

# **Tagalog Language Maintenance and Shift among the Filipino Community in New Zealand**

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## Abstract

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The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that affect the attitudes and behaviours of Filipino migrants regarding their ethnic language maintenance in New Zealand. The research design was guided by a social psychological perspective, focusing on the attitudes and behaviours of 15 participants based on particular situations and social interactions. Qualitative data were collected through one-on-one interviews and informal fieldwork observations. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, coded, and analysed using Thematic Analysis.

Results showed that the majority of participants have positive attitudes towards ethnic language maintenance in the Filipino-New Zealand community. Their positive attitudes were influenced by their constant involvement with the Filipino ethnic group, good relationships with members of the host society, and their views on heritage language as core to their ethnic identities. It was also found that the participants tended to fulfil the linguistic expectations of their family members and the wider Filipino community by using the ethnic language often.

However, despite the participants' positive attitudes, findings revealed that the use of the Tagalog language is not maintained among second-generation Filipino migrants. Regardless of their desire to pass on their ethnic language, most participants with New Zealand-born children use English as their main language of communication at home. In cultural events and gatherings, it was also found that Filipino adults would use English when speaking with Filipino children, but would switch back to Tagalog when conversing with other Filipino adults. Tagalog is only used by the first generation and those who have already acquired it, while the younger generation is left isolated from the language. There is a clear contradiction between the participants' positive attitudes and their behaviours towards ethnic language maintenance. This suggests that English will most likely be the main language of the succeeding Filipino-New Zealand generations. Without proper attention and diligent use of Tagalog among Filipino children, a language shift seems inevitable among the second and third-generation Filipino migrants.

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## Attestation of Authorship

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I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains neither material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma from a university or other institution of higher learning.



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The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) granted ethics approval for the research on the 8th of December, 2015: AUTEC Reference number 15/404.

# Chapter One:

## Introduction

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### ***1.1. Background to the study***

Languages can serve as a tool for individuals to connect with their social groups (Turner, 2006). In communities that are multi-ethnic but have a single dominant language, ethnic languages may enter a constant state of change. These types of communities sometimes resist switching to the majority language as their members want to retain distinctiveness against the pressure of the dominant society (Bell, 2014), while some aim to become “invisible immigrants by having overtly assimilationist ambitions and being publicly supported in those ambitions” (Kuiper, 2005, p. 328). In New Zealand for instance, the linguistic landscape is mostly characterised by monolingualism in English, a national minority Māori language that is struggling, and ethnic languages that are often restricted to specific ethnic communities (Starks, Harlow, & Bell, 2005).

New Zealand has undoubtedly placed English as the dominant language in the society, and will continue to do so (Starks *et al.*, 2005). Nevertheless, grassroots initiatives and the government’s support in promoting multiculturalism appeared to encourage ethnic communities to be more open in expressing their cultures and traditions (Lee, 2013). According to Ward and Masgoret (2008), the majority of New Zealanders now feel more positive about the contemporary society being multicultural and multilingual, and there is growing support for the maintenance of immigrants’ own culture. However, despite the increase in bilingual and multilingual speakers in the country (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), ethnic communities still face the challenge of preserving their cultures and identities in an English-dominated society (Johri, 1998; Kuiper, 2005; Lauwereyns, 2011).

Over the past three decades, scholarly studies on ethnic communities in New Zealand have grown as the country continues to become multicultural. This has allowed researchers to observe some recurring patterns in ethnic language use, one of which was the correlation of positive attitude with the preservation of ethnic language. According to Roberts (2005), the attitude of the ethnic community can affect the outcome of maintaining the ethnic language for the succeeding New Zealand-born migrants. Furthermore, Roberts (1999) argued that the attitude of ethnic communities is often interlinked with the number of domains where a heritage language is used:

It seems likely that the two factors are mutually reinforcing, forming a virtuous circle: positive attitudes to language maintenance lead to wide ranging language use which leads to positive attitudes to language maintenance (because the language is serving a socially useful function. (p. 543)

The correlation of an ethnic group's positive attitude and the maintenance of their language is evident in numerous studies of migrant communities such as that of Korean, Samoan, Gujarati, and Chilean in New Zealand (Johri, 1998; Roberts, 1999; Lee, 2013), as compared to the Dutch (Johri, 1998; Roberts, 1999; Kuiper, 2005) who were more focused on assimilation and not ethnic and cultural preservation. Thus, if the attitudes and behaviours of migrant communities in relation to their languages are explored, patterns pertaining to ethnic language maintenance or loss could be revealed, both with long established ethnic communities like the Dutch and Samoans (Johri, 1998) and the newly established ones, such as the Filipino-New Zealand community.

The Filipino population in New Zealand has more than doubled between the 2006 and 2013 censuses, from 16,938 to 40,347 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2013g). The Filipino language, also commonly referred to as Tagalog, is ranked the 11th most spoken language in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Despite their rising numbers, however, Filipinos in New Zealand still face the potential to lose their native language given limited avenues and opportunities to use it in a predominantly English-speaking country. Most Filipinos are also bilinguals, with Tagalog and English being the main languages taught in Philippine schools (Benton, 1991), so transitioning to an English-speaking country would not be a hindrance to most. Some Filipinos may, therefore, perceive no real advantage in preserving their heritage language, especially in New Zealand, where a more dominant language exists (Lee, 2013). Hence, exploring the attitudes and behaviours of first-generation Filipino migrants towards their ethnic language may give insights as to whether their heritage language is being maintained or a shift is occurring within the community.

Although there is much research on ethnic communities in New Zealand, including exploring the migrants' attitudes and behaviours towards heritage language maintenance (Johri, 1998; Roberts, 1999; Kuiper, 2005; Yu, 2005; Barkhuizen, 2006; Lauwereyns 2011; Lee, 2013), there is no existing research on the Tagalog language maintenance in the country. Hence, this research will serve as the first language maintenance study of the Filipino community in New Zealand.

## ***1.2. Aims and significance of the study***

This research asks the question:

What are the factors influencing the attitudes and behaviours of Filipino migrants in New Zealand in terms of ethnic language maintenance?

The goal is to examine the factors that can affect a migrant's attitudes and behaviours towards ethnic language use, and how these factors are reflected in ethnic language maintenance or shift to the English language.

Rather than examining external factors like geographical concentration and economic necessity, the study focuses on exploring the participants' perceptions, attitudes, and

behaviours towards maintaining their language. Language shift and maintenance are examined as part of human behaviour influenced by internal mental processes and conscious decisions of an individual. Hence, the researcher adopted a social psychological approach in order to better understand the factors influencing language choice based on personal experiences and worldviews (Maitz, 2011). For this study, the researcher utilised one-on-one interviews to gather data uncovering the attitudes and behaviours of 15 participants regarding their ethnic language use. Qualitative research methods are used in most New Zealand language maintenance research, as they often serve as an access to the participants' beliefs, experiences, and behaviours regarding different situations (Talmy, 2010). Through this, the researcher was able to focus on the individual's worldviews instead of gathering a generalised view from multiple participants.

While there is a significant increase in community language studies done in New Zealand (Roberts, 2005), the researcher has found no significant study or scholarly treatment of Filipino language maintenance and shift in New Zealand. This study is an opportunity to help fill that research gap and serve as a contribution to the growing number of ethnic languages research in the country.

This thesis is limited in its scope, as it mainly focuses on the individual's attitudes and behaviours on ethnic language maintenance. However, the researcher hopes to use the thesis as a potential tool for encouraging the preservation of Tagalog among the Filipino migrants in New Zealand. Language maintenance can be promoted if there is a proper understanding of the people's attitudes and behaviours. It also gives the ethnic community a chance to put some possible measures and programs in place that will promote language maintenance as part of their culture and ethnic identity in New Zealand. Therefore, this study benefits the members of the Filipino-New Zealand community who wish to pass on their ethnic language to the younger generation, as well as enthusiasts and supporters of the preservation of community languages in New Zealand.

### ***1.3. Structure of the thesis***

This thesis is made up of six chapters in total. Following the Introduction is Chapter Two, the Literature Review, which focuses on three main topics: first is the definition of language maintenance and shift, the foundation theories established through the years of sociolinguistics, and post-critical approaches to multilingualism. The second part provides an overview of languages in New Zealand and the previous studies conducted on ethnic community languages. It discusses common themes across the literature and provides comparisons of different ethnic communities and how successful their language maintenance efforts had been. The third part focuses on the existing international studies on the Filipino language.

Chapter Three follows with the discussion of the methodological approach and the research design taken in the study. Research instruments utilised for the study are discussed, as well as

the process of data collection, data analysis, and presentation. Chapter Four begins with the presentation of the current status of Tagalog in New Zealand based on the 2013 New Zealand Census on ethnicity and language. This chapter also discusses the participants of this study, their language profiles and demographics.

Chapter Five is the presentation and discussion of the study's findings. Three main themes that emerged from analysing the data are discussed in detail, starting with the membership of Filipino migrants with their ethnic group and the host society. The second theme focuses on the connection of ethnic language and the participants' cultural identity, followed by their expectations on using the ethnic language with members and non-members of the ethnic group. The chapter then shifts to the discussion of whether the Filipino language is being maintained in the community or whether there is a shift towards the English language.

The thesis closes with Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations, which summarises the overall findings of the study and highlights the vital issues and aspects of Tagalog language maintenance in New Zealand. It discusses the strengths and limitations of the study and presents recommendations for future researchers. Lastly, this chapter provides recommendations on how the Filipino community could tackle the issues of language shift and promote intergenerational ethnic language transmission among New Zealand-born Filipinos.

## Chapter Two:

# Language Maintenance and Shift

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The aim of the research is to assess the attitudes and behaviours of Filipino migrants with regard to ethnic language maintenance. A review of the existing literature suggests that the individual's attitudes and behaviours, amongst other sociological factors, can have an effect on the maintenance of his/her ethnic language. For this reason, it is of primary importance to give sufficient background on the nature and factors that affect language shift and maintenance in migrant communities. The chapter begins by discussing sociological and non-traditional approaches to language maintenance and shift and moves to examine New Zealand language maintenance studies as well as international research on the Filipino language. It presents common themes, research gaps, and draws conclusions based on reviewed literature.

### ***2.1. Language Contact, Maintenance, and Shift***

Language shift occurs when a minority group chooses or is compelled to switch from using their native language to the language of the majority (Baker, 2006). This phenomenon is defined by Baker (2006) as the loss of language proficiency and a reduction in the number of speakers in certain domains. A domain is considered a place in which verbal and non-verbal interactions occur (Boxer, 2002). The opposite of language shift is language maintenance, which, in turn, refers to the "relative language stability in number and distribution of its speakers, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains" (Baker, 2006, p. 75).

Fishman (1964) stated his definition of language maintenance and shift as not only something dependent on the habitual use of the language but also on the "on-going psychological, social or cultural processes [...] when populations differing in language are in contact with each other" (p. 32). One of the common factors that trigger language maintenance or shift is the settlement of migrants in new communities. At times when the minority group takes back enough control of inter-cultural contact, their ethno-cultural systems, including the mother language, may be maintained, resulting in the creation of a sustained multilingual society (Fishman, 1985). In these types of societies, members turn out to be bilinguals and multilinguals.

Lam (2001) defined bilingualism as the competence and capacity of an individual to communicate in two languages, while multilingualism refers to knowing three or more languages. Bilingualism and its effects on society have been a topic of great interest amongst many sociolinguists, but it was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that broadly based studies began emerging in the literature (Jacobs & Pierce, 1966). In multilingual countries, bilingualism exists either as a product of historical and political changes, or an outcome of different language groups merging together for commercial and economic reasons (Harding-Esch & Riley, 2003). Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) claimed that despite its advantages,

bilinguals can be looked down upon and categorised as having immigrant status who occupy low positions in the society. Furthermore, some individuals get little credit for speaking languages that are not considered modern or classical (e.g., Greek, Latin, English, French, and German) (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). However, bilingualism could also work the other way. For instance, in some countries with a colonial history like India, being able to speak foreign languages is often associated with positions of power and social prestige (Mejia, 2002). Hence, learning major languages like English, French, or Portuguese in some societies is greatly encouraged (Mejia, 2002).

One of the renowned names in the research of language maintenance and shift is Joshua Fishman, the founder, chief advocate, and theorist of the sociology of language. According to him, the sociology of language examines the interaction between two aspects of human behaviours, namely language use and social behaviours (Fishman, 1964). It is often characterised as the study of society rather than of language and focuses on how the latter functions in a society, its standing, as well as social contributions (Bell, 2014). Its method often utilises surveys in order to gather direct statistical data on a macro level, which has proven to be beneficial in establishing the linguistic background of ethnic groups and in studying patterns of language shift or maintenance. Fishman's (1991) theoretical propositions for language maintenance have had such a major impact on the field of sociolinguistics that years after, researchers are still employing his concepts and approach. In this regard, a few studies that employed a Fishmanian sociolinguistic theoretical model will be presented here, highlighting its benefits as well as its gaps.

### ***2.1.1. Domains: where language is used***

An important concept in Fishman's work is the accessibility of a minority language in multiple domains. Places like a person's home, school, and workplace represent the most common areas where one "habitually employs" his/her own language on "societally or institutionally clusterable occasions" (Fishman, 1972b, p. 80). Therefore, Fishman (1985) argued that using ethnic language in different domains, specifically in private functions within the community, is the key challenge in ensuring that a heritage language can be passed down the generations.

Active use of the heritage language in multiple domains has proven to be effective in terms of language maintenance. In particular, the home/family domain is commonly viewed as one of the most significant places to pass on the mother tongue as proven in different migrant communities (Fishman, 1964; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1984; 'Aipolo & Holmes, 1990; Roberts, 2005; Lee, 2013). Regarded as a space for constant encouragement and protection of heritage language, the family domain is considered as the place where multilingualism begins (Fishman, 1972a). The effectiveness of the home domain in ethnic language maintenance can be seen in a study by Roberts (1999) on three migrant communities in New Zealand. According to Roberts (1999), families serve as the "most important site of language transmission," (p. 133) making them vital to keeping the language alive through generations. The author studied the three

ethnic communities of Gujarati, Samoan, and Dutch in New Zealand and discovered that use of heritage language in the family domain had a positive effect in language transmission. Both the Gujarati and Samoan communities still strongly used their heritage languages in the home domain, in contrast to the Dutch migrants who replaced their ethnic language with the use of English at home. This resulted in second-generation Gujarati and Samoan migrants' ability to speak their ethnic languages as opposed to second-generation Dutch migrants who grew up being mostly monolinguals. In addition, the study revealed that community language schools are important domains for language preservation in Gujarati and Samoan communities. Roberts' (1999) findings reaffirmed Fishman's (1972) claim that there is a higher chance for migrant speakers to successfully maintain their language within the community if the heritage language is used and promoted in multiple domains.

There were, however, some reservations on Fishman's concept of domains. Some issues raised by Simonsen (as cited in Haberland, 2005) are the perception of domains and its tendency to be abstract, the concept of domain loss, and the question of how domains are related to languages. Simonsen (as cited in Haberland, 2005) posed that languages do not "have" domains as properties (i.e. having qualities or characteristics), instead, domains are conceived as parameters (i.e. boundaries) and therefore, they are not something that speakers can lose. There was also Ó Riagáin (1997) who asserted that the domain concept is not suitable to describe actual patterns of language choice in multilingual settings. The author cited the example of applying the domain concept in situations where there is extensive use of code-switching, which is the alternating use of two or more languages within the same utterance (Yu, 2005). Fishman (1972a) stated that "only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen" (p. 437) in certain domains. In code-switching, languages cannot be attributed to different domains unless "one considers patterns of code-switching as [an] option" in observing situations on language choice, in which case would require a "complete redefinition of the domain concept" (Haberland, 2005, p. 234).

The phenomenon of code-switching is very much observed in the Philippines. Filipinos tend to code-switch between Tagalog and English, a linguistic behaviour that was initially looked down upon but is now a usual mode of discourse in Philippine cities (Bautista, 2004). Whether the use of domains could be applied for language maintenance in Filipinos in New Zealand, in relation to their linguistic attitudes and behaviours, will be discussed by this study. To be able to do this, however, an examination of the condition of ethnic languages in multilingual societies is required. One way to do this is through Fishman's model of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), which is part of his concept on Reversing Language Shift (RLS).

### ***2.1.2. Reversing Language Shift, Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, and Ethnolinguistic Vitality***

The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale has been devised by Fishman (1991) to analyse the state or level of heritage language maintenance in ethnic communities. The scale is part of

Fishman's Reversing Language Shift model that conceptualises language maintenance and shift as forms of social actions (Garcia, Peltz, & Harold, 2006). The goal of RLS is to improve sociolinguistic conditions that arise from the imbalanced use of languages within a society (Fishman, 2006). Simply put, RLS aims to tackle language shift as a societal issue and pays attention to the aspects of social disorganisation and social injustice, which in purely linguistic models are often overlooked (Fishman, 1991).

The GIDS is made up of eight stages: stage eight is at the very end of the spectrum in which the language is classified as endangered and can only be spoken by a few, isolated people, up to stage one where the language is at its healthiest state and is used for education, mass media, and government at the nationwide level. One example that utilised the GIDS model is the study on the ethnic language of the Navajo people, an American Indian tribe in the United States. Despite the local community's support to maintain the Navajo language, Lee and McLaughlin (2001) found that there was no sense of urgency from the ethnic community itself to save their language. The youth was also unwilling to develop their Navajo language skills because of being ridiculed by others (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001). The GIDS concept enabled language activism efforts to focus on intergenerational language maintenance and explain that "western-based institutions like schools cannot rescue the native language; parents, families, and native communities must deal directly with the issue of language loss" (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001, p. 40).

Another example of the RLS movement is the revitalisation of Te Reo Māori, the language of the indigenous population in New Zealand. While it was the European immigrants and missionaries who first adopted the Māori language when they arrived in New Zealand, a shift happened from 1867 when the local government passed the Native Schools Act, establishing native Māori schools that would teach English in the centre of Māori communities (Simon, 1998). It took almost a century to attain the policy's full effect, with the majority of Māori speakers moving from Māori monolingualism towards bilingualism, and subsequently into English monolingualism (Spolsky, 2005). Applying the GIDS concept, it was found that Te Reo Māori was endangered, spoken only by those who were old and socially isolated (Benton & Benton, 2001). The 1980s saw the revitalisation of the language through grassroots initiatives. Although there is yet to be language restoration in terms of the natural intergenerational transmission, the establishment of language schools and community-related processes have signalled the continuity of the Māori language (Spolsky, 2005).

For minority communities like the Navajo and Māori, the RLS movement did not only present an assessment of the language through the GIDS scale; it also provided an indication as to how a language shift can be reversed, mainly by starting from the natural intergenerational transmission in the family domain, up to the promotion of languages in the ethnic and the wider community. Furthermore, the RLS concept highlighted the importance of the speakers' and the wider community's attitudes on maintaining ethnic languages. On the one hand, younger Navajo speakers did not want to be teased or ridiculed for using their ethnic language, so they

found themselves reluctant to learn it. On the other hand, the imminent endangerment of Te Reo Māori in the Māori community had inspired younger speakers to revive the language. These studies show that determining the attitudes of the community towards its language can serve as a good indicator of whether an ethnic language is heading towards a shift or maintenance. Thus, examining the attitudes and behaviours of ethnic members of a community, like the Filipino migrants in New Zealand, can help measure not only the state of the language but also predict where it is heading. The concepts of linguistic attitudes, perceptions of language use, as well as the speakers' behaviours relative to intergroup relations are all reflected in another sociolinguistic approach called "ethnolinguistic vitality."

Developed in the 1970s, ethnolinguistic vitality is a concept that explains the relationship between language and ethnicity, "in particular the place of social and cultural factors in accounting for groups' language behaviours and attitudes" (Bell, 2014). A prominent figure in developing the theory based on social psychological factors is Howard Giles. Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) defined the ethnolinguistic vitality approach as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (p. 308). This approach is different from the sociological approach as it does not only examine the number of speakers (objective ethnolinguistic vitality) but also tackles the interlocutors' perceptions on the standing of their own language (subjective ethnolinguistic vitality) which may not necessarily align with factual reality.

Some scholars agree that the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality can provide a direction for future researchers when it comes to gaining new perspectives on language attitudes, intergroup relations, and language choice within migrant communities (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011). It is a concept that highlights the importance of the ethnic group's perception and how it affects their attitudes and behaviours towards the community language. It also shows the importance of examining sociolinguistic variables such as perceptions and behaviours of speakers, which is arguably as important as studying the objective, demographic factors concerning minority languages (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011).

### **2.1.3. Attitudes and behaviours**

The development of the ethnolinguistic vitality approach paved the way for the exploration of ethnic language maintenance with focus on other variables at play (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011), in particular, the attitudes and behaviours of individuals towards language and migration. When ethnic communities assimilate into the dominant culture, Baker (2006) argued that some migrants do not fully achieve a sense of self-fulfilment. While others do not place as much importance on their language and are more willing to adjust to the dominant language, some ethnic community members may begin exploring their roots by reviving the language and culture of their ethnicity (Baker, 2006).

In other cases, members of ethnic groups find themselves leaning towards language assimilation out of necessity and fear. In the United States in particular, linguistic diversity can be seen both as an advantage and a risk, while in the Netherlands, immigrants were found to be at a higher threat of intimidation and bullying (Stefanek, Ven de Schoot, & Spiel, 2012). Krumm (2012) argued that showing mutual respect to the immigrants' personality, culture, languages, and interests are not as important when compared to the complete adaptation of migrants to the dominant language and eventually, their successful integration into the community:

In my language biographical interviews, the metaphor manifest in the statement, 'When I leave my house it is like going to war' is frequently used – migrants have an intense experience of linguistic discrimination. Although the use of mother tongue belongs to the universally accepted human rights and support of the mother tongue of migrant workers and their families is part of several international treaties and charters such as the European Social Chart, many European countries today no longer acknowledge this agreement. (Krumm, 2012, para. 8)

From the immigrants' perspective, the practicality of shifting to the dominant language seems undeniable, regardless of whether it is derived from reasons such as good employment opportunities or explicit pressure from the dominant group to assimilate (Krumm, 2012). These types of experiences can therefore influence the overall attitude of the individual when it comes to keeping his/her language.

The personal experiences of minority speakers also often differ between first and second-generation migrants. A study conducted by Sachdev, Bourhis, Phang, and D'Eye (1987) showed the disparity in attitudes and perceptions between first and second-generation Chinese immigrants in Canada. The authors found that the first generation used Cantonese and associated themselves more as with Hong Kong Chinese, while the second-generation Chinese migrants preferred speaking English and viewed Cantonese-speaking Canadians as an outgroup. In cases where members of the ethnic community are not willing to preserve their ethnic languages, Bradley and Bradley (2002) believe that heritage language maintenance efforts will most likely be unsuccessful:

I believe we can try to change attitudes, and we can help people maintain their languages, but only if they want to...so how many linguists does it take to save an EL [endangered language]? None, if the people have a positive attitude based on community needs and desires; but of course we should help them when we can and when they want us to. (Bradley & Bradley, 2002, p. 9)

These studies show that attitudes of heritage language speakers can often reveal the reasons behind their linguistic choices as well as significant patterns causing language shift or maintenance. If examined carefully, factors such as the speakers' attitudes and behaviours, in relation to their ethnic language, can reveal the first traces of language shift in a migrant community. Thus, examination of an individual's attitudes and behaviours can be proven beneficial to ethnic language maintenance efforts, and provide an explanation as to why some communities are able to maintain their language, and why some shift to the dominant language.

#### **2.1.4. Challenges to RLS, GIDS, and Ethnolinguistic Vitality**

Similar to most concepts and ideas, RLS, GIDS, and ethnolinguistic vitality had their fair share of challenges and critiques. For RLS and GIDS, this was acknowledged by their author, Fishman (2006). The first criticism referred to the premature promotion of the endangered language in pursuing a high status language and disregarding the natural intergenerational promotion of ethnic language at home. A high status language refers to a language in written form and employed in public affairs, while the low status language is not commonly written and only used in private affairs (Marby, 2015). Fishman (2006) also observed the issue of whether intergenerational language transmission could be achieved and fully cultivated into communities through rational planning. For example, RLS efforts for the Irish Gaelic language started with the promotion of language through the community and housing schemes in the 1980s, but all this initiative showed was “how elusive the informal interaction processes really are and how difficult it is to really plan them or to do so without destroying them” (Fishman, 2006, p. 119).

