

**BUKTI KORESPONDENSI ARTIKEL
PADA JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI**

*Reviving the language at risk:
a social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia*
pada jurnal *Q1 International Journal of Multilingualism*



PENGUSUL

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UNIVERSITAS NEGERI SEMARANG

Yang terhormat
Tim Penilai Usulan PAK

Bersama dengan surat ini, saya bermaksud menyertakan bukti-bukti korespondensi proses review artikel pada Jurnal Internasional dengan judul “Reviving the language at risk: a social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia” dimuat pada jurnal International Journal of Multilingualism. DOI: 10.1080/14790718.2020.1850737 ISSN 1747-7530.

Adapun susunan kronologi bukti korespondensi terdiri dari beberapa poin pada table di bawah ini:

No	Tanggal	Aktivitas
1	9 Mei 2020	Submit manuscript pertama kali ke jurnal
2	9 Mei 2020	Pemberian nomor ID manuscript dari editor RCPS-2021-0001
3	4 Juni 2020	Pemberitahuan artikel telah direview dan mendapatkan revisi mayor dengan tenggat revisi selama 6 bulan.
4	14 Agustus 2020	Mengirim balasan dan revisi pertama artikel pada jurnal
5	7 Oktober 2020	Pemberitahuan artikel telah direview dan mendapatkan revisi minor
6	15 Oktober 2020	Mengirim revisi kedua dengan tabel Revisi Kedua sebagai respon terhadap reviewers
7	10 November 2020	Pemberitahuan artikel telah diterima oleh editor
8	11 November 2020	Permintaan untuk proof artikel
9	12 Desember 2020	Artikel telah published.

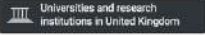
Detail Artikel pada Jurnal Internasional Bereputasi

Judul Artikel	: Reviving the language at risk: a social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia
Jurnal	: International Journal of Multilingualism
Volume	: 0
Nomor	: 0
Tanggal publikasi	: 11 Desember 2020
ISSN	: ISSN 1946-018X
Halaman	: 1-16
DOI	: 10.1080/14790718.2020.1850737
Penerbit	: Taylor and Francis, Routledge
SJR	: 01.55 (2020)
Quartile	: Q1 (Scopus)
Penulis	: Zulfa Sakhiyya & Nelly Martin Anatias

Bukti Indexing Jurnal:



International Journal of Multilingualism

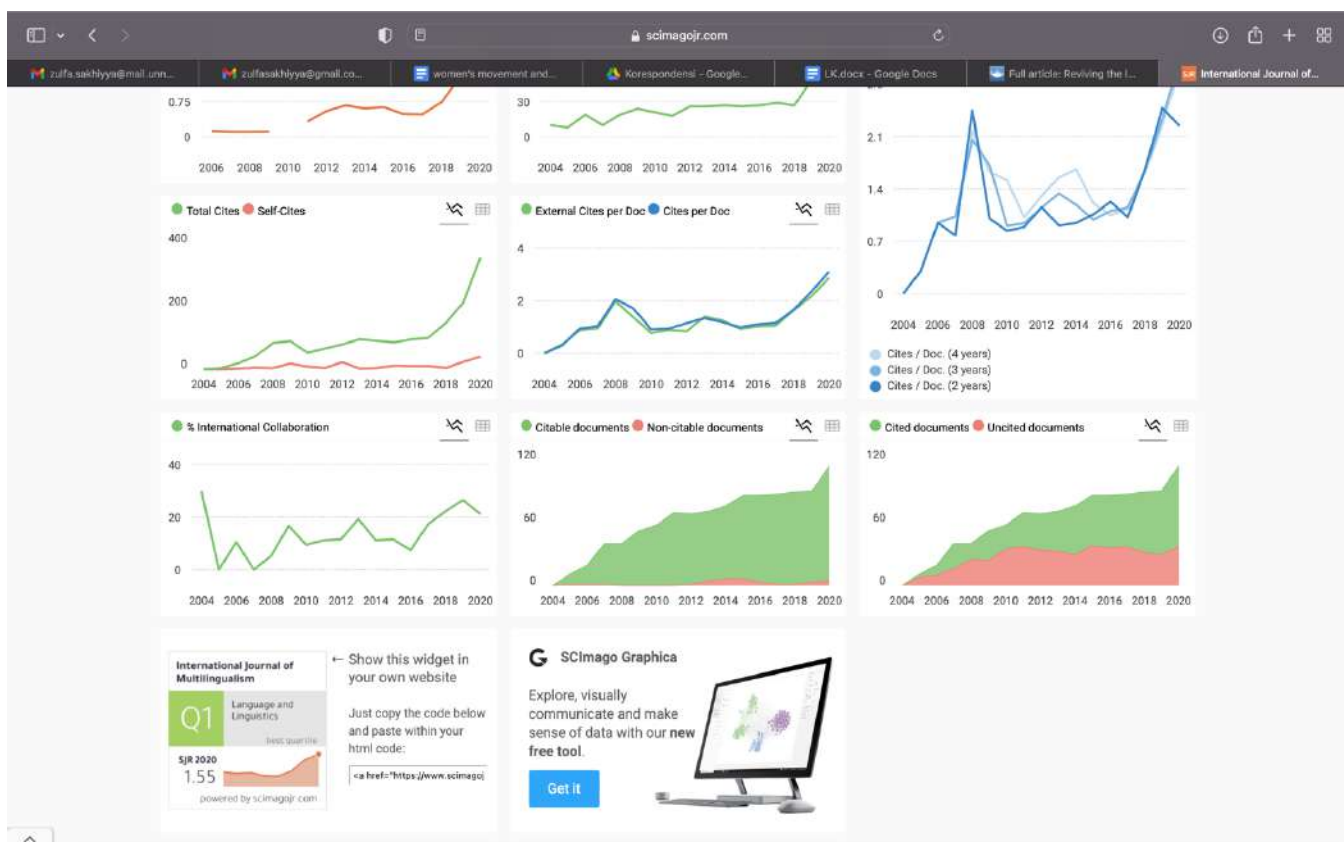
COUNTRY	SUBJECT AREA AND CATEGORY	PUBLISHER	H-INDEX
United Kingdom 	Arts and Humanities — Language and Linguistics Social Sciences — Linguistics and Language	Routledge	34
PUBLICATION TYPE	ISSN	COVERAGE	INFORMATION
Journals	14790718	2004-2020	Homepage How to publish in this journal

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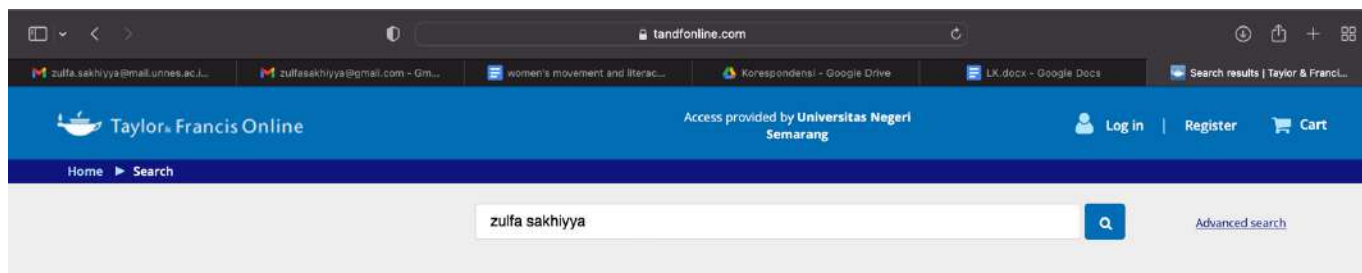
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- 2.711 (2020) SNIP
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Zulfa Sakhiyya & Nelly Martin-Anatias

International Journal of Multilingualism

Published Online: 11 Dec 2020

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SUBMISSION	TITLE	JOURNAL	STATUS	CHARGES
205191617	Reviving the language at risk: A social semiotic...	International Journal of Multilingualism	Accepted	

