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POWER AND BRANDING: LANGUAGE COMMODIFICATION OF TOURIST RESORTS

KUASA DAN JENAMA: KOMODIFIKASI BAHASA KAWASAN WISATA

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Abstract

Exploitation of language in commercial sector is inexorable. Language does not only work to articulate meaning but also to send and build image. In this sense, language has been commodified. This fact becomes more obvious in tourism industry in which language plays vital role to construct brand as well as to reach targeted profit. Based on these premises, this research aims to unravel the phenomenon of language commodification in Baturraden Tourism areas within the framework of Linguistic Landscape. The descriptive qualitative research was conducted through observation, documentation and interview. Data in the forms of photographs were gathered to be analyzed and interpreted to capture the language commodification manifested in the selected areas. The analysis shows that language commodification is materialized through the use of Indonesian, English and Javanese. English serves a dominant language in this tourism industry. Most tourist destinations prefer using English to Indonesian as national language to label their place. The issue of branding therefore becomes obvious to elevate the market and effectively attract the visitors. English, rather than functions as referential meaning, serves economic functions. Here, English is more powerful than other given languages. English offers higher prestige, modernity and promising brand to be beneficial for this industry. Then, Javanese is maintained to introduce the history or local legend as well as to bring the sense of authenticity.

Keywords: language commodification, branding, power, linguistic landscape, tourism

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengurai fenomena komodifikasi bahasa yang ditemukan di kawasan wisata Baturraden dalam lingkup kajian lanskap linguistik. Penelitian ini bersifat deskriptif kualitatif yang dilakukan melalui observasi di lapangan, dokumentasi dan wawancara. Data dikumpulkan untuk dianalisis dan diinterpretasikan guna menangkap komodifikasi bahasa yang terjadi di kawasan tersebut. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa komodifikasi bahasa direalisasikan melalui penggunaan bahasa

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Indonesia, Inggris dan sebagian Jawa. Bahasa Inggris berperan sebagai bahasa dominan yang paling banyak dipakai di industri pariwisata ini. Sebagian besar pelaku tempat wisata lebih memilih menggunakan bahasa Inggris untuk menamai tempat dibandingkan bahasa Indonesia yang merupakan bahasa nasional. Isu branding menjadi kentara untuk menaikkan pasar dan secara efektif menarik pengunjung. Di sini, bahasa Inggris tidak berfungsi secara referensial melainkan ekonomi. Bahasa Inggris di sini lebih berkuasa daripada bahasa lain yang ada karena menawarkan prestise, modernitas dan jenama yang lebih menjanjikan untuk keuntungan yang lebih besar. Kemudian, Bahasa Jawa tetap dipertahankan untuk memperkenalkan sejarah atau legenda setempats serta untuk mengusung tema otentisitas.

Kata kunci: komodifikasi bahasa, jenama, kuasa, lanskap linguistik, pariwisata

Introduction

Commodification has come to Sociolinguistics terms nowadays particularly when it comes to linguistic landscape. Even, there is an international trend towards the commodification of culture and the commercialization of public space that has been emerging since in the late 20th and the early 21st centuries (Leeman & Modan, 2010). This fact brings a enormous impact on urban development and Linguistics Landscape. The term commodification usually refers to a process by and through which objects previously unsalable becoming salable. More specifically, Heller et al. (2014) provide an explanation of commodification as the expression used to describe how specific object or process in rendered available for conventional exchange in the market. It means that the objects shift from use value to exchange value. In accordance with that, (Cohen, 1988) stated that commodification is a process that objects and activities are initially evaluated according to their exchange values and categorized as goods and services in commercial context. Both view that the shift of value of an object in economic context construe the concept of commodification.

Meanwhile, in a broader sense, Watson & Kopachevsky (1994) propose that commodification is an all-pervasive feature of modern capitalism and it includes standardization of products, pleasure and experiences. This process reckons consciousness which in turn causes the further spread of modern capitalism. Furthermore, Block (2017, p. 294) stated that language commodification was about a move "from the valuing of a particular language for its basic communicative function and more emotive associations- national identity, cultural identity, the authentic spirit of people and so on - to valuing it for what it means in the globalized, deregulated, hyper competitive, post industrial 'new work order' in which we now live…". The value of language here does not only function as referential entity but also symbolic entity. In short, commodification is the expression used to describe how a particular object or process passes down available for conventional exchange in the market. In other words, it is the process where language previously taken as cultural product and mainly viewed for its use in communication then shift to a part of material product which has exchange value for business or market issue.

