

Language Mixing in an Indonesian-Balinese Simultaneous Bilingual Child

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Abstract--When children get regular and continual exposure to two or more languages, they can develop the competence to use those languages. However, the languages used by the children may include mixing, where features of different languages converge in single language use. The present research investigates the speech of a three-year-old child exposed to Indonesian and Balinese since birth. The study focused on analyzing the language mixing produced by the child. The child was observed for three months. The child was exposed to Indonesian by the parents and Balinese by grandparents and other extended family members. They all lived in the same compound. In collecting the data, diary notes were used, supplemented with video recordings. The result shows that language mixing occurred when the child substituted content words, phrases, and function words in both languages. The language mixing happens due to the salient of the words, the frequent use of the words or phrases in the child's environment, the availability of mixing in the input, and an effort to emphasize meaning. Pragmatically, the result shows that the child can use the two languages appropriately with different interlocutors.

Keywords – language mixing, Indonesian-Balinese, bilingual child

Abstrak--Ketika seorang anak mendapatkan paparan dua atau lebih bahasa secara teratur dan terus-menerus, mereka memiliki kompetensi untuk menggunakan bahasa-bahasa tersebut. Namun, penggunaan bahasa dapat mencakup pencampuran, di mana fitur dari satu bahasa digunakan dalam ujaran bahasa lainnya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menginvestigasi tuturan anak usia tiga tahun yang diekspos dalam bahasa Indonesia dan Bali sejak lahir. Penelitian difokuskan pada analisis pencampuran bahasa yang dihasilkan oleh anak. Anak diamati selama tiga bulan. Anak diekspos dalam bahasa Indonesia oleh orang tuanya dan bahasa Bali oleh kakek-nenek serta anggota keluarga besar lainnya. Keluarga besar tinggal di kompleks yang sama. Dalam pengumpulan data digunakan catatan harian yang dilengkapi dengan rekaman video. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pencampuran bahasa terjadi ketika anak mengganti kata-kata konten, frasa, maupun kata-kata tugas dalam kedua bahasa tersebut. Adapun alasan terjadinya percampuran bahasa, yakni istilah yang lebih kentara dalam satu bahasa, frekuensi penggunaan kata, percampuran dilakukan oleh orang sekitar, dan penekanan makna. Secara pragmatis, hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa anak dapat menggunakan dua bahasa secara tepat dengan lawan bicara yang berbeda.

Kata kunci – pencampuran bahasa, anak bilingual, Indonesia-Bali

1. Introduction

Studies in bilingual children's linguistics' development portray the early circumstances of language production, which is the combination of constituents from every language (Riksem, 2017; Rubin & Toribio, 1996). Researches show that parents guide children's attitudes and play a huge role in raising a bilingual (Hakuta & D' Andrea, 1992; Nakamura, 2019). Parents are believed to foster the children into bilinguals. In a bilingual society, language mixing is a common phenomenon. It characterizes bilingual speakers from monolinguals (Alexiadou & Lohndal, 2018).

Meisel (2007) states that language mixing is common in bilingual and multilingual communities. People will be categorized to intend language mixing when a word or an utterance of language A contains the elements of language B (Cantone, 2007). MacSwan (2006) defines language mixing as the production of speech combining lexical items and grammatical features of languages in one utterance. Grammars are assumed to be tightly integrated into the speaker's mind and adapt from one language to another. It can be seen from the blend of two languages, called word-inner level, in a common context. As a result, the question of what the lowest components of language mixing are increased.

Furthermore, language mixing is the act and ability to mix two or more languages in a conversation (Wehler, 2016). Language mixing is unpredictable. Some people may switch their language in a conversation, in a full sentence, or maybe in a single sentence. It happens almost consciously and unconsciously. The factors that might affect the code-switching act are the speaker, the audience, the context, and the speakers' relation.

