



Research Study

**Identity Construction of Places through Translanguaging in Jakarta:
A Linguistic Landscape of Gambir Train Station**

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ABSTRACT. Linguistic landscape studies provide a lens for examining the evolving relationship between speakers and the spaces they live in, particularly the public spaces such as commercial streets, tourism resorts, and train stations and display distinct identities of the places. This paper analyses the distribution of signs, establishments, and languages at Gambir train station in Jakarta, Indonesia to reveal the linguistic elements which contribute to Gambir's identity transformation from a local (Jakarta) train station to an international hub and social space for both local and international travellers and non-travellers alike. The findings show that the dominant signs in Gambir station are not related to travel by train; rather they are related to either food and beverage establishments or the infrastructure of the station. The study finds that bilingual signs are dominant in the travel-by-train-related signs, whereas signs that align with conceptions of 'translanguaging' are dominant in among non-travel-by-train related signs (e.g. in food and beverage establishments). The analysis reveals that through the use of different linguistic resources, the identity of Gambir station has changed from local and travel-oriented to one that is multi-faceted, is encompassing a wide variety of commercial spaces and users of these commercial spaces.

RÉSUMÉ. Les études sur le paysage linguistique permettent d'examiner l'évolution de la relation entre les locuteurs et les espaces dans lesquels ils vivent, notamment les espaces publics tels que les rues commerçantes, les stations touristiques et les gares. Cet article analyse la distribution des signes, des commerces et des langues à la gare de Gambir à Jakarta, en Indonésie, afin de mettre en lumière les éléments linguistiques qui contribuent à la transformation de l'identité de Gambir, d'une gare locale à une plaque tournante internationale et un espace social pour les voyageurs locaux et internationaux et les non-voyageurs. Les résultats montrent que les signes dominants dans la gare de Gambir ne sont pas liés au voyage en train, mais plutôt à des établissements de restauration ou à l'infrastructure de la gare. Les panneaux bilingues sont dominants dans l'affichage relatif au transport, tandis que les panneaux révélant des pratiques translinguistiques sont dominants dans l'affichage non lié au transport (par exemple, dans les établissements de restauration). L'analyse révèle qu'à travers l'utilisation de différentes ressources linguistiques, l'identité de la gare de Gambir a évolué, de locale et axée sur le voyage à multifacettes, englobant une plus grande variété d'espaces commerciaux et d'utilisateurs de ces espaces.

¹ The co-author of this article, Deny Arnos Kwary, sadly passed away on 4 June 2019.



Keywords: *identity, translanguaging, Indonesia, linguistic landscape, linguistic sign.*

INTRODUCTION

Several Linguistic Landscape (henceforth, LL) studies have shown that language may contribute to constructing the identity of a place (cf. Huebner, 2006; Lawrence, 2012; Torkington, 2009), as language is closely related with identity. Public places such as main streets, shopping centres, and tourist destinations have been used to confirm and maintain the identity of the wider community, as happened in Israel where the locality determined the dominant language (Ben-Rafael, et al., 2006), Friesland and the Basque country in which the language policy was reflected clearly (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) and Dili where language was used to display the social and national identity (Taylor-Leech, 2012). Linguists considered that train stations were important places where people of various language backgrounds congregated. Hence, researchers such as Backhaus (2007), Huebner (2006), Lai (2013), Delos Reyes (2014), and Hoa (2016) have investigated the linguistic landscape (LL) of train stations or railways. They gathered/ documented multilingual and bilingual signs and analysed the role of English as a lingua franca as well as the influence of the language policy of the national authorities in language choice of sign authors. However, neither commercial establishments and nor the specific use of English as part of the identity formation of a place have received much attention in LL research.

