

BILINGUAL STORE NAMES: A CONTACT-LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE SPECTACLE IN DENPASAR

Made Iwan Indrawan Jendra¹⁾, I Made Wiradnyana²⁾

^{1,2}Balinese Language Education

Magister Program Study

Universitas Hindu Negeri I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa Denpasar

Email address: iwanindrawan300573@gmail.com

Abstract

Drawing upon data from first-hand fieldwork, this study explores the mixing of two different codes that have been recently found to be used as store names in Denpasar, the capital city of the Bali Province, Indonesia. It is aimed at describing the contact-linguistic landscape phenomenon and revealing how local store owners address multilingualism as a response to the increasingly heterogeneous and linguistically hybrid society. The research reviewed related theoretical literatures, applied observation, did some interviews with note takings, from which the data suggest the reason or motivation behind the case. In the study the spotted signages combining Balinese and English words are theoretically resemble intra-lexical code-mixing. The bilingual construction took place because each language is believed to have its own important role: the use of the local tongue reflects motivation to maintain and promote the Balinese cultural and linguistic identity, whereas, the use of English suggests expectation of projecting image of “world class” business therefore has been believed to be a tool of attracting shoppers. Despite the gradual decreasing of its native users over the generation, the option to combining Balinese and English as a business identity in public place mirrors the rising language loyalty among some of the locals that may echo the resistance towards its fatal linguistic loss in the short future.

Keywords - *English-Balinese, linguistic landscape, language loyalty, store, name*

Introduction

Living in one of the most chosen world tourist destinations, most educated Balinese are bilinguals or multilinguals. Besides speaking their mother tongue, (Balinese or/and Indonesian language) they are mostly familiar with English. With such background some recently growing entrepreneurs (especially the young ones) living in Denpasar, the capital city of the province, seem to grow particular view about the relation between the use of English and their business prospect. This can be construed from noticing the rapidly increasing number of commercial names such as store signs and other types of public notices in English, not only in tourist industry spots but also in other areas where businesses, such as on electronics, computers, mobile phones, beauty house chore services, culinarians, crafts, and clothing are mushrooming. The laundry service, for example, which is rapidly increasing in number in Denpasar recently, are adopting the word “laundry” for the names of which the spelling can be found to begin being adjusted into “londre” or “laundre” that indicate there is some linguistic awareness about the borrowed words. Other English words that have been also spotted frequently these days include *cellular, café, coffee, collection, sale off*, etc. The reasons behind integrating English in the context must be plural.



Figure 1. A Spot in Denpasar Roadside Showing How English Words Are Dominating the Business Landscape

However, it is undeniable that although it has a status as a foreign language, English is nothing “foreign” to Balinese people. Long before its global status, it had been used as a main means by the locals to communicate with the international travelers visiting the island. For example, words such as “art shop”, “airport”, “guide” had been known since then.

These days English words such as *barbershop*, *café*, *cellular*, *voucher*, etc., are easily spotted around the city. As such retails trade “modern” kinds of goods and services, the use of English for naming the businesses is sensible. However, English may have been actually penetrating far deeper into the society. In one of the Denpasar corners, even a small kiosk, known as “warung”, decorates itself with English. A promotional banner put in front of the stall reads “*This Warung Sells Game Vouchers*” and its Indonesian translation below it: “Warung ini jualan voucher game.”



Figure 2. One of the Local Stalls in Denpasar, Bali Called “Warung Nesyia” that Promotes Its Business Using English

In the area, for a traditional small retail promoting its business using English, it is rather unusual. The case, however, suggests that English has been perceived to be an effective business tool even by the people of lower social classes.

Interestingly, although commercial notices are often in English, there are few that have been spotted to be in Balinese. On the wall of a supermarket a poster promoting a product of bottled honey branded “Madu Enak” was spotted using Balinese.



