An Indonesian family's strategies and practices for maintaining a child's Japanese in their home country

Lisda Nurjaleka[1*], Sonda Sanjaya[2], Tommi Yuniawan[3], Rina Supriatnaningsih[4], and Shafa Raihana Suseno[5]

[1,4]*Japanese Language Education program, Faculty of Language and Art, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Kampus Unnes Sekaran Gunungpati 50229, Semarang, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia*
[2]*Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University, Japan*
[3]*Indonesian language and literature, Faculty of Language and Art, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Kampus Unnes Sekaran Gunungpati 50229, Semarang Jawa Tengah, Indonesia*
[5]*SMA Negeri 1 Ungaran, Jl. Diponegoro No.42 Ungaran, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia*

ABSTRACT

Previous studies on bilingual education have primarily focused on maintaining the heritage language. However, second language maintenance for children in a family setting remains relatively underexplored. Placing her daughter's experiences in dialogue with her own experiences, the first author (auto)ethnographically examined how she and her daughter navigate their mother-daughter relationship and create multilingual strategies in maintaining a second language (Japanese) upon returning to her home country, Indonesia. The first author, who is also the main researcher, collected the ethnographic data for about 26 months, focusing on strategies and efforts to maintain her daughter's second language proficiency at home. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and analysis from a narrative life story perspective, the findings show that these digital and home-based strategies effectively motivated her daughter and supported her Japanese language maintenance. Furthermore, the occasional use of Japanese as the home language strengthened emotional mother-daughter bonding while reinforcing language maintenance. This study proved empirical evidence that intentional home language strategies and practices can successfully support second language maintenance within a family environment. It highlights the importance of family language policy in creating a language-rich environment at home and a digital environment to retain a second language.

Keywords: autoethnography; family language policy; heritage language; Japanese language maintenance

INTRODUCTION

Bilingualism and multilingualism provide valuable advantages in intercultural communication, fostering connections with people from diverse linguistic backgrounds (Jackson, 2019). However, while significant research has focused on strategies for maintaining heritage languages, less attention has been given to second language maintenance within family settings, particularly after returning to a home country. Family Language Policy (FLP), conceptualised by Luykx (2003), plays a pivotal role in shaping language practices and fostering continuity in second language use. This study examines the experiences of a mixed-race Indonesian family who lived in Japan before returning to their home country. With a culturally Japanese-speaking background, the mother, L, a Japanese lecturer at a university and the main author/researcher of this study, has actively supported her daughter, S, in retaining her Japanese skills. Despite not being bilingual and primarily speaking Indonesian, S demonstrated a strong

*Corresponding author
Email: lisda_nurjaleka@mail.unnes.ac.id

determination to maintain her ability to speak Japanese after their return to Indonesia. This ethnographic study focuses on the mother-daughter dynamic in implementing and sustaining FLP strategies to support second language maintenance.

Parents shape children's speech behaviour, and their language competencies have evolved because of the influence of the parent's language choices. (Luykx, 2023). The family's language ecology' considers children as agents and objects (King et al., 2008; Smith-Christmas, 2016, 2020; Wilson, 2020; Huang & Liao, 2023). Smith-Christmas (2020) explored how to conceptualise child agency in the FLP, emphasising two main criteria: choice and change. A child's ability to express themselves linguistically can significantly influence not only family language practices but also language use outside the home.

Therefore, in this paper, the case study on how the second language, Japanese, survives and is preserved as a minority language in S's daily life is presented. S comes from an Indonesian family that has lived in Japan for around four years. The Indonesian family here refers to the mother (L), the husband (Y), and the child (S).

In this study, the first author and her daughter collaborated on autoethnography (Adams et al., 2015) as mother and daughter from Indonesia. Indonesia is known as a multilingual nation with approximately 700 spoken local languages. Therefore, people can speak two or three languages thanks to the diversity of existing languages. Indonesia has a national language called Bahasa Indonesia. Cohn and Ravindranath (2014) mentioned that Bahasa Indonesia became the future national language of Indonesia in 1928 at the 2nd Indonesian Youth Congress: Sumpah Pemuda. The people of Indonesia pledge that "one motherland," "one nation," and "language of unity, the Indonesian language."

Bahasa Indonesia is considered a unifying language with its great diversity of local languages; mainly, the people of Indonesia are bilingual (Sakhiyya & Martin-Anatias, 2023). However, an increasing number of people or families move to a city, and they mostly speak with people from another region. They commonly communicate in Indonesian, their national language. Therefore, much of the urban population is monolingual in the language (Sneddon, 2003). The language shift and endangerment are also caused by immigration. Some people moved in from another region, and due to economic and political reasons, the dominant language is Indonesian 'take over' the local language (Ewing, 2014). Moreover, according to Cohn and Ravindranath (2014), many studies report that the use of Indonesian is increasing. For that matter, a question arises about whether multilingualism in Indonesia should be maintained.

Being bilingual has its advantages for some people. Many scholars express favourable opinions about bilingual speakers. (King & Mackey, 2007; Qu et al., 2016; Piller & Gerber, 2018). However, there are challenges associated with the attempt to maintain both languages as a home language. Parents who want to keep a minority language in their family mainly decide based on their experience with language learning. Many parents have challenges raising their children bilingual, and they found little information about the processes and the challenges of raising bilingual children (King & Fogle, 2006). In this study, S's family wants to maintain a second language at home because there are many advantages for the children to speak bilingually. Other families with the same background might face the same problem with maintaining the additive language.

In immigrant contexts, the term 'heritage language' refers to a minority language spoken at home, often learned alongside the majority language during childhood, either simultaneously or sequentially (Scontras et al., 2015). Strategies for developing young children's heritage language have been observed, such as in the case study of language maintenance in a multilingual family, focusing on informal heritage language lessons in parent-child interactions (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015). The results show that multiple factors–societal language ideologies, policies, and daily interactional practices in communities, families, and institutions–can affect children's heritage language development.

Many studies focused on maintaining heritage or preserving their native language in the immigrant situation (Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Kwon, 2017; Sagimin, 2020). According to Selleck (2023), Language policy at home for migrant experience, in this case, the Somali community in Bristol, has tendencies that mothers impact language use at home. The emotional bonding between mother and daughters influences communicative practices.