1 SUBMISSION

2 PEER REVIEW

06 October 2020

Revision Required

23 October 2020

Revision Incomplete

23 October 2020

Revised Manuscript Submitted

23 October 2020

With Journal Administrator

26 October 2020

With Editor

01 November 2020

Out for Review

09 November 2020

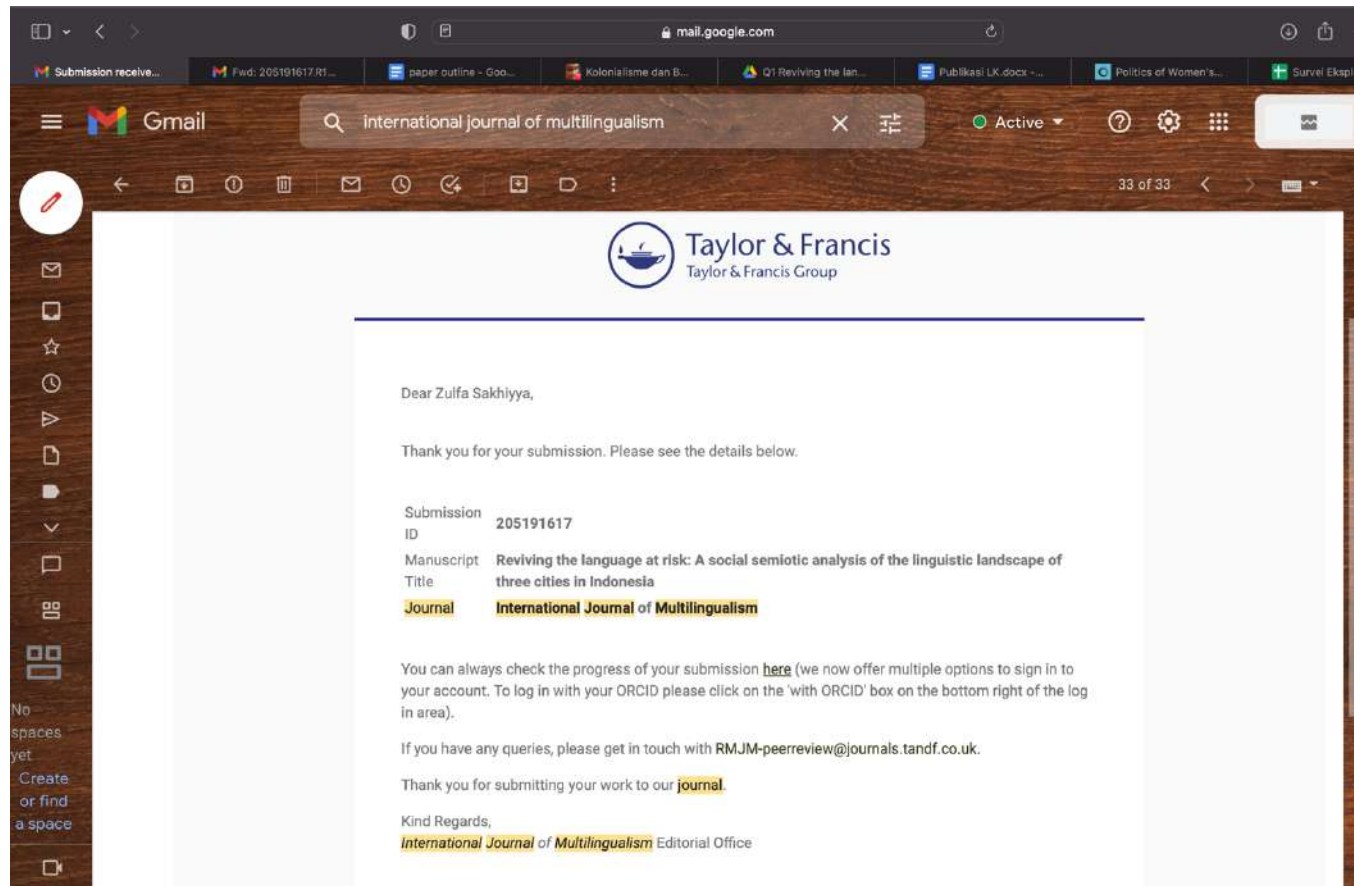
Decision Pending

10 November 2020

Accepted

3 PRODUCTION

Submit manuscript pertama kali ke jurnal 9 Mei 2020
Pemberian nomor manuscript ID dari editor 205191617



Pemberitahuan artikel telah direview dan mendapatkan revisi mayor dengan tenggat revisi selama 6 bulan (4 Juni 2020)

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04/01/22 16.23



ZULFA SAKHIYYA <zulfa.sakhiyya@mail.unnes.ac.id>

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1 message

International Journal of Multilingualism <onbehalf@manuscriptcentral.com>
Reply-To: RMJM-peerreview@journals.tandf.co.uk
To: zulfa.sakhiyya@mail.unnes.ac.id

Thu, Jun 4, 2020 at 1:24 PM

Dear Zulfa,

Manuscript ID IJM-0956 entitled "Reviving the language at risk: A social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia" which you submitted to the International Journal of Multilingualism, has been refereed. The comments of the referee(s) are included at the bottom of this email.

The referee(s) have suggested revisions to your paper, some of which are quite major. We would like you to respond to the referee(s)' comments and revise your manuscript accordingly.

In addition, please read carefully our guidelines on the journal's article and reference styles and make sure that your article complies with that guidance. You can find the guidelines within our Instructions to Authors at <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/authorSubmission?journalCode=rmjm20&page=instructions>.

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If you have any questions or technical issues, please contact the journal's editorial office at RMJM-peerreview@journals.tandf.co.uk.

Please upload a revised version of your paper within the next six months (before 07-Dec-2020). If you can't meet this deadline we will have to consider any revision you upload as a new submission.

Once again, thank you for submitting your manuscript to the International Journal of Multilingualism and we look forward to receiving your revision.

Best wishes,

Eva Vetter and Danuta Gabrys-Barker
Editors, International Journal of Multilingualism

Comments from the Editors and Reviewers:
Referee: 1

Comments to the Author
This article has the following merits:
its topic is interesting and new, the linguistic landscape of Indonesia
it has a clear focus: the agents of the linguistic landscape
it gives a concise picture of language policy and linguistic landscape in Indonesia

Because the article would expand our understanding of linguistic landscapes and language policies in a new, important context it certainly warrants publication.

I would suggest the authors address the following weaknesses of the article:

- the number of literature used is far too low, taken the span of recent studies published in the field. There is a lack of studies from the past five years, some sources appear outdated, too.
- the focus of the article seems to break down, in the beginning it appears as the agents of the linguistic landscape, later it seems more like a general description of the linguistic landscape in Indonesia.
- the methodology is a bit unclear, in the analysis certain things seem to be more or less assumed than explicated.
- It remains unclear how the agents of the linguistic landscape were studied. How can we know that the assumptions by the authors on the agents intentions on the interpretation of the signs are valid? Could it have made sense to interview some of the agents? Now it appear more like a semiotic interpretation by the authors based on contextual knowledge.

There are some language issues as well, the article would need some proof-reading

Referee: 2

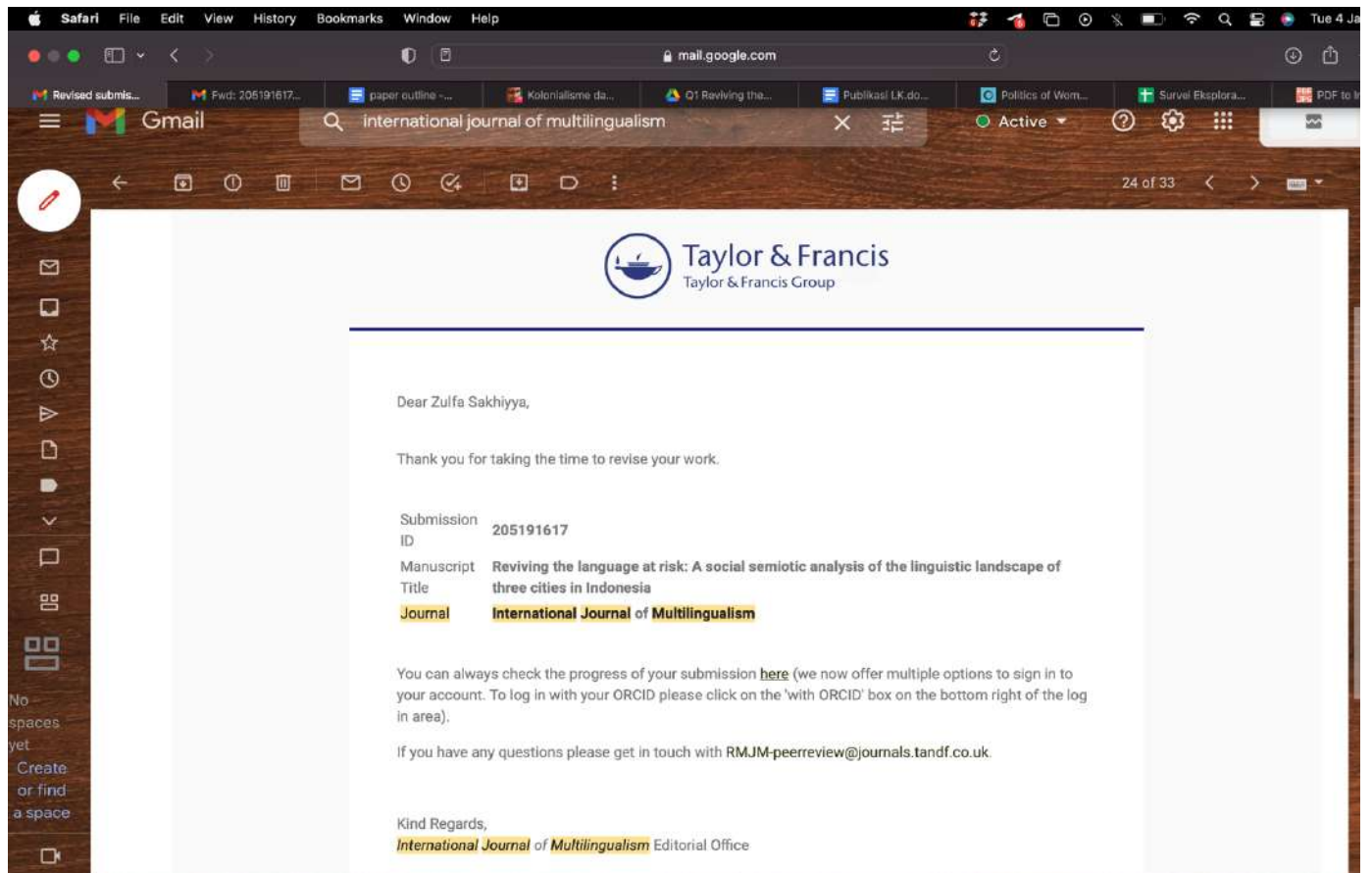
Comments to the Author

Dear authors

Many thanks for your manuscript submitted to the Journal. While I agree with you that LL in Indonesia 'is under-researched', hence the huge potential of your work, the current version of your paper may need to be re-worked so that it can advance the field more substantially and appeal to a wider international audience. Below I offer a few suggestions.

