LANGUAGE CONTESTATION AT BOROBUDUR TEMPLE, THE WORLD'S LARGEST BUDDHIST TEMPLE

Lery PRASETYO*[1]
Ketut ARTAWA[2]
Ketut Widya PURNAWATI[3]
I Wayan SUARDIANA[4]
[1]STAB Negeri Raden Wijaya Wonogiri, Indonesia
[2,3,4]Udayana University Bali, Indonesia
[1]leryprasetyo@rocketmail.com
[2]ketut_artawa@unud.ac.id
[3]tuti@unud.ac.id
[4]i.suardiana@unud.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore various types of public signs with different uses, designs, and materials to determine the contestation of local, national, and international languages in the Borobudur Temple area, particularly in relation to ideology and identity. Public signs were photographed on December 20, 2022. A total of 299 photos were analysed using linguistic landscape theories based on a qualitative descriptive method with techniques of quantification of qualitative data and interpretive descriptions. The results showed 28 types of signs. The most common public signs are of the Top-down type, with Indonesian being the most widely used language. This represents a solid national identity because Indonesian is the language of unity and the *lingua franca* of the entire Indonesian nation. English is the second most frequently used language at the Borobudur Temple, a well-known international tourist site. Other than Indonesian and English, Javanese language and script, which reflect local identities, are little used on public signs. The findings suggest that local language seems to be marginalised.

Keywords: Borobudur; ideology; identity; language contestation; public signs

Introduction

The Borobudur temple is a cultural heritage site recognised by UNESCO. It was designated as a World Cultural Heritage Site in 1991 and listed as the world's largest Buddhist temple (Bear et al., 2021). The temple, located in Magelang Regency, Central Java, Indonesia, is one of the most important temples for Buddhists. Celebrations and commemorations of Buddhist religious holidays are held in the temple. One of them is the Vesak celebration (a celebration of the birth, enlightenment, and death of Buddha) which is held annually.

Visitors to Borobudur Temple are not only Buddhists because this temple is open to the public. On 15 July 1980, it was inaugurated as a tourist spot (Wiratmoko, 2012). This ancient Buddhist temple is so important and well-known that it has become one of Indonesia's super-priority tourism destinations (Kusumowidagdo & Rembulan, 2022; Rembulan et al., 2022). Thousands and even millions of tourists, both domestic and foreign, visit the Borobudur temple every year. In 2022, the temple was visited by 1,497,222 tourists (Centre of Statistics Bureau of Magelang Regency, 2022)

Table 1

The Number of Tourists Visiting Borobudur Temple 2020-2022

Tourists	Number per year		
	2020	2021	2022
Foreign	31,551	674	53,936
Domestic	965,699	422,930	1,443,286
Total	997,250	423,604	1,497,222

Millions of visitors come for various reasons. Some enjoy the temple's popularity by taking a tour to witness the ancestral heritage. Some others pray. Some are engrossed in observing the structure of the building and the reliefs. All activities can occur because the Borobudur temple performs several functions, such as education, research, tourism, and as a place of worship (Pageh et al., 2022). The last function was assigned on 11 February 2022 with the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the Government of Central Java Province, the Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology, the Ministry of State-owned enterprise, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy to make Borobudur Temple a place of worship for Buddhists from around the world (Taman Wisata Candi Borobudu, 2022).

Nevertheless, despite all the functions it performs, the Borobudur temple, receives limited linguistic research attention, particularly within the framework of linguistic landscape (LL). Past studies on Borobudur Temple focussed on tourism, architecture or business (Devi & Kesumasari, 2020; Kowal, 2019; Munandar, 2016; Pradana et al., 2020; Usmawati et al., 2021). Linguistically, Borobudur presents intriguing aspects worthy of investigation. Covering an extensive area of six hectares, Borobudur hosts millions of tourists from various nationalities and backgrounds. Hence, it must accommodate the diverse interests of these visitors, given its

multifaceted functions as a temple. Consequently, understanding the patterns of how different languages are used on public signs becomes essential.

This study adopts the framework of LL studies to analyse interactions with public signs. Introduced by Landry and Bourhis (1997), LL serves two primary functions: informative and symbolic. Researchers in linguistics study the existence, representation, meaning, and interpretation of languages displayed in public places (Fedorova & Nam, 2023; Lu et al., 2020; Shohamy, 2019). One of the reasons why LL studies are captivating is their emphasis on the LL phenomenon as a symbolic construction (Andriyanti, 2019; Duizenberg, 2020). LL provides a different and unique perspective on multilingualism. LL field is very broad.

It also delves into the tourism field, providing a conceptual understanding of language use and their relation to tourism. Diana et al. (2022) examined the language used in labelling historical objects at the Keraton Sumenep Museum. It was discovered that Indonesian is the preferred language, as the majority of visitors are local tourists who are fluent in it. Furthermore, the English language appears in LL because the museum attracts some visitors from abroad.

