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Linguistic landscape at Yogyakarta's senior high schools in multilingual context: Patterns and representation

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ABSTRACT

The study of linguistic landscape as a new approach to multilingualism has not been much explored within the Indonesian context. With regard to its significance to reveal various aspects of language use in education, this paper focuses on sign patterns in school linguistic landscape and what they represent in term of language situation in multilingual context. The data consist of 890 signs collected from five senior high schools in Yogyakarta. Based on the number and kinds of languages used, the data were categorised into their lingual patterns. The language situation was interpreted based on the main functions of language as a means of communication and representation. The findings of this research reveal three lingual patterns: monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs, which are ordered from the most to the least frequency. The monolingual and bilingual signs were found in all five schools while the multilingual ones in three schools. Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Arabic were found in all three patterns. Javanese and French were used in monolingual and multilingual patterns. Latin and Sanskrit were found only in monolingual pattern. As a means of communication and representation, the signage is both informative and symbolic. The studied school linguistic landscape reflects which languages are used and locally relevant to the school environments and how they are positioned. Bahasa Indonesia is dominant while Javanese is marginalised. The use of English in the school signs is frequent but indicates the sign makers' less capability of the language. The use of Arabic is related to schools' Islamic identity. Javanese is used as a cultural symbol. Due to its importance, the existing multilingualism at Yogyakarta's schools should be maintained and efforts to achieve its balanced proportion need to be done.

Keywords: Lingual patterns; linguistic landscape; multilingualism; representation

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INTRODUCTION

Linguistic landscape (hereafter LL) is a common scene in multilingual urban areas, including Yogyakarta. LL has similar meaning to linguistic market, linguistic mosaic, ecology of languages, diversity of languages, and the linguistic situation (Gorter, 2006). Since LL reflects the dynamics of various important social aspects (Backhaus, 2006; Huebner, 2006), LL studies are significant to reveal the language heterogeneity and its sociolinguistic context: the use, perception, attitude,

status, role, function, and policy related to different languages. A number of studies have been conducted in educational settings (Hanauer, 2010; Lotherington, 2013; Siricharoen, 2016), city settings (Backhaus, 2006; da Silva, 2014; Ferdiyanti, 2016; Huebner, 2006; Leeman & Modan, 2009), and larger geographical settings (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Malinowski, 2010; Puzey, 2007). Despite the growing interest in LL, LL research within the Indonesian context has not been much explored.

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According to Landry and Bourhis (1997), LL indicates language vitality. If this statement is connected to Lotherington's that "Languages are not social equals" (2013, p. 619), it can be concluded that people use languages in LL with different frequencies. A language with high frequency is vital and relates to people's basic need and ability to communicate with that language. Another possibility is that a language is highly promoted due to its perceived significance or people's effort to maintain its existence. A language which is used less frequently is usually not considered as important in the society where the language exists or the speakers' ability in that language is not sufficient. The languages in LL indicate which languages are still relevant locally or which ones are developing to be relevant to the needs of speakers around the LL (Kasanga, 2012).

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) disclose that the existence of languages in LL does not only indicate language diversity or the speakers' language ability; it is likely to be a symbolic representation of a language situation in public space. Piller (2001, 2003) finds that the use of English in commercial advertising is symbolical to success or international, future, and fun orientation. Referring to a number of studies in several countries, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) conclude that the use of English in LL is not equal to the citizens' understanding the messages in LL signs.

An investigation of LL at educational environment might inform about language situation at that setting, as well as other relevant elements including the conveyed meanings, the sign makers, the target readers, or even any related language policy. Studies find that LL is a meaningful resource for language learning and literacy (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Gorter, 2013; Hewitt-Bradshaw, 2014; Lotherington, 2013). Hanauer (2010) explores the use of laboratory LL to represent personal, professional, and communal identities.

This paper deals with senior high school LL in Yogyakarta and is intended to fill the gap of school LL research rareness in Indonesia and to raise Indonesian scholars' awareness of the significance of such a study in multilingual context.