It was strongly believed that the human brain, especially children's, shall be confused by

learning several languages (Jernigan, 2015). However, this myth is not supported by evidence, research, health professionals, or educators. Cognitive control is the part that supports the development of the ability in language mixing, either in bilingual adults or children, has been studied in recent research (Gross & Kaushanskaya, 2015). Meanwhile, other research shows that bilingualism prevents cognitive decline in older age (Bialystok, 2017; Grundy & Anderson, 2017). Various researches have shown that bilingual children have better cognitive development in tasks and can see the matter from different perspectives (Garraffa et al., 2018).

Language mixing does not serve any pragmatic purpose and is considered the same as code-switching and code-mixing (Doğruöz et al., 2021). Concerning parental discourse strategies, the strategy of one-person-one-language appears to give input in the various patterns in developing a child's linguistic mixed utterances in many ways (Juan-Garau & Perez-Vidal, 2001). This strategy of one-person-one-language has become a popular object of child language development studies for many years (Adnyani et al., 2018; Purniawati et al., 2019; Yip & Matthews, 2000). Meisel (1994) claims that bilinguals can differentiate two languages from a very young age, even children. Between the ages of 2 and 3 years, the language mixing frequency shall be decreased (Genesee, 1989; Koppe, 1996). It happens due to children acquiring more lexical and grammatical knowledge. Many simultaneous bilingual language developments have been observed where the strategies used were one-parent-one language. Cases, where bilingual children are raised in one language by the parents and the other by extended family members have rarely been conducted. Therefore, this study focuses on the language mixing that happened to a three-year-old child

exposed to the bilingual environment of Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese Language. Bahasa Indonesia is exposed by the parents, and Balinese by the extended family members such as the grandmother, the grandfather, the aunties, and other relatives.

2. Method

Participants and Linguistic Environments

This research is a case study of a child using Balinese and Indonesian languages, which is observed using longitudinal observational data. The child lives with his family and extended family members in Bali. Two housekeepers also live with them. The parents used Indonesian dominantly to the child. The parents speak Balinese to one another. The extended family members, however, spoke Balinese mostly. One of the housekeepers communicates with the child in Indonesian, and the other housekeeper communicates in Balinese with the child.

The Data Collection

The data was collected for three months and followed the child between 3;3 (39 months) and 3;6 (42 months). The data was collected from conversational text or speech based on spontaneous interactions amongst family members in daily notes and video recordings of the interactions and conversations in unstructured situations, mostly in the house environment. The parents converse with the child using Indonesian while the extended family members speak Balinese. The child's language use was observed daily. The videos were taken at a minimum one-hour recording every week.

Transcription and analysis

The speech produced by the child was segmented based on utterances, Balinese and Indonesian. Esposito & Aversano (2004) and Gilbert et al. (2021) used this method of segmenting speech to provide automatic speech

recognition in their study about bilingual development. Based on the data, 381 utterances were collected in Indonesian and 142 in Balinese. The data was transcribed orthographically. Moreover, every utterance produced by the child was accompanied by a contextual description and explanation.

3. Finding and Discussion

As indicated, this study focuses on the language mixing on simultaneous bilingualism. According to Mayers-Scotton (2006), bilingual child language acquisition is the acquisition of two or more languages at a young age. Meisel (1989) proposed that bilingual first language acquisition refers to children who grow up hearing two languages from the time they are born. In this study, the child hears Balinese and Indonesian since birth in the family environment.

11. Finding

As previously mentioned, the data was analyzed by segmenting the child's speech. Every utterance in both Balinese and Indonesian is recorded. Utterances that contain mixing are coded. The findings are shown in the following excerpts.

Mixing of Indonesian Elements in Balinese Utterances

#1 The conversation between the grandmother and the child

Grandmother: *Maem ape?*

'What did you eat?'

Child : *Maem be taluh jak yam kal*

'I ate an egg and grilled chicken.'

Grandmother: *Ayam ape?*

'What chicken?'

Child : *Ayam bakar*

'Grilled chicken'

Grandmother: *Ooh, Ayam bakar. Dije meli?*

'Ooh, grilled chicken. Where did you buy it?'

Child : *Di Warung Ayu*

'At Warung Ayu.'

Grandmother: *Pidan meli? Ajak nyen?*

whom?’