Figure 3. A Product Advertisement Notice Written in Balinese Found in a Newly Opened Supermarket in Denpasar

On the poster, in addition to the brand name and the illustrating pictures, there are Balinese lines: “*Madu semeton nak Bali, rasane ane paling jaen...jek di Madu Enak Pure Honey jak Madu Enak Premium Plus, ne mare beneh gati 100% Madu Pokokne asli*”. The words used in these lines are of everyday Balinese variety (*Basa Bali Kepara*) and not of the formal one (*Basa Bali Alus*). The English translation would be “The honey of Balinese families...the taste of this one is the yummiest. Only *Madu Enak Pure Honey* and *Madu Enak Premium Plus* are truly 100% pure honey.”

The case of using Balinese as a business promotion (instead of English) is important to study. The motivation behind the linguistic choice must be of different type.

Interestingly, in some areas of Denpasar some store names are found to be Bilingual: they are the mixture of Balinese and English. The ones listed below have been spotted around the city:

1. *Bagus Alep Barbershop,*
2. *Jegeg Underwear, and*
3. *Tridatu Balinese Concept*

Recently written-language-presentation in public domain, such as names of stores, offices, traffic information, business notices, etc. has been framed under the label of *linguistic landscape*. As a sociolinguistic concept, linguistic landscape was used first time in 1970s in Belgium during a study to set the linguistic borders between the French and Flemish communities in the region (Backhaus, 2007). As Landry and Bourhis (1997) suggested that linguistic landscape can serve as an object of study of some symbolic interaction among the people in the setting or as codes that mirror the presence and variety of the language(s) used as well as their relation to the social supremacy, values, and status.

There has been a notable increasing interest in linguistic landscape (LL) as an object of enquiry (see Gorter, Marten, & van Mensel, 2012; Hult, 2014; Shang & Guo, 2017; Shomay & Gorter, 2009). The study is considered as a parameter for assessing the significance of languages used in an area: the less visible one suggests a trend of declining its social and cultural values whereas the most visible one is dominating the ecosystem. Thus, the signage serves as symbolic role suggesting the importance of the languages as well as their social and cultural influence (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). To put it simple, in public spaces, languages can convey messages about their significance, power, and relevance (Shohamy, 2006). Thus, the bilingual store names above are seen as a spectacle that needs to be investigated. The purpose is to see the motivation behind such bilingual displays. Theoretically, studies about mixture of different codes, can provide better view about the attitude (action, opinion, perception, interpretation etc.) of the mixers. The data could be used as a parameter for probing whether the languages are safe or endangered under the contact situation. Practically, since the number of stores with names of such a style are seen to be very likely increasing, the result of this study can be used as a source of helpful information for entrepreneurs, shop runners, traders, and sales marketers, about the significance of accessing pertinent sociolinguistic knowledge.

Methods

This study is qualitative in its nature. The stores with the bilingual names were found around the capital city of Denpasar. During collecting the data, which was done almost a year and a half (early 2022-mid 2023), the store names were first captured using a mobile camera to provide documentary authenticity. The result is the three stores with the code-mixing, i.e., *Tridatu Balinese Concept*, *Jegeg Underwear*, and *Bagus Alep Barbershop*. Next, we sampled two stores to do some interviews to the owners who chose the store names. Note taking were conducted at first hand to obtain the account concerning the motivation behind the names. Finally, after the needed information was collected from the interview, the study was continued with the conceptual and theoretical analysis to see what is working behind the decision.

Finding and Discussion

a. Finding

Linguistic signage in public domain is the concern of linguistic landscape study. As the central administration of Bali, Denpasar has been growing into a place of various kinds of businesses where the street sides are colored with traffic signs, public notices, posters, commercial boards, etc. The residence was inaugurated as a city in 1788 but used to be a tranquilizing park of the King of Badung, one of the past major kings ruling the island. In 1958 the city turned into the capital administration of Bali. Since then, Denpasar has been developing into a modern and multicultural zone.

The municipality, which covers 125,98 km², has the population densities that reaches 5770/km² according to 2022 statistics and among the residents, more than 60% is Balinese. Other major ethnics living in the area include Javanese and Sasaknese as well as Indonesian-Chinese descendants. Other people that are staying temporarily are international or domestic

tourists and business travelers. Becoming a popular travelling destination, Denpasar has settled a multicultural and multilingual circumstance. The following table shows the growth and density of the population in 2021 and 2022 in the four districts of the urban (Sulaeman, Eman, et al.,2023).

