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Language Maintenance and Cultural Identity: Case Studies of Filipino Immigrant Families in Mississippi

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Around 3 out of 4 second-generation Filipino immigrants aged 6-15 in the U.S. spoke only English at home, according to a study based on the Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples (IPUMS) from the 2000 census (Alba et al. 2004). Second-generation Asian immigrant children overall had higher rates of only English speakers compared to Hispanics; among Asian immigrants, Filipinos had the highest percentage (76.3%). With the 2000 census statistics in mind, this project considers Filipino parents' and children's everyday language choices, languages attitudes, cultural identities, and how such factors relate to each family's language maintenance of heritage language, bilingualism, or shift towards only English. This study consists of interviews and recorded family dinner conversations with five Filipino immigrant families who have children enrolled in a local public-school system in Mississippi. Interviews and recordings were transcribed and analyzed to generate case studies on each family and to identify common themes relating to family language policy, language ideology, language attitudes, and cultural identity. These themes are discussed alongside implications for these families' language maintenance or cross-generational language shift.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Around 3 out of 4 second-generation Filipino immigrants aged 6-15 in the U.S. spoke only English at home, according to a study based on the Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples (IPUMS) from the 2000 census (Alba et al. 2004). In comparison, 26.0% second-generation Chinese immigrant children spoke only English, and just 11.1% second-generation Mexican immigrant children spoke only English (Alba et al. 2004). While on a whole, second-generation Asian immigrant children had higher rates of only English speakers compared to Hispanics, Filipinos had the highest percentage (76.3%), in comparison to all other Asian nationalities in the study. From personal experience and anecdotes from friends, I found that most second-generation Filipino immigrants cannot speak their parents' Philippine language. With Alba's statistics in mind and considering my own Filipino family's language practices, my initial question for this thesis was, "Why are 3 out of 4 second-generation Filipino children English-only speakers?" Thus, this thesis considers heritage language (HL) maintenance of Filipino immigrants through family language policies (FLP) (King et al. 2008) and notions of cultural identity (Schecter & Bayley, 1997).

Heritage language (HL) maintenance is a topic of importance in the United States as the U.S. is becoming an increasingly multicultural and multilingual society. HL is a term used throughout the study to describe a language used or spoken in a family's home that is different from the language of the mainstream society. Immigrant families to the U.S. often experience

intergenerational language shifts towards English monolingualism by the third generation (Alba et al. 2004). Alba et al. (2004) found that bilingualism is common among second-generation immigrants, but by the third generation, most are English monolingual. Seventy-two percent of third-generation Hispanic immigrants spoke only English and 92% of third-generation Asian immigrants spoke only English. The shift towards English monolingualism represents linguistic assimilation into U.S. society, a process through which immigrants gain access and more cultural capital to participate more successfully in U.S. society.

English language learners and children of immigrants experience pressure from their peers and their school to learn English quickly. Immigrant children in the U.S. are often raised between various language environments, causing them to gain varying levels of language competence distributed across two or more languages. Studies have documented that language competence is an important factor of children's emotional and behavioral development in monolingual children, yet bilingual children's language development and mental health is an area of study still lacking in research. Nevertheless, studies have shown that bilingualism can promote children's cognitive development in several areas (Toppelberg & Collins 2010).

While bilingual immigrants gain different language competencies in English and their heritage language, heritage language loss often occurs when they begin to attend school, a process called "subtractive" bilingualism (Toppelberg & Collins, 2010). U.S. society has exhibited a culture of championing English monolingualism, shown through the English-only movements throughout U.S. history and the effects of the English-only movement on educational policy that does not provide funding for bilingual instruction in many states (Ovando & Combs 2011). Given the benefits of bilingualism across several societal domains, it is worthwhile to

study how families and parents can maintain heritage language and transmit a language throughout generations.

In addition to language transmission, cultural transmission can occur through families' socialization practices. Just as immigrant children gain varying competencies in English and their home language to become bilingual, immigrant children learn to navigate both their heritage culture at home and the cultures of their mainstream society to become bicultural. While immigrants' bilingualism and biculturalism can be considered as assets for the U.S., children's level of bilingualism and biculturalism can influence their growth and development, acculturation to the U.S., and their general well-being (Zhang 2008 in Angeles 2015).

The present study focuses on the intersection between language use and cultural identity. The study could have more easily focused on just family language policy and how families' language aspirations for themselves and their children relate to the family's actual language practices. The study also could have more easily focused on cultural identity, specifically how young, second-generation Filipino Americans think of themselves culturally in relation to their parents, their peers, their Filipino cultural background, and their American or Mississippian environment. I chose to combine the inquiries of language and culture because the two were inextricably linked in the minds of Filipino immigrants I interviewed in November 2018 as part of a class project. The current study is built from that class study in which I asked parents the question, "How do you feel about your children being able to understand the Philippine language(s) you speak, or their heritage language?" Common answers to this question included "it's who they are" or "it's part of their cultural identity." The current study draws its data sources from interviews with parents and children and recordings of their dinnertime discourse. Interview questions centered around language use, parents' language policies, and conceptions of

cultural identity. The rest of this paper will continue as follows: a literature review, methods and limitations of the study, results in the form of case studies, discussion of the results, conclusions, and implications for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Background on Language in the Philippines

The Philippines is a linguistically diverse archipelagic nation in Southeast Asia According to Ethnologue, there are a total of 186 established languages spoken across the island nation: 175 indigenous and 9 non-indigenous. Ethnologue identifies the following indigenous languages that are used in wider communication or as the statutory language for different provinces: Tagalog (20 million speakers), Cebuano (15.9 million), Ilocano (6.4 million), Hiligaynon (6.2 million), Waray-Waray (2.6 million), Bikol (2.5 million), Kapampangan (2.0 million), Pangasinan (1.2 million), Tausug (784,000), and Masbatenyo (474,000).

Filipino and English are currently used as lingua franca languages across the Philippines. Filipino is a national, standardized form of the indigenous language Tagalog which is spoken in Manila, most of Luzon, and the island Mindoro (Ethnologue). National media and news are broadcasted in Filipino while government affairs and official documentation are written in English. Gonzales (2006) reported that the "informal colloquial conversational variety" of Filipino is spoken by at least 85% of the population. While Filipino is a lingua franca within the Philippines, it also serves as a wider lingua franca for Filipinos around the globe. Axel (2011)

states that being able to speak Filipino to other Filipinos outside the Philippines can create a "distinct identity marker, one which creates a social bond between other Filipinos" (p. 34).

Presently, more than 50 million of the 109 million Filipinos in the Philippines speak English (Ethnologue, World Population Review). English is used in "domains of political and discursive power" such as government, business, and court systems (Gonzales 1981 in Mahboob & Cruz 2013, p. 12) and in STEM (science, technology, engineering, math) fields. The role of English in the Philippines is discussed later in this section.

Is it "Tagalog" or "Filipino"?

Whether to refer to the most widely spoken language in the Philippines as "Tagalog" or "Filipino" can be a source of contention among Filipinos and a source of confusion among non-Filipinos. In 1937, Tagalog was chosen as the basis of the national language (Executive Order No. 134) in accordance with the requirements from the Commonwealth Act No. 184. The Commonwealth Act No. 184 established a National Language Institute to study the "Philippine dialects[1] in general for the purpose of evolving and adopting a common national language based on one of the existing native tongues." The national language, Filipino, was meant to contain vocabulary from indigenous languages spoken across the nation, but in reality, Filipino is mostly based on Tagalog[2] (Ethnologue, Gonzales 2006, Tupas & Martin 2016). Not all Filipinos agree that Tagalog should have been renamed as Filipino. Non-Tagalog politicians in the 1930s opposed Tagalog being established as the national language (Tupas & Martin 2016). Speakers of

[1] Because of the language in the Commonwealth Act No. 184 document calling Philippine languages "dialects," many people, including the participants in this study, still refer to the Philippines' 175 indigenous languages as "dialects" (Gonzales 2006).

other regional languages think that renaming the national language from “Tagalog” to “Filipino” gives more prestige and recognition to one regional language than others (Axel 2014).

For terminology in everyday use, Axel (2014) reported that the term “Tagalog” is used when “a Filipino or someone with culturally specific knowledge of the Philippines describes the language used to another Filipino or someone with this knowledge,” and the term “Filipino” is used “by a Filipino or someone without culturally specific knowledge when describing Tagalog-based Filipino to someone without this knowledge” (p. 298).

English & Language Policy in the Philippines

Language policy in the Philippines has historically been influenced by Spanish colonization from 1565 to 1898, U.S. colonization from 1898 to 1946, neocolonialism, nationalism, and ethnolinguistic ideologies (Mahboob & Cruz 2013, Tupas & Martin 2016). During Spanish rule, the Spanish government limited most Filipinos’ access to education, only providing education to wealthy Filipinos who supported Spanish colonial rule. Thus, Spanish colonial powers used education to maintain a “linguistic divide between social classes” (Mahboob & Cruz 2013, p. 3). Mahboob & Cruz (2013) argue that the linguistic divide continued when the U.S. colonial powers took control Spain ceded the Philippines to the U.S. after the Spanish American War.

Beginning with the American colonial government establishing the Philippines’ public education system with English as the only medium of instruction, language policies and language planning positioned English as the language of socioeconomic advancement and indigenous languages relegated to spheres at home (Gonzales 2004, Mahboob & Cruz 2013). Starting in 1901, English teachers from the U.S. and teachers licensed under the Spanish government began teaching English in the new, American-established education system. English became the

language of higher education and social advancement, while local indigenous languages were considered as "auxiliary languages to teach character education, good manners, and right conduct" (I. Martin 1999 in Mahboob & Cruz 2013, p. 3). English remained as a language of instruction even when the Philippines gained independence from the U.S. in 1946.

Subsequent language policies in the Philippines sought to balance nationalist sentiments of Filipino as the language of national identity and English as necessary for socioeconomic advancement both in the Philippines and abroad (Mahboob & Cruz 2013, Tupas & Martin 2016). Nationalist movements in the 1960-70s and nationalist discourse that considered the widespread use of English as robbing Filipinos of a national identity. In 1974, the Philippine Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (DECS) implemented a Bilingual Education Policy (BEP) that mandated English as the medium of instruction in math and science while Filipino was to be used for the humanities and civics (Axel 2014). Tupas & Martin (2016) described the 1974 BEP as "a continuing narrative of imagining the nation, one that desired freedom from foreign powers but one that was nevertheless always vulnerable to the economic, political, and ideological dictates of other more powerful countries" (p. 9). Furthermore, the 1987 Philippines Constitution designated Filipino and English as the two official national languages.

However, Filipino policymakers (perhaps influenced by the Philippine government's recognition of the English-proficient Philippine labor force and low labor cost) perceived that the BEP was threatening Filipinos' English skills (Axel 2011, Tupas & Martin 2016). In 2003, the DECS issued Executive Order #210 which required that English should be the medium of instruction no less than 70% of the time in school (Philippine Department of Education 2006 cited in Axel 2014). In 2006, the Philippine House of Representatives passed House Bill #4701 which proposed for English to be the medium of instruction in all public schools except in pre-

school. This bill died in the Senate, yet the proposal of this bill demonstrates that some in the Philippine government value English over indigenous language education, likely for economic reasons.

Despite a century of policy and economic influences that privileged English over indigenous languages, the most recent development in language policy in the Philippines demonstrates that multilingualism and indigenous language education are being supported nationally and institutionally. The DECS Order 94 instituted Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) in 2009, which mandated that regional languages would be the medium of instruction in grades K-3 (Llaneta 2018). Still, the real-world practice and implementation of MTB-MLE policy have been difficult in different contexts across the Philippines due to lack of resources and training for teachers to teach in their L1 (Tupas & Martin 2016, Burton 2013) and Filipinos' prevailing, historical language attitudes that consider English as better for socioeconomic advancement (Mahboob & Cruz 2013, Burton 2013). At the same time, the MTB-MLE policy represents the ideologies of Filipinos who have been resisting English-only attitudes in everyday life. Tupas & Martin (2016) identify how local, rural Filipinos use regional languages to create their own legal systems to settle judicial disputes without taking them to English and Filipino-speaking formal courts (Franco 2007 as cited on p. 10).

Scholars anticipate that English will maintain its widespread use in the Philippines due to the language's economic influence and benefits (Gonzales 2006, Axel 2011, Axel 2014). Also, the possibility of working overseas or moving to the U.S. motivates many Filipinos to learn English as well (Mahboob & Cruz 2013).

Filipinos in the U.S.

Over 3.5 million overseas Filipinos are living in the United States, the country with the largest number of overseas Filipinos (World Population Review). Filipinos have been immigrating into the U.S. since the 18th century, but Philippines-U.S. immigration became more recognized after the Philippines became a U.S. territory in 1902. The state of California has the highest population of Filipinos, and Hawaii comes in second. Many Filipinos have historically immigrated to Hawaii and California for agricultural employment, and the concentration of Filipinos remains high in those states because of chain migration (Axel 2011). The Filipino population in the U.S. has been growing steadily since 2000 (Axel 2014, Angeles 2015).

The 2000 U.S. census and other scholars note that many second-generation Filipino immigrants do not speak Tagalog or a Filipino language (Axel 2014). As seen in the historical background provided in this study, deep-rooted historical and cultural factors contribute to why second-generation Filipino immigrants report not being able to speak Tagalog or another Philippine language. One factor is Filipinos' language attitudes towards English vs. Philippine languages. For example, researchers have found that some first-generation Filipino immigrants intentionally do not teach their children their heritage language because the parents believe it is not beneficial for them in the U.S. (Espiritu 1994, Angeles 2015). There are several pressures—economic and cultural—for all immigrants to linguistically assimilate in the U.S. Scholars identify that the Philippines' close relationship with the U.S. and Filipinos' English proficiency contribute to how they can more easily assimilate into U.S. culture perhaps compared to other immigrant groups (Espiritu 1994, Axel 2014).

Theoretical Framework

Language Socialization & Family Language Policies (FLPs)

This paper assumes that intergenerational language transmission occurs within processes of language socialization, and parents and children have agency within the process of language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012, Luykx 2005). Language socialization refers to how children are socialized through language and socialized to use language (Ochs 1986, p. 2), usually by caretakers in the home. Ochs & Schieffelin (2012) consider language socialization to begin the moment a child enters a community, but they also identified that contemporary scholarship considers language socialization to occur throughout life: schools, the workplace, religious institutions, and more (p. 2).

The current study examines language socialization within the home. Dinner table discourse allows insight into family socialization functions: table manners, practices of turn-taking, appropriate topics for conversation, and others. Discourse also reveals how families enact or teach their children culture. For example, a study by Liliane Meyer Pitton (2013) analyzed mealtime interactions in binational, bilingual Russian-French families to explore how parents in bilingual families used mealtimes to socialize their children in two languages and maintain both languages.

Family language policies (FLP) are language practices and language choices that family members use when at home to achieve a specific purpose. Family language policy is "explicit and overt" (King et al. 2008) since families are making conscious choices in establishing what languages will be spoken at home, which language parents want their children to learn, and to what extent heritage languages will be maintained. King et al. also identified that parents' language ideologies impact how they carry out their overt FLPs in actual language use. Parents'

desires for their children, especially for their future as they grow up, influence which language will be emphasized in the house as well. The following graphic helps conceptualize the various elements that influence FLP:

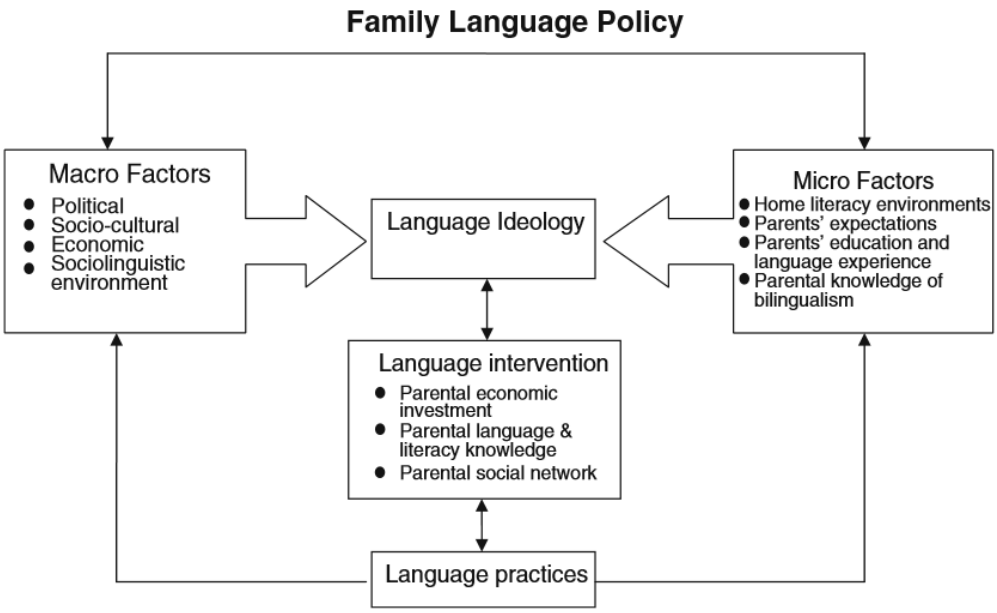

Figure 2.1 Family language policy (Curdt-Christiansen 2009)

As seen in Fig 2.1., Curdt-Christiansen conceptualizes FLPs as being influenced by language ideology, which will influence parents' level of language intervention. At the same time, language intervention depends on parents' "economic investment," "language & literacy knowledge," and "social network." Parents' level of language intervention then manifests in their language practices. At the same time, families' surrounding social context, the "Macro Factors" influence language ideology and ability to maintain language practices. "Macro Factors" also influence language ideology. "Micro Factors" in homes themselves also influence language practices, as well as parents' education or experience with language and bilingualism.

Parents are often the motivators and creators of FLPs, but researchers have begun to see that children also influence the family language dynamics or actively negotiate language use with their parents (Luykx 2005). For example, parents who normally speak to one another in Filipino may choose to speak to their child(ren) in English because they want their children to be linguistically competent in English to be able to participate well in American society. Immigrant children usually start speaking English as a result of attending school in the U.S., so when they return home, they tend to speak English to younger siblings, causing younger siblings to become more fluent in English and less fluent in their heritage language. Parents then must adjust their language practices towards the younger siblings (Bridges & Hoff, 2014). In a U.S. context, parents may increasingly adjust their language practices to speak more English to the younger siblings.

The current study assumes that language maintenance and language transmission are a result of everyday interactions in multilingual settings. How parents form and enforce FLPs in the household and how children react to those policies are just a few sites at which researchers can observe the broader process of language socialization and analyze macro-level concepts of intergenerational language transmission.

Related Studies

Studies on FLPs and language maintenance often employ ethnographic methods and qualitative analysis. Observations and recordings allow researchers to gauge family language practices and maintenance. Interviews allow researchers to explore parents' language attitudes and ideologies. The following studies employ such qualitative research methods to explore the micro and macro influences on FLPs in differing contexts in the U.S. and Canada.

The current study most closely follows the motivations and methods of a study by Schecter & Bayley (1997) on the language socialization practices of Mexican-descent families in California and Texas. As part of a larger study of 40 families in California and Texas, Schecter & Bayley (1997) focused specifically on four families based on their representativeness of the 40 overall families. They conducted interviews and home observations to study the relationship between language socialization practices and family cultural identity.

The researchers found that families' language ideologies change over time and often are influenced by the social context, the bilingual opportunities available at school, the family's socioeconomic status, and neighborhood context. While all families viewed English-Spanish bilingualism positively and viewed Spanish as important for forming cultural identity, all families viewed Spanish as "affirm[ing]" (p. 536) their cultural identity in different ways. The researchers found differences between families of differing socioeconomic statuses. The biggest difference between the California families and the Texas families were that Texas families were better able to use Spanish outside the home due to the proximity of family members and a large population of Mexican families in the area. On the other hand, the California parents felt more "Removed from a natural community of Spanish speakers" (p. 538), so they used "aggressive" (p. 538) Spanish maintenance strategies in the family such as having a Spanish-only policy in speaking to one another at home (p. 520). As seen in the Schecter & Bayley (1997) study, families' social contexts influenced their language ideology and FLPs, and even so, these FLPs changed over time.

Another study employed ethnographic methods of semi-structured interviews and observation to explore how the language ideologies of Chinese immigrant families in Quebec influence parents' FLPs (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). Curdt-Christiansen interviewed 10 Chinese

parents who sent their children to weekend Chinese language schools. In this setting, the parents must consider language policies between English, French, and Chinese. She found that political, economic, and cultural factors influenced FLPs. For example, some parents felt that speaking a minority language in Canada does not advance their or their children's social mobility. Parents also felt that multilingualism was valuable for their children as it provided more economic opportunities. The cultural factors that influenced language policies were seen in how parents felt their children *should* learn their heritage language. Parents viewed not being able to speak their heritage language as a "personal loss" or as a "loss of identity" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 366). At the same time, parents valued how their children can gain access to "cultural wealth" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, p. 367) through Chinese literature and art. While Curdt-Christiansen found the sociocultural environment in Quebec to influence their FLPs, she also found that participating parents valued education the most, which was a large factor in their family language planning.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The current study builds upon findings from a pilot study conducted in November 2018 that centered on Filipino immigrant parents' attitudes towards Filipino and English, towards heritage language maintenance, and towards their children's language use. The current study incorporates data from the pilot study to explore the families' language policies and how family members conceptualize their cultural identities. The pilot study's data consisted of one-on-one recorded interviews between me and a parent and language background questionnaires on parents' and their children's language use. The primary focus in the pilot study was to gauge the families' attitudes towards heritage language maintenance and their reported use of Filipino and English in different domains.

