shown in Figure 2).

Figure 2

Distribution of Filipino language(s) spoken by participants



These findings were similar to a previous study done by Lasmann (1971, as cited in Teodoro, 2019) which found that the majority of Filipinos can speak and overlap with another Filipino language. As evident in the current study, 8 (47.1%) respondents reported that they could speak Tagalog and Ilocano, while 3 (17.6%) could speak Tagalog and Bicolano. Meanwhile, 3 (17.6%) participants could only speak Tagalog, and 2 (11.8%) could only speak the Ilocano language.

Most of the participants began their formal education in the U.S., and 8 (53.3%) had obtained a high school degree, while 4 (26.7%) had received associate degrees, 2 (13.6%) held bachelor's degrees, and 1 (6.7%) had already earned a graduate degree. In terms of residency, the largest number of the participants, 6 (35.7%) indicated that they had been living in the US for 6-10 years, five (28.6%) were living in the US for 11-15 years, while only 2 (14.3%) had arrived less than 5 years before the time of study.

The following information shows the frequency of participants' preference of the use of their ethnic Filipino language(s) at home to specific interlocutors, language preference of specific interlocutors to the participants, and the participants' language use to different speech acts in particular contexts based on their responses in the questionnaire. Table 1 shows the frequency of participants' preference of language use to specific interlocutors based on the questionnaire data.

Table 1*Frequency of language use of participants when speaking to a specific interlocutor (n=15)*

Interlocutor	Always in Filipino	Filipino > English	Filipino = English	English > Filipino	Always in English
Parents	4	4	4	2	1
Siblings	3	2	4	3	3
Grandparents	9	4	1	1	0
Aunts/Uncles	7	3	3	1	1
Cousins	3	4	1	3	4
Other Relatives	3	3	6	1	2
Neighbors	1	0	3	0	11
Friends	0	2	2	5	6

In consideration of what languages were used in speaking to family members (e.g., parents, aunts/uncles, siblings, grandparents), participants used Filipino or primarily Filipino language(s) more than English at home. Data indicated a balance in eight of the 15 participants who expressed the notion that they preferred to always use Filipino or Filipino language(s) more than English when talking to their parents. Same pattern was also revealed when 9 participants leaned towards the use of Filipino language(s) when speaking to their siblings. At the same time, 9 of the participants always used Filipino language(s) when they were engaging in conversations with their grandparents and 4 of the participants used Filipino more than in English. Likewise, 7 participants showed the same pattern in the use of always in Filipino when talking to their aunts and uncles, while 8 participants leaned towards the use of Filipino language(s) when talking to their cousins. Meanwhile, this is different in the case where the majority of the participants conversed to non-family members (e.g., neighbors, friends) in the English language. Of the 15 participants, 11 spoke to their neighbors always in English, while a mix of majority English more than Filipino was used when participants talked to their friends.

Table 2 presents a number of similar features in the language use of specific interlocutors to the participants based on their responses in the questionnaire.

Table 2

Frequency of language use of specific interlocutor to the participants (n=15)

Interlocutor	Always in Filipino	Filipino > English	Filipino = English	English > Filipino	Always in English
Parents	7	5	2	1	0
Siblings	5	3	1	2	4
Grandparents	11	3	1	0	0
Aunts/Uncles	8	4	2	0	1
Cousins	3	2	1	4	5
Other Relatives	3	3	3	3	3
Neighbors	1	0	1	2	11
Friends	0	3	1	6	5

