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Vietglish: Translanguaging in Vietnamese and English

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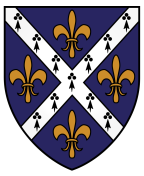

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the translanguaging patterns of five Vietnamese-American individuals residing in the state of California, focusing on the attitudes, motivations, and insights of these participants on their use of Vietnamese as a heritage language. Since the beginning of large-scale immigration from Vietnam to the United States following the sociopolitical events of the 1970s, overseas Vietnamese communities have had extensive contact with the language and culture of the new host countries to which they had emigrated. This study specifically investigates the translanguaging practice of combining Vietnamese and English within conversations and utterances for daily, vernacular use, informally dubbed "Vietglish".

In the first phase of the research project, natural-speech audio files were extracted by five participants through hands-off recordings of conversations in the home. These recordings were transcribed and analyzed for meaning and translanguaging occurrences. In the second phase of the research project, participants were remotely interviewed using discourse-based interview questions as well as stimulated recall measures. These interviews were also transcribed, and the transcripts were analyzed for instances of translanguaging and dynamic language use across Vietnamese and English based on content as well as form.

The findings suggest that these five inhabitants of Orange County, CA, U.S.A. are highly motivated to maintain the use of Vietnamese and English in their community and families. These participants also monitor and regulate their language use in order to convey respect and deference to both their immediate superiors or elders, as well as to express respect and emotional ties to abstract concepts and events. While

participants varyingly reported negative emotions about the use of Vietglish, all interviewees indicated that they use Vietglish daily, nearly everyday, or otherwise regularly.

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I am eternally grateful for the incredible patience, clear guidance, genuine care, and endless positivity shown to me by my supervisor, Dr. Heath Rose, whose advice and support for succeeding in this program and beyond will never be forgotten. I would also like to thank my friends at home and in Oxford, particularly the Last Supper group; our shenanigans kept me going through the worst of the UK's pandemic lockdown mandates and reminded me that even when times look bleak, reasons to laugh are never far away. I am also indebted to my participants who allowed me such an intimate look into their personal and daily lives for the sake of research, knowledge, and empowerment of the Việt kiều community. Lastly, none of this would have of course been possible without the help of my parents, who will always have my love and will always be my first stop for support, advice, and guidance (even if you beg me to let you escape to a nursing home!)

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The phenomenon of multilingual individuals and communities regularly utilizing different elements of their linguistic repertoire is not novel, nor is it even only newly-noticed. Given various labels and categorizations, including code-mixing, code-switching, code-meshing, and translanguaging, this practice is particularly of interest in minority communities and enclaves where the spoken heritage language differs from that of the majority population. While relatively little attention has been paid to Vietnamese sociolinguistics (and even less to the interaction of Vietnamese and English together), there is evidence for combining other languages typologically-similar to Vietnamese with English, especially dialects of Chinese, though these instances of translanguaging have not received as much attention as Indo-European languages have. Chinese Pidgin English, "Canton English", or "broken English", has been recorded as early as the 1700s in the south of China as traders mingled and worked with the British (Zhang, 2012). In Hong Kong, "New Chinglish" is used particularly freely with younger generations, both online and orally to express a distinctly Hong Kong identity (Li et al., 2020). Individuals in Korean-American families were found to use English with their friends and siblings, but were expected to use Korean with their parents and elders in the community to show respect (Shim, 2014). The Vietnamese overseas population, estimated to be between 4-4.5 million (Viet Nam Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012), presents itself as a robust population for which translanguaging research may be worthwhile and widely relevant.

1.2 Research Aims

The present dissertation aims to investigate the same facets of identity, expression, and communication in Vietnamese-Americans residing in the state of California. By doing so, this study hopes to add to the limited breadth of work studying Vietnamese in contact with other languages, particularly English. Vietnamese as a heritage or contact language has been studied relatively little (Tuc, 2003; Nguyen, D., 2018; Nguyen, L., 2018, 2020), and work targeting the Vietnamese populations in California, USA is even more restricted, despite California having the highest concentration and population of Vietnamese in the world outside of Vietnam. This research project therefore aims to help to fill the gap in documentation and understanding of the Vietnamese-English vernacular spoken by Californian Vietnamese-Americans, or "Vietglish".

1.3. Dissertation Structure

This dissertation contains the following six chapters: Chapter 1, which introduces the research aims, preliminary background information, and motivations behind this study; Chapter 2, which presents an overview of relevant background empirical and theoretical literature related to translanguaging, Vietnamese linguistics, and Vietnamese-American sociocultural history and contexts; Chapter 3, which presents the methodology used for the undertaking of this dissertation's research, including the design, target population and recruitment, data gathering and analysis, and ethical considerations; Chapter 4, which presents the results and findings based on data gathered from five participants from home recordings and interviews; Chapter 5, which summarizes the major findings and compares them in context to other relevant pieces of literature and research; and Chapter 6, which concludes the dissertation by

again summarizing the major findings of the study, acknowledging its limitations, and suggests possibilities and implications for future research.

2. Review of Background Literature

2.1. Introduction

Various theories and models of language have been proposed in order to account for the language patterns unique to multilinguals. Traditional multilingualism research is often based on first-language acquisition in children, despite the fact that monolingual and multilingual children learn and use language differently (Cook, 2001). However, often, multilinguals use their languages nonlinearly and cannot completely separate their language knowledge, regularly making cross-linguistic connections (Cummins, 2007; Vogel & García, 2017). The Common Underlying Proficiency Hypothesis (CUP), introduced by Cummins (1979), suggests that sequential bilinguals' first language contributes to their competence in their second language, both being interrelated and mutually influential. More recently, the lens of translanguaging, which is that adopted by this study, attempts to capture the dynamic, extralinguistic, and expressive ways which multilinguals use the whole of their linguistic and semiotic repertoires.

This section will provide a brief overview of code-switching and code-mixing, including a brief discussion of the Myers-Scotton Matrix Framework Model. It will then move on to discussing the lens of multicompetence, and then provide a more detailed explanation of translanguaging research and theory. Finally, it will present research and discussion of the Vietnamese diaspora and the sociolinguistic landscape of Vietnamese families living in America, concluding with what the present dissertation aims to investigate.

2.2. Code-Switching and Mixing

Code-switching is a language practice unique and common to multilinguals, though often erroneously stigmatized as bad or broken language proficiency. Code-switching refers to the "switch" between two languages within the same utterance or conversation (Barkhuizen, 2006; Garcia & Li, 2014; Tuc, 2003). Switching can also be further distinguished between those made intersententially or intrasententially — those made at sentential boundaries (between sentences), or those made in the middle of a sentence (Tuc, 2003; Nguyen, D., 2018). Barkhuizen (2006) further distinguishes between intra- and intersentential language changes as code-mixing and code-switching respectively, while other researchers use the term code-mixing as a more general phenomenon that includes code-switching.

Code-switching has also been observed to have its own syntactic structures, constraints, and observable patterns (Jake, Myers-Scotton, & Gross, 2002; Paradis, Nicoladis, & Genesee, 2000; Tuc, 2003). Poplack's (1980) Constraint Based Model analyzes code-switching in terms of constraints, rather than allowances. Notably, code-switching and mixing could also be governed by sociolinguistic competence, rather than grammatical (Paradis & Genesee, 1996). As a phenomenon, code-switching in immigrant families may indicate signs of language shift from the heritage language to the language of the new environment; for example, children may prefer to speak the language of the new host country, while the parents continue to prefer their heritage language (Barkhuizen, 2006). Additionally, children have been found to code-switch at similar rates of their parents (Tang, 2007). Jessner (2005) found that metalanguage can be a predictor of a switch in trilingual speakers.

The Myers-Scotton Matrix Framework Model has been proposed in order to address the phenomenon of code-switching within a Universal Grammar (UG) and Minimalist Program (MP) context (Jake, Myers-Scotton, & Gross, 2002). It states that code-switching relies upon a matrix language

(ML), which takes dominance and sets the morpho-syntactic standard for multilingual speech (Jake, Myers-Scotton, & Gross, 2002). Thus, individual morphemes of one language are embedded into the grammar of the matrix language (Tuc, 2003).

Over time, code-switching and code-mixing research has drawn some criticism, namely that code-switching research draws false distinctions between monolingual and multilingual norms and linguistic behaviors (Conteh, 2018). The concept of switching languages assumes that each named language is separate, distinct, and isolated from the other(s), and that their only significance is of produced structural form (Li, 2018). Thus, code-switching assumes that named language categories define and control multilingual language behavior, which may not be the case (de Bot, 2016; Garcia & Li, 2014; Vogel & Garcia, 2017).

2.3. Multicompetence

In response to the monolingual or monocompetent bias perceived in UG research, Cook (1991) proposed the notion of multicompetence, arguing that research and theory should avoid comparing monolingual and multilingual patterns of speech; multicompetence should be seen as a normal part of language knowledge and use (Cook, 1992; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). Multicompetence, then, should take into account an individual's overall system of linguistic competence in any degree, rather than treating multilingual utterances as deficient or weaker in one language, as might be perceived in the Matrix Framework Model of code-switching, in which the matrix language is seen as dominant (Cook, 2016; Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). Cook (2016) later amended the concept of multicompetence, describing it as a more general lens or attitude through which all forms of linguistic knowledge are recognized and normalized, even if they diverge from monolingual norms. After all, bilinguals are not two

monolinguals within one brain, and bilinguals do not have two heads (Cook, 1992). Additionally, bilingual children and adults have different life experiences and cultural knowledge than monolinguals, which affects the way they perceive, retain, and process language and information (Cook, 2016; Cummins, 1979). Therefore, continuing to try and define multilingual speech in terms of monolingual norms would be nonsensical (Cummins, 2007).

2.4. Dynamic Systems

The Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) sees code-switching patterns as indicative of nonlinear multilingual language use (de Bot et al., 2007). Compatible with Cook's premises of multicompetence, discussed above, DST posits that language systems are interdependent, and that language acquisition occurs as a result of interaction in social contexts and cultural transmission (de Bot, 2016; de Bot et al., 2007). De Bot (2016) states that within DST, there are no separate language systems, only "discourses", or subsets of items that speakers select based on appropriateness for specific social contexts and interactions. These subsets are dynamic in that they constantly change and reorganize depending on input from the environment and from each other (de Bot, 2016). Another key aspect of DST is that linguistic growth is viewed as gradual and iterative, depending on what has previously been learned before (de Bot et al., 2007). However, the processes of growth and decline, rather than mutually exclusive, are rather one and the same — when one system grows, the other, due to its interconnectedness with the first, will also be impacted (de Bot et al., 2007).

2.5. Translanguaging

The framework of translanguaging, which this research project adopts, focuses not on which individual languages or language systems an individual has competence in, but on their full and entire linguistic repertoire and available resources, including linguistic and cultural knowledge (Conteh, 2018; Duarte, 2020). Originally coined by Cen Williams (1994) to refer to Welsh students' classroom linguistic practice of alternating input and output language, and later translated into English by Baker (2001), translanguaging highlights how bilinguals fluidly use all of their linguistic and knowledge resources to accomplish their communicative goals, transcending narrowly defined language cues and boundaries (Duarte, 2020; Li, 2011, 2018; Vogel & Garcia, 2017). Translanguaging conveys not only semantic information, but also values of identity, interpersonal interaction and relationships, history, and emotional and symbolic values attached to speech practices (Garcia & Li, 2014; Gu, 2014; Li, 2018; Vogel & Garcia, 2017). Thus, translanguaging involves all of a speaker's cognitive and social resources (Garcia & Li, 2014). The terms *polylingualism* (Jorgenson, 2008), *translingual practice* (Canagarajah, 2012), and *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010) all have been applied to the same practice (Vogel & Garcia, 2017).

A large argument for translanguaging lies in the fact that even when multilingual speakers produce only one language for a stretch of time, they are not necessarily only *thinking* in that one language; the wide range of aspects associated with identity, emotion, and cognition would be hard pressed to be isolated to only one language or another (Li, 2018). Perhaps most importantly, rather than a simple binary switch (as in a code-switch) between languages, translanguaging encompasses the continuous breaking of boundaries and constructions into original utterances and practices that do not conform to traditional understandings of any of the speaker's original named languages (Garcia & Li, 2014; Li et al.,

2020; Vogel & Garcia, 2017). Because the borders between different varieties or branches of named languages are blurred, translanguaging frameworks claim that there are no such things as named languages, only flexible and adaptable ways in which an individual speaker decides to use the linguistic resources at their disposal to adapt to particular social situations, contexts, and interactions (Li, 2011; Li et al., 2020; Vogel & Garcia, 2017). Thus, translanguaging transcends superficially-named labels assigned to specific linguistic structures by nation-states (Vogel & Garcia, 2017). In particular, translanguaging individuals break down dichotomies assigned to different social, linguistic, emotional, and historical signs through interaction, and use all of their cultural, historical, linguistic, and pragmatic knowledge dynamically to accomplish their communicative goals (Li, 2018; Li & Zhu, 2013).

The concept of a translanguaging space was taken up by Li Wei (2011, 2018) to refer not to only a geographic location where translanguaging may be common and accepted, but also to encompass the wide social networks and questions of identity that multilingual individuals negotiate for specific purposes when translanguaging and to emphasize creativity and criticality (Li, 2011; Li et al., 2020). These spaces allow multilinguals to integrate different social spaces, behavioral norms and codes, including those of language, and personal histories and experiences, and serve as a social space for family and community members to consolidate their language and cultural practices (Garcia & Li, 2014; Li, 2018). Thanks to globalized communications and transportation technology, the lines between social spaces and geographical spaces have become blurred, with a social space often existing outside of a clearly defined geographic boundary; individuals constantly create, recreate, and modify their own social and translanguaging spaces, both virtually and in person (Li, 2011, 2018; Li & Zhu, 2013). Li, Tsang, Wong, and Lok (2020) demonstrated how virtual platforms, such as the *Kongish Daily* Facebook page, could also serve as multimodal translanguaging spaces outside of a geographic area by tailoring posts' translanguaging

to appeal to a specific audience; D. Nguyen (2018) found much the same in analyzing a US university's Vietnamese Student Union Facebook group posts. Gu (2014) found that participants established their own translanguaging space through creative multilingual language use to establish and negotiate their identities and interpersonal connections.

Because translanguaging exists independently from geographic space or nation-states, it can also be said to be particularly relevant in cases of transnationalism, such as immigration, where speakers use translanguaging to enhance or continue their connection with their cultural roots (Li & Zhu, 2013; Garcia & Li, 2014). Through translanguaging, speakers constantly modify their sociocultural identities and values (Garica & Li, 2014). However, manifestations of translanguaging have historically been disparaged and mocked, often stigmatized and heavily discouraged in the classroom and at home (Garcia & Li, 2014). Deviations from standard English dialects and accents are portrayed as amusing, comical, or defective amidst fears that such practices will contaminate one language with another or hinder speakers' language acquisition, despite lack of evidence (Gu, 2014; Li, 2018; Nguyen, Shin, & Krashen, 2001). Chinglish, a mixture of English and Chinese (typologically very similar to Vietnamese), has been the "object of ridicule for generations" (Li, 2018, p. 14).

Most translanguaging work has been done on migrant or minority speakers, but rarely both (Duarte, 2020). In particular, translanguaging research has not often investigated Vietnamese as a heritage language or migrant community, despite its large presence in the US and elsewhere outside of Vietnam (Nguyen, D., 2018; Nguyen, L., 2020). Due to the typological and cultural similarities between China and Vietnam, research into Chinese-English translanguaging will be used as reference where material on Vietnamese does not exist; a similar decision was made by Pham and Kohnert (2010) to use studies on Chinese to inform their study of cue interpretation in Vietnamese-English bilingual children.

2.6. Vietnamese Diaspora Sociolinguistic and Socio-economic Landscape

Vietnamese communities in the United States have had relative economic success, but also face higher rates of poverty than other Asian minority groups and non-Hispanic whites, live in urban inner-city neighborhoods, and have some of the highest and disproportionate youth incarceration, delinquency, and gang activity rates of minority groups in the USA (Bankston & Zhou, 2020; Zhou & Bankston, 2000). Additionally, older Vietnamese adults are habitually suspicious or distrustful of nontypical behavior, stigmatizing the concept of becoming too "Americanized" (Zhou & Bankston, 2000). In terms of social capital, then, Vietnamese-American families rely on family ties and social networks, rather than pure economic capital, in order to achieve stability following their mass emigration from Vietnam (Bankston & Zhou, 2020).

The Vietnamese diaspora in the United States has a very close-knit community that is, in some ways, even more traditional than those remaining in Vietnam (Zhou & Bankston, 2000). They incorporate a new kind of traditionalism into their lives in order to adapt to the new pressures of life in the USA as well as to maintain their cultural practices, referred to as innovative traditionalism, by selectively choosing elements of their cultural heritage to retain in their new environment (Zhou & Bankston, 2000). For example, Vietnamese parents and elders traditionally have higher social status and authority than their children, common in other Asian countries such as China and Korea (Nguyen, D., 2018). However, children who are able to speak English better than their parents and must now serve as translators for them in the United States are given new authority over the parents, upsetting the traditional social hierarchy (Zhou & Bankston, 2000). This innovative traditionalism could be a nonlinguistic form of translanguaging which immigrants use in order to make the transition to life in the United States easier (Bankston & Zhou, 1995).

The maintenance of the Vietnamese language is very important to these communities in fostering social relations; by developing close-knit relationships in the Vietnamese ethnic community and in their own families, Vietnamese-American bilingual individuals may attempt to resist assimilation into other low-income, high-risk neighborhoods and social circles (Bankston & Zhou, 1995). These efforts have resulted in the rise of racially segregated ethnoburbs, geographically distinct communities in which large numbers of a certain culture or ethnicity congregate and live (Li, 2009; Zhou & Bankston, 2020). In the United States, notable Vietnamese ethnoburbs are located in Houston, Texas; San Jose, California; and Orange County, California (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019).

Maintenance of Vietnamese language is strongly correlated with strength of ethnic identity across families of different socio-economic status, and many Vietnamese use the Vietnamese language to to transmit cultural traditions and heritage (Bankston & Zhou, 1995); however, many younger Vietnamese Americans have increasingly shifted to preferring to use English, despite the isolated homogenous Vietnamese environments/communities in which they live (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Zhou & Bankston, 2000). The use of both Vietnamese and English in everyday speech, despite the typological differences between the two languages, creates new speech patterns different from both Vietnamese and English, and is in some ways central to Vietnamese-American identity and lifestyle (Tuc, 2003). These speech patterns are colloquially referred to as Vietglish or Vinglish. Zhou and Bankston (2000) found that many Vietnamese delinquent youth spoke a form of Vietnamese that was heavily interspersed with slang and English words and phrases, which facilitated communication with other members of their own generation, rather than their parents or elders. Vietnamese-Americans who had access to both English and Vietnamese were able to receive greater emotional support and guidance from their community than those who did not fully use both languages (Bankston & Zhou, 1995).

2.7. Typology and Linguistic Features of Vietnamese

Vietnamese and English are two very different languages in terms of features. Tang (2007) provides a comprehensive comparison between the two languages. Some of the greatest differences are in the fact that Vietnamese is a tonal language, has a much more extensive and specific system of pronouns, referred to as kinship terms, to communicate distance and respect, uses a group of words absent in English called classifiers to describe the preceding noun (often signifying animacy or count), and is an analytic language lacking inflection (Pham & Kohnert, 2010; Tang, 2007; Tuc, 2003). Figure 1 below summarizes the tone system in Vietnamese.[1] Additionally, multiple word orders are allowed in Vietnamese, including Subject-Verb-Object (SVO), Object-Subject-Verb (OSV), and Verb-Object (VO, where the subject has been omitted) (Pham & Kohnert, 2010).

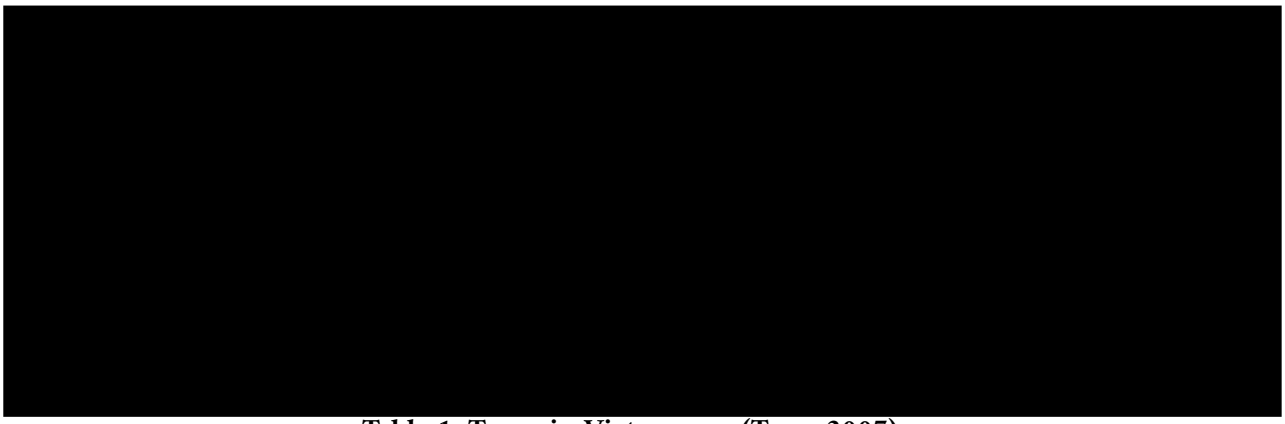

Table 1. Tones in Vietnamese (Tang, 2007)

Pham and Kohnert (2010) demonstrated that bilingual Vietnamese-English speaking children did not process sentences in English similarly to English monolingual children; in fact, they amalgamated or blended cues in both Vietnamese and English. Single word switches of nouns around similar word order phrases are the most common manifestations of switches in Vietnamese-English translanguaging (Tuc,

[1] The Northern Vietnamese dialect retains the depicted distinction between the hỏi and ngã tones. The Southern Vietnamese dialect does not distinguish between the two; both are pronounced as a nonglottalized falling-rising. However, the length of a vowel with a hỏi tone is shorter than with ngã in the Southern dialect (Tang, 2007).

