LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF UNIVERSITY VICINITIES IN INDONESIA:
A LOOK AT EATERY SIGNS

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Abstract

This study examines the linguistic landscape of student-dense areas located in the vicinities of six universities in the city of Malang, East Java, Indonesia. Each year, there is a large stream of young people from across the country who come to Malang to study, which makes the city a melting pot of culture and languages. Focusing on the eatery signs that are displayed in the areas, this study examines the language diversity and discuss the possible impact and reasons for using the featured languages. The results show that the student-dense areas are characterized by the dominance of bilingual signs, with Indonesian-English and Indonesian-Javanese being the most prevalent pairs. The monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual eatery signs are similar in that kinship terms of address are used frequently to mark business ownership and identity as well as to add the impression of authenticity. The presence of other languages such as Korean, Arabic, and Walikan, although minor, mirrors a dynamic linguistic interplay among the young people in the areas surrounding universities. We argue that language choice is motivated by the need to ensure comprehensibility for all target customers, maintain local identity, show prestige, align with the Korean cultural trend, and display Islamic identity.

Keywords: bilingual signs, eatery signs, linguistic landscape, public signs, student-dense areas

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EL PANORAMA LINGÜÍSTIC EN L'ENTORN UNIVERSITARI A INDONÈSIA:
UNA MIRADA ALS RÈTOLS DELS RESTAURANTS

Resum

Aquest estudi examina el panorama lingüístic de zones amb alta densitat estudiantil ubicades als voltants de sis universitats de la ciutat de Malang, Java Oriental, Indonèsia. Cada any, un gran nombre de joves de tot el país arriben a Malang per estudiar, cosa que converteix la ciutat en un gresol de cultures i idiomes. Centrant-se en els rètols dels restaurants d'aquestes zones, aquest treball examina la diversitat lingüística i analitza el possible impacte i les raons d'ús dels diferents idiomes. Els resultats mostren que les zones amb alta densitat estudiantil es caracteritzen pel predomini de rètols bilingües, essent l'indonesi-anglès i l'indonesi-javanès els més freqüents. Els rètols monolingües, bilingües i multilingües dels restaurants són similars, ja que s'utilitzen sovint termes de parentiu per marcar la propietat i la identitat del negoci, com també per fer una impressió d'autenticitat. La presència d'altres idiomes, com ara el coreà, l'àrab i el walikan, encara que minoritària, reflecteix una interacció lingüística dinàmica entre els joves de les zones properes a les universitats. Sostenim que l'elecció de l'idioma està motivada per la necessitat de garantir la comprensió per a tots els clients, de mantenir la identitat local, de mostrar prestigi, d'alinear-se amb la tendència cultural coreana i de mostrar la identitat islàmica.

Paraules clau: senyals bilingües, senyals de restaurants, paisatge lingüístic, senyals públics, zones amb alta densitat d'estudiants

EL PANORAMA LINGÜÍSTICO EN EL ENTORNO UNIVERSITARIO EN INDONESIA:
UNA MIRADA A LOS LETREROS DE LOS RESTAURANTES

Resumen

Este estudio examina el panorama lingüístico de zonas con alta densidad estudiantil ubicadas en las inmediaciones de seis universidades de la ciudad de Malang, Java Oriental, Indonesia. Cada año, un gran número de jóvenes de todo el país llegan a Malang para estudiar, lo que convierte a la ciudad en un crisol de culturas e idiomas. Centrándose en los letreros de los restaurantes de estas zonas, este trabajo examina la diversidad lingüística y analiza el posible impacto y las razones del uso de los diferentes idiomas. Los resultados muestran que las zonas con alta densidad estudiantil se caracterizan por el predominio de letreros bilingües, siendo el indonesio-inglés y el indonesio-javanés los más frecuentes. Los letreros monolingües, bilingües y multilingües de los restaurantes son similares, ya que se utilizan con frecuencia términos de parentesco para marcar la propiedad y la identidad del negocio, así como para dar una impresión de autenticidad. La presencia de otros idiomas como el coreano, el árabe y el walikán, aunque minoritaria, refleja una dinámica interacción lingüística entre los jóvenes de las zonas cercanas a las universidades. Sostenemos que la elección del idioma está motivada por la necesidad de garantizar la comprensión para todos los clientes, mantener la identidad local, mostrar prestigio, alinearse con la tendencia cultural coreana y mostrar la identidad islámica.

Palabras clave: señales bilingües, señales de restaurantes, paisaje lingüístico, señales públicas, zonas con alta densidad de estudiantes

1. Introduction

As a linguistically diverse nation (Ewing 2014), Indonesia is the home of hundreds of languages (Yannuar & Tabiati 2016). Among local languages and vernaculars spoken in the country, the people are united by the national language, Indonesian. The spread

of Indonesian is motivated by government education policies, media, and economic aspirations of the people that associate Indonesian with modern lifestyles (Ewing 2014). Besides the national language, Indonesia has around 700 local languages. One of the most spoken local languages is Javanese, which has the largest number of speakers not only in the Java Island but other islands as well (Fauzi & Puspitorini 2018).