The issue of how families maintain a child's second language, particularly after returning to their home country, remains underexplored. In the current era of globalisation, people around the world can move freely, and families with children often face unique linguistic challenges. Children may acquire a second, third or even fourth language while living abroad and later move to a different part of the world or return to their home country. This fluid mobility makes the need to address second language maintenance increasingly relevant. This paper aims to fill the gap by examining the first author's family's relationship, strategies, and efforts to support the maintenance of Japanese as a second language. Specifically, the study indicates how an Indonesian family employs various practices to sustain their child's second language skills and how these strategies evolve during the child's adaptation to the home country after living abroad in Japan.

Notably, there is a lack of studies focusing on second language maintenance within the home environment following an immigrant family's return to their home country. This study seeks to contribute to this area by providing insights and support for families navigating similar challenges in today's globalised world.

Family Language Policy

Family language policy (FLP) is a set of practices among family members and entails implementing language use and literacy in the home. Most families engaged in the FLP try to balance the minority-majority language reality, and their strategies become their language policy at home. Smith-Christmas (2020) emphasises the importance of child agency and their role in language practices in the family. This FLP is a subfield of sociolinguistic studies that leads to language maintenance.

FLP plays an important role in L1 maintenance on children's perception of language use; however, not in L2 acquisition, it has a weaker effect. Children at home make language choices; they use Russian (L1) with their parents and Hebrew (L2) with siblings (Altman et al., 2014). King et al. (2008) define FLP as the explicit planning and management of language use among family members, emphasising its role in shaping developmental trajectories, formal school success, and the maintenance of minority languages. Furthermore, Smith-Christmas (2020) further explores the evolving role of child agency within FLP, focusing on how children's linguistic experiences interact with family life and practices. Bollig and Kelle (2016) complement this by highlighting that language practices driven by child agency provide a clear and dynamic way to study how these processes evolve over time. These studies underscore the critical role of both family strategies and child agency in influencing the outcomes of FLP. Schwartz (2010) also agreed that despite inconsistencies in the parents' invisible work on the children's socialisation, the FLP phenomenon could build successful progress in future studies. In this study, we focus on the traditional nuclear family with children, observing closely how S actively navigates and maintains her language within the dynamics of minority and majority language contexts.

Second language maintenance in the child

The term' language maintenance' has been widely used in sociolinguistics, often associated with preserving languages in the context of linguistic contact and potential shift (Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1996). The origin of language maintenance was primarily linked to immigrant contact settings. Multilingual practice involves only specific community sectors (e.g., immigrants and ethnic minorities), sometimes for a limited period. These community sectors mostly face many language maintenance issues (Pauwels, 2016). These communities face unique challenges in maintaining their heritage languages while navigating dominant linguistic environments.

Many studies have explored language maintenance among minority groups in immigrant countries. Some scholars have focused on young immigrants (Yu, 2005; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Takeuchi, 2006; Kwon, 2017) or on children and their parents (Phinney et al., 2001; Mattheoudakis et al., 2017). However, these studies primarily examine the maintenance of heritage or ethnic languages in English-speaking countries, where families strive to preserve their native language while adapting to the dominant language. In contrast, this research focuses on second language maintenance, examining how families work to retain a second language that is neither their heritage language nor the majority language of the host country. Among these, case studies often highlight best practices for parents, such as balancing heritage language maintenance with English through strategies like using global media, frequent visits to home countries, and providing books and resources (Kwon, 2017).

The phenomenon of multilingualism extends beyond heritage language contexts to include elite bilingualism and multilingualism. De Mejía (2002) studies middle-class children attending international education programs to learn the additive language. The international classes were provided for families who wished to be bilingual or multilingual. These are called "elite bilingual" or "elite multilingual," according to Barakos and Selleck (2019), and are a phenomenon in society for certain groups who have access to linguistic resources and perceive the elite way of life. Yet, elite multilingualism is not only for groups of communities with material capital and the privilege 'of additive bilingualism or 'privileged bilingualism'. Some communities, as migrants due to the parents' choice to live abroad, also have the privilege of being 'elite multilingualism'.

Global perspectives on language maintenance have explored the challenges faced by diasporic communities. For example, a study in Turkey addresses how language use, loss, and cultural identity intersect among immigrant populations (Mills, 2008), while research on language endangerment among diasporas (Kaufman & Perlin, 2018) highlights the difficulties of preserving minority languages in host countries. However, little attention has been given to diaspora families returning to their home countries and attempting to maintain a second language. This study addresses this gap by examining the family practices, contributing to research on second language maintenance within family contexts and expanding the understanding of FLP and its role in supporting bilingualism or multilingualism.

This study examines second language maintenance in a setting that diverges from typical heritage language contexts. It explores how an Indonesian child maintains her second language, Japanese, within a native-language-dominated environment after returning from abroad. Unlike studies on ethnic or heritage language maintenance, this case study emphasises practices to minimise the loss of a second language in an environment dominated by the first language. The study also integrates global concepts such as translanguaging and language transfer as tools for maintaining the second language. Furthermore, it highlights the critical role of family factors and targeted efforts to maximise second language maintenance, providing insights relevant to diverse, multilingual contexts worldwide.

METHOD
Respondents
The first author participated in this study as a mother and the primary author. The daughter, S, was observed as a participant in this study and is also a contributor to it. At the time of the data collection, S was approximately 11 to 12 years old. We sought to make our analysis process as transparent as possible. Therefore, S collaboratively participated and contributed to this paper's journey. We conducted the study in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia, and focused on the multi-racial Indonesian family. S used Japanese in Japan for three and four months as her second language. Both voices must be included in this setting to freely discuss the terms and theories during the writing process. The study centre was a daily activity that involved the interaction of the child, S, and her family. The first author used a care ethic perspective for this ethnography of parent-child relationships study. The relationship of care is described as embedded within power relationships (Wihstutz, 2017).

Biographical Note
As the primary author, the first author was born in Garut, West Java, Indonesia. She speaks Sundanese as her mother tongue and Indonesian as the national language. She began to learn English as a foreign language in primary school and Japanese as a foreign language at the university. Since 2011, she has taught Japanese to an undergraduate student at a mid-size university in Indonesia. She moved to Japan in October 2014 to pursue her studies. Her family joined after she settled in December 2014. She was majoring in Japanese, and upon the completion of her studies in April 2018, the family returned to Semarang, Indonesia.

