



Religious performance in Malang, Indonesia: Linguistic landscape on worship sign

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Abstract

The name of the worship place is closely related to history, ideology, power, and society. Naming a worship place is a symbol of how power is represented through text in public spaces. This study aims to look at an environmental print by investigating the performance of religions in Malang, Indonesia, through the use of language in the names of worship places. Data was taken through photography totaling 157 names of worship places including mosques, churches, Buddhist temples, Hindu temples, and Chinese temples. Linguistic landscape analysis was carried out to investigate information and symbolic functions. The results show that writing the name of a place of worship involves seven languages, namely Bahasa Indonesia, Arabic, English, Javanese, Sanskrit, Dutch, and Chinese. Monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual forms emerge with Bahasa Indonesia's involvement in all patterns. These findings indicate that Bahasa Indonesia has a high level of language competence in society, in addition to language policy, power, and prestige. Bahasa Indonesian is used in all places of worship. It is also found in English. These two languages combine to support the existence of religious ideologies in the region. Other languages are only able to characterize religious and ethnic identities.

Keywords: Linguistic Landscape; religious performance; bilingualism; Malang city; worship sign.

1. Introduction

Indonesia, one of the countries in Southeast Asia, is a republic with a democratic system. Indonesia has become a multiethnic country so that diversity forms multilingual, multicultural, and multi-religious. During the New Order government (1966-1998), the Indonesian government recognized five countries, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. However, after the reformation, the government added one religion, namely Confucius through Presidential Decree No.6 / 2000 and strengthened by Decree of the Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia No MA / 12/2006. The recognition and validation of these religions indicate that these religions are protected by law.

The number of Muslims in Indonesia is 207 million people. Islam is the majority that is embraced by the people of Indonesia (87.2%), Christian (6.9%), Catholics (2.9%), Hindus (1.7%), Buddhists

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(0.7%), and Confucius (0.05%). From that percentage, the need for a worship place will always adjust the number of believers.

In Malang City, Islam is embraced by Javanese, Madurese, and Arab descendants. Some Islamic organizations have grown in Malang, such as Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. The believers of religion in Malang City show that the Muslim population was large (833,858 people). The second rank is Christian (52,466 people), and Catholic (34,512 people) ranked third, Buddhists ranked fourth (4703), Hindus ranked fifth (1492), and Confucian ranked sixth (164).

Worship place is one of the things that signify the existence of a religion that can be seen from the number of worshippers. Religion is always bound by beliefs and culture. The use of language in the name of worship place is one way to know how the existence of religion and culture contest each other in public spaces to show their performance. Religion is related to God so that the name of the worship place is associated with God. When reading the name of worship place, we perceive the presence of God there so that the name is certainly not chosen easily and simply, but takes into account many aspects.

In Malang, several languages have grown along with the development of multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-religious communities. Bahasa Indonesia is the national language used in interethnic relations and becomes an oral and written language in education and government. Bahasa Indonesia is also an official language that is strengthened by regulations that make Bahasa Indonesia status has a high prestige among others. Even though the regulations were made, the daily communication of the people still used Javanese, one of the local languages. Javanese ethnic identity is a distinguishing feature from other dominant ethnic groups, namely Madurese. Madurese ethnic are considered migrants from Madura Island or several cities around eastern Malang. As migrants, Madurese also learn Javanese in communication with Javanese, but not vice versa.

Some foreign languages are also used in communication, namely English, Arabic, and Chinese. English is used in certain communications in education, especially university and schools that have English majors. Besides, English is also widely used in business and commerce, especially shop names, shopping centers, and private offices. The ability of English that can bring globalization, modernity, internationalism, and capitalization makes English a magnet in commerce.

