Purposes of Writing Signposts: The Case of the Signposts in Nusa Penida

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ABSTRACT: The discussion of signpost belongs to the area of linguistic landscape. This area is frequently related to the other fields of study namely Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics or Historical Linguistics. One of its topics is studying the naming of objects in public space (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, et al. 2006). According to Landry & Bourchis (1997) signpost will shape the language condition in a particular surrounding. This idea is applied in a place called Nusa Penida Island which is located in the Province of Bali. As a tourist destination, more than one languages are involved in the writing of the signpost there. The multiple languages used and the way they are put in order show the perception of the people towards those languages. Will Gorter's (2012) idea saying that nowadays monolingual signposts are rarely found turn to be true? This research on name place has been done in Nusa Penida. The data was taken from various signposts related to tourist destination found there. The purpose of this article is to present (1) how the people in Nusa Penida, Bali create their signposts to support their increasing tourism, (2) the purposes behind the creation of the signpost. The result of the research presents that most of the signposts in Nusa Penida are presented in more than one language (script) which reflects their desire to serve tourism well or to show hospitality and at the same time to show their loyalty to their identity as Balinese people.

KEYWORDS: ecotourism, generic-specific, ideology, linguistic landscape, signpost

INTRODUCTION

Places all over the world are known from the names given to them. Their names are written on the signposts that can be uploaded in internet and seen by many people. These signposts are very helpful for people who want to travel yet have not had idea what places to visit. These signposts are created in such a way to attract people attention. For examples the signposts are presented in more than one language to help the speakers of other languages to understand the content of the signposts; it can be presented in various types of letters and colours to be eye catching. Signposts actually have more important role than just introducing places to people. Their existence has formed the linguistic landscape of the area.

To familiarize what is meant by linguistic landscape, the following is its definition. Linguistic landscape is a phrase consisting two words, namely linguistic and landscape. Linguistics is the field of study that concerns with language, while landscape itself is the terminology that has more than one meaning. Hornby (1974:479) says that landscape is (1) a picture of inland scenery and (2) branch of art dealing with this inland scenery. The first definition is closely related to the meaning of landscape as a part of the term linguistic landscape. The signposts that can be found anywhere are actually the part of scenery found in a certain environment. This statement is related to the idea that Linguistic Landscape is the study of presenting signs in public area (Coulmas, 2009). Like the inland or natural scenery that can provide both beautiful and ugly view to the environment depending on the condition of the land, signposts can also add to the beauty and ugliness of the environment or public area depending on how artistic the signposts are created. Looking at the fact that signposts can be written in monolingual, bilingual or multilingual it can be said that signposts have great contribution in forming the linguistic landscape. The idea of how the signpost can also determine the linguistic condition is shown in the quotation as follows.

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names,
> place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government
> buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory,
> region, or urban agglomeration (Landry and Bourhis,1997: 25)

Linguistic Landscape is usually related to other fields of studies such as sociolinguistics (multilingualism, language policy), cultural geography, semiotics, literacy, education, and social psychology. Some of the results of researches can even be related to other

discipline such as art and architecture, advertising, tourism, town and rural planning, transport research, and even public health (Puzey 2016). Many experts have presented their ideas about linguistic landscape and what it is related to.Landry and Bourhis (1997) clearly mention that linguistic landscape covers the use of language for various purposes including place names and public signs. Gorter (2006) states that linguistic landscape is related to sociolinguistics as well as to applied linguistics. Signposts are found everywhere and written in more than one language. Puzey (2016) states that when the signs are written in more than one language, it is difficult to decide which language are more prominent than the others. Then the other ways are used to implicitly tell which language is more prominent than the others, for example by choosing the types of letters, the size, the position, or the colour. The choice of colour is affected by psychological condition of a person (Elliot, 2015). How colours are related to human psychology has been discussed for a long time. This is not a new topic. For example black usually present aggressiveness (Frank and Gilovich, 1988; Soldat et al., 1997); red usually means warm personality (Goethe, 1810). Actually colours do not affect human psychology only but they can also affect non-human psychology (Hill and Barton (2005). They say that bright red can trigger aggressiveness in primates. Size of letters is also important to show prominence. The bigger the size of the letter the easier it is to read and affect the brain of the reader (Paudyal, 2016).