Table 1. The Population of Denpasar Municipality in 2021 and 2022

Districts	Percentage of Total Population		Population Density Thousand per sq.km	
	2021	2022	2021	2022
Southern Denpasar	29,93	29,93	4351	4361
Eastern Denpasar	17,69	17,69	5760	4957
Western Denpasar	28,53	28,53	8617	8840
Northern Denpasar	23,85	23,85	5515	6494

Despite the popularity of online shopping, Denpasar residents, who are between seven to nine hundred thousand according to the Book on Statistics of Denpasar Municipality Data of 2022, can easily notice that the city has been turning into a busy “offline” business area (except during the lockdown pandemic years). New hotels, shops, and other businesses, such as marts, cellphone stores or services, barbershops, and laundry mats, are increasing in number rapidly. According to the Pusat Data.Kota Denpasar, there are more than 70 business spots that include, small retails, traditional markets, mini markets, and supermarkets in the city (pusatdata.denpasarkota.go.id). Regarding the names, almost all of them adopt Indonesian or English language, such as *Tiara Dewata*, *Freshindo*, *Ramayana*, *Matahari*, *Cellular Shop*, *Planet Gadget*, *Lima*, *Dutha Mart*, *Pradnya*, *Krisna Oleh-Oleh*, etc. However, the study has spotted few that are bilingual, i.e. adopting Balinese and English, namely *Bagus Alep Barbershop*, *Jegeg Underwear*, and *Tridatu Balinese Concept*. In the store names, the Balinese word *Bagus Alep*, for example, is paired with the English *barbershop*; the word *tridatu* has been mixed with the English *Balinese concept* to become *Tridatu Balinese Concept*; and the Balinese *jegeg* is combined with the English *underwear* to be *Jegeg Underwear*. Linguistically, such Balinese plus English used as the business identities resemble a contact-linguistic-form, i.e. intra-lexical code-mixing.

b. Discussion

Members of bilingual or multilingual societies have options for the language they want to use. The choice for the language, however, is never random. Researchers have found that the linguistic expressions among the people in such societies must be correlated to various factors. Referring to Hoffman (1991) classification, language mixture in the lexicon level would be classified as intra-lexical code-mixing. In bilingual or multilingual societies such as of Denpasar, mixing different codes could be perceived as a norm. The factors related to the mixing acts, however, can be individual, situational, or cultural (Grosjean, 1982) and any distinctiveness about the occurrences should be associated with the contexts (Fishman in Chaer and Agustina, 1995:9)

Although the Balinese-English mixing that would be discussed here is generally known as code-mixing, the bilingual phenomenon may be also referred to as code-switching, and from

a slightly different perspective can be regarded as word-borrowing. Thus, the first thing to be clarified here is about why this kind of code-combination used as store names is best classified as code-mixing, not code-switching, or borrowing.

In general studies of language contact, code-mixing and code-switching would be roughly referred to as the alternating in uses of different languages. Both have been used loosely to refer to the uses of different codes found in a conversation commonly produced by bilingual or multilingual speakers. However, there have been views about what the concept of code-mixing should include and therefore distinguished from code-switching and word-borrowing.

Sankoff-Poplack (1981) and Platt (1984) said that code-mixing is found when the speaker changes from using one code (language) to another. A speaker of English, for example, who produces one sentence in English and then says another one in French could be said to do code-mixing. The view is different from what some other scholars proposed.

Kachru (in Soewito, 1985), for example, defined code-mixing as the use of two languages (or more) by means of inserting the elements of one language to another in which there is a main code that is of the autonomy. Thelander (in Chaer, 1994, pp.151-152), states that code-mixing will occur if a single sentence is mixed with phrases or clauses of different languages but each language does not support its own function; Similarly, Wardhaugh (1994) says that code-mixing occurs when bilingual speaker(s) use two or more languages in a single utterance, and Hudson (1996) put it that code mixing is the mixture of two different codes in a sentence.