Researchers found that the use of the English language in tourism is market-driven. Rong's (2018) result shows that English is becoming a pivotal part of the LL of Beijing 5A tourism spots; China now actively participates in the globalising process of English language commodification. On the other hand, Dong et al. (2020) investigated the intersection of language practices and ideologies in cultural heritage sites and tourism scenic spots in Bangladesh. They showed that the linguistic environment is inherently multimodal. The sociopolitical dimension to their study can be examined via the official establishment of a policy oriented towards the use of a monolingual sign of Bengali which emphasises the use of the national language as a symbol of Bangladeshi nationality and identity. English is perceived as a post-colonial reproducer of linguistic hegemony. On the other hand, the use of Arabic and Chinese languages in Bangladesh points towards consideration of economic factors. The former is a reflection of Islam, the predominant religion of the population and the latter is a recently emerged foreign language in the country. The study offers a fresh perspective on the globalisation-related multilingual practices in Bangladesh as well as its language planning and management.

Language contestation is one of the studies in multilingualism related to language marginalisation and dominant language. A region's ideological factors and political conditions are very influential in this type of case. Edwards (2009) stated that language contestation relates to identity in a social context that cannot be separated from the language of a community group. This identity can refer to all identities that humans have in life, including religious, social, ethnic, cultural, and national identities. Shohamy (2012) views public space as an area that any party does not own. To claim public space to one's own is a form of language contestation.

The three LL studies in the field of tourism illustrate that the forms, topics, and foci are very diverse. Each study offers unique insights. Although Diana et al. (2022) and Dong et al. (2020) explored language use in specific cultural heritage sites, none of these studies focused on understanding how a language is used and contested. Rong (2018), on the other hand, highlighted the impact of market-driven tourism on language use. However, there is a gap in understanding how different

languages compete for space in specific contexts. This research will therefore contribute by delving into the LL of Borobudur Temple, an extraordinary place of both cultural and religious significance, and by analysing the intricacies of language contestation in this distinctive context. Borobudur Temple is an interesting research locus for LL review because the language contained in the signs of its public space has its own pattern and uniqueness compared to other tourist sites, especially in term of language contestation.

Thus, this research presents two research questions: (1) What are the types of public signs in the world largest Buddhist Temple? and (2) How does language contestation manifest in the public space of Borobudur temple as the world largest Buddhist temple? Based on these research questions, this study aims to explore the types of public signs with various uses, designs, and materials and to investigate the contestation of local, national, and international languages in Borobudur Temple area in relation to ideology and identity. In this paper, we show the linguistic dynamics at the world's largest Buddhist temple.

Method

This study used a descriptive qualitative study utilised by Paramarta (2022). The data was analysed based on LL theories as proposed by Landry and Bourhis (1997) and Cenoz and Gorter (2006). It was conducted at the Borobudur temple area in Magelang Regency, Central Java Province, Indonesia. The temple sits on a compound of six hectares, a vast area for multipurpose activities. Nevertheless, this study was limited to pedestrian routes as illustrated in Figure 1 because it is a busy route tourists use, so it is considered the main road in the Borobudur Temple area. The decision to choose the main road as the location for data collection was made by LL researchers, similar to what was done by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) in the city of Friesland, the Netherlands, and in Basque, Spain. In addition, Backhaus's (2006) method for determining the research locus and data collection was adopted. This approach covers several elements, such as the defined geographical limits of the research area, the chosen public signs, and the differentiation between the language and script used on these signs.

Figure 1
Map of Pedestrian Route
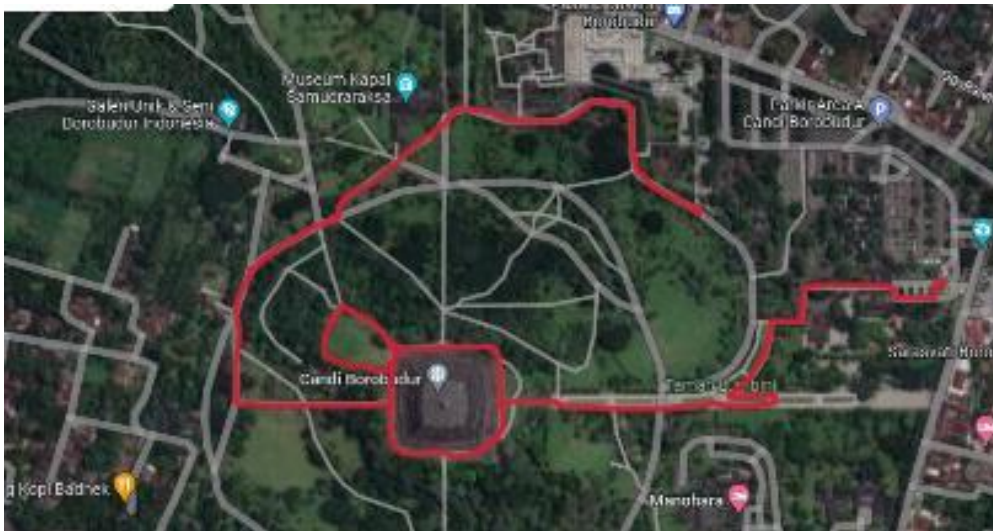
The red line shows the route and the data collection site. It passes through several important supporting tourist attractions in the area, such as the Elephant Cages, Samudra Raksa Museum, and Borobudur Museum. Along the route are many signs in various shapes, languages, and positions. It raises awareness of language contestation in that area which is the focus of this study. Contestation is viewed through the presentation of the language or script and its prominent position (Mulyawan et al., 2022; Paramarta et al., 2022; Shohamy, 2012). Language contestation is classified into monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. The scripts are differentiated into Javanese script and Roman Script. Then the salience of the signs is determined from the position of the script, font size, and readability (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). In addition, other classifications are also applied to enhance the analysis of language contestation, such as the type of sign maker, and the top-down and bottom-up categories as suggested by Cenoz and Gorter (2006). The top-down category refers to public signs created by the government, while the bottom-up category pertains to those produced by private entities.