2003). Tuc (2003) also found that tones in Vietnamese facilitate code-switching when the tones map onto patterns of English stress and unstressed syllables. Zhou and Bankston (2000) found that Vietnamese language ability in children, rather than hinder English acquisition, could actually even facilitate and encourage success in English and other academic areas.

The kinship-term system of personal reference pronouns is a shared linguistic resource which most speakers can access, even if they may prefer English (Tuc, 2003). Li Wei (2011) notes that three youths living in Britain and speakers of various dialects of Chinese, both linguistically and culturally similar to Vietnamese, preferred to use the more respectful second-person pronoun in Chinese when addressing their parents and himself, who is of their parents' generation, even in English. The same youths tried to avoid using the English word "you". Similarly, Vietnamese-American children are expected to pay respect to their elders' higher social status through language and demeanor, respect being a central tenet of Vietnamese-American innovative traditionalism (Zhou & Bankston, 2000). Thus, using Vietnamese kinship terms is primarily socially motivated in both English and Vietnamese when addressing family members as well as non-family members (Nguyen, D., 2018; Nguyen, L., 2018; Tuc, 2003). A chart depicting many Vietnamese pronouns/kinship terms can be found in Appendix A[2]. One other aspect of Vietnamese personal reference that is of note is that people may also be referred to in the third person by their occupation or role, such as "doctor", "teacher", or "priest", even when being directly addressed. In this way, essentially any word for "person" can be used as a pronoun or reference to a person. The same avoidance of the overtly direct — and possibly impertinent — English word "you" when referring to elders as in Li Wei's (2011) work might be found in Vietnamese-American bilinguals, who are accustomed to referring to themselves, other people, and their interlocutors in more indirect ways.

[2] For the sake of relevancy to this study's participant demographic, Appendix A denotes pronouns of the southern Vietnamese dialect.

2.8. Two Relevant Studies

The current dissertation is largely informed by two recent studies researching the multilingual language practices of overseas Vietnamese communities in English-dominant countries, those of Li Nguyen (2018, 2020) and Dung Nguyen (2018). This section of the dissertation will provide a brief overview of the details and finer points of each study, and present the gap between the two that the current dissertation attempts to fill.

Li Nguyen's (2020) work examined code-switching in Vietnamese-Australian communities, particularly around the use of Vietnamese kinship terms and pronouns. The CanVEC, or Canberra Vietnamese English Corpus, used automatized technology to transcribe 22 recordings from 45 total speakers, ranging in age, education, and age of immigration to Australia, to create a natural speech corpus. The researchers developed a Python script to automatically tokenize and tag various items and words from Vietnamese, and used machine translation to automatically translate both the bilingual and monolingual clauses. Analysis of the CanVEC led Nguyen to conclude that definitions of the MLF were insufficiently clear to account for speech found in the CanVEC. The CanVEC also revealed cross-generational differences: first-generation speakers were more likely to drop first-person subjects and pronouns, while second-generation speakers were more likely to drop those of the second-person, and second-generation speakers use inappropriate pronominal types and forms more frequently than first-generation speakers. These results led Nguyen to suggest that generations may be collectively rejecting the entrenched social hierarchy and norms within the Vietnamese language to create more equal relations between generations and between individuals in terms of cultural integration into Australia.

Nguyen (2020) concedes, however, that a lack of sociolinguistic research and understanding of overseas and heritage Vietnamese limits the study's understanding for speech norms, and cautions against

making generalizations against the high rates of variance within generations and within the community as a whole. And indeed, Nguyen's work on the CanVEC relies heavily on quantitative methods to draw its conclusions, but cannot conclusively provide insight as to the reasons behind the patterns and trends found in the CanVEC due to lack of qualitative work done with the participants and community themselves.

Dung Nguyen (2018) investigated translanguaging in Vietnamese-Americans through the lens of a linguistic ethnography. This study investigated 37 participant members of the Vietnamese Student Organization of a university in the United States as they attended group meetings, social gatherings, and communicated online via Facebook. Discourse-based interviews were held with 10 individual participants as a sample of the whole participant pool. Nguyen found that most spoken translanguaging occurred intrasententially, with extrasentential occurrences revolving around Vietnamese honorifics, pronouns, and kinship terms. Nguyen also found that participants often preferred to use English regarding university affairs, classes, and education. This study's ethnographic methods included interviews with participants to investigate motivations and further insights about the language patterns found, creating a balance between quantitative and qualitative investigation.

However, despite Nguyen's (2018) use of mixed methods to obtain a holistic view of the translanguaging occurring within this student organization, the study is still somewhat limited in its participant population. While there is a range of ages (from 20 to 40 years old) and immigration contexts, all participants are, by nature of their recruitment and the study itself, students at a higher education institution in the United States. Additionally, the Vietnamese Student Association is cited by Nguyen's study as having the promotion of Vietnamese culture and language as one of its major goals. Thus, participants in the study may already be more prone to using Vietnamese and English freely on

account of their education and their motivations for joining the student organization. Furthermore, 31 of the total 37 participants were Vietnamese international students who had come to the United States for education; only six group members were second-generation Vietnamese-Americans, or first-generation immigrants who settled permanently in the United States. Of the ten interviewees, only two would be considered "second-generation"; the other eight interviewees had all been born and raised in Vietnam, and had only recently moved to the United States. Thus, the insights drawn about this particular community are restricted to this highly educated Vietnamese expat community with pre-existing motivations to promote Vietnamese language and culture, and may not be as applicable to heritage speakers of Vietnamese.

2.9. Summary of Literature and the Present Dissertation Research

This section has presented overviews of research and literature on language practices that seem to present as the mixture of multiple named languages within an utterance or conversation by a multilingual speaker. Code-switching and code-mixing, especially within the Myers-Scotton Matrix Framework model, present such utterances as being constrained by the ML with parts of another language embedded within it. Cook (1991, 1992, 2003) highlights a speaker's multicompetence as their total competence across all of their languages, regardless of whether one language is dominant or preferred. Translanguaging, especially the translanguaging framework used by Li and Garcia, emphasize the nonlinguistic pressures and motivations for such multilingual practices, especially those of social networking and identity. The Vietnamese diaspora community, especially those in English speaking countries such as Australia and the United States, demonstrate strong social community networks and place high value on cultural traditions such as respect and deference. Vietnamese communities in Australia and at a university in Texas, USA,

have demonstrated social and discourse-related motivations for certain languaging patterns, especially those relating to kinship terms and personal pronouns (Nguyen, D., 2019; Nguyen, L., 2018, 2020).

This study seeks to investigate those findings in the Vietnamese communities in California, USA, due to California's high Vietnamese population numbers and density — some of the highest in the world outside of Vietnam itself. This study also hopes to apply the sociolinguistic methods used in D. Nguyen (2018)'s doctoral dissertation to a community of heritage speakers comprised of first and second generation Vietnamese-Americans, as L. Nguyen (2018, 2020) did with the Vietnamese-Australian community. The primary research questions guiding the descriptive investigation of this study are:

1.) Do Vietnamese-Americans in California translanguage between English and Vietnamese, as has been found in Texas and Australia? If so, how does this phenomenon manifest?

2.) For what reasons do Vietnamese-Americans translanguage?

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Approach

The research project approaches translanguaging from a qualitative and sociolinguistic perspective, particularly through the lens of a linguistic ethnography. The research project aimed to replicate in California portions of the research methodology of Nguyen's (2018) research at a university in Texas; however, due to contemporary COVID-19 limitations on travel and in-person contact and observation, linguistic data was collected using methodology adapted from that used to create the CanVEC (Nguyen & Bryant, 2020; Nguyen, 2020) to accommodate the need for virtual data collection and analysis. A combination of audio recordings and semi-structured interviews has been used in other translanguaging research before, namely Nguyen (2018) and Wei (2011); the same combination is used here to gather data.

3.2. Californian Vietnamese-American Context and Setting

California provides a particularly interesting site of linguistic research into heritage languages. A state on the West Coast, it was often the first stop during large waves of Asian and Vietnamese immigration to the United States; waves of Chinese workers first began to arrive in California during the 1800s, and later during the 1900s, subsequent waves of other East-Asians and South-East Asians arrived due to America's various international entanglements and commitments. Immigrant and minority groups in California display tightly-knit community bonds, settling in concentrated areas and forming distinct,

geographically marked and recognized ethnic enclaves amongst themselves; these include (but are not limited to) Chinatowns in San Francisco and Los Angeles, Koreatown or "K-Town" and Little Tokyo in Los Angeles, and Little Saigons in Orange County and San Jose. These neighborhoods often have store signs, posters, billboards, street signs, and other public text in the heritage language exclusively, or in both English and the heritage language.

Vietnamese immigration to California boomed in the 1970s and 80s following America's and the Republic of South-Vietnam's loss of the Vietnam War. Many immigrants first arrived at the Camp Pendleton Navy Base in San Diego, which served as a major refugee camp; immigrants were often then relocated to various other states throughout the country, but many returned to California. As such, California has one of the highest concentrations of overseas Vietnamese (commonly and colloquially referred to as "Viet Kieu") in the U.S. and in the world. The Pew Research Center[3] estimated in 2015 that in California, over 300,000 Vietnamese lived in the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area (including Los Angeles, Anaheim and "Little Saigon", and Long Beach), and nearly 150,000 lived in San Jose. It was also estimated that only 54% of all Vietnamese-Americans were "proficient" in English.

3 https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/fact-sheet/asian-americans-vietnamese-in-the-u-s-fact-sheet/#english-proficiency-of-vietnamese-population-in-the-u-s-2015

Figure 1. Population of Vietnamese in the United States, 2000-2019

(Pew Research Center, tabulated from U.S. Census Data)

Table 2. English proficiency of Vietnamese Population in the U.S.A, 2019

(Pew Research Center, tabulated from U.S. Census Data)

3.3. Recruitment and Participants

3.3.1. Participants

Participants were five volunteers from California, USA over the age of 18. They were asked to self-identify as Vietnamese-descended of any immigration generation (first generation, second generation, etc.), and indicated that they spoke both Vietnamese and English in the home. All speakers and participants were assigned pseudonyms in research writing and texts.

First generation participants were those who were born and raised in Vietnam. Second generation consisted of those who either were born in Vietnam and moved to the US before the age of 5, or who had been born and raised in the United States but whose parents had been born and raised in Vietnam. The reason for allowing those who had moved to the US before the age of 5 to be classified as second generation is because at such a young age, the effect of majority-language education in Vietnam would have been negligible, and participants would have spent significantly more time living in the US than in Vietnam. This generational stipulation reflects that of the CanVEC found in Nguyen (2020). Third generation participants were those whose parents were second generation and had been born and raised in the US.

Two participants were considered first generation, while three were second generation. There were no third generation participants. Participants also indicated a range of economic status and education. The lowest earning participant indicated that they earned less than $20,000 a year, and the highest earning participant indicated that they earned more than $200,000 a year. One participant had a Bachelor's degree, two were pursuing undergraduate studies, and two had completed high school/GED equivalent of education.

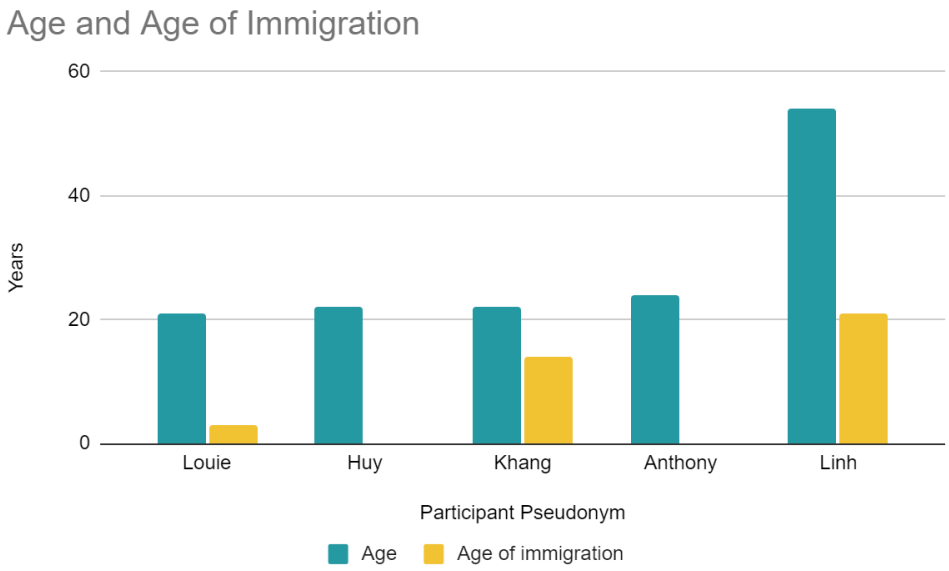

Figure 2: Participant age versus age of immigration to the United States

3.3.2. Recruitment and Sampling Considerations

Participants were recruited via community-circulated emails and social media posts in the Facebook group "Subtle Viet Traits"[4] . The Facebook group was formed in 2019 and serves as a virtual international community and forum for those of Vietnamese descent; members are usually those whose families have emigrated from their Vietnam, and who were born or have grown up in a different country than that of their parents (usually in Australia, North America, Europe, or other countries considered to be "the West"). The Facebook group is used by its online community primarily to share funny stories or jokes relating to shared cultural background and fluency, online-dating, and promotion of community-related merchandise, products, and businesses. The group is also used for more serious community matters such as reuniting long-lost family members separated by war and emigration, posting

[4] https://www.facebook.com/groups/893341384364359

alerts and notices for local community crimes and missing persons reports, and organizing in-person gatherings for the purpose of expanding social networks and combating cultural isolation (pre-COVID-19).

These Facebook groups are particularly interesting due to their linguistic use – the implicit understanding is that all members of the groups are fluent in English and have at least some knowledge of Vietnamese. Even if this is not the case, it is very common for friends to explain and translate jokes and references to each other in the comments section. As such, jokes, puns, announcements, and stories are often written using a blend of English and Vietnamese; indeed, puns and jokes posted often rely on this blend of languages in order to be funny to the target audience. Thus, the Facebook group was deemed an appropriate forum for recruiting participants who are entrenched and familiar with the same target blend of English and Vietnamese language and culture that this research aims to investigate.

It may be interesting to note that the close-knit group dynamics coupled with the translanguaging and code-mixing language practices exhibited in the two online spaces could signify a shift in space for traditionally geographically marked relationships and socialization: as younger generations increasingly leave their parents' and grandparents' homes and communities in favor of jobs and education opportunities, they continue to maintain the same forms of cultural and ethnic community connection online. Thus, these blends of "Asian" and "Westernized" culture continue to be robust and vibrant.

Labov's (1972a, 1972b) Observer's Paradox notes that the role and position of the researcher in a community can influence responses from participants, while Tuc (2003) emphasizes that without knowledge of the investigated community, a researcher is unlikely to judge which variables are significant (Hazen, 2000). Nguyen (2020) further highlights that this relationship can be even more crucial when

working with and gaining the trust of a community as self-sustained and tightly-knit as the overseas Vietnamese community; Nguyen remarks that one particular embodiment of this challenge was older Vietnamese participants' hesitation to divulge personal information and data to large institutions (particularly those affiliated with the government) largely due to the legacy of the Vietnam War and distrust of "the communists". In order to negate this hesitation and distrust in participants that I did not know personally, I found it helpful to explain my own Vietnamese-American background and family's immigration story to appear less imposing and to emphasize that I was conducting this research truly because I cared about my own community. Another benefit of my own membership of the target community is that it minimized cultural shock and foreignization of observations (Nguyen, 2018).

Other participants were also recruited using preexisting community relationships and networks. Family members, friends, and even friends of friends volunteered to participate in the study. For avenue of recruitment, the study could leverage the benefits of my insider researcher positionality. I was born in the United States, and grew up in and around the area in Southern California known colloquially as "Little Saigon". This identity granted me access to members of the community through direct contacts, which may have been difficult for outsider researchers. This study and its participants are not meant to be representative of California Vietnamese populations as a whole; rather, this dissertation is an observational work meant to explore the experiences of individual participants within the Vietnamese-American community and background, and merely used the researcher's (my) role as a member of the community to find participants who did fit the relevant linguistic and demographic profile needed for the study.

3.4. Recording Procedure

Participants were asked to record a conversation or combination of conversations held in their home using their mobile phones or other mobile device, such as a tablet. Recorded audio time of all conversations totaled at least 20 minutes, with no single conversation lasting fewer than 5 minutes in duration. Participants were initially asked to ensure that no single conversation lasted shorter than 8 minutes; however, initial pilot participants reported that even 8 minutes seemed too long to have a single continuous conversation, especially with their parents or family, with whom they said they were most likely to have a conversation with Vietnamese and English. This may be due to the fact that regular contact and interaction with these familial interlocutors lessens the need for long, lengthy conversations unless they are about specific, serious topics.

Mobile devices were chosen as most adults were likely to either own their own mobile device or to live with someone who did. Using participants' own mobile devices also limited logistical issues with distributing recording equipment, especially COVID-19-related risks of interpersonal transmission. Mobile devices were also apt to be less obtrusive in the home than a separate recording microphone and device, as they are items used regularly; recorded conversations and speech were thus free to be more natural (Nguyen, 2021). However, it should be noted that asking participants to record their conversations may have caused them to either consciously or unconsciously moderate or draw attention to their speech and language itself. An in-person observation or field visits may have been more appropriate on this front, had global health conditions been more ideal; in any case, it is difficult for researchers to prompt participants to code-switch in a naturalistic way (MacNamara et al., 1966; Gollan & Ferreria, 2009).

Participants were asked to review audio files carefully before submitting them to the researcher, and to remove any parts they did not want to be used in the research, such as embarrassing, intimate, or possibly incriminating subjects of conversation. Any identifiable information, such as places or names, were censored in the transcripts.

Between the three participant pairs, two pairs of participants submitted usable audio files. A fifth participant submitted audio, but due to background noise as well as other speakers in the audio file not registering for and consenting to the research project, this audio file was not used. In total, participants submitted 63 minutes and 18 seconds worth of home audio recordings.

3.5. Follow-up Interview Procedure

Participants also were invited to follow-up interviews to discuss their language patterns as seen in the audio files and transcripts. Interviews were conducted virtually over Skype, Microsoft Teams, or GoogleMeet, and were recorded. Participants were given the option of choosing which secure and encrypted video-calling platform they preferred, so that they would not be required to download or sign up for any program they did not already have or for which they would not have wanted to. Recordings of interview proceedings were then transcribed. If a participant did not consent both in writing and orally to having the interview recorded, the interview was terminated and ended.

Questions were framed as to seem more conversational and less formal in order to encourage the flow of conversation and candidness in participants' answers (Nguyen, 2018). Interview questions fell into two broad categories: questions about the participants' specific language files, transcripts, and production and more general questions about cultural and ethnic identity and language on the whole.

Questions regarding their specific languaging and speech patterns included stimulated recall prompts and grammaticality or other acceptability judgement prompts. As such, interviews were semi-structured: general questions about language use and identity were set across interviews, but specific questions about individual language production and performance varied.

Stimulated recall measures involved replaying a specific segment of the audio file for the participant, showing them the accompanying transcript on screen, and asking the participant to elaborate on the utterance presented. An example from an interview transcript is as follows:

> **<audio file plays>**
>
> **Linh:** Yeah, [redacted]! Tay nha day gamble luôn. Nhưng mà, that why he wife divorce, divorce him.
>
> **<end audio>**
>
> **Bao-Linh:** In this part of the conversation, you start in Vietnamese, and then whenever you talk about gambling and divorce, you switch to English. Can you tell me why you did that?

3.6. Transcription

Once audio files were submitted electronically to the researcher, the participants made all of the uploaded files available for use in the research project. All recorded material (initial audio files and interviews) were transcribed so as to have a consistent and more accessible source of data. In the case that Vietnamese dialects and pronunciations varied, standard Vietnamese orthography was used in the transcriptions. Other than standardizing phonetic variation across accents and dialects, no other corrections were made to transcribed speech. Casual speech, contractions, and slang were left uncensored in the transcripts as they occurred.