1. p. 1. 'linguistic landscaping by whom?'. I am not sure if this may be the most effective way of introducing your project/research question. I can see that you are trying to follow Shohamy's (2015) argument, but maybe some reorganization is needed to make your text flow better. ?
2. p. 2. Shohamy's (2015) argument, in my reading, suggests that we now need to move beyond simple counting of signs in display to delve into the history, politics, people, etc. This move requires that new research methods (such as interview, observation, as well as the traditional photography and questionnaire) be employed in relation to one's research questions. subject to your research question, you might consider employing new data collection methods.
3. p. 3. 'out of those 138 local languages'. not clear.
4. p. 5. Methodology. data collection method was not adequately described. How did you sample the buildings or shops in the 3 cities? Indeed, what is a city and how can we separate a city from its neighboring countryside?
5. p. 8. 'if it is not governed by the regional/national policies, it is governed by the market forces'. This sounds more like a claim which is not supported by evidence/argument.
6. p. 12. 'do not necessarily reflect the language they use daily'. May I ask: how did you know this?
- 7.p. 13. 'less educated, traditional and provincial', 'lower-class'. What's the basis of such interpretation?
8. your manuscript may need a thorough editing /proofreading. also, some references in the text (e.g., Wee and Goh) are missing in the bibliography.

Mengirim balasan dan revisi pertama artikel pada jurnal 14 Agustus 2020



Tabel Revisi 1

Reviewers' comments	Authors' responses	Revision
Reviewer 1		
<p>This article has the following merits:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • its topic is interesting and new, the linguistic landscape of Indonesia • it has a clear focus: the agents of the linguistic landscape • it gives a concise picture of language policy and linguistic landscape in Indonesia • Because the article would expand our understanding of linguistic landscapes and language policies in a new, important context it certainly warrants publication. 	<p>Thank you for your positive feedback in seeing the merits of our article.</p>	
<p>The number of literature used is far too low, taken the span of recent studies published in the field. There is a lack of studies from the past five years, some sources appear outdated, too.</p>	<p>We agree to add more references. They are added as relevant.</p> <p>However, to trace back the development of the Indonesian language policies, it requires references that trace the history of how Bahasa Indonesia was 'invented' and socialized. Therefore, we need to keep these 'outdated' references.</p>	<p>New References added:</p> <p>Cenoz, J. and Gorter, D. (2006) 'Linguistic landscape and minority languages' <i>International Journal of Multilingualism</i>, 3, 1, 67–80.</p> <p>Blackwood, R. (2015) 'LL explorations and methodological challenges: Analysing France's regional languages', <i>Linguistic Landscapes</i> 1, 1/2, 38–53</p> <p>Hornberger, N. H. (2002) 'Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach', <i>Language Policy</i>, 1, 27–51.</p> <p>Huebner, T. (2009) 'A framework for the linguistic analysis of Linguistic Landscapes' in E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (eds.) <i>Linguistic Landscape: expanding the Scenery</i>. London: Routledge.</p>

		<p>Muth, S. (2014) 'Informal signs as expressions of multilingualism in Chisinau: how individuals shape the public space of a post-Soviet capital', <i>International Journal of the Sociology of Language</i>, 228, 29–53.</p> <p>Otsuji, E. and Pennycook, A. (2010) 'Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux', <i>International Journal of Multilingualism</i>, 7, 3, 240–54.</p> <p>Shohamy, E. and Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, M. (2012) 'Linguistic landscape as a tool for interpreting language vitality: Arabic as a "minority" language in Israel' in D. Gorter, H. F. Marten and L. Van Mensel (eds.) <i>Minority languages in the linguistic landscape</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 89–106.</p>
<p>The focus of the article seems to break down, in the beginning it appears as the agents of the linguistic landscape, later it seems more like a general description of the linguistic landscape in Indonesia.</p>	<p>Thank you for the constructive feedback. We have shifted the focus of our paper from the 'agents' into social semiotics perspective on linguistic landscape.</p>	<p>Paragraph 1 and 2 on page 1 have been deleted, and replaced with Indonesia's multilingual condition and its challenges:</p> <p>"With over 280 million people and approximately 700 spoken local languages, Indonesia is certainly one of the multilingual nations in the world. Despite this remarkable language diversity, Indonesia is in favour of monolingualism. Local languages are currently endangered (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014) as a consequence of the imposition of the 'made-up' national language, <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> (Indonesian</p>

		language; hereafter Bahasa Indonesia). Since Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, the National Constitution has only mentioned and secured Bahasa Indonesia as the national language.”
The methodology is a bit unclear, in the analysis certain things seem to be more or less assumed than explicated.	Suggestion accepted. We have honed some important methodological points: - How LL is connected to semiotic approach (page 6)	Page 6: “In this framework, LL is seen as a collection of semiotic properties that point and perform a contextualised action (Moriarty, 2014).”
It remains unclear how the agents of the linguistic landscape were studied. How can we know that the assumptions by the authors on the agents intentions on the interpretation of the signs are valid? Could it have made sense to interview some of the agents? Now it appear more like a semiotic interpretation by the authors based on contextual knowledge.	The reviewer is right that our paper employs social semiotic approach in analyzing signs and signage. We have explicitly stated this in the title as well as defined it in the methodology section: “Semiotic approach is employed to unpack the discursive functions and the social meaning of linguistic use. We take some cues from the Barthian’s visual semiotics in which we are unpacking the two layers of meanings; the denotation and the connotation (symbolic).” We have shifted the focus of our article to social semiotic, rather than on the agents.	
There are some language issues as well, the article would need some proof-reading	We have proofread the draft.	
Reviewer 2		
p. 1. 'linguistic landscaping by whom?'. I am not sure if this may be	Suggestion accepted. This paragraph is deleted.	Paragraph 1 and 2 on page 1 have been deleted, and

the most effective way of introducing your project/research question. I can see that you are trying to follow Shohamy's (2015) argument, but maybe some reorganization is needed to make your text flow better?		<p>replaced with Indonesia's multilingual condition and its challenges:</p> <p>"With over 280 million people and approximately 700 spoken local languages, Indonesia is certainly one of the multilingual nations in the world. Despite this remarkable language diversity, Indonesia is in favour of monolingualism. Local languages are currently endangered (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014) as a consequence of the imposition of the 'made-up' national language, <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> (Indonesian language; hereafter Bahasa Indonesia). Since Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, the National Constitution has only mentioned and secured Bahasa Indonesia as the national language."</p>
p. 2. Shohamy's (2015) argument, in my reading, suggests that we now need to move beyond simple counting of signs in display to delve into the history, politics, people, etc. This move requires that new research methods (such as interview, observation, as well as the traditional photography and questionnaire) be employed in relation to one's research questions. subject to your research question, you might consider employing new data collection methods.	We agree with the reviewer that Shohamy argues that "we now need to move beyond simple counting of signs in display to delve into the history, politics, people". This is why our paper takes considerable account of the political and historical context of the development of Bahasa Indonesia.	
p. 3. 'out of those 138 local languages'. not clear.	Suggestion is accepted. The phrase is revised.	"out of 138 local languages under study"
p. 5. Methodology. data collection method was not adequately described. How did you sample the buildings or shops in the 3 cities? Indeed, what is a city and how can we	Data sampling has been a concern in linguistic landscape studies. The debate has been centered around representativeness	Data collection began at the end of 2017 and ended in January 2020 across Semarang, Jogjakarta, and Depok. All data were collected through digital

separate a city from its neighboring countryside?	vs. explorative-ness. Our data are not meant to indicate the linguistic composition of the three cities, but as a case to explore the multilingual traces of the linguistic landscape in Indonesia's big cities.	capture of signages and languages ranging from government related signs to privately owned commercial signboards and billboards. Out of more than 500 samples collected, we focus on bilingual or multilingual signs. In approaching the data, we explore the bilingual practice of the signs.
p. 8. 'if it is not governed by the regional/national policies, it is governed by the market forces'. This sounds more like a claim which is not supported by evidence/argument.	Suggestion accepted. The sentence is revised.	"We then describe and explain our research findings and argue that the emerging patterns of linguistic landscape is a result of contingent interaction between multiple forces, among which are national government policies, regional/local policies and market forces." (paragraph 3, page 2)
p. 12. 'do not necessarily reflect the language they use daily'. May I ask: how did you know this?	We have changed the frame of the sentence.	
p. 13. 'less educated, traditional and provincial', 'lower-class'. What's the basis of such interpretation?	We have changed the frame of the sentence.	
Your manuscript may need a thorough editing /proofreading. also, some references in the text (e.g., Wee and Goh) are missing in the bibliography.	We have proofread the draft.	

Pemberitahuan revisi minor dari editor 7 Oktober 2020

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06/01/22 12:10



ZULFA SAKHIYYA <zulfa.sakhiyya@mail.unnes.ac.id>

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3 messages

International Journal of Multilingualism <onbehalf@manuscriptcentral.com>

Wed, Oct 7, 2020 at 6:03 AM

Reply-To: RMJM-peerreview@journals.tandf.co.uk

To: zulfa.sakhiyya@mail.unnes.ac.id

Dear Zulfa,

Manuscript IJM-0956.R1 entitled "Reviving the language at risk: A social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia" which you submitted to the International Journal of Multilingualism, has been refereed. The comments of the referee are included at the bottom of this letter.

The referee has recommended publication, but also suggest further revisions to your manuscript. We would like you to take account of the referee(s)' comments and revise your manuscript accordingly.

In addition, please read carefully our guidelines on the journal's article and reference styles and make sure that your article complies with that guidance. You can find the guidelines within our Instructions to Authors at <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/authorSubmission?journalCode=rmjm20&page=instructions>.

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If you have any questions or technical issues, please contact the journal's editorial office at RMJM-peerreview@journals.tandf.co.uk.

Once again, thank you for submitting your manuscript to the International Journal of Multilingualism and we look forward to receiving your revision.