The selection of ways previously mentioned are very important to know if there is a conflict between the government regulation and what is wanted by the people. This conflict occurs between the regulation issued by the Indonesian government and the regulation issued by the local government of Bali. Bali is one of the provinces in Indonesia in which Nusa Penida is located. By status, the regulation issued by the local government of Bali is lower than the one issued by the government of Indonesia. The regulation under discussion is the regulation about the use of language in public signs. The state regulation says that if the public signs use more than one language, the order of the languages must be: Indonesian – local language – foreign language (*Undang-Undang No.24, 2009*). This regulation can be slightly different when it concerns the historical or important names. These names can be presented in English alone or English can be presented in the first order if the sign uses more than one language. For instance, the name Fort Rotterdam can be presented in the sign post in which the foreign words "Fort Rotterdam" can be written first, followed by Indonesian version "Benteng Rotterdam". However, the local government has issued a regulation concerning the same topic and it stipulates the Balinese people to use the Balinese language, script, and literature in various media and government and non-government (*Perda no. 1, 2018*). Thus, in all public signs, the Balinese script should be placed in the first order. In relation to the condition of the signposts in Nusa Penida, it can clearly be seen that the ways of writing them, in terms of the language order, are varied.

The public signs there can be entirely written in English, in mixed of Indonesian, Balinese, English, or in mixed Indonesian and English. The reason why the public signs in Nusa Penida is written in different ways may be related to the types of the signs which can be bottom-up or top-down. The idea of bottom-up or top-down public signs is stated by Gorter (2006). He states that top-down signs are the ones that are placed by the government (or at least are decided by the government people) and bottom-up signs are the one that are placed by private institution. Another statement saying that the top down signposts are government initiatives is also stated by Gaiser & Matras (2016). There is a great expectation that the top down signs must be written in accordance with the state regulation. Actually, this conflicting situation should not happen if people and the layers of government stick to one rule of language use. In relation to the strict governmental regulation of language use, Gorter (2012) states that the use of language in public space can be strictly regulated by the authority. However, from different point of view, it can be said that the violation of the state regulation is done for certain purposes. It can be done for keeping the identity (when Balinese comes as the first) or to serve tourism as the main income for the people there (if English comes as the first)

Another way of showing the importance of a chosen language has been obtained through some researches on public signpost. Among others is the research conducted by Dziemianko (2016) looking at what kinds of letters and what colours are used in the online versions of three monolingual English learners' dictionaries: LDOCE5, OALD8 and OALD9. She found out that in these dictionaries, signposts take the form of, respectively, white capitals on a blue background, crimson capitals above a crimson line, and black lower-case letters above a dark orange line. Her findings support the idea previously mentioned that letters and colours play important part in attracting people attention and at the same times direct the attention of the people to the most important part on the signposts. The distinctive letters and letters are very crucial especially when the signposts present many letters or words. Another research was conducted by Yannuar & Tabiati (2016) who found out that the English signposts in the city of Malang are usually misinterpreted by the people. In other words, signposts written in English are not comprehensible for most of the people

there. Those people only know Indonesian and Javanese (the local language) and this secures the local language. English is not as strong as Javanese and Indonesian but it is stronger than Arabic. Mulyawan (2017) conducted the research on public signs in a tourism area called Kuta in Bali. He found out that out of 43 signs, only 22 use pure Balinese, 19 use Indonesian but written in Balinese script and 2 signs are written in both Indonesian and Balinese. This shows that English is a number one language used in public signs. It is understandable considering that Kuta is a famous tourism area. This research is strengthening the finding of the similar research that was conducted in 2015 in the same area. This 2015 research looks at the commercial and non-commercial signs. The finding shows that Kuta has been affected by the ideology of capitalism that makes all is served for tourism leading to the situation in which Balinese language has been marginalized.

