

8. *SINGING IS THE FIRST THING THAT CAME INTO MY HEAD: EMOTIONS AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AMONG FILIPINO MIGRANTS IN NEW ZEALAND*¹

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1. Linguistic diversity and language maintenance in New Zealand

At the time of the 2013 census, New Zealand Europeans remained the largest ethnic group in New Zealand, making up nearly three quarters of the population (74%), but the census showed ethnic diversity was increasing (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Some of the largest increases were in the Asian population, which almost doubled between 2001 and 2013 to reach 11.8%, with the fastest growing Asian groups being Chinese, Indians and Filipinos. New Zealand residents are also more multilingual. In 2013, 18.6% of residents could speak more than one language, up from 15.8% in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand 2014a). After English, the languages most people claimed to be able to speak were Māori (3.7%), Samoan (2.2%), Hindi (1.7%) and Northern Chinese (a term used by the census that includes Mandarin) (1.3%). While New Zealand Europeans were still overwhelmingly monolingual, these figures

suggest everyone is likely to be exposed to a more diverse range of languages than previously. In this context, one can ask how free present-day migrants feel to continue to use their multilingual resources after arrival. To examine this question, this chapter focuses on Filipino migrants, a relatively young and fast-growing community, who have migrated to New Zealand during the period of its evolution towards greater cultural and linguistic diversity. It explores the emotional aspects of their language use, especially the degree to which they feel at ease using their multiple language resources in a context where the attitudes of majority language speakers have historically had a strong impact on minority language use (de Bres 2004, 2008).

Language maintenance research is well-established in New Zealand, with studies from the 1990s onwards focusing on specific migrant communities. In Wellington alone, these have included the Greek, Indo-Fijian, Tongan, Gujarati, Cantonese, Dutch and Samoan communities (Verivaki 1990; Shameem 1994; 'Aipolo 1989; Roberts 1999, 2001). The dominant approach has been to use questionnaires and/or highly structured interviews to investigate domains of migrant language use. For example, researchers question participants on which languages they use, how often, and with whom, at school, church, and in the home. Most studies also address language attitudes, for instance using attitude-rating scales to measure the degree of positive attitudes towards the migrant language. These studies have contributed to our understanding of the factors influencing language maintenance and shift among migrant communities. One area they fail to address in detail, however, is the emotional aspects of people's relationships to language use. This reflects the dominance of 'direct methods' in language attitudes research, which focus attention on explicit, conscious aspects of attitudes, rather than more implicit, unconscious aspects (Garrett 2010). This weakness is not specific to language maintenance studies. As Pavlenko (2007) discusses in her book *Emotions and Multilingualism*, emotions have been under-researched in language learning and use in general. She attributes this partly to emotions being historically viewed as essentially unexplorable (Besnier 1990). Where emotions have been considered in applied linguistics,

they are restricted to a limited set of constructs (e.g. motivation) and particular emotions (e.g. anxiety). This may be due to much of this research being undertaken with monolingual US students studying foreign languages. Pavlenko argues that these concepts are particularly ill-suited to multilingual societies, where a much wider range of emotions are associated with language use.

This study uses the alternative method of reflective drawing (Molinié 2009) to investigate language maintenance among Filipino migrants in New Zealand.² Drawing has been used as a research method in the social sciences since the first half of the twentieth century, including in psychology, sociology, anthropology and education. Its use has been rarer in linguistic research (Castellotti and Moore 2009: 46), although parallels can be found in perceptual dialectology methods in folk linguistics, where participants annotate maps to show where they believe language varieties are spoken (Preston 2011) and in the ‘language portrait’ approach in applied linguistics, where participants are invited to colour in a human silhouette to indicate language varieties of importance to them (Krumm and Jenkins 2001; Busch 2006; Seals 2017). The method used here builds on two recent trends in the social sciences – increasing attention to emotions (Pavlenko 2007; Greco and Stenner 2009) and to visual images (Rose 2016), or the so-called affective and visual turns. It involves asking people to respond to a drawing instruction relating to language and then to describe in an interview the meaning of the drawing they have produced (Castellotti and Moore 2011). The method results in rich, complex descriptions of linguistic repertoires and is especially useful for eliciting the personal, imaginative, subjective, and emotional aspects of people’s relationship to language. As Busch (2012: 521) describes this in relation to language portraits:

What distinguishes this creative, multimodal method, which is based on visual and narrative descriptions, is that the change in mode to one of thinking in pictures contributes to foregrounding the emotional experience of language, power relations, and desire.

Alongside this beeline to emotion, there are further benefits to ‘visual research methods’ in which participants create their own

visual data (Rose 2016: 315–316). They enable researchers to gain not just more data (in the sense of collecting both visual and verbal data from participants) but also different data, in that ‘while ordinary interview talk can explore many issues, discussing a photograph or drawing with an interviewee can prompt talk about different things, things that researchers hadn’t thought about and places that researchers can’t go’ (Rose 2016: 315). They may also empower research participants, ‘[giving] them a clear and central role in the research process, [positioning] them as experts, [and demanding] collaboration between them and the researcher’ (Rose 2016: 316). Most reflective drawing studies have concentrated on the multilingual and multicultural identities of children and adolescents in school contexts (e.g. Molinié 2009), and the few studies involving adults often focus on language teachers and teacher trainees (Busch 2012). This study takes the method out of an educational setting to investigate the broader social phenomenon of language maintenance.

2. Filipino migrants in New Zealand

While only making up 40,350 residents in the 2013 census (1% of the population), Filipino migrants were the fastest growing Asian ethnic group, having increased almost fourfold from 11,091 people in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand 2014b). Just over half lived in the Auckland region, their median age was young at 30.8 years, and as many as 85.9% were born overseas (Statistics New Zealand 2014b). Migration from the Philippines was minimal until the 1970s, with only 101 New Zealand residents recorded as born there in 1971. Political and economic instability in the 1970s led to mass emigration, and migration to New Zealand especially increased in the 1980s, when many migrants were young women coming to join male partners from New Zealand.³ Skilled migrants have since included information technology workers from the late 1980s, medical professionals from the late 1990s, technicians, electricians and rural workers from the 2000s, and construction workers since the 2010s (Walrond 2015). The Filipino community is highly interconnected, with multiple cultural organisations. An annual national reunion draws crowds in the tens of thousands for events including music, dance, sports and beauty contests.

Research on language maintenance among Filipinos in New Zealand is nascent, with the current chapter and Umali and Bell (this volume) representing first forays on this topic. In describing the Filipino community in New Zealand, Walrond (2015) claims that ‘today most Filipinos are bilingual’ and that ‘at home, many speak “Tag-lish”, a mixture of the Filipino language Tagalog and English’. The current research suggests multilingual resources among Filipino migrants are much more extensive. This is not surprising given the linguistic diversity of the Philippines, where multiple regional varieties are used alongside the national language Tagalog, the former colonial language Spanish, and English. Some studies on language maintenance among the Filipino diaspora have been undertaken in other countries, including Australia, the United States, Japan and Malaysia (see Umali and Bell, this volume, for an overview). This research generally reveals a pattern of significant language shift among the second generation.

The data for this research was collected at a workshop in Wellington in January 2017. To recruit participants I asked a Filipino community leader to put me in touch with 10–15 Filipino New Zealanders willing to take part. She contacted prominent members of the Wellington Filipino community by email, inviting them to attend a workshop about the use of Filipino languages in New Zealand, involving a drawing activity and an interview. Of the 25 people contacted, 12 confirmed attendance. The resulting group had a wide range of occupations, including an early childhood teacher, a justice of the peace, embassy staff, an artist, and a banker. They were all first-generation Filipinos, some of whom had moved to New Zealand in the eighties and nineties, and others who had arrived more recently. The workshop, which lasted two hours and was audio-recorded, was co-facilitated by myself and my father, known to several participants as a former Race Relations Commissioner. Co-facilitation enabled us to concentrate on different aspects at once, for example one taking photos or writing notes while the other asked questions. After introducing ourselves, I asked the participants to fill out an information sheet and then explained the drawing instruction (‘draw yourself using the languages you speak in New Zealand’), which was distributed

together with art supplies. Blank pages were supplied to allow the participants to draw whatever came to mind in relation to the drawing instruction, rather than the more visually restrictive language portrait approach.

