

Language Shifts and Indomie Linguistic Chaos: The Alienation of the Mother Tongue in Millennial Minangkabau Families and Its Management

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ABSTRACT

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This research examines the use and status of the mother tongue among millennial Minangkabau families, focusing on the growing dominance of national and foreign languages and familial attitudes toward their heritage language. Language is not only a means of communication but also a critical aspect of identity and cultural heritage, which can have implications for mental well-being and community support structures. Fourteen families, both domestic and abroad, participated in the study. Data collection involved interviews and participant observation. Findings revealed that suburban families predominantly communicated in Indonesian and English, with Minangkabau reserved primarily for intimate interactions with older generations. The prioritization of national and foreign languages stemmed from a focus on preparing children for the future, the perceived importance of Indonesian and English, and a reluctance to use Minangkabau. Factors such as code-mixing, social pressures (including bullying and antipathy), and challenges in cultural transmission contributed to a shift toward national and foreign languages. A gradual alienation from the Minangkabau language is thus evident in the conversational spaces of millennial families, indicating an ongoing linguistic shift. This chaotic language blend disrupts the continuity of the mother tongue, contributing to its gradual disappearance from everyday use among younger generations which warrants taking careful measures and well-planned management.

Keywords: Cultural Identity, Language Shift, Minangkabau Families, Mother Tongue, Sociolinguistics

INTRODUCTION

The loss of mother tongues has become a global concern (Atifnigar, 2021; Bromham et al., 2022; Crystal, 2000; Li, 2003; Manandhar, 2020; Rahman, 2023; Singh, 2021). Over half of the approximately 7,000 documented languages are threatened with extinction (Bromham et al., 2022). Numerous researchers have highlighted this issue (Abtahian et al., 2016; Aini et al., 2021; Bawono & Rini, 2014; Dastgoshadeh & Jalilzadeh, 2011; Febriani, 2017; Heinrich, 2015; Purba, 2013).

Syamsidah et al. (2021) explored language use within millennial families, and Daquila (2024) investigated the shift from mother tongue to foreign languages as the primary means of communication among this demographic. Lee (2007) examined national language socialization, while Dortje et al. (2020) focused on national language policies in millennial families. Febriani (2017) studied behaviors associated with national language use in these settings. Additionally, Hopkyns et al. (2020) researched the mainstreaming of English in millennial families, and Darko (2016) analyzed language shifts and the ideology surrounding English within this group. Lastly, Dastgoshadeh and Jalilzadeh (2011) investigated the English language socialization process among millennial families.

In the context of Minangkabau millennial families, also called Generation Y Minangkabau, this group includes married couples of Minangkabau descent born between 1981 and 1996 and as a generation bridging the second and third millennia, Generation Y, or millennials, experienced profound shifts in major global trends. Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990) identified individualization—an increasing focus on individualism and self-expression—as the foremost of ten prominent trends. It is suspected that this tendency similarly influences the Minangkabau millennial generation. A preliminary study revealed that millennial families are mainstreaming national and foreign languages, leading to the gradual abandonment of their mother tongue, Minangkabau.

Based on the preliminary study, these local portraits can contribute to the growing body of research on the decline of the Minangkabau language. In other words, there is a notable mainstreaming of national and foreign languages and a corresponding alienation from Minangkabau as a mother tongue in family conversations among the Minangkabau millennial generation—an area not yet fully investigated. This study focuses specifically on spoken rather than written language and examines the use of the mother tongue by Minangkabau millennial parents with their children. The research was conducted with millennial Minangkabau families with children in suburban areas.

This study examines the role of regional languages or mother tongues in conversations within millennial Minangkabau families, the factors driving the preference for national and foreign languages as primary languages, and the perspectives of millennials on the diminishing presence of their mother tongue in daily interactions. The research questions are formulated as follows:

1. How do millennial Minangkabau families use their mother tongue with their children?
2. What is the position of the Minangkabau language in conversations within millennial Minangkabau families?
3. What are the reasons and causes for millennial Minangkabau families prioritizing national and foreign languages?
4. What are the views or opinions of the Minangkabau millennial generation regarding the disappearance of the Minangkabau language from their conversations?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Hopkyns et al. (2020) stated that while Arabic is the official language, multilingualism is common and expected among Emirati millennials. In the UAE, most locals speak the Khaleeji dialect, with English as the lingua franca and medium of instruction. Although top-down language policies support English use, the language situation is more complex, with hybridity often being a deliberate choice. As a result, both English and Arabic are used naturally and independently within Emirati society.

Idaryani and Fidyati (2022) discussed how Family Language Policy (FLP) and parental language ideologies influence the language shift within Acehnese families. Their findings revealed that most Acehnese parents prioritize Indonesian for their children's education, which has led to a decline in children's proficiency in Acehnese, traditionally a marker of Acehnese identity.

Suizo (2024) explored how Filipino Generation Z (Gen Z) members developed their linguistic identity in a modern context, particularly through the Filipino language. The findings highlighted the interplay between emerging communication paradigms, contemporary philosophy, and the preservation of linguistic heritage within the digital era.