The previous researches on linguistic landscape have done mostly on how the signs present the dominance of one language over another. However, this article presents the result of the research on how psychological and economic conditions become the factors that affect the way the signposts in Nusa Penida are presented especially in terms of the order of language choice. This article is presented with some examples because since apart from talking about the language like the others previous researches, this research also talks about the purpose of writing the signposts the way they do.

The purpose of this article is to present (1) how the people in Nusa Penida, Bali create their signposts to support their increasing tourism, and (2) the purposes behind the creation of the signpost. The analysis of the paper covers: (1) the signposts descriptions and the analysis of each signpost in terms of its language use (including the script), the forms of the signpost in terms of colours, and deciding the purpose underlying the creation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory applied in writing this article is the one from Landry and Bourchis (1997:25). They say that linguistic landscape has several functions. The first function is informing the geographical territory inhabited by a certain language community. This is very true because the language used in any signpost will inform what language is spoken by the people living in that area. To strengthen this idea, they also state that linguistic landscape provides the information of in-group and out-group members of linguistic characteristics, territorial limit, and language boundaries of the region they have entered. The second function is informing that the language can be used to get public and private services in that area.

Landry & Bourchis (1997:26) also state that signpost can be unilingual, bilingual or multilingual which reflect the diversity in language groups. The dominant language will show the power and the status of the language. Usually the majority of the signposts are written in the dominant language group while few signposts are written in weaker language groups.

Leclerc (in Landry & Bourchis, 1997:26) divides the signposts into private signs and government signs. Landry & Bourchis (1997: 26) say that

> …private signs include commercial signs on storefronts and business institutions, commercial advertising on billboards, and advertising signs displayed in public transport and on private vehicle while government signs are the signs used by national, or regional, or municipal governments in the following domains: road signs, place names, street names, and inscription on government buildings including ministries, hospitals, universities, town halls, schools, metro stations, and public park.

The in-group language which is not much use in public signs shows that the language is not valued and has little status within society. Moreover, this situation implies that the language is not much use in public affairs. The fact that there two languages used in different functions indicates the existence of diglossic situation.

METHODS

The research was conducted basically to find out the ways the Nusa Penida people write their signposts in relation to tourism and the purpose of writing them. There must be implicit purposes in the signpost writing especially when it seems that it is violating regulation. The data was taken from the signposts that are spread in various tourism objects. Since tourism in Nusa Penida is divided into natural and religious tourism, the signposts that were used as the data were the ones from those two kinds of location. There are 14 villages in the mainland of Nusa Penida, namely (1) Batukandik, (2) Batumadeg, (3) Batununggul, (4) Bunga Mekar, (5)

Kampung Toyapakeh, (6) Klumpu, (7) Kutampi, (8) Kutampi Kaler, (9) Ped, (10) Pejukutan, (11) Sakti, (12) Sekartaji, (13) Suana, (14) Tanglad. After the preliminary research, 7 villages were decided to be the research location for the reason that tourism objects are located only in those 9 villages. Table 1 below presents the name of the villages that are responsible to those objects and and the names of the objects.

Table 1: List of Tourism Objects in Nusa Penida

No	Name of villages	Objects
1	Ped	1. Pura Dalem Ped
		2. Pura Dalem Bias Mentig
		3. Pura Dalem Bungkut
2	Sakti	Crystal bay
		1. Broken Beach
		2. Angel's Billabong
3	Bunga mekar	1. Kelingking Beach
		2. Seganing Waterfall
		3. Pura Paluang
4	Batu Madeg	1. Tembeling Waterfall
		2. Banah Cliff
		3. Pura Dalem Telaga Sakti
5	Batu Kandik	Guyangan Water falls
6	Tanglad	1. Suwehan/Volcom Beach
		2. Teletubbies Hill
7	Pejukutan	1. Atuh Beach
		2. Batu Abah
		3. House Tree Molenteng
8	Suana	1. Pura Batu Medawu
		2. Pura Goa Giri Putri
		3. Pura Penataran Agung Sakti
9.	Klumpu	1. Pura Dalem Kerangkeng
		2. Pura Puncak Mundi

