

# Competition of Ethnic and National Languages within the Home Domain: Insights from Multilingual Sasak Family Language Choice, Lombok – Indonesia

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## Abstract

Competition of languages in a bilingual/multilingual society is a prevalent phenomenon found anywhere in the world. Competition occurs when the choice of one language is supposed to be ‘prioritized’ and ‘prized’ over the other(s) in any domain of language use. This study explores how this phenomenon of language use occurs in the homeland of Sasak vernacular speakers living in the city of Mataram, Lombok–Indonesia. The aim of this study was to investigate the extent to which family members of native Sasak inhabitants in Mataram use their own ethnic language in their daily interaction with their family members in the home, neighborhood, and friendship domains. Data were collected through survey questionnaires, interviews, and participant observations by employing the concept of Fishman’s domain of language use, language attitude, and bilingualism. The obtained data were then selected, classified, and tabulated to compute the frequency of speech occurrences in each study group. The results show that participants displayed positive attitudes towards their mother tongue indicating that they were very proud of their first language. SL was almost always used in daily conversations in the home domain and neighborhood but the rate of use slightly differed among different age, education, and occupational groups. Societal bilingual patterns were portrayed in the stable use of both the indigenous language (SL) in the home domain and the national language (IL) in the official domain in education, government, or religious gatherings. Within the context of EGIDS by SIL, UNESCO developed from Fishman (1972) SL at present is still safe and maintained by its people.

**Keywords:** language competition, language choice, language domains, bi/multi-linguals, Sasak language

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Sasak is one of the 718 identified indigenous Indonesian ethnic groups dwelling in the island of Lombok, eastern of Bali Island, who speak Sasak language as their native ancestral language. Demographically, Sasak inhabits the six administrative regencies of Lombok, in which Mataram is one of them. Of the 3.758.631 individuals living in the island as of 2020, 11.43% (429.621) live in Mataram (Central Bureau of Provincial Statistics, 2020). Lombok and the island of Sumbawa form one province that has a population of 5.3 million led by the West Nusa Tenggara governor. As the capital city of the province, Mataram has grown into an advanced religious multilingual/multiethnic city where various ethnic groups from almost every province across the country reside. Hence, bi/multilingualism and multiculturalism is the norm and way of life in this city as in many parts of the world resulting in competition of language use in several domains. Linguistically, this is a natural phenomenon where the two languages came into contact and when children who are brought up speaking two or more languages (Grosjean, 1982; Appel & Muysken, 1987; Aboh, 2015; Davies & Dubinsky, 2018). In Indonesia, Indonesian language (henceforth IL), is not only an inter-ethnic group lingua franca but also as a modern scientific and technological language that is the pride of the Indonesian people (Saragih, Marpaung, & Pujiono, 2021; Kurniasari & Mbato, 2018). However, IL has become an ‘aggressor’ and a tough competitor against the existence of any ethnic group language in the country in terms of language use and choice by the bilingual/multilingual speech community (Lee & Van Way, 2016; Jones, 2014). Evidently, many young people in various regions prefer speaking IL to their own local language (indigenous language).

In Bali, for example according to Wilasa (1999) as quoted in Gunarwan (2003), many village youths are embarrassed to communicate with their own Balinese peers in Balinese. Sociolinguistically, Balinese is internally and externally under threat due to linguistic democratization (Arka, 2013) and the increasing use of IL and English as the language of communication (Suastra, 2006). Smith-Hefner (2009) also found that Javanese youth perceived Indonesian as more ‘fancy’, ‘cool’, and ‘modern’ than Javanese. Furthermore, Indonesian is also perceived as easier to speak than Javanese by the young people (Setiawan, 2013). Likewise, similar behavior is often observed among young family households in the provincial and district capitals across the country. This is evident, for example, from Andriyanti and Riazis’s (2020) research report that the competition between ethnic (Javanese) and national languages in three domains (home, school,

and the street) suggests that even though Javanese is slightly more prevalent than Indonesian at home, its vitality is weakening. Younger parents prefer to speak IL within their families rather than their own ethnic vernaculars. Theoretically, the scope of local language use both in the area of social closeness and family domain, even in one single household, has begun to be replaced by IL implying that IL has also triggered leakage of diglossia (Gunarwan, 2003), which is the shifting of function of a language use in one domain (e.g., home) by another language in a bilingual or multilingual society. Therefore, there is considerable competition for the scope of language use between IL and local languages and between IL and foreign languages (e.g., English). This research study investigates the extent to which the use of IL in the city of Mataram has been competing with the use of Sasak in the home domain.