Following the procedure in Nguyen (2018), analysis on transcripts focused on language structure and implied meaning. Transcripts were color-coded as follows:

Pink — Vietnamese utterance with Vietnamese phonology intrasententially (within English sentence)

Green — Vietnamese words/phrases with English phonology (lacks tones, accents, palatalization, etc)

Blue — English utterance (English and Vietnamese phonology) within intrasententially (within Vietnamese sentence)

For the full and detailed transcription procedure, see Appendix G.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

Key possible ethical conflicts to consider were that of data security and privacy. By providing me with conversations from their homes and personal lives, participants granted me access to possibly intimate and private details. In order to protect participants' information and trust of confidentiality, all participants were assigned a pseudonym in all research write up materials, the masterlist of which was accessible only to me via a secure encrypted document. All registration information and personal data was submitted via a secure online form.

Participants were asked to carefully review the audio files before submission, and to remove any sections or segments that they did not feel comfortable sharing with the research team for any reason, even under a pseudonym. However, as in the CanVEC (Nguyen & Bryant, 2020; Nguyen, 2020), even with these instructions, some participants did submit audio files which still contained pieces of conversation and information that could be considered incriminating or sensitive, such as involving

gambling history, immigration, family troubles, and other pieces of gossip. I followed their procedure and additionally removed any conversation segments that a) did not contain any significant translanguaging or code-mixing relevant to the study and b) contained content that, while unable to incriminate individual participants due to the use of pseudonyms, could still be harmful to the community or perception of the minority community as a whole. References to specific people or places were redacted. Once transcription of audio files was complete, a copy of the transcript was given to the participant(s) in question, and they were asked to indicate any sections or parts that they wished to have removed from the research.

Additionally, participants were free to revoke consent and participation in the research project at any point without any negative consequences or judgement. If they did choose to revoke consent and participation, all of their data up until that point was deleted and removed from the research. Participants were not required to answer any interview questions if they did not feel comfortable doing so, and could decline to answer a question without any judgement or negative consequences.

The research project's methodology was piloted by two volunteers from California who fit the target demographic, and whose recommendations for the research procedure were taken into consideration when implemented with other participants. For example, participants were originally asked that each of their recorded conversations be at least 10 minutes long; however, the two pilot participants expressed concern that this was a difficult, unrealistic amount of time to have a single, continuous conversation. As a result, the requested length of time for individual conversations was shortened to 5 minutes each.

4. Results

4.1. Louie and Huy

The first pair of conversation participants, Louie and Huy, were two undergraduate students in California, aged 21 and 22 respectively. They are both considered by this study to be second-generation Vietnamese-Americans — Louie was born in Vietnam but his family moved to the United States when he was just three years old, and Huy was born and raised in the United States. Louie reported that he did not attend supplementary Vietnamese school as a child; all of his Vietnamese language, he says, he learned from his parents. Huy declined to be interviewed. They conversed with each other mostly in English, but a large proportion of the themes in their recorded conversations revolved around Vietnamese culture, history, their own families' immigration stories, or anecdotes about contemporary youth Vietnamese-American culture. Most of their actual translanguaging occurred in the same recorded conversation which lasted 23 minutes. The two young men submitted 30 minutes and 11 seconds of audio recordings.

Even though their conversations were mostly in English, the two young men showed dedication to knowing the terms that they were discussing in both English and Vietnamese, particularly for concepts emotionally significant for themselves and their families, as can be seen from excerpts (1) and (2) below:

1. **Louie:** I think what made it worse for my dad was like, he tried leaving multiple times, like so he got caught by the North Vietnamese after the war and he got sent to the concentration or gulag or whatever you want to call it, and so when they released him he went back, he tried escaping the

country multiple times, I think it was like hát ô[5], or something, you know how they call it like hát ô? I never understood what that meant. He đi hát ô, he đi vượt biên[6], hồi, I forgot what it was called, and then he would get caught and he would come back back, so he spent like multiple trips in the concentration camp, and I think that's where he gets his pent up frustration about the North Vietnamese from.

2. **Huy:** Yeah, that's real weird. How do you say it in Vietnamese? Uh…tư sản or something like that?
   Louie: I don't know.
   Huy: Thu sản… thu sản…
   Louie: Let me just look it up right now… comrade in Vietnamese.
   Huy: Đồng chí!
   Louie: Đồng chí!

In the first excerpt (1), Louie repeats Vietnamese phrases he has heard his father use when discussing his experiences in and escaping from Vietnamese reeducation camps, even though Louie does not know what the terms mean. Nonetheless, Louie persists in repeating the phrases in relation to his father's story. In (2), both Huy and Louie realize that they do not know how Communists would refer to each other in Vietnamese. Rather than be content with the English label for "comrade", they go out of their way to look up the Vietnamese term. Both excerpts demonstrate these young men's dedication to understanding the history of their roots in both English and Vietnamese.

The same phenomenon also occurs with the names of people and places. As seen below (3), when Louie and Huy begin discussing Thích Quảng Đức, the south Vietnamese Buddhist monk who

[5] "Hát Ô" is actually the pronunciation of the letters "H.O." in the Vietnamese alphabet, rather than two separate words, as Louie believes. This phrase refers to the "H.O." (Humanitarian Operation) bill passed by the U.S. government allowing Southern Vietnamese soldiers to legally immigrate to the United States.
https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2005/56936.htm

[6] "Vượt biên" means literally to break or to pass through a border. In the context of post-war Vietnamese immigration, it refers specifically to the mass emigration out of Vietnam in the 1980s, criminalized by the post-war Communist government.

committed suicide by self immolation in 1963 to protest the treatment of Buddhists by the Catholic president of South Vietnam, they pronounce his name with the full Vietnamese tonal inflection.

3. **Huy:** Um, you know the character Lee Sin from League of Legends? You know that guy, he's based off a South Vietnamese Buddhist monk?
   Louie: Oh?
   Huy: His name's Thích Quảng Đức, search it up. Lee Sin, Thích Quảng Đức.
   Louie: You're going to need to spell that out.
   Huy: Alright, so Lee Sin.
   Louie: E-E?
   Huy: Yeah, Lee Sin, oh, S-I-N. And then, Thích Quảng Đức. Thich… T-H-I-C-H.
   Louie: Thích... Quảng... Đức.

The reason for why the two young men so carefully attend to the Vietnamese tonal pronunciation of "Thích Quảng Đức" perhaps can be inferred from their following discussion of his self-immolation. This segment of conversation was entirely in English.

4. **Louie:** And then it's just like, they're like, oh, I read the article, it's like oh the monks are like for a couple weeks there was whispers that oh the monks are going to do something drastic but everybody ignored them and then on the day, homie just pulled up in that cart, homie just pulled up, homie just sat down, someone just lit him on fire, and that was it. Like they were just so nonchalant about it, I'm like bro, like...
   Huy: Yeah he, he uh, he took it pretty well man.
   Louie: He didn't even say, utter a single sound. Like you're being burned alive and you're not even making a single — like how? Like, I respect you but at the same time, holy how, holy.
   Huy: That's crazy man, dude. Yeah, man, you really know… South Vietnamese people, these guys know how to throw a protest, man. That's crazy, man. <laughs>
   Louie: I don't, I don't think it was that effective though.
   Huy: No? I mean there was a lot of uh momentum in the —
   Louie: I mean there was a lot of —

Huy: There was, there was momentum in the civilian populations' resistance against the first president. Like, he cracked down on a lot of the Buddhist population after this happened too. And uh, like, you know how this guy's body burned right? But he had the heart intact. And they kept the heart, and so the president ordered the military to storm into the, one of the monasteries to take the heart away. So yeah.

Louie: Some pretty hardcore shit. It's just, oh my god.

Huy: I know, homie just came up with a can of petrol and was like alright, I'm out.

Louie: <laughs>

Huy: <laughs>

Huy: It's pretty crazy, man. A little piece of history, so next time you play Lee Sin in League of Legends...

It is clear that both Louie and Huy hold a certain amount of awe and respect for Thích Quảng Đức's story and actions, using descriptors such as "crazy" and "some pretty hardcore shit", and exclaiming, "How? ... holy how? Holy." when contemplating the logistics of committing suicide by self immolation. They each both refer to the monk as "homie", a slang term for a friend or someone for whom they have positive feelings. Thus, out of respect to Thích Quảng Đức's memory, Louie and Huy strive to pronounce his name fully in Vietnamese.

There are also segments of conversation where the two choose to use the English terms or pronunciations for concepts and people, particularly those related to what is known by Vietnamese Americans as the "Fall of Saigon", or April 30, 1975, when the southern Republic of Vietnam government was overrun by North Vietnamese forces[7].

5. **Louie:** (If) my dad saw me listen, 'cause he's anti North Vietnam, like, China everything, and he also fought in the Vietnam War for the South and like the North locked him up and shit like that,

[7] The city known as Sài Gòn, in the Mekong Delta of south Vietnam, was the capital city of the southern Republic of Vietnam. In 1975, the city was captured by northern Vietnamese armed forces, and was renamed Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh, or Hồ Chí Minh City (HCMC).

so if my dad just even like saw Ho Chi Minh on my phone he'd be like, "Alright, you gotta get out." Sorry Dad.

Huy: Well what if it was like Ho Chi Minh City? It's just the city.

Louie: I think he's salty about that too. He still loves… he still loves to call it —

Huy: Oh he calls it Sài Gòn?

Louie: — Sài Gòn. Sài Gòn.

Huy: Yeah, okay. It's shorter, it's a nicer name, so that's fair, right?

Louie: Yeah.

Huy: Damn, bro. It's just etched in his mind.

6. **Louie:** Like, I didn't know anything so when we visited Vietnam, and then you know how like in Sài Gòn, there's like Ho Chi Minh stuff everywhere.

Louie states that his father holds a certain level of animosity towards Hồ Chí Minh and the name "Hồ Chí Minh City", and both Louie and Huy refer to the Vietnam War, to Hồ Chí Minh City, and to Hồ Chí Minh himself, the Communist revolutionary who led the northern Democratic Republic of Vietnam, without any Vietnamese terminology (such as "Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh"), phonology, or tones, instead using English intonation[8] and terms for these utterances. However, when referring to the same city by its old Southern name, they use the full tonal Vietnamese inflection of a rising and then falling tone, "Sài Gòn"[9], taking care to enunciate this name properly. Huy does note that "Sài Gòn", which has fewer syllables, is shorter to pronounce than "Ho Chi Minh City", but still expresses surprise at Louie's father's tendency to only refer to the city by its old name "Sài Gòn".

When asked about adhering to Vietnamese tonal pronunciations even in mostly-English conversations, Louie said:

[8] For discussion of English and Vietnamese tone contours, see Nguyen (2018, 2020).

[9] The name Sài Gòn is written with two falling tone diacritics, which is how each word would be pronounced individually. However, when two falling tones are spoken in immediate sequence, the first is pronounced as a rising tone to contrast with the following falling tone.

7. **Louie:** So I think it's less to do with… how Anglicized or Viet pronunciation, not like that, but… we say it because we want to take back some of the power, and not have everything be, like, as the Western world sees us. And it's just like, no, we're still Sài Gòn. It's just… yeah. <laughs>
   Bao-Linh: Okay. So do you think like the name, the name itself has power?
   Louie: Yes, the name itself has power.

Louie's explanation for his translanguaging patterns reflect a component of culture and respect to how he interacts with his world. He attempts to use Vietnamese phonology and tones, even in a largely English conversation, to pay tribute to the history and culture of these terms in order to "take back" agency and to firmly establish his Vietnamese identity and heritage while living in the "Western world".

Another feature of Louie and Huy's conversations is that they consistently use the word "Viet" as an adjective throughout their discussions. The adjective in English for Vietnamese is, of course, "Vietnamese", while in Vietnamese, it is "Việt". Louie and Huy do not use the lengthier full English adjective "Vietnamese", nor do they pronounce the tonal and phonological specifics of the Vietnamese word "Việt". Much like themselves, their adjective use is somewhat of a mix or combination of the two languages, taking the American English pronunciation but maintaining the Vietnamese shortened form.

Thus, by choosing to or refraining from maintaining Vietnamese terminology and pronunciation, even in a largely English conversation, these two young men are able to choose how much or how little connection, identity, and respect towards the items of discussion they express. When speaking of their parents' immigration experiences, of Sài Gòn, or of a respected figure in collective memory who stood up for the rights of a minority community, Louie and Huy pay their respects in their own way by pronouncing the phrases in Vietnamese to the best of their ability, even if these phrases are not ones that they are intimately familiar with. By maintaining the linguistic connection to their parents' homeland, Louie and Huy strive to maintain the emotional connection as well, expressing and accessing parts of their

life experiences and knowledge beyond just the linguistic. This positive attitude towards a strong connection to Vietnam and disapproval of a weak connection to their heritage culture and country (particularly the pre-1975 Vietnam of their parents' youth) can be seen below, as Louie rants to Huy about "Americanized" youth in the community.

8. **Louie:** There was this — Oh, my God, there's this one girl, she's… okay, she's in Subtle Viet Traits, and then she's like, "Oh, uh, so, I never grew up in Vietnam, I was… I never lived in Vietnam, but I would say my Vietnamese is pretty good, I'm basically considered a fob[10], and like, I have a huge appreciation for the culture." And then she has like a video of herself where she's saying like a bunch of words and she says them like with the accents all wrong, and then that just pisses me the fuck off because like one, don't call yourself a fob if you're not actually from the, from your motherland, or from the other country, and like you... You… if you... okay first of all, if you've never been to Vietnam, you've never experienced the culture there, you've never experienced the authenticity, please do not say you are a fob. As someone who was born in Vietnam, I take offense to that, because you have never experienced the culture there.

9. **Louie:** And I just, I hate those kind of people, that are just like, oh, and there's fucking Koreaboos too! She's like, "Oh my god, Korea, like BTS" or something bro, you don't know. Everything's just so, like, you cannot call yourself a fob if you've been over here for the entirety, and all your knowledge about Viet culture, and all that you experienced is basically Americanized.
   Huy: Right.
   Louie: That's like [redacted] calling himself a fob, and I'm like no, [redacted], you're not a fob, you're Americanized as hell.

Here, Louie passionately disparages two people whom he perceives as being too Americanized, or not Vietnamese enough, including someone with whom he is on a first name basis (whose name has been redacted). Louie states that he has a "huge appreciation" of the Vietnamese culture, and becomes angry

[10] A "fob" is an English slang term, originating from the acronym "F.O.B." for "Fresh Off the Boat", a derogatory term given to the thousands of Vietnamese Boat People who fled from Vietnam in the 1980s on make-shift boats. Nowadays, it casually refers to anyone who has recently emigrated from Vietnam or Asia, regardless of whether they actually traveled by boat.

when a girl claims to have the same strong "fob" connection to Vietnam but cannot pronounce Vietnamese words correctly. Louie perceives this girl as less appreciative and respectful of the Vietnamese culture than he is largely based on her poor Vietnamese language skills. To Louie, dedication to the Vietnamese language is a proxy identifier for dedication to the Vietnamese culture and identity, and any claims to the latter without the former are misleading and feigned.

Louie and Huy also demonstrate remarkable senses of humor when discussing different perceptions of the Vietnam War and the political changes that took place in the country. Below, Louie and Huy crack jokes about the potential starkness in difference of perceptions of the end of the war:

10. **Louie:** I think it's 'cause… they assimilated themselves in that Vietnam, and then they came over naturally instead of like you know the boat people, uh, vượt biên, and they weren't, um, they didn't come over here because they were displaced from Vietnam, so they don't, they, I don't think they were actually exactly, they were aware of the situation of the Vietnam War, they just weren't aware of what the circumstances were to that forced the Vietnamese people to immigrate over here.
    Huy: Yeah they don't have the same animosity.
    Louie: Yeah.
    Huy: Plus like, I think they had time to cope, they're just like oh, damn, the South lost, anyways I'm gonna go back to my job now.
    Louie: <laughs>
    Huy: My dirt poor job.
    Louie: Is this just the next day? <laughs>
    Huy: Yeah, anyways, guess Ho Chi Minh's the new guy now, anyways, we got a bunch new people in our country now.

Louie and Huy recognize that not all Vietnamese could afford the luxury of extensively worrying about the change in government, having instead to focus on their "dirt poor job(s)" in order to survive. With their deep emotional, familial, and cultural connections to the events of the 1970s and 80s in

Vietnam, they also understand that their experience is unique to those who grew up in the United States, a legacy of being raised in a family which had been forced to flee Vietnam and which sees itself as having lost a homeland, as opposed to those who remained behind in the country following the end of the war, or those who emigrated to the United States more recently under much better economic and sociopolitical circumstances. Thus, they have explicit awareness about their uniquely Vietnamese-American identities and heritage.

Louie expressed negative emotions about using English to supplement his Vietnamese, despite the fact that he uses Vietglish regularly and often unintentionally with his parents and friends:

11. **Louie:** I kind of feel wack when I'm speaking Vietglish . . . Uh, it's because it's… Yes, it's a combination of the two languages, but at the same time, I'm not really using… most… or like 50-50, or something… I, I can't really… explain why I feel wack when I use Vietglish. It's… it just doesn't…<long pause> it's not something that I would say that I want to do, exactly. If that makes sense.
    Bao-Linh: Something that you don't want to speak?
    Louie: Yes… but I tend to use it anyways.
    Bao-Linh: . . .Why do you think it is that you don't want to speak it? Are there any specific emotions or feelings that you associate with speaking Vietglish?
    Louie: <long pause> No…? Um… I mean I speak Vietglish without a second thought sometimes, but <inaudible> I'm just like, I would rather prefer speaking the entire language that I am using, instead of mixing in words from the other language.

12. **Louie:** I think the main reason, um, is when I'm speaking, at least when I'm speaking pure Viet, and then I, when I don't know the word or something and then I go into English, there's like a little bit of imposter syndrome. Like I'm not fully Viet enough to know the word, have a bigger vocabulary in Vietnamese. . . If I were not able to speak Vietnamese, I would feel honestly so sad, um, I probably would not even consider myself Vietnamese, I'd probably consider myself white-washed.

Despite often using Vietglish "without a second thought" (11), Louie says that he feels "wack" and like an imposter when he translanguages across English and Vietnamese, as if he were not completely Vietnamese (12, 13). He thinks of his Vietnamese vocabulary as "limited" when he supplements his Vietnamese speech with English, and equates a lack of proficiency in Vietnamese with a lack of genuine Vietnamese identity.

Aside from lapses in vocabulary, Louie described his voluntary use of Vietglish as based on the inability of one language or the other to adequately convey his intended message. For example, Louie told me that he preferred to use English when expressing his emotions to others, for sake of clarity, but when the context calls for poetry, nuance, and depth, he preferred to use Vietnamese, seen below in (13).

13. **Louie:** Oh, if it's my emotions, I would definitely prefer to talk about in English. But, if it's like a more poetic thing, like if I'm trying to… write an Instagram post <laughs> I would most likely do it in Vietnamese because I feel like the Vietnamese words, they relay, they, just one simple word, they just relay stuff, there's more meaning to it, to me, than just standard English words. . . I lose so much of it when I switch over to English.

Louie also explained to me that his language choices depended on the situational context. When he spoke to those older than himself, he would use mostly Vietnamese in order to ease and facilitate communication and comprehension due to the fact that many Vietnamese of his parents' generation did not speak English well.

14. **Louie:** Um, I generally find the older generation generally does not have a good handle on English. At least from the older generation that I know. Like, my dad, my mom and dad's friends, they… they really do not understand like, mostly a lick[11] of Viet English, so I had to speak Vietnamese to them.

[11] This is not a typo; here, Louie means to use the idiom "they do not speak a lick of Viet-English", as in they do not understand even very little.

Over the course of our conversation, Louie also made it apparent that he would use Vietnamese in conversations about food, especially Vietnamese food. He used the example of bánh mì as an item which he would say in Vietnamese, even in an English conversation with his friends, especially if those friends already had a background in Vietnamese culture or language, negating the need to explain or translate his speech.

15. **Louie:** Um, I mean, 'cause, "sandwiches" or "baguette" doesn't really translate directly into "bánh mì". It's more like <inaudible>, it's a national food, uh, I guess when I'm talking with my friends, more of <inaudible>, I'll use, I'll use very <inaudible> Vietnamese words if it's like an English speaking person, but if I'm around my Vietnamese friends, I would, I tend to put a bit more Vietnamese in there too.

16. **Louie:** Cause a lot of times, even, they probably have like the, the description of what it is in the, like, the bottom, like underneath the Vietnamese words, so it's like, phở, phở đặc biệt[12], it'd be like… it'd be like, underneath in the English, it's just the description just like "phở with tripe, brisket", stuff like that… I'm not gonna read all that! That's too long! I'm just gonna say, I'm just gonna say the name.

Louie in (15) again states that his language use, or the extent to which he translanguages across Vietnamese and English, depends on his interlocutor(s). When around his bilingual Vietnamese friends, Louie is more comfortable freely using Vietnamese in his English. Louie also explains in (16) that English translations can be too unwieldy compared to the direct Vietnamese terms.