I received Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval for the current study on December 3, 2019. The two main data sources for this project were recorded interviews between me and the family member(s) and dinner recordings that the family members themselves recorded and sent to me via e-mail. To prepare for data collection, I contacted parents through text and asked permission to come to their home, explain the procedures of this project, and give them a chance to read the information on the project and sign permission forms. I first asked for parent permission to allow their children to participate, then I gave each child an age-appropriate form to sign once I explained the project to them and gave them time to understand and consent to the project. Families were compensated with $40 through cash or check upon my first visit to their home or through mail.

To observe family language practices in a more natural setting, I requested parents to send me an audio recording of their own choice of a time during dinner. After my first visit with the family and after they signed the appropriate forms, a parent recorded a family dinner on their phone and sent me their choice of recording through e-mail. Dinner recording durations ranged from 8:45 to 36:32 minutes (median: 18:06). Two families sent a recording in which the children were unaware they were being recorded, and three families sent in a recording where everyone was aware. All recordings were taken after children gave consent to be recorded. I then listened to each family's recording and took note different family members' language choices, moments of code-switching, and other points of interest. After I listened to the recording and noted points of interest—such as what languages parents used when speaking to which child, instances of parents or children code-switching, or moments when parents were teaching something to children—I visited each family's home a second time to conduct interviews.

Participants

The pilot study focused on six families all living in Cold Creek, Mississippi who had one or more children attending the Cold Creek public school system (pseudonyms are used for all places and names in this study; Cold Creek is a pseudonym). All parents were the primary caretakers of their children, and all parents were born in the Philippines and immigrated to the U.S. in adulthood to pursue higher education, research at the local university, or teaching at the secondary school level.

The current study focuses on five Filipino immigrant families living in Cold Creek, MS (I chose to exclude my family from the current study). Each of the five participating families consisted of a mother and father with two to three children. The parents, ages 32 to 58 (mean

age: 45.5) all spoke Tagalog[3] and English. Eight out of 10 parents were also knowledgeable of two or three other widely spoken indigenous Philippine languages including Ilocano, Cebuano/Bisaya,[4] Waray, Bikol, Pangasinan, and Kapampangan. One participant reported being able to understand two lesser-known languages Ibaloi and Kankaney.

The participating children's ages ranged from 5 to 18 years old (mean age: 11.7). Children 4 and under were not interviewed but were present in several recordings. Real names were replaced with pseudonyms that I chose for participants.

Figures 2 and 3 are charts with participants' biographical and language background. The data in Figures 2 and 3 were reported by parents on a language background questionnaire during their interviews for my 2018 class project. The tables are replicated in Appendix B.

[3] Parents used Filipino and Tagalog interchangeably while speaking about the languages. For this study, I refer to the language as Tagalog for convenience and because parents reported "Tagalog" rather than "Filipino" on their language background questionnaire.

[4] According to Ethnologue and participant Ignacio Cruz, Bisaya and Cebuano are interchangeable words for the same language—Cebuano. Yet, Philippine census data classification identifies Cebuano and Bisaya as separate languages.

Table 3.1 Parents' Language Background

Participating Parents	Sex	Age	L1	L2	L3	Other Ls	LOR in U.S. (yrs)	Occupation in Philippines	Occupation in the U.S.
Mariel Ocampo	F	32	Tagalog Kapampangan	English	Ilocano	Pangasinan, Ibaloi, Kankaney	2.6	nurse	homemaker
Jerome Ocampo	M	36	Tagalog	Pangasinan English			2.7	college instructor	graduate teaching & research assistant
Angelie Garcia	F	40	Tagalog	Bikol English		Spanish	6.4	teacher	public school teacher
Karl Garcia	M	44	Tagalog Bikol	English	Ilocano		5.7	architect	homemaker
Elena Cruz	F	44	Waray	Tagalog English	Bisaya	Spanish	4.5	research	graduate teaching & research assistant
Ignacio Cruz	M	50	Cebuano	Tagalog English		Spanish	4.5	teacher	homemaker
Edgar Torres	M	46	Tagalog	English		French	16.6	teacher	public school teacher
Carmen Torres	F	46	Bisaya	Tagalog English			16.6	teacher	public school teacher
Vicki Batuan	F	59	Tagalog	English		Spanish	28.5	research	researcher
Dan Batuan	M	58	Tagalog, English			Spanish	28.6	research	faculty

LOR: Length of Residence
L1, L2…: First language, second language…
Other Ls were mentioned during their interview.

Table 3.2 Children's Language Background

Participating Children (5 and older)	**Sex**	**Age**	**Age of Arrival in U.S.**	**LOR in U.S.**	**First Language Spoken (reported by parents)**	**other languages exposed to (reported by parents)**	**Language most comfortable speaking (reported by child)**
Samuel Ocampo	M	8	5	2.6	Filipino	Pangasinan, Ilocano	English
Jan Eulo Garcia	M	8	2	5.7	Tagalog		Tagalog
Geoffrey Garcia	M	10	5	5.7	English	Tagalog	English
Destiny Cruz	F	10	5	4.5	Tagalog	Bisaya	English
Marisol Cruz	F	18	11	4.5	Tagalog	Bisaya	English
Nathan Torres	M	10	0	16.6	English	Filipino, Bisaya	English
Mark Torres	M	14	0	16.6	English	Filipino, Bisaya	English
Rammy Batuan	M	12	5	6	Tagalog	Bisaya, Ilocano, Pampanga	English
Reuben Batuan	M	15	8	6	Tagalog	Bisaya, Ilocano, Pampanga	English

LOR: Length of Residence

Data Collection

Data collection for this thesis consisted of two home visits, two interviews with parents, and one interview with the children. To collect data on reported language attitudes and the family members' notions of cultural identity, I conducted interviews with all parents and children ages 5 – 18. Interviews took place over a range of four weeks from the end of January to the beginning of February 2020. All interviews were conducted in the family's living room or dining room. All interviews were conducted in the afternoon or evening of a weekend so that all family members were home at the same time. I first interviewed the children. Most interviews were done one-on-one, but the Garcia siblings did their interview together because the brothers and their mother felt more comfortable with having the interview in their apartment living room.

The interview questions are shown in Appendix A. For the children, I asked questions concerning: 1) the dinner recording 2) language attitudes and experiences and 3) Filipino or American cultural identity. After I interviewed the children, I interviewed their two parents together. I asked the parents questions about: 1) the dinner recording 2) points of interest from their interview in my first project in November 2018 and 3) their specific family language policies. All interviews were recorded on my phone, uploaded to my password-protected laptop, then erased from my phone. Children's interviews ranged from 12:18 to 49:29 minutes (median: 23:43 minutes). Parents' interviews ranged from 21:01 to 40:12 minutes (median: 25:45). Overall, I gathered a total of five hours and 43 minutes of interview data from all families. I also took field notes before and after each visit to the house. These field notes detailed my thoughts and emotions, the interview dynamics, details on the overall atmosphere in the room, and other observations which may be helpful for later analysis.

When preparing responses and conversations to be used as examples in this paper, I translated Tagalog portions into English and focused more on conveying meaning rather than a literal translation. In the editing process, I asked my father, a native speaker of Filipino/Tagalog, to review my translations for accuracy. When there was disagreement, we both negotiated meanings before coming to a final consensus.

Analysis

To prepare the data for analysis, I transcribed all interviews with family members and transcribed either all or portions of the dinner recordings. I transcribed dinner recordings to analyze children's responses to their to analyze how they react to their parents' language socialization practices or FLPs. I also listened specifically for and transcribed instances when a child asked a question about culture or language or when parents or children code-switch between language to further find sites of socialization practices related to language or culture.

I transcribed and coded dinner recordings and interviews using a qualitative analysis program MAXQDA. Interviews from members of the same family were analyzed individually then together as one unit to generate a case study on the family as a whole.

Qualitative data analysis procedures were used throughout this thesis to interpret interviews and dinner recordings. Specific procedures included coding for concepts and common themes (Corbin 2007, Seidman 2006). Initial coding began by coding concrete words or phrases that participants said, such as "feeling embarrassment," "it's up to them [to learn the language]," "feeling proud," or "discipline." Codes were then grouped into larger themes specifically related to my research question such as "language policy," "language attitude." After codes were organized and grouped into larger themes, I compared how families differed in relation to the larger themes.

Positionality

My identity as a Filipino-American woman influenced my motivation for this project and my relationship with my participants. I wanted to pursue this project partly because through academically studying how other Filipino immigrants navigate language policies and cultural identity, I hope to better understand my own experiences as well. Like all the children who participated in this study, I am a child of Filipino immigrants who came to Cold Creek because of job opportunities relating to research, education, or teaching. All the families presented in this study are families who are active in the local Filipino community. I have known all the participants since childhood or since high school, and we often met each other at Filipino gatherings. All the parents in the study were immediately willing to participate. When parents asked their children to participate too (especially the younger ones who seemed apprehensive, even when I told them it was okay to not participate), some parents said, "We have to help your Ate (*Big Sister*)."

Being Filipino-American helped me establish rapport with parent participants. Being able to understand Tagalog allowed me to tell parents they could speak in either Filipino or English in their interview, although I asked questions in English and responded mostly in English. During interviews with parents, some parents asked why I was pursuing this project, how I grew up learning Tagalog while living in Cold Creek, or even how my parents treat the language in our house. I was able to use my reports of my experience as a means to talk more and explicate the participants' language attitudes. Sometimes, parents appealed to us sharing a common cultural identity when giving their answers, telling me that knowing the Filipino language is important for keeping touch with family members and with "our" culture.

My identity as belonging to the Filipino community in Cold Creek and as a second-generation Filipino immigrant who can understand but not speak Tagalog helped me empathize with the child participants. Many of them shared feelings and experiences navigating their Filipino cultural identity that I also experienced growing up. Sometimes, to encourage more conversation about something they said, I told the children that I understood how they felt because I remembered feeling the same thing at their age.

Challenges

The largest challenge to the study is the time constraint. As I progressed through data collection, I started to realize that effective language socialization studies should be longitudinal to better observe a child's socialization or the family's attitude shifts over time. I also would have liked to observe the family in a range of interactions. Due to time constraints, this project was limited to two home visits, two interviews with parents, and only one interview with the children. Given more time, I would have conducted several home visits to do natural observations, perhaps shared a few meals with the family in person, or observed the children playing among themselves.

The environment surrounding the interviews was another challenge. Many interviews with the children were within earshot of their parents. Knowing that their parents were listening could have hindered their honesty. Also, there were several distractions during interviews, such as younger children (ages 2-4) walking into the room and causing unexpected disruptions.

My gaps in academic knowledge of sociology, anthropology, and language socialization also became a challenge as I progressed through this study. Since my coursework has mostly been in English literature and linguistics, my analyses concerning cultural identity and cultural learning are lacking from a sociology or anthropology framework.

Transcription Conventions

This section details transcription and notation conventions for the current study. In examples with two columned tables, the transcription (edited for clarity) is written on the left, and the English translation is written on the right. Tagalog to English translations in the right column are in italics. In examples with mostly English and only a few words in Tagalog, the English translation of the Tagalog word is italicized and in parenthesis directly following the Tagalog word or phrase. The following table denotes notations in examples given in the results.

Table 3.3 Transcription Conventions

Symbol	**Meaning**
(..)	A longer pause
(…)	Trailing off
…	omission
[ ]	Inserted for clarity
< >	Behavior provided for context, e.g. <laughing>
CAPITALIZED	Spoken with more emphasis

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS: FAMILY CASE STUDIES

The case studies centered on the family's language policies, their language use, and their children's conception of cultural identity. Case study chapters are organized in the following order: language policies and language practices, children's attitudes towards language, children's cultural identity, and finally, an evaluation of the family's language and cultural learning policies.

The Ocampo Family

Jerome (36) and Mariel (32) are parents to Samuel (8) and Benji (4). The family moved to Cold Creek, MS more than two and a half years ago for Jerome to pursue a Ph.D. at the local university. Mariel worked as a nurse in the Philippines and is currently a stay-at-home mom with Benji. Mariel often attends free English lessons at a nearby Baptist church that is walking distance from their apartment complex.

Samuel is in the third grade in the Cold Creek public school. Samuel enjoys playing video games, watching YouTube videos, and reading Rick Riordan's *Percy Jackson* and *Heroes of Olympus* series. Sam even says that he can read a little bit of Latin through reading Rick Riordian's *Heroes of Olympus* series.

The Ocampo family lives in one of the older apartment complexes in Cold Creek. Their living room is wall is decorated with masks of different Avengers characters, and a statue of the

crucified Christ hangs over the entrance of their doorway. The Ocampos plan to stay in the U. S. permanently.

Family Language Practices: Differences between Siblings. As evidenced in their dinner recording and during their interview, Jerome and Mariel mainly spoke Tagalog to each other. Jerome and Mariel also spoke in a mix of Tagalog and English to Samuel and Benji. Mariel and Jerome spoke to Benji more in English and to Sam more in Tagalog. Of the 9 instances Jerome addressed Benji in the dinner recording, he spoke in English 8 times. Jerome did address Sam in English in all the 9 times he addressed him. In all instances when Mariel addressed Sam, half were in Tagalog and half were in English, with one instance using a mix between the two. Of the 21 times she addressed Benji, 13 were in only English. Thus, both Jerome and Mariel spoke more English to Benji than to Sam.

In his interview, Samuel reported being most comfortable talking in English, but also understanding Tagalog, which was confirmed in the dinner recording. As seen Example 1.1 from the dinner recording, Jerome spoke to Samuel in Tagalog and Sam responded in English.

Example 1.1

Jerome: Yung mga nag submit pa Sam ng ano ng science fair kanina? Wala na?	**Jerome:** *The ones who submitted to the uhm science fair earlier, Sam? Are there any more?*
Sam: I didn't look but I think there was no one.	**Sam:** I didn't look but I think there was no one.
Mariel: So in your - in your class, who will join the science fair?	**Mariel:** So in your - in your class, who will join the science fair?
Sam: So far I know that it's me and Dennis.	**Sam:** So far I know that it's me and Dennis.
…	**…**
Jerome: Sinabi mo na kay Dennis kung ano yung project mo o hindi?	**Jerome:** *Did you tell Dennis what your project is? Or no?*
Sam: Yes.	**Sam:** Yes.
Jerome: Oh tinanong niya? Hindi?	**Jerome:** Oh *did he ask? No?*
Sam: No.	**Sam:** No.
Jerome: Mm.	**Jerome:** Mm.

Sam: I asked his and he said it would be secret. **Jerome:** Ay siyempre secret. Eh baka sasabihin niya… (unintelligible)	**Sam:** I asked his and he said it would be secret. **Jerome:** *Ay of course it's a* secret. *Eh maybe he will say …* (unintelligible)

Also seen in Example 1.1, Mariel spoke to Sam in English. Elsewhere in the dinner recording, Jerome mainly spoke to Sam in Tagalog, and Sam always responded in English.

On the other hand, when Jerome and Mariel spoke to Benji, they either spoke only in English or use a mix of Tagalog and English. In Example 1.2, Jerome addressed Benji only in English, but in the same conversation, he spoke to Mariel in Tagalog.

Example 1.2

Jerome: You're hungry Benji ah **Mariel:** Yaa ayaw niya yung snack niya kanina. **Jerome:** Ano ba ang inisnack niya? **Mariel:** Gumawa ako ng ano, white pasta. Ayaw niya daw yon, gusto niya lang red spaghetti. Haha. **Jerome:** You don't like the pasta Benji? **Benji:** Yea. **Jerome:** Why? **Benji:** Well it's the - I like red spaghetti. **Jerome:** You like what? **Benji:** Red spaghetti.	**Jerome:** You're hungry Benji ah **Mariel:** *Yeah he didn't like his snack earlier.* **Jerome:** *What was his snack?* **Mariel:** *I made some uhm,* white pasta. *He said he doesn't like it, he only likes* red spaghetti. Haha. **Jerome:** You don't like the pasta Benji? **Benji:** Yea. **Jerome:** Why? **Benji:** Well it's the - I like red spaghetti. **Jerome:** You like what? **Benji:** Red spaghetti.

Though Samuel spoke only in English, in one instance he asked his mother about the meaning of a Tagalog word he did not know. In Example 1.3, Mariel told her children a story of her childhood in the Philippines to tell them why they should value their specific meal they were having that day.

Example 1.3

Mariel: Si papa mag - meron kaming naaalagang chicken sa backyard.	**Mariel:** *Father would – we had a chicken that we were raising in the* backyard.

Sam: How many thing - how many animals do you have in your backyard? **Mariel:** Just chicken. In the farm. Meron silang chicken, meron silang (…) **Sam:** Cows, other stuff. **Mariel:** Pigs. **Sam:** Continue the story. **Mariel:** And then pagkakain kami ng tinola, Papa Pogi will (..) ano ang Tagalog ah English ng 'katay'? **Jerome:** 'di ko alam. **Sam:** What's katay, cow? **Mariel**: <remembers> Butcher!	**Sam:** How many thing - how many animals do you have in your backyard? **Mariel:** Just chicken. In the farm. *They had chicken, they had (…)* **Sam:** Cows, other stuff. **Mariel:** Pigs. **Sam:** Continue the story. **Mariel:** And then *whenever we eat tinola, Father Pogi* will (..) *what's the Tagalog ah English of 'katay'?* **Jerome:** *I dunno.* **Sam:** What's katay, cow? **Mariel**: <remembers> Butcher!

As seen in Example 1.3, Samuel asked questions about his mother's story and asked the meaning of a word he did not understand. Mariel and Jerome reported in their joint interview that Samuel often asks them if he does not understand the meaning of a Tagalog word.

Mariel and Jerome stated that their specific language policy is to speak to their children in Tagalog. They also reported they do not use specific instruction or have a set time for speaking Tagalog at home. When asked whether they would do other specific practices to maintain Tagalog in the home, Jerome responded as shown in Example 1.4.

Example 1.4

Jerome: Noo probably not. Yeah I mean let's just do it naturally…Ah, for me, ahh I you know I still you know continue to you know talk to them in Eng - in - in Tagalog. **Mariel:** But they're having hard time – **Jerome:** Especially Sam – **Mariel:** uh expressing themselves. **Jerome:** Oh especially Sam, yeah, even though they you know they respond to me in English that's okay with me. Natural lang. Ganun - ganun lang. Ah I mean, walang ano hindi sila i fo- force or whatsoever.	**Jerome:** Noo probably not. Yeah I mean let's just do it naturally…Ah, for me, ahh I you know I still you know continue to you know talk to them in Eng - in - in Tagalog. **Mariel:** But they're having hard time – **Jerome:** Especially Sam – **Mariel:** uh expressing themselves. **Jerome:** Oh especially Sam, yeah, even though they you know they respond to me in English that's okay with me. *Just natural. Like that, that's it*. Ah I mean, *there's no, uhm, they won't be forced* or whatsoever.

Although Jerome's reported language policy is to "do it naturally," Mariel did not think this practice is enough. In Example 1.4, she said that her children are having a hard time expressing themselves, specifically in Tagalog. Furthermore, during their joint interview, she said she felt regret that her children currently do not respond to their parents in Tagalog.

Example 1.5

Mariel: … with Benji … he really doesn't know how to speak Filipino. Medyo ano ako doon, parang... medyong konting regret ako na sana, na inistart na lang namin siya ng Filipino. Pero kasi, he learned English faster than Filipino right? **Jerome:** Mhm.	**Mariel:** … with Benji … he really doesn't know how to speak Filipino. *With that I'm a little bit, like... I have a little bit of* regret *there that I wish we had started in Filipino with him. But because,* he learned English faster than Filipino right? **Jerome:** Mhm.

Even though Mariel reported feeling regret in Example 1.5 at her children's current language practices, Jerome did not share her feelings of regret. He seemed confident his children understand him and will be able to use the language when they need to, as shown in his response in Example 1.6.

Example 1.6

Jerome: Oh especially Sam, yeah, even though they you know they respond to me in English that's okay with me. Natural lang. Ganun - ganun lang. Ah I mean, walang ano hindi sila i-fo-force or whatsoever. **Mariel:** Hindi ka na ano wala kang parang, regret, na hindi sila na marunong mag Tagalog? Ganun? **Jerome:** Hindi naman. **Mariel:** Wala? <incredulous, laughing> **Jerome:** No, I know that they can understand Tagalog, even Benji, yeah. To some extent of course yeah, but but not that much but I think I think that's that's enough that's substantial enough for them to you know, whenever they um you know take vacation in the Philippines	**Jerome:** Oh especially Sam, yeah, even though they you know they respond to me in English that's okay with me. *Just* Natural. *Like that – just like that.* Ah I mean, *there's no uhm, they won't be* force*d* or whatsoever. **Mariel:** *You don't have any, like,* regret *that they don't know how to speak Tagalog? Like that?* **Jerome:** *No, not at all.* **Mariel:** *None?* <incredulous, laughing> **Jerome:** No, I know that they can understand Tagalog, even Benji, yeah. To some extent of course yeah, but but not that much but I think I think that's that's enough that's substantial enough for them to you know, whenever they um you know take vacation in the Philippines

tapos at least they can at least understand at least some basics. Even Benji, alam ko he can understand. Yeah, kasi kasi when when I talk to when we talk to Benji using basic ano Tagalog he can understand.	*then* at least they can at least understand at least some basics. Even Benji, *I know* he can understand. Yeah, *because because* when when I talk to when we talk to Benji using basic *uhm* Tagalog he can understand.