Daquila (2024) analyzed linguistic trends across Emirati Generation Z, millennials, and baby boomers, examining social influences and linguistic changes in the UAE. The study found that Generation Z and most millennials predominantly use English, influenced by social media and globalization, whereas the baby boomer generation perceives this shift as a cultural threat.

Nourinezhad and Kashefian-Naeeni (2020) found that using students' mother tongue (Persian) inside the classroom elevates learners' comprehension of text and boosts their achievement. Likewise, Fitriati and Wardani (2020) investigated language choices among students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. They observed that students often prefer Indonesian over regional languages, indicating a language shift away from local dialects.

Birgier and Haim (2023) discussed the critical role of language proficiency in the host country's language for migrant integration, migration literacy, and labor market success. Specifically, they noted that foreign language use at home among migrant women shows low cultural capital and hinders integration and labor market entry.

Sagimin (2020) found that most Sundanese parents use a mixture of Sundanese and Indonesian in conversation with each other, but they typically speak Indonesian when telling stories to their children. Environmental factors, including neighborhood and schooling, were key triggers for language shifts among Sundanese children.

Kosonen and Young (2009) argued that language loss equates to losing a community and its unique cultural heritage. However, they suggest that language can persist if used for educational purposes, such as teaching, writing, reading, and arithmetic. Akyilda (2019) examined the language policies of Azerbaijan's political elite after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, noting how these policies were used to reshape national identity. Emphasis was placed on the alphabet and the names of official languages, regarded as markers of national identity, with language fostering a stronger sense of unity and cohesion among Azerbaijanis.

Nuraini et al. (2023) explored the language attitudes of Indonesia's millennial generation, observing that while regional languages remain in use, Indonesian is increasingly mixed with foreign languages, particularly English, on the internet—a trend that poses a potential threat to the integrity of Indonesian. Ysmail (2021) investigated the perspectives of parents and teenagers on the usage and spread of Urdu, Pakistan's mother tongue, in Karachi. Findings revealed a disconnect between participants' stated views and their actual practices, highlighting inconsistencies between beliefs and behaviors.

Syamsidah et al. (2021) analyzed how the intensity of social media use impacts social interactions within millennial families in Makassar. They found a shift in social dynamics, with millennials more inclined to seek information from social media than from older family members. Despite this shift, relationships remain close, and interactions are shaped by associative behaviors, such as accommodation, assimilation, and acculturation, wherein individuals aim to compromise, lessen demands, show mutual respect, and appreciate similarities and differences.

Vaterlaus et al. (2020) noted that technological advancements often affect intergenerational interactions between parents and millennial children. They identified four functional strategies that parents can use with their children: maintaining open communication, fostering a supportive environment for potential and creativity, promoting positive attitudes, and upholding the principle of equality in communication.

Hidayat (2021) discussed the bilingual proficiency of some millennials, attributing their active use of local languages to both internal factors (such as family influence) and external factors (including peers, environmental exposure, and technology).

Lopulalan (2020) identified generational differences in language use patterns or choices among regional language speakers, which can indicate a shift in language preference. Several factors contributed to the diminishing prominence of regional languages in Maluku society. This decline weakens regional language communication within families, reducing awareness of these languages among younger generations. In family settings, parents often no longer teach regional languages to their children, resulting in minimal active use of the regional language at home for daily interactions. Language choices at individual, familial, and community levels play a critical role in language shift, with younger generations increasingly favoring national and international languages over regional or mother tongue languages.

Indonesian serves to unify and shape the perspectives of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds across Indonesia. However, in Makassar, ethnic languages are vital markers of ethnic group identity, with residents frequently using Makassar, Makassar Malay, Bugis, and Selayar languages. Iskandar et al. (2022) highlighted the sociolinguistic implications of language contact in Makassar, noting that adopting Indonesian as the national language may overlook the cultural preservation needs of other ethnic languages.

Language shift is a crucial concept in discussions of endangered languages—representing shifts at the community or population level among language users. Ostler (2011) and Pauwels (2016) emphasized the importance of discourse around language endangerment and loss (LEL). Such shifts in language ecology can create adverse conditions for members of minority, marginalized, or immigrant groups (Mufwene, 2017).

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative methodology with a phenomenological approach to capture and interpret the meanings and lived experiences directly related to the phenomenon under investigation. Conversations among millennial families were observed in natural settings, with efforts to minimize the researcher's influence and prevent

a 'halo effect' that could alter the conversational dynamics. Sociolinguistic theories on language mainstreaming, language transfer, and code-mixing underpin the research framework. Additionally, an ethnographic approach supports in-depth exploration of the data.

Data were collected through participant observation and in-depth interviews with selected millennial Minangkabau family informants. Informants were chosen purposively, with snowball sampling used to expand the sample pool. Primary data sources included natural conversations among millennial Minangkabau families, interview responses, and focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted with informants and colleagues.

The research sample comprised millennial Minangkabau families who met specific criteria: couples of Minangkabau descent born between 1981 and 1996, along with family members and relatives with regular communication ties to these families. Informants included husbands, wives, children, and relatives listed in **Table 1**.

