Challenges in maintaining a heritage language

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Abstract

Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) is a home of the Igorots in the Northern Philippines. It is a place of cultural diversity. Such cultural diversity is the unique heritage languages spoken in the area. Accordingly, most of these heritage languages are facing some challenges. Thus, a qualitative phenomenological study was designed to explore the challenges in maintaining heritage language of 32 Cordilleran college students of Saint Louis University of the School of Teacher Education, Baguio City, Philippines. Purposive sampling was conducted prior to an interview proper. The respondents of this study were chosen according to the following criteria. The respondents must be born and raised in any of the provinces of CAR with both native parents from the Cordillera and whose first language is any of the following heritage languages: Kankanaey, Ibaloi, Itneg (Tinguian), Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, Isneg, Iwak, Kalanguya, Ga'dang, Isnag, Applai, Bago, I-lagod, Balangao, Ikallahan, Karaw, Ilongot, Ibanag, Isinal, Itawis. An interview was carried out as a gathering tool to gather information coming from the respondents. Findings revealed that migration effect, code switching and linguistic discrimination are the challenges in maintaining heritage language of Cordilleran college students.

Keywords: heritage language; migration effect; code switching; linguistic discrimination

Challenges in maintaining a heritage language

1. Introduction

The threat to linguistic resources is now recognized as a worldwide crisis (Crawford, 1995). According to Krauss (1992), as many as half of the estimated 6,000 languages spoken on earth are moribund; that is, they are spoken only by adults who no longer teach them to the next generation (as cited in Crawford, 1995). The Worldwatch Institute (as cited in Vizcarra & Mikami, 2005) accounted that between 50% and 90% of the languages in the world will disappear during this century, and half of the living languages have only 2,500 speakers, which is far less than the population size needed to pass the language on to other generations.

In the statistics compiled by Brenzinger, Heine and Sommer (1991) indicate that as of 1991, there were 54 extinct, 67 near-extinct and 49 dying languages in Africa (as cited in Bamgbose, 2011).Meanwhile, of the Native American languages of the US, 90% are not being passed on to a new generation, while also 90% of Australian aboriginal languages and over 50% of minority languages of Russia are in a similar situation (University of Hawaii, n.d.). In the study of Brenzinger (1992), Robins and Uhlenbeck, (1991), and Schmidt, (1990) stated that the decline of languages on global scale is greatly experienced in the Americas, Africa, Australia, and Southeast Asia.

Several researchers and scholars had advocated the maintenance of Heritage Language (HL) (He & Xiao, 2008; Tse, 2001a; Tse, 2001b; Cho, 2000; Fishman, 1991; Wong, 1991). Several studies also paid attention to immigrant parents' attitudes toward their heritage language (Guardado, 2002; Lao, 2004; Lawton & Logio, 2009; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). It is argued that heritage language maintenance (HLM) benefits speakers tremendously in their literacy development and self-identity construction. Cho (2000) found that the development of one's heritage language has many sociocultural benefits and other advantages such as personal and societal benefits. HLM is positively related to strong ethnic identity, greater understanding and knowledge of cultural values. Wong, Fillmore (1991) contended that the consequences of losing a primary language affect "the social, emotional, cognitive, and educational development of language-minority children, as well as the integrity of their families and the society they live in" (p. 342). Thus, the neglect of one's native language can be viewed as a stepping stone to abandoning one's culture, which has been shown to have negative effects on self- esteem and sense of identity (Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Hernandez Jarvis, 2007).

HLM faces great challenges in the US as people are very interested in maintaining their ethnic languages and studies have shown that ethnic language retention and strong English language acquisition exist side by side (McKay & Wong, 1996). At the same time, preservation of their heritage language has also been highly valued in these ethnic communities (Draper & Hicks, 2000; Lee, 2002; Valdes, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009, as cited in Kim, 2011). Heritage language skills were associated with the capacity to communicate effectively with family members, to claim cultural membership, and to express intimacy (Yu, 2013). According to Chao (1997), about 82,675 Chinese American students are learning Chinese in 634 language schools in the United States of America (USA). Despite the large number of Chinese immigrants who are learning and maintaining Chinese, little research has been conducted to investigate what makes them maintain their ethnic language and what are the major factors that contribute to the successful Chinese maintenance in an English-dominant society.

In the study of Suarez (2007) on the second and third generation heritage language speakers on the HL scholarship relevance to the research needs and future directions of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), she reported that some Spanish parents spoke English with their children 90% of the time, using their HL a mere 10% of the time. In some special cases, children of bilinguals who were not given the chance to become proficient in the heritage language often report embarrassment for not being able to speak what they perceive as their native language, as well as the missed opportunities for jobs and a deeper cultural

connection and understanding (Cho, 2000). In other words, if parents do not rise up to protect their children from this total English language dominance, if they give in to the tacit societal message against their HL, maintaining it will be a lost cause, and their HL will be lost totally and swallowed up by an English-only U.S. (Cavallaro, 2005; & Fishman, 1991).

A quantitative study on the variations on sociolinguistic approach done by van Langenvelde (1993) in the province of Friesland, the Netherlands it was found out that there is in-migration of Frisian speakers to the towns leading to a temporary increase in the number of Frisian speakers there. As these people and their descendants are urbanized many switched to Dutch. At the same time, there is counter-urbanization led by Dutch-speaking town dwellers. This decreased the proportion of Frisian speakers in the countryside, the result of which is the potential for language shift to Dutch both in the country and in the towns. Meanwhile, in West Africa the dominant sociolinguistic effect appears to be on the increase in individual multilingualism and the spread of several lingua franca. Accra, the capital of Ghana, has seen massive in-migration. This has led to the indigenous ethnolinguistic group Ga becoming a minority in the city (300,000 out of a population of 2 million (Grimes, 2000), with Akan/Twi now the main lingua franca with considerable numbers of L2 users. Similarly, it is reported that some 20% of the population of Puerto Rico are returnees from mainland US and 10% of the children are English language dominant. This has led to a conflict between the attitudes of Puerto Rican educators and commentators who deplore the mixing of Spanish with English language and the return migrants' offspring who believe that it is possible to combine a Puerto Rican identity with English language dominance (Zentella, 1990).