Unlike English, Arabic is only used in limited communication between Arab descendants. This language is also a symbol of Islam. Arabic also studied in Islamic schools (madrasas) and Islamic universities. The presence of Arabic in public spaces, especially the names of schools and Islamic universities, and mosques are not dominant because Bahasa Indonesia has succeeded in replacing it. Bilingual Bahasa Indonesia and Arabic patterns were also found. The Arabic script was widely transliterated into Latin. This situation formed the perception that the Arabic and Islamic domains in Malang City had begun to be infiltrated by Bahasa Indonesia. Almost the same as Arabic, Chinese is only used by Chinese descendants. They also often use mixed code with Bahasa Indonesia. Chinese languages and scripts are only able to attend Chinese temples and restaurants even though they are bilingual.

Besides, some languages considered extinct because they do not have speakers and are no longer studied. However, there is a language still exhibited. This language is Sanskrit. Sanskrit becomes a liturgical language and a symbol of the glory of the past in Malang, where there is the Singhasari Kingdom, one of the great Javanese kingdoms. Some archaeological sites that still exist indicate the use of Sanskrit. This language is only able to be part of the history of past glory. Its present function is only an attraction for tourism and science. The use of this language is still believed to "summon" the glory of the past.

2. Literature Review

Linguistic Landscape is an effective way to see the language situation of a particular region (Coluzzi & Kitade, 2015). The Linguistic Landscape research pilot project was proposed by Landry and Bourhis (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) that the signs in the public sphere reflected the power and status of the group as seen from the language used in the public space. These markers provide a symbolic and traceable information function. However, LL focuses on texts that are displayed in public space so that they do not show the true nature of the spoken language. The frequency of the use of a particular language in public space can adequately reflect certain status and prestige than others, while marginal language also presents motifs. The presence of languages in public spaces signifies social relations and power that are built to show existence.

LL research on worship signs has not done much. Three studies have reported. LL research publications in Malaysia (Coluzzi & Kitade, 2015), Mecca, Saudi Arabia (Alsaif & Starks, 2019), and Nigeria (Inya, 2019). Some LL studies in Indonesia have also been carried out, Malang (Yannuar & Tabiati, 2016), (Sumarlam, 2020), (Sumarlam et al., 2019), (Purnanto & Ardhian, 2020), Gresik (Oktaviani, 2019), Yogyakarta (Andriyanti, 2019) (Erikha, 2018), Dili, Timor Leste (Taylor-Leech, 2012). No research in Indonesia has yet reported on the worship sign. With multi-lingual, multi-religious, and multicultural conditions, this research is interesting to see how the environmental print of every religion in Indonesia, especially in Malang City, in displaying religious symbols through worship signs.

3. Method

In this analysis, researchers collect several data (photography). Photography was taken in Malang city, Indonesia, and focused on several places of worship such as mosques, churches, Buddhist temples, Hindu temples, and Chinese temples located on the main road. The location of the main road was chosen with consideration of (1) free access to the use of the road so that the community could comfortably use it, (2) the main road is always under government control and supervision so that all the buildings it passes are supervised by local regulations, (3) the main road is the center of community activity, both education, government, business, and religion so that the contestation of texts on the main road will be interesting and diverse, especially in showing the characteristics and strength of symbols. The photography data is presented in table 1.

Table 1. Distribution and percentage of Worship place

Worship place	Religion	Amount	%
Mosque	Islam	90	58%
Church	Christian and Catholic	49	31.2%
Buddhist temple (Vihara)	Buddhist	15	9.6%
Chinese temples (klenteng)	Confucius	2	1.3%
Hindus temples (Pura)	Hindu	1	0.6%
		157	100%

Linguistic Landscape study applied to see the frequency of forms of language use in monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual patterns. Information and symbolic function analysis is applied to investigate the marking factors of text construction and language selection. The information function

is displayed to see what information is displayed in the sign. The information delivers symbol messages that are built and introduced to the public.