Despite Louie's misgivings about speaking Vietglish, he wholeheartedly agreed when I asked him if he thought it was important for Vietamese-Americans to speak both English and Vietnamese. He again expressed frustration with young Vietnamese-Americans whom he perceived to be exploiting the Vietnamese language and culture in order to appear multilingual or multicultural rather than for more

[12] Vietnamese rice noodle soup.

genuine intentions, but stated that speaking both Vietnamese and English were important for practical as well as intrinsically rewarding reasons.

17. **Louie:** Oh definitely, a thousand percent. You should be able to speak both languages.
    Bao-Linh: Okay, can you elaborate? Why do you feel so strongly?
    Louie: Just… it's just… a lot of the people, the Vietnamese Americans I see on TikTok, they only do it, they only like… put Viet content for the clout, like there's this one song, "yêu em không biết, anh yêu em nhiều lắm", like that one, um that was going viral on TikTok for a while. And, I got the sense that Vietnamese Americans were only doing it for the clout, not because they actually wanted to learn, or like to show off the Viet culture. And I was like bro, you're just… stop. You should learn Vietnamese to be more in touch with your culture, your roots, and like, even if you don't care about that stuff, there's better job opportunities and stuff. . . It just...Yeah, it just looks better on your resume, and I just found personally that it helps in my job. Like, there's a lot of Vietnamese people with a heavy accent who call in to me, and then I hear their Vietnamese accent, I see their name, I'm just like, "Would you prefer if I spoke in Vietnamese?" And they almost always say yes, and then we get along so much better in Vietnamese.

18. **Louie:** I think it's mostly important just for general talking to other people. Like, um, you should be able to talk to your grandparents and maybe your family in Vietnam comfortably, and you know what they're saying, instead of there being a language barrier. So I think the main thing is the language barrier between family.

Louie prioritizes connection to one's heritage language and culture as well as effective interpersonal communication between family and community members when deciding the worth of Vietnamese-English bilingualism. In addition to personal connection and motivation, Louie has also found his Vietnamese language skills to be an asset in the workplace.

4.2. Khang

The next participant, Khang, initially submitted a 59-minute audio recording taken as he and four other friends played an online video game together. However, due to poor audio quality and the fact that not all other speakers in the audio recording chose to participate in the research project, Khang's audio file was not used. Any discussion and interpretations regarding his translanguaging Vietglish practices and perspectives stem purely from his recorded interview. Khang is a 23-year old first generation participant — he was born in Vietnam, and moved to the United States at the age of 14. His highest level of education was graduating from high school in California. In Vietnam, he had attended supplementary weekend English classes at a private language center taught by an American language teacher.

Over the course of our conversation, Khang largely described Vietglish in a negative light. Khang defined Vietglish as a combination of speaking English and Vietnamese, but specified that this speaking pattern is usually used by those who are either not fully proficient in one language or the other, or behaving pretentiously and trying to show off their knowledge of both languages, as seen below (19).

19. **Khang:** Um, usually my assumptions of people who speak Vietglish would be a little bit ignorant, because, uh, um, most of the people that I know are... either have a background of the Vietnamese before, uh, um, before the Vietnam War, and their Vietnamese is different than what I can understand, or they just speaking English and Vietglish just to, um, just in a way, to impress other people that they can speak English better.

Khang told me that he uses Vietglish regularly when he has difficulty producing or translating a word or phrase in one language, but sometimes feels embarrassed and therefore tries to regulate the extent to which he speaks Vietglish, depending on his interlocutor.

20. **Khang:** Whenever I speak Vietglish, I'm okay with it, because I use it almost every day, but it depends on who I speak with or um, how much I have to use Vietglish for.

21. **Khang:** At first, I was a little bit embarrassed about it, because I felt like I, I was showing off too much with my language skills. And I didn't think that it was speaking Vietglish was a thing that I would call a skill. Because it's not a mix, it's not really a mixture of proficient language, uh, speaking skills. And, I got used to it because, um, usually I, when I speak with people that I know, we only use Vietglish when we need a substitution. But when I see people who do know the substitution, and know how to speak Vietnamese completely, I'm okay, not okay, I do not feel impressed about that. So, I'm, right now I'm okay with it, because I know how to use Vietglish appropriately, in my opinion, without overusing the term Vietglish.

Khang explicitly differentiates between how he and others use Vietglish. He says that he only relies on substitutions as a last resort, because it is not an indication of "proficient language speaking skills" (21); Khang uses Vietglish to convey untranslatable concepts, or concepts for which he can only describe in one language. He says that he believes there is an appropriate level where speakers should translanguage, depending on the context and situation, so as not to "overuse" Vietglish.

When asked if he thought it important for Vietnamese-Americans to be able to speak both English and Vietnamese, Khang emphasized the practical need for effective and smooth communication between members of the community.

22. **Khang:** Yes, I do think so, because Vietnamese here, even though we do speak Vietnamese, there's still much of a barrier between languages, and even political views. And, I have noticed since I first came here that Vietnamese is very different. Even though we do understand each other, but we still don't understand, we still have a difference in our language system. Because we basically speaking the Vietnamese version of North and South. And when we go deeper into reading, like, a book, or just joining a club and they have, like, a policy in Vietnamese, it's… it feels odd to read out those words, and they using what we consider is the wrong term for certain words. . . Because

most of them would not understand I was saying, or they're used to using Vietglish so much that they, I would say they forgot how to speak Vietnamese.

23. **Khang:** And, English… yes, English is… English, I think we have no problems with it, because most people who come here, at a young age, or around middle age, they can already understand what English, what basic English is. Because we can still communicate in both languages. So that's what makes it a necessity for communication.

Khang views the differences in Vietnamese dialects as a driving factor behind using both Vietnamese and English in the Vietnamese community. The difference between dialects, in addition to linguistic differences between those who left Vietnam in the 1970s and those who remained until more recently, mean that even in Vietnamese, members of the Vietnamese-American community may not be able to easily understand each other and rely on English as an intermediary language to overcome communication breaks. Outside of communicating within his immediate Vietnamese-American community, Khang also spoke about how a practical, "necessary" skill, such as bilingualism, would be useful, especially in the United States.

24. **Khang:** I think that it's good because, uh, basically, having, uh being bilingual is, uh, another skills that you have in this country.

Khang specifies that in "this country", where many languages, cultures, and histories exist side by side, bilingualism is a tangible, even necessary, skill. With family, with friends, and elsewhere in a country as multilingual as the United States, speaking both Vietnamese and English are assets rather than detriments.

Khang indicated that there are certain themes and topics around which he would use Vietglish. He said that he prefers to speak about his emotions in Vietnamese (25), particularly anger, but has found that he swears relatively easily in both English and Vietnamese.

25. **Khang:** When I do express my emotions, I still use Vietnamese more than English. Almost completely. That, I have not noticed much because it depends on whatever emotions that I have. Whenever I'm angry I do, I don't use English, but whenever I'm happy, I'm more of a neutral emotions, I still use Vietglish. So, yes. It's almost the same that I'm emotional.
Bao-Linh: Okay, and on that note, you mentioned that when you're angry, you tend to use Vietnaemse more. What language do you swear in?
Khang: Yes. Uh, I do swear in Vietnamese. Even though I feel inappropriate, I don't feel natural at it, I still use Vietnamese more.
Bao-Linh: Okay, so your instinct is to swear in Vietnamese more.
Khang: Yes. . . I tend, yeah, I still use English whenever I swear. And it becomes a habit now. . . But I still use Vietnamese whenever I play games. It was not, yeah, that audio was not, uh, did not show my habits of also swearing in Vietnamese. Because I also swear in Vietnamese as much as I swear in English.

After living in the United States for nearly ten years and becoming accustomed to playing video and computer games in English, Khang now freely swears in both Vietnamese and English. He expresses more impassioned emotions, such as strong anger, mostly in Vietnamese with very little or no English, but softer, more "neutral" emotions, such as happiness, in Vietglish.

Khang also stated that he tends to use Vietnamese with older members of the Vietnamese-American community, and Vietglish around conversations involving food.

26. **Bao-Linh:** What about when you speak to, um, maybe your parents or family members? Or like, older people in your community. How would you speak to them?
Khang: Uh, I do, whenever I do speak with them, I use Vietnamese most of my time, or I try to. But, I still have to use certain words, like, uh, food, or groceries, um, like go shopping, I still have to use Vietglish with them.

27. **Khang:** Um, I think it's more of a respectful gesture to the people that work there [in a Vietnamese restaurant]. Because most people that work in a Vietnamese restaurant are Vietnamese. So, listen to, um, we don't want to assume things, but they're still Vietnamese people,

and most of them, when we see them, who are old, who are middle-aged, they would prefer to listen to their own native language. Because listening to English all day, it can be pretty tiring and frustrating to most people. And we go to Vietnamese restaurant, you're supposed to have at least a background in it. So it's, it's more a gesture, a respecting gesture, to the workers there. And also a learning experience, too.

In (27), Khang demonstrates awareness and consideration for the older members of the Vietnamese community; he would try to speak to them in Vietnamese out of respect and consideration so that they can speak and hear their mother tongue. Below, Khang expands on the loss of culture and heritage when the Vietnamese language is not maintained in overseas Vietnamese communities.

28. **Bao-Linh:** Would you say that when, when like, second, or third, or even fourth generation Vietnamese-Americans, when they don't learn Vietnamese, like their parents dont teach it to them or things like this, do you think they lose anything?
Khang: I think they do. Um, because um, whenever you… when parents don't teach their parents to learn Vietnamese, they lose out a big portion of their culture. Because what I've noticed as a bilingual and learning an upcoming language, you're not only learning to communicate with people, you're also absorbing a culture. Because it comes in naturally. Because saying "hello" could mean, could mean, could have a difference impact on a different language. Like saying "hello" in America, we don't — we just say "hello", we either shake hands or you just look at them. But in Vietnamese, it depends on who they are, what their age is[13], and you have to bow, you have to look them in the eye, or in a different way. So learning, learning Vietnamese is basically just learning, not only learning how to communicate, but you're also learning culture.

Khang recognizes that the Vietnamese language itself is not purely linguistic — words and elements of the Vietnamese language are so tightly intertwined with each other that communication is no longer purely a linguistic element of the community. When the language is not passed on, so too are these embedded multimodal facets of Vietnamese culture, identity, and communication.

[13] Age, rank, gender, and relationship are all aspects that are taken into consideration when using Vietnamese kinship terms (Appendix A).

Despite admitting that he sometimes felt embarrassed to rely on Vietglish to communicate, and stating that losing the Vietnamese language naturally also includes losing the Vietnamese culture, Khang still maintains a mostly neutral attitude towards being "Westernized", as can be seen below.

29. **Khang:** I was very influenced by the Western, Western culture. And I feel like I'm more Americanized now, because my view of Vietnamese, it can be quite ignorant. And due to that, I'm very more cautious whenever I speak to a Vietnamese, just any Vietnamese in general. So, um, uh, yeah, I'm more Americanized by living here already. . . I think it's natural, because, uh, you just… I just, I just, basically you put a person in an environment where it's focused on a certain thing, so they're bound to be influenced by those views. So I would, I would say it's a natural thing for me to be Westernized. And there are bad things and good things in both cultures, but I do try to, I do tend to stay neutral and speak my own opinion of everything.

Khang says that becoming Westernized is natural and neither necessarily good nor bad. Despite having been born in Vietnam and now living in Orange County, which has one of the highest concentrations of Vietnamese inhabitants outside of Vietnam itself, Khang believes that simply by living in the United States, he has acclimated to the Western culture and lifestyle. He finds that both Vietnamese and mainstream American culture have their own faults and strengths, and therefore tries to navigate a neutral, middle line between his Vietnamese and American identities.

4.3. Linh

The last pair of speakers are a mother-son pair, Linh and Anthony. Linh is what Nguyen (2020) refers to as Sino-Vietnamese, a Vietnamese person of Chinese descent/ethnicity, and is the only Sino-Vietnamese participant in this research project. She speaks English, Vietnamese, Cantonese, and Mandarin, and came to the United States at the age of 21. She is now 54 years old. Linh and Anthony submitted a single audio file that was 33 minutes long, and Anthony served as a translator/interview helper when Linh was interviewed. Their recorded conversation audio is largely dominated by Linh, who is the parent and therefore has more social authority than Anthony in this interaction.

One notable feature of Linh's speech is that she refers to spouses, partners, marriage, and divorce in English, even while the rest of her sentences are in Vietnamese.

30. **Linh:** Mà, cái… cái partner của con là có agree hay con? Hiểu không?
    But, the... your partner agrees or child [you]? Do you understand?

31. **Linh:** Yeah, [redacted]. Tới nhà đây gamble luôn. Nhưng mà, that why he wife divorce, divorce him.
    Yeah, [redacted]. Always gambling whenever he comes to the house. But, that's why his wife divorce, divorced him.
    Anthony: Who?
    Linh: He wife.
    Anthony: Who? <with emphasis>
    Linh: [redacted]! [redacted]! Con không biết này dó. <inaudible> Now he get married he second wife. He second wife, he meet at a gamble…
    [redacted]! [redacted]! *You don't know this. Now he is married to his second wife. His second wife, he met at a gamble...*
    Anthony: Oh. <laughs>
    Linh: ...area. Now both of them gamble too. He send the kid to Vietnam, let their mom take care.

32. **Linh:** Get mad thì get divorce thôi. Cái đó là story của family, family Mommy cho con biết thôi.
Get mad and then get divorced. This is the story of family, family that Mommy lets child [you] know.

In the above excerpts, Linh uses English to refer to "partner", "divorce", "get married", "wife", and "family" both inter- and intrasententially, even though there are Vietnamese equivalents for these terms. Linh moved to the United States when she was 21 years old, and may have had more exposure to the English terms and American concepts of relationships and family than Vietnamese when she herself married and started a family of her own. This is somewhat surprising, as it could also be expected that she would prefer to use Vietnamese terms in her first language, or Cantonese, when speaking of emotional things related to the home and family. Linh also retains the Vietnamese classifier "cái" with the English noun "partner", applying Vietnamese grammatical structure to English semantic items.

While the beginning of the recorded conversation is mostly in Vietnamese, Linh uses the English word for "gamble" in the first line of (31), even while speaking in Vietnamese, possibly due to its negative connotations and unsavory reputation as an activity, wanting to distance herself from this activity. Although her speech lacks standard English inflection, Linh switches to mostly English by the end of (31) when explaining to Anthony the unflattering gossip about the family situation of somebody in their social network. Linh finishes in (32) by telling her son that this was a story of family, a story that she wants him to know. Again, she uses English for "get divorce", "get mad", and "family".

When asked about her preference for using English when discussing gambling, Linh said:

33. **Linh:** "Gamble" thường thường... Mình nói tiếng Mỹ, thì ta dễ dãi hơn, nhưng mà nói tiếng Việt, tiếng Việt chữ "cờ bạc" nó very very...serious. Còn nói tiếng Mỹ "gamble", nói, nói... nói chung chung cho everything. Giống như là "gamble", cùng rồi là... mình feel cái "gamble" của tiếng Mỹ nó...nó không có serious. Giống như thì "gamble" nói giống như feel nhẹ nhàng hơn. Tiếng Mỹ...

thì mình feel giống "cờ bạc", mình feel very strong. 英文[14] giống "cờ bạc", cái gì là no very serious <inaudible>. "Gamble", cái "gamble" của tiếng Mỹ, nói giống như là... thường thôi. Không có quan trọng. Không có nghĩa là giống "cờ bạc". Thì giống như, và là "game", giống như là "play around" thôi.

"Gamble" is often... I speak English, then it can be taken lightly,, but when I speak Vietnamese, the Vietnamese word "cờ bạc" is very very... serious. Yet saying in English "gamble", I say, say... say generally almost everything. Like "gamble", at most it's... I feel that the "gamble" of English is not... not serious. Like "gamble", it sounds like it feels lighter. English... then I feel like "cờ bạc", I feel it is very strong. The English equivalent for "gamble", this is not very serious <inaudible>. "Gamble", the "gamble" of English, is like saying something... common. It's not important. It doesn't have the same meaning as "cờ bạc". It's like, and like "game", it's like "playing around".

Linh indicates that the English and Vietnamese terms for gambling have different associations of seriousness for her. The English term for gambling for her is more casual and can also have the connotation of "playing around", whereas the Vietnamese term, "cờ bạc", is more important, serious, or heavy for her. When casually sharing community gossip with her son, Linh uses English to retell the story, since the story itself is not of any great importance to their immediate lives apart from being a cautionary example.

Throughout Linh and Anthony's conversation, the two retain the framework of Vietnamese pronouns of interpersonal reference even when substituting English words for those pronouns. For example, in (33) Linh refers to herself as Anthony's mother in the third-person, instead of by name or by the first-person English pronoun "I"; however, rather than using the Vietnamese term "má"[15], she uses the English word "Mommy". She also refers to her husband, Anthony's father, by the Vietnamese term for father ("ba").

[14] Here, Linh says "英文" (pronounced "ying1 man4"), which is Cantonese for "English language".

[15] Southern Vietnamese dialect for "mother/mom".

34. **Linh**: Nhưng mà Ba và Mommy cũng về now all the same account. That why Mommy không có muốn đụng cái tiền trong account. Tại vì Ba tay trả tiền nhà, tiền xe, tiền điện thoại, tiền property, tiền bảo hiểm. Ba là người take care everything có đó. That why Mommy không có muốn đụng vô cái, cái… account together. That why mỗi một, hai tháng, Mommy lấy cái account đó, Mommy send, Mommy... trăm, hai trăm, nhieu trăm... every time.

    But Dad and Mommy also now (have) all the same account. That's why Mommy doesn't want to touch the money in the account. Because Dad single-handedly pays for the house, the car, the phone, property, insurance. Dad is a "take care of everything" person. That's why Mommy does not want to touch it, the, the... account together. That's why every one, two months, Mommy takes the account, Mommy sends, Mommy... a hundred, two hundred, many hundreds... every time.

Perhaps Linh's blended use of English and Vietnamese signifies her family's blended cultural identity. Linh is Sino-Vietnamese, and usually speaks Cantonese with her Chinese family. Linh's children, Anthony and his older sister, were both born and raised in the United States, and attended local public American schools for their whole lives (apart from weekend community-hosted Vietnamese language classes). When asked about her choice to refer to herself as "Mommy" in English, Linh stated:

35. **Linh:** Hmm, tại vì, mình thấy Anthony grow up ở Mỹ, lớn lên ở Mỹ, thì giống như mình mix cái tiếng Việt gì đó; I hear Anthony grow up ở Mỹ, thì mình say Mommy, thì nói là đương dễ, dễ giơi nhẹ nhàng hơn. Còn phải là "má", "má" của tiếng Việt, not... not.... mình feel not... nhẹ nhàng lắm. Mình ra mình không trẻ, chưa nhỏ mình chưa làm "mẹ", mình cũng chưa làm "má", một cái, mình... mình đứa con đầu lòng, mình xin gì, mình feel.... shy, giống như mắc cỡ, để "Mommy" nhẹ nhàng hơn. Mình nói "má", feel nó... là già quá, không phải chững chạc quá. "Mommy", thì mình feel nhẹ nhàng hơn.

    Hmm, because, I see Anthony grow up in America, grow up in America, so it's like when I mix Vietnamese; I hear Anthony grow up in America, so I say "Mommy", it's easy, easier and lighter. To have to say "má", "má" of Vietnamese, it's not... not... I feel not... not very gentle. I, I'm not young now, not

with child, I haven't used "mẹ" yet, haven't used "má" yet, one thing... us two, our first child, whatever I ask, I feel... shy, like embarrassed, and "Mommy" is lighter. I say "má", it feels... it's too old, not too fitting. (With) "Mommy", I feel lighter.

Linh expresses that she prefers to have her children address her as "Mommy" in English, rather than in Vietnamese as "má", for several reasons. Her children would grow up in the United States, so her first instinct was to use the English term rather than Vietnamese, to adapt to their new country and surroundings. Additionally, the terms "Mommy" in English and "má" in Vietnamese have different connotations and associations for her; she finds the Vietnamese terms of address for mothers too formal or "old", whereas "Mommy" feels lighter and easier to use with her small children. She also shared how she refers to her own mother:

36. **Linh:** "Mommy" nhẹ nhàng hơn, right? . . . Yeah, that why I call my mom, and call her "Mommy, Mommy". One day I change the way to call my mom. I feel like it nhẹ nhàng hơn "má!" <laughs>

"Mommy" is lighter, right? . . .Yeah, that's why I call my mom, and call her "Mommy, Mommy". One day I changed the way to call my mom. I feel like it is lighter than "má!" <laughs>

37. **Linh:** Cantonese… Usually I don't call my mom "mom". I call my mom "sister". I don't know why, because my brother, when he was born, he... giống như là nói không được. Người ta không được vì "con/mẹ". Vì "con/chị[16]". That why from my brother to us, we call "chị". Qua tiếng Mỹ, we change, we call "Mommy". Yeah. My brother still call "chị" but he already pass away. After we come to United States after a couple years, we change the way to call. When I grow up in Vietnam before we come to United States, we used to call my mom my sister. . . That why you ask me now Cantonese, I don't know how to call my mom too.