Thus, unlike Sankoff-Poplack and Platt, who saw code-mixing as the same as alternating from one language in one sentence to another language in another sentence, Kachru, Thelander, Wardhaugh, and Hudson limit code-mixing as mixture of different languages in single sentences. In other words, if different codes are found to be used in separated sentences, the language mixture would not be considered as code-mixing yet it would be classified as code-switching.

Besides Kachru, Thelander, Wardhaugh, and Hudson, the use of grammatical criterion in differentiating code-mixing from code-switching was also supported by some other scholars who focused on defining code-switching. Poplack and Meechan (1995:200), for example, exclude “single morpheme switches” from its scope of code-switching (in Winford, 2003). Gosjean (1982) used utterance or conversation as the scope for his code-switching and defined it as the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation (but not in a single sentence). Thus, based on these views, when two different languages are found to be used in a single utterance or conversation, each keeps its morphological and syntactical domain separately (consistently), and used alternately, the case should be regarded as code-switching. However, when the two languages are put together and each does not keep its grammatical domain separately, the mixture is of code-mixing. This grammar-criterion has been also implicitly detailed by Winford (2003), who emphasized that the concept of code-switching should cover “...cases where bilingual speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event, switch codes within a single turn, or mix elements from two codes within the same utterance.” Thus, with the grammatical criterion, code-switching would cover larger unit of language (inter-sentence or inter-clause). Whereas, code-mixing refers to uses of

different codes within a sentence (intra-sentential), a phrase, or a word (intra-lexical). Such a concept and classification for code-mixing can be found, for example, in Hoffman (1991) and Siregar (1996).

Hoffman (1991) classifies three different types of code-mixing, namely (1) intra-sentential code-mixing, (2) intra-lexical code mixing, and (3) code-mixing involving a change of pronunciation. Intra-sentential code-mixing—named intra-sentential code-switching by Appel and Muysken (1987)—refers to the mixture of elements from different languages in a single sentence. It is distinguished from the other types of code-mixing: (2) intra-lexical code mixing, which existing when an element from a language is attached within a single word of different language and (3) code-mixing involving a change of pronunciation, which can be relevant only to spoken languages.

Siregar (1996) classifies code-mixing into two types: (1) Intra-sentential mixing, which occurs when the foreign word(s) or phrase(s) are attached in one sentence, and (2) extra-sentential mixing, where the words or phrases are used as a separate sentence. The second type from Siregar (1996) is not regarded as code-mixing here.

Unlike these two classifications, Muysken (2000) named types of code-mixing somewhat distinctively. According to Muysken (2000) code-mixing can be classified into three different conceptual patterns: (1) Insertion, (2) Alternation, and (3) Congruent Lexicalization. Insertion is a case when a phrase in a language is inserted into a sentence in another language. In this case, the inserted phrase should fill one of the main functions in the sentence: subject, verb, object, or adverb; Alternation is found when two clauses—each in different languages—are found to construct a compound or complex sentence; Congruent lexicalization refers to a piece of language functioning as an adjunct, is found to be in a sentence in another language. The following table compares the classifications of code-mixing from Hoffman Siregar (1996), and Muysken (2000).

When seen from a different perspective, the use of words from a different (foreign) language might be classified as *word-borrowing*. Haugen (1950) sorts the linguistic concept into two: *importation* and *substitution*. In addition to it, he also proposed another typology: *loanwords*, *loanblends*, and *loanshifts*. Similar to Haugen, Albo (1970) distinguished between *substitution* and *addition* (Appel-Muysken, 1987). Albo's *substitution* is the same as Haugen's *substitution* and *loanshift*, whereas his *addition* is similar to Haugen's *importation*, *loanword*, and *loanblend*.

According to Haugen (1950), it would be *importation* or *loanword* (and Albo's *addition*) if the borrowed foreign word is adapted yet still features some characteristics of the source language (the spelling or sound). Thus, for example, if the English words such as *laundry*, *café*, and *barber shop*, are borrowed and used in Balinese and the spellings and sounds of the words are maintained the same, the borrowing items belong to *importation* or *loanword*. However, if the spelling of the words are changed to be *londre*, *kafe*, *babar sop*, the borrowings can be classified as *loanblend* as the English words are borrowed, used and “blended” with Balinese spelling.