Researchers note that drawing is a frequent and familiar activity for children, which is likely to put them at ease, even if the topic of language is less familiar to them (Perregaux 2009: 34; Castellotti and Moore 2009: 45). Some highlight the potential resistance of adults when asked to draw, due to feelings of insecurity, perceived lack of skill, or an association of drawing with childishness (Razafimandimbimanana and Goï 2014). I took care to emphasise that the quality of drawing would not be assessed, the participants could draw as simply as they wanted, and they would be able to explain what they had intended to draw. They looked intrigued by the idea of drawing and a little nervous, but all started immediately, drawing for around 15 minutes. I meanwhile read through their information sheets and, after they had finished drawing, summarised what I had learnt as follows: all were very multilingual; all spoke a mix of regional language varieties of the Philippines, Pilipino (Tagalog) and English; at home some used English only and others used languages of the Philippines with or without English; outside the home all used English and languages of the Philippines, and some used further languages too (including Māori, Italian, Farsi and Japanese). I then asked each person in turn to show their drawing to the group and describe it. I kept the prompt question broad (e.g. ‘Can you tell us what you’ve drawn?’), following the general approach of image-elicitation methods (Rose 2016: 322). I asked each person one or two follow-up questions to pursue whatever topics arose. After this, my co-facilitator and I led a group discussion in which we explored themes that had emerged.

3. Analysing visual data

The collected visual material was analysed using discourse analysis. Discourse is understood here in the Foucauldian sense of ‘a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it’ (Rose 2016: 187). Sociolinguists tend to associate discourse analysis with verbal

data, but research on visual culture provides much evidence that the same principles and methods can be applied to visual images (Rose 2016). While discourse analysis is indeed centrally concerned with ‘how people use language to construct their accounts of the social world’ (Tonkiss 1998: 247–8), it can also be used to ‘explore how *images* construct specific views of the social world’ (Rose 2016: 192, emphasis mine). From this view, discourses are ‘articulated through a huge range of images, texts, and practices [. . .] and any and all of these are legitimate sources for a discourse analysis’ (Rose 2016: 194). The approach to analysing the images followed the steps proposed by Rose (2016): paying detailed attention to the images (e.g. composition, colour, size); identifying key themes in the form of recurring visual features; noting techniques of persuasion; seeking out complexity and contradictions that orient to multiple discourses; and looking for the invisible as well as the visible. After this initial analysis of the images, the verbal material of each participant describing their drawing was reviewed to verify and augment the visual interpretation. The analysis focuses on two aspects: the emotions participants expressed in relation to using their multilingual resources, and their reported practices of language maintenance. Note that the participants’ accounts are not treated as direct representations of their language practices, which is not possible using this method (Busch 2012). Instead they are treated as purely *metalinguistic* data, i.e. representing what the participants choose to convey about their language practices, what they decide to reveal of their language ideologies, and how they wish to present themselves as linguistic subjects. If the resulting data cannot be taken to represent how the participants actually behave outside the room or what they ‘really believe’ with regard to language, this lack of ‘objectivity’ is not to be considered a flaw. Indeed, it is the precise intention of the research to access these subjective accounts, which provide an important backdrop to language behaviour.

4. Emotions and multilingual practices among Filipino migrants

The drawings are diverse in style and content, but several thematic threads can be discerned. These are well represented by the three drawings reproduced here (Figures 1–3), which are discussed in

more detail below, alongside descriptions of related elements present in other drawings.