The Java Island has six provinces and the city of Malang is in East Java. The population of Malang consists of various ethnic groups (Iwana & Sudarwati 2021) such as Javanese and Madurese, as well as other ethnic groups such as the Arabs, Chinese, and Papuans. The non-permanent residents include those coming from other parts of the country like Kalimantan, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Papua who mostly come to study at tertiary education in Malang. In the city's linguistic landscape, Indonesian language is predominantly used due to the government policy and its status as the national language. Javanese is prevalent (Sumarlam et al. 2020), but more and more young people felt more comfortable using Indonesian than Javanese, which makes it slowly lose domains of usage, especially in areas of government and economic livelihood (Ewing 2014, Cohn & Ravindranath 2014).

Due to the large number of universities located in the city, Malang is known for the city of education. The large stream of young people from across the country to Malang has made it a melting pot of culture and languages. Such cultural and linguistic diversity are particularly visible in the public signs displayed in the areas around universities where students who come from different parts of the country reside. This is because the inflow of students to these areas has "created a vibrant business climate, resulting in the burgeoning of cafes, restaurants, and different kinds of business in the city" (Yannuar & Tabiati 2016: 122). Micro, small and medium business such as laundromat, photocopy and printing services, food and beverage enterprise, including street stalls and restaurants are very common in the areas around the universities (Iwana & Sudarwati 2021).

Despite the existing literature on the linguistic landscape of Malang, those focusing on the signs of culinary business around campus areas have been rare (Iwana & Sudarwati 2021). Observing the signs of food and beverage stalls located in student-

dense areas around universities can inform the language dynamics of the city particularly the young inhabitants. It can also provide better understanding to multilingual contexts (Berezkina 2016) and contribute to the current studies on linguistic landscape in Indonesia, which are still limited in number (Fakhiroh & Rohmah 2018). Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to examine the current linguistic situation of Malang through the eatery signs displayed in the student-dense areas around universities. Accordingly, the research questions are 1) how is the linguistic landscape of the student-dense areas seen from their eatery signs? and 2) what are the possible reasons of using the languages in the signs?

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Linguistic landscape

Linguistic Landscape (henceforth LL) refers to languages in their textual forms such as announcement, road signs, advertisements, street and place names, and commercial shop signs that are displayed in a public institution or private business in a certain territory or region (Landry & Bourhis 1997, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Researchers working in this area view language in the public sphere as not arbitrary, rather, they believe that "there is a goal to understand the system, the messages it delivers or could deliver, about societies, people, the economy, policy, class, identities, multilingualism, multimodalities, forms of representation and additional phenomena" (Shohamy & Gorter 2009: 4).

LL studies not only look at how languages are used in the signs, but also the representation of the languages, which is particularly important as it portrays identity and cultural globalization, greater presence of English and revitalisation of minority languages (Gorter 2008). Most LL studies also aim to "understand the linguistic communication through public signs" (Berezkina 2016: 77) as well as the community's linguistic and cultural background (Im 2023). In a similar line, Gorter (2019) stated that LL attempts to identify the motives, uses, and language varieties as they are shown in

public spaces. Thus, examining the LL of a specific place may give understanding about the dynamic use of languages by a community.

Earlier studies on LL were interested in the use of language in multilingual signs, code switching, and hybrid varieties, but recently they have expanded to address various research objectives and better understand the roles and impact of language in the public sphere (Huebner 2016). LL studies on shop signs have been a growing field of applied linguistics (Duizenberg 2020), but most tend to survey some areas in general and not focusing specifically on products or business types (Lee 2019). Thus, the purpose of this LL study is to identify the languages, understand their roles, and the possible reasons of their use in the eatery signs found in the student-dense areas located at the vicinities of universities in Malang.

3. Language of eatery signs

Language of the commercial entity, according to Djuwariyah et al. (2022), plays a communicative role and as a symbolic function. As a communicative role, the language used in a commercial sign informs the product being sold. As a symbolic function, language is an identifier that characterizes the product as being unique, which distinguishes it from other similar products (Purnanto et al. 2021). This is particularly important in a multiethnic society where food and beverage products are often similar, if not plagiarized, and adapted to meet the market tastes (Sumarlam et al. 2020). For food and beverage products, language functions as a marketing strategy that instill customers' perceptions about the products (Sumarlam et al. 2020). Just like advertisement, the shape, type of font, color, and language displayed in a sign can attract customers (Husin et al. 2019). Hence, language used in eatery signage is language for commercial purposes. Thus, eatery signage is by no means arbitrary; rather, it is made, if not crafted, with the intention to make the products appealing, which can capture customers' attention and eventually increase purchase.