This study aims to clarify the identity that Gambir Train Station (herewith referred to as GTS) project through the signs found in the area. It also intends to examine translanguaging evidence in the Indonesian context, specifically in GTS. In Jakarta, rarely do people find public signs that contain Indonesian–English or English–Indonesian translation. GTS is among the few places (other examples are international airports) where signs display numerous translations of Indonesian to English. GTS was built in the 1930s and renovated in the 1990s (PT Kereta Api Indonesia, 2014). People’s mobility until now has been high, as GTS serves long routes around Java. In the past, GTS was merely a transit area where people came to buy tickets, travelled to their destinations, or waited to fetch acquaintances. There were also small local restaurants or local snack stalls in GTS at that time, but with no striking signs. As a Jakarta resident who has travelled by trains from and to GTS during school holidays or picked up relatives from GTS in 1990s, the first author had witnessed how crowded the place has been with travellers (and their accompanying families), scalpers, and porters especially during the Eid ul-Fitr or school holidays. Hence, GTS has played an important role as a gate to a metropolitan Jakarta, a city of hope for migrants from other cities in Java, who usually come after the Eid ul-Fitr for jobs in order to get better lives in the city.

Since the 2000s, PT Kereta Api Indonesia (PT KAI), the sole profit-making operator of Indonesian public railways, has transformed GTS into more than just a transit area (Prayogo, 2013). Beginning in the 2000s, PT KAI made plants to transform GTS into a popular hangout in Jakarta. According to the first author’s interviews with three shopkeepers who have been working in GTS



since 1990s (Ali, Toto and Jono, pseudonyms, 17 October 2018), a number of remarkable changes have taken place at GTS, including the provision of more ticket counters, shops, and franchise businesses including food outlets, bakeries, restaurants and chain stores, as well as an increasing number of public signs concerning schedules, directions, prohibitions, announcements, names of stores and advertisements.

The study is guided by these three questions:

- (1) What is the language distribution of the signs at GTS?
- (2) What is the evidence of translanguaging in the LL of GTS?
- (3) What identity is constructed at GTS based on the language distribution and translanguaging evidence?

The first research question prompts a comparison between the number of signs that are related to travelling by train, as well as an examination of language use in the signs that are not closely connected to travelling by train. Then, in response to the second question, this paper presents examples of the combinations of English and Indonesian, particularly in GTS, within the framework of translanguaging (Vogel & García, 2017). Based on the discussions of the previous two research questions, the final question tries to uncover the identity of GTS based on its LL within the framework of *chronotope*, a concept that can explain the role of language within a particular time and space in the process of meaning making (Blommaert, 2017; Blommaert & De Fina, 2017).

REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES

Interest in LL research in particular began in 1997 with Landry and Bourhis' (1997) research on language vitality. Continuing research on LL has shown that LL has been a 'display' of more than language presentation. Political and economic contestations are just some issues one can read from the presence of public signs. The following sub-sections deal with the themes of language distribution, translanguaging in LLs and the identity of train stations, railways and other relevant areas as revealed through LL.

Distribution of the Signs in LLs

LL research is commonly aimed at uncovering the presence and predominance of language(s) by analysing the types of signs and seeking the underlying reasons for the predominance of one type of sign over another in order to portray the linguistic, social, historical and/or political phenomena represented in LLs. To see such phenomena, a number of studies have been conducted in public areas such as important roads, shopping streets, tourist resorts, residential areas and railways or train stations. Backhaus (2007) was among the first researchers to select train stations to depict the language presentation and relevant social facts within LLs. He found that bottom-up signs (signs created by private sectors) were predominant. Likewise, Huebner (2006) discovered the dominance of private signs in train stations along the Sky Train, Bangkok.



The train station signs contained advertisements and shop names. In line with the above previous studies, Lai (2013) found that commercial signs were dominant in four areas (one business site, one tourist area, one local shopping site and one housing municipality) along Hong Kong's primary mass-transit railway. In contrast, by studying thirty Mass Rapid Transport (MRT) stations in Singapore, Hoa (2016) discovered that government signs were mostly present throughout, although the percentage was not much different from the signs that belonged to corporations. Similarly, in two major trains stations in Manila, Delos Reyes (2014) presented the dominance of top-down over bottom-up signs. The LL of Yamamoto Line along Tokyo railway provided overt display of multilingualism in terms of the signage authorship and targeted audience (Backhaus, 2007). Contrary to the overt display of multilingualism in the LL of Tokyo, the data from Hong Kong LL railways showed a propensity toward bilingualism, as indicated by the dominance of signs in Chinese and English (Lai, 2013).