In Example 1.6, Jerome said that he is confident that both Sam and even Benji can understand "basic" Tagalog. Jerome later gave examples of some basics that he is confident Benji knows: "eat, shower." Furthermore, in the dinner interview when Jerome told Benji to be quiet or to stop, Jerome used Tagalog. Sam confirmed in his interview that Jerome used Tagalog in commands or disciplinary words. Sam stated that his parents mainly use Tagalog to speak to each other and "when they get mad at me." Since Sam said "when they get mad at me" as an immediate response to when I asked if he could tell me when his parents spoke Tagalog, I conclude that Jerome and Mariel's use of Tagalog signals a disciplinary message for Sam.

While Jerome is confident that his children can understand Tagalog, Jerome does recognize that Samuel's Tagalog language speaking has decreased from childhood. In Example 1.7, Jerome described Samuel's language change through comparing Sam's Tagalog accent from a few years ago to now.

Example 1.7

Jerome: 'cause we do have - we do have videos which was - ah which were taken like um like two or three years ago, and he was very fluent in Tagalog. …At ta'os pag pineplay namin yun, taga - as in Tagalog na Tagalog… the accent talaga is ano - **Mariel:** Is Filipino. **Jerome:** Is Filipino talaga when (..) he spoke eh back in the days, but now whenever he tries to speak in Tagalog, the accent is different.	**Jerome:** 'cause we do have - we do have videos which was - ah which were taken like um like two or three years ago, and he was very fluent in Tagalog. …*And then when we play them*, Taga - as in *as Tagalog as can be*… the accent *really* is *uhm* - **Mariel:** Is Filipino. **Jerome:** Is *really* Filipino when (..) he spoke eh back in the days, but now whenever he tries to speak in Tagalog, the accent is different.

On the other hand, when Mariel and Jerome talked about Sam's decrease of understanding in Tagalog, Sam protested in the background, as seen in Example 1.8.

Example 1.8

Mariel: Napaparealize ka lang na na, habang lumalake pa sila talaga nagdi-diminish yung Filipino yung language. Kasi merong silang mga ano, especially Sam, there are words, na (..) Filipino words - o talaga marami kang Filipino words na naka-forgot na. **Samuel**: <protests his mother's statement saying> What, really?	**Mariel:** *You realize that, that while they are still growing, their Filipino language is really diminishing. Because there are words,* especially Sam, there are words *that* (..) Filipino words – *or really there are many* Filipino words *that are forgotten*. **Samuel**: <protests his mother's statement saying> What, really?

Based on Samuel's interjection in Example 1.8, I believe Sam thinks that he is still able to speak Tagalog as well as he used to. Though Sam himself acknowledged that he mainly speaks English, when I asked if his language use will change in the future, he responded that he will learn a little more Tagalog from speaking with his extended family on the phone. Even though Sam is surrounded mostly by English speakers and speaks English himself, he still reported that he may learn Tagalog in the future.

Sam's own language use of Tagalog is usually non-serious. When I asked if he ever speaks in Tagalog, he said that he uses Tagalog to make fun of his little brother because Benji does not understand him, as seen in Example 1.9.

Example 1.9

> **Samuel:** Benji, well he, I think - I don't know but he kind of like understands it. The only thing he doesn't understand is mabantot (*stinky*) and like (..) like every time, like, like, sometimes I just say he's stinky. To annoy him.
> **Joy:** In English? Or in -
> **Samuel:** In English. And then whenever I switch to Tagalog, he's like, Yaaay!
> **Joy:** Hahaha … so usually it's just like as a joke whenever you talk to Benji in Tagalog?
> **Samuel:** Mhm.

Based on Samuel's reaction to his mother's claim that he speaks less Tagalog in Example 1.8 and his reporting of how he uses Tagalog with his little brother in Example 1.9, Samuel still seems to consider himself a speaker of Tagalog. At the same time, he understands that he is still learning and getting things wrong, such as an instance when he was on the phone with his extended family, and he said the wrong word.

Example 1.10

> **Samuel:** …like whenever our family from the Philippines calls to us, they're like ss - trying to make me speak Tagalog so I DO. And they ask me, what does egg mean, and I - and I responded (..) <thinking> kanin (*rice*). And they – it was actually rice.

As demonstrated in Example 1.10 by Sam's reporting of how his family tries to "make me speak Tagalog," Sam experiences pressure from his extended family to maintain his heritage language. It is interesting that he said he will learn Tagalog from extended family members and not his own parents. Mariel even mentioned during her interview that her mother tells her Sam and Benji should maintain Tagalog, as seen in Example 1.11.

Example 1.11

Mariel: 'Tsaka probably that even, his Kuya, when Sam started going to school maguuwi dito ng first grade siya, he doesn't know - he doesn't even speak ano uhh (..) Filipino anymore. Kausapin niya si Benji ng English. Mhm. Parang sabi ni mama ko, they should learn how to speak Filipino, it's like their secret language daw!	**Mariel:** *And* probably that even, his *Older Brother*, when Sam started going school *he would come home when he was in first grade*, he doesn't know - he doesn't even speak *uhm* uhh (..) Filipino anymore. *He will talk to Benji in English.* Mhm. *Like what my mom said*, they should learn how to speak Filipino, it's like their secret language, *she said*!

When Mariel spoke about Benji's English-only language use, she speculated that Sam encourages Benji to speak only English as well. Based on Mariel's response in 1.11 and Sam and Benji's language practices, Sam and Benji reflect a well-documented trend in bilingual families, in which the older siblings maintain their parents' heritage language more than the younger

siblings do because they come home from school and speak to their younger siblings in English (Keller et al., 2015).

Even though Sam experiences pressure from both his immediate and extended family to speak Tagalog, he reported preferring to speak in English. Furthermore, based on his responses to the pros and cons about bilingualism, I speculate that Sam has a negative, defensive view of how he can use bilingualism in his everyday life. When I asked him what is the best thing about knowing two languages, he said, "Hmm that's actually kind of hard. 'Cause most of them are negative." When he did give an example, he said that the best thing about knowing two languages is having the opportunity to deceive and confuse others: "This is probably not THE best, but here is one thing… I can like (..) I can like (..) talk in one language and then start talking in the other, and then I can start trolling [other people]." When I asked Sam for examples of when he and his friends talked about language, he mentioned two examples that both feature insults and fighting. One example was when another student was annoying and poking Sam until he would say something in Tagalog. Another example was when Sam and his other friends on the bus who could speak a non-English language were just sharing different ways of insulting each other, saying, "you're stinky," "you're pathetic" or even more severe expletives. Sam's reported experiences with multilingualism at school are all negative, which most likely contributes to his negative view towards multilingualism and, perhaps, towards his own bilingualism.

***Sharing Culture & Misidentification*.** Mariel reported that she wanted her children to know Tagalog so they can know their culture and where they come from. Jerome and Mariel said their main method of sharing their culture to their children was through telling stories of their experiences in the Philippines, as seen in Example 1.12.

Example 1.12

Jerome: Ah normally when we - when we tell uh you know uhh stories of our experiences when we when we were you know uh still you know little kids ganun. So tapos uh our parents our grandparents, that's where they you know get to know um you know a glimpse of their... yun yun cultural identity. Saan sila galing, ganun.	**Jerome:** Ah normally when we - when we tell uh you know uhh stories of our experiences when we when we were you know uh still you know little kids, *like that*. So *then* uh our parents our grandparents, that's where they you know get to know um you know a glimpse of their... *that's it, their cultural identity*. *Where they come from*. *Like that.*
Mariel: (inaudible portion here) You know we have ay like (..) um (..) like practices or (..) yung mga pamahiin.	**Mariel:** (inaudible portion here) You know we have ay like (..) um (..) like practices or (..) *those superstitions.*
Jerome: Superstitions.	**Jerome:** Superstitions.
Mariel: Ma[sasabihin] ni Sam, that's crazy!	**Mariel:** Sam *would say,* that's crazy!

While Jerome said they share their childhood experiences to Sam so he can learn about his cultural identity, Samuel claimed that his parents' storytelling is meant to "scare" him, as seen in his response in Example 1.13.

Example 1.13

> **Samuel:** Yeah my mom like, my grandfather who I was named of, made my - wait my GREAT grandfather who I was named from made my grandfather and his brother um, um do like some planning when they put rice seeds and then you put - and then you put your hands on it, and then, and there's also a time when they lost a cow and they got super punished. And then there was (…) <Samuel starts mumbling as he gets distracted>
> **Joy:** Okay, so like it's just like a story, so like your family tells you stories about your family?
> **Samuel:** Yeah it doesn't scare much.
> **Joy:** Oh okay, ju - do you think they just do it to scare you?
> **Samuel:** Yeah.

Similar to how Sam observed that his parents only speak to him in Tagalog in a disciplinary way, Sam's response in Example 1.13 showed that he views his parents' means to share their heritage as a means to either discipline him or discourage him from bad behavior.

When Sam answered interview questions about his cultural identity, he often mentioned feeling embarrassment and others' misidentification or questioning of his identity. When Sam talked about his parents' Tagalog speaking in public, he also mentioned feelings of embarrassment or instances of antagonism and defensiveness. When I first asked him, when does he notice his parents speaking Tagalog he said: "I guess they mostly speak Tagalog (..) whenever they're like at Filipino gatherings. And whenever they get mad at me." After Sam's initial response, I asked further about their Tagalog use, as seen in Example 1.14.

Example 1.14

> **Joy:** Do they speak Tagalog even like when you're out in public and stuff?
> **Samuel:** Yeah. But I really don't like it.
> **Joy:** Oh why?
> **Samuel:** 'Cause I get embarrassed.
> **Joy:** Ohh. When uh you get embarrassed when other people like … Hear them speaking Tagalog?
> **Samuel:** Yeah 'cause they think it's Chinese.

As seen in Sam's response in 1.14, he reported feeling embarrassed because of others' misidentification of their language. Sam mentioned misidentification twice throughout his interview (in fact, all other children interviewed mentioned misidentification and questioning in their interview). When asked what was the worst thing about being bicultural, he said that people questioning him was the most annoying, although not "too annoying." Sam described other people's questioning him with the following metaphor: "... it's like, you're like a giant and then and then those and then tiny ants are like biting you around, and the ants are like those people asking you what - the questions." From Sam's answers and from seeing his interactions with his parents, I felt that Sam had a defensive personality. Sam's understanding and opinions about language and culture may come from both his defensive personality and experiences with others in school who have a different cultural background from his.

Jerome also mentioned misidentification in a short conversation after the official interview. He talked about often being misidentified by adults as well. He jokingly mentioned his students can never figure out where he is from; they recognize that he has a "foreign" accent, but they rarely identify that he is from the Philippines. Mississippi's demographics most likely contribute to both Jerome's and Sam's frequent misidentification, as Filipinos make up 0.001% of Mississippi's total population of around 3 million people, according to 2010 census data.

Analysis: Contradicting Language Policies. Of all the families in the study, the Ocampo family has lived in the United States for the least amount of time (2.6 years). A year ago, Jerome and Mariel's responses in their individual interviews in the pilot study indicated they were still trying to negotiate their family language policy. During their interviews, Jerome and Mariel reported disagreements about which language they hoped to speak in the home, as seen in Examples 1.15 and 1.16.

Example 1.15

Jerome: I want my kids to retain the Filipino language okay. So, ang gusto ko sana sa bahay is that we speak Filipino okay kasi they can learn English naman outside if it's ah sa school ganun. But then my wife dis - disagrees like for example we - that we speak in English daw so they can learn English ganun. So, contradicting. Okay so parang, parang gusto kong i-ano, pero sabi naman niya, parang mag-fit - I don't know if - if she really is supportive with that - parang wala siyang basis na ano - pero for me, parang siyempre makakalimutan nila if we don't - if we don't do it at home. so it's kind of like, conflict yeah between us yeah like something like that. But I try to speak in - in - in Filipino with them.	**Jerome:** I want my kids to retain the Filipino language okay. So, *what I would like in the home* is that we speak Filipino okay *because* they can learn English *after all* outside if it's ah *at* school, *like that*. But then my wife dis - disagrees like for example we - that we speak in English, *she said,* so they can learn English, *like that*. So, contradicting. Okay so *like, like I want to uhm say to her, like, to* fit - I don't know if - if she really is supportive with that – *like she doesn't have* basis *that uhm - but* for me, *like of course they will forget* if we don't - if we don't do it at home. so it's kind of like, conflict yeah between us yeah like something like that. But I try to speak in - in - in Filipino with them.

While Jerome hoped to speak Filipino at home, he said that Mariel wanted them to be able to speak English, so they would not have a hard time in school. Jerome said that Mariel's reasoning of English-only was contradicting their goals for their children. On the other hand, while Mariel said that she did not want her children to have a hard time in school, she also said that she believed it was important to speak their home language spoken at home so their children will still be familiar with Filipino culture. The following example came from her 2018 interview.

Example 1.16

Mariel: I think - umm, it is still good to keep speaking Filipino uhh especially for the kids so they will still have the Filipino culture but umm, most of the time, iniisip namin sa school, kailangan ano, kalingan na lang namin mag-English na mag-English kasi mahi - mahihirapan lang sila. Pero pag sa bahay, Filipino pa rin para CULTURE nga naman, nandoon pa din.	**Mariel:** I think - umm, it is still good to keep speaking Filipino uhh especially for the kids so they will still have the Filipino culture but umm, most of the time, *we are thinking that at* school, *we need uhm, we need to keep on speaking English to them because they will have a hard time* [at school]. *But at home, still Filipino so the* CULTURE, *again, is still there.*

In Example 1.16, Mariel stated that having Tagalog still spoken in the home will help her children learn Filipino culture as well. During the same interview, Mariel said that she used code-switching intentionally to teach her children both English and Tagalog.

Example 1.17

Joy: You said you want to keep the - you want to keep your language in your house? Do you think you are taking the necessary [steps] to make sure that they're doing it? **Mariel:** Yeah, you know the one that you're telling your codeswitching? I do that. I speak in English and then I translate in Tagalog. - Is that it? **Joy:** Yeah makes sense. **Mariel:** Like for example sabihin kong, "Sam keep quiet, tumahimik ka." Ganyan…That's ah - Sam would tell me, "Mom, ba'it	**Joy:** You said you want to keep the - you want to keep your language in your house? Do you think you are taking the necessary [steps] to make sure that they're doing it? **Mariel:** Yeah, you know the one that you're telling your codeswitching? I do that. I speak in English and then I translate in Tagalog. - Is that it? **Joy:** Yeah makes sense **Mariel:** Like for example *I will say*, "Sam keep quiet, *you keep quiet*." *Like that*…That's ah - Sam would tell me, "Mom, *why are you*

tinatranslate mo?" <laughing> But I do that purposely so that they will still - especially Benji, he will still understand Filipino even though he's not - he doesn't know how to speak. Yet.	*translating*?" <laughing> But I do that purposely so that they will still - especially Benji, he will still understand Filipino even though he's not - he doesn't know how to speak. Yet.

Though Mariel reported in her 2018 interview that she uses code-switching as an intentional language policy, neither she nor Jerome reported in the present study that they used code-switching intentionally. Still, Jerome emphasized in Example 1.6 and elsewhere in the interview that he will speak naturally and not force any language upon his children. He also mentioned that when speaking to other children in the Filipino community, he primarily speaks to them in Tagalog or a mix of English and Tagalog ("Taglish") because he knows they can understand him. I am unsure if they still agree on a language policy in the present study, especially since Jerome claimed that he does not want to take specific measures to maintain language in the home other than trying to speak in Tagalog towards his children.

The Ocampo family, having lived in the U.S. for only 2.6 years, is an example of a family still negotiating and figuring out their language policies. One example of their speculative negotiating occurred in the interview when Mariel asked me what my family language practices were. I told her that, like Sam, I mainly speak English at home even if my parents speak to me in Tagalog. I elaborated further, saying that from what I remember and from watching home videos from my childhood, my parents used to speak to my second younger sister and me in Tagalog more frequently than they do now. As I've gotten older, I felt they started speaking to all three of their children only in English. Now, I only overhear them speaking Tagalog to each other. In response to my explanation of my family's language practices, Jerome and Mariel responded as follows in Example 1.18.

Example 1.18

Jerome: <to Mariel> Siguro pagdating ng panahon ganun din tayo. <all laughing> Siguro. **Joy:** You never know, I don't know. **Jerome:** Yeah. **Mariel:** <to Jerome> Tayo na lang ang mag'asalita ng Tagalog. <laughing>	**Jerome:** <to Mariel> *Maybe when the time/future comes, we will be like that too*. <all laughing> *Maybe.* **Joy:** You never know, I don't know. **Jerome:** Yeah. **Mariel:** <to Jerome> *We will be the only ones speaking Tagalog.* <laughing>

In this portion of the interview, detailed in Example 1.18, Jerome and Mariel reflected on their family language practices in relation to their futures. I also told them that, similar to their feelings currently, my mom felt regret about my siblings and me not being able to speak Tagalog fluently, while my dad did not feel any regret because our language choices and development happened naturally as needed. When I stated this observation about my dad, Jerome responded, "Oh ako rin parang ganun, na walang - (*Oh I'm like that too, that there's no -)* I don't care ah I'm confident that at least to some extent they know some basics(…)" The exchange in Example 1.18 with Jerome and Mariel reflecting upon their own experience in relation to the researcher's experiences helped me better understand how Jerome and Mariel felt about their language policies. Meanwhile, as the parents are negotiating their own language policies at home, Sam is most likely negotiating his own cultural identity in relation to his parents, extended family, and his peers at school.

The Garcia Family

Angelie (40) and Karl (44) have three children: Geoffrey (10), Jan Eulo (8), and Leila (2). Angelie came to the U.S. from the Philippines 6.4 years ago to teach English in a public school system located in an adjacent county, Snell County. Karl followed Angelie to Cold Creek six

months later with Geoffrey and Jan Eulo to live there permanently. In Cold Creek, Karl is a stay-at-home dad for Leila.

Both Geoffrey and Jan Eulo attend the public school in the 5th and 3rd grade respectively. The boys enjoy playing together more than they enjoy playing with their baby sister. They also enjoy watching Japanese action anime, like Naruto and Dragon Ball Z. Geoffrey and Jan Eulo have silly yet kindhearted demeanors towards visitors and their baby sister. The boys often claim that the other brother is copying them to make fun of each other. In addition, Geoffrey is on the autism spectrum, and Angelie said one of their motivations in coming to the U.S. was for Geoffrey to have better educational opportunities, since the Philippines does not offer as high-quality, affordable care as the U.S. does for children with special needs. The Garcias plan to stay in the U.S. permanently.

The Garcias live in a small apartment in the same apartment complex the Cruzes live in. Their apartment is tidy, with various children's toys stacked in the corners of the living room. When I came to their home for the interview, Karl was busy in the kitchen cooking Filipino barbecue while Angelie was video calling her sister who lives in Australia.

Family Language Policies & Outside Influences. Angelie and Karl reported that they speak to each other in Tagalog but speak to their children in a mix of English and Tagalog. Geoffrey reported that he was most comfortable speaking in Tagalog, although most of his speech is in English. Jan Eulo felt most comfortable speaking English and also said that "Tagalog is hard."

During the dinner recording and when I spent time at their apartment, Angelie and Karl's reported language use aligned with their actual language use. The children spoke exclusively in English to each other and to their parents, except for Geoffrey who sometimes said "opo" (*yes, ma'am/sir*) to his parents. Karl said that when he is taking care of Leila, he speaks in English

first, then Tagalog. Angelie stated that they hope Leila can learn Tagalog because she is still young, which implies that Karl and Angelie might try to change their language policies for Leila, having learned from their experiences with Jan Eulo and Geoffrey. Karl's reported language use with Leila was reflected in an example from their dinner recording.

Example 2.1

Karl: Oh I will give you meat and rice. (unintelligible) **Leila:** Meat! <baby noises> **Karl:** Mainit anak ha mainit. Blow mo muna. Ayos (unintelligible) ka na? Mainit ha. You blow it first. **Angelie:** (unintelligible) **Karl:** <To Angelie> Bigyan mo na muna ng sabaw. <To Leila> Ohh it's hot, baby! Oh it's full. **Leila:** Meat? **Karl:** Oh huwag kang mag ganon! **Leila:** Ya! Meat! **Angelie:** Leila wants meat. **Karl:** O meat ah meat. You have to eat rice too. Huwag lang meat. **Angelie:** Geoffrey, mag meat ka pa. **Geoffrey:** Yeah. **Angelie:** You want more? **Geoffrey:** Mhm!	**Karl:** Oh I will give you meat and rice. (unintelligible) **Leila:** Meat! <baby noises> **Karl:** *It's hot, child, hot. You* blow *first. Are you* (unintelligible) *good? It's hot ha.* You blow it first. **Angelie:** (unintelligible) **Karl:** <To Angelie> *Give her the soup first.* <To Leila> Ohh it's hot, baby! Oh it's full. **Leila:** Meat? **Karl:** *Oh don't do that!* **Leila:** Ya! Meat! **Angelie:** Leila wants meat. **Karl:** O meat ah meat. You have to eat rice too. *Not just meat.* **Angelie:** Geoffrey, *eat more* meat. **Geoffrey:** Yeah. **Angelie:** You want more? **Geoffrey:** Mhm!