People of Yogyakarta, as those of many other areas across Indonesia, are speakers of the national language Bahasa Indonesia and the local language. With regard to the young Javanese people in this city, Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese compete in three domains: home, school, and the street even though not in all sociolinguistic situations (Andriyanti, 2016). Known as a city with a large number of schools and higher educational institutions, Yogyakarta is closely related to students, who learn foreign languages such as English and Arabic. English is a compulsory subject at school nationwide and Arabic is compulsory at Islamic school. A school at Yogyakarta is commonly a space where multilingual members interact with each other: the principal with the teachers, the teachers with their colleagues and students, the students with their peers and other school members such as administrators,

janitors or parking attendants, and so on. These communications commonly occur orally. However, written communications also take place at school, for example as shown by the school LL. The different modes of spoken and written communications are likely to have different characteristics. Due to this, this research on LL is interesting.

The objectives of this paper are to identify the sign patterns, describe the use of various languages in those patterns, and explain what language situation is represented by the LL signs in senior high schools in Yogyakarta. The use of languages in multilingual context is not random and therefore finding the sign patterns can reveal information about the sign makers' motivation. The language choice as well as particular patterns can be related to users' perception and attitude towards languages (see for example Karan, 2011; Zhang, 2010). Positive perception and attitude towards a language usually motivate someone to like using that language.

METHOD

This present study is a part of larger research that aims at describing and explaining school LL, a social language phenomenon that exists naturally at educational environment. Using a sociolinguistic approach, this research was intended to reveal the LL sign patterns in relation to the language use -reported in this paper- and the meanings communicated in the LL as well as to find the frequency related to the use of those relevant languages and the sign meanings, which are grouped in a number of emerging themes. In short, the texts as qualitative data were also quantified during analysis to get a comprehensive understanding of the observed phenomenon (see Gorter, 2006).

This research has 890 signs as its data. The textual data are primary while the contexts, such as picture, location, colours, and size of signs and letters are secondary. The data were collected from the LL of five senior high schools in Yogyakarta, which represented schools under the Ministry of Education (three schools) and the Ministry of Religions (two schools). They consisted of two Islamic schools (Schools A1 and A2), one private general school (School A3), one state-owned general school (School A4), and one vocational school (School A5). The school participation was based on their availability and consent. The signs were located in and out of the schools' rooms. Some signs were permanents and the others were temporary. The number of data from each school is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of data based on school

No	School code	Number of data	Range of data
1	A1	178	data 1-178
2	A2	276	data 179-454
3	A3	122	data 455-576
4	A4	134	data 577-710
5	A5	180	data 711-890
Tota	al	890	_

During the data collection, photos of the signs in and outside the buildings in the schools' areas were taken. The school codes and lingual texts relevant to those photos were provided in the data sheets, along with three variables, which included location, colour, and size (see Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Gorter, 2006). However, location is more focused because a sign's meaning depends much on where and when then sign is placed (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). The validity of the data was checked twice to verify that all lingual data matched the pictures and no same data were recorded more than once. One sign was considered as one datum, regardless the size. In presenting a datum in this paper, a coding system representing the school as data source and the datum number is used. For example, A5/734 means that the sign was located in School 5 and it was numbered 734 out of 890 data.

The data was analysed based on the existence of languages in the textual data. At this stage, the number of languages was used to categorise a sign pattern: whether a sign is monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual. The use of languages in monolingual signs were observed to identify which languages existed in the school LL and in bilingual and multilingual signs to find the language combinations. To calculate the frequency of occurrence, for example of sign patterns, language combinations, and the language use in the LL signs, this study utilised SPSS 22. The language situation is interpreted based on language vitality, which

relates to language as means of communication, and symbolic representation.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the findings and discussion of sign patterns, language use, and language situation as represented by the school LL.

Sign patterns

Based on the use of languages in the LL signs, there are three sign patterns: monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. Table 2 shows the frequency of data related to the sign patterns.

The monolingual sign pattern is highest in frequency and the multilingual pattern is lowest. All five schools in this study have monolingual and bilingual patterns. The multilingual pattern exists only in three schools. In the monolingual patterns, there are seven languages shown in Table 3 for the data distribution.

