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Falam Immigrants In America: Motivations For Language Use, Maintenance, And Shift

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FALAM IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA:
MOTIVATIONS FOR LANGUAGE USE, MAINTENANCE, AND SHIFT

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Thomas Edison State College, 2012

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota
August
2015

This thesis, submitted by Hannah Reeves in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This thesis is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

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Wayne Swisher
Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

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iv

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

Using a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach, this study explores immigrants'
individual motivations for language use, language shift and language maintenance. I met
with 25 immigrants to the US who are native speakers of Falam, a language from Myanmar,
to learn their reasons for Falam and English usage as well as their desires for Falam usage
in the US. I used the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift's taxonomy of motivations
to classify each motivation expressed. Among Falam immigrants to America, I found
that solidarity-related and communicative motivations are behind language maintenance
while economic and communicative motivations are behind language shift. I conclude
with a discussion on the role motivations play in forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality and
initiating language development, suggesting the use of a wider framework such as Lewis
and Simon's Sustainable Use Model to account for factors such as changing societal values
and varying strengths of motivations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Language shift is taking place worldwide, drawing scholars, linguists, development workers, and speakers of minority languages to study language shift and language maintenance. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the role that motivations play in language shift and maintenance. I aim to classify which motivations are most common in language shift and maintenance among Falam immigrants. I also aim to define the role that motivations can play as indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality. I will conclude with suggestions for language development among Falam communities.

This research was conducted among 25 immigrants to the United States who speak Falam, a language from Myanmar, as their mother tongue. It explores which motivations result in language shift and language maintenance, specifically among immigrants who speak a minority language as their mother tongue. This thesis will add to the well-studied topic of language shift by providing a better understanding of the extent that individual motivations can predict, explain, and alter language shift.

The specific objectives of this research are to discover individual's motivations encouraging the use of English, the motivations encouraging the use of Falam, the motivations encouraging intergenerational transmission, and the perceived rate of shift to English among immigrants to the US. Because immigrants face almost certain language shift within the first three generations in the US, the motivations that encourage immigrants to use English or Falam can be assumed to be the same motivations encouraging language shift or language maintenance. This assumption allows me to isolate the motivations that result in language shift and maintenance among Falam immigrants.

Understanding the motivations and desires of immigrants in the midst of language shift allows me to test the validity of certain theories of ethnolinguistic vitality and language shift. This thesis expands on the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift (Karan

2001) by providing data which proves that certain motivations do foster language shift and language maintenance. The data presented in this research also tests the usability of the taxonomy of motivations presented in the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift.

I also hope that this research can be useful for the large portions of the Falam community who do desire to maintain their language and culture. Salai Thang, a Falam community advocate, explained,

> It's our duty to conserve our culture and our tribal privilege given by God. It's not just a 'you gotta do this' 'you gotta do that,' (of course, some people feel that and want their skin to be white or you know, or stuff like that) but we're proud to be Asian and we're proud to be Falam. It's part of our job... to keep that language wherever we go 'til the second coming, I guess!... God has given us a unique language, a unique way to communicate with our families, our relatives, and our community. That is one of the values of Falam—it's a God given language. There are a lot of languages like this. Every day or every week, a language or two is gone from the world. So we are very thankful to be able to use ours even in the United States. (Salai Thang, personal communication, Jan. 1, 2015)

I hope this research can help equip these Falam people to provide a better future for their own people through maintaining their native language and assimilating well to their new culture without loosing the value of their native culture.

1.1 Summary of Chapters

In Chapter 2, "Falam People of Myanmar," I discuss the sociolinguistic and cultural context of the Falam people in Myanmar and their reasons for immigration to the US.

Chapter 3, "A Theoretical Framework for Understanding Motivations in Immigrant Linguistic Assimilation," provides a theoretical framework from which we can discuss language shift and maintenance. I look at Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory and the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift and how they fit in sociolinguistic literature.

In Chapter 4, "Methodology and Design," I explain how I set up and conducted this research. I explain the rationale behind the qualitative research, the assumptions I had when creating this study and analyzing the data, and the limitations to this research.

In Chapter 5, "Demographic Survey of Participants," I summarize the demographics of the participants in this research. I also explain any demographic trends or patterns in the data.

Chapter 6, "Analysis and Results," provides a framework for the analysis of the data. I isolate the motivations expressed in response to each main subject I discussed with participants. I explain motivations for current language use, motivations for using English, motivations for using Falam, motivations for intergenerational transmission, and the perceived vitality of Falam in the US.

In Chapter 7, "Discussion and Conclusion," I explain the major findings of this study. I explain what motivations are behind language shift and language maintenance. I suggest expansions to the taxonomy of motivations as well as limitations on the usefulness of the Perceived Benefit Model of Language shift in forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality. I end Chapter 7 with a discussion on how motivations fit within a greater framework for understanding ethnolinguistic vitality, how motivations can be used to enhance language maintenance and development, and ideas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

FALAM PEOPLE OF MYANMAR

This chapter provides sociolinguistic and cultural background for the Falam speakers from Myanmar. I explain the classification of the Falam language, the number and location of Falam speakers, and the current use and vitality of the Falam language in Myanmar. I also look at reasons for immigration to the US. I especially look at the current socioeconomic status of the Falam in Myanmar and the political situation in Chin State, which are two main reasons that drive the Falam to come to the United States as refugees and asylum seekers. I also look at the magnitude of the immigration to the US.

2.1 Classification of Falam

Falam [cfm] is classified as a member of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is one of five Lai Chin languages, which are part of the sub-group of Kuki-Chin languages (VanBik 2009). There are 12 Falam dialects (Thuan 2008).

2.2 Number and Location of Speakers

Falam is a Chin language spoken in the Falam township of Chin State, located in the southern part of northwestern Myanmar (Burma) (Thuan 2008). The Falam Township is one of nine townships in the Chin Hills, each having their own language. Chin State borders India and Bangladesh to the west, Rakhine State to the south, and Magwe and Sagaing divisions to the east.

Although there is no current official demographic information for the Falam, it is estimated that around 100,000 Falam people live in the Falam Township and around 21,000 live across the border in India (VanBik 2009).

2.3 Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Sociolinguistic Status of Falam in Myanmar

Falam is in vigorous use in all domains by all ages among the Falam in Chin State, and people generally have positive attitudes toward Falam (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014). In Falam homes and communities in Myanmar, Falam is the primary language spoken (Biak Mawi, personal communication, December 18, 2014). Literacy is also widespread. According to the Ethnologue, most Falam youth and young adults can read Falam. In the Falam township, churches teach children how to read Falam since it is not taught in the government-run Burmese schools (Biak Mawi, personal communication, December 18, 2014). A few older people, if they were educated, can also read Falam (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014). However, the government prohibits teaching or using Falam or other Chin languages in school (Ling & Mang 2004).

Several resources are available in Falam. The entire Bible was printed in Falam in 2011 (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014). There are also radio programs, websites, news sources, and history books (Chinland Today 2014), a fact that the participants in this study confirmed. There is also a downloadable .pdf Falam/English dictionary (English-Falam Dictionary, 2014).

The Ethnologue classifies Falam (in Myanmar) as a level 5 language on the EGID scale (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2014). A level 5 language is classified as "developing." It is in vigorous use as the primary language for communication inside the home. Literature is also being used in a standardized form by the speakers of the language, but is not sustainable (Lewis & Simons 2014). (The levels of the EGIDS are explained in further detail in 3.2.)

2.4 Culture and Lifestyle of Falam in Myanmar

Chin State, perched in mountainous west Myanmar, has an average elevation of 5,000-8,000 feet. Most Falam make their living by subsistence farming. Many people farm using no external equipment or resources, and rely solely on natural resources and labor (Thein 2012).

Religion also plays an important role in Falam society. In the late 1800s, Baptist missionaries from America came to the Chin people. Christianity eventually became widely accepted, leading to a culture that is nearly inseparable from religion (Ling & Mang 2004). The Chin Human Rights Organization reported that Christianity has changed the cultural landscape among the Chin, and it has also united Chin communities throughout Chin state. Even before Myanmar achieved independence, the Christian institutions in Chin state inspired the Chin people to become politically self-conscious. Chin State is around 90% Christian. (Ling & Mang 2004).

2.5 Reasons for Immigration to the US

Today, however, Falam people are leaving Myanmar in record numbers. "More than 150,000 Chin are currently seeking refuge in India and Malaysia, while hundreds of thousands are estimated to have moved to other areas of Burma/Myanmar, outside of Chin State" (Chin Human Rights Organization 2010). Chin people are emigrating to countries such as America, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Czech Republic, Denmark, Switzerland, South Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Finland, and the Netherlands (Tiam 2010:208). They are being resettled in these countries through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In 2010, it was estimated that 16,000 Chin people lived in the US (Tiam 2010:209). The number of Falam speakers in the Chin diaspora is unknown, although participants indicated that it is one of the most commonly spoken Chin languages.

Participants in this research mentioned several reasons behind their immigration to America. The reason most commonly mentioned was to escape from an oppressive military government. Participants also said that immigration gave them a way out of poverty, access to education, and a better life for their children.

Since 1948, there has been ongoing violence between the Burmese army and minority ethnic groups (Refugee Services n.d.). Ethnic insurgent groups and citizens accuse the government of using violence to coerce the minority people to assimilate into Burman culture, language, and religion (Buddhism) (Refugee Services n.d.). Some people go as far

as to say that the government is bent on ethnic cleansing (Refugee Services n.d., Ling & Mang 2004).

The Chin Human Rights Organization reports that political oppression has been taking place in Chin State as well: "Since 1988, rapid militarization in Chin State combined with widespread ethnic and religious discrimination has resulted in a litany of human rights violations perpetrated by the Burma/Myanmar army" (Chin Human Rights Organization 2010). They claim that cases of extra judicial killings, gender-based violence, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, forced assimilation, religious persecution, military conscription, widespread use of forced labor, denial of access to humanitarian services, land confiscation (in some instances, without compensation) have been documented numerous times in the past decade (2010).

Poverty is also a significant issue in Chin State. Of all the states in Myanmar, the Chin Hills are characterized as having "the highest poverty gap ratio, highest occurrence of food deficits, poor road connectivity, low population density but lowest percent availability of cultivable lands and high percentage of waste and scrub lands" as well as a higher rate of people migrating out of the area (Thein 2012:78).

According to the Chin Human Rights Organization, "Chin State is one of the most underdeveloped and isolated regions in Burma/Myanmar, with little in the way of road infrastructure, communication systems, health care facilities, electricity, or running water" (Chin Human Rights Organization 2010:1). They also report that among a population that is 90% rural, 70% of Chin people live below the poverty line and 40% do not have adequate food sources. Chin State ranks among the highest in the country for malnutrition and child mortality rates (Chin Human Rights Organization 2010).

However, the Chin Human Rights Organization says that in recent years, poverty has been exacerbated by government oppression and militarization of Chin state. They say that because of this militarization, Chin State had been isolated by its terrain as well as government travel restrictions placed on foreigners, international organizations, and aid organizations (Chin Human Rights Organization 2008). Political trouble contributing to poverty seems to coincide with some reasons that participants gave for their emigration.

Tiam (2010) agrees, saying that due to this poverty, lack of access to education, and a "ruthless" military regime, many Chin people have left and immigrated to at least 38 countries.

CHAPTER 3

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING

MOTIVATIONS IN IMMIGRANT LINGUISTIC ASSIMILATION

This chapter presents the theoretical framework from which I view my data. I discuss some of what has been written on language shift, language maintenance, and motivations. First, I define language shift and language maintenance. Next, I introduce the EGID scale and the importance of intergenerational transmission. Then I summarize Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory and other theories that have been developed in response to this theory. I conclude with a more lengthy description of the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift and other related theories. Overall, this chapter explains the theoretical framework I used to conduct my research and shows where my research fits in the literature.

3.1 Language Shift

When immigrants come to the US, they often try to assimilate culturally and linguistically. Linguistically, language loss and language shift begin to take place. Language shift takes place when people partially or completely replace one language with another. Individual language shift takes place among immigrants who learn the new national language and begin to use it in place of their first language in certain situations.

Language shift can spread to the point that the people in a community stop using a language and eventually lose it altogether. Immigrants begin a process of individual language shift when they arrive in their new country. Eventually, the whole community will probably shift to the local language and lose their heritage language.

Language maintenance is the opposite. It takes place when a community or part of a community continues to use their language in certain domains.

Individual language choice is key to understanding language maintenance and language shift. Both language shift and language maintenance are the long-term cumulative result of language choice (Fasold 1984:213).

Bilingualism is an important part of language shift and a phase in community-wide language loss. Although language shift is always preceded by bilingualism (Fasold 1984), not all bilingualism leads to language shift. Additive bilingualism is when a person learns and uses a second language, yet conditions still encourage them to use their native language. Subtractive bilingualism is the opposite. It is when conditions encourage a person to learn and use a second language to the detriment of using their native language (Landry & Allard 1993). Subtractive bilingualism results in language shift on an individual level. If it is widespread in a community, it can result in community-wide language loss.

Subtractive bilingualism begins when conditions do not encourage the use of a people's first language. Often subtractive bilingualism takes place when people stop being actively involved in their ethnolinguistic community. They then begin to lose their competency in their first language and their ethnolinguistic identity (Landry & Allard 1993). The result of subtractive bilingualism is that more and more people in the community stop using their first language and the community loses its ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Allard 1993).

Complete language shift among immigrants in the US has historically taken place within three generations, resulting in monolingual English speakers by the third generation (Veltman 1988). However, accelerated language loss is taking place in many immigrant communities in the US with subtractive bilingualism becoming the norm among immigrant children learning English (Fillmore 2000). The subjective vitality predictions and the degree of language shift presented in this research can be compared with this documented trend of language shift.

3.2 Language Maintenance and Intergenerational Transmission

A key element in language maintenance is intergenerational transmission. In his classic work, Reversing Language Shift, Fishman says that intergenerational mother tongue transmission is the primary goal of language development work (1991). He developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), a scale that attempts to measure the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language, focusing on the role of intergenerational transmission in language maintenance (Lewis & Simons 2010).

Lewis and Simons (2010) expanded Fishman's GIDS using language use indicators (function, transmission, and use) to measure ethnolinguistic vitality for languages both with and without institutional support. Lewis and Simon's Expanded GIDS (EGIDS) is presented here.

Table 1. Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons 2010)

Level	Label	Description
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Education	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.
5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.
81	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.

Level	Label	Description
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

While this scale provides a way to measure a language's ethnolinguistic vitality, it does not include all of the factors necessary to predict the vitality of a language. As sociolinguists have tried to isolate the main factors that contribute to ethnolinguistic vitality, they have proposed several theories of ethnolinguistic vitality.

3.3 Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

A major theory used to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality is Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) Theory, developed by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977). EV Theory is a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship of language to ethnicity and intergroup relationships. It defines a group's ethnolinguistic vitality as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (1977:308). A group with high vitality is likely to stay as a collective entity, whereas a group with low vitality is likely to stop functioning as a collective entity.

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) propose three variables that cause people to behave as a distinct collective entity: status, demography, and institutional support. They suggest that these three factors can determine the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group. These factors can be measured objectively, by actual statistics, or subjectively, by individual perceptions. These two means of measurement will not always give the same result. It is possible that people's perceptions of their language could be lower than the statistics indicate, or vice versa. However, subjective vitality perceptions are particularly important because they influence what languages people learn, the degree of bilingualism in a community, language maintenance, and language loss (Abrams, Barker, & Giles 2009).

3.4 Critiques of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory has been criticized for being too narrow. There are instances of ethnolingiustically vital groups that do not have status, demographic strength, or institutional support. Sociolinguists have built on this theory adding new indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality and creating new models to predict ethnolinguistic vitality (Landweer (2000), Yagmur 2011, Ehala 2011, Yagmur & Ehala 2011, Karan 2011).

Yagmur's critique of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) Theory is based on its inability to explain the vitality of immigrant communities. When Yagmur attempted to use Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory to determine the vitality of four Turkish immigrant communities in four countries, Yagmur discovered that it did not entirely predict the vitality of Turkish in these situations. He found that regardless of the larger society's language policies, the immigrant communities were keen on maintaining their first language. EV theory predicted a less hopeful future for immigrant languages than was evident if Yagmur looked at other factors, such as religion, family, and community solidarity (2011).

Yagmur claims that EV theory alone does not accurately predict the vitality of ethnic minorities or explain the dynamics of their language maintenance or language shift. He criticizes EV theory because it only looks at mainstream institutions, ignores the ethnic minority institutions that maintain the vitality of ethnic groups, does not provide a way to fully determine the strength of these ethnic minority institutions, and overlooks the cultural dynamics of groups and the relevance of their group values (2011).

Criticisms such as these have led to other theories such as the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, introduced by Karan (2001), which maintains that ethnolinguistic vitality is best understood and forecasted by looking at individual motivations.

3.5 Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift

The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift (or language change), a model developed by Karan (2001), forecasts ethnolinguistic vitality by looking at individual motivations. Instead of looking at institutional factors, this model approaches language shift and maintenance from a primarily micro-societal viewpoint.

Karan proposes that people choose to use and/or learn languages that best serve their interests in various situations. He based the model on the similarities between language change and language shift, observing that the motivations evident in language change are also evident in language shift. The Perceived Benefit Model concludes that language shift in a society is the result of many individual decisions, and that decisions are based on people's motivations to achieve the best perceived benefit for themselves. Karan says,

> Individuals seek to increase their linguistic repertoire with language varieties they think will well serve their interests. People will generally learn and then use the language that they think will profit them. The opposite also happens. When individuals perceive that the use of, or association with, a language is toxic to their personal good, they will not only stop using that language, they will also often cognitively, socially and emotively distance themselves from that language so that it becomes less and less part of their linguistic repertoire. (Karan 2011:139)

According to the Perceived Benefit Model, language shift takes place when, across a community, motivations to use a certain language variety outweigh motivations to continue using the language variety typically used in that domain. When this language shift takes place, there is a decrease in ethnolinguistic vitality. Therefore, Karan argues that motivations are key to understanding language shift and ethnolinguistic vitality.

3.6 Taxonomy of Motivations

Karan believes that there are a limited number of motivations that are involved in language shift (2001). He classifies these motivations in a fairly standard taxonomy with six main categories: communicative motivations, economic motivations, identity-related motivations, language power and prestige motivations, national and political motivations, and religious motivations (Karan 2011). The following explanation of the taxonomy of motivations is summarized from Karan (2011).

3.6.1 Communicative Motivations

A primary reason that people choose to use or acquire a language is to best facilitate communication. Communicative motivations are exemplified when people choose to learn or use a language that the listener can best understand, such as a language of wider communication.

3.6.2 Economic Motivations

People also choose to use or acquire languages with the goal of financial advancement or profit. There are three kinds of economic motivations: job-related, trade-related, and network-related. These are evident based on whether the people choose to use or acquire a language variety to get or maintain a job (job-related), facilitate or improve the success of their trade (trade-related), or maintain financially beneficial networks (network-related).

3.6.3 Social Identity Motivations

When people desire to be identified with or not to be identified with a group or a person, social identity motivations are in focus. There are four kinds of social identity motivations for language use and acquisition: prestige group-related, solidarity-related, distance-related and hero/villain-related motivations.

Prestige-related motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to associate themselves with a prestige group who normally uses that language variety. They are also present when people choose to not use or acquire a language variety in order to disassociate themselves from a low prestige group that normally uses that language variety.

Solidarity-related motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to create or maintain a solidarity bond with an individual, group, culture or subculture.

Distance-related social identity motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to create or maintain a distance between themselves and an individual, group, culture or subculture.

Hero/Villain-related social identity motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to associate themselves with or disassociate themselves from a well-known individual who normally uses that form.

3.6.4 Language Power and Prestige Motivations

When a society associates languages or dialects themselves with power and prestige or lack of power and prestige, language power and prestige motivations are in focus. Language power and prestige motivations come from a perception that the language itself has prestige and power, and not that speakers of the language have prestige and power (which would then make this a social identity motivation). These motivations are evident in two ways. First, they are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language in order to gain power or prestige because they believe that the language has power and prestige. These motivations are also evident when people avoid using or acquiring a language because it is not prestigious or powerful and they do not want to be associated with that lack of power and prestige.