Even though she and her husband are interracial, S's mother tongue is Indonesian, so the family decided to use Indonesian as the home language. Before going to Japan, six-year-old S could only speak Indonesian, and she began learning Japanese after arriving in Japan. Then S attended Japanese public schools from 1st grade until 4th grade, where she learned Japanese, which she gained informally at school and formally via Japanese language courses. Kanazawa's city government provided and supported the course in Ishikawa prefecture of Japan. The Japanese language course was conducted once a week for two hours and lasted approximately 1.5 years at the beginning of her stay in Japan.

Data Collection Procedure
We began collecting data when we returned to Indonesia from May 2018 until June 2020, which was about 26 months. This study is a longitudinal study carried out over a long period. With a long enough timeframe, the data collected witnessed changes in a child's language from time to time in a specific context. As the primary author, the first author mainly observed and interviewed how the child used her second language, Japanese, daily. The observation mostly occurred at home, and we discussed the matter promptly when the team decided to learn more about her language use. The first author recorded the interview with S's permission. The interview session was about five to ten times, and some follow-up questions about her activities in the Japanese language.

Data Analysis
Following Spradley (2016) and Jerolmack and Khan (2018), the first author proposed observing the child's language activity within the family environment. The first author used the autoethnography study to collect information through recorded audio documentation. Autoethnography offers stories and nuanced insights about how family members think, navigate, and act and covers the personal experience, subjectivity, and reflexivity in research (Adams et al., 2015).

The first author limited the observation when S only interacted in dual languages in the family environment. Field notes were used to document S's general language patterns, including instances of code-mixing and code-switching. The field note design can be seen in Figure 1. To further support the study, additional documentation was collected to reflect the family's efforts in maintaining S's second language. These included S's JLPT (Japanese Language Proficiency Test) scores and certificates as formal language assessment records and other materials such as her writings, Kanji homework, and related tasks. The JLPT, a standardised language proficiency test, is administered globally every six months.

Role of the researcher and ethical consideration
This study follows Bryman's (2006) characterisation of the participant-observer as a starting point. By

understanding the world through the eyes of the subject being studied, this study's perspective on in-depth ethnography is described in detail. It views the research as part of the broader social processes. This study also conducts a qualitative interview to determine the participant's life.

The semi-structured interviews were used in this study to identify the feelings and experiences of the participants in language use. The interview questions were designed not to evaluate the cognitive perspectives but to know about the opinions, values, feelings, experiences, behaviour, perceptions, and knowledge that belong to the subject of this study (Patton, 2014). All interviews were tape-recorded and thematically transcribed. The questions were simple so S could freely express her thoughts about the subject we discussed (Riemer, 2009). The child in this study is an informant rather than a collaborator. Therefore, ethical responsibility to children is essential, whether she is treated as a participant or co-researcher (Bradbury-Jones & Taylor, 2015). We ensure this research was conducted with proper ethical considerations given by the institution when conducting research involving young children. We share our thoughts and understanding of our experiences in this study (Little & Little, 2022).

Figure 1
Ethnographic Fieldwork Canvas (Ethnographic Fieldwork Canvas, 2019*)*

The data from the observation was transferred into a field diary, narrative interviews were fully transcribed, and the data from documentation were analysed and collected to support the observation results. All the documents were converted into RTF files. The results were categorised in terms of the strategies and practices of the families.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
Family practices in maintaining a second language
Family practices play a crucial role in maintaining a second language, as demonstrated by this study of a nuclear family working to maintain Japanese as an additive language after returning to Indonesia. Unlike typical cases of minority or heritage language maintenance, the family faced the unique challenge of retaining a second language in a home environment dominated by the native language, Indonesian. Because the parents come from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, the parents implemented intentional practices to support S in sustaining her Japanese proficiency despite the absence of external support for the language in the daily environment.

The findings highlight several factors contributing to the successful maintenance of S's second language. The family's deep connection to Japanese culture and the first author's fluency in Japanese, as the mother and a lecturer, played a key role in creating a supportive language environment. The child's aspiration to study in Japan and the parents' shared commitment to fostering bilingualism further motivated these efforts. Together, these elements demonstrate how familial motivations, cultural ties, and deliberate language strategies can sustain second language proficiency in a home environment, even in challenging circumstances.

Creating a language-rich environment for Japanese as a second language

In the early stages, when S's family returned home country, one of the efforts to maintain her second language was to provide reading sources, such as storybooks and schoolbooks in Japanese. This is how the family created a language-rich environment.

> Since we returned home to Semarang, before official school time in elementary started in July, I have been homeschooling with a tutor for all school subjects. Mama also gave me homework to work on my Kanji, to write, and to learn 5th-grade Kanji. I did homework in Kanji's drill book almost every day in Japan. So, it became habitual and improved my vocabulary in Japanese. However, since I returned home, I have had no purpose in doing the drill, so it has become difficult for me to write. (S.R., interview, originally in Indonesian language)

From the above data, S struggled to keep her Kanji ability at the same level as before because of her changing environment. The struggle of minimal exposure and change in her language environment affected her Kanji ability the most. Eventually, her willingness to do drills at home at the beginning of the early past month faded. As a second language, many Japanese learners consider Kanji one of the most challenging subjects in Japanese learning (Mori, 2012), especially Japanese learners from a non-Kanji background. Foreign language learners only have minimal exposure to Kanji in Japanese textbooks, classrooms, or individual study. Teachers need to be more systemised in introducing Kanji to maximise students' ability to learn and retain Kanji, especially for Japanese as a foreign language students from non-Kanji backgrounds (Paxton & Svetenant, 2014). Moreover, remembering Kanji's order is the only way to learn Kanji.

So, the first strategy to connect to the Japanese language to maintain S's Kanji competence better at reading was to learn and memorise Kanji. According to Mori (2012), Kanji makes Japanese reading difficult, and memorising it is essential. In the first six months of observation, S could obtain Kanji skills. In Japan, she consistently does homework on Kanji, so she cannot maintain her ability to remember and write Kanji. However, after S returned to Indonesia, she only had a little time to practice Kanji—as much time as she had in Japan because her school activity in Indonesia started, and memorising Kanji became time-consuming. Therefore, her ability to write Kanji was dropped. One of the reasons was that she needed to take extra time to learn school lesson materials. As a result, the habit of doing homework with Kanji needs to be addressed.