Unlike *importation*, in *substitution* or *loanshift* the foreign language is not recognized as an external item anymore because the whole form is replaced with the one from the borrower

language (it is shifting towards the borrower lexical system). For example, the Indonesian *binatu* or *pinatu* is actually a substitutive borrowing for the English concept (it is a replacement to *laundry*).

Appel and Muysken (1987) suggest that in other to distinguish cases of “a single word-mixing” from word-borrowing the criterion that can be used is whether the foreign word is adapted into the borrower language or clearly separated as different language systems. With this point of view, if the item receives some adaptation the case should be of word-borrowing, whereas if it is not, the item should be regarded as code-mixing (172-173). Thus, for example, if a cellular phone store is found to be named “Mai Seluler” in which *mai* is a Balinese word that means ‘come here’ and *seluler* is the local adaptation of the English “cellular” the case would be treated as word-borrowing because the borrowed item (*cellular*) has received some spelling adaptation in the borrower language. However, if the name is put as “Mai Cellular” then it would be treated as code-mixing because the spelling of each word visibly maintains the system of the source languages, i.e. *Mai* in Balinese and *Cellular* in English. In the case of the English words used in the mixture of Balinese and English store names studied here the words have all apparently received no spelling adjustment. In other words, the Balinese and English words maintain their spelling system of their own languages. Based on that, the mixture would be treated as code-mixing, not word-borrowing.

Mixture of different codes (languages) has particular reasons. In some studies, Beardsmore (1982), for example, proposed some factors related to it, namely: (1) bilingualism; (2) speaker and speaking partner; (3) social community; (4) situation; (5) vocabulary limitation; and (6) prestige. Grosjean (1982) claimed that code-mixing is carried out by bilingual speakers when they do not find correct terms or phrases or when there is no suitable translation for the language being used. He further suggested some factors why people code-mix: (1) the individual factors, which is related to individual preference and skill; (2) social factors, including participant, situational condition, topic, and (3) cultural factors, including beliefs and values (Grosjean in Eunhee, 2006: 47). The reasons for why bilinguals mix different languages, as they are theorized by Beardsmore (1982) and Gosjean (1982) outlined above, are referred to in this study to explain why Balinese and English words are mixed as store names. The related factors are going to be considered to account why, for example, the Balinese word “*jegeg*” has been chosen instead of the English equivalence “beautiful” or “pretty”, or why the English “barbershop” is used instead of the Balinese or Indonesian “*tukang cukur*”. Other scholar, such as Cantone (2007), has put views about the functions of the language mixture. Cantone (2007) underlines some of them, such as (1) expressing solidarity and intimacy; (2) asserting status, pride, and power; (3) fulfilling needs of lexicon which the language does not have; (4) incompetence as the speaker lacks of vocabulary awareness in the language used to convey one's definition; (5) expressing self-emotion; (6) being more informative. The table below sums up the views about the reasons, factors, and functions of mixing codes according to Beardsmore (1982), Grosjean (1982), and Cantone (2007).

Table 2. Reasons, Factors, and Functions of Mixing Different Codes According to Beardsmore (1982), Grosjean (1982), and Cantone (2007)

Beardsmore (1982)	Grosjean (1982)	Cantone (2007)
1. Bilingualism	1. Individual factor	1. Expressing solidarity and intimacy
2. Speaker and speaking partner	2. Situational factor	2. Asserting status, pride, and power
3. Social community	3. Cultural factor	3. Fulfilling needs of lexicon
4. Situation		4. Lacking of vocabulary awareness in the language used
5. Vocabulary limitation		5. Expressing self-emotion
6. Prestige.		6. Being more informative

There have been a lot of studies on code-mixing involving English, Indonesian, or the local vernaculars in Indonesia. For such studies, the data sources were mostly newspaper, magazines or teachers' talks in classrooms, host and guest in TV talk shows, and talks in videos on YouTube. Among the recently carried out ones, for example, Margaretta, et al (2018); Fanani & Ma'u (2018); Jimmi (2019); Astri and Al-Fian (2020); Sinaga (2020); Nahak (2022). Most of these studies were directed either to identify the types or to compare the frequency of the code-mixing occurrences yet the motivation behind the cases have received little attention. None of the studies have been directed to investigate code-mixing as a linguistic landscape phenomenon.