The data that concerns the natural tourism objects are the simple signposts written on pieces of boards. There is no special way of writing it. These signposts are both monolingual and multilingual. However, for the religious tourism objects, the signposts are written in a much better way. Usually they are placed in front of the place (usually temples), written on a concrete with black background and they have certain way of writing them.

The data obtained from these signposts was used as the bases to discuss the questions of how the people in Nusa Penida, Bali create their signpost to support their increasing tourism and the purpose behind the creation of the signpost. Each of the signposts is analyzed in terms of the language used (if it is monolingual) and in terms of the order of the languages used (if it is multilingual) as well as the implicit purpose underlying the writing of the signposts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As it has previously mentioned, Nusa Penida has been known as a booming tourism object (sosiowati, 2019). Tourism in this island can be divided into natural tourism and spiritual tourism. Natural tourism is supported by places with beautiful sights usually located close to beaches, while spiritual tourism is supported by various temples with stories behind them. Since this island is a tourist destination, the signpost created by the people especially by those who live in the area of tourism objects are meant to facilitate those tourists when they want to go to those tourism objects. Although the way of how to write the signpost which belongs to the category of public signs has been determined in the state regulation 2009_24 and in the local government regulation 2018_1. These two regulations state different things about the order of languages that are used in the signposts. The State Regulation states that Indonesian language must be used for naming buildings, roads, apartments, housing, offices, business complex, business trademarks, business institutions, education institution belonged to Indonesian citizen or Indonesian legal corporation (2009_24;III-36_3) and the naming can use local or foreign language when the place has historical value, cultural values, tradition value and/or religious value (2009_24;III-36_4).Thus the order of languages that must be used in a multilingual signpost is Indonesian – local language – foreign language. However, the local government states the stipulation of the use the Balinese language, script, and literature in various media and public space both government and non-government (2018_1; V-8_b). Thus, the order languages that must be used in a multilingual signpost is Balinese – Indonesian - foreign language. This is considered to have violate the idea that in Indonesia, the number one language is Indonesian language because it is the national language.

The Analysis of the signposts of the Natural Tourism Objects.

The analysis of this part covers how the people in Nusa Penida, Bali create their signposts to support their increasing tourism and the purposes behind the creation of the signpost. Before coming the analysis, the list of the names and their structures in terms of specific-generic in both Indonesian and English is presented.

There 13 natural tourism objects in Nusa Penida, namely Crystal Bay (used to be called *Pantai Penida)*, Broken Beach (used to be called *Pasih Uug)*, Kelingking Beach, Suwehan Beach, Atuh Beach, Diamond Beach, Seganing Waterfall, Tembeling Waterfall, Guyangan Waterfall, Molenteng House Tree, Angel's Billabong, Banah Cliff, Teletubbies Hill, These are the famous names for tourists. These names (English version), just like the other names of geographic features, have the structures of specific + generic (Jan, 2016). In relation to the structure, English place names are usually presented in compounds, consisting two elements, the first of which usually qualifies the second (Khvesko, 2014). The names of the tourism objects sound English because there are generic words "beach", "waterfall", "bay", and "cliff". The specific names derived from the physical environment and the location of the objects. Most of those names are actually created to fulfill the needs of tourism, for economic purpose. The fact that naming is done to suit economic purpose has been mentioned by Rose-Redwood & Alderman (2011). The table below shows the Indonesian/local names (before rebranding) and the names that are presently used, which are English (after rebranding).