However, this study is not viewed as recent linguists conceptualize language competition as language dynamic models, describing “how the size of certain language groups or the geographical distribution of certain languages change over time within a given territory” (Templin, 2019; Patriarca M and Heinsalu E (2009); Wickstrom, 2005; etc). In the literature of this model, linguists distinguished two types of dynamic models, one influenced by economic theory and the other by physics and biology. Linguists perceive the dynamic models of a language as a form of human capital that provide economic benefit for minority groups as migrants and their descendants in a host country, like Turkish in Germany or Spanish in the United States and aids in their survival (Templin, 2019). In the current study however, language competition is simply assessed as an indigenous language struggling against the geo-linguistic side of a more powerful language, using Mackey’s (1973) three concepts: first, language power (demographics, dispersion, mobility, economics, ideology, and culture); second, “language attraction” (the attractiveness of a given target language which is mathematically a function of its status, territorial considerations, and interlingual similarities and differences); and lastly “language pressure” (a variety of language attraction that occurs when language territories coincide and language groups interpenetrate). In this context therefore, IL is definitely perceived as a real ‘aggressor’ that threatens the existence of the indigenous language unless the society (the user of the language) takes some steps to preserve their indigenous language.

Mataram is home to various ethnic groups from diverse Indonesian regions making its people multilingual despite SL being the language of the majority of native people. Based on the data of the number of adherents to each religion in 2015, 12% (418.679) of the total population of Mataram city is Balinese (Central Bureau of Provincial Statistics, 2015). Thus, after SL Balinese is the second largest number of speakers in Mataram city. Balinese speakers live close to each other and are concentrated in several sub-districts as in Cakranegara, Mataram, Selaparang, Sekarbela, and Sandubaya. Unlike the Balinese, other ethnic groups in Mataram such as Javanese, Bimanese (Mbojo), Sumbawan, Sundanese, Bugis, Madurese, etc., are scattered throughout various sub-districts as far as West Lombok and Central Lombok. Thus, in their interactions with other ethnic groups, Indonesian language certainly becomes the only language choice that functions as a lingua franca among fellow citizens.

## 1.2 Literature Review

### 1.2.1 Multilingualism/Bilingualism and Language Domain

Linguists commonly define “bi/multilingualism” as the use of more than one language or competency in more than one language and having the same native-like control in the two languages or more languages, as proposed by Bloomfield. On the other hand, it is also defined as the practice of alternatively using the two languages, as suggested by Weinreich (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Furthermore, bilingualism can also refer to either the language use or the competency of an individual, or to the language situation in an entire nation or society. For example, Canada is officially a bilingual nation where English and French are used in government and educational settings, but also a multilingual nation due to the fact that over a hundred heritage languages have been brought into Canada by the immigrant groups. Some of these languages are still preserved and used in several concentrated areas along with the indigenous languages of the Indians and the Inuit (Eskimos) (Clyne in Coulmas, 1997). Similarly, Indonesia is also a multilingual nation where hundreds of indigenous languages exist and are used alongside the national language, Bahasa Indonesia (or Indonesian), and therefore most Indonesians are bilinguals or multilinguals because of the obligatory use of Indonesian beginning from kindergarten up to university level education. Within the theoretical context of language maintenance and shift, sociolinguists often view bilingualism as a periodical stage within several generations before minority language speakers leave their ancestral language because of language contact (Fishman, 1972). However, the recent phenomena of bilingualism related to the widespread of English as a lingua franca tends to be appraised and considered as a valuable opportunity for the many advantages it possesses. A positive attitude toward bilingualism can drive an increasing number of families to raise bilingual children and provide them with a bilingual education (Vender, et al., 2021).

As concerns the study of language maintenance and shift, bilingualism cannot be separated from the notion of domain of language use introduced by Fishman in 1972. The domain of language use is a theoretical construct in which speakers can pick up a code or a variety of codes that are appropriate for the socio-cultural norms of a corresponding speech community (Lantto, 2015; Ugwuona, 2020). According to Fishman, the domain of language use is a set of interaction situations grouped based on the same field of experience and linked by shared goals and obligations such as family, neighbors, religion, work, and others (Ahlberg et al., 2018; Chen, 2020). In a stable bilingual community, each language is associated with different domains of use determined by the background of the speech events (Kroll & Bice, 2016; Cekaite & Bjork-Willen, 2013; Wickstrom, 2005), the status of the participant's speech (Rydenyald, 2015) and topic of conversation (Unger, Gassemi, & Papastamatelou, 2018). In other words, different domains of language use require the use of different languages or varieties since a particular language or variety is more suited to that domain: a concept usually applied because of code-switching in multicultural societies and/or socialized communities (Truscott & Sharwood-Smith, 2017; Green & Wei, 2016).

One domain is a group of speech situations where the people involved in a conversation are family members such as a conversation between a husband and his wife, a mother and her child, and a brother and his sister (Verhagen et al., 2022; Sun et al., 2020; Olson, 2016) which is referred to as the family domain. The social situation in the family domain is commonly found in the household environment where participants' social status is not very important when compared to other domains, and the participants' relational roles are determined by the position of each family member in a conversation, such as parents, children, grandparents, siblings, and others.

