



## **Bilingual Acquisition on Children's Language Choice**



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**Article history:**

Received: February 17, 2020; Accepted: March, 25, 2020; Displayed Online: April 15, 2020; Published: June 30, 2020

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**Keywords**

*Mixed marriage;*  
*Bilingual acquisition;*  
*Language choice;*  
*Language transmitting pattern;*  
*Language use domain;*

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**Abstract**

In mixed marriages, in this case Balinese and Japanese marriage, acquisition of children's language occurs in three different languages. This research was conducted to determine the effect of bilingual language inheritance patterns on children's language choices. Data were obtained by distributing questionnaires to ten mixed married Balinese and Japanese couples. In addition, observations and interviews were also carried out to confirm further data. Respondents were divided into three groups based on the type of bilingual acquisition. In each group of respondents obtained children's language choices. The domain of language use is divided into the family domain and the neighborhood domain. The children's language choices in each group are then compared. The results of this study show that differences in language transmission strategies affect children's language choices but dominant language in community also has a big influence. Choice of language used by children in each group of respondents always appears the choice of Indonesian language. With different inheritance patterns, the choice of Indonesian remains, and differs only in the frequency of choice.

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### **1. Introduction**

The pattern of inheritance of language from parents to children is assumed to affect the development of children's language. As the increase in cognitive development (Piaget, 2008) the way children communicate in the domains of language is depends on how the child receives the stimulus given by their parents and environment. The success of child communication with family and community is determined by the ability of children to adapt. One important aspect is the

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language skills that the adversary can understand by interlocutor (Kami et al., 2020). How the child uses appropriate language to communicate in a family domain and society environment.

The subject in this study is mixed marriage children. The parent has different culture and language. The father is an Indonesian ethnic Balinese and mother is Japanese who bound in a different marriage nation. Children in the family of mixed marriage, since the early years of language acquisition have gained two languages backed by two different cultures.

This research is the inheritance of the language from parents to children in the early years of language acquisition. This study to aim the influence of a parent's language inheritance pattern to child language choice when they communicating. From the inheritance patterns of languages (Romaine, 1995) that parents use, what are the impacts and their influence on children's language choice? Thus, the idea of the influence of language inheritance patterns on language learning in mixed marriage families between Balinese and Japanese can be known. The acculturation of language and culture provides a distinct color to the children of BJMF (The abbreviation list is presented at the end of this paper).

The fact of language acquisition is the process of ownership of language proficiency, both in the form of understanding and natural disclosure, without going through formal learning activities (Escudera, McLaughlin etc.). Language acquisition is a process used by children to adjust a series of hypotheses with the greeting of parents to be able to choose the best and simplest grammar of the language in question. Child language acquisition involves two skills, which is the ability to generate spontaneous speech and the ability to understand others' speech. The acquisition process is a subconscious process. It is different with the learning process. Language learning is a process that is intentionally or consciously performed by learners in mastering languages.

There are two types of language acquisition of a bilingual child: simultaneous acquisition and a successive McLaughlin's (1978) distinction between simultaneous and successive bilingual acquisition – a child who acquires two languages more or less from infancy is regarded as acquiring them simultaneously, whereas a child who is exposed to one language in infancy and the second language later in childhood (after the age of about three) is considered as acquiring the two languages successively. Children who acquire two languages simultaneously may do so because the father and the mother each speak a different language to the children. A common terminology about bilingual acquisition is the simultaneous mastery of more than one language during the primary language development period (Genesee, 1989:162). The term implies that both languages should be viewed as the first language. Meisel (1989:20) states the acquisition of these two simultaneous languages is called BFLA (bilingual first language acquisition).

Dardjowidjodjo (2003:225) stated that language acquisition was the process of language mastery by the child as a natural time he learned his mother's language. Chomsky (in Abdul & Leonie, 2003) mentions that, during the first language acquisition there were two processes occurring. The process in question is the process of competency and performance process. Both processes are two different processes. Competence is the process of grammar mastery (phonology, morphology, syntactic, and semantics) unconsciously. This competency is carried by every child since birth. Although it is carried out since birth, competence requires coaching so that children have a performance in language.