Angelie and Karl's mixed English and Tagalog use is reflected consistently throughout their 8-minute dinner recording. Furthermore, Angelie sometimes used Tagalog words in an English sentence to emphasize her sentence: "Geoffrey, can you use your spoon and fork naman, anak?" (Geoffrey, can you use your spoon and fork *please, child?*)

In my first interview with her in Nov. 2018, Angelie explained her reasoning behind her family's language practices, detailed in Example 2.2.

Example 2.2

Angelie: But uh with Geoffrey's case, the developmental pediatrician told us that we have to speak in one language for him because if not, makacon-makaconfuse siya. Kaya, makaconfuse siya kung ano ba yung isasabihin niya. And uh since he preferred to speak English, nagstart kami mag-English sa kanya. That's why … si Jan Eulo, nag - pagpunta-pagpunta nila dito, mabilis niya na-adapt yung English kasi ginagaya niya yung brother niya. At kailangan niya makipagusap ng ah ng English sa brother niya. Kaya nung nandito sila ang bilis-bilis nila talaga. And nag-bloom yung ah nag-bloom ang language ni Geoffrey pag dating niya dito sa U.S. Kasi doon - Kasi doon hindi--limited yung English na naririnig niya. Naririnig lang niya na yung English sa school atsaka sa therapy niya. Tapos sa bahay, more on (..) more on Filipino than English. We're speaking English kasi kailangan namin makakipagcommunicate sa kanya. Sa kanya lang. Pero yung ibang kasama namin sa household, kailangan namin mag salita ng Tagalog. Pati sa brother niya, Tagalog lang din.	**Angelie:** But uh with Geoffrey's case, the developmental pediatrician told us that we have to speak in one language for him because if not, *he will get – he will get confused. So, he will get confused with what he should say* And uh since he preferred to speak English, *we started speaking English to him*. That's why … Jan Eulo, *when – when they came here, [Jan Eulo] adapted to English quickly because he was copying his* brother. *And he needed to speak in ah in English to his* brother. *So when they were here, they [learned English] so fast, really.* And *Geoffrey's* language bloom*ed ah* bloom*ed when he came here to the U.S. Because there, because there [in the Philippines] no – the English he was hearing was* limited. *He only heard English at* school *and during his* therapy. *Then at home,* more on (..) more on Filipino than English. We're speaking English *because we need to be able to communicate with him. Just to him. But the others with us in the* household, *we need to speak in Tagalog. Even to [Geoffrey's]* brother. *Just Tagalog too.*

As seen in Example 2.2, the Garcia family's language policies were influenced by Geoffrey's developmental pediatrician's recommendations, and consequently, Geoffrey and Jan Eulo speak primarily in English to one another. In Example 2.2, Angelie also said that she has to speak to Geoffrey only in English (although in the dinner recording, she sometimes spoke to him in Tagalog), but she emphasized the "need" to speak to everyone else in the house in Tagalog.

When asked about specific practices they do to maintain language in the home, Karl said that in a normal day he listens to Tagalog music, watches the singing show *The Voice: Philippines* in which the contestants sing Tagalog songs, watches Filipino news, and streams

Filipino radio from YouTube. When Karl talked about the Tagalog media they use in the family, Angelie mentioned in Example 2.2 that her children often ask about the Tagalog media.

Example 2.3

Karl: News ng Tagalog tsaka pag namimiss namin yung tugtug ng radyo sa Pilipinas nag - nag aano kami nagstreaming kami sa (…) **Angelie:** Sa YouTube. Naririnig nila tapos nagtatanong sila. **Karl:** Yung Tagalog music talaga yung hindi English as in talagang Tagalog lang. **Angelie:** So siguro yun lang yung yun yung news everyday kasi nanonood siya ng news sa Pilippines eh so naririnig na overhear ano ba nila, naririnig nila. Ganun lang yung. [Ka]sama yon dahil limited yung time. **Karl:** Nakalimutan mo pa yung telenovela mo. **Angelie:** Ayun yung that- that- tha teleseriye. Yeah pero hindi ko sila masyado pinapanood kasi adult din yung ano eh yung teleseriye so hindi rin nila maintindihan. Pero, pagka may narinig silang ibang ano say, ah, 'eto ba yung sinasabi niya?' or 'are they saying like this? am I right?' They're asking like that.	**Karl:** News *in Tagalog and when we miss the beat of the radio in the Philippines we uhm we do streaming on (…)* **Angelie:** *On YouTube. They're* [her children] *hearing it and they're asking about it.* **Karl:** *The truly Tagalog music, not English,* as in *truly [or purely] Tagalog only.* **Angelie:** *So maybe that's it, that, the* news everyday *because they're watching* news *in the Philippines eh* so *they're hearing – that they* overhear *uhm, they're hearing it. That's all that is. That's part of it because* time *is* limited. **Karl:** *You're forgetting your* telenovela. **Angelie:** *Oh that* – that, that, the *telenovela. Yeah but I don't normally watch those because the telenovela are adult eh* so *they don't also understand that. But, when they hear another uhm* say, ah, '*is this what they are saying?'* or 'are they saying like this? Am I right?' They're asking like that.

As seen in Example 2.3, Angelie felt like she has "limited time" to share Tagalog with her children. In more responses to the question of specific practices to maintain language in the home, Angelie said she bought Tagalog language learning materials for them, but she feels difficulty in explicitly teaching her children Tagalog. Yet, throughout the interview, she emphasized that her children are curious and are always asking her about their Filipino culture and the Tagalog language.

Example 2.4

Angelie: Nagpabili ako ng abakada ka - sa Pilipinas pero hindi ko pa maintroduce sa kanila, gusto ko sana para mabasa ba nila. Yun sana yung isang gusto kong paraan pero feeling ko mahihirapan ako na gawin yon. **Joy:** Yea, busy, bising-bisi **Angelie:** Bisi pero ano - gusto ko mero - tapos yung postcards, si Geoffrey nagpabili siya ng postcard sa Lolo niya noon nung nag-aano sa Pilippines kasi gusto niyang malaman ano yung mga nandoon sa ano sa postcard na yon. Pero wala kaming ibang ano eh, paraan magdoon sa pagusap namin sa kanila eh.	**Angelie:** *I bought them an abakada [alphabet learning kit] – in the Philippines but I haven't* introduced *it to them yet, I want them to read it. That's what I hope will be a way but my* feeling *is I'll have a hard time doing that.* **Joy:** Yea, busy, *really busy.* **Angelie:** *Busy but uhm – I want them to start somewhere – then the* postcards, *Geoffrey asked his Grandpa to buy him a* postcard *then when uhm [they were] in the Philippines because he wants to know what is there in uhm in that* postcard. *But we don't have another uhm eh, way to get there in our conversations to them eh.*

Angelie expressed a desire to teach her children Filipino in a more explicit manner, but she acknowledged that doing so will be difficult, as she is a full-time teacher as well. On the other hand, Karl thought they should not force Tagalog onto them and that they will learn Tagalog as long as they are hearing it in the home.

Example 2.5

Karl: Pero - hindi hindi mo naman kasi (..) hindi ko ma, hindi namin maipilit pa … Kasi, mas magkakainterest nalang sila kung ano yung native language nila pag malake na sila. As long as dapat naririnig nila. Kasi ako nung lumake ako, tatlo ang nanrinig ko. Tatlong salita ang naririnig ko, tatlong dialect. Yung(..) sa Nanay ko, sa Tatay ko, tsaka yung Tagalog. Pero nakakaintindi ako, hindi ko naman nakasali - nasa - nasasabi - nakakapagsalita ako pero hindi ganun fluent phrases, pero nakakaintindi ako. … So na - na - naexpose ko doon sa(..) sa tatlong dialect. Pero hindi ka naman nalilito kasi depende rin naman sa kausap mo. … sa akin lang, huwag lang nilang hindi na marinig yung native language nila. As long as naririnig nila, familiar sila sa sinasab - naririnig nila."	**Karl:** *Because – you won't, won't, we can't force it more… because they will get an interest their native language when they are older.* As long as *they are hearing it* [now.] *Because me, when I was growing up, I was hearing three. Three languages was what I was hearing, three dialects. The (..) from my mother, my father, and Tagalog. But I can still understand. I couldn't speak – I wasn't able to speak, but my* phrases *weren't that fluent, but I could understand. …* So, *I – I was exposed there to (..) three* dialects. *But I didn't get confused because it depended also on who I was talking to… To me, don't let them not be hearing their* native language. As long as *they hear it, it will be* familiar *to their speech – to their hearing.*

While making the conclusion in Example 2.5, Karl reported from his own experience of growing up hearing three different Philippine languages (Tagalog from his hometown, Ilocano from his mother, and Bikol from his father) and still being familiar with them, though he did not speak all of them to the same level as he could speak Tagalog. Karl's family language policy and attitudes for how his children will learn from Tagalog stemmed from his own language experiences growing up in the Philippines. Furthermore, Karl felt that as long as they keep speaking Tagalog in the house, someday they will learn Tagalog "talaga" (*really* learn Tagalog) when they are older and have a better interest in learning it. Karl's attitude for his children's eventual multilingualism stems from his experience with language and perhaps his assumption that multilingualism is a norm, since multilingualism is a norm in the Philippines.

Children's Language Preferences & Cultural Identity. The Garcia children's interest in their language, which Angelie spoke about during her interview in the 2018 pilot study and in the current study, was also revealed by the children's reported language use. (Note: Geoffrey has difficulty articulating some words, and transcriptions below are edited for clarity and spelling.)

I conducted my interview with Geoffrey and Jan Eulo simultaneously, and Leila entered the conversation at various points as well. Throughout the interview, I frequently addressed a question to one brother at a time. If I asked a question and Geoffrey answered first, Jan Eulo often responded "Same." For example, Geoffrey reported that he spoke Tagalog, English, another Philippine language spoken by his family members in California, and Japanese. Jan Eulo said he spoke the same languages as his older brother reported. Their joint interview likely influenced them to copy one another, yet the two brothers differed on their answers of language preference and cultural identification. For example, Geoffrey and Jan Eulo differed when it came to their preferred language to speak, as seen in Example 2.6.

Example 2.6

Joy: All right. Okay. What language do you like using the most?
Jan Eulo: English.
Geoffrey: Filipino!
Joy: Really? Hehe do you like using - wait - why do you like - wait Eulo first, why do you like speaking English the most?
Jan Eulo: 'cause Tagalog's hard.
Joy: Ohh yeah that's fair. What about you Geoffrey?
Geoffrey: Ummm...like... I love to speak Tagalog because I was used to be born in the Philippines. Except Leila [was not born in the Philippines].
<Joy, Geoffrey, Jan Eulo, and Leila play together for some time. Joy returns to the topic>
Joy: Okay. That's fair. But so is it so even though you speak English most of the time you said you like speaking Tagalog the most?
Geoffrey: Yeah because it's better to like sometimes sometimes I speak English at school, not Tagalog that much.
Joy: Mhm.
Geoffrey: Not Tagalog at school but instead I'm choosing both of them.
Joy: Mm okay. So yeah, so whenever you can you like to speak Tagalog?
Geoffrey: Ahh po. (*Yes, ma'am.*)
Joy: Okay nice. How about you Jan Eulo is the same or you just want to do English all the time?
Jan Eulo: I just wanna do English all the time.

In Example 2.6, Geoffrey claimed he likes to use Tagalog the most, though he answered most of his questions in English. Still, during the dinner recording, Geoffrey responded in Tagalog to his parents twice saying, "Ahh po!" (*Yes, ma'am/sir*) and "Masarap!" (*Delicious!*) Both instances were spoken with a heavy U. S. American accent. Geoffrey said he wants to speak Tagalog when he can, but from the dinner recording and in his interview, the majority of his speech is in English. Furthermore, Angelie made a point to tell me after his interview that while Geoffrey claims he can speak Tagalog, in reality he cannot. Nevertheless, from what I observed from his speed and ability to respond in English when his parents talk to him in Tagalog, I think Geoffrey's passive knowledge of the language (listening) is stronger than his active knowledge of the language (producing the language in writing or spaking). Perhaps he is confident that he

can understand Tagalog and thus is more likely to say that he can also speak Tagalog. In addition, Angelie reported that Jan Eulo understands Tagalog better than Geoffrey does.

Cultural Learning & Children's Curiosity. Angelie and Karl reported that they explicitly teach their kids about Filipino culture: traditions and holidays. Karl also said that Geoffrey has been curious about Filipino culture lately and has been watching videos on YouTube. Angelie said Geoffrey started watching videos and researching when he started feeling like he wanted to "umuwi ng Philippines" (*go home to the Philippines*).

Example 2.7

Angelie: Kaya lang ano hindi pa kami makauwi ng Pilipines, so looking forward ba siya kung excited siya kasi hindi niya natatandaan yung dati, so parang ngayon na meron na siyang na isip, parang may gusto niya bang maexperience kung ano yung meron doon kung kakain siya ng ganito, yung sa umaga, pero naaala niya eh na ano in the morning time paggising mo magbibili ka ng pandesal, tapos yung yung merong taho, ganyan. Naaala - naaalala niya. Tapos, nung magsisimba, naaalala din niya yon...Mamamalengke. Alam niya kasi sinasama ko siya sa palengke, alam din niya yon. Kaya namimiss niya ba yung ano - namimiss niya ang food, namimiss niya yung mga relatives namin sa Philippines, tapos yung nga, interesado siya nagwawatch siya ng ano ng mga YouTube tsaka yung mga documentaries about Philippines. Si, si Geoffrey lang. Not Jan Eulo.	**Angelie:** *The only thing is, uhm, we haven't been able to go home to the Philippines,* so *he's* looking forward, *he's* excited *because he doesn't remember the past,* so *it's like now there's a desire in him to* experience *what is there, whether they eat like this, what goes on in the morning, but what he remembers in the* morning time *when you wake up, you'll buy pandesal, then there's there's taho, like that. He remember – remembers. Then, when going to church, he also remembers that. Going to the market, he knows because I bring him to the market, he also knows that. So, he misses those, he misses food, he misses our* relatives *in the Philippines, then that, he's interested in watching uhm* YouTube *and documentaries about Philippines. Just – just Geoffrey.* Not Jan Eulo.

As seen in Example 2.7, Angelie pointed out that Geoffrey wants to learn more about Filipino culture than Jan Eulo does. She reasoned that the difference in their interest in Filipino culture is because Geoffrey remembers more about the Philippines than Jan Eulo does since Jan

Eulo was only three years old when the family moved to Mississippi. Geoffrey was five years old at the time. The two brothers' preferences for their own cultural identification can be seen in Example 2.8 when they answered questions about how they define themselves culturally.

Example 2.8

> **Joy:** So Jan Eulo, do you identify more with being American or Filipino?
> **Jan Eulo:** American.
> **Joy:** American. Okay. Why?
> **Jan Eulo:** Um because I speak English.
> **Joy:** Yeah okay. So (..) umm (..) that's fair. And that's the only reason? Just that?
> **Jan Eulo:** <nods>
> **Joy:** Okay Geoffrey what about you? So do you identify more with being American or Filipino or like is it a mix?
> **Geoffrey:** Mix because I don't know why we gon - well, before we at the Philppines before we at America, we didn't do the sil (unintelligible because Leila screams) You know like before becoming U.S. citizens, the thought yeah, we didn't do that. Because we don't know American history that much.
> **Joy:** Ohh okay.
> **Geoffrey:** Yeah but dad knows it because mom knows it mom studied!
> **Joy:** Mhm you have to study yeah. Oh yeah Jan Eulo I didn't ask you like do you identify with being Filipino or American or is it a mix.
> **Jan Eulo:** Mix.
> **Joy:** It's mixed but it's like if you had to pick one, it would be American?
> **Jan Eulo:** Mhm.
> **Joy:** Okay. So oh what about you Geoffrey, if you had to pick one, like, if you HAD to, would it be American or Filipino?
> **Geoffrey:** Filipino.
> **Joy:** Okay so you would say, you're more Filipino? And you Jan Eulo you say you're more American? Okay. And main - the main difference is because you speak English more? <Jan Eulo presumably nods throughout this conversation> Okay and the main difference for you <to Geoffrey> is because you can -
> **Geoffrey:** Speak Tagalog.

In Example 2.8, both brothers said they identify themselves as a mix between American and Filipino. Jan Eulo said he identified more as American because he speaks English. Geoffrey said he identified more with being Filipino because he, as he claims, speaks Tagalog. He also mentioned citizenship and not knowing that much about American history. Perhaps he started learning about the naturalization process from his parents or through school and understood that

he is not yet an American citizen. Thus, for Geoffrey, his cultural identification included notions of citizenship to a country.

Geoffrey's cultural identifications can be examined from several points of reference: his own reported language use, his actual language abilities, his mother's report of his language use, and his mother's report of his homesickness. In Example 2.5, when I asked Geoffrey why he preferred to speak Tagalog, he responded, "I love to speak Tagalog because I was used to be born in the Philippines." Perhaps Geoffrey feels more connected to the Philippines because he knows he was born there and has more memories of the Philippines compared to Jan Eulo. On the other hand, Angelie also reported that Jan Eulo is not as interested in learning about Filipino culture as his older brother is. Still, both brothers reported they have a sense of cultural pride, as seen in Example 2.9.

Example 2.9

> **Joy:** So, uh Jan Eulo first. What is the best thing about having two cultures or like being bicultural?
> **Geoffrey:** We don't know.
> **Jan Eulo:** Proud?
> **Joy:** Wait what?
> **Jan Eulo:** Proud.
> **Joy:** Ohh you're feeling proud, okay why?
> **Jan Eulo:** 'cause you're Filipino and American at the same time.
> … <Joy, Jan Eulo, and Geoffrey take a short break to play with Leila>
> **Geoffrey:** Same with me, same with Eulo.

In Example 2.9, Jan Eulo's first answer to "the best thing" about being bicultural was feeling proud, and for him, specifically, his pride came from being able to claim two cultures at the same time. Furthermore, during my interview with their parents, Angelie provided more context to Jan Eulo's response, as seen in Example 2.10.

Example 2.10:

Angelie: Kaya si Jan Eulo parang minsan sinabi niya sa akin na proud siya na Filipino siya tapos nandito siya sa U.S. kasi daw, siya nakakasalita siya ng English tapos nakakintindi siya ng ibang language. Yung mga classmate daw niya isang language daw yung alam. Yunngg parang edge niya ba na nakakaintindi pa rin siya. Dalawa yung language niya.	**Angelie:** *So,* Jan Eulo, *it's like sometimes he says to me that he is proud that he is Filipino and he is in the U.S. because, he says, he can speak English and he can understand another* language. *His classmates, he said, only know one* language. *It's like his* edge, *you know, that he can still understand. He has two languages.*

In Example 2.10, Angelie said that Jan Eulo recognizes his bilingualism as positive, especially in comparison to his peers who can only speak English.

Angelie and Karl both reported that they maintain close ties to the Philippines through family members and Tagalog media. Angelie also said that she intentionally teaches them about holidays and traditions. Perhaps Angelie intentionally teaching her children about Filipino culture contributes to their feeling of pride. Furthermore, the brothers didn't think there is anything bad or negative about being bilingual, and when asked what was the worst thing about being bicultural, both replied they don't know and confirmed they don't think there is anything negative about being bicultural—meaning to be part of two cultures. When asked what was the best thing about being bicultural, both said they didn't know what the best "thing" was, although both said they felt proud of the fact that they are bicultural.

Analysis: "Only at Home." The Garcia family language policy is influenced by Geoffrey's developmental pediatrician's recommendations, Angelie's desire to maintain Tagalog in the household, and Karl's desire to prepare his children for if they eventually gain more interest in Tagalog and will want to learn it. The family's dinner recording and conversations I observed with them were consistent with their reported language policies. Furthermore, the Garcia family

maintains close ties with their family members in the Philippines, which is another reason they want their children to maintain the Tagalog language.

During their joint interview, we also talked about how living in Mississippi specifically influences their children's cultural identity. Angelie mentioned that because there are few Filipinos in the area, their "pagiging Filipino" (*becoming Filipino*) can only come from the house: "yung pagiging Filipino nila, yung culture ng Filipino, sa bahay lang nila makakuha. If there's chances na makuha sila ng iba na Filipino din, konti lang dito yung chances. So, mahihirapan here dito sa Mississippi" (*Their becoming Filipino, the culture of Filipino, they will only get it at home.* If there's chances *that they can get Filipino from other [sources] also, the chances here are very little.* So, *it's harder to do so here in Mississippi).* Perhaps because Angelie wants her children to be knowledgeable of Filipino culture and because she is aware of the few number of Filipinos in the area, she and Karl take the responsibility of teaching their children about Filipino culture in the home.

The Cruz Family

Ignacio (49), Elena (43), and their two girls Marisol (18) and Destiny (10) moved to Cold Creek four and a half years ago for Elena to pursue her Ph.D. at the local university. Two years ago, Ignacio and Elena had their third child, Aurelio (2) in Cold Creek. Ignacio is the primary caregiver at home, and he is active in the local Catholic church. Ignacio is also active in organizing the local Filipino community organization, spanning Cold Creek and nearby towns. Marisol is a junior at Cold Creek High School and is active in choir and theater. She takes the Advanced Placement (AP) course track and is serious about her studies. Destiny is in the 5th grade at the local elementary school and is in the same homeroom class as Geoffrey Garcia.

Each family member is talkative and loud, even Aurelio. Oftentimes, conversations in both the interview and recording were drowned out due to Aurelio being a two-year-old. Between all the family interviews, the Cruzes had the longest dinner recording duration and longest total interview duration.