Languages used in eatery signage are closely related to branding strategies. Not only capturing customers' attention, but they also portray the food or drink products as being authentic, or being international. This was observed by Lee (2019) in food and beverage signage in Seoul, South Korea. The study found that the use of full Korean in such signs represents authentic and traditional taste of Korean cuisine. Meanwhile, whenever Korean is used with other languages like English, Japanese, and Chinese, the products signify a sense of modernity, which is usually the case with products that are widely popular and exist in other countries. Lee also noted that language choices in the linguistic landscape are influenced by "products sold, neighborhood specialties, targeted consumers (especially their languages), and perceived economic affordability" (Lee 2019: 516), making it possible to infer what products are being popular among the targeted customers.

Branding culinary products as being authentic by using particular text flow and display characters was also observed by Song et al. (2011). The study investigated whether the language displayed on restaurants' outdoor signs influenced the perceptions and behavioral intentions of customers. The study confirmed the significance of outdoor signs in influencing customers' perceptions of the restaurant authenticity and that the linguistic landscape of such signs had a "critical role in linking restaurant authenticity, status, visiting intentions and willingness to pay" (Song et al. (2011: 8). The study also highlighted the importance of using outdoor signs as an effective marketing tool that can assist the branding process.

Purnanto et al. (2022) argued that there are various factors such as local culture, community language competence, and consumer tastes when it comes to culinary product naming. This is because impressions created by the product names can develop customers' interest in getting to know, trying, and experiencing the culinary products. For example, the use of English in food advertisements in Indonesia might not always be understood by customers, but business owners reported that it still gave the impression of the products being modern and classy, which intrigued buyers and increased sales (Nirwana & Sharma 2022). This was the concern raised by Purnanto et al. (2022) who argued that when English in culinary signs is associated with exclusivity, modernity, and success, it is possible for the language to "dominate texts in the public

space and threaten national and local languages" (Purnanto et al. 2022: 345). If this is the case, language in a commercial sign may indicate the power relations and the position of the language speakers in a particular region (Djuwarijah et al. 2022). As Mansoor et al. (2023) posit, the dominance of a particular language within one landscape may give advantage to certain groups of people and potentially marginalize those outside of these groups.

4. Literature review: Linguistic landscape in the global and Indonesian contexts

Studies on LL have captured the interest of researchers around the world. Most of these studies have shown a frequent use of the national language, but an increasing popularity of English in public signs has also been noted in several countries. For instance, in Norway, Berezkina (2016) found a high proportion of Norwegian in Oslo's linguistic landscape, which indicated its roles as the main language in the linguistic ecosystem and special position as the official language. The second most frequent language was English, the use of which was mostly for commercial purposes and was oftentimes associated with the products or services having up-to-date, modern, and international qualities. The LL of Pattaya, Thailand, was examined by Praset & Zilli (2019) through the business signs which were displayed in the Walking Street and Beach Road. The study found that English was dominant in the Walking Street and Thailand was more common in the Beach Road. Bilingual signs where English was paired with Thai were the most visible in both areas.

In another setting, Husin et al. (2019) observed the language patterns in commercial shop signs displayed in three areas adjacent to and within Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Through the lens of LL, they found that bilingual signs dominated the shopping streets, with English being more frequent than the national language and other languages. They argued that the growing usage of English in public places as such might indicate how economic activities and globalization could affect people. These findings were corroborated in Mansoor et al. (2023) who found that the presence of

Malay and English in shop signs in Semenyih town, Malaysia, had an approximately similar frequency despite the regulation imposed by the local authorities to use Malay.

The same trend was found in Indonesia, as has been pointed out by several LL researchers. Indonesian has been reported to be dominant in public areas, but English is increasingly popular in many regions. Through observing the visible signs in public places and the main roads of Sidoarjo City, East Java, Fakhiroh & Rohmah (2018) found that Indonesian language dominated the city's LL. English and Arabic were pervasive, but Javanese, which is the mother tongue for the majority of the society of Sidoarjo, was surprisingly rare. Meanwhile, other Asian languages such as Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Thai appeared in food and beverage stalls in the Shopping Centers.

The use of Indonesian and English in eatery signage was particularly analyzed in Purnanto et al. (2022). The study examined the frequency of Indonesian and English in culinary business texts from food stalls, restaurants, cafes, and bistros located at a protocol road in Surakarta, West Java. The results showed that Indonesian is the most dominant, which indicated the community's high competence of the language. English was also frequent, depicting culinary as a tourism product that attracts visitors. The use of English also suggested international perception, exclusivity, success, modernity, and leisure, which was also reported by Mubarak & Muthalib (2021). These findings suggest that the frequency of Indonesian and English marks very tight regional, national, and foreign language competitions in public. Meanwhile, despite being the local language spoken in Surakarta, Javanese was complimentary, but the language was found to be an effective tool for promoting culinary culture as a local culture product.

5. Linguistic landscape of Malang seen from the eatery signs

Restaurant and shop names were among the public signs examined in Yannuar & Tabiati (2016) in addition to advertisement banners, informative banners, directions, warnings, and road signs. The study particularly looked at areas representing the old and new part of Malang City, East Java. It revealed that the Indonesian language had a

strong position in both parts of the city. Even though Javanese is the mother tongue of the majority of people in Malang, it "barely survives its existence in the public space" (Yannuar & Tabiati 2016: 131). Besides Indonesian, English was visible especially in places where modernity is highly valued and its use in business signs could increase the status of the products.