Translanguaging in Different LLs

Signs present in the LL provide evidence of contact between languages as shown in the mixing of languages (see, for example, Backhaus, 2007; Bruyel-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009; da Silva, 2014; da Silva et al., 2021; Lawrence, 2012), which may be caused by the unavailability of particular English words related to technology and culture in the local language (da Silva, 2016) or the prestigious status of English and its function as an international language (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2013; Torkington, 2009). Mixing between English and Thai was not uncommon in public signs in Bangkok's LL (Huebner, 2006), and so was mixing between English and Spanish in S'Arenal, Spain (Bruyel-Olmedo and Juan-Garau, 2009), as well as mixing between English, Portuguese and Chinese in Macao LL, (Zhang & Chan, 2017). Inaccurate forms of English were also reported in several LL studies. For example, Backhaus (2007) found several kinds of English idiosyncrasies, including inappropriate use of lower and uppercase letters, mistyped words, incorrect use of plural nouns and verb phrases and collocations. Likewise, Bruyel-Olmedo and Juan-Garau (2009) presented several types of errors found in the public signs of S'Arenal, Spain which included spelling, word choice, inflection, number agreement and word order. Similarly, Krusteva (2017) reported the English idiosyncrasies in public signs and recorded announcements in a Sofia subway, which were somehow connected to the government's ignorance of the language policy for public places. In Jakarta's LL, erroneous forms of English occurred repeatedly in signs that mixed English and Indonesian, and vice versa (da Silva, 2014; 2016).

The above brief presentation has shown the fluidity of language use by the language speakers, which reflects translanguaging or "how bilingual people fluidly use their linguistic resources—without regard to named language categories—to make meaning and communicate" (García, 2009 as cited in Vogel & García, 2017, p. 4). Translanguaging has been captured in several previous studies, and some interesting findings have been raised, e.g., translanguaging as an index to the creativity and criticality of the language users as well as the consequence of globalization and multilingualism in Macao's LL (Zhang & Chan, 2017) or translanguaging representing the voice of artists, writers, and the oppressed in the LL of Greek in times of crisis



(Gogonas & Maligkoudi, 2019). Those studies found how language speakers have used translanguaging to show the identities of those places. It is thus interesting to portray translanguaging in places where there is an overt presence of bilingual signs that are not intended for commercial purposes only such as that in GTS, especially in relation to the identity construction in that particular site.

Identity in LL

LLs can expose identities through the language choices made by the sign authors. Seen from Blommaert's chronotope (2017), it is understood that the stakeholders' choice of language can index to an identity that they attempt to show in one place at a particular time and thus reflect the complex relationship between time and place. The notion of chronotope was introduced by Bakhtin (1981 as cited in Karimzad, 2016) to "describe how space and time are integrated in the novelistic discourse" (p.611). Thus, using 'chronotope', we can understand meaning-making in identity construction without being restricted to conventionalized categories such as national-international or personal-social because of the dynamicity and complexity that an identity involves (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017).

Previous LL studies have uncovered that the identities of places have been established through language use, which projects the complexity between economic, political, historical, and social dimensions. For example, in the LL of Dili, Timor-Leste, national and social identity was created, among others, through saliency of the official languages (Portuguese and Tetun) whereas the vernacular -national languages such as Fataluku, Bekais, Bunak, Dawan, Galoli, Habun, Idalaka, Kawaimina, Kemak, Lovaia, Makalero, Makasai, Mambai, Tokodede and Wetarese (East Timor Government, 2012), though encouraged by the government, were absent. The other languages which were present, such as English, Indonesian, and Chinese indexed the important role of the social actors in the social, economic and political reality of the state (Taylor-Leech, 2012). On the contrary, the LL of Addis Ababa, viewed in the framework of the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2010), demonstrated how English and international brands were intentionally employed by the local businesses to move them to a higher level and make them associated with modernity and prestige (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2013). Meanwhile, the LL of Kuala Lumpur Malaysia reflected a harmonious relationship among the diverse language speakers despite the monolingual policy of the country. Although the dominance and relative prominence of the unifying Bahasa Melayu in the official and private signs is obvious and index to the symbolic role of Bahasa Melayu as the exclusive national language, the frequent presence of English in the private signs indexed the perceived value of English as bearing a better and more promising economic values, and the occurrences of Mandarin, Tamil and other languages suggested the cultural identities and various roles performed by the different ethnic groups (Manan, David, Dumanig & Naeqebullah, 2015). Despite the in-depth discussion on multilingualism and bilingualism, more attention on how translanguaging can help create the identity of a public place such as a train station is needed. This study attempts to join the discussion by analysing identity formation in the LL as it relates to language choice at one train station.