Data collection involved video and audio recordings, transcriptions, notes on conversations within the families, and in-depth interviews with the informants. The analysis process was conducted in stages as follows:

1. Classification of transcription data and research notes.
2. Data reduction to focus on information relevant to the research objectives
3. Analysis of selected data to map out findings
4. Review and validation of findings through FGD sessions
5. Concluding and implications

RESULTS

This study revealed that Millennial Minangkabau families consciously choose not to use their mother tongue, Minangkabau when communicating with their children. Of the 16 informants observed, all preferred languages other than Minangkabau, with a strong inclination toward Indonesian and foreign languages, such as English or Arabic. Several factors underpin this linguistic shift, including the perception that the Minangkabau language holds little relevance for their children's futures, the influence of "pseudo-inheritance" associated with older speakers, and negative experiences of antipathy, often due to bullying from older speakers.

Perceptions of language significance for children's future

The millennial generation generally views the Minangkabau language as inconsequential to their children's future—Generation Alpha. Consequently, many parents prioritize teaching foreign or at least national languages from an early age. Conversations within millennial families primarily occur in the national language and sometimes in foreign languages such as English, Arabic, or Mandarin. In some families, English is emphasized so that entire conversations with their children are conducted exclusively in English. Other families use Arabic daily, integrating it with their children in all situations and contexts.

Millennial families in urban-suburban areas, particularly those residing in housing complexes, primarily use the national language, Indonesian, when speaking with their children and friends. While some children's social circles still use the regional Minangkabau language, millennial parents tend to reserve Minangkabau for conversations with their parents and older family members.

For instance, Mrs. Yulia, who lives in a housing complex in the Kuranji District on the outskirts of Padang, emphasized the importance of Indonesian for her child's future, stating that her child must become accustomed to using both Indonesian and English. Yulia herself speaks Indonesian with all of her child's friends, even though the children often communicate in Minangkabau among themselves.

An interesting pattern emerges when millennial Minangkabau parents communicate with their children: they often switch immediately to the national language, English or Arabic. For instance, one informant described how he speaks Arabic with his children during holiday breaks from their Islamic boarding school, helping them converse more comfortably with their teachers, *ustadz* and *ustadzah*, upon returning. He shared, "I speak Arabic with my children at home to make it easier for them to converse with their *ustadz* and *ustadzah* at the Islamic boarding school. Meanwhile, my wife's mother speaks Indonesian with them."

This example, along with others, illustrates a general avoidance of the Minangkabau language among millennial families, largely driven by concerns for their children's prospects. Another informant, who completed a doctoral degree abroad, uses English at home, while his wife, who has a bachelor's degree, primarily speaks Indonesian.

Interestingly, she resorts to Minangkabau only when scolding their children, highlighting the situational and functional nature of language use within these families.

Observations indicate that some millennial Minangkabau families also use a mixed language style, humorously referred to as "Indomie," which combines Indonesian, Minangkabau, and occasional English phrases when speaking with their children. This blend is especially evident when mothers scold or reprimand their children. The following are examples of phrases used by millennial Minangkabau mothers in these situations:

"Cepatlah kamu *sedikit ha*, apa juga *lagi tu*,"

"*bertea-tea* saja dari tadi"

"*pitis ka pitis* saja ini mah"

"*Udah itu...shalatlah lagi ha*"

"*ndak bisa tu doh*"

"astaghfirullah...*ndak ada gai tu doh*"

"kamu kan *ndak* berpergian jauh *mah*,"

"*ndak* boleh di jamak-jamak *itu doh*"

A millennial Minangkabau family residing in Jakarta consistently uses English with their children, with both parents engaging in English as the primary language at home. This practice extends to interactions with the children's grandfather, who is fluent in English. However, the grandmother, who is less proficient in English, communicates with her grandchildren in "Indomie," a mix of Indonesian and Minangkabau. Given her limited English skills, the grandmother attempts to speak Indonesian, which frequently transitions into Indomie when conversing with her Alpha-generation grandchildren. This language gap occasionally leads to conversational breakdowns, as the grandmother struggles to understand her grandchildren, who are more comfortable in English.

In this family, the Alpha-generation child is notably more communicative in English and becomes quieter and less engaged when conversations switch to Indonesian. The child does not use the Minangkabau mother tongue at all.

Millennial Minangkabau families are consciously moving away from their mother tongue, Minangkabau, and are primarily motivated by concerns about securing better prospects for their children's future.

The influence of "Indomie" language among older speakers

One significant barrier millennials face when passing down the Minangkabau language to their Alpha-generation children is the complex linguistic landscape shaped by older speakers who use a hybrid "Indomie" language. This mix, often created by older Minangkabau speakers attempting to speak Indonesian without fully mastering it, results in a language that chaotically fuses Minangkabau and Indonesian vocabulary.

