SIGNAGE IN PUBLIC SPACES: IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF LABUAN BAJO

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ABSTRACT

Labuan Bajo, the capital of West Manggarai Regency, East Nusa Tenggara, is currently experiencing rapid development. A good number of hotels, restaurants, and cafes have sprung up. The rapid development of tourist accommodation has had an impact on national and local identity as seen in the language in public spaces through the language used in the tourist accommodation sign boards. The purpose of this study is to map the linguistic landscape in Labuan Bajo, particularly the use of language on tourist accommodation signage; to explain the factors that lead to the dominance of massive foreign influences on the language of tourist accommodation signage; and explain the response of local communities to the domination of these foreign influences. This study used a qualitative method by first visually documenting data, consisting of names of tourist accommodations in Labuan Bajo; second, doing a linguistic analysis of data in particular the meaning and construction of names that may come from one or multiple languages. The results of the field research show that foreign identities in language use on tourist accommodation signboards in Labuan Bajo are so widespread. It is hoped that the government can encourage the use of the national language and regional languages in tourist accommodation signage through the socialization of the use of language in public spaces as stated in Law No. 24 of 2009 so that national and local identities in Labuan Bajo are not seen as inferior to foreign identities.

KEYWORDS: linguistic landscape, public space, identity, national and local language

INTRODUCTION

The capital of West Manggarai Regency, Labuan Bajo is currently experiencing rapid development into a new tourist destination. This is driven by Komodo Airport which has a long runway and has become the second busiest airport in East Nusa Tenggara. Labuan Bajo has
become an important entry point to various tourist areas on the island of Flores. If seen by the trend of tourist visits, from 2011 to 2019 the number of tourist visits to Labuan Bajo has been increasing. Based on data from the West Manggarai Regency Tourism Office, the number of tourists visiting tourist attractions in Labuan Bajo has been constantly increasing from 2013 to the present.

The trend of increasing tourist visits which continues to increase from year to year is followed by the increasing number of hotels each year. In 2015 there were 60 hotels with 1,540 rooms available. The number of hotels increased in 2016 to 64 hotels with addition of 1,697 rooms. In 2017 the number of hotels continued to increase, as many as 76 hotels and around 2,000 hotel rooms. In 2018, no less than 80 hotels were established in Labuan Bajo and in 2019 up until today there are 113 hotels with 2,149 rooms in total.
Of the many hotels and other tourist accommodation, the interesting point in terms of identity is the number of foreign words used in hotel names, such as *Eco Tree O’tel, Blessings, Labelle Etoile, Luwansa, La Creperie, Le Pirate Boatel, Treetop, La Boheme*, and *La Cecile*. Although not so significant in number, it appears that local identity is also represented by the use of words in Manggarai as a name for tourist accommodation, such as *Wae Molas Hotel and Spa, Kopi Mane Inspiration, Golo Hilltop, Waecicu Beach Inn, Ataflores Hotel, Ayana Lako Dia*, and *Rangga Aloyact*. The words of the Manggarai language, together with several Indonesian words and the names of islands in the tourist area of Labuan Bajo are used as signs of local identity.

From a linguistic perspective, the names that people use in public spaces, such as tourist accommodation names, are studied in a field called linguistic landscape (LL). As a linguistic study of the interaction between different languages in the public area (Guy Puzey, 2016), the study of LL is part of sociolinguistics. The study of LL focuses on the language used in road signs, billboards, street names, area names, shop names, and general signs in government and private buildings (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25). Beside being a part of sociolinguistics, LL also intersects with several other fields in linguistics, such as multilingualism, language planning (language policy), cultural geography, semiotics, literacy, education, and social psychology (Guy Puzey, 2016).

Given that the public sphere is directly related to society as a whole, governments in several countries feel the need to be involved in the use of language in public spaces through regulations. Leclerc (1994, quoted in Landry and Bourhis, 1997) stated that at least 30 countries in the world have language policies that regulate the use of language in their public spaces. One of them is Indonesia. In Indonesia, the provisions concerning the use of language in public spaces are set out in Articles 36 and 38 of Law No. 24 of 2009.