The Cruzes live in the same apartment complex as the Garcias. Their apartment is crowded with potted plants, an upright piano, and children's books and toys stacked in corners and on tables throughout the apartment. Walking through the Cruzes apartment, I noticed their dining table, chairs, some silverware, and even some toys were familiar to me, and I remembered my parents gave several of our family belongings to them when they first moved here. Seeing these items made me remember that the Filipino community is a network of people who help one another, especially in adjusting to life in the U.S.

As part of Elena's visa contract, once she receives her Ph.D., her whole family will move back to the Philippines for Elena to continue her studies at the university in their hometown. The Cruzes are returning to the Philippines in December 2020.

***Family Language Policy and Language Practices*.** The Cruzes' dinner recording lasted the longest among all the families, so their recording had a wide variety of examples of their language choices. In the recording, Elena and Ignacio spoke Tagalog to each other. With their children, they spoke in Tagalog and English. Destiny and Lio only spoke English, but both understand Tagalog to some extent.

Example 3.1

<after the children are being generally rowdy> **Elena:** Parang talagang kayo'y aso't pusa. **Marisol:** This is the normal, mother. **Destiny:** I'm the dog!	<after the children are being generally rowdy> **Elena:** *Y'all really are like dogs and cats.* **Marisol:** This is the normal, mother.

	Destiny: I'm the dog!

As seen in Example 3.1, Destiny understood and responded in English to her mother's Tagalog sentence, demonstrating some level of linguistic competence in Tagalog. Marisol spoke in mainly English-only utterances, but she sometimes spoke in Tagalog. In her interview, she reported that there are "not so rare occasions whenever I'm angry [and Tagalog] just slips out of my mouth even at school." Her reported language use was confirmed in the recording as well; she spoke in Tagalog when expressing frustration at her younger siblings. She also sometimes responded in Tagalog when her parents spoke to her.

When asked about their specific language practices, Ignacio responded that they "consciously" try to speak to their children in Tagalog. Elena picked up from her husband's response and mentioned that while they try to speak in Tagalog, they find themselves needing to speak to Destiny in English because she does not understand them.

Example 3.2

Elena: Yeah we try because of these kids…We have – alam mo yun – yung kailangan – baka kasi eventually kung mag English–English na mawala na, malilimutan na nila yung ano (...) Although they ah like this one – <talking about Destiny> he – she will answer in English but we will talk to her in Tagalog, but at some point –	**Elena:** Yeah we try because of these kids…We have – *you know that – that we need – because maybe* eventually *if they speak English and English that [Tagalog] will go away, they will forget the uhm* (...) Although they ah like this one <talking about Destiny> – he – she will answer in English but we will talk to her in Tagalog, but at some point –
Joy: Yeah I remember that was in the recording.	**Joy:** Yeah I remember that was in the recording.
Elena: At some point lalo na pag naggagalit kami, ito, hindi na makakaintindi so I don't know –	**Elena:** At some point *especially when we get mad, this one, she doesn't understand* so I don't know –
Ignacio: <starts laughing>	I**gnacio:** <starts laughing>
Elena: – if she is saying <making voice high pitched> 'I don't understand I don't understand!' if we are speaking	**Elena:** – if she is saying <making voice high pitched> 'I don't understand I don't understand!' if we are speaking

Tagalog…Yeah so 'I don't I don't understand you're saying!' so so we have to speak ENGLISH especially when we are trying to correct her. **Aurelio:** Mommy eat the candy? **Ignacio:** Yea– le – it's intentional. That's conscious uh ah of speaking English. The kids. **Joy:** Or Tagalog – English or Tagalog? **Ignacio:** Yeah we just use Tagalog because that's that – that the most common to us…Yeah there's a reason for it – not for them – not to forget the language.	Tagalog…Yeah so 'I don't I don't understand you're saying!' so so we have to speak ENGLISH especially when we are trying to correct her. **Aurelio:** Mommy eat the candy? **Ignacio:** Yea– le – it's intentional. That's conscious uh ah of speaking English. The kids. **Joy:** Or Tagalog – English or Tagalog? **Ignacio:** Yeah we just use Tagalog because that's that – that the most common to us…Yeah there's a reason for it – not for them – not to forget the language.

As seen in Example 3.2, Ignacio and Elena reported they speak in Tagalog specifically so they do not forget Tagalog. Both Destiny and Marisol confirmed in their interview that their parents speak in Tagalog most of the time. While Ignacio and Elena's reported language policy was to speak in Tagalog, they spoke to their children in English several times in the dinner recording. For example, when discussing an issue of actions being right and wrong, Ignacio talked to Marisol at length in English, and no Tagalog was used in this section of the recording (14:00–14:49). In addition, Destiny reported that her parents speak in Tagalog "everywhere," but when she does not understand them, her parents will explain what they said to her in English.

During her the interview with Ignacio, Elena said they are mindful to use dinnertime as an opportunity to raise and teach their children, as seen in Example 3.3.

Example 3.3

> **Elena:** It's more on here – in this – in this table – we raise them (unintelligible) in this table, but outside – outside not much so, but we try to remind them na (*that)* when things are not – not going right, so that's when we try to remind them like this. But normally when we are outside they are on their own … So here, during dinner when we are –

whenever we talk so that's when we talk about them – those things and trying to explain to them.

Elena and Ignacio also said that they use dinnertime to speak to their children about cultural identity, which I will discuss in a later section more focused on cultural identity and learning.

Children's Language Preferences & Cultural Identity. I conducted interviews with Destiny and Marisol in the living room with Destiny going first and Marisol second. During Destiny's interview, Marisol sat nearby watching a movie on a laptop, and when it was Marisol's turn, she said she was excited to answer the questions and had been thinking about her responses during Destiny's interview. Destiny and Marisol's responses showed they both feel that their language is closely tied to their cultural identification.

Both Destiny and Marisol reported that they felt most comfortable speaking in English. Destiny described her language experiences in coming to the U.S. as follows in Example 3.4.

Example 3.4

> **Destiny:** I was speaking Filipino when I was first grade. And then(..) like(..) I was unfamiliar [with] everybody that everybody was talking English here. And so before I knew it, I (..) learned how to speak Fili - um - learned how to speak English so fast now. But I still have problems like speaking Filipino like Filipino words mixing it to into (..) English words.
> **Joy:** Mhm. Um like, like accidentally or something?
> **Destiny:** Accidentally.
> **Joy:** Like when you're just talking with your friends?
> **Destiny:** Yeah.

Even though earlier in the interview, Destiny said she "forgot how to learn Filipino words" and she speaks in English all the time with her friends, she also reported that she sometimes says Filipino words "accidentally." Furthermore, Destiny expressed feeling sad that when she returns to the Philippines, she will not be able to speak to her grandfather. She hopes that, just as she

learned English quickly in the U.S., she will learn Tagalog quickly when she returns to the Philippines.

Marisol also said she was sad that she is most comfortable speaking English, as seen in Example 3.5.

Example 3.5

> **Joy:** All right, which language are you most comfortable expressing yourself in?
> **Marisol:** Sad to say it's English.
> **Destiny:** <gasps in the background, and she may have gasped at Marisol's response>
> **Marisol:** But there's also um certain things that I can more easily ... express in Tagalog than in English so if I can't find the English word for it it's gonna take me a long time to process what I'm supposed to say in English so I can tell my friends how I feel about that day or that person who did something to me that I just wanted – really wanted to rant about. Hahaha.
> **Joy:** Mmm okay hahaha! Okay, why'd you say it's like sad to say?
> **Marisol:** Because like, I still wanna be… fluent in my own – my own language, but like
>
> I'm not used to using it because if I'm at school I can't really talk to anybody else…

In Example 3.5, Marisol said she felt more comfortable expressing herself in English, but she also felt constrained by needing to speak English to her friends because there are a few things she more easily can express in Tagalog. Elsewhere in the interview, when she mentioned that her parents use Tagalog when they are mad at them, she said Tagalog "has more FEEL to it" and "means MORE" because, in her parents' case, they are using their "own language." In addition, though Marisol reported she feels more comfortable speaking English, she also reported wanting to be more fluent in her "own language." Marisol elaborated more on her personal attachments to Tagalog as follows in Example 3.6.

Example 3.6

> **Marisol:** It's just something that I'm born with and something that I feel like that I have to keep alive in me because it's part of where I come from. Part of my heritage part of my

> history, which (..) ancestry-wise it's in my DNA. So it's just like a thing that I just acknowledge. It's just something that I keep with me.

Based on her responses in Example 3.5 and 3.6, I felt that Marisol feels ownership over Tagalog as her own language as opposed to English. Perhaps Marisol's attachment to her language is intertwined with her confident cultural identification. Earlier in the interview, Marisol mentioned that she "definitely" feels more Filipino than American. In fact, Marisol said she does not identify as American at all because she "did not come from here." She described herself as "a Filipino girl living in an American world."

On the other hand, Destiny reported she feels more American than Filipino, and language played a part in why she felt that way. When asked about whether she identifies more as American, Filipino, or a mix between the two, Destiny responded as follows in Example 3.7.

Example 3.7

> **Destiny:** I identify more American, but I'm actually Filipino b –it's because I've been speaking American every single time so... I kind of identify – identify myself as American."

As seen in her response, Destiny's "speaking American" English contributes to her feeling American. Later in the conversation, Destiny elaborated further as seen in Example 3.6.

Example 3.8

> **Joy:** Earlier you said you would identify yourself more as American, but you said you really ARE Filipino. What does that mean to BE Filipino? To you?
> **Destiny:** My blood is Filipino, also my parents are Filipino, and also I should actually learn how to speak Filipino.

In Example 3.8, Destiny expressed that she felt she "should" know how to speak Filipino/Tagalog because she is Filipino by biological heritage. Again, language played a factor

in her cultural identification. When asked whether she considers being Filipino or American to be part of her identity, Destiny responded as follows in Example 3.9.

Example 3.9

> **Joy:** Is being Filipino or American part of who you are?
> **Destiny:** I'd say part of Filipino only. <quietly>
> **Joy:** Wait what?
> **Destiny:** I'd say part of Filipino only.
> **Joy:** Okay. only the Filipino part? Ohh why?
> **Destiny:** I wouldn't consider myself as American because (..) my sister has been bugging about me acting like American.
> **Joy:** What does that mean?
> **Destiny:** I always keep on the – um – the electric fan on and being not freezing cold, but my sister being freezing cold.

In Example 3.9, Marisol may also have implied that Destiny has become American because her preferred room temperature is a little cooler, as if she is used to having an air conditioner or used to the colder North American climate. Destiny said that she would not consider herself American because her sister has been "bugging" her about "acting like American." Her sister "bugging" her probably made her feel bad, which caused her to feel like she *shouldn't* be American, thus pushing her to self-identify more as Filipino.

Destiny and Marisol both had positive attitudes about biculturalism, but they both acknowledged that being different in the U.S. posed some challenges and feelings of embarrassment. In response to the question "What is the best thing about having two cultures?" Destiny said that having two cultures feels "awesome" because she gets to try different foods and can talk to different people. Marisol also said that the best thing about having two cultures is having access to those cultures' food, people, and customs. In response to the question, "What is the worst thing about having two cultures?" Destiny said being identified with Geoffrey as

Filipino made her feel embarrassed. In Example 3.10, she reported feeling embarrassed when she is singled out because of being Filipino at school.

Example 3.10

> **Destiny:** … I do have one friend which is basically Filipino, he embarrasses me a lot.
> **Joy:** Mhm wait who is it?
> **Destiny:** <takes a breath> You should know this guy his name is Geoffrey.
> **Joy:** Ohh okay okay.
> **Destiny:** Yeah he's in my fifth grade um team and he's like every single time he talks about something like (..) like people don't know? And like when my teach – when my homeroom teacher (..) when they talk about something, like, he says something about Philippines and then once it's in – when it's in – our period time to go to reading…my teacher usually says something about [what] Geoffrey says (..) and everybody's like looking at me!
> **Joy:** Aww okay. Yeah. So it's kind of uncomfortable I guess? ... People are like, oh you're Filipino! <Destiny starts laughing> Like that?
> **Destiny:** Everybody knows that, but they just LOOK at me, about Geoffrey. It's like (..) don't mind me.

As seen in Example 3.10, Destiny reported feeling embarrassed because her classmates automatically connected her to Geoffrey and singled her out as Filipino because Geoffrey is also Filipino. Furthermore, perhaps Destiny felt embarrassed because of her classmates' expectation for her to identify with Geoffrey when she does not want to.

Marisol reported that her cultural identity is not a source of embarrassment from her peers at school. As part of her response to why she identified more as Filipino, she also said that she likes being different, as seen in Example 3.11.

Example 3.11

> **Marisol:** I I idet – definitely identify more as Filipino because I like being one of the few ... not necessarily special little snowflakes because that's a sarcastic term, special little snowflake, but everybody's a special little snowflake so you're not really special but it's nice being different even though like it's sometimes a li – sometimes used as a joke but I don't take it into any offense at all because they're just my friends.

In Example 3.11, Marisol said she likes being different, and though she acknowledged that people make fun of her for being different, she does not mind. Following her response in

Example 3.11, she elaborated on a situation in which her friends joked around with her cultural identity.

Example 3.12

> **Marisol:** … My friend joked about m–me um grabbing a slipper and then hitting him with it because he's not eating his food you know, pam pinapalo ng mga ano ng mga nanny mga anak nila (*for spanking, something for nannies to uhm spank their children)*. So, he wondered – wait that's a – isn't that a Hispanic thing? But then I just countered like, we also do it.
> …
> **Joy:** Mhm okay. All righty so that's fair. So does that happen – do things like that happen often or not really?
> **Marisol:** It's not often because we have a couple an – an – maybe a couple weeks it's kinda sad but.. it doesn't happen often and they don't really usually joke as me as a Filipino it's more of like... Filipino people are like short so. <Joy laughing> [a friend] told me at one point that he would love to go to the Philippines just so like he can be like taller than everybody it's like ... okay fine! I – it's been – short jokes have been on – thrown at me for like four or five years now so I'm kind of immune to it so okay fine whatever.

(It is interesting to note that her friends identified her actions as "Hispanic," and Marisol responded saying "we also do it." In the instance reported in Example 3.12, Marisol's friends may have categorized her actions as Hispanic because it is a common Other.) Though Marisol acknowledged that her cultural identity can be the subject of teasing, she did not report feeling embarrassed from it.

When talking about the negative aspects of biculturalism, Marisol said that she feels "like a bother to people" when she doesn't understand people or aspects of American culture and when other people don't understand her.

Example 3.13

> **Marisol:** …Sometimes I don't understand things and it's kind of like a bother to people, and it kind of bothers me when they don't understand and I have to explain it because I'm not good at explaining either way. So I guess like, the burden of having to explain stuff or having to ask like... having to ... woman up and ask people why does this happen, for what is this happening. Those types of questions when it comes to culture that you're

> getting to know… like it just this pressure about having to think fast paced before the conversation goes on to a different topic … So it's kind of like hard.

As seen in Example 3.13, Marisol does not feel embarrassed as much as pressured when navigating the norms of U.S. American culture. Furthermore, after Marisol explained herself in Example 3.10, she said, “That's why I want to learn more about MY culture so I can tell more people about it.” Again, Marisol claimed ownership over Filipino culture. At the same time, she said she wanted to know more about her culture so she could tell other people about it and, perhaps, better explain herself. Her response implied she does not feel she knows enough about Filipino culture. She also said she is looking forward to taking Filipino civics and history classes in the Philippines.

In comparison to Destiny’s conversations about her classmates considering her Filipino at school, Marisol is more self-confident both about herself and her cultural identity. These differences may be because Marisol is older and spent more time in the Philippines compared to Destiny. Marisol’s feelings of pressure arise from her need to keep up with her surrounding culture while Destiny’s feelings of embarrassment come from her peers’ identifications of her.

***Analysis: Negotiating Identities*.** Ignacio and Elena take their children’s self-conception of cultural identity seriously. When asked about how they thought their children learned about cultural identity in the United States, Ignacio mentioned that he and Elena “explain to them” their cultural identity, which includes knowing Tagalog and how behave around elders. Elena, jokingly, said that their teaching them about Filipino cultural identity was more like “brainwashing.”

Example 3.14

> **Joy:** …how do you think your children learn about their cultural identity while in the – while here?
> **Ignacio:** We explain to them.
> **Joy:** You talk to them, yeah.
> **Ignacio:** And because – because we still plan to go back so we have to instill them that no you are not American, you are Filipinos and our color – we speak [Tagalog] (…) And tha – that's it. And part of it is uh (..) yeah to speak your language for them to (..) to feel (..) the culture that they came from.
> **Elena:** Plus when we go back home, they will be hearing Tagalog things words there so, how do they know how to – how do – how do – paano sila matututo na (*how will they learn when*) if we will continue – continuously speak English … So they should learn. So we – we're trying to introduce to them these Tagalog things.
> **Ignacio:** How they behave to – to older people. Cultural things.
> **Joy:** Yeah okay. So basically you just – you tell them.
> **Elena:** Yeah it's more on brainwashing them.
> **Joy:** Hehehe.

As seen in Example 3.14, Elena explained that one reason for their explicit cultural teaching is that they plan on going back to the Philippines. Ignacio and Elena spoke at length at how they make sure that their children understand that they are not American but Filipino. Following the conversation in Example 3.2 in the first section of this chapter, Ignacio and Elena explained how they discussed cultural and national identity specifically to Destiny.

Example 3.15

Ignacio: Atsaka – and then uh – the school speaks differently about cultural identity talaga Americans and something like that. And Destiny she usually tho – thought like – she is an American! Hahaha! because – **Destiny:** I'm not an American! **Ignacio:** Nah i – i – i – that was before! That was before. **Elena:** Yeah you were – you are old now but before two years ago maybe three years ago, hahaha. **Ignacio:** She was – she was – **Elena:** Yeah you're – you're grown up already.	**Ignacio:** *And* – and then uh – the school speaks differently about cultural identity *really* Americans and something like that. And Destiny she usually tho – thought like – she is an American! Hahaha! because – **Destiny:** I'm not an American! **Ignacio:** Nah i – i – i – that was before! That was before. **Elena:** Yeah you were – you are old now but before two years ago maybe three years ago, hahaha. **Ignacio:** She was – she was – **Elena:** Yeah you're – you're grown up already.

Ignacio: – thinking she was American because she speak English, something like that. So we explain that – **Elena:** Oh sabi niya oh. **Ignacio:** We explain that oh – **Elena:** Oh kasi – maliit pa siya! So siguro alam mo yun yung identity niya, so nawala na siya ah akala niya American siya. **Ignacio:** Because – because she speak English she – she – she thinks she's a la – an American. **Elena:** She's speaking English so when we tried to explain to her but now – sabi niya, 'I'm not an Ameri(unintelligible)' tapos nainintindihan na niya. <unintelligible portion, Lio screaming> **Ignacio:** We – we – we – we're. We are (..) cautious of (..) of such kind of (..) concept on children. Their identity…because the wa – wa the – it affects on the way that they – they behave. **Joy:** Mhm okay. Yeah. I think (…) yeah. **Elena:** Yeah there are a lot – there are a lot of cultures – really different cultures and American cultures and our cultures in the Philippines so. So as we try to – to explain to them na ito yun, ganito yun, ganito yun.	**Ignacio:** – thinking she was American because she speak English, something like that. So we explain that – **Elena:** Oh *she said* oh. **Ignacio:** We explain that oh – **Elena:** Oh *because – she was still small!* So *maybe you know that, her identity,* so *she got lost ah she thought she was American.* **Ignacio:** Because – because she speak English she – she – she thinks she's a la – an American. **Elena:** She's speaking English so when we tried to explain to her but now – *she said,* 'I'm not Ameri(unintelligible, drowned out by Lio's scream)' *then she understood.* <unintelligible portion, Lio screaming> **Ignacio:** We – we – we – we're. We are (..) cautious of (..) of such kind of (..) concept on children. Their identity…because the wa – wa the – it affects on the way that they – they behave. **Joy:** Mhm okay. Yeah. I think (…) yeah. **Elena:** Yeah there are a lot – there are a lot of cultures – really different cultures and American cultures and our cultures in the Philippines so. So as we try to – to explain to them *that this is this, that is that, that is that.*

As seen in Example 3.15, Ignacio and Elena are conscious (and "cautious") of how they think identity is taught in schools, and they want to make sure they explicitly tell their children about Filipino identity. Ignacio even said that knowing cultural identity affects behavior. Furthermore, Elena and Ignacio's conversation in Example 3.15 about Destiny reveal their belief that Destiny's "feeling American" meant she "nawala." In this context, "nawala" most likely means "*got lost*," but because of the word's connotation of absence, Elena could have also meant Destiny *"is not there"* or she "*disappeared.*"

Throughout interviews with all the Garcia family members, I found that Ignacio and Elena take their family's cultural identity seriously, and their attitudes towards language and

culture reflect on how Destiny and Marisol feel about their language use and cultural identity. Marisol is confident in her self-identification as Filipino and not Filipino-American. Yet, Destiny's cultural self-identification is an ongoing negotiation between her school peers, her sister, her parents, and herself. While she reported that she identified more as American in Example 3.7, she still said she is Filipino in Example 3.8 when she said her "blood" is Filipino. She also said she would rather identify as Filipino because her sister bugged her about acting American in Example 3.9. Finally, in Example 3.15, she exclaimed to parents, "I'm not an American!" Destiny, being 10 years old, is certainly an example of a young child growing older and trying to figure out the different facets of her identity.