As shown in the tabular data, participants acknowledged that their family members, including their older generation relatives, tended to use ethnic Filipino language(s) while talking to them, which is similar to the previous results (cf. Table 1) when participants engaged in conversations with their family members using their ethnic Filipino language. For instance, 7 out of the 15 participants' parents would always use Filipino when talking to them, while 5 of their parents would mostly use Filipino than English. In a similar manner, 8 participants reported that their siblings would majority use their Filipino language(s) when speaking to them. Furthermore, 11 out of 15 participants disclosed that their grandparents would always use Filipino language when having conversations with them, which struck a resemblance on Table 1 where participants primarily used Filipino language(s) when talking to their grandparents. Likewise, 8 respondents expressed that their aunts and uncles preferred to always use Filipino when they

engage in conversations. Meanwhile, 9 respondents answered that when talking to them, their cousins would predominantly use English. Similarity in the results from the previous table (see Table 1) indicates that non-family members mainly used the English language when talking to the participants. In the study, 11 of the participants said that their neighbors would likely communicate with them always in English, while 6 of the participants' friends would use the English language more than in Filipino.

Based on the responses of the participants in the questionnaire, findings of the study (as displayed in both previous tables) suggested that it is consistent for both participants and their speaking interlocutors in the household to use Filipino language(s). Also, the data revealed a slight difference in the language preference of the participants where they reported that there is a balance in the use of Filipino and English when speaking to their cousins (as shown in Table 1), whereas the majority of their cousins would always use English or English more than Filipino (as shown in Table 2). A consistent trend was also found in which participants would converse with non-household members (e.g., neighborhood and friends) and vice versa using the English language.

In Table 3, the distribution of the 15 participants' language choices to different speech acts is illustrated, and the results indicated a stark difference in the use of Filipino language(s) and English at home.

Table 3*Frequency of language choice by participants when speaking at home (n=15)*

Language Choice	Always in Filipino	Filipino > English	Filipino = English	English > Filipino	Always in English
Asking a favor	6	3	2	0	4
Expressing thanks	4	1	2	2	6
Apologizing to someone	3	1	2	3	6
Telling a joke	3	3	2	2	5
Saying greetings	2	3	2	1	7
Saying goodbye	2	3	2	1	7

In the table, most respondents claimed that when asking for a favor, they would either use Filipino language(s) or speak in Filipino more than in English in the household. A noticeable difference in several speech acts (e.g., expressing thanks, apologizing, making a joke), however, showed a different case when participants would most likely use the English language as opposed to Filipino language(s) during spontaneous communications with family members (as shown in Table 1 and Table 2). Of the 15 participants, 7 would always use English to say their greetings and goodbyes to their family members. In addition, a similar trend was found when 6 of the participants said that they would always express their gratitude and apologies in English. Also, 7 participants responded that they would primarily use the English language to say a joke.

Interview Data

In the following section, I provide the profile and demographics of the interview participants as shown in Table 4, as well as information on their migration and language usage at home and in the community. As discussed, some of the primary components that can affect

attitudes and behaviors regarding ethnic language maintenance are the personal experiences and perceptions of participants (Lee, 2013). Moreover, their unique experiences, upbringing, and environment may all lead to the use of language in their worldviews and own perceptions. For this reason, I included excerpts of the interviews that explored the attitudes and behaviors of the five 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai‘i in relation to the maintenance of their ethnic Filipino language(s) use at home and in the community.

Table 4
Participants’ background profiles

Participants	Age of Migration	Place of birth	Years of US residence	First language	Filipino language(s) spoken	Major
Annette	8	Laoag, Ilocos Norte	13	Ilocano	Ilocano, Tagalog	Ilocano
Jacob	7	San Fernando, La Union	13	Ilocano	Ilocano, Tagalog	Engineering
Roger	17	San Fernando, La Union	8	Ilocano	Ilocano, Tagalog	Ilocano
Marie	14	Albay, Bicol	17	Bicol	Bicol, Tagalog	Psychology
Jane	4	Quezon City, Metro Manila	15	Tagalog	Tagalog	Business and Economics

Note: Interview participant names are pseudonyms.