These older speakers, aiming to use the national language, inadvertently alter Minangkabau words to sound as if they are Indonesian, creating confusion rather than clarity. Their speech does not fully adhere to either language, contributing to a diluted form of communication that disrupts the continuity of the Minangkabau language. This linguistic blending from older speakers discourages millennials from teaching Minangkabau to their children, as it complicates the language-learning process. As a result, Minangkabau is increasingly sidelined, seen as linguistically unstable, and less valuable for the children's future communication needs.

Table 1. *Mixing Indonesian-Minangkabau Language Codes to Become Indomie Language*

Minangkabau	Indomie	Bahasa Indonesia	English
"Dari ma cako?"	"Dari mana caka ?"	Dari mana tadi?	Where did you come from?
"Dari Birugo jo oto ka siko"	"Dari Biruga jo ota ka sika "	Dari Birugo dengan mobil kesini	From Birugo by car here
"Lah den kecekkkan cako, jan batea-tea juo!"	"Alah saya kecatkan caka , jangan bertea-tea juga!"	Sudah saya katakan tadi, jangan berbelit-belit juga!"	I told you earlier, don't beat around the bush either!"
"lah caiia batu teh esnyo,	"lah jelang teh es,	Sudah meleleh batu teh	The iced tea stone has

ba padiaan sajo”	dipediarkan saja”	esnya, di biarkan saja	melted, just leave it alone
“Lai salasai sin makannyo tadi tuh”	“Ada selesai makannya tadi duh ?”	Ada enak makannya tadi?	Was it delicious to eat earlier?
“Hilang panek wak mancaliaknyo yoh”	“Hilang penat kita mancaliknya ya”	Hilang Lelah kita melihatnya ya	Gone Tired, let's see it, okay?
“Rangkah hp den ”	“ Rengkah hp saya jadinyo ”	Retak hp ku jadinya	My cellphone cracked
“Bungkuih sen lai pak”	“ Tungkus saja lagi pak”	Bungkus saja lagi pak	Just wrap it up again, sir
“Bara pitihnyo tu buk?”	“Berapa pitisnya itu buk?”	Berapa uangnya itu buk?	How much money is that?
“Tolong balian inyiak rokok”	“Tolong belikan inyik rokok”	Tolong belikan kakek rokok	Please buy grandpa a cigarette
“Baliak liak, lah talongsong wak mah”	“Balik lagi, udah terlongsong kita mah”	Kembali lagi, sudah melewati	Come back, it's too late
“Ndak sakik gai doh”	“Ndak sakit bagai doh ”	Tidak sakit ternyata	It didn't hurt
“Langsuang sen wak sato”	“Langsung saja saya sata ”	Langsung saja saya ikut	I'll just join in
“Nan kapatang tun, uang kaamanan mah, nan iko uang sarok”	“Yang kepatang tu uang keamanan itu, yang ini uang sarok ”	Yang kemaren itu, uang keamanan itu, yang ini uang kebersihan.	Yesterday's was security money, this is cleaning money.
“Ndak basabok dek awak kamus gadang tun doh”	“ndak bartamu dek saya kamus gadoang itu doh ”	Tidak bertemu oleh saya kamus besar itu	Didn't meet by me that big dictionary
“Lah leno waden baputa sakuliliang pasa koh, ndak basobok juo doh”	“Lah leno saya barputar subalik pasa, ndak bersua doh”	Sudah payah saya berputar keliling pasar ini, tidak bertemu juga	I'm tired of going around this market, but I can't find any
“Jan bagarah juo lai”	“Jan bergarah juga lagi”	Jangan berkelakar juga lagi	Don't joke anymore
“Tapi waang nan manyuruah den”	“Tapi kamu nan manyuruh saya”	Tapi kamu yang menyuruh saya	But you told me to
“Itu baru batua mah”	“Itu baru batul mah ”	Itu baru betul	That's just right

The resulting "Indomie" language, a hybrid form of Minangkabau and Indonesian, is problematic for comprehension and language continuity. This language is neither Minangkabau nor proper Indonesian; it is a mix where Minangkabau vocabulary is modified to sound Indonesian, but the result remains grammatically incoherent and lexically confusing. The term "Indomie" humorously highlights this blend of sounds and structures, which frequently leaves listeners uncertain and causes communication breakdowns, especially among younger generations.

This linguistic ambiguity is particularly challenging for the Alpha generation, who struggle to understand the vocabulary and intent behind Indomie phrases. Aware of these linguistic distortions, Millennials often find themselves unable to explain these expressions to their children, resulting in confusion and frustration. As a result, rather than navigating the complex explanations or trying to untangle the meaning behind Indomie phrases, millennials choose not to pass down the Minangkabau language. They fear it will only lead to further confusion for the Alpha generation, who are already exposed to this chaotic language mix from older speakers.

For instance, in one conversation, a grandmother expressed frustration with her grandson's request for a toy due to lack of money by saying, "Just paint it with Cako; grandma is not baptizing." Here, "Cako" and other terms do not adhere to formal Indonesian guidelines (PUEBI) and are not part of standard Minangkabau either, creating an incomprehensible phrase for younger listeners. Such instances exemplify how Indomie speech interferes with language transmission, reinforcing millennials' decision to focus on national or foreign languages instead of preserving the Minangkabau language within family conversations.