The most common compositional approach was for participants to represent themselves surrounded by, or present in, different domains of their life, as seen in drawing 1 below, which shows a participant singing in her community choir, with her family, at a cultural centre, and at work.



Figure 1: Drawing 1

The participant said that when she heard the drawing instruction, the first thing she thought of was singing:

The first thing that came into my mind when you say that, 'draw yourself', is automatically me singing . . . I LOVE to sing . . . I think it incorporates every language that I ever speak in just that one sort of picture [. . .] Because in the songs I think I sing all the different languages.

She described how her Filipino choir also sings in different languages as a means of communicating on an emotional level, as expressed

through the reference to ‘heart’ twice in the extract below (emphasis added):

I realised music goes beyond understanding of the language that you sing, it touches people’s *hearts*, without them even knowing what they are singing about. [. . .] I think us Filipinos, we have so much *heart*.

This is a very personal response that may not have occurred to a participant in the context of a first question about language use in a verbal interview. The other participants who took this compositional approach always represented the home domain through a picture of themselves alongside their immediate family members, as shown here. Some participants used a heart symbol in conjunction with this domain, as above, echoing the reference to ‘heart’ in the participant’s comments. In drawing 1, this heart is red in an otherwise colourless drawing, adding emotional emphasis. In most of these domain-based drawings, a person is pictured at the centre of the drawing, but in one drawing a red heart takes this position, with the domains unfurling from the heart in the form of multi-coloured fronds.

Another compositional approach was to picture a personal migration trajectory, with progress through time indicated by movement across the page, as in drawing 2.

This participant described how she started her life speaking Bisaya, the language variety of her region, and learnt Tagalog at school. These languages are represented through letters in yellow boxes, until she moves to New Zealand, where she encountered English only, pictured in blue. She then described her increasing integration with Filipino communities in New Zealand, at which point further languages appear, and the colour changes to red. The participant uses colour and facial expression to indicate emotions related to these phases, with the sadness and linguistic isolation of the early monolingual period in New Zealand associated with cool blue and a frown, and the happiness and linguistic comfort of the multilingual period associated with warm red and a smile. Her verbal description of her drawing, reproduced below, was structured around the feelings she experienced as she moved through different linguistic environments, with the frequent recurrence of emotion

words (happy, excited, confident, sad, scared) highlighted in italics below:

I was so *happy* when I left the Philippines, I was *excited* to come to New Zealand. What I was speaking there was Bisaya, so when I went to Manila this was a bit *scary* because my Tagalog was not very good, I realised what I did at school I couldn't really use that, so the first day in Manila I was *scared*, I didn't really want to speak Tagalog because it looked like somebody was watching me, but the second day I was quite. . . *confident* enough because my husband is a Pākehā or a European so I had to rescue him when somebody would talk to him in Pilipino. So I landed, I arrived in New Zealand [. . .] we arrived in New Zealand in November 1983, so I realised that I was very *sad*, because I could not see many . . . houses, it was all green . . . (others laugh) and I felt quite *sad*, I spoke Bisaya then [. . .] so when I met the Philippine embassy I was so *happy* because there was one staff [member] in the Philippine embassy who was Cebuano so I spoke Bisaya and mostly Tagalog and then after that I met the Filipino community in Wellington, so then *I could express how I felt* [. . .] when I went to the bigger areas, the bigger community I found out that I could speak English, and Tagalog, Cebuano, and I could understand Ilonggo also but I could not really speak much, but I understood a little bit of Spanish . . . so that kind of, when I came here all the things that I had the opportunity at home but I did not practice it, that was the ones in New Zealand, and then I realised that I am married to a Kiwi and I have a daughter, that's why I'm quite *happy* and (gestures to peaks in drawing) this is the mountain, that is the New Zealand air.

