

Food Stall in Ruteng: A Linguistics Landscape Study

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Abstrak

Kajian ini merupakan kajian lanskap linguistik (LL) terhadap papan nama warung makanan di Ruteng dengan menganalisis bentuk-bentuk linguistik, tipologi, dan fungsi komunikatif yang tertanam dalam tanda-tanda komersial dari bawah ke atas. Berdasarkan teori LL dan diperkaya oleh perspektif geosemiotik, mobilitas, dan ideologi bahasa, penelitian ini menggunakan desain kualitatif deskriptif untuk mengeksplorasi bagaimana bahasa digunakan secara simbolis dan informatif di ruang publik sehari-hari. Tiga puluh enam tanda warung makanan dikumpulkan melalui observasi lapangan dan dianalisis untuk melihat komposisi linguistik, penempatan spasial, dan fitur semiotikanya. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa bahasa Indonesia secara dominan mendominasi tanda-tanda monolingual, mencerminkan kebijakan/status bahasa nasional, sementara tanda-tanda dwibahasa dan multibahasa menggabungkan bahasa daerah, bahasa Arab, dan bahasa Inggris untuk menunjukkan identitas etnis, afiliasi agama, warisan budaya, atau aspirasi menuju modernitas. Semua tanda merupakan tanda bottom-up, menunjukkan kepemilikan secara individu dan kreativitas budaya dalam membentuk LL lokal. Secara fungsional, tanda-tanda tersebut menjalankan peran informasional seperti menyampaikan penawaran menu dan status halal serta peran simbolis, mengekspresikan penanda identitas, sejarah migrasi, dan nilai-nilai ideologis. Secara keseluruhan, studi ini menunjukkan bahwa tanda-tanda warung makanan di Ruteng berfungsi sebagai artefak semiotik yang bermakna yang menggambarkan interaksi bahasa, identitas, dan mobilitas di ranah publik, menawarkan wawasan berharga tentang dinamika sosiolinguistik komunitas multibahasa di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: lanskap linguistik; multibahasa; tanda-tanda bottom-up; geosemiotika; identitas

Abstract

This study examines the linguistic landscape (LL) of food stall signage in Ruteng by analyzing the linguistic forms, typologies, and communicative functions embedded within bottom-up commercial signs. Grounded in LL theory and enriched by geosemiotic, mobility, and language ideology perspectives, the research employed a descriptive qualitative design to explore how language operates symbolically and informationally in everyday public spaces. Thirty-six food stall signs were collected through field observation and analyzed for their

linguistic composition, spatial emplacement, and semiotic features. The findings reveal that Indonesian overwhelmingly dominates monolingual signage, reflecting national language policy and shared linguistic norms, while bilingual and multilingual signs incorporate regional languages, Arabic, and English to index ethnic identity, religious affiliation, cultural heritage, or aspirations toward modernity. All signs constitute bottom-up signage, highlighting individual agency and cultural creativity in shaping the local LL. Functionally, the signs perform both informational roles such as conveying menu offerings and halal status and symbolic roles, expressing identity markers, migration histories, and ideological values. Overall, the study demonstrates that food stall signage in Ruteng functions as a meaningful semiotic artifact that materializes the intersection of language, identity, and mobility in the public sphere, offering valuable insights into the sociolinguistic dynamics of multilingual Indonesian communities.

Keywords: *linguistic landscape; multilingualism; bottom-up signs; geosemiotics; identity*

INTRODUCTION

The linguistic landscape (LL), defined as the visibility and salience of written language in public spaces (Landry & Bouris, 1997), has developed into a significant analytical framework in sociolinguistics. LL research explores how languages appear, circulate, and acquire meaning in public domains, and how signage indexes complex relationships among language, identity, and social structure. In multilingual contexts such as Indonesia, the LL provides an important entry point for understanding how linguistic practices are shaped by cultural norms, economic pressures, migration patterns, and state language policy. Through the study of signs—both institutional and commercial—researchers can examine how language functions simultaneously as a communicative resource and a symbolic marker.