METHODS

The research location of this study is GTS, a major train station located in Gambir, Central Jakarta. One hundred and thirty-seven photos of the signs were taken in August 2017. With regard to data collection, the definition of signs adopted for the study was 'any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame', regardless of size, salience or sign authors (Backhaus, 2007). This means different signs by the same author were counted separately, e.g., multiple signs made by a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant were all counted. In addition, only readable signs were included. Moveable or mobile signs such as menus, stickers, newspapers, magazines and numbers or pictures were excluded from the data collection. The signs photographed were those that were in storefronts. Repeated text of signs that had different referents was taken into account.

The categorisation of 'travel by train and non-travel by train' was adopted for the purpose of this study. Examples of the former include signs about regulations, announcements, and public facilities related to travelling by train whereas the latter comprises restaurants, shops, or announcements and regulations which are not related to travelling by train. Signs were quantified and several typical signs were interpreted qualitatively as explained in the following paragraphs.

To answer the first research question, all the signs inside and outside GTS were photographed and then classified as travel by train (henceforth, TR) or non-travel by train-related (henceforth, NTR). The signs in each group were counted. The TR signs were categorised as regulatory and infrastructure (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). On the other hand, the NTR signs were divided into seven categories: Bank, Food & Beverage, Health, Shop, Technology and Agent, and Regulatory and Infrastructure. The latter was included because there were many NTR signs that indicated public facilities and regulations.

Next, the signs were categorised into five groups: monolingual Indonesian, monolingual English, bilingual (those that consisted of Indonesian text and their English translation, or vice versa), bilingual extra (similar to bilingual, but there was extra text in Indonesian or English which did not have a translation) and bilingualised signs (those that displayed English borrowing, English and Indonesian code mixing or English idiosyncrasy). The categorisation of the signs according to language presentation was adapted from da Silva's (2016) study, which was an adaptation from Backhaus' (2007) typology of signs.

To answer the second research question, a translanguaging perspective (Vogel & García, 2017; Otheguy, Garcia & Reid, 2015) was adopted. Translanguaging theory was built upon the belief that language is a social construction and extends the bilingual and multilingual views without disregarding traditionally named languages in arguing that language speakers count on their "unitary linguistic repertoire" in communication (Vogel & García, 2017, p. 4) and will be able to help portray the language use in the LL of GTS, which demonstrates the use of Indonesian and English.



To answer the third research question, i.e., to understand the constructed context of the GTS linguistic landscape in which there is an interplay between time, space, language, and identity of the place, the concept of chronotope as proposed by Bakhtin in relation to identity construction was used (Blommaert, 2017; Blommaert & De Fina, 2017). It is believed that chronotope can explain the complex relationship between the elements of context, i.e., time, space, language.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following sub-sections describe the language distribution of the two types of signs (commercial and non-commercial), the evidence of translanguaging and identity construction at GTS.

Language Distribution of the Travel-by-Train and Non-Travel-by-Train Related Signs

Our data show that NTR signs are predominant at GTS (see Table 1). Out of 137 signs collected, more than half of them are NTR signs, which include advertisements and information on businesses, goods for sale, and public facilities, such as bus, and airlines. In Huebner's (2006) and Backhaus' (2007)' studies about the LL of train stations in Bangkok and Tokyo, respectively, commercial signs were dominant, too, whereas in Hoa's (2016) study of Singaporean's MRT, the government signs were slightly more frequent than those of the business sector.