Reasons for Ethnic Language Maintenance

Filipino Language and Being Filipino. One of the main themes that emerged in our interview discussions is the concept of cultural identity, that having “shared” aspects (e.g., culture, habits, language, customs) is a core element of heritage language maintenance (Roberts, 1999). Moreover, it also reflected the findings from other cultural identity studies (Lee, 2013;

May, 2012) that one's opinion of the ethnic language as part of one's identity can influence attitudes and behaviors. In the interview, Roger said that he saw the Filipino language as a crucial factor when identifying himself as a Filipino. He believed that speaking the Filipino language gave him a sense of pride whenever he used it as it shows how connected he is to the culture and to being Filipino.

Likewise, Jacob spoke of his pride that he could converse with the language even if he is aware that he cannot speak the Filipino language fluently:

Excerpt 1

I know I am at a good place in terms of understanding the language. For me in order to be Filipino, you might as well know how to speak your language so you could somehow relate to your own roots.

Marie added that speaking in Filipino is also important as this give a sense of pride in where the individual came from and being able to adapt to other Filipinos:

Excerpt 2

You have to be conversational in the language. It gives you a sense of pride. It's like when moving to the US, to be able to adapt to people, you need to speak in English. In order for you to feel that sense of being Filipino, in order to be in touch with your roots, you need to be able to speak it.

In contrast, ethnic language was not seen by some participants as the sole part of cultural identity. For instance, Annette believed that if one still has the connection to being Filipino, values the Filipino culture, or even is connected to their ethnic roots, "you are still considered Filipino." Jane also had mixed emotions about the idea and mentioned that being a Filipino should go beyond having the ability to speak the Filipino language and not something that could

be accomplished by ticking off certain skills and qualities on a list, as reflected in the quote below:

Excerpt 3

For me there are other factors in order for you to be considered Filipino and not just speaking the language. You have family back home, you visit the country, you value the culture, and that I think makes you Filipino too.

Expectations of Language Use. Another theme seen from the discussions was the effect of other people's expectation on the participants' use of Filipino language(s). According to Maitz (2011), some individuals can be subjected to "perceived social pressure" especially in the use or non-use of their ethnic language. Marie described that after they moved to California, her parents had an expectation of her to use the Filipino language for the purpose of not losing it:

Excerpt 4

I had a hard time looking for other Filipinos because of the community that we live in. So when I had American friends, my mother realized that I was already losing my Filipino accent and purely speaking in English. She was laughing at me and said, "I only want you to talk to me in Bicol."

For Annette, her friends had some expectations of her in the use of the language, since her friends had a knowledge that she was majoring in Ilocano. She recalled that whenever they had get-togethers outside school, some of her friends would request her to translate some of the words that they had encountered, and she thought that it was stressful sometimes. Annette mentioned:

Excerpt 5

I always end up stressing myself out because I try to formulate it in sentences as best as I can. However, in the end, I think that it is okay because at least I get to practice the language skills I have learned, and that they trust me with my knowledge.

Advantages of Being Bilingual. Lee (2013) holds the view that bilingualism is recognized as beneficial to one's academic development and considered to be an advantage to an individual's personal and professional value. The interview revealed that participants viewed the maintenance of their ethnic language as an advantage to them for various reasons. For Jacob, knowing how to speak Filipino not only allowed him to communicate with his parents but also was an advantage in terms of opportunities in the future:

Excerpt 6

My parents like it when we speak in Filipino to them, they want us to. They feel like it is a necessity because they believe that we will have more opportunities if we speak more than one language even if there will be stigma or be attacked for speaking a different language.

Moreover, being bilingual meant having the ability to have a preferred language for particular situations. Roger, for instance, would freely use Ilocano and English at work:

Excerpt 7

We encourage Filipinos at work to not be ashamed of their pronunciation and hence use it to clarify things or meanings. Rather than having difficulties at the workplace and pretend that they understood the instructions (because it is in English), we ask them that they can use Ilocano to make their lives easier.

Similarly, Maria and her brother used their first language in public domain that deliberately excluded non-Bicol speakers from the conversation during their first few years in the US:

Excerpt 8

Our parents would force my brother and I to be with other children during get-togethers.