Facial expressions also appear in other drawings, but this is the only one that includes a frown. When smiles appear in other drawings they are all on stick figures, which may represent a drawing convention. There are, however, just as many neutral expressions in the drawings (for example in drawing 1 and on the family in drawing 2), which appear in a range of drawing styles. Only one drawing refers directly to emotion in words, where a participant placed the text 'Happy Days!!!' at the bottom of the page. She commented that, despite the recent death of her husband, the social network she pictured in her drawing allowed her to continue to experience feelings of happiness. Emotions were frequently referred to verbally in the descriptions of the drawings, and this often elucidated the emotional content of the visual features participants had chosen to use.

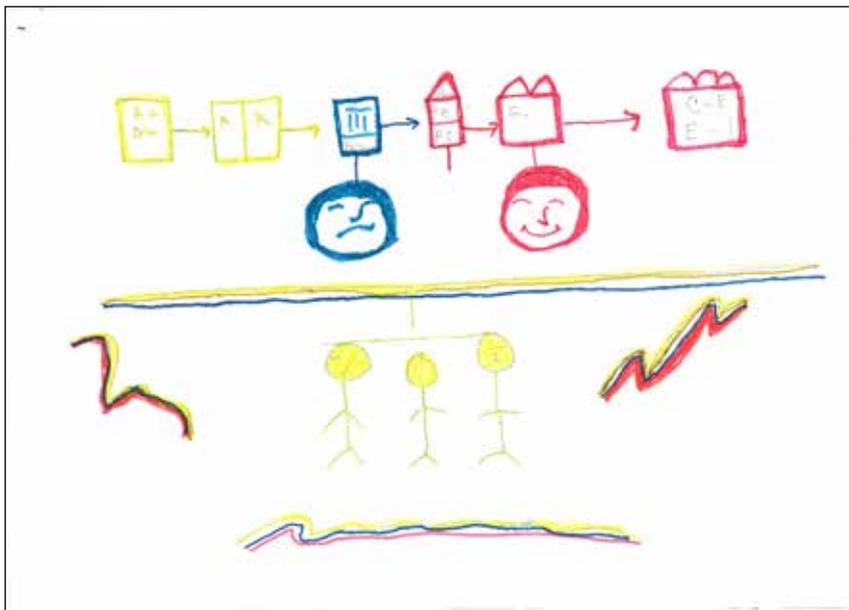


Figure 2: Drawing 2

Another striking element in drawing 2 is the use of the colours of the national flag of the Philippines (red, blue and yellow), a feature also evident in drawing 3 and another drawing.

Drawing 2 uses each of these colours separately, and then blends them in the lower half of the picture, perhaps mirroring the linguistic and emotional integration the participant described in interview. In itself, it is not surprising that participants should draw on the imagery of their national flag to represent language practices, given that, in line with the hegemonic ‘one nation, one language’ ideology (Woolard 1998), the use of national flags to represent languages is very prominent in visual culture. What is striking here is that the flag itself is invisible, and the participant did not mention it in her description.⁴ The participant of drawing 3 explicitly discussed her use of colours, but made no link to the flag either, instead highlighting the emotional potential of colour (‘in drawing, colours are a really good representation [. . .] of feelings’). Only two drawings in the current data involve direct use of a flag to represent languages. This lack of flags contrasts strongly with some

reflective drawing studies, where flags are highly present (Molinié 2009; Perregaux 2009; Obojska forthcoming). In a recent activity I undertook in Luxembourg with 15 students responding to a similar drawing instruction, almost all of them drew a person surrounded by national flags representing individual languages. This may be related to the influence of Western nationalist language ideologies reproduced through education systems. Perregaux (2009: 39) notes that an exercise with four-year-olds in Switzerland resulted in no depictions of national symbols such as flags (the children simply drew people speaking) whereas children aged seven undertaking the same activity produced drawings full of ‘graphic systems, cultural stereotypes, and national symbols’ (my translation). The fact that so few participants drew flags to symbolise languages here may be explained by their experiences of the highly diverse societal multilingualism of the Philippines.