In this study, the main focus of LL study is the use of language in public spaces, particularly regarding the use of language on tourist accommodation signage such as hotels, restaurants, cafes, and travel agents. The limitation of LL terms, definitions, and functions mainly refers to the opinion of Landry and Bourhis (1997) thus the object of observation in this study is the physical LL in the physical public space, not the virtual linguistic landscape in cyberspace as put forward by Ivkovic (2012).

The main problem of this research is the language choice and usage in public spaces in Labuan Bajo, especially regarding the tourist accommodation signage: what effect do the language choices and usage have on the names of the tourist accommodation signs, and what is the background in choosing and using foreign terms in the name of tourist accommodation. Related to this research problem, the purpose of this study is to map the situation of language choice and use in Labuan Bajo, especially in the tourist accommodation signboard in the city of Labuan Bajo.

Scientifically, this research takes an interdisciplinary approach involving onomastic, LL, language attitude, and language use. The research will contribute to the studies in these fields. In practical terms, this research is useful by providing input to the local government regarding the map of choice and language use in *Kota Wisata Labuan Bajo* (The Tourist City of Bajo) so that the Government can determine an appropriate management strategy, particularly regarding regulations of the choice and use of language in public spaces. In addition, the West Manggarai Regional Government together with the Regional People’s Representative Assembly can use this
research as a basis to write local regulation on the use of Bahasa Indonesia in public spaces in accordance with Articles 36 and 38 of Law No. 24 of 2009 which is emphasized in Presidential Decree Number 63 of 2019 concerning the Use of Bahasa Indonesia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The term *LL* was first used by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25):

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistics landscape of given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (quoted in Guy Puzey, 2016).

LL study includes the language used on road signs, advertisements and billboards, street names, place names, commercial business signs, and government building signage. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997) LL has an informative function and a symbolic function. The informative function is indicated by the existence of LL as a geographic marker for speakers of a particular language; while the symbolic function is associated with the existence of LL as an indicator of the value and status of one language compared to other languages in a multilingual community.

In its development, the limitations stated by Landry and Bourhis turned out to be unable to cover the sociolinguistic complexities that arise in contemporary society. Shohamy and Waksman (2009) proposed a broader concept of LL by including verbal text, images, objects, time and space placement as well as representation of humans. The advent of the internet also has become a new influence on LL studies. In addition to physical public spaces, communication in the digital era also raises the term of *virtual linguistic landscape* (Ivkovic and Lotherington, 2009 and Ivkovic, 2012).

According to Blommaert (2013), the rise of LL studies has great potential to descriptively expand the scope of sociolinguistic studies from a group of *people* towards the *space* they are in. Blommaert’s opinion is that physical space is also a social, cultural, and political space, therefore it is full of codes, hopes, norms and traditions. Physical space can also be viewed as a space of power: controlled by and controlling humans. Therefore, LL is related to various things in society, such as language policy, ideology, power relations, language vitality, prestige, and language attitudes. According to Sloboda (2009), LL presents an ideology that can influence a person’s ideology. In this regard, Shohamy (2006) stated that the public sphere can become an arena for ideological battles. In line with Shohamy, Cenoz and Gorter (2009) stated that the use of different languages on signposts, such as business and institutional signage reflects the power, status and economic role of different languages in a region. Still related to this, the use of just one language on a signboard for a certain business or institution shows that the language has prestige and power to stand on its own (Barni and Bagna, 2009). From the perspective of language attitudes, Landry and Bourhis (1997) stated that certain LL conditions are the main indicator of people’s language attitudes. Still related to the views of the linguists above, Ben-Rafael (2009) talked about the motivation of the owner of a business to choose a particular language, such as a presentation of self, good reasons, collective identity, and power relations.
LL Studies in Indonesia

LL studies in Indonesia are growing quite rapidly. There are several studies that are similar to the LL study in the tourist city of Labuan Bajo. First, a research by Budiarsa and Kristianto (2018) which discussed the situation of language in public spaces in the Seminyak area, Bali. The existence of a language symbol in one of Bali’s tourist locations has shifted from a local character to a global character. They concluded that the dominance of foreign symbols in public spaces in the tourist area shows the representation of foreign capital on the streets of Seminyak, Bali.