Sumarlam et al. (2020) took an LL approach to study the names of halal food stalls and restaurants across five districts of Malang. The study found that monolingual patterns of Indonesian, English, and Javanese were prevalent. Indonesian was prioritized, which indicated that language policy factor i.e., nationalism was channeled by the government to the community. The use of English seemed to be bridging the business to globalization, bringing the Indonesian cuisine to the global market, which was mostly the case with business chains such as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and Kentucky Fried Chicken. English was also used in Mie Jogging, noodles with various levels of spiciness, where the word Jogging expresses excitement and rush to buy their products.

Iwana & Sudarwati (2021) explored the forms and functions of 262 culinary signs that were located around three campuses in Malang. To the best of our knowledge, this study has been among the first ones to focus on the multicultural areas surrounding universities in Malang. The results showed that the most frequent languages in the culinary signs were Indonesian, English, and Javanese. The use of Javanese showed that the language did still stand strong despite globalization. However, it never occurred in a monolingual pattern, because business owners were aware of the multiethnic situation surrounding the campus area and that not all of the inhabitants could understand Javanese. Instead, Japanese was the third most frequently used language in the monolingual patterns on culinary signs. Other foreign languages such as Korean, Arabic, and Malay and vernaculars such as Sundanese, Banjarese, and Minangnese were also parts of the linguistic diversity found in the three areas.

A more study on LL of Malang is done by Windayanto & Kesuma (2023). They examined the languages in the names of coffee shops in Malang and found a prevalent

use of English. The use of English in coffee shops portrays a modern concept of the business, which could attract more consumers. In this case, language performs as a cultural instrument to support the economy. Following Spradley's (2007) ethnography approach, their study identified 12 domains in the naming of coffee shops, such as management identity, geography, expression of love, and nature, which reflect, among others, market share, lifestyle, identity and affiliation.

6. Method

6.1 Design

This study employed a mix-method approach, where the quantitative approach done to categorize and count the eatery signs preceded the qualitative approach. For LL studies, such "symbiotic approach, where the quantitative and qualitative approaches feed into one another, is an ideal modus operandi" (Blackwood 2015: 39-40). The quantitative approach was used to identify and count the frequencies of the featured languages in the eatery signage. The results were also described qualitatively to discuss the roles of the languages in the LL of the student-dense areas and the predicted reasons of using the featured languages.

6.2 Areas

This study examines the LL of eatery signs in university vicinities. The scope of interest was narrowed down to the student-dense areas surrounding six universities, namely, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang Campus III, Universitas Tribhuana Tunggadewi, Universitas Islam Malang, Universitas Brawijaya, Universitas Negeri Maulana Malik Malang, and Universitas Negeri Malang. We limited the search for the eatery signs visible within one to two kilometers from each university. Based on our initial observations, these areas are frequently visited by students for the purpose of buying foods and beverages. These areas were selected because of their close distance

to the university and the large number of university students residing in and visiting the areas. In the academic year of 2022/2023 alone, as many as 330 thousand new students came to study at the universities in Malang, 10 thousand of which were the new students of Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (Aminuddin 2022). Due to this high influx of students to Malang, the city has much potential for business and commerce (Iwana & Sudarwati 2021), which can be seen from the abundant community-run businesses, particularly food and beverage, which filled the areas around these universities.

6.3 Signs

The focus of data collection was to capture the eatery signs that were displayed in the selected student-dense areas. The eatery signs refer to outdoor signs, such as banners, display boards, and any written texts, that were put by eatery businesses, including restaurants, stalls, and warung. Warung is a long-standing, small-scale business entity that usually takes up small spaces of a house, utilizes tents and carts, and is usually located in a neighborhood or within a close reach (Djuwarijah et al. 2022). Most of the data for this study was taken from warung signs. This study focused on bottom-up signs, which are private signs made by business owners, which reflect individual preferences, but is also influenced by language policy (Gorter & Cenoz 2008). In most cases, the signs displayed the name of restaurants, stalls or *warung* (street food vendors), and taglines, which were all taken as the data. We did not include other texts shown in the signs such as the list of menus and price list.

6.4 Data collection and analysis

To collect the data, we toured the selected areas and captured the images of visible eatery signs. This data collection process was conducted several times from May to August 2023, resulting in a corpus of 218 images in total. After collecting all the data, the initial coding was performed. First, we grouped the images based on whether

they were written in monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual, identified the languages and counted their frequencies. The linguistic cues were the only focus of this study, so non-linguistic data such as the type, size, color, and style of the signs were not included in the coding system, neither the aims of this study. The results from this procedure were used to answer the first research question. As for the second question, to analyze the motives behind the signs, we drew upon previous studies of LL such as Spolsky's (2009) and Ben-rafael et al.'s (2006) theories of forces behind language choice in LL.