Drawing 3 supports the notion of a more flexible vision of multilingualism among the participants than Western nationalist language ideologies would demand. The participant has drawn four overlapping hands, traced around her own hand, again in the colours of the national flag. Accustomed to seeing participants use colours to represent different languages (e.g. Busch 2012; Seals 2017), I assumed that each coloured hand might represent a different language in the participant’s repertoire. According to her description, this was not the case. Instead she described the colour of each hand as representing a certain emotional tone of non-verbal communication (the emotions are highlighted in italics in the extract):

I really use me when I talk, I am more in movement so I’ve drawn my hands . . . I’ve drawn the movements of my hands [. . .] this is how I use my body [. . .] I just used maybe three colours to represent me, for example the red one so you can see like you know sometimes you *care*, you *love*, so I represent the movements and I put colour, then the yellow, I don’t know how you feel the yellow, the blue (gestures with hands) (J: *strong*) yeah something like that so I think this is just wherever I go it’s more my movement.

The participant’s emphasis on movement is supported by the text below the hands, which reads ‘[name removed]/sign/body language/



Figure 3: Drawing 3

movement/facial expression/2017'. As the participant spoke, she moved her hands emphatically, reinforcing the physicality of her representation of language, and echoing her portrait of her hands. At this moment of the interview, not yet understanding her perspective, I explicitly tried to move the discussion towards linking her picture to the use of specific languages:

J: OK, and do you associate some of those colours with different languages? Are there particular languages you are thinking of for each of the colours?

Participant: Ohhhh . . . sometimes it's more like, if I go to a place and I struggle for example, like then I can't really express . . . it's more my movements, if you're *scared* or if you're *sad* or something . . . it's always these hands.

J: Yeah OK, and that's in all the languages that you speak, you have these different modes of talking?

Participant: Yeah.

It was clear from this exchange that this participant did not seek to construct languages in terms of separate entities, but rather represented them as tools to be used in a more holistic vision of communication.

What I took to be an intriguing response by this participant, who was the third person to describe their drawing, turned out to be not at all unusual, as this lack of visual reference to specific languages recurred frequently in the drawings the other participants went on to present. While they had pictured domains, they had hardly ever indicated specific languages with them. Languages were indicated verbally in only three drawings, one using abbreviations (drawing 2 above), another using greetings in various languages, and another combining the names of languages with their national flags. Looking at the rest of the drawings, it would be difficult for someone unaware of the research topic to realise the drawings related to language at all, given that visually they read more as depictions of the participants' daily lives in a range of public and private spaces. In interview, the participants claimed to use their diverse language resources across a wide range of these spaces, for example:

Participant: I speak Tagalog with the Filipino community – or Bisaya, or Cebuano, or English. When I teach dancing, I use Tagalog, Cebuano . . . and English.

J: And do you associate different languages with each space?

Participant: Both, English and Tagalog, both.

J: They go right across, okay. So you have your division in terms of your home life and your work life, but the languages actually go across all of them?

Participant: Yeah. [. . .] I see myself as fully integrated in different communities, I see myself as – I bond with people in the community, and so I use English if it is what they are speaking, a bit of Māori if that is what they are speaking, some Pilipino, some Tagalog, whatever is being spoken, I try to listen and make use of phrases to fit in [. . .] Language is just a way to express yourself [. . .] It is not rare that in one room like this we will be speaking four different languages with four different people, and we switch so quick, so fast. [. . .] I get asked sometimes ‘do you think in Pilipino or do you think in English?’ And I say ‘Both!’ Or maybe like, you know in alternate, just whatever pops up.

