

The language use of the Balinese diaspora in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, a multilingual village in Banyuwangi

Penggunaan bahasa diaspora Bali di Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, sebuah desa multilingual di Banyuwangi

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KEYWORDS

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ABSTRACT

The paper investigates the language use of the Balinese diaspora in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, a multilingual village in Banyuwangi, which includes the multilingual situation, the nature of the language accommodation and the language domains. The current study answers the following research questions: (1) how is the situation of multilingualism in the village? (2) how is the situation of language accommodation in the Balinese village in the village? and (3) what are the domains of the use of the languages spoken in the village? The research applied a qualitative research approach using semi-structured interviews. Thirteen questions were asked during the interviews with three research participants. The answers were coded into data related to multilingualism situation, language accommodation, and domains of language use of the languages spoken in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran. The analysis aims to search for patterns and links in the coded texts. The findings show that the Balinese diaspora is the most multilingual ethnic group in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, as they speak five languages: Indonesian, Balinese, Osing, Javanese, and Madurese. The Balinese also displays an accommodative nature toward the national language and the dominant vernacular languages. The findings also show that the domains of use of Balinese in the diaspora have declined since it is only used at the house of worship by three research participants and at home by one participant. The accommodative nature of the Balinese diaspora might have contributed to the shift from Balinese to the national language or to the dominant vernacular languages.

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penggunaan bahasa, diaspora Bali, kampung Bali, penganjuran, Banyuwangi

ABSTRAK

Makalah ini mengkaji penggunaan bahasa oleh diaspora Bali di Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, sebuah desa multilingual di Banyuwangi yang meliputi situasi multibahasa, sifat akomodasi bahasa dan domain bahasa orang Bali. Oleh karena itu penelitian ini menjawab pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut ini: (1) bagaimana situasi multilingualisme di desa tersebut? (2) bagaimana situasi akomodasi bahasa di desa tersebut? (3) bagaimana ranah penggunaan bahasa Bali di desa tersebut? Makalah ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan wawancara semi terstruktur dengan 13 pertanyaan yang diajukan pada tiga responden penelitian. Jawaban-jawaban tersebut kemudian ditandai sesuai kaitannya dengan situasi multilingualisme, akomodasi bahasa, dan domain penggunaan bahasa dari bahasa-bahasa yang digunakan di Kampung Bali Penganjuran. Analisis bertujuan untuk mencari pola dan tautan dalam teks yang dikodekan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa diaspora Bali adalah kelompok etnis yang paling multibahasa di Kampung Bali Penganjuran dengan berbicara lima bahasa, Indonesia, Bali, Osing, Jawa dan Madura. Orang Bali juga menampilkan sifat akomodatif terhadap bahasa nasional dan bahasa daerah yang dominan. Selanjutnya, temuan menunjukkan bahwa ranah penggunaan bahasa Bali pada diaspora mengalami penurunan karena hanya digunakan di rumah ibadat oleh tiga peserta penelitian dan di rumah oleh satu peserta. Sifat akomodatif dari diaspora Bali memiliki peranan dalam pergeseran dari bahasa Bali ke bahasa nasional atau ke bahasa daerah yang dominan.

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Introduction

The paper investigates the use of Balinese language by the Balinese diaspora community in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, a multilingual village in Banyuwangi. The research addresses three questions, namely the multilingual situation, the language accommodation, and the domains of language use of Balinese in Kampung Bali.

The Balinese language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian family and is currently spoken by about 3.3 million people on the island of Bali, Nusa Penida, West Lombok, and in East Java (Eberhard et al., 2022). The standard Balinese used on the island of Bali has been studied by many linguists, including Artawa (2013), Hunter, Jr. (1988), Beratha (1992), and Arka & Dalrymple (2017). Artawa (2013) discussed the basic verb construction in Balinese. Hunter, Jr. (1988) investigated the historical background and the contemporary state of the Balinese language. Beratha (1992) talked about the evolution of the verbal morphology of Balinese, while Arka & Dalrymple (2017) discussed the nominal, pronominal, and verbal number in Balinese.