Food stalls, commonly known as *warung makan* or *rumah makan*, constitute a vital sociocultural institution within Indonesian society. Beyond serving as economic enterprises, these small eateries function as everyday social spaces where people gather to eat, socialize, and exchange stories. Their signage, therefore, represents a rich semiotic

resource that reflects broader cultural, linguistic, and economic processes. Names of food stalls often encode elements of local identity, ethnic affiliation, religious values, and marketing strategies, making them an important yet under-explored site of linguistic landscape research. In regions with high mobility and demographic diversity, the linguistic choices in food stall names can reveal negotiation of identity and competition for visibility.

Ruteng, the capital of Manggarai Regency in Flores–NTT Province, provides a compelling setting for investigating these phenomena. As a semi-urban center experiencing increased migration from Java, Sumatra, Timor, and other islands, Ruteng displays an evolving linguistic environment characterized by interethnic interaction and multicultural exchange. The expansion of commercial activity, particularly in the food sector, has intensified linguistic creativity, as stall owners utilize language to differentiate their businesses, convey cultural authenticity, and appeal to diverse customers. Despite the growing interest in LL studies in Indonesia, the food stall landscape in this region remains unexamined, which creates a gap this study seeks to address.

Recent scholarship has also highlighted how globalization shapes linguistic practices in public spaces. Urban and semi-urban areas across Indonesia increasingly exhibit linguistic hybridity, where local languages coexist with English and other foreign linguistic resources. As Shohamy and Gorter (2009) argue, LL is a site where global and local identities are negotiated and recontextualized. Food stall signage embodies this tension: traditional culinary names often appear alongside modern or global branding elements. Such interplay aligns with Vertovec (2007) notion of superdiversity, where increased mobility and cultural mixing generate new forms of linguistic expression. Examining food stall signage through this lens illuminates how globalization influences local linguistic practices without erasing traditional cultural forms.

Moreover, food stall signage can be conceptualized as a form of cultural text or semiotic artifact. From a geosemiotic perspective, Scollon & Wong Scollon (2003) emphasize that meaning emerges not only from language itself but also from the spatial placement, material design, and interaction order surrounding signs. Food stall names thus operate as multimodal constructs that communicate far beyond their literal function. They articulate belonging, heritage, and social identity, transforming ordinary commercial spaces into meaningful cultural landscapes. Understanding food stall signage through geosemiotics allows for analysis of how semiotic choices shape social space and community identity.

The mobility turn in sociolinguistics further strengthens the theoretical foundation for examining food stall LL. Scholars such as Blommaert (2010) and Pennycook (2016) argue that linguistic resources are not fixed but circulate across time, space, and social domains. Food stall names, created by owners who often

migrate from one region to another, exemplify linguistic mobility. The presence of Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Minang, and Arabic elements on signage in Ruteng illustrates how linguistic resources travel and acquire new meanings in new contexts. This mobility reflects broader sociolinguistic patterns shaped by migration, economic opportunity, and cultural adaptation.

Language ideology also plays a crucial role in shaping the linguistic choices observed in the LL. According to Irvine & Gal (2000) and González & Melis (2021), language ideologies influence how speakers value certain languages or linguistic features. The predominance of Indonesian in signage reflects ideological frameworks tied to nationalism, unity, and linguistic authority, reinforced by language policies such as UU No. 24/2009. Meanwhile, the inclusion of Arabic terms like *halal* or *barokah* reflects ideological associations with religiosity and moral legitimacy. Similarly, the use of regional languages indexes cultural pride, authenticity, or differentiation. Understanding these ideologies is crucial for interpreting the symbolic functions of LL in everyday contexts.

Several LL studies in Indonesia offer useful comparative insights. Rosidin et al., (2021) documented culinary lexicons in Pandeglang, highlighting how traditional foods reflect cultural values. Purwanto & Filia (2020) observed multilingual signage in Pontianak restaurants, indicating the influence of globalization and multiculturalism. Artawa et al. (2023) identified English dominance in Bali's restaurant signage, while Djuwarijah et al. (2023) examined multilingual practices in Ayam Taliwang establishments. However, none of these studies have focused specifically on food stalls in the context of Ruteng or Flores-NTT. Given the region's unique cultural and linguistic dynamics, a dedicated investigation is both timely and necessary.