3.6.5 Nationalistic and Political Motivations

People's choice to use or acquire languages can be influenced by an association between a nation and a language. Language choice can identify someone as a good citizen or declare their national affinity or pride. There can also be language varieties associated with political parties or viewpoints. These associations can motivate language choice.

3.6.6 Religious Motivations

Religious motivations are in effect when a person's desire to use or acquire a language is influenced by an association between the language and a greater being or a religion. Religious motivations exist in four areas: motivations to please a greater being, motivations to use a language considered to be sacred, motivations to access sacred writings, and motivations to communicate for proselytising purposes. Motivations to please a greater being stem from a belief that a greater being prefers a certain language. Motivations for a sacred language originate when religions designate a special status for a language and

see it as special or sacred, causing people to choose to use or acquire a language based on these associations. Motivations to access sacred writings can lead people to use or acquire a language. There are also motivations that stem from desires or directives to communicate religious ideas for proselytising purposes.

3.7 Self-Beneficial and Group-Beneficial Motivations

The motivations listed in the taxonomy of motivations are self-beneficial motivations for the most part. However, it has been questioned whether the motivations that contribute to language shift are all self-beneficial. Ehala suggests that there are two kinds of motivations evident in language shift: self-beneficial motivations, and altruistic (group-beneficial) motivations (2011).

Unlike self-beneficial motivations that stem from a perceived benefit for one's self, altruistic motivations are "based on the understanding that there are higher principles than the benefit of the self that may motivate a person's behaviour" (Ehala 2011:192). Whether a group, a person, or a deity, the goal of these motivations lies outside of one's self. Ehala backs up this claim using examples from communities who have had little group strength, but strong attachment to their group which resulted in ethnolinguistic vitality even when all the odds seem to be against them (2011). Ehala claims that attachment to one's group is a key part of maintaining individual ethnolinguistic vitality.

Ehala (2011) proposes that there are two modes of ethnolinguistic vitality: hot and cold modes. He explains that a group operating in a cold mode has little to no emotional attachment to the group. They are willing to participate in the group based on rational calculation of what self-benefit they will get from it. A group operating in a hot mode has high emotional commitment to the group. These aligned collective motivations may cause people operating in a hot mode to put group-beneficial motivations higher than self-beneficial motivations. Ehala cites examples when group-beneficial motivations result in actions that are strong enough to incur great costs to self. He claims that groups operating in the hot mode may have altruistic motivations to use or acquire a language.

From Ehala's theory of hot and cold modes of ethnolinguistic vitality and Karan's Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, it is clear that instead of relying solely on

the mainstream indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, individual motivations and attachment to the group are key factors to be considered in order to accurately determine the ethnolinguistic vitality of minoritized communities.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

This research looks at the motivations expressed by 25 Falam speakers to speak Falam and English. I used qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the thoughts and feelings which shape the motivations determining people's language use. In this chapter, I explain how I designed and carried out this research. I also discuss the limitations of this research.

4.1 Research Design

This research involved meeting with Falam people, asking a set list of questions as well as probing into any area of interest, and looking for trends in their responses that indicate what motivations they may have for using Falam, using English, transmitting Falam to their children, and preserving their language.

I met with 25 Falam speakers who have immigrated to the US and asked them questions for around 30 minutes. I followed a general set of questions for most participants, but probed deeper or skipped irrelevant questions as I assessed each participant, who they are, and their areas of interest, experience, and knowledge.

Meeting with 25 people allowed me to learn from a variety of people, yet stay within the scope of the research. Because I am not attempting to predict the ethnolinguistic vitality of Falam in the US, I did not need a representative sampling that surveys the entire Falam community. My sample size exposed me to a variety of viewpoints in the Falam community while allowing me to relate with participants on a deeper, more personal level where I could assess each person's perceptions instead of recording specific answers to pre-determined questions.

I selected participants using a snowballing approach. One Falam friend introduced me to several people who I could meet with. These people in turn introduced me to other

people. By having someone introduce me as their friend, it allowed the participant to be more comfortable while talking with me. It also allowed me to speak to several leaders in Falam communities because people had the right connections. The downside of this approach to selecting participants is that my sample was not necessarily demographically representative of the people in the Falam community. It was more common for people to refer me to female friends and friends who spoke better English than the average Falam person. However, I was still able to meet with someone from most sectors of a Falam community.

Participants were selected from five cities in South Carolina, Michigan, Indiana, and Georgia. Four of these cities have a Falam community with one or more Falam church. All of the meetings with Falam speakers were conducted on an individual basis between December, 2014, and February 2015.

I selected participants from the child-bearing generation of native Falam speakers who have immigrated to the US. All participants were born and raised in Myanmar and moved to the US between ages 12 and 38. I chose participants from the child-bearing generation because their motivations will affect the intergenerational transmission that is essential for language maintenance. One participant was 56 years old and had grown children. I dealt with her responses differently.

Participants had varying levels of English ability. Several people volunteered to interpret for me so I could better communicate with six of the participants.

4.2 Manner and Method of Meetings

I met with each participant one time, either in person or on the phone. Meetings ranged from 20-80 minutes, depending on how long a participant wanted to communicate. Some people who had more experience and knowledge on a particular subject would share about that subject for a longer period of time. However, the average discussion lasted 30 minutes.

In each discussion, I used a set list of topics to help me formulate questions specific to the experiences of the person I was talking to. As I learned about each person's life

and experiences, I altered the questions to learn the most pertinent information from each participant.

In addition to basic demographic information, I categorized the questions to discover each participants' linguistic repertoire, how they use these languages in everyday life, their individual perspectives on the costs and benefits to using those languages, and how participants predict the future of these languages. Each of these areas is important to understanding peoples' motivations to use a certain language in a certain situation.

I asked about participants' linguistic repertoires to know which languages a person could choose to use in everyday life in the US. To learn about this, I asked participants about the languages they know, how they the learned them, and how they use them. I asked participants to choose which language they used most as a child and which language they use most in the present. I also asked why. This short question uncovered a lot of important information.

The second body of knowledge I wanted to uncover was how Falam people use Falam and English in everyday life. This reveals the actualization of peoples' motivations to use a language. I asked participants to estimate the percentage of time they use Falam or English in 17 different situations to get a glimpse at the use of Falam. I also asked participants to explain what languages second generation Falam speakers use, and how much they use them. This helps me see the uses for Falam and English (which influences motivations) and the domains where Falam and English are used in everyday life.

Third, I wanted to understand participants' motivations and reasons to use Falam and contrast that with their motivations and reasons to use English. To do this, I asked them about the value, benefits, and costs of knowing and using Falam and English, the two primary languages most participants use in America. I also asked these questions in relation to their children (or the children they hope to raise someday). Understanding their perceptions of costs and benefits identifies exactly what motivations people have toward their language use.

Finally, I wanted to understand what Falam people predict the future of Falam to be in America. I also wanted to hear if they have concerns about the future of their language and culture. To do this, I asked participants about how long they think Falam will be

spoken in US communities such as their own. I asked questions about the desires for their children, for their community, and for the future of their community. The answers to these questions indicate some of the degree of language shift in their communities and define what Falam people see as an acceptable level of the use of their language. In asking questions on this topic, I also discovered many of the Falam people's feelings about the decline of their language in the US.

4.3 Method of Analysis

In order to isolate the motivations affecting each person's language use, I followed a several step process. First, I transcribed people's responses to each of my questions.

Second, I grouped responses to similar questions into categories, yet kept track of who provided each response. I assigned each response to only one category.

Third, I assigned a motivation to each response. In most cases, I also only assigned one motivation to each response. In cases where one statement clearly expressed two or more motivations, I assigned it more than one motivation.

When a response seemed ambiguous in isolation, I relied on the context of the response in the transcription to provide clues for the intended meaning. In some cases, this was not sufficient, so I listened to the recording again to better determine the participant's intentions from vocal inflection and other communicative clues. Because I limited the number of participants in this study, I was also able to recall each person's story and unique situation. This allowed me to better interpret people's responses. Although this method of analysis relies on subjective researcher interpretation, it still can produce accurate results because this study's findings do not rely on qualitative numbering.

It is important to note that I looked at responses in every instance without an expectation that it would reveal a particular motivation. This allowed me to view each response equally without having pre-determined that one motivation would be more evident than another in the data.

After I assigned a motivation to each response in a category, I made separate lists of the responses in each category: one list for responses indicating one primary motivation

22

each and one list for responses indicating more than one motivation. This ensured that no response would be counted more than once in the numerical totals indicating the number of occurrences of each motivation.

Finally, in each category, I calculated the total number of responses indicating each motivation. This allowed me to determine which motivations were the most prominent in each area. The results of this analysis are explained in Chapter 6.

4.4 Assumptions of the Researcher

I carried out this research with several assumptions. First, I assumed that people's current perceptions of the costs and benefits to using Falam and English will reveal the primary motivations behind their language choice. Because Falam people are most likely undergoing the documented three generational model of language shift, I assume that their individual motivations for using English and using Falam are the same motivations for the language shift and language maintenance taking place in their communities.

I also assumed that there are not significant differences between the perceptions of immigrants and Falam refugees. Knowing that a person's visa status (or lack thereof) can be a sensitive issue, I did not ask participants about it. From the literature on the Falam people and personal communication, I concluded that most Falam people come to the US with refugee visas, including many of the participants in this study. However, what participants related from their experience seemed similar enough to the perspective of an economic immigrant. The key point is that unlike refugees fleeing from violence or living in refugee camps, most Falam refugees (90-95% of the refugees, from personal communication with a participant) make their own choice to leave Myanmar in order to have a better life in a place far away from the oppressive military regime. Only a minority must flee to save their life.

The final assumption I made is that Falam's status as a minoritized language in Myanmar does not significantly alter motivations to use it in the US. It is possible that immigrants value their language differently when it is also a minority language in their native country. There may be differences between immigrants' desires to preserve the use of their language if they are mother tongues speakers of a national language, such

as Burmese, verses if they are mother tongue speakers of a minoritized language, such as Falam. I have no evidence to prove that there is a difference between the motivations of these two groups, so I did not factor these possible differences into my research. Also, the possible differences could cancel each other out. Speakers of a minoritized language may see less value in using their language because it has limited communicative and economic value in comparison with the communicative and economic value of a national language. And yet, speakers of minoritized languages may value using their language more because they know it is not widely spoken, so it is a treasure of sorts for them to preserve and safeguard. Speakers of minoritized languages face a different set of challenges to the use of their language, such as lack of books and media, and yet, possibly do not face the negative stereotypes of immigrants from well-known countries. Although these differences could alter the process of language shift, they have not been proven to exist in the Falam communities. I have assumed that any alteration this difference of perspective may make would be too insignificant to alter the data collected in this research.

4.5 Limitations of this Research

As I move into explaining the results of this research in Chapters five and six, keep in mind four major limitations to this research.

First, this research relies on researcher interpretation. The researcher's bias and opinion could sway the accuracy of the data because the researcher must interpret people's statements to discover the underlying motivation. Especially when there is a language barrier, the researcher cannot always be accurate. It can be difficult to know which motivation a person intended to communicate, and yet the researcher must make a guess. However, to reach the results this study hopes to reach, precisely determining the number and degree of motivations is not necessary because the results are not based on statistical quantity. This research aims to uncover themes in the motivations expressed, which can be done with a degree of success even when relying on researcher interpretation.

Second, this research is not comprehensive of any person or community. I also did not attempt to elicit every motivation present in a person that dictates their language

use. All motivations expressed by participants were volunteered in response to open-ended questions. I did not ask a question leading to any statement expressing a certain kind of motivation. The questions I asked were designed to elicit motivations, but not to comprehensively ask about each motivation. Because of the general nature of my questions, a person's English ability and personality may have affected the quantity and type of responses they gave. The motivations participants expressed in this research cannot be exhaustively reflective of any person or community, and cannot be statistically proportionate to the motivations of a community undergoing language shift. However, the statements that come to people's minds reveal prominent motivations which collectively result in language shift and maintenance.

Third, my data is not representative of any Falam community because of the small sample size. Therefore, this research is not comprehensive or generalizable for a Falam community or Falam immigrant in the US.

Fourth, although I look at parent's desires (motivations) for their children's language use, these motivations may or may not result in language use. These motivations give rich insight into the perceived benefits of the use of Falam and English in Falam communities, but do not necessarily determine future use.

CHAPTER 5

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF PARTICIPANTS

In this chapter, I summarize the demographic background of 24 of the participants. The chapter has four parts. First, I summarize demographic information: gender, age, marriage status, children, education, occupation, and age of immigration. I then look at the participants' linguistic repertoire and ability in each language. Next, I look at the residential information: location of origin, current residence, time in the US, and community involvement. Finally, I summarize noticeable patterns in the responses given by people from certain demographic groups. Although I explain all the responses in Chapter 6, the summary in this chapter introduces patterns that can be attributed to participants with one unique demographic or linguistic background. This shows how the demographics of this study affect the data and provides a better understanding of the kinds of responses given by each kind of participant.

There are 25 participants in this study, but I only include 24 of the participants responses in the demographic summary and results section unless I specifically mention that I am also including the responses of the 25th participant. Talking with the 25th participant gave me a better understanding of the Falam communities in the US and the kinds of motivations behind language maintenance. However, this participant did not fit the demographic requirements to be included in the numerical analysis because she was 56 years old and not from the child-bearing generation.

5.1 Demographic Information

5.1.1 Gender

Two-thirds of the participants in this study were women. There were 16 women and eight men.

There are two primary reasons why there are more women than men. First, women were more available than men because many are stay-at-home mothers. Second, because I used a snowballing technique to select participants, people may have introduced me to more women to include in the study because I am a woman.

It is possible that the greater number of women in this study provides valuable data since they are often the primary caregivers in many family situations.

5.1.2 Age

The age of participants in this study is portrayed in Figure 1. Participants range from 18-46 years old, with the average age being 28.
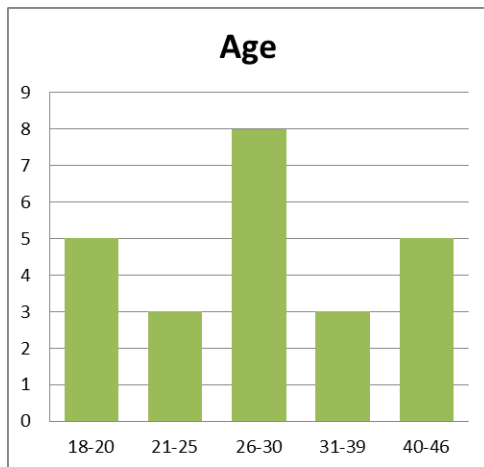
Figure 1. Age of participants

Figure 2 shows the proportion of men and women in each age category. There were more women than men in every age category except between age 40-46.
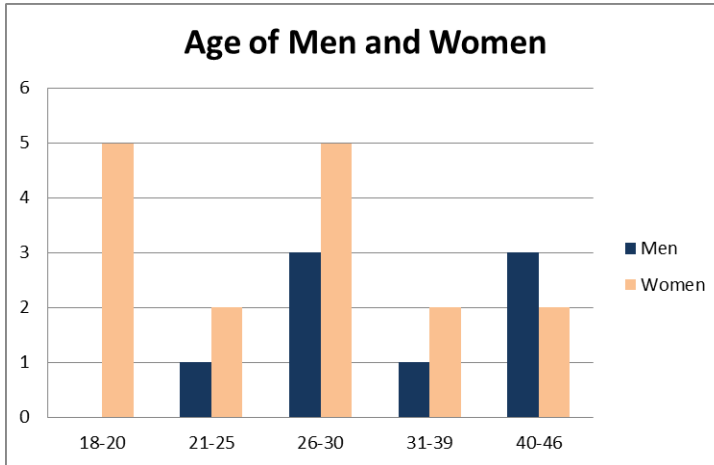
Age of Men and Women

Figure 2. Age of men and women

5.1.3 Family Status

Of the 24 participants, 11 were unmarried, and 13 were married. Of the 13 married participants, all of them have from one to three children.

Of all the married participants, only one woman is married to a non-Falam speaker. All other married participants have spouses who are Falam speakers.

The gender divide is close to half among married and single participants. Half of the men in this study are married and fathers and the other half are single. Just over half of the women in this study (9 out of 16) are married and mothers and just under half (7 out of 16) are single. Figure 3 shows the marriage status of each gender.
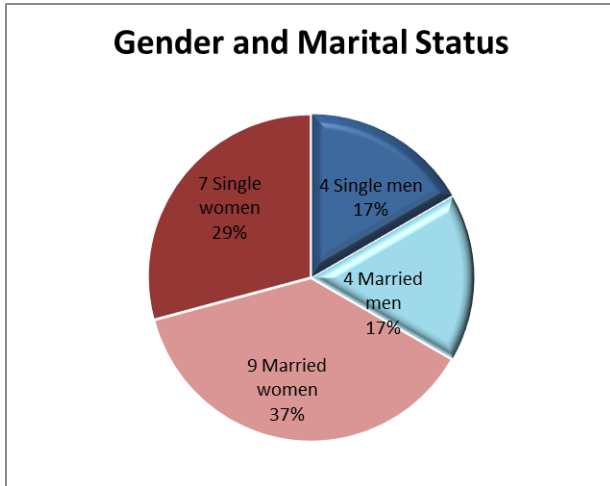
Figure 3. Marriage status according to gender

All of the married participants in this study have at least one child. The 13 married participants have a total of 30 children with an average family size of 2.3 children. Two participants have one child, five participants have two children, and six participants have three children (see Figure 4).
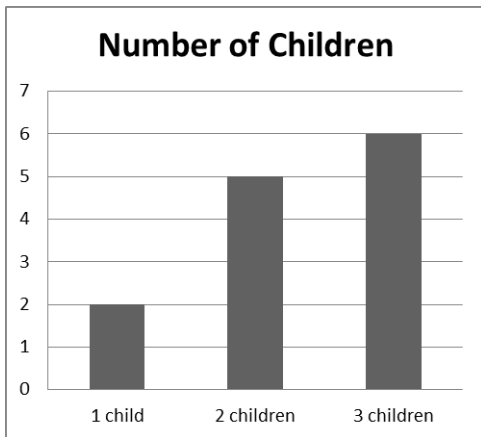
Figure 4. Number of children in each family

Figure 5 shows the number of children in each age bracket: 18 children between birth and five years old, six children between six-10 years old, two children between 11-15 years old, and four children between 16-20 years old.
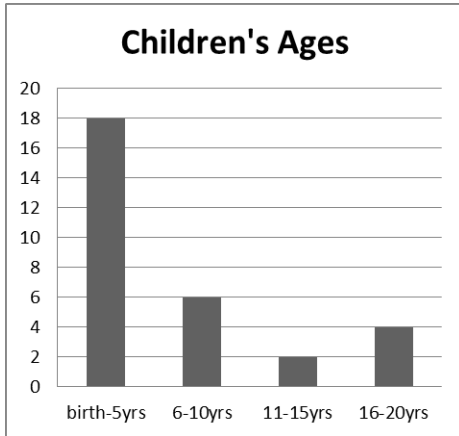
Figure 5. Ages of participants' children

Out of 13 parents included in this study, 11 have children under 10 years of age. Two participants have teenage children ages between ages 13 and 19. While I only planned to include people with young children in this study, it was beneficial to include these last two participants in this study for two reasons. First, one of these participants is the pastor of the Falam church in his community. Secondly, considering the lack of men in the study, it proved beneficial to include these participants since they are both men.