Research on the diasporas of Balinese outside Bali has also been frequently conducted. Saraswathy et al. (2014) investigated the Balinese of the Lombok diaspora. Meanwhile, Oktarini et al. (2021) discussed the Balinese of the West Nusa Tenggara diaspora. Dhanawaty (2002) and Malini (2012) studied the Balinese of the Lampung diaspora in the transmigration area. Furthermore, Suartini (2012) studied the Balinese diaspora in Boalemo, Gorontalo, Sulawesi.

Nevertheless, the Balinese language of the Banyuwangi diaspora, East Java, has never been studied before. Sariono (2007) only mentioned Balinese as one of the languages spoken in Banyuwangi. Moreover, most research on Balinese in Banyuwangi discussed social and cultural aspects of the community. For example, Yudiana et al. (2017) discussed inter-religious harmony in Patoman village, Banyuwangi. Yudiana & Wahyudiono (2020) discussed the development of a multicultural-based tourism village in Patoman village. Wiranoto (2018) discussed the symbolic meaning of Cok Bakal in Javanese traditional ceremonies and the social implications of Hindus in Banyuwangi Regency. Meanwhile, Sartini (2015) discussed the language behavior of the Balinese people in East Java, mainly in Surabaya and Sidoarjo. In addition, Sartini (2017) also conducted research on politeness strategies for Balinese in Surabaya and Sidoarjo.

Therefore, it can be concluded that no study has been done on the Balinese language used by the Balinese diaspora in Banyuwangi. This is very unfortunate because the Balinese diaspora in Banyuwangi displays a specific use of language in the midst of a multilingual society. Banyuwangi is multilingual since it is inhabited by various ethnic groups who use different languages, such as Osing, Javanese, Balinese, and Madurese, along with Indonesian.

The Balinese people in Banyuwangi live in Kampung Bali in Patoman village and Penganjuran village. Penganjuran village was the first village inhabited by Balinese people who moved to Banyuwangi in the 18th century. At that time there was a civil war between Prince Mas Wilis and Prince Mas Pati from Mengwi, Bali. As a result, Mas Wilis' troops came from Bali and landed in Banyuwangi to fight with Mas Pati's troops, which were supported by the VOC and the kingdoms in Madura and Surabaya. When the war ended, some of the Mengwi soldiers chose to live in the village of

Penganjuran, Banyuwangi. Since then, the Balinese community in Banyuwangi continued to grow so that in the 19th century, some of them moved to Patoman village in Blimbingsari subdistrict, Banyuwangi. Currently, Penganjuran village is inhabited by Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Madura, and Chinese Indonesian ethnic groups (Widodo, 2020).

The Balinese people in Banyuwangi still maintain Balinese traditions by performing the same religious activities as in Bali, such as the Janger dance and the Ngaben funeral rituals. Places of worship of the Balinese Hindu community can also be found in the houses in the villages (Mabrur, 2019). Balinese people live in harmony with other communities in Banyuwangi, such as Javanese, Osing and Madurese communities. To interact with other ethnic groups, they speak Javanese, Madurese, Osing, and Indonesian alongside Balinese (Mabrur, 2019). This makes them a multilingual community. According to Franceschini (2009), multilingualism is the result of the basic human ability to communicate in several languages, and multilingualism can be divided into social, institutional, discursive and individual multilingualism. Multilingualism is a very important part of human life and influences social change and development (Aronin & Singleton, 2012).

Multilingualism is an interdisciplinary field that can be investigated from the perspective of an individual or society (Aronin & Singleton, 2012). Investigating multilingualism is important since it is related to the vitality of minority languages. Cenoz (2013) discussed that multilingualism had the potential to influence the vitality of minority languages and they proposed four dimensions related to that. The first dimension is the language proficiency which describes the extent of the understanding of the speakers of the minority languages of their languages. The second dimension is the language choice which describes the extent of the use of minority languages at home to speak with family members. The third dimension is the language dominance which describes the extent of the proficiency of the speakers in the language. Lastly, the fourth dimension is the language preference which describes the preference of the speakers toward their language.

However, Extra and Yağmur (2004) also indicated that languages in a multilingual community could co-exist in harmony and speakers could use the languages as alternatives according to the context of use. Furthermore, they claimed that proficiency in minority languages would not hinder competence in the dominant or mainstream languages. Gorter et al. (2014) supported this claim by confirming that a multilingual speaker would use different languages for different purposes and sometimes also mixed languages.