However, digital media efforts and approaches were becoming more comfortable, which was considered an effective way to maintain her Japanese language. Digital media, in this case, is the internet, which allows S to interact and have direct contact with Japanese sources through YouTube. Indeed, this practice is under strict parental supervision regarding content and internet media consumption. Many studies have coincided with this result, such as Kwon (2017), by using transnational media, such as television channels from their home country, by frequently and purposefully turning on the Japanese NHK channel so the child is exposed to the Japanese language and culture. In this study, as the child born into Generation Z, who is a digital native, S is also familiar with digital media and the internet. According to Little (2019), children nowadays are familiar with technology. There is still a doubt about what kind of technology the children should access and how long they should spend using it. However, in this study, we learn that young children could use digital media, the internet, and games to maintain their second language by having much exposure.

One time, an engaging activity was discussed. S played games called '*Genshin Impact,*' and she used Japanese when setting the games, not Indonesian. Either way, the game could initially be switched to a different language as we set. However, although the text was in Japanese, the voice was still in English; she also wanted to switch to Japanese, as she wanted to hear the voice in Japanese rather than reading the Kanji. Here is the result of the conversation with S.

> I DON'T UNDERSTAND when I read Kanji, and I don't understand because sometimes I forget. Instead, I hear the words and think I can understand what they mean in context. (S.R., interview (originally in Indonesian language)

According to Pauwels (2016), enriching materials such as books, games, or other media such as the Internet is one of the parents' efforts to preserve minority languages and is appropriate for children. In the family sphere, the internet's involvement has a high potential to enrich oral and written sources. So, the family can create a language-rich environment through movies, videos, music, tales, games, and other language-stimulating sources. The following excerpt exemplifies it.

> I usually watch YouTube videos for tutorials, such as playing rubrics. I like to play games, especially Japanese games such as Identity or Minecraft. I have Japanese friends. And I also like to watch Japanese channels such as Genki Labo. It's a good channel, I think. （S.R., interview (originally in Indonesian language)

Following Little's study (2019), games which are based on digital technology are part of the 'home language' environment. This strategy is widely used by parents, not as an additional source. Children are exposed to their 'home language' as a language resource by utilising technology to increase their motivation to learn languages.

Based on the interview results, when S wanted to learn about some tutorials, she googled them in Japanese. Moreover, S tends to search the Internet in her second language, Japanese. These efforts and strategies indirectly involved using Japanese in her daily life. Therefore, the frequency of her contact with the Japanese language increased. According to Pauwels (2016), the stimulation to create a minority language environment is not challenging enough to use digital media, especially the Internet, due to the result of the interview with the child. Cyberspace involvement in using a second language is intense. The evidence documented in the researchers' field notes is that the child's taste in games, news, and video genres is in the Japanese language.

The following interview transcript explains how she mainly used Internet videos to interact in Japanese.

> I used to watch channels such as Genki Labo, No-One, and Ramuda. The channel is exciting. Here is the link. (S.R., interview (originally in Indonesian language)
> https://www.youtube.com/c/GENKILABO (genre: experiment on science)
> https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3ruCdV7xnwAbpkW9tQq-6A (genre: game)
> https://www.youtube.com/c/ラムダ (genre: science and others)

Language Selection and Japanese Language Use in the Family Environment

According to Pauwels (2016), language between husband and wife and between parents and children can improve four language skills. Therefore, this strategy can help the child maintain a second language. Both parents should have used more intensive efforts and strategies in language selection. The observation sheet occasionally found that the mother tried to speak and talk to S in Japanese. This practice also creates language phenomena such as translanguaging. According to Wei (2018), translanguaging is a process of sense-making and meaning. The language user uses different linguistic, semiotic, and cognitive resources to make meaning and sense. The observation of S informed us how she uses Japanese and Indonesian back and forth at home. Excerpts 1, 2, 3, and 4 are so-called linguistic and paralinguistic means of communication. The boundaries of certain linguistic norms were not used in the below examples.

1. Mama, ini *sekken*-nya bisa disatuin lagi? Masa? Gimana caranya di*fukattsu*-in lagi. Aku ga tau.
   (in English: Mama, how can *sekken* (the soap) be combined? Really? How to *fukkatsu* (attach) to another. I don't know how. Please tell me.)
2. …biar *yogore*-nya ga jatuh. Lalu sampai ga ada *susugi no nokoshi*, abis itu harus *doraiya*, kalau engga nanti *toraburu ni suru*.
   (in English: … so *yogore* (the dirt) in the hair doesn't fall. Then, we should *susugi no nokoshi* (rinse with water until no more foam is left) and

dry the hair with a *doraiya* (dryer). If we don't, *toraburu ni suru* (we can get into trouble).
3. …*Mama nanika o taberuno?* Aku lapar.
   (In English: …Mom, nanika o taberuno? (What's eating?) I'm hungry)
4. Aku suka ini. *Sugoku o ki ni iri natta*
   (In English: I like this. *Sugoku o ki ni iri natta* (I love this one).)

In Excerpt 1, the words "sekken" and "fukkatsu" are Japanese. She uses the Indonesian linguistic system and combines words in Japanese. These words are substituting words in Indonesian, as she is unfamiliar with Indonesian terms. Meanwhile, in Excerpt 2, she uses in one sentence of Indonesia she also uses words such as "yogore" which means "dirt," and "doraiya" which means "dryer". The difference from Excerpt 1 is that she uses two phrases: "susugi no nokoshi" and "toraburu ni suru". This time, she combined both Indonesian and Japanese linguistic norms without error. Just combining language and its linguistic form together. In Excerpt 3, she mixes the languages, and in Excerpt 4, she emphasises her words in Indonesian with the same sentence in Japanese. This time, she wants to express her opinion about something.

According to Otheguy et al. (2019), bilinguals are capable of utilising different combinations of lexical and structural resources to participate in linguistic activities that vary on the context and setting. Because of their metalinguistic knowledge, they can determine who to say what and when. Meanwhile, according to Kharchenko's (2022) study, children who maintain their heritage language and become multilingual are usually aware of dealing with more than one language. Sometimes, they need more pragmatic awareness when they switch languages. However, it is just a simple way of experimenting with the languages they are learning.