Against this backdrop, the present study examines the linguistic landscape of food stall signage in Ruteng by analyzing language use, sign typology, and communicative functions. By situating the analysis within broader theoretical perspectives, including LL theory, geosemiotics, mobility theory, and language ideology, this study seeks to illuminate how language, identity, and culture intersect within everyday commercial signage. Through this approach, food stall names are understood not merely as business labels but as meaningful cultural artifacts embedded in wider social processes. For that reason, this study was conducted to answer the following research problems:

- 1) What is the language used in food stall signage in Ruteng?
- 2) What is the type of food stall signage in Ruteng?
- 3) What are the functions of food stall signage in Ruteng?

METHOD

This study employed a descriptive qualitative research design, which is widely used in linguistic landscape (LL) research due to its strength in capturing the interpretive, symbolic, and contextual dimensions of public signage. Qualitative inquiry is particularly suited for LL studies because signs are understood not only as linguistic objects but also as semiotic, spatial, and ideological constructs that require nuanced interpretation (Gorter, 2006; Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2003). By adopting this design, the present study was able to incorporate multiple theoretical perspectives—including geosemiotics, mobility theory, and language ideology—into the analysis of food stall signage in Ruteng, ensuring a deeper

understanding of how language and identity are constructed in public space.

The study employed purposive sampling with well-defined inclusion and exclusion criteria to guarantee its replicability. Data was gathered in the center of Ruteng and in neighboring commercial areas, like main streets, residential streets, and places near marketplaces where food booths are common. These places were picked because they had different amounts of client traffic, visibility, and sociolinguistic contexts.

Only food stands operated by small or medium-sized enterprises were allowed. These policies were used: the characters which took part are as follows: (a) signs that can be seen in stores or carts, (b) signs that have the store's name, menu items, or other important information about the store, and (c) signs that customers often utilize, including printed flags, posters, and billboards. Signs which: (a) temporary handwritten notes like "closed" or "sold out," (b) mass-produced commercial ads that don't help people find your booth (like posters for cigarette or beverage brands that are offered to businesses), or (c) purely decorative elements that don't have any readable text were ignored. Thirty-six companies were chosen to show off different language styles, visual styles, and cultural allusions at the food stall area in Ruteng based on these parameters.

A "sign" is the unit of analysis in this study. The sign is a unit of communication that is limited in scope and contains linguistic or semiotic content. It is meant to give the public information or a sense of identity. The banner, printed board, or fixed panel is only a sign, no matter how big it is. If a food store has more than one sign or

banner, each one is only a separate sign if it works on its own (for example, one sign shows the store name while another shows menu items). The indicator keeps track of how many times the same text shows up in a material object. That meaning is in line with what is usually done in applied linguistics, which sees signs as functional units, not only physical ones (Backhaus, 2007; Gorter, 2006).

In handling languages, borrowed words, and brand elements, the researchers looked at the words, spelling, and context to figure out which languages were on each sign. Indonesian, regional languages, and Arabic were all put into their own groups when diverse types of language started to appear.

Words like *mie*, *bakso*, and *café* that were borrowed or made famous in Indonesia are considered lexical aspects of Indonesian since they are utilized in public speaking and have become institutionalized. These articles are only considered foreign language if they are part of broader linguistic frameworks that are clearly linked to another language.

Only in particular cases were the trade name and logos used. If business names or logos are utilized directly to assist make the booth's identity (for example, if they are part of the booth's name or tagline), then they constitute linguistic data. Language counts do not include isolated commercial logos that do not have any other language content. This is because their main goal is to sell items, not to communicate. Bilingual or multilingual inscriptions are those that use two or more languages in a way that makes sense and is easy to read.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the results of research on the linguistic topography of restaurant signs in Ruteng. The results were categorized into main analytical groups such as

language used, type of sign, and the function of sign. The emphasis was on the distribution of language and semiotic models that shopkeepers used to understand and define themselves in public space.