There are several areas to which commodification of language is closely linked. Those areas include tourism, translation, marketing and language teaching which have

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been around for a long time and had particular forms and values as product of modernity (Heller, 2010, pp. 107–108). In regards to this, the current research tries to capture the language commodification of Banyumas tourism destinations particularly Baturraden area. The area was selected since it apparently becomes the centre of tourism industry in this growing city. Offering a magnificent mountainous landscape in the slopes of Mount Slamet, it renowned for local tourism with the attraction of hot spring, tracking and camping. These tourist destinations becomes popular over time. According to The Central Statistics Agency (BPS) of Banyumas, the number of both domestic and foreign visitors since 2016 has been significantly increasing (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021). The fact that not only do local but also international visitors who enjoy the site brings consequence in terms that the use of international language has to be taken into consideration. Besides, the necessity in building positive brand is also another thing to take account of. In other words, as the effect of global market demand, those tourism sites welcome this shift by making use of languages to support their profit-oriented goals particularly in labeling and creating positive brand.

Language as a material product is evidently seen in relation to power and branding. The proprietors exploit language to support their business. Language in tourism marketing context tends to be chosen for its higher profit effect. Which language that is more effective and profitable to grasp the visitors and customers would be highly selected by this dominantly profit-oriented business activity. In this sense, language is powerful when it is able to lift up the pride as well as profit of this industry.

The phenomenon of language commodification so far has been explored by several research. Dewi (2017) investigated the commodification of English through the use of English mixing within Indonesian magazine advertisements. She examined the process of commodification by observing the roles of English mixing based on textual position within the advertisements and its interrelation to the new global economy. The study reveals that English mixing is used by local companies to create a more global advertisements yet locally targeted audience. Then, Erikha (2018) investigated the name of the main streets around the Yogyakarta Palace to reveal their informational as well as symbolic function. His findings proved that informational function refers to geographical places and to the social space of the Javanese presented as a single ethnic group. Meanwhile, the orthographic use of hanacaraka asserts language boundary. He also proved that the second one, symbolic function conveys a collection of meanings, portrays Javanese as an ethnic group, designates Javanese as the native language of the local people, signifies a strong link between governmental powers and palace naming practices and serves economic purposes to attract tourists to visit Yogyakarta. Similarly, Aribowo et al., (2018) described the phenomenon of linguistic landscape in Surakarta. Multilingualism of this city is represented by Indonesian, English, Javanese, Arabic and Chinese which are mutually side by side and easily found in public places. The study reveals the language behavior of the local people. Despite the fact that foreign languages are commonly found the public places, it does not prove that they are the local people are good at. Instead, the use of foreign languages in this city landscape is intended for economic and business purposes.

Meanwhile, the issue of language commodification in global economy has drawn overseas scholar's attention. Wee (2008) examined this phenomenon in Singapore by exploring the factors motivating the government shifts towards a discourse of linguistic instrumentalism on of which is language commodification. Similarly, Tan & W.;Rubdy,

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(2008) discussed the commodification of the English language by focusing on the debate and comments that arose from a suggestion made by former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad in 2002. He examined the extent of English rhetoric as an economic resource is surfaced or assumed and whether alternative reasons are pushed aside or attenuated. It is apparent that this intriguing issue is worth exploring and discussing. A wider realm expects to be investigated including tourism as one of the considerable areas to mark a global economy nowadays. In the mean time, only few studies have been conducted in Indonesian tourism particularly those who explore language issues.

From this very point, this current study aims to investigate the commodification of language of tourist resorts situated in Baturraden Purwokerto in terms of how the use of languages in the areas and how language commodification are materialized in relation to power and branding. From this research, it enables to map out the language phenomenon in this growing city of Central Java.

Method

Quoting Landry & Bourhis (in Barni & Bagna, 2009), the presence of languages in a given territory can be described by observing their traces within the social space. However, their presence is often overlooked and leaving a massive domain of communication to investigate. In response to this, the current research tries to unearth the phenomenon of language commodification in tourism domain by using the descriptive qualitative method. Wolcott in (Creswell, 2009) agreed that qualitative research develops a description of a setting, analyzes data for categories and makes an interpretation through a personal point of view that is based on one historical and cultural background. Similarly, the data were gathered, identified, classified and interpreted to seek the answer in accordance with the objectives of the research.