Instrument

In this study, observation sheets were used as an instrument during the data collection process. They were used to guide and record the results of observations with regards to the location and additional information about the placement or position of signs. A digital camera was used for photographing and capturing images of public signs in written language(s) that align with the research objectives.

Data Collection Procedure

The data comprising 299 photos of public signs were collected on 20 December 2022, through observation methods and photographic techniques. The use of photographic materials to analyse language signs in public spaces is a notable characteristic of LL studies (Yendra & Artawa, 2020). The main data were photos. The data collected by photographing signs in the Borobudur temple complex followed these criteria:
  (1) The signs were located inside the temple complex, excluding the exterior.
  (2) The signs contained written language.
  (3) The signs were easy to read and were not damaged or faded.
  (4) Each sign was counted individually, even if identical in design but placed in a different location.
  (5) Signs with two sides were considered as a single sign.

Data Analysis Procedure

Data analysis was carried out using LL theories as presented by Landry and Bourhis (1997), based on a qualitative descriptive method with techniques of quantification of qualitative data and interpretive descriptions. A simple count of public signs classified into several types or categories was made. This was followed by descriptive interpretation based on presentation and position in language or script reflecting identity, culture, politics, and other issues.

Results and Discussion

The data comprising 299 public signs at Borobudur Temple were classified into 28 types, as can be seen in Table 2. The most frequent type of sign is directional, with 45 signs (15.1%). This is understandable given the expansive area of Borobudur Temple. The management must ensure that tourists can easily navigate routes, locate tourism spots, access public facilities such as toilets and prayer rooms, find other amenities, and reach exit points.

Table 2
The Types of Signs

Type	Number	Percentage (%)
Directions	45	15.1
Information	42	14.0
Plant label	35	11.7
Prohibition	27	9.0
Keeping one's distance sign	20	6.7
Garbage sorting	20	6.7
Advertisement	17	5.7
Hand washing sign	13	4.3
Rubbish bin	12	4.0
Territory sign	11	3.7
Exit	7	2.3
Evacuation route	5	1.7
Plant information	5	1.7
Building name	5	1.7
Hand sanitiser sign	4	1.3
Multipurpose signs	4	1.3
Map	4	1.3
Inscription	4	1.3
Recommendation	3	1.0
Name board	3	1.0
Meeting point	3	1.0
Announcement	2	0.7
Welcome board	2	0.7
Warning	2	0.7
Automated Teller Machine (ATM)	1	0.3
Charging station	1	0.3
Drinking fountain	1	0.3
Security check	1	0.3
Total	299	100

Information signs ranked second highest, with 42 signs (14%). The informational signs contain various necessary information for tourists (Figure 2). These signs provide information about ticket prices, emergency responses, specific rules, and detailed information about temples, such as restoration efforts made, history, facilities, and interesting facts. These types of public signs are available to provide the vital information needed by the tourists and to prevent confusion among visitors.

Figure 2
Informational Signs

Table 3 presents the examples of Top-down type signs, which dominate the total number of signs studied with a percentage of 98.7%. This means almost all public signs in the Borobudur temple area are government-issued signs. As the Indonesian government manages Borobudur through Borobudur Conservation Centre, PT Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan, dan Ratu Boko (TWC) and the Magelang Regency Government, it is normal that the majority of signs are in the top-down category. The top-down signs have a variety of designs, unlike most government signs. The bottom-up category is only found in four types (or 1.3%) of signs, one each for ATM, charging station, advertisement, and information (see Figure 3).