Language Use in Food Stall Signage

The analysis of thirty-six food stall signs in Ruteng reveals three principal linguistic patterns: monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signage. These categories demonstrate not only the linguistic diversity of the area but also the sociolinguistic strategies that stall owners employ to communicate information, assert identity, and attract customers.

Monolingual Signage



Figure 1. An Example of Monolingual-Indonesia Sign

Monolingual signage constitutes 59% Or 17 signs of the dataset, with Indonesian (16 signs) being the dominant language and Javanese (1 sign). The example data in figure 1 illustrates the use of monolingual Indonesian.

The sign contains information related to the name of food stall: RM GARUDA (*rumah makan Garuda*) or Garuda Restaurant in English. The pattern reflects the institutionalized authority of Indonesian as the national language, reinforced by legal frameworks such as UU No. 24/2009, which mandates the use of Indonesian in business naming and public communication. From a language ideology perspective, the dominance of Indonesian suggests that stall owners perceive it as the most neutral, legitimate, and effective linguistic

choice for communicating with diverse audiences. The phenomenon aligns with findings from other Indonesian LL contexts Purwanto & Filia (2020), where Indonesian similarly dominates public signage.

Geosemiotically, the emplacement of Indonesian monolingual signs contributes to constructing a shared linguistic space, reinforcing national identity within the commercial environment. These signs fulfill the informational function of LL (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), ensuring accessibility and clarity for the broadest consumer base.

Bilingual Signage

Bilingual signage accounts for 38% (11 signs) of the signs and includes combinations such as Indonesian-Javanese, Indonesian-Balinese, Indonesian-Arabic, Indonesian-English, and others. These bilingual forms index the multicultural reality of Ruteng City, where internal migration has produced a rich tapestry of linguistic repertoires. From a mobility theory perspective (Blommaert, 2010), the presence of regional languages on signage illustrates how linguistic resources travel with speakers and acquire new meanings in new sociocultural contexts.

Regional languages in bilingual signs often serve symbolic purposes: Javanese terms like *lesehan*, Sundanese or Minang lexical items, and Balinese terms like *paon* reflect both culinary origin and cultural pride. Arabic expressions such as *halal* or *barokah* serve religious and ideological functions, appealing to Muslim customers and signaling Islamic identity. English, though less common, indexes modernity, prestige, or global orientation, reflecting wider forces of

globalization in public signage (Shohamy, E., & Gorter, 2009).

Multilingual Signage



Figure 2. An example of bilingual Sign.

RM Paon Bali's signature dish. By combining Indonesian with regional lexical elements related to Balinese culture, Babi Guling reflects a multi-layered linguistic structure. The abbreviation RM (Rumah Makan) is a common term in Indonesia, often used on business signs to indicate a restaurant. Conversely, "*paon*," a Balinese word meaning "kitchen," represents a local linguistic source that serves as an index of ethnic identity. Bali's inclusion as a geographical reference and cultural symbol, while Babi Guling is merely a typical Balinese dish. Although these signs seem easily understandable in the context of the Indonesian language, the inclusion of Balinese vocabulary transforms them into multilingual signs, mobilizing regional linguistic resources for communication and symbolic purposes.

Multilingual signs, though representing only 3% (8 signs) of the data, offer particularly rich semiotic layering. These signs typically combine Indonesian, Balinese, and Javanese in complementary ways, consistent with Reh's (2004) typology of complementary multilingualism. Each language on the sign contributes specific communicative functions—describing menu items, indexing ethnicity, or conveying honorific or cultural meaning. Such multilingual configurations exemplify how individuals draw on diverse linguistic

resources to create layered identities and project multiple forms of belonging simultaneously.

Types of Signage: Bottom-Up Dominance

All signs in the dataset fall under bottom-up signage, created by private individuals rather than government institutions. This typology is characteristic of small businesses and aligns with findings by Rafael et al. (2006), who associate bottom-up signs with grassroots linguistic expression, cultural creativity, and personal identity. Unlike top-down signage, which often enforces linguistic standardization, bottom-up signs allow stall owners to exercise agency in selecting linguistic, visual, and symbolic elements.