Bahasa Indonesia is dominant, English is ranked second, and Javanese is third. The next are Arabic, French, Sanskrit, and Latin. School A3 has only two languages in their monolingual LL signs; other four schools have three, four, or seven languages.

Language combinations in bilingual sign pattern are shown in following Table 4.

Table 2. Sign patterns and the number of occurrence

School code		Total			
	Monolingual Bilingual		Multilingual	_	
School A1	139	27	12	178	
School A2	233	39	4	276	
School A3	115	7	0	122	
School A4	108	23	3	134	
School A5	155	25	0	180	
Total	750 (84.3%)	121 (13.6 %)	19 (2.1%)	890	

Table 3. Languages in monolingual sign pattern

Table 3. Languages in monoringual sign pattern								
School code	Languages in monolingual sign pattern							Total
		Bahasa						
	Javanese	Indonesia	English	Arabic	French	Latin	Sanskrit	
School A1	3	115	16	5	0	0	0	139
School A2	2	203	25	3	0	0	0	233
School A3	0	107	8	0	0	0	0	115
School A4	10	86	7	1	2	1	1	108
School A5	3	129	23	0	0	0	0	155
Total	18	640	79	9	2	1	1	750

Table 4. Language combinations in bilingual pattern

School code	e Language combinations in bilingual pattern							
	Indo+Eng+Indo	Indo+Eng	Indo+Eng+	Arab+Indo	Eng+Indo	Others		
	_	_	Indo+Eng		_			
School A1	2	6	6	5	7	1	27	
School A2	10	15	8	3	0	3	39	
School A3	2	3	0	2	0	0	7	
School A4	5	8	1	5	0	4	23	
School A5	18	2	1	1	2	1	25	
Total	37	34	16	16	9	9	121	

Multilingual signs were found in three schools: School A1, A2, and A4. As Table 5 shows, the languages used in this sign pattern are Bahasa Indonesia, English, Arabic, French, and Javanese.

Table 5. Language combinations in multilingual pattern

School code	Language combinations in multilingual pattern							
	Indo+Arab	Arab+	Eng+	Indo+	Indo+	Eng+	Indo+	_
	+Eng+	Eng+	Arab	Eng+	Eng	Java	Java+	
	French	French	+Indo	French	+Arab	+Indo	Eng	
School A1	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	12
School A2	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	4
School A4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Total	5	7	1	1	1	1	3	19

School A1 has twelve signs involving four languages: Bahasa Indonesia, Arabic, English, and French, which are taught as subjects at that school. School A2 has four multilingual signs, with five languages: Javanese, Bahasa Indonesia, Arabic, English, and French. The five languages are learned by School A2's students. School A4 has three multilingual signs in Javanese, Bahasa Indonesia, and English.

Language use in the school LL

The language use in the school LL is described and explained based on the emerging patterns. Following is the language use in the monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs.

The language use in the monolingual signs

The languages found in the monolingual signs in the five schools' LL are Bahasa Indonesia, English, Javanese, Arabic, French, Sanskrit, and Latin. Referring to Kasanga (2012), the school community in this study has these seven languages relevant to their needs. However, only five languages are taught at those schools because Sanskrit and Latin are not. Following is discussion on the use of the languages, ordered from Bahasa Indonesia which has the highest frequency.

The dominance of Bahasa Indonesia in the monolingual LL signs is shown in its highest frequency of 640 out of 750 data (85.3%). All five schools in this study have this type of signs. The prevalent use of Bahasa Indonesia in school environment is understandable since it is the official language in education, for example used as language of instruction and in academic writing. In Bahasa Indonesia, communications through signs in LL can be relatively effective because everyone at school understands the language. Examples of the use of formal Bahasa Indonesia in monolingual signs are in Figures 1 and 2.