But because we are not really interested in talking to them, he (brother) will start a conversation in Bicol and we will laugh at it. The other kids would tease us why we are not talking in English and consider us rude. We just tell them, “Well, we have to retain our language so we need to speak it.”

Jane shared the view that it can be difficult for Filipinos if they cannot understand the Filipino language during gatherings hosted by Filipinos as this is the dominant language for older generations. As everyone would speak in the Filipino language and you want to participate in the conversations, Jane mentioned that “you would get lost in the process.” Hence, Jane was grateful that she could understand and converse well in Tagalog up to now so that she could talk to her relatives without excluding herself from the conversations.

Regular Visits to the Philippines. All five interview participants pointed out that they visited the Philippines every now and then. During our conversations, all said that they would normally go on family trips and also went for business reasons, to get away from the busy life in the US, and have leisure time with their relatives. Furthermore, the participants acknowledged that regularly visiting the country would give them a lot of opportunities to harness their language skills by speaking and using Filipino languages to people who use it on a daily basis. The participants also expressed their belief in the value of maintaining their ethnic language so they can communicate with their relatives and friends back home in the Philippines. All participants saw themselves visiting the country regularly, and those who were planning to have

their own families in the future envisioned the same sentiment. In addition, the participants had the opinion that their regular visits to the country grew their desire to pass on their ethnic language to their future children as they envision it as an advantage to retain their Filipino values, their culture, and most importantly, to maintain their Filipino language(s). Jacob even shared that once he becomes a parent, it will be imperative for his children to learn Tagalog or Ilocano for practical purposes:

Excerpt 9

I want them to learn Tagalog or Ilocano since I always come back to the Philippines.

Hopefully, when I bring them to the country, they would already know how to talk my language so they could understand me and don't have to be a translator.

Patterns of Ethnic Language Shift

As English is the most dominant language in Hawai‘i, participants were exposed to the language primarily through education, social media, community, relationships, and so on. Notwithstanding the fact that the participants had an overall positive attitude to ethnic language maintenance, findings from the interview revealed that there were some inconclusive patterns to language shift at home and in the community.

Accommodation to Other Non-Filipino Speakers. The use of the English language for some participants was noticeable in their stories of accommodating others' linguistic deficiencies. When conversing with his sister, Jacob said he would speak more English than Tagalog just so she could understand what he was trying to say and make the flow of conversations easier:

Excerpt 10

When my family moved to Hawai'i, my sister was 4 years old and only knew a little of Ilocano. She was put into an English Language Learner class when she went to school here, and eventually lost the Ilocano language. Although my parents try to teach her Ilocano, she can barely understand even half of what we were saying. So we had to talk to her in English just so she could understand us.

Likewise, Roger felt a bit disappointed that his younger brother had almost completely assimilated to the American culture and barely understood the Ilocano language. Like Jacob's sister, Roger's brother was also required to enter the English Language Learner class to be able to begin his education in Hawai'i. Roger acknowledged that because English is required to learn to be able to enter school, it contributed to the decline in his brother's language vocabulary and literacy in the Ilocano language:

Excerpt 11

Right now, my brother can only speak in English. I feel upset because Ilocano is our language back home in the Philippines. However, I can't really blame him since we moved here when he was young so I often tell him to try and use Ilocano when he can so he wouldn't totally forget the language.

English Is Inevitable. It is important to note that English has become a necessity rather than an option for some participants, especially in Hawai'i, where English is the medium of instruction in almost all schools. In excerpt 12, Jane, who was only 4 years old when they moved to the US, commented that her parents wanted her to learn and speak the English language because they believed that it would open more opportunities for her:

Excerpt 12

My parents wanted me to just speak in English so I could learn it well. As an only child, they want me to excel in everything so they forced me to only speak in English.