Shin in her book *Developing in Two Languages: Korean Children in America* (2015) examines the influence of English (EL) dominant in the community towards the development of child language. It is obtained that there must be systemic support to maintain Korean language, because if no child will be quickly become monolingual in English. Thus, it is necessary to plan the pattern of inheritance of parents to children so that the child becomes a balanced bilingual, so that success in communicating in the community as well as in the family environment

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The Balinese and Japanese family mixed marriage (BJMM) has more than two languages inherited from their children. Fathers and mothers have different mother tongues. Father is a native of Balinese language (BL) and Indonesian language (IL). While a mother is native of Japanese language (JL). This family lives in Bali, Indonesia and the surrounding community is more dominant using IL. There are also people who speak BL in community as a region language.

Each family has their own habits and rules in transmitting the language to the child. Language attitudes have an influence on the pattern of inheritance of parents to children. The initial assumption of the study was that the family of mixed marriage could bequeath or break off the inheritance of language to their children. That is depending on the parents language attitudes. Preliminary data show that each parent wants to bequeath their mother tongue to their children.

The pattern of language inheritance on BJMF in this study will be categorized according to six type Bilingual Acquisition in childhood submitted by Romaine (1995, p. 183-185). It is used to see how parents of BJMF transmitting their language to the children. Romaine introduces six types of Bilingual Acquisition as follows:

- 1) type 1: one person-one language,
- 2) type 2: non dominant home language/one language- one environment,
- 3) type 3: non dominant home language without community support
- 4) type 4: double non dominant home language without community support,
- 5) type 5: non native parents,
- 6) type 6: mixed languages.

## 2. Materials and Methods

The type of bilingual acquisition of mixed marriage children and how it influence to their language development is examined in this study. How does the pattern of transferring languages from father and mother to children and how it affects the language acquisition process by children. Six type bilingual acquisition of Romaine (1995) adapted to the state of the data obtained. Data collected by dissemination of questionnaires, interviews, observations including the method of listening and speaking with basic and advanced techniques (Sudaryanto, 2015, p. 202). After data collected, the data will be reduced and compiled systematically.

The location of this research was conducted in Badung Regency and Denpasar City, Bali. Where the family of mixed marriages are the object of this study settled. To go deep in to the necessary data, observations on ten families of Japanese and Balinese mixed marriages who have children according to the criteria as interviewees. Certain considerations used in selecting samples are children of BJMF from seven to twenty years old, according to the range of cognitive abilities expressed by Piaget (2008). The child is raised by a Japanese mother and Balinese father since they were born. The child has gained language input since one week after birth and input from both languages is present daily (De Houwer, 1990:3).

Observation is done in the social environment such as at home, school or neighborhood. In addition to direct observations, data is also taken with video recording and observations on social media sources. The respondents amounted to 10 BJMF hereinafter referred to as F1 to F10. The respondents were grouped into three categories based on their language inheritance patterns.

- 1) Group R1: BJMF with language acquisition type 1.
- 2) Group R2: BJMF with language acquisition type 1a.
- 3) Group R3: BJMF with language acquisition type 1b.

In each group one sample of children was taken as a resource. In addition to supporting and strengthening the data needed, interviews were also conducted with other family members.

Preliminary data is the recapitulation of the questionnaire. The data gathered through questionnaires include four segments: biodata, language proficiency, language usage and language acquisition of children. The second segment of data is about the language proficiency of all family members. Proficiency levels of Indonesian Language (IL), Japanese language (JL), Balinese language (BL), and English (EL) from each family member. While the language usage segment explores language-choice of each family member. The last segment in the questionnaire explores type of transmitting language from parents to children. This data is necessary to discover the pattern of language transmission of parents to children. Language proficiency segment filled by parents and children. Data obtained from the questionnaire were then recapitulated. From the results of data recapitulation, respondents are grouped based on specified criteria. From each group of respondents then a sample was determined for further data mining.

The method used in exploring further data is to conduct observations, interviews, the use of audio and video media. Observation of respondent activities on social media was also carried out. The data collected in the form of observations of resource persons in their social environment, speech activities at home, neighborhood, and at school.