Table 2: Names of places in Indonesian and English

No.	Indonesian/Local names		English names	
	Generic	Specific	Specific	Generic
1.	Pantai	Penida	Crystal	Bay
2.	Pasih (Balinese for *pantai)*	Uug	Broken	Beach
3.	Pantai	Kelingking	Kelingking	Beach
4.	Pantai	Suwehan	Suwehan	Beach
5.	Pantai	Atuh	Atuh	Beach
6.	Pantai	Diamond	Diamond	Beach
7.	Mata Air	Seganing	Seganing	Waterfall
8.	Mata Air	Tembeling	Tembeling	Waterfall
9.	Mata Air	Guyangan	Guyangan	Waterfall
10	Rumah Pohon	Molenteng	Molenteng	Tree House
11.	-	-	Angel's	Billabong
12.	-	-	Banah	Cliff
13.	-	-	Teletubbies	Hill

Table 2 shows that the names, both in Indonesian/local and English names, are formed by generic and specific words with the structures of Noun (Generic) + Modifier (Specific) for the Indonesian/local names and Modifier (Specific) + Noun (Generic) for the English names. Those structures are in accordance with how the noun phrase is structured in each of the languages. The generic words in Indonesian language are: *pantai* "beach", *mata air* "waterfall", *rumah pohon* "tree house". One generic word in the Indonesian/local names is *pasih*. This is a Balinese word (local) which means "beach". Table 2 also shows that 10 names (77%) have Indonesian/local names while 3 (23%) only have the names with English generics. The reason why those names do not have the Indonesian/local names is that because those objects have just been recently known, which is after the booming of tourism there.

The facts that there are many tourists (both local and foreign) visiting Nusa Penida, and the awareness of the local people about the increase of economic life caused by tourism, have triggered their desire to facilitate the visitors. One of the facilitations that has been created by the people is the signposts that are used to show the direction thus they should be made understandable. One of the ways of making them understandable is by including English in both monolingual and multilingual signpost. The followings are the percentage of those multilingual/monolingual signpost according to the order of languages.

Monolingual signposts

The data shows what language is used in writing the signposts of the 13 natural tourism objects when they are presented monolingually.
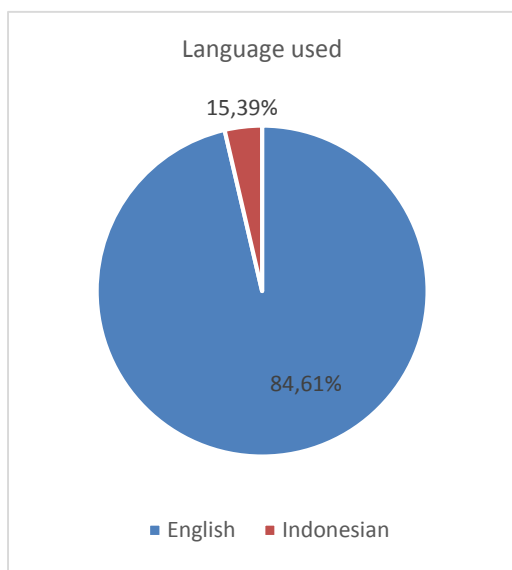

Chart 1. The Order of Languages Used

Chart 1 shows that out of 13 signposts, only two (15,39%) use Indonesian language while 11 (84,61) use English. None of those use Balinese (script). This indicates that the people there really want to serve tourism as the number one economic source. For them English makes the signposts easy for the foreigners (even the Indonesian) to understand. The ones written the in Indonesian language are the signpost of Rumah Pohon Molenteng and Mata Air Guyangan. Those signposts must have been written by those who are aware of the state regulation saying that Indonesian should be put in the first order. This is very much true considering who made those signposts. The signpost of *Rumah Pohon Molenteng* was designed by the owner who used to work as a government official which makes him really respect the state government; the signpost of *Mata Air Guyangan* was made by the university students who were doing field work which in Indonesian is called *KKN* (*KKN* stands for *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* 'field work'). These students were under the supervision of the head of the village who is a government apparatus. As the government apparatus, he knows that he should follow the higher regulation that is the state regulation. That was how the two Indonesian signposts were made.