Best wishes,

Eva Vetter and Danuta Gabrys-Barker
Editors, International Journal of Multilingualism

Comments from the Editors and Reviewers:
Referee: 1

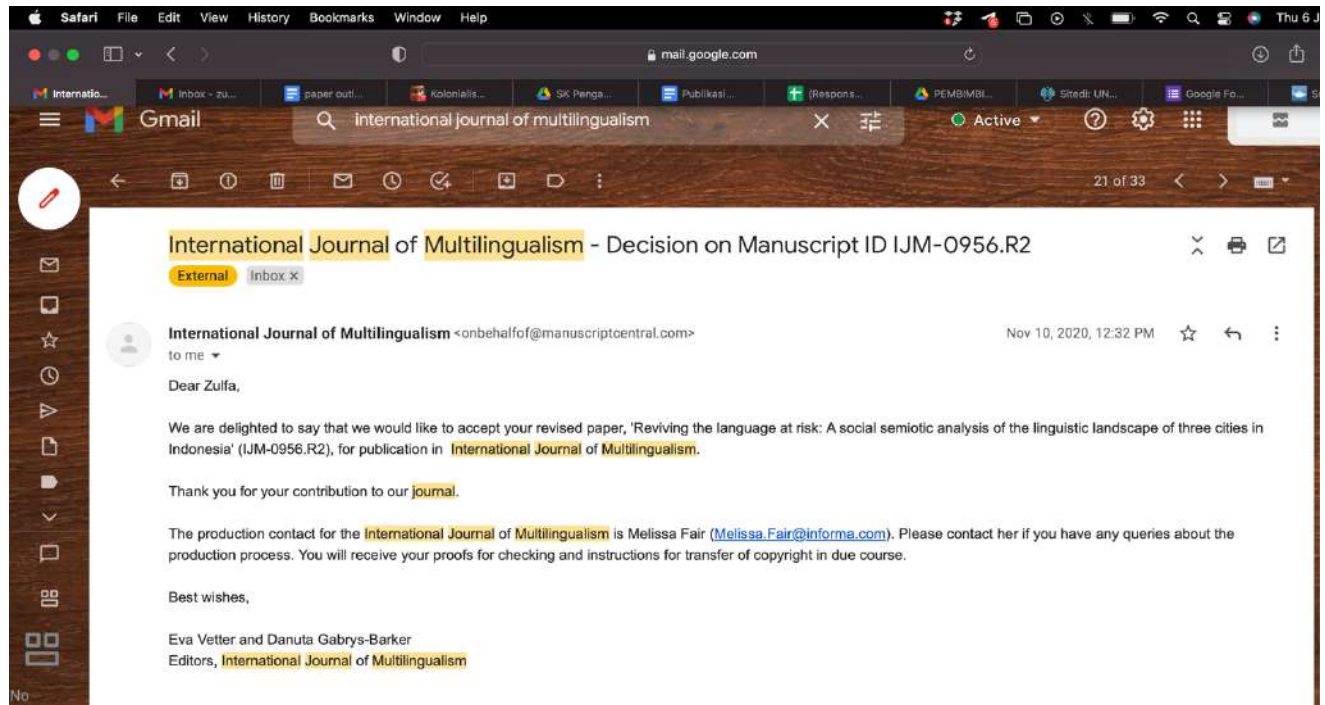
Comments to the Author

The articles merits can be found in describing and analysing a new, important multilingual context. The revision has improved the article very much. There are still two issues which should be attended. 1) the language of the paper needs proof reading, now at times it is difficult to understand due to grammatical inaccuracies (I have indicated some on the three first pages, see attachment), 2) The use of English in private and commercial signs has been widely investigated, referring and discussing some previous research would improve the paper. I would suggest beginning with the works of Aneta Pavlenko (e.g.: http://www.anetapavlenko.com/pdf/JSL_2009.pdf) and

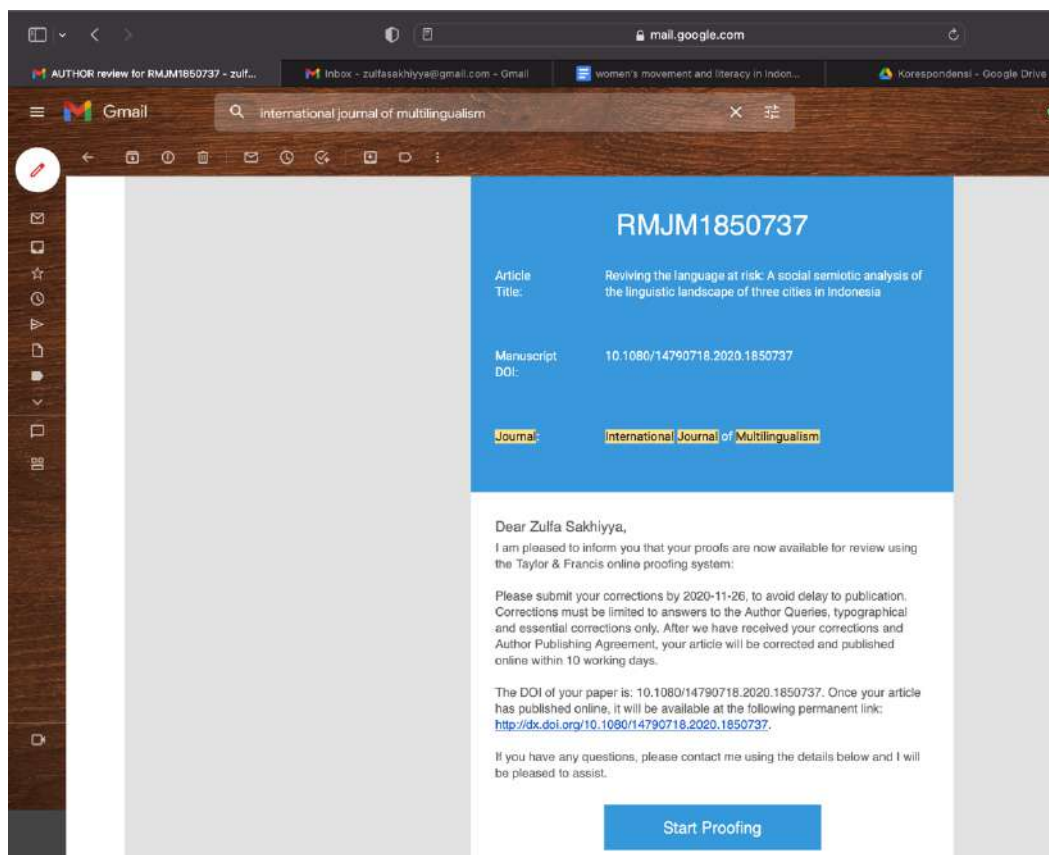
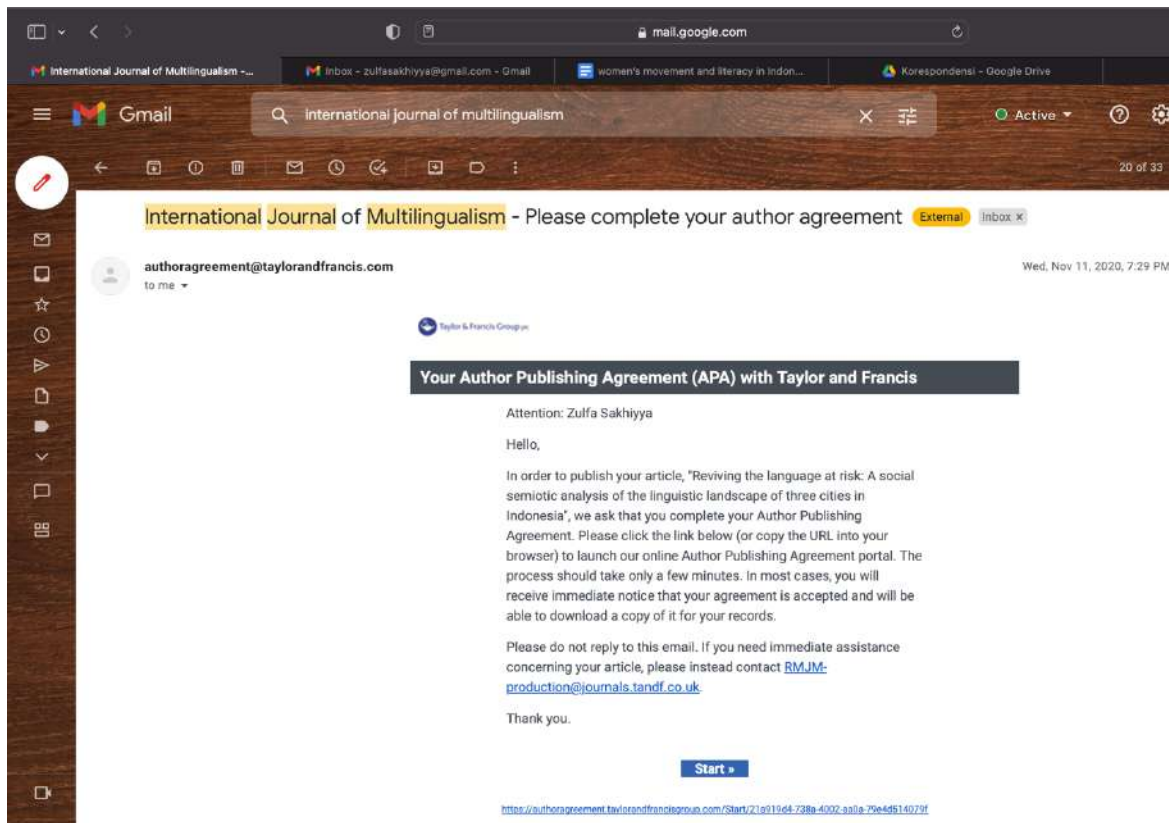
Mengirim revisi kedua dengan tabel Revisi Kedua sebagai respon terhadap reviewers