Meanwhile, as she was growing up, Annette's parents wanted her to only speak in English as they are already in America and it would make sense for her to learn the language. She defied her parents' language policies at home, and as a result, it bore a good outcome for her as seen in excerpt 13:

Excerpt 13

My parents encouraged me to just speak English to them so I could blend in easily in the US crowd. It was kind of awkward for me because I was not used to speaking it. I didn't like speaking English when we came here for some reasons, so I just spoke Ilocano to my parents and then continued to speak it throughout. Luckily, I can still understand them.

At the same time for Jacob's family, speaking and having an American accent became an opportunity for his relatives back in the Philippines to practice their English language abilities, and for him to practice his Tagalog skills whenever they are having conversations:

Excerpt 14

I always talk to my cousins my age back in the Philippines, when I try to speak to them in Tagalog to ask for the usual, like how are they doing and things like that, they would speak to me in English. Although it's not really necessary, I just didn't mind it. I just thought that maybe because it's their comfortable language.

In a similar way, whenever Marie visited her hometown in the Philippines, she noticed that her relatives (uncles, aunts, and cousins) would speak to her in English. Even if she tried to speak to them in Filipino most of the time, people would still talk to her in English. She added

that her relatives would even mock her because they had the notion that she had already forgotten the Filipino language after living in the US for quite some time:

Excerpt 15

Whenever I'm back in Bicol, even if I talk to my relatives in a very respectful way (in Tagalog or Bicol), they would still answer me with English. They would even try to be silly and sometimes pretend to talk in broken English. I laugh at them because they mock me with my Californian accent.

Discussion

The findings of this study deepen our understanding in the language use, choice, and maintenance among 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai‘i. This research has examined if there is a concern in the attitudes and behaviors of the participants towards the use of their ethnic Filipino language(s). In relation to the main question, “Do 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawaii generally maintain their ethnic language at home?”, the study echoes Roberts (1999) that “without families, there is no language maintenance” (p. 133). Similarly, Parba (2018) mentioned that Filipino speakers think that the language not only is a symbol of national identity and unity, but also shows that the country's attempt to form its linguistic landscape for the sake of nationalism, to some degree, has been successful. As such, there is a preference in the extent of the use of always in Filipino or in Filipino more than in English of the participants to specific interlocutors (parents, siblings, grandparents, and uncles or aunts) when speaking to them at home as seen in the findings of this study. In addition, a high number of participants mentioned that specific interlocutors, for example, their grandparents, aunts, and uncles, would always use Filipino language(s) or in Filipino more than in English. This high level of Filipino language(s) preference at home by the participants to their family members, or the family members to the

participants, can be accounted, in part, by the fact that majority of the respondents' family are Philippine-born migrants who, as other first-generation immigrants in the US, tend to favor the use of their mother tongue at home (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Thus, the data gathered suggests that there is ethnic language maintenance among 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai'i, who would prefer to use the Filipino language(s) at home to speak to their family members and vice versa. Despite the differences in the language choice in the speech acts and spontaneous communication of the participants when at home, this does not mean that language shift is happening. This could be attributed to the increased amount of lexical input that the participants have received in the host country's language compared to their ethnic language. Relatedly, it could also mean that just because everyone says 'hello', 'goodbye', and expressing thanks in English, does not mean that they are inclined to prefer English over their ethnic Filipino language(s). As such, it could just mean that these words are not too complex and are accepted usage by anyone, not just English speakers, and hence does not lead to an inclination towards language shift and loss.

The overall examination of the study's main themes in the interview data suggests that Filipino language(s) are well-maintained at home and used by the majority of the participants. Although there are a number of particular instances when there is a need to use the English language, this however does not seem to be conclusive of the pattern of language shift defined previously (Baker, 2001). The interview data revealed four themes during the thematic analysis that gave an insight into the factors that contribute in the maintenance of ethnic language: Filipino language tied to Filipino identity, expectations of language use, advantages of being bilingual, and the participants' regular visits to the Philippines. The strong relationship of the Filipino language to being Filipino as an integral part of their identities resonated with how the