7. Findings and discussion

7.1 The LL of the student-dense areas

In the LL of student-dense areas, we identified three patterns of eatery signs, namely monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. From the total of 218 culinary signs collected from the student-dense areas, there were 125 bilingual signs (57.33%), 81 monolingual signs (37.15%) and 12 multilingual signs (5.50%). As a whole, in this particular landscape, Indonesian, English, and Javanese were dominant, although we also noticed the presence of other foreign languages such as Arabic, Korean, Mandarin, and Japanese. The major and minor language pairs identified from the eatery signs are shown in Figure 1. Language on the eatery signs in the selected areas tend to be varied, which, according to Mansoor et al. (2023), is common in such a multilingual setting, because it serves as a means of reflecting ethnolinguistic diversity. Furthermore, the frequent use of Indonesian, English, and Javanese in these areas confirms the findings reported by previous LL studies in Malang (e.g., Sumarlam et al. 2020; Iwana & Sudarwati 2021). The LL of the student-dense areas around universities is also characterized by few instances of local languages such as Sundanese, Minangnese, and Walikan, which is a youth language derived from Malangan Javanese (Yannuar & Febrianti 2021). Among these languages, the fact that Indonesian dominated the LL of student-dense areas, either appearing in monolingual or bilingual

signs, reflects the linguistic hierarchy and importance of Indonesian as the national language, which remains the primary language for most local interactions.

In the bilingual signs, Indonesian-English and Indonesian-Javanese are dominant. Other language pairs such as Indonesian-Sundanese, Indonesian-Arabic, and English-Javanese were present, yet they were much lower in frequencies. As for the monolingual signs, Indonesian was the most dominant. Javanese as the local language barely appeared on its own. Lastly, minor languages such as Arabic and Korean were mostly used in the multilingual signs, which were the least frequent pattern. The linguistic diversity in the eatery signs may suggest a level of bilingual and multilingual proficiency among the community members, especially among university students who reside in the areas and who are the target customers of the eatery businesses.
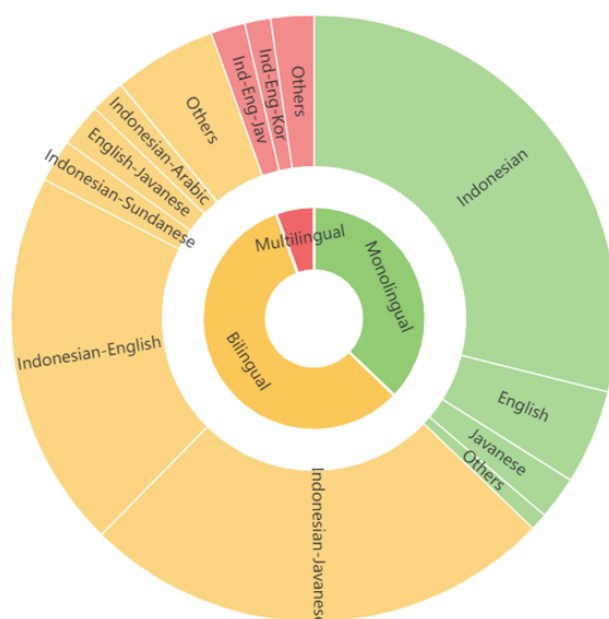

Figure 1. The LL of student-dense areas at the vicinity of the selected universities

Among the three patterns, there is one similarity in the frequent use of kinship terms of address in the eatery signs. The terms of address mostly appeared in Indonesian, Javanese, Sundanese, and Walikan. Such use of kinship terms of address not only marked business ownership but also imposed authenticity and closeness to the target market. The Indonesian terms of address found in the signs were *bu* and *pak*, which are a short form of *Ibu* (mother) and *Bapak* (father), respectively. The

Javanese terms of address found in the data include *mas* (brother), *mbak* (sister), *mbah* (grandfather/ grandmother), *mak* (mother), and *cak* (brother/ mister). Walikan, a local variety of Javanese spoken in Malang, is found in the use of *sam*, which is a reversed word from the Javanese *mas*. Sundanese terms of address, namely, *Mang*, *Abah*, and *Akang* that are found in the LL are all used alongside the name of products. Since this is the case with products originated from or being popular in the West Java, such kinship terms may indicate authenticity of the products being sold.

7.2 Bilingual pairs in the LL: Indonesian-Javanese and Indonesian-English

The most frequent pairs in the bilingual signs are Indonesian-Javanese (N= 55) and Indonesian-English (N= 44). Languages in commercial business, referring to Djuwarijah et al. (2022), have both communicative and symbolic functions. In the case of Indonesian-Javanese signs, our data showed that the use of Indonesian was mostly apparent in naming the types of business such as *warung* and *kedai*, and of food and beverage being sold such as *ayam*, *nasi goreng*, and *donat*. Therefore, the use of Indonesian in bilingual signs serves the communicative role as it informs the customers about the business type and the culinary product being sold. Similarly, the bilingual signs featured Javanese to specify the culinary products. One of the examples is *pedesan* in *Warung Pedesan Nyai* (Figure 2). The word *pedesan* is from the root *pedes* (Javenese) which means 'spicy' and the suffix *-an* that follows means 'anything that is spicy'.