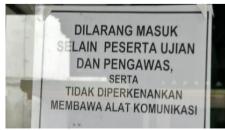


Figure 1. Monolingual sign during an exam period (A1/53)

Either through a sentence or a phrase, both signs send clear messages. Sign A1/53 was seen on the wall of a room. It prohibits people except test takers and proctors to enter the room and bring communication devices because exams were in progress. Sign A2/429 was on a pillar of School A2's *musholla* 'small mosque or praying place for Muslims' on the first floor. It informs that female prayers' area was upstairs.



Figure 2. Monolingual sign around a praying place (A2/429)

School A3 has two signs using informal Bahasa Indonesia. One of them is shown in Figure 3.

The sign says "Yang ini, ini, ama ini, bukan tipe gue banget" 'This one, this one, and this one are not at all of my types'. It indicates the voice of young people, or specifically students at the school. The pictures in the sign help the reader to understand the message that the drug addicts in school uniform should not be their role models.

The use of English –like that of Bahasa Indonesiawas also found in all five schools, with Schools A2 and A5 being in first and second ranks in frequency. Following are examples of signs in English.



Figure 3. Monolingual sign in informal Bahasa Indonesia on the side wall of a school canteen (A3/459)



Figure 4. Monolingual sign in English (A2/210)

Sign A2/210 is mostly in green to strengthen its message related to clean and green school environment. The cleanliness inside the building and the plants and trees outside are promoted by School A2.



Figure 5. Monolingual sign in English (A2/443)

Green is also a dominant colour in sign A2/443, implying a similar theme to that of sign A2/210. Sign A2/443 campaigns for saving the earth and always keeping smile.

The next language in the monolingual signs is Javanese, the use of which was found mostly in School A4. School A4 promotes Javanese proverbs and culture through this type of signs, as shown in Figures 6 and 7.



Figure 6. Monolingual sign in Latin-script Javanese (A4/661)

Sign A4/661 says "*Desa mawa cara, negara mawa tata*." This Javanese proverb means every region has its own way or system. This sign reminds the reader to give respect to conventions or rules upheld in a region. This proverb is quite relevant to education because it teaches all school members to have good manner.

Datum A4/666 shows a *batik* 'Javanese traditional technique of dyeing applied to textile' motif called *mega mendung*. The visualization of the motif will make it easier for the viewers to memorize the pattern and its color beautifies the school LL.



Figure 7. Monolingual sign in Latin-script Javanese (A4/666)

Among ten monolingual data in Javanese found in School A4, eight of them inform various motifs of *batik*. Besides Datum A4/666, the other seven recorded signs say *nitik cakar* (Datum A4/590), *batik kraton Cirebon* (Datum A4/628), *bligon kelapa secukil* (Datum A4/630), *sekar jagad* (Datum A4/659), *batik pantesan biru* (Datum A4/660), *kawung peksi kreno* (Datum A4/663), and *kawung* (Datum A4/667).

Other monolingual signs in Javanese were found in Schools A1 (see Figure 8) and A5 (see Figure 9).



Figure 8. Monolingual sign in Latin-script Javanese (A1/55)

School A1 also uses Javanese to promote *batik*, as shown in Datum A1/55. *Ceprik gringsing* is a *batik* motif closely related to Tulungagung, East Java.



Figure 9. Monolingual sign in both Old Javanese script and Latin-script Javanese (A5/734)

School A5, through a sign saying "Sumangga wawan pangandikan mawi basa Jawi ing saben dinten Jum'at.", uses High Javanese to ask its school members to communicate in Javanese every Friday. The school also wrote the sentence in Old Javanese script, which is always considered by majority of students as very difficult to write or read.

The fourth language in the monolingual signs is Arabic, which were found in Schools A1, A2, and A4. There were only nine Arabic monolingual signs, eight of which were written in Arabic script and one in Latin script. Following are the examples.



Figure 10. Most common Islamic greeting in a monolingual sign in Arabic script (A1/56)

School A1's sign in Datum A1/56 is a well-known Arabic greeting "Assalamu'alaikum", meaning 'Peace be upon all of you.' It was posted above a classroom door. The same greeting, recorded as Datum A1/58, was also found above another classroom door.