Table 3
Top-down and Bottom-up signs

Type		Number	Percentage (%)
Top-down		295	98.7
Bottom-up		4	1.3
	Total	299	100.0

The design of top-down signs is not limited to rigid designs using basic colours such as green, blue, brown, or certain letter fonts. In the Borobudur temple, the designs are more colourful and attractive by using pictures, illustrations, or diagrams. A more attractive design is the advertisement type of signs. It is no different from the bottom-up type in design, the placement of the BUMN (State-Owned Enterprises) and TWC logos is a way to identify whether the government was responsible in issuing the signs. In addition, all signs located in zone 1 (the area closest to the temple site) must

be in the top-down category. The government must have issued the signs, although some do not display the logo or identity of the government agency. This is because zone 1 is under the management of the Borobudur Conservation Centre.

Figure 3
Bottom-up Signs

The Bottom-up sign is very limited in number, the three examples in Figure 3 are located not far from the entrance after the ticket booth. Figure 3a is an ATM of J-Trust Bank. The cash withdrawal machine is provided by the private banks. The ATM machine is located strategically because it is in the inner area of Borobudur Temple and is the only ATM in the area. This ATM sign features English and Japanese languages.

Figure 3b is a charging station provided by a multinational private company in ride-hailing, Grab, as per the logo displayed the charging station. Based on its placement, the tool can be utilised by all tourists at the temple. Next, the sign in Figure 3c is produced by the Association of Indonesian Tour Guides, Magelang Regency as shown in the embedded logo. The designs of the three bottom-up signs are not alike, indicating that the government does not provide a specific design template. All designs can be made based on the creativities or standards of each company or institution. Overall, the use of script or language of public signs, both top-down and bottom-up, are not specifically regulated so the use of language varies.

The existence of language diversity can be observed via the descriptions and examples of the types of public signs at Borobudur Temple. It indicates that language contestation occurs in the public space of Borobudur Temple. The public signs found in the temple feature nine languages: Indonesian, English, Latin, Japanese, Chinese, French, Korean, German, and Arabic. These languages do not appear individually in the signs, but they appear together with one or more languages. This phenomenon is understandable because of the status of Borobudur Temple as an international tourism spot and its new additional status as a worship place for Buddhists globally.

Table 4 shows the languages used on public signs. In the monolingual category, Indonesian is dominantly used in public signs. There are 80 signs (26.8%) in the form of suggestions, hand washing, information, keeping one's distance, evacuation routes, plant labels, prohibitions, multipurpose signs, building names, garbage sorting, announcement, territory map, directions, advertisements, exit, inscription, and territory sign. This is followed by English with 19 signs (6.4%), and the

last is Javanese with only two signs (0.7%). The English monolingual signs include charging station, information, building names, directions, advertisements, and territory signs. In comparison, the monolingual Javanese signs are only in the building names and welcome board.

Table 4
Language Used on Public Signs

Type	Language	Number	%
Monolingual	Indonesian	80	26.8
	English	19	6.4
	Javanese	2	0.7
Bilingual	Indonesian-English	149	49.8
	Indonesian-Latin	13	4.3
	English-Japanese	1	0.3
Multilingual	Indonesian-English-Latin	26	8.7
	Indonesian-English-Javanese	8	2.7
	Indonesian-English-Arabic, French-Chinese-Germany-Japanese	1	0.3
	Total	299	100

The monolingual sign of widely dominant Indonesian represents a strong national identity. The management of Borobudur temple, part of a state-owned enterprise, prioritises Indonesian language. It is the *lingua franca* and official language of Indonesia. Indonesian language is also a unifying factor for the people of Indonesia who come from multicultural and multireligious background. This was stated in the Youth Pledge on 28 October 1928, long before the Indonesian state became independent. This was later confirmed through various regulations such as Article 36 of the 1945 Constitution, Law Number 24 of 2009 and Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2019.

The monolingual sign in Indonesian has six types of prohibition signs. However, there is one prohibition sign that catches the eye because it is located very close to the road, it uses attractive designs and colours, along with large font sizes. The sign is located in front of an elephant house, which says "*Makanan kami sudah diatur secara khusus mohon tidak beri kami makanan dari luar. Terima kasih*" (our meal has been specially arranged, please don't give us food from outside. Thank you). The sign is a prohibition to feed the elephants by using indirect language. It is not found on the English sign, whether monolingual, bilingual or multilingual signs. English public signs are observed to be more direct in nature, for example, "no smoking" or "no entry" due to cultural reasons. This is in accordance with Hall's (1976) cultural theory of high and low context that western culture is more direct than Asian culture (Hornikx & Le Pair, 2007; Mulyawan et al., 2022). In this case, Indonesian signs apply the high context principle and English signs use the low context principle. In Indonesian, prohibition signs employ an implied communication style, requiring readers to decode the message to understand its full meaning. In contrast, prohibition signs in English are explicit, concise, and brief.

Figure 4
Indonesian Monolingual Signs

The appearance of English language as one of the languages in the monolingual sign can be explained by the reputation of the Borobudur temple as an international tourism destination. It openly welcomes international tourists. The sign also presents an international atmosphere as English is a very common language used for cross-country communication. English is the language of globalisation, so the sign is designed for tourists who understand English but do not know Indonesian.