Bonding with children is a strategic use of language in emotional interactions. To practice Japanese in daily life, the mother initiated talks in Japanese. Moreover, they could share the emotional bonding and value of the Japanese language. However, the conversation she started sometimes could have been completed in Japanese. S occasionally challenged her mother and conversed in Japanese. According to Danjo (2018), creating emotional bonding between the child and mother naturally comforts the child bilingually.

Fishman (1991) mentioned that the family, a bulwark against external pressure, acts as a natural boundary. The connection to privacy makes the family resistant to competition and outside changes. It was also identified that home language use among family members is an essential language transmission between generations.

There is nothing specific about the family's language choice, such as "one parent, one language," which is usually used for bilingual

acquisition. However, to protect additive languages, as in this study case, Japanese, the observation note found that the family tried to stimulate it by inviting occasional conversations in Japanese. Meanwhile, as with any minority language, the four language skills, in addition to reading and speaking skills, have dropped quite drastically.

The observation and interview results show that Japanese language selection and use could be higher, especially in terms of speaking skills. However, phenomena such as translanguaging and language borrowing still appeared. These results are considered joined, as the child's language is usually influenced socially by the dominant language. So, the performance of the minority was distracted by the dominant language. Moreover, S continues to use the dominant language due to indirect pressure from the school and society.

Providing Support and Positive Feedback on Appropriate Language Choices

Providing positive support for using minority language is one way to maintain minority language in the family. Positive support and feedback are commonly employed strategies in first—and second-language learning or acquisition. However, they can also be used to encourage the child to use more minority languages through praise or positive feedback (Pauwels, 2016).

One of the efforts was to have S take the JLPT to measure her Japanese competence with the positive support of both parents. JLPT has been published and administered by the Japan Foundation and Japan Educational Exchanges and Services since 1984 as an evaluation of the Japanese proficiency of non-native speakers. JLPT became the largest-scale Japanese language test in the world. (https://www.jlpt.jp/e/about/purpose.html)

The JLPT test is held twice a year, around July and December. S responded positively to participating in the test, improving her confidence in using Japanese. The documents supporting the test results for three consecutive terms taken by the child from December 2018 until December 2019 are shown in Figures 2, 3, and 4.

Figure 2
JLPT N3 Score Result

Figure 3
JLPT N2 Score Result

Figure 4
JLPT N1 Score Result

From the collected documentation and field notes, the child took the JLPT test for the first time in December 2018 for N3. The competencies targeted at the N3 level are participants who understand Japanese and use it in general situations and specific conditions. The language knowledge (vocabulary and grammar) obtained from the results obtained was 58 out of 60. S had 43 out of 60 in reading skills and a perfect score of 60 in listening skills. The total score she received for her JLPT N3 was relatively high.

The first JLPT test was taken, and positive results were obtained; her Japanese language abilities were routinely evaluated. Taking JLPT enhanced and determined her Japanese language skills level limit. In July 2019, she continued to take the next level, N2, with the required competence to pass the examination to master 1000 Kanji and about 6000 words. She took the JLPT test for the second time. She got a reasonably high score and could pass the test quickly. The listening section scored 60/60, and the language proficiency scored (grammar and vocabulary) 46/60. The adequate score was 34/60 for reading competency.

The highest level in the JLPT is the N1 level test. After passing the two previous levels, S gained confidence in taking the highest N1 level. The competency of N1 is to understand language conversations and different articles, targeting around 2000 words of Kanji mastery and a vocabulary of 10000 words. In December 2019, S reached this level with satisfactory results. With a passing score of 98, the total score was 100 points, so she only needed two points to pass the exam.

Language assessment is essential for Japanese learners. Therefore, Hatasa and Watanabe (2017) reviewed Japanese assessment practices as a second language and explained how social and political conditions impacted assessment practices in Japan. JLPT is categorised as the oldest assessment of the Japanese language for non-native speakers. Moreover, according to Noguchi et al. (2007), two factors are related to the test: Kanji character processing and context-related comprehension. The Japan Foundation developed JLPT, focusing only on vocabulary, reading, listening, and grammar. So, speaking ability is not considered one of the examined competencies in the JLPT. In sum, Hatasa and Watanabe (2017) advised that assessing Japanese as a second language should help foreign residents take the initiative in their language learning process. Some foreigners are diverse in age, background, and social and personal needs. This study categorises children who learn Japanese as a second language. However, JLPT is considered an assessment for adult JSL (Japanese as a second language). Furthermore, the assessment for Japanese as a second language, especially for children, has yet to be considered.

We can see a positive impact and feedback from the strategies and practices to increase Japanese use after S takes the JLPT test. The motivation to continue maintaining and improving the Japanese language is increasing. Furthermore, maintaining this additive language is a positive aspect of effort.

Encouraging the child to build confidence in using the additive language, Japanese
Encouraging S to increase her Japanese confidence is one of the family's strategies to maintain an additive language. The practice allows S to be creative, such as writing in Japanese. On one occasion, there was an opportunity to speak Japanese in front of her classmates. The school carries out this routine activity, called 'morning

speech'. Speaking in different languages is the theme of this "morning speech" activity. S had the opportunity to speak Japanese with an outline. She prepared the initial drafts as can be seen in Figure 5 and its translation in Figure 6. According to the interview results, she found it difficult to choose words and express them in Japanese in several sentences. Kanji and Essays have reduced the need for more encouragement in writing in Japanese.
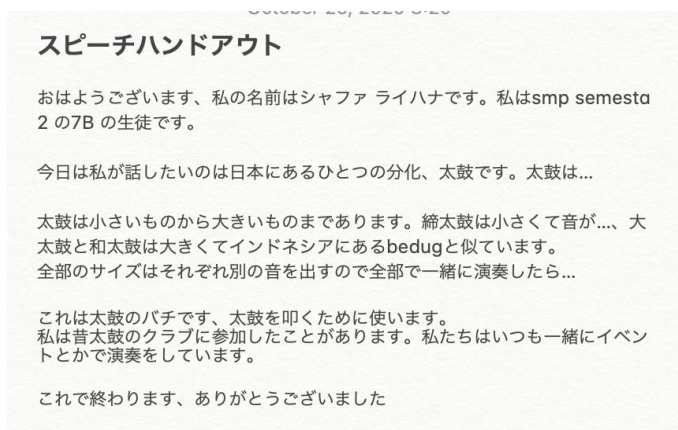
Figure 5
Speech Outline