participants value their ethnic languages, hence maintaining its use at home. In terms of language use expectations, although the majority of the participants mentioned that there are no expectations for them to speak in their ethnic language, some also expressed that they feel compelled to use Filipino language(s) in order to not forget it. Another theme revealed that most participants are aware of the advantages of being bilingual, especially in a place where they are surrounded by many Filipinos, for instance, in gatherings and get-togethers. Interestingly, Jacob mentioned during the interview that in order for him to be included in conversations, he tries his best to learn Tagalog and said, “I want to keep up with my family and relatives during gatherings that’s why I want to learn more Tagalog.” Hence, having an edge in speaking Filipino language(s) allowed the participants to communicate with family, most especially to the grandparents, aunts, or uncles, and other older generation counterparts, as some of them prefer to use their ethnic language. Lastly, another positive note is how the participants see their regular visits to the Philippines as a tool for their language maintenance, alongside rekindling their relationships with their family and friends. Participants mentioned that their visits to the Philippines give them the opportunity to harness their language skills and communicate with others in various contexts (e.g., buying food, using different modes of transportation) using their ethnic language so that they could pick up words that they do not often hear in their family or elsewhere. Ultimately, the participants also mentioned that their regular visits to the country grew their desire to pass on their ethnic language when they have children in the future as they see this as an advantage to retain their Filipino traditions, and to maintain their Filipino language(s) in the next generations.

As mentioned, findings of the interview data also revealed some inconclusive traces regarding language shift at home. The analysis of the interviews revealed that participants tend to

change their language choices depending on the linguistic abilities of the person they are speaking with, which in turn affected the participants' language usage behaviors. Part of the reason why participants acknowledged switching to English is to accommodate other speakers who could not speak the language especially those younger generations (e.g., siblings or other relatives) who were exposed to the English language at their early life stage. Participants showed a propensity to adapt to linguistic needs and to react to the use of English when the listener could not understand it. As the conversations became easier for some of their relatives, this in turn created more spaces for English language use, thus limiting the use of Filipino language(s). Finally, because English is the default language for business, government, education, and the media in Hawai'i, learning the English language is unavoidable, especially when migrating and obtaining education in the United States. The participants noted that it is necessary to learn and use the English language when living in an English-dominated society surrounded by English speakers. The participants therefore noted that in order to preserve their ethnic language, they extended their options by listening to Filipino music, watching Filipino shows, and speaking to their relatives in their ethnic Filipino language(s).

Limitations

As a researcher, I recognize that this research does not reflect the attitudes of the entire 1.5 generation of Filipinos in Hawai'i, and is restricted to the behavioral and linguistic patterns of participants who agreed to join the study. Given that this research is time-constrained, it would have generated more responses to conduct this research in a diverse population of 1.5 generation Filipinos around the state. Also, because this research was conducted with university students taking Philippine language classes, only 15 participants were recruited and the results represent the students who agreed to take part in this study. A larger sample would have resulted

in richer data regarding the language maintenance and shift of other 1.5 generation Filipinos outside the walls of campus as this might produce more diverse results. Moreover, the findings seen in this research are a reflection of the behaviors of the participants that are relevant for a certain period of time and might perhaps change for various reasons (e.g. inter-ethnic marriages, change in beliefs, exposure to the English language). Hence, it would be interesting to see in further research the intergenerational differences of 1.5 generation compared to second generation and third generation, to examine if there is a concern in the differences in their language use and choice.