Each family has a different way in the pattern of inheritance of language to children. Even so the strategies used there are similarities. Most of respondents use type 1. Explanation of type 1 is one person in one language, parents have different native languages with each of them understands the language of their partner at a certain level. One of the languages of parents is the language used in the community (IL). The parents each speak their own language to the child from birth. Data collected from 10 respondents shown; there are 2 different strategies use by the parents. Still in the same condition as type 1 but there are differences in the strategy of transmitting language to the children. Furthermore, this strategy is called type 1a and 1b. Type 1a has a strategy parents use mixed language or mixed code on children. The strategy of transmitting language type 1b: parents use IL, one of the parents B1 which is dominant in the community. Table 1 shows the patterns / types of language inheritance used by respondents F1 to F10

Table 1  
Pattern of Language Transmitting

Respondent No	Language in community	Mother Tongue		Strategy	%
		Father	Mother		
F1	IL	BL/IL	JL	1a	30%
F2	IL/BL	BL/IL	JL	1a	
F3	IL	BL/IL	JL	1a	
F4	IL	BL/IL	JL	1	60%
F5	BL/IL	BL/IL	JL	1b	10%
F6	IL/BL	BL/IL	JL	1	
F7	IL/BL	BL/IL	JL	1	
F8	IL	BL/IL	JL	1	
F9	IL	BL/IL	JL	1	
F10	IL/BL	BL/IL	JL	1	

Most of BJMF respondents use type 1 in transmitting language to their children (60%). They use strategy speak with their own language when communicating with children. Fathers and mothers use their mother tongue. Mothers use JL and fathers use IL when they communicating with children.

Each parent wishes that the child should know their B1, so that they pass down language and customs to the child, which is through language transfer.

Three families chose bilingual acquisition type 1a. The parents use code mixing when communicating with children. Balinese father having some degree of competence in JL likewise, Japanese mother having competence in IL in some degree. The dominant language in the community is IL. When they communicating with a partner using a mixed code of IL, JL, and EL. Communication between children and parents use IL, JL, and sometimes use EL. Children knowing IL from family as well as from the community. IL is dominant language use in community.

Strategy 1b was chosen by one family, respondent F5. Mother speaks Japanese as B1 and father has BL and IL as B1. The strategy adopted by this family is different from the strategy of Romaine. Although there is similarity to conditions in type 1 but there is difference in transmitting strategy of the language. Parents do not use their B1 to their children, but use one of the parents' B1. They choose to use IL as a father is native, and the dominant language in their neighbourhood. This type is called strategy 1b with the condition that parents have two different languages, each other understanding the language of their partners at a certain level. The surrounding community uses one of the parents' language (IL) and the strategy adopted by this family uses IL more when communicating with children. But that does not mean the mother does not introduce her B1 or JL to children. When they were kids, their parents sent them to specific school for Japanese people.

### 3. Results and Discussions

Data from respondent shows that there are three patterns of language inheritance. With three different strategies implemented by BJMF. Most respondents chose to use type 1 with their parents' strategy of using B1 when communicating with children. Respondents who chose this strategy were 60%. As many as 30% of respondents use a strategy of mixing code of JL, IL, or EL when communicating with children. One family chooses the strategy of using IL when communicating with children. IL is the dominant language used by the surrounding community. As can be seen in table 2.

Table 2.  
BJMF Language Transmitting Strategy

Type	Strategy	Respondent	%	R0
1	Each parent use their B1	F4, F6, F7, F8, F9, F10.	60%	R1
1a	Use code mixing	F1, F2, F3	30%	R2
1b	Use dominant language in community (IL) B1 of father	F5	10%	R3

Respondents who use pattern 1 are respondents F4, F6, F7, F8, F9, and F10. The group of respondents who chose pattern 1 hereinafter referred as R1. Consists of six families or 60% of the total respondents. R2 is the respondents who uses a code mixing strategy when communicating with the children. Consists of three respondents: F1, F2, and F3. One respondent that uses strategy 1b is that both parents use IL to children. This respondent hereinafter referred to R3.

Furthermore, in each group of respondents (R1, R2, R3) show children's language choices in the language use domain. The domain of language use is divided into two, neighbourhood domain and family domain. The neighbourhood is all communication carried out by the children with community or social environment. Included in neighbourhood domain is communication carried out by children in the environment around the house or neighbours, school, communities, and other environments.. Interlocutors in the neighbourhood domain are divided into three, namely older neighbour (ON), peers neighbour (PN), and younger neighbour (YN). While in the family domain is

the realm of the language use in the family environment. Communication in home, with interlocutor of father, mother, siblings, and other families. Basically is communication within the scope of the family. Children's language choices when communicating with the community and family of the three groups of respondents will be compared.