Another criticism of the RLS movement is the romantic identification of language and ethnicity, considering that minority groups have different levels of connection and feelings toward their community language (Canagarajah, 2008). According to Canagarajah (2008), RLS overlooks the possibility of migrants willingly assimilating to the majority language for their own reasons, including educational or economical purposes. Meanwhile, some scholars have also criticised ethnolinguistic vitality, as the concept is mainly defined by the criteria of the dominant group and their view on the status of the community language (Husband & Khan, 1982). Tollefson (1991) agreed on this and argued that the concept tends to be dominant-centric in nature. Despite the criticisms, researchers continued to produce language maintenance and shift studies based on Fishman’s theoretical concepts and the ethnolinguistic vitality. RLS movements and the use of GIDS in efforts to language revitalisation in different communities have flourished over the years. In addition, the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality became a reference point in several related fields and has continued to offer great heuristic value despite having only a few advancements since its inception forty years ago (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011).

Understanding the foundation theories on language maintenance and shift is crucial in any research on ethnic community languages. Fishman, along with other scholars, had attested to the importance of the family domain in ethnic language maintenance as reflected through the RLS concept and the GIDS model. Examining these concepts depicts the experiences migrant communities go through and explains how minority languages undergo constant changes in multilingual societies. Specifically, studies focusing on attitudes and behaviours of migrant speakers, as proven in international and local studies (Baker, 2006; Barkhuizen, 2006; Bradley & Bradley, 2002; Lee, 2013; Sachdev *et al.*, 1987) have been useful in assessing the status of minority languages and gauging the direction they are heading in. For the Filipino community in New Zealand, research on the members’ attitudes and behaviours can provide an indication on whether the community is leaning towards ethnic language maintenance or assimilation to English. Language patterns are not yet very noticeable with Filipino-New Zealand migrants

considering they are newly-established in the country. Therefore, examination of the individual's attitudes and behaviours towards their ethnic language can provide a starting reference point in assessing which direction the Tagalog language is heading.

### ***2.1.5. Non-traditional approaches to multilingualism***

Although both sociological and social psychological approaches have persisted over the years, the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century brought about challenges to the traditional approaches and paved the way to the birth of critical and constructivist approaches to multilingualism. The critical and constructivist types of approach question the way scholars think about the nature of bilingualism, which goes back to questioning its definition (Bell, 2014). Research on multilingualism has now allowed for the creation of a new sociolinguistics, a development that is "better attuned to the description and analysis of the profound cultural and societal changes taking place in the late modern era" (Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese, 2012, p.1). For instance, linguistic anthropologist Monica Heller (2011) questioned the way languages are socially structured and focused her work on social inequality and social difference, placing those issues at the centre of sociolinguistics. She argued that links between language and identity have been broken and that people must construct links that work for them.

Some critical scholars argued that ideologies on language have become "naturalised" and have seemed to represent common sense views of the society and its languages without any need to be justified (Bell, 2014). This view was challenged through the critical and constructivist approach on the ideologies of language, a method that attempts to redefine what is considered significant (Bell, 2014) in the study of bilingualism. One example is Jaffe's (2012) research on the ideological situation of the Corsican language and its relation to identity in France, ethnic language planning and policy, and how they can be influenced by changes in language ideologies. In particular, he explained the development of contemporary Corsican language planning in terms of plurilingualism. Created for European citizens, plurilingualism is defined as a set of competencies that are made for social interactions among different nationalities of various languages in the region (Jaffe, 2012) and a way to develop European patriotism (Byram, 2006). It is a concept that promotes spaces to practice multilingualism, "especially if Europeans wish to deny the monopoly of English as a lingua franca" (Jaffe, 2012, p. 81).

One of the challenges Corsica faced to preserve their language was the competition against the dominant and high status languages taught at school. Jaffe (2012) explained that this is where the concept of plurilingualism became useful in terms of promoting multilingualism and shifting existing linguistic beliefs. Support for plurilingual practices enabled the establishment of new processes in encouraging Corsican language literacy and validating the importance of ethnic language in the community. As a result of a shift in ideological beliefs in languages, Jaffe (2012) said that literacy in the minority language had now been viewed as an additional cognitive advantage in educational development and an important part of citizenship and nationalism (Jaffe, 2012). The promotion of plurilingualism, in the process, created positive changes to the

linguistic views of Corsican speakers and their perceptions on the role language plays as part of nationalism. Furthermore, the approaches pioneered by critical and constructivist scholars, as May (2012) explained, have opened the discourse on the restructure of minority languages as carriers of ethnic identities. If ethnic languages are viewed as a part of an individual's ethnic identity, then minority groups may have more determination in preserving their heritage language as seen in the Corsican community.

The examination of the traditional and non-traditional approaches to multilingualism have so far revealed that the ethnic community's language choices can be influenced by different factors: the use of language in private and public domains, personal experiences of migrants, reception of the host society, and the ethnic speakers' perceptions of language as carriers of identity and extension of nationalism. What these factors have in common is the effect they have in shaping an individual's attitudes and behaviours toward his/her ethnic language. More favourable conditions on ethnic language use, positive experiences in migration, and reception of the host society, among others, can all contribute to an individual's positive attitudes and behaviours towards ethnic language maintenance (e.g. Jaffe, 2012; Lee, 2013). In contrast, detachment from the ethnic community, ideologies favouring English use, and negative experiences from the host country can have a negative impact on migrants' attitudes and behaviours on keeping their heritage language (Sachdev *et al.*, 1987; Roberts, 1999). Therefore, if factors concerning the overall attitudes and behaviours of migrants with respect to language use are examined carefully, ethnic language maintenance may be more attainable for migrant communities wishing to preserve their languages.

## **2.2. New Zealand and its Languages**

Since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, English has been the language spoken by the majority in New Zealand (Bell, Harlow, and Starks, 2005). Even though English has not been recognised in a statute as one of New Zealand's official languages (official languages are Te Reo Māori and the New Zealand Sign Language), it is the expected language in important domains such as the government, media and education (Starks *et al.*, 2005). Currently, New Zealand has a total of 181 languages spoken, with the dominant language being English (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). However, census data showed an increase in ethnic and linguistic diversity over the past few decades. Statistics New Zealand (2013b) records showed the biggest increases in population are of Asian descent, namely Chinese, Indian, and Filipino ethnic groups. The majority of New Zealand's population, accounting for 79.8%, are monolinguals, while 15.6% can speak two languages, and 2.9% know how to converse in three or more languages (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a).

Government assimilation policies from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century had immense effects on the current linguistic profile of the country and almost caused the extinction of the Māori language (Spolsky, 2005). National immigration rules from the early 1900s were created to deliberately attract individuals who were thought to be able to fully assimilate into the New Zealand culture

(Roberts, 1999). It was also on the government's agenda for immigrants to teach their children to be as much like a natural-born New Zealander as possible, and for New Zealanders to help immigrants integrate into the society as quickly as possible. As a consequence, some immigrants were forced to leave their culture and traditions behind, including the use of their own language (Roberts, 1999; Kuiper, 2005). Roberts (1999) argued that the minority immigrants' heritage language had been "neglected for far too long in New Zealand; it is time they received support from the wider society" (p. 544).

Moving past a history of neglecting migrant languages, New Zealanders seem to have become more aware of their country's changing multilingual nature. Many have accepted the differences in language use amongst various communities, and some are even acknowledging the need for appropriate language planning (Barkhuizen, Knoch, & Starks, 2006). The government has also recognised that both English proficiency and heritage language maintenance are important for the country. And since not all migrants are expected to be fluent in English, attaining good literacy of the language through the International English Language Testing System is one of the government's requirements for people wishing to work or live here (Office of the Ethnic Communities, 2013). A report released by the Office of the Ethnic Communities in 2013 suggests that:

Migrants wishing to actively participate in society while maintaining their cultural heritage will need to carefully manage their approach to both English and their heritage language. A key consideration will be which language they choose to engage in at which times and in which domains. Importantly, informing migrants of the complex relationship between the conditions that assist English acquisition and promote heritage language maintenance will enable them to increase their chances of success. (Office of the Ethnic Communities, 2013, p. 2)

From 2001 to 2013, bilingual and multilingual New Zealanders have increased by 2.8%. There was also a positive net migration rate and a population increase of 13.5% from 2001 to 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a) which could be one of the reasons for the increased bilingual/multilingual speakers in New Zealand. Despite the increase in multilingualism, New Zealand and its clusters of ethnic communities still experience language shift, whether it is with long-established communities (e.g. the Dutch and Pacific Island communities) or newly-established ones (e.g. Korean and Filipino communities). May (2012) argued that when language shift occurs in an ethnic community, their language could potentially just become a memory and may only be "remembered" by a few language speakers. Discussed in the next section are studies on New Zealand ethnic communities and the state of their languages and the ongoing changing nature of linguistic diversity in the country.

### ***New Zealand language maintenance and shift studies***

New Zealand language maintenance and shift studies have flourished over the past 30 years, enabling scholars to review patterns and deduce common generalisations. Roberts (2005) arrived with three main generalisations based on patterns that have emerged in ethnic community languages, first of which is that heritage languages are well maintained in first-

generation migrants (Roberts, 2005), with the majority wanting to pass it on to future generations.

For instance, it was discovered that the heritage language of the Samoan community was well kept and used in various domains such as family and church functions (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1984). One of the main factors for its maintenance is that most families were self-contained—culturally, linguistically, and socially, receiving little to no direct influence by the host society. The same observation could be said for the Tongan community and its positive language maintenance results. 'Aipolo and Holmes (1990) found that Tongans kept a close-knit community, enabling them to use their language more often, even in the presence of others who cannot understand it, despite being fluent in English. Kim and Starks (2005) found a similar situation in the Korean community where almost all participants used their heritage language on a daily basis. Their study employed language diaries as a methodology which revealed how Koreans used their ethnic language based on particular domains and the topic of conversation. The research also found that most Koreans used their ethnic language not only in the family and school domains but also while driving, which placed the use of cars as another domain for language maintenance (Kim & Starks, 2005). Other studies done in the 1990s on ethnic communities like Chinese and Greeks (Holmes, Roberts, Verivaki, & 'Aipolo, 1993), and Indo-Fijians (Shameem, 1995) have shown that heritage languages were well maintained in first-generation migrants and the desire to pass them on to future generations was significantly strong.

A common characteristic amongst the ethnic communities mentioned above is that they were still relatively newly formed when studies on them were conducted. Kim and Starks (2005) said that the community language is normally in a healthy state in recently formed communities. Granted that there had been migrants from these ethnic groups coming to New Zealand from as early as the 1900s, their numbers were not as significant back then to form large communities in centralised locations. The Tagalog language is expected to have followed a similar pattern, considering that the majority of its members are first-generation migrants and are very likely to use their heritage language at home and in other private domains.

The second pattern Roberts (2005) found was that there is variation in language maintenance results when it comes to the second New Zealand-born generation. Migrant communities and their varied experiences in migration have resulted in their ethnic languages being well-maintained or replaced by the dominant language. In second-generation migrants, it all depends on how their parents adjust to the new environment, especially on the language they use. Case studies of the Chinese, South African and Japanese migrants to New Zealand (Yu, 2005; Barkhuizen, 2006; Lauwereyns, 2011) revealed that children of the first-generation migrants found it difficult to keep their ethnic language despite their parents' desire to maintain the language at home. Some parents felt a "lack of power to challenge what appears to them to be an inevitable shift to English" (Barkhuizen, 2006, p. 75). If kept unchecked, this could potentially lead to second-generation migrants becoming mostly monolingual.

Studies also revealed that another factor affecting heritage language literacy in second-generation migrants is inter-ethnic marriage. Holmes *et al.* (1993) revealed that members of some ethnic communities were discouraged to marry a person outside their ethnic group to help prevent language shift and bring in fluent speakers who can help revitalise the heritage language. In most cases of mixed marriages, the language used at home was often determined by the monolingual partner (Davis & Starks, 2005). In other words, domains in which the ethnic language can be used had become more limited for second-generation migrants from inter-ethnic marriages. In addition, active involvement in the ethnic community, or lack thereof, also proved to be a factor in ethnic language maintenance. Roberts (1999) found that both Samoan and Gujarati families' involvement in cultural and traditional events within their own communities provided a domain for second-generation migrants to be exposed to their heritage language on a regular basis. This is in contrast to Dutch migrants, whose first generation opted to have their children assimilate into the Kiwi culture immediately (Roberts, 1999). Less involvement in cultural practices meant less exposure to their language.

Other factors like institutional support and economic security have also reshaped how second-generation migrants acquire their heritage language literacy. Community languages often do not get as much government support as national minority languages do (Spolsky, 2005), and most migrants have to settle using their ethnic language within semi-private community domains. For those who want to move upwards in the society, there is an implicit notion suggesting that the more fluent and "natural" they are in speaking English, the better their opportunities will be (Lee, 2013). Migrants, especially those with children, feel that "English language skill is the first and foremost skill for both life and employment" (Yu, 2005, p. 203). Because of this, some individuals might think that keeping their ethnic language is a hindrance to economic stability.

Lastly, the third pattern Roberts (2005) found among New Zealand language maintenance studies is the relationship of the ethnic community's attitude towards their heritage language maintenance. A positive attitude by the community increases the chance that a language will be frequently used in various domains, thereby avoiding the shift to the dominant language (Lee, 2013). Oftentimes, an ethnic community's positive attitude also comes with a strong power to "resist the shift" to another language (Davis & Starks, 2005). Despite an ethnic group's optimism in the maintenance of their language, the notion of attitude is "itself complex and multidimensional... there can be discrepancies between what people say and what they do" (Roberts, 2005, p. 319). This is true especially with migrant parents who have expressed their desire to pass on their ethnic languages to their children but are not doing what it takes to achieve language maintenance (Yu, 2005; Barkhuizen, 2006; Lauwereyns 2011). Signs pertaining to language shift are noticeable in some of the New Zealand ethnic communities (Yu, 2005; Barkhuizen *et al.*, 2006), but communities like Samoan, Tongan, Korean, Gujarati, Chilean, and Māori among others are still striving for community connectivity to keep their cultures and traditions alive. Nowadays, speaking a language aside from English is more common than it was two decades ago, as New Zealand continues to become more multicultural

(Lee, 2013). Being bilingual or multilingual is now seen as common and sometimes a necessity in the era of globalisation (Edwards, 1994), and this could potentially encourage other ethnic communities to be more culturally expressive and start efforts in maintaining their heritage languages.

The next section presents the history of Filipino languages in the Philippines and the context of international Filipino language maintenance studies done in previous years. Common patterns that arose from the studies will be discussed, together with their implications in connection to the Filipino ethnic community in New Zealand.

### **2.3. The Philippines and its Languages**

The Philippines, consisting of 7,107 islands, has 182 different ethnic groups with an estimate of 180 spoken languages spread throughout the archipelago (Azada-Palacios, Anthea, & Mariano, 2012). The Philippine population underwent a rapid change as early as 1521 when Spain colonised it for more than 300 years. The cultures of the ethnic groups who assimilated into the Christianisation movement of Spaniards were broadly promoted and developed at the expense of pre-colonial cultures and traditions (Azada-Palacios *et al.*, 2012). After Spain, the United States colonised the country from 1898 until 1946, paving the way for the adaptation of American culture—including the English language—into the Filipino psyche. Today, English remains the medium of instruction in the country's most important domains: the government, the media, and education.

In 1984, a “bilingual education policy” was promoted by the local government. English became one of the main languages disseminated through education (Benton, 1991). As a result, Filipinos were found to be more concerned about “acquiring English than about the fate of their local or regional vernacular” (Benton, 1991, p. 100). In Tollefson's study (as cited in Baker, 2006), it explained how English was used as a means of forming social divisions that serve the small Philippine elite and foreign economic interests. English was formally declared as one of the official languages of the Philippines, alongside Filipino, through the 1987 Philippine Constitution (Erwin-Billones, 2012). In addition, some of the legislation crafted in the past couple of decades have affirmed the high status of English in the Philippine society. In 2003, an executive order was issued “establishing the policy to strengthen the use of the English language as a medium of instruction in the educational system” (Azada-Palacios *et al.*, 2012). This required the use of English for 70% of the total curriculum hours in schools. Opponents of the executive order, however, forced the formation of a multilingual education policy by 2009. Since then, language in Philippine education transitioned from being bilingual to multilingual, with the promotion of mother tongue-based education nationwide (Azada-Palacios *et al.*, 2012; Burton, 2013).

When describing the national language, there also exists an interchangeable use of the terms “Tagalog” and “Filipino.” The Philippine government saw the change of terms as a way to

promote a national language, rather than one with geographic and ethnic connotations (Axel, 2011). Most international language schools refer to the Filipino language as either “Tagalog” or “Filipino/Tagalog.” The New Zealand Census also refers to the Filipino language as Tagalog, thus, the two terms are often used interchangeably.

The recent changes in Philippine education language policy can be seen as an encouragement to maintain regional ethnic languages. Currently, there are 10 native regional languages in the Philippines with over one million speakers each (excluding Tagalog), namely Cebuano, Bikol, Hiligaynon, Ilocano, Maguindanaon, Masbateño, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Tausug, and Waray-Waray. However, despite the government’s support of the multilingual education system, Burton (2013) argued that the effects of American assimilation and policies on establishing English as an important language for education, business, and employment have left feelings of inferiority from minority speakers and a strong belief from parents that English proficiency can provide better opportunities for their children. Furthermore, he explained that strong ideological linguistic beliefs can typically be categorised in one of two ways: the support for using the dominant language or the belief in maintaining the minority language. This study presents Tagalog as a minority community language and English as its dominant counterpart in New Zealand.

### ***Filipino migrants and language maintenance/shift patterns***

Currently, the Philippines ranks seventh in countries with most migrants globally and third highest in immigrants with tertiary education (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, & the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2013). Over 2.4 million overseas Filipino workers (also known as OFWs) have become engines of Philippine economic growth through the cash remittances sent back home to their families. Next to exports of goods and services, OFW remittance inflows have now become the second-largest source of foreign exchange for the country averaging \$22USD billion a year (\$33.3NZD billion) (Dakila & Goce-Dakila, 2009). Most OFWs are part of an estimated 92% of the Philippine population who can speak English well (Maps of the World, 2016), since being able to speak the language is one of their primary advantages as service workers against other nationalities.

In New Zealand, Filipinos account for one per cent of the total population with 40,347 people as of 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). With regard to language maintenance within the New Zealand Asian community, a report by Statistics New Zealand (2004) reaffirms the pattern that first-generation migrants are more likely to speak two or more languages compared to the following generations. There are no previous studies done on the status of Filipino language in New Zealand, making this research apt and timely. In Filipino communities in other countries (Nical, 2000; Axel, 2011; Angeles, 2015), however, studies have shown that most second-generation Filipino migrants have followed patterns of being less likely to speak Tagalog as opposed to their first-generation parents.

In Australia, for instance, Philippine languages were found to be fragile and subject to generational shift to English (Nical, 2000). Despite being eligible for educational support through the implementation of policies on multilingual education, the Filipino-Australian community is still leaning towards a language shift because of the prevalence of inter-ethnic marriages, especially with Filipino women, the Filipinos' early English competency, and weak support mechanisms in preserving Tagalog and other Philippine languages (Nical 2000; Chan, 2003). Many Filipino children in Australia fail to learn any Filipino language at a young age as a result. Another study by Axel (2011) on "Language in Filipino America" found that second-generation Filipino-American migrants who do not have Tagalog literacy often do not take any "action in learning their mother and/or father tongue(s), perhaps because of a lack of opportunities to learn [...] in a structured environment" such as in school (Axel, 2011, p. 284).

Some studies have also revealed that Filipino parents themselves would want their children to only learn and speak the dominant language even to the extent of not using Tagalog at home. This was evident in studies on Filipino-Japanese children (Yamamoto, 2005) and on Filipino-Malaysian families (Dumanig, David, & Shanmuganathan, 2013). There is also an apparent inclination among Filipino migrants to acquire English literacy at the expense of the heritage language (Dumanig *et al.*, 2013; Chan, 2003; Espiritu, 1994). Chan (2003) found that some Filipino mothers in Australia have dismissed the importance of teaching Tagalog to their children because of the fear of damaging their English education. Similarly, Espiritu's (1994) study revealed that a majority of the Filipino professionals in the US did not teach any Filipino language to their children because they did not want them "to be confused growing up with two languages" and for concerns of "being mistaken for somebody who is an immigrant" (p. 257).

One of the interviewees in Yamamoto's (2005) research explained that they were being practical in a sense that "the language at this point, English, is the better language, because of the international appeal. Regardless of nationality, English can be used, but if it's Tagalog, then you are limited to basically Filipinos" (p. 597). A US-based Filipino journalist shared similar views and refused to teach his children Tagalog:

I want my children to know that they are American. I want them to learn English, to be very, very good in English. I also don't teach my children Filipino history. I don't see what's the point. The Filipinos haven't made much contributions in terms of the world. Take inventions, for instance, Filipinos are just non-creative. (Espiritu, 1994, p. 256)

A review on some of the current literature in Filipino language maintenance revealed that Filipino migrant parents tend to abandon their own ethnic practices and focus on full assimilation to the cultural and linguistic practices of the host country. This could be traced back to the linguistic ideology in the Philippines that English proficiency can provide better opportunities for the Filipino youth (Burton, 2013), and Filipinos, especially migrants, might feel a certain pressure to make their children natural English speakers. Hence, they believe that teaching heritage language is detrimental to their children becoming native English speakers in their host countries (Espiritu, 1994; Chan; 2003). Following the patterns of international Filipino language maintenance studies, the Filipino community in New Zealand may exhibit some of the

linguistic attitudes and behaviours of other Filipino migrants elsewhere, in which case, the Tagalog language would not be seen transmitted to the second-generation Filipino migrants.

What appeared to be the driving factor behind the maintenance of Tagalog in international studies is the individual's attitude and inclination to keep the ethnic language as part of his/her ethnic identity (Aivazian, 1995; Angeles, 2015). Aivazian (1995) studied the attitudes of bilingual Filipino American students in relation to heritage language maintenance and found that those who associate Tagalog with Filipino pride and cultural identity were able to maintain the language. A similar research revealed that most Filipino American students have improved their Tagalog proficiency by enrolling themselves in heritage language classes offered in universities (Angeles, 2015). Angeles (2015) found that most participants were drawn to enrol in heritage language classes to reconnect to their Filipino culture and identity, and "despite the reality of language shift in their lives, they continued to find ways to incorporate language learning in their families" (p. 66).

In both Aivazian's (1995) and Angeles' (2015) studies, the attitude of the speaker played a huge role as to whether a heritage language can be maintained or not. Truly, how Filipinos viewed their heritage language as part of their ethnic identities had a positive correlation with their efforts to maintain or in some cases, relearn the language. The linguistic attitude of the speaker has been an important aspect in monitoring heritage language maintenance, which is the reason why it is chosen as one of the main focal points in this study. In addition, some international Filipino language studies found that the linguistic behaviours of Filipino parents on heritage language maintenance were important factors in their children's linguistic capabilities (Espiritu, 1994; Angeles, 2015). Many second or third-generation migrants who did not have any exposure to their language feel a sense of loss or regret for not acquiring it. This excerpt from a Filipino-American participant in Espiritu's (1994) study captured this sentiment:

It wasn't made explicit that Filipino culture is something that we should retain, that we should hold on to, as something that's valuable. There wasn't that sense that we should keep the language. So you don't really get taught, you know. And I found that to be a real common experience among Filipinos my age. Our parents don't realize that we don't know anything about the old country: who was the first president, when was Independence Day, who was Jose Rizal? Sometimes, I feel a bitter envy toward other Asian groups because there's a sense of culture there that I am not always sure is emphasized for Filipinos. (p. 258)

The review of the international Filipino language studies shows the importance of understanding how a language can serve as a form of communication as well as a representation of the cultural and ethnic identities of Filipinos. Furthermore, the studies have shown a general consensus that Filipino migrants, specifically parents, tend to speak to their children in English and see it as an advantage for them to become natural English speakers. This often results to second-generation Filipino migrants being excluded from the linguistic aspect of their culture and growing up as monolinguals in English. These linguistic patterns provide an indication as to the possible factors that can affect the attitudes and behaviours of the Filipino-New Zealand community in terms of ethnic language maintenance. Furthermore, it highlights the importance

of understanding an individual's attitudes on his/her language in maintaining Tagalog, as it could point signs of whether a language is going to be maintained in the future generations or if it is heading towards a shift.