Multilingualism in a region raises an interesting phenomenon, namely language accommodation. According to Sartini (2015), the accommodation of the Balinese language in East Java was towards the Javanese language. Sartini's research (2015) was conducted in Surabaya and Sidoarjo and found that the Balinese in the region made accommodations towards Javanese. Balinese speakers in Surabaya and Sidoarjo used Javanese vocabulary in speaking Balinese. They even switched into Javanese when communicating with Javanese speakers. Sartini (2015) concluded that there was a language accommodation towards Javanese, the majority language spoken in Surabaya and Sidoarjo.

Multilingualism also influences the language domains of the languages spoken in an area. Fishman (1964) suggested that speakers in multilingual situations would choose which languages were appropriate for certain domains of use, and that the decision was related to factors such as participants, location, and topics of the conversation. As an example, the majority language would be used in high domains of language use while the minority languages in low domains.

The choice of language use is also related to the age and education of the speakers. Chan (1994) proposed that age and education play a role in the proficiency of the speakers of the minority language. The higher the education of speakers and the lower their age, the lower is their proficiency in their minority language.

Language use is also determined by the status of a language. Dhanawaty et al. (2020) confirmed that national language as the majority language is widely used in several domains because it is seen as a unifying language. Therefore, the national language is usually used in a formal or inter-ethnic interaction. Language choice in different domains is also related to efforts to preserve the identity of the diaspora community in which a vernacular or a minority language is spoken (Dhanawaty et al., 2020). Dhanawaty et al. (2020) performed research on the language choice of the non-Balinese diaspora communities in three locations in the island of Bali and found that all of them saw their mother tongues as a significant tool to preserve their identity and to ensure inter-generational survival. The speakers preserved their languages by speaking them in the family, neighbor, and religious domains (Dhanawaty et al., 2020).

Kampung Bali in Penganjuran, Banyuwangi is interesting because there are four vernacular languages spoken in the area. An investigation is needed to discover the patterns of language use and language domains in Kampung Bali. Therefore, this article intends to answer three questions related to the following situations of language use: (1) how is the situation of multilingualism in the Balinese village in the village? (2) how is the situation of language accommodation in the Balinese village in the village? and (3) what are the domains of use of the languages spoken in the village?

Method

This study used a qualitative method. This method relies on words rather than numbers in data collection and data analysis and uses an inductive approach. Qualitative research also places more emphasis on investigating how humans interpret their world (Dhanawaty et al., 2020). The current research answered the research questions based on data collected using semi-structured interviews on three participants.

The data collection was conducted in August-October 2019 in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran village, Banyuwangi. The first step was to determine the participants of the research. Participants were selected using purposive sampling, namely by selecting three residents of Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, Banyuwangi who were aged between 30-60 years old. This is in accordance with Crowley (2007) who claimed that a research participant should not be too old because their speech would be more difficult to understand. Moreover, older participant might have difficulty understanding interview techniques and get tired more easily. On the contrary, a participant who is too young cannot be selected because usually they might have switched to

the dominant language and done more code switching and code mixing. The initials of the participants, their age, their origin and place of residency can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants of the research

No.	Participants	Age	Origin and Place of Residence
1.	MP	60	Kampung Bali, Penganjuran,
2.	KSA	48	Banyuwangi
3.	GDW	32	

The data from the participants was collected by using interviews. Interviews were conducted with an emphasis on the views of the participants in accordance with the interview theory of Bryman (2016). The design chosen was a semi-structured interview. In semi-structured interviews, the researcher has a list of questions with certain topics serving as the interview guide. However, participants have the freedom to answer the questions and the questions can be adapted to situations or conditions in the field (Bryman, 2016).

The questions were arranged to obtain answers to the research problems regarding the situation of multilingualism, language accommodation and the domains of the Balinese language use (see Appendix). After the data was collected and transcribed, the data was then coded according to research problems, namely multilingualism situations, language accommodation situations, and types of domains of language use. The coding broke down data into components which were then labeled.