Typology of Signs in GTS	Number of Signs	Percent
Travel-by-train-related sign (TR)	43	31%
Non-travel-by-train-related sign (NTR)	94	69%
Total Signs	137	100%

Table 1. Typology of Signs in GTS

A closer view of the composition of both TR (Table 2) and NTR (Table 3) signs is needed to clarify the identity of GTS. While the TR signs comprise Infrastructure and Regulatory, the NTR signs represent Bank, Food & Beverage, Health, Shop, Technology, Agent, Infrastructure, and Regulatory. The Bank category includes banks and other financial institutions. Food & Beverage refers to bakeries, restaurants, food outlets and beverage outlets. Health refers to massage and reflexology services. Shop indicates minimarkets, bookstores, newspaper stalls, photocopiers, money changers and miscellaneous stores. Technology includes producers of smartphones, tablets, and computers. Agent refers to travel agents and airline companies. Infrastructure refers to the offices, announcements, and public facilities such as restrooms, mosques, and non-smoking areas. Regulatory includes prohibitions and warnings that are not directly related to travelling such as no smoking and no littering.



Travel-by-Train-Related Sign	Number of Signs	Percent
Infrastructure	35	81%
Regulatory	8	19%
Total Signs	43	100%

Table 2. Typology of TR Signs in GTS

As is shown in Table 2, most of the TR signs (81%) are Infrastructure, which are specifically related to the buying, selling, cancelling or booking of tickets, while the rest belong to Regulatory (19%), as in warnings and rules for the safety of the passengers. Examples of NTR signs include Regulatory signs concerned announcements (Picture 1 in Figure 1), restrictions (Picture 2 in Figure 1) and schedules (Picture 3 in Figure 1). They indexed facilities provided by PT KAI to travellers, while the rest contained regulations, prohibitions or warnings.



Figure 1. Regulatory-announcement, Regulatory-restriction and Regulatory-schedule

Meanwhile, Table 3 demonstrates that Infrastructure signs were the most common (35%) among the NTR signs, and their number was higher than that of Food & Beverage (23%) and Shop (15%). The dominance of infrastructure signs can be closely related to PT KAI's



commitment to provide one-stop service to their travelling customers. Shops mostly consisted of miscellaneous stores and bookstores. The presence of miscellaneous stores is very common in Jakarta, especially in residential areas and main streets, but bookstores are rarely found. Bank signs referred to bank offices or Automated Teller Machines (ATMs). The least common signs were those related to Health and Technology.

Travel-by-Train-Related Sign	Number of Signs	Percent
Bank	4	4%
Food & Beverage	22	23%
Health	2	2%
Shop	14	15%
Technology	2	2%
Agent	7	7%
Infrastructure	33	35%
Regulatory	10	11%
Total Signs	94	100%

Table 3. Typology of NTR Signs in GTS

The frequent occurrences of Infrastructure and Travel and Food & Beverage signs at GTS may reflect the needs of the typical travellers who come to GTS. Nevertheless, the relationship may be reciprocal: it is the authority (PT KAI) that determines which establishments should be prioritised. That the Food & Beverage signs at GT are abundant may also be related to PT KAI's plan to alter the function of the station from a place for people to travel in and out of a popular hangout (Prayogo, 2013). Thus, offering many areas of GTS to food outlets and restaurants is part of the plan. There are no hangouts in Jakarta that do not provide food retailers or restaurants. The presence of food courts, bakeries, cafés and restaurants is an inseparable part of the identity of malls, plazas, shopping centres and offices. The abovementioned context of GTS may be slightly different from LLs in other areas of Jakarta where other establishments such as banks, car stations and car washes are commonly found (da Silva, 2016).

With regard to the language display of TR signs, 49% of the signs were bilingual (see Table 4). More specifically, 51% of the Infrastructure signs consisted of Indonesian text and its translation in English. The fact that bilingual signs outnumbered other types of signs may indicate that the major targeted audience was Indonesian and English speakers. In other words, the author(s) of this kind of sign considered that English text would be important for non-Indonesian speakers at GTS. This can mean it is deemed important for the non-Indonesian readership to understand information about the facilities and regulations at GTS. Meanwhile, the percentage of monolingual Indonesian signs was 30%. Bilingualised signs that contain mixing between English and Indonesian, English loan words, and English idiosyncrasies are quite many (14%).