Figure 11. Monolingual sign in Arabic script (A2/193)

A different greeting was found in School A2. It was recorded as Datum A2/193, which says "Marhaban bihudhuurikum", which literally means 'We welcome your coming.' Other five signs of this type can be transcribed into Latin as Shofa 'line, row' (Datum A1/92), Innallaha ma'ashoobiriin 'Indeed, Allah is with the people who have patience' (Data A1/121 & A1/123), Waaqimussholata waatuzzakata warka'u ma'arrooki'iin 'And stay in prayer, and pay zakat, and bow your heads following those who have (in prayer)' (A2/327), and Allah 'the God in Islam' (Datum A2/451).

The only monolingual Arabic sign in Latin script was found in School A4 (Datum A4/671), saying "Musholla Al-Ilmu". The name of the small mosque Al-Ilmu 'knowledge, science' evokes an academic nuance in that religious place.

Other three languages: French, Latin, and Sanskrit which were used in monolingual signs were found only in School A4's four signs, illustrations of which are following.



Figure 12. Monolingual sign in French (A4/604)



Figure 13. Monolingual sign in French (A4/662)

Comme on fait son lit, on se couche" in sign A4/604 literally means 'As you make your bed, you must lie on it.' This French proverb teaches about the consequence or responsibility someone has due to his deed. Another French proverb in sign A4/662 says "Commun n'est pas comme un", meaning 'similarities hide differences.' This proverb is quite relevant to Indonesia, which has diverse ethnics, languages, and cultures but is united, for example by the same national ideology.

The use of Latin and Sanskrit is shown in Figures 14 and 15 respectively.



Figure 14. Monolingual sign in Latin (A4/650)



Figure 15. Monolingual sign in Sanskrit (A4/664)

Language use in bilingual signs

All of the five schools in this study have bilingual signs. The majority of the bilingual signs found have Bahasa Indonesia and English, as illustrated in Figures 16-19. Two types of bilinguals signs are identified. The first type conveys the same message in two different language expressions (see Figures 16-17) and the second one is a code-switching sign (see Figures 18-19).

Figure 16 shows a sign in Bahasa Indonesia with the English version. Both languages in the sign (A3/568)

deliver the same message, asking people around the sign to be quiet due to going-on exams. Sign A5/821 is basically an English proverb saying "Easy come easy go", which has the Indonesian translation as *Mudah didapat*, *mudah pula hilangnya*. The order of the languages in the two data are different, showing that the language used first is the source language or considered as the main means of conveying the message.



Figure 16. Bilingual sign in Bahasa Indonesia and English (A3/568)



Figure 17. Bilingual sign in English and Bahasa Indonesia (A5/821)



Figure 18. Bilingual sign in Bahasa Indonesia and English (A2/398)



Figure 19. Bilingual sign in Bahasa Indonesia and English (A5/754)

Sign A2/398 writes "Pelajar bukan gangster. Stop bullying." The sign starts with two Indonesian words and then switches to English words. The first sentence means students are not gangsters. The word "gangster" and the expression "Stop bullying" in the second sentence are popular among high school students and more efficient to be used than its Indonesian translation. The red and white background is like the Indonesian flag, possibly emphasising that Indonesian students are not supposed to commit physical abuses as shown in Figure 18. In Datum A5/754, the words 'sound system' have been familiar in everyday use and therefore are combined with the Indonesian words "Ruang peralatan" 'Device storage room" to create such a common phrase for Indonesians. Another recorded example of codeswitching sign is coded A4/625, saying "Save energy", which was later on added with "Matikan yang tidak perlu", a smaller sign in handwriting stuck on it. The additional Indonesian message seems to make the English message clearer, that is to ask the school members to switch off lamps which are not used anymore. So doing, they save energy. The last example of recorded code-switching sign in Bahasa Indonesia and English was sign A3/501, which was sticked on a dust bin. It says "Kebersihan pangkal kesehatan." as the main message, which literally means "Cleanliness is the source of health". It is followed by an English phrase "House Ware Product Made in Indonesia". What are written show that the sign maker is the producer of the dust bin, which promotes cleanliness and health through a good manner of putting rubbish. The use of English to reveal the producer possibly indicates that the product is sold not only in Indonesia but also overseas.