The number of domains of language use varies based on the needs and situations of the language of the people concerned. For example, Fishman (1972a) used four types of language domains when in search of the language loyalty of the American people namely the family, neighborhood, work, and religion domain. However, he later stated in his definition that the number of domains could be innumerable. Greenfield (1972) used only five domains in his research on Puerto Rican people in New York City, namely family, social closeness, religion, education, and work. On the other hand, other researchers described seven domains, namely family, social closeness, neighborhood, transaction, education, government, and work environment (Shrama & Phyak, 2017; Miryahedi, 2021). Researchers also described one special domain called the street domain or particular situation domain outside the interlocutors' village in which each participant meets and socializes (Wilian, 2009). Romaine (1995) pointed out that domain-based language choice is based on value judgment.

What factors can affect the use of languages other than the mother tongue in bilingual or multilingual communities? According to Platt (1977) and Olson (2016), the dimensions of social identity can influence the use of language in multilingual society. These dimensions include ethnicity, age, gender, level and means of education, and socio-economic background. They then combines all these dimensions with the domain situation, speaker, partner and the relationship between the two a speaker and a partner. Evidence from urban communities in Africa also shows that the pattern of language choices varies according to the social background of the speaker and the types of interactions they're engaged in. Most urban communities in Kenya, for example, use their mother-tongue at home or with other community members from one ethnic group in their neighborhood. Mother tongue is important in maintaining their ethnic identity and in obtaining certain material benefits for example, assistance from their fellow ethnic group members to get a job (Mesthrie et al., 2000).

### 1.2.2 Language Attitude

The language attitude of a speaker towards a language is one of the major influential factors that account for the choice of language use in multilingual speech societies. In several academic studies, "language attitude" refers to value judgments that people place on language A as opposed to language B, or on dialect A against dialect B, or specific identifiable features of a language or language variety (Hidalgo, 1986). In the social-psychology of language, several studies have analyzed the affective component of a language attitude. Psychologically, attitude, according to Myers (in Sarwono, 2002:232) "...is a favorable or unfavorable evaluative reaction toward something or someone, exhibited in one's belief, feelings or intended behavior." Attitude is an individual's pleasant or unpleasant reaction toward something or someone, expressed through his feelings, beliefs or behavior. Based on socio-psychological theory, to understand the attitude of a person or group of people towards a particular language, sociolinguists developed a methodology to assess people's language attitudes. Fasold (1987) maintains that language attitudes are distinguished from other attitudes by the fact that language attitudes are precisely about language. According to Garvin and Mathiot (1972: 371-373), language attitudes can be divided into three categories: language loyalty, language pride, and norm awareness. The first category is concerned with the loyalty of the community to use and maintain their language. The second category refers to the pride people have in using and developing their language as a symbol of their identity. The last category is related to the awareness of using the language properly and politely. All the three attitudes are characteristics of positive attitude towards language.

In this study, to discover a respondent's language attitude, many inducement statements were read to the respondent to obtain their views or assessments and responses, which could either be positive or negative (agree or disagree). Often these responses were associated with attributes in the form of dimensional dichotomies such as formal-informal, familiar-not familiar, beautiful-not beautiful, progress-lagging, proud-disappointing, and so on. Of the 15 statements read to respondents, some contained aspects of certain attributes associated with language as a symbol of culture, language as an ancestral heritage, and regarding aspects of knowledge (cognitive aspects) of the community, especially directed towards making the vernacular language develop in parallel to the national language or maintaining it as an enrichment and support for national culture.

### 1.2.3 Patterns of Language Use and Choice

In the sociolinguistic literature, language can be analogous to organic beings and therefore every language has a "natural" age range (Edwards, 1985:48). Thus all languages will naturally die or be "killed" (linguicide). However, there is also an accepted opinion that language does not have the characteristics of living things and a language's age range depends on the people speaking the language. It is unknown whether intergenerational language transmission occurs in family home domain or not. Certainly, this transmission is closely related to a community's language choice which depends on the domains of its use. Beardly and Eastman (in Eastman, 1983: 142) acknowledged that, "Certain topics are most likely to be handled in certain languages because these topics relate to the domain where language is dominant in a society."

## 2. Methods

The primary data for this study were collected from two hundred and forty respondents residing in Mataram aged 10 to 60 years. Respondents were bilingual Sasak-Indoneian residents of Mataram, drawn from all the six sub-districts, expected to respond to a

self-confesment list. The number of respondents per location (per sub-district and sub-sub district) per social group variable (age, gender, education level, occupation, and social class) were determined by employing quota purposive random sampling and layered sampling technique (Townroe and Yates, 1995:338 in Gunarwan, 2001:77) (see Table 1). The layered sampling techniques determines the sample size based on an existing quota associated with a desired characteristic or category (sample frame) (Gunarwan, 2001; Lopez-Garcia, 1994). The number of respondents to participate in the pilot study was calculated based on a predetermined quota of 12 people per category or per variable cell. Data were obtained using survey questionnaires and participant observations. Of the 240 initial respondents, 204 returned acceptable completed questionnaires. Thewlis et al. (2022) stated that large samples required in non-linguistic studies are not necessary for linguistic studies because language behavior is more homogeneous than other social behaviors. Survey data were selected, inventoried, classified and then tabulated to calculate the frequency of occurrence for each variable using Excel.