Figure 5
Advertisements that Feature Only English or Indonesian Language

The majority of people in around the world generally recognise the status of English as an international language, with its embedded symbols of prestige, high

economic standing, modernity, high technology, and a global perspective (Mulyawan et al., 2022; Rong, 2018; Sheng & Buchanan, 2019; Yan, 2019). This perspective can also be seen in the public sign at Borobudur Temple. In Figure 5, there are two monolingual signs of advertisements; the left is in English, and the right is in Indonesian. In terms of material, the English advertisement uses an acrylic board, so it looks elegant, neat, and luxurious. Such design choices intrinsically targeted the intended audience, foreign tourists, who are perceived as more modern and possess greater financial means. This necessitates the adaptation of advertising signage to capture their attention. On the other hand, the Indonesian advertisement use a banner cloth stretched over several pieces of bamboo, which looks simpler. This illustrates that English holds a higher prestige than Indonesian in advertising signs.

The placement of these advertisements is also different; most English advertisements are firmly affixed to walls in strategic locations so that they seem exclusive, while those in Indonesian are leaning against or standing under a tree. Moreover, in terms of content, English advertisements tend to offer something with a higher economic value or exclusive experiences such as special photoshoot packages, extraordinary breakfast or evening meals, and cultural performances such as the Ramayana Ballet. In contrast, Indonesian advertisements promote traditional activities such as horse-drawn carriage rides and feeding of elephants. Hence, the differences in the two types of monolingual signs strengthen English with all its prestige and the Indonesian language represents an Indonesian identity. Purnawati et al. (2022) argue that the use of Indonesian in tourist locations reflects cultural diversity oriented towards affirming the Indonesian identity rather than a specific ethnicity. In contrast, English gains prestige and popularity due to tourism activities (Paramarta, 2022).

The last monolingual sign is Javanese. The use of Javanese in monolingual signs indicates an appreciation for local identity, even though the number is very small (0.7% of 299 signs). Borobudur Temple is located in Magelang, Central Java, at the heart of the Java Island and Javanese society. The lack of Javanese-only signs can be explained by the policy of prioritising the Indonesian language in public spaces. Nevertheless, the policy may threaten the existence of local cultural identity represented by Javanese language in the public space as a result of the national language and the dominance of English as an international language (Sakhiyya & Martin-Anatias, 2023).

Furthermore, only one Javanese monolingual sign is written using Javanese script, commonly called *Carakan* or *Hanacaraka*. It is a welcome board in Javanese *Sugeng Rawuh*, written in the *Hanacaraka* script as a companion to the Roman script above it (see Figure 6). The board hangs at the front of the *pendopo* (gazebo-like building) near the ticket counter. It is made of wood, as befits a traditional Javanese ornament. The simple vernacular design fits perfectly with the *pendopo*, reinforcing the impression of traditional Javanese identity.

With regards to the bilingual signs, the combination of Indonesian and English is the most dominant, reaching 149 signs (49.8%), followed by the combination of Indonesian and Latin with 13 signs (4.3%). Lastly, there is only one English and Japanese combination (0.3%) to point out a private bank ATM. The Indonesian and English bilinguals are found in almost all types of signs, including hand washing,

information board, hand sanitising, keeping one's distance, evacuation routes, prohibitions, multipurpose signs, security checks, garbage sorting, directions, exits, inscriptions, welcoming boards, territory signs, meeting points, rubbish bins, and warnings.

Figure 6
Javanese Welcome Board

Of all the Indonesian and English bilingual signs, quite many of them are signs related to COVID-19. There are 32 signs: 11 hand washing, 4 hand sanitising, and 17 keeping one's distance signs. This is followed by direction with 29 signs, information 24 signs, and prohibition 21 signs. Examples of these signs are presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7
Indonesian and English Bilingual Signs

The COVID-19 outbreak has greatly affected many aspects of human lives, including the use of public space signs. The management of tourist attractions like the Borobudur temple was very concerned about these health issues to ensure the safety of all visitors. These signs are used as a form of management of public health, even when cases of COVID-19 had greatly decreased and there were almost no new cases at the time of data collection. The use of bilingual signs in Indonesian and English is

intended to make all visitors or tourists understand the contents of these signs and in turn, to be more vigilant and to comply with rules to minimise COVID-19 transmission.

Bilingual signs with the composition of Indonesian and Latin appear only on public signs related to plants which consist of plant information and plant labels. The presence of Latin in a tourist spot, particularly in a Buddhist temple, is a bit strange. Latin is not a religious language in Buddhism. However, the religious domain has been identified as an important domain for language maintenance (Sakhiyya & Martin-Anatias, 2023). An example would be Arabic, which is perceived to be a prestigious language among the adherents of Islam because of its religious significance (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Coluzzi & Kitade, 2015).