The data were in the form of photographs gathered in the field. This research selected popular tourist areas in Baturraden by assuming it is the centre of tourism business activities in Banyumas. The public signage was collected from the six prominent tourist attractions including Lokawisata Baturraden, Baturraden Adventure Forest, The Village, The Forest Island, Small World, Limpakuwus Pines Forest, and Caping Park. In addition, this research involved secondary data in terms of given photographs sourced from the several sites in the internet referring to those selected areas.

The data were in the form of any written signs or text captured in those areas. Then the data were classified based on the language use whether it was Indonesian, English or Javanese. Thorough observation along with interview with related parties were also carried out to ensure the data reliability.

Result and Discussion

This section presents the findings of the research in terms of the language use to build language commodification in Baturraden Tourist Resort. After that, the discussion explaining how language commodification are concreted.

From the data gathered in the field, the management of the resorts use Indonesian, English and Javanese and even Arabic respectively. Below is presented the distribution of the language use in Baturraden tourist destinations.

Language	Frequency	Percentage
English only	16	32%
Indonesian only	4	8%
English and Indonesian	18	36%
Indonesian and Javanese	2	4%
English, Indonesian, Javanese	6	12%
English, Indonesian and Arabic	4	8%
Σ	50	100%

Table 1 Language use in Paturradon Tourist Peserts

The data shows that English significantly dominates the use of both naming and information in the Baturraden tourist area. Even, several sites set the place name in English deliberately rather than other languages. Thus the use of monolingual signs in this tourism business is strongly dominated by English language. In contrast, out of fifty signs gathered, the use of Indonesian language is only four or 8%. Meanwhile, neither monolingual signs of Javanese nor Arabic is found. Then bilingual signs are dominated by English and Indonesian found as many as 18 or 36% of the total signs while Indonesian Javanese only occupies 2 sign or 4% of the data. This steep difference proves that the English-Indonesian signs are preferred rather than Indonesian-Javanese language. The last, multilingual signs involve English, Indonesian, Javanese and Arabic where English as the world language is obviously used in this type. From the data distribution, it indicates that the written signs in this centre of tourism industry are dominated by English.

In the mean time, monolingual sign is dominated by English. The significant percentage comparing to other demonstrates that most areas in Baturraden tourist resorts prefer using this international language to attract the visitors. The use of English is commonly found in site name, informational board and promotional website. For instance, some site names using English are The Village, Baturraden Adventure Forest, Gallery Water Karangmangu and Small Garden. All those resorts offer a wide variety of pleasure activities such as enjoying the scenic view of Mount Slamet, more physical activities or outbound for family and company and experiencing instagrammable spots for youth and selfie lovers. By using this global language, the owners expect a more promising visitors to come and spend their time as well as money for more profit.

Next, the use of Indonesian language despite the smaller scope in the findings indicates that this national language is less popular in tourism purposes. Its use seemingly is aimed to accommodate local visitors to be more understandable particularly instructional-related signs. This monolingual sign is commonly found in site name, informational board and other public signs in some areas. Among them are Lokawisata Baturraden dan Limpakuwus Pines Forest. The first area is the most popular spot in Purwokerto where provides several pleasing activities from enjoying the lovely and attractive view, hot water spring, outbond and calung (traditional music orchestra). In some spots, the instructional and directional signs are available in Indonesian such as Buang sampah pada tempatnya (No littering), harap antri (Please queue), pancuran 7 (water spring 7) and pintu keluar (exit). Those signs are provided by the management to ensure that the visitors are well-informed.

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Then the second place is a panoramic natural pines forest which offers various spots to enjoy including suspension bridge, flying fox, spider web, ATV (All-Terrain Vehicles) and other attractions. This resort is popular among young visitors for its selfiable spots and somehow laughable sign boards as seen in the following figure.