Reviewers' comments	Authors' responses	Revision
Reviewer 1		
<p>The articles merits can be found in describing and analysing a new, important multilingual context. The revision has improved the article very much. There are still two issues which should be attended.</p> <p>1) the language of the paper needs proof reading, now at times it is difficult to understand due to grammatical inaccuracies (I have indicated some on the three first pages, see attachment)</p>	<p>Thank you for your positive feedback in seeing the merits of our article. We have hired a professional proofreader.</p>	<p>Every sentence has been revised for smooth flow of ideas and coherence, thanks to the proofreader.</p>
<p>2) The use of English in private and commercial signs has been widely investigated, referring and discussing some previous research would improve the paper. I would suggest beginning with the works of Aneta Pavlenko (e.g.: http://www.anetapavlenko.com/pdf/JSL_2009.pdf) and Adam Jaworski (especially papers on Globalese: https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2015.1010317)</p>	<p>Thank you for the references. We have included the suggested works.</p>	<p>Paragraph 2, page 1: "To this end, we build upon Pavlenko's (2009) insights on the diachronic nature of linguistic landscape across time, as well as Jaworski's (2015) study on the recognition of a new visual-linguistic register"</p> <p>Paragraph 1, page 14: "This serves more as a decorative purpose which is not meant for communication purposes, but it offers aesthetic cosmopolitan value (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, as cited in Jaworski, 2015). In Jaworski's word (2015), the atypical typography may embody the globalese performance."</p>

Pemberitahuan manuscript diterima untuk publikasi 10 November 2020



Permintaan untuk melengkapi author agreement dan proof artikel (11 November 2020)



Pemberitahuan artikel telah published 12 Desember 2020

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Reviving the language at risk: A social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia

Journal:	<i>International Journal of Multilingualism</i>
Manuscript ID	IJM-0956.R1
Manuscript Type:	Paper
Keywords:	social semiotic, language policy, Indonesia, linguistic landscape, multilingualism
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Reviving the language at risk: A social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia

Abstract

Indonesia is one of the most multilingual nations in the world with approximately 700 spoken local languages. This multilingualism is at risk by the imposition of national language as well as the dominance of English as an international language. Adopting a social semiotic approach to linguistic landscape study, this paper explores how languages are being used and manipulated by private enterprisers (i.e., shop owners, restaurant owners) in three big cities in multilingual Indonesia, namely Jogjakarta, Semarang and Depok, as opposed to the government buildings. We look at the tension between the micro-language policy (the personal and individual language choice rights) and the macro-language policy as stated in national/regional language policies. This study reveals different linguistic landscape patterns: public signs – Indonesian language, Javanese language, and English; private signs – Indonesian language, English and other foreign languages (Korean, Japanese, and Mandarin). By building on the linguistic landscape constructs, the language choice is not arbitrary. Thus, throughout the paper we argue that linguistic landscape is one effective mechanism to revive the local languages at risk, in this case Javanese, while other functions may also reveal, such as to claim some cosmopolitan identity or to build some sense of solidarity with the targeted audience.

Keywords: *linguistic landscape, social semiotic, multilingualism, language policy, public, private, Indonesia*

Introduction

With over 280 million people and approximately 700 spoken local languages, Indonesia is certainly one of the multilingual nations in the world. Despite this remarkable language diversity, Indonesia is in favour of monolingualism. Local languages are currently endangered (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014) as a consequence of the imposition of the ‘made-up’ national language, *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language; hereafter Bahasa Indonesia). Since Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, the National Constitution has only mentioned and secured Bahasa Indonesia as the national language.

Throughout the paper, we will show that while national language policies via the Bahasa Indonesia imposition in the last two centuries have succeeded in unifying the archipelago’s linguistic heterogeneity (Errington, 1998, 2000), thus seemingly homogenising the multilingual nation, there is a growing number of middle class who perceives English as an important international language in recent years (Lie, 2007; Tanu, 2014). This shifting linguistic attitude has yielded a new trend of linguistic diversification. This shift can be seen from the changes of the linguistic landscape displayed in Indonesian urban cities, which is the focus of the current study. More specifically, by using social semiotic approach, we are going to look at the tension between the micro-language policy (the personal and individual language choice rights) and the macro-language policy in Indonesia. It is against this complex historical, political and economic background that this study wants to contribute, in the context of Indonesia, forces and drives behind the moulding of the Indonesian linguistic landscape.

In order to answer the questions, this paper begins with the review of the relevant studies followed by a description of the method adopted for this study. In this section, we also discuss the most relevant studies in linguistic landscape to showcase the conceptual framework adopted in our study. Linguistic landscape in Indonesia is under-researched, and to do this, we need to

trace historically the language policies that govern the use of language in public spaces. In the methodology section, we explain the data collection process and we also discuss the semiotics and interpretive and discourse analysis that we use when approaching the data, i.e., the language uses on the multilingual signs. We then describe and explain our research findings and argue that the emerging patterns of linguistic landscape is a result of contingent interaction between multiple forces, among which are national government policies, regional/local policies and market forces. The public signs highlight the importance of the visibility of minority languages and the impact of language policies on the linguistic landscape (Mezgec, 2016). The private signs are market oriented in the sense that the choices made about displaying specific languages do not necessarily correspond with the languages used daily (Shohamy, 2015).

Linguistic Landscape

In this study, we define linguistic landscape as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region” (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 23). Compared to sub-linguistic fields, linguistic landscape is globally a new research field and it remains under-researched in Indonesia. To our best knowledge, this current research is the first to discuss comprehensively the relationship between linguistic landscape (LL) and language policy (LP) in Indonesia. This LL-LP nexus is in line with Shohamy’s argument that “LL findings can contribute to a new understanding of what LP is within the context of public spaces, a major component of language use that has been overlooked” (2015, p. 156). In other words, in analysing the language use on the LL, we are trying to unpack and understand both the macro and micro LP at a given community.

In order to theorise languages in public spaces, it is inadequate to **only** refer to written texts in public display. As Shohamy (2015) advocates that the discussion of linguistic landscape needs to include a broader framework that consists of multiple components beyond signage, such as history, politics, location, people, and all other dimensions that are practised, conceived, and lived in a given territory. **Ignoring these components run the risks of inaccurate interpretations** (Waksman & Shohamy, 2010). The broader LL framework is thus central in this current study to understand a complex field, enable deeper interpretation and uncover multi-layered meanings.

This broader LL framework is anchored in the research conducted by Backhaus (2007) on the multilingualism of signs in Tokyo. He argues for a more holistic methodology to deal with the complexity of signs in order to enable **deeper** interpretation of language choices displayed in **LL**. Other linguists point out that there are various semiotic devices beyond language to consider in **LL** and offers a multimodal methodology to analyse visual signs (Banda & Jimaima, 2015; Iedema, 2003). These authors agree that LL does not only carry literal information as stated in the written texts, **but also functions symbolically the relative power and status of that particular language** (Ben-rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hect, 2006). To borrow Ben-Rafael’s words, linguistic landscape serve as the “symbolic construction of the public space” (Ben-rafael et al., 2006) because it influences the perception about certain languages, affects linguistic behaviour, and constructs the overall sociolinguistic context.

In distinguishing signs displayed in the public space, Landry and Bourhis (1997) offer two distinctive categories, i.e. public signs and private signs. Public signs are made by **government** referring to the official signs used by **government** displayed in public spaces such as signage attached in the government buildings, road signs, street names, and inscriptions. Private signs refer to commercial signs and advertisements on business institutions and shops, and

billboards. This distinction between public and private signs can further distinguish the top-down and bottom-up forces in linguistic landscaping (Backhaus, 2007). As the nature of government-related or official/public signs are governed by official regulations from the 'top', thus it can be classified within top-down force; whereas those displayed by private enterprises come from the 'bottom', thus it can be categorised within bottom-up force.

Indonesia and Multilingualism

With approximately 500-700 spoken local languages, Indonesia is undoubtedly one of the most multilingual nations in the world. Along with *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian) as the national language, every Indonesian can potentially be bilingual at a very young age if their parents have different ethnicities, except for the second generation of the migrant parents living in the urban areas, such as Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, Depok, Bekasi, among others (Sneddon, 2003). Furthermore, in many other areas, the main challenge now is battling against the threat of losing its rich local or regional languages, such as Sundanese, Javanese, among others. According to a web-based statistical database of world languages named Ethnologue, out of 138 local languages under study, 98 languages are considered as "threatened", 28 languages are "nearly extinct", and 12 languages are "extinct" (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2014). When a language is labelled as "threatened", it signals a significant decrease of use of its speakers in its respective community (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014).

As it is in some other countries, Indonesia is also experiencing such an endangerment on local or regional languages (Ewing, 2014). In this study, we use either term interchangeably. Relevant factors that lead to this linguistic phenomenon are, such as, lack of intergenerational transmission (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014), and low research and initiatives in studying local language maintenance (Ewing, 2014). In the urban areas, the intergenerational linguistic shift from the local language to Bahasa Indonesia primarily occurred during the New Order era, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. During those periods, many Indonesians from other islands and regions in Indonesia migrated to Jakarta, the capital city and its surrounding or satellite cities, such as Depok, Bekasi, Tangerang for a life betterment. These parents became the first generations in the "new land." While other aspects in life may have been well for some parents, most of them failed to maintain their mother tongue and spoke primarily in the variant of *Bahasa Indonesia*. Thus, the second generations growing up in these regions no longer speak their parent's first language or the regional language where their parents are from (Sneddon, 2003).