Cantonese... Usually I don't call my mom "mom". I call my mom "sister". I don't know why, because my brother, when he was born, he... like, he couldn't say it. People can't (say it) because of (the words)

[16] Vietnamese kinship pronoun for an older sister (Appendix A).

"con/mẹ", because of (the words) "con/chị"[17]*. That's why from my brother to us, we called (her) "chị". In English, we changed, we call [her] "Mommy". Yeah. My brother still called her "chị", but he already passed away. After we came to the United States, after a couple years, we changed the way to call. When I grew up in Vietnam before we came to the United States, we used to call my mom my sister. . . That's why, if you ask me now (about) Cantonese, I don't know how to call my mom too.*

Thus, the family of this mother-son pair is transnational and transcultural, and this is reflected in the use of terms of address used to refer to parents. Linh herself refers to her own mother in English as "Mommy", rather than in Vietnamese or in Cantonese, and says that in the past, she and her siblings even referred to their mother in Vietnamese as "elder sister". Upon moving to the United States, in order to adapt to mainstream American culture, Linh adjusted her framework of familial relationships and terms of address. She finds the English term "Mommy" to be the lightest, most endearing term of address for mothers, more so than in Vietnamese or Cantonese, even when the rest of her speech will be mostly in either one of these named languages. Throughout our conversation, Linh also interchangeably referred to the English language itself as "tiếng Anh" and "tiếng Mỹ", which can be seen below in (37) within the same utterance. "Tiếng Anh" refers to "English" in the purest sense, i.e. the language of England; on the other hand, "tiếng Mỹ" would mean the language of America. Thus, her geographic location influences her word choice.

Linh described this kind of language pattern as an automatic "mixing" of English and Vietnamese in her everyday life, and said that she would use Vietglish with her friends and coworkers. When asked about why she thought she would "mix" English and Vietnamese every day, she said:

[17] The pronoun pair "con/mẹ" can have a strong negative connotation in Vietnamese. Some Vietnamese speakers will use the pair "con/chị", which has no such connotation, for all women including mothers.

38. **Linh:** Hmm… tại sao mình mix tiếng Anh với tiếng Việt, là tại vì của mình là tiếng Việt, sometime ah, mình nói không tiếng Anh nhưng mà như mix từ tiếng Anh I không hiểu, tại vì tiếng Việt, giống như mà mix tiếng Anh, a little bit, giống như đó, mình mix. . . Tại vì, tiếng Việt là... modern language, thì nó easier to nói tiếng Mỹ, thì somehow mình không có <inaudible> tiếng Mỹ, <inaudible> mình có mix tiếng Việt <inaudible> . . . Sometime, mình mix, mình không biết mình mix.

    Hmm... why I mix English with Vietnamese, is because what I have is Vietnamese, sometimes, I speak not English but like mix from English (if) I don't understand, because Vietnamese, like mixing with English, a little bit, just like that, I mix. . . Because Vietnamese is. . . a modern language, so it's easier to speak English, then somehow I don't have it in English, so then I mix it with Vietnamese. . . Sometimes, I mix, but I don't know I am mixing.

Linh gave a few reasons for using both Vietnamese and English regularly. She indicated that she mixes English into her Vietnamese when she or her conversation partner does not understand. She says that sometimes she doesn't even realize that she is using both English and Vietnamese; however, she realizes that she is using both English and Vietnamese while speaking, and indicates her own real-time answer as an example ("giống như đó / just like that"). For Linh, using both English and Vietnamese is not a conscious, effortful action — it is natural and automatic. Linh does not seem to have any negative feelings towards this manner of speech. She accepts her Vietglish translanguaging practice as ordinary, and useful in order to practically communicate concepts more flexibly and to a wider range of audiences.

4.4. Anthony

Anthony, Linh's son, was born and raised in the United States, is 25 years old, and attended supplementary Vietnamese language-school as a child for seven to eight years. He graduated from university with an undergraduate degree and now works in the same field as his studies.

Anthony's language in the submitted audio differs from that of his mother, and he displays a greater tendency to refrain from translanguaging intrasententially. In their submitted audio recording, Anthony appears to try to speak mostly Vietnamese for his mother, or at least takes linguistic cues from her when speaking mostly in Vietnamese or English.

39. **Anthony:** Người ta nói, uh… <long pause> Both? <laughs>
    Linh: Both nói sao?
    Anthony: Both at the same time, sometimes?
    Linh: Tại sao này?
    Anthony: It's like… it's like sometimes, there's words in English... it's easier than Vietnamese.
    Linh: Mmm.
    Anthony: Right, giống như "stock"?
    Linh: Con muốn Mommy nói cái đó bằng tiếng Anh?
    Anthony: No, cái này, không, không cần …. suy nghĩ cái nọ. Thì cần nói chuyện thôi.
    Linh: Mmm.

    Anthony: *People speak, uh... <long pause> Both? <laughs>*
    Linh: *Why speak both?*
    Anthony: *Both at the same time, sometimes?*
    Linh: *Why this?*
    Anthony: *It's like... it's like sometimes, there's words in English... it's easier than Vietnamese.*
    Linh: *Mmm.*
    Anthony: *Right, like "stock"?*
    Linh: *Do you want me to say it in English?*
    Anthony: *No, this, don't, don't need to... think about that. We just need to talk.*
    Linh: *Mmm.*

Above, we can see that Anthony begins speaking in Vietnamese, but struggles to find a Vietnamese term for "both" when describing the parameters of this research project. He instead uses English for the word "both", and continues in English after Linh does not express any difficulty in understanding or progressing the conversation. However, when Linh asks him in Vietnamese if he wants her to say everything in English for the project, he reverts back to Vietnamese to explain to her that it is not necessary. It may be that Anthony prefers to speak Vietnamese with his mother, and uses English only when there are phrases that escape his ability to express in Vietnamese, especially when Linh explicitly expresses her understanding or approval of the English utterances. However, when Linh begins a new sentence in Vietnamese, Anthony takes his cues from her and also speaks in Vietnamese. He also indicated that he is conscious of taking linguistic cues from elders:

40. **Anthony:** It's like, people I'm not sure that know English, I'll try to use just Vietnamese.
    Bao-Linh: Mhmm, so like, Vietnamese people, or Asian people in general?
    Anthony: Uhh, yeah. So like people, also people that are like, it's like people that are older than me, and I know they're Vietnamese.
    Bao-Linh: Okay, mhmm. They're older than you, why would you try to speak Vietnamese with people that are older than you?
    Anthony: 'Cause I'm pretty sure they don't know English. <laughs>
    Bao-Linh: Okay.
    Anthony: Like, when I say old, I'm talkin' like, like forty-five to… forty-five and up, basically.
    Bao-Linh: So like around the parents' generation.
    Anthony: Yeah.
    Bao-Linh: What if they, they do speak English? Would you still try to speak Vietnamese with them?
    Anthony: It depends on, like, how good their English is. Like, if they really are, like, are good at English, and then they like, try to push to talk English, then I'm like, "Alright, I'll just talk in English. You don't have to force me." <laughs>

Anthony says that he usually tries to speak Vietnamese with elders of the Vietnamese-American community, usually of the same age as his parents or older, out of consideration for their own language barriers. However, he is flexible, and open to speaking English with them if they prefer it.

Anthony also told me that one topic for which he would usually use Vietnamese, rather than English, was food.

41. **Anthony:** I think it's… topics. I guess for me I'm more comfortable with food, talking about food in Vietnamese. . . Like I, I actually don't know the English, like, cơm tấm[18], whatever, whatever the full name is.
    Bao-Linh: Yeah, like the English translation.
    Anthony: I don't know it in English. I look at the menu and I'm like "Dude, I'm not even going to try it in English. Say, say it in Vietnamese." Related to food.

Anthony provides the example of cơm tấm as an example of a Vietnamese dish for which he does not know the English translation, nor cares to spend the time and effort to learn. Even at a restaurant which provides a menu in both English and Vietnamese, Anthony still prefers to use the Vietnamese term for sake of clarity and succinctness. This preference is strictly limited to the food itself, however, as Anthony also said that he would speak English in a Vietnamese restaurant more generally.

42. **Bao-Linh:** So, like, um… if you go into a restaurant and you're like talking to one of the workers, you would just say like "oh you!"? Or would you...
    Anthony: I would talk in English.
    Bao-Linh: You would speak in English? At a Vietnamese restaurant?
    Anthony: Oh yeah.

[18] "Broken rice". A Vietnamese dish consisting of rice topped with various interchangeable meats and vegetables. Its name comes from when it was historically eaten by the very poor of Vietnam, who could only afford to buy leftover broken grains of rice for their meals.

Anthony told me that he believed that when children of the Vietnamese-American community are only taught English, they lose elements of culture and family connection, and that if he were to have children, he would probably teach them both languages.

43. **Bao-Linh:** Mhmm. So it depends? Do you, personally, do you think you care enough? Like, if you were to have kids, would you want to teach them both English and Vietnamese?
    Anthony: I think so.
    Bao-Linh: Do you think you lose anything when you don't teach your kids Vietnamese? Like if somebody who's Vietnamese-American doesn't learn Vietnamese?
    Anthony: I think so. . . I think you lose, uh, the culture. And, uh… like… I guess if you're, if it's somebody like my grandpa. You teach a kid Vietnamese and then you can talk to that kid. That's like a source of joy for him. So.
    Bao-Linh: Yeah. So you could also lose potentially, like, family connections?
    Anthony: Yeah.

For Anthony, English and Vietnamese each hold unique connotations of culture and connection, particularly for older generations. Anthony uses his own grandfather as an example of how speaking Vietnamese in the home helps to maintain the tight-knit family bonds and structure of a multi-generational Vietnamese family.

Anthony's attitudes towards translanguaging across Vietnamese and English differ from those of his mother. Where Linh does so instinctually and automatically, Anthony described his use of Vietglish as more deliberate, and said that he is acutely aware of its occurrence:

44. **Anthony:** It's almost always because I don't know the word in Vietnamese. Otherwise, I would just use one [language]. . . Uh… for me, I'm like, very aware of it, because it's always, uh… <long pause> How do you describe that? It's like a deficiency in my vocabulary. And so… it sucks. <laughs>. . . It's like… I guess it is a little bit… I guess it's kind of embarrassing. Yeah, yeah I guess that's… it all kind of comes down to that.

Anthony is acutely aware of his speech, and consciously tries to speak within one designated language system, Vietnamese or English, as much as possible; he says that his translanguaging "almost always" occurs when using English to supplement his Vietnamese vocabulary. He describes this speaking pattern as a "deficiency" in his vocabulary, and says that he feels embarrassed when this deficiency does occur.

5. Discussion

5.1. Introduction

This section of the dissertation will thematically summarize and present results from all five participants in relation to each other and to other pre-existing research on translanguaging and the multilingual combination of Vietnamese and English. The major themes discussed here are respect, pronunciation, grammar, emotion, identity, and culture.

5.2. Respect

Louie, Khang, and Anthony cited respect, politeness, or deference for their elders in the Vietnamese-American community as a reason for why they would speak Vietnamese or Vietglish with someone of their parents' generation, or at least flexibly allow the other person to determine the language of the conversation, demonstrating similarity of deference to Shim's (2014) findings wherein young Korean-Americans spoke English with their siblings and peers, but would use Korean when speaking or referring to older Korean individuals or family members in order to show respect. Anthony demonstrated and explicitly noted that he would allow the other (older) person in a conversation to initiate whether the conversation would take place mostly in English, Vietnamese, or Vietglish; Nguyen (2018) found that participants would follow the language choice of the conversation initiator when speaking and adjust their own speech accordingly. This respect for elders confirms findings regarding innovative traditionalism and negotiation of authority within the Vietnamese family and community (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Zhou & Bankston, 2000).

5.3. Pronunciation as Power

Louie and Huy demonstrate flexible choice of pronunciation for key terms in order to convey certain extralinguistic associations and attitudes in their speech. For example, Louie and Huy pronounce the city name of Sài Gòn and the name of Thích Quảng Đức, entities for which they and their parents hold high respect, with the corresponding Vietnamese tones and pronunciation, even in a mostly-English sentence. However, the two speakers do not pay the same attention to tone and pronunciation when speaking of Hồ Chí Minh, whom many Vietnamese who emigrated from Vietnam as refugees view as a tyrant and the cause of their loss of homeland. Louie said that he viewed the appropriate pronunciation of Vietnamese terms as a way of "reclaiming power" and of subtly communicating his respect for the item of conversation. While pronunciation has been included in translanguaging research via creative multilingual puns (Li, 2011), the use of tone itself as a distinct phonological and semantic feature of translanguaging has received minimal, if any, attention.

5.4. Combined grammars

Much of Linh's speech exhibited similarities to those found in Nguyen (2018). Linh demonstrated translanguaging both inter- and intrasententially (within and at sentence boundaries) as well as sequentially and segmentedly (clusters of words and single words). She also applied Vietnamese grammar to her English lexicon, such as by using Vietnamese classifiers with an English noun or by dropping inflection from English verbs and nouns. Rather than focus on adherence to English or Vietnamese as named languages, Linh's speech practice prioritizes communication of content rather than adherence to form in a formal "named" language system.

5.5. Willingly and Unwillingly Using Vietglish for Identity, Culture, and Emotion

Louie, Khang, and Anthony described having negative feelings of embarrassment or shame when reflecting on their language practices, usually when they use English to supplement their Vietnamese sentences because they do not know the Vietnamese equivalents and despite the fact that they do so nearly everyday. The negative attitudes of the younger participants (especially those considered to be second-generation immigrants) towards Vietglish and translanguaging may suggest conflict and crisis of identity; Louie described feeling a sense of "imposter syndrome", Khang indicated that he felt embarrassed that he may be perceived as showing off, and Anthony described his translanguaging as an embarrassing "deficiency". Furthermore, Louie and Khang both specifically and repeatedly expressed frustration and annoyance towards those whom they saw as using Vietglish in a performative manner in order to show off, rather than for genuine communicative or expressive purposes; for Louie and Khang, who regularly use their translanguaging to express group membership and cultural identity, those whose expressed identity is not genuine or authentic elicit negative reactions even stronger than about their own identity and linguistic practice. This finding reflects the stigma against nonconformity found in Zhou and Bankston (2000).

These three young men indicated that they would teach their children Vietnamese in order to pass down not only linguistic knowledge, but also the social and cultural values of the Vietnamese community to newer generations; these same sentiments were found in Nguyen, Shin, and Krashen (2001), and directly contrast with the ambivalence towards, or even avoidance and rejection of, the Vietnamese language in the face of pressure to assimilate to mainstream American lifestyle and culture predicted by the same study. Motivations given by interviewees included maintaining family and community bonds, passing down elements of culture to future generations, workplace advantages, and

practical increase communicative ability, aligned with pre-existing translanguaging research on enhancing or continuing cultural connection (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Li & Zhu, 2013; Garcia & Li, 2014).

Khang's example of greetings and culture in English and Vietnamese and Louie's uptake of historically and emotionally significant terms in Vietnamese suggest that Vietglish translanguaging involves more than a single purely *linguistic* repertoire; simultaneously accessing social, cultural, semiotic, and linguistic knowledge is more akin to Garcia and Li's (2014) and Li's (2011) understanding of translanguaging than to Grosjean's (1982) and Cook's (2016) suggestions of multiple individual elements associated with named languages encapsulated within a single purely linguistic repertoire. Awareness of reluctantly relying on one named language to supplement a lack of linguistic knowledge in another indicates that the translanguaging speech practices of Vietglish are not all based on free multilingual choice; their language practice is something of a mix of both conscious linguistic choices and linguistic necessities for communication.

Certain topics which may merit more frequent instances of translanguaging were those having to do with food, family, and relationships, akin to the findings of Nguyen (2018). The different translanguaging practices found and discussed in this study have served to both create and close distance between the speakers, interlocutors, and the topics of discussion, especially those which carry an emotional weight. Louie and Huy demonstrated dedication to maintaining and remembering certain terms of historical and cultural importance in Vietnamese, especially relating to the war between North and South Vietnam as experienced by their parents. Louie, Khang, and Linh cited perceived differences in depth and seriousness between Vietnamese and English as reasons why they would use one language or the other for highly emotional or sensitive topics.

Linh almost exclusively used English when discussing and referring to interpersonal relationships such as family, divorce, marriage, and dating, topics which she may have had more exposure to after her arrival in the US as a young adult. Linh moderated her language, selectively using English or Vietnamese in order to create distance between herself and the topic at hand (such as with gambling and divorce) or to evoke warmer emotions (referring to herself as "Mommy" rather than "má"). Her use of referring to herself in the third person as "Mommy" rather than "I", even in English, aligns with findings that Chinese speakers avoid the use of pronouns perceived as overly direct, and that the use of Vietnamese kinship terms is socially and culturally motivated (Li, 2011; Nguyen D., 2018; Nguyen, L., 2018; Tuc, 2003). Rather than reject the social hierarchy of her family, as predicted by Nguyen (2020), Linh's speech reaffirms it, even in English. The results support the notion that circumstances and age of arrival in a new country affect linguistic practices in immigrant communities (Nguyen, 2020; Tang, 2007). Louie and Khang, who were both born in Vietnam, indicated preference for using Vietnamese or Vietglish for certain emotions, while Anthony, who was born in the United States, preferred to use English. These participants' expression of emotionally charged concepts through the use of their linguistic abilities has been found in other work as well (Dewaele, 2008, 2010; Kharkhurin & Li, 2015).

6. Conclusion

6.1. Limitations

One of the largest limitations of this study had to do with the context in which it was conducted and the impact thereof on the methodology. Due to the global health events of 2020 and 2021[19], travel between the United States and the United Kingdom and any in-person, face-to-face interactions were strongly discouraged, and even made illegal at certain times. Thus, all participant recruitment and data collection had to be remotely conducted. Furthermore, due to the parameters which I had set for the target population (i.e., Vietnamese-Americans in California), the possible participant pool was already limited. The study received notable interest from overseas Vietnamese in other states in the U.S.A. as well as other countries, but these individuals were not able to take part in the study due to where they live. While the study initially garnered interest from more than 20 otherwise-eligible individuals in California through online recruitment via social media, only five actually submitted the requisite consent forms in order to participate. These five were all personal acquaintances of mine in Orange County, CA, meaning that any conclusions drawn from this study are limited in that they: a.) may only be applicable to Vietnamese-Americans from Orange County, CA, and b.) may have been influenced by participants' prior own personal knowledge of myself, my studies, and my research interests. Additionally, of these five participants, only one was female (Linh); due to Vietnamese gender norms and cultural expectations, women may be more likely to moderate their speech. Linh was also the only participant over the age of 45, meaning that any conclusions drawn about intergenerational dynamics and relationships are solely

[19] The SARS-CoVID-19 global health pandemic.

based on her results. However, due to the restrictions on in-person interactions, it was not possible for me to fly to the United States and try to recruit more participants in-person, such as through a university organization or local church.

Where this study might have made use of the researcher as an active participant-observer in conversations, as was done by Dung Nguyen (2018), participants instead were asked to create their own audio recordings at home, as was done by Li Nguyen (2020). By asking participants to be responsible for the creation of the audio recordings for the study themselves, this may have influenced the conversations and made them hyper-aware of the recording and speech process. For example, Louie and Huy's conversations overwhelmingly revolved around Vietnamese culture and history, but Louie told me that this was probably only because they had been thinking about these topics due to this research study. Additionally, remotely held interviews may have presented a level of formality that would not be present during an in-person interview, causing participants to think more carefully about their answers and perhaps try to answer in a way that they thought I wanted them to.

6.2. Conclusions

This research study investigated the manifestations of and motivations for translanguaging in Vietnamese and English by Vietnamese-Americans residing in Orange County, California through the use of natural-speech recordings and stimulated-recall interviews. The findings suggest that "Vietglish" speakers use both Vietnamese and English for communicative purposes, as well as to express identity and belonging to the Vietnamese culture. This study found that Vietglish is a common facet of life for many Vietnamese-Americans which is used every day; however, many participants expressed disdain, embarrassment, or other such negative emotions about using it. Participants moderated their Vietnamese

and English speech especially when their English equivalents would not convey the same depth of meaning as the Vietnamese term, such as with emotional or taboo topics. Participants also indicated that they tended to rely on English in their Vietnamese conversations when they did not know, or struggled to think of, how to express certain concepts in Vietnamese, indicating that not all translanguaging is simply a matter of choice. Some topics, such as food, were especially likely to be spoken about using Vietnamese, rather than English, terminology. In addition, participants moderated the amount of Vietnamese or English they used in a single conversation based on their interlocutor out of respect and deference for the (usually older) interlocutor who may not speak English. Lastly, pronunciation and use of tones across Vietnamese and English served as another facet of translanguaging used to express varying levels of respect. Thus, the translanguaging practices of this community access linguistic, emotional, and cultural facets of their communicative and expressive repertoires.

6.3 Answering the Research Questions

Based on the results gained from this study, its fundamental research questions can be answered as follows:

6.3.1. Research Question 1

Do Vietnamese-Americans in California translanguage between English and Vietnamese, as has been found in Texas and Australia? If so, how?