4. Result and Discussion

3.1 Monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual frequency

Linguistic Landscape study conducted by researchers follows the traditional analysis of Linguistic Landscape in general (Ben-Rafael, Eliezer; Shohamy, Elana; Amara, Muhammad Hasan; Trumper-Hecht, 2006), (Nikolaou, 2017), (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009), (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008), (Huebner, 2008), (Manan et al., 2015), (Coluzzi, 2017), (Coluzzi, 2016), (Bruyèl-Olmedo et al., 2014), (Martínez, 2016), (Xiao & Lee, 2019), (Hoffman, 2017), (Ghazi Khaleel Al-Na‘imat, 2015).

In this analysis, researchers conducted data collection related to the use of language, both monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. Then, the forms of the language are grouped according to their patterns. The survey results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. The monolingual pattern on the worship sign

Monolingual				
Indonesia	Englis h	Javanese	Arabic	Sanskrit
54	1	1	15	12
34.4%	0.6%	0.6%	9.6%	7.6%

From the monolingual pattern, Bahasa Indonesia shows a dominant appearance (34.4%). This dominance arises because it is supported by the emergence of Indonesian that is evenly distributed in all places of worship, including mosques, churches, Buddhist temples, Hindu temples, and Chinese temples. Monolingual Arabic also shows a significant appearance (9.6%). The dominant position of believers of Islam contributes to the large use of Arabic, especially in the name of the mosque.

Sanskrit as a liturgical language like Arabic also contributes considerably (7.6%), especially to the Buddhist temples. Although the number of Buddhists is not large, the number of Buddhist temple buildings is quite large. This indicates the Buddhist sects also developed in this city. English and Javanese lack the presence of monolingual patterns (0.6%). English only appears in texts that accompany the name of the church, while Javanese appears in the name of the mosque.

Table 3. The bilingual pattern on the worship sign

Bilingual				
Ind+ Eng	Ind+ Arab	Ind+ Sans	Ind+ Dutch	Ind+ Cina
3	60	3	1	2
1.9%	38.2%	1.9%	0.6%	1.3%

Bilingualism is important because it depends on factors of need, such as economic, social, political, geographic (Sönmez, 2019). Bilingualism arises because of ethnicity and social conditions that are

built by policies and language power relations in a region (Yıldırım, 2020). The phenomenon of bilingualism can be seen from its appearance in the names of worship places. The bilingual pattern above is still dominated by Bahasa Indonesia and Arabic. Both of these languages prove the combination of language competence, and the number of believers in Islam is very large. The presence of Bahasa Indonesia with Arabic also indicates that Muslims enjoy bilingual Bahasa Indonesia and Arabic (38.2%) than monolingual Arabic (9.6%). Some other languages are present in bilingual patterns, although their appearance is small. Bahasa Indonesia was involved in all forms of bilingualism. This contains an indication that Bahasa Indonesia is able to join other languages in the sign or precisely other languages join to Bahasa Indonesia to help popularize the existence of these languages.

Table 4. The multilingual pattern on worship sign

Multilingual		
Ind+Arab+Java	Ind+Eng+Arab	Ind+Eng+China
3	1	1
1.9%	0.6%	0.6%

Monolingual indicates that the language is confident to prove its existence. Actions displayed in public spaces can be resolved in one language. In contrast, bilingual and multilingual forms indicate joint action. The combination of the strengths of each language combined to show joint action in public spaces. The languages present in one text indicate the joining of forces to show their existence. Table 4 shows three language strengths combined in one action. Bahasa Indonesia+Arabic+Javanese form of multilingual is more dominant than others. The emergence of Bahasa Indonesia+Arabic+Javanese indicates the strength of language competence to accompany Islam in the Javanese ethnic. Bahasa Indonesia also carries a language policy mission. The presence of English in the form of Bahasa Indonesia+English+Arabic signifies language competence and language policy encouraging the internationalization of Islam. As a tourist and cultural city, Malang is often visited by foreign tourists. English is a bridge for international and local understanding.