In Morocco, Amazigh language, despite being endangered, has survived and is officially recognized due to the commitment of Moroccan women. They have played an essential role in preserving Amazigh language and culture Sadiqi (2007). This is the reason why, even in formal learning, parents 'involvement is very essential in every learning (Bull, Brooking, & Campbell, 2008). On the other hand, educational institutions are also working to support this occurrence. Such example is the practice of public schools teachers in British Colombia wherein experiential integration of indigenous activities and western knowledge are practiced in their mode of teaching (Kitchenham, 2013). In the same manner, many cultural groups in the United States, including Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Russians, and Vietnamese, attend heritage language programs on weekends or through after-school programs (Cho, 2000; Draper & Hicks, 2000; Lee, 2002; Siegel, 2004; Wang, 1996).

HL proficiency among Latino adolescents has been found to be positively associated with parent–child communication about academic activities (Arriagada, 2005). In a study of families from East Asian, Filipino, and Latin American backgrounds, the best parent–adolescent relationships (specifically, the highest levels of mother–adolescent cohesion and parent–adolescent discussion) were found among families in which parents and adolescents mutually spoke the HL with each other, as compared with families in which there was a mismatch in languages used or in which parents and adolescents mutually spoke in English (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000, as cited in Oh & Fuligni, 2010). While, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2008) is alarmed by the danger of other languages to be disappeared. To be able to slow down or completely stop this, UNESCO has made a way to promote respect to linguistic and cultural right, encourage peaceful co–existence in multicultural societies and support the preservation of bio – cultural heritage; and this can be achieved through Education and thus Mother Tongue Based – Multi-Lingual Education was formed.

A cursory of literature indicates that most of the researches on HL were conducted mainly in the USA and Canada which focused on the maintenance of HL, benefits of HL in the literacy development and self-identity construction, the role of women and elders in preserving HL, and threats of English language to the preservation of HL (He &Xiao, 2008; Tse, 2001a; Tse, 2001b; Cho, 2000; Fisherman, 1991; Wong, 1991; Reyes & Moll, 2005; McKay & Wong, 1996; Chao, 1997; Suarez, 2007;Cavallaro, 2005; Fishman, 1991; Sadiqi, 2007; Kitchenham, 2013). In the Philippines, there are only a few researches that capitalize on the challenges in maintaining heritage language. Such is the case that pertains to those ethnic groups in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR). CAR as it is referred to a completely landlocked region in the central mountains of Northern Luzon in the

Philippines (Philippines Travel Guide, 2014). The region is composed of six provinces, namely: Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga and Mountain Province. The regional center is the highly urbanized city of Baguio (DepEd - Cordillera Administrative Region, n.d.). Its rugged terrain and breath-taking topography have been home to the sturdy and industrious indigenous tribes collectively called the Igorot, while its climate has bred an equally unique culture distinct from that of the country's lowland colonized regions (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2006).

According to Scott (1977) (as cited in Villanueva, 2013) partly due to its rugged terrain and largely to their resistance, the inhabitants of the region were not easily subdued by the Spanish conquistadores of the 18th century. Villanueva (2013) narrated that by history Cordillerans "*resisted efforts by the Spanish government to put them under their control. For this, they were regarded uncivilized, "infieles" (pagans), fierce and barbaric. Their non-assimilation into mainstream Spanish rule made the Cordillerans adhere to a society free of Western influence. The coming of the Americans to the Philippines in the later part of the 19th century dramatically changed the Igorot cultural landscape. Unlike the Spanish conquistadores who were very much interested in their gold and who wanted to impose tax, the Americans befriended the natives, earning their trust and confidence. It was during this period that the culture of the Cordillerans had been accounted and written extensively.*"

Rich in natural resources, colorful cultural attributes, and unique languages spoken in the area, people in CAR speak Adasen, Malaweg, Sumadel, Lubuagan, Mangali, Lubo, Aplai, Banao, Talubin, Balangao, Barlig, Tuwali, Ayangan, Kalanguya (Peralta, 2000), and the Kankanaey, Ibaloi, Itneg (Tinguian), Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, Isneg, Iwak, and Ga'dang ethno-linguistic groups (Florendo, 2014) which were believed to have developed from a single language or even to provide some of the features that distinguish them from other Philippine languages (Reid, 2009). Reflecting the uniqueness of its speakers, these languages are facing extinction if nothing is done to maintain it; thus, this study explored how the Cordilleran students of the School of Teacher Education, Saint Louis University (STE-SLU), Baguio City, Northern Philippines maintain their heritage language. Specifically, it sought to answer the question: What are the challenges faced by the Cordilleran students of STE-SLU in maintaining their heritage language?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Language Survey in the World

Survey revealed that there are more than 250 established language families in the world and over 6,800 distinct languages, many of which are threatened or endangered (Brown & Ogilvie, 2008). According to the UNESCO and The Guinness Book of World Records in 2014, the world's most widely spoken languages by number of native speakers and as a second language are: Mandarin Chinese, English, Spanish, Hindi, Arabic, Bengali, Russian, Portuguese, Japanese, German, and French (as cited in British Broadcasting Corporation, 2014).

According to the UNESCO (n.d.), Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Pacific are the regions where there are many small language groups. Most of these small languages are not written. The same report revealed some of the reasons on why some groups' languages are not seen in written form: communities lack of a writing system, small population numbers, minority facing a majority 'remote' location (from a metropolitan perspective), economically poor, low resource base, politically without voice, socially marginalized or stigmatized, and a little access to quality social services, such as education and healthcare (UNESCO, n.d.).

Based on the American Community Survey data collected from 2009 to 2013, United States languages expanded from 39 to 350. The survey was the most comprehensive data ever released from the Census Bureau on languages spoken less widely in the United States, such as Pennsylvania Dutch, Ukrainian, Turkish, Romanian, Amharic and many others. It also included 150 different Native North American languages,

collectively spoken by more than 350,000 people, including Yupik, Dakota, Apache, Keres and Cherokee (United States Census Bureau, 2015). According to the USCB (2015), English is the most predominant language spoken in the United States. Twenty-one percent of the population, or roughly 61 million people, speak a language other than English (as their first language). Spanish tops the list as the most oft spoken non-English language in the United States, accounting for 62 percent of all foreign language speakers, or a total of 38 million people. Other languages spoken in the United States, listed in order of prevalence, include Chinese (4.8 percent of the population), Tagalog (2.6%), Vietnamese (2.3%), French (2.1%), Korean (1.9%), German (1.8%), Arabic (1.6%), Russian (1.5%), African Languages (1.5%), Other Asian languages (1.4%), Italian (1.2%), French Creole (1.2%), Portuguese (1.1%) and Hindi (1.1%) (StudyCountry, n.d.).