The answer to the first research question is *yes*. Our five participants displayed and explicitly indicated that they dynamically, as well as both consciously and unconsciously, utilize all of their linguistic

repertoires in English and Vietnamese depending on the context of the conversation for specific communicative and expressive purposes. Translanguaging occurred in the form of vocabulary, grammatical structures, and pronunciation. Participants displayed intersentential and intrasentential, as well as sequential and segmental, translanguaging, and selectively pronounced words with or without tones.

6.3.2. Research Question 2

For what reasons do Vietnamese-Americans translanguage?

As mentioned above, participants used various methods of translanguaging to overcome certain communicative barriers or to fill communicative needs depending on the context of the conversation. Participants moderated their speech in order to create or close emotional distance from certain topics, for example, or to evoke a particular emotional element that they associated with words in one named language but not the other. Other participants used pronunciation and phonology as a way of "reclaiming power" over the cultural and historical contexts associated with the terms under discussion. Decisions about turn taking and the language patterns that would shape a conversation are also affected by participants' cultural obligations to convey respect to (older or more senior) interlocutors, and in turn foster deep community relationships within the Vietnamese-American social network. Participants' translanguaging also served to express and maintain a uniquely Vietnamese-American identity and connection to cultural roots.

6.4. Possibilities for Future Research

Due to the limited size of this study, future research studies investigating the nature of Vietglish could expand the same methodology to include more participants from ages, genders, and other areas or states in the United States. Turn-taking in Vietglish, and investigating how the interlocutor influences an individual's translanguaging decisions, could also be a potential point of exploration. While this study only had one parent-child pair (Linh and Anthony), the role of Vietglish translanguaging between children and their parents may also be a viable area of investigation, as children have been shown to code-switch at similar rates to their parents (Tang, 2007). Additionally, the use and role of kinship terms in English as well as Vietnamese may prove to be a promising point of study. Aside from kinship terms, the role of Vietnamese classifiers in Vietnamese-English translanguaging [mentioned briefly but not expanded on in discussion of Linh's speech in (30)] could also prove to be a rich area of investigation. Future research may also investigate the use of pronunciation itself, including tone, as a feature of translanguaging, aside from grammar or vocabulary. Lastly, a final possibility for further study would be to investigate the digital presence of Vietglish online in social media posts, text and instant messaging communications, and other written contexts.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: Chart of Southern Vietnamese Kinship Terms and Personal Pronouns

[Adapted from Nguyen (2018)]

Pronoun	Person	Reciprocal	Gender	Literal/Kinship Meaning	Non-Kinship Meaning	Formality
tôi	First					Formal/informal
ta	First					Informal
mình	First					Informal/intimate
người ta	Third (plural)				"they", "people" or proverbial "one"	
anh	First/Second/Third	*em*	Male	Older brother	An older man of the same generation; the man in a romantic relationship	
chị	First/Second/Third	*em*	Female	Older sister	An older woman of the same generation	
em	First/Second/Third	*anh* or *chị*	Male/Female	Younger sibling	A person who's a little younger; the woman in a heterosexual relationship	
má	First/Second/Third	*con*	Female	Mother		
ba	First/Second/Third	*con*	Male	Father		
ông	First/Second/Third	*con*	Male	Grandfather; paternal grandfathers are referred to as "*ông nội*" and maternal grandfathers are referred to as "*ông ngoại*"	a man much older than the speaker	
bà	First/Second/Third	*con*	Female	Grandmother; paternal grandmothers are referred to as "*bà nội*" and maternal grandmothers are referred to as "*bà ngoại*"	A woman much older than the speaker	
cha	First/Second/Third	*con*	Male	Father	A priest	formal
con	First/Second			(Biological) child/grandchild	A young child; someone at least one generation younger	
mày (*đứa/bay*)	Second (plural)		Male/Female		"Those"	informal
chú	First/Second/Third	*con*	Male	Father's younger brother	A man a little younger than one's parents	

cô	First/Second/Third	*con*	Female	Father's younger sister	A woman a little younger than one's parents	
bác	First/Second/Third	*con*	Male/Female	Parent's older sibling and their spouse	Someone a little older than one's parents	
cậu	First/Second/Third	*con*	Male	Mother's brother		
mợ	First/Second/Third	*con*	Female	*cậu*'s wife		
dì	First/Second/Third	*con*	Female	Mother's sister		
dượng	First/Second/Third	*con*	Male	*dì*'s husband		

APPENDIX B: Sample Registration Consent Form

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
15 Norham Gardens
Oxford, OX2 6PY

PI: Dr. Heath Rose
heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk
Bao-Linh Nguyen, MSc Student
bao-linh.nguyen@education.ox.ac.uk
University Tel: 01865-72044

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) Approval Reference: ED-CIA-21-121

Translanguaging in Vietnamese and English

Purpose of Study: The study aims to analyze and understand translanguaging in Vietnamese and English in Vietnamese-American communities in California, USA.

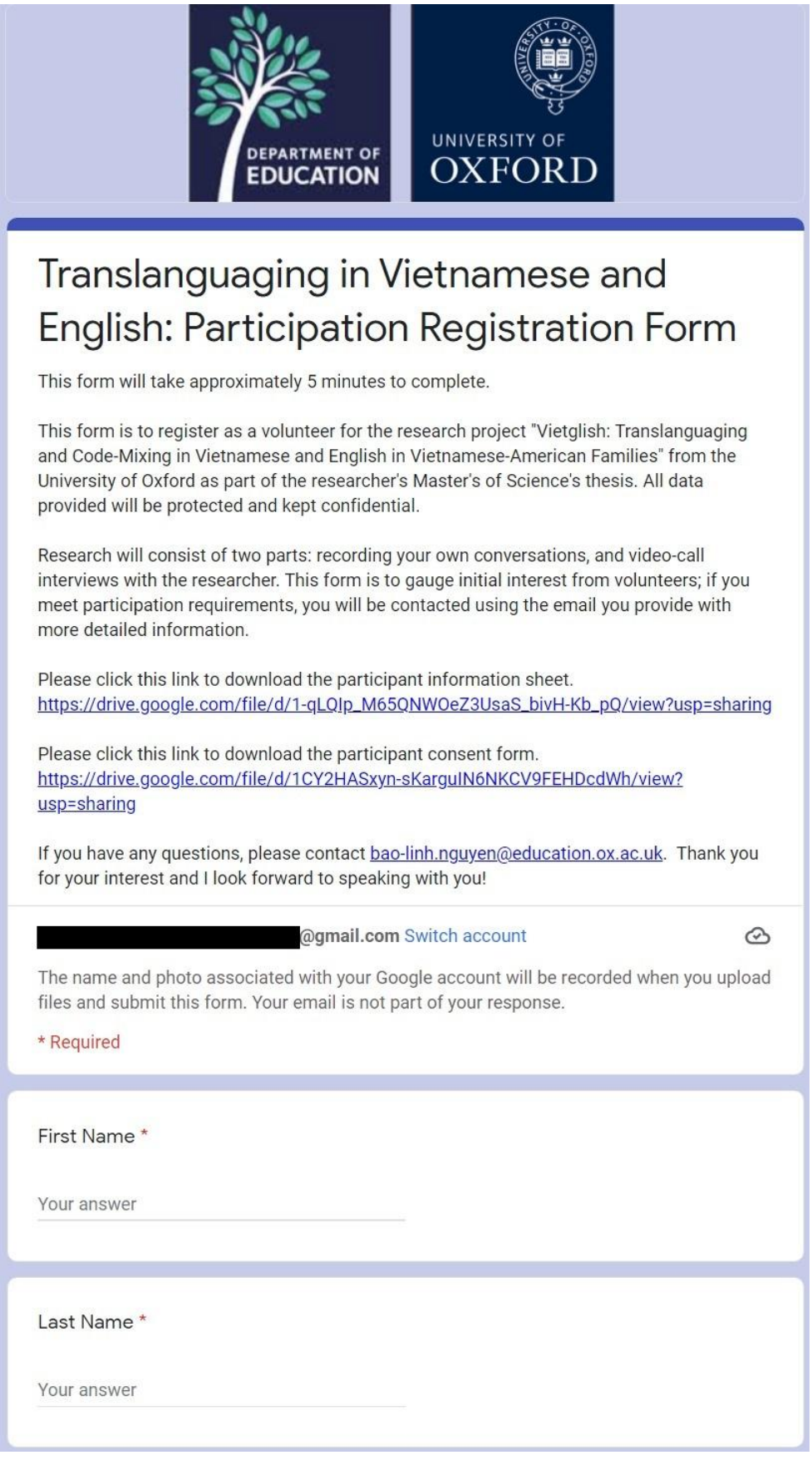
		Please initial each box
1	I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	☐
2	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or penalty.	☐
3	I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by authorised people outside the research team. I give permission for these individuals to access my data.	☐
4	I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.	☐
5	I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.	☐
6	I understand how this research will be written up and published.	☐
7	I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint.	☐
8	I consent to being audio recorded	☐
9	I consent to being video recorded	☐
10	I understand how audio recordings / videos / photos will be used in research outputs [please delete as appropriate]	☐

11	I agree to the use of pseudonymised quotes in research outputs	☐
12	I agree to take part in the study	☐
Optional:	I agree for research data collected in this study to be given to researchers, including those working outside of the UK and the EU, to be used in other research studies. I understand that any data that leave the research group will be pseudonymised so that I cannot be identified.	☐

_____	dd / mm / yyyy	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

_____	dd / mm / yyyy	_____
Name of person taking consent	Date	
	Signature	

APPENDIX C: Online Registration Questionnaire Form



Translanguaging in Vietnamese and English: Participation Registration Form

This form will take approximately 5 minutes to complete.

This form is to register as a volunteer for the research project "Vietglish: Translanguaging and Code-Mixing in Vietnamese and English in Vietnamese-American Families" from the University of Oxford as part of the researcher's Master's of Science's thesis. All data provided will be protected and kept confidential.

Research will consist of two parts: recording your own conversations, and video-call interviews with the researcher. This form is to gauge initial interest from volunteers; if you meet participation requirements, you will be contacted using the email you provide with more detailed information.

Please click this link to download the participant information sheet.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1-qLQIp_M65QNWOeZ3UsaS_bivH-Kb_pQ/view?usp=sharing

Please click this link to download the participant consent form.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CY2HASxyn-sKarguIN6NKCV9FEHDcdWh/view?usp=sharing

If you have any questions, please contact bao-linh.nguyen@education.ox.ac.uk. Thank you for your interest and I look forward to speaking with you!

[redacted]@gmail.com Switch account

The name and photo associated with your Google account will be recorded when you upload files and submit this form. Your email is not part of your response.

* Required

First Name *

Your answer

Last Name *

Your answer

Email Address *

Your answer

Please indicate your age in years. *

Your answer

Which US state do you primarily live in? (If you were born/raised in one state, but currently temporarily reside elsewhere, please indicate what you could consider to be your "home" state.) *

Choose

What city do you live in? *

Your answer

Please indicate your highest level of education. *

- ◯ High school/GED
- ◯ Trade/Vocational school
- ◯ Some undergraduate study
- ◯ Associate's Degree
- ◯ Bachelor's Degree
- ◯ Some post-graduate study
- ◯ Master's Degree
- ◯ Doctoral degree
- ◯ Prefer not to say
- ◯ Other:

Please indicate your approximate yearly income. *

- ◯ Less than $25,000
- ◯ $25,000 - $50,000
- ◯ $50,000 - $70,000
- ◯ $70,000 - $100,000
- ◯ $100,000 - $150,000
- ◯ $150,000 - $200,000
- ◯ $200,000 +
- ◯ Prefer not to say

Please select the option below that best describes your immigration history/relationship to Vietnam and the US. (If you were born in Vietnam, please select 1st generation regardless of how old you were when you first arrived in the US; you will be asked about this later.) *

- ◯ 1st generation - I was born in Vietnam and moved to the US.*
- ◯ 2nd generation - My parents were born in Vietnam and moved to the US. I was born and raised in the US.
- ◯ 3rd generation - My grandparents were born in Vietnam, and my parents and I were born and raised in the US.
- ◯ I prefer not to say.
- ◯ Other: _____

Section 2 of 3

1st generation - I was born in Vietnam and moved to the US.

Description (optional)

Please indicate how old you were when you moved to the US. *

Short answer text

After section 2 Go to section 3 (Consent Form)

Section 3 of 3

Consent Form

Please click this link to download the participant information sheet.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1-qLQIp_M65QNWOeZ3UsaS_bivH-Kb_pQ/view?usp=sharing

Please click this link to download the participant consent form.
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CY2HASxyn-sKarguIN6NKCV9FEHDcdWh/view?usp=sharing

If you do not have a Google account to upload the file, please email it to "bao-linh.nguyen@education.ox.ac.uk" with the subject, "Translanguaging Consent Form, [YOUR NAME]". You cannot participate in the study without a signed consent form.

Please upload your signed consent form.

Add file

View folder

APPENDIX D: Sample Study Information Sheet for Participants

Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens
Oxford, OX2 6PY

Dr. Heath Rose
heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk
Bao-Linh Nguyen (MSc Student)
bao-linh.nguyen@education.ox.ac.uk
University Tel: 01865-72044

Translanguaging in Vietnamese and English

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) Approval Reference: [ED-CIA-21-121]

1. Why is this research being conducted?

This research aims to examine the mixing or translanguaging of Vietnamese and English in Vietnamese American communities, and to understand how the language of these communities reflects or is associated with their identity.

2. Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited because you indicated that you (may) speak both Vietnamese and English in the home, reside in California, USA, and are older than 18 years of age.

3. Do I have to take part?

No. You can ask questions about the research before deciding whether or not to take part. If you do agree to take part, you may withdraw yourself from the study, without giving a reason, and without negative consequences, by advising us of this decision. You may withdraw from the research at any point. If you choose to withdraw, your data and collected information up until that point will be deleted.

4. What will happen to me if I take part in the research?

You will be asked to record a conversation or multiple conversations at home with someone who also speaks English and Vietnamese totalling 20 minutes on your personal mobile device. Each conversation should last at least 5 minutes. You do not have to speak both languages in the recording; please simply converse as you normally would. You will be asked to review your audio files and to remove any sections that you do not feel comfortable sharing with the researcher for whatever reason. You will then be asked to submit your audio files by uploading them electronically on a secure Nexus 365 webpage. Once an audio file is submitted, you consent to making all of it available for research purposes.

You will also be asked to complete one interview session online, which should last between 45-60 minutes.

When our online interview begins, I will talk you through the study procedures and give you the chance to ask any questions. If you are still happy to take part, we will ask you to sign a consent form. You can also ask to pause or stop the interview at any time.

With your consent, I would like to video record you during our online interview so I can have an accurate record of your thoughts.

5. Are there any potential risks in taking part?

As you will be audio-recorded, the research will collect identifiable information from you, such as your name and voice. To reduce any potential risks of you becoming identified in the research, all collected data will be pseudonymized; that is, you will be assigned a fake name in all research materials and write ups so that you cannot be identified. Your real identity and name will not be revealed.

6. Are there any benefits in taking part?

There will be no direct or personal benefit to you from taking part in this research, but your participation will benefit the Vietnamese-American community by better understanding issues related the language and identity.

7. Expenses and payments

There will be no payment for taking part in this study.

8. What happens to the data provided?

The information you provide during the study is the **research data**. Any research data from which you can be identified, including your name, date of birth/age, audio recording, etc., is known as **personal data**.

This includes more sensitive categories of personal data such as your racial or ethnic origin or data concerning your health. We are also collecting sensitive data including racial/ethnic identity and immigration history.

Personal / sensitive data will be stored digitally in an encrypted Nexus 365 University folder. Data will only be kept for the duration of the study and will be deleted following completion of the study.

Other research data (including consent forms) will be stored for at least 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research.

Your personal data may be transferred to, and stored at, a destination outside the UK and the European Economic Area. Identifiable data will be removed whenever possible and any data transfer will be done securely and with a similar level of data protection as required under UK law.

The researcher and supervisor will have access to the research data. Responsible members of the University of Oxford may be given access to data for monitoring and/or audit of the research.

We would like your permission to use direct quotes attributed to your pseudonym in any research outputs.

We would like your permission to use pseudonymised data in future studies, and to share data with other researchers (e.g. in online databases). All personal information that could identify you will be removed or changed before information is shared with other researchers or results are made public.

9. Will the research be published?

The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research.

The research will be written up as a student's thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it may be deposited both in print and online in the University archives to facilitate its use in future research. If so, the thesis will be openly accessible.

10. Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (Reference number: ED-CIA-21-121).

11. Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please contact Bao-Linh Nguyen at bao linh.nguyen@education.ox.ac.uk or Heath Rose at heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk, and we will do our best to answer your query. We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible:

Dr. Liam Gearon, Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) Chair, Department of Education, 15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, United Kingdom, Email: liam.gearon@education.ox.ac.uk

12. Data Protection

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data, and as such will determine how your personal data is used in the study.
The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that is performed in the public interest.
Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/councilsec/compliance/gdpr/individualrights/.

13. Further Information and Contact Details

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Bao-Linh Nguyen and Dr. Heath Rose
Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY
University Tel: 01865-72044
University email: bao-linh.nguyen@education.ox.ac.uk or heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk

APPENDIX E: University CUREC Ethics Approval

ED-CIA-21-121 - Approval

Laura Molway <laura.molway@sant.ox.ac.uk>
Mon 2/15/2021 10:49 AM

To: Bao-Linh Nguyen <bao-linh.nguyen@education.ox.ac.uk>
Cc: Heath Rose <heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk>; Student CUREC <student.curec@education.ox.ac.uk>

Dear Bao-Linh,

Title: Vinglish: Translanguaging and Code Mixing in Vietnamese and English in Vietnamese-American families
Ref: ED-CIA-21-121

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

Please continue to follow all current guidance issued by CUREC during the pandemic, notably COVID-19: CUREC guidance on research involving human participants, https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/coronavirus. The best practice guidance for internet-based research may also prove useful: https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/resources/bpg

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to student.curec@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

With best wishes,
Laura Molway
Member of DREC

Laura Molway (she/her)
Departmental Lecturer in Modern Languages Education
Lead Tutor for the ML PGCE
St Antony's College
@OxfordDeptofEd

Recent work:
Measuring effective teaching: Student perceptions of their modern languages lessons in England
What do languages teachers in England say they want to develop?

APPENDIX F: Total Audio Data Used

File Name	Audio Length (minutes:seconds)	Data Type	Participants
Louie.Huy.23:51	23:51	Home Recording	Louie, Huy
Louie.Huy.4:19	4:19	Home Recording	Louie, Huy
Louie.Huy.2:10	2:10	Home Recording	Louie, Huy
Anthony.Linh.32:58	32:58	Home Recording	Anthony, Linh
Louie.1	7:53	Interview	Louie, Researcher
Louie.2	20:33	Interview	Louie, Researcher
Louie.3	0:35	Interview	Louie, Researcher
Khang.1	29:27	Interview	Khang, Researcher
Linh.1	24:56	Interview	Linh, Anthony, Researcher
Anthony.1	14:52	Interview	Anthony, Researcher

APPENDIX G: Transcription Procedure

Audio files were transcribed by hand; the rapid, casual slang of many participants, as well as the mix of languages, caused transcription software to have high error rates, which took just as much time (if not more) to correct and edit than to transcribe by hand the first time through by the researcher, who was able to recognize and discern speech features. One advantage of transcribing by ear is that I was free to change the playback speed of audio files, slowing down sections that were difficult to discern at full speed but clearer when played more slowly. Transcribed documents were then analyzed for instances of code-mixing and translanguaging.

Unclear utterances were labeled <V> if they were more likely to be Vietnamese and <E> if they were more likely to be in English based on the transcriber's (my) "best guess", which is in line with practices of previous research (Du Bois et al., 1993; Nguyen, 2020). These best guesses were then double checked with another speaker of English and Vietnamese, to see if they agreed that the utterance was probably one or the other language. If it was absolutely unclear which language the utterance fell under, it was labeled <inaudible>.

Transcriptions were labeled using numbered lines rather than time stamps, for ease of perusal and referral to short utterances, such as single words or phrases, and new speaking turns were written on a new line. This ease was especially important in the ability to draw participants' attention to specific sections of their transcripts during follow-up interviews. Nonverbal utterances or noises, such as laughs or sighs, were noted using <utterance> where they occurred in an utterance relative to the decipherable surrounding verbal context, e.g., "<laughs>".