Unlike the conditions in Seminyak, Bali, Fakhiroh and Rohmah (2018) found the dominance of Bahasa Indonesia in LL in Sidoarjo City. In connection with foreign symbols, it was found that English is more frequently used than Arabic. Several Asian languages are evident in shopping centers. Meanwhile, Javanese as the mother tongue for most of the people of Sidoarjo is rarely found in the city's LL.

Erikha (2018) discussed the LL situation on the main roads of the kingdom (râjamârga) in Yogyakarta. The street sign there has an informational function, which is as a marker for places and spaces. So, a landscape does not only provide an overview of geographical boundaries, but also relates to the various ethnicities that inhabit or dominate a place. In addition to the informational function, street signboards in Yogyakarta also have a symbolic function because the Javanese script (which is hanacaraka) of the street names is in Javanese on Margo Utomo Street, Malioboro, Margo Mulyo, and Pangurakan indicating that the area is a community settlement area. It represents the language and characters displayed on the street board. So, the street sign has a strong symbol of ethnic identity and reflects local wisdom.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a qualitative research approach (Creswell, 2003) which takes place in natural situations. Researchers visited the research location in order to obtain naturally occurring data. Data collection techniques develop in accordance with the situations and conditions at the time of data collection. Trask (2010) and Taylor (2016) say that the corpus of linguistic research is oral and written data. Simon Taylor (2016: 73–74) added that the source of written data for research on place names can be found in manuscripts.

In this study, the main data source is written data, which comes in the form of words used on the tourist accommodation signage in Labuan Bajo. Data collection was carried out by photographing around 250 tourist accommodation sign boards in the city of Labuan Bajo. Analysis of data in particular the meaning and construction of names that may come from one or multiple languages.

From the perspective of onomastics, this study is a toponymy not anthroponymy study. The scope of the study includes the study of names for natural elements, administrative boundaries, and man-made elements. Signage in public space includes the study of names on man-made elements. This means that we are dealing with use of language and the attitudes of the local population involved.
Domination of Foreign Languages in Labuan Bajo

After conducting field research, the following were confirmed by researchers. In general, in the center of tourist accommodation, which is Soekarno-Hatta Street, the use of foreign languages, especially English, has spread and is very dominant. On the road that functions as a center for tourism business activities in the form of travel agents, restaurants, cafes, restaurants, shops, kiosks, supermarkets, the use of foreign languages is so widespread that local (even national) identities are almost non-existent. Foreign languages, especially English, are the main languages on signs that appear on signage and tourist accommodation promotion tools along the road.

Especially for hotel names, the language usage is very varied. However, the dominance of foreign languages is very clear. In addition to English words, a number of words from French, Italian, Spanish and some words from African languages were found as words on the hotel signboards. Of the 120 hotel names recorded, only 21% of hotels use Indonesian words as the hotel name. In contrast, 55% of those who use words from foreign languages: 18% English words, 18% other foreign language words, and 19% use English words and other foreign languages. In addition, there are also those who use personal names (9%), Manggarai language (4%), and the names of islands and local places, such as Bajo, Komodo, and Flores, (11%).
In contrast to tourist accommodation centers, the use of language in tourist areas especially on Rinca Island and Padar Island is quite balanced between English and Bahasa Indonesia. Even some announcements and notifications are presented in both languages: Bahasa Indonesia and English.

In the city of Labuan Bajo generally, bulletin boards, namely road signs, names of business locations, advertisements for business locations, bus stops, and on private property use English or...
Bahasa Indonesia. For signs on private property, such as announcements of ownership of a plot of land or advertisements for local schools, Bahasa Indonesia is used. Meanwhile, for other things, they are more likely to use English.