Next are examples of bilingual signs in Arabic and Bahasa Indonesia. All signs in these languages are of the first type. They deliver the messages originally in Arabic, which are translated into Bahasa Indonesia, as illustrated in following Figures 20 and 21.



Figure 20. Bilingual sign in Arabic and Bahasa Indonesia (A1/68)



Figure 21. Bilingual sign in Arabic and Bahasa Indonesia (A2/256)

Datum A1/68 says "Innallaha jamiil yuhibbuljamaal" and its Indonesian version, a hadith which means 'Indeed, Allah is beautiful and He loves beauty'. Datum A2/256 "Waidzaa maridltu fahuwa yasyfiin" and its Indonesian version means 'And when I fall sick, He (Allah) is the one who cures me'. This sentence is from the Quran surah Asy-Syu'ara verse 80. The use of Bahasa Indonesia instead of Arabic in these two signs implies that giving the meanings is important for the reader despite the popularity of these original short expressions among Islamic students.

Language use in multilingual signs

The multilingual signs found in this study mostly consist of three languages and a few number of signs have four languages. In School A1, all multilingual signs are small boards hung above rooms, as represented by following Figures 22 and 23.



Figure 22. Multilingual sign in Arabic, English, and French (A1/96)



Figure 23. Multilingual sign in Arabic, English, and French (A1/124)

Those two signs in Data A1/96 and A1/124 mark the principal and teachers' offices with Arabic, English, and French. These three languages are foreign languages taught at School A1. Other ten similar signs – five of which also with Bahasa Indonesia- were recorded as Data A1/59, A1/84, A1/127, A1/131, A1/135, A1/150, A1/154, A1/161, A1/165, and A1/177 to mark the school's offices, classrooms, library, and laboratories.

Multilingual signs were found as well in Schools A2 and A4, as following Figures 24 and 25 illustrate.

Sign in Datum A2/215 was put above the door of School A2's cooperation shop. It uses Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Arabic and has the same function as School A1's multilingual signs. Datum A2/299 is similar, refering to a room. What is interesting is the use of the same Arabic words ghurfatul mu'alimiin, which literally means 'room for teachers', for both cooperation and teachers rooms. Another example recorded for the use of multi languages in the school LL is datum A2/436, which says "Stop mak kluwer. Pastikan kiri kanan sebelum keluar pintu gerbang!" This prohibition uses English word 'stop' and Javanese 'mak kluwer', meaning 'fast turning without looking carefully the left and right sides' and the rest words are Indonesian. The Indonesian words mean 'Check your left and right sides before you go out of the gate'.

The use of Javanese was also found in multilingual signs, as shown in Figure 26.

There were three multilingual signs in School A4, all of which say the same: "Selamat datang – Sugeng rawuh – Welcome." Besides the one recorded as Datum A4/682, the other two Indonesian-Javanese-English signs were recorded as Data A4/683 and A4/684. The backgrounds of these three signs are pictures of pairs of

male and female students, wearing batik uniforms or traditional clothes.



Figure 24. Multilingual sign in Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Arabic (A2/215)



Figure 25. Multilingual sign in Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Arabic (A2/299)



Figure 26. Multilingual sign in Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese, and English (A4/682)

Language situation as represented by the school LL

Language is a means of communication and representation (Taylor-Leech & Liddicoat, 2014). In line with this notion, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) states that LL as a media to convey messages is both informative and symbolic. Based on the analyses on the sign patterns and language use, the data in this study are interpreted as a representation of the language situation at senior high school in Yogyakarta. The discussion is connected to the status and position of the local, national, and international languages used at the school LL. As Ben-Rafael et al. (2016) states, LL is a symbolic representation at public space.

The use of seven languages in the three lingual patterns shows that multilingualism exists at school environment in Yogyakarta. The situations represented through the school LL can be viewed from at least four perspectives: language dominance and marginalisation,

less capability of international languages, language as school identity marker, and language as cultural symbol.