## **2.4. Chapter summary**

Literature has shown that migrant communities often strive to keep a part of their cultural identities, including their ethnic languages. However, as documented in international and local studies, many factors can affect either the maintenance or endangerment of community languages. Concepts and models established during the early years of language maintenance research saw the importance of domains in intergenerational language transmission, as popularised by Fishman. Additionally, the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality opened the discussion of the relationship between language and ethnicity, and the factors that can affect a group's attitudes and behaviours. Modern approaches to multilingualism have brought about critical and constructivist ways of looking at language and society, as well as the questioning of existing ideological beliefs. All of these approaches have contributed to the present understanding of the role and nature of heritage language maintenance in today's society.

The review presented on the existing heritage language maintenance research in New Zealand revealed three generalised patterns, namely the healthy state of ethnic languages in first-generation migrants, a variation in ethnic language maintenance among the New Zealand-born migrants, and the role of attitude in keeping the heritage language in ethnic communities. These patterns can serve as a guide to understanding the current linguistic patterns of the newly established Filipino-New Zealand community. Meanwhile, a review of the international Filipino language research showed that one of the most important factors in language maintenance is the attitude of parents and of the speakers themselves. Another factor that emerged was the preference of most Filipino parents to use English at home for their children's English fluency, even if it is at the expense of their ethnic language literacy. Understanding the individual's attitudes and behaviours, as proven in both local and international studies, are beneficial to ethnic language maintenance. Therefore, it is in this regard that the present research focuses on the attitudes and behaviours of the Filipino migrants in terms of ethnic language maintenance in New Zealand.

## Chapter Three:

### Methodology

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This study examines the attitudes and behaviours of the Filipino-New Zealand community with regard to ethnic language maintenance. For this chapter, a discussion of the social psychological approach employed as the guiding perspective of the research is presented, along with the use of qualitative interview method as part of the research design. The chapter then details the research instruments and the process of data collection through one-on-one interviews. Finally, an examination of data using thematic analysis is presented in this chapter.

#### **3.1. Guiding perspective of the research**

From a social psychological perspective, the study of language maintenance and shift are interpreted as social behaviours caused by interplaying factors that can influence an individual's language choice (Delamater, Myers, & Collet, 2015). By definition, social psychology is a study of human behaviour in a systematic fashion, with focus on the actions of an individual based on particular situations, social interactions, and his/her relationships with another person or group (Delamater *et al.*, 2015). This approach aims to understand particular social behaviours which can uncover the underlying causes of such behaviours, like ethnic language maintenance and loss.

Following this, the researcher has chosen to adopt the social psychological method as the guiding perspective in studying the Tagalog language maintenance within the Filipino community. In particular, the research focuses on the factors affecting the participants' attitudes, behaviours, and linguistic choices based on their personal experiences, motivation in ethnic language maintenance, and perspectives on cultural identity in relation to his or her ethnic language.

For Giles and Saint-Jacques (1979), the way a speaker represents his/her social and psychological characteristics potentially affects one's behaviours, with the perception that an individual's cognitive representations are seen as significant mediators between language and social contexts. In macro-sociological perspectives, a researcher normally employs a mixture of socio-structural and socio-cultural factors, determining the quality and quantity of language contacts that can either prompt or "influence" language maintenance or shift within minority families (Kondo, 1997). In social psychological frameworks, however, Kondo (1997) argued that emphasis is given on how the "influence" of socio-structural and socio-cultural aspects of language behaviour are affected by the individual's cognitive mechanisms such as motivation, attitude, and ethnic identity. In other words, utilising a social psychological framework for research can provide a clear understanding as to why individuals act in specific ways by

analysing how external factors influence their attitudinal and behavioural decisions. If this is achieved, possible solutions to social issues can be obtained, such as heritage language loss.

Adopting this type of approach has allowed the researcher to examine different factors affecting people's cognitive mechanisms and whether they contribute to the ethnic language maintenance within the Filipino community. Instead of determining the presence or lack of "objective" factors (e.g. number of speakers, location), this approach examines the way a person perceives the factors that influence his/her language choice. The focus is on the "speaker him/herself as an acting individual rather than on objective factors which are abstracted away from speakers and made independent" (Maitz, 2011, p. 168). Finally, this approach also allows for the analysis to centre around the individual speaker and not at the level of the community, making both the description and explanation behind certain behaviours more adequate and free from overgeneralisations (Maitz, 2011). With considerations of these factors, the researcher has decided to adopt a small-scale qualitative study focusing on individual speakers and the factors that affect their attitudes and behaviours on language choice.

### ***3.2. Research Design***

Data for the study was gathered through qualitative one-on-one interviews, which allows for the examination of people's experiences in specific details (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011). One of the main focuses in doing qualitative research is the interpretation of meanings based on how people perceive and understand their own actualities. This research approach can serve as a pathway to discover how individuals and groups perceive things and a "way to 'get inside the heads' of particular groups of people and to tell things from their 'point of view'" (Silverman, 2013, p. 87). Additionally, qualitative studies usually take place in natural settings as to allow for the observation of different phenomena while they happen in their regular environments.

In qualitative research, people's attitudes, behaviours, and their experiences are deeply explored, giving a voice to the participants' feelings and perceptions (Moran, 2000), thus, making it apt for this current research that explores the individual's attitudes and behaviours regarding ethnic language maintenance.

Qualitative methods used in research, such as interviews and focus groups, tend to have a small sample since the goal is to produce rigorous and in-depth analysis, that by itself contains large amounts of data (Lee, 2013). For this thesis, a total of 15 participants were interviewed in their private homes, their relatives' and friends' homes, or a location of their choice where they feel safe, which could be their local café or a familiar restaurant. Interviews were also used by Roberts (1999) to complement the quantitative data she collected to study three ethnic communities in New Zealand, while qualitative studies by Johri (1998), Kim & Starks (2005) and Kuiper (2005) used the interview method independently. These studies show the flexibility of

employing qualitative research in addressing research questions pertaining to human behaviours and social phenomena.

### **3.3. Research Methods**

Although questionnaires are mostly the research instrument of choice when it comes to language maintenance and shift research in New Zealand, many studies with a qualitative approach have employed the use of interviews to gather relevant data. Interviews allow for the investigation of behaviours that cannot be obtained through mere observation (Yang, 2011). There is also the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee which provides further information if non-linguistic behaviours are to be observed.

Many international Filipino language heritage maintenance studies used interviews as the qualitative research instrument of choice (Angeles, 2015; Chan, 2003; Dumanig *et al.*, 2013; Espiritu, 1994; Yamamoto, 2005), providing results on the experiences of Filipino migrants and their views regarding ethnic language use overseas. Meanwhile, other studies employ both quantitative and qualitative methods to provide a generalised view on the subject, followed by specific accounts from the participants. This was seen in Aivazian's (1995) study of the Filipino-American high school students and their language choices. Employing a qualitative method for the study, the researcher decided to use interviews for the participants of the study, supported by informal observations done in the Filipino community. Though other qualitative research instruments like focus groups could offer different perspectives, interviews give a more direct access to individual participants and openly address the research question.

#### **3.3.1. Informal observations**

In preparation for the interviews, the researcher gathered relevant information on the current linguistic attitudes and behaviour of Filipino migrants through informal fieldwork observation. Observation is a common research instrument utilised in many qualitative and social psychological studies. It involves doing fieldwork which engages the researcher in learning about the activities of people being studied in their natural setting through observing and participating (Kawulich, 2005). Using this as a research instrument gave the researcher an overview of the common linguistic patterns of Filipino migrants in different settings, which had been beneficial in the formulation of interview questions for the participants. Furthermore, observations gathered have served either as a confirmation or contradiction of the participants' views on ethnic language maintenance.

Observations were gathered during the Filipino Labour Weekend event on October 2015 in Tauranga, New Zealand. The observation was informal, which means there were no audio recording nor were there any interviews done at the site. As a member of the community herself, the researcher was able to quietly observe linguistic patterns and behaviours which served as a guide to formulate interview questions. It was also an opportunity to leave out fliers for potential participants who wanted to be included in the study.

The observation focused on the language use of Filipinos when talking with family, friends, or someone in authority like a coach or a staff member in the New Zealand Philippine embassy. Language choice in different platforms was observed as well. Patterns of the language that was used on pamphlets, event notices, and those spoken by hosts, coaches, and event organisers during tournaments and sports events were all noted. The researcher also had informal conversations with people in sponsor booths representing different businesses and companies. Chapter Five contains some information gathered through informal observations, discussed together with the main data collected from the interviews.

### **3.3.2. Interviews**

Interviews were the main tool used for data collection, allowing the researcher to examine the attitudes and behaviours of the participants regarding ethnic language maintenance. This was achieved by focusing on the participants' particular situations in ethnic language use with their families, friends, the Filipino ethnic community, and members of the host society. Moreover, their personal views on culture and identity were sought in order to examine if there exists a correlation between ethnic identity and language, as proven in the literature.

Prior to the interview, the researcher prepared questions that aimed to discuss the participants' overall attitudes and behaviours in relation to their language preferences. Three pilot interviews were done to test the effectiveness of interview questions. This led to the restructure of some of the questions with the overall theme focusing on fluency of first and acquired languages, their experiences within the Filipino community and connections with the wider community, and how they view their heritage language and its connection to their cultural identities.

All 15 participants were initially asked for basic demographic information such as age, marital status, number of children, and country of birth, along with details of migration. Some of the interview questions aimed to answer the research question included:

- Which language are you most comfortable to express yourself with?
- When you're out with your Filipino friends, would you mostly speak in English or Tagalog? Why?
- Is it important for Filipinos in New Zealand to keep their ability to speak Tagalog?
- Do you think you need to be able to speak Tagalog in order to keep your Filipino culture? Why / why not?
- If ever you have kids in the future, is it important for you that they learn Tagalog?

The interview has a total of 20 questions, however, only those relevant to the circumstances of the participant being interviewed at the time were asked. For example, some participants were not asked if they use Tagalog to talk to their children if they do not have any. The interview was semi-structured, which means the participants had more opportunities to share their thoughts

without conforming to a rigid interview structure; although follow-up questions were asked if deemed necessary. The full set of interview questions is included in the Appendix.

During the interview itself, the researcher made sure to do a proper greeting and ask for *mano* (a traditional hand gesture signifying respect to Filipino elders) from the participants when visiting their homes, if it was appropriate to do so. Full confidentiality was ensured throughout the data collection process, and all the gathered information may only be accessed and used by the researcher for the completion of this study. Interviews were transcribed by the researcher herself, including re-checking all transcripts against the recordings later on to guarantee accuracy. The participants were also asked whether they prefer to speak in Tagalog or English during the interview, to which most opted in using both languages interchangeably. Interviews conducted in Tagalog were not translated into English unless they were included as excerpts for the thesis.

### **3.4. Sampling**

Sampling for the study was gathered using the snowball method, a means by which researchers collect information until sufficient data is generated. Common practice is for the researcher to ask the participant at the end of the interview whether they could suggest further contacts that could possibly be interviewed (Tolich & Davidson, 1999). The researcher had enough contacts to begin the process and was successful in gathering enough participants to join the study.

The following criteria have been observed to qualify as research participant:

- Must be 18 years of age or over
- Must have lived in the Philippines for at least 10 years
- Must have lived in New Zealand for at least five years
- Must be exposed to the English language on a daily basis (e.g. someone who uses English at school or workplace)

The criteria were set to ensure that the participants have a firm grasp of the Tagalog language before migration and enough time to be exposed to the dominant language in the host country. In addition, the minimum language exposure used in the study fell within the average stated by Hahta, Butler, and Witt (2000), who found that most migrants fully acquire English proficiency within four to seven years of exposure. The researcher narrowed down potential participants who asked for copies of the Information Sheet, who were later on given consent forms to be signed and collected before the start of every interview (see Appendix for copies of Information Sheet and a sample consent form). Although not all participants come from the Tagalog region and therefore spoke other Filipino ethnic languages, all of them were proficient in the Filipino language either via formal education in the Philippines or language exposure at home. A summary of the participants' demographic details, along with information on languages and migration is presented in detail in Chapter Four.

All participants have been made aware of their option to withdraw at any time before, during, or after the interview and until the data collection process was completed. To ensure their identities and security were not compromised, the participants' names were replaced with pseudonyms. Names of cities where they were based in New Zealand were also left out, since Tolich and Davidson (1999) argued that giving pseudonyms, especially in New Zealand ethnic community studies, does not fully guarantee interviewees' privacy. No participant withdrew from the interview, while most of them also did not express any concerns on being identified. The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) gave ethics approval for the research on the 8<sup>th</sup> of December, 2015: AUTEC Reference number 15/404.

### **3.5. Thematic Analysis**

For the data analysis, the researcher employed thematic analysis, a type of method used to identify patterned meanings across a dataset through an extensive process of familiarisation, data coding, and development of themes (School of Psychology, University of Auckland, n.d). Braun and Clarke (2006) defined thematic analysis as a qualitative analytic method for “identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79). Themes are patterns created to capture “something important about the data in relation to the research question and [represent] some level of patterned response or meaning” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Simply put, thematic analysis is a process of immersing oneself into the set of data and categorically organising them based on emerging themes. It is a method suitable for the research as it helps answer research questions related to human behaviour and personal experiences.

For this study, transcripts of the 15 interviews were manually analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-staged process of conducting thematic analysis—the familiarisation with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing of generated themes, defining and naming the themes, and lastly, producing the report. Following this process, the researcher familiarised herself with the data through reading and marking of potential quotes that can be used for the thesis. The next step involved generating initial codes through coding, a process of arranging the data through the allocation of codes on interview transcripts. Codes are often described as “a word or a short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 3). In other words, allocating codes is a way to arrange useful information in a systematic order to make sense and discover meanings out of the lumps of data.

The coding process began with the researcher abandoning any presuppositions and preconceived notions on the subject matter. This is required in order to focus on discovering new themes that emerge naturally from the data (Gibbs & Taylor, 2005). Although the researcher is aware of the patterns commonly found in language maintenance and shift studies, this study is the first to discuss the linguistic attitudes of the Filipino ethnic community in New

Zealand. Hence, starting the coding process without assumptions may very well be an advantage that can reveal new patterns and information during the interpretation of data.

A pilot analysis was done on the first three interviews to verify the effectiveness of the coding process in the study. After the initial coding, some codes were merged into one, a few were split, and some were deleted altogether. The codes were then organised into intermediate codes and categories to look for the main themes. Afterwards, codes and categories were reviewed to examine if they reflect the definition and name of the themes. The rest of the interviews were coded in the same manner once the researcher was satisfied with the main themes. A sample of a coded interview transcript is attached in the Appendix.

For this research, a codebook was created containing a list of intermediate codes, categories, themes, and their respective definitions in relation to the data being manually analysed. These were then organised in Excel spreadsheets, using a separate spreadsheet for each participant and each theme. Codes and categories were checked against each participant to ensure that everything was marked appropriately and coded with consistency. Three major themes were generated by this study, as listed below:

- The relationship of the participant with his/her ethnic group and host community;
- The connection of ethnic language and cultural identity, and;
- The participants' expectations when it comes to language use

The themes showed a systematic analysis behind the participants' linguistic choices in certain situations and revealed reasons as to why members of the Filipino ethnic community maintain Tagalog or shift into the dominant language. Chapter Four will present an in-depth discussion of the themes and present the factors that can influence the participant's attitudes and behaviours in ethnic language maintenance.

### ***3.6. Chapter summary***

The aim of the thesis is to uncover the current attitudes and behaviours of Filipino migrants with regard to ethnic language maintenance, and this was achieved by adopting the social psychological method as a guiding perspective of the study. This has allowed the researcher to focus on the individual's cognitive mechanisms that can influence language choice, instead of drawing generalised conclusions from objective factors on a macro-level. A qualitative research method was applied in the research, while one-on-one interviews and informal fieldwork observations were used as research instruments for the collection of data. Finally, Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-staged process of conducting thematic analysis was used to analyse the data and present how the coding process produced the main themes of the study, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

## Chapter Four:

# The Tagalog language in New Zealand

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In order to present the current background of the Tagalog language in New Zealand, the researcher reviewed the 2013 Census report on ethnicity and language in the country. This chapter has two sections: first is the presentation of the New Zealand Census data and it reflects some of the linguistic patterns revealed in Chapter Two, such as the high language retention rate in the first generation as compared to second-generation migrants. The second section focuses on the analysis of the 15 participants in the study, including their demographics and summary of their linguistic profiles.

### ***4.1. Filipinos and Tagalog Language in New Zealand***

One of the fastest growing ethnic communities in New Zealand, The Filipino ethnic community accounts for 40,347 people or one per cent of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013g). Between the 2006 and 2013 Censuses, its population increased by 138.2% compared with a 52.7% increase from 2001 to 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013h). Additionally, the Filipino community ranked fourth in residence approvals and second in the Skilled Migrant category (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2014). More than half of New Zealand's Filipino population live in the Auckland region, followed by 12.7% of the population living in Wellington and 12.1% in the Canterbury region (Statistics New Zealand, 2013g). In terms of birthplace, 34,356 Filipinos were born overseas while 5,652 Filipinos were born in New Zealand, as shown in Table 1 below.

Filipino-New Zealand migrants	Number of people	Percentage
New Zealand-born Filipinos	5,652	14.1%
Overseas-born Filipinos	34.356	85.9%

Table 1: Birthplace of Filipinos (Statistics New Zealand, 2013e)

Out of the overseas-born Filipinos, 98% were born in the Philippines. Davis and Starks (2005) found that the longer exposure of migrants to their home country generally equates to better ethnic language proficiency. With regard to age, New Zealand Census data reveal that 59.3% of overseas-born Filipinos or first-generation migrants are 30 years old and over, while 73.2% of New Zealand-born Filipinos or second-generation migrants are children under 15 years old as shown in Table 2.

This illustrates that more than half of overseas-born Filipinos migrating to New Zealand are adults of working age (18-65 years), reflecting recent statistics that showed high approval rates for Skilled Migrant visas for Filipino workers.

Age group (years)	Number NZ-born Filipinos	Percentage of NZ-born Filipinos	Number overseas-born Filipinos	Percentage of overseas-born Filipinos
14 and under	4,135	73.2%	5,517	15.9%
15-29	1,384	24.5%	8,605	24.8%
30-64	124	2.2%	19,743	56.9%
65 and over	6	0.1%	832	2.4%
Total	5,649	100%	34,697	100%

Table 2: Birthplace of Filipinos based on age group (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d)

Additionally, Table 2 shows that most second-generation Filipino migrants are children aged under 15, which indicates that the Filipino community is relatively new when compared to other ethnic communities with third or fourth generation migrants such as Dutch (Crezee, 2012) and Samoans (Roberts, 1999). The huge population increase in the Filipino community between 2006 and 2013 also reflects how the community is newly established, with 46% of overseas-born Filipinos having migrated to New Zealand in the past five years, while only 8.5% have lived here for 20 years or more (see Table 3).

Number of years	Number of people	Percentage
Less than 1 year	2,901	8.44%
1 year	2,784	8.10%
2 years	2,496	7.27%
3 years	2,736	7.96%
4 years	4,494	13.08%
5-9 years	10,131	29.49%
10-19 years	5,034	14.65%
20 years or more	2,922	8.51%
Not included elsewhere (unidentified response)	861	2.51%
Total	34,356	100%

Table 3: First-generation migrants by years since arrival (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d)

Table 3 indicates that a little more than a quarter of first-generation Filipino migrants moved to New Zealand a decade ago or longer. This relatively long exposure to the English language could explain why some overseas-born migrants cannot speak Tagalog anymore. The 2013 New Zealand Census also showed the languages mostly spoken by the Filipino migrants. English is the most widely used language in the Filipino-New Zealand community, spoken by 95.9% or 38,127 Filipinos, while Tagalog is ranked second with 66.3% speakership (Statistics New Zealand, 2013f). With regard to Tagalog literacy and age, the researcher found that the

older a person is, the more likely he/she can speak the Filipino language. Table 4 shows that 91.58% of Filipinos aged 65 and over are Tagalog speakers as compared to only 42.89% of those aged 14 and under.

Age group	Number of people	Number of Tagalog speakers	Percentage
Under 15	9,681	4,152	42.89%
15-29	9,954	6,858	68.9%
30-64	19,860	17,229	86.75%
65 and over	855	783	91.58%

Table 4: Tagalog speakers by age group (Statistics New Zealand, 2013f)

Results suggest different conclusions. First, young Filipinos who live in New Zealand could find it challenging to learn Tagalog given that English is the language of the majority. Although New Zealand is becoming a more multicultural and multilingual society, Tagalog language exposure for most Filipino children can still be often limited to a few private and semi-private domains. Another factor of language loss could be the parents' attitudes towards ethnic language maintenance. As seen in some of the international Filipino language maintenance studies (Angeles, 2015; Chan, 2003; Dumanig *et al.*, 2013; Espiritu, 1994; Yamamoto, 2005), some Filipinos did not see it fit for their children to learn Tagalog in an English-speaking country, and Filipino-New Zealand migrants could exhibit similar attitudes. In addition, overseas Tagalog maintenance research had recorded that second-generation Filipino migrants were leaning towards a language shift (Nical, 2000; Axel, 2011; Angeles, 2015). Table 4 shows a similar pattern wherein the majority of Filipinos aged under 15 do not speak Tagalog. Understanding the linguistic attitudes and behaviours of Filipino migrants in New Zealand, as the aim of the research, could therefore shed more light on the status quo.

Second, the data reaffirms some of the observations made in Chapter Two, one of which was the high ethnic language retention rate among the first generation and newly-established communities (Kim & Starks, 2005), and this is reflected in the number of Tagalog speakers in the Filipino ethnic community (Statistics New Zealand, 2013f). There is also a quarter of the overseas-born Filipino migrants who have lived in New Zealand for 10 years or more (see Table 3), which could explain why a quarter of all overseas-born Filipinos can no longer speak the Tagalog language. Literature suggests that there is often a decrease in bilingual speakers in migrant groups who have been exposed longer to the dominant language of their adoptive country (Roberts, 2005; Kuiper, 2005). This could also explain why the majority of New Zealand-born Filipinos cannot speak the Tagalog language (Statistics New Zealand, 2013f).

Overall, the New Zealand census data suggests that Tagalog in the Filipino-New Zealand community is in a healthy state as the majority of its members can speak it. However, early signs of language shift are evident, as the Filipino age profile shows that Tagalog is not being spoken by 57.11% of second-generation migrants under 15 years old. The challenge in ethnic

language transmission is maintaining Tagalog among the second-generation migrants, and one way to determine this is to examine the attitudes and behaviours of their first generation counterparts in ethnic language maintenance. For this reason, this thesis focuses on examining the attitudes and behaviours of 15 first-generation Filipino migrants in relation to ethnic language maintenance in New Zealand.

#### **4.2. Participants' demographics**

The New Zealand Census data gives an overall view of the state of Tagalog in New Zealand, but the main data from the study come from a micro study of 15 first-generation Filipino migrants and their reported attitudes and behaviours towards ethnic language maintenance. This section discusses the profiles and demographics of the participants and provides information on their migration and language preferences. As discussed in Chapter Two, the personal experiences and views of migrants are some of the key components that can influence their attitudes and behaviours regarding heritage language maintenance (Roberts, 2005; Lee, 2013). Moreover, an individual's linguistic background, upbringing, and environment can all contribute to his/her worldviews and perceptions on language use. Table 5 summarises the participants' demographics, employing pseudonyms to protect their identities.

Name	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Partner's ethnicity	Number of children
Charice	F	22	Single	Filipino	n/a
Pedro	M	25	Single	Kiwi/Pākehā	n/a
Mary	F	51	Married	Filipino	4
Alberto	M	57	Married	Filipino	4
Kacelyn	F	23	Single	Filipino	n/a
Jim	M	27	Single	Filipino	n/a
Monica	F	34	Married	Kiwi/Pākehā	n/a
Wendy	F	49	Married	Kiwi/Pākehā	1
Leonisa	F	45	Married	Filipino	4
Annabel	F	40	Married	Indian	2
Matt	M	25	Single	Korean	n/a
Lester	M	25	Single	n/a	n/a
Vivian	F	56	Married	Dutch	2
Sabrina	F	24	Single	n/a	n/a
Armando	M	38	Married	Filipino	2

Table 5: Participants' demographics

The median age of the 15 participants was 36 years, almost six years higher than the median age of the entire New Zealand-Filipino ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d). There were also more female participants than males, a common occurrence in other language maintenance studies and consistent with national figures identifying 55.7% of Filipinos in the country as female (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). The gender balance towards women could be one of the reasons why the majority of Filipinos in New Zealand can speak Tagalog, as Filipino women were more likely than Filipino men to be bilinguals, at 69.3% and 64.2% respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2013f).

At the time of the interview, 13 participants were in relationships; eight of which were married. Six participants had non-Filipino partners and seven had children who were born either in the Philippines, in New Zealand, or they had children before and after migration. The age of the participants' children ranged from two to 24 years, with the majority under 15 years.