Recently, the shift occurs from Bahasa Indonesia to English, particularly in the urban cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, among others. Due to the global spread of English and the socio-economic benefit that many people imagine English could offer, bilingualism for most Indonesians means to introduce English rather than the regional languages to the younger generation (Tanu, 2014). For many Indonesians, this linguistic shift has been observable particularly after the collapse of the authoritarian regime in 1998, the nation celebrated freedom, including freedom of expression (see Author 2, 2018a; 2018b; 2019a).

In the educational sphere, English has been taught as one of the foreign languages taught for six consecutive years in middle/junior to high senior schools since the 1950s (Kirkpatrick, 2014; Sneddon, 2003). Due to the high demand and pressure from the parents in the urban areas, English was eventually taught in the primarily level in 2006, only to receive some mixed reviews from multifarious bodies of organisations and individuals. The controversy has

encouraged the Ministry of Education and Culture reviewed and cancelled the policy in 2013-2014 (Author 2, 2018a). Another controversy was when English was imposed as the medium of instruction through the establishment of the International Standard School (Author 1, 2011). This policy received strong criticism from the public and was then declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in 2013. Consequently, Bahasa Indonesia remains the primary medium of instruction and the main language.

The celebration of linguistic freedom is unfortunately at the expense of the local languages. Javanese, as one of the most spoken regional languages (around 80 million speakers), is also categorised as at risk of extinction (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014). **Even it is predicted that Javanese will be extinct in 20 or 30 years, it is still at risk.** Despite the fact Indonesia is often mentioned as one of the successful examples of language policy and planning, it threatens many other regional languages in the archipelago. Taking this linguistic profile into consideration, in this current project, we are then trying to investigate the tension between the government policy (macro policy) which tries to maintain the national language and the micro language policy which may do otherwise.

Indonesian Language Policies

As the discussion focuses on the tension between the micro-language and the impact of macro-language policies on the linguistic landscape, we need to firstly map the landscape of Indonesian language policies itself. Policies shape not only the public realm but also the private domain. The related policies central to the discussion in this paper are the content of the Youth Pledge 1928, National Constitution 1945, Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly Number 11/MPR/1983, Language Law number 24 year 2009 and the most recently published regulation, the President Regulation No. 63 year 2019, with article 40 that specifically requires the buildings in Indonesia to use only Indonesian.

The Indonesian language or *Bahasa Indonesia* is not merely a linguistic reality, but far more a political matter (Phillips, 1973). The language develops along with the development of Indonesia as a nation (Anderson, 1966; Heryanto, 2006). Bahasa Indonesia has been partly derived from Malay, a lingua franca used mostly in coastal and insular Southeast Asia as early as the 12th centuries (Errington, 1986). In 17-18th centuries, Malay was also used by the Dutch colonial government as an administrative language in Dutch East Indies (Indonesia's name under the Dutch colonialism) due to its simplicity in lexical and deference system as compared to Javanese, for example. To envision a nation born out of colonialism, the nationalist movement saw the need to have a national lingua franca to glue 400 distinct ethnic languages of more than 200 million people across the archipelago. The early colonised intelligentsia heroically proclaimed it in the *Sumpah Pemuda* (the Youth Pledge) of 1928: "One island, One people, One language" (Errington, 1986). More specifically, the third pledge declares that "We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, respect the language of unity, *Bahasa Indonesia*." Through this linguistic 'imaginative' unity, the Indonesian nation and the Indonesianness were constructed. In this vein, Bahasa Indonesia is the most crucial identity emblem for the Indonesians (Author 2, 2018a, 2018b, 2019a, 2019b).

After gaining independence in 1945, nationalism was at a great height. President Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia, made a politically and ideologically laden decision that neither Dutch nor Japanese was chosen to be the language to teach at schools or spoken in public spaces, but Bahasa Indonesia and English. In addition to Bahasa Indonesia and English, the 1945 National Constitution chapter 32 article 2 mentions that "the state respects and maintains local languages as the nation's cultural diversity". The successive president, Soeharto, even

made a direct top-down policy of the institutionalisation of the national language by establishing a Language Centre (*Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* – literally translated as the Centre for Supervision and Development of Language) to standardise and engineer the proliferation of the national language (Anderson, 1966; Heryanto, 1995). This language policing commenced in early 1970s and was an integral part of the Development agenda of the New Order (Anderson, 1983; Errington, 1992; Heryanto, 1995). President Soeharto, the President of the New Order administration, attempted to standardise the use of national language with an emphasis placed on its ‘correct and orderly’ use through the Decree of the People’s Consultative Assembly Number 11/MPR/1983. The emphasis on the ‘correct and orderly’ usage is not for aesthetic reason, rather “as a means to the establishment of a desired cultural regime” (Hooker, 1993, p. 273). It was ensured through a policing process via educational institutions, radio, television, and information networks. By such a massive attempt of proliferation and standardisation, it is astonishing to learn the fact that currently Bahasa Indonesia is spoken by almost 250 million people, while a century ago, it was nobody’s mother tongue (Heryanto, 1995).

The development of Bahasa Indonesia demonstrates the power of top-down language policy on the daily use of the language. These days, the use of Bahasa Indonesia in public spaces has been regulated by national laws, i.e. Language Law number 24 year 2009 (LL 24/2009) and the President Regulation number 63 year 2019 (PR 63/2019) on national flag, language, symbol and anthem. The particular laws ensure the use of Bahasa Indonesia in public spaces, especially that of government offices. For example, verse 30 reads that “Bahasa Indonesia is compulsory used in public administrative services in government offices and institutions” (Indonesia, 2009, p. 14). This line is further explained in verse 33 that reads “Bahasa Indonesia is compulsory used in formal communication in government and private offices” (Indonesia, 2009, p. 15), which are in line with the PR 63/2019.

Despite being applauded as one of the most successful stories in language planning, the unintended consequences of such top-down policy are the endangerment of local languages. Cohn and Ravindranath’s (2014) study on Javanese language reveals that the dramatic decrease in the use of Javanese, both high and low Javanese, can be traced back to the predominance of the national language in public spaces. To respond to this issue, the government paid attention to local languages by delegating the maintenance tasks to regional or local government. The LL 24/009, especially articles 41 and 42, mention explicitly that the national government officially mandated the local government to preserve the sustainability of the local languages and its literature in their respective authority. The use of the foreign language (*bahasa asing*) is on the other hand, is officially limited. Per LL No. 24/2009 & RP 63/2019, *bahasa asing* is defined as any language other than Bahasa Indonesia and the local/regional languages. English is the most pronounced foreign language in both laws whose function is to encourage any bilateral agreement and cooperation with foreign countries. In this vein, one could argue that the Indonesian government strongly regulates the linguistic selection in the national landscapes, particularly the government buildings, while one could also witness the resistance coming from the grassroots. With the government’s *de jure* approach on the language choice, it is then becoming vital for us, the sociolinguists to learn how the grassroots actually use their *de facto* language choice. In other words, Indonesia consequently has become a fertile soil for a further linguistic investigation. Thus, in order to unpack the tension between the macro and micro LPs, we are using an interpretive and discourse analysis, as our approach, which we are discussing as follows.

Methodology

Data collection began at the end of 2017 and ended in January 2020 across Semarang, Jogjakarta, and Depok. All data were collected through digital capture of signages and languages ranging from government related signs to privately owned commercial signboards and billboards.

Out of more than 500 samples collected, we focus on bilingual or multilingual signs. In approaching the data, we explore the bilingual practice of the signs. In this light, one of the main principles for our pictures is to have at least two languages on the signs that the grassroots or locals living in those areas can access. Interestingly, we also found some private advertisement which is legally displayed in the train station, which is the government-owned building. In this case, we are also trying to unpack the blurry distinction of public and private signs that we found in our data collection.

Semiotic approach is employed to unpack the discursive functions and the social meaning of linguistic use. We take some cues from the Barthesian's visual semiotics in which we are unpacking the two layers of meanings; the denotation and the connotation (symbolic). The denotation layer literally unpacks the 'what or who is being depicted in the picture,' while the second one is to analyse the represented ideas and values and the ways they are represented (van Leeuwen, 2001). In addition to attend to linguistic as an important aspect, we also take other semiotic elements into consideration, such as the visual images, the size, colour, and position of the language use on the signs, and the absented languages, among others. These modalities contribute to make sense and meaning out of the multilingual signage on the landscapes (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2011; Wee & Goh, 2020). In the attempt to understand the connotative meanings, we also tried to interpret the power dynamic and power relations of the multilingual and public signage reveals or tries to exercise on the LL (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; Shohamy, 2006).

This semiotic approach complements the textual and interpretive approach that we use in this study by taking the social, cultural, and political contexts into consideration (cf. Lee, 2012; Shohamy, 2006, 2015). The ethnographic notes made during the data collection helped us interpreting and grounding the analysis and we particularly removed "the asking" section because "asking is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 3).

We approach our data and present our discussion in a purely qualitative manner in which we offer such in-depth, nuanced, and multi-layered analysis. Without trying to be reductive in summarising the different characteristics of three cities we collected the data from, below is the profile of the three cities.

Aspects	Semarang	Jogjakarta	Depok
Status	Capital city of Central Java Province	Special Region (the only Indonesian city ruled by a monarchy)	A city in West Java Province
Population size	1,610,605	3,842,932	1, 803, 708
Area	373.8 km ²	46 km ²	200.3 km ²

City characteristic	Capital city of Central Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• City of (Javanese) Culture• City of education	A city in the border of West Java and Jakarta (the capital city of Indonesia)
Regional language(s)	(a variant of Semarang/Central Java) Javanese	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• (a variant of Jogjakartan) Javanese	Depok is a small town that is in the border of West Java and Jakarta. <i>De jure</i> , Sundanese should be the official language, but <i>de facto</i> many speak the variant of Jakartan (or <i>Betawi Depok</i>) or simply a variant of Bahasa Indonesia.

Table 1. Profile of the three cities under study.

The geographical location of the three cities are highlighted in the map below.