The attempt by older speakers, such as the grandmother, to bridge the gap between Minangkabau and Indonesian has led to "Indomie" expressions that lack clarity in both languages. For instance, the phrase "*lah dikecatkan*," which is neither grammatically correct in Indonesian nor recognizable in Minangkabau, exemplifies how older generations inadvertently pass on mixed expressions that do not conform to either language's proper structure or vocabulary. The grandmother's intended message in standard Indonesian would be, "*I told you earlier that Grandma does not have any money.*" At the same time, in Minangkabau it would be "*Lah dikecekkkan cako, nenek indak bapitih doh.*"

Phrases like "*dikecatkan*" and "*bapitis*" do not belong to either language but are part of a new hybrid "Indomie" lexicon. This emerging language mix is becoming common in conversations with Generation Alpha, as shown in **Table 2**, which highlights additional "Indomie" expressions that deviate from standard Indonesian and Minangkabau. This linguistic blending affects intergenerational communication and undermines the transmission of a pure form of either language. As a result, millennial parents increasingly avoid Minangkabau to prevent further confusion for their children.

Table 2. Words, Phrase, and Sentence Code Mixing in Indomie Language

Indomie	Code-Mixing		
	Word	Phrase	Sentence
Pinjamkanlah abang tu baanyoh	V		V
Jangan sampilik jadi orang tu	V		V
Apa juga lagi tu	V	V	V
Lah mangeak loh kamu kan?	V	V	V
Jan main-main hp nenek tu, beko rusak nanti	V	V	V
Mandilah lagi, lah baleak badan kamu	V	V	V
Jangan-jangan sakit dia ha, lah basalemo pula	V	V	V
Jan dierik-erik juga anak tu	V	V	V
Jan berlari juo lagi, anjing ini sudah terkebat mah	V	V	
Pulsa ndak ada do	V	V	V
Dia itu nyoh	V	V	
Bukan yang ini, tapi yang itu...tu haa	V	V	V
Udah aku kasih tahu mah		V	V
Ndak bartamu di saya doh	V	V	V
Tapi kamu nan manyuruh saya bali itu tadi	V	V	
Jan bargarah-garah kamu ha	V		V
Itu baru batul mah	V		V
Lah tarlambat kamu dapat berita mah	V	V	V
Lupa ingat saya mah	V	V	V
Sabanar banar sihat, sabanar cadik	V	V	V
Santing bagai mangicat	V	V	V
Lah lima tahun umurnya mah	V	V	V
Kan lah jalas di kamu tu haa	V	V	V
Tunjuk ajarilah saya ha	V	V	V
Sabanarnya lah basobok paja tu tadi mah	V	V	
Tapi balinya satangah juta ciat	V	V	
Tapi kan kamu manyuruh mah	V	V	
Ka jadi sibisu saja saya jo cucu saya tu	V	V	
Jalas-jalas lah kamu ini, apa maksud kamu sabanarnya	V	V	
Anak saketek tu, paninglah dia	V	V	V
Assalamualaikum sika lah sabantar haa	V		
Kalau Indonesia, Indonesialah sadana	V	V	V
Itu jalas didn tu mah	V	V	
Waden pula kadiajari tantang itu	V	V	
Jangan kamu alur saja saya	V		
Ciat-ciatlah goh, tantang itu lagi	V		
Ubi parancis, digoreng karing-karing			

Kamu pula ka mangajari waden
 Bertuduh pula waden
 Lah kamu bayar tu
 Hari lah jam bara tu ha
 Cepatlah, bara pitisnyo tu
 Ndak begitu doh
 Ndak amuh tu doh
 Apa lagi tu ha
 Apa keceknyo

At the peak of the "Indomie" language confusion, words, phrases, or sentences emerge that neither the speaker nor younger generations—Generations Y and Alpha—can explain or understand. This often leads to a conversational deadlock, with all participants equally puzzled by the intended meaning. **Table 3** provides examples of these unintelligible words and phrases, which are neither Indonesian nor Minangkabau. These linguistic anomalies highlight the breakdown in communication that can occur when neither language is fully preserved, leading to a loss of clarity and shared understanding.