The Torres Family

Carmen (45) and Edgar (45) have lived in the U.S. for 16.6 years with their children Mark (14) and Nathan (10). Carmen and Edgar first moved to an East Coast metropolitan city 16 and a half years ago. Both Mark and Nathan were born there, and the family lived there for 10 years before moving back to the Philippines for a year and a half. After the family's time in the Philippines, they moved to Cold Creek in 2014 and have lived there since. Currently, Carmen and Edgar are employed as teachers in Snell county, an adjacent county school system with a teacher's exchange program, the same program that Angelie Garcia teaches in. The Torreses are close to the Garcia family, and they often take turns carpooling each other's children to school.

Mark and Nathan take their studies seriously, and both are involved in the Cold Creek club swim team and Boy Scouts troop. They both enjoy playing online games and video games with Geoffrey and Jan Eulo Garcia as well. Mark and Nathan attend Cold Creek public school in the 9th and 5th grade respectively. Last year, Mark and Nathan attended the same school system their parents teach in, but when Mark started 7th grade, his parents encouraged him to transfer to

the Cold Creek school system because it offers more AP courses. Nathan also transferred to the Cold Creek school system at the same time as Mark.

The Torreses live in an apartment complex near the outer edge of Cold Creek. Despite its small size, their apartment is often a meeting place for crowded, rambunctious Filipino gatherings complete with karaoke and a potluck. The children's trophies from various competitions, medals from swim meets, and photos of their family decorate the living room walls and staircase.

The Torreses plan to stay in the U.S. permanently, and though Mark said he does not yet know whether he wants to stay in the U.S. permanently, Nathan said he hopes to play on an American pro-football team in the future.

Family Language Practices. In their dinner recording, Carmen and Edgar spoke in Tagalog to one another. With their children, they spoke mainly in English with small additions of Tagalog for emphasis. For example, Edgar asked Mark and Nathan do something, and when they did not do so, he repeated the command in English with emphasis words in Tagalog.

Example 4.1

> **Edgar:** Slow down I said slow down nga eh.
> …
> **Edgar:** Aya sit down sit down na nga eh.
> …
> **Edgar:** Why you rushing ba?

Other than small phrases such as "nga eh," "hoy," or "ba," Carmen and Edgar mainly spoke to their children in English. All sentences in Example 4.1 were also spoken in a disciplinary tone, which suggests that Edgar and Carmen mainly use Tagalog with their children to emphasize disciplinary instructions.

When asked about their specific language practices, Carmen reported that they try to speak to them in Tagalog first, but they end up speaking in English instead because it is easier to do so.

Example 4.2

> **Carmen:** And um sometimes... um we speak Tagalog first, 'cause and as much as possible we want them to at least understand but they always say, “what what?” so it's more easier just to speak English, but we're doing the best way we can that in as much as possible they can understand us too.

During their interviews, all of the family members, including Mark and Nathan, stated that neither children can speak Tagalog. However, Nathan reported that he understands Tagalog sometimes: “my mom sometimes talks Filipino to me. And I sometimes get it and I sometimes don't.” Furthermore, Carmen, Edgar, and Mark reported that Nathan understands Tagalog better than Mark can. The family members’ reports of Nathan’s Tagalog knowledge were confirmed in the dinner recording. When Carmen and Edgar spoke in Tagalog to one another, Mark did not add to their conversation (unless spoken to directly in English), but Nathan asked questions about their conversation in two instances. In Example 4.3a, Nathan overheard his parents’ discussing Mark’s driving school in Tagalog and asked Mark a question about it. In Example 4.3b, Nathan overheard his name when his mom spoke to his dad in Tagalog, and Nathan asked his mother, “What?”

Example 4.3a:

Edgar: … <to Carmen> may driving school pa (unintelligible) a las otso. **Nathan:** <to Mark> Wait are you gonna practice with Tita Sandy? **Mark**: Tomorrow.	**Edgar:** … <to Carmen> *there still is* driving school (unintelligible) *at eight*. **Nathan:** <to Mark> Wait are you gonna practice with Auntie Sandy? **Mark**: Tomorrow.

Example 4.3b:

Carmen: … (unintelligible) mahatid mo si Nathan Sunday? **Nathan:** What? **Edgar:** On Monday ba. **Carmen:** Daddy will bring you to school on Monday Nathan.	**Carmen:** … (unintelligible) *Will you drive* Nathan *on* Sunday? **Nathan:** What? **Edgar:** On Monday *that is.* **Carmen:** Daddy will bring you to school on Monday Nathan.

Examples 4.3a and 4.3b confirm what Carmen reported about Nathan's language practices during her interview for the current study and in her interview in the researcher's pilot study. In the pilot study interview in 2018, she stated that Mark does not understand Tagalog nor does he care to understand, while Nathan understands more because he is, as she said, "nosy all the time." In Example 4.4, Carmen discussed her observations of her children's Tagalog understanding.

Example 4.4

Carmen: But at the end... they never learn it. Especially Mark. I would say Nathan learned a bit, and until now he can still understand basic communication like chores or commands at home, but not Mark, even as simple as... get the basura he would say, "what's basura Mama?" Or, or your ano "linisin mo 'to." or simple like - I mean - I - I don't know how - 'cause Nathan - under - ah like - he thinks first before responding…tinitignan niya kung ano yung situasyon at iniintindi niya, "ay ito pala ang ibig sabihin yon." Mark is not like that, even when he was back home in the Philippines. He would rather not just say a word or just ignore things whatever is going on and then he - by himself - but Nathan is not like that. He wants to learn, wants to be (..) somebody. **Joy:** Okay so you think it's more of a personality thing for them? **Carmen:** Mhm mhm 'cause I mean... we talk the same thing, but Nathan understands better	**Carmen:** But at the end... they never learn it. Especially Mark. I would say Nathan learned a bit, and until now he can still understand basic communication like chores or commands at home, but not Mark, even as simple as... get the *trash* he would say, "what's *trash* Mama?" Or, or your *um "Clean this."* or simple like - I mean - I - I don't know how - 'cause Nathan - under - ah like - he thinks first before responding…*he would look at what is the situation and he understands it, "Oh, this is what that means."* Mark is not like that, even when he was back home in the Philippines. He would rather not just say a word or just ignore things whatever is going on and then he - by himself - but Nathan is not like that. He wants to learn, wants to be (..) somebody. **Joy:** Okay so you think it's more of a personality thing for them? **Carmen:** Mhm mhm 'cause I mean... we talk the same thing, but Nathan understands better

than Mark, even Bisaya or Tagalog. He - he gets it, even without teaching him. He just GETS it. But Mark mm mm <as in 'no'> Mmm or he doesn't pay attention or - he's not really interested at all. **Joy:** Okay. **Carmen:** Yeah I guess it's about interest.	than Mark, even Bisaya or Tagalog. He - he gets it, even without teaching him. He just GETS it. But Mark mm mm <as in 'no'> Mmm or he doesn't pay attention or - he's not really interested at all. **Joy:** Okay. **Carmen:** Yeah I guess it's about interest.

In Example 4.4, Carmen said she attributed Mark and Nathan's difference in language use to their individual differences and their own interest in their surroundings. In Edgar's individual interview during the pilot study, he mentioned that they were encouraged to speak to their children in English when they were growing up in the U.S. so they would not get "confused."

Example 4.5

> **Edgar:** Well my kids, I wish that we can pass it, but because uh we were told early on when my oldest son was growing up, we had to speak English to them, to our kids, because they're being confused. Actually he was uh having a hard time developing his language, and I think he's (unintelligible) three years old 'cause uhh we learned that he was still trying to learn Visaya, to learn Tagalog, and uhh learning English at the same time. So we were told just to speak English to them. And because of that, most of our (..) language at home is English, and I think that also cuts in our heritage to him because uh they will - they don't ask, what is this in Visaya, what is this in Tagalog? So they just uh say, oh this is (..) English for them.
> …
> **Edgar:** Mmm, for me I think it's better for them to ex - to learn our heritage, our culture when they're more mature enough to absorb it than we forcing it to them.

As seen in Examples 4.4 and 4.5, Edgar and Carmen both said they want their children to speak Tagalog, and in her joint interview with Edgar in 2020, she also said she wanted her learn to eventually learn Visaya, her hometown's regional language. In 2018, Edgar reported that one reason their children do not speak Tagalog is that he and Carmen were told to just speak to them in English. Edgar and Carmen both acknowledge that Mark and Nathan's desire to learn the Philippine languages depended on their interest. In his interview, Nathan himself acknowledged how his interest in learning Filipino decreased over the years.

Example 4.6

> **Nathan:** Like when I was young I used to pay attention to my mom speaking Filipino 'cause I wanted to know. And when I started getting older I didn't really pay attention that much anymore. 'cause I wasn't that interested anymore. 'cause I was just talking American all the time. So I wasn't interested anymore.

As seen in Example 4.6, Nathan said that his growing older and increased use of English contributed to how he was no longer as interested in learning Filipino. However, based on his proactive questioning in the dinner recording, perhaps Nathan's desire to be "nosy" and know what is going on around him has not decreased.

***Children's Language Attitudes and Experiences*.** Both Mark and Nathan do not have strong feelings attached to their language use. When asked about how he feels about the languages he speaks, Nathan said, "Uhh. I don't really know how to answer that…I don't really have any feelings about it." When Mark was asked about how he feels about the language he speaks (just English), he responded with his own observation of how other people in his environment view his family's languages.

Example 4.8a

> **Mark:** Mmmm English um (..) to me people often believe that um (..) English is the right language for everybody but I don't believe that… I also feel like my language is not that recognized because people think that Asians only speak Chinese and Japanese but there's lots more.
> **Joy:** … And then why do you mention like(..) like how your language isn't that recognized?
> **Mark:** Well because people often think that Asians are supposed to think Japanese and Chinese. But there's like - other types of Asians.

It is interesting to note that in Example 4.8a, even though Mark said he cannot speak Tagalog, he still said it is "my language." He also called attention to how "people," presumably people in the U.S., view the Asian-American racial category as only consisting of Chinese or Japanese

nationalities. Mark's opinions about language also included his observations of how "people" view and talk about English and non-English languages.

Example 4.8b

> **Joy:** … wait wait you said something earlier that was like, English is the right language to speak -
> **Mark:** That's what people believe.
> **Joy:** What do you mean?
> **Mark:** Because you know how some people are uncomfortable listening to anyone else speak na - of their native languages?
> **Joy:** Ohh like here?
> **Mark:** Yeah.
> **Joy:** Ohh okay can you tell me like an example of when you experienced that or it's just a feeling?
> **Mark:** Well, I've seen other people - I've seen other situations where that happened.
> **Joy:** Mhm like what?
> **Mark:** Um on social media, and sometimes I feel that way too.
> **Joy:** Ohh. Like - so like - hmm … I'm trying to understand what you mean … it's just a general feeling that you get when you're out in the world?
> **Mark:** Yeah.

In Examples 4.8a and 4.8b, Mark's comments showed his observations on general American societal attitudes towards English and non-English languages. I also think it is interesting that Mark is not as interested in knowing Tagalog, according to his parents, but he reported that it is an important language to know about, especially in letting people know that there are other "types of Asians." Mark's response demonstrates how he recognizes the "racist discourse that constructs Asians as a homogeneous group" (Lowe 1991 in Espiritu 1994 p. 251). Even as a young teenager, Mark recognizes and is influenced by nativist attitudes in the U.S.

Based on the family's reported attitudes about English and Tagalog, the parents would like their children to speak Tagalog, but the boys do not have particularly strong feelings for learning to speak Tagalog. Carmen had the most interest in wanting her children to speak either Visaya or Tagalog, while Edgar said he felt his children will learn Tagalog if they are interested

in it themselves. Furthermore, Edgar said that he thinks English is a good "foundation" for them and that learning Tagalog or Visaya is a "bonus." Mark's foundation in English still helped him when he lived in the Philippines. Mark said in his interview that while living in the Philippines from 2012 – 2013, he was not stressed by the language barrier because he still spoke English to his friends and classmates, since they learned and spoke English in the private school they attended there.

Children's Cultural Learning. Mark and Nathan's cultural identification is influenced by their experiences growing up in the U.S., spending a year and a half in the Philippines from 2012 – 2013, and in some cases, how others in the U.S. view them. When asked about a time he felt aware of American and Filipino culture, Nathan responded that he once asked his mother a question of his identity when he was younger: "Uhh(..) when I was um a little kid I was asking my mom if I was American or or Filpino 'cause I said I didn't know about things back then. I thought that since I was born in America I was American, but she said I'm Filipino in blood." In this quote, and in Example 4.6, Nathan acknowledged that he was more curious about his heritage when he was younger compared to the present. Furthermore, when asked about how he identifies himself culturally, Nathan responded he identifies as a mix.

Example 4.9

> **Nathan:** I think it's a mix. 'cause like(..) a lot of people ask what I am, and then I say I'm Filipino…Well I - like act American? but I'm really Filipino.
> **Joy:** Mhm okay. … But like, what is it about yourself that says you act American but you're really Filipino? Like how do you make that distinction?
> **Nathan:** I don't really know how to answer it - well I do - do a lot of American things (..) and (..) I barely talk about being Filipino around in public (..) and yeah.

As seen in Nathan's question to his mom and his response to my question in Example 4.9, Nathan's cultural identification comes from a mix of his family heritage and his everyday

actions, doing “a lot of American things.” Mark’s cultural identification is similar to Nathan’s. Mark said he rarely feels aware of his Filipino culture while living in the U.S. because, as he stated, “that’s not the main thing that’s on my mind honestly.” Mark said he felt most aware of Filipino culture when “going to the Philippines and…not recognizing Philippine history.” When asked about how he learns about Filipino culture, Mark said, he only does so when it was “required.”

Example 4.10

> **Mark:** Umm(..) when i[t] - is like required because the only time I ever learned about Philippine culture was like, um, when I need - when I'm in the Philippines because I need to understand Philippine culture for me to get along with everyone.”

Mark’s response in Example 4.10 aligns with what Carmen said about Mark not having a keen interest in learning Filipino culture unless it was necessary, and in this case, needed for cultural survival purposes. In her joint interview with Edgar, Carmen said she does not feel Nathan or Mark are interested in learning about Filipino culture.

Example 4.11

> **Carmen:** …even with the internet um I don't see them being interested reading like doing their own research because they're capable enough. So I don't think they feel the need of... I don't know if that's - I don't think they feel the need of learning the culture much since they don't - they don't um felt the um nec - nec - necessity of it.

When asked to elaborate on his self-identification, Mark began talking about the differences between Filipino and American culture, as seen in Example 4.12.

Example 4.12

> **Mark:** [I] identify as - I'm Filipino yes. But - i - the way I act is somewhat similar to the American way.
> **Joy:** Mhm. 'Cause you live here?
> **Mark:** Mhm.

> **Joy:** What do you think are like the differences, if you s - if you were - if you were to ever identify as Filipino, what differences would you like (...)
> **Mark:** Have between American and Filipinos?
> **Joy:** Yeah.
> **Mark:** For one thing, intelligence. <Joy: Oh?> Second thing, um. I would think respect honestly. Um the third thing, um(..) humility honestly 'cause Filipinos are not that complaining - don't complain often about how - about the conditions. Not that I hear of.

Granted, the way I framed my question in Example 4.12 invited Mark to give sweeping generalizations. Still, it is interesting that Mark mentioned character traits and actions as differences between Americans and Filipinos. (Mark considered his definition of "intelligence" as "academic achievement" by saying that Filipinos were smarter because when he attended third grade in the Philippines, he flunked all his classes. Then, he ended up relearning the material he learned in the third grade in the Philippines when he attended fourth grade in the U.S.) Mark's evaluations of the difference between Filipino and American culture came from his own experience of growing up in the U.S. and living in the Philippines for one year from age 8 – 9. His evaluations may also be a result of how his parents talk to their children about Filipino values, which is discussed in the following section.

Analysis: Defining Difference through Heritage - "You are Not Like Them." Perhaps Mark's responses in Example 4.12, which focused primarily on character traits, reflected his parents' method of sharing Filipino culture to their children through explaining actions and behavior values. In their joint interview, Edgar said their children learn about their cultural identity by watching them interact with Filipino friends and at Filipino parties.

Example 4.13

> **Edgar:** I believe they - when they - when they see us with friends and how they interact, we were in a Filipino party, they see oh this is the kind of party that we have. We eat a lot, we talk a lot, we sing karaoke, we <laughing> we - we have lots of game, we got lot of food, and then in another [non-Filipino] party, just pizza and chicken and that's it, and it uh it doesn't last long. <all start laughing> So, they see a Filipino culture like, uh (..)

everybody is welcome. And there's no apprehension with like (..) some people will be invited right there on the end, and then, 'why we got so many people?' they will ask. And it's a party! But they - they know that uh Filipinos are very hospitable and we call everybody to a party and after that that's it.

In Example 4.13, Edgar's response showed that he thinks his children can best learn about Filipino culture through interacting with other members of that culture. He thinks this is important because, as Carmen mentioned in Example 4.11, her children do not have an active interest in learning about Filipino culture.

Further into the interview, the topics of Filipino culture and identity turned into a discussion of sharing Filipino values, which Edgar and Carmen connected to discipline. In Example 4.14, Edgar mentioned that the main way his kids were able to learn about Filipino culture was by living there briefly.

Example 4.14

Edgar: I think it helped when we went home uh 2012 or 2013 and they were able to stay in the Philippines about a year and how many months. So that was it. That was an eye opener for them oh this is Filipino culture. No wonder we eat rice, no wonder we - we wake up in the morning and then we always say things to everybody and the way we greet elders and things like that, and we also bring it over [here]. But they know where it - where we're coming from and then when we say you better be thankful what you have and not be wasteful, you know it's a Filipino thing because they saw how hard it is in the Philippines and so they take good care of what they have. It's a Filipino thing.
Joy: Mhm. Okay. Yeah … Do you ever um… do you have anything else to say about just learning the Filipino identity? Do you ever talk to your kids about Filipino identity?
Carmen: Mmm(..) <simultaneously with Edgar> Values.
Joy: Yeah.
Carmen: Sometimes, most of the time really, when it come to values and -
Edgar: - Discipline -
Carmen: - And how you act - how they act how they respond to us, oh we say you don't do that. And that's you know (..) I would say um (..) mmm it's just normal for me to correct them all the time although some values are really not really for ways it's just a - how it has to be done. But we always mention it that you don't talk like that. We are not - we are Filipinos. This is how you should act and say things.

As seen in Example 4.14, Edgar connected Filipino identity to character and values, such as being respectful to elders and not being wasteful.

Still considering the topic of identity, Carmen talked about behavior and drawing a distinction between their identities and the (racial) identities of other students. Nathan and Mark attended public school in Snell County, where they attended from 2014 – 2018 before transferring to the Cold Creek school system. (Though the Torres family lives within the Cold Creek boundaries, the Snell County school district allowed their children to attend the Snell County district for Edgar and Carmen's convenience.) Carmen continued the conversation from Example 4.14 as follows in Example 4.15.

Example 4.15

> **Carmen:** And um, you know um, used to be that my boys are in the public school where it's only them that are (..) Asians ah it's ninety percent you know locals. So we always say, 'You don't act like that because you are not like them. ' And y - y you know we sometimes bring it up.
> **Edgar:** Yea we al - I always tell them if you see something good then pick the good thing. But if it's bad you don't pick it bad too.
> **Carmen:** Uh huh. And and nothing major but I really don't see them acting (..) the way other kids do 'cause we always you know correct them all the time. And I think it helps now that they're back…in Cold Creek, that they see other kids like them - that look like them.
> **…**
> **Joy:** Mhm as opposed to on the East Coast?
> **Carmen:** No as opposed to Snell County…Because Snell is I would say uh ninety percent, you know, locals.

As seen in Example 4.15, Carmen observed that her children were probably the only Asians in the Snell county public-school system. When Carmen said the school was "ninety percent locals," she most likely meant "ninety percent Black," since according to Mississippi Department of Education reports, 96% of the school district is Black/African American, 2% Hispanic/Latino, and 1% White. She also felt that attending Cold Creek schools helped her children because they

can be surrounded by other kids who share the same racial background. The Cold Creek school district is comprised of 65% Black/African American, 30% White, 4% Asian, and 1% Hispanic or Latino. Though Mark and Nathan may socialize with and meet other students who share the Asian racial category, Asians only make up 4% of the district, so they are still more likely to socialize with Black/African American or White students anyway.

In Example 4.15, Carmen said that she appeals to her children to discipline themselves by drawing a distinction between their cultural background and the background of other "locals" at school. Furthermore, she said, "I really don't see them acting (..) the way other kids do 'cause we always…correct them all the time." Perhaps because Carmen did not wish to discuss Black Americans specifically, she said "locals." Her statement suggests that she thinks Black students have bad behavior, which is why she tells her children, "You don't act like that because you are not like them." She is likely drawing on U.S. racist stereotypes, but it is interesting to note how she appeals to her children's sense of identity to juxtapose their behavior with that of Black Americans. In Example 4.15 specifically, Carmen expressed that she uses their Filipino culture as a means to encourage her children to draw a distinction between themselves and others. At the same time, she uses their Filipino culture and identity as an appeal for them to act with her and Edgar's definitions of Filipino values as mentioned in Example 4.14.