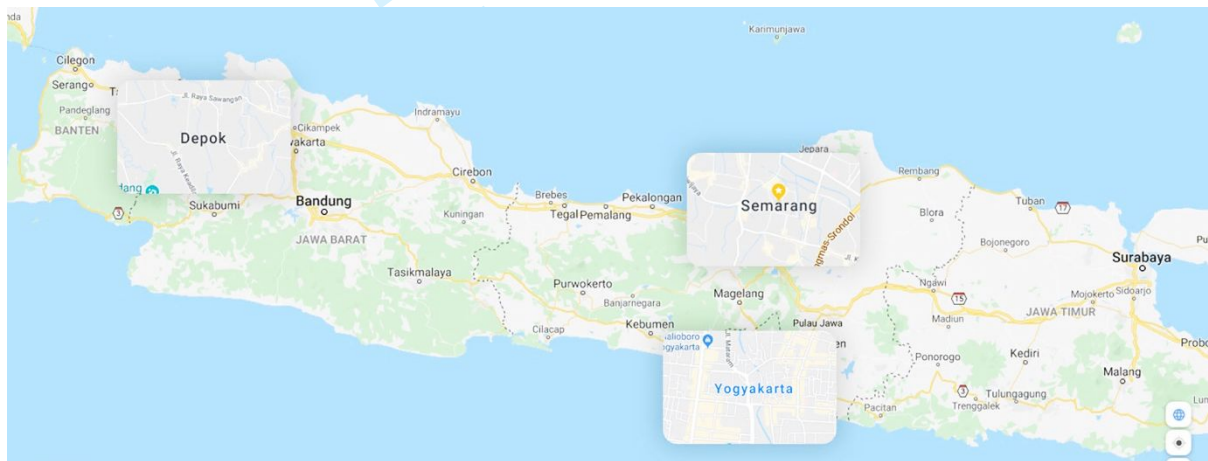


Figure 1. map of the three cities (Java island)

Findings

The general picture

We find similar pattern of the linguistic landscape corpus gathered from three cities, we find similar pattern: that the patterns of the linguistic landscape of public signs are different from the private ones. Table 2 below shows integrated linguistic landscape profiles by also including bottom-up and top-down items in the three demographic classification of localities.

Table 2. LL items by languages in three localities (percentage)

Languages of LL items	Areas		
	Semarang	Jogjakarta	Depok
Bahasa Indonesia only	25%	20%	10%
Javanese only	5%	0	0
English only	5%	5%	20%
Bahasa Indonesia – Javanese	15%	20%	0
Bahasa Indonesia – English	40%	40%	60%

Bahasa Indonesia – English – Javanese	5%	10%	0
Other languages	5%	5%	10%
Total	100%	100%	100%

In all three localities, Bahasa Indonesia remain the predominant language appearing, either with or without English and/or other languages, including Javanese. English comes second, appearing either solely or together with Bahasa Indonesia in the LL items. In Semarang and Jogjakarta area specifically, Javanese never appears alone except the ones we found in Semarang. The language appears either in Javanese transcript or Latin transcription in less than 20% of the LL items that belong to the public signs.

Contrary to the patterns found in Semarang and Jogjakarta, Javanese never appears either as the only language or as bilingual signage in Depok, which is a city in West Java which the official regional language is Sundanese and Betawi, as shown in figure 1 (Sundanese and Betawi are not present in the public space). As mentioned earlier, Javanese is a local language spoken by Javanese people who live or come from Central and East Java. Due to a significant drop in the number of its speakers, there is a specific regulation on the use of Javanese transcript in the public space, i.e. regional regulation number 9 year 2012 on Javanese language, literature and script.

The public signs show consistency in the use of Indonesian language and Javanese language, as well as English when the space is potentially visited by foreigners. Private signs demonstrate more linguistic variations – that they use Indonesian language, English and other foreign languages (Korean, Japanese, and Mandarin), or even mixed. The general patterns show that if it is not governed by the regional/national policies, it is governed by the market forces. This finding confirms Backhaus' (2007) argument that public signs are the result of explicit intervention and decisions of central and local government agencies, rather than the result of individual/institutional choices of the sign owner or maker.

Public signs

The following are some public signs belong to the government buildings or public signs. Bahasa Indonesia remains the predominant language used in the public signs as it is the national language of Indonesia. In several international spots where foreigners are around, public signs use English. In Semarang and Jogjakarta, Javanese is used to accompany Bahasa Indonesia.

Our findings on public signs extend Shohamy's (2006, 2015) argument that LL is a powerful tool to create and negotiate language policy. Inspired by this idea, we explore the possibility of LL as a tool to maintain and revitalise languages at risk, such as Javanese. The local government of Central Java and Jogjakarta have their concern over the decreasing number of Javanese speakers, and thus needing a public space to maintain the language. Figure 2 below is the office wall sign/name of the Department of Industry and Trade of the Central Java Province located in Semarang. It is located in the Central Business District of Semarang. The first two lines are in Bahasa Indonesia, whereas the third and fifth lines are in Javanese letters.

Whereas the language maintenance is visible in the public sign, the local government still appears to prioritise Bahasa Indonesia, as projected by the size and the position of the language usage. In this public sign, Bahasa Indonesia semiotically outsizes and outranks the Javanese script. Bahasa Indonesia is written in a much bigger font and occupies the top position of the

sign and right on top of the Javanese script. We read it as if the local government indicates the importance of Bahasa Indonesia in the realm of the macro language policy. In other words, although the sign is a bilingual of Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese, the former is still given the priority as a national and official language. The macro language policy is mediated and projected in a semiotic manner. Due to its function and status as the government building, it may be then logical that Bahasa Indonesia is given such an importance highlight and position, because the government needs to abide to the LL 24/2009 and PR 63/2019 where Bahasa Indonesia is mandated to be given a much more priority and visibility.



Figure 2. Department of industry and trade, Central Java Province (located in Semarang)

We also found the same pattern in the faculty (or the school) wall sign of a public university (a state-owned university) in Semarang (see figure 3). The Department of Javanese language is one of the departments that is housed and hosted by the Faculty of Languages and Arts. As a host of many languages and arts departments, the faculty has a particular mission and concern towards the Javanese language usage, which *de facto* has been decreasing, particularly among the younger generation (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014). Thus, as a way to preserve the local language, the name of the faculty is written in Javanese letters. This frame of mind is also projected in its choice of font and size, as we discuss below.

Interestingly, unlike the local government building shown in figure 2, the sign of the Faculty of Language and Art (or School of Language and Art) of State University of Semarang which *de jure* belongs to the government, seems to put the emphasis on the Javanese rather than on Bahasa Indonesia. The Javanese script takes up a higher position than Bahasa Indonesia, and with white as the colour, it is much more visible than the yellow. As a public university that receives significant public fund from the national subsidy, the university appears to put the emphasis on its local language, rather than Bahasa Indonesia. However, as a university from the Central Java, it also projects and promotes its local or regional identity.



Figure 3. The Faculty of Languages and Arts of a public university in Semarang

This LL practice of using Javanese scripts in government buildings is clearly written in the regulation released by the provincial government of Central Java (located in Semarang) that it aims to “socialise the use of Bahasa Indonesia accompanied by Javanese scripts to name public places and government buildings.” (The Provincial Government of Central Java, 2012, p. Chapter 13).

Similar landscape seen in Jogjakarta’s public signs. If the use of Javanese found in naming in government buildings, Jogjakarta demonstrates an extreme case. Javanese transcript is used even to name every animal in its public zoo (figure 4), and to name every road and street in Jogjakarta city (figure 5).

Semiotically, Kuda Nil Kerdil, which is in Bahasa Indonesia occupies a top position and is written in bold fonts while the Javanese term is un-bold, and positioned at the lower part. Both the position and the size of the fonts deliver a different significance that may reflect power relations and hierarchical ranks between the two languages Javanese, as we may interpret it, may be considered to be less important than Bahasa Indonesia, although both are visible.



Figure 4. The name plaque of hippopotamus in Jogjakarta zoo

Jogjakarta regional government is concerned with the precipitous drop of the use of Javanese in public space, but they do not explicitly state it in a legal regulation. Nowadays, more Javanese script can be found in Jogjakarta than Semarang. Since 2016, Jogjakarta government has allocated funding to replace all street names and government buildings with double scripts: Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese. This concern and revival attempts were born after the Congress of Javanese language 8-12 November 2016 conducted in Jogjakarta.



Figure 5. A street name plaque in Jogjakarta (post 2016 Javanese congress)

In addition to revive the local language, presenting it in public space is also a form of ‘city marketing’ – an attempt to emphasize exoticism and authenticity of the city (Papen, 2012). Those Javanese scripts help build a nostalgic sense of identity of the locals while at times demonstrate certain aesthetic and cultural values which potentially attract tourists.

The pattern we found in Semarang and Jogjakarta is completely different in Depok. The city is located in West Java, on the outskirts of Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, as we can see on Figure 1.

The city is characterised by a metropolitan ambiance and cosmopolitan culture. The local languages in West Java are not Javanese, but many can speak Sundanese and/or a variant of Betawi/Jakartan Indonesian or Betawi Depok. While Sundanese is the official regional language of West Java where Depok is hosted, only those who are ethnically Sundanese (those coming from West Java) can speak the language. This is because the majority of Depok residents are immigrants from other regions in Indonesia, namely Sumatra, Kalimantan, other regions in Java and other islands in Indonesia (see Author 2, 2019b). That being said, Javanese is visibly absent in the LL of Depok. Interesting, Sundanese is equally absent on the signs, while English is more frequently observable, as we can see in Figure 8. Its appearance is either as an accompany to Bahasa Indonesia or as a sole appearance. In interpreting this, we should take the social aspect of Depok, particularly in its role as a host of the largest university in the nation. Hosting the number one university of the nation, the University of Indonesia, Depok is home for many college students. This may have influenced the prevalent use of English, the language that indexes their cosmopolitan identity (Author 2, 2018a, 2018b).