#### A. The children language choice of R1

Respondents in this group consisted of six BJMF. Is the majority group of another two groups (60%). R1 consists of F4, F6, F7, F8, F9, and F10. The strategy used by parents in R1 is each parent uses B1 when communicating with children. The father uses IL and the mother uses JL.

##### (1) Neighbourhood domain

In the neighbourhood domain, children's language choices are divided into two topics and three situation settings. Whereas the interlocutors are older neighbour (ON), peers (PN) and younger neighbour (YN). From data collected showed the children's language choices in BJMF. The data is then recapitulated based on the group of respondents. From the results of the data recapitulation, the choice of language data was obtained from the R1 group in the neighbourhood domain. The data can be seen in table 3.

Table 3  
Language Choices of R1 in Neighbourhood Domain

Topic and background situation	Respondent					
	F4	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
General/News	IL/BL	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL
Traditional	IL/BL	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL
Casual	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL
Serious	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL
Emotional	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL

From the table above it can be explained that children's language choices in the neighbourhood domain or society are dominated by the choice of IL. In all topics and settings all choose IL. There is a choice for BL by F4 children. The choice of BL is made when the other person is a peer or younger neighbour. The choice of IL becomes very common because the BJMF living in community where is the dominant languages is IL. Community also speak BL as local language.

##### (2) Family domain

Children's language choices in the family domain are divided into two topics and three situation settings. Involvement Interlocutors are represented by both parents, father and mother. Data is recapitulated from children's language choice data when communicating with mother and father. Table 4 shows the results of recapitulation of child language choice data for R1 group in the family domain.

Table 4  
Language Choices of R1 in Family Domain

Interlocutor Topic & situation	Respondent											
	F4		F6		F7		F8		F9		F10	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Household	JL	IL	IL/JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Traditional	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Advice	IL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Casual	IL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Serious	IL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Emotional	IL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL

Note : M = Mother                      F = Father

From the data in above table, it can be concluded that the child's language choice for father and mother is in accordance with B1 of their parents. On the topic of household and traditional, all children in group R1 chose to use JL to mother and IL to father. While on the topic of advice there is one child using IL when talking to the mother. In all settings the choice of JL to mother and IL to the father dominates. There is one child who uses IL when talking to mother (F4). And there is one child in R1 group who uses mixed code of JL and IL when talking to mother. All children choose to use IL when talking to fathers. Next, when they communicating with mother, using of JL becomes dominant, although not 100%. One respondent used IL when communicating with mother.

#### B. The children language choice of R2

Respondents in this group consisted of three BJMF namely F1, F2 and F3. The language transmitting strategy used by parents is type 1a, which is when the parents communicating with the children, they using mixed code of JL and IL. Participants in the neighbouring domain are ON, PN, and YN. In the neighbourhood domain is divided into two topics and three background situation. In the family domain, interlocutors are the father and mother.

##### (1) Neighbourhood domain

In the neighbourhood domain, children's language choices are divided into two topics and three situation settings. Whereas interlocutors are ON, PN and YN. Data recapitulated based on the group of respondents. From the results of the data recapitulation, the choice of language data was obtained from the R2 group in the neighbourhood domain. The data can be seen in table 3.

Table 3  
Children Language Choice of R2 Neighbourhood Domain

Topics & situation	Respondent		
	F1	F2	F3
General/News	IL	IL	IL
Traditional	IL	IL	IL

Casual	IL	IL	IL
Serious	IL	IL	IL
Emotional	IL	IL	IL

When communicating with neighbours or the community, all children choose to use IL. IL is the language used by the communities where BJMF lives, so it makes the most reasonable choice. So that they can be accepted by society and the purpose of communication is successful.

## (2) Family domain

Children in this group use mixed code or the mother tongue of each parent when communicating with them. Table 4 shows the language choices of children when communicating with their fathers and mothers.