5.1.4 Education

Every participant in this research has completed at least the 5th grade. They can all read and write in Falam, Burmese, and English. The average education level for participants in this study was between high school and college. Figure 6 summarizes the highest education level received by each participant.
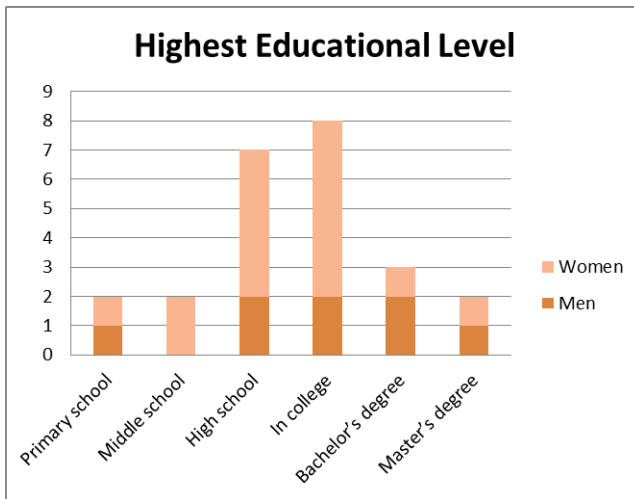
Figure 6. Highest educational level of participants

5.1.5 Occupation

Figure 7 summarizes the kinds of employment people in this study currently find themselves in. Sixteen participants have some kinds of blue-collar employment, which includes factory, restaurant and warehouse jobs. Six participants have a white-collar job such as working in human resources with a company, working in the medical field, or interpreting. Eight participants are undergraduate students. Most of these students also work. Finally, there are six stay-at-home mothers with young children.
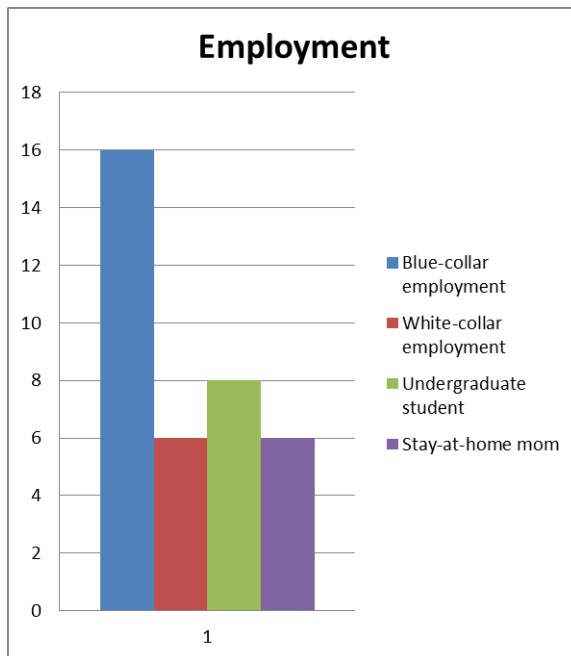
Employment

Figure 7. Kinds of current employment among participants

5.1.6 Age of Immigration

Most participants moved to the US at age 25 or younger. Seven participants moved to the US with their families as teenagers. Ten participants moved as adults, between 19 and 25 years old. Three moved between 26 and 31 years old. Four moved between 36 and 38 years old. See Figure 8.
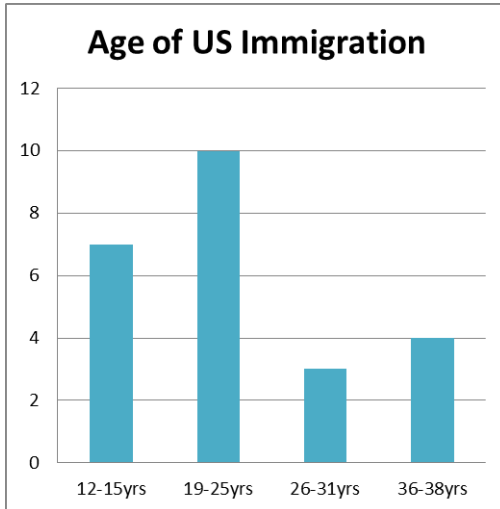
Figure 8. Age of immigration for each participant

5.2 Language Information

5.2.1 Languages Spoken

All 24 of the participants in this study speak Falam and Burmese. All participants speak Falam as their native language. All of them also speak Burmese and most speak it proficiently. All participants speak English, but five participants speak only very basic beginner English.

Many participants also speak other languages, most commonly Hakha or Mizo, which are related languages spoken by classmates and friends in Myanmar. Some participants speak up to five other Chin languages: Tedim (3 participants), Hakha (7), Mizo (7), Taisun (1), and/or Lumbang (1). Some participants also speak Mandarin (2), Malayu (4), Spanish (1), Bengali (1), Tamil (1), Hindi (1), Hebrew (1), Greek (1), and/or Nagamese (1).

5.2.2 Language Used as a Child

I asked each participant to name the primary language they used as a child. Twenty-two participants said that Falam was the primary language they used as a child. The other two participants said that they primarily used Burmese as children. One of these two said

that she spoke Falam at home, but she used Burmese more because she spoke it at school and with friends.

Two of the participants who reported Falam to be their primary childhood language also spoke another language a significant part of the time in the home domain while growing up. One participant used Taisun, another Chin language, to communicate with his parents, but still used Falam with his siblings and friends. One used Burmese with siblings and friends growing up.

5.2.3 English Level

I rated each participant's English level based on a rough evaluation of their ability to communicate during a 20-60 minute conversation. This rough estimation of participants' spoken English ability allows me to compare people's responses according to their English ability. It also helps me better understand the kinds of people I spoke to from the Falam community. An exact report of English ability is not necessary to analyze the data or interpret the results of conclusion in this study.

Figure 9 explains the English ability of the participants using the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) Language Skills Levels for spoken language (Interagency Language Roundtable n.d). Nine participants have achieved Level 4 for spoken English: Advanced Professional Proficiency. Although they would not be perceived to be native speakers of English, they can use English fluently and accurately in most all situations. While they have a detectable accent, their usage of English is fluent and any grammar mistakes are not noticeable.

Five participants' English ability is ranked at Level 3: General Professional Proficiency. They have sufficient vocabulary and grammatical accuracy to be able to participate in most situations, although they may have grammatical inconsistencies that are obvious but do not limit understanding.

Two participants have English proficiency of Level 2: Limited Working Proficiency. They can communicate their ideas in English, although grammar mistakes at times may interfere with understanding.

Three participants are at Level 1: Elementary Proficiency. They can communicate within a set range of topics, although it takes some effort on the part of the speaker and the native listener. It can be difficult to determine the exact intentions and meaning at times, and their vocabulary limits their ability to express themselves.

Five participants speak English at Level 0: No Proficiency. They have memorized some phrases and can attempt to speak English using these phrases, but needed an interpreter to communicate with me. Two of these participants were unwilling to attempt to communicate without an interpreter.
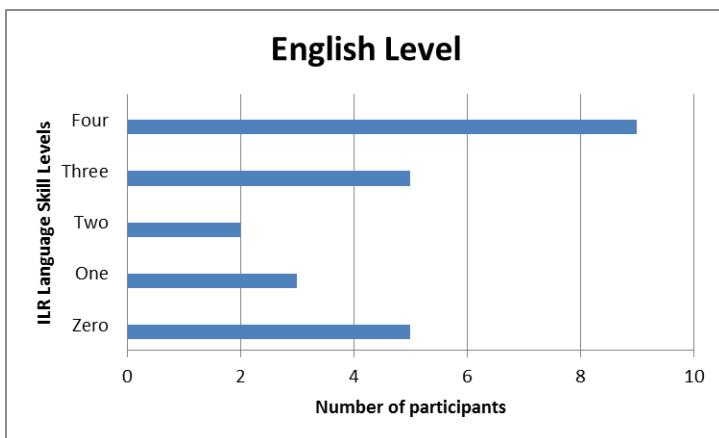
Figure 9. English level of each participant

5.2.4 Age of English Acquisition

Many participants had studied some form of English in the Burmese schools, although they said it was very little. Most said they began to really learn English when they came to the US. This means that most participants began learning English between 12 and 25 years of age.

Eight participants began learning English between the ages of 12 and 14 as immigrants to the US. All of these participants have a Level 3 or 4 mastery of English.

Ten participants began learning English between the ages of 19 and 25. Seven of these 10 participants have a Level 3 or 4 mastery of English.

Only three participants began learning English between ages 26 and 31, and three between ages 36 and 38. Only one of these later participants has an advanced (Level 3)

command of English. Four are beginners, speaking Level 0 English. The other can speak Level 1 English.

Table 2 shows how many people began speaking English in each age category. In the columns on the right, this table shows how many of those participants currently speak English at each IRL level of proficiency. (The IRL levels of proficiency are introduced in Section 5.2.3.)

Table 2. Current English Level in Correlation with the Age One Began Learning English

Age of Acquisition	Total Participants	0	1	2	3	4
12-15yrs	8	-	-	1	4	3
19-25yrs	10	1	2	1	-	6
26-31yrs	3	2	-	-	1	-
36-38yrs	3	2	1	-	-	-

5.3 Residential Information

5.3.1 Origin in Myanmar

All of the participants in this study were born and raised in Myanmar through at least age 12. Half of the participants (12 out of 24) are from Chin State, where the Falam Township is located. A close second, nine of the participants are from Kale, a city in Sagaing Division that borders Chin State. People from Kale said that in their community, everyone speaks Falam, although people speak Burmese across the river. Three participants are from Rangoon. Their families are Falam, but they relocated to Rangoon before moving to the US.

All the participants who were raised in Rangoon speak Level Four English (see Section 5.2 for a description of the language levels) and have been in the US over 12 years. I did not notice patterns in their responses that generally differed from other participants' responses.

5.3.2 Location in US

Participants live in five cities in Georgia, South Carolina, Indiana, or Michigan. Twelve participants live in a Falam community with 100 speakers. Three live in one of the larger Falam communities in the US. Four live in another large Falam community with a church with over 250 attendees. One lives in a small town with a significant Falam community of 700. Three live outside of a Falam community. One lives in another Falam community of an unknown size.

5.3.3 Time Lived in the US

The time that participants spent in the US varies (see Figure 10), but most participants have been in the US under five years (18 participants). Two participants have been in the US for seven and 10 years. Five participants have been here the longest, between 12 and 14 years. There are no noticeable differences between the responses of these three groups of participants.
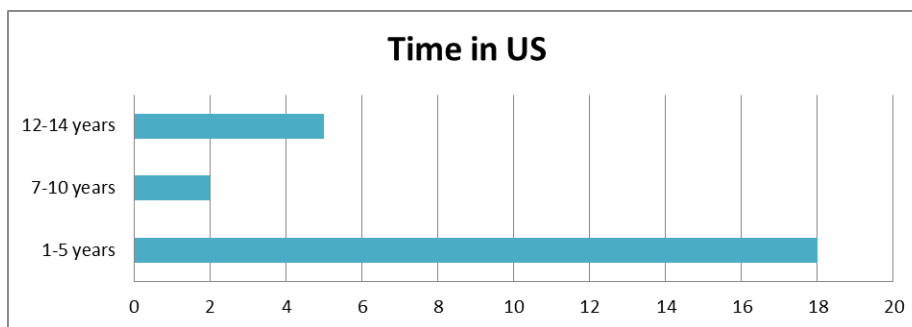
Figure 10. The time each participant has lived in the US

Concerning plans for future residence, most participants, if not all participants, are pursuing US citizenship. I did not ask everyone about their citizenship status, but many volunteered that they are pursuing citizenship, and no one suggested that they are not working toward citizenship. Many participants hope to return to Myanmar, but only to visit. Some participants question whether they really want to stay here forever, even while they pursue citizenship. Three participants expressed an intention to return to Myanmar and work with orphanages, NGOs, or among the poor. However, they are also pursuing citizenship and permanent residence in the US.

5.3.4 Involvement in Falam Community

The participants in this research have varying degrees of interaction with other Falam speakers. All of the participants live in a household with Falam speakers.

However, three people live in situations that may cause them to use less Falam on a daily basis. One lives with American roommates during the college semester, but stays with her Falam family at other times. One lives with his family and speaks Falam most of the time at home, but often speaks Burmese with his brothers and sisters because they grew up in Rangoon. One participant married a non-Falam speaker. She uses English with him and with her son if her husband is around. However, she also lives with a Falam cousin who uses primarily Falam.

Eighteen participants regularly attend a Falam church, which (as we will see in Section 6.5.6) provides a consistent community. I did not ask every participant for their level of involvement in their communities or churches, but three participants mentioned to me that they are in positions of leadership at a Falam church (pastor, Sunday school teacher, and youth secretary). Only four participants are not involved in a Falam church on a weekly or monthly basis. (See Figure 11.)
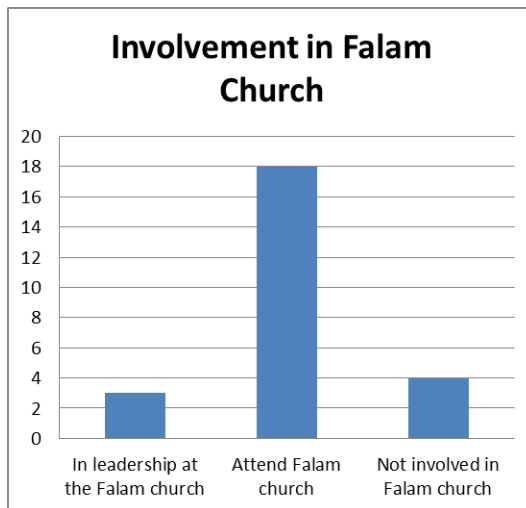
Figure 11. Participants' involvement in Falam churches in the US

5.4 Some Ways Demographics Affected the Data

This section summarizes how the demographic selection of participants affects the data. It discusses the primary differences in the data that can be attributed to certain demographic groups and reveals demographic patterns among the responses.

5.4.1 Differences in Gender and Age

I did not find significant differences in the responses given by men and women. I did notice that while men and women both expressed economic motivations to know and use English, men expressed slightly more job-related economic motivations, but women expressed a need to go to school. While these are also economic motivations, they are different in their nature.

I also did not notice any trends in participants' responses based on the age of participants.

5.4.2 Differences in Marital Status

I noticed several differences between the married and single people's responses, keeping in mind that married people are also parents.

First, singles tend to use more English than married people. This is very possibly because their lifestyle may allow them to acquire better English and requires them to use more English.

Another major difference between single and married participants is their view of how Falam children are using Falam. Singles tend to have a more pessimistic view of the future of Falam usage in the US. Four singles but only one parent believe that Falam children are using more English than they are using Falam. Although 8 of the 11 parents whose children are old enough to speak said their children use Falam more than English, the single people I talked with believe that community-wide, children are actually using English more than Falam.

Singles also tend to predict that Falam will be spoken in the US for a shorter period of time than the parents predicted. It is possible that parents think Falam will be spoken

longer because they have an element of control in their children's ability to speak Falam, whereas single people do not have an assurance of their future children's ability to speak Falam. Or perhaps single people are more aware of the language loss going on, but parents only see the Falam side of their children. Whatever the reason, singles seem to have a less optimistic perception of the vitality of Falam in the US.

Yet one more difference between parents and singles is that parents gave more reasons for their children to use both Falam and English. Parents may have more motivations for their children's language use, probably because of their position as parents.

Parents shared more powerful solidarity and communicative motivations to use Falam than singles did. Parents said they want their children to know Falam because it shows love and respect for them as parents and also because then their children can communicate with them.

Parents shared more motivations for their children to know English than single people did. This is significant because six of the 13 married participants have very low English and tended to answer my questions with short and simple answers. The most talkative people were single, yet parents gave 29 reasons why children should know English and singles only gave 13.

5.4.3 Differences in Educational Level

There are two main groups of people in this study: those who have completed some college or have undergraduate or graduate degrees, and those who completed high school or less. Within each group, people tended to provide similar responses. Thirteen people fit in the first category and 11 in the second. Between men and women I spoke with, the amount of education they completed was comparable. Figure 12 shows these two groups and the number of men and women in each group.
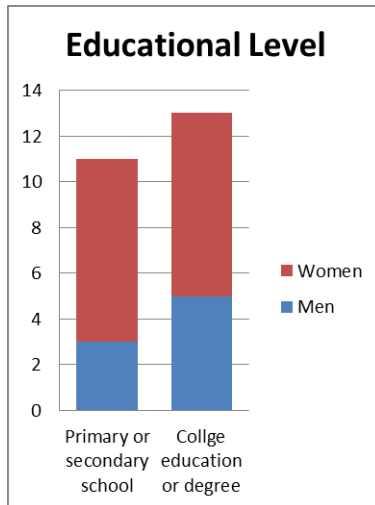
Figure 12. Educational level of men and women

There was a clear divide in the responses given between people who have completed education up through high school and people who have completed some college or have undergraduate or graduate degrees. In comparing the differences, I will refer to these groups as groups with higher education and lower education.

People with higher education speak more English. Half of them speak English at least half of the time or more. They are also more likely to speak English at home. All of the participants who said they speak some English with their children have taken some college or have advanced degrees. In contrast, people with lower education all speak Falam most of the time. This difference is most likely because people in college or with advanced degrees have a job that requires a regular use of English or attend schools causing them to use more English.

People with higher education are also more likely to write in a language other than Falam. Seven of these 13 participants write in English often or all the time. Five participants use Burmese often or all the time. Only one person with a higher education generally writes only in Falam. However, nine of the 11 people with lower education write only in Falam.

Despite the differences in language use, though, participants with all levels of education still use primarily Falam at home. Participants' educational level also makes no

difference in their belief that English and Falam are both important languages to know and use.

Participants with varying levels of education expressed more of certain motivations for using Falam or English. People with higher education provide more solidarity-related reasons to use Falam, all of the prestige-related reasons to use Falam, and more reasons to use English.

People with higher education are quick to admit that Falam does not have as many uses as English, yet see unique advantages to using Falam. Unlike people with lower education, several of them expressed the prestige and advantages to knowing Falam. They also communicated that they believe that knowing English will bring them more opportunities.

In contrast, people with lower education expressed a belief that it is important for children to know Falam in order to communicate with their parents. People with higher education did not express this belief, possibly because they also tend to have a better mastery of English.

Finally, of all the participants in this study, only people with higher education expressed altruistic motivations. A possible explanation is that educated people see themselves as advocates for their community or feel a responsibility to help their community.

5.4.4 Differences in English Level

I compared the responses given by people with advanced or near-native English levels with the responses given by people with intermediate or beginner English levels and did not find major differences. The only difference is logical: people with higher English levels use English more often than people with lower English levels.

Five of the 13 participants with higher English reported using English with their families. Two of these use English between 50-100% of the time. Also, six of the 13 participants with higher English said that they think in English 50-100% of the time. In comparison, only one of the 11 participants with lower English thinks in English, and then only sometimes. Finally, three of the five parents with better English speak some English with their children.

When among Americans, almost 2/3 of the people with better English only use English, even if Falam people are around and even if they need to talk to the Falam people in English. But of the people with lower English levels, all but one person either does not have any American friends or never uses English with Falam people.

Any other differences I observed in the data could be easily explained by the fact that people with better English can volunteer more information and explain in more depth. Although there are more responses from people with better English, the motivations evident in their responses are proportionately represented among people with poorer English ability.

5.4.5 Differences in Involvement in Falam Community

According to the responses in this study, people's level of involvement with the Falam community is a major indicator of their language use and their desires for their children to speak Falam. Five participants are not very involved in the Falam community. Their responses were significantly different from other participants' responses.

These five people who are not as involved in a Falam community are much more likely to use English in both speaking and writing. None of these five participants write in Falam most of the time, unlike nine of the 24 participants. The participant who married a non-Falam speaker uses English almost all the time. The participant who is a college student even thinks in English and finds it more comfortable than her mother tongue, Falam.

Two of these five participants said that they speak English between 50-100% of the time when they are at home. In contrast, 19 of the 24 participants said they do not speak English at home.

Four of the five participants who are not as involved with the Falam community are also not currently involved in church where Falam is used. The other participant who is not as involved in the Falam community is the one who lives with American roommates.

Three of these five participants are parents. It is interesting to note that they are all among those not involved in the Falam church. Two of these three parents said they speak

to their children in English sometimes. In contrast, nine of 10 parents who are involved in the Falam church said that they speak to their children only in Falam.