Figure 6
Speech Translation in English

The content of the "morning speech" script was about one of the Japanese cultures, namely Taiko, and her activities in the Taiko club she joined in Japan. From the script, there are some sentences and expressions in Japanese she cannot write, such as the following sentences:

太鼓は。。。(Taiko is an…..)
締太鼓は小さくて音が。。。(Shimedaiko is small taiko, and the sound is…)
〜全部で一緒に演奏したら。。。(And if all plays together…)

It seemed difficult for her to complete these three sentences by herself, and she asked her mother to help her finish them. This limitation of Japanese expression was quite common because she rarely explored and wrote in Japanese daily after returning from Japan. She eventually completed her "speech script" after fixing, correcting, and presenting it to the class. The script shown in Figure 7 and Figure 8 for the translated version is the final version presented to her teacher and classmates.

S tried to refrain from using Japanese at the beginning of the month of her arrival in Indonesia, especially when interacting with friends and teachers. Practice such as the "morning speech" is an activity that could encourage the use of her second language, Japanese, and increase her confidence in using the Japanese language to perform an activity. These activities would be a strategy to continue maintaining her second language, Japanese.

The outcome is somehow associated with Henry et al. (2018). Through Cada Dia (CD) and online web meeting platforms, second language learners learn a minority language and enhance the language learning experience. They summarise that it empowers the experience of using language in a dynamic, social, and genuine way to motivate learners individually and collectively (groups) to share and learn social interaction knowledge.

Figure 7
Speech Outline Fixed

スピーチ原稿

おはようございます、私の名前はシャファ ライハナです。私はsmp semesta 2 の7B の生徒です。

今日は私が話したいのは日本にあるひとつの分化、太鼓です。太鼓は日本の伝統的な楽器です

太鼓は小さいものから大きいものまであります。締太鼓は小さくて音が高いです、大太鼓と和太鼓は大きくてインドネシアにあるbedugと似ています。
全部のサイズはそれぞれ別の音を出すので全部で一緒に演奏したら和（わ）を作ります

これは太鼓のバチです、太鼓を叩くために使います。
私は昔太鼓のクラブに参加したことがあります。私たちはいつも一緒にイベントとかで演奏をしています。

これで終わります、ありがとうございました。

Figure 8
Translation of Figure 7

Speech Manuscript

Good morning, my name is Shafa Raihana. I am a student of class 7B at SMP Semesta 2.
Today, what I want to talk about is one culture in Japan, which is Taiko drums.
Taiko drums are traditional instruments in Japan.
Taiko drums come in various sizes. The Shime-daiko is small and has a high-pitched sound.
The O-daiko and Wadaiko are large and similar to the Bedug drums in Indonesia.

Each size produces a different sound, so when all are played together, they create harmony.
These are the drumsticks used to strike the Taiko drums. I used to participate in a Taiko drum club.
We often perform together at events.
That's the end of my speech, thank you very much.

The current study uncovered that maintaining a second language in a home language environment is possible. At the same time, language maintenance is dominant in immigrant cases. Heritage languages and detailed investigations of the experiences of those who migrated and returned home to their country still need to be served.

This study focuses on S's second language and how the parents' efforts determine her second language ability to remain maintained. According to Kang (2015), a child's age, gender, exposure to the targeted language, and parental attitudes to bilingualism are critical determinants of oral and literacy abilities in the home language. Meanwhile, verbal skills maintenance is predicted by the length of settlement and language-practice patterns, and language management strategies are required to maintain literacy skills. Exposure and parental attitudes are vital to keeping S's second language in this study.

The family is a social organisation that allows cross-cultural and cross-generational variables to emerge. From several previous studies about minority languages and majority languages, there is a language that is not used proportionally at home, such as the concept of "one parent, one language." (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Takeuchi, 2006; Venables et al., 2014) Several strategies include digital technology as a resource (Little, 2019; Ariyani et al., 2022). In this case, the internet is essential in enriching the material of a second language.

Besides, digital technologies have been deemed an important activity for children. Lee (2006) also suggests that computer-mediated language could generate and preserve the vocabulary of children's heritage. These results show that digital media, such as electronic literacy and social networks, influence whether it is a home language, native language, or second language.

S's family also encourages digital media activities, including videos, movies, music, games, and others. These strategies increase S's motivation to use the additive language of Japanese. S's free will to choose her practices to maintain her Japanese proved successful.

In Kabuto's study (2011) on how her daughter became biliterate, she found that children who can choose their learning tools freely and express themselves can be successful learners. Moreover, parents could encourage them to think and find different vital things.

As found in the current study, several phenomena, such as language transfer, adapt to the native language environment and the family and S's strategies to maintain Japanese. Moreover, in order to maintain an additive language or, in this case, a second language, digital literacy in the home-language environment plays an important role. Parents' efforts and strategies to foster a second language environment are needed as S could maintain, develop, and become bilingual.

This study also emphasises collaborating with a child as a child agency in shaping and building FLP. According to Morrow (2003), the child is often seen as an outcome. Meanwhile, in this study, the mother and child work together to support their FLP in maintaining a second language, Japanese, and to be this kind of agent, the child is capable enough to discuss. At a certain point of age, these strategies and practices would work.

CONCLUSION

The result and discussion above have shown that the home language environment contributes to conceptualising second language maintenance. This case is a study of a family. As part of the authors, the second and first authors, want to maintain the additive language of Japanese in the home country. In the future, being bilingual will have its advantages. We sought to demonstrate that maintaining her Japanese took effort and strategies, as S only used her additive language at home. With this study, we attempted to show how other studies use strategies and practices to maintain their heritage language, which could also be used in the presented casein this article.

Making a language-rich environment allows her second language, Japanese, to be maintained and grow. We hope this study makes an essential contribution to the existing studies, as one of the cases on FLP and home language build second language maintenance.

This study highlights how the family utilised the home language environment to support the maintenance of an additive language, focusing on five key variables. First, we ensured the availability of second language resources, such as providing Japanese books to help maintain S's proficiency in Kanji. Second, we created a digital environment to reinforce language exposure and engagement. Third, the emotional bonding between parent and child played a significant role in fostering a positive attitude toward the additive language. Fourth, the language assessment through the JLPT boosted her

confidence and reinforced her commitment to using her second language. Finally, we encouraged her to apply her second language skills outside the home environment, further solidifying her ability and motivation.