Following the procedure in Nguyen (2018), analysis on transcripts focused on language structure and implied meaning. Transcripts were color-coded as follows:

Pink — Vietnamese utterance with Vietnamese phonology intrasententially (within English sentence)

Green — Vietnamese words/phrases with English phonology (lacks tones, accents, palatalization, etc)

Blue — English utterance (English and Vietnamese phonology) within intrasententially (within Vietnamese sentence)

APPENDIX H: Sample Transcript of Home Recording

Viet word, English pronunciation
Viet word, Viet pronunciation
English word, Viet pronunciation

Louie: Did, did you know that Huy?
Huy: Vietnam is the best country in the world.
Louie: Vietnam is the greatest country in the world! <laughs>
Huy: Like, you know how like, there are people who are born outside of their mother country, and they're like extremely nationalistic despite having never lived there?
Louie: Yes.
Huy: And like they don't speak the fucking language at all?
Louie: Yes, that's what's happening in Subtle Viet Traits.
Huy: Yeah...
Louie: There was this -- Oh, my God, there's this one girl, she's… okay, she's in Subtle Viet Traits, and then she's like oh, uh, so, I never grew up in Vietnam, I was… I never lived in Vietnam, but I would say my Vietnamese is pretty good, I'm basically considered a fob, and like, I have a huge appreciation for the culture. And then she has like a video of herself where she's saying like a bunch of words and she says them like with the accents all wrong, and then that just pisses me the fuck off because like one, don't call yourself a fob if you're not actually from the, from your motherland, or from the other country, and like you... You…if you... okay first of all, if you've never been to Vietnam, you've never experienced the culture there, you've never experienced the authenticity, please do not say you are a fob. As someone who was born in Vietnam, I take offense to that, because you have never experienced the culture there.
Huy: Right.
Louie: I dunno, that's just a hot take. And oh, I went off, like, to my mom, to my dad, to everybody that I could think of, honestly like I went off, like this was just pissing me off so much, I dunno why.
Huy: How'd your dad feel about that? What'd you tell your dad?
Louie: I told my dad and he's like, "Dude she's just being stupid," and just, "Why you care? She's on the internet, why do you care?" I'm like, "Because I want to prove that, you know."
Huy: Right, I want to prove that I'm right. And she's wrong, and she doesn't know, she don't know.
Louie: <laughs>
Huy: And she <indiscernible?> and she don't know.
Louie: <laughs>
Louie: And I just, I hate those kind of people, that are just like, oh, and there's fucking Koreaboos too! She's like, "oh my god, Korea, like BTS" or something bro, you don't know. Everything's just so, like, you cannot call yourself a fob if you've been over here for the entirety, and all your knowledge about Viet culture, and all that you experienced is basically Americanized.
Huy: Right.
Louie: That's like [redacted] calling himself a fob, and I'm like no, [redacted], you're not a fob, you're Americanized as hell.

Huy: <laughs> Oh, that's funny, dude. Yeah. It's so, I dunno, man. Like, there's some weird takes people have too, like, I mean I think there's like different extremes to it, like, there are like a lot of young people who are very sympathetic to like, Communism and stuff. And I'm like, c'mon y'all, c'mon y'all can do better than this, can't be doing that type of stuff.
Louie: What's weird to me is that like, not just… there's young Vietnamese people, or their parents are Vietnamese, and they're Communist sympathizers, like there's… on, on Facebook, there's this one person that I know, [redacted] --
[xxx]: [redacted]
Louie: -- on her comments, she's always like, she's like "Oh, me and my comrades" or stuff like that, I'm like bro, like just --
Huy: She's larping.
Louie: Huh?
Huy: She's larping, man. Who's [redacted]?
Louie: [redacted] on Facebook.
[xxx] : [redacted]
Louie: She's on Confessions a lot.
Huy: At UCI?
Louie: Yeah, Confessions at [redacted].
Huy: Oh I see.
Louie: Her mother's Viet so she comes from a Viet background, like southern, *southern* Viet, but she's like, she's like, "Yeah, me and my, me and my comrades", I'm like come on, like really? Like, you know everything that your mother has been through when she came from Vietnam over here, and, and…. Just even using the term comrade.
Huy: Yeah, that's real weird. How do you say it in Vietnamese? Uh…thu sản or something like that?
Louie: I don't know.
Huy: thu sản… thu sản...
Louie: Let me just look it up right now… comrade in Vietnamese.
Huy: đồng chí!
Louie: đồng chí!
Huy: You know, it's funny, because I was watching, like, I think it was a couple months ago, I was watching a speech by Ho Chi Minh, 'cause I just wanted to hear what he sounded like right?
Louie: <laughs>
Huy: 'Cause you see him on dollar bills and you're like, you -- people talk about him, but you never hear what he actually sounds like, right?
Louie: Right…
Huy: I just wanted to listen to his speech, and my dad was like, "What are you doing?" <laughs>
Louie: Dude, if I pulled that shit in front of -- if my dad saw that, my ass would be out of the house. I would not… <laughs>
Huy: No dude, my, I think my parents are like chill about it, 'cause like my dad, he's just like, "Hey he's a bad person, you know?" and I'm like, "I just want to listen to him, I just want to hear him speak", he's all, "Oh that's cool, but just don't listen to him talk." I'm like "Oh, okay, I gotchu. It's no problem."

[xxx]: [redacted]
Louie: I can't believe you had the balls to do that in your own house.
Huy: Hey, it was just, it's not my fault, I was just listening to him, I'm like "oh, this is interesting." I never expected him to sound like this. Apparently he speaks six languages, he's a smart guy.
[xxx]: [redacted]
Huy: So that's pretty cool. Only heard him speak Vietnamese, I didn't hear him speak French or English or anything like that.
Louie: You know, when your Facebook posts, when your Facebook name was like, "Ho Chi Minh's Prodigy" or some shit, I was like, "Alright, Huy's gotta go, he gotta get out of the house, like, we can't have him in here." <laughs>
Huy: <laughs> Oh yeah, that's kinda bad. That was bad.
Louie: Yeah, I think [redacted] was trying to get triggered, I was like, Huy's gotta go.
[xxx]: [redacted]
Huy: Oh yeah, I didn't.. I think it's because you guys, well I'm not sure if you were here, but it was [redacted]'s lab partner.
Louie: Wait which…?
Huy: I think it was, um, well I'm not gonna say his name --
Louie: [redacted]?
Huy: He was a really -- it wasn't [redacted] -- he was a really nice guy, but like… he's from China, and so his political views were really...
Louie: Oh him!
Huy: Yeah, he was a very nice dude, but like, that was really weird, it was kind of weird. Yeah, it was really weird man.
Louie: (If) My dad saw me listen, 'cause he's anti North Vietnam, like, China everything, and he also fought in the Vietnam War for the South and like the North locked him up and shit like that, so if my dad just even like saw Ho Chi Minh on my phone he'd be like "alright, you gotta get out." Sorry Dad.
Huy: Well what if it was like Ho Chi Minh City? It's just the city.
Louie: I think he's salty about that too. He still loves… he still loves to call it --
Huy: Oh he calls it Sài Gòn?
Louie: -- Sài Gòn. Sài Gòn.
Huy: Yeah, okay. It's shorter, it's a nicer name, so that's fair, right?
Louie: Yeah.
Huy: Damn, bro. It's just etched in his mind.
Louie: You know as a kid <laughs> I thought Ho Chi Minh was actually a good guy on our side.
Huy: <laughs>
Louie: Like, I didn't know anything so when we visited Vietnam, and then you know how like in Sài Gòn, there's like Ho Chi Minh stuff everywhere
Huy: Yeah yeah yeah
Louie: His pictures are everywhere, there's statues of him, I'm like "Oh, so he must be like the current, the current president or whatever, ruler of Vietnam", and then my mom's like "No, that's the bad guy", I'm like "Oh, I didn't know" <laughs> I think she was horrified and my dad was like "I don't know who's my son anymore".
Huy: That's just like, you're just visiting a country, you don't know anything.

[xxx] [redacted]
Louie: It's also his fault because he didn't teach me anything about the Vietnam War or about, or about Ho Chi Minh.
[**xxx**] [redacted]
Louie: Like he only told me about his experiences in the war like, as I was growing up, but it was just, it was just like little snippets like, nothing that happened during the war, it's just like his experiences after, like after the war he got sent to a concentration camp, and then for a couple years he had to like, basically live off scraps, stuff like that, he never actually told me about the politics behind the Vietnam War.
Huy: Right. How long was he in the gulags for? The prison camp?
Louie: I want to say a couple years.
Huy: Okay that's pretty bad. I know one of my friends, his dad was in there for like at least five years.
Louie: He, uh -- huh?
Huy: Yeah, that was not fun. It was uh, I think he's like sixty-something now, so it's like, he was in there pretty badly too.
Louie: Oh he's sixty something now?
Huy: Mm-hmm <affirmative>.
Louie: Oh fuck.
Huy: Yeah.
Louie: They're only younger than my dad by like, less than ten years.
Huy: Yeah, it was bad, man. It was not good.
Louie: I think what made it worse for my dad was like, he tried leaving multiple times, like so he got caught by the North Vietnamese after the war and he got sent to the concentration or gulag or whatever you want to call it, and so when they released him he went back, he tried escaping the country multiple times, I think it was like hắt ô, or something, you know how they call it like hắt ô? I never understood what that meant. He đi hắt ô, he đi vượt biên, hoi, I forgot what it was called, and then he would get caught and he would come back back, so he spent like multiple trips in the concentration camp, and I think that's where he gets his pent up frustration about the North Vietnamese from.
Huy: Yeah. Homie, dude, homie was trying to get out of the country multiple times, and he had to go back multiple times, oh dude. <laughs>
Louie: And then the time when he, when he finally decided not to go was when he met my mom. So when he accepted his fate, God was like "aite, here, here's a woman with some relatives who's already in the United States, here's your ticket out." <laughs>
Huy: Damn. Oh, so he didn't even escape, he just married his way out, okay.
Louie: Well, he didn't know that my mom had relatives.
Huy: Right, but he's like, its like Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, he got the Golden Ticket --
Louie: Yeah.
Huy: -- open up the chocolate bar and the ticket's in there like yes, I can go and leave, let me leave this godforsaken country.
Louie: And now as a 70 year old man he tries to spread awareness about the North vietnamese by posting shit all over Facebook and supporting Trump so Trump can lock down China so they can't do more stuff to Vietnam. <laughs> Write that on Yelp.

Huy: Yeah, does he have the South Vietnamese flag in his house or anything?
Louie: No, we don't have any of that
Huy: Oh, really? I feel like it's a pretty good flag in my opinion.
Louie: It's a beautiful flag.
Huy: Not even like, politics or political connotation, just like the flag design, it's a very nice flag.
Louie: It's simple.
Huy: Yeah, they should replace it <laughs> they should replace the current vietnamese flag with that one.
Louie: That's a hot take. They should but it's a hot take for politics right now
Huy: No I'm not talking about politics man, I'm just talking about flag design. Just nice looking flag design.
Louie: Our flag right now is essentially the Chinese flag.
Huy: Yeah I know, like the Chinese flag and the Vietnamese flag, it's aite, it could be better. It's not bad, it's not good, I don't really have anything to say about it.
Louie: What do you think about the US flag?
Huy: Oh the US flag? It's aite, it's not bad, it's not good. The color grading is okay. The design is interesting but like, I don't really think about it.
Louie: There's too much going on.
Huy: Yeah, it's too, what do you call it, it's bloated, the design is bloated, there's too much going on. Also, interestingly enough, like pretty much any Vietnamese community outside of Vietnam has the flag, so that's how you know. Like you go to Australia or Canada, like you just go into the community, you just see the flag, you're like oh this a Vietnamese community.
Louie: And if you see the type of flag you know exactly which side they're on.
Huy: Oh yeah I mean of course. Oh yeah dude, like what was it, Westminster, dude this guy was, this guy was capping for sure, he wasn't even, he wasn't even a Communist, he was fucking trying to trigger people, this guy shows up in uh, I think Bolsa, in full Communist gear, right, he's got the whole fucking red, uh the red getup, he's got the flags, the yellow star, the <boy scout? Moist out? ENGLISH> and everything, and he's just walking through town with all this shit and he's like --
Louie: Was he, was he Viet too?
Huy: Yeah he was Viet and he's like "Ho Chi Minh is a great guy" and people are getting triggered man, everyones yelling at him, people are like "dude, get out, get out of this city, you don't belong here", he's just like, he has this shit eating grin on his face.
Louie: Was he like our age or was he older?
Huy: No no he was like forty something at the time.
Louie: Oh.
Huy: So this guy was tryna, this guy was tryna piss people off, I don't know what he was doing, too much free time or something, I dunno, broke up with his girlfriend, had too much time.
Louie: When was this?
Huy: It was like two years ago. Because I remember my grandparents saw and it's like, dude what are you doing, and my dad's like "Dude, it's America, and it's free speech. You can say whatever you want, like he has the right to be stupid", I'm like "okay".
Louie: Your dad's pretty chill.

Huy: Yeah, my dad's like... I dunno dude, my dad's like the exact opposite, he's like anti-Communist, but like he's not like, he's not hateful, he's just like "dude this is dumb, this is a big dumb ideology." Anyways.
Louie: My dad probably would've just marched up and just be like…. <sounds of hands slapping>
Huy: Yeah yeah, no definitely dude. Some people probably would've thrown hands with that guy. That was pretty calm, honestly like… given the circumstances, people were very calm about it. They weren't like, trying to fight him or anything, they were just like, "Dude just get out of here man".
Louie: I'm assuming there was like at least a commotion like a crowd.
Huy: Yeah yeah, there… but it was like mostly boomers you know, it was like all a lot older people, I don't think people that are like super old are gonna like try to fight you or anything, they're just like dude —
Louie: They're gonna cuss you the fuck out. <laughs>
Huy: — just get out of here, dude just leave. You're done. Oh yeah and also I think there like a local thing too, where this Vietnamese singer like the mainland right she came over and it wasn't like about politics she was just a singer and she wanted to show her national pride so she waved that flag, the star flag right, and a lot of people got pissed off, and like basically that ended her career in America. Like she was done after that, like no more.
Louie: I mean if she's Viet, if she's from the mainland then she should know better, unless they brainwash over there, she should know better, the north versus the south.
Huy: Yeah. No I think like, 'cause like a lot of people like don't know about like the like the historical politics and that type of stuff you know, like even when my aunt and uncle when they came over from Vietnam, like they didn't know about all this stuff, they're like, "Oh what's that flag? I don't know what that is."
Louie: Wait they didn't know which flag? The Southern flag?
Huy: The South Vietnamese flag, or at least they're like "Oh why are they hanging that up, I don't understand". They didn't like get, they didn't get why, how many, like, they didn't understand the magnitude of the situation, like how many people really hated the country in the States.
Louie: Oh yeah how did your parents -- what was the situation when your grandparents came over then?
Huy: Oh I think they came over in 2006, I think, they went through the imigration process.
Louie: Oh so it was after seventy five, when they were aware.
Huy: Yeah this was not after, this was not after the unification, this was many decades afterwards, so they spent the majority of their life in Vietnam, and then in 2006 they came over, so they don't really have the same type of fervor in that regard.
Louie: I think it's cause… they assimilated themselves in that Vietnam, and then they came over naturally instead of like you know the boat people, uh, vượt biên, and they weren't, um, they didn't come over here because they were displaced from Vietnam, so they don't, they, I don't think they were actually exactly, they were aware of the situation of the Vietnam War, they just weren't aware of what the circumstances were to that forced the Vietnamese people to immigrate over here.
Huy: Yeah they don't have the same animosity.

Louie: Yeah.
Huy: Plus like, I think they had time to cope, they're just like oh, damn, the South lost, anyways I'm gonna go back to my job now.
Louie: <laughs>
Huy: My dirt poor job
Louie: Is this just the next day? <laughs>
Huy: Yeah, anyways, guess Ho Chi Minh's the new guy now, anyways, we got a bunch new people in our country now.
Louie: You know I almost started a fight in my AP Gov class? AP Gov and APUSH.
Huy: Was it a northerner? Was it a northern Viet?
Louie: No it was just, it was just we were learning about the vietnam war in the textbook and then it was open to discussion, like the classes were open to discussion and it was mostly like… I was gonna say, oh, so, the white people were like "Oh the Vietnam War wasn't, didn't have anything to do with us, why the hell, why did we have to get involved?" Or, or "Why did we get shit for leaving?" And then there's me, over here with my Viet ass, I'm like "Okay, so, if you think about it, Viet, North Vietnam, the Communists, had the help of China and Russia, while for us, all we had was the power of the United States and so it's basically three versus two and then when the US was just got too selfish, it was like "Oh it's not our problem, send our troops back," that left little old us by ourself, it's three versus one, and then they essentially left us to die." And so I got pissed about that, my APUSH teacher had a hot take too, so I got pissed about that. My AP Gov teacher not so much, he was pretty chill with everybody, he understood where I was coming from. But yeah that was, that was not a good subject for me. <laughs>
Huy: Wait what was he saying?
Louie: Huh?
Huy: What was the teacher saying? What was his hot take on Vietnam War?
Louie: We shouldn't have gotten involved in the first place.
Huy: Oh, okay.
Louie: That, Asians… if it's another continent, we should let them all do it themselves, uh, why are we fighting the Asians' war when we have nothing to do with it. But if you think about it, like that doesnt make any sense, World War One had nothing to do with America anyways and then we just decided to like just like sell weapons to all the sides, to just jump in when we felt like it.
Huy: Yeah but, the idea between the Vietnam War was that it was a proxy war, right, between the United States and the Soviet Union.
Louie: Yeah cause of the domino effect.
Huy: Right, because of the domino effect, the whole point was to stop the spread of Communism, and Vietnam was kind of a conduit in that. It was kind of like the first, well, Vietnam and Korea. But yeah, they were just trying to see how the, uh, I guess that military intervention would play out in terms of how effective is this in stopping the spread of Communism, so. It's a pretty important thing, but um, yeah, it's interesting because my grandma, she really… like, she's a Democrat, right? She's like a very hardcore Democrat, votes Democrats all the time. She hates John F. Kennedy.
Louie: <laughs>
Huy: Like, she legitimately hates John F. Kennedy. Because she really likes Ngo Dinh Diem, right, she was a Catholic at the time. She's a Buddhist now. At the time she was a Catholic, so

she was very sympathetic to the president. And then, I think um, you know, John F. Kennedy's involvement in the US uh, military intervention in Vietnam kind of soured her opinion of John F. Kennedy, she's like "Dude, this guy's the reason that Vietnam fell to Communism. Like what a piece of shit. What a bad person."
Louie: Wait, wasn't Vietnam during the time of Nixon?
Huy: It went through various periods.
Louie: But seventy five was with Nixon.
Huy: Yeah, it was, it was John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and then Nixon. So this was over a, I think, 12 year span since the United States got involved. So Kennedy was involved from the beginning, but he was only there for a little bit because homie got merked.
Louie: <laughs>
Huy: So, they had to switch over to Johnson. And they changed, the uh… <laughs> they changed the uh, US policy, the military policy, foreign policy on that, shortly afterwards. But yeah, like. I think that one of the guys, there was a Vietnamese general who helped orchestrate the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem. He lived in [redacted], he lived in my city. So he moved over to the United States.
Louie: Okay.
Huy: Yeah so that's kind of crazy to think about. Like he was just, like, he was just chilling in my town, like dude, this guy killed the president of the South, like South Vietnam. Like holy shit, that's crazy man.
Louie: Wait, this isn't public knowledge I assume, if this was public knowledge the Vietnamese would have been rioting or like, looting his house and stuff.
Huy: I don't know, like, people's opinions on the president soured over time. You know, he was like very pro-Catholic, so a lot of people were not happy with his uh, his treatment of the Buddhist population which was the majority. He was a French Catholic, no not French Catholic, he was a Catholic who was educated in France or something like that I think. Um, you know the character Lee Sin from League of Legends? You know that guy, he's based off a South Vietnamese Buddhist monk?
Louie: Oh?
Huy: His name's Thích Quảng Đức, search it up. Lee Sin, Thích Quảng Đức.
Louie: You're going to need to spell that out.
Huy: Alright, so Lee Sin.
Louie: E-E?
Huy: Yeah, Lee Sin, oh, S-I-N. And then, Thích Quảng Đức. Thich… T-H-I-C-H
Louie: Thích... Quảng... Đức
Huy: Right. So, so Lee Sin is a blind monk who, um.
Louie: This dude?
Huy: Yes, Lee Sin. He's a, he's a League of Legends character who basically set himself on fire in protest or something so he's blind, and this design is based off of a South Vietnamse Buddhist monk who set himself on fire to protest the regime of the first president of South Vietnam because of his treatment of the Buddhist population.
Louie: I mean, I knew about this.
Huy: Yeah.

Louie: But I just didn't know about Lee Sin the character. But this was… they planned this, like all the monks knew about this.
Huy: Right.
Louie: And then it's just like, they're like, oh, I read the article, it's like oh the monks are like for a couple weeks there was whispers that oh the monks are going to do something drastic but everybody ignored them and then on the day, homie just pulled up in that cart, homie just pulled up, homie just sat down, someone just lit him on fire, and that was it. Like they were just so nonchalant about it, I'm like bro, like...
Huy: Yeah he, he uh, he took it pretty well man.
Louie: He didn't even say, utter a single sound. Like you're being burned alive and you're not even making a single -- like how? Like, I respect you but at the same time, holy how, holy.
Huy: That's crazy man, dude. Yeah, man, you really know… South Vietnamese people, these guys know how to throw a protest, man. That's crazy, man. <laughs>
Louie: I don't, I don't think it was that effective though.
Huy: No? I mean there was a lot of uh momentum in the --
Louie: I mean there was a lot of --
Huy: There was, there was momentum in the civilian populations' resistance against the first president. Like, he cracked down on a lot of the Buddhist population after this happened too. And uh, like, you know how this guy's body burned right? But he had the heart intact. And they kept the heart, and so the president ordered the military to storm into the, one of the monasteries to take the heart away. So yeah.
Louie: Some pretty hardcore shit. It's just, oh my god.
Huy: I know, homie just came up with a can of petrol and was like alright, I'm out.
Louie: <laughs>
Huy: <laughs>
Huy: It's pretty crazy, man. A little piece of history, so next time you play Lee Sin in League of Legends...
Louie: I don't even play League of Legends. I always knew Warrior was a character but...
Huy: Yeah he's a pretty cool character, pretty good character.