#### **4.2.1. Migration and residency**

The participants were also asked general information about languages and experiences in migration, as summarised in Table 6. The table shows that most participants have lived in New Zealand for five to nine years, similar to the length of residency for most Filipino migrants (see Table 3). The analysis of interviews showed that one of the common reasons behind the participants' move to New Zealand was reunification with family members. Seven participants migrated to be with their parents or partners, while some transferred here to New Zealand first and then took their families with them a few years later. The participants' experiences in migration are illustrated in here through some of the interview excerpts gathered from the data collection process described in Chapter Three.

For instance, Alberto said he migrated to New Zealand with his entire family six years ago to find security. Despite feeling guilty for leaving the Philippines, his family's future and safety were much more important to him than his desire to stay in his motherland:

*Pagka dating namin dito, sila nagkanya-kanya na 'yang mga 'yan eh. Kasi para ma-feel naman, hindi na, hindi namin sila ma-feel na sinasakal namin sila. Kaya pinapabayaan namin sila kahit anong oras umuwi. Kasi alam naming secure sila rito.*

When we came here, my children started doing things on their own. It's because we don't want them to feel that we are too strict on them. We let them come home anytime they wish to. Because we know they are very secure here.

A study conducted by Aguirre (2014) on the construction of social media identity by New Zealand-based Filipinos revealed one of the subjects having feelings of guilt for abandoning his home country to find a better life overseas. Many Filipinos feel they are not given enough job opportunities back home, resulting into 2.4 million Filipinos seeking work overseas in 2015, according to data from the Philippine Statistics Authority (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016). Alberto said he believes that if everyone could have a good life in the Philippines, no one would want to leave the country.

Name	Age of migration	Years of residence	First language	Preferred language	Number of languages	Language in the household
Charice	16	6	Tagalog	English	3	English
Pedro	16	9	Tagalog	English	2	Tagalog
Mary	45	6	Tagalog	Tagalog	2	Tagalog
Alberto	51	6	Tagalog	Tagalog	2	Tagalog
Kacelyn	15	8	Ilokano	Ilokano	3	Ilokano
Jim	13	14	Tagalog	English	2	English
Monica	25	9	Tagalog	Tagalog	2	English
Wendy	22	27	Bisaya	English	3	English
Leonisa	40	5	Tagalog	Tagalog	2	Tagalog/ English
Annabel	25	15	Masbateño	English	2	English /Tagalog / Masbateño
Matt	18	7	Tagalog	Tagalog	2	Tagalog
Lester	16	8	Tagalog	Tagalog	3	Tagalog/ Bisaya
Vivian	31	25	Bikol	English	3	English
Sabrina	17	7	Tagalog	Tagalog	2	Tagalog / English
Armando	31	7	Tagalog	Tagalog	2	Tagalog

Table 6: Language and migration of participants

The interviews revealed that most participants, parents and non-parents alike, see New Zealand as a better place to raise children as compared to the Philippines. Despite this, the participants' recollections and stories about their lives in the Philippines suggest that there remains a deep connection between them and their home country. Most participants said they keep strong bonds with other Filipino migrants and tend to stay in touch with friends and family members back home. This is a good sign for ethnic language maintenance, as some studies have shown that the migrants' attachment to their home countries can increase the chances of a language being passed onto younger generations (Yang, 2011; Lee, 2013).

#### **4.2.2. Participants' linguistic profiles**

A summary of the participants' age and information on migration (as shown in Table 6) shows that nine participants moved to New Zealand between ages 15 and 29, five migrated here when they were aged 30 to 64, and one was 13 years old at the time of migration. This means that all

participants had been well exposed to their heritage language before migration, and this is reflected in the number of languages they know. Ten participants had identified themselves as bilinguals in Tagalog and English, while the remaining five were multilinguals with fluency in Tagalog, English, and the respective local dialect of their regional provinces in the Philippines (see Table 6). Two participants can speak Bisaya, although this is not the official name of the language. The term 'Bisaya' generally refers to languages in the Visayas and Mindanao regions in the Philippines.

During the interviews, all participants were asked to rate their ability in speaking Tagalog, to which 13 out of 15 participants categorised themselves as "good" or "very good" Tagalog speakers. Tagalog was also the language the participants used the most when talking with their families, friends, and other acquaintances during Filipino gatherings and events in New Zealand.

Table 6 also shows that the first language of the participants did not always reflect their preferred language. The participants' language at home, however, was the language they were most comfortable to use on a daily basis. One participant, Jim, said their language at home changed from Tagalog to English upon arrival to New Zealand. He was 13 years old then, and his parents started talking to him mostly in English. After 14 years of living in New Zealand, Jim said he was more comfortable speaking in English now:

*Sa bahay namin is we speak English. Tsaka sa mga kapatid ko, since we pretty much grew up here parang nawala 'yung Tagalog along the way. Kasi sa [rural area] kami, parang siguro nung at that time, siguro tatlo o apat lang 'yung Filipino families don. So isa lang 'yung kaibigan kong Pilipino dun. Yeah so parang, yes as time went on parang nawala unti-unti 'yung pagta-Tagalog namin.*

We speak English in our house, also with my siblings. Since we pretty much grew up here it's like we lost our fluency in Tagalog along the way. We lived in a [rural area], and at that time, maybe there were just three or four Filipino families living there. So I only had one Filipino friend. Yeah so as time went on it was like little by little we lost our ability to speak Tagalog.

Jim's experience demonstrates how language use in the home domain can influence and contribute to ethnic language loss. The languages the participants stated they use at home were mirrored in their most preferred language (see Table 6) except with two participants, Pedro and Monica, who both disclosed having Kiwi/Pākehā partners. This suggests that the language migrants use in the home domain will most likely be the language they are most comfortable to use in the long term, showing the effectiveness of home domain in ethnic language maintenance.

### **4.3. Chapter summary**

Following the general consensus on findings from international Filipino language maintenance studies, the condition of the Tagalog language should be in a healthy state within the Filipino-New Zealand community. This notion is well reflected in the 2013 New Zealand Census data, revealing that the majority of the Filipino migrants can speak their heritage language. However,

the census data does not reveal the attitudes and behaviours of the community on ethnic language maintenance, and it is the researcher's goal to uncover this. A review on the participants' demographic characteristics and information on migration and language use showed a resemblance with the overall demography of the New Zealand-Filipino community. It is in this regard that this study hopes to serve as a close representation of the Filipino community in terms of their attitudes and behaviours on heritage language maintenance.

## **Chapter Five:**

### **Maintenance of Tagalog and Shift to English**

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While it has been established in Chapter Four that Tagalog is currently maintained by the majority of Filipino migrants in New Zealand, it is not clear whether their attitudes and behaviours support successful ethnic language maintenance for the next generation. Factors affecting the attitudes and behaviours of the participants in this study suggest that they are in favour of ethnic language maintenance. However, a closer look at their personal experiences on language use shows that there is a significant shift to English within the second generation Filipino migrants. Chapter Five begins by presenting the major themes that emerged from the data analysis. It then moves to the discussion of the reasons behind the participants' desire for ethnic language maintenance, and proceeds to examine the other side of the issue that is their attitudinal and behavioural patterns showing language shift.

#### ***5.1. Factors influencing the participants' attitudes and behaviours***

In order to systematise the information collected from the participants, Thematic Analysis was done for the study. This process comprised of identifying themes from the dataset recorded from the interviews. The main themes discovered focused on examining factors that can affect the participants' attitudes and behaviours regarding language choice. These are the relationship of the participant with his/her ethnic group and host community, the role of language in the individual's cultural identity, and other people's expectations in ethnic language use. The themes discussed in this section attempt to identify what can influence ethnic language use among the participants and pave the way to the discussion of Tagalog language maintenance or shift later in this chapter.

##### ***5.1.1. Relations with ethnic group and host society***

Maintenance of minority languages often involves the creation of new social spaces and symbolic relations amongst different communities (Roberts, 2005). Some ethnic groups that do not intend to fully assimilate start to form and maintain boundaries in order to keep a social space that both the ethnic group and the host society respect and recognise (Roberts, 2005). Sometimes, migrants can feel hostile and suppressive attitudes from members of the host country toward the minority language, which can result either in assimilation or greater efforts in ethnic language maintenance (Yu, 2005). If it is the latter, relationships among members of the same ethnic community can be strengthened, which may increase the chance of cultural and language preservation as observed in the Samoan, Korean, and Gujarati communities in New Zealand (Johri 1998; Roberts, 1999).

The strong relationship among members of the Filipino-New Zealand ethnic group is one of the main themes that emerged from the analysis of 15 interviews. Most participants recognised the rising number of Filipinos living in New Zealand over the past few years, leading to an increase in Filipino organisations such as cultural and religious groups. It was not uncommon for most participants to overhear Filipinos in public places like bus stops, in the streets, and shopping malls, as shown in a comment below by Lester:

*Sanay na ko dun. Like hindi na ko masyadong nae-excite when I see Filipino here 'cause I know they're everywhere anyway. Kasi sa Wellington di'ba, like oh before, 10, oh sorry, nine years ago, kung nakakita ka ng Pilipino you get excited. You wanna talk to them. But now you know they're everywhere.*

I'm used to it. I don't get really excited now when I see Filipinos here 'cause I know they're everywhere anyway. Especially in Wellington, ten or nine years ago, when you see a Filipino you get excited. You wanna talk to them. But now you know they're everywhere.

Most participants said they were involved in different cultural associations and social clubs, while some had even pioneered organisations themselves. Vivian was active in two Filipino organisations, a religious group and a social club she helped established. Another participant, Wendy, and her non-Filipino husband, used to sponsor sports events for Filipino children and young adults. These kinds of involvement, sometimes even with their own family and relatives, show how Filipinos engage themselves as members of the ethnic community. Annabel encouraged her parents to join a couple of Filipino clubs when they first migrated to help them settle in. For her, participation in Filipino organisations can help migrants adjust to their new lives overseas:

*Isa 'yun sa mga must-have activities, must-haves para maka-survive ka ng buhay sa overseas ano? Kailangan lagi kang interconnected tsaka kailangang 'yun nga, naka-touch base ka lagi dun sa activities ng Pinoy. Kasi isa rin 'yun sa way na kahit papano naa-ano yung lungkot mo sa Pilipinas.*

It is one of the must-have activities for us to survive our lives overseas, right? We have to stay interconnected and always touch base through different activities with other Filipinos. It's one way to relieve ourselves of sadness from being away from the Philippines.

Studies on ethnic language maintenance in New Zealand suggest that migrants can either create social boundaries within their ethnic groups (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1984; 'Aipolo & Holmes, 1990) or form bonds and assimilate into the host society (Roberts, 1999). For the participants in this study, their close relationship with their ethnic group did not hinder them from settling in and embracing the Kiwi culture as part of their own. Most participants had formed good relationships with their host country in terms of establishing social and cultural connections. Additionally, being with their families and staying interconnected with other Filipino migrants made it easier for them to settle in their new environment.

One of the indicators of a positive relationship to their host country could be the steady rise of Filipino migrants in New Zealand. Filipinos are now increasingly becoming more noticeable especially in cities like Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch where the majority of Filipino migrants live (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d). This is also reflected in the growing ties between

the New Zealand and Philippine governments. Since 2014, both countries have offered working holiday visas for 100 of its citizens who wish to live and work in either of the two countries for up to a year. The Filipino Channel (TFC), a network affiliated with a Philippine broadcast television channel, ABS-CBN, was launched by Sky TV in early 2016 to cater to the growing demand of Filipino viewers in New Zealand. This current study found that the participants' connection to their host country was characterised by their closeness with non-Filipinos, an appreciation of the Kiwi lifestyle and New Zealand itself. Annabel, who has lived in Wellington for 15 years, expressed that she considers New Zealand her home now, especially with her parents already living here:

*'Yung simplicity ng buhay na 'yun na-appreciate nila. Natuwa naman ako kasi 'yun din 'yung nagustuhan ko sa New Zealand. Simple lang. May buhay ka after work. Work-life balance ika nga.*

They [my parents] appreciated the simplicity of life here. I was happy because that's what I liked about New Zealand as well. It's very simple. You have a life after work, or what they call a work-life balance.

The participants' narratives suggest that relationships with their ethnic group can affect their attitudes and behaviours when choosing a language. Specifically, the closer the participants were with other Filipino migrants, the more likely they were inclined to use the ethnic language. In addition, the researcher found that all participants used their ethnic languages regularly regardless of their preferred languages and the length of their residency in the host country. Using Tagalog seemed to have created an instant connection between the participants and other Filipino migrants and encouraged a deeper sense of camaraderie in the community. Moreover, the participants' testimonies suggest that being surrounded by other Filipinos in different social gatherings and cultural events tended to create spaces in which they could speak their heritage language. Through active involvement in the Filipino community, the participants appeared to have been reintroduced to certain aspects of their old lives, including, but not limited to talking in Tagalog with fellow Filipinos.

According to the literature, another factor that could influence the community's attitude towards its language is the view of the wider society towards the ethnic group (Starks, 2005). None of the participants claimed to have received any hostile treatment or experiences from New Zealand. In contrast, most of them reported they had developed good relationships with non-Filipinos which contributed to positive views and attitudes of migrants. Although they acknowledged that migrating to New Zealand meant adapting to the language of the majority, most participants said they feel comfortable enough to use their ethnic language both in private and public domains. For Lester and Sabrina, migrating to New Zealand did not mean losing their heritage language as they believe they should still be able to use it despite living in an English-dominant society:

*Sila [The others], they can speak their own language, why can't you? Di'ba 'yung mga [Like the] Chinese nga [right], they even like, talk really, really loud. They don't even care. So why would you even care what other people think? Do what's comfortable with you.*

*Hindi ko naman parang tinatanggal sa isip ko na o puro English na pagdating dito... Hindi porket nasa ibang bansa ka, you would just lose it [Tagalog]... 'Yun 'yung parang comfort mo na "oh this is me. This is like home" parang 'pag [nagsasalita ka] sa Tagalog.*

I didn't really think that oh, I'd only use English all the time when I came here... Just because you're in a different country, you would lose it [Tagalog]... It's like a comfort for me, that "oh this is me. This is like home" when I talk in Tagalog.

Sabrina

During the interviews, none of the participants shared any experiences of discriminatory remarks or any pressure from New Zealanders to fully assimilate into the host society. In contrast, other studies showed that Māori and Dutch communities in New Zealand felt this pressure, leading most of its members to shift to English in order to integrate into the dominant society (Kuiper, 2005; Spolsky, 2005). For the Filipino community, the welcoming attitude of most New Zealanders led participants to being open to using Tagalog to the point where some even taught Tagalog to non-Filipino colleagues. Therefore, a good relationship with the host society also contributes to the participants' overall attitudes and behaviours in ethnic language usage.

### **5.1.2. Language and cultural identity**

Often viewed as a core element of heritage language maintenance is the concept of cultural identity (Roberts, 1999). It is characterised by Belich and Wevers (2008) as groups of people having the same artistic culture, customs, habits, language, values, and practices. These aspects are "shared" within the group and are seen to be distinctive (Belich & Wevers, 2008). The researcher found that among the 15 participants, views on cultural identity was seen as a factor affecting linguistic choices. The relationship of language and cultural identity was then seen as another main theme covering this study.

Overall, the participants had mixed opinions regarding the importance of language with respect to their identity. Around half of the participants felt it was necessary to maintain one's ability to speak their ethnic language as part of being a Filipino. This is reflected in a comment below by Armando:

*Pagka puro ka English dito, pumunta ka sa atin, para ka na ngang turista kapag panay ang English mo. Tapos ang kulay mo naman ay garneng kayumangging-kayumanggi bago pa-English English? Ay 'di gang katawa-tawang tignan, di'ga? Kung ikaw ay Pilipino, ay Pilipino ka. Kung ikaw ay puti, eh 'di puti ka. 'Yun ang aking prinsipyo.*

If you speak English all the time and you come to our home country, you would actually seem like a tourist who speaks English. But then your skin colour is brown and you speak in English all the time? You would look a bit ridiculous, wouldn't you? If you are a Filipino, then you are Filipino. If you are white, then you're white. That's my principle.

In his statement above, Armando attaches not only his ethnic language to his cultural identity but also his physical appearance. Because of his skin colour, it seemed unnatural for him to speak any other language aside from Tagalog. This puts more value on his ethnic language as

a vital part of his cultural identity. During his interview, Armando chose to describe himself as “*Pilipinong nakikitira lang sa New Zealand*” which means a Filipino who is just staying in New Zealand. His statements depicted that of someone who takes a deep pride in being Filipino and proudly shows that his identity will never change even if he decides to live in his host country permanently. Another participant, Pedro, said that using his own language sets him apart from anyone else and shows that he is a proud Filipino:

*Kasi ‘pag nandito ka kunwari, magi-English kayo nang magi-English kahit Pinoy ‘yung kausap mo, magi-English ka... Parang hindi ka proud sa sarili mong language. Parang tinatago mo. Kaya gusto kong mag-Tagalog kahit nandito. Kahit may mga puti sa tabi natin ngayon. Kahit may mga Kiwi gusto ko pa ring mag-Tagalog.*

When you live here, and you speak in English the entire time even if you’re talking with another Filipino... it’s like you are not proud of your own language. It’s like you are hiding it. That’s why I want to speak in Tagalog even though I live here. Even if there are some white people near us. Even if there are Kiwis I still want to speak in Tagalog.

This statement shows two points: first is Pedro’s desire to separate himself from New Zealanders by speaking his ethnic language in public domains; second is the intention to be seen as a member of the ethnic community by proudly using Tagalog. Other participants, like Lester and Alberto, expressed the same sentiments of using Tagalog consistently and viewing it as a necessary part of their cultural identities.

In contrast, some participants did not see their ethnic language as part of their cultural identity. For instance, Vivian said she still sees her children identifying themselves as members of the Filipino community despite their inability to speak Tagalog. Matt also said that defining one’s cultural identity should be beyond having the ability to speak your own language and not something that could be accomplished by ticking off certain skills and qualities on a list. Monica shared a similar view, as reflected in the quote below:

Being a Filipino... *hindi naman nakikita sa language ‘yun eh.* I mean, you know it’s not because *marunong kang mag-Tagalog or marunong ka, ‘yung fluent ka sa Tagalog,* you’re a real Filipino. So *nasa personality mo pa din yon tsaka* how you bring in the culture... like we’re in a foreign country, we should speak their language. *Di’ba? Parang tayong ano, syempre* they don’t know our language, lucky *lang tayo alam nating i-speak ‘yung language nila.*

Being a Filipino... you don’t see that in the language. I mean, you know it’s not because you can speak Tagalog, or you are fluent in Tagalog, you’re a real Filipino. It’s about your personality and what you bring to the culture... like we are in a foreign country, we should speak their language. Right? It’s like, they don’t know our language and we’re lucky enough that we can understand and speak their language.

The narratives on cultural identity and its relation to language maintenance led the researcher to conclude that participants who deemed their language as an integral part of their cultural identities had strong convictions on wanting their children to learn their ethnic language. This includes participants who were already parents and those planning to have children in the future. In contrast, those who did not consider language as vital part of their identities said it was fine if their children cannot speak their ethnic language. This was despite their belief in the importance of maintaining Tagalog in the Filipino-New Zealand community. The results reflect findings from other cultural identity studies (Aivazian, 1995; May, 2012; Lee, 2013), indicating

that an individual's view on ethnic language as part of his/her cultural identity can influence their attitudes and behaviours towards language maintenance. In other words, the success of ethnic language maintenance in the community can be significantly affected by its members' views on language as core to their identities.

### **5.1.3. Expectations of language use**

Another main theme derived from the study was the effect of other people's expectations on the participants' use of a certain language. Some individuals can be subjected to the "perceived social pressure for the implementation or non-implementation of the behaviour at hand," (Maitz, 2011, p. 163) in this case, the use or non-use of their ethnic language. Maitz (2011) explained that public pressure, norms, and expectations can at times be very strong that an individual may give in despite having negative attitudes towards the behaviour. He suggested that this pressure would be influenced by two factors, namely expectations of the people relevant to the individual (e.g. family members, friends, husband), and the individual's personal motivation to meet those expectations.

The analysis of the interviews in this study revealed that expectations from other people relevant to the individual affected the participants' overall attitudes and behaviours toward ethnic language maintenance. Regardless whether they had positive or negative views towards the expectation, most participants showed their desire to fulfil the expectation by switching or adjusting to the preferred language of the people they were conversing with. For instance, the majority of participants said they use their ethnic language when conversing with their parents since they were accustomed to speak their ethnic tongue when addressing the elderly. One participant, Matt, described feeling an expectation from his parents to use Tagalog for the purposes of understanding each other better. Vivian also commented on feeling a certain expectation from her parents to talk in *Bikol*, her first language, at all times:

*Sabi ko nga parang wardo naman sa kanila na parents ko, kausapin ko ng English. Kasi parang "ang layo mo naman anak"! Para bang... "di ka na... di ka na ba marunong mag-Bikol?"*

I feel weird if I talk to my parents in English. It's like them saying I'm so high up that I can only talk to them in English. It's like them saying, "Don't you know how to speak in *Bikol* anymore?"

In contrast, four participants said they did not feel their parents expected them to use a certain language when talking to one another. These participants were all in their mid-twenties, which could suggest that their parents were younger and possibly more exposed to the English language as compared to participants with older parents. With regard to the participants' partners, the ones with non-Filipino partners reported that they were expected to use English and those with Filipino partners said they were expected to use Tagalog. It was only Charice who would speak in English with her Filipino partner despite the fact that both could speak Tagalog.

An analysis of the interviews revealed that most participants tend to change their language choices based on the linguistic abilities of the person they were speaking with, which in turn, affect their behaviours on ethnic language use. When surrounded by family members and relatives, most participants felt compelled to use Tagalog regardless of their level of ethnic language fluency. Additionally, these expectations were not only from close individuals to the participants but also from the wider Filipino community. In gatherings involving Filipinos, most participants said there was a pressure to use their ethnic language as they felt they were expected to do so. The effects of the pressure from the wider Filipino community in terms of ethnic language maintenance are discussed in more detail in the next section.

The overall examination of the study's main themes suggests that the Tagalog language is well-maintained and used by most participants, and the factors affecting their attitudes and behaviours are leaning towards ethnic language maintenance. However, as presented in the next section, a closer look on the participants' personal experiences on their ethnic language and their actions toward its maintenance suggest that Tagalog is in danger of being lost within the second generation Filipino migrants.

## **5.2. Reasons for Ethnic Language Maintenance**

### **5.2.1. Language for family and elders**

Numerous international and local studies on ethnic languages have established the connection between family and language maintenance as discussed in Chapter Two. Most research focus on the family and intergenerational shift (Barkhuizen *et al.*, 2006) for "without families there is no language maintenance" (Roberts, 1999, p. 133). For most Filipinos, family is one of the primary aspects of their culture. This is shown in Angeles' (2015) study of Filipino-Americans where most participants considered their families as the centre of their understanding of what it means to be a Filipino. This made them value their families more and attach their identities to the relationship they have with their parents and siblings (Angeles, 2015).

For this study's participants, the strong relationship with their families is one of the reasons for ethnic language maintenance. Findings show that the majority of participants used their ethnic language when interacting with parents, siblings, and extended family members as it is the language they have been accustomed to. Most participants also deemed Tagalog as the more appropriate language to show respect to elderly such as one's parents, uncles, aunties, and grandparents. Matt said that conversing in his ethnic language allows him to use respectful words in Filipino cannot really be translated literally into English:

*Kapag ganong mga situation kung saan mapipilitan akong mag-English sa magulang ko pakiramdam ko parang dahil walang po at opo sa English, parang pakiramdam ko parang medyo... parang hindi magalang yung pagsasalita. Kasi kapag sasabihin mo sa magulang mo "you" parang "you po." Parang ang weird na walang po sa dulo ng sinasabi ko... ah parang hindi magalang, parang weird.*

In situations when I have to talk to my parents in English because there is no literal translation in English for Tagalog words showing respect, I feel that it's a bit rude. If you

address your parents as “you” it feels weird that there is no translation for *po* which is an essential word to respectfully address the elderly. It’s weird for me.

This statement was supported by Pedro, who viewed the use of Tagalog as a way to show his respect to the elderly:

*Sa atin meron tayong mga terms na tito, tita, hindi natin tinatawag by first name ‘yung mga matatanda sa atin so... mas marespeto tayo sa isat-isa.*

In our language we have terms like *tito* [uncle], *tita* [auntie], and we don’t just call older people by their first names so... I think Filipinos are more respectful of one another.