Figure 2. Bilingual Indonesian-Javanese sign in one of the restaurants

Besides being informative, the role of Javanese in the bilingual signs is also symbolic, as it characterizes the culinary business even more. Some of the examples

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were *nyungsep* (slip or fall down) in *Ayam Nyungsep*, *seje dewe* (the only one) in *Geprek Seje Dewe*, and *nelongso* (miserable) in *Ayam Goreng Nelongso* were some of the examples. It is important to note that these were all selling fried chickens, and the use of Javanese in this case do not describe how the food is served. Instead, it serves as a way to characterize the business as being unique, which is beneficial to shop owners as it may help them advertise their business in communities where culinary products are often similar (Sumarlam et al. 2020). Using Javanese in such bilingual signs also gives the impression of the product being local and belonging to the communities. This impression can be seen in the culinary signs such as *es coklat arek UB*, which roughly translates to 'Universitas Brawijaya (UB) students' chocolate ice'. The phrase *arek UB* implies the sense of belonging the nearby communities where the shop is located.

The second most frequent pair in the bilingual signs is Indonesian-English. The presence of English along with the national language is also evident in the neighboring countries like Thailand (Praset & Zilli 2019) and Malaysia (Husin et al. 2019). Using foreign languages such as English in food and drink signage can portray the product as having international qualities, thus evoking a sense of modernity (Berezkina 2016, Lee 2019) and exclusivity (Mubarak & Muthalib 2021, Purnanto et al. 2022). The high frequency of Indonesian-English in the student-dense areas could suggest that these young people are familiar with English, as it is most likely to be learned at university. The prevalence of English might also suggest an increasing awareness among shop owners of the correlation between English and prestige (Mansoor et al. 2023) and its ability to relatively attract costumers (Windayanto & Kesuma 2023). Therefore, using Indonesian-English could be seen as a way to align business with such attributes while still maintaining the national language as the primary mode of communication. The data showed that the presence of English in this bilingual pattern is mostly found in the types of food and drink (e.g., *coffee*, *tea*, *fried chicken*, *juice*, *toast*), which actually have the direct translation to Indonesian. It is possible that keeping the English names instead of using the Indonesian translation, not only implies modernity, but also

ensures the customers' familiarity with the culinary products, which could suggest students' familiarity with English in their daily lives.

Similar to the informative role of Javanese in the Indonesian-Javanese pattern, in the Indonesian-English pattern, we also noticed that English adjectives are used to compliment the product description, that is, it is used to detail the taste and texture of the products. Some examples are *hot* in *pentol hot*, *glazy* as in *donat kentang glazy*, *spicy* as in *tahu boom spicy*, and the most popular one is *crispy* as in *nasi crispy tambah lagi*. Since LL reflects the community's linguistic background (Im 2023), the frequent instances of English adjectives in the culinary signs suggest a level of multilingual competence. Although English is not their first language, the community seems to be familiar and comfortable using English terms, though it is limited to written communication. As shown in Figure 3, we also found a few instances of culinary signs that sound English, all of which are the case where *'the'* is spelled as *'de'*, namely, *demammie, decozzy, ayam deCrezzy, dkeprek,* and *d'krezz fried chicken*. Given that the areas are student-dense, these instances could be related to the influence of youth culture where playfulness and creativity in using a language, including altering spelling of certain words as a way to 'challenge' conventional language rules are often found. Thus, business could be incorporating such terms to resonate more with the preferences and linguistic trends of the students in the areas.
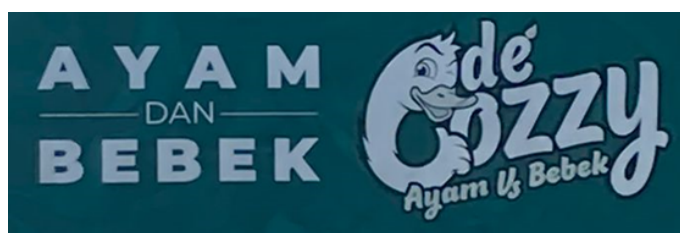

Figure 3. Using '*de*' instead of 'the' in Indonesian-English sign

7.3 The monolingual signs: Indonesian, English, and Javanese

The second most prevalent pattern in the LL of student-dense areas is monolingual. In this pattern, Indonesian (N= 63), English (N= 11), and Javanese (5) are the most visible languages. The dominance of Indonesian as monolingual signs in the

LL of student-dense areas confirmed the findings reported by Iwana & Sudarwati (2021). Indonesian has also been reported to dominate the LL of other parts of the city, such as in the areas representing the old and new part of Malang (Yannuar & Tabiati, 2016) and in the areas across the five districts of the city (Sumarlam et al., 2020). Therefore, the high usage of Indonesian as a monolingual sign in these various landscapes of Malang could be an indication of a strong preference for using the national language for daily communication. As argued by Ewing (2014), the wide spread of Indonesian could be encouraged by the education policies, media, and economic aspirations of the individuals that often associate the language with modern lifestyles. Besides, for businesses in the student-dense areas, using Indonesian in such multicultural and multilingual communities can minimize language barriers, ensure clear communication, and effectively reach the main demographic.