However, the appearance of the Latin language on the public signs of the Borobudur temple has very little to do with religious language or cultural identity. Latin is used to represent the scientific names of plants in the temple area. Plants generally have scientific names taken from Latin which are used universally. The placement of plant information and labels aims to educate tourists or visitors about plants in that area.

Public signs at the Borobudur temple do not only have signs that use one or two languages in a single sign. Some use more than two languages, commonly known as a multilingual sign. There are three groups of multilingual signs. First, the composition of Indonesian, English, and Latin, the most frequently observed with 26 signs (8.7%). The second group is a combination of Indonesian, English, and Javanese, with 8 signs (2.7%). The last group consists of seven languages: Indonesian, English, Arabic, French, Chinese, German, and Japanese, with only one sign seen at the drinking fountain.

The 26 signs on the multilingual sign in Indonesian, English, and Latin only exist on one type of sign, the plant label. The plant label sign is erected in front of the referred plant as seen in Figure 8. It listed three languages and is made of wood and cloth with a gradient green background design. The Indonesian and Latin refer to the same entity, the plant seed whereas the English complements the sign with the phrase "scan me" below the barcode, which can be scanned with a mobile phone to obtain more information about the plants.

Figure 8
A Multilingual Sign of a Plant Label

Furthermore, the second group of multilingual sign consists of Indonesian, English, and Javanese. The multilingual sign is present in building name signs, name boards, territory maps, advertisements, and territory signs. Based on the examples of data presented, Indonesian is a salient language. Salience is determined by the position of the script, font size, and readability (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021). The salience of Indonesian does not only apply to multilingual signs but also to bilingual signs (see Figures 7 and 9). Indonesian has always been positioned above other languages, both Javanese and foreign languages. On other signs where Indonesian is not placed at the very top, the font size for the language is bigger and more prominent.

Figure 9

The Indonesian-English-Javanese Multilingual Sign

The priority and use of the Indonesian language is contained in President Regulation number 63 of 2019 in section twelve, specifically articles 32 to 34. Indonesian language must be featured in public spaces, while local languages or foreign languages can be used as a complement. Therefore, the domination of the Indonesian language in all types of signs, whether monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual, is a form of consistency in enforcing the presidential regulation.

The opposite condition occurs in the Javanese, which is the local language in the area where the Borobudur temple stands. The Javanese language is not present much on the public signs of the Borobudur temple while Indonesian and foreign languages are more prominent. The Javanese language, with its script, is always displayed at the end in bilingual or multilingual signs. As a matter of fact, it is always below the foreign languages. The marginalisation of local languages is becoming increasingly conspicuous, not only in the case of Javanese but also other local languages in Indonesia. Similarly, Permanadeli et al.'s (2016) study in five major cities in Indonesia also the limited presence of local languages in public space, with their dominant usage confined to familial settings. Similarly, the Balinese language is gradually being marginalised by the intensive use of English and Indonesian (Artawa, 2016; Artawa & Sartini, 2019).

The minimal presence of the Javanese language in each type of sign illustrates the sidelining of Javanese. The absence of specific regulations governing the use of Javanese language in public signs makes the position of the language even more

marginalised and precarious. This is observed even though there exist several local regulations concerning the use of Javanese language, literature, and script, such as Regional Regulation Number 9 of 2012 and Governor Regulation Number 55 of 2014, which allude to the use of Javanese in public spaces.

The regional regulation only mentions that the use of the Indonesian language accompanied by Javanese script for naming public places and buildings is encouraged. The governor's regulation is further clarified by suggesting that Javanese script is included as a companion to the Indonesian language on street names/identities, Regional and Regency/City Government offices, and other agencies in Central Java. These regulations only bind government agencies and do not apply to the private sector. Even so, it has yet to be implemented fully and consistently.

Another interesting matter to discuss is that the Borobudur temple is a very famous Buddhist temple and a valuable representation of Buddhist architecture (Purwaningsih et al., 2021). Still, no public sign uses the Buddhist religious language, such as Pali, Sanskrit, or Tibetan. There are also no public signs representing elements of Buddhist philosophy. Even so, it does not mean that Buddhists may not worship at the Borobudur temple or there are no spiritual activities. Buddhists often carry out those activities there, but in terms of the LL, the Borobudur temple area has not yet represented elements of Buddhist identity even though the government has designated it as the centre of worship for world Buddhists.

Conclusion

Based on the studies, it can be concluded that the language contestation in Borobudur temple involves local, national, and international languages. The dominant language appearing on the public signs of Borobudur temple is Indonesian, which is present in almost all types of signs. It represents a strong national identity, being the language of unity and the *lingua franca* across Indonesia. English, as the second most prevalent language, aligns with Borobudur temple's status as an international tourist destination. The local identity is minimally represented by the Javanese language and script on some public signs, with its position being marginalised by the dominance of national and international languages.