Child : *Petengne, isana beli.*

‘In the evening, I bought it there.’

Excerpt #1 shows the language mixing in the conversation between the child and the grandmother, whose native language is Balinese. The topic of the conversation was the meal that was had by the child that night. In the conversation, it can be seen that the child inserted the Indonesian phrase [yam kal] *ayam bakar* 'grilled chicken' into the Balinese conversation initiated by the grandmother. Besides, the child also mixed the Indonesian words [isana] *di sana* 'there' and *beli* 'to buy.' The child mixed the Indonesian words or phrases into Balinese utterances to tell the common object known in Indonesian words rather than Balinese. The child used the phrase *ayam bakar* might be that the child does not know the corresponding phrase in Balinese *be siap metunu/be siap mepanggang*. Another reason can be that *ayam bakar* in Indonesian is more frequently used in the child's environment. Thus, the phrase *ayam bakar* is more salient in the child's linguistic environment. This finding corroborates the previous study by Grimstad et al. (2018) and Goral et al. (2019), which found that language mixing happened to emphasize the lexical item in the other language used by the speakers.

#2 The conversation between the great grandmother and the child

Child : *Engken batis umpik to?*

‘What happened to great grandmother's foot?’

Great grandmother : *Batis pik kene tiuk*

‘My foot was cut by a knife.’

Child : *Getih to?*

‘Is that blood?’

Great grandmother : *Ae. Nak metatu kan pesu getihne ye*

‘Yes. The foot is cut, so it is bleeding.’

Child : *Be misi obat to Umpik?*

‘Have you put medicine on it, Great grand?’

Great grandmother : *Ne be misi lidah buaya*

‘I put aloe vera on it already.’

Child : *Banyak misi lidah buaya*

‘That is a lot of aloe vera added.’

The conversation happened when the child's great-grandmother accidentally got her foot cut. The main language used was Balinese. The Indonesian word *obat* 'medicine' was inserted into the Balinese utterance in the conversation. Another mixing was found in the use of the Indonesian word *banyak* 'much'. The phrase *lidah buaya* happens to be Indonesian and Balinese words to refer to 'aloe vera'. The reason of the mixing is because the child is more salient with the Indonesian word to say the object and also the fact that the great-grandmother was using the same word to refer the same object previously before the child did. Yip (2013) found that it is common for the parents in this case the great-grandmother, to language mixing their utterance even though they were intentionally used only one language at a time. Language mixing could be unavoidable.

#3 The Conversation Between Grandfather-Child

Child : *Nyen lah to motornya kakek?*

‘Who owns that motor, Grandpa?’

Grandfather: *To madan MotoGP*

‘That is called MotoGp.’

Child : *Obing ape to kakek?*

‘What kind of car is that, grandpa?’

Grandfather: *To mobil patroli adanne*

‘That's called a patrol car.’

Child : *Siapa lah obingnya itu?*

‘Who owns that car?’

Grandfather: *To nak di TV to lahen.*

‘That belongs to the person in that TV.’

This conversation occurred when the child watched MotoGP on the TV with his grandfather. In the conversation, the language used by the child when talking to the grandfather was Balinese, yet the child switched the word from Balinese to Indonesian in the middle of the conversation. The child used the word [obing] *mobil* 'car', an Indonesian word in Balinese utterance to point the object car. Besides, the child mixed the Balinese utterance with the Indonesian word by saying the word *siapa* 'who', and *itu* 'that.' The Indonesian word *siapa* was inserted in the Balinese utterance to ask for the ownership of a certain object, that was a car. The word [lah] is a Balinese word, a shortened form of the word *ngelah* 'have/own.' Thus, the Indonesian word *siapa* is combined with *ngelah* 'to have' in Balinese to utter who owns.