Finally, people isolated from the Falam church provided slightly fewer solidarity motivations to keep Falam.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In each meeting with a participant, I followed a general set of questions, but then adapted follow-up questions unique to each participant. From their responses, I identified what motivations are determining their language choice. Then, I organized the motivations by kind and number to see which motivations are the most prominent motivations among the people in this study in each of these areas.

This chapter is broken into five sections. In each section, I look at different questions I asked to elicit the relevant information. Then I categorize the responses to each question according to motivation. In Section 6.1, I look at people's current language use overall, in various domains, and in writing. In Section 6.2, I look at what motivates people to use or learn English. Third, in Section 6.3, I look at what motivates people to use Falam. In Section 6.4, I look at what motivates people to transmit Falam to the next generation and what motivates people to desire their children to speak Falam. Fifth and finally, I look at individuals' current perceptions of the vitality of Falam in the US in Section 6.5.

6.1 Motivations for Language Use

This section summarizes the language choices of the participants this research. It also explores the motivations behind their language use.

6.1.1 Current Language Use

I asked each respondent to estimate which language they use most of the time. Their answers reflect the language they perceive that they speak most often. Eighteen respondents reported using Falam most, while four use English most, and three use Falam and English both, around 50% each (see Figure 13).
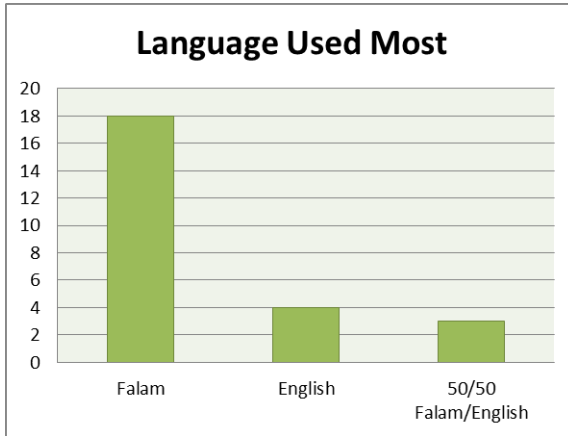
Figure 13. Language used most

6.1.1.1 Falam

Most participants who use Falam most of the time said it is because they spend most of their time at home (where they speak Falam) and in their Falam community. Only five of these do not speak English.

The following two tables display participants' motivations for using Falam most of the time. Most of the reasons they gave are purely communicative (see Table 3), but three of these reasons are motivated by a desire to maintain solidarity with the Falam community, language, and/or culture (see Table 4).

Table 3. Communicative reasons why participants use Falam most of the time

Reasons	Responses
I don't speak English.	5
I use Falam at home.	3
I use Falam with Falam people, at church, and in the community.	2
I only use English at school and work, so I'm usually home, where I speak Falam.	2
Alot of the people I communicate with are Falam people--my community.	1
I speak Falam with my husband.	1
I work with alot of Falam people.	1
My parents speak Falam.	1
I live in a large Falam community.	1
Almost all my friends are Falam.	1

Table 4. Solidarity-related reasons why participants use Falam most of the time

Reasons	Responses
It's our language.	2
We don't want to lose Falam.	1
I'm trying to teach the kids by only using Falam at home.	1

6.1.1.2 English

The four participants who use English most often gave a list of reasons why they use English. Their main reason for why they use more English than Falam is that their use of Falam is limited to their church and their home, and they spend more time at school or at a job that requires exclusive or primary use of English.

Communicative and economic motivations are evident here. Communicative motivations are evident because the main need is to communicate in these places, while economic motivations lie at the root of the shift. School and work are the only places where participants need to use English, making it impossible to divorce communicative motivations from the need to work a good job.

One college student who lives with her family and works a part-time job summarized the domains that require her to use English. "At home, we speak our language, and in church. But when I go to work and school, I speak English. So, if I divide those time, English is more because most of the time I spend my time at school and work." Yet, she admitted that if she had the option to speak Falam at school and work she would speak Falam there. "Yeah, it would be much, much easier..."

Another working man agreed: "I use English when I work at home, and also when I work at the agency. On the weekend, I use Falam most of the time, but during weekdays, work hours, I use English."

Another person who uses English most often made it clear that this is because of the need to communicate. "We don't use English to speak at home. We use English sometime, like if there's some necessary time..." The all-English environment of the American world causes these first generation immigrants to speak more English. A college student who

lives with an American roommate said she used to use Falam more, but now she uses English. "It's just the surrounding and the fact that I use English every second. I would say I used to think in my head in Falam, but now thinking and doing everything is in English…. It's more comfortable for me to use English."

6.1.1.3 Falam and English

The three participants who said they use Falam 50% of the time and English the other 50% have similar reasons as the people who use more English. They speak Falam at home and at church, but outside of these domains, they use English. They specifically mention that they use English for work, school, and time with certain friends. The primary motivation here is economic, followed by communicative motivations. There are some solidarity motivations evident.

One participant mentioned a solidarity motivation to use Falam at home. He grew up in Yangon surrounded by Burmese. He admits, "I spoke Burmese mostly, all my life, even though my parents are Chin." But when describing his current language practices, he says, "At home we speak Falam mostly, because number one, my dad doesn't want us to lose or forget our language. So we have to keep speaking it. But if we go out of the house, it's mostly English."

6.1.2 Language Choice at Home

I asked each participant what language they use at home. Most participants use Falam all the time with immediate family, spouses, children, and siblings. Some participants said that they use some English or Burmese with their family. One participant, who is married to a non-Falam speaker, uses the least amount of Falam. Table 5 shows the number of responses in each category. (For more on how often participants use English and Burmese at home, see Appendix B.)

Table 5. How often Falam is used at home

At home I speak...	Always	Most of the time	Half of the time	Never
Falam with my immediate family	18	3	2	1
Falam with my spouse	12	-	-	1
Falam with my children	10	3	-	-
Falam with my siblings	19	5	-	-

6.1.3 Language Choice in Writing

I asked all 24 participants what language they write in the most. The responses to this question are displayed in Figure 14, which shows how many people choose to use each language or combination of languages for writing.

Falam is the most common response (nine out of 24) because Falam is their native language. Falam and English is the second most common response (five out of 24), most likely because two participants are students in US high schools and eight participants are students in US colleges or universities. Burmese is the least common response, but it is still a common choice because all of the participants completed some degree of education in Burmese schools.

Eight participants mentioned that they prefer to write in two languages. Some of them switch languages back and forth depending on the topic they are writing about. Others switch whenever they feel like it.
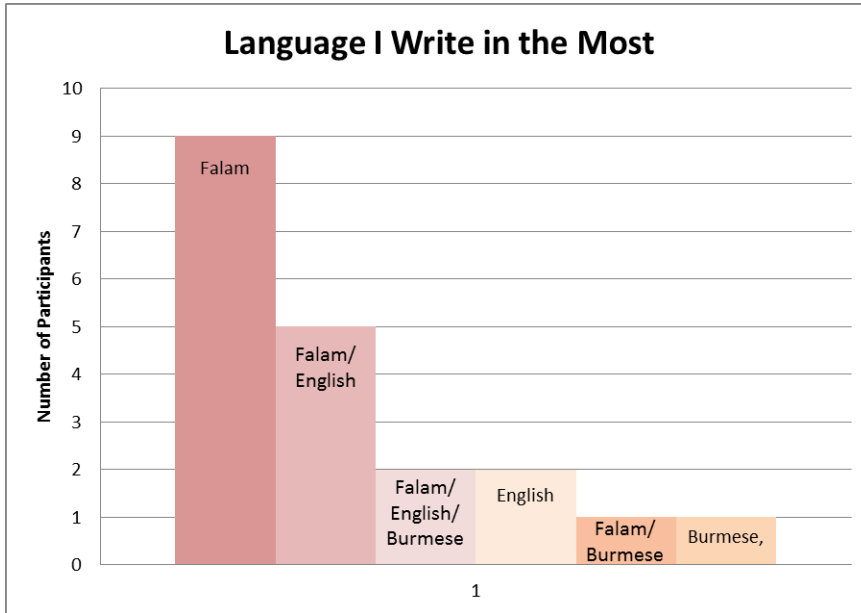
Figure 14. Language I write in the most

After participants answered my first question, I asked for reasons why they choose to write in that language. Every reason participants gave was rooted in a need to communicate. When it comes to writing, communicative motivations are the only ones determining a person's language choice.

6.2 Motivations for English

I asked each participant a variation of the following two questions in order to identify the primary motivations behind their choice to use English:

1. What is the benefit/value/importance of knowing and/or using English?
2. What is English good for?/When is it good to use English?

In each person's unique response to these questions, I looked for the primary motivations explaining this language choice. I assigned a motivation to each response.

Communicative and economic motivations were most common motivations evident in participant responses (see Figure 15). Participants expressed 39 communicative motivations, 34 motivations that are a combination of communicative and economic motivations,

and 24 economic motivations. Several other motivations exist, but are not as common as communicative and economic motivations.

Value of Knowing/Using English
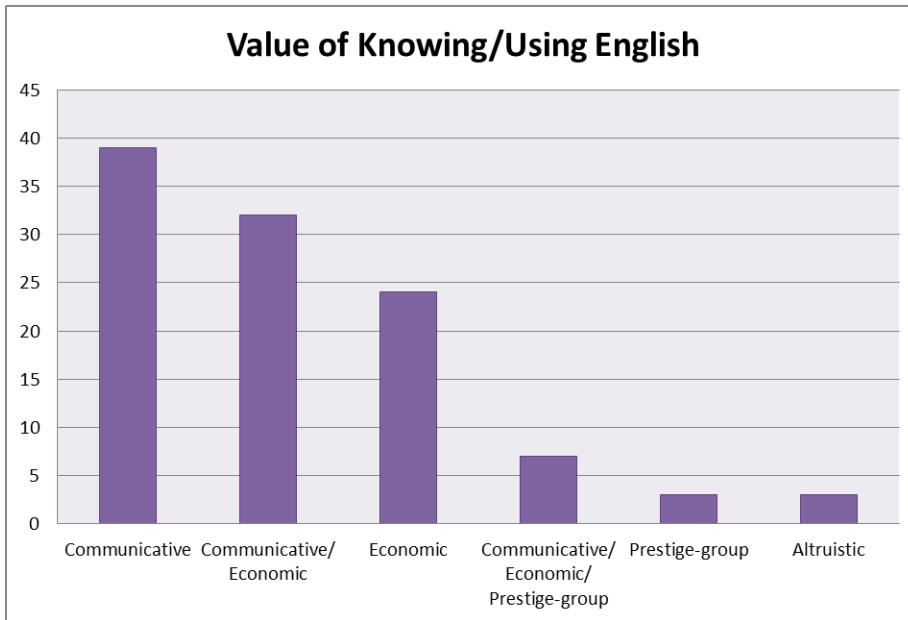
Figure 15. Responses indicating the value of knowing and using English categorized by motivation

In this section, I will look at each motivation individually, which responses indicate that motivation, and if necessary, how I determined whether a certain statement is evidence of a certain motivation or not.

6.2.1 Communicative Motivations

The most often mentioned value of English is that it is necessary to communicate. Every participant listed at least one value of English that reveals a communicative motivation to use English.

Participants listed 39 benefits to speaking English that stem from a desire or need to communicate (see Table 6).

Table 6. Communicative reasons to know English

Reasons	Responses
To talk to anyone who isn't Falam	18
To talk to neighbors/make friends	4
It's an international languages	4
To get knowledge	3
To go to the hospital	2
To read books	2
International travel	2
To have a good life and be able to communicate wherever you go	1
To talk with Burmese people in the US	1
To do alot of things	1
It makes life easier in the US	1

6.2.2 Communicative and Economic Motivations

Participants provided 32 responses that reveal communicative and economic motivations (see Table 7). Although it is difficult to precisely interpret the underlying motivation from these responses, the context of these statements implies both communicative and economic motivations: English is necessary to make a living (an economic motivation), and this requires being able to talk to English speakers and live well in this new country (a communicative motivation).

Table 7. Communicative and Economic reasons to know English

Reasons	Responses
To live/get along in the US	16
It's value is very big/It is good!	6
Everything/Many things	4
To not miss out on everything	3
To take advantage of opportunity	2
English is good for so many things! It's almost like a must.	1

These responses are broad statements, but they are significant because 21 of the 24 participants provided one of these responses. These responses illustrate the widespread positive beliefs that surround English in the Falam community.

A father and community leader sums up the combined communicative and economic incentives to use English: "English is good for everything. If we don't speak English, then we can't communicate with other people. Even if we get opportunity, we can't get that kind of opportunity if we don't speak English. We can't have any advantage."

6.2.3 Economic Motivations

Participants provided 24 reasons why it is important to know English that reveal primarily economic motivations (see Table 8). The most common benefit to knowing English is to have a job, which is a job-related economic motivation. The second most mentioned benefit to knowing English is for an education. Since the purpose of education is to get a good job, this also reveals economic motivations.

Table 8. Economic reasons to know English

Reasons	Responses
To have a job	9
To get an education	7
To have a better life	4
It's the key to success.	1
To go to college	1
Being able to speak English is like you have a degree from school or something. Nobody can take it away from you.	1
Because Falam is not good for money--you can't do any big business in Falam.	1

6.2.4 Communicative, Economic, and Prestige-Group Motivations

Participants provided seven responses that reveal a variety of motivations for why they should know and use English. These responses reveal a combination of communicative, economic, and prestige-group motivations. In the following responses, four participants indicated response number one, two participants indicated response number two, and only one person mentioned the final response:

1. So you can help yourself—do your own things (i.e. pay bills, get good job,) without someone's help.

2. So you don't feel inferior to other people, not confident in whatever you do.

3. So people cannot take advantage of you or discriminate against you because you can't speak/understand English.

Participants seem to indicate that speaking English affords them a degree of self-worth and prestige from being able to manage their own life. One Falam community activist summed this up well:

> I'm trying to get ESL classes in my community--at least basic spoken English--so they can at least communicate and not be discriminated against; not be a joke at work and wherever they go; at restaurant being able to order stuff; in the market and basically mostly at work, [where] they spend most of their time. I have seen a lot of people discriminated because of their language barrier. People make fun of them and stuff like that.

Among economic and communicative motivations, motivations to be in a prestigious group are also evident in these statements. Two participants say that English is important so they don't feel inferior to other people. One young man explained this by using a story from his experience working in Malaysia while waiting for a visa to enter the US. He said,

> I knew nothing about their language, even a word, because I'd never been there. So in my experience, when I work at hotel, it is really different because you knew nothing. Because you don't know the language, that make you feel inferior to other people, not confident in whatever you do…. Knowing English is [good] so you can get the good job, and you can do your own things. Like if you have any issue with a bill, you can call them. There are a lot of things that knowing the language helps you to survive here.

A high school senior sums up the inferiority her lack of English brings her, showing how it affects her economically as well as personally: "I don't know English so I can't do anything at school, and at work. Even though I want to do something, I afraid because I can't speak English."

However, communicative motivations are also evident in these responses. The community activist says that people need to speak English "so they can at least communicate,"

in addition to not be discriminated against. Other responses indicate the need to communicate in order to help oneself.

One middle aged father who has lived in the US for two years keenly feels the communicative limitations placed on him by his inability to speak English. The interpreter explained, "If he knows English, he doesn't need to ask anyone for what he needs to do--he can do by himself. He want to do by himself. He want to. But can't do by himself."

In addition to communicative and prestige-group motivations, economic motivations are evident in these responses. In these responses, each person mentioned at least once that knowing English allows them to get a good job, be confident on their job, or not be discriminated against at work.

6.2.5 Prestige-Group Motivations

Three responses indicated that speaking English brings an element of prestige. Two respondents independently mentioned the following reasons:

1. Falam people in general are impressed by this language. It is the number one language in the world.
2. For Chin people, if you can speak English fluently and read and write, they put you up there, look up to you, and respect you.

It is possible that the prestige is associated with English as a language, revealing language power and prestige motivation (see the first response). It is more likely that the prestige is associated with English speakers, which is a prestige-group motivation. This is especially clear with response number two, and is a probable explanation for response number one, considering the context.

6.2.6 Altruistic Motivations

Three people revealed an altruistic motivation, saying that an advantage to knowing and using English is that they can help Falam people who don't speak English.

One young mother explained the group-beneficial nature of altruistic motivations by sharing her desire to use her knowledge of English to help her community.

> At church, we have a lot of people who can't even tell where they're supposed to sign on school forms—a lot of the older generation, who came here in hopes of their family and children's future—and I'm able to help these people.... I have this great satisfaction, I guess, that I was born as a Falam person for a reason and I'm in this country with this kind of situation for a reason.... I can use just knowing how to speak English to help a lot of people and make their life so much easier.... I'm not that young anymore, but I'm young enough that I can assimilate into American culture and the language. So I can take all the advantage that this country has to offer, and I can give so much more.

A college student, fluent in English, gave another explanation of the group-beneficial nature of one of her motivations for using English:

> [The value of English is that] it makes me able to help my cousins—take them to appointments, be their translator, read their mail, and everything that they need. During the summer I would take appointments [and] both my sisters would take them to appointments. None of my family are usually at home!

6.3 Motivations for Falam

To identify the primary motivations behind a person's choice to use Falam, I asked each participant a variation of these two questions:

1. What is the benefit/value/importance of knowing and/or using Falam?
2. What is Falam good for?/When is it good to use Falam?

In each person's response, I looked for the primary motivations explaining this language choice. I assigned one or more motivations to each response.

In these responses, the primary motivations which cause people to choose to use Falam are communicative and solidarity motivations. Participants gave 40 unique responses that are driven by the need to communicate, and 45 unique responses that are driven by the desire to maintain solidarity with the Falam group (see Figure 16).
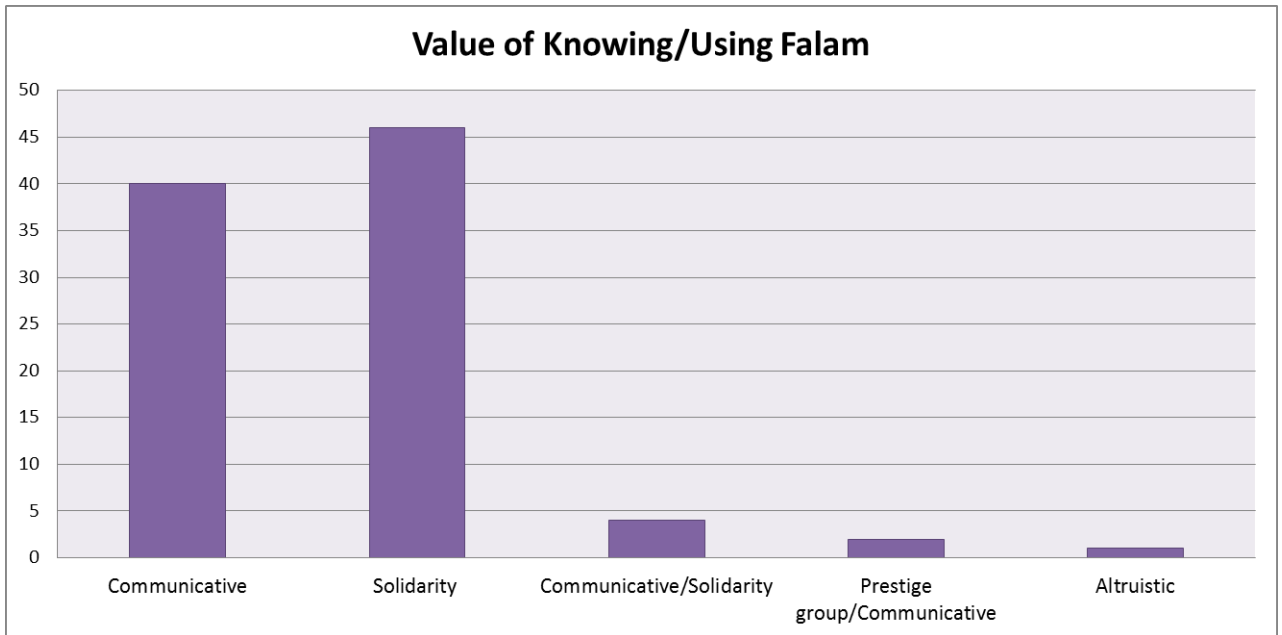
Figure 16. Responses indicating the value of knowing and using Falam categorized by motivation

In this section, I will look at each motivation individually, which responses indicate that motivation, and if necessary, how I determined whether a certain statement is evidence of a certain motivation or not.