Tagalog was frequently used in the participants’ homes as most of them lived with their parents, siblings, and extended family members. Living with one’s family regardless of age is a cultural norm in the Philippines, with the expectation to stay with one’s parents until marriage. Most of the participants’ living situation in the host country gives an avenue for ethnic language use and affirms the strong relationship they have with their families. Findings from the interview also reveal that participants who have extended families in New Zealand often develop close relationships with each other through get-togethers and special occasions, creating more opportunities for ethnic language use.

It could be seen in the data that Tagalog use in the participants’ households and respect for the elderly were two intertwined concepts. This interconnectedness ultimately relates to ethnic language maintenance in the family domain. Participants who live with their families in the host country did not only use Tagalog because they find it most comfortable but also to show respect for their parents and elder relatives. For participants who still had their parents living in the Philippines, phone conversations would be in their ethnic language for similar reasons.

### **5.2.2. Expressing humour and extreme emotions**

Another reason for ethnic language maintenance is to convey specific human emotions such as humour. It is often common for migrants to regard their ethnic language as a language to express emotions, and such was seen in South African and Chilean communities in New Zealand (Barkhuizen & Knock, 2006; Lee, 2013). In this study, expressing humour did not only reflect a common Filipino trait but also showed how quickly someone could articulate themselves in their ethnic languages. Some participants, like Annabel, thought that expressing one’s humour in English would not give the same effect as when spoken in Tagalog:

*May mga things kasi like for instance, ‘yung mga joke, ang hirap nun i-joke sa English eh! Iba ‘yung dating... minsan kapag ka meron nang sa work usually meron nang mga parang Friday lunch outs, ‘yung mga ganyan. Magkakasamang mga Pinoy, ayan kwentuhan ng Tagalog. Joke joke ng Tagalog. Tawanan. Ibang-iba ‘yung Tagalog ‘pag... alam mo naman tayong mga Pilipino ‘pag nagkwento parang ang bilis bilis lang maka-isip ng punch lines!*

There are some things like jokes, which are hard to say in English! They have a different effect... For instance, sometimes at work we have Friday lunch outs, Filipinos gather together, telling stories in Tagalog. Telling jokes in Tagalog, laughing to them, it’s really different... well you know when Filipinos tell their stories it’s like we think of punch lines straight away!

Kacelyn shared the same observation that Filipino humour would lose its essence when translated into a different language. For Sabrina, expressing herself in Tagalog was sometimes inevitable especially in cases of expressing humour. Most participants would also use Tagalog to convey extreme emotions, saying they feel more unrestricted venting their anger or frustration in their ethnic language, as shown in a comment below by Lester:

*'Pag galit na galit ka like... parang 'pag English 'yung gamit mo like, parang iba siya. Hindi mo malalabas 'yung galit mo, that you can't parang magmumura ka or parang iba 'yung English way, iba 'yung Filipino way. So if you can release it through a certain language then just use that, I guess.*

When you are really angry... it seems different when you use English. You can't really release your anger, you can't use swear words or it's different when expressed in English than in Filipino. So if you can release it through a certain language then just use that, I guess.

Another participant, Armando, preferred using Tagalog on a daily basis, more so when he wanted to express extreme emotions. He said that Tagalog cannot be fully translated into English, and expressing himself in the latter would not reflect what he truly means:

*Maraming wikang Pilipino na mahirap totally, one is to one, i-translate sa English. Marami. Hindi mo mae-express 'yung tunay mong gustong sabihin. 'Yung tunay mong sabihin sa English at Tagalog. 'Pag Tagalog ka, 'yung expression mo is mas, 'yung salita mo mas accurate kumpara sa English. Tamo, subukan mong magmura ka sa English. Hindi mo feel. Pero magmura ka sa Tagalog at ay galit na galit, ramdam na ramdam mo ika'y galit, di'ga?*

Many words in the Filipino language cannot be directly translated into English, like one is to one. You can't express what you truly want to say. It's different in English and Tagalog. In Tagalog, your expression and words are more accurate as compared with English. Look, try and use swear words in English. You won't feel the emotions as much. But if you use swear words in Tagalog and you're very mad, you can really feel that you're mad, right?

Other participants would also use Tagalog to express anger even when they could not be understood by the person they would be speaking with. For instance, Vivian's children were not Tagalog speakers, but she would end up using the language to them when frustrated. Monica did the same with her Kiwi/Pākehā husband, who barely understands Tagalog. This shows that the use of Tagalog when expressing anger can also be an involuntary action, similar with expressing humour.

The participants' preference to use Tagalog when expressing humour, anger, or frustration shows the emotional connection they have with their ethnic language. A study of the Chilean community revealed that most participants felt more comfortable expressing deep emotions in their ethnic language despite being fluent in both English and Spanish (Lee, 2013). Similarly, the participants in this study were bilinguals and multilinguals, but most were attuned to using their ethnic languages when expressing deeper emotions. They believed that translating humour and anger in English would not produce the same intensity and meaning. This is important in ethnic language maintenance as it puts a specific function in the use of the Tagalog language. Ethnic language use within the Filipino-New Zealand migrant community might be

consistent if it continues to be the language of emotion for Filipinos, as seen in most of the participants in this study.

### **5.2.3. Perceived advantages of bilingualism**

Bilingualism is often recognised as benefitting one's academic development and is considered an advantage to the individual's personal and economic value (Baker, 2006; Lee, 2013). Findings of the study reveal that some participants viewed the maintenance of their ethnic language as an advantage to remain bilinguals. Although English has a higher status in education, the government and media, both in New Zealand (Bell *et al.*, 2005) and in the Philippines (Azada-Palacios *et al.*, 2012), Tagalog has its own value as a language for intimate relationships with family, friends, and fellow Filipino acquaintances (Aivazian, 1995). For Leonisa, knowing how to speak Tagalog did not only allow her to communicate with friends and relatives in the Philippines but also gave her an added skill, similar to knowing other foreign languages:

*Iba pa rin 'yung marunong kang mag-Tagalog. Dagdag pa rin 'yun ng language sa'yo. Ah, bukod sa English, di'ba Tagalog. Tapos di'ba dito rin merong mga languages na ino-offer as subjects. So additional knowledge pa rin 'yun na alam pa ring mag-Tagalog.*

It's still different if you know how to speak Tagalog. It's an additional language for you. Especially here, they even offer other languages as subjects. For you, it's already additional knowledge if you are able to communicate in Tagalog.

Being bilingual also meant having the option to choose a preferred language for a particular subject at a specific time. Annabel, for instance, would freely switch between Tagalog and English:

*Actually sa office amazed na amazed sila sa'min. Kasi 'yung mga Filipino kong officemates, 'pag nagdi-discuss kami parang nagugulat sila kasi 'yung mga salita namin di'ba bigla ka na lang nag-i-English combination 'yun, Taglish, Taglish, Taglish, Taglish! Sabi nila "How do you do that"? Sabi namin "we've always been like this" kahit sa Pilipinas na 'pag, 'pag nage-explain ka, 'yung nahihirapan kang sabihin sa Tagalog, i-explain mo sa English. Tapos vice-versa, parang ang ganda di'ba?*

Actually in my office they're very amazed. When I discuss something with other Filipinos, the rest of my officemates would be shocked because of the words we use and how we usually combine Tagalog and English, *Taglish, Taglish, Taglish, Taglish, Taglish!* They ask, "How do you do that"? And we say, "We've always been like this". Even in the Philippines when we explain and sometimes it's hard to use Tagalog, we would explain it in English, and vice-versa. It's really good, right?

Other participants shared similar views. Vivian, who has lived in New Zealand for 25 years, said she is proud to still be fluent in Tagalog and her first language, *Bikol*, and regarded her multilingualism an advantage. Kacelyn also appreciated the convenience of switching from English to Tagalog whenever she wanted to keep a conversation "private" from non-Tagalog speakers. Similarly, Matt used his first language in public domains sometimes to deliberately exclude non-Tagalog speakers from the conversation:

*Kasi minsan may aasarin kaming tao o kaya meron kaming pag-uusapan na ayaw naming may ibang makaintindi, so magta-Tagalog kami nun.*

Sometimes we would tease somebody or there is something we're talking about that we don't want anyone else to understand. That's the time we speak Tagalog.

This view was shared by Pedro, who even characterised his use of Tagalog as a “secret code” among Filipinos:

*Kasi nagiging parang personal communication tool namin 'yung Tagalog when we're in public. So, parang 'yun 'yung secret ano namin, like codes na hindi naman tayo code, naiintindihan ng ibang Pinoy, pero still.*

Tagalog becomes our personal communication tool when we're in public. It's like our secret code. Not necessarily a code because other Filipinos can understand, but it still works that way.

These experiences in using the ethnic language, whether it is to keep their bilingualism intact or as a personal communication tool, were different from the views of other ethnic communities in New Zealand, where assimilation to the dominant language and English monolingualism were seen as ideal by the host society (Kuiper, 2005; Spolsky, 2005). The increase in New Zealand's ethnic diversity and the government's support for multiculturalism seemed to have encouraged ethnic communities to become more open in expressing their culture. Speaking a language aside from English is more common now than it was two decades ago (Lee, 2013). This could be an indicator of the participants' openness to use their ethnic language and appreciate its advantages, especially in a multicultural society like New Zealand.

#### **5.2.4. Pressure from the community**

Although ethnic languages should be ideally transmitted within the family, its maintenance within the larger ethnic community is also seen as important (Roberts, 1999). For ethnic communities, fluency in both ethnic and common languages is an effective way to become involved in the wider society while keeping their relationship intact within their ethnic group. Most participants in this study viewed Tagalog as the expected language in functions and gatherings within the Filipino community. Sometimes, this expectation by members of the ethnic community was implied, in other instances, it was explicitly requested, as shown in Charice's statement below:

He [My partner] just got really embarrassed with me when I went to that rock concert and I was speaking English. Like, just to him, he was like “speak in Tagalog” ‘cause everyone was staring.

Despite her preference to use English, Charice showed a clear attachment to Tagalog by viewing it as an important part of her Filipino heritage. This seemed to work well for her to also re-learn the language especially as she was expected by her partner to use Tagalog in Filipino gatherings. Other participants also made it a point to use Tagalog when surrounded by other Filipinos to avoid being tagged as snobs and elitists. This stigma was explained in Chapter Two where English was considered the language of colonisers in the Philippines and had been attached to the exclusive use of oligarchs, elites, and the educated (Burton, 2013; Tollefson, as cited in Baker, 2006). This is an ideology that was reflected in some of the participants' views on language use, as shown in a statement below by Pedro:

*'Pag pumunta ako sa Filipino gathering na lahat Pinoy na nagta-Tagalog tapos magi-English ako sa kanila, sino 'yung mukhang out of place? Sino 'yung mukhang bobo? Ako. Tsaka titignan nila ako na parang, "Ano 'to, does he think so high of himself that he can't even use his own language?" 'Yun 'yung ayokong tingin sa akin ng mga tao. Kaya nagta-Tagalog ako.*

If I go to a Filipino gathering where everyone speaks Tagalog, and then I'll speak in English, who would become out of place? Who would look like a fool? I would. They would judge me and probably think, "What now, does he think so high of himself that he can't even use his own language?" I don't want other people to think of me that way. That's why I speak Tagalog.

Another participant, Leonisa, did not want other people thinking her children were snobs who cannot speak their ethnic language just because they live in New Zealand. This is the reason why she wanted to teach her children Tagalog in case they visit the Philippines:

*Pagbalik nila ng 'Pinas, madali pa rin silang makipag-communicate sa ano. Hindi sila 'yung parang naiiba. Syempre sa'tin sa 'Pinas nakarating lang ng ano, hindi na marunong mag... 'yung mga impression na ganon? Parang mayabang na, ganon*

When they go to the Philippines, it would be easier for them to communicate. They won't feel like outsiders. There is also this common impression wherein some would think just because we live in another country we can't speak [Tagalog]... you know, something like that? Like you're a snob or something.

In the Philippine society, the push for English in education created tension between communities (Burton, 2013), which led to the use of English becoming associated with the elite and educated people. This produces another social stigma that English is for the elite, as described below by Wendy:

Because some of them [Filipinos] are new, I'm trying to speak Tagalog to these people. So yeah... Cos I don't wanna give them the wrong impression that, "oh yeah, she's stuck up... speaking English because she's here in New Zealand" but some people doesn't (sic) know me.

Wendy struggled to connect with other Tagalog speakers because her first language was *Bisaya*, a major regional language in the central part of the Philippines with around 20 million speakers. Three other participants also learned regional languages as their first language, however, it was only Wendy who found it challenging to connect with other Tagalog speakers. After 27 years in New Zealand, Wendy admitted to being more comfortable using English, even as she continued to learn Tagalog as a way of connecting with other Filipino migrants:

I'm actually more fluent in Tagalog now, you know?... [Sometimes I would explain], "If you're Tagalog, sorry I have to speak a little bit of English." I think now I'm trying, trying to be fluent in Tagalog. (laughs) Trying hard.

The statements above illustrate how most participants did not want to be regarded as snobs and elitists by speaking in English all the time, especially in gatherings surrounded by other Filipinos. Using their ethnic language appeared to give the participants a sense of belongingness to the community as well as a seal of approval from members of the ethnic group. However, the pressure to speak Tagalog with other Filipinos did not only come from the wider community, but also from the participants themselves, as shown in Lester's comment below:

[With] adults I'm pretty sure they can speak Tagalog so *kahit na nagi-English sila sa'kin* [even if they are talking to me in English] I will speak Tagalog until they speak Tagalog back. *Kasi* [Because] I believe like older people, like they should know *kasi hindi naman sila dito lumaki* [because they didn't grow up here] or whatever. Depending on who you're talking with. Like if we're talking about 30 to 40 years old, I'm pretty sure they can speak Tagalog, they just don't want to.

The statement above shows another preconceived notion that older Filipino migrants are expected to speak Tagalog because they should know how to. This matches Wendy's experience when other Filipinos would expect her to speak Tagalog based on her age. Another participant, Kacelyn, shared her views on the Filipino language and how she thought recent migrants should still regularly use it:

*Ayoko ng ganun nga eh! 'Yung ini, tina-Tagalog mo na tapos nagi-English pa nabi-bwiset ako. Nabi-bwiset ako parang alam mo namang mag-Tagalog di'ba? I find that ano, in Auckland... Kinakausap ko sila [ng] Tagalog 'tas nagi-English sila. Tas sabi ko "ilang taon ka na pala dito?" tas parang three years lang pala sila! Parang ano ba 'yan, ang arte naman nito!*

I don't like it when I'm talking to someone in Tagalog and they respond in English. I find it annoying. They know how to speak in Tagalog anyway, right? I find that in Auckland... I was talking to some people there in Tagalog and they responded in English. I then asked them, "how many years have you lived here?" and it was like only for three years! It's so pretentious.

These statements show how some participants also put the pressure on other Filipino migrants to speak their ethnic language. Moreover, a couple of participants felt that older and recent migrants should speak Tagalog as they are the ones who should know how to. These types of belief systems may influence the Filipino migrants' desire to maintain their ethnic language in order to conform to what is perceived as being "good" members of their ethnic community. Maitz (2011) explained that certain human behaviours can be predicted based on different factors, one of which is the social pressure from the community to implement an expected action/behaviour, in this case, ethnic language use in social and cultural Filipino gatherings. Consequently, all participants in the study exhibited behaviours that show they are yielding to the pressure from other ethnic members to use their ethnic language. Using Tagalog in Filipino functions and conforming to the expectations of their ethnic group can solidify good relationships with other Filipino migrants and also reaffirm their personal beliefs in ethnic language use.

#### **5.2.5. Regular visits to the Philippines**

Since their migration to New Zealand, most participants made it a point to visit their home country every now and again. Thirteen out of 15 participants had travelled back to the Philippines at least once since migrating to New Zealand, while the other two said they have plans to visit in the future. During the interviews, most participants said they would normally take their families with them during their visits, especially since it would allow their children or relatives to use and harness their Tagalog skills. Pedro said that once he becomes a father, it will be necessary for his children to learn Tagalog for practicality:

*Gusto ko rin magsalita sila. Iba pa rin 'yung, kapag dadalhin, kapag pupunta kami ng Pilipinas, maganda na kaya niyang... Kung mawala siya, kaya niyang makipag-usap na Tagalog.*

I want them to learn how to speak [Tagalog]. It's still different when I bring them to the Philippines, it's good if they... If they get lost, they'll know how to communicate with other people.

For Monica, visiting the Philippines was something that would never change despite living in New Zealand for a long time. Monica was one of the six participants who still had their parents in the Philippines, making regular visits to her home country important:

I miss the Philippines. *Tsaka family ko andoon lahat. Lalo na 'yung mga pamangkin.* If only I can afford every year, I will... *Ako, if halimbawa magka-anak ako, I would teach them Tagalog. Kasi like me, I'm still gonna come back sa Pilipinas so for me it's important nama-get used to pa din 'yung Tagalog words or Tagalog speaking.*

I miss the Philippines. My whole family is there. I especially miss my nieces and nephews. If only I could afford [to go there] every year, I will... And if ever I have kids in the future, I would teach them Tagalog. Because for me, I'm still gonna come back to the Philippines so for me it's important that they get used to Tagalog words or Tagalog speaking.

All participants with children saw themselves visiting the Philippines regularly, and those who were planning to have their own families in the future also envision the same. Most of the participants expressed their belief on the importance of passing on the ethnic language to their children so the latter can communicate with relatives and friends back home. This was also illustrated in Yu's (2005) study of Chinese parents in New Zealand and their desire to pass the Mandarin language to their children as a way to communicate with family members in China. If migrants lose their desire to visit their home countries, then the value of keeping the language for their children could be diminished. For the Filipino participants, regular visits to the Philippines had increased their desire to pass on the language to their children, which can ultimately assist with the Tagalog language maintenance.

#### **5.2.6. Children's ethnic heritage**

The parents' beliefs and attitudes towards bilingualism, as well as the value they place on their ethnic language, can have an influence on the linguistic choices made by their children (Barkhuizen, 2006). Findings of this study show that all participants with New Zealand-born children agreed on the importance of ethnic language maintenance. One participant, Armando, had put his beliefs into practice by communicating with his daughters in Tagalog diligently. After seven years of living in New Zealand, he said he still feels and acts the same:

*Eh sabi ko eto ako eh, kaya 'wag mo kong baguhin. Eh eto na nga. Wala, hindi na mababago to. Ay 'yung iba kasi, 'yung ibang kuwan, medyo sosyal. Eh kami nama'y hindi sosyal eh. 'Yung iba'y pagdating [dito] ay pa-English English na. Anak ko panganay, one year-old nung magpunta dito, pagdating dun [sa Pilipinas] Tagalog! Hanggang ngayon fluent mag-Tagalog.*

I am who I am, and no one can change me. This is me. Nothing will change. With other people, they're a bit sophisticated and high class. We're not like that. The others when they come here, all they use is English. My eldest daughter, she came here when she was one year old, when we visited [the Philippines] she was speaking in Tagalog! Up to now, she's fluent in Tagalog.

Armando was originally from Batangas, a province located in south-west Luzon in the Philippines and has a population of almost 2.7 million. The language used in his province is Tagalog, the main dialect from which the Filipino language was derived from. Armando said he believes in keeping his ethnic language, along with other cultural values and traditions, as a way to honour his Filipino roots. He viewed ethnic language maintenance as an opportunity for his children to learn another language aside from English, and not passing Tagalog to them seemed illogical:

*'Yung iba ngang bansa, nabayad pa para matuto ng Chinese, para matuto ng French. Eh tayo free na'yung Tagalog tapos aalisin mo? Eh di hindi naman logical yun. I-keep mo 'yung, 'yung ano mo kung saan ka nanggaling. Hindi 'yung kumbaga eh tatalikuran mo totally kung saan ka nanggaling.*

Those from other countries, they pay to learn Chinese, to learn French. With us, you learn Tagalog for free and yet you won't do it? Well, that's not logical. You should keep and honour where you're from. You shouldn't just totally abandon your roots and where you came from.

Living in an English-dominated society, Armando acknowledged how challenging it could be to pass on his ethnic language to his children. His eldest child started going to school and was constantly exposed to English even when surrounded by other Filipino children. For this reason, he made sure that his children were well exposed to Tagalog whenever they get home:

*Kasi 'pag labas sa school English na 'yung mga kausap eh. Bibihira ang Pilipinong bata sa school nagta-Tagalog. Pagka napapansin ko na puro na English, ina-ano ko... sabi ko'y "anong sabi mo?" Inuulit ko para Tagalogin nila. Kasi kapag ka pinabayaan mo'yan na puro English ang sagot sa iyo, wala na. mawawala na ang Tagalog mo... 'Pag paminsan minsan okay lang pero pag naramdaman mong puro na English, ay paparahin mo na 'yan. Sasabihin mo, Tagalog.*

When she's out in school everyone talks in English. It's uncommon for other Filipino children in school to use Tagalog. When she tends to speak in English all the time... I will ask her, "what did you say?" [in Tagalog] and I would repeat it until she switches to Tagalog. If you let them talk to you in English, then you will lose Tagalog... At times it's okay to let them use English, but if I feel like it's getting more frequent, I would put on the brakes and tell them to speak in Tagalog.

Armando's situation was a unique case in this research such that he was the only one using Tagalog as the main language of communication with his children at home. As it has been established, the use of ethnic language in home domain is commonly a vital aspect in ensuring a successful intergenerational language transmission (Fishman, 1972a). The lack of Tagalog use in the participants' homes with New Zealand-born children meant that second-generation migrants were not well-exposed to their ethnic language, which is a huge indicator of language shift occurring in the community.

### **5.3. Patterns of Ethnic Language Shift**

Despite their overall positive attitudes on ethnic language maintenance, findings of the study reveal some noticeable patterns pertaining to language shift. While there is an evident shift to English among younger Filipinos (as published in the 2013 New Zealand Census data), the researcher also found traces of language shift among the first-generation Filipino migrants. This

section details the patterns pointing to language shift in the community based on the participants' behaviours and experiences.

### **5.3.1. Accommodation to non-Tagalog speakers**

Declaring English as one of the official languages in the Philippines paved the way to a bilingual society. Prior to their migration to New Zealand, all participants had been well exposed to the English language through education and/or employment. The difference in New Zealand is the level and frequency of their English language use as compared to their ethnic language, as they currently live in an English-dominated society. Findings of the study reveal some of the participants' behaviours showing a preference to English over Tagalog in some circumstances.

The increased use of the English language was noticeable in most of the participants' testimonies, like Sabrina's, who admitted that she would normally switch to English for the sake of the other person being comfortable in the conversation:

*Merong iba na parang English nagsasalita pero nakakaintindi ng Tagalog. So sasabayan mo... So parang respect na rin sa kanila kung hindi sila comfortable parang magi-English ka na din... sa kanya nakakaintindi siya ng Tagalog pero naturally ang first na lumalabas sa kanya is English talaga. So 'pag kausap mo siya parang English na din.*

There are other Filipinos who speak English but can understand Tagalog. So I would go with the language they're using... So it's like respect for them if they're not comfortable, I'd just talk in English... my friend can understand Tagalog but naturally speaks in English first. So when I talk to him, I just use English.

When conversing with other Filipinos who understand Tagalog but cannot speak it, some participants said they would naturally choose English over Tagalog. Participants like Lester found it strange using two different languages, so he would normally switch to the language that the other person was using. For Vivian, the rule was to use the language everyone understands to make the flow of conversation easier:

*I'd rather choose to speak in English kasi mas madali sa lahat. So ganon ang ano... like I think ang mangyayare kung saan kumportable ang flow ng communication, kung saan ang ano, kung saan mas madali magkakaintindihan.*

*I'd rather choose to speak in English because it's easier for everyone....I think what happens is that [I use the language] comfortable for everyone to make the flow of communication better.*

In Johri's (1998) study of the three ethnic migrant communities in New Zealand, he found that both the Samoan and Korean participants did not mind using their ethnic languages in the presence of those who cannot understand it. This was in contrast to the Dutch participants who would normally accommodate the non-Dutch speakers by switching to English. For the current study, all participants acknowledged switching or translating the conversation to English most of the time to accommodate the non-Tagalog speakers. Some participants, like Vivian, said they find it disrespectful to talk in Tagalog in front of non-Filipinos:

*Out of respect, titignan ko kung sino nasa grupo. It's not fair, it's a bit rude 'pag may outsider you speak your language na, or dialect na may ano naman. So we might as well speak the common... so ganon, I always cater sa ano, kung sino ang nasa crowd.*

Out of respect, I'll check who is in the group. It's not fair, it's a bit rude when there's an outsider and you speak your own language or dialect. So we might as well speak the common one... I always cater to whoever is in the crowd.