Table 1. Variable and category names

No	Variable name	Number of cell/category	Category name	Sample quota
1	Age	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● ≤ 20 years</li> <li>● 21 – 40 years</li> <li>● 41 – 60 years</li> <li>● ≥ 61</li> </ul>	12
2.	Sex	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● male</li> <li>● female</li> </ul>	12
3.	Educational level	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● uneducated</li> <li>● primary school</li> <li>● secondary school</li> <li>● tertiary school</li> <li>● higher education</li> <li>● post graduate</li> </ul>	12
4.	Occupation	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● unemployed</li> <li>● peasant/labour</li> <li>● business</li> <li>● civil servants (army, teacher, nurses, government official, etc.)</li> <li>● housewife</li> <li>● craft-man</li> <li>● students</li> <li>● retirement</li> </ul>	12
5.	Social class	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● nobleman</li> <li>● common people</li> </ul>	12
Total		20 cells/caategories		240

The questionnaire contained several questions to discover the patterns of language choice and use, dominant language use, and the determinant factors contributing to a certain language use in the home, neighborhood, and friendship domain among Sasak ethnic residents of Mataram. These social dimension of respondents are considered important in order to make connections between the response and the choice. The questionnaire had 4 sections: section I (individual profile), section II (language background or verbal repertoire), section III (language attitude), section IV (language use and language choice). Section I of the questionnaire contained socio-demographic questions such as age, gender, birthplace, level of education, and occupation. Section II was a checklist eliciting information on the respondent language repertoire background within a family, while section II and III pertained to respondent’s language attitude and patterns of language choice and use in each domain, respectively. In section III respondents were asked to rate the options provided on a five-point Likert scale based on a frequency guideline provided that ranged from 1 = completely disagree, 2 = do not agree, 3 = undecided/uncertain, 4 = agree, 5 = completely agree. For section IV respondents were asked to rate their responses as 1 being (almost) always used Indonesian, 2 = uses more Indonesian than Sasak, 3 = Sasak and Indonesian are equally used, 4 = uses more Sasak than Indonesian, 5 = (almost) always uses Sasak. In addition to the questionnaire, the researchers also made some observations during a visit to some families using an observation check list to collect information on who talks to whom using what language. ‘Who talks’ refers to the first speaker in the interaction (mother, father, siblings, etc) ‘to whom’ refers to the interlocutor/s (daughter, son, nephew, uncle, etc.). Observation methods was used to ensure the validity of data obtained. Upon completion of data collection, the quantitative data was edited, coded, classified, tabulated and computed using excel to find out the average scores and percentage values.

**3. Results and Discussion**

*3.1 Survey Questionnaire: Respondents Profile*

Most (47%) of the 240 respondents surveyed were high school/vocational school graduates or students, 27% were colleges students or graduates, 13% were junior high students, 10% primary school graduates while 3% did not finish primary school. Among all respondents, 21% were aged between 11-20 years, 45% aged between 21-30 years, 15% aged between 31-40 years, 12% aged between 41-50 years, 5% aged between of 51-60 years, and the remaining 2% were aged ≥ 60 years. The majority (48%) of respondents did not declare their occupation, while 25% were businessmen, 19% were civil servants, and the rest were peasants, break layers, craftsmen, and drivers.

### 3.2 Language Attitude of the Society

Participants' average language attitude score was based on education level. There were differences between the language attitude of respondents who did not graduate from elementary school, and those who graduated from elementary, middle, and high school/vocational schools, and universities. The lower the education level of a respondent, the higher his or her language attitude. This relationship applied even if it did not attain a hundred percent scalability since the reduction in attitude score was not linear but slightly fluctuated for elementary and junior high school graduates who were below the score of university graduates. This finding contrasts that of Fotiou and Ayiomamitou (2021) found in dealing with the institution of family and education in language varieties where children who had a higher education level had higher language attitudes than those who had a lower education level. Tsiplakou et al. (2018) concur with Fotiou and Ayiomamitou (2021) in their study that stated that children with a higher-level education have different language attitudes in using language variations and practices. In the current study, however, the differences in scores by education level appeared insignificant because the difference in scores by education level was still above point 4 implying that the respondents still agreed with all the bait statements as shown in Figure 01.