Conclusion

This study shed light into the attitudes and behaviors of 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai'i towards the use of their ethnic language at home, and how these factors are expressed in the maintenance of ethnic language or shift to the English language especially in creating their identity. The findings demonstrate that Filipino language(s) is maintained in the household of 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai'i. As Rumbaut (2004) mentioned, 1.5 generation shows the lowest level of linguistic assimilation, and despite that, the force of Anglicization will prevail over time and will be a choice principally for spouses and friends. The data shows that although there is a prevalent use of English among non-family members and friends, the strong bond between immediate and extended families also helped to build a more positive attitude among the participants towards the maintenance of their ethnic language. This is evident in the survey data where Filipino language(s) is predominantly used when talking to parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and other relatives, whereas English is the language of conversations with neighbors, and friends. Surprisingly, the participants' language choices suggest a contrasting difference in the usage of Filipino and English in different situations at home. Participants tend

to use Filipino language(s) when asking for a favor, while English is used when expressing thanks, saying goodbye, telling a joke, and apologizing. In future studies, it would be fascinating to see what could cause the use of the Filipino language(s) to ask for favors and who they are using it for, also how elaborate they are in using English for their speech acts. Furthermore, the intention of this research was to understand the views of the participants and draw on their experience in maintaining their ethnic language at home. The interview data suggests that 1.5 generation Filipinos in Hawai'i have a strong ethnic identity and attachment to the language as shown by their parents' certain expectations to use the language, frequent visits to the Philippines, and perceived advantages of being bilingual. In addition, inconclusive patterns of language shift have been seen to accommodate non-Filipino speakers to make the conversations easier, and English as a necessity to learn and use especially in a place where there is a predominant use of the English language.

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Appendix A*General Language Use Survey*

Note: Filipino language in this study pertains to the major native languages spoken in the Philippines (e.g., Tagalog, Cebuano, Kapampangan)

A. How would you describe your use of Filipino when speaking to the following:

		Always in Filipino	In Filipino more than English	In Filipino and English equally	In English more than in Filipino	Always in English
1	Parents					
2	Siblings					
3	Grandparents					
4	Aunts/Uncles					
5	Cousins					
6	Other Relatives					
7	Neighbors					
8	Friends					

B. How would you describe the use of the following people when speaking to you:

		Always in Filipino	In Filipino more than English	In Filipino and English equally	In English more than in Filipino	Always in English
1	Parents					
2	Siblings					
3	Grandparents					
4	Aunts/Uncles					

5	Cousins					
6	Other Relatives					
7	Neighbors					
8	Friends					

C. When you are at home, what language(s) do you use in these situation:

		Always in Filipino	In Filipino more than English	In Filipino and English equally	In English more than in Filipino	Always in English
1	Asking a favor					
2	Expressing thanks					
3	Apologizing to someone					
4	Telling a joke					
5	Talking to your siblings					
6	Greeting (e.g., saying hi, hello)					
7	Saying goodbye					

Appendix B*Interview Questions***FAMILY and LANGUAGE USAGE**

1. What Filipino language/s can you speak? Understand?
2. How/where did you learn your first/second language?
3. Can you tell me if your parents ever communicate with each other in a language that you could not understand, mainly to keep the conversation private?
4. Can you describe if your parents / siblings / friends / kids around you have a certain expectation from you, implicit or explicit, to use a particular language when talking to them?
5. Can you describe if it is important for you to keep the Filipino language at home? Why or why not?

IDENTITY

6. How do you define your ethnicity? (A Filipino who lives in Hawaii, American of Filipino descent, Filipino American) Why?
7. Have you been back to the Philippines? How long did you stay there?
 - a. If yes, did you feel like someone coming home to your heritage country, or more like a tourist visiting the country?
 - b. If not, would you consider going back for a visit? Why or why not?
8. Up to what extent are you able to hold a whole conversation using Filipino language?
9. Personally, do you think you need to be able to speak the Filipino language in order to be considered Filipino? Why or why not?
10. When you're out with your Filipino friends, would you mostly speak in English or in Filipino? Why do you use that language(s)?

FILIPINO IN HAWAI‘I

11. How would you describe the Filipino community in Hawai‘i where you grew up?
12. Do you think it is important to learn/maintain your ethnic language?
13. Can you describe what you do in order to maintain the language?
14. How do you think is the importance for Filipinos in Hawaii to keep their ability to speak their Filipino language? Please specify why or why not?