Travel-by-Train-Related Sign	MONOLINGUAL				BILINGUAL						Total	
	Indonesian		English		Bilingual		Bilingual Extra		Bilingualised			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Infrastructure	10	29%	0	0%	18	51%	2	6%	5	14%	35	100%
Regulatory	3	38%	1	13%	3	38%	0	0%	1	13%	8	100%
Total Signs	13	30%	1	2%	21	49%	2	5%	6	14%	43	100%

Table 4. Distribution of the language of TR signs at GTS

Bilingualised NTR signs (32%) are more frequent than monolingual Indonesian (28%), bilingual (21%), and monolingual English (15%) signs (summarized in Table 5). The fact that the distribution of the signs does not show a dominance of bilingual signs (unlike that of the TR signs above) may indicate that the major target readers of the commercial signs were Indonesian speakers. In other words, the NTR signs are in Indonesian language and if English is used there, the presence of English in the NTR signs may not index the English literacy of the readers because English is used due to the values attached to it, such as trendy, prestigious, or goodness (cf. Sayer, 2010).

Non-Travel-by-Train-Related Sign	MONOLINGUAL				BILINGUAL						Total	
	Indonesian		English		Bilingual		Bilingual Extra		Bilingualised			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Bank	2	50%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	50%	4	100%
Food & Beverage	5	23%	8	36%	0	0%	0	0%	9	41%	22	100%
Health	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%	2	100%
Shop	9	64%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	36%	14	100%
Technology	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%	2	100%
Agent	1	14%	3	43%	0	0%	0	0%	3	43%	7	100%
Infrastructure	5	15%	3	9%	15	45%	4	12%	6	18%	33	100%
Regulatory	4	40%	0	0%	5	50%	0	0%	1	10%	10	100%
Total Signs	26	28%	14	15%	20	21%	4	4%	30	32%	94	100%

Table 5. Distribution of language of NTR signs at GTS

A more detailed examination of the language distribution for the establishments shows that Bank signs are either bilingualised or bilingual (50% of each type) whereas 41% of Food & Beverage signs are likely to be bilingualised and so are Agent signs (43%). Meanwhile, 64% of the Shop signs are in Indonesian, and all Health and Technology signs are bilingualised. However, 45% of the Infrastructure signs and 50% of the Regulatory signs, parallel to the TR signs above, are mostly bilingual. In other words, one will expect to read signs related to Bank



in Indonesian language or a mixing between Indonesian and English, as also shown in signs related to Food & Beverage, Agent, and Technology. On the other hand, Shop signs are mostly in Indonesian while Infrastructure and Regulatory will consist of translation of Indonesian to English, vice versa, or Indonesian only. The fact may indicate different target readership for different establishment; while the Bank, Food & Beverage, Agent and Technology establishment signs are targeted mainly for Indonesian speakers, Infrastructure and Regulatory seem to target a wider audience: Indonesian, English and those who can understand both languages. Considering the Food & Beverage establishment, whose presence is salient in GTS, a further rational assumption can be made with regard to their target audience, who are possibly those from middle to upper social status especially because many of the establishments are franchise restaurants that offer standard and higher price items than food stalls on the street. In that case, the use of English solely or mixed with Indonesian in signs of Food & Beverage establishments may reflect the international brand or the positive values of English, e.g., wealth, good, and educated, that the establishments would like to be associated with (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2013; Torkington, 2009).

Evidence of Translanguaging at GTS

We made several observations that may indicate translanguaging at GTS. As shown in Table 6, there were several forms of English found in the bilingualised signs.

No.	Form of English used in Indonesian context	
1.	Mixing	1 A. English words used in Indonesian phrase structure <i>Layout Stasiun Gambir</i> <i>Ticket Pesawat Internasional & Domestik</i> <i>Voucher Hotel Internasional & Domestik</i> B. Indonesian words used in English phrase structure <i>Parkir area</i> <i>Loket number</i>
2.	English idiosyncrasies	2. A. Lexical level <i>Escalator up</i>
		B. Syntactic level <i>Not allowed to sit on the stairs</i>
		C. Typographic incidents <i>Restourant</i> <i>Fasility</i> <i>Café</i>
3	Extended meaning of an English word	<i>Busway</i>

Table 6. Examples of forms of English used in Indonesian context



In Table 6, the first form is mixing, which is categorised into two groups: the occurrence of English words within Indonesian phrases and the occurrence of Indonesian words within English phrases. In 1A, the English words *ticket* and *voucher* were used (Picture 1 in Figure 2) despite the presence of *tiket* and *voucher* in Indonesian (Lanin, Hardiyanto, & Purnama, 2009), and in 1B the Indonesian nouns *parkir* in *parkir area* and *loket* in *loket number* (Picture 4 in Figure 2) were used instead of the English *parking* and *counter*, respectively. The structure was similar to that found in other places in Jakarta as da Silva (2016) found.