Since Carmen and Edgar are teachers and they encouraged Mark to transfer schools to take Advanced Placement (AP) courses, I observed that the Torres family highly values education and achievement, especially for their children. After the interview recording, Carmen expressed to me that she hopes one day Mark and Nathan will become interested in learning about their background because she thinks it is important for them to know and understand where they came from. In that conversation, I told them that, though I have always been

interested in knowing more about my cultural background, I did not prioritize it until college, so maybe Mark and Nathan will want to eventually.

Carmen and Edgar's attitudes about their children's language use demonstrate that they may not see themselves as being able to maintain the language by their own efforts. Carmen, especially, noted that neither Mark nor Nathan were interested in learning themselves. Edgar also said they will learn their language when they are older and more interested. Their attitudes were found in another research study in which Papua New Guinea parents "explain their children's monolingualism as the result not of family and community interactional patterns, but as an expression of children's own will and innate personality" (Kulick 1993 in King et. al 2008 p. 912).

The Batuan Family

Vicki (58) and Dan (59) have two adopted sons from Dan's extended family in the Philippines, Reuben (15) and Rammy (12). Vicki and Dan have lived in the U.S. for 28.5 years and have lived in Cold Creek for 21 years. They spent 2 years in the Philippines to complete the adoption process for Rammy and Reuben before returning with them to Cold Creek around 6 years ago. Both Vicki and Dan came to the U.S. for graduate school in and now work at the university located in Cold Creek as a researcher and professor, respectively.

Reuben and Rammy have lived in Cold Creek with their adoptive parents since 2015. They attend the Cold Creek public school in the 9th and 7th grade, respectively. Reuben and Rammy are busy throughout the week participating in different extracurricular activities. Reuben enjoys being active and playing sports, as he is part of the local club soccer and swim team. He said he wants to try out for the high school football team if his parents would let him. Rammy also swims on the swim team and plays the piano. He takes private piano lessons and plays piano

very well. The family is also active in a local Protestant church, and Reuben and Rammy participate in several events and activities with the church's youth group.

The Batuans live in a house in a subdivision located farther away from the business and university area of Cold Creek. Their house has been a popular gathering place for Filipino Christmas, New Year's, 4th of July, or birthday parties. The Batuans plan to stay in the U.S. permanently, although Vicki and Dan have said they will go back to visit family or if they need to do anything regarding Reuben and Rammy's adoption. The boys also want to stay in the U.S. permanently, though Reuben someday hopes to return to the Philippines to see his childhood friends again.

Family Language Policies: Change over Time. Vicki and Dan reported they primarily speak to one another in Tagalog. Rammy and Reuben reported they speak English most of the time and are both more comfortable speaking English than Tagalog currently, though their parents noted that they did not speak any English when they first arrived in the U.S. Each of the family members' reported language practices were confirmed in the dinner recording. Vicki spoke the most overall in both the dinner recording and the interview. Vicki and Dan only spoke in Tagalog to one another and primarily spoke in Tagalog to Rammy and Reuben. Vicki and Dan sometimes used English when the kids responded in English.

Though Rammy and Reuben both primarily speak English, they insert a few Tagalog words in their speech, as seen in the examples below.

Example 5.1

> **Rammy:** One of my friends at school today (..) … Asked me if I was heh ano (*uhm what is it)* <sniff> um (..) what was it called. He asked me where I got this water from he asked me if I got it from the fridge and I said yes and he was like why is it so cold and I was like I dunno and then he was like his thing isn't - his thing isn't that cold daw (*he said*). Even without the ice.

Example 5.2

> **Rammy:** …Oh I didn't get to tell you this pero (*but*) Cora hurt her shoulder like Delaney did so all she's doing is kick. So she's afraid –
>
> **Vicki:** Sa swimming? Sa swimming siya na hurt? o iba? (*At swimming? She got hurt at swimming? Or somewhere else*)
> **Rammy:** Iba (*Somewhere else*). So she's scared that she might be the slowest person on the team kasi (*because*) she was so close to Herman and now she ha - all she does is kick.

Example 5.3

> **Reuben:** It used to be ano nga eh (*what*)? Six forty-five. (..) Or. It used to be (..) No it's at six-thirty.

In Example 5.1, Rammy said "ano" as a filler and "daw" as an emphasis word English sentence. In Example 5.2, Rammy used Tagalog as functional words "pero" (but) and "kasi" (because). He also said "iba" (another) in response to Vicki's question and her use of "iba." In other instances, Rammy also said "tapos" (then) as a functional word in his English sentences. Example 5.3 was one of the three times Reuben spoke at all during the dinner recording, and similar to Rammy's Example 5.2, he said "ano" as a filler word and "nga eh" (isn't it) as an emphasis word within his primarily English sentence. Throughout the whole recording, Rammy and Reuben responded quickly and easily to Vicki and Dan's conversations and questions, whether in English or Tagalog, which indicates that they most likely understand Tagalog fluently. Based on Rammy's observed Tagalog use, he code-switches from English to Tagalog and mostly uses Tagalog words as functional words. In their joint interview, Vicki and Dan compared the boys' code-switching practices as seen in Example 5.4.

Example 5.4

> **Dan:** And - and you know some things - some thing that kids who were raised speaking Tagalog do is (..) like they take a Tagalog word and then conjugate it in English.

Vicki: Mhm. [Rammy] does that a lot.
…
Dan: I'm ligo-ing (*shower*-ing)! Haha.
Vicki: And sabon-ing. I'm sabon-ing (*soap*-ing).
Joy: Haha …it's only Rammy not Reuben who does that?
Vicki and Dan: Oh nono.
Vicki: [Reuben] doesn't do that.
Dan: Rarely, rarely he used to do it more than he does now.
Vicki: Yeah - yeah I think he - he he speaks English and Tagalog like we do.
Dan: Yeah yeah like just switches.
Vicki: Yeah. But Rammy - he - he's got his own style. <all chuckle>

In Example 5.4, Vicki and Dan reflected on how their children's Tagalog-English mixing changed over the years. When asked about their language practices at home, Vicki and Dan said their own language practices towards their children also changed throughout the six years since the boys lived in Cold Creek.

Example 5.5

Dan: … it's changed over the years because when they first came over we were speaking to them in English because they didn't have a lot of English to start with, so we wanted them to get used to it. So now it's the other way around, we're trying to make sure they don't forget Tagalog, so that's why we speak to them that way.
Vicki: But sometimes we tend to copy how they speak so with Rammy uh sometimes we speak to him in English and then I - uh remember oh I need to speak to him in Tagalog and then I switch and said - switch to Tagalog because I want him to remember Tagalog although (..) I don't like to [force] it because he has to - because he says he doesn't remember a lot of words anymore.

As seen in Example 5.5, Dan and Vicki stated that they modified their language practices based on what they perceived their children needed to navigate the U.S. Dan's response in Example 5.5 is an example of children influencing their parents' language use and parents adapting "their own language use to promote desired linguistic competencies in their children" (Luykx 2005 p. 1409). At the same time, Vicki also acknowledged that Rammy does not always understand her Tagalog. Also in Example 5.5, Vicki reported that they "tend to copy how they speak," and one example of this happening occurred in the dinner recording, seen below in Example 5.6.

Example 5.6

Vicki: … <to Dan> naglunch ka today? **Dan:** Hindi. Bakit? **Vicki:** Wala lang. **Rammy:** How do you guys survive without lunch? **Vicki:** Because we eat breakfast. A good breakfast. **Rammy:** The breakfast that daddy makes? What is that about, fruits? **Vicki:** May fruits, may yogurt, may milk, may chia seeds. Oats. **Rammy:** And you think that's enough until dinner? **Vicki:** Ay madami. **Rammy:** It's in a small jar! **Vicki:** But it's full of protein. **Rammy:** That's enough to fill you up before dinner. Mm. <accusatory> **Vicki:** I drink a lot of ano - I drink lots of water. **Dan:** And if we really have to, we snack on nuts. **Vicki:** Oo meron kaming nuts. Kaya - kaya ang dinadala ko sayo ng snack mo after swimming ay nuts.	**Vicki:** … <to Dan> *did you eat lunch* today? **Dan:** *No. Why*? **Vicki:** *Oh nothing.* **Rammy:** How do you guys survive without lunch? **Vicki:** Because we eat breakfast. A good breakfast. **Rammy:** The breakfast that daddy makes? What is that about, fruits? **Vicki:** *There are* fruits, *there's* yogurt, *there's* milk, *there are* chia seeds. Oats. **Rammy:** And you think that's enough until dinner? **Vicki:** Ay *it's a lot.* **Rammy:** It's in a small jar! **Vicki:** But it's full of protein. **Rammy:** That's enough to fill you up before dinner. Mm. <accusatory> **Vicki:** I drink a lot of *uhm what is it* - I drink lots of water. **Dan:** And if we really have to, we snack on nuts. **Vicki:** *Yes, we have* nuts. *That's why – that's why the* snack *I bring to you* after swimming *is* nuts.

As seen in Example 5.6, Vicki spoke in Tagalog to Dan but switched between English and Tagalog when speaking with Rammy, who spoke in only English. Vicki's report saying that she tended to "copy" her children's speech is an example of children and parents influencing each other's everyday language use, even when parents try to maintain a language policy.

In his interview, Rammy reported that he mainly speaks English and is more comfortable speaking English. He also said that he mixes Tagalog and English often, as seen Examples 5.1 and 5.2. He also reported that his parents sometimes ask him to "practice" in Tagalog, but he does not do so at great lengths.

Example 5.7

> **Rammy:** Um, I only speak Tagalog whenever my family wants me to speak Tagalog. And like... here at the house. Like, at the Philippines. Yeah.
> **Joy:** Okay that's fair. What do you mean like when they want you to? Like what's an example?
> **Rammy:** Like, they tell me (..) to like practice or some - kind of. Something like that.
> **Joy:** Okay. Does that happen a lot?
> **Rammy:** No.
> **Joy:** Okay… So only when they're like, hey you should practice. And then do you actually do it?
> **Rammy:** Ye – yeah (..) …A little bit.
> **Joy:** Heheh and then you just come back to English?
> **Rammy:** Yeah haha. I just speak one sentence and then back to English.

Rammy's response in Example 5.7 is consistent with his speech in the dinner recording, since he never spoke one full sentence in Tagalog. Later, Rammy stated that when it comes to Tagalog, "I don't really know that much. I know the basic words, but I don't – like – know how to speak it (..) Like through a whole day." Though Rammy reported that he felt more comfortable speaking in English, he said he still needs to learn more English, especially vocabulary. Rammy also said that he wants to speak both languages "fully."

Reuben said that while he feels more comfortable with English currently, he used to feel very comfortable with Tagalog when he lived in the Philippines. Reuben reported several reasons for wanting to be more comfortable with Tagalog.

Example 5.8

> **Reuben:** Um (..) I kind of - want to be more comfortable with Tagalog because (..) It's (..) the language that most people don't know. And I really wanna (..) be like fluent with it. And know how to use it in the right way. And (..) yeah.
> **Joy:** Okay. When you say like the right way, what do you mean like the right way?
> **Reuben:** Um (..) just like (..) in the Philippines, like, the slang and stuff. I wanna understand like when I go back to the Philippines and see my friends I wanna understand like the slang. And yeah.
> **Joy:** Mhm okay. That's fair. DO you see yourself like going back and like seeing your friends again?
> **Reuben:** Yes.

As seen in Example 5.8, Reuben reported wanting to learn Tagalog because he still wants to connect with his friends casually like they did in the Philippines. Reuben's connection to the Philippines is discussed in the section below.

***Children's Cultural Identifications: Memories and Sense of Difference*.** Rammy and Reuben differed in how they identified themselves culturally and nationally. Reuben said he identifies more with being Filipino because he grew up in the Philippines.

Example 5.9

> **Reuben:** I think I'm more Filipino.
> **Joy:** Mhm and why?
> **Reuben:** Because (..) I grew up there. And I got to live the childhood of a Filipino (..) and it's the best childhood in my opinion because (..) we would go outside every day after school and just play around, stay up all - all day. And then, come - come home and eat. And then go to sleep. And (..) here I don't even get to play outside.
> **…**
> **Joy:** Ohh okay. ... So like you'd say you're more Filipino because like of your because the way you grew up and stuff?
> **Reuben:** Mhm. Yeah. … living in the Philippines um (..) kids would just (..) play around even if you don't know them. They would get together and just play. Play tag or something. Hide and seek at night. And (..) here, peop - most kids just play video games and stuff. And (..) I kinda like (..) being more active. Than just sittin' down playin' video games.

As seen in Example 5.9, Reuben has fond memories of the Philippines and finds his experience living in the Philippines more enjoyable than everyday life in the U.S. Perhaps these memories contribute to why he identifies more with being Filipino.

Rammy said that he felt more like a mix of Filipino and American. For Rammy, part of his self-identification was connected to his language use. Rammy elaborated more of his reasoning in Example 5.10.

Example 5.10

Rammy: … because I look like Filipino and I can speak Tagalog. But then(..) I don't really know how to that well. And then, I can speak English better. So. It's like mixed.
Joy: Okay. So … I know we talked a lot about language at first, but are there other things that make you feel that way besides language?
Rammy: Um(…) <long pause>
Joy: Like, hmm I'm trying to think. Remember - I'm gonna use my sister as an example, when I asked her these questions, she talked about like - um she talked about food for example…
Rammy: Okay!
Joy: Things like that - is there anything that like that you would say, um, kinda contributes to why you said mixed, like Filipino and American.
Rammy: Yes, wwwe eat like can I say - we eat (..) like okay. Um, we eat like adobo, like rice but then whenever we - we're eat out, we eat like hamburgers, steak.

As seen Example 5.10, Rammy's first response to his reasoning of why he felt more of a mix between American and Filipino was his outward appearance and language use. Other than being prompted to give an example about food, Rammy did not give any more examples to reasons why he felt more of a mix. Perhaps Rammy does not identify as Filipino as much as his older brother does because he spent less time in the Philippines and he feels less confident about being able to speak Tagalog.

Rammy and Reuben both differed in their responses to the question, "When do you feel most aware of being Filipino or most aware of culture?" To answer this question, Rammy mentioned outward appearance, saying, "Um I look different from (…)" On the other hand, Reuben said, "Um(..) <long pause> I don't know I'm just like - proud to be Filipino. And(..) I think that's really cool." Rammy mentioned his outward appearance twice in his interview: first to explain why he felt more of a mix between Filipino and American and second to give an example of when he felt most aware of being Filipino in the U.S. Reuben did not mention outward appearance at all throughout his interview. He mainly pointed towards childhood experiences in his identification of being Filipino more than American. In fact, Rammy was the only child in all of the studies who explicitly mentioned outward appearance in his response to

neutral questions about being aware of culture or about being bicultural. In many interviews, the children reported misidentification as being one of the "negatives" of being bicultural in the U.S., and their peers' misidentification likely came from their perceptions of Filipinos' outward appearance.

In response to the question, "How do you think your children learn about Filipino identity in the U.S.?" Vicki and Dan said they do not have many opportunities in Cold Creek, so what they do at home is their main source of learning about Filipino culture. Vicki then mentioned that sometimes Rammy or Reuben asks why they do the things they do, specifically when it comes to food.

Example 5.11a

> **Vicki:** … especially here in Cold Creek there's really no other source -
> **Dan:** - I don't think they really have an opportunity yeah.
> **Vicki:** I guess once in a while they watch it on YouTube if they want to like if they want to watch a show a TV show or something but there's no other way (…) Yeah it's just whatever we do at home that's it. And that - that gets questioned. Why - like why do we do this - why do we do this?
> …
> **Joy:** Oh like what what do they ask?
> **Vicki:** I'm - I'm thinking (..) oh like (..) like food like meals. … like Reuben the other da - yesterday he said 'oh why does it - why do you have so much garlic in here' and before he didn't - he would not question that! Haha so I don't know if it's influenced from his first or (…) <trailing off into a laugh> … Because that's how we've always cooked. With a lot of garlic.

As seen in Example 5.11a, Vicki mentioned an instance in which Reuben asked them why they eat a certain way, and she expressed surprise that he had not questioned it before. Later in the conversation, she speculated that perhaps he began asking questions when he started observing his friends or when his friends started asking questions.

Example 5.11b

> **Vicki:** Yeah so yeah and probably his friends ask him about yeah about those things and yeah I think they're at the age that they're … feeling their way and trying to see where they belong and so and yeah (..) so I think it's really important to tell them okay you don't need to fit in. You don't need to explain who you are what you are because that's who you are! You're not like them you're Filipino you're not American.

As seen in Example 5.11b, Vicki mentioned that it was important to talk to her children about difference and not needing to fit in. However, later in the conversation, I asked the question, "Do you ever talk to your kids about identity?" and both Vicki and Dan responded that the topic has not come up. Vicki then connected the concept of identity with their children's involvement in church.

Example 5.12

> **Joy:** … do you ever talk to your kids about identity and um can you give me an example of when you did?
> **Vicki:** Um we haven't really but
> **Dan:** No we haven't … Not - not in those terms not in (..)
> **Vicki:** They don't really ask or question or they don't so we (..) we haven't had the (..) or I guess the time hasn't come -
> **Dan:** Yeah we haven't had a reason to really discuss it. … And hopefully, they're comfortable enough with who they are so that (...)
> **Vicki:** That we don't have to explain to them that - why you … don't need to explain yourself. Yeah. Probably … being active in church that helps a lot because (..) … I wanna say they - they say - they appear that they really just accept everybody regardless of the appearance.
> …
> **Vicki:** - you know even - this - these two boys even if we have to drive them and pick them up for church activities where sometimes it's so far away we just do it because (..) um I think it's important because it's - it's for their spiritual growth and then at the same time we know these people we know who these people are and at least we trust them that - they're not gonna get into trouble… so at least you know if you're in a church environment you know the kind of friends your kids go with so yeah. So yeah so going back to your question I guess because they're very much involved in church group that opportunity really hasn't (..) arose yet because you know they - they're not questioned about their identity.

Based on their responses in Example 5.12, Vicki and Dan have not felt the need to talk to their children explicitly about identity and hope that through church activities and being involved with people they can trust, the boys can be "comfortable enough with who they are." At the same time, while speaking on the topic of identity and being comfortable with being different, Vicki mentioned that when Reuben was in 7th grade, the school guidance counselor contacted Vicki and Dan of two instances of when Reuben got in trouble in issues related to identity discrimination: once when a classmate made fun of his packed lunch of Filipino food, and second when a classmate started saying "ching chong" in an insulting way towards him. Dan said that he had not heard anything like that from Rammy. Though the incidents mentioned happened two years ago, Vicki mentioned that she hopes nothing like that has come up again and if so, she does not know because Reuben does not tell her. Though Reuben did not report any of these instances during his interview, the fact that the school counselor informed Vicki and Dan of the incidents shows that Reuben has been made fun of due to his cultural identity and perceived racial identity.

***Analysis: Priorities in Parenting*.** Both in the pilot study and in the current study, Vicki mentioned that immigrant families of other nationalities, specifically her Chinese and Romanian friends, are better at maintaining their heritage language than she and Dan are. During their joint interview, Vicki and Dan mentioned that they do want their children to know and understand Tagalog, but they acknowledged that language maintenance is not a priority for them.

Example 5.13

> **Vicki:** Yeah there's no conscious effort that we need to do this. Umm as far as what we think is important I think we tend to stress more on the academics more than keeping Tagalog which I don't - think might be right? might - might the priori - my priorities might not be correct but I think that is the way that has been.
> **Dan:** Yeah and and English is what they need to be – [what] they need here.

Vicki: Although yeah I - I still want them to -
Dan: Yeah we still want them to know
Vicki: To keep that - to keep Tagalog as much as possible. But yeah. I think we need to work hard - More of doing that.
Joy: Okay okay. I think that's yeah. And Tito Dan you have anything to add like any similar (…)?
Dan: Yeah not really I -I I mean we're the same we don't really (..) do it consciously.
…
Vicki: Yeah ah ah like other things like you know in our daily life like use of the cell phone. I - I tend to be stricter on that yeah like those things (..) uh what else yeah uh academics (..) being respectful hehe…Obedient. Haha those things. Yeah and so I guess ahh maintaining Tagalog doesn't -
Dan: Yeah it hasn't been (…)
Vicki: Yeah it hasn't been on the top of our priority.
Joy: Hm that's fair. … There's a lot already! Hahaha.
Vicki: Yeah hahaha.

As seen in Example 5.13, Vicki and Dan reported they do not put language maintenance at the top of their priorities. While Dan stated that English was what they "need," Vicki expressed that she still wants them to know Tagalog. Vicki also questioned herself and wondered whether their priorities were "right." Later in the conversation, Vicki elaborated more on her reasoning of why she wished they kept their language, as seen in Example 5.14.

Example 5.14

Vicki: Yeah well I guess wish we - we can do more like keep it because yeah you know it's our culture, it's the way we are and they are - we are different you know, not in a bad way but you know we're different just because we're different this is the way we are and I wish we could just keep it because this is U.S. … it [is] important that we blend because you know this is not our original <small chuckle> this is not where we came from so we should really blend -
Dan: - Yeah we have to get along but -
Vicki: Yeah we have to get along but at the same time we need to maintain what we - what and who we are…And I think Tagalog is part of it.