In the monolingual pattern, English has a remarkably lower frequency than Indonesian. Compared to the bilingual patterns where Indonesian-English signs are pervasive, the low frequency of English in monolingual patterns of culinary signs in the student-dense areas could suggest that the Indonesian-English signs are more likely to bridge language barriers and ensure that information about the culinary business reaches a wider audience. Earlier LL studies by Purnanto et al. (2022), Berezkina (2016), as well as Mubarak & Muthalib (2021), noted that the use of English often portrays a product as being modern and up-to-date. Its use in business signs in places where modernity is highly valued may potentially increase the status of the products (Yannuar & Tabiati 2016). The instances of monolingual English signs in our data, such as *soy story*, *happy coffee*, and *robusta space and coffee*, carry the impression of the product being in tune with trendiness, although the types of food and beverage being advertised are quite similar to other culinary businesses in the areas. Even so, the fact that English rarely appears as a monolingual sign could suggest that ensuring clarity of information about the culinary product is more prioritized than giving the impression of being international and up-to-date.

In the LL of these student-dense areas, Javanese is the least frequent language in the monolingual pattern. This finding is in accordance with Yannuar & Tabiati (2016)

who found that Javanese barely exists in the LL of the city, even though it is the local language spoken by the majority of the people. Earlier LL researchers like Fakhiroh & Rohmah (2018) and Purnanto et al. (2022) also noticed the rarity of Javanese in the LL of Sidoarjo, East Java and Surakarta, West Java, respectively, despite the language being the local language spoken in the areas. In the LL study of the areas near three universities in the city of Malang, Iwana & Sudarwati (2021) found that Javanese never occurred in a monolingual pattern. Although the present study found several instances of monolingual Javanese signs, their frequency is lower than Indonesian and English. The lack of monolingual Javanese in the multicultural student-dense areas might be related to the diverse student population who come from various linguistic backgrounds, which can result in the LL that prioritizes languages that are more widely understood, such as Indonesian and English. The fact that Javanese tends to appear in bilingual pattern but struggles to exist in the monolingual pattern, while Indonesian gains more prominence, could reflect the students' linguistic preferences, which might be more inclined towards Indonesian due to exposure through education and media.

7.4 Multilingualism: The case with Korean, Arabic, and Walikan

Multilingual signs are the least frequent pattern found in the LL of the student-dense areas. The data showed that the multilingual signs are written in Indonesian-English-Javanese (N= 4) and Indonesian-English-Korean (N= 3). The remaining includes Indonesian-English-Sundanese, English-Javanese-Walikan, Arabic-Indonesian-Javanese, Indonesian-English-Walikan, and Indonesian-English-Javanese-Walikan, all of which appears once in the LL of the entire student-dense areas. It is evident that all of the multilingual signs feature Indonesian, which, as we have previously argued, could be related to its special status as the national language, the exposure through education and media, and its role as an effective means to reach the multicultural demographic.

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Figure 4. Multilingual sign that features English, Korean, and Indonesian

In the multilingual signs, Korean words are also written in Korean fonts known as Hangul. The use of Hangul might not be easily understood by most Indonesians, since it is a foreign language in the country. However, the difficulty to understand its meaning is compensated by the presence of Indonesian and English that accompany it in the signs. Thus, to our understanding, the use of Hangul in this case is symbolic, rather than informative. One example of this case is Figure 4 where the sign featured 자기야, which is a Korean word for sweetie or darling. This word does not directly inform the types of food and beverage being sold nor is it related to product description. Instead, the use of Hangul does represent Korean culture. It also indicates that the product is associated with, or at least popular in, the South Korea. This is particularly attractive to the young people, as Korean culture and products are receiving much attention through the influence of Hallyu, the Korean Wave. In the study of LL of Seoul, Lee (2019) asserted that using full Korean in food and beverage signage represents the authentic taste of Korean cuisine. However, since the culinary products found in the areas under study are not made in Korea nor made by Koreans, as the case in Lee's (2019) study, we tend to argue that featuring this language in the culinary signs is not a way of claiming that the food and beverage products are authentically from the South Korea, but rather a means to portray the business as having a Korean identity, enabling business to align themselves with the current hype of Korean culture in Indonesia.

Another example of a multilingual eatery sign that featured Hangul is shown in Figure 5. This was taken from a fried chicken shop that emphasized Korean culture. The eatery sign shows the use of Hangul in 라라반 양 가 기투기투 아자 even though any Korean speakers would find this unintelligible in Kothe rean language. This line is the transliteration of the Indonesian-Javanese tagline '*lalapan yang gak gitu-gitu aja*'. This finding confirms our argument that in the LL of student-dense areas, instead of serving as an informative tool, Korean is used to target a specific audience within the communities, such as those who are interested in the country and its culture, and that the use of Hangul, without having to make sense in the Korean language, is enough to represent the eatery business as having Korean qualities.