#4 The conversation between grandmother – child

- Child : *Mamak! Orin masuk kuluk nek!*
'Mama! Tell the dog to get in, Grandma!'
- Grandmother : *Masuk kije orin kuluke?*
'Where do you want the dog to get into?'
- Child : *Keme orin kuluk e masuk kandang ditu.*
'Tell the dog to get into the cage there.'
- Grandmother : *Sing engken John. Be peteng masih jani. Pang ye disisian*
'That is okay, John. It is already night. Let him be outside.'
- Child : *Uujan belus nyen itu kuluknya*
'It is raining. The dog will get wet.'
- Grandmother : *Kan bise ye be meneken ke bale e*
'He can come up to the house then.'

The conversation happened when the child saw his dog was outside the cage one evening while it was raining. Some language mixings happened in this excerpt #4. First, the language mixing happened where the child mixed the

Balinese utterance with the Indonesian word *masuk* 'to get in.' Second, the language mixing of Indonesian phrases could be seen from *masuk kandang* 'get into the cage'. The language mixing also happened in the sentence "*ujjan belus nyen itu kuluknya*". The word *itu* 'that' is used to point to something in Indonesian. Although the conversation was in Balinese, the child switched the language in the middle of the conversation between the grandmother and the child.

Moreover, there was a mix of the Balinese word *kuluk* 'dog' with the Indonesian suffix *-nya* (possessive) in the word *kuluknya* 'the dog.' The child might mix languages because he knows that his grandmother could understand his utterance despite being in Indonesian or Balinese. It deals with the listener's perceptions of the conversation (Gonzales et al., 2019).

#5 The conversation between grandfather – child

- Grandfather : *Adah! John ne! Metulihen nak e John yen kel nandang!*
'Adah! John! Please have a look, John, if you want to kick the ball!'
- Child : *Hahaha* (laughing)
- Grandfather : *Yih kok kedek John orin kakek? Kene murai nyen, opak je John ajak Bapak John-ne!*
'Yih, why did you laugh, John, when I told you that? What if the *murai* got hitten, you would be scolded by your father John!'
- Child : *Sing ngopak Bapak kek. Ndak boleh ngopak Bapak e*
'He is not angry, Grandfather. He is not allowed to be angry, my father'
- Grandfather : *Nah makane de ngawag nandang bola*
'Therefore, do not kick the ball carelessly.'

The conversation happened between the child and his grandfather when he played with a soccer

ball in the middle of the house's yard. The child kicked the ball randomly, and it almost hit the bird's cage at the house. The child's grandfather tried to warn him not to kick randomly, or else the birds' cage might get hit that time, and the child would get scolded by his father. The language mixing happened in the child's utterance of excerpt #5, of which the child mixed the Indonesian phrase in Balinese utterance. The child said *ndak boleh ngopak Bapak* 'He is not allowed to be angry, my father.' The phrase '*ndak boleh*' is 'not allowed' in Indonesian. The child switched his language from Balinese to Indonesian even though he spoke in Balinese with his grandfather. The reason for the mixing of the language is to emphasize the meaning of the idea to his grandfather. Similar to this finding is the study conducted by Riksem et al. (2019) about the American-Norwegian language mixing found the probability of the mixing due to the need to emphasize the idea of an utterance in the other language.

#6 The conversation between grandmother – child

Grandmother : *John minum obat malu ajak nenek nyak John?*

'John, will you drink your medicine with me, John?'

Child : *Ndak mau, Nenek. John sing nyak minum obat ajak nenek*
'I do not want to, grandmother. I don't want to drink the medicine with you'

Grandmother : *Yih men terus sing nyak minum obat kan sing seger-seger John nyen. Nyak ajak mama minum obat nah?*

'Yih, if you keep saying no to drink your medicine, you will not be healthy, John. Drink it with your mother, okay?'

Child : *John mau sama mama minum obat. Sing mau ajak nenek minum obat.*

'John wants to drink the medicine with mother. I don't

want to drink it with grandmother.'

Grandmother : *Nah ajak mama se minum obat nae.*

'Okay. Please drink the medicine with your mother then.'

