



Monolingual Development in Bilingual Family: Exploring Parental Language Policy within Family Domain

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Abstract

The existence of three possible languages within intermarriage family, for example Javanese and Sasaknese from their parents and Indonesian from their surrounding should have led children become bilingual in nature. However, the reversed condition is prevailing where the use of Indonesian is predominantly used. This research locates three different aspects of family language policy namely language ideology, language management and language practice. This research aims at finding out why parents of intermarriage family incline the use of one language within family domain. This research employed qualitative data in order to understand and interpret family language behaviour and uses multi staged purposive sampling. The sample was four of immigrant mothers and four of Sasak mothers. The result showed the tendency to use Indonesian in a family domain is due to habitus which leads to culture capital and symbolic capital.

Keywords: *Monolingual Development; Bilingual Family; Family Language Policy; Family Domain Language*

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Indonesia is a country that is rich in cultural heritage because in fact the country is a union of the people who come from various ethnic groups spreading from Sabang to Meurauke. In other words, Indonesia is a plural society. Likewise with language, there are hundreds of regional languages in Indonesia estimated 600 languages and these are maintained and preserved by country and society (Sneddon, 2003). With this great diversity in languages and the compulsory of Indonesian language at school plausibly makes every Indonesian society, wherever they live, bilingual or multilingual society.

The existence of three possible languages within intermarriage families in Lembang, for example (Javanese, Sasaknese and Indonesian) should have led children become bilingual in nature. However, the reversed condition is prevailing and therefore, this phenomenon has driven my interest on language policy in family domain. As Spolsky (2004) proposes that family is an important and helpful domain for both understanding and studying language policy due to its crucial role in forming the child's linguistic

environment. Thus, The need for language policy, especially parental ideologies, within bilingual family is very important particularly when family has children to raise and therefore the necessity for appropriate strategies should be imposed in order to maintain the existence of parental languages, otherwise the language is lost (Spolsky 2004; Hauwaert, 2004). This occurrence inevitably drives me to quest how parent construct language policy and why child (children) end up with monolingual.

However, some intermarriage families have strong tendency to raise their children monolingually (end up with monolingual that is using Indonesian every time either at home or at playground) and susceptibly to leave the inherited language away when children get involved in conversation. During conversation with children, parents are prone to switch the language into Indonesian and very often the inherited language is merely spoken in intimate proxemics (conversation between spouse). This unrealized phenomenon has been observed in a long period as part of my ethnography in Lembar, therefore, the present case study aims to examine how bilingual families tend to promote monolingualism and how families establish a family language policy and what aspects might have influenced this process.

Furthermore, marriages especially those who are from different ethnics and language backgrounds create dilemma as what language to impart in bringing up children. This dilemma of language choice drives family to be either bilingual or monolingual (Schwartz, 2010). To some extent, the success of bilingualism in a family domain has been researched by several leading expert on language (Spolsky, 2004; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2013; King et al., 2008; Shohamy, 2006). However, studies of monolingualism have rarely been carried out. According to Schwartz (2010) some families who fluently speak the majority language within immigrant place are prone to raise their children monolingually. Besides that, the factors of being monolingual are considerably related to parental ideologies of language power and due to monolingual parents (Spolsky, 2004; Meija, 2002). Thus, it is expected that by investigating parental language ideology, we will be able to uncover this migratory pattern which will result in new family and community profiles.

1.2 Goals

This research attempts to find out language policies that parents construct within family as well as factors that influence the family language policy. Therefore, this research aims at investigating (1) why families promote monolingualism, (2) how parents manage monolingualism within family domain.

2. Literature review

2.1 Review Related Literature

Generally, family language policy (FLP) attempts to understand why some children grow up and become bilingual and some remain monolingual. The idea of FLP seeks to find out factors relating to the ways parents promote or prevent children using certain languages. As Spolsky (2004) states that language policy within family context refers to preservation of mother language or prevention of outrageous language. Accordingly, FLP focus on family's efforts to maintain and preserve the language of inheritance by modifying the language development of their children.

2.2 Ideology, Management and Practice

Significant focus of FLP research is ideology of family language that is the use of language or languages. Language ideology can be a front line of the necessity of preserving inherited language and emphasize the importance of controlling and even banning the use of social language in a family (Spolsky 2004). Language ideology is also conceptualized as a driving force in family language management (practical efforts to modify language use) (Christiansen, 2009; King et al., 2008). As a result, the ideology

that parents hold about language enacts as a fundamental resource to promote or prevent the use of language.

Another factor which influences language use within family is language management which Spolsky (2004) defines as parents or caregivers' efforts to provide children with linguistic resources to improve their language learning. In other words, by using target language in interactions with children, parent explicitly shape the language competence of children. And therefore, the parents' language management plays vital contribution to children language competence.

In order to understand how language is shaped within family, we should also concerns with the third factor, language practice, that is language use within social interaction in a given situation (Spolsky, 2004). To put it simply, Shohamy, (2006) explains that language practice is observable language behavior and language choices which occurs in social interaction. In other words, observing language practice at any given milieu will provide larger picture of a context for language use and language learning and how language is influenced by group ideology or individual language(s).