The linguistic landscape of areas in Indonesia have received few investigations so far. Three of such studies are reviewed here. Ardhan and Fajar (2017) investigated Malang City in East Java, Indonesia to identify the pattern of the languages used in the area and to analyze the factors related to them. The study concluded that the factors behind the Malang linguistic landscape include modernization, branding and expansion strategy, as well as cultural.

Aribowo, et al (2018) in their article on the linguistic landscape of Surakarta, in Central Java, Indonesia, concluded that their study of linguistic landscape could provide information about the attitude of the local people to the languages used in the area. They also argued that the dominance of the use of the foreign languages in the landscape suggests the high trust of the people in the languages especially in lifting the business. Whereas the absence of the local vernacular from the public sight, as the researchers suggested, should mirror the need for attention from the government to the sociolinguistic situation.

Wulansari (2020) did a survey on the linguistic landscape of Bali, Indonesia. Unlike the present article, she classified the data sources into several public domains, i.e., signs on public temples, business places, restaurants, and as names of streets, generalized the reasons behind the uses of English, Chinese, Indonesian, and Balinese letters in such areas, yet did not take specifically on any bilingual names therefore provided nothing on such a bilingual phenomenon. Taking samples for each domain, the writer found that the foreign languages, i.e., mostly English, as they were seen, for example, in temples, are used for providing proper information to the tourists' visiting the places. She viewed that the use of the language in such places is motivated merely by its status as an international code. She also believed that the choice for the foreign code is due to the local people and government commitment to good service and to showing their warmth to the visitors. Regarding the use of Balinese characters accompanying Latin in public places as found around the areas, the writer claimed that it is stirred by the wish of the locals to introduce their

language alphabets that it may attract any foreigners to learn reading and writing the letters, in addition to the main goal of preserving the language character itself. As a conclusion the writer admitted that despite the Indonesian law has issued regulation on the use of language(s) in public area, the commercial orientation has made the use of foreign language (English) become far dominant when compared to the Indonesian and Balinese language. However, she added that the rarely seen use of Balinese in the landscape has made the Bali government take an important step to issue a policy for the local vernacular.

Other articles investigating linguistic landscape, especially store naming, were carried out with business perspective. In the studies the linguistic choice behind the name of a store is believed to be capable of projecting images desired by the business runner, therefore representing prospect in the society. Two of such store-naming studies reviewed here are Grewal et al (1998) and Jian Li (2017).

Grewal et al (1998) discussed widely the effects of store name (besides price discount) on the intention of people in buying a product. The study concluded that a carefully preferred name for a business should be positively effective in attracting shoppers' intention to visit a shop and to make them purchase the offered items. In addition, it found that when compared to some other factors, store names can be influential to customers with lower knowledge, whereas brand names and discount price are more significantly affective to different customer groups.

Jian Li (2017) overviewed the strategies in naming by sampling English and Chinese shops. The study emphasizes that a good name for a store would be able to provide positive effect to the business therefore suggests that in deciding one, a shop runner should take psychological, cultural, and linguistic aspects into serious consideration. It found that among the three, cultural factor has been the key that it even can affect the other two, with shop names both in English and Chinese.

Instead of viewing store names from the sociolinguistic perspective, these Grewal et al (1998) and Jian Li (2017) articles are different from this study because both examined store names mainly from business point of views. Both aimed at finding how far the names chosen by retailers for their business could affect the shopping tendency, hence positively correlate to the business. Besides that, the reasons why people choose to mix different codes for naming their stores as it is studied here were not part of their discussions. In this study the reasons were focused. From the five store names, two were sampled randomly, namely *Tridatu Balinese Concept* and *Jegeg Underwear*. These two store names are discussed further to reveal the motivation lies behind the choice of such a language mixing in the context of business.



Figure 4. The Front Side of the Store Named “Tridatu Balinese Concept” Located at Jalan Sidakarya, No. 120 Denpasar, Bali.