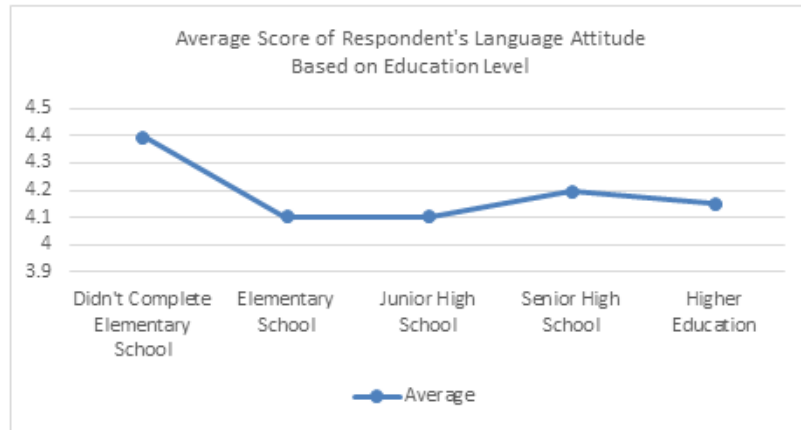


Figure 1. Average score of respondents' language attitude based on education

There was difference in the language attitude score by age of respondent. As shown in Figure 2, respondents aged 31-40 years had the highest attitude score when compared to the other age groups, followed by those aged 41-50 years and ≥ 60 years. Meanwhile, respondents aged 11-20, 21-30, and 5-60 years had similar scores (i.e., 3.14; 3.41). However, all the average scores were above 4 (four) suggesting that respondents responded to most in the affirmative. We can infer that the respondents had positive language attitudes toward their mother tongue in a multilingual society. The respondents argued that the use of a first language from early age into adolescents indicated their identity construction since personality traits and attitudes can be anchored in identity formation through linguistic performance (Fries, 2022; Lee & Su, 2019; Vallente, 2020). In this study, respondents had positive language attitudes and were very proud of their first language. The average score of respondents' language attitude based one age group are summed up in Figure 02.

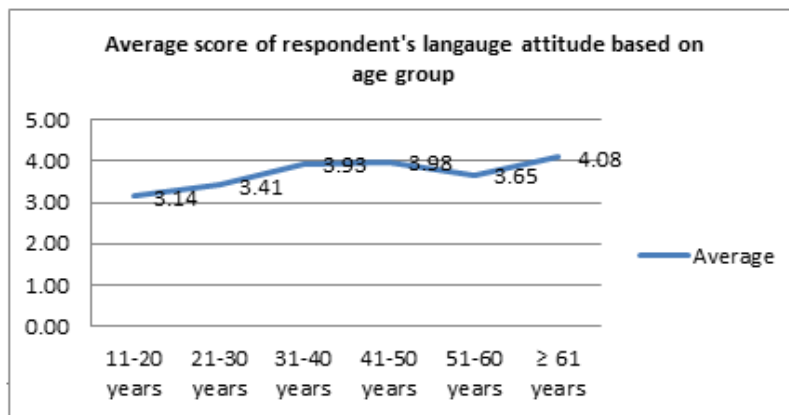


Figure 2. Scores of respondents' language attitude based on age group

### 3.3 Language Use in Family Domain

Within this domain the average choice of respondents' language in the family domain by age group ranged from 3.41 to 4.50 (score 4 being more Sasak than Indonesian, and 5 being (almost) always using Sasak). The means score of 4.5 shows that respondents aged ≤ 61 years almost always used the Sasak language in daily communication at home, as shown in Figure 03. In intra-family communication at home, younger respondents had lower mean language choice scores (3.14: the value of 3 in the Likert scale given was equal to "sometimes

Indonesian, sometimes Sasak or approximately the same between IL and SL” indicating that there was a tendency among the younger generation, especially those whose parents have higher education and civil servant backgrounds based on field observations, to use IL as their mother tongue at home).

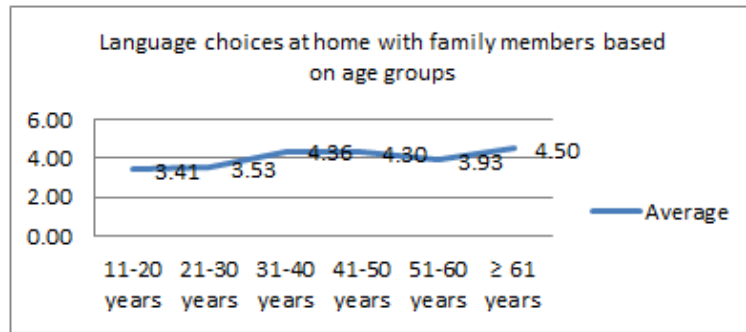


Figure 3. Home language use among family members according to age groups

Sociolinguistically, the use of Indonesian language had permeated the family domain (diglossia leakage). The question is “why were the younger respondents getting higher IL average usage scores at home?” In sociolinguistics, according to Grosjean (1982), the event of using two languages or more in a plural society is a natural symptom. Children tend to naturally become bilingual or even multilingual on their own without their parents’ intervention (De Cat, 2020; Ebert & Kohnert, 2016). Based on our observations, frequently parents tended to use IL instead of SL possibly due to the plurality of ethnic groups in a region, urbanization, and education (Gulliefer & Titone, 2020; Green & Abutalebi, 2013; Bahricj et al., 1994). It can be inferred that there was a trend towards greater use of BI among younger respondents in the family domain