6.3.1 Communicative Motivations

Forty of the reasons participants gave to explain the value of knowing and using Falam reveal a desire or need to communicate (see Table 9). Of the participants, 80% (20 participants) gave at least one communicative motivation for using Falam. Parents, family, and relatives were cited as the people who participants needed to speak to the most in Falam.

One young woman who is working now summarizes the communicative needs of Falam. "When we meet with some Falam people, we have to speak Falam language. Espe-

cially at the church, and also at work. And sometime we also celebrate like Chin National Day, and sometime we meet together with all our relatives. At that time we have to speak Falam language."

Table 9. Communicative reasons to know Falam

Reasons	Responses
To communicate with Falam speakers	14
To communicate with family/relatives	10
To communicate with parents	5
It's the easiest to use--we understand it well	4
To read	2
To express deep feeling	1
To communicate without a cultural barrier	1
To express words that don't exist in English	1
To have a flexible future with more opportunities	1
For TV, email, internet, and reading news around the world	1

6.3.2 Solidarity-Related Motivations

Participants responses indicated 46 instances of a solidarity motivation affecting the way people think about Falam and the times they chose to use Falam. Of the participants, 80% (20 participants) indicated at least one solidarity-related motivation to use Falam. Half of the participants indicated that knowing Falam is important to knowing their identity and who they are.

Solidarity-related motivations vary greatly in their strength. However, solidarity-related motivations all encourage people to use Falam in order to maintain their solidarity with the Falam subculture in the US.

Table 10. Solidarity-related reasons to use Falam

Reasons	Responses
To know my identity. It's who I am. I'm Falam.	12
To be in the church community	8
To know your heritage, your past, your history, your ancestors	7
It's our language.	6
It makes me unique.	3

Reasons	Responses
It shows we love our country, culture, people, and family.	2
It is my parents' language.	2
To express our culture, for example, for Falam celebrations	2
We believe God blesses Falams.	1
It's everything for us.	1
It's a beautiful language; I love it	1
To conserve our cultural heritage	1

In the responses participants gave here, two kinds of solidarity-related motivations became clear:

1. Solidarity-related motivations rooted in a person's identity as a Falam person.

2. Solidarity-related motivations rooted in a desire to be a part of a certain group/subculture.

Motivations rooted in a person's identity are largely non-optional. This identity cannot be divorced from their person. They use Falam because, as adults, their mother language is inseparably part of them. This motivation is a fact of their life, inseparable from their existence as Falam people. As several participants asserted, "It's who I am."

This identity-related motivation is easy to see in the words of a young mother with a low English level. "That's my language, so we talking. We born, we can speak. We born, we can use. So that easy and best and everything. I am Falam, so I speak Falam."

A young man referenced this identity-related motivation as a reason to continue using Falam regardless of where he lives, "I don't know [what Falam is good for], but I was born in Falam, so that's what we speak…. I can't forget my language. I should take anywhere we go." This motivation to use Falam is not a choice, but an identity a person already has.

The solidarity-related motivation rooted in a desire to be included in a certain group is different because it is a matter of choice. Illustrating the optional nature of this second type of solidarity-related motivation, one college student said, "If you want to be associated with the Chin organization or Chin community, of course, Falam language and the people, it will benefit you a lot." In the words of a mother, "The Falam language, basically, bond me to the Falam community."

The choice is also expressed in father's explanation of the value of Falam for him and his children, "If my kids speak English, they look like English culture. If they speak in Falam, they do Falam culture…. If I speak English, that mean I value English, to adapt to their culture. Culture and language is [inseparable]… That's why we want our kids speak English, but speak Falam, not to forget."

6.3.3 Communicative and Solidarity-Related Motivations

There are four responses that do not clearly indicate one motivation. It is more likely that they indicate a combination of communicative or solidarity-related motivations to use Falam. This section looks at those four responses.

Three participants mentioned that Falam is good or good to know. Their responses indicated that it is good both for communicating and it is good for expressing their identity. There is communicative motivation here because the language is good to know for the purpose of speaking with other Falam people. However, there are also solidarity-related motivations because, considering that there are no economic benefits given for Falam, Falam is good to know only if a person plans to be involved in the Falam community.

One participant said that Falam is good for the Falam community, but does not have uses as broad as English. This reveals a communicative motivation to use Falam to communicate with Falam people. It also reveals a solidarity-related motivation because it shows that Falam is good in order to be a part of the Falam community.

These four responses are not the only responses that indicate more than one motivation. Some of the responses listed above in the communicative or solidarity-related sections might have better fit in this category.

For example, if a person says that the value of using Falam is to speak with people at church, I would have listed this as a communicative motivation to use Falam because that is the primary motivation. However, I cannot rule out the possibility of this also being a solidarity-related motivation.

Also, if the primary reason a person continues to use Falam and teach it to their children is so they can stay involved in that Falam community, it is a solidarity-related

motivation. Yet, since they're involved in that community, they need to speak Falam to people, which is a communicative motivation.

It is beyond the scope of the discussions I conducted to tell if a person's communicative motivation could be rooted in a solidarity motivation or not. The origin of a person's motivations is a value-based discussion that deals with community values as a whole. In my research, I did not attempt to explore this. Because communicative and solidarity-related motivations can overlap in many ways, I organized the responses to indicate the primary motivation expressed in that response.

6.3.4 Prestige-Group and Communicative Motivations

Two participants, friends who are both serving in community or church leadership, provided responses which indicate an element of prestige and communicative privilege related with Falam (listed below). These motivations indicate some of the pride Falam people in Myanmar may have in their language, which could foster solidarity motivations even here in the US.

1. Falam used to be the dominant language in Chin State, so a lot of people speak Falam, but not as many Falam people speak another language.

2. In our Chin community [which contains several language groups], Falam is used very broadly. As soon as you say Chin, the number one kind of people that comes to people's mind is Falam--it's not Hakha or other. There are a lot of other people from Burma here in the US as well, but the Falams stand out. And the Falam language, they understand it. Even though they cannot speak it, they understand it. So that's the value of it. And being able to speak it, write it, it comes in pretty handy you know. It's very useful I think.

6.3.5 Altruistic Motivations

One response indicated a group-beneficial motivation to use Falam: to help other Falam people whose kids are not old enough to help them. This participant is the one who also listed a group-beneficial motivation for using English.

When asked what Falam is good for, she replied, "I think it just depends on the person. If you don't care about anything for anyone except yourself, I think it won't do any good, you know! But if you are the kind of person who thinks beyond yourself, you have all the possibilities and all the chances to help, and do good things."

This reply clearly illustrates that this motivation to use Falam is not rooted in her self-benefit, but in a desire to benefit the larger group.

6.4 Motivations for Intergenerational Transmission

All of the participants see a need for Falam to be passed on to the second generation. They also see various benefits and few disadvantages to their children knowing and using Falam. This section lists the answers given to several questions. The responses in this section indicate people's desires and expectations for intergenerational transmission, which reveals the motivations that parents have to teach their children Falam.

6.4.1 Languages Children Should Know

All of the participants in this study want their children to know both English and Falam. Two respondents said their children already speak both fluently.

There seems to be no worry about Falam children's English ability. Every respondent believes that their children will speak English perfectly. The primary reason given by eight respondents is because they will grow up in the US. Fourteen more respondents said that they have no concern about their children's future ability in English because they are already learning it well enough.

In contrast, respondents gave 30 reasons why they want their children to speak Falam. These reasons reveal parents' motivations to make sure that their children learn Falam. Solidarity motivations are the main motivations expressed, in addition to communicative motivations.

6.4.1.1 Solidarity-Related Motivations

Fifteen responses indicated solidarity-related motivations causing parents to desire their children to speak Falam. These responses are listed below. Each response is the unique perspective of one respondent.

1. It's important for every person, even our kids, to know their own language.
2. Language is one of the most important things in a person's value--every Falam kid should know their own language.
3. They should speak Falam because they are Falam people.
4. We want them to know who they are and where they come from. If a person doesn't know this, then it's really not good for him or for her. Knowing Falam is good for every Falam person.
5. The main thing is it's our Falam language—where we came from. So I always tell them that we are Falam, we are Chin and Falam. We have to speak our language. It's pretty much who we are.
6. They have to [use Falam]. They must. They must be. They can't forget it. Because that's the mother tongue.
7. If my kids speak English they look like English culture. If they speak in Falam, they are part of the Falam culture. If I speak English, that means I value English, to adapt to their culture. If you speak another language, you are adopting their culture. Culture and language is inseparable. That's why we want our kids to speak English, but to speak Falam and not to forget it.
8. Unless they speak Falam, they will lose the community, culture, traditions, and feel like outsiders.
9. It is their responsibility to know their language, and to read and write it.
10. All Falam people should know Falam all their lives.
11. It's necessary as a person to let your kids and grand kids to know and understand your language. The most important thing is to know your own culture and language, which we have been keeping up for a long time.

12. Several of my uncles' kids have grown up in a Burmese town and no longer speak Falam. I don't want to be like them.

13. If they don't speak Falam, they will look like a fool. People will think of them as a fool if they don't speak their own language.

14. We don't want to be like the families who have been here so long that they don't know any Falam. It's embarrassing for the parents and grandparents. It's a bad thing for everyone.

15. It would be a shame if they don't speak Falam.

6.4.1.2 Communicative Motivations

Ten responses indicate a communicative motivation for children to speak Falam exists in the US (see Table 11). The most common communicative motivation is the need to speak to parents who are monolingual or not very confident in English.

Table 11. Communicative reasons for children to know Falam

Responses indicating communicative motivations:	Responses
To communicate with parents who don't speak English	7
Before they go to school, they need to learn Falam	1
We are community oriented, so you have to know what people are saying	1
Need to speak and understand Falam	1

6.4.1.3 Communicative, Solidarity-Related, and Altruistic Motivations

One response indicates a combination of communicative, solidarity-related, and altruistic motivations.

A single man explained why he wants his future children to know Falam and English, and possibly even Burmese. He said, "They can have many options, and can be very flexible as they approach their future. Speaking Burmese, Falam, and English has given me many opportunities to study, do social work in the community, and be involved in the community."

Communicative motivation is evident because knowing Falam gives children opportunities to be a part of the Falam community, which requires speaking to Falam people. However, solidarity-related motivations can also drive this involvement in the Falam community. This is not all. It is clear that the reason to be involved in the Falam community is partially driven by an altruistic motivation to seek the benefit of the group or possibly a networking motivation.

6.4.1.4 Altruistic Motivations

Finally, one respondent expressed a clear altruistic motivation for his future children to use Falam. He said, "When you speak Falam, you can help Falam people. We are very community oriented. We try to help each other out." This young man hopes to return to Myanmar and continue to help people in poverty.

6.4.1.5 Summary

Overall, solidarity-related and communicative motivations are the most prominent motivations parents have for their children to speak Falam. However, these motivations are not static. Changing circumstances can change a person's desires or expectations for their children's language use.

A respondent who is also a near-native English speaker acknowledged that while he will never forget Falam, marrying an American would change the languages he would expect his children to speak. When I asked what languages he wants his children to know, he replied, "Definitely Falam will be number one. And maybe, it depends on who my partner is…. If she happens to be American, then only English. If she's Falam or Hakha, or whatever the situation, it just gonna go for that. But the one thing is never let my first language, which is Falam, go."

6.4.2 Languages Children Should Speak at Home

All the participants believe that their children should speak Falam. However, speaking a language at home is the means for intergenerational transmission and acquisition (Fishman 1991). In order for anyone's desire to maintain the use of Falam in the US to materialize, other than the second generation learning enough to just get by, parents and children must speak Falam at home. So I asked 18 participants what language they think Falam children should speak at home. Their responses are summarized in Figure 17.
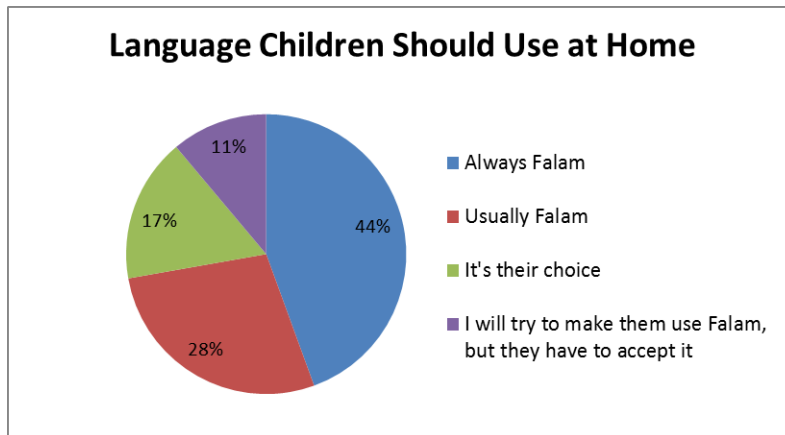
Figure 17. Responses indicating the language participants believe a child should use at home

Eight participants held the most common belief that children should always use Falam at home. They gave a few reasons for this belief: so they will not forget Falam (five participants), and because it is their parents' language (one participant).

Five participants believe that children should usually use Falam at home, but it is okay if they want to speak to each other in English. Three of these participants said that the main reason why children should usually speak Falam at home is so they do not forget Falam. Most of these participants do not want their children to speak to them in English. One mother said it was okay if her children spoke to her in English occasionally, but not every day or else they will forget Falam.

Three participants believe that the language their children use at home is the child's choice. One of these people believes that if their child wants to learn Falam, it will be possible for them, but if not, they don't have to. Another mother with a very low level of

English gave this response because she sees much more value for her children in knowing English. The interpreter explained to me, "If they want to they can use Falam. But what she really wants is for them to know English. It's kind of their choice. It don't matter, she say. Don't matter."

Two participants believe that they cannot control their children's language use, so while they would like their children to speak Falam, they cannot force them to speak it.

6.4.3 Realization of the Importance of Intergenerational Transmission

While all participants desire their children to know and use Falam, 14 participants believe that intergenerational transmission is important to maintaining Falam in the US. They mentioned that intergenerational transmission of Falam is significant when they discussed why people are losing Falam as well as when they discussed why parents and children both should speak Falam at home.

One recent immigrant succinctly illustrates this awareness; "If I teach my children how to speak, how to write Falam Chin language, by myself, and if my children have children, [and] they continue how to speak and how to write Falam, it will be well. But if I don't teach them how to read and write and speak, then it can be no one will speak [Falam]."

This reveals that intergenerational transmission of Falam is an issue of concern among some Falam speakers in the US. The range respondents who are concerned about inter-generational transmission in the US are representative of the range of variation in gender, education level, English level, and marriage status of all the participants.

6.4.4 Children's Desired Proficiency in Falam

While all respondents want their children to speak Falam, two respondents say that how well their children speak Falam doesn't matter. One participant says that if they just know basic phrases, it will be okay. The remaining 21 participants, however, said that they want their children to speak Falam very well, or perfectly.

In conversation, respondents told me 19 reasons why it is important for their children to know Falam well. Twelve of these reasons indicated a communicative motivation. Seven reasons indicate a solidarity-related motivation.

67

6.4.4.1 Communicative Motivations

The reasons listed below are all communicative reasons why children should speak Falam well. Each reason was mentioned only one time, except for the first response, which was mentioned by two different participants.

1. To communicate with Falam people.
2. To speak with grandparents who don't know English.
3. To speak to me [their mother].
4. It is good to speak Falam and English both.
5. If he wants to translate books into Falam, he can learn it.
6. I think even if I don't teach him or force him to learn Falam, he will learn it because he goes to church.
7. I don't want him to be lazy, so now I already talk in different languages to him.
8. Of course we all want our kids to speak fluently and everything, but as long as they can communicate with others and give a speech if they have to, and if they can write like a newspaper or something like that, that should be good enough.
9. It would be best if they can speak and write and read. That's what everyone should know.
10. I talk [Falam] to them every day.
11. Sure that she needs to speak 100%

6.4.4.2 Solidarity-Related Motivations

The eight solidarity-related responses listed below indicate that solidarity motivations play a major role in parents' motivations for their children to speak Falam.

1. We still live in a Falam community. I don't want them to feel left out or be ashamed because they don't know the Falam language.
2. It's their own language.

3. If possible, they should know it like English. Because they are one of our culture, so they have to be to our culture.

4. They should know 'til they die. They should love the language. Even if they can't speak much other than basic phrases, they should know everything.

5. To not be embarrassed around Falam people.

6. I don't know and don't really care. He should learn Falam because he is Falam, but I don't know how well he will learn it. Maybe only greetings and simple phrases. I am not strict to speak to him only with Falam. If the other Falam family in Clemson moves, then I don't know how well he will speak it.

7. Need to know. Don't lost. Never lost.

8. Not lose their language, their mother language.

6.4.5 Disadvantages to Children Using Falam

Although Falam speakers unanimously agree that Falam is important for their children to know and use, it seems that if people believe that their children will face significant disadvantages in any area of life for being a native speaker of Falam or for speaking Falam at all, the motivations to speak English will become much stronger and even possibly cause a person to stop using Falam altogether. In light of this, I asked 18 of the 24 participants if they could think of any disadvantages to children who speak Falam.

Sixteen of these 18 said that there was no disadvantage to speaking Falam. One student was certain of this, stating that she didn't think that Falam children have much of an accent, and that there are no disadvantages to speaking more languages. Two other respondents agreed that there are no disadvantages to speaking more languages.

One mother explained what she does when her kids try to speak in English at home: "I just politely try to remind them, 'Heeey! Let's try to practice Falam at home, because you've been talking to your teachers and friends in English. Cause you're going to forget the Falam language if you don't practice.' But then my son would ask me, 'Why do we have to do that?' And I would say, 'Seriously, it's only gonna make you smarter if you learn more than one language.' And that's a good enough reason for my kids."

Two respondents seemed unsure whether or not there are disadvantages to their kids from speaking Falam. However, both of these respondents strongly believe that their kids should learn Falam and both are proactive in their family or community to encourage the use of Falam. From these actions, it seems that Falam people do not perceive any possible disadvantage to be very significant.

One of these two respondents, a mother with two children, explained, "We were afraid that we hindered him by keeping him at home, not sending him to childcare centers. That's one of the reason we invested in sending him to preschool. …But I guess whatever damage we may have caused, we may not ever know! My kids are both A students. They are thriving in school."

6.4.6 The Value of Children Knowing Falam

Since there seem to be very few perceived disadvantages to children speaking Falam, next I examined the benefits that parents perceive to their children speaking Falam. In this section, I look at the motivations evident in responses to the following question:

• What is the value of your children knowing Falam? What's good about knowing Falam for your kids?

The responses to this question reveal parent's motivations to transmit Falam to the next generation (see Figure 18). Twenty-two of the 24 participants answered one or more of these questions. The primary motivations evident in their responses are solidarity-related (29 responses) and communicative (23 responses). Aside from these two primary motivations, three altruistic motivations were expressed.
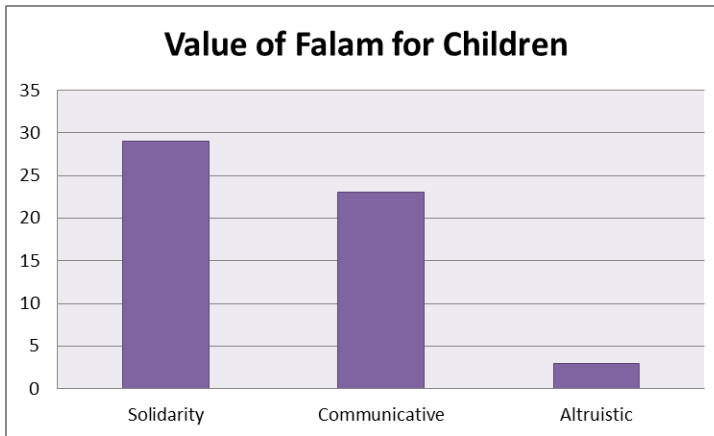
Figure 18. The value of Falam for children classified by motivation

6.4.6.1 Solidarity-Related Motivations

Twenty-nine responses indicate a solidarity motivation causing parents to encourage their children to use Falam (see Table 12). The most important aspect of the group solidarity, mentioned by 12 respondents, is that for children, knowing Falam will allow them to know their identity--to have a sense of who they are and where they have come from.