In Africa, UNESCO revealed that there are 30% of the world's languages are spoken in the said continent (over 2000 languages) with only 18% spoken in Europe and the Americas (as cited in Roy-Campbell, 2006). The languages of Africa can be divided into five (5) language families: Congo-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Khoi-San and Malayo-Polynesian on Madagascar. The Congo-Kordofanian and the Afro-Asiatic groups have many common cultural and historical ties, and together they account for almost three-fourths of all the languages of Africa (Lodhi, 1993).

In Asia, Nandasara et al., (2009) estimated that there are 1.2 billion speakers of Sino-Tibetan language, 700 million Indo-Iranian speakers in India, and more than 200 million people in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran and other South and Middle-East Asian countries. They added that Malay in the Austronesian language family has around 250 million speakers in Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, the southern Philippines, and Thailand. Tamil, a Dravidian family, has about 200 million speakers in India. In same report, it was emphasized that there is an estimate of 200 million speakers of Semitic languages, that is, Arabic. Among the isolated languages, Japanese has the largest number of speakers with about 125 million and Korean follows with about 75 million (Nandasara et al., 2009).

In Asia Pacific region, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian affairs (OCHA) (2007) identified more than 3,200 languages in 28 major linguistic families. According to the said report Mandarin is specified to be spoken by almost 900 million people predominantly in China, while Papua New Guinea is home to over 800 languages, of which more than 350 are spoken by less than 1,000 people. While, in Australia, the 2011 Census of Population and Housing data released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) showed that more than 300 different languages are spoken in Australian households. In the said data, 76.8 percent of Australia's population speaks only English at home (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). The most commonly spoken languages other than English include Mandarin (1.6 per cent), Italian (1.4 per cent), Arabic (1.3 per cent), Cantonese (1.2 per cent) and Greek (1.2 percent). On the other hand, ABS revealed that of recent migrants, who arrived since 2006, 33.5 percent speak only English at home and another 54.1 percent speak another language and English either very well or well. Eleven and a half percent do not speak English well or at all (ABS, 2012).

In Europe, Special Eurobarometer (2012) exposed that there are 23 officially recognized languages, more than 60 indigenous regional and minority languages, and many non-indigenous languages spoken by migrant communities. Also, the survey revealed that the most widely spoken mother tongue is German (16%), followed by Italian and English (13% each), French (12%), then Spanish and Polish (8% each) in accordance with EU population (Special Eurobarometer, 2012). Furthermore, in Latin America, Spanish is the most spoken language in the mainland, as well as in Cuba, Puerto Rico (where it is co-official with English), and the Dominican Republic. Portuguese is also spoken throughout Latin America, but there is only one country where it is recognized as the official language, Brazil. Moreover, Native American languages are also widely spoken along with Spanish, such as in Peru (Quechua language), Guatemala, Bolivia (Aymara language), Paraguay (Guaraní language), and Mexico (Nahuatl language). In addition, French is also considered as the primary language of Haiti and French Guyana (The Language Factory Limited, 2016).

2.2 Heritage Language

Language is the core of every culture which an individual is able to create the meaning of human experience, thought, feeling, appearance, and behavior (Crossman, 2014). With such, individual thoughts are communicated as well as the cultural beliefs and practices of the communities which include the families, social groups, and other associations. In context, language is integrally intertwined with the concept of both the personal and the broader, societal levels as it is used to develop, strengthen, or even create a cultural, national, or other form of group identity (Amberg & Vause, 2009). It is a vehicle of symbolic value which includes the transfer of ideology as an individual socialized into ones culture (Tannenbaum & Abugov, 2010). As humans in society, the usage of language is for the purpose of continually to embrace ideas, share ones feelings comment on the world, and understand each other's minds (Brandone, Salkind, Golinkoff, & Pasek, 2006). This makes language as the hallmark of humanity, the ability that separates humans from animals where there is an organization of system of arbitrary signals and rule-governed structures that are used as a means of communication (Berko-Gleason, 1997).

Language is acquired through imitation, reinforcement and active construction (Fisher, 2014). Imitation happens when an individual hear speech around the area and copy it. While reinforcement takes place in a way where there is coaching when using language by praising and by correcting such circumstances, whereas active construction of language are determined by rules that are hypothesized by the linguistic inputs to achieve a grammatically right way of communicating with others (Fisher, 2014). These three are being developed through proximal zone of development that is simply practiced through social interaction as part of the learning process (Vygotsky, 1962). The role of shared language is greatly emphasized in the development of thought language. Moreover, language development is the result of a set of habits. Through verbal behavior an individual interact with the environment through stimulus-response conditioning. The learner of language receives linguistic input from speakers in the environment, and positive reinforcement for the correct repetitions and imitations. When language learner responses are reinforced positively, the acquisition of language is relatively easy to achieve (Skinner, 1957).

One important aspect of language that is being used by humans is the so called Heritage Language (HL). HL is often taken to be the language used in homes or familial contexts that is significantly culturally associated (Campbell & Peyton, 1998). It has been used broadly to refer to non-societal and non-majority languages spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities (Valdes, 2005). Linguistic minorities include populations who are either indigenous to a particular region of a present-day nation-state or populations that have migrated to areas other than their own regions or nations of origin (Valdes, 2005). Minority languages or heritage languages include indigenous languages that are often endangered and in danger of disappearing as well as world languages that are commonly spoken in many other regions of the world (Valdes, 2005). Some authors have alternative terms for it which is used in many countries most especially in the United States of America. These terms include "community language" (Baker & Jones, 1998; Corson, 1999; Wiley, 2005) and "home language" (e.g., Yeung, Marsh, & Suliman, 2000).

Historically, HL was first used in the Canadian context to refer to any language other than English and French intended to reference the languages spoken by indigenous, first nation people or by immigrants (Cummins, 1991). The evolution of HL broadens, suggesting that it should have a personal relevance to the cultural and ancestral way in dealing with it that is based on the indigenous perspective (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). The label heritage has been linked with primitivism (Baker & Jones, 1998). It suggests a trait or asset gained through birth, such as property or DNA, when language is not fixed but rather the product of interaction. Baker and Jones (1998) also note that alternatives like ethnic and ancestral language hold similar connotations while, as Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) points out, primary and native language often reflect inaccurate assessments of language competence.