Table 4  
Children Language Choice of R2 in Family Domain

interlocutor topic& situation	Respondent					
	F1		F2		F3	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Household	IL/JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Traditional	IL/JL	IL	IL/JL	IL	IL/JL	IL
Advice	IL/JL	IL	IL/JL	IL	IL/JL	IL
Casual	IL/JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Serious	IL/JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL
Emotional	IL/JL	IL	JL	IL	JL	IL

Even though parents use mixed codes of IL / JL when communicating with their children, it can be seen that children's language choices not only use mixed codes. On certain topics children still choose to use only JL when communicating to their mother. F1 respondent always use mixed code on all topics. While the other two respondents on two topics namely topic of traditional and advice using mixed codes and on other topics using a mother tongue of each parent.

## C. Children language choice of R3

There was only one respondent in the R3 group, namely F5 consisting of father, mother and three children aged 23 years, 20 years and 16 years. This family has lived in Bali for 25 years. When communicating with children, parents use IL, which is the father's mother tongue. The neighbour also uses IL as dominant language in community.

### (1) Neighbourhood domain

The children's language choice of neighbourhood domain in R3 consists of two topics and three situation settings. Interlocutors are ON, PN, and YN. From the data recapitulation, it is known that the choice of child language in R3 is shown in table 5.

Table 5  
Children Language Choice of R3 in Neighbourhood Domain

Topics & situation	F5
General/news	IL
Traditional	IL
Casual	IL
Serious	IL
Emotional	IL

The table above shows that children in this family choose to use IL when communicating with neighbours or the community.

(2) *Family domain*

In the family domain, interlocutors are father and mother. Communication between children and parents with three topics and three situation settings. Recapitulation of children's language choice data in the family domain can be seen in table 6.

Table 6  
Children Language Choice of R3 in Family Domain

Topics & situation	F5	
	M	F
Household	IL/JL	IL
Traditional	IL/JL	IL
Advice	IL/JL/EL	IL
Casual	IL/JL/EL	IL
Serious	IL/JL/EL	IL
Emotional	IL/JL/EL	IL

From table 6 shows that communication between children and mother dominated by use mixed code. On the topic of household and traditional, they uses mixed code IL and JL, while the topic of advice there is a choice of EL as well. Whereas in situation of casual, serious and emotional setting the language choices is mixed code of IL, JL, and EL. Meanwhile, communication between children and father 100% uses IL.

D. *Relation of type of bilingual acquisition and Children's Language Choices*

From the data exposure it can be explained that children's language choices in the neighbourhood domain are dominated by the choices towards IL. In the family domain there are more variations in language choices. When a children Communication with their mother, they choose to use Japanese which is mother's B1. and also uses mixed code in IL, JL, and EL. Whereas the child's language choice when communicating with fathers is IL.

From the three groups of respondents who are distinguished from patterns of inheritance of language to children, they will be compared and linked to children's language choices when communicating. The following table shows patterns of inheritance and children's language choices in both domains of language use.

Table 7  
Recapitulation of Children's Language Choices of Neighbourhood Domain

Respondent	Language choice
R1	IL
R2	IL
R3	IL

From these results it appears that BJMF with different language inheritance strategies shows the same results in the domain of neighbourliness. All children choose to use IL when communicating with the surrounding community. This is very reasonable because the dominant language used by the community is IL although the community also still uses BL.

Children's language choices in the family domain are more varied. There are four languages involved in bilingual communication in BJMF. This is indicated by the data as in table 8.

Table 8  
Recapitulation of Children's Language Choices of Family Domain

Interlocutor Respondent	Language Use	
	Mother	Father
R1	JL (86%) IL (11%) MC (3%)	IL
R2	JL (56%) MC (44%)	IL
R3	MC (100%)	IL

Table 8 shown the children's language choices in the three groups of respondents. R1 group is a group that has one person and one language inheritance pattern with the strategy of each parent using their B1 to children. Mother uses JL and father uses IL when communicating with children. The choice of JL becomes dominant when the child communicates with the mother. However there is a choice of IL and mixed codes of IL / JL with little frequency. Whereas communication between children and fathers using IL.

R2 respondents are BJMF who use type 1a language inheritance patterns. Language inheritance strategy is the use of code mixing when communicating with children. From table 9 it can be seen that the choice of B1 parents remains the most choice. When communicating with mother, 56% of children choose to use JL, while the remaining 44% use the mixed language JL, IL, and EL. When communicating with fathers, children still choose IL as the language of instruction.