A young man explains, "We want them to know who they are and where they come from. If a person doesn't know where they come from and who they are, then it's not good for him or for her. Language is one of the most important things in one person's value.... I think every kid should know, if they are Falam, their own language."

Another young immigrant's opinion represents her people well with prominent solidarity motivations, as well as communicative motivations (listed in Section 6.4.6.2): "If I have a kid one day, they really have to speak Falam. Because they have to know what is our culture. They have to speak to their grandparents. They have to continue to understand it—who they are and where they from."

The community believes children will face consequences if they don't learn Falam. The primary consequence to not speaking Falam is that children will lose their connection to the Falam subculture—they will lose their solidarity to the group. A community leader explains, "When their kids don't speak languages and don't understand the cultural norms,

then they become different because they are not very much well fit into other [American] community, and then they can't fit into their [Falam] community because they don't speak the language. They will be much happier if they can fit into the community." This solidarity-related motivation is a significant reason behind encouraging children to learn and use Falam.

Table 12. Solidarity-related benefits for children knowing Falam

Solidarity-related benefits for children knowing Falam	Responses
To know their identity, to remember who they are, that they are Falam	12
Because it's our language	6
It shows that they love and respect their parents	4
To know where they came from	3
To preserve their culture	2
To know their own language	2

6.4.6.2 Communicative Motivations

Respondents provided 23 responses that indicate communicative motivations. Communication with relatives, parents, and Falam speakers is the most common reason given. These responses are listed in Table 13.

Table 13. Communicative benefits for children knowing Falam

Solidarity-related benefits for children knowing Falam	Responses
To communicate with extended relatives	9
To communicate with parents	5
To communicate if they went back to Chin State to visit	4
To communicate with Falam-only speakers in the Falam community	3
To understand at church	1
To know knowledge	1

6.4.6.3 Altruistic Motivations

Three respondents said that a benefit for children knowing Falam is that they can help Falam neighbors and older people.

One young father, who himself translates often for people at work and sees a benefit in speaking English so he can help other people find jobs for free, said that one of the main reasons his son could choose to learn Falam is so he could help other people. "[My son] can help people. If he knows Falam too, he might help neighbors, older people than himself." When I asked if there are any other reasons why it's important to know Falam, he responded, "I don't know. I don't know about that... It's his choice, though. If he wants to be like, tell some Falam people back in Falam, Myanmar, (they don't have a big book to read), he can translate some book from here. If he want to do that, then he could learn Falam."

6.4.7 The Value of Children Knowing English

As much as parents will value their children's knowledge of Falam, they also indicated that they place importance on their children knowing English. In this section, I look at the motivations evident in participants' responses to the following question:

• What is the value of your children knowing English? What's good about knowing English for your children?

Economic and communicative motivations are the primary motivations evident in responses to this question. Out of 24 participants, 17 provided a response in answer to this question, and each one carries some degree of communicative or economic motivation.

The motivations revealed in the responses are 18 economic motivations, 16 motivations that are both communicative and economic, two purely communicative motivations, as well as two solidarity-related and communicative motivations and one altruistic motivation. These are illustrated in Figure 19.

Comparing the number of economic motivations given for children to know and use English (shown in Figure 19) with the number of economic motivations given for the

respondents themselves to know and use English (shown in Figure 15), it seems that respondents perceive more communicative value for themselves in knowing English, and more economic value for their children. Either they did not mention the communicative value for their children in knowing English, or they have many overlapping economic and communicative motivations for their children.
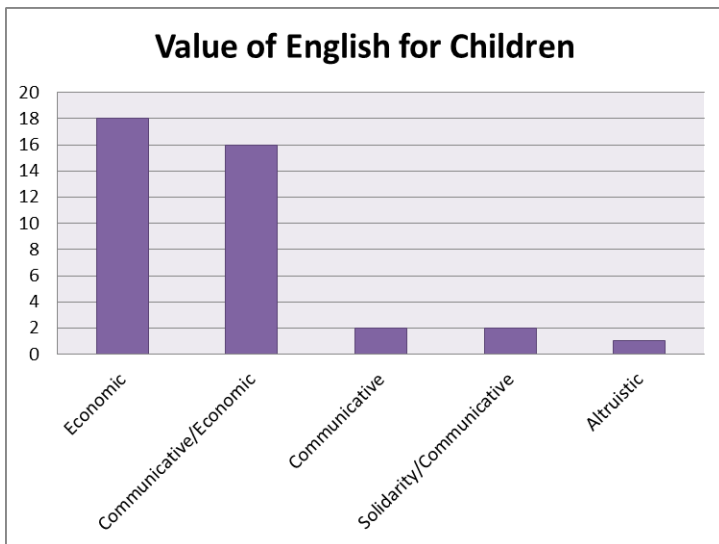
Figure 19. Value of English for children classified by motivation

6.4.7.1 Economic Motivations

Eighteen economic motivations are evident in participants' responses. More than any other motivation, economic needs lead parents to acknowledge a strong desire for their children to speak English. These responses are summarized in Table 14.

As a young mother said, "[English is] good for so many things! It's almost like a must. If I were to choose between English and Falam for my two kids, who were born here, I would choose English. Because they can compete in the world, you know, with this language."

A college student stressed the importance of English for a child's career. "They won't be able to survive if they don't speak English here!! But even if I was in Myanmar, since English has become such a common first language in the world, it would make their career so much better. Knowing English would give them better positions in jobs."

Table 14. Economic benefits for children knowing English

Economic benefits for children knowing English	Responses
To survive/do well in life here or anywhere in the world	7
To go to school	5
To get a job	3
To do like Americans do	2
It's more important than Falam for our kids because they can compete in the world with this language	1

6.4.7.2 Communicative and Economic Motivations

Sixteen responses indicate a combination of communicative and economic motivations. These responses are broad statements that reveal a need to communicate as well as a need to communicate in order to make a living.

A college student replied, "That's everything... Without English, how will you survive out here?"

Table 15. Communicative and economic benefits for children knowing English

Communicative and economic benefits for children knowing English	Responses
They have to grow up in the US	13
English is everything/Helpful or necessary for everything	2
To take advantage of opportunities at school or work	1

6.4.7.3 Communicative motivations

There were only two purely communicative motivations among people's responses, summarized in Table 16.

Table 16. Communicative benefits for children knowing English

Communicative benefits for children knowing English	Responses
To talk to Americans	1
To go to the doctor or hospital	1

6.4.7.4 Solidarity-Related Motivations

Two women, one with two children and one unmarried, mention that English is necessary in order to have friends. This shows that some people believe that English is necessary to maintain solidarity with people they will meet in everyday life.

A young father also revealed a solidarity-related reason to use English. When I asked why it is important for his infant son to know English, he said, "Oh he is in the states!! He is in the states. He is gonna grow up. And like the saying, you have to be Roman when you're in Rome, when you're in America you have to be American."

This man has done that very well, adopting American slang and building friendships with Americans at a remarkable speed in comparison with most other participants in this study.

6.4.7.5 Altruistic Motivations

One mother who does not speak English said that her children will need to know English to help their family. This is a group-beneficial motivation.

6.4.8 Children's Desired Literacy Skills in Falam

Motivations for literacy are an important indicator of the strength of people's motivations to use their language (Lewis & Simons 2014:143). Parents' motivations for children to write Falam show some of the strength of their motivations for intergenerational transmission. I asked each participant whether or not their children should be able to write in Falam. Twenty-two respondents said that yes, their children should be able to write in Falam. Two respondents said that it is a choice they will leave up to their children. One respondent said that she has no idea if children need to be able to read Falam. These responses are shown in Figure 20.

Children Should Read and Write Falam

Don't know, 1

Their choice, 2

Yes, 22
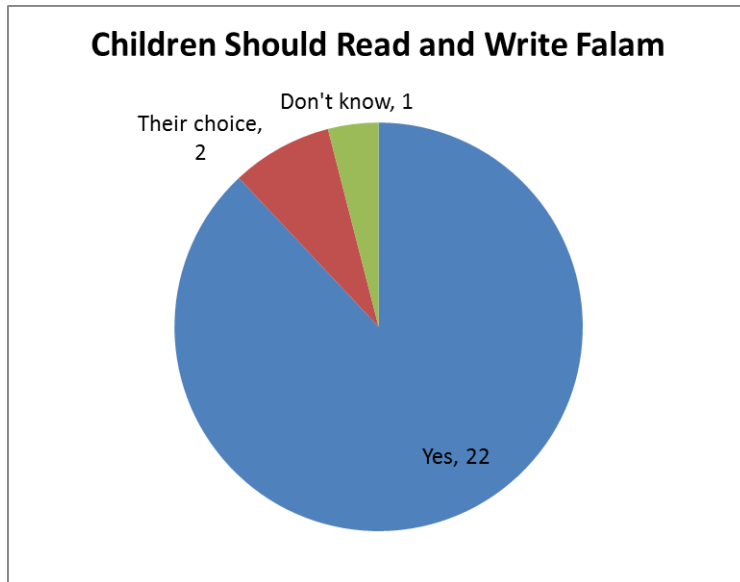
Figure 20. Should Falam children read and write Falam

Ten participants explained why they think it is important for their children (or future children) to write Falam. The reasons they gave are primarily motivated by a desire for their children to remain part of the Falam group. Even the communicative reason, to be able to read the history of the Falam people, is largely a solidarity-related motivation. Only one reason is not solidarity-related, and that is the altruistic motivation to read and write Falam in order to help people. This response reveals a primarily altruistic motivation, but may also reveal communicative motivation as well.

Participants gave seven solidarity-related reasons why their children should read and write Falam:

1. It's their mother language.
2. So he doesn't feel different when he is with other Falam people.
3. They won't forget Falam if they can read and write it.
4. It is their responsibility to read and write their language. That's what everyone should know.
5. This is our culture—we have to continue it.
6. Literature keeps languages together, and it is our duty to maintain our God-given language, culture, and tribal privilege.

7. Absolutely—unless I marry an American, which would make me reconsider whether this is still important for them.

Participants gave two reasons why children should be able to read and write Falam that reveal both solidarity-related and communicative motivations:

1. So they can read the history of the Falam people
2. Kids should read and write Falam more--not all of them do.

One participant mentioned that children should read and write Falam so they can read the Falam Bible. This seems to be primarily a communicative motivation, although it could also contain some solidarity-related desires.

One participant revealed an altruistic motivation, saying that if children can speak, read, and write Falam then they can help Falam people who can't speak English.

In summary, although almost all the respondents want their children to read and write Falam, this desire is driven by solidarity-related motivations. This poses a potential problem, however. Considering that Section 6.1.3 shows that people choose which language they will write in based solely from communicative need, I question whether the second generation of Falam in America will have sufficient communicative motivation to actually use it in any domains.

Respondents believe that learning to read and write in Falam is not particularly difficult if a person already knows English. For example, a young man said, "I never learned how to write Falam, but when I learned English, I just automatically knew how to write it and read it…. I was maybe almost adult." A young woman said, "We use the same alphabet. So you know, if they can speak, then, you know, they will be able to write." A mother agrees, "If they read English, it is not hard to read Falam. You only change the vowel." The question remains whether an orthography that is easy to read can compensate for the lack of communicative need to use Falam in writing. It gives no evidence whether people will use Falam in writing on a regular basis. It is possible that children may still learn to write Falam, but may not use it very often, if at all.

6.5 Perceptions of Falam's Vitality in the US

In this section I look at the perceived rate of language shift among Falam families in the US and the feelings and comments that respondents have toward this rate of shift.

First, I summarize what people perceive to be the rate of shift of Falam. I look at people's perceptions of language shift on the community level and on the family level. Next I look at the reasons that people give to explain the language shift, the feelings people have toward the language shift, and the ways that people think they can slow the rate of language shift.

6.5.1 Language Shift from Falam to English

In order to obtain a rough idea of the perceived vitality of Falam in the US, I asked 24 participants the following question: "How long will Falam be spoken in US communities?" The responses made it clear that participants are aware that language shift is taking place in favor of English.

Three of the 24 participants did not know how long Falam would be spoken in the US and were not able to provide a response.

The other 21 respondents gave an off-the-top-of-their-head estimate of the time Falam will be spoken in communities such as their own. These personal language vitality perceptions indicate that language shift is taking place, and in certain cases, might take place in less than the standard model of three-generational language shift.

Tables 17-19 show the responses given to this question and how many people gave each response.

Most perceptions of Falam's vitality tend to follow the three generational model of language shift commonly seen among immigrants to the US. The respondents' most common belief is that the second generation (their children) will speak Falam, but the third generation (their grandchildren) will stop speaking Falam or not learn Falam, and subsequently lose the language (see Table 17). Forty-eight percent of the responses (14 out of 29 responses), which came from 12 participants, indicate that their children's generation may be the last generation using Falam. They believe that if the third generation learns any, they will not know much.

Table 17. Responses indicating that the 3rd generation will be the last knowing Falam

How long Falam will be spoken in the US:	Responses
For our children's generation	6
Second and third generation Falam people will stop speaking it	4
35 years	1
20-50 years unless we do something fast—really fast	1
The third generation will probably know some Falam, but not be confident speaking it with each other.	1
It's highly unlikely that the 3-4 generation will keep speaking Falam	1

The second most common belief about the future use of Falam is that children (the second generation) will stop speaking Falam (see Table 18). Twenty percent of the responses (six out of 29), coming from six participants, indicate this belief.

Table 18. Responses indicating that the second generation will be the last knowing Falam

How long Falam will be spoken in the US:	Responses
It will decrease a lot in 20 years	4
Spanish children forget their language when studying in school. We don't know what will happen in the future. But I think children will at least know a little bit, though they may not understand all of it, like the high vocab.	1
15 years-the next generation of kids will lose their language	1

Nine responses from eight participants do not indicate a certain time period, but shed light on the importance of individual decisions in maintaining a language. Three respondents acknowledge that some people will stop speaking Falam within 10 years, but not everyone.

Two respondents specifically mentioned the importance of personal decisions. One young woman explained, "It's depend on what kind of people they are. One of my uncle, they stay here like more than 20 years, I think, and their kid, they speak Falam very, very well. So it's gonna be depend on what people they are. Because I knew some people, one family, they said they don't speak Falam at house because their mom want to learn some English. So she use English to talk with her kid, so her kids is like speaking English at house. So they don't know any Falam at all. After this, she tried to teach Falam, but they

don't want it anymore because it's like learning something new, and they don't want to do it."

Responses such as these (see Table 19) indicate the subjective nature of forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality, giving some validity to models that look at language shift on an individual level.

Table 19. Responses indicating that the rate of language shift depends on each person

How long Falam will be spoken in the US:	Responses
We will never lose Falam during our lifetimes	4
10 years for some people	3
Depends on each person, what kind of person they are.	2

6.5.2 Language Shift is Taking Place in Respondents' Families

The process of language shift has already begun in some families to the point that English is being used more than Falam (see Figure 21). Of 13 married participants, all 13 have children. I asked each of these participants what language their children speak the most. Sixty-two percent (8 participants) said their children speak Falam most often, but 23% (3 participants) said that their children speak English most often. Another 15% (2 participants) have children who are not old enough to speak.

Of the three participants who said that their children use English more, two have teenage children. The other family has elementary-school aged children.

Language My Children Use Most
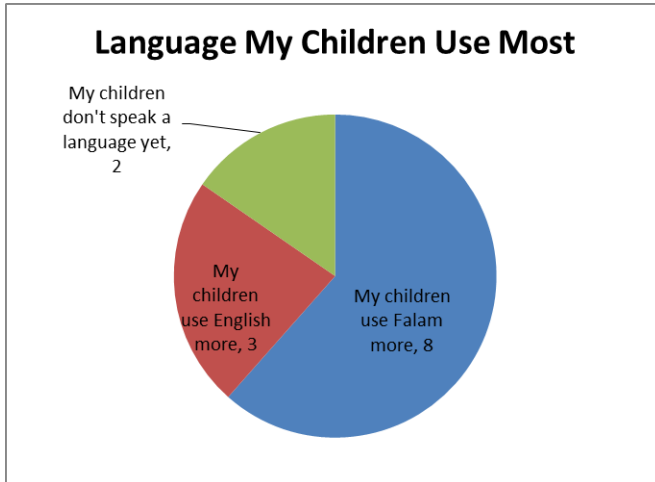
Figure 21. The language participants' children use most

Although the majority of families say their children use more Falam, I asked some unmarried participants what language they believe children speak the most often. Five unmarried participants told me that they think Falam children speak more English than Falam. Communicative motivations are the main reasons that these unmarried participants gave for this language shift taking place among the second generation (see Table 20).

Table 20. Communicative reasons why Falam children use more English than Falam

Why Falam children use more English:	Responses
They use English at school	3
They try to speak English to each other when they play at home.	3
Their friends speak English	1
They watch a lot of cartoons on TV	1
They don't want to use Falam anymore because English is more natural	1
Some people is like, they worried that their kids won't know English, so they use English at home and when they go to school. So the kid don't want to speak no more the national language.	1

6.5.3 Motivations for Language Shift to English

Language shift has already begun among Falam people. Current and future parents primarily have communicative and economic motivations propelling their shift to English.

However, over 2/3 of the participants told me what they think are some of the second generation's motivations to shift to English. When I was asking each participant to give a rough estimate of how long they thought Falam would be spoken in the US, 16 of the 24 participants volunteered reasons why Falam usage is declining (see Figure 22). I only asked a few participants for reasons why people are shifting to English, and then only if the subject came up. However, other participants mentioned reasons when answering other questions.

These reasons, which explain the decreased usage of Falam in the US, reveal communicative, solidarity, prestige, and economic motivations to use English. Respondents believe that these motivations will eventually outweigh motivations to use Falam and result in language shift in their communities.
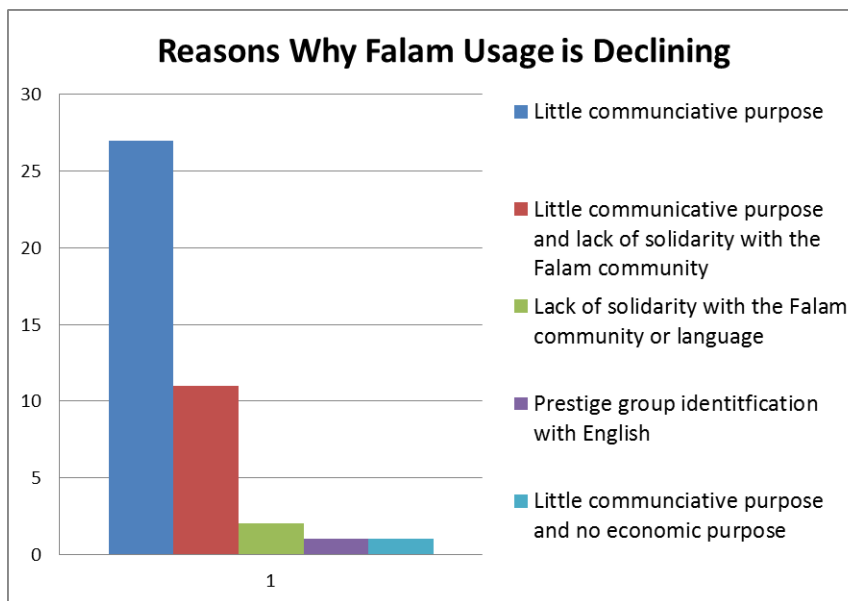
Figure 22. Reasons why Falam is declining

Twenty-seven of the reasons respondents gave are directly related to the fact that Falam has less and less communicative purpose for the second generation, and the communicative motivation to use English is becoming stronger. Thirteen of the 24 participants

provided these 27 responses. From these responses, it is evident that communicative motivations to use English are driving the language shift in the Falam community. The responses are listed below. Numbers 1-6 were mentioned twice (each time by a different participant). Numbers 7-21 were only mentioned one time each.