Table 3. Meaningless Words and Phrases in the Indomie Language

Indomie	Meaningless	
	Word	Phrase
apa juga lagi tuha, sholatlah lagi haa		lagi tuha
apa tuha, nan indak-indak saja yang dilakukannya		apa tuha
Adam....kena pala adikmu tuha. Madar anak ini mah	madar	baa nyoh
Pinjamkanlah abang tu baa nyoh	sempilik	
Jangan sempilik jadi orang tu	kerengkang	mangeak loh
Lah mangeak loh kamu kan?	madar	
Tulah...kadang kerengkang jugalah kamu	baleak	juga doh
Ondeh iyo madar bana. Lah berulang kali dikatokan. Ndak		jan dierik-erik
ngerti-ngerti juga doh		terkebat mah
Mandilah lagi, lah baleak badan kamu	bartamu	itu nyoh
Jan dierik-erik juga anak tu	leno, subalik	tu haa
Jan berlari juo lagi, anjing ini sudah terkebat mah		
Dia itu nyoh	pengana	batul mah
Bukan yang ini, tapi yang itu...tu haa		segerabak tulak
Ndak bartamu di saya doh	kalimpasingan	
Lah leno saya berputar subalik pasa, ndak barsua doh	tagarabailah,	sabanar banar
Itu baru batul mah	berpetai-petai	
Baa pula saya kan menjawab pertanyaan kamu nan segerabak	banar, cemees	
tulak tu		sakarat ular
Paja itu pula nan jadi pengana di saya mah	bakaputung	sakarat balut
Sabanar banar sihat, sabanar cadik	barjamur	lah mersik
Santing bagai mangicat		
Tumah ditalipunnya saya, kalimpasingan saya manjawab		
Inya pakai Bahasa Indonesia, tagarabailah saya, ber petai-petai		
Jan kadang banar cemees kamu		
Ndak jalah bahasa nan kamu pakai doh, sakarat ula sakarat		
balut.		
Lah bakaputung pula balik kamu ya		
Lah mersik kamu barjamur dari tadi		

These examples all represent the "Indomie" language—expressions that are neither standard Indonesian nor traditional Minangkabau. However, Minangkabau speakers can recognize that these words stem from Minangkabau

roots and reflect an incomplete transition into Indonesian. This hybrid language is observed across generations, from Generation X to Generation Alpha. It is common in exchanges between Generation Y and Generation Alpha, especially in emotionally charged moments, such as when Generation Y parents scold their children.

Antipathy stemming from being criticized or bullied by older speakers

Millennials cite a history of uncomfortable interactions with older speakers, particularly from the Baby Boomer generation, as a significant factor in their reluctance to use Minangkabau. In conversations with older individuals, millennials often encounter criticism, correction, and, at times, bullying. These older speakers tend to point out and disparage every perceived mistake, leading to frustration and discomfort for millennials. This repeated experience has fostered a sense of antipathy toward the language, further reinforcing their decision to distance themselves from using Minangkabau in everyday interactions. Here is an example of the type of criticism millennials frequently encounter in conversations with older generations:

"Inyiak bukan inyik!" (Inyiak = nickname for grandfather)

"Pulang kampung, bukan pulang kampong!"

Millennials frequently encounter criticism from older generations in several specific language aspects, including:

- Word Pronunciation Errors
- Mistakes in Vocabulary Use
- Grammar Mistakes
- Misuse of terms or idioms
- Errors in using "Kato Pusako"

The older generation regards *Kato Pusako* as a revered tradition, with some terms carrying connotative meanings, metaphors, or figures of speech that are considered inappropriate for public discussion. Millennials, unfamiliar with these nuances, often find themselves in uncomfortable situations when older individuals criticize them for linguistic errors. When elders outnumber millennial family members in these settings, millennials may feel pressured or cornered, accused of neglecting their Minangkabau heritage. This dynamic contributes to the generational tension surrounding language use and can lead millennials to avoid using their regional language.

Millennial generation members often choose to remain silent and disengage from conversations in their regional language. They exhibit reluctance and sometimes even antipathy, toward using Minangkabau when interacting with their Alpha-generation children. This reluctance is especially pronounced when older generations, who still hold strong opinions about the correct use of the language, make frequent mistakes. Criticism regarding pronunciation or missing diphthongs contributes to their disinterest in passing on the regional language. For instance, a millennial might say, "Let us go home," to their children, while an older relative might insist, "Not village do, village!" This generational divide in language use further discourages millennials from transmitting the Minangkabau language to the next generation.

Corrections made in front of their Generation Alpha children make millennials uncomfortable and sometimes ignorant of their regional language, Minangkabau. In addition to criticism of pronunciation, millennials face negative feedback regarding their word choices. The use of archaic words, which often have double or connotative meanings, adds to the discomfort. These terms may carry metaphors or figures of speech considered taboo in public settings. When millennials use such vocabulary or idioms with hidden or taboo meanings, they are often harshly criticized or ridiculed by older generations, making them feel inadequate or foolish. This sense of antipathy discourages them from continuing to use the regional language, further distancing them from passing it on to the next generation.

Older individuals also frequently criticize the grammar used by millennials in Minangkabau, as it differs significantly from Indonesian grammar. Criticism about improper grammar or language use is not limited to millennials; it also targets older individuals attempting to bridge Minangkabau with Indonesian when speaking to their Generation Alpha grandchildren. These efforts often result in the use of "Indomie," a mix of Minangkabau and Indonesian, creating a confusing hybrid language for Indonesian speakers. This mixture generates jokes and criticism from Minangkabau speakers who understand the language, highlighting the dissonance between generations.

An additional instance of criticism involves the millennial generation's incorrect use of Minangkabau terms. For example, a millennial might say, "Grandma's granddaughter is beautiful, right?"