In these extracts, the participants describe themselves moving between languages in flexible ways that call to mind current sociolinguistic concepts of polylinguaging (Jørgensen et al 2011) or translanguaging (Canagarajah 2011), where languages are not viewed as separate entities (as per dominant Western language ideologies) but rather as seamlessly blended linguistic resources. As the participant of extract 3 above comments, ‘language is just a way to express yourself’. The lack of linguistic separation evident in these examples recalls the findings of Leconte (2009), which revealed differences in how migrant children from Africa and from the former Soviet Union expressed their multilingual skills. The African children’s drawings of ‘someone who can speak several languages’ showed all the languages blended within a person’s brain, without visual separations between them. In contrast, the children from the former Soviet Union drew languages in separate compartments in the brain separated by pseudo-national borders. Leconte argues that this demonstrates the visual impact of European ideologies of linguistic nationalism compared to more multilingual approaches

prevalent in African countries. The current study may demonstrate something similar in relation to more fluid ideological conceptions of multilingualism in linguistically diverse Asian societies such as the Philippines.

To summarise, the dominant pattern in the drawings was for participants to indicate domains of language use, but not to allocate languages to these domains, or even to indicate specific languages at all. This seems to reflect a strongly multilingual identity construction among the participants, for whom ‘language’ was associated primarily with communication rather than with specific named languages. In terms of emotions, the participants used various visual features of composition, colour and content to universally express ease with using their multilingual resources across the various spaces of their everyday lives, and claimed no anxiety or insecurity with regard to language use. Instead, they expressed emotions of love and happiness in relation to language use within their social networks, within both the Filipino and broader New Zealand communities. They also stated that they felt New Zealand was very open to migrants using languages other than English. Two even claimed that it was coming to New Zealand, as a ‘very multicultural society’, that enabled them to further develop their multilingual repertoire. This supports the notion of a potential change in New Zealand cultural norms from a more monolingual to a more multilingual society (de Bres 2004).

5. Multilingualism without language maintenance

Although participants generally reported multilingual domains, one domain often reported to be monolingual was the home. According to the information sheets, five participants used English exclusively in the home, five used English in combination with languages of the Philippines, and two used languages of the Philippines exclusively. English was highly present in multilingual homes, one participant referring to English alongside her regional language as the ‘language of love’ in her immediate family. This is similar to the findings presented by Umali and Bell (this volume), in which participants claimed to have positive attitudes to maintenance of Tagalog and yet only one participant was actively communicating with his

children in Tagalog. This scenario of many parents not speaking languages of the Philippines to their children raises a question in terms of language maintenance. While this topic did not come up during the presentation of the drawings, my co-facilitator raised it in the subsequent discussion, asking participants what future they saw for the languages of the Filipino community in New Zealand. This led to an extended discussion where several participants talked about their reasons for, and in some cases regrets about, not passing on their languages to their children, and expressed concern about the future implications of community linguistic decisions. The most significant result of this research may be this apparent paradox, whereby the participants claim to view New Zealand as a culturally open society and express no inhibitions with regard to using their many languages, yet few of them report transmitting languages other than English to their children. If the attitudes of both Filipino migrants and the majority group of 'Kiwis' are perceived as favourable towards the use of migrant languages, why such low reported rates of language maintenance?

There are several possible answers to this question. One can refer to the continued influence of dominantly monocultural norms in New Zealand, or what Holmes (forthcoming) refers to as 'the Pākehā culture order'. But the participants in this research were emphatic that they did not experience external pressure on their use of languages in New Zealand, and their reported experience certainly contrasts with that of other ethnic groups who migrated to New Zealand in earlier times (de Bres 2004, de Bres 1998). One can also take the defeatist position that language shift is inevitable in diasporic contexts, and that the pattern portrayed simply reflects the expected course of language shift being complete within three generations. Rather than debating these points, however, I prefer to privilege the participants' own interpretations of what impedes them from engaging in language maintenance. Some explanations related to the dominance of English in many domains of life. In multi-ethnic families where English was the language of interaction between parents, it was not possible to maintain a monolingual home environment for the minority language. Others referred to the high fluency of Filipinos in English, compared to other first