1. If Falam parents don't speak Falam with their kids, their kids will not learn Falam.
2. If parents learn English by speaking it with their children.
3. Kids speak English with each other.
4. Kids use English better than Falam.
5. If parents don't use Falam at home, they don't give their children a chance to use it, so they lose it.
6. Kids find it more convenient to speak English instead of Falam.
7. It's easy to forget because TV, everything, is in English.
8. People will use English at work and school and Falam will lose value to them
9. Right now, most of the kids speak English together. When they become the leaders of the church, Falam will decrease.
10. We don't know if our grandchildren will learn it.
11. Siblings talk in English at home.
12. They could learn Falam if they really wanted to, but being around so many English speakers will make them speak English more than Falam.
13. It's not easy to learn Falam in the US.
14. There aren't many Falam people here.
15. Whether or not a child learns to read/write Falam depends on when they move to the US. If they arrive in kindergarten, they won't write Falam as adults.
16. Kids speak English at school.
17. Kids speak English together when their parents aren't around.
18. Later on, kids will stop speaking Falam and may lose it.
19. If parents don't teach their kids how to read, write, and speak Falam, possibly no one will speak it.

20. Young people only speak Falam to parents and the Falam community, so English becomes more natural, even for taking with siblings.

21. Kids are just doing what is easiest.

Seven respondents gave 11 responses that indicate that Falam is shifting because of communicative and solidarity motivations to use English. They explain how there are increasingly fewer communicative benefits to using Falam because people are experiencing less solidarity with Falam speakers. These responses are listed below. All the responses were mentioned one time, except for the first response, which was mentioned independently by four participants.

1. Intermarriage with Americans

2. If the second generation isn't committed to learning and using Falam, it will be hard for the third generation to learn it at all.

3. Kids don't have Falam speaking friends at school.

4. Parents are not very involved in their kids' lives.

5. People are too busy, and not as involved in the Falam community.

6. The third and fourth generations don't continue speaking Falam at home.

7. Kids don't know how knowing Falam will benefit them in the future.

8. First, second or third generation families are kind of losing Falam. They are trying to come back so they can speak it, but they kind of get lost in the middle. They got married to different people, but they weren't able to keep their family culture, tradition, norm, and languages.

Respondents gave two reasons for the decline of Falam in the US that directly stem from a lack of solidarity-related motivations to remain identified with or part of the Falam community or culture:

1. Kids don't have a love for their language yet; they don't have an understanding of its value.

2. Kids are confused about their identity.

One respondent mentioned that using English can be a kind of status symbol among the second generation, which results in them using more English than Falam. This indicates a prestige-group motivation to use English is driving some of the language shift: "A lot of youth who have been here for maybe three or four years, they would speak to each other in English. They see that as being more prideful or boastful that they know it. Unless our parents really, really encourage us, in 20 years, that's some of our children right there."

One respondent also mentioned that Falam has no more benefit in America, indicating that it lacks communicative and possibly also economic benefit. In response to a question asking what the benefit of Falam is, this father replied, "No more benefit in America. America people is English, all—everybody. So English, perfect. English world. Everywhere, job go, everybody friend like white, Spanish, need to talk with English. Falam lost. Burmese lost." It is evident that communicative and economic motivations are leading people to use more English.

Of all the respondents, this man seemed to see the least amount of value in preserving Falam; however his statement is true. Falam's lack of economic benefit and decreasing communicative benefit, along with people eventually losing solidarity with the Falam community, is what is behind the loss of Falam among Falam immigrants.

6.5.4 Losing Falam is a Problem

Many Falam people feel that the loss of the Falam language spoken in the US is a problem. Often, after I asked participants how long they thought Falam will be spoken in US communities, they would begin to discuss how losing Falam is a problem. I did not ask each participant for their perspective on this issue, but 13 participants expressed a concern that Falam will be lost in the US.

A leader in one Falam church shared the concerns of the church leaders, saying, "We just had this discussion at our conference meeting two weeks ago. We were worried that a lot of kids right now are not speaking Falam anymore at church."

Another community leader who attends that church said, "A crisis in our church and in our community right now is that the kids who are in elementary and middle school have started using English to communicate with each other. That's the biggest headache we are having right now."

A young woman who attends a church in Indianapolis said that they are discussing this same issue at their church. They fear that they will lose Falam. Another member of that church explained that "language is part of our culture that we need to carry on."

Individuals also expressed a personal concern about the loss of Falam. One respondent said, "My language defines who I am and where I come from and what background I have. So people who don't know their own language don't really have interest in their own people.... I think language is one of the important roles. For example, if I don't know how to speak English, I might not be able to communicate with you, right. So it is really important to know their own language so you can communicate with your own community. It make a lot of difference and it is kind of important. Like I said, it's my language!!"

6.5.5 How to Slow Language Shift

Whenever participants began discussing how losing Falam is a problem, I probed deeper to learn about what they understand the future of Falam to be in the US, why they think that, and why they believe it is a problem to lose Falam. The answers to my questions in these areas isolated solidarity-related motivation to be the primary motivation that drives Falam immigrants' desire to preserve their language in the US (see Figure 23). However, the few communicative motivations that participants mentioned here are potentially the strongest motivations presented in this research.
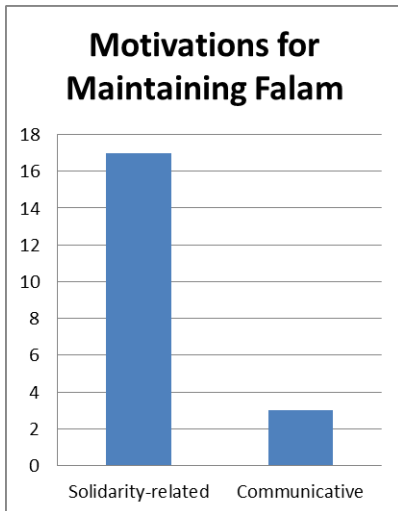
Figure 23. Motivations for maintaining Falam

Solidarity-related motivations were mentioned the most often. These responses are listed below.

1. If they don't know Falam, they will miss out on the closeness to their community. Kids who don't know Falam well are reluctant to come to church, because even though they're a part of it, they can't understand. It unintentionally pushes them away from the community. That's a bad thing. I might not affect you right away, but it will in the future. We can look at the history, and see that effect among Chinese or Korean people in multiracial marriages. They went out of the community, and they end up being a different person.

2. While it's important to know the language of the country where we live, the most important thing is to know our own culture and language, which we have been keeping up for ages.

3. The first value to knowing Falam is conserving your cultural heritage. God has given us a unique language a unique way to communicate with your families, your relatives, and your community. That is one of the values of Falam—it's a God given language. There are a lot of languages like this. Every day or every week, a language or two is gone from the world. So we are very thankful to be able to use ours even in the United States.

4. The first important thing to do is to use our own language. Because it's our language, we should use it no matter where we live.

5. People who don't know their own language don't really have interest in their own people. Language is important.

6. It's really important for every person to know where he comes from and what his background is.

7. Families who are losing Falam and intermarrying with English speakers are lost in the middle. Basically they are the lost tribe!! It's very important.

8. Falam is our own language. If we lose our language, it means we lose our nationality.

9. Falam is important so we can keep the Falam language. Not to lose. Just maintain. Not to lose their language 'cause their mother language.

10. Even though Falam is good in our community, but is not as broad as English, we still need to conserve it because it's a God-given language. It's also our identity. You being a Falam person, if you lose it then you lose your identity. Alot of people in America have lost their identity, and there are many things wrong because of this.

11. Right now, most of the people, they don't use Falam. They use English more. For those people, it maybe 10 years [until they stop using Falam]. But for me, for here, for everybody, never. Because we have to keep our language. That is the first thing we have to do.

12. My mom was strict about what language we spoke. And she took this pride... I think she saw that we would lose a sense of who we are if we don't speak our own language, so she was very serious.

13. I want my kids to speak Falam to keep and maintain our culture and our own language.

14. What a shame if you don't know your own language! A shame to yourself and to the community.

15. If I went back to Chin State and didn't know Falam, even though I am Falam, it would be a shame for me.

16. I feel that sometimes some other Falam would be judgmental if you speak English in a Falam community. Their attitude would be, "Oh! Their parents don't really… Their family isn't really concerned with forgetting Falam." Or they might say, "Oh, they're showing off that they know English."

17. English is really good for Falam people, but to forget their language is not something to be proud of. We had to speak Burmese in our community, but at home we had to speak Falam. Not everyone does this. Even my relatives, they can't speak Falam. They shame the mother, even to her face.

There are also some communicative motivations to maintain Falam in the US. These motivations, although they are infrequent, are powerful motivations. As one mother said, "It's important to my parents and in-laws that my kids speak Falam. They are here in the US, so I have to really devote to my kids."

The perspective of one woman will explain the strength of these communicative motivations. I had the privilege of speaking with a 25th participant who is a grandmother. (I did not include her answers in my demographic summary or analysis.) Although she moved to the US in her mid-fifties to be with her children who came here, she is not literate and knows no English or Burmese. Through an interpreter, she explained the powerful communicative motivation she has for her children in their 20s to pass on Falam to her grandchildren. "If my grandchildren don't speak Falam, then I won't have a life. There's no purpose for living. If they don't speak Falam, I won't have somebody to speak with Falam." Motioning to her daughter standing nearby with her two year old daughter, she explained, "If your babies don't speak Falam, there won't be meaning of living for me." Her son who was sitting on the couch turned to me, "If they speak Falam, that's the only way they connect with their grandma. She doesn't speak English, so. It's important."

6.5.6 Ways to Increase Motivations

More than half of the participants in this study seemed to understand that they or their community needed to take action in order to preserve the use of Falam. After I asked each participant why Falam usage will decline in the US, I often asked what would help keep people using Falam in the US.

Seventeen out of 24 participants replied with some suggested behavior that will result in either an increased communicative need to use Falam, increased solidarity-related reasons to use Falam, or both increased communicative or solidarity-related reasons to use Falam. These responses indicate that some Falam speakers realize that their behavior could help decrease or increase the rate of shift to English.

As Figure 24 shows, 25 of the suggestions participants gave will increase communicative motivations to use Falam. Fourteen will increase communicative motivations as well as solidarity motivations. Finally, three suggestions will result in solely increased solidarity motivations.
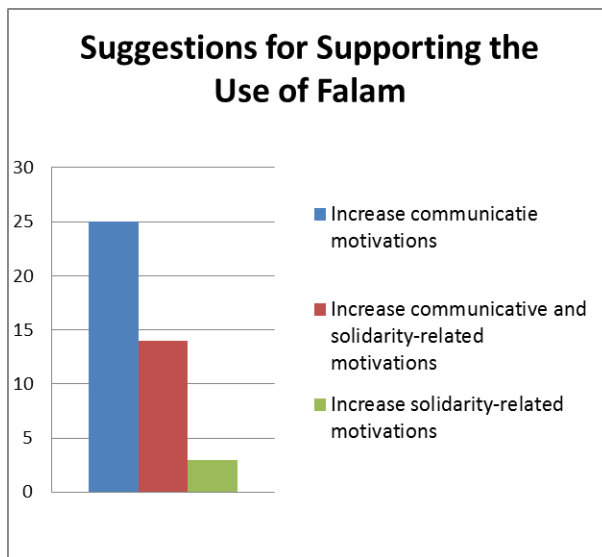
Figure 24. Suggestions for how to increase the use of Falam in the US

6.5.6.1 Communicative Motivations

Participants gave 15 suggestions how to maintain the use of Falam in the US that will increase communicative motivations to speak Falam.

Eight people mentioned that church is important to maintaining the use of Falam in the US because being part of the Falam church community keeps them using Falam.

One working college student said that her usage of Falam would probably decrease by 50% if she did not go to church because other than speaking to her parents, it's the only time she uses mainly Falam. Another man said that going to church is "99% what's keeping us" speaking Falam. Another man explained that "church is the backbone for the culture right now for the Falam. It also is what keeps us together as a community."

The second most mentioned way to keep Falam from declining is speaking Falam at home. Five participants gave this response. One respondent specified that speaking Falam at home was the crucial part, but using English, even for communicating between parents and children, outside of the home was alright. Another respondent indicated that if families all speak Falam at home, then there is no fear of it declining.

Other ways to maintain the use of Falam in the US that were mentioned include reading the Falam Bible and maintaining a clear distinction between domains where a person should use Falam and English domains. They specifically mentioned that people should only use Falam when communicating with others in the Falam community, which includes at church, at home, and with family.

These responses all indicate that communicative motivation can preserve Falam's usage. However, participants gave 10 more suggestions which involve teaching people or persuading people to use Falam more or to use it in certain domains. These suggestions will all result in increased communicative motivations to speak Falam (see Table 21).

Table 21. Suggestions for how to maintain Falam in the US: Increase communicative motivations

Suggestions that increase communicative motivations:	Responses
If parents can keep their kids speaking, reading, and writing Falam, then their grand kids will be able to learn it	2
Teaching your grandchildren Falam	2
Finally, one participant indicated that parents should encourage their kids to speak Falam.	1
Properly teaching children Falam	1
Having your kids always speak Falam to Falam people	1
Teaching children how to speak, read, and write Falam, so they continue to speak and teach their kids to read, write, and speak Falam	1
To keep telling small children not to speak English at home.	1
Community or language classes focusing on using Falam at home/teaching parents English so they don't speak to their kids in English as a way of learning English	1

6.5.6.2 Communicative and Solidarity-Related Motivations

Participants provided 14 suggestions that would result in increased communicative and solidarity-related motivations to use Falam. These responses would increase communicative need for Falam as well as increase solidarity-related motivations to want to belong in the Falam community. For example, if a participant mentions the need to hold events with the purpose of increasing peoples' bonds to the Falam community, holding these events would result in increased solidarity-related motivations to be a part of the Falam community, as well as resulting in more communicative reasons to use Falam.

Eight of these responses indicate a need for children to attend community summer classes for children teaching them how to speak, read and write Falam. A class held in one city runs throughout the summer for two hours each day, Monday through Friday. Several cities have these classes already, yet not every city does. One participant in a large Falam community indicated a need to start these classes in their city. These classes increase both communicative and solidarity-related motivations. Without a confident mastery of Falam, children will have less ability and therefore less desire to communicate. They will also

feel like outsiders in their community. One mother agreed with this, saying that her son should learn to read and write Falam so he doesn't feel like an outsider.

Two participants said that Falam festivals and celebrations held in the US will keep Falam usage from declining. Attending the celebration of a Falam festival will result in a need for people to understand Falam in order to communicate as well as in order to be identified with the group identity and not be an outsider.

Two responses indicated that yearly church conferences will help increase the usage of Falam. One participant explained that their main goal is to spread literature, teach the younger generation Falam, and foster community. Over time, these conferences are held in every Falam community. The purpose of these conferences is to both increase communicative motivations to use Falam (spread literature and teach children better Falam) and solidarity-related motivations (to create community).

One participant also mentioned that having children involved with youth meetings at church and staying together as a community will result in Falam being used more in the US. This increased use of Falam will be motivated by a need to communicate, but also by a desire to maintain identity with the Falam group.

6.5.6.3 Solidarity-Related Motivations

Three participants gave three suggestions that will result in increased solidarity motivations. Participants mentioned keeping up the Falam culture, knowing their own unique identity as Falam, and having pride in their culture as ways to increase the use of Falam. As one mother said, "Falam people have such pride in our culture and our language, and I'm happy that my kids are exposed to this kind of thing."

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes this thesis with a summary of the main findings of this research and how it adds to the current study of language shift, maintenance, and development.

Sections 7.1 through 7.3 show how this research supports the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, showing that motivations do explain language shift and maintenance in the Falam community in the US, showing that in this context certain motivations are predominant in language shift while other motivations are predominant in language maintenance, and discussing altering motivations in a community as a viable means of language development.

Section 7.4 suggests a change to the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift's taxonomy of motivations. Section 7.5 discusses the limitations that motivations have in forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality and proposes some other theories that could make up for these limitations. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

7.1 Motivations can Explain Language Shift

This research shows that there are two primary motivations that drive language shift in the case of Falam immigrants to the US: communicative and economic motivations.

Lewis and Simons (2014) claim that economic motivations are commonly the primary motivations for language shift because even communicative needs are for economic purposes. However, the immigrant adults in this research reveal communicative motivations to be the primary motivations for learning and using English.

The need to make a living or the desire to earn money is not always the primary force motivating their language choice. For immigrants, living in a new country requires that they acquire and use the language of wider communication in order to communicate in

everyday life, not only to make money. Immigrants need to speak the language of wider communication in order to buy groceries, pay bills, read school forms, follow directions, go to the doctor, and talk to neighbors, among other things.

However, economic motivations are still at the forefront of language shift among immigrants because people often immigrate for economic reasons. These economic motivations for language shift may not be evident because a more imminent need to communicate can overshadow the deeper economic motivation that led them to immigrate in the first place. Parents made it very clear that their belief that their children need to speak English is driven by economic motivations, leading me to believe that perhaps when there is no longer an urgent need to communicate (such as is the case for their children), economic motivations will rise to the forefront.

7.2 Motivations can Explain Language Maintenance

This research shows that a combination of solidarity-related and communicative motivations are the primary motivations maintaining the Falam language in the US.

Solidarity-related motivations are key to language maintenance. "It could be argued that the emotional attachment to one's ethnic group is the key aspect that influences individual ethnolinguistic vitality: the more a person is emotionally attached to his/her ethnic group, the more likely that person is to participate in group actions" (Ehala 2011:191).

Ehala cites the sustained language maintenance of Hasidic Jews and the Amish as examples of the power that identification with the group has for language maintenance. However, even in situations such as the Falam in the US, where their language will likely be lost, the breadth and strength of these solidarity-related motivations in a community are still slowing down the loss of their language.

Social institutions, according to Ehala, are crucial to maintaining this cultural solidarity and attachment to community that is necessary to keep people motivated to be a part of that group. He explained, "A group needs its social institutions and structures to create the social psychological willingness for the group members to act as a distinctive collective entity. If this willingness is present, the group is able, in turn, to sustain the same institutions that are used to maintain the group's vitality" (2011:190).

The strong Falam church, which already existed in Myanmar, has provided a social institution that keeps some people more motivated to be a part of the Falam community. Leaders of two churches shared that they are concerned about the future use of Falam in the US and discussing this at church. Eight participants told me that involvement with the Falam church is a major reason they still speak as much Falam as they do. The churches in the US also host yearly conferences to spread literature, teach people to use Falam, and foster community. The solidarity motivations fostered by the social institution of the church result in Falam speakers spending time together, which creates communicative motivations to speak Falam.

These solidarity-related motivations are key to language maintenance because the strength of a person's attachment to their group will create a need to communicate in their native language. In these high group-solidarity situations, communicative motivations will remain strong. For this reason, solidarity-related and communicative motivations are nearly inseparably intertwined.

However, without the solidarity-related motivation, the communicative purpose for the language will fade and the language will be lost in US communities. Since people's language use is largely based on communicative need, there will be no communicative need to use Falam unless people are involved in the Falam community. Solidarity-related motivations are essential to the maintenance of Falam.

7.3 Altering Motivations in a Community Decreases Language Shift

Knowing the motivations that propel and stall language shift is crucial to taking action to maintain a language. Karan (2008) says that understanding motivations allows language development advocates to focus their energies on bolstering the crucial motivations that are the weakest in the community. Since motivations determine use (Karan 2011), language development advocates should target the motivations that are low and need to be increased in order to produce increased language use (Karan 2008).