This study provides a significant contribution to language contestation research and a perspective on multilingualism in the context of a significant cultural and religious site. It reveals the interplay between local, national, and international languages, focusing on how language use in public signs reflects broader socio-political and cultural identities. It enriches the understanding of language use in public spaces, particularly in terms of identity and cultural representation. However, the scope is limited to a single cultural site which may not fully represent the broader LL of the region, and this study only focuses on language contestation. Therefore, further research could explore other culturally significant sites for a more comprehensive understanding of LLs in varied contexts. In addition, incorporating interviews with locals and tourists can help to gain deeper insights into the perceptions and the impact of the linguistic choices. Conducting language policy studies in cultural and religious sites can be one of the means to observe the efforts made in the preservation

of local languages and religious ideology and to study the marginalisation of the local language and religious ideology of the ethnic minority.

Acknowledgment

References

Andriyanti, E. (2019). Linguistic landscape at Yogyakarta's senior high schools in multilingual context: Patterns and representation. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *9*(1), 85-97. https://doi.org/2010.17509/ijal.v9i1.13841

Artawa, K. (2016). Balinese language: A study of the marginalization of the local language in the development cultural tourism in Bali. In *Proceedings of Kongres Internasional Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia (KIMLI) 2016* (pp. 7-10). Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia & Universitas Udayana.

Artawa, K., & Sartini, N. W. (2019). Linguistic landscapes: A study of human mobility and identity change. In T. Kerr, B. Ndimande, J. Van der Putten, D. F. Johnson-Mardones, D. A. Arimbi, & Y. S. Amalia (Eds.), *Urban studies: border and mobility* (pp.165-172). CRC Press/Balkema.

Backhaus, P. (2006). *Linguistic landscapes: A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo*. De Gruyter.

Bear, L., Avieli, N., & Feldman, J. (2021). UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Shared shrines or contested sanctuaries? The case of the Buddhist temples of Luang Prabang, Laos. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, *16*(1), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2020.1759609

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic landscape and minority languages. *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism*, *3*(1), 67-80. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853599170-005

Centre of Statistics Bureau of Magelang Regency (2022). *Visitors to Candi Borobudur 2020-2022*. https://magelangkab.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/2/MzI3IzI=/pengunjung-candi-borobudur.html

Coluzzi, P., & Kitade, R. (2015). The languages of places of worship in the Kuala Lumpur area. *Linguistic Landscape. An International Journal*, *1*(3), 243-267. https://www.academia.edu/19617128/The_languages_of_places_of_worship_in_the_Kuala_Lumpur_area_A_study_on_the_religious_linguistic_landscape_in_Malaysia

Devi, M. C., & Kesumasari, D. (2020). Visitors' management in Borobudur Park, Indonesia. *Digital Press Social Sciences and Humanities*, *4*, 1-11. https://doi.org/10.29037/digitalpress.44361

Diana, P. N., Wildaniyah, T., Oktavia, T. A. T., & Ekawati, R. (2022). Landscape linguistic of Sumenep tourism destination in the new normal era. *Prosodi*, *16*(1), 70-81. https://doi.org/10.21107/prosodi.v16i1.13379

Dong, J., Peng, M., & Uddin, M. G. (2020). Mapping the linguistic landscape of the cultural heritage sites and tourist spots in Bangladesh. *Open Journal of Social*

Sciences, *8*(10), 228-244. https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2020.810015

Duizenberg, M. R. (2020). Linguistics landscape: A cross-culture perspective. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, *4*(1), 15-28. https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v4n1.17

Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.

Fedorova, K., & Nam, H. H. (2023). Multilingual islands in the monolingual sea: Foreign languages in the South Korean linguistic landscape. *Open Linguistics*, *9*(1), 1-25. https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2022-0238

Hall, E.T. (1976). *Beyond Culture*. Doubleday

Hornikx, J., & Le Pair, R. (2007). The influence of high-/low-context culture on perceived ad complexity and liking. *Journal of Global Marketing*, *30*(4), 228-237. https://doi.org/10.1080/08911762.2017.1296985

Kowal, K. (2019). The Borobudur temple: The Buddhist architecture in Indonesia. *Budownictwo i Architektura*, *18*(2), 5-19. https://doi.org/10.35784/BUD-ARCH.550

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2021). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003099857

Kusumowidagdo, A., & Rembulan, C. L. (2022). The sense of place value and the actors involved: Indigenous entrepreneurship in Indonesia. In V. Ratten (Ed.), *Entrepreneurial innovation* (pp. 71-88). Springer Nature Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-4795-6_7

Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *16*(1), 23-49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X970161002

Lu, S., Li, G., & Xu, M. (2020). The linguistic landscape in rural destinations: A case study of Hongcun village in China. *Tourism Management*, *77*, 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2019.104005

Mulyawan, I. W., Paramarta, I. M. S., & Suparwa, I. N. (2022). Language contestation at Batukau Temple, Bali (a linguistic landscape study). *Cogent Arts & Humanities, 9*(1), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2090651

Munandar, A. A. (2016). Borobudur temple: The interchange of humanity values and ancient architecture development in Southeast Asia. *International Review of Humanities Studies*, *1*(2), 148-167.