The dominance of the use of foreign words on tourist accommodation in Labuan Bajo is also seen in the phrase structure pattern in its names. In terms of phrase structure, although using the diction of the national language or local language, the phrase structure pattern of the tourist accommodation signage follows the structure pattern of English phrases.
The Origins and Meanings of Foreign Names

The foreign language words used in several hotel names have unique meanings. The word ayana¹ in Ayana Komodo Resort, for example, is a foreign word with Arabic roots which means 'a girl who has large eyes and a girl who is perceptive'. In addition, the word kanawa² in Kanawa Resort according our search results may come from one of the local languages in Africa which means 'Great'.

Several French words are used as names in several tourist accommodations in Labuan Bajo. The phrase la belle etoile³ in Hotel La Belle Etoile means 'the beautiful star', 'in the open air at night', and 'under the stars'. The phrase la cecile in La Cecile Hotel and Café is a name for girls which means 'blind of self beauty'⁴. The phrase le pirate, French for "pirate"⁵ is used at Le Pirate Hotel, Le Pirate Bajo Hotel, Le Pirate Boatel, and Le Pirate Island. The phrase bonne nuit⁶ in Hotel Bonne Nuit is a greeting before bed which means "good night". The word dorme⁷ in Dorme Tree Hostel is an Old French word orme which means “elm tree” and was originally the name of a person who lives dean of an elm tree.

Apart from the French words, there are also some Italian words that are used as the names of tourist accommodations. According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English⁸, the phrase la boheme at La Boheme Hotel has Italian roots. The word ciao in Ciao Hostel is an Italian word which is also used in English and Spanish.

Apart from French and Italian origins, there are also names for tourist accommodations that use Spanish words. The word pavilla in Pavilla Labuan Bajo means 'A little turkey-hen'. The phrase la isla bonita which is also the title of the famous song means 'the beautiful island'.

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¹ “Ayana is a female given name: from an African word meaning ‘beautiful flower’.”
https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Ayana .

² Ayana (spelled عيانة in Arabic) is an indirect Quranic name for girls that means a girl who has large eyes, and a girl who is perceptive. It is derived from the AIN-Y-N root (eyes), which is used in many places in the Quran. ... Ayana is also an Ethiopian name for girls that means beautiful flower” https://quranicnames.com/ayana/

³ (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary)

⁴ Gender: Female. Origin: French. Meaning: Blind Of Self Beauty. The name Cecile means Blind Of Self Beauty and is of French origin. Cecile is a name that& #39;s been used by parents who are considering baby names for girls. (https://www.babynames.com/name/cecile)

⁵ https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-french/pirate

⁶ https://www.yourdictionary.com/bonne-nuit

⁷ https://www.houseofnames.com/dorme-family-crest

⁸ La Bo‧hème /lɑː bəˈóm/) (1896) an opera by Puccini about a young woman called Mimi who has a relationship with a poet called Rodolfo, but later becomes very ill and dies. In the most famous scene, Rodolfo accidentally touches Mimi’s hand, and noticing how cold it is, sings ‘Your tiny hand is frozen’ (https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary)

⁹ The word &quot;ciao&quot; (/ˈtʃaʊ/; Italian pronunciation: [ˈtʃaːo]) is an informal salutation in the Italian language that is used for both “hello” and “goodbye” ... Its dual meaning of “hello” and “goodbye” makes it similar to shalom in Hebrew, salaam in Arabic, annyeong in Korean, aloha in Hawaiian, and chào in Vietnamese. (https://www.names.org/n/ciao/about#associations)

¹⁰ https://www.spanishdict.com/translate/pavilla
from Spanish. In addition, the word casa\textsuperscript{11} which means 'house' is used with the word selini in Casa Selini which has Greek roots. The word selini\textsuperscript{12} comes from the Ancient Greek selas which means 'light in the dark sky'. There are other hotels too using the word selini, which are Selini on the Hill Villas & Spa.

Apart from languages in Europe and Africa, some tourist accommodations in Labuan Bajo use words from India. The word mohini in Mohini Resort and Mohini Komodo Resort comes from Hindi which means 'beautiful' and 'one who charms'\textsuperscript{13}. The Romanian word prundi in Green Prundi Hotel\textsuperscript{14} is also used. Likewise, the Japanese word, the word tanaka, 'dweller in a rice paddy'. There is even a word from one of the languages in Hawaii, namely the word mokuna 'edge of land meeting ocean, sea, gulf, bay'\textsuperscript{15}, in Mokuna Hostel. The word seaesta in Seaesta Komodo Hostel & Hotel is similar to the word siesta 'a midday or afternoon rest or nap' which comes from Spanish and Latin America\textsuperscript{16}.