As all participants were fluent in English, it became easier for them to use English when surrounded by both Filipinos and non-Filipinos. This, in turn, created more spaces for English language use and limited the domains for Tagalog use only with Filipinos who can understand and speak Tagalog. Some participants, meanwhile, cited another reason for using English: they did not want other people to feel like they were being talked about. Monica, for instance, had been in a situation where a Pākehā/Kiwi husband of a Filipino friend felt disrespected as he thought he was being talked about. Others would feel offended when they hear a language they do not understand, as experienced by Annabel:

*May ibang friends din talaga ako or officemate na nagsabi na "I feel offended kapag ka magsasalita ka ng Tagalog na kahit hindi ako directly kasama sa conversation but within hearing shot"... parang "I don't want to be left out or I don't want anybody—I think I feel disrespected when it happens." So from then on naging conscious kami. Pero oo, maraming beses 'yun na parang nagiging inconsiderate ka di'ba? Kasi feeling mo hindi naman kayo kasama sa usapan namin.*

I have other friends or officemate who told me, "I feel offended when you talk in Tagalog even though I am not directly included in the conversation, but within hearing shot [sic]"... They would tell me, "I don't want to be left out or I don't want anybody—I feel disrespected when it happens." So from then on we became conscious of it. But yes, there were many times when I thought I became inconsiderate. 'Cos I feel like they are not included in our conversation anyway.

The participants' experiences showed their tendency to accommodate to the linguistic needs of non-Tagalog speakers by adjusting to the language of the latter. Many participants expressed feelings of guilt and uneasiness if they speak Tagalog in front of non-Filipinos, so most of them tended to switch or translate the conversation to English. While this reflects the good relationship of most participants with members of the host society, switching to English even when the conversation was with another Tagalog speaker is disadvantageous to ethnic language maintenance. Domains for Tagalog use become more limited, and considering that New Zealand is a multicultural but mainly monolingual society, Filipinos do not often see a lot of opportunities for ethnic language use unless they exclude themselves from the society. Therefore, the participants' accommodation to non-Tagalog speakers could lead to their adaptation of the English language even in gatherings where ethnic language use is to be expected.

### **5.3.2. English as the "formal" and high status language**

There was a general consensus among the participants that English is used for specific purposes. As Tagalog was used for family and expressing certain emotions, the participants often designated English as the language for business and formal occasions. Annabel worked for a number of international companies when she was living in the Philippines, and English had always been the required language for business meetings and transactions. For Lester, he said

his use of English is meant for serious and formal occasions and Tagalog for informal conversations with family and friends:

I never wanted to speak different. *Kunyari Pilipino, ayaw na ayaw kong mag-English unless na formal 'yung pag-uusap.*

I never wanted to speak [differently]. For example, there's a Filipino, I don't like to speak English with them unless the conversation is formal.

His language choice was evident during his interview for the thesis. Despite the conversation being mostly in Tagalog, most of his replies were in English. This suggests that he considered the interview as a formal conversation, and the fact that the researcher was asking questions in Tagalog did not change his language choice. This behaviour was supported by another participant, Matt, who categorised his use of Tagalog and English for specific purposes:

*Kapag meron kaming gustong pag-usapan na tungkol sa Pilipinas o tungkol sa buhay namin, Tagalog. Pero kapag pag-uusapan tungkol sa games, tungkol sa current affairs, parang naririnig... ano "did you watch that show about Donald Trump?" mga ganon, English... Depende sa topic dahil depende din dun sa vocabulary na tungkol doon.*

If we want to talk about the Philippines or something about our lives, [we use] Tagalog. But if the conversation is about [computer] games, current affairs, like..., for instance, "did you watch that show about Donald Trump?" it's English... It depends on the topic and the vocabulary we have on that certain topic.

For some participants, using English had become a necessity rather than a choice. Lack of Tagalog exposure seemed to have led to the decrease in their ethnic language vocabulary and literacy. Some participants said their language use in conversations with topics containing technical words (e.g. computer gaming, information technology, politics) tended to lean towards English. During the interviews, five participants commented on the Tagalog version of the Participant Sheet, saying the language was "too deep" for them to understand.

For other participants, using English could indicate membership to the higher class. Filipinos who can use English with an American or British accent can be classified as elites or educated, as depicted in the quote below by Monica:

*Sabi nung kaibigan ko "bakla" sabi niya, "bakit parang ganyan na 'yung salita mo?" Siguro parang nagiging natural na lang siya na nababago. Kasi work, English ka. Tapos husband mo, English pa din. So parang kapag kausap mo din sila hindi ka agad nakaka-switch eh. 'Yung parang dere-deretso pa rin mare-realise mo na lang 'pag may nagsabi sa'yo. Parang ganon. So 'yun, nakakatuwa din kasi parang "oh wow nag-English na" parang ganon. Alam mo naman kapag nakapag-English ka, di'ba kapag Pilipino ka nakapag-English ka sa Pinas di'ba? Parang ang shala-shala [sosyal] mo na?*

My friend [in the Philippines] asked me once "hey friend", he said, "why is your accent like that?". Maybe it comes naturally now and it just constantly changes. Because at work, I use English. Then with my husband, it's still English. So when I'm talking to my friends, I forget to switch straight away. It's such that I still talk in English and I only realise it when someone tells me. So it's good 'cos sometimes they're like "oh wow you speak English now." You know, when you can speak English, if you're Filipino and you can speak English in the Philippines, right? You are seen as classy and sophisticated.

Another participant, Charice, also commented on using English and having a "proper" accent when speaking it:

When I have to switch, it's kind of like the accents are quite different. Cos you know how we have like, at home when you speak English you have a Filipino accent when you're speaking English to your parents. Then outside you've got a decent English accent. It's kind of like that.

Charice's description of the New Zealand accent as the more "decent" English accent implies that having a Filipino accent is looked down upon. This reaffirms the cultural and social notion prevalent in the Philippines that if someone speaks in English with an American or British accent, they are seen as being more sophisticated. This behaviour was also noticeable during the Filipino Labour Weekend event, an annual gathering of Filipinos in New Zealand celebrating Labour Day through various sports contests, concerts, pageants, and cultural shows. The researcher went to the annual event in 2015 to do the informal observation on the community's linguistic patterns, and the following observations were noted:

- The main language used was English—from pamphlets and schedules of sports events, referees and coaches talking, to concert hosts and pageant emcees
- Tagalog was still widely spoken in specific areas such as food stalls and benches for the audience, but on formal and scheduled events, English was the chosen language.
- Languages used in sponsor booths vary between English and Tagalog, depending on the type of the business (e.g. more formal businesses like Philippine Airlines used English, while others like LBC Express, a courier company in the Philippines, used Tagalog to attract customers).

These observations, along with some of the participants' views on language use, suggest that English will continue to hold a higher status among Filipinos, both in New Zealand and in the Philippines. This is not surprising considering that English was a colonial language in their home country and its use connotes positions of social prestige (Mejia, 2002). These ideologies, however, tend to go against Tagalog maintenance as they inevitably depict the mother tongue with a lower status. The stigma against having a Filipino accent also does not help, as it suggests that native Filipino speakers are inferior to English speakers. These types of beliefs can cause harm to ethnic language promotion, while simultaneously and implicitly promoting English monolingualism among migrant communities.

### ***5.3.3. Language at home in inter-ethnic marriages***

A number of studies in the United States revealed that Filipinos were more likely to marry white, African, or Hispanic Americans than members of other Asian ethnic groups (Lee & Fernandez, 1998; Qian, Blair, & Ruf, 2001), which suggests that Filipinos were more open to inter-racial partnerships and marriages compared to other Asian Americans. However, the chances of Tagalog being used in the family domain in inter-ethnic households were often slim. As Davis & Starks (2005) noted, "if one parent is bilingual and the other is monolingual, the language of the home will usually be determined by the monolingual partner" (p. 310). This was true for three Filipino participants of this study who have non-Filipino partners. For instance, both Vivian and

Annabel had expectations for their children to grow up learning Tagalog. But in reality, neither was able to do this:

*Sayang nga eh hindi sila naging fluent. Pero they learnt the basic. "Magsipilyo tayo" 'yung mga maliliit... isusulat pa ko yan. Tapos Dutch kasi Dutch 'yung asawa ko. Ang ano lang kasi sa'kin hindi ako naging consistent magturo sa kanila.*

It's a shame they're not fluent [in Tagalog]. But they learnt the basic. They learnt small phrases in Tagalog like, "let's brush our teeth..." I'll even write it down, then my husband would teach them Dutch because he's Dutch. The problem was I wasn't consistent in teaching them.

Vivian

Similarly, Annabel wanted her two sons to learn Tagalog, but English had now become their main and only language at home. Her children grew up being exposed to English and Konkani, the latter being her ex-partner's native language. Her children were not constantly exposed to Tagalog, but now that she is raising them by herself, she remained hopeful they will learn her ethnic language someday:

*Actually minsan tina-Tagalog ko talaga, sinasadya ko. Pero hirap sila mag-ano, parang they still answer me in English. If we are with friends naririnig nila na conversational Tagalog talaga kaming magka-kaibigan... kasi 'yung mga kaibigan ko rin, pag ina-ano ko sa kanila, ini-encourage ko sila to talk to them in Tagalog din. Saka marami akong books na Tagalog na nakikita nila... Syempre gusto kong ma-keep 'yun as part ng heritage natin, part ng roots.*

Actually sometimes I talk to them in Tagalog on purpose. But it's hard for them, they still answer me in English. If we are with friends they could hear our conversation, we really speak Tagalog... 'cause I also encourage my friends to talk to my children in Tagalog when they're around. At the same time, I bought them Tagalog books so they can read it... Of course language is something that I want to keep as part of our heritage, it's part of our roots.

The two statements above show that despite the participants' desire to maintain their ethnic language, their efforts had been futile as their children were not constantly exposed to the language itself. For Wendy, she also wanted to pass her ethnic language but admitted to just using English at home because it was easier. When asked if it was important for her son to learn her ethnic language, she did not answer directly but responded with the following remark:

The thing is, when he go [sic] back home, his cousins are fluent speaker, English speaker anyway so he's got no worries anyway if he doesn't learn the lingo because everyone can speak English there.

This sentiment was also reflected in Vivian's sentiments:

*Kasi 'yung family naman makakaintindi ng English eh, pero ang mga anak ko hindi makakaintindi ng Bikol. So you might as well speak in English. So it always, I always cater sa kung sino nandon para mas madaling maintindihan.*

My family can understand English, but my children can't understand Bikol. So you might as well speak in English. I always cater to whoever is in the conversation so it's easier for everyone to understand.

A closer look on the three participants' experiences regarding language revealed that English was not only the language they use at home but also in other domains. In Filipino social gatherings where the ethnic language was expected to be used, participants with non-Filipino

partners acknowledged using English instead to include their partners and children in the conversation. This appeared to limit their Tagalog use to phone calls with family and relatives in the Philippines and occasions where their partners and children were not around, making these participants less exposed to Tagalog, with fewer opportunities to harness their ethnic language skills. In addition, these participants said their children were often accommodated by their Filipino relatives, both in New Zealand and in the Philippines, by adjusting to their children's linguistic needs. These children will most likely grow up knowing a few Tagalog phrases, but remaining monolinguals in English.

#### **5.3.4. Language choice with younger Filipinos**

The desire of some migrant parents to pass on the heritage language to their children can sometimes be compromised by the choice between using English to have an easy and happy family talk, and stopping the conversation to ask the child to switch to their ethnic language (Yu, 2005). In addition, Yu's (2005) study found that the language choices of immigrant parents could be affected by their children's language choices, as much as the former could affect the latter. This was similar to the attitudes of immigrant parents in this study. Most participants said they would often use English when talking with school-aged Filipinos, with the assumption that they would not be understood if they decide to use Tagalog with Filipino children.

For Leonisa, she admitted to using two different languages with her children: Tagalog for the two eldest who grew up in the Philippines, and English for the two youngest who grew up in New Zealand. It turned out her two eldest children were stricter in teaching Tagalog to their siblings than Leonisa was:

*Kung ano 'yung sagot nila sa'kin, hindi ko na minsan pinapansin. Basta sumagot sila. Hindi ko na minsan na, English o "mag-Tagalog kayo." Pero 'yung isa kong anak, dun sa 10 years old... 'yung 16 at tsaka 'yung 10, sabi niya "mag-Tagalog ka." Kasi minsan nagtatanong sa English. "Itagalog mo bago kita sagutin" sasabihin niyang ganon. Eh hindi na, nahihirapan.*

Whatever reply I get from my children, I won't mind. As long as they answer back. I don't tell them, [answer in] English or "speak in Tagalog." But my eldest child, with the 10-year-old... my 16-year-old talking to the 10-year old would say "speak in Tagalog" because sometimes he would ask them questions in English. "Speak in Tagalog before I answer you" the 16-year-old would say. But no, it's hard for him.

When asked whether or not it was acceptable that her two youngest children ended up becoming monolinguals in English, Leonisa said she still wanted them to learn even just basic Tagalog. This was similar to other participants' statements of wanting their children to learn Tagalog but ended up using English as their main language of communication. The contradiction between some of the participants' desire of ethnic language maintenance and the persistence in English use with their children had been a noticeable pattern from the interviews. This could suggest that positive attitude towards ethnic language maintenance is not enough to motivate them to speak to their children in Tagalog persistently.

Other participants also noticed that English was the standard language most Filipinos use when talking to Filipino children and adolescents. Sabrina said her youngest sibling speaks in English most of the time, while they talk to him in either English or Tagalog. For Pedro, even though he wanted his nephews to learn Tagalog, he found it difficult to communicate with them without using English from time to time. Another participant, Mary, had an experience talking with a friend's child that made her realise what the current pattern was among the younger Filipino generation:

*Kasi may experience ako nagta-Tagalog ako sa kanila nakatingin lang sa akin eh. So parang naging lesson sa akin na pagka 'yung mga batang dito na lumaki, o dito nag-aaral na mga bata, nagi-English na ko. Kasi parang nakatingin lang sa'kin. "Ay! Nakalimutan ko 'yung anak mo pala hindi na nagta-Tagalog" ganun 'yung ano ko.*

I had an experience before when I was speaking in Tagalog and they [the kids] were just looking at me. So it's like a lesson for me to talk in English to kids who grew up here or those who are studying here. I remember, those kids were just staring at me and upon realising, I told my friend, "Oh! I forgot your child doesn't speak Tagalog anymore."

Other participants, meanwhile, also recognised the challenge that comes along with passing their ethnic language to the future generation. Sabrina thought her language was something she would want to pass on to her children when she becomes a mother, but would understand it if they grow up not speaking it. Kacelyn and Monica, who both planned on having children as well, said they would want their children to learn to speak even just the basic Tagalog. In contrast, Matt was the only participant who said it would be okay if his children do not speak or understand his ethnic language:

*Kahit hindi sila nakakaintindi, maiintindihan ko. Kumbaga, parang inaasahan ko na magiging mahirap para sa akin at para sa kanila na matuto silang mag-Tagalog so hindi ko na sila aasahan na mag-Tagalog pa. Hahayaan ko na sila kung anong gusto nilang salita.*

Even if they don't understand, I would be okay with it. I am expecting that it will be hard for me and for them to learn Tagalog so I wouldn't expect them to speak Tagalog anymore. I would just let them choose whatever language they want to use.

Matt shared an experience he had with his younger cousins, who would usually answer him in English rather than responding to him in Tagalog during conversation:

*Kapag kausap ko 'yung mga pinsan kong bata na nagi-English, parang unconscious na rin sa akin na napapa-English na rin ako na hindi ko napapansin. Kahit na sabihin ko sa sarili ko "ah hindi magta-Tagalog tayo ngayon!" pero mapapa-English din ako.*

When I talk to my younger cousin who speaks to me in English, it's like an unconscious decision for me to switch to English. Even if I tell myself, "ah no I would talk to him in Tagalog today!" I would still end up speaking in English, too.

The statements above show how the participants did not generally expect the younger generation and those born in New Zealand to speak and understand Tagalog. As most of them expected school-aged Filipino migrants to be monolinguals in English, the participants' interaction with children was mostly carried out in that language. Some participants shared experiences of overhearing Filipino adults talking amongst themselves in Tagalog and switching to English when they talk to children or young adults. This behaviour was also observed during

the Filipino Labour Weekend event in 2015 where most parents were seen talking to their children in English and switching to Tagalog when addressing Filipino adults. This results in the ethnic language being used only by first-generation adults and recent migrants, while the younger ones are left isolated from the language. This resembles Axel's (2011) research on ethnic language use, in which the second-generation Filipino-Americans grew up being spoken to in English while their parents and other first generation migrants used their ethnic language when talking with one another. Those who lack the opportunity to learn their ethnic language were sometimes left socially and culturally deprived; with some wishing they could speak the language of their parents (Axel, 2011). Based on this study's findings, second-generation Filipino-Kiwis would most likely be in the same situation. If English remains the main language of the children inside and outside the household, the Filipino language would remain accessible exclusively to those who already speak it.

#### **5.4. Chapter summary**

Most participants in this study strongly agreed on the importance of maintaining their heritage language in New Zealand. The three main themes revealed during the Thematic Analysis process gave an insight into the factors affecting the participants' attitudes and behaviours regarding ethnic language maintenance. Their strong relationship with the ethnic community stimulates the use of Tagalog and tends to create more domains where the ethnic language can be used. Additionally, they have developed good relationships with non-Filipinos which appeared to have encouraged them to use their ethnic language even in public domains where they could be heard. The participants' attitudes and behaviours on ethnic language maintenance can also be affected by their views on cultural identity. Lastly, analysis of the interviews revealed that expectations from other people related to the individual can also affect their attitudes and behaviours on ethnic language use. Most participants normally meet this expectation by switching to the language of the other person regardless of whether they have positive or negative views on it.

The findings discussed in this chapter showed that most participants were aware of the advantages of being a bilingual, especially in a multicultural country like New Zealand. Many were involved in different cultural gatherings and events, which help them keep in touch with other Filipino migrants. Most participants have also developed a clear attachment to their home country, and frequent visits to the Philippines help with the overall maintenance of their ethnic language. However, despite the participants' positive attitudes and personal motivation in keeping their ethnic language, findings showed that the Tagalog language is heading towards a shift to the dominant language.

There was a strong contradiction between what the participants wanted when it came to language maintenance as compared to what they actually do in order to keep it. Most of them expressed their desire to pass on the ethnic language to the future generation. However, this was not reflected in the language they use to communicate with their children. Additionally,

some of the participants who deemed their language as an integral part of their identities would also end up using English when talking with their children. Only one participant communicated with his children in Tagalog consistently, while the others used English most of the time. Since most Filipino migrants are bilinguals, switching to English shows to be an easier option as opposed to using Tagalog consistently to communicate with their children. Language at home, regardless of the partner's ethnicity, had also been English-dominated with those participants who had younger children. Ethnic language maintenance has been proven to be most effective when used in home domain (Fishman, 1972a). Hence, if the current pattern continues, the use of Tagalog in second and third generation Filipino migrants will cease to exist.

## **Chapter Six:**

# **Conclusion and Recommendations**

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The Filipino ethnic community in New Zealand is relatively new compared to the Chinese and Indian communities, yet it has become the fastest growing Asian community in the country (Statistics New Zealand, 2013h). The main objective of this research was to examine the factors that can affect a migrant's attitudes and behaviours towards ethnic language use, and how these factors were reflected in Tagalog language maintenance or shift to the English language. Findings of the study showed that despite the participants' positive attitudes towards ethnic language maintenance, their language has not been maintained among the younger Filipino generation.

Chapter Six presents the overall findings of the study, highlighting the main results. It then moves to the strengths and limitations of the study. Finally, it presents suggestions and recommendations for further research on community languages.

### ***6.1. Factors affecting language choice***

The study used one-on-one interviews as its main method to answer its research question. Overall, Filipino migrants who participated in this study showed positive attitudes towards ethnic language maintenance, saying there is a need to keep their native language and pass it onto future generations. The researcher found that the factors influencing the attitudes and behaviours of Filipino migrants in ethnic language maintenance involve their close relationship with their ethnic community and the host country, their views on heritage language as part of their cultural identities, and expectations of other people on their language use.

The participants' close relationship with the Filipino community is one of the main factors affecting positive attitudes on ethnic language maintenance in New Zealand. The growth of the Filipino community provided opportunities for the establishment of more Filipino businesses and organisations, cementing the presence of the community in New Zealand. More Filipinos can be heard using Tagalog in public spaces such as bus stops, cafes, and shopping malls. The participants were also found to be active members of their community through their associations with Filipino organisations and participation in various Filipino cultural events. This supports the results of other New Zealand ethnic community studies (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1984; 'Aipolo & Holmes, 1990; Roberts, 2005; Lee, 2013), where the migrants' close relationship with their ethnic communities had proven to be one of the main factors in heritage language maintenance.

The close relationship within immediate and extended families also helped create a more positive attitude towards ethnic language maintenance among the participants. According to

Davis and Starks (2005), extended families are often seen as a way of maintaining and promoting the community language use at home. This study showed that ethnic language is the chosen language of communication with parents, siblings, and other relatives of the participants. Respect for the elderly is also an important part of the Filipino culture, and showing respect through language required the use of Tagalog. The participants also have a deep attachment to their home country, shown by their frequent visits to the Philippines, making Tagalog maintenance necessary for most. Speaking one's ethnic language encourages camaraderie and the sense of being Filipino especially when surrounded by people who speak the same language.

Participants also developed close relationships with members of the host country itself. Some participants were married or in romantic relationships with non-Filipinos, while others developed close ties with people from other ethnicities. In addition, New Zealand is continuing to be more multicultural, and speaking a language other than English is more accepted now than it was 20 years ago (Lee, 2013). This positive relationship with the host country and the growing multiculturalism in New Zealand seemed to have encouraged the participants to become more vocal about their culture and open in using Tagalog in public domains. Another factor affecting the attitudes and behaviours of the participants is their views on cultural identity in relation to heritage language maintenance. The researcher found that the participants who viewed their ethnic language as a crucial part of their identities reflected stronger convictions and more positive attitudes in maintaining Tagalog with their children or future children.

Lastly, the researcher found that expectations of other people on the participants' language use also affect their attitudes and behaviours. Most participants adjust their language choices based on other people's expectations of them. Interestingly, most participants expressed feelings of being expected to use Tagalog when talking particularly with friends or when surrounded by other Filipinos in public gatherings. This could be because of the notion that Filipinos who use English constantly are viewed as elitists (Burton, 2013; Tollefson, as cited in Baker, 2006), and they could be instantly seen as outsiders to the community. Most participants have expressed their desire to be accepted and to belong within their ethnic community, and one way to achieve this is through using the same language as everyone else.

However, despite their overall positive attitudes on heritage language maintenance, findings also revealed that Filipinos do not use their ethnic language when communicating with the younger generation in the Filipino community, suggesting a language shift in second-generation migrants.

All participants have expressed their desire to pass on Tagalog to their own children, but only one was actively using Tagalog to communicate with his children. English has been the usual language of communication between participants and their children who grew up in New Zealand. Inter-ethnic marriages play a significant part to this, as most households usually adopt the common language between two spouses (Davis & Starks, 2005). It appears that the trend

among Filipino migrants is to use English with younger Filipinos who were either born in New Zealand or have migrated at an early age. In cultural gatherings, some participants noticed how the adults would communicate with each other in their ethnic language but would switch to English the moment they talk to their children. This language behaviour of switching to English when speaking with children could be caused by the notion that most Filipino children, especially those who were born and grew up in New Zealand, could only understand English. Even some participants who valued their heritage language as a crucial part of their identities would use English when talking with their own children. The use of ethnic language is then confined to Filipino adults while the younger generation is left only with the use of the dominant language. This behaviour ultimately contradicts the function of family and cultural domains in the natural intergenerational ethnic language transmission.

Because most Filipino migrants have good English fluency, switching to the dominant language did not seem to take much effort, if any at all. The convenience of being understood immediately trumps any personal desire the participants have in passing on the heritage language to their children. The use of English made it easier for both the participants and their children to communicate with one another, as the former did not have to patiently talk in Tagalog, and the latter did not struggle in understanding what the parent was trying to say. The dominant language then becomes the language of communication both inside and outside Filipino households.