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Figure 5. The Indonesian-Javanese tagline "*lalapan yang gak gitu-gitu aja*" is transliterated using Hangul

It is interesting to compare the presence of Korean to that of Arabic in this particular landscape. In total, there are seven culinary signs that contain Arabic, six of which are written using the Roman alphabet (e.g., *ayam basmalah*, *kedai assalamu'alaikum*, *warung barokah*). Among these instances, there was only one Arabic eatery sign in all student-dense areas that is written using Arabic script, namely, *soto ayam* قناعة. This sign is displayed in the student-dense area close to Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, which is an Islamic university. Thus, the proximity of this particular sign to the Islamic-affiliated university could contribute to the use of Arabic script. It could be a way to cater to most students and faculty who are familiar with Arabic due to their background in Islamic education. As the country with a big population of Muslims, Arabic language has been closer, hence more familiar, to the

majority of Indonesians. We assume that the lack of Arabic in the culinary signs found in the LL of student-dense areas is regional; it might only suggest the lesser popularity of Arabic cuisine in the student-dense areas, and not implying the rarity of Arabic language in the LL of the whole city. This is because in Malang, Arabic was found to be prevalent in the names of worship places and Islamic school institutions (Ardhian & Fajar 2017). Thus, as found in this study, the use of Arabic in culinary signs is depicting Islamic identity, implying that the culinary products are halal and the business is owned by Muslims, instead of aligning the business to the Middle Eastern culture, as the case with Korean.

The third language that appeared in the multilingual eatery signs is Walikan. Walikan is a variety of Malangan Javanese that is commonly used by the locals of Malang to show local pride and maintain solidarity among them (Yannuar & Febrianti 2021). Out of 218 signs, Walikan appears in two bilingual and three multilingual signs, such as *pecel kane stmj and more*, *kedai kane* and *cilor sam tewol*. *Kane* is the reversed of *enak* and *sam* is the reversed from *mas*. Compared to other languages, Walikan had much lower frequency in the LL of the student-dense areas despite its popularity among the locals. It is possible that the lack of Walikan is caused by the need to conform to the multiethnicity of the inhabitants of the vicinities of the universities. Since the students are coming from various parts of the country, it is important that the eatery signs can be easily understood by the customers.

7.5 *Motivations behind the use of the featured languages*

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) maintained that the dominance of one language over another relies on the power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. Thus, the high frequency of Indonesian, Javanese, and English in bilingual signs as found in this study is likely to be caused by the large number of the speakers in the areas and may suggest that these are the languages that most university students are familiar with. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) also argued that language choices in LL are governed by the expected influence on the consumers. Thus, it is possible that

business owners' use of Indonesian is encouraged by the need to give clear information about the product to the target consumers. This is because using the national language can minimize language barriers in such multicultural communities like the student-dense areas. As for Javanese and English, when they are used alongside the national language, it is likely driven by the need to show local identity and international qualities.

Spolsky (2009) offers three possible conditions that determine language choices in a sign, namely, "write in a language you know", "write in a language which can be read by the people you expect to read it", and "write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified" (Spolsky 2009: 33). Based on this theory, we believe that the use of Indonesian falls to the first condition, because it is understood by both business owners and consumers. The use of Javanese, English, and Walikan, however, is likely to be in line with the second reason, because it will be only understood by the targeted speakers. The prevalence of English in bilingual signs, where it appeared with Indonesian, might be motivated by the expectation to show prestige. Where English is common in a community, its use in shop names may serve as universal advertisements and allow shop owners to align with business trends in the world (Mansoor et al. 2023). The use of Korean and Arabic is possibly the case with the "language with which you wish to be identified". This is because Korean is probably not understood by many speakers in the areas, yet eatery business could align itself with the current hype of Korean trends in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the use of Arabic in the eatery signs is driven by the need to identify the business with Islamic identity and to ensure that the food and drinks are halal.

8. Conclusion

Overall, this study has shown that the LL of student-dense areas mirrors the linguistic diversity of the communities, which is indicated by the presence of various languages in the eatery signs. In this landscape, Indonesian appears to be the most dominant language, which is motivated by its status as the national language and a

need to reach the multilingual demographic in the areas. Javanese and English are also prevalent, but only when their presence is accompanied by the national language. While the use of Javanese indicates the attempt to maintain local identity, English use in eatery signs is motivated by the desire to look modern and have international qualities. Other less frequent languages such as Korean, Arabic, and Walikan that are evident in the LL suggests that student-dense areas surrounding universities are a potential spot for language contact, which calls for further studies on the LL of university vicinities in other regions. This study is limited to identifying the language diversity in the student-dense areas around universities and discussing the possible reasons for using the language. We suggest future studies to conduct interviews with business owners about their decisions in naming eatery businesses and with target customers about their language preferences and how this may be related to purchase intentions.

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