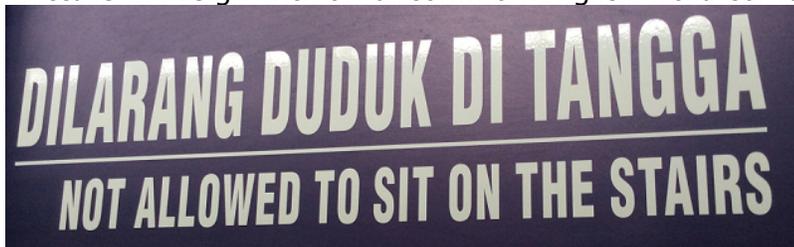
English idiosyncrasies (second row in Table 6) occurred at both the lexical and syntactic levels. The former is divided into three levels: the first is on the lexical level, i.e., the uncommon use of the following phrase: *Escalator up* (Picture 2 in Figure 2). The second is on the syntactic level, as shown in *Not allowed to sit on the stairs* (Picture 3 in Figure 2), which is a literal translation of the Indonesian prohibition *Dilarang duduk di tangga*. The third category is on the typographic level, as exemplified in *cafe* and *restourant* (Picture 4 in Figure 2). Signs that use erroneous English at the level of word order, orthography or structure are common in Jakarta and S'Arenal LLs as was found in da Silva's (2014; 2016) and Bruyel-Olmedo and Juan-Garau's (2009) studies. The last form (third row in Table 6) is the English word with the meaning extended, i.e., *busway* to refer to a public transportation facility which is owned and managed by the local government (da Silva, 2016).



Picture 1. A sign with mixing and English idiosyncrasy



Picture 2. A sign with an uncommon English word combination



Picture 3. A sign with an uncommon English sentence



Pictures 4 and 5. Two signs that contains mixing of English and Indonesian

Figure 2. Signs with several forms of English in GTS

Orthographies at the syntactic and lexical level, particularly uncommon English collocations and orthography, were also found in Backhaus' (2007) study. Yet, while Backhaus found the deletion of plural inflection in signs using English, the present study found inappropriate English literal translation such as Not allowed to sit on the stairs for the restriction Dilarang duduk di tangga. This should be translated as Do not sit on the stairs so that the form and meaning match. Uncommon collocations were found in the present study as well as in Backhaus' study. In addition, the orthographic idiosyncrasies were similar to those found in Backhaus' study and may be due to interference. The words restaurant and facility have been included in Indonesian vocabulary and have become restoran and fasilitas, respectively. Also, the accented é in café was not present in cafe, and it is not spelled with an accent in Indonesian either. Bruyel-Olmedo and Juan-Garau (2009) suggested that errors in the LLs should not be treated as those in second language learning. Rather, as we agree, they should be viewed within translanguaging perspective (Vogel & García, 2017).

There was also a case of cloning the prestige of a brand, shown in the sign for RFC restaurant (Figure 3, below), which uses similar colours and font type as signs for KFC® (Kentucky Fried Chicken). Similar cases were found in the LL of Addis Ababa (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2013), where sign authors 'borrowed' the prestige and popularity of particular global brands to sell local products. Figure 3 shows how the sign's designer put the icon of a hen on top of the letter R, which may lead to readers to see the text as KFC instead of RFC.