Based on the results, it is evident that the Filipino migrants' positive attitudes do not influence their behaviours when it comes to heritage language maintenance. All participants in the study have agreed on the importance of maintaining Tagalog in the Filipino-New Zealand community and yet most would use English as the standard language of communication among the second-generation Filipino migrants. The difference between the attitudes and behaviours in ethnic language maintenance of migrant parents was also found in New Zealand ethnic communities like the Chinese (Yu, 2005), South African (Barkhuizen, 2006) and Japanese (Lauwereyns, 2011). In addition, both local and international literature have proven that ethnic language maintenance should be focused in the home domain (Fishman, 1972a; Roberts, 1999; Davis & Starks, 2005; Roberts, 2005), however, most of the participants with younger children use English in their homes, leaving the use of Tagalog only between Filipino spouses or other adults.

The disparity between the participants' attitudes towards ethnic language maintenance and their behaviours favouring English language use among younger Filipinos could be traced from the inherent high status they give to the English language versus Tagalog. Some Filipino migrants might not be aware of their preference in English over Tagalog because of pre-conceived notion that English is the language of the educated and the heritage language is the language of the poor (Azada-Palacios *et al.*, 2012), a perception that is common in countries with a colonial history (Mejia, 2002) like the Philippines. Some participants have alluded to their preference of having a "decent" English accent over the Filipino accent, while some are happy to use English

to associate themselves with the elite. Additionally, some participants might have been hesitant to openly admit in the presence of another Filipino (as the researcher is part of the community herself), that they prefer English over Tagalog when communicating with their children. Therefore, it is apparent that Tagalog in New Zealand is heading towards a shift as early as the second generation, similar to other international studies done on Filipino languages (Nical, 2000; Axel, 2011; Chan, 2003; Yamamoto, 2005; Angeles, 2015).

## **6.2. Strengths and limitations of the study**

The completion of the study is particularly timely given the growing number of Filipino migrants in New Zealand. This research has provided an overview on the current state of Tagalog among the members of the Filipino community. In addition, studying the attitudes and behaviour of Filipino migrants using one-on-one interviews also gave an insight on their current linguistic patterns, giving a detailed account of the linguistic experiences of 15 first-generation Filipino migrants.

Language attitudes and behaviours are relative to experiences and perceptions of an individual and are therefore subject to changes and transformation. The researcher understands that this study does not embody the entire attitude of the Filipino community and is only limited to uncovering of the behavioural and linguistic patterns of the participants included the research. The conclusions drawn from this study are only a representation of the attitudes and behaviours of Filipino migrants in the community and are only applicable for a certain period of time. However, it provides a snapshot of the current linguistic patterns in the Filipino community and will be useful for members wanting to preserve their heritage language.

This study was also limited in terms of number and variety of participants. Only first-generation migrants were interviewed. The participants also originated from different regions in the Philippines and therefore spoke other regional ethnic languages. Nevertheless, every participant was proficient in the Filipino language either via formal education or language transmission at home. A change in the targeted participants would have provided a more holistic view, as the difference in upbringing, culture, and environment between the first and second generation migrants can produce more diverse results for the study. Lastly, the use of more research instruments in the data collection phase, such as surveys and focused group observations, could have provided more data in support of the claims gathered from the interviews.

## **6.3. Recommendations**

Given that this is a small scale study and is the first of its kind, the researcher strongly recommends conducting studies to further investigate the state of the Filipino language in New Zealand. If Tagalog continues to head towards a language shift, additional research would be helpful in providing more information about this phenomenon. Future researchers could investigate why the attitudes of Filipino migrants do not reflect their behaviours towards ethnic

language maintenance. In addition, it would be useful to conduct larger studies and focus on younger participants and second-generation migrants and their attitudes and behaviours toward their own language, given that the future of Tagalog language maintenance is in the hands of the younger Filipino generation. Further research on the state of the Tagalog language could potentially arise and develop from the conclusions drawn from this research and present more comprehensive and concrete findings.

While the thesis is mainly concerned with Tagalog language maintenance, focus on the maintenance of other Filipino languages like *Bisaya* and *Bikol* could also provide useful information. Migrants using other Filipino languages might have different linguistic attitudes, behaviours, and practices that could inspire the maintenance of other Filipino languages in the community. Lastly, researchers interested in studying other community languages in New Zealand may also benefit from the findings of the research and draw some comparisons from the attitudes and behaviours of the Filipino community and apply it to their own community.

One of the study's main goals is to present the current state of the Tagalog language and serve as a reference point for the members of the Filipino community who wish to preserve the heritage language. Signs are pointing towards a shift to English as the main language for second-generation Filipino migrants. Filipino families with older children still use Tagalog as their home language, but it is the families with younger children who are most likely to switch to English and make it their home language. It is in this regard that the researcher highly recommends the use of Tagalog with children and the younger Filipinos if the heritage language is to survive the drastic shift. It is the parents' responsibility to teach their children the ethnic language and consistently use it in the home domain. This has proven to be effective in the case of one participant in this study who consistently uses Tagalog as their main language at home. International and local studies have also strongly supported the use of ethnic language as the main language at home to ensure its transmission. Even if the child is exposed to Tagalog by overhearing conversations of adults and other Tagalog speakers, this is not enough to fully transmit the ethnic language to the child.

For the wider Filipino community, encouragement for Filipinos to use Tagalog frequently can be done by improving the status of Tagalog in New Zealand. Large scale cultural events like the Filipino Labour Weekend event should start using Tagalog in schedule sheets and pamphlets, as well as during musical concerts and competitions. This will elevate the status of Tagalog and could potentially encourage younger Filipinos to learn the ethnic language if they want to deepen their relationship with the community. Other Filipino organisations and social clubs could also encourage this by initiating their own programs on ethnic language maintenance. One participant is already doing a Tagalog reading session program for young Filipino children in Auckland. There could still be a future for the Tagalog language in New Zealand if there is a consistent and unwavering effort from Filipinos to use Tagalog as the main language at home and at cultural gatherings.

The Philippine Embassy could also play an important role in ethnic language maintenance by seeing through cultural and language initiatives, starting with cities where most Filipinos live. This will provide an avenue for Filipinos to encourage their children to learn the language and boost the community's confidence in the Philippine government supporting them behind their cause. Filipino migrants also have an online Filipino newspaper called the "Filipino Migrant News" ([www.filipinonews.nz](http://www.filipinonews.nz)). Most of the articles are written in English, which has been the norm even in the major broadsheets in the Philippines. The researcher recommends an increase in the number of Tagalog articles they publish in order to promote Tagalog more. Studies have confirmed that if the language can be seen in multiple avenues and heard in different domains, its value and status will also increase among the members of the community. As an online Filipino newspaper, the Filipino Migrant News should be a representation of the Filipino culture and the Filipino language.

The prevalence of inter-ethnic marriages in the Filipino community is inevitable especially in a multicultural country like New Zealand. English, being the common language between a Filipino and a non-Filipino, will often become the standard language at home. In these cases, one way to increase the chances of Tagalog language transmission is to highlight the benefits of bilingualism in terms of the children's education and cultural awareness. However, this is not enough to fully pass on the language. It is recommended that children from inter-ethnic marriages should be constantly exposed to the language by becoming actively involved in language initiatives and cultural activities within the Filipino community.

One of the breakthroughs in Tagalog language promotion in New Zealand was the launch of The Filipino Channel (TFC) in early 2016 to cater to a growing demand of Filipino viewers. Despite the English subtitles in its programs, the release of TFC is a good step towards Tagalog language maintenance in the Filipino community. This encourages more exposure to the ethnic language, especially in the home domain which is proven to be crucial in intergenerational language transmission.

Overall, this study found that the Filipino community has a strong positive attitude regarding their cultural and linguistic preservation. Being part of the Filipino community herself, the researcher strongly believes in the maintenance of her heritage language and retaining it for future generations to use. This study is an effort to provide more information about the current status of Tagalog and contribute to its preservation in New Zealand. It is also an addition to the growing number of ethnic community language studies in New Zealand. It is hoped that this research will be a tool to encourage and maintain the Filipino community's ethnic and cultural identity.

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# Appendix One:

## Participant Information Sheet

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### Participant Information Sheet / *Impormasyon para sa Kalahok*

**Date Information Sheet Produced / Araw ng pagtatala ng impormasyon:**

21/09/2015

**Project Title / Titulo ng proyekto:**

Exploring the social psychological factors affecting the language choice of Filipino migrants in New Zealand

*Paggalugad ng mga sosyal at sikolohikal na mga kadahilanan na nakakaapekto sa pagpili ng wika ng mga migranteng Pilipino sa New Zealand.*

**An Invitation / Isang Paanyaya:**

My name is Ronalyn Umali and I am currently enrolled in a Master's degree in Communication Studies at AUT University. I would like to invite you to become one of the participants in the research I am conducting about Filipino migrants' attitude and behaviour on the use and preservation of their heritage language in New Zealand. This research is a requirement to complete my thesis and obtain a Master's degree in Communication Studies. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection.

*Ang pangalan ko ay Ronalyn Umali at ako po ay kasalukuyang naga-aaral sa pamantasan ng AUT para makamit ang antas sa pagiging dalubhasa sa larangan ng komunikasyon. Nais ko po kayong anyayahang maging isa sa mga kalahok para sa pagsaliklik ng mga saluobin at pag-uugali ng mga migranteng Pilipino pagdating sa pagpapanatili ng kanilang wika sa New Zealand. Ang pananaliksik na ito ay parte sa pagkamit ko ng antas sa pagiging dalubhasa sa larangan ng komunikasyon. Ang paglahok sa pananaliksik na ito ay base sa sariling kagustuhan ng mga kalahok. Hangga't hindi pa tapos ang paglilikom ng impormasyon para sa pananaliksik na ito, ikaw ay mayroong karapatang umurong bilang isa sa mga kalahok.*

**What is the purpose of this research / Ano ang layunin ng pananaliksik na ito?**

The main purpose of this study is to examine the current attitudes and behaviour of Filipino migrants when it comes to the maintenance of their heritage language in a predominantly English-speaking country. The data collected and analysed will be submitted as a master's thesis at AUT University. It is an opportunity to be able to contribute to the growing number of studies done on ethnic languages in New Zealand and hopefully inspire further studies on Filipino culture and language maintenance.

*Ang pananaliksik na ito ay nilikha upang suriin ang saluobin at pag-uugali ng mga migranteng Pilipino pagdating sa pagpapanatili ng kanilang pambansang wika sa bansa kungsaan ang wikang Ingles ay karaniwang ginagamit. Ang mga nalikom na impormasyon ay ilalathala bilang isang sanaysay sa pamantasan ng AUT. Ito ay isang pagkakataong mag-ambag ng karagdagang karunungan tungkol sa mga etnikong wika sa New Zealand at nawa'y magbigay inspirasyon para sa mga karagdarang pananaliksik sa kultura at wikang Pilipino.*

**How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research / *Bakit ako ang napili mong lumahok sa pananaliksik na ito?***

I have chosen to invite you to become one of the participants as you fit the criteria I require for my research. I believe that your experience and knowledge on the subject matter can be a great contribution for the completion of this study.

*Napili kitang maging isa sa mga kalahok sa kadahilanang akma at nagtugma ang mga karanasan mo at mga kailangan ko sa pagsusuri ng wikang Pilipino. Naniniwala akong ang kaalaman mo ay isa sa mga mahahalagang kontribusyon para sa pagbuo ng pananaliksik na ito.*

**What will happen in this research / *Ano ang mangyayari sa pananaliksik na ito?***

The research involves one-on-one interviews. Informal observations on language use of the Filipino ethnic community were done during the annual Filipino Labour weekend event in Tauranga on October 2015. Information and patterns gathered from the event will serve as a helpful guide during the interview with the participants. The interview will take around an hour, and follow up interviews may be requested for specific questions I need to address, although this is not necessary in all cases.

*Sangkot sa pananaliksik na ito ang paglikom ng mga datos mula sa pakikipanayam sa mga kalahok pati na rin ang mga datos mula sa impormal na obserbasyon ng paggamit ng wikang Pilipino sa taunang Pistang Pilipino sa lungsod ng Tauranga nuong Oktubre 2015. Ang mga impormasyon na nalikom mula sa taunang Pistang Pilipino ay magsisilbing gabay para sa aking pakikinanayam sa mga kalahok, na magtatagal ng isang oras mahigit. May mga pagkakataong kakailanganin kong kausapin muli ang mga kalahok kung may mga tanong akong gustong balikan o klaruhin.*

**What are the discomforts and risks / *Ano ang mga panganib bilang kalahok?***

There will be no discomforts or risks on your part whatsoever. However, if you should be uncomfortable to answer any question, you may choose to skip this question or withdraw from the interview altogether. If you withdraw from the interview, no data that already was collected will be used in the study.

*Ang pananaliksik na ito ay hindi magdudulot ng kahit anong panganib sa mga kalahok. Subalit kung ikaw ay hindi komportableng sumagot sa ilang mga tanong, maaari mong laktawan ang tanong na ito o bawiin ang iyong pagsali sa buong panayam. Kung ito ang iyong nais, walang impormasyon o datos na galing sa iyo ang gagamitin sa aking pananaliksik.*

**How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated / *Paano maiiwasan ang mga panganib na ito?***

n/a

**What are the benefits / *Ano ang benepisyo ng pananaliksik na ito?***

The main benefit of this research is to provide an understanding on the current attitudinal and behavioural patterns of Filipino migrants when it comes to the preservation of their heritage language in New Zealand. If the study presents patterns leading to the loss of their heritage language, the Filipino community will have the chance to prevent this by putting certain programs in place that promote the Tagalog language. As one of the participants, you may gain an oversight from this research as to how important your heritage language is in your cultural and ethnic identity. It may also give you an insight as to how language attitudes can directly or indirectly affect your language preference.

*Ang pananaliksik na ito ay nilikha upang magbigay-unawa sa kasalukuyang saluobin at pag-uugali ng mga migranteng Pilipino pagdating sa pagpapanatili ng kanilang wikang pambansa sa New Zealand. Magkakaroon ng pagkakataon ang mga Pilipinong magtala ng mga programa upang hikayatin ang nakararami na ituro ang kanilang wika sa darating na mga henerasyon. Bilang isa sa mga kalahok, ikaw ay mabibigyan ng pagkakataong suriin ang importansya ng iyong wika pagdating sa iyong kultura at etnikong pagkakakilanlan. Maaari rin itong magbigay-linaw kung paano nakakaapekto ang saluobin ng isang tao sa kanyang wika pagdating sa kanyang sariling kagustuhang panatilihin ito.*

**What compensation is available for injury or negligence / Ano ang kabayaran para sa anumang pinsala o kapabayaan sa pananaliksik na ito?**

AUT University has public liability insurance cover and this includes students doing university research work.

*Ang unibersidad ng AUT ay mayroong public liability insurance para sa mga mag-aaral na gumagawa ng pananaliksik.*

**How will my privacy be protected / Paano mapoprotektahan ang pribadong-buhay ko?**

I will ensure that all personal information and details gathered from the interview will be confidential and used only for the purposes of this study. You will all be given aliases and no personal information will be written up that will give hints to their identities.

*Sisiguraduhin kong lahat ng personal na impormasyon at detalyeng nalikom mula sa pakikipanayam sa lahat ng mga kalahok ay mananatiling kompidensyal at magagamit lamang sa pananaliksik na ito. Wala akong isusulat na personal na impormasyon na magbibigay pahiwatig sa iyong pagkakakilanlan, at lahat ng kalahok ay bibigyan ng huwad na pangalan.*

**What are the costs of participating in this research / Ano ang mga kakailanganin ko para lumahok sa pananaliksik na ito?**

The interview itself should only be around an hour, with a potential follow-up interview if I need to address specific questions and clarifications.

*Ang pakikipanayam ay magtatagal ng isang oras mahigit. May mga pagkakataong kakailanganin kong kausapin muli ang mga kalahok kung may mga tanong akong gustong balikan o klaruhin.*

**What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation / Gaano katagal kong maaaring pag-isipan ang paanyaya na ito?**

You can take a week or longer to consider this invitation.

*Mayroon kayong isang linggo o mahigit para pag-isipan ang paanyaya na ito.*

**How do I agree to participate in this research / Paano ako papayag sa pagsali sa pananaliksik na ito?**

I will provide a consent form for you to sign and return as a formal way of accepting my invitation.

*Magbibigay ako ng kasulatang nagdedetalye na kayo ay nagbibigay pahintulot na sumali sa pananaliksik na ito. Kailangan mong pirmahan ang kasulatan at ibalik sa akin bilang pormal na pagtanggap sa aking paanyaya.*

**Will I receive feedback on the results of this research / Makakatanggap ba ako ng kasulatan para sa resulta ng pananaliksik na ito?**

Yes, I will provide a summary of my findings once the thesis is done.

*Oo, makakatanggap ka ng buod base sa mga napag-alaman ko mula sa pananaliksik na ito.*

**What do I do if I have concerns about this research / Ano ang aking gagawin kung mayroon akong alalahanin tungkol sa pananaliksik na ito?**

You can talk to me directly, via my mobile number 021 0820 5028 or send me an e-mail ([umali.ronalyn@gmail.com](mailto:umali.ronalyn@gmail.com)) and I will be happy to answer any concerns or queries.

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Thesis Supervisor, Professor *Allan Bell*, e-mail address is [allan.bell@aut.ac.nz](mailto:allan.bell@aut.ac.nz), and phone number is +64 9 921 9683.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, *Kate O'Connor*, [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz), 921 9999 ext 6038.

*Maaari mo akong kausapin gamit ang numero ko 021 0820 5028 o kaya'y padalhan mo akong e-mail ([umali.ronalyn@gmail.com](mailto:umali.ronalyn@gmail.com)) para sagutin ang anumang alinlangan o tanong.*

*Anumang alinlangan tungkol sa uri ng proyekto na ito, makipag-alam sa aking superbisor, Allan Bell, e-mail address [allan.bell@aut.ac.nz](mailto:allan.bell@aut.ac.nz) at ang kanyang number ay +64 9 921 9683.*

*Anumang alinlangan tungkol sa pagdadala ng proyekto na ito, makipag-alam sa kalihim na tagapagpaganap ng AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz), 921 9999 ext 6038.*

**Whom do I contact for further information about this research / Sino ang maaari kong tawagan upang humingi ng karagdagang kaalaman para sa pananaliksik na ito?**

***Researcher Contact Details / Mga detalye ng tagapagpananaliksik:***

Ronalyn Umali, e-mail address: [umali.ronalyn@gmail.com](mailto:umali.ronalyn@gmail.com) mobile number: 021 0820 5028

***Project Supervisor Contact Details / Mga detalye ng superbisor sa proyektong ito:***

Professor Allan Bell, e-mail address is [allan.bell@aut.ac.nz](mailto:allan.bell@aut.ac.nz), and phone number is +64 9 921 9683.

**The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEK) granted ethics approval for the research on the 8th of December, 2015: AUTEK Reference number 15/404.**

# Appendix Two:

## Consent Form

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*Project title:* **Exploring the social psychological factors affecting the language choice of Filipino migrants in New Zealand**

*Project Supervisor:* **Allan Bell**

*Researcher:* **Ronalyn Umali**

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 21/09/2015.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of the study, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I agree to be quoted anonymously in thesis, presentations, and publications.
- I wish to receive a copy of the summary report from the research. (please tick one): Yes  No
- I wish to receive a PDF copy of the whole thesis. (please tick one): Yes  No

Participant's signature:

.....

Participant's name:

.....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 8<sup>th</sup> of December, 2015: AUTEK Reference number 15/404.**

*Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.*



## Appendix Three: Interview Questions

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1. Which language are you most comfortable to express yourself with?  
*Anong wika ang pinakasanay kang gamitin?*
2. Do you speak Tagalog?  
*Nakakapagsalita ka ba ng Tagalog?*
3. Where do you speak Tagalog? And with whom?  
*Saan ka nagsasalita ng Tagalog? At kanino?*
4. Are you able to hold a whole conversation using Tagalog?  
*Kaya mo bang makipag-usap sa ibang tao gamit lang ang Tagalog?*
5. Aside from family gatherings and cultural events, in which circumstances would you normally hear someone talking in Tagalog?  
*Bukod sa mga pagtitipon ng pamilya at kamag-anak mo o mga pagdiriwang, saan ka pa nakakarinig na may mga nagsasalita ng Tagalog?*
6. Have you been back to the Philippines since moving to New Zealand? How many times? (reasons for visiting)  
*Nakabalik ka na ba sa Pilipinas mula nang lumipat ka sa New Zealand? Ilang beses na? (Mga dahilan ng pagbisita)*
  - 6.1. (For those who already went back to the Philippines) Did you feel like someone coming home to your heritage country, or more like a tourist visiting a country?  
*(Para sa mga nakabalik na ng Pilipinas) Naramdaman mo ba na isa kang balikbayan sa sarili mong bansa, o parang turista na bumibisita lang?*
  - 6.2. (For those who haven't been back to the Philippines) Would you consider going back for a visit? Why / why not?  
*(Para sa mga hindi pa nakakabalik ng Pilipinas) May balak ka bang bumisita sa Pilipinas? Bakit / Bakit hindi?*
7. Is it important for Filipinos in New Zealand to keep their ability to speak Tagalog? Why / why not?  
*Mahalaga ba para sa mga Pilipino sa New Zealand na panatilihin ang kakayahan nilang makapagsalita ng Tagalog? Bakit / bakit hindi?*
8. Personally, do you think you need to be able to speak Tagalog in order to keep your Filipino culture? Why / why not?  
*Para sa iyo, kailangan mo bang makapagsalita ng Tagalog para mapanatili mo ang kulturang Pilipino? Bakit / Bakit hindi?*
9. Would you say your ability to understand someone talking in Tagalog is low, average, good, or very good?  
*Masasabi mo ba na ang kakayahan mong makaintindi ng isang taong nagsasalita ng Tagalog ay mababa, katamtaman, mahusay, o napakamahusay?*

10. Would you say your ability to speak Tagalog is low, average, good, or very good?  
*Masasabi mo ba na ang kakayahan mong makapagsalita ng Tagalog ay mababa, katamtaman, mahusay, o napakahusay?*
11. What Filipino gatherings do you normally go to? Do you use mostly English or Tagalog? Which language do you use when talking to adults and kids?  
*Anong mga pagtitipon ng mga Pilipino ang kadalasang pinupuntahan mo? Kadalasan ba ang ginagamit mo ay Ingles o Tagalog? Anong wika ang gigagamit mo kapag kausap ang mga matatanda / bata?*
12. When you're out with your Filipino friends, would you mostly speak in English or Tagalog? Why?  
*Kapag nasa labas ka kasama ang mga kaibigan mong Pilipino, kadalasan ba nagsasalita ka ng Ingles o Tagalog? Bakit?*
13. Can you give me an indication of how many Tagalog-speaking friends you have?  
*Marami ka bang kaibigan na nakapagsalita ng Tagalog? Mga ilang porsyento?*
14. Do you speak Tagalog with your Tagalog-speaking friends even if not everyone around you can understand it? Why / why not?  
*Nagsasalita ka ba ng Tagalog kahit na hindi lahat ng mga kasama mo ay nakakaintindi ng Tagalog? Bakit / bakit hindi?*
15. If yes, in which circumstances would you normally do this?  
*Kung oo, anong mga pangyayari mo kadalasang ginagawa ito?*
16. If ever you have kids in the future, is it important for you that they learn Tagalog?  
*Kung magkaka-anak ka sa hinaharap, mahalaga ba sa iyo na matuto silang mag-Tagalog?*
17. (Follow-up question) Would you want them to be able to talk in Tagalog or would you be okay if they cannot speak it but at least can understand it?  
*Gusto mo bang makapagsalita sila ng Tagalog o ayos na sa'yo yung kahit hindi sila nakapagsalita, naiintindihan naman nila?*
18. (For those who have kids) What language do you use when you talk to your kids? Do you require them to answer back in the same language?  
*Anong wika ang ginagamit mo kapag kausap mo ang mga anak mo? Kailangan ba nilang sumagot sa parehong wika na ginagamit mo?*
19. Do 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?  
*Pakiramdam mo ba na ang mga magulang / mga kapatid / mga kaibigan / mga anak / mga bata sa paligid mo ay inaasahan kang makipag-usap sa kanila gamit ang isang partikular na wika, sinabi man nila o hindi?*
20. How do you define your identity? A Filipino who lives in New Zealand, Kiwi of Filipino descent, Filipino Kiwi, or Kiwi Filipino? Why?  
*Paano mo ipapahiwatig ang iyong pagkakakilanlan? Isang Pilipino na nakatira sa New Zealand, Kiwi na may Pilipinong pinagmulan, Pilipinong Kiwi, o Kiwing Pilipino? Bakit?*

## Appendix Four: Coded Interview Sample

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**P – for Participant; R – for Ronalyn;**

**PM – for Participant's mother; PF – for Participant's father**

**[Start]**

R: Okay so 27 ka na ngayon, kelan kayo nag-move, kelan kayo pumunta ng New Zealand?