Language dominance and marginalisation

In all sign patterns, the use of Bahasa Indonesia is dominant. The mandates to use Bahasa Indonesia as language of instruction (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2003; Kementerian Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia, 2009) and have it as a compulsory subject taught at all school levels (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2003) have shaped language habits at school and developed perception that Bahasa Indonesia must play a significant role in education. Bahasa Indonesia is used not only in the spoken form as a medium to teach in classroom and interact among various school members but also in the written form for academic and administration purposes. The prevalent use of Bahasa Indonesia in the school LL strengthens findings that Bahasa Indonesia is the language of literacy (see Setiawan, 2013; Zentz, 2012).

Referring to Lotherington (2013), the difference of how frequently each of the languages at the school LL was used reflects that the languages' positions are not parallel. With regard to Javanese, the LL indicates that the vitality of that language is weak (see Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Even though Javanese still competes with Bahasa Indonesia in exchanges among high school students at school playground (Andriyanti, 2016; Kurniasih, 2006), this present study reveals Javanese's marginal position compared to Bahasa Indonesia. The low frequency of Javanese use in the LL is in line with the status of Javanese at school. As a local-content subject, Javanese is now taught only one or two meetings per week, much fewer compared to the teaching frequency of Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Arabic. The less frequent use of Javanese in public sphere such as in the school LL represents its weak position and imbalanced school language policy in general. Despite its existence in Yogyakarta, which is the centre of Javanese culture, Javanese is not really promoted and exposed as a local pride. The position of Javanese, as also represented by the school LL, has become a serious concern of many scholars (e.g., Andriyanti, 2016; Kurniasih, 2006; Purwoko, 2011, 2012; Smith-Hefner, 2009).

Less capability of international languages

English is the second language to be used frequently at the school LL. The larger number of signs using English than other languages but Bahasa Indonesia represents the importance of this global language in education. As a compulsory subject, which is also tested in the national examination, English is now taught for four or five meetings per week. Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia (2003) and Kementerian Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia (2009) allow English (and also Arabic) as a medium of instruction to teach that language in order to improve students' mastery of foreign languages. Principals'

perception that students' mastery of English is very important (Andriyanti, 2016) seems to motivate schools to create signs in English. The signs might probably be expected to motivate students and give them exposure to English as well as to show the schools' great concern with this language.

The use of English in the school LL was frequently found in three forms: short phrases to name rooms, proverbs, and common expressions such as "No smoking" and "Go green". Schools' efforts to display English in their school areas can be regarded as to show their enthusiasm to promote the language so that school members, especially students, become more and more familiar with it. However, the three forms indicate limited capability of the sign makers to use English creatively. Furthermore, the use of English in longer phrases or sentences in the school signs is not without problems because it shows less capability of the sign makers. As some scholars found, the use of English at LL does not always indicate that the people around the LL are capable of English (Ben-Rafael, et al., 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Piller, 2001, 2003). Various mistakes observed from the use of English in the school LL can be seen from following examples.



Figure 27. Monolingual sign in English showing a grammatical mistake (A2/338)

Expressions such as "Save ours earth" instead of "Save our earth" written in sign A2/338, "No vandalisme konvoi" instead of "No vandalism convoy"

in sign A2/426 show grammatical mistakes and misspelling. Another recorded sign says "Pray to safety and happiness" instead of "Pray for safety and happiness" (Datum A5/835), showing the wrong use of preposition. The English of a famous Indonesian expression *Malu bertanya sesat di jalan* was found as "Better ask than going ashtray." (Datum A5/803). The word sesat 'get lost' was not written correctly as "astray".



Figure 28. Bilingual sign with English mispelled words (A2/426)

Symbolically, the use of English shows the schools' idealism about English in relation to international orientation, future, and success because this global language is perceived widely as significant in education.

Language as school identity marker

Arabic is used in all three sign patterns and most of the signs were found in the two Islamic schools. Although Arabic is not spoken in everyday communications among Islamic school members, several lessons are related to Arabic. Arabic is identical with the language of the Quran and the teaching of Islam cannot be separated from this holy book. The use of Arabic in the school LL is much related to the Quranic verses or the Hadith.