Why in the domain of SL use in the Sasak family is the average language use score 3.41 among 10-21 year-olds and 3.53 among the 21-31 year-olds? Has it been a sign of diglossia leakage, namely the use of Indonesian as a H (High) language into the domain of using Sasak language as an L (Low) language in the context of Sasak bilingual families in Mataram? This phenomenon cannot be influenced by the status of relations between family members involved in the conversation itself, such as conversations between husband and wife, father/mother with child, sister with brother, etc. where the social status of participants was relatively the same without considering the topics of discussion. Holmes (1992) and Albury (2017) mentioned that certain topics of conversation among fellow family members can influence language use in bilingual/multilingual communities. The average language use score in the respondent's house shown in Figure 3 illustrates that topics that seemed rather difficult to describe in the respondent's mother tongue (Sasak), such as legal, political, educational problems, were transferred to the use of IL, while topics related to the issue of customs and family problems were more suited to mother tongue, namely Sasak. This finding supports Holmes (1992) and Ushchyna (2020) research that argues that certain topics are more suited to mother tongue (B1) as L (Low) language and other topics more suited to second language (B2) as H (High) language.

Theoretically, the variety of H languages used in education and government domain are valued and recognized in society, whereas the low variety are considered to have a lower value because they are mainly used in home and neighborhood domain. It is this H-language use function that seems to have penetrated the family domain in this Sasak speaking community in Mataram, decreasing the overall score of language use in the home. In addition, the level of education of speakers (respondents as using the Sasak language) cannot be ignored. In Figure 04 below, the higher the respondent’s level of education, the greater the chance to use IL based on the topic of conversation, even though this relationship was not entirely linear.

Based on the mean score of language use at home respondents, who did not go to school or did not graduate from elementary school, had close to one hundred percent five mother tongue usage score, meaning that they always or almost always spoke Sasak. While respondents who graduated from elementary, junior high, senior high school, and university had scores slightly above 3 scale suggesting that SL was used in the same frequency as IL, except for topics of discussion about education and politics, which showed more IL than SL. Moreover, regarding the average language choice with relatives visiting home based on age, there was a movement in the average language use score to 2.86 (below 3) among respondents aged 11-20 year, which can indicate a leakage of diglossia.

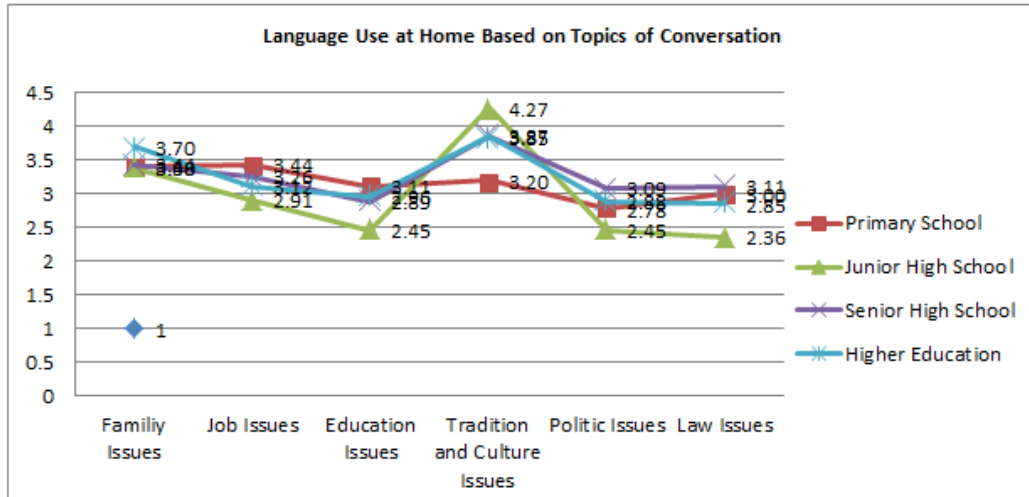


Figure 4. Mean score of language use at home by topic based on the respondents' level of education

However, based on the average score for the 21-30th age band (score 3.30) and those aged  $\geq 60$  (highest average score of 3.67), there was resistance to the use of IL. Thus, the use of scalability is almost 95% based on the age group, meaning that the younger the respondent's age group, the higher the tendency to use IL or vice versa, and the older the respondent's age group, the higher the level of retention of the mother tongue. However, based on the overall language selection chart at home, Figure 04 shows that there were indeed signs of the tendency to use mother tongue as much as the use of IL. There was a movement from the average score of 3.14 to 4.08 among the 11-20th year old to the  $\geq 60$ th year-old which also implies scalability, although still at the level above the score of 3 to 4. Hence there was a tendency to use the same amount of SL and IL among the youths from year to year, which was similar to that found in the previous study by Wilian (2010).