Figure 6 is the public service and safety announcement for passengers of train commuter line in the train station, which is a government building. The train line is connected Depok and Jakarta and its surrounding cities. The language used is mostly in English with no direct translation in Indonesian or other regional languages at all. This also implies what remains the priority, and what comes second. As this sign is in a government-owned building in a public sign, the sign is then a contested space because the official language is unapologetically missing while English, the foreign language is clearly used (cf. Coupland, 2010). Additionally, government via the LL24/2009 and RP 63/2019 has mandated to use Indonesian in the public building, the use of English in this space appears to oppose and conflict the government’s language policy.

Moreover, in terms of accessibility, the appearance of English, may remain unintelligible for the communities who don't speak English. As the sign acts a public announcement, the use of English becomes peculiar because it targets only specific audience, while marginalising other groups who don't speak or understand English at all. In this light, the information is then only accessible to the bilingual English-Indonesian train riders, leaving others uninformed. Via this practice, the PSA marginalises the non-English speakers; thus, the information remains inaccessible to them.



Figure 6. Public service announcement for train passengers of commuter line in Depok

Private signs

Private signs show more varieties, as it is bottom-up. Due to the position of English as a foreign language in Indonesia, we interpreted that the private sector uses language more creatively and the choices made do not necessarily reflect the language they use daily. The experiment with the words/languages serves as attention-getter to attract more consumers and customers. Figure 7 is a picture of a fast food restaurant in Jogjakarta serving fried chicken under the name of “Dirty Chicks”.



Figure 7 & 8. A fast food (fried chicken) restaurant named “Dirty Chicks” in Jogjakarta.

The different interpretations over the name of the restaurant demonstrates the creative and experimentative process of LL. The owner of the fast food business deliberately uses English and chooses words that are multi-interpretative, i.e. dirty chicks, as the brand. In branding and marketing strategy, the more unique it presents, chances are higher that it sticks to people's minds (Banda & Jimaima, 2015). It uses English to project an impression that the fried chicken is not a local way of making fried chicken, but it is the western style. Authentic Indonesian fried chicken does not use any flour. Instead, it requires rich spices such as turmeric, garlic, ginger, galangal, coriander, pepper, cumin, bay leaf, and lemon grass. The chicken is simmered slowly in those paste spices until it becomes tender. When all the ingredients are mixed, the chicken is ready to be deep fried. Despite this complex process and rich spices, western fried chicken is somehow more appealing and offers modern taste for some people. So, the English brand is important to maintain this impression.

The next interesting private sign is the one we found in Depok. Figure 9 below is a small tea house called “Together Whatever”. While it is unclear what “Together Whatever” means and entails, it surely uses English and offers an ambiguous and hilarious meaning for passers-by, particularly those who have English knowledge. We interpret this as a challenge to the construction of Indonesianness demonstrated by the owner of an independent store as we can see below. Moreover, we find the font size and the positions of the texts of the sign to be semiotically interesting.

There are two signs visible, as projected by figure 9: The upper sign is not perfectly laid out and it contains an Indonesian name *warung poci* (or a tea small shop) an identification for the store, while the lower and bigger sign is a combination of both English and Indonesian name of the store.

From the lower sign, we see that “Together Whatever space” is written in two different sizes. “Together Whatever” is composed in a much bigger size taking a central position, while “space” as the noun, thus a point of identification of the place, is written in strikingly smaller fonts. The Indonesian transliteration of the space *warung poci* (similar with the upper sign) is positioned at the lower part of the sign.

The sign semiotically delivers that English is more important as a place of identification, as opposed to the Indonesian *warung poci*. Many Indonesians understand that *warung* semantically refers to a small and traditional shop. It is the opposite of an urban and modern shop. In other words, the meaning of *warung* is not only to define the small space that is not urban, cool, and modern, but it might be used to refer to the customers who are presumably non-English speakers thus, they may be seen less educated, traditional, and provincial. And this lower-class intention is also semiotically projected. Thus, to our mind, the use of English in this particular sign appears to purposefully challenge the provincial and traditional meaning and to deliver cosmopolitan identity that can attract younger, urban, and cosmopolitan customers. Thus, in this vein, the language selection occurs at the intersection of the local and

global forces. Unlike in the neighbouring country such as Singapore where English can act as a neutral language among the Singaporeans (Tang, 2018), English in this space is most likely to claim or enhance modernity or cosmopolitan identity. This sense of cosmopolitanism may also be incited to the potential buyers, who are college students who are presumably English-knowing bilinguals if not English-Indonesian speakers.



Figure 9. A tea house named “Together Whatever” space in Depok, and right under that “Hauuz” (which is derived from the Standardised Bahasa Indonesia “Haus”)

Unlike figure 6 where English is used by the public and government building, the space in figure 9 is privately owned. It is true that the LL 24/2009 and PR63/2019 still regulate the private owned buildings to prioritise Indonesian, as opposed to other languages. However, as they are not governmentally funded, the regulation may not tie them tightly so they manage to be creative when selecting their language.

Conclusion

Unlike Shohamy (2006, 2015) who argues that LL is a mechanism to introduce Hebrew to new immigrants, our findings on public signs suggest that LL is a mechanism to revive the almost extinct local language, in this case Javanese. Top-down policy is clearly visible in both Jogjakarta and Semarang. In Semarang and Jogjakarta, particularly on the government signage, both Javanese and Indonesian are co-present and co-available for the residents of Jogjakarta and Semarang. They may also index the bilingualism in their true sense. Particularly with the role of Jogjakarta as a cultural city, the preservation of Javanese is not only noticeable and enforced in the government buildings but also on the road signs.

In relation to the language policy, the government space in Semarang and Jogjakarta: the language selection shows there is a clear imposition of the macro language policy by the

government (via the local government) via the use of Bahasa Indonesia and the regional language, Javanese. It may also index the bilingual communities (cf. Landry & Borhis, 1997). Being a small town in the cornered borders of Jakarta and West Java, via its multilingual signs, Depok does not appear to be a loyalist to the provincially official language, *Sundanese*. This can also be interpreted that many Depokers, the people of Depok, are mostly regional language illiterate with Bahasa Indonesia (or its variant) as their dominant language. English may be well understood by the younger generation; thus, it may signify an intergenerational gap. However, it would be too far-fetched to assume that Depok residents are bilingual speakers of English and Bahasa Indonesia (and/or its variant).

In the multilingual private signage however, it shows how many Indonesians, be it in Central Java, Jogjakarta, and Depo, tries to challenge this and may also index their cosmopolitan identity and follow the global trend, by utilising English. In this sense, English is yet to become a “serious” threat to the presence of Bahasa Indonesia, yet it is becoming into being as we can see in the multilingual signage in these three cities.

The implication of this finding to language policy is that LL is a potential tool to revive the language at risk. The visibility of Javanese in public space aims to give the impression that the language is still operating in the region and it should encourage people to learn to read and speak the language again (Shohamy, 2006). The co-existence of Javanese with Bahasa Indonesia marks the space that the national language could co-exist with the local language.

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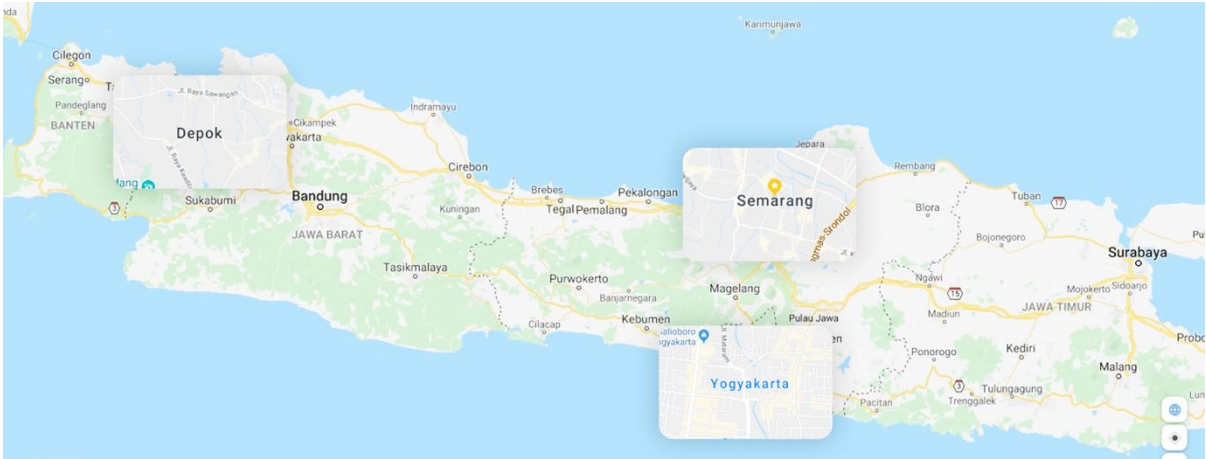


Figure 1. map of the three cities (Java island)



Figure 2. Department of industry and trade, Central Java Province (located in Semarang)



Figure 3. The Faculty of Languages and Arts of a public university in Semarang



Figure 4. The name plaque of hippopotamus in Jogjakarta zoo



Figure 5. A street name plaque in Jogjakarta (post 2016 Javanese congress)



Figure 6. Public service announcement for train passengers of commuter line in Depok



Figure 7 & 8. A fast food (fried chicken) restaurant named “Dirty Chicks” in Jogjakarta.



Figure 9. A tea house named “Together Whatever” space in Depok, and right under that “Hauuz” (which is derived from the Standardised Bahasa Indonesia “Haus”

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