Pageh, I., Rahmawati, P. I., & Jiang, M. (2022). Ancient religious sites as tools for sustainable tourism development: An empirical study in the North of Bali. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, *10*(1), 79-92.

Paramarta, I., Artawa, K., Satyawati, M. S., Purnawati, K. W., Suputra, P. E. D., & Sudana, P. A. P. (2022). Language contestation on the virtual linguistic landscape of the government website of Bali, Indonesia. *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, *14*(3), 1-12. https://doi.org/DOI:10.21659/rupkatha.v14n3.19

Paramarta, I. M. S. (2022). Balinese language on the street signs in Singaraja Town, Bali: A linguistic landscape analysis. *Ranah: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa*, *11*(1), 120-129. https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh.v11i1.4197

Permanadeli, R., Purwo, B. K., & Sukamto, K. E. (2016). Posisi bahasa daerah, Bahasa

Indonesia, dan Bahasa Inggris di lima kota besar di Indonesia. In *Proceedings of Kongres Internasional Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia (KIMLI) 2016* (pp. 13-14). Masyarakat Linguistik Indonesia & Universitas Udayana.

Pradana, C. S., Iban, C., & Setyastama, R. (2020). Tourism impact on conservation and utilization of Borobudur temple after being declared as ten new Bali tourist destination in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Tourism and Development Studies*, *8*(2), 79-84. https://doi.org/10.21776/UB.JITODE.2020.008.02.03

Purnawati, K. W., Artawa, K., & Satyawati, M. S. (2022). Linguistic landscape of Jalan Gajah Mada heritage area in Denpasar City. *Jurnal Arbitrer*, *9*(1), 27-38. https://doi.org/10.25077/ar.9.1.27-38.2022

Purwaningsih, R., Ameliafidhoh, Z., Susanty, A., Pramono, S. N. W., & Agusti, F. (2021). Sustainability status assessment of the Borobudur temple using the Rap-Tourism with Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) approach. *E3S Web of Conferences*, *317*, 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202131705004

Rembulan, C. L., Kusumowidagdo, A., & Rahadiyanti, M. (2022). Exchanged actors behind the creation of sense of place value in indigenous tourism enterprise Karangrejo Borobudur Indonesia. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, *17*(6), 1209-1251. https://doi.org/10.1108/JEC-02-2022-0022

Rong, X. (2018). The linguistic landscape of Beijing tourism spots: A field-based sociolinguistic approach. *International Journal of Languages, Literature and Linguistics*, *4*(1), 23-28. https://doi.org/10.18178/ijlll.2018.4.1.144

Sakhiyya, Z., & Martin-Anatias, N. (2023). Reviving the language at risk: A social semiotic analysis of the linguistic landscape of three cities in Indonesia. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *20*(2), 290-307. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2020.1850737

Sheng, R., & Buchanan, J. (2019). The linguistic landscape of China: A field-based study of an ancient town's historical precinct. *Studies in Literature and Language*, *19*(1), 79-89. https://doi.org/10.3968/11172

Shohamy, E. (2012). Linguistic Landscapes and Multilingualism. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, & A. Creese (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism* (pp. 538-551). Routledge.

Shohamy, E. (2019). Linguistic landscape after a decade: An overview of themes, debates and future directions. In M. Pütz & N. Mundt (Eds.), *Expanding the Linguistic Landscape: Linguistic Diversity, Multimodality and the Use of Space as a Semiotic Resource* (pp. 25-37). De Gruyter.

Taman Wisata Candi Borobudu. (2022). *Penandatanganan Nota Kesepakatan Pemanfaatan Candi Prambanan dan Borobudur untuk Peribadatan*. https://twc.id/2022/02/11/penandatanganan-nota-kesepakatan-pemanfaatan-candi-prambanan-dan-borobudur-untuk-peribadatan/

Usmawati, P., Prasetyo, Y. E., & Fedryansyah, M. (2021). Social network and small business sustainability: A case study in Borobudur temple tourism park. *E-Journal of Tourism*, *8*(2), 229-236. https://doi.org/10.24922/eot.v8i2.77768

Wiratmoko, B. A. (2012). Pengaruh Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur terhadap kondisi kehidupan sosial ekonomi masyarakat Kabupaten Magelang 1980-1997. *Journal of Indonesian History*, *1*(2), 125-133.

Yan, X. (2019). A study of language choices in the linguistic landscape of Macao's heritage and gaming tourism. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *40*(3), 198-217. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1498853

Yendra, & Artawa, K. (2020). *Lanskap linguistik pengenalan, pemaparan, dan aplikasi*. Deepublish.

Zhang, H., & Chan, B. H. S. (2017). The shaping of a multilingual landscape by shop names: Tradition versus modernity. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *17*(1), 26-44. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2017.1261674