The *Tridatu Balinese Concept* is a fashion store located at Jalan Sidakarya No 120, Denpasar, Bali. It opened on 28 October 2015 and has been selling Balinese traditional clothes since. The trade started with retailing only casual “Barong t-shirt”, which is seen for long time as the brand of souvenir for tourists visiting the island. The owner, Adi Pranata, (interview on 23 March 2021) said that before the *Tridatu Balinese Concept*, he was running *Crusher Clothing*, a small factory shop that sold contemporary clothes. Only after seeing that most Balinese youngsters begin to like innovated traditional outfits, he responded to the trend by renewing the store and named it *Tridatu Balinese Concept*.

In Balinese lexis the word “*Tridatu*” has been an integrated part of the local Hindus. It is widely used to refer to the “three sanctified colors”: red, black, and white. The Bali professional football club “*Bali United*” for example, designs its logo with the combination of the colors. The club has been also known among the football fans in Indonesia as *Laskar Tridatu ‘Tridatu squad’*. To Balinese Hindus, red, black, and white are viewed as sacred because each symbolizes a functional manifestation of the God, namely as the Creator, Preserver, and Desecrater. The colors may be also taken as a kind of reflection on the three points of life circle: birth, life, and death. In some local Hindu rituals, after doing some praying, a red, black, and white nylon is woven and put as a “*Tridatu* bracelet” in one’s arm wrist (sometimes head too). The *tridatu* thread is supposed to remind the locals the importance of maintaining connection between God as the creator and the created men in this world. Thus, the word “*tridatu*” essentially symbolizes the culture and the soul of Balinese; it represents the spirit of the folks in treasuring life and honoring divinity. It functions as a symbol of “social solidarity” as well as “spiritual perspective” of the people (cf Grosjean, 1982; Cantone, 2007). In general, by using the Balinese word as a store name, the designer seems to have some view of these and a wish to project them.

In addition to the use of the Balinese word, during the interview the choice for using English has been said to have different background, i.e. “to attract smart shoppers”. This implies that as a global language, English is perceived to symbolize “better quality” or “superiority” in the business. The language is considered to be able to represent “power”. In fact, nowadays

English is widely used in most commerce, public notices, advertisement posters, artworks, etc. and in communication in general. When the informant was asked further about this reason, he said that he hoped the business would be able to attract a lot of customers with the “quality image” that the English language could create. He also added that other stores selling similar items are mostly named in Indonesian or Balinese language, for example, *Wulan Busana*, *Luhur Busana*, *Dewata*, *Warna Jaya Bali*. Thus, when compared to such “monolingual” names, “*Tridatu Balinese Concept*” would be an “exceptionality”.

The background of using Balinese-English mixing as a store name that was given by the owner of *Tridatu Balinese Concept* is supported by the account found with the study of another store with the same mixing codes, which is named “Jegeg Underwear”.

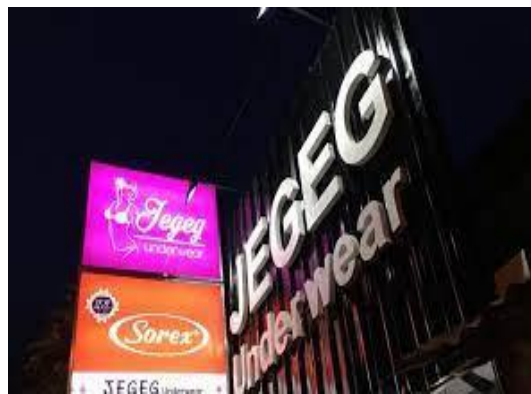


Figure 5. The Front View of the “Jegeg Underwear” Store at Jalan Bedugul Denpasar

Another store with a mixing Balinese-and English name is “Jegeg Underwear”. Jegeg Underwear stores can be found in Denpasar and also in Gianyar, one of the regencies in the island. In the city, one of the stores is located at Jalan Bedugul, No.54, Sidakarya. During the interview, the store owner admitted that the name of her business was intentionally designed *to be extraordinary*. Instead of using the English word “beautiful” or “pretty” she said that she decided to pick up the Balinese counterpart “*jegeg*”. When asked about the reason, she explained that with a Balinese name the store would become “special” because other stores selling underwear and women clothes mostly adopted Indonesian or English. The use of the word “*jegeg*”, in her view, could correspondingly echo the Balinese “side” or “origin” of the commerce.