The analysis was focused on searching for recurrences and patterns in the coded texts and for links between codes. This is in line with Bryman's (2016) method, which suggested that coding is more appropriate for data obtained from open questions from semi-structured interviews. Discussion on the multilingual situation was done based on the study of Sartini (2015) and Malini (2012) on the types of multilingualism experienced by Balinese diasporas in East Java and Lampung. Furthermore, discussion on minority and majority languages was based on the study of Gorter et al. (2014) and Leimgruber (2013) who investigated similar situations in Singapore and Taiwan. In addition, the study of Chan (1994) was used to discuss the influence of social factors such as age and education on the preference and proficiency of speakers of the languages in a multilingual place.

Moreover, the studies of Sartini (2015), Malini (2012) and Dhanawaty (2020) were used to discuss the language accommodation in Kampung Bali. On the other hand, the domains of the language use of Balinese in Kampung Bali were discussed based on the studies of Sartini (2015), Oktarini et al. (2021), Gorter et al. (2014), and Fishman (1964).

Results

This chapter presents the results of the data analysis and the discussion of the results. They are presented in three tables according to the research problems. Table 2 presents the results of the analysis of the situation of multilingualism in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, Banyuwangi. Table 3 presents the situation of language accommodation and Table 4 describes the domains of language use.

Based on Table 2, it can be seen that the Balinese in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, were multilingual. There were about 30-44 families of Balinese descent in Penganjuran who spoke Balinese. Besides Balinese, they also spoke Osing, Javanese, Indonesian, and Madurese. All participants interviewed stated that Balinese people were the group that mastered other vernacular languages the most. In addition, all three interviewees were fluent in Osing, Balinese, Javanese, and Indonesian. One of the participants also spoke the lowest speech level of Madurese. Similar to Javanese and Balinese, Madurese has speech levels indicating politeness.

Table 2. Multilingual situation

Topics	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
Ethnic groups residing in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran Banyuwangi	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Madurese, Chinese Indonesian	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Madurese, Chinese Indonesian	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Madurese, Chinese Indonesian
Languages spoken by most of the residents of Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, Banyuwangi	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Indonesian	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Indonesian	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Indonesian
Languages spoken by the participants	Javanese, Osing, Balinese, Indonesian, Madurese	Javanese, Osing, Balinese, Indonesian	Javanese, Osing, Balinese, Indonesian
Language fluency of the participants	Javanese: very fluent Balinese: very fluent Osing: very fluent Indonesian: very fluent Madurese: only speaks the lowest speech level	Javanese: very fluent Balinese: very fluent Osing: very fluent Indonesian: very fluent	Javanese: very fluent Balinese: only speaks the lowest speech level Osing: very fluent Indonesian: very fluent
Duration of residency in Kampung Bali	Mostly lives in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran. Briefly stayed at Patoman, another Kampung Bali in Banyuwangi.	Mostly lives in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran. Studied in the island of Bali from 1989-1995.	Went to Malang to study for 6 years, worked in Bandung for 2 years, and in Kalimantan for 14 months

It can also be observed that their mastery of the Balinese language depends on their age and whether they have lived long in areas that do not speak Balinese. Respondents 1 and 2 who were middle-aged, namely MP who was 60 years old and KSA who was 48 years old, spoke Balinese language at all speech levels very well. Meanwhile, the third respondent, namely GDW who was 32 years old, could only speak the low speech level of Balinese language. GDW lived in non-Balinese speaking areas for 9 years, namely in Malang for 6 years; in Bandung for 2 years, and in Kalimantan for 1 year. Meanwhile, MP only ever left Banyuwangi for 6 years to study on the island of Bali in his youth and KSA stayed in Kampung Bali in Patoman and Penganjuran, Banyuwangi all his life.

Table 3 presents the language accommodation in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, Banyuwangi that shows the people of Balinese descent in Penganjuran village were the most multilingual and the most accommodative toward the languages of other ethnic groups. The Balinese interacted everyday with other ethnicities and they mostly used Javanese or Osing with them. They also stated that they did not mind using the language of other ethnic groups to interact with them. Meanwhile, according to participants, non-Balinese ethnic groups did not display the same level of accommodation. Some of them understood certain Balinese terms, but they pronounced them using the rules of Javanese phonology.