P: 2002.

R: 2002. And then so ilang years... so more than 10 years na kayo dito. 14 years?

P: 14 yeah tama.

R: So ilang taon ka nung lumipat kayo dito?

P: 13 ako... yeah 13, magfo-fourteen.

R: Tapos may iba ba kayong bansang pinuntahan bago dito?

P: Mmm, Malaysia before that.

R: Tumira kayo don?

P: Mmm, three years kami don.

R: Ilan?

P: Three years.

R: Ah so Philippines, tapos Malaysia, tapos New Zealand?

P: Mmmm yeah, New Zealand.

R: Oh, anong ginawa nyo sa Malaysia?

P: Kasi work ni papa nandon. So basically yeah.

R: Okay... anong language don?

P: Malay.

R: Malay. So natuto ba kayo ng konti o hindi?

P: Ako hindi. Kasi yung dalawa lumalabas sila lagi. Pero ako hindi. Yeah.

R: Anong ginagamit nyong language nun sa bahay?

P: Ah Tagalog, Filipino.

R: Okay. Um, anong gusto mo yung questions, sa English or sa Tagalog?

P: Either one, siguro English.

R: Okay.

P: Pwede bang English Tagalog?

R: Yeah! Pwede, pwede.

P: Ah okay.

R: Like kung pano tayo nagsasalita ngayon?

P: Yeah.

R: Okay. Tingin mo anong la—anong...wait lang nacover ko na ba yung basics... so ikaw nag-move ka dito, so umalis ka sa Pilipinas ng 10, three years kayo sa Malaysia, and then 13, 14 ka nung nagpunta ka dito. So anong, tingin mo anong language pinaka-comfortable kang i-express yung sarili mo?

P: Sa ngayon, I think English.

R: Bakit?

P: Ahhh, I don't know kasi sa bahay namin is we speak English. Tsaka sa mga kapatid ko, since we pretty much grew up here parang nawala yung Tagalog along the way. Kasi sa New Plymouth kami, parang siguro nung at that time, siguro tatlo o apat lang yung Filipino families don. So isa lang yung kaibigan kong Pilipino dun. Yeah so parang, yes as time went on parang nawala unti-unti yung pagta-Tagalog namin.

Language at home

Loss of Tagalog

Lack of Tagalog speakers

R: Sa bahay?

P: Mmmm...

R: Okay. So, like nung nag-migrate kayo ng 2002, and then sabi mo nga yon, English na yung ginagamit nyo sa bahay, tingin mo mga ilang years yun bago kayo... kasi nung sabi mo sa Malaysia nagta-Tagalog kayo sa bahay di'ba? But then dito, nag-um, parang yung language na ginagamit nyo sa bahay is naging English. Parang alam mob a kung ilang years nag-take bago kayo nag-switch or parang it's not really a conscious, you know it's not something that happened consciously?

P: Hindi conscious, hindi conscious for sure. Siguro mga three years? Siguro mga around 2005 ganon.

Loss of Tagalog

R: Kasi mga bagets pa din yung mga kapatid mo nung...

P: Oo bata pa sila.

R: Nung lumipat dito 'no. Okay pero you still speak Tagalog?

P: Oo, yeah.

R: Saan ka, saan ka normally nagta-Tagalog? At tsaka kanino? Saan meaning like specific places na tingin mo.

P: Mostly siguro, 80% ng time sa bahay ng girlfriend ko sa family niya. Kasi bago nga lang sila dito. I mean fairly recent sila dito. Tapos dun ako mostly parang nare-introduce sa pagta-Tagalog ulit. Yeah pero, don mostly sa bahay not as much. Pag kasama ko yung mga kapatid ko mostly Tag-English.

Partner's language

Length of residency

Reintroduce in Tagalog

Language at home

R: Gano na kayo katagal?

P: Three years.

R: Three years... okay so mostly sa bahay ng girlfriend mo, kausap mo yung girlfriend mo at tsaka mga pamilya nya?

P: Mmmm yeah.

R: Hmmm sino pa o kaya saan pa?

P: Um sa, sa simbahan as well. Sa mga congregation namin is like mga Pilipino.

Public/private domains

R: Mm-hmmm. Anong congregation nyo?

P: Um JIL New Plymouth.

R: JIL, ano yun?

P: New Plymouth... Jesus is Lord New Plymouth.

[5:00]

R: Ah yup, yup.

P: So yung church namin. So doon na rin parang since I started going there mga three years ago, parang yun nare-introduce ako sa pagta-Tagalog ulit.

Public/private domains

R: Okay.

P: I'm just thinking, saan pa ba... that's, yun na.

R: Pretty much? Yeah... Okay, um kaya mo pa bang makipag-usap or can you still hold a conversation just using Tagalog? Or do you think you can?

P: I think I can siguro pero not as well pag ano, pag English. Depends on who I talk to as well. Siguro kung nasa Pilipinas ako parang mabubulol-bulol ako, I'll trip over my words. I think it's noticeable parang, maraming nagsasabi na parang weird daw pag nagta-Tagalog ako.

R: Sino? Mga kaibigan mo or?

P: Mm-hmmm, sabi nila. Parang may something not right daw pag nagta-Tagalog (laughs) I think yung pronunciation ng mga words? Yeah yun lagi, those get me all the time.

R: Yeah... do you think it's because sanay sila na nagi-English ka or hindi rin? Or talagang sa pronunciation mo yun?

P: I think sa pronunciation ko, yeah.

R: Pero tingin mo kaya mo pa rin, na you're still able to hold a whole conversation in Tagalog? Mostly?

P: In a sense na pag umuwi ako sa Pilipinas, I think to get by, oo. Yeah.

R: Ah okay... Ah, aside from family gathering and cultural events, saang circumstances ka would you normally hear someone talking in Tagalog?

P: Apart from where?

R: Apart from family gatherings and cultural events.

P: Family gatherings, cultural events...

R: Normally, in which circumstances would you hear someone talking in Tagalog?

P: Hmm wala... Siguro sa, pag umuwi lang ako sa Pilipinas, does that count?

R: Yeah yeah... or you know kahit yung in any form or...

P: O sige sige... actually siguro dito sa Churton Park, sa Johnsonville. Quite often like pag

Better in English

"weird" when talking in Tagalog

Different Tagalog

naglalakad ako there's always, parang naririnig ko sa, not on a daily basis pero siguro on weekly basis. Especially sa Countdown, I almost always hear yung mga tao nagta-Tagalog.

Public domains/ areas with

R: Sa shopping, ah yung shopping mall? Or yung Countdown na grocery?

P: Countdown, Countdown na grocery...

R: Countdown nga eh! (laughs) yeah so around Johnsonville area.

P: I don't know ang dami palang Pilipino dito!

R: Sa Plymouth hindi masyado?

Growing Filipino

P: Ah ngayon dumadami na! Pero not as much as here. Parang nakikita, may nakikita ka lagi every time you go out.

R: Yeah... so hindi ka sanay?

P: Hindi (laughs).

R: Na naririnig yon?

P: Sa public hindi, hindi masyado. Parang I get the urge na parang mag say hello sa kanila, parang ganon (laughs).

Growing Filipino community

R: Yeah parang "Uy! Pilipino!" (laughs)

P: But it's so common here pala (laughs) yeah wala lang.

R: Ah so nakabalik ka na sa Pilipinas since moving here in New Zealand?

P: Mmmm, six years ago.

R: SInong kasama?

P: Actually five years ago. Just family, si Daniel tsaka si Pinky.

R: Ah okay.

P: And my parents.

R: Gano kayo katagal don?

P: I think mga three weeks? It might have been a month. Pero ano sandali lang.

R: For what?

P: Um birthday ni lolo, 75<sup>th</sup>.

R: Sa mother's side mo?

P: Mmm, yeah.

R: Okay, taga-san parents nyo dun?

P: Hmmm Tarlac.

R: Parehas?

P: Hmmm, Tarlac.

R: So dun kayo nagpunta?

P: Yup.

R: Okay. Ah, that's nice. Ano pang ginawa nyo?

P: Um, ginawa namin... so long ago I'm not good... pero kasama namin mostly mga pinsan namin tapos ganon they toured us. Sa ano sa Tarlac.

R: Ah okay. For mostly in that area lang?

P: Mmmm, mostly.

R: Um, when you went back... when you went back did you feel like, um na para kang, na you were like...

**[10:00]**

R: Alam mo yung balik-bayan?

P: Mm-hmmm.

R: You know someone coming home to your own country or was it more like you're a tourist visiting another country?

P: Parang both. Pero it felt more like parang tourist ako don.

R: Mm-hmmm. Bakit parang both? Yun muna.

P: Bakit parang both? Dahil, kasi naaalala ko pa rin yung mga places dun yung mga tao, sort of. And like syempre Pilipino ako so it felt like parang yun yung home. Yeah pero I felt like a tourist kasi parang, yung pag-trato sa'min ng mga tao is like parang we're tourists ganon. Parang may, they can always tell na, "ay hindi kayo tiga-dito" ganon.

R: Pano yung, anong ibig mong sabihin sa pag-trato nila?

P: Um, kunyari punta kami sa mall ganon, tapos yung mga bata lagi kaming hinihingan ng pera.

R: (laughs) Random bata?

Visit the PhilippinesFilipinos

Tourist in the Philippines

Sense of being Filipino

Treated like tourists

<p>P: Oo mga random na bata! Mga sa tindahan... tapos "ah tiga ano yan... tiga Amerika yan!"</p>	<div style="background-color: #4a7ebb; color: white; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Treated like tourists</div>
<p>R: (laughs)</p>	
<p>P: Tapos wala, I don't speak or anything, wala pa kong sinasabi. I don't know somehow they can pick it out. Siguro dahil sa suot ko. Pero they can always tell na...</p>	
<p>R: Taga ibang bansa?</p>	<div style="background-color: #4a7ebb; color: white; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Treated like tourists</div>
<p>P: Oo like asking sa ano... wala punta daw kami ng Jollibee ganon. Yung mga random na bata.</p>	
<p>R: (laughs)</p>	
<p>P: (laughs) Like ganon. Tsaka kapag ini-introduce kami sa family ganon, "ah si ano to... tiga-New Zealand." Laging ganon.</p>	<div style="background-color: #4a7ebb; color: white; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Treated like tourists</div>
<p>R: Laging may ganon. Ahhh... um, tingin mo ba para sa mga Filipinos in New Zealand, do you think it's important for that community to maintain their language in this country?</p>	
<p>P: In this country? Oh yeah definitely.</p>	
<p>R: Bakit?</p>	
<p>P: I think mas importante sa mga younger children... para lang may sense of, of culture tsaka identity sila. I think, kung magkaka-family man ako I'd want to preserve something like that. Yung heritage na ganon. I wouldn't want them na parang, ma-adopt yung Filipino—I mean yung Kiwi na culture. Na as much as possible, gusto kong ma-retain yung ano...</p>	<div style="background-color: #4a7ebb; color: white; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Sense of culture and identity</div>
	<div style="background-color: #4a7ebb; color: white; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Pass on to kids</div>
<p>R: Filipino culture?</p>	<div style="background-color: #4a7ebb; color: white; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Maintain Filipino culture with kids</div>
<p>P: Pagka-Pilipino namin. And like a huge part of that is our language, right?</p>	
<p>R: Yeah, yeah... but when you, is it more like Filipino culture... di'ba when you talk about Filipino culture there's other aspects, like traditions, religion, family gatherings and stuff. And then there's the language aspect. Na would that be parang a huge part of that na tingin mo importante rin yun na aspect when it comes to Filipinos in New Zeland? Or is it more like the Filipino culture in general?</p>	
<p>P: I think parang hindi mo mate-take out one from the other, yung language from the culture. Kasi,</p>	<div style="background-color: #4a7ebb; color: white; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Language within the culture</div>

I don't know how to explain it. Kasi it's yours yung language na yun is like parang may mga concepts sa mga, kagaya sa Filipino language na mage-gets mo lang dahil Pilipino ka? There's some certain words na they mean something to you because... because, hindi ko ma-explain fully sorry pero...

Convey better in ethnic

R: Nah it's okay.

P: Yeah...

R: Okay for you personally, do you think it's a necessity or a need for you to be able to, or to retain your ability to speak Tagalog, to retain your Filipino—yung pagka-Pilipino mo?

P: Paki-ulit sorry.

R: Personally, do you think it's important, or you need to retain your ability to speak Tagalog in order to keep your, yung pagka-Pilipino mo?

P: Yeah. Yes. Dahil nga as I said before, parang part yung ng pagka-Pilipino mo is your language. I mean would you go sa isang country like may mga Pilipino don tapos nag-English kayo? It doesn't seem like too, too, almost too proper. Pag ganon like... kasi yun yung parang that's what brings you together. I mean like, yun yung parang tie nyo with each other almost. You kinda feel it more pag parehas kayong nagta-Tagalog.

Part of being Filipino

Tagalog with Filipinos

Brings people together

[15:00]

R: Okay, would you say your ability to understand someone talking in Tagalog is low, average, good or very good?

P: I think average. Oo... but what is average though?

R: Ikaw, it's up to you like how you assess yourself.

P: Okay. Average siguro. Average for someone who, na nakatira sa New Zealand, who was brought up here.

R: What about your ability to speak?

P: Speak? Siguro below average?

R: So low? (laughs)

P: Pretty low (laughs).

- R: Bakit tingin mo low? Low, pero sinabi mo kanina you think you can, you're able to hold a conversation in Tagalog?
- P: Oo (laughs) I don't know hindi ko ma-express yung sarili ko fully pag nagta-Tagalog. Tagalog literacy
- R: Okay, fair enough.
- P: Tsaka kung, I mean kunwari nasa Pilipinas ako tas nagtrabaho ako sa call centre dun, tapos I have to work, nagta-Tagalog ako sa call centre I don't think I could do that. Do you understand? Tagalog literacy
- R: Um, well...
- P: Let's say nag-work ako sa call centre and like that job entails me na nagta-Tagalog towards other people, I don't think I could do my job. Tagalog literacy
- R: Yeah yeah, okay... Pero, pero when you, when we're talking about conversation wise, it's more na tingin, parang sinasabi mo ba it's more like, informal conversation?
- P: Ah sa informal I think okay lang.
- R: Pero yung sa rating mo is more like, kasi hinalintulad mo siya—hinalintulad...
- P: Like that I don't know what that means...
- R: You compared it to. So tulad is like, "like" so hinalintulad, you compared it to someone working in a contact centre na magsasalita ng Tagalog which is more like, you know formal I guess... Formal form of Tagalog. So maybe that's why sinabi mo low kasi... is that the reason why? Na sinabi mong your ability to speak Tagalog is low?
- P: Yeah... pero hindi pero kunyari sa everyday situations na parang you want something out of a situation from another person? Siguro I couldn't do that as well... Tagalog literacy
- R: Ay hello po! (parents entered the room)
- P: Ah si Rona.
- PM: Kamusta?
- R: Hello po.
- P: Kapatid ni Kp.
- R: Okay po (talking to mother).

PM: Sige okay lang.

PF: Hello!

R: Ay hello po kamusta?

PF: Hi, hi. Kamusta ka na?

R: Ini-interview ko lang po yung anak nyo.

PF: Ah okay, okay.

R: Sorry ano yung sinasabi mo? Na kapag may hihingin ka or?

P: Mmmm, siguro ganon. In everyday situations na parang to get something you want. Parang I can't talk my way...

Tagalog literacy

R: Ahhhh... na parang you wouldn't be as eloquent na... tama ba? Are we on the same page?

P: Ah oo yeah, yeah... parang ganon. Kunyari makikipag-bargain ka or something sa tindahan, I can't do that to get the lowest price. Not necessarily formal di'ba?

Tagalog literacy

R: Mm-hmmm.

P: Yeah, just like that.

R: Okay gets ko na, yup. Parang hindi mo, you don't really have a really good handle on the language to work your way around? Like your example.

P: Mm-hmmm...

R: Ah okay. Um, what Filipino gatherings do you normally go to?

P: What Filipino gatherings? Siguro yung sa church. Mostly sa church.

Filipino activities

R: Exclusive ba yun? Yung JIL? Exclusive ba yun sa Filipinos?

P: Hindi it's for everyone.

R: But mostly it's Filipinos?

Mostly Filipinos in

P: Yeah. Yung mga congregations mostly Filipino. Yeah pero yung service is in English.

R: So um...

P: Tsaka yun lang sa Labour Weekend, if that counts.

R: Yeah, yeah.

P: Pero apart from that, hindi naman ako nagpupunta sa mga gatherings or anything.

Filipino gatherings

R: Like, kahit yung mga ano birthday ni ganito ganyan, kung puro Pilipino and stuff.

P: Ah seldom. Very seldom. Siguro ngayong year na to kasi kasama ko si Daniel.

R: Ah yeah... Ah so when you go to these gatherings do you normally speak Tagalog or English?

P: Mmm Tagalog.

R: Um, kapag sa mga gatherings di'ba there's adults and kids. Ibang language ba yung ginagamit mo when you talk to adults as compared to when you talk to kids?

[20:00]

P: Oo, yes. Pag sa mga adults Tagalog. And sa mga kids is English.

Language with adults

R: Bakit may differentiation?

P: Kasi yung mga bata nagi-English. Most, not all the time kasi parang they kind of they spent some time here. Yeah. Tapos yun nagi-English na rin sila.

Language with kids

Length of residency

R: Yeah... pano yung mga, like meron din namang matatanda na nagi-English di'ba? So when they talk to you in English do you normally respond back in the same language?

P: Oo. Kasi yung mga nagi-English naman sa'kin sa church, like mga puti, there's maybe mga three or four... three of four lang.

R: Yup... Um, when you're out with your Filipino friends, would you normally speak in English or Tagalog?

P: Tagalog.

R: When you're out na kapag lalabas kayo and stuff? Tagalog?

P: Tagalog, yeah.

R: Um, kung if you're gonna give me an indication, siguro percentage kung ilan yung... sa lahat ng mga kaibigan mo, ilan dun yung nakakapagsalita ng Tagalog?

P: 80?

R: 80 percent?

P: 80 siguro I'll go 90. Yeah... siguro mga 85 percent.

R: So majority.

P: Majority, yeah.

R: Ah okay... um what if there's a situation wherein isang grupo kayo di'ba? Like there's um people who can understand Tagalog and then there's a couple na hindi nakakaintindi ng Tagalog. Do you still speak it, even if not everyone can understand it?

P: Isa pa, sorry...

R: Like if you're out with a group of people, and then some can understand Tagalog,

P: Some can't.

R: Some can't, like a couple or something... do you still speak the language or not to each other? Na sa mga nakakaintindi do you still speak Tagalog?

P: Ah yeah... pero magi-English din ako for those who can't understand.

R: So, so do you, what do you do? Do you translate it or?

P: Not all of it!

R: Do you have two different conversations? How does it normally go?

P: I don't know hindi pa nangyare sa'kin too often I don't think. I can't remember it happening to me.

R: Oh...

P: Syempre kakausapin ko rin yung mga, yung mga hindi nakakaintindi, for the sake na hindi sila ma-OP.

R: Yup, yeah... so hindi pa nangyayayre sa'yo yun?

P: Nah (laughs)

R: Oh really? What about sa church di'ba? Sa congregation nyo? Di'ba may mga puti? What if after, like if you have some, I don't know kapag tea or ganon, wala bang pagkakataon na like

Adjust

Inclusion

you know, you're just five in a group and then there's one na non-Tagalog speaker?

P: (laughs) Parang hindi...

R: Oh, interesting.

P: I can't recall pero yeah nagta-translate din ako. Yeah I do. I've done that before.

Translation

R: Okay. Kasi my next question is supposedly, like um if yes, in which circumstances would you normally do this, you know? Pero, it hasn't really happened to you yet. So let's just skip that.

R: You mentioned something earlier about you know when you have kids in the future you would want them to learn, to know how to speak Tagalog in order for them to keep the Filipino culture. And you know with some parents, or not all, but in some cases especially with migrants' kids who grew, who grow up you know hindi na sa Pilipinas. They kind of, they can understand the language but they can't really speak it. Would that be okay to you?

P: Parang, how, would it be okay?

R: Would it be okay for you if your future kids can understand Tagalog but they can't really speak it? Or parang they have to speak it as well?

P: Gusto kong sabihin na parang they have to speak it, pero more often than not sa mga lumalaki dito it's almost inevitable na parang nawawala yung... or huge part of it is nawawala anyway. Parang sa'kin sigro I'd settle with like nakakaintindi sila.

Inevitable attrition

Understand but not speak

[25:00]

R: You'd be okay with it?

P: I'd be okay with it, yeah...

R: Bakit?

P: Wala lang, kasi hindi rin ako like magaling mag-Tagalog. So why do I expect na yung magiging mga anak ko will be better off? Unless I send them off na tumira sa Pinas or something.

Pass on language to kids

Learn language in home

R: Or you know, kapag madami sila, pwede mo ring madaming sabihin na madaming Pilipinong

kaibigan. Kaso pano naman yung mga kaibigan ano na din di'ba, English speakers na rin.

P: Hmm yeah.

R: Um, what about when you talk to, kapag kausap mo yung parents mo do you think they have a certain, not... when I say expectation it's not like explicit or it can be implicit lang na may unawaan na kayo, there's an understanding na when you talk to each other, you use this kind of language? Na do you think there's something like that na when you talk to your parents you have, you have an understanding that you, "oh, I'll use this language when I talk to my parents... oh but when I talk to my siblings I use this kind of, this language." Does that make sense?

P: Yeah it makes sense, pero parang wala naman. I think ine-expect na nila na nagi-English ako.

Language with family

R: And to siblings mo?

P: Ganon din.

R: Parehas? Eh sa mga friends?

P: They know na nagta-Tagalog ako kapag kasama ko yung girlfriend ko tsaka yung family niya.

Language with partner

R: What about, madami ka bang well, wala ka namang mga pamangkin pa, but let's say sa church nyo di'ba may mga kids around you. When you talk to them, na parang do they expect for you to use a certain language?

P: Mmmm, they expect na mag-English ako sa kanila I think.

R: Kasi?

Language with kids

P: Dahil nagi-English din sila tas parang they know ako yung si, si tito na ano nagi-English.

R: (laughs)

P: Yeah.

R: Have you spoken with them in Tagalog before?

P: Mmmm... yeah.

R: And then anong reaction? Blank face?

P: Wala ini-English pa rin ako (laughs).

R: (laughs) Okay... okay last question. How would you define your identity—is it a Filipino who lives in New Zealand, Kiwi of Filipino descent, Filipino Kiwi, or Kiwi Filipino?

P: Ano yung ibang categories, sorry?

R: So um, a Filipino who lives in New Zealand, a Kiwi of Filipino descent, Filipino Kiwi, or Kiwi Filipino?

P: Anong pinagkaiba nung Kiwi Filipino sa Filipino Kiwi?

R: Parang...

P: More Kiwi ka, right?

R: Again it's...

P: Siguro Filipino Kiwi pa rin.

R: Bakit?

P: Ano I feel parang nasa middle ground ako. Parang, I feel here pag nasa kasama ko yung mga Kiwi or something, they treat me parang Filipino... tapos pag nasa mga Pilipino naman ako, parang they don't treat me as parang fully Filipino ganon. Especially kapag nag-English ako. So siguro ganon parang in between almost.

Mixed identity

R: Yeah, yeah.

P: Sakto lang, in between.

R: Mm-hmmm. Pero ano yung sinabi mo kanina na something na, you're still Filipino? Nung sinabi mong Filipino Kiwi you said um... you're still more on Filipino? What does that mean?

P: I don't know, kasi mostly kasama ko Filipino I guess. And I just relate to them a lot more than nakaka-relate ako sa mga Kiwi.

Relate to Filipinos more

R: In terms of?

P: Mas madali silang pakisamahan.

R: Oh yeah.

P: Like ganon kahit nag-English ako or what, hindi ako nagta-Tagalog as often around them I just feel na I can relate to them better.

Relate to Filipinos better

R: So hindi yan particularly on language, but more on...

P: No hindi...

R: So more on, like interests? Or the way they are? Pano mo ba, how would you explain that? That you can relate to them more?

P: I don't know, it's still more comfortable kung kasama ko sila. Cos I think parang I have a better understanding nung attitudes nila. Sa mga behaviour nila, their way of thinking ganon parang mas nakaka-go with the flow ako kapag ganun mga kasama ko, yeah... that's pretty much it.

Comfortable with Filipinos

R: Yeah... may tanong ka ba?

P: Um, wala. **[End]**