"Hush...cantiak tuh ndak ndak samo dengan cantik, dalam Bahasa Indonesia, makonyo belajar Bahasa kampung awak"

"Rancak, tu bahaso Minangnyo"

Generation X often criticizes millennials for using the word *cantiak* to mean "beautiful" in Minangkabau, asserting that the correct word is *rancak*, which conveys beauty in a more traditional context. This linguistic purism often surfaces in interactions where older generations correct or mock younger speakers for not adhering to traditional vocabulary.

Another example of Minangkabau language bullying from Generation X to Generation Y is:

Generation X: *"Itu ndak Apak tu doh, Mamak tu mah"*

Generation Y: *"Eh iyo Mamak..."*

This example illustrates how language-based criticism and subtle forms of bullying from Generation X can occur in diverse social and educational settings, where language use, or communication style becomes a focal point for critique. For instance, Generation X might express disapproval when younger generations use terms like "ante" to address someone, as in *"Itu mak uo Eli mah, ndak ante Eli doh. Panggilan ante koh ndak ado di Minangkabau doh. Makonyo acok-acok pulang kampung."* Such remarks highlight the generational divide over the "correct" forms of address in Minangkabau culture. Repeated critiques and teasing over vocabulary choices, pronunciation, or traditional expressions gradually affect Generation Y's motivation to speak Minangkabau, leading to feelings of antipathy and hesitation toward using their mother tongue or teaching it to their children.

From observation data, interviews, and discussions, the following generational conversational spaces have been identified:

Room I (R-I), all conversation participants are from Generation X.

Room II (R-II), all conversation participants are from Generation Y.

Room III (R-III), all conversation participants are from Generation Alpha.

Room IV (R-IV), conversation participants include Generation X and Generation Y

Room V(RV), conversation participants include Generation X and Generation Alpha

Room VI (R-VI), conversation participants include Generation Y and Generation Alpha

Room VII (R-VII), conversation participants include Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Alpha.

These distinct conversational spaces underscore the dynamic and sometimes tense language interactions between generations, revealing the complexities of linguistic inheritance and identity in Minangkabau culture.

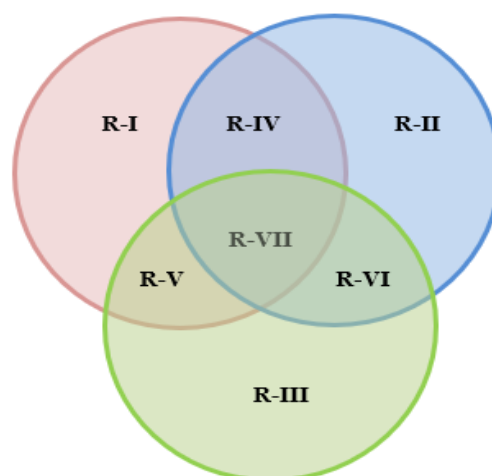


Figure 1. Seven Conversation Rooms That Happened to Meeting of Three Generations: X, Y, and Alpha

1. The Position of Mother Tongue, National Language, Foreign Language, and Indomie in Minangkabau Millennial Family Conversations. Three generational factors can be observed across seven conversation spaces:

- **Minangkabau Language as a Mother Tongue:**

- The Minangkabau language is fully used in **Room I (R-I)** and **Room IV (R-IV)**, where conversation participants are only Generation X or a combination of Generation X and Generation Y.
- In R-I, Generation X generally uses their mother tongue for conversations. There is hesitancy in switching to the national language as long as most participants are from the generation that speaks the mother tongue. This reluctance is often compounded by a feeling of being cornered when Generation X members criticize the way others use the mother tongue.

- **National Language:**

- The national language is predominantly used in **Room VII (R-VII)**, where all generations are present, and **Room VI (R-VI)**, where conversation participants include Generation Y and Generation Alpha.

- **Foreign Languages (English and Arabic):**

- Foreign languages are fully used in **Room II (R-II)** and **Room VI (R-VI)**, where conversation participants are Generation Y and Generation Alpha.

- **Indomie Language:**

- Generation X generally uses Indomie in **Room VII (R-VII)** and **Room V (R-V)** to communicate with Generation Alpha.

The mother tongue is present in only two of the seven conversation spaces and diminishes over time, particularly as Generation X is no longer present.

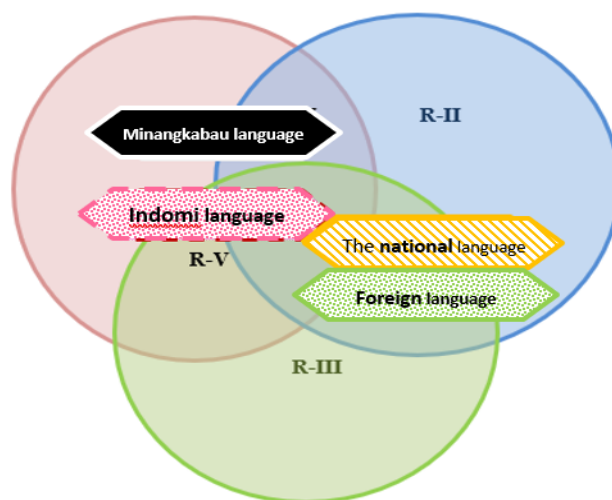


Figure 2. Position of Mother Tongue, National Language, Foreign Language, and Indomie Language in the Three Generations Conversation Room

DISCUSSION

These findings align with previous studies explaining the motivations for promoting national and foreign languages within families. This shift is influenced by linguistic ideology, projections of future language needs, and the perceived importance of certain languages for children's success.