Table 3. Language accommodation

Topics	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
The language used by people of Balinese descent to interact with other ethnicity.	It depends on the language used by the other person. For an example, if the interlocutors from another ethnicity use Javanese, they will be answered in Javanese as well.	Javanese and Osing	It depends on the language used by the other person.
Frequency of interaction between ethnicity	Everyday	Everyday	Everyday
What languages do other ethnicity use to interact with you?	A mix of Javanese and Osing	Javanese and Osing	It depends on the language used by the other person.
The attitude of the people of Balinese descent in using other ethnic languages.	No reservations	No reservations	No reservations
The ethnicity of the population that speaks the most languages	Balinese	Balinese	Balinese

Furthermore, Table 4 displays the results regarding the domains of use of the language spoken in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, Banyuwangi.

Tabel 4. Domains of language use

Domains	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
At home	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Indonesian	Javanese	Javanese
At community service	Javanese	Javanese, Balinese, Osing	Javanese
At work	Osing	Javanese and Indonesian	Osing
At school	Osing	Javanese	Osing
At food stall	Javanese	Javanese	Javanese
At village meetings	Indonesian	Javanese, Indonesian, Osing	Indonesian
At the house of worship	Balinese, Indonesian	Javanese, Balinese, Osing, Indonesian	Javanese, Balinese, Indonesian
Talking to children	Javanese and Indonesian	Javanese	Javanese

Table 4 shows that the domains of use of the Balinese language in Penganjuran have decreased. Only the first participant used Balinese at home and it was also used in conjunction with Javanese, Osing and Indonesian. On the other hand, the second and third participants used Javanese at home. As for the community service, only the second participant used Balinese in addition to Javanese and Osing. Meanwhile, in the office, the participants also did not use Balinese, but using Osing, Javanese, or Indonesian instead. The Balinese language was also not used to communicate with children. The language used to talk to children was mostly Javanese or Indonesian. However, the use of Balinese in houses of worship was still quite high because all participants confirmed of doing it.

Discussion

Based on the results of the study, we can conclude that the multilingual situation in Penganjuran village is complex because there are five languages spoken in the village, namely Balinese, Osing, Javanese, Madurese and Indonesian. This makes the situation of multilingualism faced by the Balinese in Penganjuran village more complex than the one in Sidoarjo and Surabaya, which only involves three languages, Balinese, Javanese, and Indonesian, as described by Sartini (2015). Meanwhile, the Balinese in Lampung

speak four languages, Indonesian, Balinese, Lampung language, and Javanese (Malini, 2012).

The findings of this research confirm the claim of Extra and Yağmur (2004) that dominant and minority languages can co-exist in a multilingual community and should not be seen as competing with one another. They should be seen rather as alternatives and can be used depending on the context. The findings also confirmed Extra and Yağmur (2004) that speaking other languages at home does not negatively impact competence in mainstream languages. It can be observed that the Balinese speakers can speak Indonesian and other vernacular languages in their multilingual community.

Based on the definition in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe as quoted by Gorter et al. (2014), minority languages are traditionally used in certain areas by communities which are smaller in numbers than the rest of the population in the areas. We can conclude from the definition that Balinese is the minority language and Indonesian is the dominant national language. On the other hand, Osing and Javanese are the dominant vernacular languages in Banyuwangi. As speakers of a minority language, the Balinese then adapted by speaking the dominant languages, Indonesian, Osing, and Javanese.

This is in line with Gorter et al. (2014), which indicated that minority language speakers are usually multilingual by nature from a young age because they need to communicate with speakers from the more dominant languages on a daily basis. Gorter et al. (2014) reported that in Europe, speakers of minority languages such as Basque, Frisian, Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Breton and Catalan became fluent bilingual or multilingual at an early age, while many monolingual speakers of dominant languages can only speak one language as their mother tongue. Minority language speakers cannot avoid being bilingual or multilingual in order to navigate their way in the multilingual community while monolingual speakers of a dominant language do not have the same necessity to do so. The findings of the research confirmed this since all Balinese participants spoke the mainstream languages in Banyuwangi, namely Indonesian, Osing, and Javanese, and one participant even spoke Madurese.