As to the socio-cultural aspect, HL is distinctive in terms of assemblage of people who speak it. Its socio-cultural function is either a means of communication or as a way of identifying and transforming

socio-cultural groups (He, 2010). This term was deemed to be more appropriate in referring to community languages spoken by various ethno-cultural groups in various communities of people (Tavares, 2000). The presence of personal historical connection is very meaningful, most often because they come from homes in which the language is spoken (Bateman & Wilkinson, 2010, as cited in Rivera, 2013). In perspective, this language is a non-hegemonic minority language within a majority language environment, since it is the family language used and heard in restricted environments (Valdes, 2001, as cited in Rothman, 2007).

On the other hand, heritage speakers are bilinguals who usually come from immigrant and/or ethnic minority backgrounds (Albirini, 2014). They are those individuals who "have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interaction" (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222). Also, they are often sequential bilinguals (Montrul, 2008). The crucial criterion is that the heritage language was first in the order of acquisition but was not completely acquired because of the individual's switch to another dominant language or become attrited under pressure from the dominant host language (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013). They grow up speaking the language of their parents in the early stages of their lives and then shift to a second, typically more dominant language at or before school age. This language shift disrupts their first language (L1) development and often results in incomplete acquisition of different aspects of L1, particularly in areas that are acquired late by their monolingual counterparts (Albirini & Benmamoun, 2012; Montrul, 2008, as cited in Albirini, 2014). The other critical component of this definition has to do with identifying a continuum of proficiency, reflecting the tremendous variation in heritage language ability observed by several researchers (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Silva-Corvalán, 1994). Moreover, the narrow approach to HLs also differentiates between various levels of proficiency, which takes into account variation in HL (Kozminska, 2015). Thus, the term "heritage speaker" can be applied to individuals who speak or barely understand their HL (Carreira, 2004, as cited in Kozminska, 2015). Despite variation among heritage speakers, the speakers "fall along the continuum based upon the speakers' distance from the baseline" (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007, p. 368).

For an easy understanding, Montrul (2012) presented a table list on the major differences and similarities of both heritage speakers and L2 learners. It is very evident that both receive variable and perhaps non-optimal amounts of input in restricted environments. At the same time they differ in the timing of input (early in heritage speakers and late in L2 learners), the setting (home with naturalistic exposure in heritage speakers versus exposure via instruction in the classroom in L2 learners), and the modality of the input, which is predominantly aural in heritage speakers and written and (aural) through literacy in post puberty L2 learners (Montrul, 2012).

Table 1

Montrul's (2012) input differences and similarities between heritage speakers and L2 learners

Input	Heritage Speakers	L2 Learners
Timing	Early (childhood)	Late (around puberty)
Setting	Naturalistic (home)	Instructed (classroom) / (naturalistic, study abroad)
Mode	Aural	Written and aural (literacy)
Amount and frequency	Variable	Variable
Quality	Restricted to environment	Restricted to environment

2.3 On Heritage Language Acquisition

According to Rothman (2009), heritage language is acquired on the basis of an interaction with naturalistic input and whatever in-born linguistic mechanisms are at play in any instance of child language acquisition. However, Bohman, Bedore, Peña, Mendez-Perez, and Gillan (2010) contested that although language input is important for the first steps in acquisition; actual use of the language is an important predictor for ultimate attainment. Language acquisition follows particular orders and stages as it proceeds (Ellis, 1994). Frequency and variability of forms and structures are clearly implicated in these orders. In Spanish, for example, the tendency of monolingual children is first to express the present perfect by using only the past participle with no auxiliary verb ("yo caído" [I fallen]), followed in the next stage by use of the participle with the overgeneralized third

person singular form of the auxiliary ("yo ha caído" [I has fallen]), finally arriving at the normative "yo he caído" [I have fallen] or "me he caído" [reflexive pronoun I have fallen] in the latest stage (Serra, Serrat, Solé, Bel, & Aparici 2000). Moreover, frequency of forms and structures in interaction is directly related to acquisition and production (Lynch, 2003). The more frequent a form in discourse, the earlier it is acquired. For instance, in the Spanish verb system, present indicative, past indicative, and periphrastic future forms are the most frequent in everyday discourse, and they are also the first acquired by children (Serra et al., 2000). Montrul (2008) also shows that length of use of the heritage language affects proficiency. For example, a language can be completely lost in adoptees if they stop speaking the language at a young age or what he calls as critical period for language loss.

Speaker generation and birth order also affects HL acquisition. First-born children tend to develop higher levels of HL proficiency than do second and third-born children (Lambert & Taylor,1996, Zentella, 1997). Lambert's (1960) study of language attitudes in Canada, using the matched guise technique, demonstrated how complex—and how deceptive—the issue of attitudes can be in the realms of language contact and language learning. Nonetheless, the hypothesis with respect to attitudes and learning is a simple one: positive attitudes toward the target language equate with greater probability of success in learning, while negative attitudes would have just the opposite effect.

Research on language shift in relation to socioeconomic class has yielded interesting and, in some instances, contradictory findings. Among Mexican-Americans in Texas, for example, Sánchez (1983) claimed that being a member of a lower socioeconomic class entailed using more Spanish, principally for purposes of solidarity building. However, Amastae (1982) found that middle-class Mexican-Americans in Texas tend to value and maintain Spanish language skill more so than those of the lower class, probably because they have attained equitable socioeconomic status and, from their viewpoint, Spanish language is not an obstacle to economic success. On the contrary, it is an aspect of their heritage and their identity that should be maintained.

The notion of super-diversity has been developed by Vertovec (2007, 2010) to refer to the fact that in many contemporary societies very many norms and systems of usage co-exist and interact. Within different HL communities, there may well be competing norms: those of the home country and of the community in the country of immigration, but also of other groups that share the same language. For Example, Chileans living outside of Chile are confronted with the original norms of Chilean Spanish, implicit norms in the expatriate community, norms of Spanish from Spain, and norms from other Spanish-speaking countries such as Argentina or Mexico. Settlement arrangement can also influence language use and thereby the extent of language changes. Whereas some immigrants live together in special sections of large towns and have community shops, other immigrants might be rather isolated (Lynch, 2003). For example, Chinese migrants –who arrived before the 1990's –in the Netherlands, show the highest rates of residence outside the large cities (Extra, Aarts, Avoird, Broeder, & Yagmur, 2002; Geense & Tsui, 2001).