The findings on Indomie illustrate substantial code-mixing in **Room IV** conversations between Generation X and their grandchildren, Generation Alpha. Generation X members attempt to shift from their mother tongue to the national language, but a form of code-mixing involving various linguistic elements and levels emerges. Code-mixing

appears at the word, phrase, and sentence levels, creating a new, disordered language that is neither purely Minangkabau nor Indonesian. Millennials perceive this as a "failed inheritance" of the Minangkabau language, leaving Generation Alpha in a confusing linguistic environment without adequate reference points.

Furthermore, Millennials see *Indomie* as unsuitable for inheritance, compounded by the difficulty in understanding some archaic forms of the Minangkabau language. These factors drive Millennials to distance themselves from passing on the Minangkabau language to the next generation.

The term *Indomie* is a blend of *Indonesian* and *Minangkabau* languages. Generation Y uses it to describe instances of code-mixing in conversations where words, phrases, or sentences lack clear reference in either Indonesian or Minangkabau. *Indomie* also evokes the popular instant noodle brand produced by Indofood, the largest instant noodle producer globally. Indofood has operated 16 factories and produces over 28 billion packets of *Indomie* annually, exporting to more than 90 countries worldwide. Since its launch in June 1972, *Indomie* has primarily been manufactured in Indonesia, but production expanded to Nigeria in 1995 and Turkey in 2010. The brand gained considerable popularity in Nigeria and other African nations since its introduction in the 1980s (Wargadiredja, 2017).

The findings on concerns about mother tongue proficiency align with similar research in other communities. Goble (2016) reported that third-generation Mexican Americans experienced insecurities about their Spanish proficiency, "exacerbated by family teasing" (p. 29), ultimately contributing to an intergenerational loss of the language. Similarly, Wyman's (2009) longitudinal study on language shift, or "language tipping," in a Yup'ik community highlighted young speakers' declining proficiency and concerns about their ability to use Yup'ik correctly. He noted a prevailing "assumption that young people who speak the dominant language in endangered language communities eschew local practices, physical spaces, and marginalized identities" (p. 347). Chimbutane (2020) observed that mother tongue loss is especially prevalent among children living abroad, with or without their parents. Despite global initiatives to preserve mother tongues and promote linguistic diversity, factors like migration and globalization continue to threaten these languages, as seen among African children living in Canada. Similarly, Darko's (2016) research on Twi-English contact in Ghana found English lexical elements increasingly infiltrating Twi expressions, a code-switching phenomenon arising from limited proficiency. Darko concluded that this code-switching is gradually reducing the use of Twi, the ancestral language, due to speakers' reliance on English.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Millennial Minangkabau families, particularly those residing in urban housing complexes, tend to favor national or foreign languages over their mother tongue, Minangkabau, in conversations with their children. Consequently, Generation Alpha is consciously distancing itself from Minangkabau, viewing it as the "foreign language" of the older generation.

In analyzing seven conversational spaces among millennial Minangkabau families, the mother tongue was present in only two: Room I and Room IV. This limited usage is tied to the perception that Minangkabau lacks relevance for future prospects. Many parents see no tangible benefit in passing on Minangkabau to their children, viewing national and foreign languages as more practical for their work and social environments.

Complex factors further influence the shift away from the mother tongue. These include frequent code-mixing, known as "Indomie," in conversations with older family members and instances of criticism or bullying from older generations, which foster feelings of antipathy. As a result, many millennials find it challenging to preserve and transmit Minangkabau to the next generation, reinforcing its gradual decline in family settings.

Most millennials perceive "losing their mother tongue" as an inevitable consequence of modern demands, accepting this shift as unavoidable. While minorities express concern, they lack the motivation to pass on the language. As a result, the mother tongue remains within the millennials' passive knowledge, used sparingly with the older generation and mostly in intimate settings. Generation Z, and even less so Generation Alpha, show minimal engagement with it.

A significant finding of this study is the shrinking conversational space for the mother tongue, which leads to its increasing alienation within the millennial discourse. Additionally, the study reveals a breakdown in the transmission of the mother tongue from Generation X, largely influenced by the confusing code-mixing phenomenon termed "Indomie." This chaotic language blend disrupts the continuity of the mother tongue, contributing to its gradual disappearance from everyday use among younger generations which warrants careful consideration and management.

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Conceptualization: A; Methodology: A; Software: SY; Validation: SY and H; Formal Analysis: H and MK; Investigation: MK and DDP; Resources: A, SY, and DDP; Data Curation: DDP, H, and MK; Writing—Original Draft Preparation: SY and H; Writing—Review and Editing: SKN and RK; Visualization: MK and SKN; Supervision: DDP and SKN; Project Administration: A. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there is no potential conflict of interest regarding this paper's research, authorship, and publication.

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