Based on the above analysis, there was a tendency of Sasak speaking families to use IL as their daily communication language at home, especially when relatives visit the respondent's house. However, more extensive research which includes more informant samples and more diverse enclaves of the Sasak tribe to obtain more accurate and representative data is needed.

**Language Use in the Neighborhood Domain**

The direction of language shift is shown in the extent to which family members in a conversation still use their mother tongue (B1) in their interactions with neighbors in the same conversation. The conversation between neighbors can focus on several topics of discussion concerning matters such as family problems, neighbors, work problems, religion, educational/organizational/political issues, daily events problems, hearsay or gossip about various kinds of good events inside and outside the town. Wasserman-Soler (2016) found that conversations occur between neighbors when discussing work problems, religious, and political issues. In Figure 05 the mean score of the respondents' language choices in the neighborhood area ranged from 3.30 for persons aged 11-20<sup>th</sup> years to 3.40 for persons aged  $\geq 60$ <sup>th</sup> years. Therefore, in their neighborhood, for the Sasak-speaking people in Mataram, their language choice index goes to the usage category "sometimes Sasak language and sometimes Indonesian or about the same amount between IL and SL".

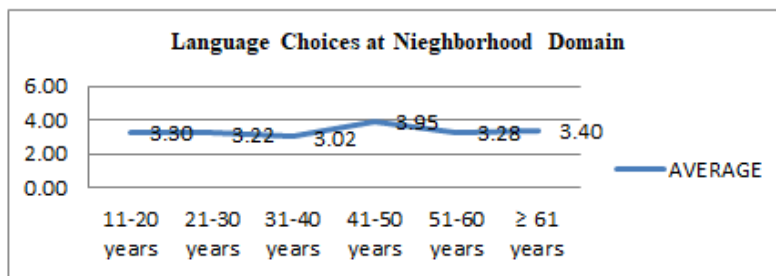


Figure 5. Data of language choice in neighborhood domain

The tendency to use language among the six age groups did not form one hundred percent scalability, meaning that there was a tendency for the younger respondents to use IL more. The tendency of higher usage of IL occurs in the 31-40th age band where the average score was at 3.02. The average language choice score in the 41-50th age band was the highest at 3.95 insinuating that in this group still speak Sasak more often than Indonesian because it almost reached 4 (= more SL than IL). Compared to the rate of average language use at home (family domain), the use of neighborhood language was more evenly distributed among various age groups ranging from 3.30 to 3.40, and only slightly higher in the 41-50 year-age group: an acquisition rate that could be influenced by various factors, such as age, education, speaker relationships with speakers, and mainly determined by the topic of conversation (Wasserman-Soler, 2016; Truscott & Sharwood-Smith, 2017; Sun et al., 2020). However, because the average score was still above the number three, this confirms that there was still a tendency to

use SL that were greater than the use of IL regardless of the topic discussed.

3.4 Language Use Outside the Home or Certain Situations

The use of language in everyday life cannot be separated from interactions between humans in their activities and mobility as social beings (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Zhang & Zhang, 2021). Activity, mobility, and human interaction can occur both within the area of speech community and far outside the speech community. In heterogeneous multilingual communities, interactions and communication can occur with others during activities done outside the home that may involve speaking to partners from both within and outside the community (Doychin & Shinjee, 2022; Kejriwal et al., 2021). In a bilingual or multilingual society such as in the city of Mataram, the situation outside an individual’s residential area requires a certain language choice, for example in such situations as going to the horse-train (cart) on the market, riding an *ojek* (a rent-motorbike with its rider), meeting acquaintances from other housing complex at the intersection, meeting relatives during social gathering, celebrating an event/family gatherings, shopping at traders from other villages or residential areas, etc. In such a context, if a tendency to speak a language was found which was characterized by a smaller average score in the younger age group (11-20th and 21-30th), then there should be suspicion of signs of a shift in the use of mother tongue.