APPENDIX I: Sample Transcript of Remote Interview

Audio File 1
Researcher (researcher): Yeah, so just.. Okay, so we're recording now. Can you state your name for me, and that you agree to be recorded for this interview?
Louie: My name is Louie Tran and I agree to be recorded for this interview.
Researcher: Okay, good. So, just to let you know, all the questions here are completely voluntary, you're not obligated to answer anything. If anything makes you uncomfortable, or emotional, or you don't want to talk about it, um, you can just say "I don't wanna — I decline to answer", or "Can we skip this question?" That's completely fine. Okay?
Louie: Okay.
Researcher: Alright, so we're gonna start talking about some general questions about yourself, your thoughts, your background, and then we're gonna move on to specific parts of your audio file. Okay, so, are you familiar with or have you ever heard the term "Vietglish" or "Vinglish" before?
Louie: Yes I have.
Researcher: Okay, how would you describe it or explain it?
Louie: I would describe Vietglish as <inaudible> between talking in a sentence I add a little bit of Vietnamese in there.
Researcher: You're speaking… okay so you add a little bit of Vietnamese into a sentence thats mostly English? Is that it?
Louie: Yes.
Researcher: Okay. Um, would you ever… do you ever consider it Vietglish when it's the other way around? If you're speaking mostly Vietnamese and you use some English words?
Louie: Yeah I would consider that too.
Researcher: Yeah, that counts? Okay. So what are some reasons that you would speak this way? What are some reasons that you would use Vietglish?
Louie: Um most of the time when I'm using Vietglish, it's mainly English with a little bit of Vietnamese is when I'm talking with my friends and I bring up a certain term, uh, to them, like, I dunno, we're talking about sandwiches and I bring up bánh mì or something. When I'm talking to my parents in Vietnamese, and then, I don't know a word in Vietnamese so I'll say the equivalent of it in English.
Researcher: Okay, so sometimes, would you say that it's because… you said when it's with your parents, you don't know the equivalent of it?
Louie: Yes
Researcher: Do you think it's the same for when you're talking to your friends? You can't, you can't think of a way to say bánh mì in, uh, English?
Louie: Um, I mean, 'cause, "sandwiches" or "baguette" doesn't really translate directly into bánh mì. It's more like <inaudible>, it's a national food, uh, I guess when I'm talking with my friends, more of <inaudible>, I'll use, I'll use very <inaudible> Vietnamese words if it's like an English speaking person, but if I'm around my Vietnamese friends, I would, I tend to put a bit more Vietnamese in there too.
Researcher: Okay, so some words —
Louie: I don't know if I <inaudible>
Researcher: Sorry?
Louie: I don't know if that answers your question.

Researcher: Uh, it does, you said it kind of depends on who you're talking to. So, if you're talking to somebody who only speaks English, would you still use the word bánh mì, or would you substitute in like "sandwich" or "baguette" or something like that?
Louie: Uh, usually when I'm thinking "bánh mì" and stuff, it's like… if it's in a casual setting, like if it's just a joke setting, like I'll just, or, I'll just say it and I won't explain myself but I'm actually trying to educate them or give them like a little bit more background information into what banh mi, then I'll, "Bánh mì is a French baguette, that is, blahblahblah". Yeah.
Researcher: Okay, so would you say that you're assuming, or the assumption is that everybody you're talking to in that conversation already knows what it is? They don't need an explanation?
Louie: Yeah. Yes.
Researcher: So, you said you use it sometimes with your friends, sometimes with your parents. Um, are there any other places or scenarios where you would use Vietglish, or other people that you would use Vietglish with?
Louie: Not necessarily. The only thing <inaudible> when I go to an Asian market, and I'm talking to the cashier or something, but then I just use pure Vietnamese or pure English.
Researcher: Okay, okay. So, how do you feel when you're, when you speak Vietnamese? You live in the United States. What's your… what do you think the attitude is, how do you feel when you're speaking Vientamese, like in public, with your family, stuff like this?
Louie: Um… How do I feel? <laughs> I guess I feel… more… connected? To my roots, I think. I just feel more natural.
Researcher: Feel more natural? Okay, what about English? How do you feel when you speak English?
Louie: I'd say less natural, to an extent. Like, I'm definitely, I would definitely be more comfortable speaking Vietnamese than English. Um, not because I'm not, because of proficiency of language, I just… like Vietnam more. <laughs>
Researcher: <laughs> Okay, so you would say you're more comfortable speaking Vietnamese than English.
Louie: Yeah.
Researcher: Okay, um, what about when you speak Vietglish? How do you feel, what's your attitude towards speaking Vietglish or people who speak Vietglish?
Louie: I kind of feel wack when I'm speaking Vietglish.
Researcher: Can you… can you expand on that? What do you mean by wack? Why?
Louie: Uh, it's because it's… Yes, it's a combination of the two languages, but at the same time, I'm not really using… most… or like 50-50, or something… I, I can't really… explain why I feel wack when I use Vietglish. It's… it just doesn't…<long pause> it's not something that I would say that I want to do, exactly. If that makes sense.
Researcher: Something that you don't want to speak?
Louie: Yes… but I tend to use it anyways.
Researcher: No, that's okay, that's okay! So, let's, let's, let's dig a little bit deeper. Why do you think it is that you don't want to speak it? Are there any specific emotions or feelings that you associate with speaking Vietglish?

Louie: <long pause> No…? Um… I mean I speak Vietglish without a second thought sometimes, but <inaudible> I'm just like, I would rather prefer speaking the entire language that I am using, instead of mixing in words from the other language.
Researcher: Okay.
Louie: Um… so like, kinda makes me feel… Oh! Yeah, so when I'm speaking <inaudible> and then I switch over to some<inaudible>, have a little bit of imposter syndrome <inaudible> cause its like I'm not fully Viet —
Researcher: Sorry your audio is cutting out. Can you repeat that? Maybe like a little slower?
Louie: Yeah so, I <inaudible>. Is it still cutting in and out?
Researcher: Yeah it is.
Louie: Stupid Wifi.
Researcher: Are you using your phone or your computer?
Louie: I'm using my phone. Okay so I'm <inaudible> now? Am I still cutting out? Should I switch over to Messenger on my computer?
Researcher: Yeah, if you could. I think that would help, sorry.
Louie: BRB.
Researcher: See you in a bit.

Audio File 2
Researcher: Umm, yeah this is, this is better, this is a lot better. Can you say like, "Hi my name is Louie"?
Louie: Hi my name is Louie.
Researcher: Yeah that's a lot better. Thanks. Yeah, it was fine up until you started talking about that one sentence, or that one question, and then it just kept cutting out. Umm, where were we? We were talking about why you prefer to speak, like, completely Vietnamese or completely English over Vietglish. So, what are some of your reasons for that?
Louie: I think the main reason, um, is when I'm speaking, at least when I'm speaking pure Viet, and then I, when I don't know the word or something and then I go into English, there's like a little bit of imposter syndrome. Like I'm not fully Viet enough to know the word, have a bigger vocabulary in Vietnamese. There it is.
Researcher: Mm, okay. And what about, um, in English? Do you still get that imposter syndrome? Do you feel not fully American?
Louie: No.
Researcher: No?
Louie: No.
Researcher: Okay. Why do you think that is?
Louie: Maybe because I do have a little bit of imposter syndrome? <laughs>
Researcher: Um… For… do you… so when I —
Louie: Like not being Viet enough?
Researcher: Oh, I see. I see. So you feel like, um if you speak Vietglish, it kind of amplifies that feeling? That sentiment?
Louie: Yeah. <sneezes>

Researcher: So do you think that it's possible to have imposter syndrome about being American? When, like, for speaking English? 'Cause you said you don't get that feeling when you slip in some Vietnamese words in your English.
Louie: I think it is possible, possible for some people, like people who like, I dunno...like, the other, the opposite of me, so like they're mostly from Vietnam and then they just came over here, and they're speaking Vietglish because their English vocabulary isn't enough. So, I think they might have imposter syndrome.
Researcher: But you personally don't think you have American imposter syndrome? Quote unquote.
Louie: I do not. Yeah, I do not.
Researcher: Okay. Umm, did you grow up speaking more English, Vietnamese, or both equally?
Louie: Uhh, I spoke both equally.
Researcher: Both equally? How did you, how did you learn Vietnamese? Did you go...
Louie: I think… 'cause I was born in Vietnam, so, and I came here when I was three, so I already had a decent grasp of the language, and then, I don't really remember much about how I continued learning but I think my parents, they just forced me to speak Viet at home. So that's, that's how I can speak Viet. <laughs>
Researcher: Okay. Did you, did you ever go to, like, a Vietnamese school as a kid? Like on the weekends, after school?
Louie: No, no.
Researcher: No? Um, did you learn how to read and write Vietnamese?
Louie: Yes.
Researcher: You did? Okay, so how did you learn how to read and write?
Louie: Every weekend, my dad would just sit me down, um, he would take a newspader, newspaper article in Viet, he would read it to me, I would have to write it all down, and then I had to speak it back to him, and he'd double check the writing. So that's how I learned.
Researcher: Okay, so your dad kind of did his own DIY Vietnamese school in the living room.
Louie: Yeah. <laughs>
Researcher: Do you think it's important for Vietnamese Americans to be able to speak both English and Vietnamese? Why or why not?
Louie: Oh definitely, a thousand percent. You should be able to speak both languages.
Researcher: Okay, can you elaborate? Why do you feel so strongly?
Louie: Just… it's just… a lot of the people, the Vietnamese Americans I see on TikTok, they only do it, they only like… put Viet content for the clout, like there's this one song, "nhiều em không biết, anh yêu em nhiều lắm", like that one, um that was going viral on TikTok for a while. And, I got the sense that Vietnamese Americans were only doing it for the clout, not because they actually wanted to learn, or like to show off the Viet culture. And I was like bro, you're just… stop. You should learn Vietnamese to be more in touch with your culture, your roots, and like, even if you don't care about that stuff, there's better job opportunities and stuff.
Researcher: Okay. Um… so that doesn't… really answer the question, it's really interesting, but the original question was why is it important to speak both. So you could say, that like, if you listen to that song, you could speak both. But why? Why is it important for them to speak both?

Louie: Oh. I think it's mostly important just for general talking to other people. Like, um, you should be able to talk to your grandparents and maybe your family in Vietnam comfortably, and you know what they're saying, instead of there being a language barrier. So I think the main thing is the language barrier between family.
Researcher: The language barrier between family, okay. And you mentioned jobs earlier. You said...
Louie: Yes.
Researcher: Like if you're bilingual, you can, um, get jobs more easily?
Louie: It just...Yeah, it just looks better on your resume, and I just found personally that it helps in my job. Like, there's a lot of Vietnamese people with a heavy accent who call in to me, and then I hear their Vietnamese accent, I see their name, I'm just like, "Would you prefer if I spoke in Vietnamese?" And they almost always say yes, and then we get along so much better in Vietnamese.
Researcher: Okay. Do you mind if I ask what you do for work?
Louie: Yes. I am a call center person for the university — um, my university.
Researcher: The university, okay. You could've said the name, I would've just censored it out. So it's okay.
Louie: Oh okay.
Researcher: Okay. So you're like a call center, help, helper? Aide? Technician? Sort of guy?
Louie: Yeah.
Researcher: Okay. Um, do you think there are any topics that you're more comfortable talking about in Vietnamese or in English?
Louie: <long pause> Like what? What do you mean, like what topics? Like...
Researcher: Like… when you, for example, if you want to talk about your emotions, which language do you think you'd be more comfortable discussing that in?
Louie: Oh, if it's my emotions, I would definitely prefer to talk about in English. But, if it's like a more poetic thing, like if I'm trying to… write an Instagram post <laughs> I would most likely do it in Vietnamese because I feel like the Vietnamese words, they relay, they, just one simple word, they just relay stuff, there's more meaning to it, to me, than just standard English words.
Researcher: Mmhmm.
Louie: Yeah.
Researcher: And so, do you feel like that depth of meaning in Vietnamese, you lose that if you rely just on English?
Louie: Yeah, yeah. I lose so much of it when I switch over to English.
Researcher: Mm, okay, okay. And what about… earlier, you mentioned, like, "Oh, if I'm talking to my friends, I'll say 'let's go get bánh mi' or something". What about food? Do you… how do you speak about food?
Louie: Food? Um, I mostly use English for food. The only time I really use Vietnamese for food is when I'm at a Vietnamese restaurant with my friends and I need to order. Um, yeah.
Researcher: Okay. So you prefer, if you're at a Vietnamese restaurant, you prefer to speak Vietnamese with, uh, the staff?
Louie: Yes.
Researcher: Why is that?

Louie: Um… <laughs> because most of the Vietnamese restaurants that I go to is full of Vietnamese people, um, and… it's just… if I order in Viet, they'll understand, so...
Researcher: They'll understand, okay.
Louie: Than just me pointing at a menu and saying "Number one, number five, number seven." It's, yeah, it's a lot easier to just say it in Viet instead of having to refer to the menu, and you're like "Oh this is number seven, this is number 10", stuff like that.
Researcher: What if you go into a restaurant where the staff speak both English and Vietnamese?
Louie: Oh when I go into a Vietnamese restaurant, I just automatically assume that everyone speaks Vietnamese, so I just speak Vietnamese. <laughs>
Researcher: Well it's not that they don't speak Vietnamese, they do speak Vietnamese, but what if they speak both English and Vietnamese like you?
Louie: Oh, I still, I would still say it to them in, in Vietnamese.
Researcher: In Vietnamese?
Louie: Cause a lot of times, even, they probably have like the, the description of what it is in the, like, the bottom, like underneath the Vietnamese words, so it's like, phở, phở đặc biệt, it'd be like… it'd be like, underneath in the English, it's just the description just like "phở with tripe, brisket", stuff like that...
Researcher: Mmhmm.
Louie: I'm not gonna read all that! Like —
Researcher: <laughs>
Louie: That's too long! I'm just gonna say, I'm just gonna say the name.
Researcher: Okay so it's shorter in Vietnamese, the English translation is too long?
Louie: Yeah.
Researcher: And earlier, you mentioned that you tend to speak just Vietnamese, uh, with your family, is that right?
Louie: Yes.
Researcher: Okay. Why, why do you prefer to speak Vietnamese with your parents, with your family?
Louie: Um… I guess it's a force of habit now, because I was forced to as a kid, so it's just all I know now. And it's a good way for me to practice my Viet to make sure that I don't lose touch.
Researcher: Okay. Um… what language would you prefer to speak, or how would you speak if you met someone who's like your parents' generation but they're not your relative?
Louie: Oh, like maybe my dad's friend. Yeah I would still speak Viet to them.
Researcher: Mhmm, why?
Louie: Um, I generally find the older generation generally does not have a good handle on English.
Researcher: Okay.
Louie: At least from the older generation that I know. Like, my dad, my mom and dad's friends, they… they really do not understand like, mostly a lick of Viet English, so I had to speak Vietnamese to them.
Researcher: So you try to do it so that they can understand you
Louie: Yes.
Researcher: So that you can communicate overall.

Louie: Yes.
Researcher: Okay. Um… would you consider yourself more American or more Vietnamese? How do you think of your own cultural or national identity? Or do you think you're like an equal mix of both?
Louie: I would say I'm more American than Viet.
Researcher: Mhmm, in what ways?
Louie: Um… I'm just more used to the culture here, like if I were to go back to Vietnam, I probably wouldn't understand any of the cul… like, some of the stuff they say and do over there, because I'm, I haven't been there in a long time. And also when I'm talking to my friends in Vietnam they use a lot of shortened… shortened grammar, so like, and like slang, that I'm like "What is that?", so I'm just… yeah.
Researcher: Okay, okay. Um, so you said, yeah… so your friends in Vietnam now, like… any young generation right, they have slang, they have words that your parents didn't teach you, stuff like this?
Louie: Yeah.
Researcher: Do you think that ties into, or is related to, your mixed feeling when you speak Vietglish? Do you ever speak Vietglish with your friends in Vietnam?
Louie: N… I try not to, but yes.
Researcher: You try not to, but you do, like...
Louie: I do speak Vietglish, yes. Because, most of the time, I'm just like "I can't keep up with your guys!" <laughs>
Researcher: <laughs> Uh-huh. Oh okay. Do you think the way you speak, the language you speak, impacts your cultural identity at all?
Louie: Definitely.
Researcher: Definitely? Yeah, how would you feel if your parents hadn't taught you Vietnamese? If you weren't able to speak Vietnamese?
Louie: If I were not able to speak Vietnamese, I would feel honestly so sad, um, I probably would not even consider myself Vietnamese, I'd probably consider myself white-washed. Um… let's see...
Researcher: Okay.
Louie: Yeah.
Researcher: Yeah? Okay. Um… so I'm really curious about the topics that you and your roommate talked about in your audio file. There's a lot of themes about the Vietnam War, and history, Vietnamese culture… is that stuff that you guys usually talk about? Or do you think it just came to mind because we were doing this research project?
Louie: Yeah, we… uh… We don't talk about it for that long a period of time. Maybe we'll throw in a passing reference to some Vietnamese culture or some random history fact here and there, but most of that conversation was because of the research.
Researcher: Okay, most of that was because of the research. But you guys talk about a lot of like in-depth, cause and effect things, really complex factors having to do with the war and immigration and stuff like that. Did you guys rehearse that beforehand? Did you look these things up beforehand?
Louie: No, no, it was just straight… just… freestyle.

Louie: Sài Gòn.
Researcher: Sài Gòn. Okay. What's the English name? Or what's the current name?
Louie: Ho Chi Minh City.
Researcher: So just now, you said Ho Chi Minh City. You didn't say like… Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh. Why do you think… do you think there's a reason behind why you say Sài Gòn versus Ho Chi Minh City?
Louie: Part of it is because… me and Huy still refuse to accept Ho Chi Minh City as a national name for Sài Gòn.
Researcher: Okay.
Louie: So I think it's less to do with… how Anglicized or Viet pronunciation, not like that, but… we say it because we want to take back some of the power, and not have everything be, like, as the Western world sees us. And it's just like, no, we're still Sài Gòn. It's just… yeah. <laughs>
Researcher: Okay. So do you think like the name, the name itself has power?
Louie: Yes, the name itself has power.
Researcher: Oh okay. And, uh, so Sài Gòn was the old name for that city, right? It's not technically called that anymore, but you still kind of… do you think you're trying to pay respect to the city or to your parents' experiences there at all?
Louie: Huh?
Researcher: Do you think, by calling it Sài Gòn, uh, with the Vietnamese pronunciation, instead of Ho Chi Minh City, do you think… do you think one name has more respect associated with it than the other?
Louie: Oh definitely.
Researcher: Yeah? Which one do you think —
Louie: Sài Gòn has a lot of respect and perspective to it.
Researcher: Mhm, mhm. Okay… let's see. And… Sorry, I'm trying to look through my notes and see if there's anything else. Um… Yeah, that's pretty much it. Those are all the questions I had. Um, it's a lot shorter than last time, right?
Louie: Yeah.
Researcher: Because we skipped that acceptability judgement section, we're not doing that anymore. Um, are there any other thoughts along these themes, or anything else you want to talk about that you think might be interesting?
Louie: Not that I can think of.
Researcher: Not that you can think of, okay. So, if you have any other questions, you can… you have literally all of my contact information, you know where my house is, you know where my mom lives...
Louie: <laughs>
Researcher: Please feel free to contact me or let me know, or ask, hit me up. If I… if anything else comes up, I might ask you some additional follow up questions. I don't think we're gonna have to do a recorded interview, or anything like this, unless it's something really heavy. Um, but I might be like "hey, actually, what did you mean? Can you elaborate on this again?" Is that okay?
Louie: Yeah that's fine.
Researcher: Okay. And if there's anything, uh, that you think of later, that you're like, oh, I, I should have thought about this more, um, please let me know. If there's anything that you

realize that you don't want to be included in the research, please let me know. And, before the research is published, I will send you a copy of all your transcripts and stuff. If you want to look through it you can, and if there's anything you want to take out, um, you can. Okay?
Louie: Okay.
Researcher: Alright, sounds good.

Audio File 3
Researcher: Um, earlier you mentioned that some people on TikTok speak Viet or they play Vietnamese songs "for clout". Can you explain what that means?
Louie: They do it for the attention. They do it to try to get famous. They're not actually doing it because they want to make that content to, like, uh, to expose Viet culture more. Yeah.
Researcher: So they're doing it more for themselves than for the culture?
Louie: Yes.
Researcher: Okay.