There are about 31 names of tourist accommodation in English. If grouped based on the meaning of these words, there are words that refer to nature such as island in Angel Island Resort, nature in Bajo Nature Backpackers, bay in Bayview Gardens Hotel, ocean in Blue Ocean Hotel, beach in Coconut beach Ressort, hilltop in Golo Hilltop Hotel & Restaurant, hill in Green Hill Bedstation, harbor in Harbormasters Pool Villas, sky in Sky Tower Hotel, and gardens in Bayview Gardens Hotel. In connection with that, several names use words related to trees such as the word tree in Eco Tree O’tel, palm in The Komodo Palm Hostel Pool and Bar, and coconut in Coconut Beach Ressort. Some are related to colors such as green in Green Prundi Hotel, blue in Blue Ocean Hotel, chocolate in De Chocolate Labuan Bajo, and orange in Orange Hotel. These words give a little description of the nature of Labuan Bajo as a new tourist area. However, some special words that do not refer directly to the nature of Labuan Bajo, such as angel in Angel Island Resort, parrot in Blue Parrot Komodo, cool in Cool Corner Backpacker, dragon in Dragon Dive Komodo Hostel & Diving, escape in Escape Bajo, exotic in Exotic Komodo Hotel, boutique in Green Hill Boutique Hotel, ecolodges in Ecolodges Indonesia, happy in Happy Komodo Hostel, eden in Waecicu Eden Beach Hotel, spring in Spring Hill Hotel, pearl in Maxima Pearl Hotel, miroir in Miror Café House and sunset in Sunset Hill Hotel. There are even numbers, such as One Tree Hill Hostel and Triple 8 Suites.

The diversity of foreign languages on the tourist accommodation signboards in Labuan Bajo likely indicates the possible involvement of international tourism actors in Labuan Bajo. It is not impossible that these foreign names also indicate foreign ownership. Such a phenomenon, from an economic and tourism perspective, this can have a positive effect because the inflow of foreign capital through foreign economic actors has a further impact from the economic and tourism point of view. However, from a social and cultural perspective, especially identity, the phenomenon of

\textsuperscript{11} http://www.spanishcentral.com/translate/casa; https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/casa
\textsuperscript{12} According to a user from Greece, the name Selini is of Greek origin and means &quot;It comes from the ancient Greek noun &quot;selas&quot; which means light in the dark sky. ... A submission from Greece says the name Selini means &quot;Greek name for earth&quot; satellite, moon&quot; and is of Greek origin. (https://www.names.org/n/selini)
\textsuperscript{13} https://www.names.org/n/mohini/about#associations
\textsuperscript{14} https://educalingo.com/en/dic-ro/prundi
\textsuperscript{15} https://glosbe.com/haw/en/mokuna;
\textsuperscript{16} https://www.dictionary.com/browse/siesta
foreign names dominating can lead to the extinction of local and national identities. The rise of foreign domination in the naming of tourist accommodation is gradually eroding local culture and national identity. It is not impossible, that if this phenomenon continues to exist, Labuan Bajo would eventually lose its national identity image.