Figure 1. One of public signs of Limpakuwus Pines forest

Here, the management promotes a clean tourist resort and encourages the visitors to keep the environment clean. To make sure that the visitors put trash items such food wrappers, plastic beverage bottles and grocery bags in the right place, they designed the sign humorously. It says Kalo pacarmu buang sampah sembarangan, putusin saja. Jaga kebersihan aja nggak bisa apalagi jagain kamu yang berharga (Literally: If your boy/girlfriend does littering, just break his or her up. How can you expect him or her to protect you when he/she failed to do so). Assumingly, this less imposing instruction would be more effective to promote cleanliness in tourist areas. Another monolingual sign is provided below.

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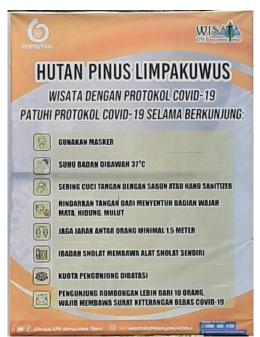


Figure 2. A public sign of Limpakuwus Pines Forest

The second is bilingual signs namely English-Indonesian and Indonesian- Javanese. The English-Indonesian signs are the most dominating signs found in the field. Most tourist resorts in Baturraden provide themselves with this bilingual information, as shown in sign Taman Miniatur Dunia: Small World which is located in Ketenger, Baturraden. This park comes up with miniatures of iconic buildings over the world, such as: Dutch windmill, the French Eiffel Tower, the Merlion statue, Sakura Flower Garden, White House, Tower of Pisa and Wall of China. Visitors can feel the sensation of travelling around the world by visiting this place. In this context, using English signs will add value to this tourism site. English language here reassures the visitors about the reputation and quality of this site. Moreover, it also provides an indication of the site's social standing. With the diversity of language, one tourism site can reflect on its position in society and even, it can be seen as the privileged in society (Keraf in Rabiah, 2012).



Figure 3. Public sign in Taman Miniatur Dunia:Small World (Source: http://www.liriapro.com/2018/06/pengalaman-ke-small-world-taman.html)

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Another bilingual sign was found in Lokawisata Baturraden. This tourism site is popular with its natural view. As shown in figure 3, the sign board in Lokawisata Baturraden maintain Javanese terms Pancuran 7 (Seven Springs), Pancuran 3 (Three springs), and petilasan (monument). Pancuran 7 and Pancuran 3 are hot springs located on the slopes of Mount Slamet in Baturraden, Banyumas. According to a local legend, it was discovered by a Muslim missionary known as Mbah Atas Angin. This place is famous for its sulfuric waters which are considered to have healing properties. Pancuran 3 is the closest hot spring located 500 meters from entrance gate of Lokawisata Baturraden. Meanwhile, the distance to Pancuran 7 is about 2.5 km from the gate. The waters contain sulfur and other minerals to treat skin conditions and rheumatism. The sulfuric waters pour down the slope and over the centuries have left a mineral deposit. Javanese terms pancuran (spring) and petilasan (monument) are maintained to introduce the history of local legend. Javanese language is not only part of local culture but also perceived as cultural heritage that must be preserved against the global influences. Local culture is a worthy resource for a community to promote that becomes the product for sale. Local culture is presented through different lifestyles of the locals in multiple areas through their traditions, inventions, and cultural displays (Meekaew & Srisontisuk, 2012).



Figure 4.a. Bilingual sign in Lokawisata Baturraden (Source: https://foursquare.com/v/baturraden/4c89e7a9770fb60c07f2cdc3/photos)

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Figure 4.b. bilingual sign in Limpakuwus Pines Forest

The third is multilingual signs including English-Indonesian-Javanese and English, Indonesian and Arabic. Banyumas people, as those of other society in many areas across Indonesia are speakers of local language (Javanese) and national language (Indonesian). In addition, they learn foreign language, especially English. As English is an international language, it is a compulsory subject at school. This multilingual situation is clearly represented by the signs found in tourism sites as seen in Figure 4 and 5.



Figure 5. Multilingual sign in Limpakuwus Pines Forest (source: https://serbaserbiadmin.blogspot.com/2019/12/hutan-pinus-limpakuwus.html)

The sign board uses English term camping ground, Indonesian term blok but still maintain Javanese terms like: Citrayuda, Arjuna, and Bima. Citrayuda is one of the hundred prominent Kurawa families. He was the son of Prabu Drestarasta, the king of Astina and Dewi Gandari, the daughter of Prabu Gandara and Dewi Gandini from the country of Gandaradesa. He was known for his carefree, resourceful, and critical characters. Then, Arjuna and Bima are members of Pandawa brothers. They were the main characters in the epic Mahabharata. They were the sons of Pandu, the king of Hastinapura. The Javanese terms are chosen to introduce the local Legend to the visitors.