In Balinese, the word “*jegeg*” can be used to refer to good-looking face of a woman as well as of thing in some expressions, such as, for example, “*Jegeg sajan tunanganne*” ‘Very beautiful is his girlfriend’ or “*Jegeg gati bulanne*” ‘So pretty is the moon’. In everyday talks, the clipping form of the word: “*geg*”, is also sometimes used colloquially as an address term. Thus, it is a very frequently used word among the native speakers.

Regarding the word “*underwear*”, the informant said that the use of English is nothing uncommon in Denpasar, a popular place of tourists travelling the island. So, the word was chosen in other that the shop may attract not only the locals but also foreigners. Thus, just like

the uses of English in general, the choice for using “*underwear*” here is also a “business-profit-orientation” because the language is believed to be able to connote “powerful” and “world class” items. The word then reflects the presence of a wish for creating impression of quality business.

In addition to spelling out the commercial drive to seduce potential clients, shop names also serve to mark off shop owners’ identity and prioritization of relevant languages. Shop names play a significant role in reflecting the identity and language preferences of shop owners. They are a form of linguistic expression that can convey various messages, including cultural identity, target audience, and the owner's linguistic background. Shop names often reflect the cultural background and heritage of the shop owner. For example, a shop selling traditional Balinese cuisine may have a name in Balinese, highlighting the cultural identity associated with the food. Shop names can signal the target audience or customer base of the business. A shop selling traditional Balinese goods might have a name in both Indonesian and Balinese languages to cater to both the Balinese-speaking community and the broader population.

Conclusion

To the local Balinese people English has been a familiar language long before the rising of globalization. Following the mass tourism industry, the intensive contact between English and Balinese was starting roughly in the 1970s when English words, such as *airport*, *bay*, *center* began to be borrowed and used around therefore were entering and integrated in the locals’ cognition. Nevertheless, with the fast spreading of the communication technologies, namely computer, internet, and mobile phones, the impact of English was going further. This background has become an essential factor behind the motivation of using English words for names in general.

Particularly in the business, English is commonly found to be used as part of the commercial promotion. It has been believed to be a powerful tool for suggesting an “international-class-quality” products therefore projecting “superior” identity in the commercial circumstance. Thus, in this context, the motivation behind the choice for using English lexicon is business competition and profit orientation.

The Balinese lexical items, on the other hand, seems to be used with a different motive. Although everyone can have specific factor behind his/her choice of words (*tridatu*, *jegeg*, etc) the use of the vernacular as part of store names implies that there is a “home linguistic awareness” among the locals. The name creators seem to be aware that Balinese language, which is their mother tongue, should be utilized as a tool to maintain and promote the local cultural identity hence reflects the presence of Balinese loyalty. Thus, the choice is derived more by a linguistic motive instead of business one.

As a conclusion, this linguistic landscape study on Balinese-English-fusion shed light on the fascinating phenomenon of a business-marketing strategy as well as cultural and linguistic identity. Store names are not just utilitarian labels but also expressions of identity, cultural connection, and marketing strategies. They can serve as a reflection of the diverse

linguistic landscape in a community and the importance of different languages in commerce. Shop owners choose names that best align with their vision and the customers they aim to attract. Despite the falling number of Balinese native users, the use of the minor language reflects the loyalty and survival potency of the vernacular. The regulation issued by the Bali provincial administration that mandates the use of Balinese letterings on all official and business names displayed in public domain across the region has emphasized the awareness about the crisis.

In addition to all of these, the finding may suggest the need for business operating in Bali to comprehend the balance between authenticity and global appeal. As the tourism industry will always continue to flourish, today's entrepreneurs should carefully learn about the impact of their language choice on business naming and for other promoting strategies. A more depth exploration by other scholars would be a beneficial contribution to the development of the linguistic study. Thus, it is interesting to see in the future how much the use of a minor language in public domain by its natives could contribute to saving the language from its fatal loss.

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