This conversation happened between the child and the grandmother when the child was ill of cough and flu. He needed to drink the medicine, but he refused to drink it with his grandmother and preferred to have it with his mother instead. The child said *ndak mau nenek* 'I don't want it, grandmother' to refuse his grandmother's offer. It was an Indonesian statement that occurred in the conversation of the Balinese language. Besides, the child said *John mau sama mama minum obat*, which means he wants to drink the medicine with his mother in a full Indonesian utterance. However, the next utterance was followed by a Balinese utterance, '*John sing nyak minum obat ajak nenek* 'John does not want to drink the medicine with grandmother'. The verb phrase *minum obat* are the Indonesian to say 'drink the medicine.' In this situation, the phrase *minum obat* is used in Balinese utterance. People usually do not change the language into Balinese even though they are talking in Balinese linguistic environment. Riksem et al. (2019) found an indication of bilinguals to insert the verbs and nouns of the other language to the other language because of the common sense of using the language in a social environment.

Mixing of Balinese Elements in Indonesian Utterances

#7 The conversation between mother-child

Child : *Mau beli ini.*

'I want to buy this.'

Mother : *Dimana mau beli?*

'Where do you want to buy it?'

Child : *Ditu di Badung beli.*

'There, buy it in Badung.'

Mother : *Sama siapa kesana?*

'Whom will you go with?'

Child : *Sama Mama, bapak, ajak Nenek.*

'With mother, father, and grandma.'

The conversation occurred when the child saw his aunt's eyes-blindfold in his aunt's bedroom. Two language mixings occurred in the conversation. The child mixed Indonesian with Balinese to indicate where he wanted to buy the blindfold. *Ditu* is a Balinese word to say 'there', and the rest of the sentence is Indonesian. Besides, the child inserted the Balinese word *ajak* 'and' to connect the sentence. The mixes happened directly and subconsciously done by the child. The language mixing was that the child lacked vocabulary knowledge in Indonesian to say prepositions. According to Montanari et al. (2019), this is the usage of language mixing to fill the utterance's vocabulary gaps.

#8 The conversation between Mother-Child

- Child : *Ma, mau yang ini ya. Mau beli* (pointing at his mother's earring)
'Ma, I want this, okay. I want to buy this.'
- Mother : *Ndak boleh dong! John kan cowo, ganteng. Kalo mama cantik, pakai anting.*
'Of course not! John, you are a boy, handsome. Mama is beautiful, so I wear earrings.'
- Child : *Mau beli gelang buat boong-nya*
'I want to buy a bracelet for the neck.'
- Mother : *Itu kalung namanya.*
'That is called necklace.'
- Child : *Ndak. Gelang itu, kalung buat boongnya.*
'No. that is a bracelet, the necklace is for the neck.'

The conversation between the child and his mother happened when the child tried to ask his mother to buy a necklace for him, mistakenly saying different things to refer to the necklace. The child started the sentence by using the Indonesian language and at the end, it directly switched to

Balinese. The child produced intra-sentential code-mixing once the topic of accessories with the mother that was illustrated by excerpt #8 (Poplack, 1980). The italic word constituted of *boongnya* 'the neck', a Balinese word *boong* 'neck' and Indonesian suffix *-nya* (possessive) 'it's' or 'the.' The mother needs to emphasize and explain the meaning and function of the word 'bracelet' by referring to where it was going to be worn on the body, which is on the neck. Riksem et al. (2019) found that it is very commonly found in bilinguals to add suffixes from the other language to another language and this is considered to be the ability of bilinguals to acknowledge the syntactical structures of both languages.

#9 The Conversation Between Father-Child

- Child : *Bapak kel baang jangklik kedisnya?*
'Father, will you give the cricket to the bird?'
- Father : *Ini jangkrik buat dikasi burung murainya di rumah ya.*
'This cricket is for the Murai bird at home, okay.'
- Child : *Bulung murai apa?*
'What is *murai* bird?'
- Father : *Itu yang kandangnya paling besar.*
'That bird in the biggest cage.'