Heritage language acquisition not only builds confidence and enables children of immigrants to establish positive cultural identities, but it also supports overall academic skills development (Duff, 2008). Research shows that parents, particularly mothers, play a key role in literacy for young children (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2008; Kondo, 1998), likely because, in our gendered society, mothers are generally young children's primary caregivers. Because rich literacy practices are often embedded within family life, the home environment is often depicted as a key predictor for development of literacy skills in young children (Roberts, Jurgens, & Burchinal, 2005). In small communities, parental influences are seen to be greater than the role of peers in heritage language proficiency (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). The role of mothers, in particular, is emphasized when they transmit heritage language skills, particularly spoken oral skills (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2008; Kondo, 1998).

Studies show that simply speaking language at home is not enough to support full acquisition and maintenance of heritage languages (Kondo, 1998, p. 394). Rather, more efforts from parents as well as proper

resources are required. According to Weigel, Martin, and Bennette (2005), early studies of home literacy environments tended to focus on shared book reading while more recent research has viewed home literacy environments as 'complex and multifaceted' (Burgess, Hetch, & Lonigan, 2002, as cited in Grieshaber, Shield, Luke, & Macdonald, 2012). As Tett (2000) posits, families identify literacy practices based on what they already know and do in the home and community --whether it is reading storybooks or recipes, engaging in writing activities, board games or TV viewing, trips to the library, reading street signs and menus, or browsing in bookstores (Saracho, 2002).

In addition, the population of Papua New Guinea speaks around 800 different languages, and gradually more and more of them are being used in education. That takes books and libraries, adequate teaching, literature and a dynamic literate environment – all in the local language. Children in primary school and adults in literacy groups have the chance to gain literacy skills in their own languages – and through that experience acquire literacy in other languages as well (UNESCO, n.d.). Schieffelin and Ochs's (1986) language socialization proposes that children's acquisition of language has a distinct correlation to their acquisition of culture. Children become linguistically and culturally competent through interactions with their caregivers or other more competent community members. Through language learning and communicating with caregivers or community members, children pick up a variety of aspects around the target cultural context, including the values and beliefs of the language, and the social status of people who speak the language (Park & King, 2003).

3. Methodology

This research study made use of qualitative phenomenological study because it attempts to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin, 1994). Moreover, it's an inquiry process based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, and reporting detailed views of informants (Cresswell, 1994). Informative data was gathered through the use of a comprehensive interview to determine in detail the respondents' challenges in maintaining heritage language. Narrative study was employed to explain the respondents' experiences on the challenges in maintaining their heritage language.

3.1 Participants and Setting

Thirty-two Cordilleran students enrolled in the School of Teacher Education, Saint Louis University, Baguio City, Philippines participated in this study. This study used purposive sampling for the selection of respondents. This permitted the researchers to select a group of individuals that is most qualified to answer the questions and to decide on the specific information sources essential to gain insight into the research study (Burns & Groves, 2011).The respondents must be born and raised in any of the provinces of the Cordillera Administrative Region with both native parents from the Cordillera and whose first language is any of the following heritage languages: Kankanaey, Ibaloi, Itneg (Tinguian), Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, Isneg, Iwak, Kalanguya, Ga'dang, Isnag, Applai, Bago, I-lagod, Balangao, Ikallahan, Karaw, Ilongot, Ibanag, Isinal, Itawis (Reid, 2009).

3.2 Materials and Procedures

An audio recorder served as the tool used in this study to capture the responses of the respondents. A comprehensive interview by means of an interview guide questions was utilized in conducting the interview with some follow-up questions to gain deeper understanding regarding the answers of the respondents that were asked orally and were recorded. A formal entrance from the researchers explaining the purpose of the study and significance of the respondents' participation in the fulfillment of the study was included. The respondents were interviewed at their most convenient time and their anonymity was assured. The respondents were allowed to use their own mother tongue or their first language during the interview as they are able to freely express themselves. The interview generally lasted for about 45 minutes for each respondent and was voice-recorded. As for the data that was gathered, it was treated confidentially.

The interpretation and analysis of the data were presented through the use of coding approaches, in which

the researchers read and annotated the transcripts of the data from the audio files. Open coding was done by looking for distinct concepts and categories of the answers followed by the axial coding. In axial coding, the use of concepts and categories were done while re-reading the text to confirm that the concepts and categories are accurately represented through the interview responses and explore concepts and categories that are related. Then, the researchers used the cool and warm analysis to analyze the data that were gathered and were categorized according to the theme gathered from the responses of the respondents. In the cool analysis, the researchers culled the significant statement and were able to come up with data categories while in the warm analysis the researchers identified the essence of the phenomenon.

4. Results and Discussion

This study was able to identify three themes which emerged based from the responses gathered from the respondents.

4.1 Migration Effect

Migration is the physical movement of people within and between social systems. Certain groups of people move outside the original labor market, across state borders, or within the region due to conditions of push factors and pull factors (Perlich, 2007). Such conditions are due to political and personal safety reasons. Also, people move because of the nature of the area where there is the lower cost of living or better business and economic conditions. Whatever the reasons for migration, it has definite effects, not only on people but also on the places (Mooman, 2015).

One of the many reasons why the respondents migrated in Baguio City is because of the nature of work of their parents. According to them there is less opportunity of career in their provinces. If they choose to stay in their province they might end up farming which they think it cannot suffice their basic needs and wants most especially in their studies. All of them are enrolled in Saint Louis University (SLU). SLU is the largest university north of Manila that is centrally situated in a six-hectare campus in the heart of Baguio City (Saint Louis University, n.d.).

> *"My parents decided to migrate here in Baguio City for greener pasture. In the province, most of our relatives are into farming. If you want a simple life, you stay in the province. Yet, according to my father he had the ambition to send us all to the university and finish our studies. That is why he has to work so hard and earn enough money in his job here in Baguio City."* - [Male, Ifugao]

Due to migration, most of them admitted that they do not have much time using their HL. Most of their neighbors, classmates, and friends are from other provinces that have different languages spoken, too. Such scenario is a manifestation of linguistic enclave. A linguistic enclave is defined as a work site in which one or more languages is used (Boyd, 2009). Ammon, and Hellinger (1992) said that linguistic enclave population may be transformed into linguistic minority through a gradual physical and psychological erosion of its boundaries in the form of immigration by "outsiders", and reduction in boundary maintaining behavior patterns when the cultural core of such an autonomous group begins to "weaken" as a result of greater exposure to the mainstream. Ammon and Hellinger (1992) expound further that this transition period is characterized by increasing language contact and language conflict with gradual status demotion of the foreign high variety until; ultimately, the institutions which have hitherto supposed diglossia opt for language shift.