Table 5. Language involvement in forms and patterns

Language	Form	Pattern	Amount
Bahasa Indonesia	Monolingual	Indonesia	1
	Bilingual	Ind+Eng, Ind+Arab Ind+Sans, Ind+China	4
	Multilingual	Ind+Arab+Java Ind+Eng+Arab Ind+Eng+China	3
English	Monolingual	English	1
	Bilingual	Ind+English	1
	Multilingual	Ind+Eng+Arab Ind+Eng+China	2
Arabic	Monolingual	Arabic	1
	Bilingual	Indonesia+Arabic	1
	Multi lingual	Ind+Arab+Java Ind+Eng+Java	2
Javanese	Monolingual	Javanese	1

	Multilingual	Ind+Arab+Java	1
Sanskrit	Mono	Sanskrit	1
	lingual		
	Bilingual	Indonesia+Sanskrit	1
Dutch	Bilingual	Indonesia+Dutch	1
China	Bilingual	Indonesia+China	1
	Multilingual	Indonesia+English+China	1
Amount			23

From this survey (table 4), Bahasa Indonesia is a language that is often used in worship signs. Whereas Arabic, Sanskrit, Dutch, and Chinese are only used for certain religious places of worship. This indicates that Bahasa Indonesia has a high level of flexibility. With its power and prestige, this language is used by other languages to accompany the power and prestige of Bahasa Indonesia.

3.2 The informational and symbolic function behind worship sign

Linguistic Landscape sign provides its function according to the characteristics of the object or its domain. Places of worship used to carry out ritual activities, religious, social activities, and education. These activities are at least contained in a signboard so that the public can see and observe the activities carried out.

3.2.1 Information function in worship sign

From the survey, researchers found six types of information. This information appears in signs on the signboard of places of worship, namely (1) identity (2) owner (3) Islamic sector organization, (4) warning, (5) promotion, (6) location marker/address. The names of places of worship were taken from the surah in the Koran, Muslim leaders, heroes, and Islamic quotes. There is a mosque name that resembles the name of a mosque in the City of Medina, Saudi Arabia.



Figure 1. The mosque name which replicates the Quba Mosque name in Medina

The Quba Mosque in Medina was the first mosque built by the Prophet Muhammad. With its history and the virtues of worship at the Quba mosque, this mosque has a very spiritual appeal. In Malang, there is one mosque whose name used the name Quba (figure 1), which is *Masjid Besar Quba* (Mosque of Quba). The naming intended to replicate the Quba mosque in Medina so that expected to attract worshippers to enjoy the sensation of worship like in the Quba Mosque, Medina. To supports historical and spiritual strength, the Arabic script is used to accompany Bahasa Indonesia.

Some worship places attach the name of the institution or foundation. This gives information that the place of worship is owned by a particular institution or foundation.



Figure 2. Al Ikhlas mosque sign

Figure 2 shows that the mosque is owned by the Al-Ikhlas foundation. Aside from being a spiritual institution, *Yayasan Masjid Al-Ikhlas* (Al Ikhlas Foundation) also develops education, namely *Tempat Pendidikan Alquran* (Quran Education Place) which is named *Taman Buah-Buahan Malang* (Malang Fruits Garden). This indicates there are synchronization and mutual support between religion and

Christianity in Indonesia has sects, namely Lutheran (Lutherans), *Kharismatik* (Charismatics), *Injili* (Evangelicals), and *Bala Keselamatan* (Salvation). The religion of Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java, also developed Islamic organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. Islamic organizations certainly influence people's perceptions. The information displayed in the sign will support the perception of the community to decide whether to become worshipers or not.



Figure 3. The name of a mosque with the Islamic organization

KEGIATAN IBADAH	HARI	JAM
KEBAKTIAN UMUM PAGI	MINGGU	07.00
KEBAKTIAN UMUM SORE	MINGGU	17.00
SEKOLAH MINGGU	MINGGU	07.00
KEBAKTIAN PEMUDA / I	SABTU	18.00
KEBAKTIAN REMAJA	SABTU	17.00
DOA & PUASA	KAMIS	09.00

• Keputusan Walikota Malang, Nomor 43 tahun 2005

Figure 4. The name of the church with sect information.

The Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) attachment to the Baitul Makmur Mosque (figure 3) informed the public that the mosque was affiliated with NU. In general, mosques are owned by individuals, non-

governmental organizations, private, and government institutions. The da'wah system is adopted from the ideology of Islamic organizations.

Figure 4 shows that Evangelical information is included in the church's signboard. If people see the sign, information about the church and the sect will be known. The schedule of activities written on the signboard also functions as information on the activities held so that the community can check. This can support people's perception of the church.

Places of worship can also be a promotional medium. Promotion through religion is a more effective promotion model. The promotion has the aim of disseminating information about a product to potential customers, getting new customers, increasing sales and profits, differentiating and favoring products compared to competitors, shaping product images, and changing consumer behavior and opinions about the product.



Figure 5. promotion through religion

Figure 5 contains promotional elements. The Abu Dzar Al Ghifari Mosque is a mosque located in front of the Griya Shanta housing complex. The name of the mosque gets additional information, Griya Shanta. From this sign, there is an element of the promotion of housing. This writing model aims to form an image (branding). The housing developer intends to instill the image that the complex that was built has an Islamic nuance in the presence of the mosque. This strategy is effective in attracting the Muslim market. With the majority of the population of Malang City being Muslim and also the number of urban Muslim migrants, the need for houses with Islamic concepts is very selling. Many developers are competing to sell Islamic housing with the use of Sharia and Islam. For consumers, the home is not only a place to live but can also support a good spiritual experience for themselves, their families, and their environment. Several strategies have been carried out by the developer. One of them is by setting up a mosque in front of a housing complex to support the concept of Islamic housing offered.

The name of the mosque can also use the name of the street where the mosque is located. The naming is also not arbitrary, depending on the name of the road associated with Islam.



Figure 6. Street name use as mosque name

Figure 6 is an example of the location marker where Imam Bonjol Mosque is located on Jalan Imam Bonjol Malang. With the vast area of Jalan Imam Bonjol, Imam Bonjol Mosque can be a location marker. For example, when someone asks about a place in the Imam Bonjol Street area, information can be given by referring to the area near the Imam Bonjol Mosque (if the area is close to the mosque).

Other functions in the sign can refer to prohibited information. Prohibition signs are useful to limit activities that are dangerous, damaging, and detrimental to others. In a prohibition sign, the sign author provides information about the limits of the activities that are allowed and not. The prohibition arises because of repeated violations so that the signboard appears as an affirmation.



Figure 7. Prohibition sign

The prohibition sign (figure 7) appears in two languages, English and Bahasa Indonesia. The prohibition sign indicates that people who visit the Hindu temple often commit violations to reduce the devotion of worshiping, damaging the temple, or harming others.

The text was created as a target reader. If we observe the language used (English-Bahasa Indonesia), visitors come from abroad and domestic. However, if digging from semiotics, the Bahasa Indonesia sign uses red (see picture). Unlike the English sign that uses black. This situation has the intention that violations are often committed by domestic visitors. The text appears as a strict prohibition so that visitors do not commit violations in the future.

3.2.2 Symbolic function in worship place sign

Symbolic function analysis refers to the status of language that leads to the analysis of language ideology. In worship signs, several languages are used, namely Bahasa Indonesia, Arabic, English,

Javanese, Chinese, Dutch, Sanskrit. The seven languages are classified into four types presented in the table below.

Table 6. Language status in Malang City, Indonesia

Status	Language
Nasional Language	Bahasa Indonesia
Foreign language	English, Chinese, Dutch
Local language	Javanese
Liturgy language	Arabic, Sanskrit

These languages appear and contest with other languages in the public sphere. With the power of domains, languages show off their ideology. This condition is inseparable from the frequency of its appearance in public spaces.