Based on Vicki's response in Example 5.14, both she and Dan agree that it is important to "blend" in the majority society, but they also think it is important to maintain their cultural identity. Elsewhere in the interview, Vicki mentioned she wanted her children to maintain

Tagalog so they can still speak to their family in the Philippines. Furthermore, Vicki connected knowing the language to maintaining “who we are.” Like several other Filipinos and families in the study, the Batuans connected knowing Tagalog to maintaining cultural heritage.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Parents' Language Hopes for their Children

All parents in the study mentioned that they believe their children should be able to understand and speak their heritage language to some extent. Parents felt it was important for their children to be able to communicate with extended family who still live in the Philippines whenever they video call them. Several families anticipated that they will at least visit the Philippines at some point, so their children should be able to navigate the Philippines, even if just for short-term vacations. Several parents also said their heritage language connected them with their Filipino culture and heritage. Vicki Batuan mentioned that language was their "bridge" to "the real home." Parents also reported varying levels of cultural socialization [here, defined as actively speaking about or participating children in cultural practices as a means to transmit their culture, after Espiritu (1994)], but all parents linked their speaking Tagalog in the house as potential examples of how their children learn about their heritage culture.

All parents stated they wanted their children to maintain their heritage language, but only three of the parents pursued specific, overt family language policies. The Cruz family's policy was simply to consciously speak Tagalog in the household. The Ocampo family's policy was to "unconsciously" or "naturally" speak Tagalog in the household. Yet, in both the Ocampos' and Cruzes' dinner recordings, the parents spoke in English to their children periodically, especially to the younger siblings. The Garcia parents reported a specific language policy, which was to

speak to their youngest child in English first, then Tagalog, in an attempt for her to speak Tagalog better than her older brothers can. The rest of the parents reported that they do not do any specific language maintenance policies.

External Factors on FLPs

Length of Residence (LOR) in the U.S. likely plays a role in parents' successful execution of their FLP. Of the five families, the parents who reported no specific FLPs—the Torreses and Batuans—had a LOR in the U.S. for 16.6 and 28.5 years while the others had a LOR of 6.6 years or less. The difference may suggest that families who stay in the U.S. longer are less likely to maintain an FLP once their children are older, especially if they did not maintain an FLP since the children were young.

The widespread myth that children cannot develop bilingually without getting confused influenced two families' language policies (Guiberson 2013). Angelie Garcia reported that her son's developmental pediatrician in the Philippines recommended that they only speak to him in one language so he would not get confused. Similarly, Carmen and Edgar reported that they were encouraged to speak to their children in only English as they grew up in the U.S., so they would not get confused. Outside suggestions influenced FLPs and the children's language competencies since Geoffrey seems to speak only English, and Mark and Nathan only speak English as well. Carmen and Edgar received this suggestion when they lived in the U.S., but it is interesting that Angelie received this suggestion for her child in the Philippines where bilingualism, and even multilingualism, is a norm. At the same time, both parents and developmental pediatricians may be even more concerned for children with cognitive disabilities. Yet, research still demonstrates that children with language disorders or other cognitive disabilities are not impeded by learning two languages (Guiberson 2013). The idea that children get confused growing up bilingual is

symptomatic of the wider language ideology that monolingualism is a norm, an ideology likely found in the U.S. Thus, parents' FLPs are influenced by external suggestions and language ideologies.

Attitudinal Factors on FLPs

Attitudes towards a specific language policy differed between families, and even parents held different views with their spouses. For the Ocampos, the Torreses, and the Batuans, the mothers felt regret or sadness that their children are not proficient in Tagalog while the fathers did not feel the same way. For example, Mariel Ocampo felt regret that her children do not know how to speak Tagalog, but Jerome ostensibly said he did not feel regret because he did not want to force them. He also said he did not want to force himself to speak a language that felt unnatural. Specifically, he said he would rather not force himself to speak English when he knows the person he is speaking to can understand Tagalog. Still, he spoke sometimes spoke in English to his youngest son in the dinner recording. Carmen Torres said she wished her children could speak either Tagalog or Bisaya, so she could communicate with them in her home language, but Edgar Torres said he would rather just let them learn when they are interested. Vicki Batuan felt that she was not doing enough to maintain Tagalog in the home because she compares herself to families of other nationalities whose children can speak both English and their heritage language. She said that she and Dan prioritize other things for their children, such as being respectful and doing well in school, and she questioned herself on whether she had "correct' priorities. On the other hand, Dan did not report feeling regret but said that English is what their children needed to navigate the U.S. Furthermore, more mothers in this study had emotional responses to their children's heritage language maintenance, compared to fathers.

Motivation to Maintain Heritage Language when "English makes us competitive"

Despite parents' wishes for their children to maintain their heritage language, parents and children report that the children are not as fluent or comfortable in Tagalog as they are in English. Either parents do not prioritize heritage language maintenance, and therefore do not establish overt language policies, or these parents face difficulties in supporting their children's bilingual needs due to lack of community or societal support. (The Cruzes reported that they prioritize cultural identity maintenance, but they were the only family who planned to return to the Philippines permanently.)

These families' lack of a specific language maintenance policy may suggest that they do not think knowing a Philippine language is beneficial for their children, in comparison to knowing English. In the 2018 pilot study, I asked parents what they think the language of instruction should be for schools in the Philippines. Most parents said that English should be used in schools in the Philippines, especially for science and math courses. While some parents said that schools should maintain social sciences classes, such as Filipino history and civics, in Filipino or regional language, most parents said that English should nevertheless be taught because it allows Filipinos to be competitive in the job market abroad and have better ability to leave the Philippines. (Ignacio Cruz was the only parent who thought Filipino should be the language of instruction.) Most of these parents' language attitudes were consistent with Filipinos' language attitudes found in studies by Mahboob & Cruz (2013) and Burton (2013) in which English is valued as a language for socioeconomic advancement and thus, more beneficial to know than Filipino or another regional language.

In addition, English is widely used both abroad and in the Philippines, which contributes to its practical usefulness. Elena reported an instance in which she was traveling within the Philippines and needed to communicate with someone who spoke another Philippine language

she was unfamiliar with. This man also was unfamiliar with Filipino, so they ended up communicating in English. Furthermore, Mark Torres said in his interview that when he returned to the Philippines, not knowing Tagalog or Bisaya was not a problem for him because he was still able to communicate with his classmates. Thus, English's position as a national language in the Philippines and as being widely spoken, likely contributes to the parents' attitude that English is more useful than Filipino.

When conducting interviews of Filipino immigrants who immigrated to San Diego after 1965, Espiritu (1994) found that most professional immigrants did not teach their children Philippine languages. The parents believed learning Filipino would hinder their children's academics in the U.S., or, in one example, one parent did not think Filipino history contributed to the world (p. 256). Espiritu's finding is an example of language ideology affecting language policy; since the parents in her study did not find Philippine languages economically or occupationally valuable in the U.S., they actively chose not to socialize their children in any language but English.

Children's Attitudes Towards Heritage Language

Most children reported that they are most comfortable speaking in English simply because they were surrounded by it most of the time. Geoffrey Garcia was the only one who said he was most comfortable speaking Tagalog or a mix of Tagalog and English, but from his language use in the dinner recording and reports from his mom, Geoffrey likely speaks English most of the time and possibly only understands common at-home Tagalog. Nevertheless, it is possible Geoffrey stated that he spoke Tagalog because he identified strongly with being Filipino and wanted to claim the language his parents and extended family members speak.

Some children mentioned their attitudes towards heritage language or cultural maintenance. A few children reported that speaking Tagalog was "hard." Jan Eulo Garcia mentioned that he does not want to speak Tagalog because "it's hard." Rammy Batuan also said that he feels like Tagalog is "hard," and sometimes when his parents tell him to "practice" Tagalog, he does not take them seriously and keeps speaking English. These children's feelings towards their heritage language likely stem from just not being used to speaking Tagalog regularly in the house.

Sam Ocampo held negative feelings towards his parents' speaking Tagalog and his parents' reported methods of sharing their heritage language with him. Sam mentioned that he did not like when his parents spoke Tagalog in public because doing so marks them as different and invites people to ask about his identity. He also felt that his parents speak to him in Tagalog when they discipline him, and he perceives his parents' attempts of sharing stories about their experiences in the Philippines as disciplinary stories meant to "scare" him. Sam's feelings may be because of his young age or because he is still getting used to life in the U.S., as he has only been in the U.S. for 2.6 years. At the same time, his negative feelings may be a symptom of his experiences living in the U.S. where identities outside of the "normal" white American identity are stigmatized as foreign and different (Espiritu 1994).

Children's Attitudes towards Heritage Culture and Cultural Identity

Some children felt ambivalent toward their heritage culture. The Torres siblings reported that they were not engaged with Filipino language or culture. Nathan said that he used to be interested and curious about his heritage language and culture, but currently, he is not. Mark also said that he does not think about culture all the time. The Torres parents mentioned a lack of interest on their children's part in getting to know their heritage culture. While this lack of

interest may be due to children's personalities, their lack of interest may also contribute to how cultural maintenance is not prioritized both in the Torres household or by the U.S. social context in which they live in, which values assimilation and socioeconomic advancement over cultural maintenance. Filipinos' language attitudes towards English are often connected with ideas of higher education and social advancement, and the Torres parents definitely prioritize education for their children.

Older children reported more curiosity or engagement towards learning a Philippine language or about Filipino culture in comparison to younger children. For example, though Mark did not speak another language besides English, he still felt that it was important to learn Tagalog because it is not as well known in the U.S. Marisol Cruz felt similarly about knowing Filipino culture, in that she wanted to be able to tell people about her culture. Mark and Marisol expressed a desire to better understand their heritage culture because it was interesting and unique and not because they "should," which was how Destiny felt about learning the Filipino language. Though children likely do not have topics such as heritage language maintenance on their minds, my study suggests that second-generation Filipino immigrants may gain an interest in learning about their heritage culture because they understand that their culture is not widely recognized or because they simply are interested in it.

All children had differing and sometimes complicated orientations towards their cultural identity. Most children said they identified as "a mix" between Filipino and American for a variety of reasons. Many clarified that they identify as a mix because they "act American" but are "really" Filipino (Mark Torres, Nathan Torres, Destiny Cruz) or are Filipino "in blood" (Destiny Cruz). Other children said they felt more of "a mix" because they were more fluent in English and were not as fluent or unable to speak in Tagalog (Destiny Cruz, Jan Eulo Garcia,

Rammy Batuan). Rammy also said that he partly identifies as Filipino because he "look[s] like Filipino." The children pointed to their English language use and everyday actions as evidence to support their partial self-identification as American. They pointed to their heritage or, in Rammy's case, outward appearance, as evidence to support their partial self-identification as being Filipino. (Only Sam Ocampo said he did not identify strongly with either national/cultural identity because his hobbies, such as making memes, made up his identity more than national cultures do.)

Marisol, Reuben, and Geoffrey were the only three children who said they identified fully as Filipino. Marisol and Reuben likely felt this way because they lived in the Philippines for over half of their lifetimes. Geoffrey lived in the Philippines and the U.S. for an equal number of years as well. Reuben also mentioned that he would like to return to the Philippines one day to see his childhood friends. Comparatively, Geoffrey and Marisol were the children who were most excited or enthusiastic about being Filipino. Marisol expressed an interest and excitement for returning to the Philippines and learning more about Filipino culture and history. Geoffrey, though already an easily-excited child, always sounded excited when talking about being Filipino. Geoffrey's mother also reported that Geoffrey sometimes feels he wants to return to the Philippines. Destiny also mentioned that Geoffrey talks about being Filipino at school (which causes her classmates to look at her and make her feel embarrassed). All the children who said they identified as Filipino had spent more time in the Philippines compared to their younger siblings. They also expressed an interest in returning there. Their self-identification suggests that a desire to get to understand their home country or better improve their language skills contributed to their reasoning for definitively saying they identified as Filipino.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The results from the five families in this study demonstrate that while parents have a desire for their children to know their heritage language, parents' lack of proactive FLPs can potentially lead to intergenerational language shift to the majority language, even as early as the second-generation. Reasons some parents did not pursue a language policy at all included a lack of interest from their children, a belief that English is better for them in the U.S. and abroad, and parents' prioritization of educational success over cultural maintenance. The lack of parents' prioritization of maintaining heritage language can be seen as confirmation that Filipino-Americans do assimilate easily into U.S. society, due to the Philippines' close relationship with the U.S. and familiarity with English and U.S. culture.

The study also presents a glimpse of how young second-generation Filipino Americans think about their cultural identity. A majority of the children thought of themselves as "a mix" between Filipino and American for various reasons: language use, everyday actions, identification with Filipino culture itself, and others. At the same time, the children's feelings about their biculturalism varied. Those who felt positively towards being "a mix" said can access two cultures (and foods, as Destiny stated excitedly in her interview) and the ability to adapt to different people. At the same time, they recognized the negatives of being bicultural: constant questioning, misidentification, embarrassment due to identity, and even bullying, in Reuben's

case (though he did not report it himself). The Garcia brothers were the only two who said they did not know of any negatives of being bicultural.

The questions concerning children's cultural identity were certainly exploratory, yet the children's responses present further research opportunities on immigrant families' cultural learning amidst racial diversity in the U.S. Espiritu (1994) also found that young second-generation Filipino Americans in San Diego—where there is a much larger population of Filipinos than in Mississippi—experienced misidentification as either black, Mexican, or Chinese (p. 260). Espiritu cites Lowe (1991) when she states the following about misidentification: "While these mistakes may reflect genuine ignorance, they also are symptomatic of a society that is racialized and yet indifferent to and ignorant of the racial differences and hybridization among its peoples" (p. 260). Thus, studying children's attitudes about culture and identity can provide insight into how they are raised within the U.S., a society that does have hierarchies based on race. Espiritu's participants were adults thinking back on their own childhood, and these adults reported still feeling angry about such experiences as children (p. 260). Children who learn those societal attitudes about culture and race will eventually grow to participate in the society that perpetuates or creates new standards, which is a reason why research on children's cultural learning is important today.

The present study has revealed a glimpse of Filipino families' language socialization practices and children's notions of cultural identity. Families are an important site of studying language transmission (Curdt-Chrstiansen 2009, King et al. 2008), and—because language is a component of culture—cultural transmission. Parents' language attitudes and hopes for their children likely influenced their language policies or lack of language policies. Yet, one constant language attitude held by all parents in this study was a desire for their children to know their

heritage language to know and connect to their Filipino culture. The parents believed that language transmission gives children access to their heritage culture, to extended family members in the Philippines, or even to understanding "who they are." Furthermore, how children in this study understood "who they are" varied widely and were influenced by their parents, siblings, and peers, as well as perceived language abilities and their ideas of what they "should" be. (Ideas of "should" were especially prevalent in Destiny's responses). Qualitative research on the language socialization practices of immigrant families provides insight into why and how parents can transmit language and cultural heritage, potentially giving their children more tools to better navigate their identities (Toppelberg & Collins, 2010) in a tumultuous, diverse, racialized society such as the U.S. that constantly tells children what they "should" be.

Implications & Future Research

The present study's findings can contribute to applications in heritage language maintenance for Filipino families in the U.S., where census data show that 3 out of 4 second-generation Filipino immigrant children speak only English at home. For example, HL maintenance can be supported by informing parents that bilingual development in children—even children with cognitive or language disabilities—is not a disadvantage (Guiberson 2013). Sharing such knowledge can be supported institutionally; schools can provide information and support for immigrant parents about language maintenance and the benefits of bilingualism.

Furthermore, heritage language maintenance may be supported through communities advocating for institutional support. Since most Filipinos in the U.S. live in California, this state is where Filipino language teaching is the most publicly recognized and institutionalized (Axel 2014). Filipino communities in California collaborated to advocate for there to be a California Subject Examination for Teachers (CSET) in Filipino so that more teachers could be qualified to

teach Filipino in public schools. Axel (2014) argued that since Filipino communities were able to establish institutional support for language learning, (1) the wider community recognizes that Filipinos are represented in that community, (2) there was a widespread desire to learn Filipino, and (3) communities were able to organize, collaborate, and advocate for institutional language support (p. 305).

The Filipinos in the current study do not live in a state with a large population of Filipinos and thus are unlikely to receive institutional support for language learning programs in school. Nevertheless, the parents in the current study all had the desire to maintain their heritage language, and some children expressed a desire to learn Filipino as well. The current study found that though parents had this desire, most do not pursue overt maintenance strategies in the home. Thus, more research could be done on methods of collaboratively creating family language policies within homes, especially for minority populations in the U.S. with a lack of community support in maintaining the heritage language. I do not think parents necessarily deprioritize cultural learning for their children, but I also think lack of community support makes language maintenance and language transmission more difficult, which was found to be true in Hmong communities in California (Yang 2008). If there is a lack of community support, parents could discuss individual strategies to maintain heritage languages by openly communicating language goals between spouses, explaining such goals to children, and working collaboratively within a family to maintain FLPs for the common goal of heritage language and cultural maintenance.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions for Parents

Part 1: About the Recording

1. Was this recording normal? / Was this recording representative of a normal family dinner?
2. If no, why? If yes, why?
3. (The researcher may ask a question concerning a topic or point of interest after she listens to the recording and identifies points of interest.)

Part 2: Follow-Up from Previous Study

1. How do you feel about your children understanding or being able to speak the languages you speak?
2. (The researcher may ask a question concerning a topic or point of interest from each couple's specific interviews.)
3. How do your children learn about their cultural identity? Can you give me an example?
4. Do you talk to your kids about identity? Can you give me an example of when you did?
5. Do you have any specific language practices or policies?
6. Any other thoughts about this project?
7. Do you have any questions for me?

Questions for Children

(some of these might change/be simplified depending on age of interviewee) (be sure to say, there are no right or wrong answers!)

Part 1: About the Recording

1. Was this recording normal?
2. If no, why? If yes, why?
3. (The researcher may ask a question concerning a topic or point of interest after she listens to the recording and identifies points of interest.)

Part 2: Language Choices (some of these questions may not be applicable if the participant speaks only English)

1. What languages do you speak?
2. What languages do your parents speak at home?
3. Which language are you most comfortable expressing yourself (your feelings, for example) in? Why? (younger: "What language do you like using the most? Why?)
4. When do your parents speak Tagalog/other Philippine language?
5. When do your parents speak English?
6. When do you most speak Tagalog/other Philippine language?

    a. With whom?
7. (Explain “code-switching.”) Do you ever ‘code switch’ / mix between your languages?
    a. When? With whom? Can you give me an example?

Part 3: Language Attitudes

1. How do you feel about being able to speak or understand your heritage non-English language? Why?
2. Do you think the way you speak the languages you speak now might change as you get older?
3. Is your language part of who you are?
    a. Is there a specific time when you were really aware of language?
4. Do you identify more with being American or Filipino (or is it a mix)?
5. Is being Filipino/American part of who you are?
    a. Can you tell me a specific time when you were really aware of this?
6. If your friends hear you speaking a Philippine language, what do they say? Can you tell me a time when this happened?
7. Can you tell me a time when you and your friends talked about language?
8. What’s the best thing about being bilingual? Bicultural? (explain what bicultural means)
9. What’s the worst thing about being bilingual? Bicultural?
10. Do your parents ever talk to you about identity?
    a. Do you ever think about your own identity? What’s an example of when this happened?

Wrapping Up

1. Any other thoughts about this project?
2. Do you have any questions for me?

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Table B.1 Parents' Language Background

Participating Parents	Sex	Age	L1	L2	L3	Other Ls	LOR in U.S. (yrs)	Occupation in Philippines	Occupation in the U.S.
Mariel Ocampo	F	32	Tagalog Kapampangan	English	Ilocano	Pangasinan, Ibaloi, Kankaney	2.6	nurse	homemaker
Jerome Ocampo	M	36	Tagalog	Pangasinan English			2.7	college instructor	graduate teaching & research assistant
Angelie Garcia	F	40	Tagalog	Bikol English		Spanish	6.4	teacher	public school teacher
Karl Garcia	M	44	Tagalog Bikol	English	Ilocano		5.7	architect	homemaker
Elena Cruz	F	44	Waray	Tagalog English	Bisaya	Spanish	4.5	research	graduate teaching & research assistant
Ignacio Cruz	M	50	Cebuano	Tagalog English		Spanish	4.5	teacher	homemaker
Edgar Torres	M	46	Tagalog	English		French	16.6	teacher	public school teacher
Carmen Torres	F	46	Bisaya	Tagalog English			16.6	teacher	public school teacher
Vicki Batuan	F	59	Tagalog	English		Spanish	28.5	research	researcher
Dan Batuan	M	58	Tagalog, English			Spanish	28.6	research	faculty

LOR: Length of Residence
L1, L2…: First language, second language…
Other Ls were mentioned during their interview.

Table B.2 Children's Language Background

Participating Children (5 and older)	**Sex**	**Age**	**Age of Arrival in U.S.**	**LOR in U.S.**	**First Language Spoken (reported by parents)**	**other languages exposed to (reported by parents)**	**Language most comfortable speaking (reported by child)**
Samuel Ocampo	M	8	5	2.6	Filipino	Pangasinan, Ilocano	English
Jan Eulo Garcia	M	8	2	5.7	Tagalog		Tagalog
Geoffrey Garcia	M	10	5	5.7	English	Tagalog	English
Destiny Cruz	F	10	5	4.5	Tagalog	Bisaya	English
Marisol Cruz	F	18	11	4.5	Tagalog	Bisaya	English
Nathan Torres	M	10	0	16.6	English	Filipino, Bisaya	English
Mark Torres	M	14	0	16.6	English	Filipino, Bisaya	English
Rammy Batuan	M	12	5	6	Tagalog	Bisaya, Ilocano, Pampanga	English
Reuben Batuan	M	15	8	6	Tagalog	Bisaya, Ilocano, Pampanga	English

LOR: Length of Residence