The respondents disclosed that most of the time they have the hard time adjusting in their socialization with others. As shared by them, there is some point that they feel inferior if they use their language because some of their neighbors or classmates laugh or may even play jokes with them. As a consequence they are forced to use Ilocano, Tagalog or English in which most of the residents of Baguio City can understand.

"Originally, I'm from Mountain Province. My parents are from Bontoc. Because of greater job opportunities here in Baguio, we migrated together with my siblings. I know how to speak Kankanaey, but I don't usually use it because our neighbors don't know how to speak Kankanaey, so I use either Tagalog, English or Ilocano. Sometimes, I felt I belong to the group when I'm with my friends who are speaking Kankanaey." - [Female, Kankanaey]

The respondents also revealed that the medium of instruction that is used in school had a major impact in their daily use of their HL. According to them it is either Tagalog or English is mostly used by their teachers in explaining concepts, ideas and principles regarding their subjects being taught. Also, they are greatly encouraged to ask and answer questions based on the medium of instruction in class during class discussions. They can only use their HL once they are with their families, relatives and friends who speak the same language of their own outside the university campus.

"I prefer to use Ayangan but because I am here in Baguio I have no choice. Also, in our school, our teachers use either Tagalog or English" - [Female, Ifugao]

Majority of them exposed that they cannot wait for the semester to end for they can have the chance in spending their vacations in their provinces. It is the time where they can be with their ethnic group and can speak again their HL with pride and self-confidence. Once the vacation ends, the same challenges they encounter with the use of their HL. As a consequence, there are circumstances that they are confused as to whether they go back to Baguio City and continue studying there or to transfer school of where they can use their HL much of the time. According to them, it is easy to express their opinions and ideas if they are permitted to share their reasoning using their HL. Such would greatly encourage them to participate in class actively. According to Terry and Irving (2010) a great challenge for students from diverse language backgrounds encounters this difficulty every day in schools. Additionally, Terry and Irving (2010) emphasized that language and culture are intertwined; thus, language minority students are expected to learn and use a new language and new cultural dispositions effectively. Often, this new language and culture is different from what they have learned at home.

"I am very happy during semester break. I am excited seeing my friends and relatives in our province. I feel at home. I can speak my heritage language without hesitation." - [Male, Kalinga]

On the other hand, most of them have the hopes that their parents will decide to settle for a lifetime in their provinces after they finish their studies. They want to race a family in the place where they were born, and teach their future children the same language they were taught by their parents. Also, they are very optimistic that their classmates and neighbors be of great interest or curiosity in learning their HL. They are very willing to teach them if given a chance of introducing it with them.

"I am very much interested in teaching them for free if they are willing to learn our language. It is one way to promote our language if that happens." - [Female, Ibaloi]

With the above circumstances, it is truly right to say the migration affects language shifting, which is evident among the Cordilleran students in the use of their HL. Based on the idea of Herman (2005), in a situation where the migrants are in a minority, they will be influenced by their hosts. He expounded it by stating that in most countries, immigrants are expected to assimilate, to adapt to the norms and cultures of the host country where they reside. On the other hand, when the migrants are of majority, they will influence the hosts with their cultures, languages, and customs because when people come into contact with one another there is always a possibility to influence one another either through their languages, belief systems, and customs. Moreover, it is reasonable to deduce that the migration of people is a leading cause of contact-induced change. In other words, migration is an extra-linguistic factor leading to externally-motivated change. In every case of migration, except where a homogeneous group of people moves to an isolated location, language or dialect contact ensues

(Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Trudgill, 1986).

4.2 Code Switching

Code switching (CS) is the mixing of words, phrases, and sentences from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event (Bokamba, 1989). In other words, code switching is a term in linguistics referring to replacement between two or more languages in a single conversation, stretch of discourse, or utterances between people who have more than one language in common. Speakers of more than one language are known for their ability to code switch or mix their language during communication. This phenomenon occurs when the speaker substitutes a word or phrase from one language to a phrase or word from another language (Richard, 1985).

As a social process, code switching has been understood to provide multi-linguals with a resource for indexing situational salient aspects of context in speakers' attempts to accomplish interactional goals (Heller, 1988). Furthermore, it has also been viewed as embedding relationships and attitudes in a wider social context. Woolard (1989) sees code switching as socially motivated, functional and strategic, and represents the intersection of social identity, consciousness, and action. Blom and Gumperz (1972) note that code switching as being either situational or metaphorical and can show clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations.

According to Abastillas (2015), there are two overarching types of CS, intrasentential and intersentential. Intersentential CS is achieved through the alternation between two or more languages for each phrase uttered. That is, one language is used for utterance A, while another is used for utterance B. Intrasentential CS is a bit more difficult to demarcate as it can resemble non-CS language contact phenomena (Bullock & Toribio, 2009 as cited in Abastillas, 2015). Typically, intrasentential CS involves a base language A with language B interspersed throughout. Other types of CS involve tag-line CS (Bullock & Toribio, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 2003, as cited in Abastillas, 2015), in which the preceding sentence is composed of language A, while the tag phrase is in language B.

The respondents admitted that they unconsciously mixed words as they communicate with others. This is very evident as they are with their friends, relatives, and most especially with their family members. Most often they are mixing two or three languages at the same time. It is common that Tagalog, Ilocano or English is mixed with their HL in which their parents are quite alarmed. They are bothered about what initial actions are they going to do for their children refrain from fusing words as they are with each other in their home. In the report of the respondents, they exclaimed that their parents want them to be identified as Cordillerans not only with their customs and traditions but it goes with how they use their HL fluently.