3.2.2.1 Bahasa Indonesia as a symbol of language competence

The texts in the public sphere connected with language policy, language planning, language regime, and language ideology (Gerst & Klessmann, 2015). Language policies that are made and implemented for a long time contribute to building language competence. This can be seen from the dominance of Bahasa Indonesia in public spaces, especially worship signs. Texts that symbolize religious characteristics are less visible and Bahasa Indonesia easily replaces them.

Bahasa Indonesia is the national language. However, in this situation, Bahasa Indonesia plays a role in showing aspects of its acceptance in the community. Bahasa Indonesia is involved in all forms and patterns of language use in places of worship, both monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. This fact indicates that people accepted this language to be used in naming their places of worship. Society has strong language competence to use it in their daily lives. Bahasa Indonesia is instrumental in creating religious harmony. In addition, religious identity is still maintained by the emergence of other languages and scripts.

3.2.2.2 English as an international and diaspora symbol

English appears to carry international missions (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009). Every time English is used, it indicates that internationalization is happening within the institution. The spread of English in public life becomes a medium for expressing a passion for Western culture, especially the upper classes (A. H. Al-Athwary, 2017). However, there are other things to consider. The emergence of English can be used to show the symbol of the diaspora through religion.



Figure 8. English, church, and diaspora

Betani Church (figure 8) is a church that adopts the Kharismatik sect. This sect flow is dominated by the diaspora. From this sociolinguistic situation, English is used in mixing codes in the Bethani church in both the sermon and the communication of the worshippers. The appearance of English in the name of the church shows an ideological value, which is to show the strength of the diaspora in the number of worshippers and Kharismatik currents to be popularized. In addition to the value of internationality that is achieved by the use of English, it also accommodates the sociolinguistic situation of worshippers dominated by the diaspora.

The major religions in Indonesia were brought and spread by migrants. Islam entered Indonesia around the 7th century AD, which was pioneered by Gujarat traders, India (Hidayatullah, 2014). Christianity came in the period of Dutch colonialism around the 16th century AD (Intan, 2015). The Hindu-Buddhist era was present in Indonesia around the 4-5 century AD (Nastiti, 2008). The presence of Christianity marks a new religion that reflects globalization. Therefore, English is present as a marker of sophistication and globalization (Inya, 2019). Over time, Christianity marked the arrival of the diaspora in Indonesia.

3.2.2.3 Chinese: Ethnic, religious, and cultural existence

The Chinese population experienced a massive migration in 1850 which was triggered by economic and political problems in the country (A. Dahana, 2000). They migrate abroad, especially in Southeast Asian countries which have a population shortage and have better natural conditions and economic prospects. The Chinese came to Indonesia mostly from southern provinces, such as Guandong, Fujian, Guangxi with the Hokkien, Teochiu, Cantonese, Hakka, and Hainan tribes. In Indonesia, they work as unskilled laborers, then increase to become traders, educated workers, and tax collectors. With a long process, the ethnic Chinese controlled the economy.

Chinese ethnicity tends to maintain religion and culture, namely Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. In Malang, this social condition continues. Buddhist temples and Chinese temples are the basis for spiritual needs and cultural development. Some ethnic Chinese Christians also develop Christianity and Chinese culture in the church.

Chinese is a symbol that gives economic benefits (Xu & Wei, 2018). Besides, the Chinese also contribute to marking Chinese culture. Chinese characters displayed in public spaces show the continuity of the symbolism of traditional Chinese culture (Lou, 2007). The appearance of the Han script both in the pagoda is another form that marks the symbol of existence, namely ethnicity, and religion. The texts containing the Han script show how the ethnic Chinese maintain their ancestors and culture in the overseas area. As mentioned above, the Chinese tribes who migrated to Indonesia were more interested in taking care of the economy than in other fields. With economic power, they can show off the existence of their tribes and ethnicities and then continue to introduce their culture.