National and Local Identity

There are three words of place names that are often used as the name of tourist accommodation in Labuan Bajo, namely Flores, Bajo, and Komodo. These three words represent place names: Flores and Komodo are the names of the islands and Bajo is the name of the port which are the centres of tourist accommodation. The word Flores is the name of the largest island in East Nusa Tenggara Province and is used as part of the name of tourist accommodation such as Ataflores Hotel, Flores One Love Homestay, Alam Flores Villas, Flores Xp, and Bintang Flores. The word Bajo, which is quite dominant as the name of tourist accommodation, was originally the name of a traditional port that also served as a traditional market for sailors peddling their catch and farmers peddling their agricultural products. Currently the word is part of the name of the capital city of West Manggarai Regency. Before becoming the center of government and center of tourist accommodation, Bajo was a place to live for sailors from Bajo and Bugis tribes. Historically, Labuan comes from the word labuhan, a village that is used as a seasonal stopover ships who come from the Bajo and Bugis of South Sulawesi. Eventually this village was called Labuan Bajo. There are more hotels and tourist accommodations that use the word Bajo rather than the word Flores: Bajo Beach, Bajo Dormitory, Bajo Sunset, Beta Bajo Hotel & Resto, Centro Bajo Hostel, El Bajo Hotel, L Bajo Hotel, Bajo Nature Backpackers, Escape Bajo, De Chocolate Labuan Bajo, Pavilla Labuan Bajo, and Le Pirate Bajo Hotel.

The word Komodo is also quite widely used in the name of several tourist accommodations in Labuan Bajo. The Komodo dragon as the main tourism icon of Labuan Bajo is the main reason of the large number of tourist accommodations that use this word as their identity. Some tourist accommodations that use the word komodo are: Cf Komodo Hotel, Komodo Hotel, Komodo Indah Hotel, Komodo Resort and Diving Club, Puri Komodo Resort, Happy Komodo Hostel, Exotic Komodo Hotel, Dragon Dive Komodo Hostel & Diving, The Palm Komodo Hostel Pool and Bar, Mohini Komodo Resort, and Sylvia Resort Komodo.

The words flores, bajo, and komodo refer to the local identity of the Labuan Bajo tourist area. At least these three words refer to Indonesian local and national identities that are competing

17The island of Flores has been world famous since the early 16th century. It is known online from various sources that the word flores is from Portuguese which means 'flower'. The name Flores is derived from the Portuguese word cabo de flores which means 'tanjung bunga'. The name was originally given by S.M. Cabot to refer to the eastern region of the island of Flores. An in-depth study by Orinbao (1969) revealed that the real name of Flores Island is Nusa Nipa (snake island). In 1512, at the tip of this cape, a Portuguese sailor named Antonio de Abreu became the first European to arrive on the island. Antonio sees flamboyant red flowers blooming all over the island. In 1636, the Governor of the Dutch East Indies Hendrik Brouwer adopted the name Flores for the island. Finally, it was officially used since 1636 by the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, Hendrik Brouwer. (Wayan Agus Purnomo https://travel.tempo.co/read/720930/wisata-pantai-tahukah-anda-asal-muasal-nama-flores/full&view=ok
against foreign names that are very dominant in Labuan Bajo. In addition to these three words, there are also a few other island names around the city of Labuan Bajo, such as *The Seraya and Manta Homestay*.

In addition to these three words, several Indonesian words also mark the national identity of Labuan Bajo tourist accommodation. There are the words *matahari* ‘sun’ in *Matahari Hotel & Restaurant*, *mawar* ‘roses’ in *Mawar Hotel*, *harmoni* ‘harmony’ in *Ora Harmoni Hostel*, *pesona* ‘charm’ in *Pesona Bali Restaurant and Room*, *plataran* ‘courtyard’ in *Plataran Phinisi Ambasi* and *Plataran Phinisi Felicia*, *puncak* ‘peak’ in *Puncak Waringin*, *royal* ‘royal’ in *Royal Fortuna*, *alam* ‘nature’ in *Vila Alam Flores*, *seirama* ‘harmonious’ in *Vila Seirama Alam*, *mutiara* ‘pearl’ in *Mutiaara Hotel*, *indah* ‘beautiful’ in *Indahnesia Backpackers*, *kampung* ‘hometown’ in *Kampung Bule Hostel*, *kelana* ‘wanderer’ in *Kelana Boat*, and *cahaya* ‘light’ in *Cahaya Adrian Hotel*. Unfortunately, even though they use Indonesian, most of the hotel names in Indonesian have an English phrase pattern. Only a small percentage use the Indonesian phrase structure. A small number of hotels use personal names such as antroponym of *silvya* in *Silvya Hotel*, *Sylvia Resort Komodo*, *aulya* in *The Teuz B&B Aulya Hotel Labuhanbajo*, and *adrian* in *Cahaya Adrian Hotel*. The use of place names (*bajo*, *komodo*, and *flores*) and Indonesian words in the name of tourist accommodation in Labuan Bajo saves Labuan Bajo’s identity as part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. However, the use of the pattern of English phrases in these names still reflects the big influence of the foreign identity of a tourist area. Referring to LL in other tourist cities such as in Seminyak, Bali (Budiarsa and Kristianto, 2018), the phenomenon of dominating foreign identity in Labuan Bajo confirms the distinctive features of a tourist city in Indonesia which succumbs to foreign interests for the tourism economy. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 24 of 2009 concerning the Flag, Language and National Emblem, as well as the National Anthem which regulates the use of Bahasa Indonesia in the name of a business entity does not seem strong enough to face the influence of foreign identity.