This conversation occurred when the father was taking the child to a kiosk that sells food for pets. At the beginning of the conversation, the sentence uttered by the child was started with the Balinese language and ended up with Indonesian. The phrase *kel baang* in Balinese means 'will give.' Moreover, the child mixed the Balinese word *kedis* 'bird' and the Indonesian suffix *-nya* 'the' to say 'the bird.' Riksem et al. (2019) found similar data of bilinguals to mix the language in terms of verbs and nouns in conversations. Besides, the young bilinguals might do this language mixing to fill the vocabulary gaps in their utterances (Montanari et al., 2019).

#10 The Conversation Between Mother-Child

- Child : *Mama, caliin itu ulal. John mau liat ular*
'Mama, look for the snake. I want to see the snake.'
- Mother : *Ular apa?*
'What snake?'
- Child : *Itu ulal yang lantang itu mamak. Situ* (pointing at the TV). *Mamak cariin ya.*
'That the long snake, Mama. There (pointing at the TV). You search it, okay.'
- Mother : *Iya sekarang mama cariin John.*
Okay, now Mama search it for you, John.'
- Child : *Mak, mau cali ulal. Uullaar*
'Ma, I want to look for the snake. Snaaaakee'

- Child : 'John, what are you making?'
Child : *Ndak, ini, isi handuk ini, ajak mamak?*
'No, this is, is this towel? Is she wearing a towel, Mother?'
- Mother : *Apa? John bilang apa?*
'What? John, what did you say?'
- Child : *Apa ini? Mama misi ape ne? Misi handuk?*
'What is this? Mother, what is this? Is it a towel?' (pointing to the performance)
- Father : *Gelungan namanya itu John. Orang nari itu.*
'It is called *Gelungan* John (headpiece in Balinese culture). It is used when somebody is dancing.'
- Child : *Bukan, ini handuk namanya.*
'No, that is called towel.'
- Father : *Ngapain pakai handuk disitu? Topengnya nari, coba John nari, bisa?*
'Why do I need to wear a towel there? The mask is dancing, try to dance, John, can you?'
- Child : *Ndak mau John nari.*
'No, I do not want to dance.'

The conversation occurred when the child wanted to watch the movie Rio 2, which happened to have a scene that showed a snake. However, the situation was before the mother turned the tv on. So the mother got a little confused with the sudden request of the snake. The child tried to explain where to find the snake by pointing at the TV therefore, the mother understood that he meant the snake in the movie. The language mixing happened in the sentence *itu ulal yang lantang itu Mama*. The child mispronounced the word [ulal] *ular* 'snake'. The language used by the child with his mother was Indonesian. However, in the sentence, the child inserted the Balinese word *lantang* 'long' to show the snake's size in the middle of the Indonesian utterance. The sentence still made sense because the Balinese word only emphasizes the snake's size or shape. The child tried to tell the mother that the snake was long. Based on Riksem et al. (2019), this belongs to the ability of young bilinguals to switch the adjective from one language to the other language to emphasize the description within an object.

This conversation occurred when the father, mother, and the child and the child's brother were playing and relaxing in the bedroom while watching a performance of masks on the television. The child was curious about the headpiece on top of the masked performer and considered it a towel. The language mixing of Balinese words in Indonesian utterances happened in excerpt #11. John was trying to explain the situation to his father by saying *ndak ini, isi handuk ini, ajak mamak?* 'No, this is, is this a towel, with mama?' In English, *ajak* is a Balinese word to say 'with'. The utterance used Indonesian while the child added one Balinese word in the middle.

Besides, the switch from Indonesian to Balinese in one utterance as *Apa ini? Mama misi ape ne? Misi handuk?* 'What is this? Mama what is she wearing? It has a towel?' The phrase *apa ini?*

#11 The Conversation Between Father-Mother-Child

- Father : *John bikin apa itu?*

'what is this' is Indonesian. The other two sentences were in the Balinese language. This mixing emphasized the meaning of the question, which was using Indonesian at first and then switched to Balinese after. It supports the finding of the previous research by Hoff et al. (2018) about the English-Spanish language mixing, whose language mixing shows children's proficiency in using both languages, especially for the expressive domain.