From a geosemiotic perspective, the choice of language, placement, script style, and visual design in bottom-up signs reflects owners' efforts to construct culturally meaningful spaces. These semiotic choices embody identity performance and social affiliation, contributing to the heterogeneity and symbolic richness of the linguistic landscape in Ruteng.

Functions of Food Stall Signage

Informational Function

How to make menu items and cooking styles easy to see. The purpose of information is apparent. Lexical units like *ayam bakar*, *bebek bakar*, and *babi guling* make it easy to see what dishes are available. This helps people who might want to buy something comprehend what is being presented at the booth. In some circumstances, the signs also tell you if something is against the law. This is a very significant piece of knowledge in Indonesia. Using Indonesian in this menu description makes it easier to understand. Because it makes sure that different groups can understand it.

Take for example, figure 2. Informationally, it identifies the establishment as a restaurant and specifies its culinary specialty. Landry & Bourhis (1997) say that signs have both an instructive and a symbolic role. *Ayam bakar* and *bebek goreng* are just names for dishes on the menu. *Babi guling* has a special value for some religions and cultures. Because it's on the sign, it symbolizes a certain type of food and culture. This gives the board more than one job to do.

From a geological perspective, the meaning of the sign is also influenced by its location in public space. When displayed outside of Bali, such as in Ruteng, the sign indicates travel and migration, showing how people, cultural practices, and food traditions move from one place to another. The sign enriches the local linguistic landscape by showing that there is a Balinese identity in a multilingual city. This shows how signage from the bottom-up helps organize social space and uses language to discuss cultural identity.

Symbolic Function

By focusing on symbolic function, billboards in the linguistic landscape serve as a resource that conveys social, cultural, and ideological meaning beyond their immediate informative content. According to research by Landry & Bourhis (1997), the symbolic function of language toward signs lies in its ability to indicate identity, values, and group affiliation. In the inscriptions on food carts, dishes like *babi guling* in figure 2 serves a symbolic function, evoking specific culinary traditions culturally and religiously, particularly those associated with Balinese Hindu identity. Unlike the concept of food consumed more widely and without cultural significance, these items reflect cultural uniqueness and contribute to the formation of a recognizable social presence in public spaces. According to previous

research, the symbolic use of language on signs that rise from bottom to top allows small business owners to express their cultural affiliation, authenticity, and heritage in a multilingual and multicultural environment (Ben-Rafael, Eliezer; Shohamy, Elana; Amara, Muhammad Hasan; Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010).

Furthermore, the symbolic meaning of the language landscape is closely linked to the social interpretation of language ideologies and symbols. Culturally marked food concepts can appear in symbols to represent ideological attitudes related to tradition, religion, and identity, which shape how different audiences perceive the symbols (Blommaert, 2019). Landscape linguists argue that this symbolic meaning is not fixed, but is interpreted based on the socio-cultural context of the local community and the visitors' own origins (Pennycook, 2010; Shohamy, E., & Gorter, 2009). In this context, food-related signs function symbolically, and language choices not only reflect commercial intent but also contribute to a broader process of meaning-making in public space, engaging in the negotiation of identity and cultural visibility.

Linguistic hierarchy and power

The distribution and ordering of languages on signage reveal an implicit linguistic hierarchy within the local context. Indonesian, as the most frequently used and visually dominant language, occupies the highest position due to its institutional legitimacy and perceived neutrality. Regional languages, Arabic, and English typically appear in subordinate positions—smaller fonts, secondary lines, or decorative placements—indicating that while they carry

symbolic power, they remain discursively secondary to Indonesian. This finding aligns with language ideology research (Irvine & Gal, 2000), which argues that linguistic hierarchies are socially constructed and reflect broader power relations. Stall owners thus participate in reinforcing these hierarchies even as they draw symbolically from diverse linguistic resources.