**Words from Manggarai**

Another interesting thing is the emergence of words that represent Manggarai’s local identity on the diction of tourist accommodation signage in Labuan Bajo. There are 12 words in the Manggarai language used as the name of tourist accommodation in Labuan Bajo. The tour boats Ayana Lako Di’a, Ayana Lako Cama, and Rangga Alo Yact use *lako* ‘walk’, *di’a* ‘good’, *cama* ‘joint’, *rangga* ‘horn’, and *alo* ‘eight’. Some hotels also use Manggarai words as their names, such as *Wae Molas Hotel*, *Golo Hilltop*, *Waecicu Beach Inn*, and *Ataflores Hotel*. The word *wae* in the Manggarai language means ‘river’, *molas* means ‘beautiful’, *golo* means ‘hill’, *waecicu* means ‘washing water’, and *ata* means ‘person’. In addition, there is a cafe, *Kopi Mane Inspiration*, which use Manggarai words: *kopi* ‘coffee’ and *mane* ‘afternoon’.

All expressions using the Manggarai language contain good meanings. The phrase *lako di’a* contains a message to be safe on the way. This phrase is often used by parents at home as a message to those who are going to travel. Manggarai people often say sentences, for example *lako* ‘*di’am to’ong ga’ which means ‘I hope you are safe on your way’. So, the phrase *lako di’a* which is used as the name on a tourist boat contains a message so that the trip using the tour boat is smooth and safe to the destination.
The phrase *lako cama* also has a positive meaning. In Manggarai culture, togetherness is always a priority in everyday life. It is better for *lako cama* to 'walk together' rather than walk individually. In dealing with a problem, Manggarai people always prioritize cooperation in order to solve the problem. So, the use of the phrase *lako cama* contains a message that traveling trips are experienced together with the hope to multiply the happiness of tourists throughout the trip.

The phrase *rangga alo* means greatness, high position. The number eight (8) in Manggarai culture shows the highest social value. The phrase *rangga alo* is usually applied to the oldest male deer. A male deer that has eight antlers is the strongest, largest, oldest deer as well. When worn by people, it denotes a supreme position. Apart from being worn on deer, the figure eight is also used on male buffaloes. However, when it is worn on a buffalo, Manggarai people usually call it the *alo ngis* male 'the eight-toothed male'. The age of male buffalo which has socio-cultural value in Manggarai culture is not determined by body weight or age, but by the number of teeth. So, the male buffalo with eight teeth is the oldest and strongest buffalo.

Out of the four hotel names that use the Manggarai word, which are *Wae Molas Hotel, Golo Hilltop, Waecicu Beach Inn*, and *Ataflores*, only the phrase *wae molas* is interesting and contains cultural values. The phrase *wae molas* means 'water for a beautiful girl'. Beautiful girls and rivers are often linked in Manggarai legends with an angel. Angels are always associated with water or rivers because rivers are where angels live. In legends, Angels live or are seen by humans in rivers. As a result, when Manggarai people cross the river they always have to say out loud words like "tadpole!" (means 'bath'). The goal is that if there is an angel who is bathing in the river, it will immediately hides when hearing human voices. Humans are also scared of meeting an angel so spontaneously shout the words, "Tadpole !!!" So, the phrase *wae molas* is likely related to that culture and belief.