This study is an ethnography of an Indonesian family. We think that with this study and the methods it was drawn from, the above result cannot necessarily be generalised to other additive language cases. The findings are intended to be a case study of a diaspora that has returned to its home country. Moreover, this kind of case might occur in all places. We attempt to picture the situation involving the FLP, home language environment, and the parents' effort to maintain S's second language. We acknowledge that the relationship between mother and daughter is uniquely formed after the journey in this research. We hope that through this, the experience we had makes an important contribution to the diaspora case of second language maintenance and FLP studies.

This study has implications for language maintenance research to the child's contributions: the child as a willing or resistant participant in the family's language practices. We can emphasise that family strategies and efforts affect development or maintenance. Many study cases were on maintaining heritage language or preserving their native language in the immigrant situation; however, no study focused on how the community or a family maintains a child's second language.

Limitations

This study emphasises that not all diaspora families share a similar family background as this study. As a result, outcomes should not be homogenised or universally acceptable to every diaspora family who returns to their country. Because the parents' language policy plays an important role, S could continue to maintain her ability in a second language. Nevertheless, we expect future studies to include participants who can be more representative of the samples and their uniqueness. An additional in-depth analysis with varied family backgrounds and language policies is required to enhance knowledge and understanding of the issues raised in specific contexts.

Disclosure statement

The authors reported no potential conflict of interest and are responsible for the content and writing of this paper.

REFERENCES

Adams, T., Jones, S. L. H., & Ellis, C. (2015). *Autoethnography: Understanding qualitative research*. Oxford University Press.

Altman, C., Burstein Feldman, Z., Yitzhaki, D., Armon Lotem, S., & Walters, J. (2014).

Family language policies, reported language use and proficiency in Russian–Hebrew bilingual children in Israel. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 35*(3), 216-234. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.852561

Ariyani, F., Putrawan, G. E., Riyanda, A. R., Idris, A. R., Misliani, L., & Perdana, R. (2022). Technology and minority language: An android-based dictionary development for the Lampung language maintenance in Indonesia. *Tapuya: Latin American Science, Technology and Society, 5*(1), 2015088. https://doi.org/10.1080/25729861.2021.2015088

Barakos, E., & Selleck, C. (2019). Elite multilingualism: Discourses, practices, and debates. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 40*(5), 361-374. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1543691

Barron-Hauwaert, S. (2004). *Language strategies for bilingual families: The one-parent-one-language approach* (No. 7). Multilingual Matters.

Bollig, S., & Kelle, H. (2016). Children as participants in practices: the challenges of practice theories to an actor-centred sociology of childhood. In F. Esser, M. S. Baader, T. Betz, & B. Hungerland (Eds.), *Reconceptualising agency and childhood: New perspectives in childhood studies* (pp. 50-104). Routledge.

Bradbury-Jones, C., & Taylor, J. (2015). Engaging with children as co-researchers: Challenges, counter-challenges and solutions. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 18*(2), 161-173. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2013.864589

Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: How is it done? *Qualitative Research, 6*(1), 97-113. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106058877

Cohn, A. C., & Ravindranath, M. (2014). Local languages in Indonesia: Language maintenance or language shift. *Linguistik Indonesia, 32*(2), 131-148. https://doi.org/10.26499/li.v32i2.22

Danjo, C. (2018). *Why it's okay for bilingual children to mix languages*. The Conversation. https://ray.yorksj.ac.uk/id/eprint/3700/1/why-its-okay-for-bilingual-children-to-mix-languages-97448

de Mejía, A. (2002). *Power, prestige and bilingualism: International perspectives on elite bilingual education*. Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853595929

Ethnographic Fieldwork Canvas. (2019). Downloads https://designethno.id/downloads

Ewing, M.C. (2014). Language endangerment in Indonesia. *International Journal of Education, 8*(1), 12-22. https://ejournal.upi.edu/index.php/ije/article/download/1764/1210

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages* (Vol. 76). Multilingual matters.

Genki Labo. (n.d.). https://www.youtube.com/c/GENKILABO

Hatasa, Y., & Watanabe, T. (2017). Japanese as a second language assessment in Japan: Current issues and future directions. *Language Assessment Quarterly, 14*(3), 192-212. https://doi.org/10.1080/15434303.2017.1351565

Henry, M., Carroll, F., Cunliffe, D., & Kop, R. (2018). Learning a minority language through authentic conversation using an online social learning method. *Computer Assisted Language Learning, 31*(4), 321-345. https://doi.org/10.1080/09588221.2017.1395348

Huang, H., & Liao, W. (2023) Maintaining a minor language or a heritage language? A case study of maintaining Chinese with preteenagers in interlingual families. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 27*(3), 360-373. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2023.2173519

Hyltenstam, K. & Stroud, C. (1996). Language maintenance. In H. Goebl, P. Nelde, Z. Starý & W. Wölck (Eds.), *Halbband: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung* (pp. 567-578). De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110132649.1.6.567

Jackson, J. (2019). *Introducing language and intercultural communication* (2nd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351059275

Japanese Language Proficiency Test. (n.d.) Objectives and History. https://www.jlpt.jp/e/about/purpose.html

Jerolmack, C., & Khan, S. R. (Eds.). (2018). *Approaches to ethnography: Analysis and representation in participant observation*. Oxford University Press.

Kabuto, B. (2011). *Becoming biliterate: Identity, ideology, and learning to read and write in two languages*. Routledge.

Kang, H. S. (2015). Korean families in America: Their family language policies and home-language maintenance. *Bilingual Research Journal, 38*(3), 275-291. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2015.1092002

Kaufman, D., & Perlin, R. (2018). Language documentation in diaspora communities. In K. Rehg & L. Campbell (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of endangered languages* (398-418). Oxford University Press.

Kheirkhah, M. & Cekaite, A. (2015). Language maintenance in a multilingual family: Informal heritage language lessons in parent-child interactions. *Multilingua*, *34*(3), 319-346. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2014-1020

King, K. A., & Mackey, A. (2007). *The bilingual edge: Why, when, and how to teach your child a second language*. Collins.