Figure 3. RFC Sign

DISCUSSION

Through the display of both TR and NTR public signs, GTS creates a new identity of more than merely a transit area for travellers (for example, there are signs about ticket sales, prohibitions and announcements); it is also a public place that offers services identical to those commonly available to urban people in the city's main streets, shopping centres and offices, i.e., food outlets, bakeries, and shops. The large difference between the number of TR (31%) and NTR signs (69%) can be interpreted to mean the authority views travelling and non-travelling aspects as equally important for confirming the identity of GTS. As Shohamy and Waksman (2009) pointed out, LLS are not neutral as they are intentionally used as arenas in which meaning can be constructed for many purposes. LLS also serve social functions for both the sign authors and readers. In that regard, GTS is intended to be a friendly zone for Indonesian and English speakers going there to travel, hang out, stay overnight, or eat out.

The findings also indicate translanguaging evidence in both TR and NTR signs, particularly those informing the facilities and regulations related to travelling as well as non-travel related establishments such as restaurants, bakeries, miscellaneous shops, and bookstores. Such a fact can index to the awareness of PT KAI of serving the needs of the people coming to GTS, which are not merely travelling but also others that are not directly related to travelling such as eating, waiting, and meeting people, as well as the sensitivity of responding to the changes that have taken place surround GTS, e.g., the presence of offices and the inhabitants in line with the growth of business at the heart of the city. Hence, there have been changes in the core functions and activities of GTS, from simply a transit place encountered in the process of travelling, to a place for doing business other than travelling, all of which signify the commitment of PT KAI to serve and cater to the needs of both travelling and non-travelling people. Seen through the economic values, the translanguaging evidence can be an indication of a 'friendly environment', an effort to make regulations and directions understood by non-Indonesian speaking readers (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009, p. 66) and contributes to the identity construction of GTS.



Evidently, GTS's LL has displayed an inseparable relationship between context and language to represent the 'social fact' of the place (Blommaert, 2017). In other words, the primary actors of GTS are aware of and have used language displayed throughout GTS to make people view and accept GTS to be one of the places for doing many social activities other than travelling in the city (seen from the presence of the non-travelling signs). When viewed from the 'ideological and moral' a priori involved in the notions of context (Blommaert, 2017), the belief that GTS was a place built merely for transit or travelling and therefore activities there should be connected only to travelling, for instance buying and selling tickets does not hold true anymore when there is an ideological and moral change, which makes it acceptable for other activities irrelevant to travelling to be present in the GTS, for instance, hanging out in one of the available restaurants, staying overnight in a hotel at GTS, buying books, magazines, newspapers, or buying items that may or may not be really needed for travelling, such as those needed for households, available in two retailer-minimarkets there.

To put it another way, the way the authority (PT KAI) constructs an identity of Gambir is based on the company's mission, transforming GTS from a transit place for travellers in the past (there-then) to a hub for travellers, visitors, tourists, and working people around the station at present (here-now). It seems that PT KAI viewed the identity of GTS in the past as less ideal, and then changed to the present identity, which is viewed as ideal (Karimzad, 2016). The change of identity may be due to the changes that happen contextually, e.g., the growth of working people around GTS, the high mobility of the people and their needs, the increase in people's income, and other reasons, all of which are inter-connected and give reasons to the need of extending the function of GTS.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that among 137 signs photographed at GTS, there were more Non-Travel-by-Train-related signs (69%) than Travel-by-Train-related signs (31%). The former most commonly concerned Infrastructure (35%) and Food & Beverage (23%), whereas the later was also largely related to Infrastructure (81%). The large number of signs about Infrastructure as well as Travel and Food & Beverage at GTS may be related to the fact that GTS is a hub for travellers who need information about travelling and need to have meals during their transit or waiting time. The predominance of infrastructure TR signs is related to GTS's need to provide announcements, restrictions and schedules.

Although GTS visitors are mostly Indonesians, there are also foreign people who may need information in English. In addition, GTS may want to be identified as an international hub, so there are many non-commercial signs that use both Indonesian and English. Based on the use of language in these TR and NTR signs, it can be concluded that the authority, in this case, PT KAI (and its partners) has changed the identity of GTS. In the past, GTS was known only as a transit area for local travellers. In recent years, however, as confirmed by the findings of this study, through translanguaging which has helped GTS reveal its core functions and activities, GTS has added a new identity as a public place that offers services to meet the needs of urban



people and domestic as well as international travellers. Yet, in order to have a more complete perspective of the constructed identity, further studies that involve more people who use GTS and how they view GTS now and then are needed.

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