It is important to note that young speakers of minority languages are mostly not aware of terms such as dominant or minority languages (Gorter et al., 2014). However, they are aware of the social status of languages around them as they use them in social interaction and this will determine their language choice. It should also be noted that the use of Balinese depends on the age of the speakers and the residency in Kampung Bali. Two respondents who were middle-aged spoke Balinese language at all speech levels, while the younger respondent could only speak the low speech level of Balinese. The finding is similar to that of Leimgruber (2013) who found that age and education level affected speakers' proficiency in their minority language and of Chan (1994) who observed that older speakers had a higher proficiency in Minnanyu, a language spoken by the Minnanren people in Taiwan. On the other hand, these older speakers had a lower proficiency in Mandarin, the dominant language in Taiwan. This also applied to other minority groups in Taiwan, namely Hakka and the local aboriginal groups. Overall, older people from minority groups in Taiwan displayed lower proficiency in Mandarin. In contrast, younger speakers showed lower proficiency in their minority languages and higher proficiency in Mandarin (Chan, 1994). It can be concluded that younger

people of a minority ethnic group tend to have a higher proficiency in the more dominant languages, while older people still maintain the use of their minority language.

In addition, it can be seen that Balinese people in Penganjuran had an accommodating nature towards other languages used in their environment because all respondents mastered Osing, Javanese and Indonesian other than Balinese. In addition, they would also switch to Osing language or Javanese when interacting with Osing or Javanese people. This is in accordance with Sartini's (2015) observation that Balinese people in Sidoarjo and Surabaya would accommodate to the Javanese language when communicating with community members from Javanese ethnicity. The Balinese people in Surabaya and Sidoarjo could even accommodate to the high speech levels of Javanese if needed. Speaking at the high speech level of Javanese is difficult even for many Javanese. Therefore, we can conclude that Balinese diasporas in Indonesia tend to have an accommodative nature towards the more dominant languages in the areas where they live.

This type of accommodation is called convergence, in which the speakers, in this case the Balinese, accommodate to the language of the hearers. Sartini (2015) and Malini (2012) also concluded that Balinese in Lampung accommodated to the languages spoken by other participants of the conversation. Malini (2012) also claimed that most of the Balinese in the area understood Javanese. However, Malini (2012) highlighted that the Balinese had a positive attitude towards their language and still used it at home, for performing arts, and for religious services.

Despite having an accommodative attitude, the Balinese in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran still maintain and use Balinese in their lives. This is not surprising since language is often taken as markers of ethnicity (Yeh et al., 2004). Furthermore, Dhana-waty et al. (2020) mentioned that diaspora communities tend to maintain positive attitudes toward their language to maintain their social identity.

However, Dhanawaty et al. (2020) indicated that people can carry dual identities instead of keeping a single identity. A similar finding was reported by Chan (1994) who found that young Minnanren in Taiwan tend to maintain a dual Minnanren-Chinese identity. Hence, the Balinese in Penganjuran might use Indonesian in most domains of language use and at the same time keep a dual identity as an Indonesian and a Balinese by using Balinese in certain domains of their life. It should also be noted that Chan (1994) also warned that speakers of minority languages might no longer associate their ethnic identity with their mother tongue. This can lead to a language shift to the more dominant language. This happened in Taiwan, with many Minnanrens shifting from Minnanyu, their mother tongue, to Mandarin.

We can observe that this type of language shift happened in Kampung Bali because the domains of use of the Balinese language were getting narrower. Table 4 displays that only in the field of religion all respondents answered that they used the Balinese language. Two participants even used Indonesian and Javanese to talk to children. Only the first participant used Balinese at home and it was also used in conjunction with Javanese, Osing and Indonesian. On the other hand, the second and third participants used Javanese at home. As for the community service, only the second participant used Balinese in addition to Javanese and Osing. Meanwhile, in the office, the participants also did not use Balinese, but using Osing, Javanese, or Indonesian instead.

The Balinese language was also not used to communicate with children. The language used to talk to children was mostly Javanese or Indonesian.