King, K., Fogle, L., & Logan-Terry, A. (2008). Family language policy. *Linguistics and Language Compass, 2*(5), 907-922. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818X.2008.00076.x

Kharchenko, N. (2022). Translanguaging as a heritage language maintenance strategy. In E. Hanci-Azizoglu, S. Sahinkarakas & D. Tannacito (Eds.), *Autoethnographic perspectives on multilingual life stories* (pp. 84-98). IGI Global.

Kwon, J. (2017). Immigrant mothers' beliefs and transnational strategies for their children's heritage language maintenance. *Language and Education, 31*(6), 495-508. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2017.1349137

Lambda Tech. (n.d.) https://www.youtube.com/c/ラムダ

Lee, J. S. (2006). Exploring the relationship between electronic literacy and heritage language maintenance. *Language Learning & Technology*, *10*(2), 93-113. http://dx.doi.org/10125/44063

Little, S. (2019). 'Is there an app for that?' Exploring games and apps among heritage language families. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 40(3), 218-229. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1502776

Little, S., & Little, T. (2022). An un/familiar space: Children and parents as collaborators in autoethnographic family research. *Qualitative Research*, *22*(4), 632-648. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794121999018

Luo, S. H., & Wiseman, R. L. (2000). Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *24*(3), 307-324. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(00)00003-1

Luykx, A. (2003). Weaving languages together: Family language policy and gender socialisation in bilingual Aymara households. In R. Bayley & S. Schecter (Ed.), *Language socialisation in bilingual and multilingual societies* (pp. 25-43). Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853596377-005

Mattheoudakis, M., Chatzidaki, A., & Maligkoudi, C. (2017). Heritage language classes and bilingual competence: the case of Albanian immigrant children in Greece. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 23*(8), 1019-1035. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1384447

Mills, A. (2008). The place of locality for identity in the nation: Minority narratives of cosmopolitan Istanbul. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 40(3), 383-401. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743808080987

Mori, Y. (2012). Five myths about" Kanji" and" Kanji" learning. *Japanese Language and Literature*, 46(1), 143-169. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41442049

Noguchi, H., Kumagai, R., & Osumi, A. (2007). Nihongo Noryoku Shiken ni okeru kyukan kyotsu shakudo Kosei no kokoromi [Establishing a common scale across levels on Japanese Language Proficiency Test]. *Nihongo Kyoiku [Journal of Japanese Language Teaching]*, 135, 54–63.

NoonE. (n.d.). https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3ruCdV7xnwAbpkW9tQq-6A

Otheguy, R., García, O., & Reid, W. (2019). A translanguaging view of the linguistic system of bilinguals. *Applied Linguistics Review*, *10*(4), 625-651. https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2018-0020

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., Bernhard, J. K., & Freire, M. (2001). Struggling to preserve home language: The experiences of Latino students and families in the Canadian school system. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *25*(1-2), 115-145. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2001.10162787

Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice*. Sage publications.

Pauwels, A. (2016). *Language maintenance and shift*. Cambridge University Press.

Paxton, S., & Svetanant, C. (2014). Tackling the Kanji hurdle: Investigation of Kanji learning in non Kanji background learners. *International Journal of Research Studies in Language Learning, 3*(3), 89-104. https://doi.org/10.5861/ijrsll.2013.519

Phinney, J. S., Romero, I., Nava, M., & Huang, D. (2001). The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *30*(2), 135-153. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010389607319

Piller, I. & Gerber, L. (2018) Family language policy between the bilingual advantage and the monolingual mindset. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 24*(5), 622-635. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2018.1503227

Qu, L., Low, J.J.W., Zhang, T., Li, H., & Zelazo, P.D. (2016). Bilingual advantage in executive control when task demands are considered. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 19(2), 277-293. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728914000376

Riemer, F. J. (2009). Ethnography research. In S. D. Lapan & M. T. Quartaroli (Eds.), *Research essentials: An introduction to design and practices* (pp. 203-222). Jossey-Bass.

Sagimin, E. M. (2020). Family language policy and heritage language maintenance among sundanese parents. *Prosiding Konferensi Linguistik Tahunan Atma Jaya 2020*, 132-138.

Sakhiyya, Z. & Martin-Anatias, N. (2023) Reviving the language at risk: A social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 20*(2), 290-307. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2020.1850737

Schwartz, M. (2010). Family language policy: Core issues of an emerging field. *Applied Linguistics Review*, *1*(2010), 171-192. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110222654.171

Scontras, G., Fuchs, Z., & Polinsky, M. (2015). Heritage language and linguistic theory. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 1545. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01545

Selleck, C. (2022). The gendered migrant experience: a study of family language policy (FLP) amongst mothers and daughters in the Somali community, Bristol. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 24*(2), 201–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2022.2047512

Smith-Christmas, C. (2016). What is family language policy? In *Family language policy: Maintaining an endangered language in the home* (pp. 1-19). Palgrave. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137521811_1

Smith-Christmas, C. (2020). Child agency and home language maintenance. In A. C. Schalley & S. A. Eisenchlas (Eds.), *Handbook of home language maintenance and development* (pp. 218-235). De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501510175

Sneddon, J. (2003). *The Indonesian language.* University of New South Wales Press Ltd.

Spradley, J. P. (2016). *Participant observation*. Waveland Press.

Takeuchi, M. (2006). The Japanese language development of children through the 'one parent–one language' approach in Melbourne. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *27*(4), 319-331. https://doi.org/10.2167/jmmd441.1

Venables, E., Eisenchlas, S. A., & Schalley, A. C. (2014). One-parent-one-language (OPOL) families: Is the majority language-speaking parent instrumental in the minority language development? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *17*(4), 429-448. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2013.816263

Wei, L. (2018). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics, 39*(1), 9–30. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx039

Wihstutz, A. (2017). Children agency contribution from feminist and ethic of care theories to sociology of childhood. In F. Esser, M. S. Baader, T. Betz, & B. Hungerland (Eds.), *Reconceptualising agency and childhood: New perspectives in childhood studies* (pp. 61-74). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315722245

Wilson, S. (2020). *Family language policy: Children's perspectives*. Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52437-1

Yu, S. (2005). *Family factors in bilingual children's code-switching and language maintenance: A New Zealand case study* (Doctoral dissertation, Auckland University of Technology). http://orapp.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/351