Mobility, migration, and indexicality

The multilingualism visible in the signage is closely tied to patterns of internal migration. Javanese, Balinese, Minang, and other linguistic elements found on signs are linguistic traces of the owners' mobility histories. When such linguistic features appear on signs in Ruteng, they index not only culinary origin but also the translocal social trajectories of the stall owners. These semiotic traces exemplify Blommaert (2010) concept of indexical mobility, whereby language carries meanings from one context into another. Thus, LL becomes a material archive of population movement and cultural diffusion, reflecting how linguistic resources circulate and become recontextualized in new settings.

Semiotics of space and social stratification

The geo-semiotic aspect of these signs explains the differences in social position and target audience. Shops that use simple and minimalist Indonesian visual designs usually indicate that they are friendly and affordable. On the other hand, stalls using ethnic signs, stylized writing, or foreign languages often indicate that they are culturally specific or want to appear prestigious (Jaworski &

Thurlow, 2010; Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2003). This semiotic difference highlights the complex mechanisms of consumer segmentation and social stratification, where linguistic and visual choices symbolize specific social identities and classes (Bourdieu, 1991; Pennycook, 2010). Language and the visual landscape not only reflect cultural diversity but also systematically shape social space by assigning different social meanings to different categories of society (Lefebvre, 1991; Zukin, 1995).

Implications for language policy, education, and future LL research

The trends observed in this study have important implications for Indonesian language policy and education. The dependence on Indonesian in general signage reflects the sustained effectiveness of national language planning in promoting a unified linguistic identity. Conversely, the prominent and innovative use of local languages and Arabic demonstrates that multilingualism is deeply embedded in everyday communication practices. Recent studies in linguistic landscape research emphasize that multilingual displays do not indicate policy failure; rather, they show how local actors adapt, reinterpret, and enhance official language ideologies in public space (Blommaert, 2010; Shohamy, E., & Gorter, 2009).

These findings suggest that language policies can be improved by moving beyond the monolingual normative framework toward strategies that recognize and embrace multilingual realities as a social asset. Researchers argue that a coherent and multilingual policy framework is more suitable for environments like Indonesia, where local, religious, and national identities converge in the public (Shohamy, E., & Gorter, 2009; Tollefson & Pérez-Milans, 2018).

Additionally, the results create numerous opportunities for further research. Comparative studies across different regions of Indonesia can explain how local socio-cultural dynamics influence unique linguistic landscape patterns, while longitudinal analysis can facilitate monitoring changes in language prevalence in response to policy modifications, economic advancements, or socio-political shifts. Additionally, ethnographic interviews with warung owners and customers will provide important insights into how individuals strategically interpret, interact with, and use linguistic resources in wayfinding. This method is increasingly emphasized in contemporary linguistic landscape research to enhance visual analysis from the participants' perspective (Malinowski, 2019; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2016).

CONCLUSION

This study reveals that the linguistic landscape of food stalls in Ruteng is shaped by dynamic interactions among language, identity, mobility, and cultural expression. The signage examined is entirely bottom-up, reflecting individual agency and cultural creativity rather than institutional standardization. The predominance of Indonesian demonstrates the strength of national linguistic ideology and policy, while the presence of regional languages, Arabic, and English highlights the region's multicultural reality and the symbolic functions language serves in everyday commerce.

The findings confirm that food stall signage performs both informational and symbolic functions. Informationally, the signs communicate food types, menu offerings, and halal status, ensuring clarity and accessibility for diverse audiences. Symbolically, they index ethnic heritage, religious affiliation, migration histories, and social

positioning. Through frameworks such as geosemiotics, mobility theory, and language ideology, the study demonstrates that food stall signage operates as a semiotic artifact that constructs and reflects sociocultural identity within public space.

Overall, the linguistic landscape of food stalls in Ruteng illustrates how everyday commercial signage functions as a meaningful cultural text. It shows how individuals negotiate visibility and belonging in a multilingual environment, and how language contributes to shaping social space, cultural memory, and identity performance. This study enriches LL scholarship by offering a nuanced account of how linguistic practices in small-scale commercial contexts illuminate broader sociolinguistic processes in Indonesia.

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