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The next multilingual sign is found in The Forest Island, the tourist site in Baturraden district that offers a swimming pool with the beautiful trees and flowers.



Figure 6. Multilingual sign in The Forest Island (Source: https://www.tripadvisor.co.id/Attraction_Review-g790290-d14062312-Reviews-The_Forest_Island-Purwokerto_Central_Java_Java.html)

The sign uses English, Arabic, and Indonesian language. The English words used are the forest, selfie, indoor, food court, and agency. The Arabic terms found are muslimah and mushola, and the rest is written in Indonesian language. English is a foreign language learned by Banyumas people while Arabic is chosen since Islam is the religion of the majority people in Banyumas. Thus, the terms muslimah which refers to Muslim women and mushola which means mosque are more familiar to visitors. In contrast, Indonesian language is the main language chosen in this sign since it is the national language of Indonesia.

The second aim of this research is to explain the manifestation of language commodification in this area in relation to power and branding from which a language implies. It has been widely accepted that English is regarded as world language. Not surprisingly then English as a global language is often seen as valuable and brings economic value to tourism industry. It is in line with (Akindele, 2011, p. 3) stating that the significant increase of the use of English in recent decades has signified globalization in economic terms of markets, production and consumption. By making use of English, it expects to uplift the sale and profit so its choice is mainly dominated by economic reasons.

From the data collected in the field, it shows that English is the most prominent signs found in the tourist resorts followed by Indonesian (the national language of the country) and Javanese (the native language). Those languages are utilized differently in this industry. In language commodification perspective, these languages particularly English are valued as commercial language to draw visitors' attention as well as a symbol of internationalism regarding the popularity of English in the world society. This fact is in accordance with (Blommaert, 2003, pp. 607–623) notion on Sociolinguistics and Globalization stating that "whenever Sociolinguistics items travel across the globe, they travel across structurally different spaces and will consequently be picked up differently in different places". Here, English in Indonesian tourism setting is not regarded as use value but exchange value. Instead of functioning as a means of communication, English is taken for its exchange value for the sake of economic

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benefits. This fact is in accordance with the previous studies (Dewi, 2017; Wee, 2008) in the way that English is viewed advantageous in either commercial or governmental sectors. How the language makes the resorts to be more popular and positive in the eyes of potential visitors underlines the tourism management. It is represented in some tourist site names as follows.



Figure 7. Some of tourist sites in Baturraden areas (Source : http://www.purwokertoguidance.com/wisata/the-forest-island/ https://www.yukplesiran.com/the-village-baturaden/)

As seen in the above figures, English is chosen to name those local tourist sites. For instance, The Village situated in the main street of tourist areas of Baturraden brings a modern, eye capturing and close-to-the-nature concepts for the visitors to experience. Going inside, the visitors are welcomed with a large view and attractive spot to take a shot, gathering with relatives in a lovely garden, some instagrammable spots for teenagers, and a unique architecture of food court for having meal.

Most of the informational signs and spot names are written in English. In relation to power and branding in tourism industry, English is commodified in the first place to show power of business actors by assuming that English is more powerful than other languages to gain sale and profit improvement. Also important to note is that these are their strategies to build a modern and international brand to be better recognized and higher prestige. The use of this global language represents a symbol of internationalism and quality assurance. It is in accordance with Huebner, (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006) and (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) stating that English was used to signify modernity or cosmopolitanism. By using English, the tourism actors ensure the customers that their products are modern, sophisticated and prestigious. Considering not all of Indonesian people can speak English, this language moreover is identical to elite and educated people. Those who have access to this language regarded as modern people as well as part of global citizen. So are the tourist actors and management. As a result, English becomes a symbol of internationalism as well as perceived more salable to achieve the economic reasons.

In contrast, Indonesian language is utilized as a symbol of power and solidarity. As national tourist destinations, Baturraden tourist areas must use Indonesian in accordance with the Law no 24 (Law No 24 on The National Flag, Language, Emblem and Anthem, 2009) stating that Indonesian society to prioritize Bahasa Indonesia as

national language, preserve local language, and master foreign language. As a consequence, any tourism areas have to use Indonesian language for public information. Indonesian thus gain its power since it is formulated in a government policy and law.