generation migrants in New Zealand. One participant claimed a tendency for Filipinos to embrace mainstream New Zealand culture at the expense of maintaining their cultural traditions. Other factors related more to the specific language situation of the Philippines. Several participants expressed difficulty in choosing which language to pass on to their children, given that they spoke several themselves. The question of which language the Filipino community should promote if community language maintenance activities were to begin in earnest was controversial. Some argued forcefully for Tagalog, the national language of the Philippines, as the most widely spoken and internationally useful. Others resisted the idea of Tagalog being imposed at the expense of regional languages in a context where Filipinos retain strong regional identities. In this sense, multilingualism, which can be seen as a great strength of this community, simultaneously poses hefty challenges. The participants portrayed a situation of limited language maintenance activity at a community level, and it remains to be seen whether such activities will take off in the near future, and whether or not Tagalog will emerge as a unifying language maintenance target.

6. Conclusion

As cautioned earlier, the kind of data collected in this research cannot tell us directly what language practices participants engage in on a daily basis. What it can reveal, in ways less accessible through other methods of investigating language maintenance and shift, is some indication of the emotional character of the participants' relationships to language use. While the link of these emotions to observable language behaviour is again not straightforward, such emotions provide an important backdrop to linguistic behaviour, with the potential to predispose participants to, or constrain them from engaging in, practices important to language maintenance. What emerges from the current research is that, by their own accounts, these first generation Filipino migrants have highly positive emotions towards their diverse linguistic repertoires and feel comfortable putting these to use in New Zealand. The results support the notion of a distinctly multilingual sensibility among the participants, who exemplify the

sociolinguistic concepts of polylinguaging and translanguaging in their depictions of moving with ease between the various elements of their repertoires and in their emphasis on linguistic fluidity rather than separation. In addition to the (inter)personal benefits of this kind of linguistic comfort and flexibility, such relaxed attitudes towards multilingualism may contribute positively to the further development of a linguistically diverse society in New Zealand. When it comes to language maintenance, however, the picture is similar to other studies of Filipino migrants abroad (see Umali and Bell, this volume), where a rapid shift to the dominant societal language is evident from the second generation onwards. Given the very large Filipino diaspora around the world, further studies on this community internationally would be of interest to delve deeper into the mechanisms of this apparently striking level of shift.

As well as shedding light on language practices among the Filipino participants, the results in this chapter exemplify the richness of metalinguistic data that can be collected using the reflective drawing method. The drawings reveal strikingly emotional constructions of language and provide rich depictions of the participants' linguistic lives. The method is very productive for starting metalinguistic discussions, and allows the participants to lead with what is relevant to them, sometimes derailing researcher expectations. When undertaken in a group setting, the subsequent discussion also provides a good opportunity for participants to discuss issues of sociolinguistic relevance to their community together. Future research using this method in New Zealand could further explore some of the themes raised here, for instance whether other migrant groups also feel supported in using their languages in contemporary New Zealand, and whether communities with less multilingual backgrounds still experience similar challenges in passing on their languages to their children.

Notes

1. I thank Joris de Bres for data collection assistance, insights, and editing; Anita Mansell for coordinating the data collection; and all the participants for their involvement in the project.
2. As the original term in French (*le dessin réflexif*) used by Molinié has not yet been translated into English, there is the option of choosing between the terms *reflexive* and *reflective* drawing (both English translations of *réflexif*). I use *reflective drawing* to underline the element of reflection involved (pondering something) alongside that of reflexivity (taking oneself as an object of analysis), both of which are implied by the French term *réflexif*.
3. This gender imbalance persists today, with the Filipino group in the 2013 census having the highest proportion of overseas-born females, at 56.9% (Statistics New Zealand 2014b). This has, however, greatly decreased from the 1991 census, when there were more than twice as many Filipino women as men in New Zealand (Walrond 2015).
4. This phenomenon also appears in Seals (2017), where a child draws the colours of the Ukrainian flag without mentioning this in her verbal description of the drawing.

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