Figure 29. Monolingual sign in English showing a mistake in the use of preposition (A5/835)

Most of the signs with Arabic are written in Arabic script, strongly showing the closeness between the schools and Islamic identity. In the bilingual and multilingual signs, Arabic is used first followed by other languages. In the case of signs quoting from the Quran and the Hadith, the position of Arabic earlier than the translation in other languages is common and understandable because the Arabic texts are the source. However, placing Arabic first before other languages in other signs, for example those at School A1 indicating places or directions, implies that Arabic is put higher in the language hierarchy at that school.

In public schools, the Arabic signs represent the majority of school members, who are Muslims. The existing signs in the schools conveying messages related to morality and religion.

Language as cultural symbol

The status of Javanese as a subject which is not considered important might be thought of as a cause of its marginality. The rare use of Javanese in the school LL is a proof that this local language has a very limited space in public sphere.

Most of the few number of Javanese signs were found in School A4, which declares itself as the Art and Culture School of Jogja. With regard to how Javanese is used in those signs, especially to show *batik* motifs, Javanese can be seen as a symbol of art and culture beside as the school identity marker. Most of Javanese signs are limitedly used to label or introduce *batik* motifs, not for wider communications. On one hand, efforts to introduce *batik* as a traditional product or cultural heritage are important because young Javanese people nowadays do not really notice their local inheritance. On the other hand, students also need to be given models of how to use Javanese in written communication. The existing Javanese signs lack of this communicative function.

The law-abiding sign in School A5 asking its school members to speak Javanese on Friday (Datum A5/734) closely relates to Gubernur DIY (2012) ruling that Javanese is mandatorily used at official and informal occasions in all government offices across Yogyakarta province on Fridays. However, studies show that students speak more Bahasa Indonesia than Javanese at school environment (e.g., Andriyanti, 2016; Kurniasih, 2006). The use of High Javanese Krama in sign A5/734 also indicates the cultural symbol of Javanese. As Krama much appears in formal language and cultural activities, this speech level has become 'foreign' to a large number of young people in Yogyakarta (Andriyanti, 2016). While creating a positive image of Javanese is significant to maintain this local language, efforts must be done in relation to both cultural and everyday-life aspects.

CONCLUSION

This study discusses the sign patterns, language use, and language situation as represented by five senior high

schools' LL in Yogyakarta. The signs in the school LL have three patterns, all of which indicate that multilingualism exists and is promoted in Yogyakarta schools. Among the seven languages used, five of them (Bahasa Indonesia, English, Arabic, Javanese, and French) are subjects learned by students. The frequency of those used languages in the LL signs can be associated with their status as school subjects as well as their significance as perceived by the sign makers. With regard to language vitality, the most frequent use of Bahasa Indonesia shows it is the strongest among the other languages. English is ranked second and Javanese third

The language situation represented by the school LL in Yogyakarta is about language dominance and marginalisation, less capability of particular languages, language as identity marker, and language as cultural symbol. The disclosed situation needs attention, particularly from schools as well as from the government as the macro-level language policy maker. With regard to the importance of maintaining local heritage and culture, Javanese should be promoted in many ways so that it can fulfil its communicative function. Schools' awareness of low English mastery among its school members should be raised. Less appropriate use of English, for example, should have been able to be noticed easily in written form like in relatively permanent signs. Related to language dominance in the school LL, it is therefore recommendable that schools make a proportional number of different-language signs to give sufficient language exposure based on the significance of each language.

Due to its importance, multilingualism is given attentions by influential institutions such as the European research network (Franceschini, 2011) and UNESCO (UNESCO, 1953, 2003). Therefore, this welcome multilingualism at Yogyakarta schools should be highly appreciated and further actions are needed to achieve its more balanced proportion. Yogyakarta schools are suggested to put more consideration on having more Javanese signs in their LL in order to give their students natural exposure to that local language. The use of correct and appropriate English in their LL is also important since it is written and might be read repeatedly by the school members and stored in their memory as language input.

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