This is in line with Sartini (2015) who stated that Balinese was still used in religious rituals in Sidoarjo. Furthermore, Balinese families in Sidoarjo used a mixture of Balinese, Javanese and Indonesian at home. However, Balinese and Javanese were only used by parents, while conversations between children and parents were carried out in Indonesian. Sartini (2015) further explained that Balinese applied code-switching and code-mixing of Balinese, Javanese, and Indonesian when talking to friends. Oktarini et al.'s (2021) findings also supported the fact that the domains of use of Balinese in the diaspora communities were narrowing. Oktarini et al. (2021) found that Balinese youth in Selaparang, West Nusa Tenggara only spoke Balinese with their family members. On the other hand, they mostly used Indonesian outside of their families for various purposes. Sartini (2015) also mentioned that Indonesian was used widely in education, even in classes of religion in Sidoarjo and Surabaya. Gorter et al. (2014) explained that the majority language usually dominated the educational system at the cost of minority languages. Schools would ensure that children became proficient in the majority or national language and as a result the children might favor the language over their minority languages. Language choice is often determined by the government. In Singapore, English is recognized as the main working language in educational, professional and governmental domains (Gorter et al., 2014). Furthermore, the languages of the major ethnic groups, namely Mandarin, Malay and Tamil are acknowledged as official languages. However, minority languages such as non-Mandarin Chinese and Singlish were not granted the same privilege and the government organized The Speak Mandarin Campaign and The Speak Good English Movement to remove 'unwanted dialects' (Leimgruber, 2013).

Fishman (1964) proposed that the standard or prestigious language such as Indonesian is used in high domains, while local languages are used in low domains, such as in everyday conversation with family, friends or neighbors. He added that the prestigious language can gradually extend its domain from the high domains to the low domains. Yeh et al. (2004) discussed Huang's study of Taiwan about how Mandarin had extended its domains into low domains such as friendship and family domains in Taiwan. As a result, there was a shift from minority languages in Taiwan, such as Minnan and Hakka, into Mandarin. Mandarin extended its domains into family domains in Minnanren (Minnan's speakers) and Hakka communities. Yeh et al. (2004) also discussed Chan's study (1994), which stated that Mandarin was also used in all domains in Minnanren community, even in family and religious domains.

Conclusions

This study has contributed to the understanding of the language use of a diaspora community living in a multilingual situation with the dominant national language and certain vernacular languages in Indonesia. Throughout the study we have shown that the diaspora community has a different language use from the native community because the diaspora community must adapt to the dominant language of the native community. In Indonesia, a diaspora community should further adapt to the dominant vernacular language or languages due to the multilingual situation in the country. The

study shows that the Balinese diaspora in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran, Banyuwangi lived in a multilingual situation with five languages, Indonesian, Balinese, Osing, Javanese, and Madurese. As a result, the Balinese diaspora of Penganjuran was the most multilingual ethnic group which accommodated to Indonesian and other vernacular languages in the area. This accommodative nature contributed to the fact that the domains of language use of Balinese had narrowed in Kampung Bali, Penganjuran. While Balinese was still used in the house of worship, only the first participant used Balinese at home. The accommodative nature of the Balinese diaspora and the narrowing of the Balinese language domains in Penganjuran were also shared by other diasporas in Lampung, Sidoarjo and Surabaya, and Nusa Tenggara as witnessed by Sartini (2015) and Malini (2012). Balinese is mostly used nowadays between family members. However, in those areas, Indonesian is the most dominant language as compared to the vernacular languages of the majority ethnic groups in the areas. The shift was also related to the age of speakers. The younger the speakers, the less they used and mastered Balinese. Future related research should further address the cause of the language choice of the members of the diaspora community, which contributes to language shift from the minority language of the diaspora community to more dominant vernacular languages of the majority ethnic groups in an area. This can be further investigated with larger research participants in Balinese diasporas or other diasporas across Indonesia.

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Appendix (Interview Questions)

Participants were interviewed to answer the following questions:

- (1) What are the names of languages spoken in your area?
- (2) What ethnic groups are there in your area?
- (3) Have you always lived in this area or have you lived in another area? If you have lived in another area, please state where and for how long?
- (4) What language (languages) do you speak?
- (5) Please rate your level of mastery of these languages.
- (6) Approximately how many speakers of these languages are there?
- (7) Does the average population of this area speak more than one language? If this is true, what combination of languages are spoken by the majority of the population?
- (8) What ethnicity speaks the most languages?
- (9) Does inter-ethnic interaction occur every day?
- (10) What language do you use to interact with other ethnic groups?
- (11) What languages do other ethnicity use to interact with you?
- (12) Do you mind using other ethnic languages?
- (13) Which language do you use: a) at home, b) while working in a community service, c) while working in the office, d) at school, e) when buying at the food stall, f) in village or village meeting, g) in the house of worship, and h) when talking to children.