Figure 9. Han script in a Chinese temple

Like the temple of Eng An Kiong. Eng An Kiong means the palace of salvation in the eternity of God. This temple was founded in 1825 which is an offering to the God of the Earth Kongco Hok Tek Cing Sien and is still maintained today. The use of the Han script there wants to preach that ethnic Chinese have existed since ancient times and existed until now. The Han script is also a symbol of the existence of ethnic Chinese religion and culture.

3.2.2.4 Dutch: Between colonialism, religion, and preservation of history

Dutch does not appear in many public spaces in Malang. Only a few street names (Purnanto & Ardhian, 2020), names of buildings or historic sites, and some classic churches that still preserved as historical tourism in the concept of heritage tourism. This language is also not used in speech, in all aspects. This language is also not studied in formal schools at all levels. So, Dutch is the language of the museum where its function is only to link history with the present/future.

The appearance of the Dutch in the name of the Dutch heritage church is historical evidence and a symbol that Christianity brought by the colonialists is still maintained, especially for certain sects. Amid existing Christian religious sects, the preservation of the Dutch language is one way to show the existence of the sect. Christianity is a religion that was brought by the Dutch colonial to Indonesia. The religion was carried out with two missions, namely to accommodate the Dutch spiritual activities in Malang and spread Christianity in which Islam had already arisen before.

As the era of colonialism ended, these sites were still preserved. Even, these sites are symbols where religion can become a historical heritage. This is also seen in Islam where ancient mosques are still preserved both in name and architecture. Preservation of history is an important value in showing the strength of a particular group. In addition, historical preservation is also an economic commodity through tourism. The use of certain languages in public spaces is one way to offer tourism as a tendency in economic commodities (Ruzaita, 2017).

3.2.2.5 Javanese: Between traditional and modernity

The locality is not always an ancient and traditional symbol. Javanese is the local language used by the majority of the people of Malang with the East Javanese dialect. The Javanese language is also a traditional language where this language is passed down from generation to generation and is still used today. However, the use of Javanese in naming places of worship, especially mosques, is actually able to present a symbol of modernity.



Figure 10. Javanese in mosque name

Language can be an ethnic visual index (Leeman & Modan, 2010). The visualization of Javanese in the mosque picture above (Figure 10) shows the existence of Javanese ethnicity. In fact, the architectural model of the mosque is far from Javanese, but the name of the mosque in Javanese can be a visual feature of Javanese ethnicity.

Javanese is no longer considered an ancient language. Javanese is able to enter into the joints of modernity which substitutes the role of Arabic. *Cahyaningati* (light in the hearth) is the name of a mosque with modern architecture (see picture). *Cahyaningati* is a substitution phrase from An-Nur (light) where the second name is more popularly used in mosques in general. This substitution step with modern architecture is a symbol where locality is able to 'call' modernity. Local people who are predominantly ethnic Javanese are becoming increasingly aware that Javanese can take part in the arena of modernity.



Figure 11. Multilingual Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, and Javanese

Figure 11 has a similarity in meaning with Figure 10. *Noor* and *Cahyaningati* refer to the same meaning, which is light. In these two pictures, there are two things that can be analyzed, namely the use of Javanese and the meaning of light. From the two names in the picture above, the mosque is a symbol of Javanese Muslims to look for the light of Islam. If the *Cahyaningati* mosque (Javanese) has modern architecture and the Noor mosque (Arabic) has a Javanese mosque architecture in general, Javanese can be a 'bridge' between traditional and modernity.

The Javanese language constructs symbols of traditionality and archaicism (Widiyanto, 2019). This opinion broadened by the findings above that the Javanese language can also be a means of modernity. With a large number of ethnicities with high social and educational levels in general, Javanese can be a means to build traditional solidarity and modernity.

3.2.2.6 Arabic: Islamic symbols and language competence in 'intersections'

The use of Arabic in public spaces shows the character of Islam and the surrounding community (Fakhiroh & Rohmah, 2018). Arabic is the language of the Holy Qur'an. Arabic is a sacred language where meaning may not be replaced by other languages because it can change its essence. That is the reason why the Arabic lexicon is often used in naming mosques. The existence of Arabic texts marked the presence of Islam in the region as well as marking the majority of the Islamic religion adopted by the surrounding community.