> *"Not really, sometimes it's mixed… I speak straight, but it's mixed. My parents keep on asking me on what is the reason for mixing. They are even worried about what is happening. There were those moments when they asked me if I am doing it for fun or is it coming out unconsciously." -* [Female, Balangao]

Moreover, the respondents exclaimed that CS mostly happens in the school where they study. It is noted that the university where they are attending is an institution that serves from the different regions of the Philippines and the world. That means to say that they are exposed to several languages aside from the commonly spoken languages or dialects of Baguio City (place where their school is situated) which are Ilocano, Tagalog, English, Kankana-ey, Ibaloi, Pangasinan, Kapampangan, and Ifugao (Quintin, 2014). According to Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (2016), "the number of individual languages listed for Philippines is 187. Of these, 183 are living and 4 are extinct. Of the living languages, 175 are indigenous and 8 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 41 are institutional, 73 are developing, 45 are vigorous, 13 are in trouble, and 11 are dying." On the other hand, the California State University, Northridge (n.d.) stated the major languages spoken in the Philippines: Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon (Ilonggo), Ilocano, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Tagalog, and Waray. The language being

taught all over the Philippines is Tagalog and English.

Likewise, the respondents admitted that they often code switch if they talk with other bilingual speakers. Crystal (1987) enumerated some of the reasons why language speakers shift or mix from one language to another. First, code or language switching occurs when an individual who is bilingual alternates between two languages during his/her speech with another bilingual person. This includes those who make irregular use of a second language, are able to use a second language but have not for some time (dormant bilingualism) or those who have considerable skill in a second language (Crystal, 1987). Second, code switching commonly occurs when an individual wishes to express solidarity with a particular social group. Rapport is established between the speaker and the listener when the listener responds with a similar switch.

> *"Not all of us in school are Cordillerans. I have classmates from other provinces. I also have*
> *classmates who have different nationalities. So, what do you speak? For us to understand one*
> *another, we regularly use English or Tagalog in school. That is why I often mix words or phrases*
> *of our heritage language as I converse with them." -* [Male, Kalanguya]

Additionally, the respondents mentioned that there are some moments during class recitation that they unintentionally combine their HL to the mode of instruction in class. This makes their teachers and classmates wonder and ask them about what do they exactly mean. Sometimes, they just stay quiet as if nothing happens. There are also some points that they want to be clarified what they said yet sometimes it is hard for them to find the right word in English or Tagalog. Most significantly, there are some expressions in their language that has no direct translation in English or Tagalog.

> *"There are moments in class where I utter words that our ethnic group can only understand. I am*
> *trying to figure out its translation in English or Tagalog but it seems it has a different meaning."*
> *-* [Male, Bontoc]

Furthermore, CS also happens once they are in their provinces most especially during vacations. Due to languages contact with other speakers, they tend to unconsciously borrow some words from them, which is resulting to unintentionally using it in their daily conversation with their neighbors in their respective provinces. This language contact is a cause of 'any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation' (Thomason, 2001). Such situation is strongly corroborated with the study of Reger (1995) and Matras (2000) on European-Roma language approaches which exposed that students returning to their hometowns during university vacations found themselves with dual allegiances resulting in new dialect-mixing patterns that are not characteristic of the stay-at-homes (Blom & Gumperz, 1972).

> *"My friends in the province often notice that if I talk with them, I use words that are borrowed*
> *from my classmates and friends in our school. Sometimes they giggle as they are telling me their*
> *observations on how I converse with them." -* [Female, Itneg]

In the discussion of Hickey (2010) in his article entitled, Language Contact: Reconsideration and Reassessment, he said that the amount of contact-induced change can vary in the development of a language. Further, he mentioned that the period of contact, its intensity and duration, and the social setting are all factors which need to be weighed up carefully. According to Sankoff (n.d) though most language contact situations lead to unidirectional, rather than bidirectional linguistic results, conditioned by the social circumstances, it is also the case that linguistic structure overwhelmingly conditions the linguistic outcomes. On the other hand, lexicon is clearly the most readily borrowable element, and borrowing lexicon can lead to structural changes at every level of linguistic structure (Muysken, 1985; 1999, as cited in Sankoff, n.d.).

On the other hand, language contact leads to language borrowing. Borrowing is the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time (Hoffer, 2002). According to Bloomfield (as cited in Muhvic-Dimanovski, n.d.)

there are three types of barrowing: cultural borrowing, intimate borrowing, and dialectic borrowing. By means of cultural borrowing words are borrowed for new concepts, things and ideas, while in intimate borrowing two or more languages have to be used within the same geographical area or the same political community where the so called "higher" language becomes the source of borrowing for the language with a lower sociolinguistic status. Dialectic borrowing takes place within one language where the standard can borrow from the dialect or vice-versa, or one dialect can borrow from another (Muhvic-Dimanovski, n.d.).

On the same manner, the respondents exclaimed that they borrowed words which they often hear from their friends. Most of those are verbal expressions which they sometimes hear or watch from the televisions and internet. Also, they admitted that there are those words which do not have exact definitions in their heritage language. Such are words that are scientific in nature or are used in modern technologies.

> *"Of course there are circumstances that I tend to mix words or phrases which do not have counterparts in our heritage language. There are those expressions that I hear from my classmates or friends which I think they also heard or watched on the television or the internet."*
> - [Female, Kalinga]

> *"There are English or scientific terminologies that we learned from school discussions that have no exact interpretation or meaning in our heritage language. So instead of thinking the nearest meaning of those words I just mix it with our heritage language."* - [Male, Ibaloi]

Language change presupposes diffusion from individuals or smaller groups to the speech community as a whole, and this applies to language contact every bit as much as to internal linguistic change (Sankoff, n.d.). With such circumstances, it is construed that though code switching plays a challenging role on the usage of heritage language, it performs various functions in its naturally occurring context at the same time. Generally, speakers code switch to manipulate or influence or define situation as they wish and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention (Sert, 2005).

With the above circumstances, it can be concluded with what Skiba (1997) had mentioned in his article entitled Code Switching as a Countenance of Language Interference. According to him code switching may be viewed as an extension to language for bilingual speakers rather than an interference and from other perspectives it may be viewed as interference, depending on the situation and context in which it occurs. He expounded that this conclusion is drawn from the notions that switching occurs when a speaker: needs to compensate for some difficulty, express solidarity, convey an attitude or show social respect (Crystal, 1987; Berthold, Mangubhai, & Bartorowicz, 1997, as cited in Skiba, 1997). The switching also occurs within postulated universal constraints such that it may be integrated into conversations in a particular manner (Poplack, 1980; Cook, 1991, as cited in Skiba, 1997).