Figure 8. The entrance of Lokawisata Baturraden

The figure above represents one of the local government-owned tourist sites. From the name of the tourist site to public signs within area are provided with Indonesian language. Indonesian is dominant in this spot. The local government both enforce and promote the national language to be even more preserved in visitors interaction. The local name creates a local branding that is close to the local visitors. The management builds a sense of belonging to visitors' mind ensuring that they belong to the destination and would be the most welcomed to experience nature excitement. Till present, this destination still gains its highest popularity among domestic visitors. The improvement of facilities and service has even brought this site become one of the nominees of API (Anugerah Pesona Indonesia) award of 2019 (Widiyatno, 2019).

Meanwhile, Javanese language is more frequently used as a symbol of identity and it is concurrently used with Indonesian and/or English. In Lokawisata Baturraden, several public signs are bilingual either Indonesian-Javanese or Indonesian-English. Javanese here is chosen by the management to show its solidarity with the locals especially the greater Banyumas people. The public sign below illustrates the use of this local vernacular language.



Figure 9. Javanese-Indonesian sign in Lokawisata Baturraden.



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In response to the pandemic struck in the recent months, the management encourage visitors to stick to the health protocols including physical distancing. It says that virus Corona seneng wong dempelan (Corona virus is most likely to spread among crowd). Assuming that the native visitors still take relatively major portion of visit traffic to this area, the management provides Javanese-written notices to be more communicative and understandable. The sign functions to warn the local visitors to be more aware of the virus in a more communicative way. By doing so, it is expected that the visitors enjoy their leisure time safely and comfortably. In addition, the use of this language represents a symbol of identity. It identifies where the tourist located is and whose owner is. It wants to confirm that it belongs to Banyumas people, thus, Javanese Banyumas dialect becomes the identity of the people. The local vernacular in this context is used to strengthen the identity of the greater Banyumas people who 'mutually own' the destination. Accordingly, the Javanese language here functions to embrace the native sense of belonging which stimulate more local visitors to come.

Moreover, English in the perspective of global market and economy still puts itself in the first place for its promising and positive values. Similar to the Dewi's research (2017) in magazines Advertisements, English is chosen to create more global advertisements yet locally targeted audience. However, in tourism area, based on this current research, it reveals that this international language is selected not only for that single reason but also for a symbol of internationalism and quality assurance. Similarly, in Jamzaroh (2019) reported that the use Indonesian is relatively low in culinary in Banjarmasin. This phenomena is different from what is found by Ardi (2018) that the translators focus on maintaining the local language (Indonesia and Minangkabau) in the translation. This effort is done by the translators to maintain the local language. Similarly, the effort can also be done through developing the proudness of youth to the Indonesian culture (Asfina & Ovilia, 2017).

To put them all together, this research reveals how the languages are commodified for economic exchange. Considering the tourists whether they are native, national or international, the use of English, Indonesian and Javanese respectively are identified as part of linguistic capital in the tourism industry in an attempt to gain the most desirable profit. The use of English which is dominantly found in the destination areas proves that the management of the tourist sites label and create positive and international branding for the most prospective in the globalized market. Then, the implementation of Indonesian language is a part of Government Law enforcement in which the national language is a compulsory to use in public places. Meanwhile, the Javanese is selected to grow a sense of belonging of the Greater Banyumas people as well as a symbol of identity of the local values. All those languages are selected by the management of tourism sites to show power as well as branding as part of the linguistic capital to reach their ultimate goal, profit.

Conclusion

Language commodification are materialized through the use of bahasa Indonesia, English and Javanese. English serves as a dominant language in this tourism industry as a symbol of internationalism, quality assurance and economic reason. Then Indonesian is used as the implementation of government policy about the use of Indonesian language in public places. Meanwhile, Javanese is used to boost the sense of belonging

and authenticity. All in all, those languages are hand-picked by the tourist management to gain the most favourable benefit. This research optimistically contributes to the wider discourse of linguistic landscape particularly language commodification in tourism. This study also suggests to keep preserving local vernaculars in public places especially tourist sites since this local language tends to be marginalized amid the rapid grow of globalized era.

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