Furthermore, R3 respondents only have one BJMF. The language inheritance strategy used by this family is type 1b. When communicating with children, parents use IL. Indonesian is the dominant language in the community. IL is also the mother tongue of the father. Father and mother use IL when communicating with children. Nevertheless the mother still introduces JL to the child. with the reason that the child does not embrace the roots. that they are also half Japanese. Mother sends her children to Japanese schools in Bali. Besides JL and IL, other foreign languages such as EL are also learned by children. From the table above, it can be seen that the child's language choice when communicating with mother is to use code mixing. There is still an element of using JL as B1 of

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the mother. While communication with fathers is done using IL. The children's language choice in the three groups of respondents shows that when communicating with mother, the choice of JL is less than 100%. There is always a choice for IL and some EL as well.

#### 4. Conclusion

From the previous explanation it is known that the choice of IL always arises, and is quite dominant. In the neighbourhood domain, 100% respondents use IL with all interlocutor, ON, PN, and YN. In the family domain, choice of IL more than JL. When communicating with fathers, all children choose to use IL in all topics and settings. When communicating with mother, there is a choice of JL and IL or code mixing.

Choice of language used by children in the respondent group R1, R2, or R3, always appears the choice of IL. With different inheritance patterns, the choice of IL remains, and differs only in the frequency of choice. Especially when communicating with mother, even though the mother's parenting model uses JL, what appears is mixed code, especially mixed IL and JL codes.

Indonesian is the most dominant choice for children in BJMF. Both in the domain of neighbourhood and family. Children choose to use JL when talking to the mother or family from the mother's side. Even so there is still the use of IL or mixed code JL and IL. This shows that the environment is very influential on the choice of language used by BJMF children.

From three groups of respondents who are distinguished from patterns of inheritance of language to children, they are compared and connected with children's language choices when communicating. In the domain of neighbourhood, the results are the same. All children in BJMF choosing to use IL on the three interlocutor, ON, PN, and YN. BJMF with different language inheritance strategies show the same results in the neighbourhood. All children choose to use IL when talking to the surrounding community. This is very reasonable because the language used by the community is IL.

Choice of language used by children in the respondent group R1, R2, or R3, always appears the choice of IL. With different inheritance patterns, the choice of IL remains, and differs only in the frequency of choice. Especially when communicating with mother, even though the mother's language transmitting uses JL, what appears is mixed code, especially mixed IL and JL codes.

Indonesian is the most dominant language choice for children in BJMF. Both in the domain of neighbourhood and family. Children choose to use JL when talking to the mother or family from the mother's side. Even so there is still the use of IL or mixed code of both parents mother tongue. This shows that the environment is very influential on the choice of language used by BJMF children.

The pattern of inheritance of language from parents to children has an influence on children's ability to communicate. Proficient in this case is to use the correct language to convey a message to the interlocutor so that the purpose of communication is achieved.

BJMF children have become bilingual from the time of language acquisition or in other words they are bilingual simultaneously (McLaughlin's in Shin: 2005). They become bilingual in the process of mastering language unconsciously, implicitly, and informally. So that BJMF children unconsciously become IL and JL speakers simultaneously. Some respondents stated that the language that was most comfortable to use was IL, but there were also those who stated that they were comfortable using both, so that the phenomenon of bilingualism such as code switching, code mixing, interference and integration occurred in their speech. This is inevitable.

The results of this study are tentative so it is hoped that there will be similar studies to strengthen sociolinguistic studies on bilingualism. The study of the understanding of regional languages in inter-national intermarriage families is needed to increase input in planning language learning for children.

**Abbreviation List**

*BJMF* Balinese Japanese Mixed Marriage Family

*IL* Indonesian Language

*JL* Japanese Language

*BB* Balinese Language

*EL* English Language

*MC* Mixed code

*ON* Older neighbor

*PN* Peer neighbor

*YN* Younger neighbor

*B1* Mother tongue

*R1* Group respondent 1

*F1-F10* Family number

*M* Mother

*F* Father

**Acknowledgements**

The authors would like to thank Bali Tourism Polytechnic for supporting the research. Special thanks to Raka Kojiri family and BJMF for support all data needs for this study.

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