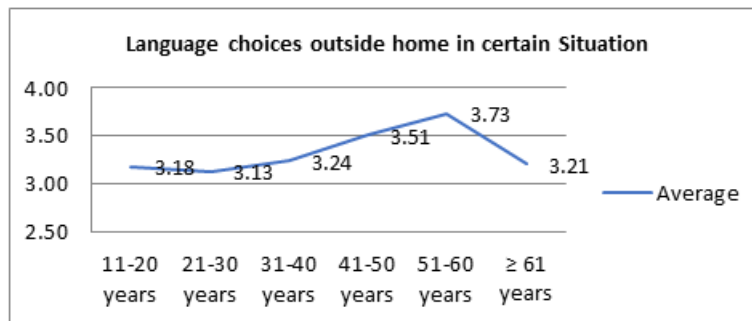


Figure 6. Language choice outside home in particular domain (friendship)

In the domain of a particular situation, there was a difference in the average use score between the mother tongue (SL) and the national language (IL) ranging from 3.18 among 11-20<sup>th</sup> year-olds to 3.73 in the 51-60<sup>th</sup> year-olds. However, respondents aged ≥ 60<sup>th</sup> years had a lower average score of 3.21 (Figure 06). It appears from the graph that there was actually a tendency for scalability in the use of IL and SL in the domains of certain situations among various age groups based on the increase in average scores by age group. However, the overall language choice index in certain situations was still determined by the interlocutor (the partner), as of the respondent was shopping at or meeting an unknown person outside the village, with a language usage index of 2.5, IL rather than SL was likely to be used. Whereas in interacting through electronic media, for example in writing short messages, respondents tended to use IL rather than SL, which was characterized by a language choice index of 2.7 as presented in Table 02.

Table 2. The language choice tendency of SL and IL on certain situations by the age

Ages Years	N (204)	Meeting Situation & Average of Language Choices					
		Getting in cars, horse-train/ motorcycle	Meeting fellow villagers outside the village	Meeting relatives or social gathering	Religious meetings inside the village with certain clerics	Buying in sellers from inside the village	Writing messages for relatives or fellow villagers
11-20		3,82	3,55	3,41	3,45	2,09	2,77
21- 30		3,80	3,38	3,53	2,93	2,59	2,55
31-40		3,88	3,87	3,87	3,27	1,92	2,67
41- 50		4,08	4,33	3,50	3,17	3,14	2,83
51-60		4,40	3,80	4,40	3,20	3,60	3,00
≥ 60 years		3,00	4,00	3,50	3,50	2,25	3,00
Average		3,9	3,6	3,6	3,1	2,5	2,7

However, when viewed from situations such as riding horse-train, meeting fellow villagers outside the resident area, the language that was generally used was still more Sasak than Indonesian, with a mean score of 3.9 and 3.6 in each of the speech events. Similarly, this also occurred when meeting relatives in certain situations outside the residential home and during family events such as social gathering. Based on this, the mean language use score in the three domains with various situations underlying the occurrence of speech events imply the tendency of the use of IL in Mataram by Sasak natives was still within reasonable limits, as seen from the index of language use at home, outside home with neighbors, and outside the resident area in certain situations. Thus, in such situations, the patterns of language use of the bilingual community, SL and IL in the city of Mataram were apparent.

4. Conclusion

The results of this study confirmed the researchers’ beliefs that Sasak language would be persistently used in the family (household) domain by Sasak families living in the city of Mataram; eventhough a diglossia leakage was shown to be threatening, but this is considered normal in multilingual societies. Firstly, the Sasak speakers’ language attitude was still quite positive as indicated by an attitude score index above 4



(four). A positive language attitude indicates that the community cares for and is proud of their language. Hence, language as a cultural asset is highly resistant to the penetration of linguistic competition in a setting where the Indonesian language speakers are powerful enough (geo-linguistic force) to attack the indigenous language especially in Mataram.

Secondly, based on the quantitative data obtained through survey questionnaires and field observations, the index use of Sasak in the family domain and neighboring domains showed that Sasak languages were always or almost always used in that domain, but with a slightly different level of usage by age, education level and occupation. The younger the respondent, the more susceptible the language was. In other words, there was an opportunity for diglossia leakage, indicating that the tendency to use IL is prevalent within the family domain. However, in the literature of sociolinguistics, the symptoms of alternating language use in bilingual or multilingual societies are common. When children start school and associate with friends from other ethnic groups (especially those that speak languages that are used more widely), children themselves become naturally bilingual.

Thirdly, the pattern of community bilingualism appeared stable. The domains of language use were still running as they should according to the functions of each language. A stable duality indicates that there was equal mastery of both languages (SL and IL) such that they could be used in turn without causing structural dislocations. By having their mother tongue established before acquiring the second language (IL), it is hoped that speakers could maintain the stability of the use of both languages according to their respective functions and domains, so that the terms H and L language functions can coexist, without endangering each other. However, in its development, the excessive use of Indonesian in all aspects of life and domains appears to bend the local language to the front of its own use area. In this context, Sasak speakers in Mataram did not realize that if they spoke in Indonesian more than in SL in their households with relatives, they were linguistically killing their own indigenous language, which in sociolinguist circles known as linguisticide. Consequently, it is not surprising that in many areas there have been many symptoms of language shifts in various local languages caused by the wide-spread use of Indonesian in the home domain of those vernaculars.

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