#12 The Conversation Between Mother-Child

- Mother : *John kemana hari ini?*
'John where did you go today?'
- Child : *John melali naik mobil, berenang*
'John travelled by car, swimming.'
- Mother : *Berenang?*
'Swimming?'
- Child : *Iya*
'Yes.'
- Mother : *Sama siapa berenangnya?*
'Whom did you swim with?'
- Child : *Sama nenek ajak kakek*
'With grandmother and grandfather'

The conversation occurred between the child and the mother when the child was about to sleep at night. The child just came back from traveling with his grandfather and grandmother. The language used in the conversation is Indonesian; however, the child mixed Balinese words in Indonesian utterances to tell the activity he had done. The Indonesian word is probably not yet familiar to him. The word *melali* is the Balinese word to say *bepergian* 'travelling' in Indonesian. Besides, the language mixing also occurred in the last utterance, with the Balinese word *ajak* 'with.' This occurred simply because the child subconsciously switched the language from Indonesian to Balinese. The child is familiar with the Indonesian word *sama* 'with', the shorter version of *bersama* in Indonesian, which was said earlier in the same utterance. The data supports Bosma & Blom (2018) about language switching to fill the vocabulary gaps. Riksem et al. (2019)

found that children switch nouns and verbs in their utterance using data from children acquiring American and Norwegian languages.

4. Discussion

The natural tendency of bilingual children is to mix their languages, which means they use both languages in a single sentence. Child bilingualism involves borrowing and code-switching (Grosjean, 2013). The child frequently mixed the languages of Bahasa Indonesia into Balinese and vice versa. These were also documented in the previous study of English-Spanish language mixing of pre-school children (Montanari et al., 2019). However, from observation and data analysis, the child can differentiate the two languages appropriately depending on the interlocutors. For instance, when the child talks to his grandmother, grandfather, and great-grandmother, he uses Balinese in his utterances instead of Indonesian. Meanwhile, during his interaction with his parents, the child uses Bahasa Indonesia more than the Balinese.

In terms of language mixing, it happened for several reasons. First, the child does not know the corresponding words or phrases in the other language or lacks lexical entry in the appropriate language. Second, the words or phrases inserted are more familiar in the child's ears. In other words, they are used more frequently in the child's environment, as confirmed by Lindholm & Padilla (1978). Third, the child is mixing languages because the adults do language mixings, such as the parents and other family members. Thus, mixing is available in the input. In the conversation between the grandmother and the child, for example, in Balinese utterance, the grandmother inserted the Indonesian word *obat* to the Balinese conversation instead of *ubad*, a Balinese word. Yip (2013) stated that even parents who claim not to mix themselves are unlikely to avoid it consistently. Fourth, language mixing emphasizes the meaning of the idea or the child's intention by clarifying the words in the other language corroborating the finding of Martiana (2013). In this study, the child often switches the word from Balinese to Indonesian and from Indonesian to

Balinese, implying that the child can use both languages in different contexts (Gonzales et al., 2019).

On the other hand, this implies quite the opposite, which can also mean that the child was still learning the vocabularies of Indonesian and Balinese. According to Bosma & Blom (2018), children tend to code-switch their language as a strategy to replace unknown words and fill the gaps in linguistic knowledge. Now, even though the language mixing can be the lack of vocabulary or as the strategy to fill the gaps, according to Green & Wei (2014), this proves that children involve cognitive control while doing it. Halmari (2005) also confirms that language mixing in young bilinguals is not necessarily evidence of attrition of a weaker language or failure of inhibitory control.

5. Conclusion

This study concludes that language mixing occurs in the language production of a child simultaneously exposed in Balinese and Indonesian from birth. The child inserted content words, phrases as well as function words. This study also proves that the bilingual child can differentiate two linguistic systems from a very young age. It is shown where the child can communicate using different languages appropriately to different interlocutors. The child can communicate in Bahasa Indonesia to the parents and Balinese to the extended family members. The language mixing happens due to the salient of the words in the other language, the frequent use of the words or phrases in the child's environment, the availability of mixing in the input, and an effort to emphasize meaning. The study's findings are applicable to the subject at hand. Additional research involving children growing up in similar language environments is necessary.

5. References

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