The Lack of Local Cultural Characteristics

The dominance of foreign languages is so strong in the language used in the tourist accommodation signage in Labuan Bajo, one of which is related to historical data on tourist visits in the Labuan Bajo area as a tourist area. When viewed from the data on tourist visits to Labuan Bajo mentioned above, in 2011 and maybe before, less local and domestic visitors come rather than foreign tourists. From year to year until 2019, data on local and domestic tourist visits continue to increase. Based on data from the West Manggarai Tourism Office, local and domestic tourists in 2011 amounted as 13%. Then in 2012 it increased to 15%. In 2013 it increased by 5% to 20%. Then in year 2014 it only increased slightly from the previous year to 21%. In 2015 it increased again by 4% to 25%. In the year 2016 i took quite a big jump about 10% from the previous year to 35%. Then in 2017, it increased once again to 40%. Although only 3%, in 2018 local and domestic tourist arrivals reached 43% and in 2019 it also increased to reach 45%.

A tourist visit data to Labuan Bajo at least illustrates that the foreign domination of the use of the tourist accommodation signage language is in accordance with tourist visit data. Foreign tourists still dominate tourist visits to Labuan Bajo even though in 2017, 2018 and 2019 they are almost equal to local tourist. So, it is understandable why foreign languages, especially English, somehow became main language used on the tourist accommodation signboard in Labuan Bajo.

Another thing that might be the cause is the absence of a regional regulation regulating the
use of language in the public domain. In fact, Law No. 24/2009 concerning the Flag, Language and National Symbol, as well as the National Anthem, Article 36 paragraph (3) regulates that Bahasa Indonesia must be used for the names of buildings or buildings, roads, apartments or settlements, offices, trade complexes, trademarks, trade, business institutions, educational institutions, organizations established or owned by Indonesian citizens or Indonesian legal entities. Up until today, the West Manggarai Regional Government and Regional People’s Representative Assembly (DPRD) have not made any legal policy to regulate the use of language on the tourist accommodation signboard in Labuan Bajo. As a result, investors do not have guidelines regarding the use of language on tourist accommodation signage.

CONCLUSION

There are several conclusions about the use of language in the public domain in the Labuan Bajo area, especially on the tourist accommodation signage. The use of foreign languages, especially English, is very dominant on the tourist accommodation signboard in Labuan Bajo City. In contrast, the use of national and local languages on tourist accommodation signboards is much less used than foreign languages. In fact, the phrase pattern for the name of the tourist accommodation that uses the national and local languages does not use the Indonesian phrase pattern, but uses the English phrase pattern. This phenomenon is in line with tourist visit data from 2011 to 2019 which was very much dominated by foreign tourists.

This foreign domination causes a lack of a national and local identity to appear. National identity is only visible on the props of notices and announcements, such as trash cans, banners for certain events, names of government offices. At the center of tourist accommodation, which is Sukarno-Hatta Street, there are only a few signboards in Indonesian (such as Warung Mama and Dapur Rafael). Local identity as a marker of Labuan Bajo’s tourist location, although not dominant, is represented by the use of the words Bajo, Komodo, Flores, and the Manggarai words on several tourist accommodation signage.

Socio-cultural factors can also influence foreign domination of the language of the public space. The absence of cultural friction due to the increasing tourist visits to Labuan Bajo does not cause social friction in the community. From the language attitude point of view, the local culture of Manggarai never shows rejection of foreign culture so that the use of foreign languages in public spaces does not cause problems for the local community. This is interesting to be investigated further. Also the background and motivation of the owner of a business in choosing and using foreign terms in the name of tourist accommodation or a particular language, more for good reasons of advertisement to attract tourist.

Another factor that contributes to the foreign domination of hotel names and tourist accommodation business names in Labuan Bajo is the absence of regulations from the local government due to the ignorance of stakeholders. The spirit of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 24 of 2009 concerning the Flag, Language and National Symbol, as well as the National Anthem has not caught the attention of local stakeholders so that there is no regional regulation regulating the use of language in public spaces.
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