4.3 Linguistic Discrimination

Linguistic discrimination is also called as linguicism or languagism. It is the unfair treatment of an individual based solely on their use of language. This use of language may include the individual's native language or other characteristics of the person's speech, such as an accent, the size of vocabulary - whether the person uses complex and varied words and syntax (Penning, 2014). Linguicism was first defined as "linguistically related racism" in the early 1990s by Danish linguist, Dr. Robert Phillipson (1992). He described linguicism as ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (p. 47). Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) said that linguicism are beliefs, attitudes, and actions whereby differences of language serve to structure inequality between linguistic groups. In addition, Chen-Hayes (1998) define linguicism as prejudice multiplied by power used by members of dominant language groups against members of non-dominant language groups.

The respondents revealed that most of the time they feel insulted if other people are playing with how they utter, pronounce and enunciate words based from their heritage language. There are moments that other people deal with it with sarcasm. With such, the respondents admitted that they feel inferior. But that does not mean to say that their heritage language is inferior of its existence. According to them, they feel inferior in the sense that they do not want to argue. Instead, they just stay quiet as if nothing happens. They want to prove that they are not a quarrelsome ethnic group of people. They want to show that they can maintain a good relationship with others regardless of ethnicity and language one can speak.

> *"What is hurting and discriminating is when others imitate our heritage language with irony. They imitate it with exaggeration. Their jokes are sometimes below the belt already. There was this instance when one of my classmates said: "Is that an alien word?" That offended me."* - [Male, Ifugao]

> *"Just because I want to prove that I am an educated person, I just stay quiet. We are a peace loving group of people. All we want is to embrace diversity. And, we want them to do the same thing with us."* - [Female, Kankanaey]

Further, the respondents exposed that what is more discriminating is that some of those of whom they are in-contact with often associate their heritage language with their way of living, and their status in life. This is worst discriminating according to them because they are regarded differently, and the scope is not only focused with their heritage language but with cultural bias as a whole. The respondents seriously mentioned that this act is more than bullying. Based on a difference in use of language, a person may automatically form judgments about another person's wealth, education, social status, character or other traits (The Legal Aid Society-Employment Law Center, & the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation of North California, 2002). These perceived judgments may then lead to the unjustifiable treatment of the individual. As a result, racism and linguicism operate together when "they are constantly reinforced through daily discourses and actions that make them seem natural, increasing their power through making them less likely to be challenged" (Ruecker, 2011). Meanwhile, the intersectionality of racism and linguicism has been explored by the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) researchers (Kubota & Lin, 2009; Liggett, 2014; Malsbary, 2014; Ruecker, 2011). For example, in her ethnographic study in an English as a Second Language (ESL) program at a diverse public high school in California, Malsbary (2014) examined how white supremacy created a condition in which hyper-segregated ESL students were perceived by others as intellectually inferior.

> *"Worst is that when other people do not only discriminate our heritage language, but, they do judge our culture in its entirety. This proves that they are ignorant of our culture. Our language is just a part of our culture, and it is unfair to judge us as a whole."* - [Female, Itneg]

> *"This is more than bullying. It certainly affects me as a person."* - [Female, Bontoc]

In a broader perspective, language discrimination comes in many forms, which call for different approaches to their amelioration. One is classified as intergroup discrimination because it involves institutional practices and policies that undermine the opportunities, status, or well-being of the target language group as a whole. Language discrimination; however, can also be perpetrated and experienced as primarily interpersonal. In these cases, discrimination involves the actions of individuals (alone or in small groups) directed toward a particular individual because of his or her membership in a particular language group (Wright & Bougie, 2007). In an optimistic perspective, it is worthy to note that language is a very noticeable and valuable means to establish and promote a person's social and ethnic identities (Lippi-Green, 1997). It is a possession of all human that nobody by all means should prejudice and discriminate.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Resultant to the study made, the researchers found out that the 32 Cordilleran college students currently

enrolled in the School of Teacher Education, Saint Louis University, Baguio City, Philippines are facing the following challenges in maintaining their heritage language: migration effect, code switching, and linguistic discrimination. These challenges served as barriers in their daily interaction with their schoolmates, friends, and the people around them; thus, hindering them from maintaining their heritage language.

Based on the interviews from the respondents, it is observed that most of these challenges are brought about by several factors that have affected in the maintenance of their heritage language. Due to the nature of the work of their parents and the strong determination to finish college they migrated to a place of where they can fullfil their dreams in which hardly they can attain in their provinces. As a result, they are exposed to people of diverse cultural background that have an impact on the usage of their heritage language. This condition prompts the Cordilleran students to adjust and adapt of what the society dictates most especially on the use of language. They have the tendency to code switch from one language to another. Code switching is crucial to build relationship, uphold harmony in the community, and establish rapport with another group of people in a place which accommodates a diversity of cultures. Further, as they code switched they unconsciously acquire some words that are becoming to be part of their daily vocabulary. There are some instances in which they feel inferior as they converse with other people. They are linguistically discriminated that some of their friends imitate their accent and make fun of sarcastic remarks on their heritage language.

The school is seen to be the place where most of the time code switching and linguistic discrimination are experienced by the respondents. It commonly occurs in the classroom where they strictly follow classroom standards, and the language medium of instruction. English, Filipino or Ilocano language is mostly used in class discussion, giving of feedbacks, recitation, answering questions, giving instructions, etc. Having exposed to classmates and teachers from the different regions of the Philippines and some part of the world, it is certain that the school is a major source of their daily experiences of these challenges.

Despite all the above challenges, the respondents are very positive and open-minded that others will show interest in knowing, understanding and learning their heritage language. They are very eager to find ways and means on how to promote their heritage language with others. Based on the findings, it is then recommended that future researchers shall include other students from other regions of the Philippines to uncover other challenges in maintaining their heritage language. In addition, it is also proposed to widen the range of the respondent by including parents and teachers in the process of the data gathering to recognize their roles in the maintenance of heritage language. Moreover, it is also suggested to explore the effect of these challenges in the respondents' life and their community. Furthermore, it is also recommended that future researchers should study the different challenges faced by the different age group in maintaining their heritage language. In addition, it is also suggested that future researchers should research about the actions that the family, school, and community are doing in facing these challenges. Finally, future researchers are urged to distinguish the effects of migration, code switching, and linguistic discrimination in the maintenance of heritage language.

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