Principally, the three components have interactional relationships: ideologies can shape practice and management or "impact belief" which refers to the parents' awareness that their linguistic choices in the home served as a model for their children's language use, however, practice and management can also shape ideology as well (Spolsky 2004: 14; Houwer, 1999.). For instance, ideologies on particular language that parents believe in will cause the specific management need to be considered such as banning other languages and therefore will result in expected language practice. On the other hand, language practice can shape the ideologies as well as management. It can happen mostly in immigrant context where the majority language is the minority language.

3. Methodology

This research employed qualitative data to reveal language use in intermarriage family and how family constructs their language policy to influence other members of family. Through this method, it is expected to investigate and interpret how each individual in a intermarriage family makes sense of experiences in their lives, in particular, how parents pattern language use in their families.

3.1 Data Collection Techniques

3.1.1 Observation

Each observation took between a half to one hour depending on situation. Observations are audio-recorded and partially transcribed. The frequency of the observations was not strict and the length of the recordings vary between a half to one hour. Through this way, it can help us best understand the central phenomenon.

3.1.2 Interview

The interview is face-to-face interview or the so-called the one-on-one interview (Cresswell, 2012). it is expected that by interviewing mothers, useful information about parental language ideology can be best revealed, because families rarely have official documents stating their language policy, but the views expressed in an interview can be considered as a form of explicit policy statement.

3.2 Population and Sampling

This research employs multi-stage purposive sampling ranging from four of immigrant mothers and four of Sasak mothers with the following criteria

- a. Having at least a three-to-seven-year-old child
- b. Having different parental language backgrounds such as Javanese and Sasaknese
- c. Residing in Lembar at least 5 years

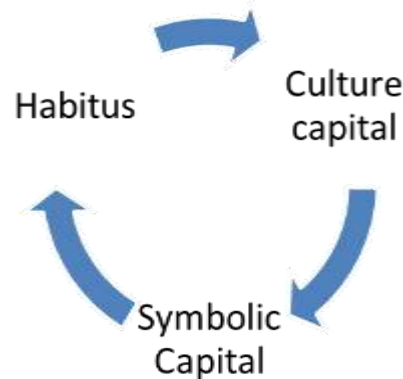
4. Result

Research question 1: Why do families promote monolingualism? or What language beliefs are held by families so that they are prone to promote monolingualism within family domain?

The findings showed that in the beginning the use of Indonesian came from the fact that the parents have different language backgrounds. Indonesian was chosen as an mediating language and became the habitus within families. In addition, the societal market has the greatest effect on language use because all participants stressed their feeling of importance to expose Indonesian to their children because of the high linguistic capital and the access to social, cultural and economic life that the Indonesian provided.

Because Indonesian is the language with the highest value across society, both mothers held positive attitudes towards Indonesian and considered it necessary for their children (if not for themselves). They also recognised that their children's need to speak Indonesian due to its additional value of granting access to education and social life.

For immigrant mothers who speak language other than sasak, they perceived that they had little chance to return to their hometown and considered it is necessary that their children learn Indonesian because of the dominant role within society. This deeply reflects the type of linguistic domination that Bourdieu (1991) claims is reproduced as the dominated members of society follow the market structures. In other words, the families use Indonesian in interaction with their children because of its higher symbolic capital reinforced by the legitimacy of the language.



The cycle showed that the ideology of Indonesian monolingual came from habitus because the parents are from two different language backgrounds and find Indonesian as mediating language. The use of Indonesian was also shaped by culture capital due to the level of education of parents and the future significances for their children. In addition, due to the fact that Indonesian is the language with the highest value across society. In summary, parents' alerts of future benefit and value of granting access to education and social life endowed members of family use Indonesian.

Question II: How Do Parents Manage Monolingualism?

The ideologies of parents on particular language impact the choice of language use and plan strategies of management the language either explicitly or implicitly. through the interview section with the mothers of intermarriage families, it could be inferred that language management and practice are

shaped by ideologies that parents hold or the “impact belief” which refers to the parents’ awareness that their linguistic choices in the home served as a model for their children’s language use.

The result showed that Intermarriage mothers either immigrant or native Sasak mothers typically have no such explicit management strategies used to promote Indonesian. It was because the spontaneous use of Indonesian with their husbands. In the beginning, the Indonesian language came into communication due to the fact that they are from different language upbringing and hence formed their habitus which then passes it through generation without any major management and control. In addition, the immigrant mothers generally showed less interest in local language maintenance (LLM). This lack of LLM discourse is reflected in the low proportional use of explicit management by immigrant families and is reflected through the use of Indonesian in any given topic of communication, and for mothers of Sasak the LLM is in their mind. Sasak mothers believed that exposing Indonesian is priority for them as described earlier however; they also believed that by exposing Indonesian at home domain, their children end up with bilingual since their children pick up the local language through their lives experience outside home.

Conclusion

These statements depict that general information obtained through data declared that the families’ language transmission was a ‘natural’ part of child rearing that they considered deserved less attention than topics such as child discipline and nutrition. Both immigrant and Sasak mothers in particular focused on these topics more often than language, because their attitudes against disciplining children were main concerns. Therefore, Language was considered only one part of the complex child rearing process and not necessarily the most important part.

Another thing can be inferred that the second generation of immigrant may not have access to his mother local language due to no exposure. Children who were born within immigrant therefore may not have access to their parental language background. Hence, there is a very strong tendency that the second generation of immigrant undergoes language shift. While children of Sasak are prone to be bilingual once they grow up; Indonesian at home domain and Sasak outside home.

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