The mosque naming system in Indonesia, especially in Malang City, follows three patterns, namely (1) Arabic script + Arabic lexicon, (2) Latin script + Arabic lexicon, and (3) Latin script + Bahasa Indonesian lexicon.

Tabel 7. Frequency of the use of language forms in mosques

Monolingual			Bilingual	Multilingual	
Ind	Java	Arab	Ind+Arab	Ind+Arab+Java	Ind+Eng+Arab
10	1	15	60	3	1
11%	1.1%	16.7%	66.7%	3.3%	1.1%

From table 11, Arabic (script and/or lexicon) is involved in 79 data (87.8%). This situation indicates that Arabic has become an important language in conveying religious messages. Islamic symbols, such as monotheism, holy verses of the Koran, Islamic figures, and Islamic expressions, are played in educating and instilling the love of worshipers towards their religion. Although Arabic is studied and used in a limited domain (madrastas, Islamic boarding schools, Islamic universities), this does not rule out the use of Arabic and its script in massive communication in society. With the majority of Muslims, the use of Arabic is not only considered to understand its meaning, but rather the strengthening of Islamic symbols.

**Figure 12.** Mosque with Arabic script

The name of the mosque above (Figure 12) focused on the target reader who can read Arabic script. The picture above is very minimal instructions in which Latin transliteration is generally added. The text forces the target reader to know Arabic literacy. Another thing is that there is no translation from Arabic to Bahasa Indonesia. This condition shows that aspects of language competency are not the main consideration. The author considers the Arabic script to be more important than literacy and understanding of meaning. This situation indicates that Arabic has become a liturgical language of the Islamic religion whose presence is irreplaceable regardless of the competency aspects of its target readers.

3.2.2.7 Sanskrit: Manifestation of Buddhist liturgical symbols

Like Arabic, Sanskrit becomes a liturgical language for Buddhists. The difference is that Arabic is still studied and used in a limited domain, whereas Sanskrit is used in Tripitaka. The Tripitaka has written in two scripts, the Pali and the Sanskrit s. However, the more popular Sanskrit script is used in Indonesia.

As a liturgical language, Sanskrit does not have speakers. This language is used in the scriptures in a limited domain. Sanskrit language competence is found in some people who study the scriptures. That was the reason the writer of the Buddhist temples did not use Sanskrit or ancient Javanese. With

the use of transliteration into Latin in the writing of Buddhist temples, this language only became a symbol of Buddhism.

5. Conclusion

The dominance of Bahasa Indonesia and Arabic in the names of worship places indicates that demographic factors, sociolinguistic conditions, and language competence in Malang put these two languages in superiority. This finding indicates that the Javanese ethnic in Malang City is identical with Islam, while other ethnicities are identical with non-Islam. Implicitly, there is a strong relationship between Islamic and Javanese cultures that are mutually adapting. Bahasa Indonesia is present as a mediator in the process of developing adaptations between Islamic and Javanese cultures. The use of language on the Linguistic Landscape sign for the name of the worship place offers information to the public, such as the identity, owner, sect, warning sign, and location. But some of the information provided actually leads to covert promotion.

The analysis also found the play of symbols, such as religion-culture, diaspora, international-modernity, liturgy, and preservation of history. Some data shows the paradox in which the Javanese language is able to show the value of modernization in its task as a local language. Javanese is also able to replace the role of Arabic. That is, the use of language in places of worship is not always rigid and strict.

The Linguistic Landscape texts do not state that the Top-Down pattern takes place in language policy interventions in this naming system. Bottom-Up dominates the emergence that signifies the creativity of the community with all components of its motives taking place openly. This discourse proves that religious affairs become personal matters where government power has not played much. Simultaneously, this is evidence that religion is not a source of conflict in an environment of diversity, especially in Malang City.

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