As the illustration four pictures are presented below. Pictures 1 and 2 are the Indonesian signposts and pictures 3 and 4 are the English signposts. Signpost 1 says *Selamat dating Mata Air Guyangan Desa Batu Kandik* 'Welcome to Guyangan Waterfall the Village of Batu Kandik, and picture 2 says *Rumah Pohon Molenteng* 'Molenteng Tree House'. Unfortunatelly picture 2 is not very clear due to the colours used. The words *Rumah Pohon* are written in white paint with small letters in the upper part of *Molenteng of* which the letters o, e, t, n are written in yellow. And this makes the red colour of m, l, n, e, g very bright and weakened the yellow colour. Thus, this sign becomes hard to read.

| Picture 1 | Picture 2 | Picture 3 | Picture 4 |

While the signpost in picture 2 is hard to read due to the colours choice, picture 1, picture 2 and picture 3 are eye catching. They are easy to read. The combination of black and white (picture 1), white and red (picture 3) and green and white (picture 4) make those signposts prominent in their surroundings. The way of writing the monolingual signposts shows that people of Nusa Penida are divided into two groups. The first group consists of those who are obedience to the state regulation saying that the Indonesian language should be used and the second group that consists of those who believe that the needs of enhancing services for tourism must be seriously done.

Multilingual Signposts

Apart from the signposts written monolingually, some signposts are also written in mixed languages. How the languages are put in order is shown below.

| Picture 5 | Picture 6 | Picture 7 |

Picture 5 was created by the university students who were doing field study. It shown by the sign written at the top saying *KKN PPM XV Unud 2017*. This signpost puts Indonesian (*Pulau Seribu)* in the first order with the reason similar to the case of the Picture 1 above; Picture 6 was the signpost written by local people. It places the Balinese language Nyuh *Bengkok* in the first order*;* Picture 7 is the signpost written by the local. The English words "Welcome to" is written at the top followed by other English names.

The variation of the language order shows disuniformity which should not have happened considering there is already the state law regulating it. However, this disuniformity should be looked at from different point of view instead of looking at it from the point of view of violating the law. By putting English in the first order, the people of Nusa Penida want to show their hospitality to their guests who at the same time the source of their economic life. By putting the Indonesian language in the first order, those people declare that they and the whole island belong to Indonesian country and as the consequence they have to obey all the rules established

by the state government. By putting the Balinese language (script) in the first order, they want to show their identity as the Balinese which they are proud of. This variation shows that Nusa Penida is inhabited by people with different ideology. The first ideology belongs to those who respect the state regulation concerning how to write the signposts (Indonesian in the first order); the second ideology belongs to those who want to show their identity which is the Balinese; the third ideology belongs to those who hold the idea that tourism is the most important thing that has improved their economic life, thus must be well treated by putting English in the first order. In terms of colours choice, there is no particular way of choosing the colours. What matters for the creation is that the colours of the background do not awaken the colours of the letters. Their purpose is to make the signposts easy to read.

The Analysis of the Signposts of the Spiritual Tourism Objects.

There are 10 religious tourism objects used as the data. Those objects are listed below.

Table 3: Names of Indonesian/Local Natural Tourism Objects.

No.	Indonesian/Local names		English names	
	Generic	Specific	Specific	Generic
1.	Pura	Dalem Ped	-	-
2.	Pura	Dalem Bias Mentig	-	-
3.	Pura	Dalem Bungkut	-	-
4.	Pura	Dalem Telaga Sari	-	-
5.	Pura	Paluang	-	-
6.	Pura	Batu Medawu	-	-
7.	Pura	Goa Giri Putri	-	-
8.	Pura	Penataran Agung Sakti	-	-
9.	Pura	Dalem Kerangkeng	-	-
10.	Pura	Puncak Mundi	-	-

Unlike the natural tourism sites, Table 3 shows that the generic forms of the spiritual tourism objects in Nusa Penida have no English version. Thus, those names are presented fully in Indonesian/local language. *Pura* is a Balinese word for 'temple'.