Lewis and Simons (2014) agree that motivations are crucial to language maintenance, although they also believe other factors are equally crucial. In the Sustainable Use Model, Lewis and Simons claim that motivations are one of five crucial factors that need to be

taken into account in order to take effective action to maintain a language. These five factors, known by the acronym FAMED, provide a diagnostic tool for assessing the current status of the language and pinpointing weak areas that could be strengthened in order to best support the use of a language. (The FAMED conditions are further explained in Section 7.5.1.)

Seventeen respondents in this research suggested ways to help maintain the use of Falam in US communities (see Section 6.5.6). Their suggestions primarily target the lack of communicative motivations and some of the lack of solidarity motivations. Respondents gave 25 responses with ways to boost communicative motivations, but only 14 ways to boost communicative and solidarity-related motivations. However, to be successful, advocates cannot focus on increasing communicative need for Falam apart from increasing solidarity-related motivations to be a part of the Falam group. Since these people live in an English society, unless people maintain Falam identities and desire to remain a part of the Falam community, they will not have a need to communicate in Falam.

A majority of Falam people believe that they can alter the future of their language by teaching and encouraging people to make changes which will increase communicative and solidarity-related motivations. They also believe that the main reason why Falam usage is declining in the US is because there is little communicative purpose to using Falam in the US. However, creating situations that foster communicative motivations will not be sustainable without also taking action to increase solidarity-related motivations as well.

People who are concerned about the amount of Falam used in the US should continue to promote situations among Falam speakers that will encourage communicative motivations as well as solidarity-related motivations to use Falam. This will involve creating and maintaining situations where people find it best to use Falam in order to communicate, ensuring that children are raised in primarily Falam home environments, and fostering a positive community-based Falam identity that allows children and adults to see the value and benefits of being Falam. If the second generation believes that Falam is useful for communication, they will continue to use it and learn it.

7.4 Not All Motivations are Self-Beneficial

I suggest that altruistic motivations can be determiners of language use. First, the data presented in this thesis shows that not all motivations expressed were self-beneficial motivations. This data is best explained by Ehala (2011) who suggests that there are two kinds of motivations: self-beneficial motivations, and altruistic (group-beneficial) motivations.

The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift claims that the motivations that determine language choice are self-beneficial (Karan 2011). These motivations are rooted in one's perceived benefit for their own self. These are, for the most part, the motivations listed in the Taxonomy of Motivations (see Section 3.6). Altruistic motivations, however, are "based on the understanding that there are higher principles than the benefit of the self that may motivate a person's behavior" (Ehala 2011:192). Whether they are toward a group, a person, or a deity, the goal of these motivations could arguably lie outside of one's self (Ehala 2011).

Throughout Chapter 6, I showed that five respondents expressed nine different altruistic motivations, four of which motivate them to use English, and five of which motivate them to use Falam. This data shows that altruistic motivations can determine language choice, and therefore, language maintenance or language shift. Because of this, I suggest that Karan's taxonomy of motivations should be expanded to include altruistic motivations.

I make this suggestion with one reservation: motivations cannot be fully understood apart from understanding culture. Although it is possible that what is perceived to be an altruistic motivation in an individualistic culture is simply a group-oriented culture's way of expressing solidarity within a family or a community, it is beyond the scope of this research to determine whether or not this is the case. Data showing altruistic motivations for language use in a variety of other cultures would strengthen the claim that altruistic motivations do determine language use.

7.5 Motivations Alone Cannot Forecast Ethnolinguistic Vitality

This data also makes it clear that there motivations are limited in their ability to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality. To validate the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, Karan used case studies to explain how the motivations listed in the taxonomy of motivations would have predicted the language shift in certain language shift situations (2011). Karan believes that his model for predicting ethnolinguistic vitality is effective because it relies on individual motivations, and that language attitudes and observable language use are the most important predictors of ethnolinguistic vitality. The data presented in this research support the Perceived Benefit Model. It shows that motivations can explain language shift in the Falam communities in the US. It also highlights that understanding current motivations alone cannot precisely predict future language shift.

To predict language shift among immigrants, it is necessary to use a wider framework that assesses the macro-societal perspective of language shift and the strength of the motivations.

I would like to suggest that the Sustainable Use Model, developed by Lewis and Simons, could provide this framework for assessing language shift in its wider environment and assessing the strength of motivations. The following section explains this model in more depth.

7.5.1 Understanding the Societal Values that Shape Motivations

Having summarized the motivations among the Falam communities, I believe that this cannot be a sole predictor of language vitality in an immigrant context. Immigrants live in a rapidly changing cultural environment. The societal values that affect a person's motivations rapidly change throughout an immigrant's lifetime. There is no evidence from which we can assume that people's motivations will stay the same throughout their lifetimes or be transferred to the next generation without significant alteration.

These societal values are even more likely to change between one generation and the next as people begin to adopt a new culture and value system. Because these values create the motivations which result in language shift, researchers must understand the societal

values shaping individual motivations to be able to forecast language shift (Karan 2011). According to Karan, language shift and ethnolinguistic vitality need to be understood from both micro and macro-societal perspectives: from a perspective where individual motivations are key as well as from a perspective where the values behind individual motivations are best understood as belonging to society.

The Sustainable Use Model was developed to "provide a practical explanatory framework for understanding the dynamics of language and culture maintenance" (Lewis & Simons 2014:7). Within this model, the authors organize a framework of necessary and sufficient conditions for language maintenance. Motivations are one of these five conditions: Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment, and Differentiation, listed under the acronym FAMED. Evaluating language shift and vitality through these five necessary and sufficient conditions for language maintenance provides the wider context that is necessary for forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality. Motivations do not stand alone in the Sustainable Use Model; they take their place in this wider framework. This is important because according to Lewis and Simons, the five FAMED conditions all interact with each other. One condition cannot be completely independent of another. Therefore understanding motivations alone cannot accurately predict ethnolinguistic vitality.

The interaction of these conditions is also what makes language development require unique approaches in each different situation (Lewis & Simons 2014). Looking at motivations in this context provides a more sustainable plan for addressing language development. Lewis and Simons believe that each of the FAMED conditions must be met in order for a language to be maintained, and that having the proper motivations is not enough. They suggest that people should assess the status of each FAMED condition in the society and then develop initiatives that address the areas that are lacking in any of those areas (Lewis & Simons 2014).

Approaching language development this way is more comprehensive. It will actually address the wider range of conditions instead of just addressing the motivations that are lacking in a community. Considering the rapid societal and linguistic changes among immigrants, a framework such as the Sustainable Use Model that considers the importance of individual motivations in determining language use, but views them in a larger context,

may prove to be a much more viable means of determining ethnolinguistic vitality and planning language development.

7.5.2 Understanding the Strength of Motivations

Understanding the strength of motivations is also crucial to forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality. Unless we measure the strength of motivations, simply classifying motivations cannot predict language shift. While the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift acknowledges that the strength of motivations determines which motivations result in language shift, it does not provide a framework for measuring the strength of the motivations.

7.5.2.1 Determining the Strength of Motivations

In the Sustainable Use Model, Lewis and Simons provide a scale to determine the strength of the motivations to use a language (2014:143). This scale evaluates the degree that speakers in a speech community perceive economic, social, religious, and identificational benefits from knowing and using and/or reading and writing the language. The scale relies heavily on the degree of motivations for literacy as a determiner of the level of language maintenance. It uses people's actions as a means of determining the strength of their motivations. This scale would be helpful to use alongside the scales which determine the strength of the other FAMED conditions in order to help identify which areas of the language could be supported to help maintain the language.

7.5.2.2 Motivations Change in Strength Over Time

This research agrees with the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift in that only classifying the number and type of motivations for using a language cannot predict ethnolinguistic vitality because certain motivations are stronger than others. In the end, stronger motivations determine people's actions. For example, many solidarity-related motivations may exist, encouraging a person to speak their heritage language, but one broad and powerful economic motivation to speak English may be much stronger, resulting in language shift.

However, to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality among immigrants one must not only understand the strength of motivations but how the strength changes over time and between generations. For example, the Falam immigrants in this study primarily mentioned solidarity-related and communicative motivations for maintaining Falam in the US. While these motivations may be evident in every generation, the strength of the motivation can vary between generation. Because of this, one cannot forecast ethnolinguistic vitality based only on the presence of this motivation in a certain generation.

Communicative motivations, for example, can vary in their strength over time and over generations depending on factors such as where a person lives, who a person lives with, the person's level of involvement in a group of Falam speakers, and who a person marries.

Solidarity-related motivations may also change in strength throughout a person's life or between one generation and the next. The degree of connectedness a person feels toward speakers of their heritage language can change drastically over time and between generations, causing solidarity-related motivations to change accordingly.

People have suggested several reasons for why solidarity-related motivations change over time. My data shows that Falam people believe that community involvement (often fostered through teaching children Falam), community celebrations, church involvement, and involving children in church community can increase solidarity motivations (see Section 6.5.6). Ehala (2011) agrees that factors can increase group-connectedness, factors including group strength, traditionalism, inter ethnic discordance, and intergroup distance.

While people believe they can maintain and increase solidarity-related motivations, these motivations can also decrease in strength over time. For example, when solidarity motivations for a second generation speaker of Falam are equal for speaking English and Falam, even though the solidarity motivation for Falam is still present like it was in the first generation, it is not necessarily powerful enough to slow the rate language shift.

Because of the varying nature of motivations, it is crucial to view motivations in a wider framework in order to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality.

7.6 Ideas for Future Research

In conclusion, I have shown that motivations do indeed cause language shift and maintenance. However, to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality and initiate sustainable language development, I suggest that it is best to consider motivations in the larger societal context that shapes the motivations. Because of this, researching each of the FAMED conditions among the Falam would provide a more accurate understanding of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Falam in the US as well as how to best maintain the language in the US.

I also have shown in this research that although someone can conclude significant amounts of information about language shift and maintenance by learning about the motivations in a community, unless they know the strength of the motivations behind language shift and maintenance, they cannot accurately predict which motivations will lead the shift. It would be helpful to test the accuracy and workability of the Sustainable Use Model's scale for weighing the strength of motivations. Also, more research on the strength of Falam people's motivations in language shift and maintenance would be necessary to precisely understand the motivations in language maintenance and language shift.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TOPICS USED TO GUIDE DISCUSSIONS WITH PARTICIPANTS

This appendix contains the list of topics I used to guide my discussions with each of the 25 Falam participants. I categorized the information into the following four categories.

A.1 Demographic Information

- Name
- Age
- Plans for living in the US
- Places lived; time lived in each place
- Where your extended family lives
- Who you life with
- How often you contact your family
- Education
- Occupation

A.2 Language Information

- Languages spoken
- Primary childhood language
- How you learned these languages
- Self-rated ability in each language
- Literacy in which languages

• Preferred language to use for writing/reading; why

• Children's primary languages/changes in preferred languages

A.3 Language Attitude Information

• The value of knowing and using Falam/English

• What Falam is good for/why it is good to know and use Falam

• What English is good for/why it is good to know and use English

• The language you use the most, and why

• Disadvantages to children from using Falam

• The value of your kids knowing Falam/English

• How well your children should know Falam/English; why

• Do children read and write Falam/should they

A.4 Community Information

• How long you think Falam will be spoken: in the US, in your family, in your community, by the next generation; why

• How much of Falam culture you think should be saved for future generations of Falam in the US

RESPONDENTS' EXPLANATIONS OF LANGUAGE USE AND SHIFT

The following table shows what language respondents say they use in certain settings. This table allows us to better understand the degree of language shift and the language choices among the Falam people in this study.

The following abbreviations are used in each column to indicate the possible language(s) of choice in each situation: F -- Falam; MF - Mostly Falam; F/E - 50/50 Falam and English; ME - Mostly English; E - English; B - Burmese; F/B - 50/50 Falam and Burmese. The number in the column shows how many respondents speak that language in that situation.

Table 22. Respondent's language use

What language do you use:	F	MF	F/E	ME	E	B	F/B
At home with family	19	2	1	-	1	-	1
At home with roommates	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
At home with children	10	3	-	-	-	-	-
At home with spouse	12	-	-	-	1	-	-
With older relatives	24	-	-	-	-	-	-
With younger relatives	16	7	-	-	-	-	-
With your boss	-	-	-	-	19	-	-
With Falam classmates or coworkers	10	2	-	1	-	-	-
With Falam friends	23	1	1	-	-	-	-
With American friends	-	-	-	-	19	-	-
With Falam friends when American friends are around	2	4	2	1	9	-	-
At church	19	1	-	-	2	-	-
At Falam events	24	-	-	-	-	-	-

People elaborated on their responses in this table. I include some of these quotes here to explain more of participants' language use and their thoughts on language shift.

One young man explained his language use in a way that was very typical of the participants in this study: "Always I speak Falam. No, I can't say always, but most often, yeah. English, no, I don't speak with family. Only friend, work place."

A more detailed explanation came from a student:

> There are some kids and they use English, like some kids who could not talk in Falam. We talk to them in English. With my parents, I always talk to them in Falam. Sometimes with my siblings, even me, I talk in English—I mean sometimes. That's the mistake, I make. Once or twice I talk to them accidentally!! With cousins... You know [my cousin], he speak English too, so sometimes I talk to him in English and he speaks to me in English. Most of the time, we talk in Falam. But the other cousins, I talk to them in Falam. Right now at college, I don't have any friends who are Falam, so I don't talk in Falam. Especially in high school, there were so many Chin people....I need so much help with English, but I always talk with Falam at school.

Some people who are not able to speak English explained their language use differently. An interpreter explains how much English the father I was talking with uses at work: "If they talk to him, then he talk." I asked a mother who knows very little English whether she would try to speak English if she went out, for example, to the store. The interpreter said, "No. Her husband can say something, so they are good with shopping. She wish that she could [learn English], but right now she has kids to take care of."

The rate of language shift is evident in some responses. Here is a typical response from a college student living with her family, "English? Uuhhh… little little bit with my siblings. Sometimes I speak English with them, so..."

Another student explained, "[I use English] sometime. My mom said you need to teach me some English, so I use something like that, 'hello,' 'good morning,' something like that. Because at work she want to speak to her friend so she want to know. I just help a little bit."

A mother acknowledged that alot of shift is taking place among her circle of friends, even within a conversation: "Some of my best friends, we start in Falam. But to be honest with you, we end in English most of the time." I have concluded from talking with the participants in this study that this is not the case with most people who immigrated as

adults, but could be becoming more common among people who immigrated in their younger teen years and are now young adults.

Around Americans, the language shift is even faster. In this typical response, a mother explains what language she uses with Falam people:

> I talk to them personally with Falam. But in front of customer or coworkers, I talk to them with English. When my neighbor comes, we [my Falam cousin and I] talk with English, unless I go to the kitchen and she goes to the kitchen where they doesn't hear.

From the statements of various participants, it does not seem to me that Falam people are ashamed of their language, but that they want to fit in, include speakers of other languages, not make Americans uncomfortable, or not let anyone think they are talking behind their back.

The rate of shift is even more evident in the languages people use with children. A student explained, "The kids who are in school, sometimes they speak to me in English, so that's really only sometimes though. Most of the time I use Falam."

A mother said she speaks Falam with her family only 80% of the time because she has to speak English with her children, "'Cause they have to respond. There's all the TV and stuff, you have to focus! Like sometimes [English] came out easier." When I asked about the language she speaks with her younger relatives, she replied,

> If they don't talk to me back in Falam, [or] if they don't understand, I use English. We're pretty mostly use Falam, though. Maybe 20% English. We use Falam with most kids, but, you know.... I do notice, when they talk to themselves, they use more English.... Some parents might not [understand them]. The kids, they understand Falam too, but you know… They can talk back to their parents in Falam, but when they talk to each other, they use more English.

One mother explained how much Falam she thinks her son will learn:

110

I don't know. He might speak very little very well. I don't know how he will come out. If that family, [the Falam family] are here in [our town], I think he will be well speaking, but if they move out to somewhere, I don't know how much he will speak because I am not very strict to speak to him only with Falam, or something. When his father [who is Japanese] is here, I don't talk to him with Falam. I talk to him with English so his father understand what I talk to him. [When he's not here] I talk more with Falam. Otherwise I'm afraid that he might forget!

The situation of families undergoing language shift is well said by one participant. He began explaining what happens when he talks with some Falam children:

I try to speak Falam, but if their eyes start going 'what you talking about?'--if they give that look to me--then I speak with English of course. The thing is kids are the only one who don't understand some Falam now. Anybody who is 14 years old and under, it is hard for us to communicate to them in Falam now. Maybe 60 of them in our church alone.

I asked him if using Falam at the church would help children use Falam more. He replied, "Yes--be optimistic. But I don't know what the future holds for these kids." He proceeded to describe the potential children have to decide the future of Falam, drawing on his experience growing up in Rangoon.

I know a lot too, because by not learning Falam in Burma—and I could have learned if I really wanted to—just being around the Burmese people so much made me speak Burmese more than anything else. The same thing goes here. That's why I try to spend as much time as possible with these kids at church if I'm at church.

I asked him if parents who do not know English find it difficult to raise their children. He emphatically agreed:

Yes, that is true. That is true. It is very difficult. I mean, I know this family and their kids are like 10, 11 years old, so they think they think they know everything. Their mother does not speak any English so she doesn't want to interfere. She doesn't even feel like she is in the right position to discipline them anymore, so what happens is that the father is working from 8-5, and she can't communicate with the kids, so. That's very common in our Chin community right now. It's a big problem—a really scary thing because if the mother does not discipline the kids, who else will? And she will feel like, 'Oh whatever I say, they just talk to me in English.' So if the kids decide to be bad kids... We know what we were as a child--if I wanted to be bad, I'd just ignore them, block them out, you know--and that's exactly what these kids are doing now, like blocking their mother out. And the mother cannot communicate with the kids. And that's really common.

I asked him what it would take to pass Falam on to the next generation. He said,

The thing about kids is that if we gonna teach them the right way, they will learn it. I'm not meaning like pushing it, but with love and with care. If I just keep on taking them to the church and the Chin society, I'm sure that they will eventually learn [Falam]. Because you know, kids learn from one another, and I will care for them and they just gonna do it. I have a niece right now--her father is my brother who passed away and her mother is American, so she looks white. But the thing is, she speaks Chin [Falam] fluently right now because she lives with us, and I take her to my church, and there's a little Sunday school, and you know they learn from one another.... she's doing really good. I'm really proud of her, actually. So do I worry about my own kids sometimes? Yeah, I do worry, because they might not have the same nature. [But] as far as my kids go, it's just how we present it to them. That's all that matters.

Later on, I asked this same man about how long he thought Falam would be spoken in the US. He replied emphatically,

Ooohh. To be honest with you, we just had this discussion at our conference meeting two weeks ago. We are worried that a lot of kids right now are not speaking Falam anymore at church. Number one, they don't have any friends at school that speak Chin. And number two, they don't like their language. They don't have this understanding yet, you know? They don't have the love for it yet. They're still new to this world and they're still confused. They don't know what they think yet. And they don't know how this will benefit them in the future. They just going with the flow right now, to be honest with you. So right now we are thinking, like, we need to have like a teaching class where we can teach Falam to all these kids. If we don't teach them, they're not going to learn it anywhere else.

I tried to re-state what he said: "So unless you do something to help kids learn to appreciate the value of Falam, they might not be speaking it much longer?"

His answer? "That is absolutely right."

Some Falam leaders do understand that their personal choices will affect the future vitality of Falam in the US. One community leader explained his conscious language choices, "At church, I used to sing Burmese and English songs, but since last year, I declared myself not to sing any English or Burmese songs at church, for me personally.... I only use Falam."

When I asked why he made this decision, he explained,

Well, [it's] the things I see happening in my community. Change starts from you. You can keep taking about change, change, change, but it starts from you. You spread it out to other people when you start. Honestly, I love singing. Burmese and English is much easier to sing. I was raised in Burma, so most of the songs I listen to are Burmese and English. I don't listen to a lot of songs in Falam. I used to sing solos in English and Burmese songs, but now, I want to be the first one to change.... Choosing culture will help other people understand what you have to do.

These quotes are typical of the responses given by participants or the unique view of a single participant. Overall, I hope it enriches the understanding Falam people's perspectives, language use, and language attitudes.

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