There are 10 spiritual tourism objects signposts that are analyzed in this part. The first analysis is done based on the languages used.

Chart 2 shows that 20% (2) of the spiritual signposts are presented in Indonesian followed by the Balinese (script), while 80% (8) are presented in Balinese (script) followed by Indonesian. This condition is caused by the fact that most of these objects are temples. Temples in Hindu religion are considered holy places and it is very proper for the Hindus to write the names by placing the Balinese (script) in the first order. This also shows that there is a strong link between being the Hindus (held mostly by the Balinese speaking Balinese language) and the Balinese script. Thus, most of the signposts follow the language order of The Balinese (script) followed by the Indonesian (no English). This type of signpost is shown in picture 8. However, as shown in chart 2, there are 2 (20%) spiritual signpost written by putting the Indonesian in the first order (picture 9). This is done to obey the state regulation. Pictures 8 and 9 are presented below to show the two different language order in spiritual signposts.

Chart 2. The Order of Languages Used

Picture 8

Picture 9

Besides looking at the languages used, the signposts of the spiritual tourism objects also concern the colours used in writing them. They use only two colours, black and white.
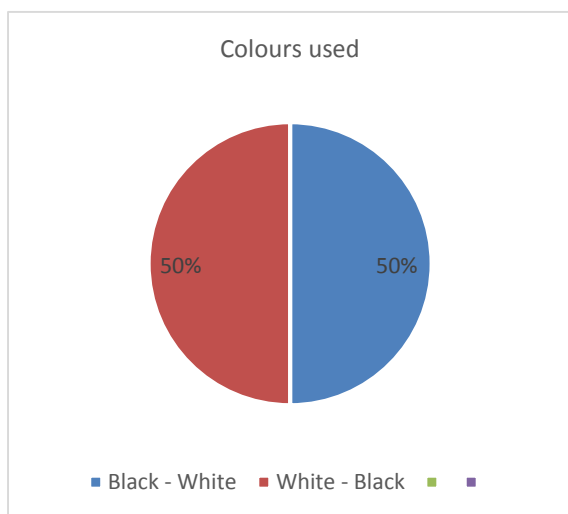

Chart 3. The Colours Used

Chart 3 mentions about black – white and white - black. Black-white means that the background of the signpost is black while the letters are white (picture10); white – black means the background of the signpost is white while the letters are black Picture 11). This way of writing makes the signposts eye-catching and easy to read. However, there is a religious background for the choice of the colours. These two colours represent two important gods in Hinduism. White represents *god Iswara (Shiwa)* as the destroyer of existing beings with the purpose to recreate them; black represents god *Visnu* as the keeper of the world. (Swardiyasa, 2012). Symbolically, these two gods stand side by side to keep the world and destroy the bad things to be recreated. Since these two gods ae similarly significant the order of the colours are interchangeable. The followings are two examples of the order of the colours presented by two different t.

Picture 10

Picture 11

CONCLUSION

The discussion concerning the signposts in Nusa Penida in terms of the language/s used, the colours and the purpose of writing them in that particular ways have shown that the people in Nusa Penida are multilingual. The people are divided into 3 groups namely (1) the group consisting of those who obey the state regulation, (2) the group of those who obey the local government more than the state government, and (3) the group consisting of those who consider that identity is important. In reality, these people have three ideologies but as the citizens of the country called Indonesia, the needs of being obedient to the country, to the language and identity must be accommodated in a compromising way so that the signposts can be presented under one regulation in terms of where to put them, the measurement of the signposts, the letters and colours used. The regulations created concerning all these in all levels of governments should not conflicting one to another since it will put the people in a problematic situation. Uniformed signposts will contribute to the neatness and the beauty of the environment.

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